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Impact of Usage of Social Networking and Anxiety among PG Students of Central University of Punjab

*Ishfaq Majid**

Abstract

The present study was conducted to explore the influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among PG students of Central University of Punjab. The objectives of the study were to analyze the usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety, finding out relationship between usage of SNS and Anxiety and comparing the usage of SNS between male, female, Science, Humanities PG Students of Central University of Punjab. The total number of 200 students were selected by using stratified random sampling technique for the collection of data. Data were collected by using Self-made questionnaire and Anxiety Scale by Pallavi Bhatnagar, Megha Singh, Manoj Pandey, Sandhya and Amitabh (2015). The study found that the maximum number of PG Students of Central University of Punjab comes under moderate level of usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety. The findings reveal that there is significant positive influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among male PG students of Central University of Punjab. However, there is no influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among female PG students of Central University of Punjab. The study also reveals that there is no impact of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG students of Humanities. It was also found that there is no impact of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG students of Science stream students and there is no significant difference in the usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams.

Keywords: *Social Networking Sites, Anxiety, University Students*

Introduction

The 21st century is the world of technology where most people do not even imagine their life without technology. Modern communication technology has undoubtedly transformed the whole world into a "global community". It helps people learn better, have an open mind and stay informed with global growth. Technology reveals to humanity a better way of doing things. Even today, beginning with the alarm on the phone and ends with the application messages on the smartphone. This situation also prevails in most of the rural areas. The use of technology in the classroom has two sides, as well as coins, both positive and negative. Most schools place more emphasis on computer education and the use of mobile learning because the use of this technology in today's classroom helps students to participate and learn actively to the needs of the students and receive feedback from an expert teacher. But most schools do not allow their students to use mobile devices because they think that by using this type of technology, students become technology-dependent and take less participation in face-to-face interaction with parents, teachers and colleagues who play a crucial role in improving social skills. Bandura in his social learning theory gives primary importance to observation. According to Bandura's theory, children learn by observing their classmates, teachers and parents. For example,

children start walking as when the father walks because they observe them. Bandura emphasis on social skills that can be acquired by interacting with society in today's age. We discover that young students always interact with their technological toys, even most of the traffic accident is due to the use of the mobile phone during their journey.

Social Networking Sites

Social networking sites refer to various applications, websites or new online media that allows large numbers of individuals to share their information and develop a proper social and specialized contact. The various social networking sites are Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram, snapshot, Youtube etc. Social networking sites (SNS) are online services that emphasize the creation of a connection between people to enable them to share their interests. These network sites allow people to share their information. Therefore, the main purpose of social networking sites is to allow people to share their real-life interests, activities and experiences.

Social networks refer mainly to the means used for interaction, which have become phenomena of growth in the social and academic field. Social media allows people and organizations to create, participate and share new or existing content through multi-way communication. Commonly, the phrase "social network sites" is used as a general term for all social networks, including Facebook, Twitter and Myspace. Over the past decade, every social networking application has worked collaboratively to provide a completely new multimedia experience that can now be accessed via mobile devices. In a related study, Brissette (2002) found that university students of both sexes completed measures of perceived stress, depression, network of friendship and social perception. Vitak (2008) reported in a study that there are several reasons why people use a social networking site. One of the reasons is that they meet strangers and become friends. Through social networking sites, users can keep their interpersonal relationship with their friends and users can send private messages and can use chat rooms as a method of communication. Lack et. al. (2009) reported in a study that most of the students who use social networking sites can easily access other user profiles by using their account information. He further says that formal education should be given over to students regarding the use of these sites. In a study, Petteret. al. (2009) reported that peoples and college student's uses social networking sites by several motivational reasons. Moreover the study has made several attempts to understand the choice, use, dispersal, adoption and acceptance of social networking sites among university students. Banquilet. al. (2009) reported in a study that "Social networking sites negatively impacting academic performance" and also indicated that friendship networks often require access to information and knowledge directly and indirectly and the effect of friendship on the academic performance of the students was confirmed. In a related study Anne et. al. (2009) reported that social networking sites significantly influence the educational performance of university students. Bicen and Cavus (2010) reported in their study that the use and exchange of knowledge on the internet is an integral or internal part of the life of university students. The findings of the study also reveal that Live Spaces and Facebook are the sites commonly used by students. Miller et. al. (2010) conducted a survey among students on the use of social networking sites and the capability of published content. The answers indicate that students regularly publish inappropriate content for all types of audiences, especially for potential employers. Park (2010) reported in his study that students used the profile service more than the community service while graduates used the community service plus the profile service. However, most of the faculty members were not active users of social media. Alabama. (2010) reported in his study that students are much more likely to use Facebook and are significantly more open to the possibility of using Facebook and similar

technologies to support work in the classroom than teachers. Teachers are more likely to use more "traditional" technologies such as e-mail. Das and Sahoo (2010) reported in their study that people use SNS for many purposes mainly because SNS offers the opportunity to express their points of view and provide independence and connect them with millions of people in the world. Kuppuswamy and Narayan (2010) reported the impact of social networking sites on the education of youth and found that social networking websites have both positive as well as negative impact on the education of youth, depending on their usage. Lin & Lu (2011) reported that enjoyment was the most influential factor for usage of growing social networking sites among college students. Hampton et. al. (2011) reported that social networks quickly gained popularity among their users and have now become an integral part of the lives of most of their users.

Anxiety

Anxiety is an emotion that predates the evolution of man. Its presence in human beings in a range of anxiety disorders makes it a vital clinical focus. Developments in nosology, epidemiology and psychobiology have significantly advanced our understanding of the anxiety disorders in recent years. Anxiety disorders involve a state of disturbing chronic but changeable nervousness that is inappropriately severe for the person's circumstances. The term anxiety has its origin from the Latin word "anxietas" which means to block regulate and upset emotional and psychological feature responses to the perception of danger. Anxiety could be a typical human feeling. Anxiety arises on preceding and adaptational response to difficult or nerve-wracking events. Anxiety is considered excessive or pathological once it arises within the absence of challenge or stress. Rosenquist et. al. (2011) reported that depression and anxiety may be involved in determining the size and structure of an individual's social network. Nimaet. al. (2013) conducted a study on "Anxiety, Affectivity, Self-Esteem & Stress and found that low self-esteem is associated with the pathogenesis of numerous mental illnesses, such as depression, eating disorders and addiction. McCord et. al. (2014) conducted a study on Facebook and anxiety which showed that the frequency of social use of Facebook does not predict social anxiety in the entire sample but is positively correlated with the anxiety. Seabrook (2016) conducted a study on social networking, depression and anxiety sites and found that positive interactions, social support and social connection in the SNS were coherently correlated with lower levels of depression and anxiety, while interaction and social comparisons in SNS were associated with higher levels of depression and anxiety.

Rationale of the study

Social Networking Sites (SNS) has become a subject of importance. It marked the shift of producer-generated content towards user-generated content. In the context of technology-enhanced learning, this paradigm change marks the shift from class e-learning, based on courses and the sequential presentation of learning material, towards more active participation of the learners and the support of the learners as a community of interest. On the basis of reviews, the investigator found that Social Networking Sites are Web-based platforms on which individuals connect with other users to generate and maintain social connections. Some studies reveal that users use Social Networking Sites for enjoyment. But some reviews show that the use of SNSs may lead to anxiety. On one hand, SNSs may protect from mental illness, as they support and enable social interaction and allow users to reflect aspects of their identity and express emotion that may be relevant to their life experience. On the other hand, there are many opportunities for miscommunications and mismanaged expectations and maladaptive tendencies can be exaggerated, leaving individuals feeling in a greater sense of isolation. Central University of Punjab (CUPB) is a university where students from all over the country come

for their future studies. Almost all the students of Central University of Punjab are using Social Networking Sites despite ban by the Universities authorities. Still students use Social Networking Sites by using Virtual Private Networks revealing the addiction of students towards Social Media. Hence the investigator got an opportunity to explore the influence of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety on the students of Central University of Punjab. So, the focus of my research will be how the usage of Social Networking Sites leads to anxiety among the Post Graduate students of Central University of Punjab.

Objectives

- To study the level of usage of Social Networking Sites among PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- To examine the level of Anxiety among PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- To explore the influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among Male PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- To explore the influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among Female PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- To study the impact of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG Students of Humanities Stream of Central University of Punjab
- To study the impact of usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG Students of Science stream of Central University of Punjab
- To compare the usage of Social Networking Sites of male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab.
- To compare the usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams of Central University of Punjab.
- To compare the level of Anxiety among PG students of Science and Humanities stream of Central University of Punjab
- To compare the level of Anxiety among male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab

Hypotheses

The study under investigation has the following hypotheses;

- Majority of PG Students of Central University of Punjab will come under higher level of usage of Social Networking Sites
- Majority of PG Students of Central University of Punjab will depict low level of Anxiety.
- There will be no significant influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among Male PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- There will be no significant influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among Female PG Students of Central University of Punjab
- Usage of Social Networking Sites will put no significant impact on Anxiety among PG Students of Humanities Stream of Central University of Punjab

- Usage of Social Networking Sites will put no significant impact on Anxiety among PG Students of Science stream of Central University of Punjab
- There will be no significant difference in the usage of Social Networking Sites among the male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab.
- There will be no significant difference in the usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams of Central University of Punjab.

Method

In the present study, the researcher used the descriptive method of research. In the present study, Social Networking Sites is an independent variable while as Anxiety is Dependent variable. In the present study, a sample of 200 postgraduate students were taken and then classified according to their flows. The sample was further divided into gender-wise and stream-wise. Statistical techniques Percentage Analysis, Correlation and t-test were used for testing the hypotheses. For the present study, the researcher used the stratified random sampling technique for the purpose of collection of data. Data were collected from the PG students of Central Punjab University, Bathinda. Hence all the PG students of Central University of Punjab constituted as the population of the study.

Tools

For the present study, the following tools were used

- Anxiety scale (2011) by Pallavi Bhatnagar, Megha Singh, Manoj Pandey, Sandhya and Amitabh.
- Self-made Questionnaire on checking Usage of Social Networking Sites was developed by the investigator.

Results

- Table 1.1 reveals the level of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed that out of 200 students, 18% of the PG students fall under higher level of Usage of Social Networking Sites, 68% fall in the moderate level and 14% fall in the Low level of Usage of Social Networking Sites. It was found that majority of the PG students of Central University of Punjab have moderate level of Usage of Social Networking Sites. Hence the hypothesis is rejected.

Usage of SNS	N	High Level of Usage of SNS	Moderate Level of Usage of SNS	Low Level of Usage of SNS
	200	18%	68%	14%

Table 1.1: Level of Usage of Social Networking Sites

- Table 1.2 reveals the level of level of Anxiety among PG students of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed that out of 200 students, 16% of PG students fall under normal level

of Anxiety, 8.5% fall under mild level, 38.5% fall under moderate level & 37% fall under severe level of Anxiety. it was found that maximum number of the PG students of Central

Table 1.2: Level of Anxiety

Level of Anxiety	N	Normal level of Anxiety	Mild level of Anxiety	Moderate level of Anxiety	Severe level of Anxiety
	200	16%	8.5%	38.5%	37%

University of Punjab have moderate level of Anxiety. Hence the hypothesis is rejected.

- Table 1.3 shows the coefficient of correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among male PG students of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed from table 1.3 that the r-value of Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety of male students of Central University of Punjab is 0.0175 which is less than table value of r with the df of 200 at 0.05 i.e. 198. Hence r-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Hence it can be interpreted that from the table 1.2 that the coefficient of correlation is positive, so there is a significant positive influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among male PG students of Central University of Punjab. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Variables	N	Df	'r' value	Level of significance	Remark
Usage of SNS	100	198	0.0175	< 0.05	Positive correlation
Anxiety	100				

Table 1.3: Coefficient of Correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among male PG students of Central University of Punjab

- Table 1.4 shows the coefficient of correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among female PG students of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed from table 3.3 that the r-value of Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety of female students of Central University of Punjab is -0.01235 which is less than table value of r with the df of 200 at 0.05 i.e. 198. Hence r-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Hence it can be interpreted that from the table 3.3 the coefficient of correlation is negative, so there is a no influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among female PG students of Central University of Punjab. Hence, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Variables	N	df	'r' value	Level of Significance	Remarks
Usage of SNS	100	198	-0.1235	< 0.05	Negative Correlation
Anxiety	100				

Table 1.4: Coefficient of Correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among female PG students of Central University of Punjab

- Table 1.5 shows the coefficient of correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among PG students of Humanities Stream of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed from table 1.5 that the r-value of Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety of PG students of Humanities stream of CUPB is -0.0382 which is less than table value of r with the df of 200 at 0.05 i.e. 198. Hence r-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Hence it can be interpreted that the coefficient of correlation is negative, so there is a no impact of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG students of Humanities stream students of CUPB. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Variables	N	df	'r' value	Level of Significance	Remarks
Usage of SNS	100	198	-0.0382	< 0.05	Negative Correlation
Anxiety	100				

Table 1.5: Coefficient of Correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among PG Students of Humanities Stream of CUPB

- Table 1.6 shows the coefficient of correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among PG students of Science Stream of Central University of Punjab. It was revealed from table 1.6 that the r-value of Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety of PG students of Science stream of CUPB is -0.0648 which is less than table value of r with the df of 200 at 0.05 i.e. 198. Hence r-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Hence it can be interpreted that from the table 3.5 the coefficient of correlation is negative, so there is a no impact of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among PG students of Science stream students of CUPB. Hence, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Variables	N	df	'r' value	Level of Significance	Remarks
Usage of SNS	100	198	-0.0648	< 0.05	Negative Correlation
Anxiety	100				

Table 1.6: Coefficient of Correlation between Usage of Social Networking Sites and Anxiety among PG Students of Science Stream of CUPB

The below table 1.7 shows the Mean, S.D, t- value and level of significance of usage of Social Networking Sites among male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab. From the table it was revealed that the mean value of Usage of social networking sites of male and female are 86.88 and 86.78 respectively. The S.D. of male students is 7.67 and that of female students is 5.96. Also, the calculated t-value is 0.10 which is less than table value of t with the df 198 at 0.05 level i.e. 1.98. Hence, it is concluded that the t-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted i.e. there is no significant difference between usage of Social Networking Sites among male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab.

Variables	N	Mean	S.D.	't' value	Level of significance
Male	100	86.88	7.67	0.10	< 0.05
Female	100	86.78	5.96		

Table 1.7: Comparison of usage of Social Networking Sites among the male and female PG students of Central University of Punjab

- The below table 1.8 shows the Mean, S.D, t- value and level of significance of usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams of Central University of Punjab. From the table, it was revealed that the mean value of Usage of social networking sites of Humanities and Science stream students are 87.56 and 86.1 respectively. The S.D. of Humanities student is 6.484 and that of Science students is 7.156. Also the calculated t-value is 1.50 which is less than table value of t with the df 198 at 0.05 level i.e. 1.98. Hence, it is concluded that the t-value is not significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted i.e. there is no significant difference between usage of Social Networking Sites among science and Humanities PG students of Central University of Punjab.

Variables	N	Mean	S.D.	df	't' value	Level of significance
Humanities	100	87.56	6.484	198	1.50	< 0.05
Science	100	86.1	7.156			

Table 1.8: Comparison of usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams of CUPB

Discussion

- Majority of PG Students of Central University of Punjab comes under moderate level of usage of Social Networking Sites. The statistical data of the study reveal that 68% of the PG students of Central University of Punjab have moderate level of Usage of Social Networking Sites. However only 18% & 14% of the PG students comes under High & Low level of Usage of Social networking Sites respectively.
- Majority of PG Students of Central University of Punjab comes under moderate level of Anxiety. The statistical data shows that out of 200 students, 16% of PG students fall under

Normal level, 8.5% students fall under Mild level, 38.5% fall under Moderate level & 37% fall under severe level of Anxiety.

- There is significant positive influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among male PG students of Central University of Punjab. The findings of the study were supported by Ahmet and Murat (2017).
- There is no significant influence of Usage of Social Networking Sites on Anxiety among Female PG Students. The findings reveal that Usage of Social Networking Sites has negative effect on Anxiety among female PG students of Central University of Punjab because using Social Networking Sites cause Social anxiety, feelings of loneliness and problematic addiction which results in Anxiety among students.
- The Usage of Social Networking Sites has significant negative impact on Anxiety among PG Students of Humanities Stream.
- The Usage of Social Networking Sites has significant negative impact on Anxiety, among PG Students of Science stream. The findings reveal that Social Networking Sites have negative impact on Anxiety among PG Students of Science Stream of Central University of Punjab because using social networking sites is considered a risk factor for mental health problems and activities like cyber bullying leads to Anxiety among Science stream students.
- There is no significant difference in the usage of Social Networking Sites among the male and female PG students. Male students and the female students almost have same level of usage of Social Networking Sites.
- There is no significant difference in the usage of Social Networking Sites among PG students of Science and Humanities streams. Male students and the female students almost have same level of usage of Social Networking Sites.

Conclusion

The investigator is fully aware of the limitations under which the present research was conducted and therefore accepts that no broad conclusions could be made. These findings are only indicative of trends and hence following suggestions can be given for further research. The tools adopted for the present study was used as such without any modifications. The results of the study lack in external validity as the sample size was not large. The study was limited to post graduate students of Central University of Punjab.

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Kashmir and the Process of Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

For the just and fair resolution of the Kashmir conflict, an alternate architecture for peace is essential. Only through a process of purposeful dialogue can the Kashmiris, Indians and Pakistanis ensure a better world for themselves and also for the people of South Asia. There is no other way to defeat the forces of darkness who have kept South Asia's poor and underdeveloped by not abandoning the path of confrontation and following the path of reconciliation and cooperation. The study tries to explore the peace process efforts to tackle longstanding unsolved Kashmir issue.

Key Words: *Peace, Efforts, Solution, Kashmir*

Introduction

Conflict resolution means a process of resolving dispute or disagreement. It mainly aims at reconciling opposing arguments in a manner that promotes and protects the human rights of all parties concerned. In other words it is the process of ending a disagreement between two or more people in a constructive fashion for all parties involved. Conflict resolution is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of some social conflict. Often, committed group members attempt to resolve group conflicts by actively communicating information about their conflicting motives or ideologies to the rest of the group (e.g., intentions; reasons for holding certain beliefs), and by engaging in collective negotiation.¹ Ultimately, a wide range of methods and procedures for addressing conflict exist, including but not limited to, negotiation, mediation, diplomacy, and creative peace building.

Kashmir as a major source of conflict in Indo-Pak relations is now passing through a process of transformation. From a bilateral issue the conflict of Kashmir is now changing its shape and witnessing the gradual involvement of people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) in a process of conflict management and resolution.

An attempt has been made to examine the process of conflict resolution between India and Pakistan in the light of the Kashmir conflict. For Pakistan, there cannot be peace and stability in Indo-Pak relations without the resolution of the Kashmir conflict. Whereas for India, Kashmir may be a major issue negatively affecting Indo-Pak relations, but is certainly not the only issue as repeatedly stated by Pakistan.

The stiff positions taken by India and Pakistan on the Kashmir conflict resulted into stalemate in their relations, heavy military expenditures and ineffectiveness of regional cooperation in South Asia. The holding of composite dialogue between India and Pakistan to discuss various critical issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is a positive development as far as the process of conflict resolution in that troubled area is concerned. The gradual softening of Line of Control (LoC) and the

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holding of ceasefire between India and Pakistan along LoC since November 2003 account for the step-by-step management of the Kashmir conflict. The important themes, which will be examined in this research paper, are as follows:

1. Obstacles and pitfalls in the process of conflict resolution in Kashmir;
2. Alternative architectures of peace and conflict resolution between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir conflict;
3. The relevance of alternate architectures of conflict resolution in resolving the Kashmir conflict; and
4. Future prospects of conflict management and resolution of the Kashmir conflict.

Background of the Problem

The Kashmir conflict is the outcome of a process of neglect, discrimination, suppression of Kashmiri identity and the pre-eminence of power centric approach held by the successive regimes of India and Pakistan. Even the end of the cold war at the superpower level couldn't bring any qualitative change in the attitude of people at the helm of affairs in both these countries. On the other hand, Indo-Pak tension over Kashmir reached new levels after the outbreak of an uprising in the Indian controlled Valley of Kashmir in the late 1980s. The question is not the failure of the past initiatives for conflict reduction, management and resolution in Indo-Pak relations but how an alternate structure of peace and conflict resolution could be created and what can be done at the state and society level to solve the issue. Will the contradictions which exist among them further delay the process of conflict resolution in the region?

Formulating a reasonable solution of the Kashmir conflict within the parameters of maintaining the state structures, order, fairness and justice is a difficult task. For around 65 years, the people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) have been suffering from a number of issues: injustices, insecurity, violence, terrorism and identity crisis. For the people of J&K this is compounded by a longer term threat to their survival because of an uncertain future, the region of South Asia, particularly India and Pakistan is also a victim of "conflict and violence process" in Kashmir. These two processes are primarily the outcome of the failure of New Delhi and Islamabad, the two major players in the Kashmir conflict, to create conditions for peace and providing people of J&K relief from years of bloodshed and violence.

Three critical realities which grip India, Pakistan and J&K relate to the forces that are against altering the territorial status quo; those who want to change the map of J&K to their own advantage and those who want to seek a middle path and resolve the Kashmir conflict through a process of dialogue. The first two forces, who since the partition of the India in August 1947, have followed the paths of confrontation, stubbornness and war in dealing with the Kashmir conflict are now exhausted thus giving an opportunity to the third force to play a more meaningful role and start the process of peace.

In general, the conflict in Kashmir has four important dimensions creating an impact on Indo-Pak relations and the future of South Asia as a whole. First, the role of state actors, second centrifugal forces who at the present are out of the power structure, third the question of security and insecurity engulfing the people of Jammu and Kashmir and fourth the broad question of religion and ethnicity. In order to understand the conflict resolution in Kashmir in a better manner all these dimensions are to be analysed. As far as the state actors are concerned, to a large extent, the position

taken by Pakistan and India on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir has remained intransigent and of much rigidity. After the offering of a hand of friendship by the then Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee to Pakistan on April 18, 2003 and Islamabad's positive response, one can see some change in the positions taken by India and Pakistan on the Kashmir conflict. The meeting which took place in the sidelines of 12th SAARC summit held in Islamabad on January 6, 2004 between Vajpayee and President Musharraf resulted in the holding of a composite dialogue so as to resolve various issues, including the one related to Jammu and Kashmir, through negotiations. With the unleashing of the Indo-Pak normalization process from early 2004, one can see some progress as far as the resolution of Kashmir conflict is concerned.

Whether other regions of Kashmir, like Jammu, Ladakh and the Northern Areas of Pakistan, accept the authority of Srinagar in unified Jammu and Kashmir is a critical question, which is raised by different quarters in India, Pakistan and J&K. If external exploitation is replaced by internal colonization, the outcome may be the outbreak of a new phase of violence in those regions of J&K where the perceived domination of Srinagar may become a major impediment to a unified Jammu and Kashmir.

CR Process and Kashmir

If seen from a theoretical perspective, the Kashmir conflict is a classical case of a distinct ethnic and religious community (Muslims) feeling socially and politically deprived. The J&K conflict may be classified as a "protracted social conflict" because of feelings among Kashmiris of "economic and technological under-development, and unintegrated social and political systems, including distributive injustice, economic, social and extreme disparities in levels of political privilege and opportunity."⁴ As substantiated by Edward E. Azar, "protracted social conflicts universally are situations which arise out of attempts to combat conditions of perceived victimization stemming from the following:

1. A denial of separate identity of parties involved in the political process.
2. An absence of security of culture and valued relationships.
3. An absence of effective political participation through which victimization can be remedied."⁵

For Azar, the best possible solution for dealing with the protracted social conflict is the decentralization of political structures so as to provide the discriminated group its identity and fulfilling its political needs. Decentralization, if introduced, can promote local participation and self-reliance and give a sense of control to marginalized groups over their affairs.⁶ While examining Azar's protracted social conflict theory in the context of the Kashmir situation, three things can be taken into account. First, the question of identity; second the issue of security of culture; and third the absence of an effective political participation. The culture of violence and insecurity in J & K has been created because people living in that region faced a discriminatory attitude from state actors and the heavy centralized structure of governance further deepened the state of conflict. If a solution to the Kashmir conflict is reached based on securing the identity of the people of J&K, ensuring them basic security, cultural protection and political participation in a viable democratic process, it is possible that militant and elements will not be able to sustain the environment of fear and violence. Protracted social conflict can only be dealt with the proper involvement of the parties concerned and providing them a stake with which to encourage them to reach a plausible solution in a decentralized state structure.

Dynamics of the Kashmir conflict

The Kashmir conflict is not only limited to the internal contradictions of J&K, it also includes historical, political, economic, cultural and security aspects. External factors also contribute to shaping the dynamics of the Kashmir conflict. According to Madhumita Srivastava, “the Kashmir conflict is primarily and fundamentally an ethnic conflict, though some forces in India as well as in Pakistan are trying their best to make it a communal one because of the identity of Kashmir people from the rest of India and Pakistan. That the Kashmir problem has always been a problem of ethnic identity Kashmiriyat and its resolution may be found in upholding, rejuvenating and establishing the Kashmiriyat in an acceptable framework in the larger freedom and political order”⁷

On the other hand, Sumantra Bose argues that, The Kashmir conflict has multiple dimensions and is defined by a complex intersection of an international dispute with sources of conflict, internal to the disputed territory and its Indian and Pakistan – controlled parts. Any approach to resolving this multi-layered conflict must necessarily involve multiple, but connected and mutually reinforcing, tracks or axes of engagement and dialogue.⁸ She further expressed that, “Kashmiris simply wanted basic democratic rights, including representative, accountable government and a voice in determining the destiny of their homeland. But, the Indian State appeared to interpret popular opposition to Pakistan as further licence to continue trampling on those very rights.”⁹

Nonetheless, “the politics of Kashmiri identity was transmitted into ethnic nationalism, associated with a distinct Islamic tinge and a transfer from India to Pakistani loyalty. The ruling elite of Pakistan, unreconciled with the idea of the loss of Kashmir readily responded to this historic opportunity. Kashmir became one of the worst tragedies of international politics, degenerated into a pawn in Indo-Pak rivalry. The unfortunate victim of this process has been the people of Kashmir.”¹⁰

The dynamics of the Kashmir conflict could be divided, into two distinct phases. The first phase starting from 1987-1989 can be considered as the period of “build-up” to “insurgency.” The second phase beginning in 1989 until the present day is the period of actual full-scale insurgency. The major difference between these two is: first the intensity of public alienation from India and second, militant activity in Kashmir. Both have become much greater in later part. However, one could argue that, recently, a third phase relates to the internationalisation of the Kashmir conflict. This phase involves the escalation of hostilities from Indian Kashmir based conflict, between Kashmiri Muslims and Indian security forces, to direct conflict between India and Pakistan.¹¹

She further argues that, “Kashmir today is in a state of conflict. It has been so since 1989.” Initially, the Kashmiri grievances were primarily of three types: first, New Delhi's policy to undermine the Kashmiri identity by violating article 370 of the Indian constitution which guaranteed special status to the territory of J&K. Autonomy for the people of Jammu and Kashmir was guaranteed by the Indian Government when in October 1949 India's Constituent Assembly inducted Article 306A in India's constitution, affirming that New Delhi's jurisdiction in the Indian Jammu Kashmir would remain limited to three categories of subjects specified in the Instrument of Accession, i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. However, when India became a Republic on January 26, 1950, Article 306A became the basis of Article 370 of the Indian constitution, which guaranteed autonomy to J&K within the Indian Union. The forces opposed to granting autonomous status to J&K gained strength in Delhi resulting into the issuance of a constitutional order in May 1954, which replaced the 1950 constitutional order. While the 1950 constitutional order had guaranteed the autonomous status of J&K, the 1954 order gave the Indian Central Government the right to legislate in the Indian Kashmir to the majority of subjects on the Union list.

Second, the economic backwardness of J&K led to unemployment and lack of adequate economic opportunities because no viable industrial infrastructure was created by New Delhi in that state. The tourist industry in J&K was not developed in a professional manner and moreover, it was not a substitute for proper employment opportunities. Third, political suppression resulting in arrests and detention of those who were critical of the Delhi supported government in Srinagar and their backers in Delhi. State sponsored manipulation in the J&K assembly elections also created political alienation among people against India. For instance, “the response of the Indian Government to the rising popular unrest and militant activity following the 1987 elections was highly significant because there was still a chance then that political concessions by New Delhi given to Kashmiri people could have controlled the insurgency. If in 1987 there was a chance that conflict could have been prevented, by 1990, Indian policies made it a certainty.”¹² All the three grievances contributed to the escalation of conflict in J&K and the transformation of political and civil rights' movements among Kashmiris to the rise of extremism and fanaticism.

Viewed as a complicated but tragic conflict, J&K is a sore point in Indo-Pak relations. The people of that region have suffered immensely but are unable to get relief. The story of their sufferings is quite old as both India and Pakistan vied to seek a legitimate status of that territory, but seldom took the feelings and aspirations of Kashmiri people into account. That led to the widening of the conflict and deepening of sharp mistrust and suspicions among the Kashmiri people about the intentions and policies of these two countries. Unfortunately, as pointed out by Wirsing, “the end of the cold war has brought neither peace dividend nor peace of mind to the South Asian region. It has, on the contrary, made unmistakably plain the enormous differences in the capabilities of India and Pakistan, elevated the importance within each of them of the armed forces, and given an enormous push in each to the acquisition of advanced weaponry, both conventional and nuclear.”¹³

The changing dynamics of the Kashmir conflict tend to put the people of J&K in a very critical situation because of two main reasons. First, if their leadership fails to play the cards well, they can again be cheated and get a raw deal. It has happened in the past and can also happen in the present and future. Second, if an element of conflict fatigue is prevailing over India and Pakistan, then it will become easier to think in terms of providing a just and fair settlement of the Kashmir conflict. What is predictable in view of the futility of resolution efforts is management of the Kashmir conflict.

Pathways to Resolution

There is no short cut to the resolution of such an intricate conflict as Jammu and Kashmir. Realistically speaking, all pathways to the resolution of J&K conflict could be blocked if the basic principle of fairness and justice is not taken into account. The ground reality of the Kashmir conflict is its asymmetrical nature. Kashmiris being a weaker party is conscious of their disadvantaged position vis-à-vis India. And, considering asymmetry, there is also a sharp imbalance in the power configuration of India and Pakistan. For that purpose, it is not wrong to argue that the only party which enjoys an edge vis-à-vis Kashmiris and Pakistan is India. Any viable settlement on J&K must be backed by New Delhi. The question is how India and Pakistan can find a path for the resolution of the Kashmir conflict? Sumantra Bose argues that, The key to breaking the deadlock in Kashmir lies in the metropolitan capitals of India and Pakistan. Concerted sustained intergovernmental cooperation between India and Pakistan is the essential basis of any Kashmir process. If such intergovernmental cooperation were to occur the other dimension of the Kashmir problem might turn out to be surprisingly tractable. In its absence, however, no lasting, substantial progress is possible on those other fronts, and the Kashmir question will continue to be a prime source of international tension,

regional instability, and violent internal conflict.¹⁴

According to Bose, the longer-term Kashmir settlement necessitates that the LoC be transformed from an iron curtain of barbed wire, bunkers, trenches, and hostile militaries to a linen curtain between self-governing India and Pakistan regions of Jammu and Kashmir. Self-rule framework for Pakistan and Indian controlled Jammu and Kashmir must be complimented by cross-border institutional links between the regions under Indian and Pakistan sovereignty.¹⁵

A self-rule framework for Indian and Pakistan J&K would require, as suggested by Bose, cross border Jammu and Kashmir Ministerial Council which will include Ministers from Indian and Pakistan controlled J&K so as to give impetus to cross border cooperation as a path to resolve the Kashmir conflict. The issues to be dealt with by such a council would be, *inter alia*, intra J&K trade and commerce, intra J & K waterways, cross border transport, environmental protection and preservation, agriculture, cultural matters and tourism. Such institutional links would also include cooperation between the elected members of Indian and Pakistan controlled J&K so as to transform the myth of soft border into a reality. Other matters like foreign affairs, external defence, currency and macro economic policy and some aspects of communication would be controlled by the governments of India and Pakistan.¹⁶ However, any agreement on Kashmir must be ratified by the participants of India and Pakistan, as well as by other relevant bodies in the two countries. It should also be put to popular referenda, conducted separately in the Indian and Pakistani parts of J & K.¹⁷ In his regard she focuses on two things: first, not disturbing the territorial status quo and second involving the people of J&K in a proactive process of economic and political interaction resulting in the de-escalation of tension and development of a better understanding at the popular level on the issue of soft border.

On the other hand, Robert Wirsing suggested that, “there must be a formal commitment by India and Pakistan to the establishment of a joint commission on Jammu and Kashmir responsible for the LoC’s administration, liaison with UNMOGIP, prevention of violations, oversight of such measures of demilitarisation of LoC as may be eventually agreed. By endorsing such principles, India and Pakistan would be committing themselves to the creation of a permanent, internationally monitored and routinely functioning instrument for the bilateral management of security cooperation in J&K. Vital to the successful adoption and implementation of the above principles is the formal and simultaneous commitment by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to the formation of a suitably empowered international agency, perhaps a revived UN Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP II), responsible for negotiating the terms of India and Pakistani acceptance of these principles.”¹⁸

Wirsing's proposal for resolving the Kashmir conflict involves the international community, including the UN, which may not be acceptable to India but will have support in Pakistan. India has bitterly opposed the involvement of a third party or any other international participation in J&K conflict, even if such initiatives support the bilateral track of negotiations, but may agree to form a joint commission composed of India and Pakistan for bettering the conditions in that region.

Addressing a closed door symposium organized by the India Today Conclave 2004 via satellite from Islamabad on March 13, Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf referred to his initiative to resolve the Kashmir dispute. According to him:

1. Centrality of the Kashmir dispute should be accepted.
2. Talks should commence to resolve that dispute.
3. All solutions not acceptable to any of the three parties be taken off the table.

4. The most feasible and acceptable option be chosen.¹⁹

One major problem with Musharraf's proposal is that India doesn't accept the centrality of the Kashmir conflict and calls it one of the issues negatively impacting on India-Pakistan relations. Otherwise, the last three points do not conflict with the Indian position on J&K conflict. As far as the Kashmiri groups are concerned, they have no problems with the road map proposed by Musharraf for resolving the Kashmir conflict.

Four important points, which form the basis of Musharraf's new approach on Kashmir, are as follows:

1. Step by step demilitarisation of Jammu and Kashmir.
2. Self-governance.
3. Soft borders.
4. Joint management of J&K

In a conflict resolution process, the willingness of the parties concerned to unleash the process of negotiations is the key. As long as there is stubbornness and conditions attached in order to be able to start negotiations, the prospects for a plausible resolution of any conflict are remote. The same requirement applies in the case of J&K conflict.

Some of the obstacles and pitfalls, which could be identified in the conflict resolution process in Kashmir are as follows:

1. State policies
2. Marginal role of civil society
3. Hard line and extremist groups
4. Zero sum game approach
5. Role of external elements
6. Failure of international community to side with the Kashmiri struggle of self-determination, and
7. Missed opportunities for peace

The architecture for peace and conflict resolution in J&K, which has existed till now, ignored two fundamental realities: first, the participation of the people of J&K in the process of peace and conflict resolution and second, adopting a flexible position on issues which have created a stalemate and impeded reaching a solution for a long time. It primarily focused on either maintaining or changing the territorial status quo without considering the basic fact that political will, commitment and seriousness exercised on their part could have made things better, not only for the people of J&K, but also of people of South Asia.

The vision of a constructive settlement would include not only meeting the grievances of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, but also taking care of the rights of minorities in Indian and Pakistani controlled J&K. Unless the minorities, whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Buddhist, in different regions of J&K feel safe and secure in any future settlement on J&K, it will become impossible to guarantee the success of conflict resolution. However, the question arises, what incentives should be given to India to pursue a flexible approach on Jammu and Kashmir? Pakistan has made it clear that it can pursue a flexible approach on J&K provided India reciprocates. From a realistic standpoint, the

biggest incentive for India, and for that matter also Pakistan, for the peaceful resolution of the Kashmir conflict is an end to around six decades of hostility, the diversion of huge resources from human development to defence expenditures and the hope of bettering the lives of millions of people, not only India and Pakistan, but also the whole of South Asia.

That type of an initiative must come from the side of those who have contributed to the sufferings of people and those who have suffered. In that case, New Delhi and the Kashmiri resistance groups can think in terms of such a commission, which will create goodwill, harmony and tolerance in J&K.

Two important benefits which India can secure by following a flexible approach on J&K conflict are: first, for an emerging power like India, the solution of the Kashmir conflict will positively elevate its image at the international level. If India aspires for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council then it needs to improve its relations with its neighbours and also seek a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Second, its relations with Pakistan may substantially improve, thus having a positive impact on the process of regional cooperation in South Asia. As far as Pakistan is concerned, the ruling establishment will have to reconcile itself to the fact that it cannot take Kashmir by force and any solution of the Kashmir conflict must be within the domain of larger autonomy. The benefits for Pakistan if the Kashmir conflict is resolved will primarily relate to reducing its defence expenditures, improving relations with New Delhi and getting more recognition and support from the international community.

Problems and challenges in creating an alternate architecture for conflict resolution in Kashmir are numerous. First, the forces that have benefited from the decades of violence in J&K will create maximum obstacles to the process of reconciliation, peace and conflict resolution. So far, the vested interest groups have succeeded in subverting efforts for purposeful dialogue and settlement. It is yet to be seen how the present positive trends in Indo-Pak relations, which have raised hopes for the resolution of the Kashmir conflict will help neutralize such forces. Second, false egos and stubbornness of the parties involved in the Kashmir conflict will also make things difficult for either establishing or strengthening an alternate architecture for conflict resolution process in Kashmir. Until the time, there is an element of maturity, prudence and sincerity among those who matter in the Kashmir conflict, it will be difficult to change the paradigms of conflict and remodel these on pragmatic and realistic lines.

According to Iftikhar H. Malik, in any realistic resolution of the Kashmir conflict, the larger interest of the Kashmiris must receive priority. For a long time, rather than being the focal point, they were simply regarded as a side issue. Yet, it is the Kashmiris who, for generations, have continued to suffer from decisions made about them without consultation.²⁴

The following are the alternate architecture for conflict resolution those can help to resolve the Kashmir conflict:

- A. Mutual stakes of the conflicting parties to resolve the conflict
- B. Proper unleashing of processes and the simultaneous monitoring of progress
- C. Building of trust and confidence
- D. Benefits of peace and cooperation
- E. Learning from past failures
- F. Stabilization in political, economic and security relations.

G. Involvement of people in the process of CR

Building of trust is the key in order to secure benefits of peace and cooperation. If the parties in a conflict are unable to learn lessons from the dynamics of conflicts, failures and successes, it becomes difficult to stabilize political, economic and security relations among parties who are in the process of resolving the conflict and cementing peace in the post conflict environment.

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Hindu Temples in Pakistan: During Partition and Aftermath

Dr. Bhajan Singh

Abstract

In the religious based partition of India in 1947, Pakistan was created with a Muslim majority by combining West Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and a while later, Baluchistan. The tragic outcome of this partition was the mass migration of around ten million people, with about a million being killed in communal violence. Sikhs and Hindus were targeted in West Punjab with Muslim suffering a backlash on the Indian side. During this tragedy, not only people, but religious establishments were also targeted. Many historical temples along with gurdwaras were attacked and demolished by the violent mob. With the migration of the Hindus in large numbers in East Punjab, many historical temples that once adorned West Punjab, now remained in a deserted state, among them only a few are presently functional. Following the partition, all the temples are administered by the Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB). These temples are located in Lahore, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Karachi, Multan, Shahpur, Sargodha, Chakwal, Rawalpindi and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. These temples are not only of religious importance but also evidences of many historical events. Thus, the golden heritage of Punjab is in neglected state. In this paper, an attempt has been made to study the status of the temples in Pakistan during the partition and aftermath.

I

Before the partition, communal violence broke out in the Punjab. The exodus of Hindu population from the North-west had started from winter of 1946 when the agitation of Pakistan was at its peak. The Muslim League tried to consolidate the hold of Muslims on land owned by Hindus and Sikhs as well as the vast property they owned. It started from Hazara district in North West Frontier Provinces (NWFP) where Hindus and Sikhs were only 5 percent of the population and later extended to Attock and Rawalpindi and the rest of the Punjab. Most Muslims wanted to grab Hindu property by force them to leave. That was the initial motive, which led to mass murder of Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab that became Pakistan. In this violence, many innocent people lost their life. Many had to abandoned their villages and house to save their lives.

This is noteworthy that before the partition, in every partition plan, gurdwaras were discussed but this type of concern was not shown to the Hindu temples. This is the main reason that during and after partition, many temples were attacked and demolished in Pakistan. In the Multan district, in March 1947, nearly 200 non-Muslims were murdered and many temples situated outside the city like Jog Maya, Dev Shella and Maswan Nath were burnt and before burning the same, the idols of the same were dishonoured and broken into pieces. The temples of the Majha Kotla and Jamala, except Jain Temple in the city (which was still sealed and locked) were desecrated and the marbles of several buildings were removed. The huge building of temple Bhairon Nath situated on the Suraj Kund Road near the City Railway Station Multan was completely destroyed so much so that not a single brick was left.

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In the towns of Okara, Chichawatni, Arifwala and Pakpatan in the Montgomery district, non-Muslim were attacked continuously from 23rd August to 29th August 1947. It was discovered later on that more than 2 lakh of people had become converts, copies of the sacred Guru Granth Sahib and the Sacred Hindu scriptures were burnt by the violent mob in the presence of the non-Muslims in order to terrify them. Places of worship like the gurdwaras and temples were demolished and were occupied by the attackers for their personal uses. The temple of Baba Lalu Jas Rai at Divalpur and temple of Baba Jawala Singh at Noor Shah was also damaged and all the images were destroyed. Similarly, before partition, in the Sargodha *district*, every village had either a temple or gurdwara. In Khushab *tehsil* of Sargodha district, the violent crowd burnt all the religious places of Hindus and Sikhs. Even Pujaris of some temple were also murdered. At Kund village 11 miles from Khushab, violent mob burnt the temple there and murdered non-Muslims. The temple of village Nihang was raised to the ground and the temple and gurdwara of Kot Bhai Khan was demolished and encroachment had been made on them. The Gopal ji Mandir of village Kinjar in Muzaffargarh district was also burnt down during the disturbances. There might be many big and small temples in every district of the West Punjab. Unfortunately, we do not have information what happened to them during the partition. It seems that during the partition violence, many of them were attacked and demolished.

It is pertinent to note that after the partition, though many houses were still vacant in the cities of West Punjab and there was no need to occupying the religious institutions, but these religious establishments were occupied by the refugees for personal uses. In the town of Lahore, Hindus were in considerably numbers. The Arya Samaj, the Sanathan Dharam Sabha, the Dayal Singh Trust, the Ganga Ram Trust, and various other non-Muslim institutions had made Lahore their centre. After partition, these establishments were occupied and converted to personal and public buildings by the refugees.

It was reported by the District Liaison Officer that the temples in Sahiwal *tehsil*, in *Shahpur district* were used as latrine. It is also noticed that in the Muzaffargarh district, many religious places of worship were occupied by the refugees, who converted them as residential quarters. The big temple of Sargodha was occupied by the refugees and the most sacred place of worship was used a latrine. Same thing happened to the temples of Bhera, Sargodha, Bhalwal and Khushab, refugees occupied these religious establishments and used them as kitchens. Idols were also found demolished in certain temples in many districts.

The Hanuman Mandir of Muzaffargarh situated in the Chowk had been razed to the ground and the platform was being used by a refugee, to roast *kababs*, where thousands of non-Muslims used to bow their heads in reverence while passing through it. At the Arya Samaj Mandir, the Yug Shala had been converted and beef was being roasted there. The Shivala of Lachhu Lal was used as latrines. It is significant that Shivala was near the police line and opposite the quarter of Inspector of Police. The Dharamshala of the cremation grounds was being used as a shed of donkeys. The same was the condition of Dharamshala Puran Das at Leiah. The Gopal ji Mandir of village Kinjar (Muzaffargarh) was burnt down during the disturbances now used as latrines by the refugees' residing in the neighbourhood. Thus, if no sanctity attached to our places of the worship at the head quarters of the district, one can very well imagine their fate in the *tehsils*.

After the partition, many gurdwaras and temples were closed in the Rawalpindi district and still they are non-functional. Similarly, in the Sahiwal district, there is a doomed building, distinctively looking like a Gurdwara but droned with copper, triangular pennant, just like the saffron-coloured flags atop most Hindu temples, indicating that it would be a Hindu temple. This temple is also non-

functional. At Multan, ancient Prahladpuri Temple is situated and lies in ruins. There is lot of rubbish lying at these places. Almost all the temples were lying vacant but they were not properly managed by Evacuee Trust Property Board. Thus, one can well imagine the sanctity that is being attached to our places of worship by the Pakistan Government.

II

After the creation of Pakistan, every assurance was given to the minorities. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, in his speech declared that 'in the new formed State of Pakistan, everyone is free to go temple, mosque and other place of worship'. He further mentions that 'in Pakistan, there will be no discrimination based on religion, caste and creed, all will be treated equal'. Later, in Pakistan a 'hostage theory' had been formulated. According to this theory, the Hindus being in minority in Pakistan were to be given a fair deal in Pakistan in order to ensure the protection of the Muslims in India. Khawaja Nazimuddin, the 2nd Prime Minister of Pakistan, declared that 'I do not agree that religion is a private affair of the individual nor do I agree that in the Islamic state every citizen has identical rights, irrespective his or her caste, creed or faith be'.

It was assumed that after the partition and migration, these types of things would settle down. But it was only a false hope, reality was different. In the Census of 1951 of Pakistan, it was noted that Pakistan had 1.6% Hindu population. After that it declined rapidly. Farahnaz Ispahani, media advisor of the president of Pakistan from 2008 to 2012, mentions that the population of Pakistan's religious minorities has declined from 23% in 1947 to around 3-4% of the population. According to the report of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, just around 1,000 Hindu families fled to India in 2013.

It is very unfortunate that religious establishments were not only targeted during the partition violence, this type of things happens in Pakistan till now. Reema Abbasi, a journalist, noted that in the 1990s, around 1000 Hindu temples were demolished by the orthodox Islamists. After the Babri Masjid demolition in India, as reaction, Hindus in Pakistani faced violence. Five Hindu temples were attacked in Karachi and 25 temples across the southern province of Sind (where 95 percent Hindus of Pakistan lived) were set on fire. Temples were also attacked in Sukkur (a town in Sind) and in the western city of Quetta. Homes and Shops of Hindus were also attacked. Famous Jain Mandir near Jain Mandir Chowk at Lahore was demolished by the violent mob in 1992 and the government changed the name of Jain Mandir Chowk to Babri Masjid Chowk.

In 2006, a Krishna Mandir at Wachhowali in Rang Mahal in Lahore was demolished just only to pave the way for construction of a multi-storied commercial building. Later it was said that no temple existed at that site. In January 2014, a temple in Peshawar was attacked and its guard was killed. On 15 March 2014, a violent crowd damaged a Hindu temple and a *dharmashala* in Larkana, Sindh, just hearing the rumours that a Hindu boy had desecrated Holy Quran. In January 2017, a Hindu temple at Haripur District was demolished.

All Pakistan Hindu Rights Movement in its survey, conducted in 2014, pointed that out of 428 Hindu temples, 408 have been converted into government offices, schools, restaurants and stores after 1990, only around 20 are survived in Pakistan and these remain neglected by the Evacuee Trust Property Board, which controls these temples. On 25 March 2014, *The Express Tribune* of Pakistan reported that Kali Bari Hindu Temple in Dera Ismail Khan has been rented to a firm and this temple is converted into Taj Mehal Hotel. Similarly, a Hindu temple of Bannu district has been converted into a

sweet shop and other historic Asamai temple has been closed down in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. In Kohat, Shiv Temple has been converted into a Government Primary School. Government Girls High School, Peshawar Cantonment is also stands on the remains of a historical Hindu temple. Similarly, Raam Kunde complex of temples at Said Pur Model village (Islamabad) has been converted to a picnic site and a second temple at Rawal Dam (Islamabad) has been closed. In Rawalpindi, a Hindu temple was demolished and reconstructed as a community centre, while in Chakwal, ten famous temples collectively known as Bhuwan are being used by the local Muslim community for commercial purposes. It is also alleged that with the help of the ETPB, Frontier Constabulary officials has occupied the Shamshan Ghaat in Dera Ismail Khan. Now, Hindu community of the area is unable to cremate their dead because of the unavailability of Shamshan Ghaat.

III

Some measures are taken by the government of Pakistan towards these religious establishments. Few temples are opened for the Hindu pilgrims of Pakistan and India. In Peshwar, Gor-Khatri temple, an eminent hub of Gorakhnath Jogi sect which had remained closed since partition, was reopened in 2011 under a special order by the Peshawar High Court to provide Hindus of the city a place of worship. Unfortunately, ever since the opening of this temple, it has been violently targeted more than three times. Katas Raj in the Chakwal district indicates that this region was once a venerated spot of Buddhist, Jains, Hindus and Sikhs. Katas Raj has a large Hindu temple complex dedicated to Lord Shiva, the Pandavas from the epic Mahabharata and other deities. It is famous for *Tilla Jogiyan*. On creation of Pakistan in 1947, with the *jogis* having left for India, the temples now stand abandoned, lost in the wilderness. Within the scattered remains of Katas Raj, exists a Shiva temple, the only temple in the complex that has been recently opened and is attracting members of the Hindu community. Unfortunately, not much attention has been paid to its restoration. After the partition, this place was in neglected state. In February 2017, 200 pilgrims from India visited the temple to participate in the Katas Raj Dham Festival.

Thus, from the above discussion, we can conclude that during the partition violence, many temples were attacked and demolished in Pakistan. We cannot blame any specific community for this destruction and bloodshed, everyone was responsible for it. Unfortunately, after the partition, no care was given to these religious establishments. Many temples and other religious establishments were occupied by the refugees. Occupation of heritage buildings by *refugees* has caused immense damage to these heritage buildings. Many temples were being used either as schools or as residential houses for the refugees. Little effort is done to restore and preserve these historical temples. Though it was responsibility of the Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB) to protect these temples after the partition, unfortunately, this agency has been failed to protect these monuments. The role of Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB) is also suspicious because still many temples are occupied by the refugees. Thus, there is need to draft a policy to preserve this heritage, otherwise we will lose this valuable evidence of the past. It is the responsibility of government of Pakistan and India to frame a policy to protect, preserve and restore historical buildings either secular or religious to save our glorious past.

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Child labour in India – Intensity and Repercussions

Mr. Om Singh

ABSTRACT

Child plays a vital role in the development of any society for its future. Child who is being cared in good and responsible manner the child is then productive to its nation. Every society's future lies in the hands of their child and youth. Children are engaged in number of activities throughout the world like working in some manner, and even the work is harmful to them but they are indulging in various activities helping their mother at home. Child labour is complex and also global phenomenon. It is also controversial. Child in every society is indulging in work under abusively, forcibly, exploitatively that are very harmful and dangerous to them because their mental and physical conditions are not well developed. India is ranking the top percentage of child labour among the nations. Now India had implemented some laws against child labour work in order to bring the new change and reform the nation and free from child labour. But still India's legal implications are ground level and yet their reform is still long ahead.

Keywords: *Development, Child Labour, Poverty, Nation, Laws and Reforms.*

INTRODUCTION

According to census child labour is rapidly increasing from 11.28 million in 1991 to 12.66 million in 2001 and 21.39 million in 2011. Child is treated unequally and they are called child labour. A child who is out of schooling is a labour. The term child labour also is defined as the work that deprives children from their childhood and their potential energy and also their dignity is found harmful to their physical and mental health development. Child work refers that it is mentally, physically or socially dangerous and harmful to children. Children are deprived from their schooling and they have excessively heavy work to do. In developing countries child labour is a series problem from many decades. Child labour existed over the centuries in developing countries and also the beginning of 20th century in developed countries.

A New Definition of Child Labour

In India children are working in different labour situation sectors across the country. Children are working in varied situations such as for strategies for the elimination of child labour need to be nonnegotiable. Removal of the artificial distinction between child labour and child work are the most important change that are needed.

TYPES OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

Child labourers are involved in the following forms of works:-

1. Child labour Children are working for their living. The government of India has employed the term child labour only in when children are doing hazardous work which is illegally or explosive.

2. Street children: Children lying on and off rotten the streets, such as shoeshine boys, rag pickers, newspaper vendors, beggars etc. are called street children. The majority children have some kind of home to go back to in the late afternoon or nights, whereas street children are completely unaccompanied and are at the sympathy of their employers. They live on the pavement, in the bus stations and railway stations.
3. Bonded children: children who are deprived by their parents to work for miserable sums of the money or in case work to pay off the hereditary debts of their fathers. the landowner in the village own them, they will spend their whole life in servitude till they get married and can, in turn, sell their children or in case they face death.
4. Working children: Actually girls are accepted to complete work burdens which are related to the proportion showing strengths and abilities. This indicates the largest category of children who are out of school and are working full time.
5. Children connected with sexual exploitation: A majority of young girls and boys are involved in sexual activities based on exploitation owing to social and economic reasons. These activities are connected with Factories, workshops, street corners, railway stations, bus stops and homes.
6. Migrant children: Distress seasonal migration millions of families are being compelled to leave there homes and villages every year for searching livelihoods. It is realized that many industrial and agro- industrial sectors are involved.
7. Children involved in household activities: A majority of children are seen in domestic activities. Due to poor economic conditions they are not sent to school. That is why this type of activity in terms of household activities is observed.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

1. Scarcity as derivation reason: The main reason for child labour can be seen is poor economical conditions of families. In order to sustain a healthy living parents are forced to send their child for labour instead of schooling.
2. Relatives' situation: According to a research in the areas of Saharan Africa its being found that children who had lost their parents due to diseases like HIV/AIDS are forced to step to the world of child labour market in order of give a good up bringing to their siblings.
3. Conventional or Civilizing factors: Some people make culture a shield for performing child labour. According to them in order to have a good future a child must have different skills both household and other and that should be taught at a very tender stage.
4. Bribery (Corruption): Corruption is a factor that abuses resources , not only resources but rights of a child that deprives basic services to sustain in the society such as health care, education and growth infrastructure .corruption limits the ways to escape from poverty.
5. Universal conflict: An economy of a country is most adversely effected by wars held due to different reasons. Wars not only affect the economy but also affect its resources as well.
6. Metropolitan migration: Migration from rural areas to urban is one of the basic dreams for all lower class people who want to standardize their lives. This often forces them to work in streets and inhabit in its edges. Most of the time these people with big dreams step into the path of blackness such as illegal works, trafficking, drugs, violence and prostitutions.
7. Globalization: Globalization is another key factor for child labour. India is known as developing country, the labour rate is comparatively low than other countries. International countries generally seek for cheap labour hence they divert to child labour and their exploitation.

VITAL INTERPRETATION OF CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

The total number of child labor in the country has reduced by 65 percent as per the census 2011. Elimination of child labor was given priority by the Government. There was found a 65 percent reduction in the total number of working children in the country. It has declined from 1.26 crore as per the census 2001 to 43.53 Lakh as per census 2011.

According to 1971 Census working children in the age group of 5 to 14 years

Serial Number	Name of State/UT	Number of working children	Percentage of total working children
1	Andhra Pradesh	1627492	15
2	Assam	239349	2
3	Bihar	1059359	10
4	Gujarat	518061	5
5	Haryana	137826	1
6	Himchal Pradesh	71384	1
7	Jammu & Kashmir	70489	1
8	Karnataka	808719	8
9	Kerala	111801	1
10	Madhya Pradesh	1112319	10
11	Maharashtra	988357	9
12	Manipur	16380	0
13	Meghalaya	30440	0
14	Nagaland	13726	0
15	Orissa	492477	5
16	Punjab	232774	2
17	Rajasthan	587389	5
18	Sikkim	15661	0
19	Tamil Nadu	713305	7
20	Tripura	17490	0
21	Uttar Pradesh	1326726	12
22	West Bengal	511443	5
23	Andaman and Nicobar	572	0
24	Arunachal Pradesh	17925	0
25	Chandigarh	1086	0
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3102	0
27	Delhi	17120	0
28	Daman & Diu	7391	0
29	Lakshadweep	97	0
30	Pondicherry	3725	0

According to 1981 Census working children in the age group of 5 to 14 years

Serial Number	Name of State/UT	Number of working children	Percentage of total working children
1	Andhra Pradesh	1951312	14
2	Assam	277356	2.3
3	Bihar	1101764	8
4	Gujarat	616913	5
5	Haryana	194189	1
6	Himchal Pradesh	99624	1
7	Jammu & Kashmir	258437	2
8	Karnataka	1131530	8
9	Kerala	92854	1
10	Madhya Pradesh	1698597	12
11	Maharashtra	1557756	11

12	Manipur	20217	0
13	Meghalaya	44916	0
14	Nagaland	16235	0
15	Orissa	702293	5
16	Punjab	216939	2
17	Rajasthan	819605	6
18	Sikkim	8561	0
19	TamilNadu	975055	7
20	Tripura	24204	0
21	Uttar Pradesh	1434675	11
22	West Bengal	605263	4
23	AndamanandNicobar	1309	0
24	Arunachal Pradesh	17950	0
25	Chandigarh	1986	0
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3615	0
27	Delhi	25717	0
28	Daman& Diu	9378	0
29	Lakshyadeep	56	0
30	Mizoram	6314	0
31	Pondicherry	3606	0

According to 1991 Census working children in the age group of 5 to 14 years

Serial Number	Name of State/UT	Number of working children	Percentage of total working children
1	Andhra Pradesh	1661940	15
2	Assam	327598	3
3	Bihar	942245	8
4	Gujarat	523585	5
5	Haryana	109691	1
6	Himchal Pradesh	56438	1
7	Jammu & Kashmir	208320	2
8	Karnataka	976247	9
9	Kerala	34800	0
10	Madhya Pradesh	1352563	12
11	Maharashtra	1068427	9
12	Manipur	16493	0
13	Meghalaya	34633	0
14	Nagaland	16467	0
15	Orissa	452394	4
16	Punjab	142868	1
17	Rajasthan	774199	7
18	Sikkim	5598	0
19	Tamil Nadu	578889	5
20	Tripura	16478	0
21	Uttar Pradesh	1410086	12
22	West Bengal	711691	6
23	Andaman and Nicobar	1265	0
24	Arunachal Pradesh	12395	0
25	Chandigarh	1870	0
26	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	4416	0
27	Delhi	27351	0
28	Daman & Diu	941	0
29	Goa	4656	0
30	Lakshyadeep	34	0
31	Mizoram	16411	0
32	Pondicherry	2680	0

According to 2001 Census working children in the age group of 5 to 14 years

Serial Number	Name of State/UT	Number of working children	Percentage of total working children
1	Andhra Pradesh	1363339	11
2	Assam	351416	3
3	Bihar	1117500	9
4	Gujarat	485530	4
5	Haryana	253491	2
6	Himchal Pradesh	107774	1
7	Jammu & Kashmir	175630	1
8	Karnataka	822615	6
9	Kerala	26156	0
10	Madhya Pradesh	1065259	8
11	Maharashtra	764075	6
12	Chhattisgarh	364572	3
13	Manipur	28836	0
14	Meghalaya	53940	0
15	Jharkhand	407200	3
16	Uttaranchal	70183	1
17	Nagaland	45874	0
18	Orissa	377594	3
19	Punjab	177268	1
20	Rajasthan	1262570	10
21	Sikkim	16457	0
22	Tamil Nadu	418801	3
23	Tripura	21756	0
24	Uttar Pradesh	1927997	15
25	West Bengal	857087	7
26	Andaman and Nicobar	1960	0
27	Arunachal Pradesh	18482	0
28	Chandigarh	3779	0
29	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	4274	0
30	Delhi	41899	0
31	Daman & Diu	729	0
32	Goa	4138	0
33	Lakshyadeep	27	0
34	Mizoram	26265	0
35	Pondicherry	1904	0

According to 2011 Census working children in the age group of 5 to 14 years

Serial Number	Name of State/UT	Number of working children	Percentage of total working children
1	Andhra Pradesh	404851	9
2	Assam	99512	2
3	Bihar	451590	10
4	Gujarat	250318	6
5	Haryana	53492	1
6	Himchal Pradesh	15001	0
7	Jammu & Kashmir	25528	1
8	Karnataka	249432	6
9	Kerala	21757	0
10	Madhya Pradesh	286310	7
11	Maharashtra	496916	11
12	Chhattisgarh	63884	1
13	Manipur	11805	0
14	Meghalaya	18839	0
15	Jharkhand	90996	2
16	Uttaranchal	28098	1
17	Nagaland	11062	0
18	Orissa	92087	2
19	Punjab	90153	2
20	Rajasthan	252338	6
21	Sikkim	2704	0
22	Tamil Nadu	151437	3
23	Tripura	4998	0
24	Uttar Pradesh	896301	21
25	West Bengal	234273	5
26	Andaman and Nicobar	999	0
27	Arunachal Pradesh	5766	0
28	Chandigarh	3135	0
29	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1054	0
30	Delhi	26473	0
31	Daman & Diu	774	0
32	Goa	6920	0
33	Lakshyadeep	28	0
34	Mizoram	2793	0
35	Pondicherry	1421	0

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Basu (1999) has found children were forced to work in factories during the beginning of industrial revolution and the children were working in tending crops and to prepare food. The work in industries and the working conditions were very dangerous and absolutely deadly. This was because of that children were providing very cheap labour and flexible workers.

Bass (2004) has analyzed the occurrence of child labour was almost completely abridged from the developed world. But child labour is still growing continuously because of the fast population growth, towering rates of job loss, price rises, poverty, starvation, awful leadership and corruption.

Serwadda Luwaga (2005) has viewed that child is working in all sectors of economy, like as, agriculture, manufacturing, fishing, construction, domestic service; street vending etc. Children are working in a very poor and dangerous condition of health and without social protection.

Lavison and Murray (2005) studied that child is involved in many different forms of works which include risks and hazards. These are helpless to physical pain because He suggested various solutions to trounce child labour with the help of education.

Aqil (2012) studied that the parents who have worked in their childhood they have a sense that their children will do the same work and this process continue from generation to generation. They remain uneducated and low skilled and experienced. This is because parents play an important role in children to educate and to develop them accordingly so they can the opportunity for their children to have a good education.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Objectives 1: To critically examine the reasons behind the growing number of child labour in India.

Objectives 2: To study the lacunas in our law and society so that we can eradicate child labour completely.

Objectives 3: To analyse the repercussions of this problem both nationally and internationally.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is based on mostly secondary data on the different census of India. These are some data are collected from different journals, books, internet etc.

LEGAL PROVISIONS AGAINST CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

Child labour legislation means to control the nature of child labour workers and as well as the hours they do work and it should be effectively and successfully imposed because Historical proof insists that a lofty prevalence of child labour can persevere in the existence of child labour laws.

Article 24 of Indian constitution of India defines that any child, who is below the age of 14, shall not be employed in any mine or engaged in any hazardous employment. Further under the rule of the directive principles of state policy in Article 39(e) workers, men and women and tender age of children, related to health and strength are not harmed in any circumstances. Or they are not abused.

Under Article 39 (f) opportunities and facilities to develop in healthy conditions related to freedom and dignity are provided. And it is also describe that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and moral standard. The state to uplift nutrition conditions and living standard are considered so that public health may be improved.

It is also mentioned that Legislation regarding child labour is also considered so that system may be maintained. This system also is seen in India.

- The Children (Pledging Labour) Act, 1933.
- The Factories Act, 1948.
- The Mines Act, 1952.

- The Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961.
- The Bidi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966.
- The Plantation Labour Act, 1951.

But in 1979, it was seen that Government had the first committee, known as Gurupadswamy Committee for studying child labour system and also for suggesting the methods to face this idea. In this committee it was realized that alternative idea was left to control child labour in unhealthy areas. And it was also seen that system was made to regulate the situations of working methods which are related to other fields. The recommendations were formed that approach concerned with multiple policy was necessary to deal the problems connected with working children. On the basis of recommendations of Gurupadswamy Committee, the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act was made in 1986. According to this act the employment of children in certain marked hazardous occupations and processes is prohibited. And this also regulates the system of working methods in other fields.

STRATEGIES

1. Country-wide survey to learn the way of life. Both the organized and un-organized sectors the occurrence and nature of child labours is found.
2. Prevention and progressive elimination of all forms of child labour to make certain convergence of national poverty abolition and developmental programs aiming.
3. Society should be educated not to exploit them economically or employ them.
4. Maintain the health of child labour and its safety and developmental rights of working children with intervening protective measures.
5. District level voluntary organization should be assist.
6. Introduce new concept of bridge schools should be for all working children to be enrolled in formal schools.
7. To provide opportunity to ensure that children were presently working in the informal sector like domestic service, and have access to basic nutrition, clothing, education and protection from all forms of abuse.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Child labour practice will be eliminated through education as school provides the opportunity children to understand their role in society.
2. Prevent society from poverty.
3. Families which are identified below poverty line should help them economically and as well as honorably.
4. Society need to provide government programmes as well as and non government programmes.
5. Governments have to take suitable measures for preventing the child labour and the government authorities identify all the hazardous sectors for child labour.

CONCLUSION

India has marked several progresses in over all social development and implement measures for the necessary protection of the working child but there is still need to expand enforcement machinery network for enforcing the laws implemented on child labour in nation. According 2015 India is the home to the largest number of working child who are illegally working in different industrial areas. Agriculture is the largest sectors where children are working to support their families. Child is forced to work in young age because of the factors of unemployment, poverty and other social causes. Non-Governmental Organization and the social scientists have done existence for the development of child labour in India. As the large number of child who are illegally being employed. The Indian governments have taken some measures to overcome from these social problems.

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Understanding of Scientific Temper in Punjab : An Analysis of the Pioneering Contribution of Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni

Dr Surinder Kaur

ABSTRACT

The closing decade of 19th century in Punjab was a period of critical evaluation and introspection of for most of the intellectuals, who were exposed to the philosophy of European enlightenment through the British colonial expansion. The schools, colleges and universities established throughout the length and breadth of the country and produced a powerful intelligentsia; this in its turn unfolded a remarkable educational renaissance. Punjab grew more conscious of the likely impact of modern science on the individual and national life. However, in spite of the educational growth, there was little scientific research done till the end of 19th century. This is hardly surprising, since the British were always half-hearted in spreading scientific education in the country. Ruchi Ram Sahni was the first Punjabi to gain recognition as a man of science in the 19th century. The paper attempts to weave diverse strands of colonial history into a coherent and comprehensive narrative so as to situate the development of scientific temper in colonial Punjab amidst historical moorings. Primarily the paper would focus on the contribution made by Ruchi Ram Sahni, (1863-1948) in fostering the scientific spirit in colonial Punjab.

Ruchi Ram Sahni was a professor, scientist, and good commentator on science. Though he was born in Dera Ismail Khan, his entire education took place in the city of Lahore. While doing M.A. in the subjects of chemistry and physics Ruchi Ram Sahni came into contact with Professor J.C. Oman, who was accredited for establishing the science branches in Government College, Lahore. Professor Oman instigated Ruchi Ram Sahni to get out of his dilemma, when as a student of M.A. he was reluctant to join his post as a Second Assistant Reporter in the Meteorological Department of the British Government owing to his interest in the teaching assignment and research activities. Aware of the bias of colonial authorities against the appointment of Indians in teaching jobs, he advised him to join Meteorological Department and return to teaching job whenever it was accessible. J.C. Oman argued that the excellent facilities for science education at Presidency College, Calcutta, would give Ruchi Ram Sahni a chance to complete his Master's degree. Ruchi Ram Sahni followed this advise and got training as Metrologist in Calcutta University. The Pioneer (Allahabad) – an English magazine published columns criticising his selection by putting forth arguments that Indians were unfit for such exalted tasks which involved preparation of reports. His detractors were quietened when he executed his duties effectively and also forecast an approaching cyclone in the Bay of Bengal.

During his days in Calcutta, he took keen interest in the propagation of Brahma Samaj. Where he met Professor J.C. Bose, who was working in Presidency College. The Brahma intellectuals

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particularly J.C. Bose and P.C. Ray had largely influenced Ruchi Ram Sahni's thought process. He tried to resolve the conflict between the western scientific rationality and Indian religion. After joining Brahma Samaj, he discarded sacred thread – the cherished mark of a caste orthodox Hindu. He was fully committed to rationalism and used scientific rationality as a tool to bring about socio-cultural change in the society. His passion for teaching and research were boosted up in Calcutta where he enjoyed the opportunity of attending important science lectures arranged by 'Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science'-- a society founded by Mahendra Lal Sircar for the cultivation of science. This institute's role inspired Ruchi Ram Sahni to set up the 'Punjab Science Institute' in cooperation with J.C. Oman in 1885 in Lahore.

In the meanwhile his appointment as an Assistant Professor of chemistry and physics in Government College, Lahore, in 1887 facilitated his engagement with teaching research and above all popularisation of science activities. He successfully laid the foundation of modern scientific tradition and movement through his campaigns for popularisation of modern science. He even went to Germany to work on radioactivity. But with the outbreak of First World War (1914-1919), he had to leave Germany. Ruchi Ram Sahni was fully aware of the colonial agenda of scientific development and needs as well as aspirations of Indians. He launched his mission for the transfer of scientific knowledge and grafting of technologies. It was difficult for any Indians to get state patronage or funding for any project concerned with dissemination of scientific awareness. Racial discrimination in government service had also been coming in the way of progress of Indians in government services. It also had been one of the main reasons for the absence of Indians in the echelons of professional hierarchy in government services.

Ruchi Ram Sahni had to carry the grievous burden of colonial domination. He felt uncomfortable yet he had to perform a dual role, to serve the colonial state and pursued his intellectual work successfully i.e. the cultivation of science. His most important task was the expansion of scientific awareness amongst the people of Punjab. His major intellectual investment was to translate science in the language of common people. He favoured the use of vernaculars for expansion of science and technology. He used Punjabi as a vehicle for scientific knowledge in his popular lectures. Judging by response of his audience, including average men and elites, Ruchi Ram Sahni concluded that mother tongue was the best medium to communicate modern science. It would enable the people to adopt scientific knowledge and technologies to their environment and finally contribute to the development of alternate technologies. In his mission, he was inspired by the efforts of his contemporaries in Calcutta who had already drafted plans for an institutional umbrella for science popularisation. Ruchi Ram Sahni got the chance to study the functioning of 'Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science'. On returning home, he started working to spread western scientific knowledge throughout the Punjab by means of lectures illustrated with experiments and lanternslides as well as publication of tracts. Popular lectures on various aspects of science organised under the aegis of the 'Punjab Science Institute' created an unprecedented enthusiasm. People did not even mind paying a small fee for lectures, which were being organised in towns and villages on the occasion of festivals and fairs in open pandals. Probable this was the earliest instance in India of

common people actually paying for listening to popular science lectures. The large audience consisted entirely of shopkeepers with just a sprinkling of English - knowing clerks in the offices. Whenever Ruchi Ram Sahni found himself searching for an appropriate Punjabi word or expression for a technical term, help came from someone in the audience who provided an equivalent term from the local dialects.

This created an unwritten dictionary of technical terms in Punjabi. In pursuance of the original object of science popularisation, Ruchi Ram Sahni managed to involve several professors from local colleges in the activities of the institute especially in its lecture-programme. For example, Professor Oman delivered several lectures on various aspects of 'Electricity' and 'Magnetism'. Dr. C.C. Caleb, who was one of the faculty members of Medical College, Lahore, gave a series of lectures on human anatomy. Ruchi Ram Sahni himself gave as many as five hundred popular lectures in various towns of Punjab and repeated these in private gatherings on personal invitation from local elites. His lectures on weather with special reference to India were based on sound and practical knowledge, which he had acquired in the course of his job as the Second Assistant Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India.

Public lectures, arranged by the 'Punjab Science Institute' aroused tremendous interest among the residents of Lahore, especially. The parents of many students became active supporters of 'Punjab Science Institute'. Ruchi Ram Sahni received invitation for lectures from the Rais of Patiala, Kapurthala, Mandi and Bahawalpur. Besides explain and illustrating the simplest facts and principles of physics and chemistry, every year about ten lectures were devoted to common subjects such as how does telegraph wire speak, pure and impure air, soap-making, electroplating and electricity in the service of man, glass-making, Punjab and its rivers. Several of these lectures created so much enthusiasm and interest in the study of science that by the end of the nineteenth century, the number of schools teaching elementary physics and chemistry in Punjab was more than, in any other province of India. Ruchi Ram Sahni also worked hard to improve the quality of science teaching in schools and colleges. He had realised quite early that no science teaching was possible without facilities for repairs of simple scientific instruments used in schools and colleges. Despite financial constraints, he set up a workshop in 1888 in his house as a part of the 'Punjab Science Institute' for manufacturing of locks and safes and scientific equipment of high precision and their repair. The workshop also trained young people enabling them to earn a decent livelihood. Ruchi Ram Sahni was very concerned with industrial development of the country. The reputation of the 'Punjab Science Institute's workshop grew to such an extent that in the 1906 Calcutta Industrial Exhibition, his workshop won a Gold Medal for scientific exhibits and Ruchi Ram Sahni started receiving invitations from all over the country to take part and put on show his scientific equipment at industrial exhibitions.

Ruchi Ram Sahni is also credited with the establishment of a flourishing Sulphuric Acid factory near Lahore. The introduction of scientific temper and culture in Punjab can well be attributed to Ruch Ram Sahni. He showed deep interest in scientific practical agriculture. He manufactured several mounds of manures and circulated their merit by means of pamphlets or

leaflets. Three books on agriculture prepared by him titled *Kheti Ki Pehli Kitab*, *Kheti Ki Doosri Kitab* and *Kheti Ki Tisri Kitab*.

In retrospect, we can conclude that despite role-conflicts and limited resources and space as a colonial subject, Ruchi Ram Sahni was successful in laying the foundation of modern scientific tradition through his campaign for popularisation of science. The building blocks of scientific temper does not merely owe its existence to Ruchi Ram Sahni relentless pursuit for excellence but it originates during the darkest hour of colonial rule. Undoubtedly Ruchi Ram thoughts and deeds shaped the creation of modern day science and nurtured its practitioners.

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Political Participation of Women in India: Though the Window of 2017 Punjab Assembly Election

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Abstract

When the universal declaration of Human Rights was adopted on 10th December 1948, its Article 1 proclaimed that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.” Article 2 provided for equality in sexes. It states that, “everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms without the distinction of sex.” It is considered a clarion call for the cause of women empowerment and assimilation. Further, UN convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, which is considered as the Human Rights Bill of Women came into being in 1979. It upholds the following rights of women. 1) Their right to vote in all General Elections and Referendums and be elected to General Assemblies. 2) Their right to participate in the formulation and implementation of governmental politics and to hold public offices. 3) Their right to participate in the non- governmental and socio political organizations. Indian constitution also gives equal status to women with men without any distinction of caste, creed, language, state, religion, region, color etc to participate in the political process with men. In order to boost their participation in politics, there has been 73rd and 74th amendment in the constitution reserving 33% (now 50%) seats in Panchayati Raj institutions and urban local self-government. An attempt was also made to allow 33% reservation for women in State Assemblies and Lok Sabha. Said bill has been passed by Rajya Sabha and is pending of Lok Sabha where certain MP's are not in its favor due to bias against women and their male domination and ego. A women is no longer enslaved within the four walls of the house and she is free to get education, do job, do business or trade, can become a doctor, engineer, pilot, go to space, become CM, PM, President of the country, take part in games, national and international pares. India has had many women as state Chief Ministers, Governors, Prime Minister, Ambassador on account of their self-confidence and strong will power. She has expelled men in many fields not only in India but in the international for as well. There are, however, some people with narrow thinking and orthodox mentality who don't want that women should lead in politics. Some men don't want her to participate in political process or be exposed to public view. Clock is giving her open invitation to come and increase her political participation.

Keywords: *Women, Political, Participation, Parties, Rights, Elections, Parties*

Introduction

India occupies the pride place of being the largest democracy in the world and that too under the parliamentary form of government. The entire credit for her emergence to this coveted position goes to the people of India and none else. Indian people have weathered the anti-India rule by Britishers for 300 years when our economy, our culture, our religions setup were destroyed by the Britishers to enrich the British Empire. Prior to British rule, Indian people faced onslaught from the

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Mughals, right from Babur to Bahadur Shah Zafar. People of India are hardworking, tolerant and farsighted that in spite of such long drawn sufferings, India has emerged as a great force to reckon with.

As on today, the real democracy exists in India if one analyzes the participative spirit of people in elections held to Lok Sabha, legislative assemblies, metros and municipal corporations and at Panchayati Raj institutions. There is no monopoly of one party rule like China or bi-party system like UK, or USA, no theocracy like Iran, no dictatorship like North Korea. The political system here has been multiparty political system most of the times, each party trying hard to win the elections either on its own or in alliance with others. The results of 2014 Lok Sabha elections, 2015 Delhi election, 2017 UP, Punjab legislative elections & even in same year DMC elections have proved that no party can take anything for granted and only the mandate given by the people was respected.

Forty nine percentage of India's population consist of by women who also rule roost and don't lag behind the men in any field. During ancient times, she had been a symbol of life, strength, purity, patience and sacrifice. "In Vedic period women enjoyed freedom in political, social, educational activities and they were treated as the embodiments of goddess of wealth, strength and wisdom." Women played active role to guide & assist their husband kings in the administration. According to Manu "where women are neglected all rites and ceremonies are fruitless and that family quickly perishes, but where women don't grieve that family always prospers. During Rig Vedic period they participated in political activities and deliberations of vidhatha and sabha along with men. However their status got set back and she becomes a puppet in the hands of men. During Mughal and British period their position became wickedest in the history of the country. But later during reform movements like, Arya Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission, Prarthana Samaj etc. encouraged social service for women, educational and reform activities to bring social change for women uplift.

Mahatma Gandhi inspired Indian women to enter the open field of politics. He said, "In the non-violent struggle, women have an advantage over men, for women are in any way superior to men in their religious devotion. Silent and dignified service is the badge of her sex. Women are sacrifice personified. When she does anything in the right spirit, she moves mountains." Political participation of women has been a controversial matter in Indian in view of some negative thinking people who are narrow minded and biased against the feminine gender, when there is no encouragement or motivation to the women from home side, they are not coming forward to participate in politics in large number. It is mostly the subject matter of talk in public that why there is low political participation of women and how to improve it. It is the observation of UNO that women constitute "world's largest excluded category." According to Usha Narayanan, "for the attainment of true democratic spirit, better political participation should be ensured. In the struggle for gender justice, political participation constitutes the first and the foremost step in that direction."

Political participation

Political participation refers to those voluntary activities of member of a society in the selection of rulers and formation of public policy. Political participation is a basic ingredient of every

political system. Participation helps the individual to be effective and associates him with the political system. Higher the rate and levels, the more varied the forms of political participation. The international encyclopedia of social science defined political participation as the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. Political participation signifies such proceedings like voting, seeking information, discussing and proselytizing, attending meetings, contribute financially and communicating with representatives, some of the scholars have remarked that political participation of citizens is the distinguishing mark of modern states. High levels of political participation are usually associated with democracy which is beneficial both to the individual and to the society. Political participation has been considered as a sine qua non of democracy. Political participation has been characterized as a civic duty, as a sign of political health and the best method of ensuring that one's private interests are not neglected. By involving maximum people in the matters of state, political participation brings stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority.

Political participation applies to the activities of people from all levels of political system. It is those action of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics. According to Almond and Powell, "political participation is the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system." Mc Closky defines "political participation implies those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers directly or indirectly, in the formulation of public policy. Citizen participation in political affair is important because a situation which results in high participation by members of a group normally has higher potential for democracy. Citizens do not participate equally or in the same manner in any political process. The political culture of a society influences the nature of politics participation individuals.

Channels of political participation

Many channels are open for the citizens to political participation and influence the government and political system. Political participation is not confined to voting only. There are four main broad ways of political participation according to Verba and Nie i.e voting, campaign activity, cooperative activity and citizen initiated contacts.

While analysis the modes of political participation, Schmitter has mentioned ten types of activities which include 1) Running for or holding public or party politics 2) Belonging to a party or other political organization 3) Working in an election 4) Attending political meetings or rallies 5) Making financial contribution to a party or a candidate 6) Contacting a public official 7) publically expressing a political opinion to convince other 8) Partaking in political discussion 9) Voting 10) Exposing oneself to political stimulates.

Variables of political participation.

Political participation is a complex phenomenon and it depends when the following variables:-

1. Psychological environment
2. Socio-economic environment

3. Political environment

Women and political participation in India:-

The process of political participation in India has already been started after the 73rd amendment in the constitution there by providing 33 percent reservation for women in the panchayati Raj institutions. Similarly 74th Amendment provided for 33% reservation, for women elected local bodies in the urban areas, which has now been extended up to 50% at all aforesaid levels in Indian Democratic system. But in actual practice, it seems to be a mockery owing to discriminatory socio-cultural values against the women. Hence, they are excluded from the preview of mainstream. This is a gender paradox which is a dilemma for women in administrative state. There is illiteracy, exploitation, crime, domestic violence and harassment against women. Male dominated political systems which do not allow women to rise and take their due position in the politics. Women also suffer from lack of general awareness, social and political obstacles. When they share 49% of total population, why don't they have 49% members in Lok Sabha and state Assemblies? After long drawn efforts, a bill to provide for women reservation to the extent of 33% was passed by Rajya Sabha but it is lying heading in Lok Sabha since long due to the reason that several MP's from various political parties do not want to give due share to women. In India all the citizens male or female have the right to vote and contest the election. While women have started venturing out to cast their vote but large number of them are not prepared to contest the elections. The reasons found are low family background, lack of political awareness and male dominated political system in India. Nature has also given weaker frame to women and this weakness may excite tenderness and gratify the arrogant pride of man. While women have entered every area of activity e.g. education, science, technology, medical line, bureaucracy and above all in armed forces, but they need to break the shackles of bondage in political field. We find that women like Golda Meirof Isreal, Srimavo Bhandaranaike & Chandrika Kumar Tunga of Sri Lanka, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Smt. Pribha Patel, Queen Elizabeth of UK & on Margret Tharacher of UK, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, Seikh Haseena & Khalida Jia of Bangladesh, Aung sang Suiki of Myanmar have done wonders in political field. Even if the act is not passed in Lok Sabha, they should compel the political parties to allot them sufficient tickets for Lok Sabha and state Assemblies. It is not a question of competition between men or women or male ego, it is a matter of taking female counterparts together on the political ladder. According to the data of representation of women in Lok Sabha from 1952 Lok Sabha elections to 2014, the minimum Numbers of women representatives have been 22 in 1952 and maximum 61 in 2014. It is a good sign of political awakening in the women. The percentage of victorious women has been minimum 3.4% in 1977 and maximum 11.2% in 2014.

Position of women MLA is in Punjab Assembly.

During 2012 assembly elections 93 women from different political parties had contested and in out of them 14 had won. Maximum six women each of SAD and Congress returned home victorious in comparison to two of BJP and none of the People's Party of Punjab. During the elections held 2017, out of 117 assembly elections 81 women contents had fought to election out of which total six won the election i.e. 3 from AAP and 3 from the Congress party. With the large number of girls getting

education and political awareness, the no. of women contestants will surely increase in the years to come for more political participation. They seemed quite passionate to join active political participation in view of the keen interest being shown by them during election campaign, canvassing, addressing the voters in the villages & cities, wooing the voters with their skill of oratory and participating in mass movements against injustice and oppression.

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Effects of a Political conflict on Management Activities

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Abstract

Trade and conflict are as old as the civilization. Studying their relationship has become one of the foremost research subjects in this international age. Our basic argument is how does a conflict affect various activities of business management? We have taken the services sector as our focal point, selected three industries viz., hospitality, hospitals, and educational institutions. Identified various management activities and assessed the effect of conflict on them. Our study reached the conclusion that conflict has an adverse effect on all the management activities as a whole and the effect varies within the various activities. This study can be helpful in making active decisions in a business working in a conflict zone.

Keywords: *Conflict in Kashmir, effects of a conflict, management, and political conflict, management activities, adverse effects of conflict, service sector and conflict.*

Introduction

The present paper is part of my thesis titled, "Trade Practices in a Conflict Zone-An Empirical Study". There is a nexus between trade and conflict (Barbieri & Schneider, 1999). Normally trade has a positive impact on conflict, whereas conflict has a negative impact on trade (Mutsvangwa, 2016). In this paper, we have identified the management activities and evaluated the effect of conflict on them. Activities like sales, operations, finance, purchasing, and human resource. A management of a business may be involved in more than these activities, but these activities are prioritized. Through this study, we hope to shed some light on the relationship between the management and conflict, observe the effect of conflict on the service sector, and understand the effect of conflict on individual activities of management.

In this research, we study the link between management and conflict through the prism of the service sector. Although the service sector is dominant in the economies of most industrialized nations, it is the most poorly understood part of the economy (Metters & Maruchek, 2007). As we found from a review of literature that there exists a dearth of literature related to the conflict studies on the sector. This is an opportunity to expand on the current knowledge of trade conflict studies especially with regard to the service sector. We follow a monadic approach and study the effect on a single state, because in most of the studies conducted on trade conflict relationship inherently involves two or more states (Bayer & Rupert, 2004).

This study is very important due to the fact that a large number of people depend upon the service sector for their livelihood (Nayyar, 2009). The conflict has many effects on trade and this study is carried out to shed some light on those effects. The research will be confined to management

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and its activities in the services sector. This sector is growing very rapidly with new services coming up day by day. We need to have an understanding of how conflict affects these services in order to manage them better in a conflict zone. We have focused on three industries within the overall services sector in the state of Jammu Kashmir, namely: hospitality which represents the hotel industry, private hospitals in the valley and private educational institutions. This would add to the knowledge base on the effects of conflict on trade. This information will be very helpful for policy makers to formulate policies keeping in view the conflict and its effect on trade. Furthermore, this would pave way for future researchers to conduct research on this topic or on related fields. Businesses can gain an insight into the understanding of a conflict and make necessary changes in order to cope with the conflict.

Identification of primary management activities was the first step in this study. Using the “deductive method” (Goel, 2007) and discussions with experts (Goossens & Cooke, 2005), various variables were identified. Like Operations, Sales, Finance, Human resource, Purchasing. Various tests were also employed to check the reliability and validity of the scale. Management activities are defined as the generally recognized activity areas required to operate an organization. Some of these activities are traditional like finance, marketing, production, sales while others are contemporary like research and development, quality, technology (Larson & Halldorsson, 2004). For the purpose of this study, we have limited management activities to traditional only as they are common among businesses from any industry.

Various activities, which we have identified for the study as variables are also supported by the literature as activities are undertaken by businesses in their day-to-day working. Production and operations function is about applying business organization and management concepts in the creation of goods and services. In order to understand the effect on these variable respondents were asked about the overall working of their business, day to day activities, the effect from regular strikes and curfews, their ability to make/operationalize products and delivering quality service to customers (Panneerselvam, 2012). In any business organization, sales/marketing is the activity that generates income, deals with customers of the business. No matter how good your manufacturing process is, how cutting-edge your technology is, how good your financial objectives are or how broadminded and forward-looking your management practices are, you must still have a sales/marketing mechanism in place, or the whole thing is useless (Dalrymple, et al., 2004). Financial activity is one of the main function of business organizations, which forms the eternal and continuous process of any business unit. Investment decisions are closely knitted together with this function. Presently, every business concentrates more on the field of finance because, it is a very emerging, which reflects the entire operational and profitability position (Brigham & Ehrhardt, 2013). Personnel or human resource is a business activity concerned with hiring, motivating, and maintaining employees in an organization. Human resource function is concerned with issues related to employees for example hiring, training, development, compensation, motivation, communication, and administration. Human resource activity confirms the satisfaction of employees and determined contribution of employees to the attainment of organizational goals (Bratton & Gold, 2012). Purchasing means obtaining goods and services from some outside vendors. The object of purchase activity is to organize the supply of materials, spare parts, and services or semi-finished goods that are required by the organization to produce the desired merchandise (Benton Jr, 2010).

An economy can be divided into three sectors viz., Agriculture, Manufacturing, and Services (Das & Raut, 2014). This research is carried out only on the service sector part of an economy. There are a number of industries within the service sector. We have identified three industries namely, Hospitality, Hospitals and Educational Institutions for carrying out the research. The reason we selected these

three is that they are organized, tax paying, registered and at the same time data is available. Furthermore, our research focuses only on privately owned businesses. As public owned services may not show the full effect of conflict due to the presence of government shield.

1.1 Objectives of the Study

- To understand the nexus between management activities and conflict.
- To observe the effect of conflict on the service sector.
- To understand the effect of conflict on individual management activities.

1.2 Hypothesis of the study

Hypothesis, which we want to test in this paper, are as under:

H1: Conflict has an adverse effect on all management activities as a whole.

H2: In a conflict, some management activities get more affected than others.

2. Research Methodology

The study is mainly based on the primary data which was collected with the help of a structured questionnaire from the privately-owned services business in Kashmir. The questionnaire addressed comprised of 43 items after purification of scale. The overall response rate was good from the respondents. We went with the sample size of 396 respondents which was reached with the help of a formula (Yamane, 1967). This study also uses the Likert scale to measure the effect of conflict on trade practices (Likert, 1932). The pilot test was conducted with an idea of testing the reliability and validity of the questionnaire designed and to understand the respondents' ease in answering the questionnaire. The primary concern regarding the length of the questionnaire, since it has 48 questions to measure 8 variables.

2.1 Purification of the Scale items

Both qualitative and quantitative purification of the scale was carried out. Respondents were required to mention the time required to complete the questionnaire, items that were difficult to understand and answer any other general remarks. Respondents to pilot testing identified some statements as difficult to understand and answer. While some which gave the same meaning. This step involved checking the inter-item and item to total correlation. In our case, we have selected the value of .30 as critical. Items having less than .30 correlation will be removed. The correlation was followed by Exploratory Factor Analysis.

Inter-item and Item to total correlation were carried out. Items SCMV19 and FIV24 have a correlation of .22 and .24, respectively. As we have decided .30 as the critical value for our study. These two items are removed as the correlation is below 0.3 (<0.3). Inter-item correlations are an indispensable component in showing an item analysis of a set of questions from a test. Inter-item correlations study the degree to which scores from one item are associated with scores from all other items in a test. It is a way to access the redundancy in items. In other words, it checks the degree to which items on a scale are measuring similar things (Cohen & Swerdlik, 2005).

The result of the exploratory factor analysis for the different scale items used in the questionnaire. The sampling adequacy (KMO) for the overall construct is 0.517 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is significant at 0.000 which indicates that factor analysis is good for further analysis. While examining the rotated component matrix it was found that all the items loaded on their respective factors have good loading (>0.60) and commonalities (>0.5).

The tendency towards consistency found in repeated measurements of the same phenomenon is referred to as reliability (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). Internal consistency refers to the extent to which all of the items in a scale measure the different aspects of the same attribute. Cronbach's alpha is often used in assessing the reliability of tests. Cronbach's alpha ranges from $r=0$ to 1, with $r=0.70$ or greater considered as sufficiently reliable. In our case values for all the variables came up to be $>.80$ which is within the acceptable limits. However, some items have poor loading below 0.60 were deleted in the final component matrix. The items SCMV15, SCMV18, SCMV22 from the component SCMV; item OPV6 from component OPV, and FIV23 from FIV have been deleted because of their poor loading (below 0.60). After conducting both qualitative and quantitative purification of items, it leads to the selection of final questions for the study.

2.2 Sampling

For achieving the purpose of the study 396 businesses from three service industries were selected. The owners or employees connected with these businesses were considered with the following criteria:

- The organizations selected for the study should be at least 5 years old.
- If an employee of the organization was present to fill the questionnaire he/ she should have an experience of at least 1 year.
- If an owner was present to fill the questionnaire no criteria was used.
- We used probabilistic stratified sampling in this study to select respondents for data collection.

The study carried out in the state of Jammu Kashmir. We have focused only on the Kashmir region as it is the feasible choice. The area (geographical) Kashmir, where there are around 1000 hotels, 47 hospitals and 91. As one of the criteria, all the business are privately owned. The target population was selected from the service sector in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

2.3 Sample Size Determination

A sample size was determined on the basis of the following criterion:

- Most researchers consider a sample size of 200-500 respondents adequate for most of the management researches (Hill and Alexander, 2000).
- The sample size can be determined on the basis of the number of items in the questionnaire, for each item on the scale 5 to 10 respondents are adequate (Hair et al., 1998).
- The sample size was calculated using the sample size calculation formula.

The sample size was determined by a sampling population method using the following formula:

For finite population (Yamane, 1967):

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

For current study significance level 0.05, n stands for sample and N represents the population. The overall population of hotels was around 1000, hospitals were 47 and that of education institutes was 91. In the context of the above criterion, a sample size of 280 hotels, 42 hospitals, and 74 educational institutions was determined. To carry out the present study, a stratified sampling technique has been used for drawing the sample out of the defined population. The sample consisting of 396 privately owned service business organizations. Employees or owners were administered

questionnaires through the survey method. However, the industry wise distribution of the sample is depicted in the table as under:

3. Analysis and Discussion

In the first glance table 4, shows an obvious shift in pattern towards one side. When you ask people about the effect of conflict on their businesses. They all have responded with affirmation. With most selecting 5 on the Likert scale in almost all the questions which denoted “Strongly Agree”, that there is an effect of conflict on that particular management activity. Reason being while conducting the research, we observed that there are a lot of sentiments involved in this topic. Individually people sometimes may not have suffered due to conflict at all or may have suffered a little. But, they respond as per their perception of conflict. Which tells them that a conflict has an adverse effect on all the scenarios of life and trade, their businesses are no exception to it.

Taking an individual view of various variables investigated in the study reveals that the highest mean is scored in OPV1 at $(4.64 \pm .655)$ i.e., *Conflict has affected the overall working of your business*. Whereas the lowest is scored in OPV5 at $(4.47 \pm .875)$ i.e., *Your business has suffered from delivering quality service to customers*. In the case of sales/ customers/ marketing variable the highest mean is scored in SCMV13 $(4.61 \pm .648)$ i.e., *Your sales or revenues have decreased due to the conflict*. Whereas the lowest mean is scored in SCMV16 $(4.53 \pm .740)$ i.e., *You have lost customers or market share due to the conflict*. In case of finance/ investment variable the highest mean is scored in FIV26 and FIV29, at $(4.56 \pm .742)$ and $(4.56 \pm .678)$ respectively i.e., *Due to the conflict, you had to close your business / lose your capital and Costs of doing business in the state have increased due to the conflict*. Whereas the lowest mean for the variable is scored in FIV25 at $(4.52 \pm .764)$ i.e., *Conflict has affected your decision to invest in a new business*. In the case of personnel/human resource/ employee variable the highest mean is scored in PHEV34 $(4.51 \pm .801)$ i.e., *Conflict acts as a hindrance to employee training and development*. Whereas lowest mean for the variable is scored in PHEV30 $(4.43 \pm .832)$ i.e., *Conflict hinders you from employing more people*. In case of purchasing/ vendor variable the highest mean is scored in PVV39 $(4.52 \pm .775)$ i.e., *Conflict affects your ability to switch vendors for being competitive*. Whereas the lowest mean for the variable is scored in PVV36 $(4.44 \pm .863)$ i.e., *Conflict has affected your relationship with your vendors*.

While looking at the results in the table taking an aggregate view of variables it reveals that SCMV has got the highest average score $(4.57 \pm .414)$ indicating that this practice gets more affected in a conflict situation than any other practice followed by FIV $(4.54 \pm .464)$ and OPV $(4.53 \pm .475)$. The highest mean for the sales/marketing/customer variable is in accordance with the fact that this activity or a function has a strategic value for a business in terms of its survival. So, respondents see this getting more affected than any other practice in today's highly competitive business environment. In particular, this leads us to the understanding that there is a concern for the alignment of the firm's SCMV strategy with the external business environment in such a way that they are able to keep their business running even in conflict situations.

3.1 Hypothesis 1: *Conflict has an adverse effect on all management activities as a whole.*

Here we would test the claim that has to do with the nexus between business and conflict, to understand how conflict affects management activities as a whole. A management of a business is made up of various function and whether a conflict has an adverse effect on all of them or not? The overall effect of conflict on management is dependent on how various activities that make up the management are affected by a conflict in general and various individual actions

that make up these activities in particular. Thus, in order to understand the effect of conflict on management, we have examined it through the analysis of various activities that make up the management of a business in the services sector. For this purpose mean, standard deviation and t-test have been employed to test the hypothesis framed in this regard. Based on the literature review of the various trade and conflict studies, the following hypothesis was framed. *H1: Conflict has an adverse effect on all management activities as a whole.* The hypothesis stems from the findings which various previous studies have claimed that conflict has an adverse impact on trade (Barbieri & Schneider, 1999); (Hiscox, 2002); (Hegre, et al., 2010) besides these there are others who support the view that conflict has an adverse effect on trade. However, as we have pointed out that a business is made up of various functions coming together to achieve an objective. So we are asking whether a conflict has an adverse effect on all the management activities or not?

From table 1, a significant difference at 5% level of significance between average score and all the

Table 1: Assessing the effect of conflict on management activities

Variables	Mean	SD	T-values	Sig.	p-value	Status
OPV	4.53	.474	190.300	.000	<.00001	Accepted
SCMV	4.57	.414	219.330	.000	<.00001	Accepted
FIV	4.54	.464	194.361	.000	<.00001	Accepted
PHEV	4.46	.480	184.697	.000	<.00001	Accepted
PPV	4.47	.522	170.153	.000	<.00001	Accepted

Df=395, Significant at 0.05 level

variables considered assessing the stakeholders' response about the effect of conflict on management activities. On observing this the mean values, the highest mean score is witnessed for all the variables, which were tested, but respondents feel that some get affected more than others get. Like we see SCMV at 4.57 (i.e., Sales/ customers/ Marketing), OPV at 4.53 (Operation / production) and FIV at 4.54 (Finance / Investment). Different mean values indicate that there is a difference in the responses of various respondents when asked to evaluate the effect of conflict on their respective managements. We also conducted T-test to find out the t-value to show that there exists a link between management and conflict in the first place before checking the effect on individual activities. The large t-value with the Sig. level of 0.000 way below the significant value of 5% for all the variables indicates that the t-values are significant (Mir, 2015). This is an important predictor for the understanding effect of conflict on management activities and as such, the hypothesis H1 i.e., Conflict has an adverse effect on all management activities as a whole is accepted.

3.2 Hypothesis 2: *In a conflict, some management activities get more affected than others.*

To understand the effect of conflict on individual management activities. In total, it can be assumed that a conflict has an adverse effect on the general working of a business. Our hypothesis would be that a conflict does not affect all the management activities uniformly. Different activities require a

different environment to function. Some are internal to the business and some are external. Some are directly influenced by the environment some are indirect. Based on this view we have made a claim that the activities should not be uniformly affected, in other words, one should get more affected than others. This will depend upon the level of involvement with the external environment.

The comparison between the mean score of various management activities is presented in Table

Table 2: Mean and SD comparison of different trade practices

Codes	Description	Mean	Std. D	Status
SCMV	Sales/ Customer/ Marketing	4.5724	.41485	Accepted
FIV	Financial / investment	4.5475	.46559	Accepted
OPV	Operation / production	4.5338	.47411	Accepted
PVV	Purchasing / Vendor	4.4770	.52293	Accepted
PHEV	Personnel/ employees/ human resource	4.4675	.48073	Accepted

2. Mean comparison is used for investigation into the inclusive standard and change trend in data evaluation and its difference in the aspect of demographics (Qin & Fan, 2014). The results in the table show that the overall mean score of SCMV is higher than the rest of the activities, which depicts respondents believe that Sales/ Customers/ Marketing getting more affected by conflict than any other activities. The Mean score in the table presented in descending order indicate that respondents have responded differently towards various management dimensions SCMV, FIV, OPV, PVV, and PHEV. Starting from the highest mean score to lowest respondents see that external activities or those which are more affected by external environment directly get more affected by conflict than activities, which are internal to the business. In our case, we asked respondents to rate their response to the effect of conflict on management activities on a 5-point scale. The mean for a group of 396 respondents for SCMV was highest at 4.57 with an SD of 0.414. Observing the mean alone communicates only part of the story, yet all too often; this is what we should focus on. The distribution of responses is important to consider and the SD provides a valuable descriptive measure of this. Hence based on the above discussion our second hypothesis, which is, H2: *In a conflict, some management activities get more affected than others*, is accepted.

4. Findings

Summarized major findings from the study are mentioned below:

- The conflict has an adverse effect and on all management activities. This finding is in conformity with various earlier works like (Barbieri & Schneider, 1999); (Hiscox, 2002); (Hegre, et al., 2010) who reached the same conclusion of the conflict having an adverse effect on trade. We have broken down management of a business into various activities and checked them individually. We found that the effect of each and every activity of a management is adverse.
- The conflict has an adverse effect on the service sector as well. Most of the studies on trade conflict relationship always target manufacturing data or data from the balance of trade between countries. Rarely individual sectors are isolated and checked for impact. In our study, we accomplished this task.
- Conflict affects various management activities like SCMV, FIV, OPV, PVV, and PHEV differently. Various studies support the findings that a conflict has an adverse impact on trade. We also found that it has an adverse effect on management. But, at the same time, it is not uniform. Some business functions get more affected than others.
- The conflict has a more adverse effect on Sales / Customers / Marketing functions of a business than

on any other functions. This function is where business generates revenues by serving its customers. This is also the point of contact between a business and its customers.

5. Conclusion

Trade and conflict studies have rapidly become one of the leading research topics in the new millennium. It is about equipping management with tools and techniques in a conflict zone to manage businesses day to day interactions with the environment it operates in. Our basic argument was how does a conflict affect different activities of management especially, in the service sector? In this study, we have broken down management into various functions and evaluated the effect of conflict individually on each one of them. We have come to the conclusion from this research study that conflict has an adverse impact on management as a whole which includes its various practices/functions. The level of impact varies from one function to another. Making conflict one of the key factors for businesses to consider while working in a conflict zone. This study provides insight into the minute effects of the conflict on management giving us the opportunity to further our research on the topic in the future. As we found out that the conflict has a more adverse effect on Sales / Customers / Marketing function of a business than on any other functions.

6. Limitations

The study adds a meaningful contribution in the field of trade conflict relationship, but it still suffers from certain limitations. We collected the data from the respondents with the help of a questionnaire from Kashmir valley only. This affects the findings as they are limited to the valley and a caution should be adopted while generalizing them to other locations. When asking about the conflict and its effects, emotions have a role to play. There might be some biases from the respondents towards the conflict situation. The respondent may have felt insecure while replying to some of the questions even though they were given full surety of anonymity. The study is based on a new model, as no previous work has been carried out in this format. We tested it both ways qualitatively and quantitatively. It will still require more revision in the future from the researchers to make it more effective.

7. Future Research Scope

The present study is limited to the Kashmir valley in the state of Jammu Kashmir on three industries from the service sector. For future researchers could replicate the current study at Jammu or Ladakh regions of the state. They can also conduct research in other conflict-ridden states of the country for comparisons. A comparative study between various sectors of the economy also has a potential in the field. Researchers can further revise, replicate and extend this model by including more factors which can be significant in the study of trade conflict relationship.

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WITTGENSTEIN ON THE PROBLEM OF SCIENCE AND VALUE CONFLICTS.

Pheiroijam Ramesh Singh

Abstract

The present paper would strive to study why Wittgenstein is dissatisfied with science so far as value is concerned. The word value is a broad blanket concept that operates in a number of ways. It is derived from the Latin word 'Valere' and French word 'Valeo', meaning something to be 'worthy', 'significance', 'importance', 'strong', 'meaning' 'interest' etc. A value may be of many types. It may be of economic, utilitarian, ethical, aesthetical, axiological, spiritual etc. So far as value is concerned, Wittgenstein is interested mainly on the significances of two prominent discourses on value - ethical and aesthetical. He is also interested in the values of other dimensions like the religious experience, mystical experience etc. that help in the creation of the meaning (value) of our lives. He maintains that these things are nonsensical and can't be put into words (pictured), and lie in the realm of the transcendental. He is the view that valuing something requires going beyond science, and science has nothing to do with valuing rather it makes sending one to sleep and cold.

Keywords: *Wittgenstein, science, value, ethics, aesthetics, shown, mystical, and transcendental.*

Wittgenstein on Science and Value

If there is any value that does have value, it must lie outside the whole sphere of what happens and is the case. (*Tractatus* 6.41)

The word “science” comes from the Latin words “scientia” (knowledge) and “scire” (to know). It investigates the knowledge and behaviour of the natural and physical world, based on facts that one can prove by experiments. The foundation of the study of science is facts, which are perceivable and sharable in nature. So what science deals about is a factual investigation. But, Wittgenstein is looking for something more than facts that would create the meaning (value) of our lives. He is of the view that meaning (value) of the life will be created by things like- ethics, aesthetics, religious experience, etc. These things are beyond the realm of facts, and so beyond the boundary of science. Since science is dealing with facts, it is so naked, transparent, and mechanical. It only serves us first-hand experience. Instead of creating the meaning of our lives, science makes one feel dull and uninteresting. So he says, “In order to marvel human beings--and perhaps peoples--have to wake up. Science is a way of sending them off to sleep again”.

Ethics is earlier regarded as a science- 'the science of human conduct'. But, Wittgenstein refutes ethics as a science. What ethics is dealing about are not facts, and it can't be described by science. Ethics deals with what is good and bad. Wittgenstein says, “What is Good is divine too. That, strangely enough, sums up my ethics”. 'Good' lies outside the facts, and so we can't lead people to the 'good'. So he says, “You can't lead people to the good; you can only lead them to some place or other;

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the good lies outside the space of facts.” Ethics is transcendental. It is clear that ethics can't be expressed!

According to Wittgenstein, “Ethics and aesthetics are one and the same.” “Ethics, aesthetic and logic are linked by virtue of being 'transcendental': while everything factual is 'accidental', they try to express what could not be otherwise, the 'preconditions of the world'.” Ethics and aesthetics give room for what could be 'otherwise' (possibilities). But the intention of science is more or less fixed until proven otherwise. By maintaining that ethics and aesthetics are one, I think, Wittgenstein's intention is not to club ethics and aesthetics together as one and identical. Ethical values are by nature social, while aesthetical values are more or less subjective. Ethics can't exist outside the social world. Ethical value judgment of a person is in relation to others (social). But, aesthetical value judgment does not necessarily imply others. When a man watches a beautiful play and lost into a world detaching from the actual world, his feeling is subjective and does not affect others. But if a man's moral conduct is said to be unsocial, his conduct is judged in relation to others (society). According to S.S Barlingay, ethical values are by nature anthropocentric (human-centric), while aesthetical values are anthropo-cosmic. Thus ethical values and aesthetical values are not one and same kind. According to Wittgenstein, perhaps, they are one in the sense that they exist beyond the realm of the facts and so beyond the boundary of science.

When I come across an old man who is trying to cross a busy road and help him. I help him probably because a sense of goodness is appealing to my heart. It is not just like two mechanical objects accidentally interacts each other by causal law. The sense of 'goodness', one's ethical conduct etc. can't be put into words. They are inexpressible. Wittgenstein rightly maintains that they are at least shown and beyond the boundary of science. Henry L. Ruf writes:

The problem for Wittgenstein is that people often talk about making moral evaluations of political and social mandates and people often talk about the moral worth of people. Such talk can't be translated into Wittgenstein's kind of saying.

In an art, there need to be some creations that are over and above facts and which are constantly appealing to us. The work of art is not merely the significance of artists, but it evokes the significance of the spectators. Every creation of art has an appeal taken to a different plain. Without artistic creation, an object is a mere fact and does not play in the creation of meaning. Wittgenstein says, “The work of the art compels us-- as one might say--to see it in the right perspective, but without art the object is a piece of nature like any other and the fact that we may exalt it through our enthusiasm does not give anyone the right to display it to us.”

Aesthetic value judgment requires another important thing besides the work of the artist, that is, '*sub specie æterni*'. That is something which has a specificity that makes one transcend irrespective of what he is. In other words, aesthetic enjoyment needs something from the side of the enjoyer that makes him fly above the world of facts. So, Wittgenstein says, “...besides the work of the artist there is another through which the world may be captured *sub specie æterni*. It is--as I believe--the way of thought which as it were flies above the world and leaves it the way it is, contemplating it from above in its flight.”

We are born in a world (the world of facts) but we live in different worlds (depending on how we create meaning, i.e value). The world of the fact that is given to us is one and only one. But, in order to create a world which is enduring and contemplating we need to transcend what it is the case. Depending on how meaning is created, our worlds are different. “The world of the happy man is

different from that of unhappy man” (*Tractatus* 6.43). Being happy or unhappy depends on my attitude to the world.

According to Wittgenstein everything that can be said clearly are within the realm of science. He says, “The use of the word “science” is for “everything that can be said without nonsense”...” Science deals with the truth or falsity of the facts. But art generates certain sensibility that does not tell any facts. This sensibility is not a question of truth or false.

Science has tremendously progressed in human life. And in this present world which is driven by science, excellence is what we all give top priority. But science does not capture what human heart wants, what is appealing in our lives. Life-appealing meaning of our lives is presented by things that can't be captured by science. So he says, “People nowadays think, scientists are there to instruct them, poets, musicians etc. to entertain them. *That the latter have something to teach them; that never occurs to them.*”

In the *Tractatus*, Wittgenstein main attention was not only on the meaning of the propositions based on whether they clearly pictured facts or not but also on something more than that. One of the most important concerned of Early Wittgenstein is on the things that he kept in silence. Therefore, it is not wise to take the case of silence in *Tractatus* as an out-and-out absence of noise. Silence in *Tractatus* tells a lot and here in this silence that the meanings of our lives lie. Again, his later writings, he does not like much indulge to bother about the sentential-meaning, rather he gives attention to the things which are meaningful in our lives. Here, he is focusing on ethics, aesthetics, religious experienced etc. that persist not like facts and meaningless from the picture theory point of view but are meaningful (valuable) from the life-defining meaning-making point of view. In *Tractatus*, he draws the importance of these elements and their inability to capture by the science. Life-defining meaning (value) is an important issue in the *Tractatus* as well as in his subsequent later writings. He likes to consider *Tractatus* as not merely a book on logical analysis of language but also a book on ethics.

According to Wittgenstein,

... anyone who understood the *Tractatus* would finally discards its propositions as senseless, that he would throw away the ladder after he had climbed up on it. Someone who had reached such state would have no more temptation to utter philosophical propositions. He would see the world rightly and so would recognize that only strictly meaningful propositions are those of natural science; but natural science could never touch what was really important in human life, the mystical. That would have to be contemplated in silence.

Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* was often regarded as the Bible for the logical positivism movement since the logical positivists drew their inspiration from the *Tractatus* in the foundation of their principle “The Verification Principle”. The quintessence task of the *Tractatus* is to draw a line that marked the limits of language vis-a-vis our understanding. In other words, Wittgenstein main aim of the *Tractatus* is to state what can be said and what can't be said. The book ended with his famous proposition 'What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence'. He maintained that those which are related to religious experience, mystical experience, ethics etc. are nonsensical and beyond the boundary of our understanding, and so it is not a justice to bring them in our language. On the other hand, the Logical Positivists considered only statements which are verifiable, i.e statements which are either analytic or synthetic are meaningful. Since their objective is to eliminate metaphysics from

the discourse of Philosophy, they regarded metaphysical statements are nonsensical. Ethical propositions according to them are nothing but pseudo-propositions. The logical positivists regarded Wittgenstein as the Christ for their movement since they deliberated that the crux of their verification Principle was already there in Wittgenstein's masterpiece, the *Tractatus*. But one fascinating thing here is, Wittgenstein never considered himself as a campaigner of the Logical Positivism movement.

Nonsense in Wittgenstein and Logical Positivism can't be mixed together. So far as the problem of nonsense is concerned Wittgenstein and the Logical Positivists were not in the same boat. Wittgenstein never deliberated those things which lie at the realm of nonsense as useless garbage that need to be dumped from the discourse of Philosophy. His close connection with various members of the Logical Positivism made people to think of him as a campaigner of the Logical Positivism. The Logical Positivists' objective to throw out metaphysics from the discourse of philosophy was with the deliberation that those which are metaphysical are ridiculous or useless entities. But, Wittgenstein never meant like this. He kept things like ethics, aesthetics, religious experience etc. in silence because they have no reference in factual experience, but he admitted the value (essence) of these things in our lives. The Logical Positivists took the *Tractatus* as the source of inspiration for their movement, but it was only a misreading of the *Tractatus*.

David Edmonds & John Eidinow writes:

But what many in the circle misunderstood was that Wittgenstein did not believe that the unsayable should be condemned as nonsense. On the contrary, the things we could not talk about were those that really mattered. Wittgenstein had spelt out the point of the *Tractatus* in a letter to a prominent Viennese editor: 'The book's point is an ethical one... My work consists of two parts: the one presented here plus all that I have not written. And it is precisely this second that is the important one.'

Religion is another important concerned of Wittgenstein even though he mentioned just a little about it in his writings. In *Tractatus* Wittgenstein writes, "How things are in the world is a matter is a matter of complete indifference for what is higher. God does not reveal himself in the world". (*Tractatus* 6.432). He considered God and religious experience can't be put into words since they are inexpressible and outside the world. They are nonsensical and can't be spoken about. Throughout his entire later works after *Tractatus*, be it PI or other works, he always comes back again and again to the *Tractatus* whenever he likes to talk about ethics, aesthetics, religion, and mystical. The Logical positivists wanted to mock religion, but, for Wittgenstein religion is a matter of higher enterprise.

An object may contain layers of values that can't be pictured by the science. A pen has a utilitarian value of writing. If it is designed in such a way with an artistic creation, it has some aesthetic values too. Again, if the pen is a gift from someone who is my Crush (someone I love) I will add some sentimental values on it which others can't share. Similarly, there are innumerable values that we can put to the pen. These values can't be drawn from facts. So, Wittgenstein is right in holding that value can't be put into words and so lies beyond the science.

An expectation is at the heart of valuation. Expectation signifies the incompleteness of the human situation. Expectation also creates possibilities. A saint of today may be a robber tomorrow. However, it is our first expectation that a saint of today may be a saint tomorrow too. Again, it is from the incompleteness of human situation that gives the possibility of shifting the value that ascribes to a thing in a particular context to another value in another context. A robber of today can be a saint tomorrow. So, the value of a thing is not fixed at all. An Expectation is about 'faith'. Faith is not like

facts and transcends the cause-effect relation. Expectation implies 'what could be otherwise'. Wittgenstein rightly maintains that value tells us what could be otherwise. Scientific findings are more or less intended to say 'what could not be otherwise' since its findings are presented in such a way that they are proven and true until proven otherwise. These findings are based on cause-effect relationship, and not in faith (expectation).

Suppose two men are sitting in a meadow on a full moon night. Let us take, one of them is a scientist who is driven by scientific rationality in that context, and the latter is one who is in a romantic relationship having a positive reciprocity with someone. The Scientist in that context may observe the moon as just a heavenly body- that it has no its own light but derived its light from the sun, has smaller than the Earth, is the only satellite of Earth, and so and so on. But the latter, would not bother about these facts (or information), rather he may take the lights of the full moon as if joys are showered upon him. That time he is detaching from the facts (reality) and takes into a transcendental realm. In the former case, it is all about information gathering, but the later is a life appealing meaning-making exercise. Wittgenstein is right in maintaining that without going beyond the science, an object is a mere piece of fact which takes role only in information or knowledge gathering. It is obvious that science provides us with information and knowledge that help in clearing our doubts and ignorance. At the same time, Science acts as a camouflage in covering significant parts of our lives.

We live in an era where scientific gadgets and technology colonized our bodies and minds. The Present World that what we called Post-modern (or some thinkers like to entitled the name as 'Post-Postmodern') is an age where there is fragmentation in all aspects of our lives. Only desires are created in such a way that such desires can never be fulfilled. Values or meaning of our lives is considerably dropping, while, anxiety, frustration, depression, etc. are considerably increasing. We live in a virtual world where there is only a creation of virtual pleasure, and that also very short-lived. One can make a friend without having any mutual caring or feeling, but just by an acceptance of a friend request in his or her Facebook account. These chaos or fragmentations which we are witnessing at present is a result of the suppression of life-defining meaning-making things of our lives by technocracy and it's corollary bureaucracy which was given to us by Science. I believed Wittgenstein have had already aware of all these. Why he enjoyed reading poetry, for instance, his favourite poems of Rabindranath Tagore? Why does he like us to consider his *Tractatus* as a book on ethics? Why he was not happy with Carnap when the latter mocked on the importance of religion? These questions need to be delved into with proper care. But, here in this paper, I abandoned to delve into further in these questions. However, it becomes clearer and clearer after going through with these questions that Wittgenstein likes to preserved ethics, aesthetics, religious experience etc. as par or above the Science. He is afraid that Science will do harm instead of prosperity if these elements are suppressed.

Conclusion

Here it is concluded that Wittgenstein is dissatisfied with science since there are things which are meaningful (valuable) in our lives but can't be captured by science. Things which are related to aesthetical, ethical, religious etc. can't be expressed (or pictured) by our language. They lie beyond facts and so beyond the realm of scientific scope. They are at least shown. Wittgenstein admits the importance of these inexpressible things in our lives. In *Tractatus*, Wittgenstein argues that propositions involving ethics, aesthetic, religion etc, are meaningless (nonsensical), but he accepts their importance. Here the 'meaning' is based on whether a proposition can be pictured or not.

But they are meaningful from life-defining meaning-making (significance or value) perspective. Many thinkers might have considered life-defining meaning is a minimal issue in the *Tractatus*. But I am not ready to believe it as a minimal issue since he considered the importance of the book lies in what he did not say about. Life-defining meaning of our lives becomes also one of the main issues in Later Wittgenstein's writings. Without these elements (aesthetic, ethics, religion etc), which can't be put into words, life would be so dry and naked. So, he appeals us to appreciate them. Science will make only sending us to sleep and cold. He was never a campaigner of Logical Positivists who took empirical or scientific statements are only meaningful.

Here one important thing that I would like to clarify is that, my understanding of Wittgenstein is that I do not think he appeals us to abandon science by maintaining that it has no value, but most likely he is appealing us to celebrate the things which lie beyond the realm of science-aesthetic, ethics, religious experience etc. because the meaning of life is such that most of the time it is constantly appealing to the things that can't be captured by science. Life is not a bundle of stories, but these stories are within one's own life. The significances (value) of these stories can't be pictured like facts. The meaning of our lives can't be captured by science.

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MAN WOMAN RELATIONSHIP IN TONI MORRISON'S *PARADISE*

Sunita Mehra

Abstract

Paradise (1997) is a novel, which completes the trilogy including *Beloved*-(1987) & *Jazz* (1992). Morrison in *Paradise* depicts a vivid portrayal of women who live in a Convent in the town Ruby (Oklahoma). The conflict is between these women and the men who run the Convent. Throughout the story, the treatment of the women is noticed, which denotes the patriarchal society that they live in, disturbing their own freedom and choices. The novels of Morrison basically focus on black women rather than have a feminist approach. Morrison deliberates the concerns of sexual oppression, patriarchal society, and racist issues; but she doesn't allow them to control over her whole experience. Man-woman relationship is as old as human survival. Earlier it was a biological need. There is a comprehensive portrayal of man-woman relationship in Morrison's novels. Morrison's novels expose the wide-ranging segment of man-woman relationship - marital, premarital, and extra-marital. A close study of Morrison's novels reveals the state of man-woman relationship as it existed in America. This was a male-dominated society. The burden of chastity and seclusion was put on the women while men enjoyed the freedom of permissiveness. They considered women as creatures for their delectation. This attitude of man towards woman is seen in this novel. The men despise anything they cannot control, and they are especially afraid of a group of women who do not appear to need or desire men for anything. The novel was set in a town Ruby named after the name of Deek and Steward's sister for whom they couldn't get medical aid in an emergency because of segregation. Ruby was established so that the black men residing in it would be able to protect the women in their community from the specific kind of racism present in the external world. However, this 'freedom' for the women is also a kind of restriction, because the men have strict ideas about how women should behave.

Key words: conflict, patriarchy, oppression, racism, chastity, seclusion, delectation, restriction.

Love is an eternal theme of all literature of the world. Let me tell you about love, that silly word you believe is about whether somebody likes you or whether you can put up with somebody... Love is none of that there is nature like it. Not in robins or bison or in the banging tales of your haunting dogs and not in blossoms or suckling foal. Love is divine only and difficult always. If you think it is easy, you are a fool. If you think it is natural, you are blind... love is not a gift. It is a diploma. A diploma conferring certain privileges: the privilege of expressing love and privilege of receiving it (Morrison 141).

These words of Reverend Senior Pulliam may be accepted as the view of Morrison about love. Through her novels, Morrison demonstrated how difficult it is to get this "diploma" as most of her protagonists fail to earn it. The reasons are obvious; love is something to be learned through

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suffering which is not so easy. In *Jazz*, Joe and Violet are ultimately able to learn through suffering how to love in different situations in *Beloved* Paul D is successful in convincing Sethe that in addition to her love and responsibility to her children she should live and enjoy her personal life as well. *Paradise* is the story of a black town Ruby, founded by the racially pure men and women who had full faith in religious and cultural value system and who skirt the town's boundaries threatening to blow the town apart. The town along with other people was basically established by twins Steward and Dick. Establishing a separated township specifically meant for blacks hints at the difficulties the blacks in America had to face in settling down in the north where they were not allowed to enter their villages by the whites when the blacks migrated from the South to the North in search of work and safety. Naturally, one may be tempted to talk about the racial conflict as the focus of the novel but a close scrutiny reveals that gender relationships between people of different races are at the root of all problems. There are, thus, many man-woman relationships in the novel, which play a vital role in the development of the theme.

To begin with, it will be in the fitness of things to see how difficult is to get the “diploma” of love, which is evident in the relationship between Mavis and her husband Frank. Quite surprisingly, Mavis forgets her infants, Merle and Pearl, in her car with the windows closed as she parks it in a market parking where she has gone to buy some edibles. The babies die of suffocation and she is dumb-founded. The journalists come and interview her but she is blank. The only clarification she has is that the mishap happened when she had gone along with both the infants to a nearby market to buy edibles for her husband who has just returned home. What shocks her most, even more than the death of her children, is the attitude of her husband whom she expects to be sad and sorry like her but unfortunately, even the very night when such a tragedy happened he is in a different mood. Shocked, Mavis is lying in her bed and in the mean time Frank joins her. Initially she thinks, as she should, that he had come to show her sympathies but he says nothing but simply starts playing with their daughter. Even during supper he had shown no concern on the mishap. She doubts that he had come for having love with her. When she tries to smell his mood, he pretends that he had no such intentions but suddenly he goes for sex and only after he shows his concern over what has happened. Mavis is amazed how he could even think of love in such an unfortunate situation. She cannot sleep the whole night as the behaviour of her husband Frank is something that she cannot understand. The shock is so deep that she decides to leave her husband and his house for ever and takes refuge in a convent in the outskirts of the Utopian village Ruby. For ten long years she lives in that convent without conjugal relations and is content to live in the same position as she never felt sorry over her decision unless she is illustrated by Gigi when she calls her “dried up husk” for not having sex for ten years(168).

Not only Mavis, but most of the women living at the convent had been betrayed by their male counterparts and they all lived at the convent harmoniously sharing each other's sorrow and love. While Mavis leaves her husband, it is Palas, a girl in sixteen pregnant and in a miserable condition, who is deserted by her lover. Billie Cato, a girl from the village Ruby, is moved by her condition and brings her to the convent. Her lover Carlos loved her when she was a “butterball” but left her at lurch when she was pregnant accusing her of overweight, though she was still very slim. So after choosing her, loving her and sealing her confidence in him he betrayed her when she most needed him in her pregnancy. Conny (Consolata), the senior most and in charge of all women at the convent, helps her resume the normal behaviour and health. Now she is happy at the convent and she thinks that away from Carlos she can find herself:

In fact, as they (Palas and Seneca) climbed the stairs, images of grandmother rocking peacefully, of arms, a lap, a singing voice smoothed her. The whole house felt permeated with a blessed maleness, like a protected domain, free of hunters and exiting too (177).

So both the relationships – between Mavis and Frank, and Palas and Carlos – are unsuccessful. Another relationship, and a very significant one indeed, is between K.D., the nephew of Shoane Morgans and Arnette, the daughter of Arnold Fleetwood. K.D. is the only boy in the family of Morgans. Fleetwoods and Morgans are business rivals so the two families do not have cordial relations, but K.D. does not bother about it and their affair goes on uninterrupted. One day when the two lovers were standing by the roadside and discussing their future plans when Arnette informs him about her pregnancy. The news of her pregnancy results in a feud because when she tells K.D. about her pregnancy and her desire to get rid of it before going to school, he tries to get rid of matter saying that she herself was responsible for putting her in that situation and he had nothing to do with it. “K.D. looked from Arnette's neat shirt waist dress to the bangs across her forehead and then in to her face - sullen nagging accusatory – and slapped it. The change in her expression well worth it.” (54).

Obviously Arnette was not prepared for such callousness from him, so their relationship is almost broken. K.D. is pretty sure that his uncle will ultimately bail him out by negotiating a solution that would not endanger either his position or the economic interests of the Morgan family. Actually K.D. being the only male in the next generation of the family is their hope and despair. His uncles hoping that Arnette may have a male baby, a Morgan grandnephew, want to restore the relations between K.D. and Arnette by negotiating an amicable solution. The Morgans and Fleetwoods come to the points of terms after serious efforts from the Morgans but the marriage between K.D. and Arnette becomes possible only after a long gap of four years because K.D. again upsets the apple cart. Soon after the compromise Arnette goes to the convent to deliver her child with the help of Connie before marriage. It is here that new trouble is waiting for her. In the convent K.D. meets Gigi who has come there like other women. As his nature is, K.D. forgets his commitment and is fascinated by Gigi and tells her every thing about Arnette. So Arnette was again deserted by him. For four long years their romance continues. However, this time it is not K.D. who takes lead in the desertion but becomes victim of it as their love becomes an aching self loathing exercise for Gigi. Following months of risky sweetness she becomes indifferent, bored, and even hateful. “Like sugar turning from delight to the body's mortal enemy, his carving for her had poisoned him, rendered him diabetic, stupid helples (147).

Now that he has learned a lesson from Gigi, he realises what desertion is. His uncle tells him the right line and he decided to marry Arnette so that he can flush Gigi out of his life completely.

Arnette is now very happy. She is free from the bleak sadness that encouraged her as soon as she was home from college. She felt unrelenting suffocation in the house of her parents because the place reminded her all the time of her broken love. Even Morgans are very happy over this development. Thus the relationship between K.D. and Arnette becomes successful ultimately, indeed after a lot of hiccups and a long test of nerves for Arnette and her family members. It is mainly Arnette's patience, her rationality and faith in the power of her own love that her long cherished dream comes true. K.D., who has deserted her repeatedly is short tempered and irresponsible. His unsuccessful doting for Gigi also plays a vital role in his transformation and positive turn of the events.

No doubt, he ultimately marries Arnette but he is a husband who had forgotten all about her when she was away and chased any dress whose wearer was under fifty. He left his future bride pregnant despite the fact that in Ruby any girl who got pregnant could count on marriage, whether the boy was eager or not, if he still had to live in the city near her family and of course in his own as well. The utopian city had a set of norms formed by the people living there and K.D.'s uncle was

instrumental in forming these rules. Ironically, it is their nephew who defies the rules. He left the girl to suffer for four years and consented to wedding only after he had been kicked out of another women's bed.

The best husband and wife relationship can be traced in case of Morgan couples, specially in case of Steward and Dovey. Deek and Steward are twins and their wives Soane and Dovey are sisters. The two couples live in harmony. Steward is a very sensible person and he has accepted his wife totally. Dovey is not a good cook but Steward never complains about it. When Dovey thinks about his losses, she feels that apart from the sale of his herd and his defeat in state-wide church secretaryship etc., the remarkable one is the loss of his sense of taste. His hairline and his taste buds faltered over time. In addition to those small losses they also patiently suffered the greatest loss in 1964, "when he was forty. Fairy's curse came true: they learned neither could ever have children."(82).

Despite these setbacks, their love stands firm as a rock, so does their faith in their cultural roots and values. The numerous loss that Steward and his wife Dovey have suffered are not able to shake their faith in each other. They have no children yet their love continues to grow. Steward cannot live without her as he "did not look forward to any bed without Dovey in it and tried again to think of an argument to keep her staying in town so often." (95). His love for her is so deep that he cannot sleep without her even in this age," Sleep without the fragrance of her hair next to him was impossible."(100).

Like the relationship between steward and Dovey, the relationship between Deek and Soane also appears to be very successful, but it is not really so because Deek, despite of his love for his wife, is not faithful towards her. However, in spite of many difficulties they pull on quite successfully. Deek too is a loving husband like Steward, but he has a clandestine extra marital relationship as well, which breaks the relationship between the two brothers apart from blemishing his otherwise positive marital relationship with Soane. This couple has also patiently borne the worst setback in their marital life like Steward and Dovey – they too are childless. Their case is even more tragic because they had two sons, and both of them they have lost in war. Soane often fondly remembers her sons. Deek often gets out of bed at midnight and goes for hunting; all alone. At such moments Soane is wrapped up in the memories of her sons. She feels lonely not only at present but also from the time when her son Scout was killed two weeks later. Even before Scout's body had been shipped, they were informed that Easter (another son) too was dead, one was nineteen and another twenty one. She was in fact very proud when they were enlisted as soldiers and she always encouraged them to do so because she foolishly thought that the war was safer for blacks than any other place in the United States. She has not come over this tragedy. Her husband, no doubt, is proud and traditional like his brother Steward and seems to have compromised with his fate. Their love, however, keeps on growing. Soane loves the very smell of her husband and they share enumerable moments of mutual trusts, faith, love and togetherness. Soane finds him as young and energetic as at the time of their marriage, "She just looked at his face. Smooth, still handsome after twenty six years and beaming now with satisfaction."(107).

However, Deek is quite uneasy about Soane. He shares her sadness and he himself also feels the loss of the sons precisely and keenly as she does. In fact, he knows more about his sons and their tragic end more than she knows. He has not told her that the graves do not contain their bodies. Most often their bodies flow apart and what has been shipped to them in those boxes was a collection of parts that weighed half of what a nineteen year old would. He simply assured that all the parts in the coffin were black i.e. of a black soldier and not a white. But he has not told Soane anything as it would

have multiplied her sorrow. Deek is worried that the sense of loss still continued haunting her. Surprisingly enough, her behaviour towards her husband is normal and even more caring:

There was nothing in her behaviour he could fault. She was as beautiful as it was possible for a good woman to be, she kept a good home and did good works everywhere. Was, in fact more generous than he would have liked (112).

The most important man woman relationship in the novel is between Deek and Consolata – Connie, the senior - most woman at the convent after the death of Mary Magma – the mother superior. With the history of Consolata, one gets the history of the convent also as it came into existence. Consolata, an orphan girl, was brought up by Mary Magma. For thirty years, Consolata worked hard to become and remain Mary Magma's pride, one of her singular accomplishments in a lifetime of teaching, nurturing and tending. Consolata worshipped her as if she was a goddess. In order to prove worthy of her love and protection she did everything: she slept in pantry, scrubbed tile, fed chickens, prayed, pleaded, gardened, canned and laundered. She learned cooking skills from Sister Roberts and got enough to take over the kitchen and the garden. For thirty years, she offered her body and her soul to God's Son and his Mother as completely as if she had taken the veil – responsibility of the convent – herself.

In 1954, Mary Magma and Consolata saw the group of thirty people about the business of making a town. Young men and boys swung their hats, chased horses and wiped their brimming eyes. First time in her life, Consolata heard the call of love and so her heart defeated her soul. A young man invited Mary Magma and Connie to his house. Connie saw Deek for the first time, "Connie saw his profile and the wing of a feathered thing, undead, fluttered in her stomach." (226) She felt a deep feeling of love for him and became desperate to see him again. When the relationship began he was twenty nine and she thirty nine. But she completely lost control over her senses when he said:

"your eyes look like mint leaves. Is it all right if I disturb you?"... She did not remember saying anything to that, but her face surely told him what he needed to know, because there he was in the night and she was there too and he took her hand in his." (227)

Their attraction increases and they frequently meet clandestinely as he often takes her in his truck during nights. It was during one such meeting that she accompanies him in the truck. In the middle of grassland, he slows down the truck, takes her in his arms and they enter in physical relations. On their way back they are speechless but the desire to meet again increases and they decide to meet each Friday:

She had not seen him during the whole night. But Friday Noon, they would do it in day light. She hugged herself. Sank to her knees and doubled over. Her forehead actually tapping the ground as she rocked in... pleasure. (229)

Every Friday she waits for him as a routine. She very well knows that he is married but the courtship goes on. Once she asks him if his wife or anybody else knew about their relationship and he tells that he has twin and so people get confused and often take him for Steward. Even Connie is once confused and takes Steward for Deek. It is only after she recognises him by smell that she jumps out of the truck in a state of total confusion.

The regularity of their meeting before his twin shows up smothered her hunger to a blunt blade but the irregularity after the episode sharpens the hunger. She is very restless to meet him and now they decide to meet in the cellar room of the convent and she waits eagerly for him but instead of Deek

there comes Soane, his wife. Consolata's fear came true, Soane has known about their illegitimate relationship. Soane does not create any scene but she simply meets Consolata and expresses her desire to abort her third child as a sacrifice of her husband's evil relationship with Consolata.

The romance stretches to the breaking point as commonsense prevails. Consolata's soul dominates her heart and she simply bends her knees and prays to God. Mary Magma comes and putting her arm around her shoulders to console her at her confession and advises her never to speak of him again. The relationship is broken but her bond with Soane proves stronger year after year. The two women instead of having an animosity for each other become friends and this relationship is further strengthened as Consolata is believed to have saved the life of K.D.

To conclude it can be said that in *Paradise* presents various kinds of man woman relationships apart from the numerous unsuccessful relationships that the convent inmates had with their male counterparts.

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Was Mahatma Gandhi a Racist?

Vijay Chauhan

Abstract

The world has witnessed the menace of racialism in many nations in the form of Nazism in Germany, eugenics in Japan, racial segregation in the United States of America, anti-Chinese legislative initiatives in Indonesia and apartheid in South Africa in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Problem of racial differentiation and segregation affected various regions of the world in the beginning of twenty-first century. On December 2018, after complaints from students about Indian freedom fighter Mahatma Gandhi being a racist against Black Africans, Ghana's most prestigious University has removed a statue of the leader. This incident forced research scholars to ask this question afresh 'Was Mahatma Gandhi a racist? This research paper is a modest attempt to explore Mahatma Gandhi's approach towards Black Africans. This paper also tries to explore Gandhi's view on race and racism.

The evolution of Gandhi's views on race finds expression in a fascinating speech delivered by Gandhi at the Johannesburg YMCA in May 1908. He was participating in a debate on the topic: "Are Asiatics and the Coloured races a menace to the Empire?" Gandhi may have been the only non-white present; he was certainly the only non-white speaker. Opposing the motion, he pointed out that the labour of Africans and Asians had made the Empire what it was. "Who can think of the British Empire without India?" he asked, adding: "South Africa would probably be a howling wilderness without the Africans." He went on to insist that it was "the mission of the English race, even when there are subject races, to raise them to equality with themselves, to give them absolutely free institutions and make them absolutely free men".¹ So by 1908, Gandhi was clear that Africans as well as Indians needed to be placed on an absolutely equal footing with Europeans. In another speech made in Germiston the next year, he said that if the Africans took to non-violent resistance against racial discrimination, "there would probably be no native question left to be solved". In 1910 he remarked: "The negroes alone are the original inhabitants of this land... The whites, on the other hand, have occupied the land forcibly and appropriated it to themselves."

Mahatam Gandhi not only understood the problem of racial discrimination and intolerance for racial heterogeneity in the world, but also challenged the atrocities based on racial segregation during his stay in South Africa. Hence, he wanted to eliminate racialism, segregation and discrimination to make the society free and equal for every human being, irrespective of their color, creed or race. In South Africa, Blacks had to face the abnormal and unsocial behaviour by the white people. Gandhi himself witnessed such social exploitation and atrocities during his stay in South Africa. Describing the white man's burden theory as imperialistic, he opined that "the real white man's burden" is not impertinently to dominate colored or black people under the guise of protection² and ensuring development or emancipation. He further added that "There is no mystery about whiteness

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of the skin. It has repeatedly been proved that, given equal opportunity, a man, be he of any colour or country, is fully equal to any other."³ Gandhi was of firm belief that do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. He emphasized over the need to oppose discriminative policy of the white government, he highlighted the great role of coloured people in the development of human beings and slammed as "do they forget that the greatest of the teachers of mankind were all Asiatics and did not possess a white face? These, if they descended on earth and went to South Africa, will all have to live in the segregated areas and be classed as Asiatics and coloured people unfit by law to be the equals of whites."⁴

While opposing the discriminative policy of the white government of South Africa, Gandhi warned that the South Africa's white man's burden policy "holds the seeds of a world war."⁵ He questioned the supremacy of breed, race and civilization claimed by the white people as "worth the name, which requires for its existence the very doubtful prop of racial legislation and lynch law."⁶ Gandhi vehemently condemned the white government as it requires "the erection of legal barriers in order to protect itself against Asiatics and Africans."⁷ Gandhi considered man equal, irrespective of their color or race. In his views, "Life is one indivisible whole."⁸ His views drew no distinction between different races as he always believed in the idea that "man is a man."⁹ Gandhi led the *satyagraha* of Indians against the atrocities and discrimination by the white government from 1893 to 1914 and became a source of strength for the black people throughout the world. Following his method of *satyagraha* or "passive resistance" (method as once described by Gandhi himself), many African nations got independence. Following his precepts, Martin Luther King successfully campaigned against the racial discrimination in the United States of America and ultimately Americans got rid of the social evil of racial inequality. After opening a new gate for racial unity in South Africa Gandhi returned back to his land in 1915 and faced a different kind of challenge in the form of caste and religious discrimination.

Gandhi's views on race continued to evolve in a progressive direction. In his book *Satyagraha in South Africa*, published in the 1920s, Gandhi offered a spirited defence of African religion. In disputing the claims of European missionaries, Gandhi wrote that Africans had "a perfect grasp of the distinction between truth and falsehood". He thought they practised truthfulness to a far greater extent than either Europeans or Indians.

Gandhi's *satyagrahas* of the 1920s and 1930s were widely reported in the African-American press. Reading these reports, a resident of Chicago named Arthur Sewell wrote to Gandhi that the blacks were "keenly and sympathetically" following his movement. Sewell said his people deeply "sympathized and suffered" with India and Indians, "for here, in America, they [the white racists] not only rob us of our possessions and hurdle us into the prisons unjustly, but they mob, lynch and burn us up with fire..." The struggle against British colonialism in India, thought Sewell, anticipated "the independence of all the dark peoples of the world". "May God Bless you," this African-American told Gandhi, "and enable you to carry on the great battle for righteous adjustment until you win a glorious victory for the common cause of the lowly; that is the prayer of fourteen millions of Negroes of America."¹⁰

His entire political career in India after his return from South Africa concentrated on the cultural/ religious rights of minorities and Untouchables. In South Africa Gandhi realized that the Hindu-Muslim Unity was essential for any movement for rights in India. He cited that South African Indians is an example of communal unity for India. Gandhi identified "four pillars on which the structure of *Swaraj* would ever rest" in India: the unbreakable alliance between Hindus and Muslims,

wiping out untouchability, accepting non-violence and promotion of spinning of khadi. He focused on transformation of India into a nation composed of different cultural/religious communities, primarily Hindus and Muslims, respecting each other. Gandhi devoted himself to bringing about the two races (Hindu and the Muslims) into harmonious coloration without advocating or desiring an impossible fusion between the two peoples, he tried to unite them in friendship.¹¹

Bikhu Parekh, a Gandhian scholar, not considered Gandhi as a racist. In his writings, he has mentioned him as an 'example of intercultural experimentation'. By developing a common sense of belonging, and through reconciliation of political unity and cultural diversity, a multicultural society can be built together. For integration at the cultural and political levels, he recommended the dialogic path with slightly different emphases. At the cultural level, he recommended strengthening of the civil society within its cross-cutting relationship, accepting multiple identities within the overarching national identity and achieving a dialogical consensus through constant conversation. At the political level, he suggested the attainment of a consensual set of constitutional, legal and civic values, which he labelled 'operative public values'. This would require a shared life across communities while as well as extending the individual autonomy by leaving personal life to each member.

Gandhi evolved his political praxis around dialogue. He would never allow critical events, deeply disturbing communal relations (for example, the assassination of Swami Shraddananda by a fanatic Muslim or the Kohat riots) to close the door to talk. On Swami Shraddananda's tragic death, he warned the Hindus that they must not "ascribe the crime of an individual to a whole community" and 'Harbor the spirit of relations.'¹² He knew that lack of trust was the biggest problem for the dialogic process to operate and did everything to generate and nurture mutual trust. Being a pragmatic idealist, he did not rule out the possibility of a felt wrong done by either community. But he said, the conception of Hindu-Muslim unity did not presuppose a total absence for all time, of wrong done by any of communities. On the contrary, it assumed that our loyalty to the unity would survive shocks that in every such case we should not blame the whole body of the followers but seek relief against individual by way of arbitration and not by reprisal.

That is to say, the community and its individual members were not co-extensive. Whether doing right or wrong, the individual member of a community has the right to go his/her own way. Yet how a community would manage its internal affairs and shall regulate the conduct of its members is largely a matter for the community to decide, not for the majority community to intervene and settle. Gandhi advised individual untouchables to change their way to make themselves more acceptable to the caste Hindus. Gandhi also claimed himself to be one of untouchables. However, with regard to Muslims, Gandhi's stance was altogether different. He claimed to know the Hindu mind because the "Hindu mind is myself ...every fiber of my being is Hindu", but he could not claim the same for the Muslims. For working among the Muslims, he needed Muslim friends, such as Ali brothers. Regarding the personal conduct of the individual Muslims, he always suggested them to abjure violence and urged them to apply their individual reasoning to judge what in fact was true religion." But at the same time, he opined that, it was not wrong if the majority community expect the minority community to deliberate and voluntarily accept communal harmony as a condition for peacefully living together. Hence, Gandhi advocated the cause of cow protection but never imposed it on the Muslims and advised them to accept voluntary on ground of mutual love. He remarked: "The majority must be patient: the surest way of defeating our (cow protection) is to rush Mussalmans. I do not know that Mussalman honour has ever been found wanting for it to react upon the Mussalman masses. The Hindus must therefore be patient".¹³

Gandhi believed in the role of the leaders in promoting inter-communal understanding. He firmly believed that if good leaders were strongly committed to communal harmony, their efforts must permeate the masses. He said, "As members of a family, we shall sometime fight, but we shall have leaders who will compose our difference and keep us under check." Leaders were supposed to act as agent of their respective communities and speak for their communities. The intercultural dialogue demands the presence of leaders, because the whole communities cannot enter into dialogue with other communities. But Gandhi realized within a few years that there could be real difficulties on the ground. Leaders representing a community might not speak different language as every community is internally heterogeneous and polyvocal. Leaders might deceive, followers might defect, and these leaders might also become prisoners of their own followers. In such a situation, dialogue might be prolonged and fruitless; promises made might turn out to be useless, forcing one to appeal to the reasonableness of the masses over the supposed charisma of the leaders. Therefore Gandhi had to relocate his hopes: "Fortunately, Hindu-Muslim unity does not depend upon religious or political leaders. It rests upon the enlightened selfishness of the masses of both the communities. They cannot mislead everyone for all the times. But did not take him long to find out that there was no easily available multiculturalist tune to which the masses could dance and be enlightened".¹⁴

Gandhi's approach to racial equality originated from his own ethical concerns. He had fought the doctrine of superiority in South Africa and was also against the *brahmanas in India* who claimed themselves as the superior caste by reason of their birth. He stated: "I consider that it is unmanly for any person to claim superiority over a fellow-being." However, Gandhi supported some aspects of the *varna-ashrama* system of India which he termed as the *idealistic varnasharam*. He further explained: "Whilst I have said that all men and women are born equal, I do not wish therefore to suggest that qualities are not inherited; but on the contrary, I believe that just as everyone inherits a particular form so does he inherit the particular characteristics and qualities of his progenitors, and to make this admission is to conserve one's energy. [...] It is this doctrine of *Varnashrama Dharma*, which I have always accepted".

Gandhi realized that an idealistic *varna* system would help human beings to strike a balance between one's energy and one's material ambitions and to have the liberty to pursue one's spiritual evolution. He regarded, caste a *hereditary traditional* aspect of one's life. He understood the distortion of the original meaning of caste system as the wrong assumption of associating different degrees of dignity according to the differences of castes. Gandhi discouraged the use of the term *caste* since he associated it with the wrong way of practising *varna ashrama dharma*. Rather he saw a *constructive* meaning in *varna* system for our society. This certainly created problem for the so called leaders of national movement. It is pertinent to mention that Gandhi was criticized by Ambedkar, who championed the greatest cause of outcastes and *untouchables*.

Gandhi accepted with open heart that the *Bhagavad-Gita* was the source of his understanding of *varnas*. Unlike *Manusmriti* in the *Gita* one gets the principle of *varna*. Though the *Gita*, speaks of a relationship among *varna*, *guna* and *karma*, yet, according to Gandhi, all those aspects are associated with one's birth. Superiority in the hierarchy of *varnas* refers to the capacity for superior service, but certainly not superior status. Gandhi considered people of all *varnas* as equal, and he adopted an inclusive approach to inter-caste endeavours. He supported *varna dharma* where the duty of each *varna* by birth was emphasized. It is important to mention that each *dharma* is equal by being a *dharma*. Gandhi supported dignity of labour and treated all professions as equal in dignity. This led him to accept the basic idea of the *varna* system. However, he was always opposed to

discrimination against the “Untouchables” whom he called “*Harijans*.” Gandhi's effort to resolve the problem of the *Harijans* by combining them into the Hindu *varna* system invited more severe criticism, than most things he did. It is important to mention that Gandhi himself was considered as an outcaste on account of his education and experiences in London. He confessed, “I never had an occasion to be troubled by the caste; nay, I have experienced nothing but affection and generosity from the general body of the section that still regards me as ex-communicated.”¹⁵ If *casteism* was one of the deeply rooted aspects of India, the second aspect definitely is communalism. Gandhi found it as one of the serious problems in uniting the people of India. Communalism generally refers to “strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group rather than to society as a whole.” In the Indian subcontinent, it has taken on a very bigger meaning, namely the one that pertains to religion. India being a multi-religious society (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Islam, Parsies, Judaism and Christianity), communalism involves an attitude centered on communal/ethnic groups defined by religious affinities. This engagement was not *spiritual* one but a *political* one. Gandhi understood that Muslims in Indian had been vexed, since Gandhi's efforts to unify them as part of India gave him the greatest trouble for the longest time and ultimately ended up with a negative result as evidenced by the partition of Pakistan from India Gandhi stated that his engagement with communal groups in 1891, he associated with Abdullah Shekh who had large Muslim followers in South Africa. Gandhi's ashram incorporated Muslims and he engaged in genuine dialogues with Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was the most important leader of Muslims in those days. Gandhi admitted that his South African experiences had made him realize that the issue of Hindu/Muslim unity would put *ahimsa* (non-violence) to its logical test in his non-violent movement for freedom in India. He advocated, harmonizing the Muslim minority with the Hindu majority. Nevertheless, the task of complete unity of the different communal groups in Indian society still remains as an unfinished agenda. Gandhian Ashrams were glaring examples of inter-racial respect and recognition where people of different religions, castes, races and communal affinities lived together, dined together, and prayed together. These common prayers were not based primarily on acts of worship, but rather on an evangelical model of the coming together of multi-faith individuals to unite themselves for political action by way of *satyagraha*.¹⁶

Conclusion

Gandhi's political pedagogy was to show humanity that it is possible to bring people together across the differences of race, caste and creed. Such concepts like *swaraj*, *swadeshi* and *satyagraha* can never be attained if the society is not founded on self-respect and respect for all different communities, language groups, regions, and religions. The greatness of a civilization and its people can be traced from their multicultural co-existence. John Stuart Mill also emphasized this 'ability to contain diversity' as a sign of a civilized community.¹⁷ Gandhi was against any sort of provincialism that impeded the national unity. He was a firm believer in the ability of human beings to co-exist and live in harmony. Though, Gandhi was challenged and in many respects by the ethno-racial, linguistic, religious, regional, and economic diversity, yet he supported the promotion of diversity. He advocated pluralism with utmost tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights. Speaking on the occasion of the centenary of “*Satyagraha*” Desmond Tutu confirmed Gandhian live of thinking, asking, “When will we ever learn that the most effective way of dealing with differences, with conflict, with disagreement is not through force, not by annihilating the others? But it is through forgiveness, through negotiation, through compromise, through trying to see the point of view of the other, recognizing and respecting the essential, irreducible human spirit which is common to us all.”¹⁸

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