LIBERAL STUDIES

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PDPU has launched School of Liberal Studies which currently offers degree programs in UG, PG and Ph.D. that equips a student to develop an array of intellectual skills, a variety of methodologies and ways of understanding our changing world, and a broad base of varied knowledge. In turn, such a Liberal Education establishes an invaluable foundation for more specialized study in one's major or in one of the professions, and for a life-long affinity for learning and continuing intellectual development.

The course imparts classical education in various fields like art, literature, languages, music, dramatics, philosophy, politics, history, law, mathematics, science, business, commerce, communication and general studies. It emphasizes on the need to seek knowledge for promoting intellectual growth, creative expression and rational thought.

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THE RISE OF 'THE OTHER': BEYOND GENDER STEREOTYPE

Concept Note

Earlier this year, a lesbian couple jumped to their death. In their notes left behind, they are reported to have written: "We have left this world to live with each other. The world did not allow us to stay together." In September 2018, the Supreme Court of India gave a verdict ruling that scection 377 is unconstitutional essentially legalising homosexuality in India. The judgment makes it possible that people may no longer see fear in the future, but hope.

There are no official demographics for the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) population in India, but reports from 2012 suggest the government pegged that around 2.5 million people in India were homosexual. These figures are only based on individuals who have spoken about belonging to the community to the Ministry of Health. The actual statistics may be vastly different since many have so far feared discrimination and social stigma.

Rajshree

"Section 377 rests on deep-rooted gender stereotypes," Justice DY Chandrachud said, adding that Bennett Capers' binary gender system was based on 'hetero-sexism' defined as the 'institutionalised valorization. The Supreme Court, while partially striking down Section 377 of the IPC, has said that the law was based on gender stereotypes that reinforce sexism and hence the effort to end discrimination against homosexuals should be seen as a part of the effort to end inequality of the sexes. "The sexual orientation of an individual is natural and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is a violation of freedom of expression. The LGBT Community has the same rights as any ordinary citizen. Criminalizing gay sex is irrational and indefensible. The provision of IPC had resulted in collateral effect in that consensual sex between LGBTQ people is criminalized and is violative of Article 14."

"The Supreme Court's decision to decriminalize homosexual behavior is the first step towards providing equal status and rights to the LGBT community in India. It further opens doors for the community to claim their right to marry, adopt and have a family. As the judgment only dealt with the criminalisation aspect of Section 377, it can be expected that the laws on same-sex marriage, adoption and inheritance of LGBT community may soon follow," says Rohan Mahajan, founder of LawRato.com.

The LGBTQ can chant slogans calling for *azaadi* (freedom) as much as they want, but we wonder whether it will make even a dent on the discrimination, oppression and humiliation based on socio-economic conditions, caste, creed or faith. Will it ameliorate the cries of pain of those of the community who haven't been able to keep pace, who have been left behind? We could change the law, will we be able to change the society? Remember, the LGBT movement talks of a tomorrow free from all forms of collective oppression and kindles the dream of an equal society. How much will the court's judgment help in realising that dream?

In essence, the passage of this verdict decriminalises homosexuality and rules that consensual adult gay sex is not a crime. The lives of the LGBTQ community may drastically change in a variety of ways. The expert speak section aims to look into the psycho-socio-economic implications that the LGBT community may face with respect to Article 377.

Liberal Studies journal invited three eminent experts in this domain to ponder over the multifarious gender-related issues confronted by women in the contemporary times. **Gopa Bhardwaj** examines the denial and negative policing of same-sex intimacy in our society from socio-religious-legal perspective. She rightly identifies the dearth of mental health intervention to deal with

homosexuality along with legal and social awareness. **Shachi Patel,** while pointing to the brighter side, thinks that today's era, as some people have started identifying themselves as neither gender, or both (neither 'he', nor 'she' but 'they' or 'ze') is the dawn of a new era which can be marked as the era rise of 'the other'. She analyzes how India has taken the first step towards becoming socially liberal; but it must take the next step to legalize all issues involved. On the other hand, as an extension of this debate, social activist **Harsh Kinger** who has devoted several years for the uplift of *Adivasi* community, observes both, at macro and micro level, how the Adivasi women, who have been central in the local economy as food producers and knowledge-bearers, are being marginalized with the introduction of modern agriculture and forestry. Interestingly, their plights do not find any space in the contemporary feminist movements in India.

Denial and Negative Policing of Same-Sex Intimacy and Existence

Gopa Bhardwaj[*]

Denial of Sexual Diversity

Framing of same-sex intimacy as a perversion that flies in the face of religious morality still features prominently within contemporary homophobic discourse which reinforces the fear and prejudice that encourages homophobia and the victimisation of (Muholi, Zanele, 2009) *homophobia is not only publicly approved by society, but relies on unsubstantiated claims of a superficial and*
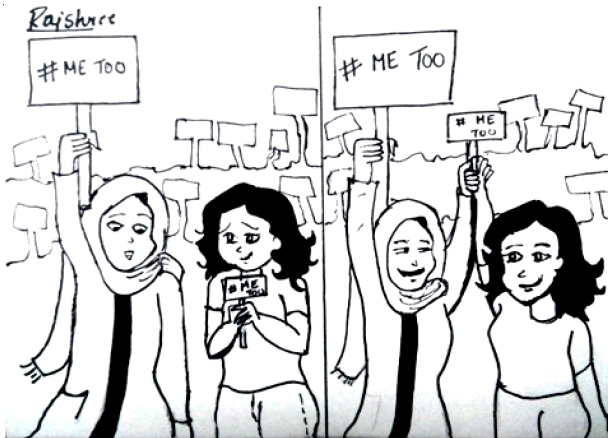
negatively imposed homosexual identity, contradictory ideas on morality, and the use of outdated laws. (Thabo Msiibi, 2014 a, b) This is the façade that conceals neo-conservatism and a resurgence of patriarchy, coated in the constructs of religion, nationalism, and law and emphasizes the rhetoric that

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promotes patriarchal conceptions of masculinity and enhances the conservative attitudes toward sexuality. This reinforces homophobic attitudes, encouraging the policing and oppression of already marginalised sexual identities that have traditionally been shrouded in secrecy.

There have been two different ways of dealing with homosexuality. The traditional approach finds ways of accommodating it and not talking about it, and there is the modern, 'Western' way, which searches for homosexuals – a public 'gay' identity. The strident assertion that heterosexuality is a natural norm often arises at moments of profound social, political and economic transformation. (Katz 1995; Rubin 2011) Labelling of same-sex intimacy as a perversion that is encouraged under the guise of religious morality still dominates within contemporary homophobic discourse. This assumption also creates a divide in the society and marginalizes the non-heterosexual. Society needs to not only understand the dynamics that prevail upon the lives of the LGTB but there also arises a need to change the attitude, emotions, thinking and behaviour of the decision makers along with the common person on the street.

One of the pioneer founders of the scientific study of sex, Magnus Hirschfeld, (1868-1935) a leading light in the field, conducted pioneering objective examinations of homosexuality, transvestism, and gender identity. His project was designed to provide a unified, comprehensive description of homosexuality, which, while ridding heterosexuals of gay prejudice also prompted homosexuals to confront their isolation and accept themselves. Magnus Hirschfeld was a German physician and sexologist and an outspoken advocate for sexual minorities. He founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, which was defined by Historian Dustin Goltz, as the first advocacy group for homosexual and transgender rights. (From Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia) His 1914 book '*Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*' (The Homosexuality of Men & Women) was a pioneering attempt to comprehensively survey homosexuality around the globe, in an effort to prove that homosexuality occurred in every culture. *(*Bauer, 2017).

The present paper analyses the state of sexual minorities, who are usually identified with reference to two distinct and complex characteristics: *sexual orientation* and *gender identity*. *Sexual orientation* is generally defined further as having at least three dimensions: *sexual self-identification, sexual behaviour, and sexual attraction or fantasy.* (Saewyc et al., 2004; Sell, 1997) *Gender identity* refers to a person's internal sense of being masculine, feminine, or androgynous. In place of being a binary concept, gender identity includes gradations of masculinity to femininity and maleness to femaleness, as well as identification

as neither essentially male nor female. (Fausto-Sterling, 2000) Before the 1970s, scholars largely believed that sexual orientations, particularly homosexuality, were inherent dispositions that entail universal categories. The Gay/lesbian subculture began to bloom throughout the 1970s, and this movement saw the beginning of a new era and a general orientation toward identity-building and cultural change.

Foucault's writings on sexuality (e.g., 1978; 1990) greatly influenced scholars in the 1980s and 1990s to defend group identities, including homosexuality, as socially constructed phenomena. (e.g., Bersani, 1995; Butler, 1990; Halperin, 1990; Rubin, 1984) As Berg-Sørensen, Holtug, and Lippert-Rasmussen (2010) stated "It has become common to distinguish between essentialist and constructivist understandings of group identities, such as gender, race, and culture." However, this discursive space is full of problems in the social sciences, and so is the case for homosexuality, as there is also the controversial question of whether homosexuality is innate or socially constructed. Some scholars in the West, such as Ball (2001) and Halwani (1998), defended homosexuality from an essentialist approach.

However, Kugle and Hunt (2012) maintained that gender and sexuality studies in the West have been dominated by the 'queer theory' which builds on both, feminist challenges to the idea that gender is a part of the essential self and emphasizes on close examination of the socially constructed nature of sexual acts and identities. On the other hand, gay/lesbian studies from the essentialist view points, inquired into natural and unnatural behaviour with respect to homosexual behaviour. Queer theory under the influence of post-modernism; expands its focus to encompass any kind of sexual activity or identity that falls into normative and deviant categories and considers all group identities as socially constructed. (Alipour 2017).

Researchers, over the years, have tended to define sexual orientation by either, *sexual orientation* or/and *gender identity*. The criterion is either self-identification as gay/lesbian, bisexual or heterosexual, or the gender of one's sexual partners (same sex, both same and opposite sex, or opposite sex), Transgender has been used as an umbrella term to describe people with gender identities, expressions or behaviours which differ from their biological sex at birth. (Feinberg, 1992; Kirk & Kulkarni, 2006) Although the term 'transgender' is commonly used and often synonymously with transsexual, the latter is more generally used as a sub-set of transgender individuals who undergo gender reassignment surgery and/or hormone treatment to align physical sex and gender identity.

In the present era terms such as "gender queer" are often used by younger transgender people, as well as those people, who do not identify as transgender, to describe a wide range of gender identifications, behaviours and expressions different from being exclusively male or female. (Nestle, Howell &Wilchins, 2002) As with sexual orientation, gender identity is not an entirely fixed characteristic, and many transgender people move fluidly between identities over time, often without any specific labels. (Whittle, Turner, & Al-Alami, 2007) Sexual orientation varies among transgender individuals, just as it does among people who perceive their gender identity to be aligned with their biological sex. However, no definite conclusion can be drawn as there is a dearth of research and authentic data in this field.

The Problems

Social stigma, prejudice and discrimination has been associated with minority sexual orientation, (Cochran, Mays& Sullivan, 2003; de Graaf at al., 2006; King et al., 2008; Mays & Cochran, 2001; McCabe, Bostwick, Hughes, West, & Boyd, 2010) that LGBT people suffer from discrimination across their lifespan, in the form of personal rejection, hostility, harassment, bullying, and physical violence. (D'Augelli, Grossman, Salter, et al., 2005; D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 2001; Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, and Sanchez, 2009) *Institutional discrimination* occurs due to legal bases and public policies that create inequities or fail to provide requisite protection against the sexual orientation-based discrimination.

The nuances of socialization among the intersexual, cry out for more sophisticated analysis vision of sexual multiplicity to be realized. The first openly intersexual children and their parents will have to be brave pioneers who will bear the brunt of society's growing pains. The future, though, it could take generations to achieve – the prize, as such, might be a society in which sexuality is multidimensional and exists in multiple domains and something to be celebrated for its subtleties; and not something to be feared or ridiculed. No doubt, the most troublesome arena by far would be the rearing of such children. Parents, at least since the Victorian era, have fretted, sometimes to the point of outright denial, over the fact that their children are sexual beings and have existential value.

The prevailing binary system of physical and psychological existence cannot and should not continue. Today's society cannot just continue with the assumption that there are only two types of normal body and two types of sex. There is not only a need to give a voice to intersex people and how they experience intersexuality, but also to highlight how various social and legal

structures have provided services in a way that exclude such people and deny their existential reality. Society approves the control of intersexual bodies because they blur and bridge the great divide. Moreover, there seems to be a cultural requirement to maintain this clear distinction between the sexes to justify the denial of justice to those who do not fall within the binary classification. Culture in most of the world is deeply entrenched in the idea that there are only two sexes, even language refuses other possibilities.

Analysing the Greek origin of the word *hermaphrodite,* we find that it originates from the Greek name Hermes, variously known as the messenger of the gods, the patron of music, the controller of dreams or the protector of livestock, and Aphrodite, the goddess of sexual love and beauty. According to Greek mythology, those two gods parented 'Hermaphroditus', who at age fifteen became half male and half female, when his body fused with the body of a nymph he fell in love with. In some true hermaphrodites, the testis and the ovary grow separately but bilaterally, in others they grow together within the same organ, forming an ovo-testis. Not infrequently, at least one of the gonads functions quite well, producing either sperm cells or eggs, as well as functional levels of the sex hormones – androgens or oestrogens. Although in theory, it might be possible for a true hermaphrodite to become both father and mother to a child, in practice the appropriate ducts and tubes are not configured, so that the egg and the sperm can actually meet. But if the state and the legal system have an interest in maintaining a two-party sexual system, they are defying nature. For, biologically speaking, there are many gradations running from female to male; and depending on how one calls the shots, one can argue that along that spectrum lie at least five sexes—and perhaps even more. (Fausto-Sterling, 2000).

The Netherlands is one of the first countries to implement a public policy on homosexuality to promote and legalize the social acceptance of gays/lesbians. Government has taken several measures like strengthening the gay/lesbian movement; protecting gay/lesbian rights and interests in international relations. The Government promotes research, registration, and heavily prosecute anti-gay/lesbian violence and verbal discrimination. They allow foreign partners to be entitled to a residence permit; include homosexuality in sexual education; promote gay/lesbian studies at the university level; make inheritance possible for non-married couples; include gay/lesbian themes in state-sponsored media; and fight heterosexism. (Davidson, 2018).

Feminist post-structuralist theory has analysed how power works by not only forcing people 'into particular ways of being', but by making those ways

'desirable' so that people adopt them as their own. (Davies & Gannon, 2005, p. 318) We are all on a gender continuum and there exists a societal pressure to be 'either male or female', particularly reinforced during childhood, which can be labelled as 'a patriarchal sovereignty' established through 'violence and transgression, voyeurism, pleasure, and pride.' The 'heterosexual men' assume the role of the rightful bearers of authority over others. Regarding the gender system, many people only acknowledge the categories of male and female, which further make it difficult for them to understand gender fluidity.

The Indian epic Mahabharata mentions the character of 'Shikhandi' as a transgender person; however, this state has been rationalized with a purpose, i.e. a vendetta arising from refusal in love and marriage in an earlier birth of the woman 'Amba'. This refusal, in turn, was due to the action taken by 'Bhishma Pitamah' who abducted her with her sisters for an alliance of marriage to his younger brother and thus polluting her existential value. There is not much opinion expressed in the Hindu religion about LGBT. In the Mahabharata only, we come to know about 'Chitrangada', a princess from Manipur who was a girl, but was brought up as a boy, and married Arjuna and had a son by him. Again, this behaviour takes on a shade of pseudo-rationalism, that if the king had an only daughter, then she had to be brought up as a son. The entire discourse focuses on administrative strategies and pays little attention to the female existence and associated characteristics. The literature by some feminist authors has depicted homosexuality in short stories like 'Lihaaf' (Ismat Chutai) but they were not appreciated in the public domain. There is a permanent façade of secrecy and fear on such types of writings. On the positive side, the notion of 'Shiva' as 'Ardha Narishwar' depicts the equal depiction of the male and the female existence. However, the portrayal of 'Parvati' – 'Shiva's wife on the left side indicates both the power as well as emotions, since the heart, also on the left side of the body is predominantly linked to emotions, which may carry a sense of weakness and vulnerability.

A View from Islamic Perspective

Muslim revisionist scholars who study sexual diversity in Islam, in particular homosexuality, have used an essentialist epistemology to explain a more tolerant approach towards Islam and same-sex desires and acts, claiming that the Western "academic debate has moved far away from the practical concerns of activists, legal experts, and religious leaders." (Kugle & Hunt, 2012, p. 261) Although one cannot ignore the political, cultural, and social context that influenced these scholars to choose an essentialist approach to same-sex desires and acts, (and, in their words, homosexuality) however, the driving force is more of a

theological-ethical reasoning from 'Quranic verses', such as 49:13, 42: 8, 11: 118–119, 30: 22. According to modern commentators of the 'Qur'an', (El Fadl, 2002) these verses show that the diversity among human beings is a part and parcel of the world that God created. Relying on this interpretation, scholars, such as' Kugle', have argued that since the 'Qur'an' accepts diversity as part of God's creative will, therefore, if same-sex desires and acts are part of that diversity, they are, indeed, accepted by the 'Qur'an'.

According to 'Alipour', (2017) *essentialism*, however, has different meanings for different scholars. (Phillips, 2010) For Muslim scholars, an essentialist approach to homosexuality leads to interpretation ranging from "God's creation" to "biological variation" and "early childhood experiences". (Kugle, 2010, p. 2) The common point that all these three categories share in common is that homosexuality does not occur through rational choice. Muslim scholars who defend same-sex desires and acts from an essentialist approach limit their argument to homosexuality and do not include other manifestations of same-sex sexuality, such as bisexuality. They, therefore assume that bisexuality does not fall under the diversity that the 'Qur'an' talks about. For instance, 'Kugle claimed bisexuality seems to be an excluded feature from the "Qur'an-based argument" because the 'Qur'an' does not observe it as a part of a diverse creation and/or an innate disposition. (Kugle, 2010, p. 10).

However, it is again not explained why bisexuality is not a part of God's creation. Moreover, scientific research (Diamond, 1998; Rosenthal, Sylva, Safron, & Bailey, 2011) leans toward the conclusion that bisexuality is related largely to genetic inheritance or early childhood experiences. Therefore, it can be concluded that if the strategy of "just created that way" or essentialism work in the Islamic context at all, it can be applied to bisexuality as well and relate to diversity too. 'Alipour' (2017), however, puts an argument against an essentialist approach, citing that the essentialist approach is based on a three pronged view of homosexuality: lifestyle, desire, and act or practice. Therefore, it becomes imperative to explain to what extent homosexuality is God's creation, which the essentialist scholars have failed to pay any attention to.

Psychological Problems and Issues

Legal restrictions on same-sex relationships, hate crimes against gays and lesbians, bullying of gay teens, and familial and social rejection of homosexuals are examples of heterosexism that denigrate and devalue non-heterosexual forms of identities, behaviours, relationships, and communities. This is also known as Internalized *homonegativity* (IH) which refers to the process, whereby lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) persons themselves internalize societal messages toward

gender and sex—often unconsciously—as part of their self-image (Meyer, 1995). *Herek* (2000) argued that this incorporation can result in negative feelings toward oneself when a person recognizes his or her own homosexuality or bisexuality. The negative internalized beliefs generate a psychological dilemma between romantic desires and negative beliefs about the self; the disjuncture raises the feelings of guilt and shame, low self-esteem, and other emotional difficulties (Herek, 2007; Malyon, 1982; Meyer & Dean, 1998; Shidlo, 1994; Weinberg, 1973).

Herek (1994, 1995, 2004) however, has criticized conceptualizations of IH that are focused too narrowly on fear and avoidance of LGBT persons and enforced by a clinical language that discriminates, pathologizes and stigmatizes particular identities and attitudes. *Herek* (2004) is of the opinion that research has failed to detect fear and anxiety responses when heterosexuals view photographs of men having sex with men. Instead, disgust and anger appear to be central to heterosexual people's negative responses and attitudes to LGBT persons. It is important to recognize, as Hudson and Ricketts (1980), Mayfield (2001) and Szymanski and Carr (2008) have emphasized that internalized *homonegativity* (IH) is affected by wider societal factors and is not simply a product of personal, subjective, and "irrational" fears. Russell and Bohan (2006) and Herek (2007) have emphasized that IH is not an inherent personal response from individuals but a product of social and political stigma and bias.

Rigmor, Heather, Munthe-Kaas and Michael W. Ross (2016) found that there is a growing empirical support for a relationship between experiencing IH (internalized homophobia) and higher levels of psychological distress, with the minority stress model serving as a useful framework for explaining such effects, as well as negative mental health, through lower self-esteem and perception of a reduced availability of social support. Primary and secondary research is needed to elucidate these connections.

An added issue along with LGBT is the notion of being asexual. (Gupta 2017) 'Asexual' refers to the stigmatization or invisibility of non-sexuality. We need to understand this issue also, because the relationship between contemporary asexual lives and compulsory sexuality, or the 'privileging' of sexuality and the 'marginalizing' of non-sexuality has been ignored in societal life and very little attention has been paid to the existence and trauma of being asexual and forced to live a traumatic life in order to be "normal". According to Gupta, asexuality refers to de-emphasizing the importance of sexuality in human life; developing new types of nonsexual relationships; constituting asexuality as a sexual orientation or identity; and engaging in community building and

outreach. Gupta (2017) argues that some of these practices offer only a limited disruption of compulsory sexuality, but some of these practices pose a radical challenge to sexual norms by calling into question the widespread assumption that sexuality is a necessary part of human flourish, emphasizing the concept of compulsory sexuality.

Another proclaimed malady in this context is *GID (Gender Identity Disorder)*. GID is dependent on two components: *first,* in adults, strong and persistent cross-gender identification; and in children, various behaviours like the insistence that they are the opposite sex, a preference for cross-dressing, and a preference for playmates of the opposite sex. The *second* component involves persistent discomfort with his or her sex or a sense of inappropriateness in the gender role of that sex. Various studies have tried to document the prevalence of the disorder, but there is no consensus on this issue. (Bakker, van Kesteren, Gooren, & Bezemer, 1993; De Cuypere et al., 2007; Wilson, Sharp, &Carr, 1999).

Furnham &Sen (2013) talk about the lay theories, which are "the informal, 'common sense' explanations that people provide for particular social behaviours, and they often differ significantly from 'scientific' explanations and theories". (Furnham, 1988, p. 6) No lay theory research has been carried out in relation to gender identity disorder (GID). There is an interesting and extensive literature on cultural and individual differences of correlates of attitudes toward gender. (Jayaratne& Anderson, 2001; Knox, Zusman, & McNeeley, 2004; Mahalingham, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; Quinn & Luttrell, 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Tucker & Keil, 2001) These studies have not only identified consistent race and cultural differences, but also class, caste, and gender differences, in beliefs about the origins of gender (as opposed to sex). Findings suggest a significant, largely unaddressed public health problem among the LGBT people. (King et al., 2008).

However, little is known about the specific risk and protective factors in particular subgroups of the LGBT population Findings of an earlier large-scale Australian survey, (Jorm et al., 2002) confirmed that bisexual behaviour and identity were strongly associated with an elevated risk of mood and anxiety disorders in both men and women. Similar to men who identified as gay or bisexual, men who reported being unsure about their sexual identity were significantly more likely to have mood or anxiety disorders than heterosexual men. In women, however, rates of these disorders were generally not significantly higher than heterosexual women.

Among some urban men who have sex with men, elevated risk of HIV/ AIDS has been found to be associated with depression, substance abuse, and

elevated risk of suicidal behaviour. (Paul et al., 2002; Stall, et al, 2003) Among the most pressing questions for future research is whether LGBT people are over-represented among suicide deaths, and if so, why? Given the stigma and secrecy associated with minority sexual orientation and gender identity, psychological methods appear to have limited utility for this purpose. (King et al. 2008).

Overall, however, there is a dearth of mental health interventions specifically designed for LGBT community, and as a consequence, a large majority of those who need treatment must rely on general community providers. However, in recent years, there has been growing recognition of the need to include more extensive information on the LGBT community in educational and training programs for mental health professionals.

What Can Be Done

- Encourage inclusion of measures of sexual orientation and gender identity and partnership status in all suicide and mental health research, including clinical, neurobiological and genetic studies, along with appropriate safeguards for privacy and confidentiality.
- Educate key stakeholders like funding agencies, researchers, institutional review boards etc., regarding the need for questions on sexual orientation and gender identity in suicide and mental health research.
- Develop and carry longitudinal studies, using large cohort designs to ensure sufficient numbers of the LGBT community.
- Organise campaigns to reduce the superstitious beliefs, particularly about mood and anxiety disorders, among the LGBT community and encourage development of equitable, accessible, and culturally appropriate mental health as well as substance abuse services for the LGBT community from all segments of society.
- Create awareness among the LGBT community about the cause and effect relationship between mood, anxiety, and substance use disorders further extending to suicides.
- Create programmes to encourage the help seeking from the LGBT community, suffering from mental disorders, or those who are suicidal; and put in place the much-needed mental health, interventions and programs required by the LGBT community.
- Develop programs for early identification of risk behaviours and mental health disorders and substance abuse, especially among the LGBT youth.

- Adaptations of mental health interventions and therapies of the LGBT community have been established to be effective among the general population
- Create LGBT-specific behavioural health interventions, (related in particular to substance abuse) and ensure the involvement of the people of the LGBT community of all ages, racial and ethnic groups, and gender identity constituencies in the planning, design, development, and implementation of all new mental health interventions and programs for substance abuse treatment.

As a concluding remark, one can only say that this is a much-needed arena for research and intervention. I have been able to provide only a glimpse of the issues, but they are all highly significant in the current scenario. And most importantly, there is a need to articulate powerful and creative expressions that fight the silence, erase the marginalisation of these people and bring them to the main stream of the society with honour, dignity and self-worth.

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A New Era of the Rise of 'the Other'

Shachi Patel[*]

On 06 September 2018, the Supreme Court of India issued a verdict unanimously, ruling that Section 377 is unconstitutional as it infringed on the fundamental rights of autonomy, intimacy and identity, thus essentially legalising homosexuality in India. The Court explicitly overturned its contradictory 2013 judgement. They accepted that criminalising carnal intercourse is irrational, arbitrary and manifestly unconstitutional. In essence, the passage of this verdict decriminalises homosexuality and rules that consensual, adult, gay, sex is not a crime. The lives of the LGBTQ community will now drastically change for the better in a variety of ways. Two decades ago, this momentous decision by the Supreme Court of India was unimaginable; most 'gays' in India felt confusion,

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anger and sadness, realising that homosexuality was considered a criminal act – most felt horrified at the idea of people not being allowed to choose who they loved and wanted to be with. This expert speak section aims to look into the psycho-socio-economic implications that the LGBTQ community have been facing over the centuries, not just in India but also abroad and the repercussions of doing away with Article 377!...literally speaking, 'the rise of the other'... gender.

"History owes an apology to the members of the LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender and Queer) community and their families…for the ignominy and ostracism that they have suffered through the centuries. The members of this community were compelled to live a life full of fear of reprisal and persecution." With these words, Justice Indu Malhotra, one of the judges of the Indian Supreme Court, held that section 377 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), which criminalises consensual, sexual acts between adults of the same sex, was unconstitutional.

The pronoun "he" is used to refer to males and "she" to refer to females. But in today's era, some people have started identifying themselves as neither gender, or both (neither 'he', nor 'she' but 'they' or 'ze') which is why I refer to this new age era as *the rise of 'the other'....*

To be identified as "genderqueer", (even if one is) is not acceptable to many people and so a variety of terms have been coined to describe the various transgender terms: *Transgender:* Applies to a person whose gender is different from their "assigned" sex at birth. *Cisgender:* Applies to someone whose gender matches their "assigned" sex at birth. (i.e., someone who is not transgender) *Non-binary:* Applies to a person who does not identify as either "male" or "female". *Genderqueer:* Similar to "non-binary" – some people regard "queer" as offensive and so prefer to be called by the above term, whereas others embrace this one. *'Genderfluid':* Applies to a person whose gender identity changes over time.

Increasing acceptance of the 'gays' and the 'lesbians' amongst us is one of the most defining social changes in the past century. Though people have branded homosexuality as wrong or "queer" since the last several centuries, some factions of society, today, have started concurring with the statement that homosexuality is "not wrong at all." Today, the number of people tolerant towards the LGBTQ groups has increased to more than half of any given population, whether abroad or back here in the home ground. The sweep of these shifts, as well as their broad social and political consequences, has sparked a great deal of interest across the social sciences.

The Anatomical Sex

A person's sex as male or female stands as a biological fact that is identical across all countries and cultures. What that specific sex means in reference to a person's gender role as a woman (care-giver) or a man (bread-winner) in society also varies very little, cross culturally. The third gender or third sex is a concept in which individuals are categorized into a social category, either by themselves or by society, as neither man nor woman, thus recognizing three or more genders. So, if we were to classify today, as to who is considered masculine or feminine, the scenario has changed quite a bit, slowly but surely over the last few centuries, both abroad and in India and has become food for thought all over the world.

The Gender Roles

A gender role is "everything that a person says and does to indicate to others or to the self the degree that one is either, male, female, or androgynous/ transgender. ("hijra" in Indian terms or a member of South Asia's traditional transgender community) This includes appearance, mannerisms, sexual and erotic arousal and response as well as clothing preferences. Gender identity is one's own personal experience with gender role and the persistence of one's individuality as male, female, or androgynous, especially in self-awareness and behaviour.

Gender systems have been the social structures that establish the associated gender roles in every society. The 'gender binary' is one example of a gender system. A gender binary is the classification of sex and gender into two distinct and disconnected forms of masculine and feminine, similar to the two accepted biological sexes.

Not all cultures have strictly defined gender roles. In the case of the "Navajo", there were four genders: man, woman, masculine female-bodied person ('nádleeh'), and feminine male-bodied person ('nádleeh'). Intercourse between two people of different genders, regardless of their biological sexes, was not stigmatized. Most cultures, unlike the Navajos, however, put a stigma on those individuals who indulge in same biological sex intercourse/love, even going a step further and branding them as common criminals, punishable for no other offence than their own carnal sexual inclinations.

The recognition of more than two sex/genders is recorded in India too, as early as the eighth century BCE. Unfortunately, the Indian culture today frowns upon such 'same biological-sex' liaisons. (An after effect of the British colonial rule perhaps) Another point in fact is that these cultural definitions can be easily questioned by the various art forms in the ancient Ajanta and Ellora caves,

dating to before the advent of the East India Company or the British rule in India, which tell us an altogether different story of an Indian era a long, long time ago, where homosexuality was an accepted norm.

Section 377, criminalising homosexuality, was introduced in Indian criminal law by these western oppressors and their western notions of morality, based on Abrahamic ideologies and not the ancient Indian dictums. At the time of its introduction, limited consideration was given to a contradictory morality that had existed for several centuries in the subcontinent, and which had openly acknowledged and recognised homosexuality, and definitely did not criminalise it.

Only in cultures where the gender binary is prominent and important, transgender people are considered to be a major exception to the societal norms (related to gender). Intersex people, those who cannot be biologically determined as either male or female, are another obvious deviation. But, it is now becoming increasingly important to recognize that many cultures have their own practices, independent of the gender binary accepted by the West.

The LGBTQ Community

Defining gender roles leads us to defining sexual orientation and sexual orientation is one of many biological phenomena, which is natural and inherent in an individual and is controlled by neurological and biological factors. No biological phenomenon, as long as it is not harming any other human being, under any circumstances, deserves the label of "a criminal behaviour" to it. Serial killers and murderers, who actually harm other human beings, too are allowed this dignity of a benefit of doubt based on neurological factors...then why not the harmless citizens of the LGBTQ community?

The science of sexuality has theorized that an individual exerts little or no control over who he/she gets attracted to. Any discrimination on the basis of one's sexual orientation would therefore entail a violation of the fundamental right of the freedom of expression.

In contrast to the age stability observed for many other attitudes, whereby opinions formed in young adulthood generally change little with a little maturity, societal acceptance of homosexuality largely reflects change within one's community. No kind of prejudice and discrimination can however, continue in perpetuity.

The LGBTQ Population in India

There are no official demographics for the LGBTQ population in India but reports from 2012 suggest that the government has pegged that around

2.5 million people in India were homosexual. These figures are only based on individuals who have spoken about belonging to the community to the Ministry of Health and not the ones who have not publicly proclaimed themselves yet. The actual statistics may be vastly different since many have so far feared and some still fear discrimination and social stigma.

More than half of the Indian citizens today, agree that gay, lesbian and bisexual people should enjoy the same rights as straight people, though a small percentage continues to disagree. The educated and forward classes also agree that the LGBTQ community should be protected from workplace discrimination and people in same-sex relationships should not be charged as criminals. As for transgender people, again the majority of Indians agreed that they should have the same rights, and be protected from employment discrimination as well as given the freedom change their legal gender.

So, it is easy to see why the supreme court of India too needs to recoup on the original section 377 which seems really obsolete and unfair in today's times. Disgust and contempt have been the central themes of feeling for section 377 since its inception. Historically, the feeling can be dated and so can the changes in feeling by the very public remarks made for/against it: The main drafter of the IPC, Thomas Macaulay, in 1830 called homosexual sex "odious" and "revolting". Soon, thereafter, a court in north India ruling on the prosecution of a 'hijra', commented on the physical examination of the accused and commended the police's desire to "check these disgusting practices". Before independence, a judge in Sindh (now Pakistan) described a man who had consensual sex with another man as "a despicable specimen of humanity". After independence too, as recently as in 2003, the government of India said that decriminalising homosexuality would "open the floodgates of delinquent behaviour". And in 2013 a Supreme Court ruling on an earlier challenge to section 377 (overruled by the judgment of September 2018) held that LGBT people constituted a "minuscule minority" who bore only "so-called rights". Clearly, this contempt had and continues to have real consequences.

In the late twentieth century, when the HIV/AIDS epidemic arrived in India, homosexuality became synonymous with the disease and contagion in the public mind. In 1992, the Delhi police arrested 18 men in a park as part of a "clean-up" drive. The allegation was not that they were having sex but "were about to indulge in homosexual acts". In 2006, the Lucknow police raided the offices of an HIV/Aids outreach organisation on the grounds that it was abetting the commission of a section 377 crime. And, in Haryana, two women were brutally beaten to death by their nephew for being in an "immoral" relationship.

This is merely a drop in the ocean of harassment, blackmail and ostracism faced by the LGBTQ people on a daily basis. While in a narrow sense, the September 2018 judgment is about section 377, it is so much more than that. Like the LGBTQ movement in India, this case was forced to come out of a need to address every day, structural and endemic forms of violence against a section of people of our society.

Same-Sex Marriages

As a result of this stigma attached to anyone falling outside off this gender binary, the idea of 'same-sex' marriages was also taboo all over the world, till as late as the 1980s. The issue of same-sex marriage was a focal point in the media of a developed country like the U.S. too. The topic garnered a substantial amount of attention in 2013, with the repeal of the Defence of Marriage Act, and the legalization of same-sex marriage in eight U.S states and five foreign countries, as well as the passing of the Russian Anti-Gay Law.

However, a lack of human interest perspective was also unearthed because the general citizens of these countries showed little reaction when exposed to the issue of same-sex marriage. But, now, their acceptance in the woven fabric of modern society has become a stand of forward thinking across all major ethnic and racial groups and among all but a handful of nations. Is India one of this 'throwback', narrow-minded nations?

In India, most public opinion attitudes are reasonably stable over time. The typical change rates of public attitudes cannot be quantified as one cannot ascertain the exact extent to which changes in same-sex marriage approval have occurred (or liberalization in attitudes toward gay rights in general, for that matter). This is because many do not voice their opinions in public surveys, either out of embarrassment or simply because they do not want to be seen taking a stand on such a taboo issue.

One can demonstrate and discuss several potential historical and social movement theory explanations for the rapid liberalization of attitudes toward gay rights. But, public opinion regarding LGBTQ rights in India is complex. According to a 2016 poll by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, only one-third of Indian people were in favour of legalising same-sex marriage, with a further one third opposed to it. Another survey by the "Varkey Foundation" found that support for same-sex marriage was higher among the younger 18-21 year olds, more than half the population, rather than in the older age groups who appeared to be still prejudiced against this taboo topic.

India is a secular country with citizens following several religions, and so, it goes without saying that religious variables play a powerful role in influencing any thought-process, especially one such as the gender binary and in structuring attitudes about same-sex unions. If we were to analyze the relationship between religion, measured in terms of religious affiliation and 'religiousness', on one hand and public opinion about same-sex marriage, civil unions, and a federal constitutional amendment that aims to prohibit gay marriage, on the other, the chances would be that religious variables perform better than the demographic measures in models of attitudes about same-sex unions. Those who participate actively in a devout, religious life and individuals with conservative attitudes toward morality and secularism are more likely to oppose such unions and the broad minded, educated class is much more likely to support same-sex unions.

Moreover, homosexuality appears to be a major component on the "amoral values" list. On the contrary, religious variables play a weaker role in predicting support for a constitutional amendment to prevent gay marriage than they do in predicting attitudes toward same-sex unions. So, all in all, religion does not favour same-sex marriages in India.

In spite of this bleak scenario, overall, support for same-sex marriages clearly appears to have increased exponentially in the past two decades. And about half the change appears to be due to individuals changing their minds in favour of same-sex marriage; a somewhat modern, open-minded thinking of an advanced species. The differences in these trends are not uniform and probably arise from differences in individual attitude change, as effects are similar across sub-populations. Ideological and religious differences remain very strong but do not seem to be widening the chasm between the actual differences. Whatever the reason, whether cohort replacement, other population changes, changes in religious beliefs or individual attitude, there is a rising support, which varies meaningfully across all communities.

Doing away with Section 377 has legalised homosexuality but nowhere does it mention legalising of 'same-sex' marriages. Earlier this year, a lesbian couple jumped to their death. In their notes left behind, they are reported to have written: "We have left this world to live with each other. The world did not allow us to stay together." Scrapping section 377 seems to make it possible that people may no longer see fear in the future; a hope appears to be blooming, but how far does it actually remove that inherent feeling of taboo for same sex marriages that has been inculcated into us for so long?

The Naz Foundation

It has been a long and trudging journey that started with the "Naz Foundation", a non-governmental organisation (NGO) fighting for gay rights;

it instituted the original lawsuit in a Delhi high court in 2001, seeking to decriminalise homosexuality. Almost immediately dismissed, the Supreme Court however returned the petition to the High Court to reconsider the case on merit, leading to the widely-documented and widely publicized hearing that followed. In favour of the LGBTQ community was the fact that this case included contradictory stands taken by the government itself.

In 2009, delighting the LGBTQ community, in a landmark judgement, a division bench of the Delhi High Court held, among other things, that section 377 violated fundamental human rights as delineated in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Dampening this short-lived euphoria, in 2013, a two-judge bench of the Supreme Court reversed the HC's 2009 decision; a thoughtless judgment which re-criminalised millions of Indians in an instant.

The 'Naz Foundation' was persistent in its aim and filed a curative petition, arguing that the 2013 decision wrongly held that a "minuscule fraction of population cannot claim fundamental rights". Meanwhile, another two-judge bench of the Supreme Court had granted "personhood" to transgenders in 2014, a sign that the highest court was open to considering more expansive notions of freedom.

The effect of this relentless persistence led from one thing to the other and finally in 2017, a constitution bench of the Supreme Court held that privacy is a fundamental right, calling out to all who would hear that the Section 377 decision was simply "unsustainable" and that the "right to privacy and the protection of sexual orientation lying at the core of the fundamental human rights was not being guaranteed as per the Articles 14, 15 and 21 of the Indian Constitution". This bench did not out rightly declare Section 377 to be unconstitutional, as the review petition was still pending for determination. But, everyone had come to a realisation and a sort of unspoken consensus that it was only a matter of time when it would be reconsidered.

The present decision, as much as it was expected, leads one to believe that the Indian judiciary is indeed trying to uphold the fundamental rights of all sections of society in the country, something that should have naturally been a part of our constitution, seeing that we are one of the biggest democracies in the world today. The legislature and the executive each had their chances to undo what our colonisers had left behind, but chose to do nothing. The judiciary, after swinging this way and that, eventually found balance in its scales, and brought order to chaos.

Section 377 Unconstitutional

On 06 September 2018, the Supreme Court issued a verdict unanimously, ruling that Section 377 is unconstitutional as it infringed on the fundamental

rights of autonomy, intimacy and identity, thus essentially legalising homosexuality in India. The Court explicitly overturned its 2013 judgement. The over ruling of section 377 on this very sensitive topic of LGBTQ has thus had an impact that is being felt much beyond India. Justice AP Shah, credited with being the architect of this landmark Delhi high court judgment that first decriminalised homosexuality in July 2009, had stated that sixty-eight years after the founding fathers of the Republic of India encoded the right to freedom of life and liberty, the Supreme Court has finally upheld the right of every human being to be free, regardless of sexual orientation or identity. With this, the section 377 of the IPC will no longer apply to consensual sexual relations among adults in private. By ruling against the colonial-era law, the court essentially delivered a powerful riposte to institutionalised disgust and contempt aimed at the LGBTQ community in India.

Out of context, the words used in the 2018 judgment, like privacy, dignity and equality, can seem like a salve to the wounded souls of many a person of the LGBTQ clan. In fact, they lie at the core of what it means for our communities to survive. Earlier this year, a lesbian couple jumped to their death. In notes left behind, they are reported to have written: "We have left this world to live with each other. The world did not allow us to stay together." This judgment makes it possible that people may no longer see fear in the future, but hope.

There was no possible, explicable justification for this law to remain. The Indian government as well as other public institutions, over the decades, have tried to aid and abet this antiquarian, outdated, ideas which are rested on nothing more than deep-rooted gender stereotypes, passed down through the ages that merely reinforce sexism. Hence the effort to end discrimination against homosexuals should be seen more as a part of the effort to end the inequality of the sexes than to give rights to the LGBTQ community. The sexual orientation of an individual is natural and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is a violation of freedom of expression. The members of the LGBTQ Community have the same rights as any ordinary citizen/human being. By labelling gay sex as a criminal offence, society is being irrational and this is reprehensible and indefensible. This provision of IPC (that consensual sex between LGBTQ people is criminalized) is in direct violation of basic democracy as originally provided by the constitution of India.

The Supreme Court's decision to decriminalize homosexual behaviour can be considered as the first step towards righting an age-old wrong and providing equal status and rights to the LGBT community in India. It further opens doors (which should ideally have been open in the first place, democratically speaking) for the community to claim their right to marry, adopt, and even have a family.

Since the judgment only dealt with the criminalisation aspect of Section 377, it can be expected that the laws on same-sex marriage, adoption and inheritance of LGBT community will soon follow.

The end of section 377, thus marks the end of an era, where this law will no longer be used or abused, to foster, or to promote an atmosphere leading to human rights violations of any kind, and will hopefully put an end to the unjust discrimination that many millions have faced over the years, because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. It also marks an era of the rise of the "OTHER"...gender. India, henceforth, joins a proud league of nations that recognises true freedom of gender identity and sexual expression.

This ruling of the Supreme Court of India will not impact India alone, but will have far reaching consequences abroad too. It has thankfully undone the artificial, unfair construct of the Section 377, and in doing so, it also recognises the triumph of constitutional morality over public morality. It is becoming evident that the effect of this judgement is being felt in other common-law countries, hopefully, providing an impetus or a guideline to have equivalent provisions in their statute books, and to critically consider the lawfulness and legality of provisions similar to the ones that label consensual sexual relations as a criminal activity. On 11 November 2013, even Bangladesh decided to begin a third gender birth certificate. Even as we speak, the UK and other jurisdictions are abandoning the criminalising of gay sex for a more reasoned position of homosexuality being nothing but a variation in human nature.

Throughout this process of deliberations around law making generally, one should not lose sight of the fact that laws like those found in the (IPC are neither Indian nor god-given...and definitely not immutable; so, they tend to lose value if they are not abandoned, rewritten, or amended, to suit changing social, cultural, and economic needs. Our immediate and jubilant reaction of relief, and joy, should not make us lose focus on the fact that this decision is only the beginning of the long walk to ultimate freedom for all humanity.

International law is very strict and prohibits any kind of discrimination on the grounds of either sexual orientation or gender identity. The Office of the UN High Commissioner of the Human Rights is obliged to clearly state in favour of protection of all individuals from homophobic violence; prevent such violence; decriminalise homosexuality; prohibit discrimination; and respect fundamental freedoms of all people, irrespective of the community to which they belong. The removal of Section 377, which decriminalises homosexuality, is merely one step towards meeting these obligations.

Justice Kennedy's majority opinion in the gay marriage ruling in the US Supreme Court clearly stated: "The nation's courts are open to injured individuals

who come to them to vindicate their own direct, personal stake in our basic charter. An individual can invoke a right to constitutional protection when he or she is harmed, even if the broader public disagrees and even if the legislature refuses to act."

Conclusion

Ideally, a law should be enacted, such that it explicitly protects against discrimination, rather than promotes it. The detrimental effects of laws like Section 377 should be recognised before their conception and nipped in the bud before they affect generations of people in our country in such a shoddy fashion. The target populations have not just been psychologically scarred, but subjected to painful violence and discrimination of a severe degree, not just at the hands of the police and enforcement authorities, but also by the society at large.

We can change the law, and then, change it again...maybe a million times over...but will we be able to change the society at the grass root level? One must remember, that the LGBTQ movement talks of a tomorrow free from all forms of collective oppression and aims to kindle the hopeful dream of an equal society. How much will the court's judgment (removal of the section 377 to be specific) help in realising that dream? The LGBTQ are frantically calling for freedom, and one cannot help but wonder whether the removal of just this one section will make a dent on the discrimination, oppression and humiliation faced by them over the past few centuries. Will it ameliorate the suffering of a community that has virtually not been able to keep pace with the rest of the rat race?

So, this reading down of Section 377 is only the start of a larger drive to protect this idea of freedom of personal identity. Going forward, this cannot mean mere passive non-interference, (because that is all the scrapping of section 377 in September 2018 has achieved so far) but also active protection of, vulnerable populations. This may also mean that some form of affirmative action is required to make sure that frictionless assimilation actually takes place.

Beyond decriminalising homosexuality, we now also need to think about how the LGBTQ community: persons who identify themselves as being outside the conventional gender binary, can be integrated into society without using their gender or sexuality as the focal point of their identity in the society. So, we need to start rethinking on how social institutions like marriage or parenting can be redefined...we also need to redesign pedagogical tools to embrace these differences and redevelop institutions like schools and workplaces to make them all inclusive without any form of discrimination.

Social scientists often have been called upon to weigh in on such social issues, and they have a solution to this pressing question of the 'other' gender or

same-sex marriages as well. When they draw conclusions based on quantitative and qualitative data from national and international surveys, the statistics is nothing but the very public voice of society at large. This article has made an attempt to evaluate four of the most prominent arguments raised by opponents of same-sex marriages in court cases. Though the data sometimes, undermines (and may ultimately define) these arguments and counter-arguments, four lessons about the gender issue can be surmised from public opinion:

(1) Opposition to the LGBTQ community is merely hostility by a faction with a different opinion.

(2) Marital status can bring clear benefits to couples, whether 'same-sex' or otherwise.

(3) Marital laws should be uniform across the country and to a larger extent across the world to prevent vulnerability and discrimination of same-sex couples and the LGBTQ community.

(4) Legal alternatives to same-sex marriage do not obviate the need for same-sex marriage.

True and complete freedom is yet to be achieved. It can be said that complete freedom has been won only when everyone, all over India, genuinely and whole-heartedly, believes that no person is 'different'. The idea that everyone is equal should be sacrosanct: that everyone can love equally, freely and fearlessly. The day we can assure each ourselves of this, is the day we can say that we have truly won our freedom because the freedom of the LGBTQ community is really the freedom of humanity as a whole. The recently expanded Yogyakarta Principles, referred to by both the Delhi high court and the SC in their judgments, further reiterates the application of international human rights law to LGBT people. This is an opportune moment to adopt these principles in a structured manner. Inarguably, this decision is only the gateway for many more changes.

It is certainly difficult to right a wrong by history. But, we can set a better course for the future. This is beyond decriminalizing homosexuality. It is about people wanting to live with dignity and other people allowing them that dignity.

Furthermore, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is a violation of the Indian Constitution and a gross injustice on one faction of our species if human rights are considered as they should be.

All this again, merely highlights the continuing importance of social science research—in particular, public opinion research—for understanding issues that will emerge as the perceptions of and legal rights afforded to same-sex couples all over the world.

So, it is still left to be seen what the far reaching consequences of removing Section 377 are going to be in India in the near future. Is it the beginning of a storm?...or has it not even begun to make a dent in this massive structure of centuries of wrongly conceived beliefs and prejudices. Has there really been the rise of the other? ...Only time will tell. But the change in public attitude is promising and the future appears to hold a lot of good tidings for the LGBTQ community.

Yay! for the LGBTQ community the world over! Every country that decriminalises homosexuality is new hope for the whole human race, worldwide. India, today like ancient India, before the advent of the British has taken the first step towards becoming socially liberal. Next step would be to legalise gay marriage. We live in interesting times, that's for sure. Though this only means the dawn of a new era....

...it is the era of the "OTHER"!

The Adivasi Women:
Slowly Pushed into Endless Abyss

Harsh Kinger[*]

Introduction

In recent times, the country has seen several struggles across the central Indian belt, specifically in the scheduled areas.[1] *Adivasis*[2] in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh have started the *Pathalgadi Movement* which has now reached as far as the scheduled areas of Maharashtra. The *Adivasis*, particularly, a large number of *Adivasi women*, of Maharashtra also joined the long march from Nasik to Mumbai demanding the proper implementation of the forest rights act.
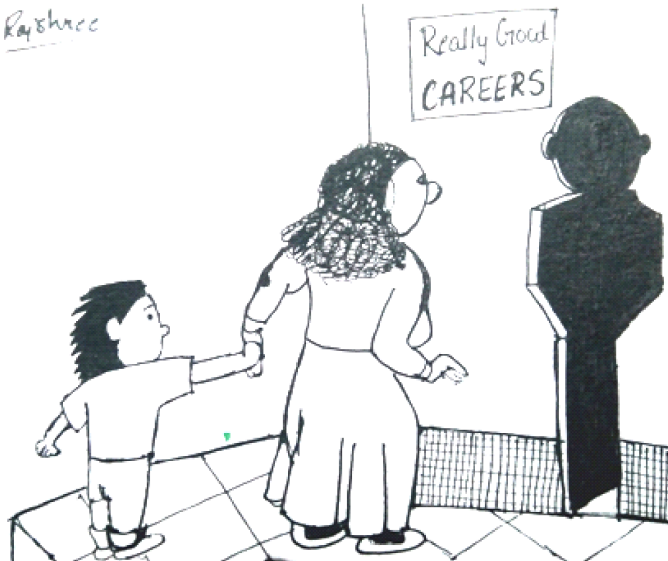
* **The author** is working with the *Adivasi* communities of Madhya Pradesh and Odisha during last few years.

The *Adivasis* of Gujarat also protested against the world's tallest statue. In all these struggles, women have participated in large numbers unlike other struggles. These struggles are clearly showing that the *Adivasis* across India are resisting the present paradigm of development. A paradigm which these communities think is destructive and reduces them to second grade citizens of this country.

In the discourse on development in our country today, one community that has been marginalized since independence is the *Adivasi* community. And within that community the women are further marginalized. In this piece, I intend to talk about the marginalization of the *Adivasi* women as a result of the imposition of this peculiar kind of 'development' in *Adivasi* areas of the country. The manifestation of this can be seen mainly in the change in agricultural practices and changes in the nature of forests – its management, governance and conservation on which these communities depend for their livelihood. I will also attempt to explain how these changes marginalize women from the market economy. I will draw from my experience of having worked with the *Adivasi* communities and also from other secondary sources.

The 2011 Census reports India to be the home to 104 million indigenous people, recognized variously as *Adivasis* (original inhabitants) though recorded as Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution of India. Most of these *Adivasi* communities are directly dependent upon their natural environment for their livelihood. The communities that I worked with are dependent on agriculture and forests for their livelihood. They practice shifting cultivation[3] (also known as 'jhoom' cultivation) and collect food and other non-timber forest produces for their sustenance and livelihood. Their diverse cultures and ways of life, evolved through *an intimate interface with their natural environment*, stand in stark contrast to that of the dominant mainstream. They know that 'they belong to the earth and not vice versa'. The *Adivasi* who practices agriculture does not look at food in isolation, but views the various life sustaining sources through which food comes into being as a living presence in their life and are part of their '*kutumb*' (a word used by 'kondh' *Adivasi* of Odisha for their community).

Agriculture and Women

In this food system, which is central to their way of life, the women play a very crucial role as majority of the work – both productive and reproductive is done by the women. The women are also knowledge carriers in these communities. The division of labour in an *Adivasi* household is skewed, where women perform the majority of functions, but is still slightly better than the

non-*Adivasi* household. What is important to understand is that women have an important role to play in deciding which crops to grow, which seeds to use and so on. The sowing season starts with a *bihan parb* (seed festival) in an *Adivasi* village where the whole community brings the seeds that they have saved and then they offer it to the *"Dahrani"* (earth goddess). The '*bejuni*' (female priestess) of the village leads this *puja*. And the households also exchange seeds amongst themselves. These seeds are traditional seeds, which the households have been saving since generations. One can observe that women play a central role in this agricultural season. On an average, one finds that 25-30 crops are grown by a household, which includes millets, oilseeds, lentils, and tubers and vegetables. They observe mixed or poly-cultural[4] farming with numerous food crops growing in tandem. This practice helps in improving soil health, as carefully planted legumes or nitrogen fixing plants (such as beans) accompany a crop of maize. As one crop uses up the soil nutrients, the legume crop replenishes them, ensuring that soil fertility is maintained. In addition, the *'khond' Adivasis* access varieties of foods; edible leaves, fruits, berries, flowers, seeds, stems, tubers/roots, and mushrooms from the forest. Forest foods have the advantage that they are safe from contamination/adulteration, and are seasonally available all round the year; and are equitably accessible to all.

The knowledge of the various different kinds of seeds and their conservation, as well as agricultural practices, forest foods, processing and of preparing different food recipes is carried by women in these communities and transferred from one generation to the other. Similarly, even in other areas women do the maximum agricultural work and household work. And one finds a marked difference in the agricultural practices in *Adivasi* areas.

Now, in contrast to this, the kind of 'modern' agriculture that is being pushed by the government and the market, marginalizes the role of women in agriculture. By modern I mean agriculture which is 'input intensive' and depends solely on external inputs. Let us try to understand this by looking at only one crop. The recent trends in Rayagada (Odisha) show that the area under cotton cultivation has increased manifolds. This has changed the dynamics of agriculture. Now, the seeds are coming from the outside and are usually supplied by traders from Andhra Pradesh. These traders also provide them with fertilizers and pesticides. The whole package of practices changes when a family shifts from poly-cropping to mono-cropping of cotton. And it is usually seen that these traders enter the villages by establishing network with young males of the household. And this pushes women out of this whole transaction and reduces her role to a mere labourer.

One of the reasons why people have been shifting their choices to growing cotton is that the cash need in the household is increasing. This financial crunch faced by these *Adivasis* is real and needs to be addressed. But the cost these families end up paying is much more then the income or benefit. It is usually the women in the household who perform the function of spraying fertilizers and pesticides on the crop. This is often done at the cost of their personal health and family's health. There have been cases in which because of excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides menstruation cycles are affected. In some cases, there have been premature deliveries of children, unheard of in this area before. So, what we see here with this shift is not just marginalization from decision making but also the cost of health the family and specifically the women pay. Over and above this, the cost of cultivation is high in cotton and the market keeps fluctuating so the risk is high. Most of the families we have interacted with have ended up getting into debts to pay the input cost back. Till date farmers suicide is unheard of in this *Adivasi* area of Rayagada as they have had no debts in the past. But if such a trend continues then unfortunately, there is a possibility that farmers in Rayagada may also resort to such a step. And this makes it clear that the women farmers pay the maximum cost in terms of her control over resources and also the health cost. There are similar and more complex issues involved with respect to other crops also.

Similarly, if we take a closer look at the trends of the role of women in agriculture, at a macro level, the NSSO and census data clearly shows that the gap between men and women in the work participation rate has grown considerably during 1999-2000 to 2011-12. The survey says that in 1999-2000, 41 per cent of rural working age women were engaged in agriculture which has fallen down to 28 per cent in 2011-12. This sharp decline, the report says, is

because of the reduction in rural employment which is mainly because of landlessness and labour displacing technologies. Agriculture as a sector itself is facing an existential threat today and the women in agriculture suffer the most because like men who migrate for opportunities in the urban areas, women do not have many opportunities to participate in the urban economy because of various socio-economic reasons. To summarize, I would say that in *Adivasi* areas, specifically women are reduced to daily wage labourers who neither have control over land and production nor do they have secure dignified livelihood as a wage labourer.

Forests and Women

The other important aspect of marginalization is with respect to forests. Forests are central to the lives of *Adivasis.* The community I worked with (the '*kondhs*') considered the mountains and forests as sacred. Gopinath Mohanty – one of Odisha's most famous writers has recorded an exchange he had with a census official in 1941. "What is your religion?" the official asked. And the *Kondhs* replied: "mountains". (Das, 2010) The official may have found this reply hilarious. But it shows how the *kondhs* value these mountains and forests. But, the Indian government, even in today's date, has not given up the colonial legacy when it comes to forests. It looks at forests only as resources to boost its economic growth. And the *Adivasis* who live in and around these forests are considered encroachers on their own land. Because of this difference in the world views (of the *Adivasi* and the state) there is a direct conflict between the *Adivasis* and the state and the market. And one of the manifestations of this conflict is the Maoist insurgencies in these states. There are also struggles, which we talked about in the beginning, in each of these central Indian states where *Adivasis* are fighting to assert their rights over their forests and land. One Statistic captures this unfortunate reality well. Out of the total number of people displaced by developmental projects around 60 per cent of them belong to the category of Scheduled tribes. And the consequences of loss of land and forests are grave for these communities and particularly for women.

Let us first try and understand how important the forests are for these communities. As a part of our work, we did a research in Odisha led by an ecologist Debal Deb titled "Food and Nutrition from Forest". This study compared different forest areas and mapped the diversity of food and non-food species that is available from the forest and also the amount of food that is harvested by an individual household. Often the value of uncultivated foods from the forest is overlooked and forests are not looked upon as sources of food by policy makers and thereby our discourse on food and nutritional security overlooks forests. This study fills this gap and it says that more than 25 per cent

of total cooked food comes from forest and the estimate would be greater if one accounts for uncooked forest foods. And some of these foods are nutritionally very rich and can be very useful in addressing the problem of malnutrition in these *Adivasi* areas. The other important finding is that the diversity of food and non-food species is particularly high in forests governed by the community themselves. And it is considerably low in the forests that are managed by the forest departments of the government. It is important to understand this fact because this helps us realize the extent to which the communities are affected when there are external interventions in the forests and its governance.

Women spend much more time in the forests as compared to men and know more about the biodiversity in these forests. From firewood and food for the house to fodder for the cattle, there are a variety of items that the *Adivasi* women are dependent on, from the forest. In our conversations with the women they underlined the importance of the forest by saying that 'the fields that we cultivate may or may not give us good yields, but we can rely on the forests, where even if there is a forest fire, it gives us tubers (a variety of uncultivated tubers are available under the forest land).' The forest, they say is more important than any other resource (even money) because it has survived us and we cannot trade it for anything. Research on this issue by leading researchers substantiates this point. Bina Agarwal, one such leading researcher finds that there is a direct relation between the participation of women and the quality of forest governance. And she says that the committees where there are more women prove to be better guardians of the forests and insist on stricter rules. In one of his books, Anupam Mishra (an environmentalist) notes that the implementation of the forest rights act, which gives control of forest land to the community, can and should

be looked at as a women's rights issue, as women specifically have more at stake when it comes to forests.

In the context of Odisha, the recent changes show that the nature of forest has been changing mainly because of the diversification of forests for serving nefarious commercial and corporate interests. Therefore, land rights and forest rights, particularly for women, is one of the most (if not the most) important issues. There are other ways in which the forest land is diversified. In Rayagada, a substantial proportion of the forest land has come under Eucalyptus, (Nilgiri) teak and cotton cultivation. This diversion is promoted by a nexus of corporate funded private agents, the forest department and several NGO's, which all promote these schemes as income generating schemes for the common man. We have discussed the problems associated with mono-cropping of cotton. The problem with eucalyptus and teak plantation is that both these trees don't allow much undergrowth around them. Moreover, according to some estimates Eucalyptus has been known to consume upto 40 litres of ground water a day which is very high as compared to other trees. This, therefore, impacts the ground water levels adversely and can thereby impact the availability of ground water in the nearby fields. Promoting Eucalyptus plantations has been banned by two state governments because of this very reason. Both eucalyptus and teak are not used by the *Adivasis* locally for their daily needs since their animals neither eat the leaves nor can it be used in preparing manure. These plants only serve the interests of the corporate sector for paper manufacturing and timber. The outcomes of introducing alien species in a bio-diverse forest are much more adverse for women.

In one of our workshops, the youth from the community identified that because of eucalyptus plantations, the women in the household have to walk much more than before just to collect water and firewood as the nearby water sources have started drying. This would inadvertently also affect the availability of food varieties, both cultivated and uncultivated. So, there would be a sinister increase in labour and concurrent reduction in the availability of food. And it goes without saying that this food stress affects women far more than any other member of the household as it is usually seen that women often go hungry to feed their children and men folk in cases of shortage of food. This in the longer run affects their health adversely. In other areas where there is more conflict between the forest department and *Adivasis*, research shows that, it is women who are blamed more for violating access rules (despite higher reported case of men). And importantly, in all this, women also lose control over the forest as they don't have a say in forest conservation. With the introduction of state and

market actors, the women in the village are marginalized in taking decisions pertaining to conservation and management.

Conclusion

From these observations made both, at a macro level and a micro level, it is clear that, *Adivasis*, specifically the *Adivasi* women, who have been central in the local economy as food producers and knowledge-bearers are being marginalized with the introduction of so-called modern agriculture and forestry. This is not to say that the women are very well placed, socially within their community. The women even within the *Adivasi* communities are affected by patriarchal norms. Historically, the gendered norms have forced women to carry out more work – both, agricultural and household. But the limited point is that the neo-liberal economy combined with the old patriarchal norms, together are further ensuring that the women cannot participate in the market economy and are also being marginalized in their own local rural economies. This piece also questions the kind of 'development' that we take for granted and is imposed upon the people at the margins and destroy their livelihoods to benefit a few.

I would like to end by showing my solidarity with the struggle and resistance of these women and their communities. The words of an *Adivasi* poet from Jharkhand, Jacinta Keraketta, truly capture the reality of this situation in which these communities are slowly being pushed, like into an endless abyss.

Ears of Paddy Tied & Bound by the Dam

Yet again Phulo's heart
Is a sweltering, blazing desert
Burning within on its own hot sands
As she watches the sowing of seeds
After a light drizzle in the fields.

Holding onto a few scraps of paper,
Standing helpless on the banks of the dam,
In every rain, Salo's mother
Searches frenziedly for her lost farmlands.

The city dazzles with lights shining bright,
All thanks to the building of the dam,
While she is startled at the very sight of her own shadow in the dark night
Cast by a flickering earthen lamp.

Today Soma starves,
For his fields are now massive reservoirs.

The cage of his ribs protrudes through his skin,
The innards shrink and shrivel within.

Now a dam to hold back the welling tears,
Now a dam to contain the seething rage,
These dams shall burst one day for sure,
When the boughs of the '*sakua*'
From the hilltops, in rebellion roar,
Sweeping out powers that destroy and displace
And once again in the breeze will sway
The ears of paddy in their majesty,
Enclosed by mud mounds,...no more by dams.

Notes

1. Scheduled Areas are areas identified by the Fifth Schedule of the *Constitution of India*. Scheduled Areas are found in ten states of India, which have a predominant population of tribal communities.
2. *Adivasi* is the collective term for the indigenous people and it is used to denote that these people are the original inhabitants of India.
3. A form of agriculture, in which an area of ground is cleared of vegetation and cultivated for a few years and then abandoned for a new area until its fertility has been naturally restored.
4. Polyculture is agriculture using multiple crops in the same space, providing crop diversity, i.e. imitation of the diversity of natural ecosystems, and avoiding large stands of single crops, or monoculture.

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<div style="text-align:center">

$\boxed{\textit{Articles}}$

Anshuman Behera[*]

Emerging Trends of Terrorism: A Critical Analysis

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<div style="text-align:center">**Abstract**</div>

Study of terrorism, a much-debated topic, has so far been understood and engaged with, mostly from a security perspective. Accordingly, in its various forms and shades, terrorism is perceived to be a serious security threat to both, the states and all the individuals, individually residing in them. Despite the difficulties in terms of coming to a consensual position of defining the term, terrorism continues to pose serious security threats to many states. A majority of the countries, in their efforts to curb terrorism, have adopted multiple methods.

However, the dominant commonality in terms of their responses to curb terrorism is limited to addressing the issue from a territorial point of view. Most countries see their success against their responses against terrorism in terms of the terrorist activities in and around the respective territorial boundaries. Engaging with terrorism to the extent of its operational framework within a particular territorial framework offers very limited understanding of the issue, both at the policy and academic levels. It has been observed that states, in their effort to curbing terrorism in their respective territorial boundaries, have only witnessed a limited success for a very short span of time. Terrorism, as it is evolving in its very nature and scope, keeps throwing surprises in multiple ways in terms of spectacular attacks, mode of operation and time and space of its strikes. With an objective to engage with the changing scenarios of terrorism, this article intends to highlight major trends of terrorism. In the process of identifying the emerging trends of terrorism, the article also critically engages with the conceptual aspects of the issue and to a certain extent, the remedial measures worth considering.

Introduction

The understanding of terrorism, especially in terms policy responses to curb it, has been mostly seen from the perspectives of how much of a security threat

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it poses to a state. The aspect of security threat, in this context, is seen through the extent of fatalities it causes and its presence within the territorial framework of a state. Such an understanding is a shared commonality among the majority of the states directly or indirectly affected by the acts of terrorism, today.

The United States' (US) report on 'Country Reports on Terrorism 2016' (CRT) reflects on this aspect of the current understanding of terrorism. In the CRT report it is mentioned that: "although terrorist attacks and fatalities resulting from such terrorism declined globally for the second year in a row in 2016, terrorist groups continued to exploit ungoverned territory and on-going conflict to expand their reach, and to direct and inspire attacks around the world".[1] Further, it also mentioned that "regional and international military coalitions supported to varying degrees by the United States and its allies continued to make progress against terrorist groups in fragile states, particularly in Africa."[2] Notwithstanding the widely believed notions on terrorism, the acts of terrorism defy national boundaries to make it trans-national in character. The spatial and rapid growth of terror networks globally has prompted responses from various agencies, both state and non-state. The immediacy of the issue has also prompted diverse opinions about terrorism. Narratives such as 'your terrorist is my freedom fighter' are making the issue more complex as there are more disagreements than consensus over the issue. Considering the changing nature of terrorism, this article makes an attempt to critically engage with the emerging trends of terrorism. The first part of article engages with the conceptual aspects of terrorism and drawing on the conceptual framework, the second part of the article deals with the emerging trends.

Understanding Terrorism: Towards a Conceptual Framework

Understanding terrorism has never been an easy task considering the lack of consensus among the nation states and various international agencies on the issue. 'Terrorism', a serious challenge to mankind, as a whole entity, has been viewed differently in the various states, depending on the stand point they believe in. A lack of a definition, or a widely accepted one, (both extremes of the same spectrum) is what the human right organisations call the risk of abuse and an invitation to abuse. The human rights organisations are of the opinion that in countries with no legal definition or rather vague ones, it might be very tempting for governments, especially for governments of a more authoritarian nature.[3] The lack of a clear and agreed upon definitional framework, in many cases, is seen to be used by the many such states against its citizens, labelling them as terrorists, who otherwise, in most cases, have no intention of using any violent means against fellow individuals or against the state they live in, for that matter.

When it comes to the definitional framework of terrorism, there exists more than one definition on the issue. Most of these definitions have been offered by the regional organisations or international bodies.

The 1999 United Nations (UN) Convention for Suppression of the Financing Terrorism as per Article 2(1)(b) defines terrorism as 'Any act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate population or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing an act.'[4]

The Security Council of the United Nations in its resolution 1566 (2004) referred to terrorism as "criminal acts, including any act against civilians, which is committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."[5]

Similarly, the Article 1(2) of the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, signed at Cairo on April 22, 1998, defines terrorism as "any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them or placing their lives, liberty, or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment of public or private installations or property, or to occupying to seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize a natural resource."[6]

The Convention of the Organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism states in the Article 1(2) that "Terrorism means any act of violence or threat, thereof, not-withstanding its motives or intentions, perpetrated to carry out an individual or collective criminal plan with the aim of terrorising people or threatening to harm them or 'imperilling' their lives, honour, freedom, security or rights or exposing the environment or any facility or public or private property to hazards or occupying or seizing them, or endangering a national resource, or international facilities, or threatening the stability, territorial integrity, political unity or sovereignty of independent states."[7]

From the many definitions cited above, there emerge a number of common points on defining terrorism. Uncertainty of violent action is an important common point that emerges from the above mentioned definitions on terrorism.

The terror attacks are usually carried out rather randomly. This randomness, possibly, could be with intent to instil a sense of paranoia among the public regarding 'safe behaviour', creating a psychosis that anyone could be the next victim.[8] The terror attacks do not always target directly. It is not only the people who die, but even the ones who live, who are indirect targets of terror. A second important common point here is the aspect of vulnerability. The uncertainty of the terror attacks that they can take place anywhere, anytime or against anybody makes almost everyone vulnerable. The third aspect of terrorism that creates incredible fear is the 'helplessness'. This helplessness rules the mind of the general public, the state apparatus and the society as a whole. The inability of the state apparatus to secure its citizens enhances the sense of helplessness. The fourth aspect is 'personalisation'. The individual who has never experienced any terror attack is a target, and is as vulnerable, or perhaps more vulnerable than someone who has already been a victim.

Despite the above-mentioned definitions and common aspects of terrorism, there are also areas of disagreement. One of the major issues leading to such disagreements is the widespread assumption that 'one man's terrorist is other's freedom fighter'. On this confusion Richard Chasdi, is of the opinion that

> Terrorism is a 'means' to an end and hence, to compare 'terrorism' as a means, to 'freedom', which is a goal or 'end', is thereby in effect logically flawed. When 'freedom' is the goal pursued over the political landscape, what that essentially means…is freedom to pursue 'self-determination' as mentioned in the Charter of the United Nations in Chapter I article 2.[9]

Similarly, Ajai Sahni, a leading scholar on terrorism opines that,

> The justifications of terrorism in terms of liberation struggle, freedom fighting, etc. are derived from questionable or fallacious reasoning. Take, for instance, the 'one man's terrorist' argument. This is clearly based on contra-factual demand for the uniqueness of identity. The fact is a man has multiple identities.…He may…be a freedom fighter and a terrorist; the first identity defines what he fights for, the second, the method he employs.… 'Freedom fighters'…cannot reconcile an act of random and wanton violence that terminates the very possibility of freedom for innocent others within any consistent ethical paradigm. The murder of innocents would be unacceptable within virtually any concept of 'just war'. Even as there can be no 'just genocide', 'just terrorism' can or should not make any real sense in legitimate political discourse. It is only because these arguments have not been widely articulated or debated that the confusion, and hence the ambivalence, over terrorism has persisted in both public and policy circles.[10]

Based on the above discussions, this article seeks to clarify the understanding on terrorism. In this article, by terrorism it is meant: an act of violence, which aims to instil fear among the innocent people, who are not necessarily the primary target of the terrorists. While the means of carrying out terror activities remains to be violent, the goals and the targets of the terrorists remain unclear. Beyond instilling fear among the people, the objective of the terrorists can be understood through two different schools of thoughts.

Terrorism with its multiple interpretations and objectives has evolved through the passing years. Engagement of multiple actors (both state and non-state), advancements in technology and the changing world order have brought about many changes in the style and functioning of terror groups in the recent years and thus, their reach and effect has expanded substantially in the recent years. Though elements such as fear, violence, and destruction of property remain constant in all terror activities, there have also emerged new trends in the recent years. The next section of the article highlights some of the major trends of terrorism.

Emerging Trends of Terrorism

State vs. Non-state: Blurred Distinctions

Terrorists and the terror groups as non-state actors has been a dominant and widely accepted narrative in the strategic and security studies. Terror organisations have been seen as non-state actors as they are perceived to be functioning independent of individual state support and are beyond the control of the state. There exists a body of literature dealing with the threat emanating from the non-state actors. Such an understanding on terrorists as non-state actors helps strengthen our belief that the modern state systems do not involve in terror related activities. Hence, the state's right to use coercion against its citizens is both legitimate and legal. The terror groups functioning within the territory of different states are necessarily illegal and illegitimate actors.

Against such a narrative, the terror activities in the recent years have blurred the distinction between state and non-state actors. The rapidly changing world order is witnessing increasing involvement of states in promoting, funding and sustaining terror groups. The state actors or agencies are seen to be initiating, pursuing and determining the outcomes of terror related activities. The role of Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) in funding and sustaining many terror groups in South Asia can be cited as an example. Studies conducted on the role of ISI and its links with many terror groups in Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh corroborate such claims.[11] India's allegation against Pakistan for providing a safe haven to

the terrorist groups can be seen as the involvement of the Pakistani state with terror groups. The assumption that has been discussed above in this article on 'one's terrorist is another's freedom fighter' helps states like Pakistan, legitimising its support to many terror groups present in its territory. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif's, address to Burhan Wani, the former commander of Hizbul Mujahideen who was killed by the Indian Security forces, as a dynamic leader and a freedom fighter[12] is a testimony to the assumption.

Apart from Pakistan, the world has also seen other major powers involved in supporting one terrorist groups or the other. The United States of America's support in the rise of Al Qaeda against the Soviet Union during the Cold War is an open secret. The major powers are seen to be using terror groups for maximising their national interests. These days China has been seen opposing India's move in the UN to declare Masood Azhar, Chief of Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) as a global terrorist. China claims his opposition against India's move as professional and objective.[13] Masood Azhar led JeM has carried out many terrorist attacks in India killing and injuring a number of people. However, China's support to Masood Azhar further blurs the distinction between state and non-state actors. The increasing involvement of state powers in supporting one terrorist group or the other is a major worrisome feature of many terrorism studies.

America-Centric Approach of Understanding Terrorism

Arguably, the terror attacks on 11 September 2001 (popularly known as 9/11) in the USA is considered as the 'watershed moment', that changed the dynamics of reacting to terrorism. The 9/11 was not the first terror attack, but it was certainly a major attack and that too against the most powerful state in the world. The Al Qaeda led, 9/11 attack on the American soil prompted the *US-led war* against 'Global Terrorism'. While many terror attacks, prior to the 9/11 attack were seen as incidents against a particular country, the 9/11 attacks were given a global colour. Ever since the 'America led NATO' forces invaded the Taliban government in Afghanistan to crack down on the Al Qaeda and its associate organisations, many countries apart from the NATO members have changed their perspectives in dealing with the terrorism. The entire dynamics of understanding terrorism and dealing with the same have under gone drastic changes post the 9/11 terror attacks. The presence of American and the NATO forces in South Asia, especially in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan, in the name of fighting against global terrorism has also affected the security dynamics in this region. The Indian state's policies in dealing with the terror groups were also influenced by the post 9/11 narratives. The decision to ban the

Students' Islamist Movement in India (SIMI)[14] immediately after the 9/11 attacks were a case in point.

The terrorism scenario post 9/11 has also witnessed increasing involvement of US in many terror related theatres. Starting from Afghanistan to Iraq and Syria, the active involvement of the US and supporting nation states make the issue more serious. A US centric understanding and dealing with terrorism has led to two prominent scenarios. First, there has been selective coverage of terror actors and terror theatres. The involvement of US forces in 'combating terrorism' determines the coverage and highlighting of the various terror groups and theatres. This also validates the US's presence and involvement in almost all major places affected by terrorism. The US forces have been seen actively involved in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya and Somalia. These places feature more in the headlines, in comparison to other places as well as incidents affected by terrorism.

Secondly, the frequent involvement of the US and other supporting states has created a counter narrative, declaring the US as a terrorist state. The 'violence, fear and destruction of property' due to the attacks by the US forces are seen by many states, intellectuals, and the terror groups as heinous acts of terror. Noam Chomsky, a leading scholar, called the US as the 'world's leading terrorist state' due its frequent interventions in the domestic politics of other states in the pretext of countering terror.[15] Moreover, many terrorist groups, mostly the Islamic Ones, have an anti-America narrative to justify their fight. In one of his speeches against the US, Hafiz Saeed, the head of the Pakistan based terrorist group, Lashkar-e Taiba (LeT), said that, "America has been fighting against the entire Islamic world under the garb of 9/11 attacks…."[16]. Similarly, the literature of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has anti-American narratives.[17] The Islamic terror groups have 'successfully' manufactured a narrative that the American action in the name of fighting against global terrorism is against Islam as a whole. Such anti-American feeling has been a major instrument, used by most of the terror groups for recruitment activities. In a way, the increased involvement of the US has sustained many of the terror groups.

Growing Radicalistion and the Youth

Radicalisation as a term connotes many meanings. For the purpose of this paper, I use the definition given by Charles E Allen that says that "radicalization is a process of adopting an extremist belief system, including the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence, as a method to effect societal change".[18] This definition mostly covers the many aspects used by other scholars in understanding radicalisation in relation with terrorism studies. The growing

radicalisation, especially among the youth across the globe is one of the major trends of terrorism. The radicalisation among the youth is mostly intertwined with certain political agenda and not just terrorism. A number of studies have already been conducted, especially in the European countries, to understand the root causes of youth radicalisation and several counter-radicalisation measures have been taken to deal with the issue. Most of these studies focusing on the aspect of fathoming the root cause, deal with burning issues such as poverty, psychology of the youth, unemployment, ideological indoctrination, etc.[19]

In most of the European countries, the factors that have led to radicalisation among the youth, especially the Muslim youth, are a demand for an equal status, contested identity among the second generation Muslim youths, and the effects of Iraq and Syria,[20] and thus, basic Islamic fundamentalism. Similarly, the Asian and African states are also experiencing growing religious radicalisation among the Muslim youth. The major commonalities found experienced through the process of radicalisation across the globe are discussed below.

In most of the cases, the radicalised youth are seen to be fighting for a 'larger cause'. The concept of a larger cause, in the case of terrorism, among the Muslim youth, is mostly based on the narratives to protect Islam from the atrocities of the non-believers, supremacy of Islam over all other beliefs and against the perceived attacks on Islam. These narratives highlighting the larger cause of Islam dilute individual identity and goals. Death in this regard is glorified and portrayed as achieving martyrdom. The methods used in radicalising the youth have developed drastically in the last few years. The availability and easy accessibility of literature on Islamic fundamentalism in social media, internet, etc. have been major sources of radicalisation. Radical organisations such as Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HuT)[21] have been important actors in radicalising Muslim youth in many countries. Thus there has been an increasing number of self-radicalised youth in the recent times. The instances of 'Lone wolf' attacks by self-radicalised youths have gone up.

The radicalised youth have also been a major source of recruitment for many terrorist groups. While the major terror groups play vital roles in radicalising the youth, the self-radicalised youth volunteer as recruits for the former. Groups such as ISIS attracts many like minded youth from many other countries to fight along with its regular recruits in Syria. As many as 22 radicalised youth from the state of Kerala have been reported to have joined the Islamic state in 2016.[22] At the same time, we have instances where self-radicalised youths carry out terror activities in many countries, and ISIS claims the responsibility

of such activities. The terror attacks in Bangladesh, France and Germany are the instances in this regard. Arguably, such are the new trends in terrorism.

Though the radicalised youth play an important role in the sustenance of a terror group, they are mostly confined to the 'fighters' level i.e. they are generally the followers. Very few young recruits are actually at the leadership or decision-making positions. The leadership continues to be with the old guards like Hafiz Saeed, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, etc. The youth are merely used as cannon fodder.

Incidents with High Casualties

Terror activities including the 9/11 attack and other subsequent ones are carried out, intending to cause massive casualties. While the number of terror attacks, post 9/11 has gone up, the number of lives lost is also substantially high. The 9/11 attack alone had killed around 3000 people including the terrorists. The Mumbai 2008 terror attacks, admittedly carried out by LeT claimed as many as 166 lives. The use of high-end communication technology by the terrorists and the availability of explosives, guns and other weapons of destructions provide an advantage to the terror groups. Better coordination among the terrorists, thanks to developed communication technologies, has also been instrumental for the wider networks of the terror groups.

At the same time, the terrorists have also discovered alternative, newer targets and more devious ways of carrying out terror attacks. For last few years, it has been observed that the terrorists are targeting large human gatherings. The methods and weapons used in the terror attack on Charlie Hebdo in France in January 2015 and the Berlin attack in December 2016 are quite different. In case of the Charlie Hebdo attack, the terrorists used sophisticated guns to kill the people, whereas in Berlin, the terrorist drove a truck through a gathering killing many people. While the ideological motives behind the Charlie Hebdo attack appeared to be clear, it was difficult to attribute a reason for the Berlin terror attack. Similarly, the self-radicalised terrorists' attack in a restaurant in Dhaka, Bangladesh was targeted against the 'western culture'. Though the Bangladesh security forces recovered a huge cache of explosives and guns from the deceased terrorists, it was reported that most of the 28 people who were killed were brutally murdered using sharp weapons.[23] The high number of casualties caused by the terror attacks instils even more fear and anxiety among the public.

Religious vs. Ideological Terrorism

Religious terrorism, mostly Islamic, has played a major role in replacing

extremism based on Leftist ideology. Militant groups guided by religious fanaticism have replaced the withering militant, communist movements in South and South East Asian countries. Bangladesh can be cited as an example in this regard. The extremist groups based on militant communist ideology such as Purba Banglar Communist Party (PBCP) and its various factions, Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB), and Gana Fauz, etc. have been completely eliminated by the Islamist terrorist groups such as Jamaat–ul-Mujahideen-Bangladesh (JMB)[24] and Jagrata Muslim Janata Bangladesh (JMJB).[25]

Where India is concerned, there exist multiple types of militant groups, which use terror methods to further their own interests. In India, there are prominent Islamist groups such as Indian Mujahideen (IM),[26] Hizbul Mujahideen,[27] and Students' Islamist Movement in India, (SIMI)[28] which are guided by the extremist version of Islam. They are believed to be operating in association with terrorist groups outside the Indian Territory. The objectives of these groups are both local as well as international. They seem to organise and strengthen their organisations through the local narratives and at the same time they contribute to the much larger 'Islamist Cause'. Apart from these above mentioned groups, the Communist Party of India-Maoist, (CPI-Maoist).[29] Maoists in short, is another armed group, which has been termed as a single largest internal security threat to India. With an active presence in over 80 districts in Central and Eastern parts of India, the Maoists also resort to terror methods to achieve their state objectives. Similarly, India has been fighting a number of militant groups in its North Eastern parts that are constituted on ethnic lines.

While there exist multiple armed groups, that use terrorism as a method of furthering their own personal interests, even the groups with a religious identity, are often termed as terrorists. This seems to be becoming a dominant pattern in many countries. Religious armed groups, especially the ones that are Islamists, are perceived as a threat to 'mankind' and they are then treated as common enemies. Groups such as ISIS, Al Qaeda, LeT, Boko Haram, Al Shabab and many others have been termed as global terrorist groups. While many of these groups operate within a specific territorial boundary, it is sheer perception that puts them in the 'global terrorist' bracket. Groups such as Maoists in India are often not seen as terrorist groups as they are perceived to be fighting for a 'genuine cause'. The 'revolutionary violent'[30] paths that the Maoists follow for achieving their objectives are often legitimised by a set of intellectuals. Hence, the whole issue of the security perspective of understanding terrorism is limited to rather a few groups.

Terrorism an Instrument to Acquire Lootable Resources

While factors such as poverty and economic discrimination can no longer be the only proximate causes leading to terrorism, it can be argued that the latter is being used as an instrument to acquire lootable resources. This aspect of terrorism highlights high economic stakes involved in the entire process. Literature in this respect suggests involvement of ISIS in illicit business of petroleum and other products.[31] Similarly, terror groups like the Haqqani Network is allegedly involved in a nefarious money making business.[32] While funds and finances definitely play a very important role for sustaining terror groups, many terror groups make a lot more money, much more beyond their need. Involvement of large amounts of money distances the terror groups from their ideology and goals that they claim to be fighting for. In such scenarios, sustaining terror activities appears profitable for the groups rather than ideological as they proclaim. The diversion from the original goal and ideology by the terror groups blurs the distinction between organised criminal groups and a terror group.

Spaces of Terrorism

Terrorism, in recent times, operates in multiple spaces such as territorial space, informal space and imagination space. The target objectives of terrorism at these various spaces are appreciably different in nature. If one considers it from the point of the national territory space, it (terrorism) targets high attention areas, i.e. critical infrastructures, where there can be a higher casualty rate and much loss of infrastructure. From the imaginary space point of view, it creates fear to accentuate the extent of threat, and at the same time it attempts to create a world view to legitimise its actions. And from the viewpoint of an informal space, it plans its activities with the help of other agencies; (not necessarily the terrorists) here, terrorism prefers absence of violence and underplays the threats so that informal networks are not disrupted. In this space, the terror networks use social media as a platform for propaganda purposes. At the national stage, the terrorists also provoke the state for retaliation with the prime motive to further alienate the vulnerable minds that can be tapped for future terrorist activities. In this process, the terrorists attempt to make divisions in the society and tap the like-minded groups.

Conclusion

The strategies to deal with terrorism, across many countries, have tended to be confined to the territorial dimensions. Individual countries formulate policies targeting specific acts of terror and most of the times, these policies are designed to combat the terrorists with the final aim of eliminating them. While it cannot be denied that the territorial dimensions remain critical in order to deal with

acts of terror, the other important dimensions and aspects of the situation also need to be taken seriously.

For example, the functioning of radical groups, such as Hizb-ut-Tahrir does not necessarily come under the territorial dimensions. Understanding the very ideology and doctrines that radicalise the youth, will help us understand the terror movements that they lead to, better. The coordination among the countries and states need not be confined to the tactical and strategic levels only. They need to see the entire process of terrorism and the factors leading to the acts of terrorism, rather than just dealing with the incidents which arise thereof. The terror groups, in the recent years, have been substantially targeted by the security agencies in different countries. Such actions have further led to the development of smaller and diffused groups, rather than diffusing the terrorist activities and a potentially violent atmosphere. The terror attacks carried out by the smaller and diffused groups pose newer challenges, as the difficulty levels in identifying these groups is growing much higher. The 'lone Wolf' attacks carried out by the self- radicalised youth is a new emerging trend, and it needs to be addressed; nipped in the bud, to say precisely. Strategies dealing with the territorial dimension of terrorism are not proving to be the end-game answer to these trends.

The rise in the acts of terrorism across many countries has also prompted many of them to respond militarily, paradoxically contributing to more violence in the process of combating the terrorists. The violence and the counter violence by the terror groups and by the states, respectively, appear to be a never-ending process, forming a vicious circle leading to more violence at this point of time. The states, as responsible actors should be duty bound to reduce the violence level. Alternative measures in terms of negotiation, de-radicalisation of youth, the social security of the deprived communities, etc needs to be implemented with a greater spirit towards reducing and minimising the violence levels.

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Science and India

Abstract

This paper enquires in to the deliberations of why India has been overtaken by the West in science and technology, despite its earlier successes with the same. A number of both social and philosophical factors need to be considered. The paper revisits several debates and arguments of the Indian scientific community and of contemporary Indian scientists. Some entrenched and unchanging attitudes of the past as well as contemporary times are also analyzed. To avoid stagnation of scientific thinking, there is a need to have a scientific temper, critical thinking, and an enquiring mind. These attributes can definitely propel India forward, back into the realm of science and technology.

Introduction

Joseph Needham – the 'Sinologist' of the early 20th Century, posed the grand question: "Why had China and India been overtaken by the West in science and technology, despite their earlier successes?" I carry forward and supplement this puzzling question with debates of the Indian scientific community, on the period of decay and neglect that started in the 15th century and is continuing to the present. I will then discuss the debates over it in the early 20th century including the arguments on knowledge as well as the present situation.

To begin with, an interesting observation that can be made is that though rational and scientific thinking may have been slightly neglected in India during some stages of history, there is also evidence to show a high standard of scientific applications. Michel Danino explains the Indian knowledge-centred civilizations' contributions to astronomy, mathematics, medicine *Shulba Sutra* (the text of geometry), metallurgy and even textiles as well as transport.[1] B.M. Udgaonkar invites attention to the scholarship of Jawaharlal Nehru, Claudi Alvares and Dharampal, where it is shown that a rich tradition of shipbuilding and naval

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architecture existed at Lothal as far back as in 2000 BC and how During the 17th and 18th centuries, the English borrowed and adapted many improvements in their shipping from Indians.[2] Dharampal's work also clearly shows that a great deal of interest was shown by scientists in England, in the 18th century, in finding out information on Indian achievements in science and technology— from all contemporary accounts; viz. astronomy, observatories, mathematics, inoculation against smallpox, agriculture, use of drill ploughs, processes of making iron and steel.'[3] Further, Zaheer Baber, gives finer details on the world class quality of Indian steel ('Wootz') and metallurgy, from which Damascus swords were made, the fifteenth century canons manufactured (as noted by the historian Irfan Habib), and rockets were constructed as early as 1398, by Marathas, and later by the armies of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sutan. Much of the technology of the British 'Congreve rockets' was based on Tipu Sultan's rockets captured by them.[4]

B.M. Udgaonkar recognizes that "China and India could not have become such great civilizations without a fair amount of science and technology—and that science is as much a part of Indian heritage as the greatly extolled mystical tradition".[5] Udgaonkar goes on to argue that his task was made very difficult in the absence of a "comprehensive work on the history of Indian science."[6] Absence of history of Indian science was also mentioned by Professor Dhruv Raina from the Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU, in his keynote.[7] However, some idea can be obtained from other secondary sources, which this article has attempted to elaborate in the following pages.

So the burning question at hand is that in spite of India's rich scientific heritage, what transpired to cause an almost complete lack of a broad based scientific thinking in the later periods of 15th to 17th centuries in India— a period which incidentally, coincided with the flowering of scientific thinking in Europe, and can be used here for comparative purposes. The Sinologist Joseph Needham has some answers.

Needham's Explanation

Joseph Needham had studied a similar problem on scientific thinking in China. Needham, basing his judgment, on his seminal, multi-volume work on China,[8] in a foreword, in a book by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *History of Science and Technology in Ancient India: The Beginnings*, wonders as to "why in spite of so many wonderful discoveries and inventions during sixteenth or seventeenth centuries before the Scientific Revolution did modern science not develop in China but only in Europe?" He then explains that,

The answer can only be stated in social and economic terms. Only when we know that China was characterized by bureaucratic feudalism, while Europe had military-aristocratic feudalism, seemingly stronger but in fact much weaker, and so exposed to overthrow when the time came for the rise of the bourgeoisie; then only can one begin to see why modern science, along with capitalism and the Reformation, originated in Europe and Europe alone.[9]

Although Needham had not researched on India in a detailed manner, he had a working knowledge in comparative perspective, which can be gathered from his introduction to the work by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya. In the foreword, Needham brings out a number of themes on which Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya had written about, like the struggle with religious scruples and reason for being one. Needham introduces upfront to the reader the absence of materialistic and practical thinking which led to the neglect of science:

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya made his name in the world of learning some thirty years ago, with his book "Lokayata" in which he showed how much theoretical materialism there had been in ancient India, and how it had been systematically obscured and vilified by the theologians of all Indian religions. He has never ceased to uphold the banner of the naturalists of India, and some twenty years later, in his book on "Science and Society" he showed in detail how the medical men had to struggle against religious theorists. The former were searching for the naturalistic cause of disease – a point of view entirely justified by modern medical science—but the theologians always wanted to attribute disease to the bad *karma* incurred in previous existence.[10]

In India's case, Needham argued, "apart from wars and colonialism, some concrete social and economic factors will in the end account for the fact that, in spite of wonderful past achievements, modern science did not originate there either."[11] Later, in 1971 Needham wrote in an essay: "the failure of China and India to give rise to distinctively modern science *while being ahead of Europe for fourteen previous centuries* is going to take some explaining."[12]

Roddam Narasimha further qualified the quote by Needham with this important observation: "But there is the other side of this Needham question: whether, and if so why, China and India were ahead for fourteen previous centuries. If the Needham clause is true, (as I believe it is) the trajectory of science has certainly not been linear."[13] So another puzzle that has been inserted to this question is why China and India led for such a long time. May be other civilisations and societies caught up late but surely they could not have overtaken. The priority here then becomes: 'to see the state of science in the last few centuries'.

Needham has not listed any of the social and economic factors. It was nearly half a century ago that he made this observation. In fact, no one has provided a satisfactory and comprehensive answer. Udgaonkar, however is one of the few scientists, who has made at least a list of factors but without reaching any firm conclusion or suggestions for more research, inquiry and 'a fresh look' on the subject which lies between decay and stagnation. Some of the contributory factors towards answering the question of why India lagged behind in recent centuries, was listed as being: other-worldliness of Indian culture, influence of Buddhism, impact of Sufism and *Bhakti-Marg*, rigidity of the caste system, belief that all knowledge is in the Vedas, suppression of scientific spirit for political reasons, conflict between science and religion, tendency to accommodate conflicting opposites, ban on foreign travel, complacency when India attained a high level of colonization (as noted by Fa Hien, AD 400 and later Alberuni) including in Akbar's time, oral tradition, effect of invasion, etc. Without allowing either Hindu or Muslim chauvinism to distort the view of the happenings, other contributory factors were inability of the education system to change with the times, non-emergence of the culture of R&D to improve old technologies and master new technologies, lack of interest in printing and other inventions seen with Europeans, and too big a load from the past, where he ponders:

> Was the continuity in Indian civilization a handicap? Europe lost its Graeco-Roman knowledge and tradition in the dark ages, and then recovered these a thousand years later through the Arabs, along with the knowledge, which the Arabs brought from India. When this happened, the Europeans had a chance to have a fresh critical look at the old heritage. Such a critical look started already in the 13th-14th centuries with the scholastics, and was an important factor leading to Renaissance. Was the absence of discontinuity a disadvantage for the Chinese and the Indians?[14]

The questions so posed need to be further examined by scholars. One monolithic view is unlikely to emerge, but the research itself demands that the researcher has an open mind.

Current Views of Some Indian Scientists

M.G.K. Menon, a former scientific advisor to the Indian prime minster argues that, in the period from 12th to 18th century, over 10,000 books (manuscripts) were written in India on science and technology. Then he wonders what happened to this tempo thereafter? One key sociological explanation, he hypothesizes is the same as that Prafulla Chandra Ray had cited, that it was the "dominance of fundamentalism leading to development in society that did not encourage free thinking and enterprise."[15]

The importance of mass education is now well known. No society can progress without it. One explanation for decay and stagnation may be the absence of mass education. The nationalist, Indologist, A.S. Altekar, in '*Education in Ancient India*' gives the date as AD 800 when primary education was restricted to only the higher strata of society and the majority of the artisan class became illiterate and knew "only the traditional processes of their profession."[16]

In the period 15th to 17th century, scientific thinking advanced rapidly leading to the age of reason, and industrial revolution in Europe. B.V. Subbarayappa tries to answer the 'intriguing question' as to why 'a scientific renaissance', a new way of looking at Nature, a new methodology of experimentation, observation and inference, that occurred in Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, did not happen in India, too, despite the history of just such a strong scientific tradition. He agrees that the question is a difficult one, with no precise answers.' He further argues:

> The caste-ridden social organization, or the political upheavals from time to time, or the absence of the medieval universities of the type that came up in Europe, or the emphasis on preceptor-disciple relationship, or the importance given to spiritual pursuits and the life-sustaining values as well as a general mind-set towards being in *harmony* with nature in contradistinction to the *exploitation* of nature—all of these would have led India to choose or prefer the already determined pathways of traditional scientific thinking.[17]

Of the many reasons that led to a stagnation of the scientific way of thinking, the main are the social factors. Let us debate the matter with examples from the 20th century.

The Struggle of Prafulla Chandra Ray and Meghnad Saha

Illustrating the work of the makers of modern science in India, Chattopadhyaya mentions Prafulla Chandra Ray (1861-1944) or P.C. Ray. It is clarified that "Ray was furthest from any communal understanding of the word "Hindu" and his book *History of Hindu Chemistry* never had a communal angle."[18] Chattopadhyaya then further goes on to explain how Ray addresses two central or key questions. The first was- "what it was that infused real vitality to the scientific activities in ancient India." The second-, "what it was that inhibited their growth and eventual decline."[19] For the first question in a lecture delivered in 1918, PC Ray argued, "Experiments and observations constitute the fundamental bases of Sciences." He gave examples of work on chemistry and an emphasis on the methodology of science in ancient times:

Rasendra-Chintamani by Ramacandra and *Rasa-Prakash-Sudhakara* by Yasodhara, both of the 13th and 14th century A.D.… The former says: 'That which I have heard of learned men and have read in the Shastras but have not been able to verify by experiment I have discarded. On the other hand those operations which I have according to the directions of my sage teachers, been able to perform with my own hands – those alone I am committing to writing…. Yashodhara, the author of the latter observes: 'All the chemical operations described in my book have been performed with my own hands – I am not writing from mere hearsay. Everything related is based upon my own conviction and observations'[20]

To address the question on what it was that inhibited the growth and eventual decline of this scientific discipline, Chattopadhyaya agrees with P.C. Ray's hypothesis, viz., "The main cause of the decline of the scientific spirit in India was the entrenchment of the caste society, with its disastrous degradation of the social status of the technicians, craftsmen and other menial workers". This P.C. Ray felt, took place "when the Brahmins reasserted their supremacy on the decline and expulsion of Buddhism."[21] To complete this debate Chattopadhyaya also challenged the notion that "Indian sages had discovered the secret of some mysterious supra-scientific knowledge". He takes on S Radhkrishana, who "for example, goes to the extent of regretting the modern fascination for science and rationalism."[22]

In more recent times, the scientist cum Sanskrit scholar, Roddam Narasimha argues that: "P.C. Ray blamed *'advaitic'* philosophy and the concept of *'maya'*, as also the caste system, for lack of scientific progress in India."[23] There is however, much truth in this complex variable.

Another modern Indian scientist who also challenged the old orthodox ways was none other than P.C. Ray's student, the scientist Meghnad Saha. Chattopadhyaya clearly demonstrates how Saha in his writings had blamed the caste system that was the root cause, which had "completely snapped the connection between the hand and the brain and that is why the material culture of India is lagging far behind that of Europe and America"[24] But, Saha's biggest contribution was to challenge religious orthodoxy and caste doctrines. Saha, as a result had to:

…confront literally, a barrage of attacks from the champions of Vedic orthodoxy. He was accused of showing only slavish mentality in defending modern science flourishing in Europe, over-looking the fact that everything worthwhile in modern science is already to be found in Veda-centric culture of ancient India, which in many ways was alleged to have been far ahead of

modern "European" science since for example, in developing the caste system which was supposed to impart a kind of stability to society and hence enabled the Indians to evade the social turmoil of capitalist Europe. Saha had to waste much of his valuable time to clean up such rubbish.[25]

All Knowledge is in the Vedas?

There is another strand in the debate on scientific thinking as well as the Vedas, akin to what Meghnad Saha had to confront. To the question of the reason for India lagging behind in science and technology in recent centuries, B.M. Udgaonkar had suggested one answer: the incorrect claim that refers to "all that is called knowledge is the Vedas". Udgaonkar suggests, "It will be useful to know how old are these kind of beliefs in our culture/philosophical history. When and how did they get ascendancy? Such beliefs, if widely held, could lead to stagnation and then a decline in science, and could therefore be an important factor, inhibiting the growth of modern science in India. Such an attitude could also have inhibited the healthy development of philosophy"[26] It may be that this idea of all knowledge in the Vedas may have roots in a philosophical and a literary device found in the Mahabharta (which is also based on 'Upanishadic' and 'Vedantic' teachings). It is the famous statement of The Mahabharata as highlighted by S. Radhakrishnan: "what is here is elsewhere; what is not here is nowhere".[27]

From the encounters of P.C. Ray and Megnad Saha, just discussed, it seems that this type of thinking has emerged prominently, in the writings in the past few centuries. What follows in continuity is examined next.

Some Similar Debates of 21st Century

In the last century, Ray and Saha may have been the lone-warriors of the Indian scientific community, and there is a serious need to heed what scientists are now saying today. Nobel laureate, Venkataraman Ramkrishnan, in his lecture had stressed the need to become more rational and less superstitious.[28] Roddam Narasimha, from the Jawaharlal Nehru Centre for Advanced Scientific Research, in a guest editorial in *Current Science*, a flagship journal of the Indian Academy of Science, argues "It is high time we learn, once again, to distinguish science from mythology (both can be fun, but they are best when not mixed); evidence-based reasoning, from unthinking acceptance of authority or speculation, and the rational from the superstitious."[29] Mayank Vahia from the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research builds up on Narasimha's editorial to argue, "It is not that Indian achievements were not significant for their own period". He gives the example of the work of Aryabhata, the Kerala School of Mathematics, secular

approach of a large fraction of literature in Sanskrit with its intricate arguments on the working of the world, exacting architecture from the Harappan towns to the Taj Mahal and rockets of Tipu Sultan. "Even the *'Sulba Sutra'* possibly predates Pythagoras: there is no doubt that Indians already knew of the Pythagoras theorem before the Greeks learnt about it. But when such an assertion is also mixed with claims of invention of *vimanas* that could undertake interplanetary journey, both the earlier claims get discredited."[30] Integrity and credibility of scientific work is a necessary condition. Jayant V. Narlikar an astrophysicist warns on the weak foundation of over-exaggeration of science in the Vedic era. "In our enthusiasm for our heritage (thermonuclear reaction in the sun as an example) we sometimes end up making statements that dilute our credibility".[31]

Reality

Military capacity and capability is also a good indicator of science, its advancements and its follow-up, through design and technology. Let us set aside the debates and see the naked reality in one military test case. Let us begin with our ancient past. The historian, Jagadish Narayan Sarkar argues that one marked military weakness of Hindu power was that, early medieval India (11-13th centuries) was practically stagnant in the use of offensive and defensive weapons, which continued to be used in the same way as was used in the age of Vedas and the epics, early Smritis and the Guptas. In other words no new inventions were made; and bows and arrows, spears, maces, battle axes, noose, discs, etc., continued to be used as in the past.[32]

Today India is the top importer of high-end defence equipment. This issue of possessing inferior weapons, equipment, and a lack of contemporary technology has left a deep impression on the military leadership. For example, in the debate of military defeats, a book on leadership published by the Army Training Command is making a very wide sweep. In this book, they seem to be the least interested in a glorious and now lost technological tradition. In a chapter on higher leadership, in the longue durée view, this book argues that from Alexander's victory in 326 BCE till the Sino-India border war in 1962, one factor was constant: "constantly lagging behind in the weapons and equipment of contemporary technology."[33] Surely no erudite scholarship can get rid of this impression. One needs to be truthful and accurate in measuring and recording reality. It needs to be admitted squarely that India needs to catch up.

As to the challenge and shame of the caste system today, Anaya Vajpeyi, a fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, recalling her lecture tours to Canada said, "Sanskrit professors at leading universities were making absurd claims, for example, that caste is unrelated to birth; that

Hindu society is inherently gender blind; or that if the term "varna" does not occur, there is no discrimination."[34] Theoretically, *The Sukraniti Sutras* 75-76 say: "Not by birth are the Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya, Sudra an Mlechchha separated, but by virtues and works."[35] But the naked reality in actuality is still very different. This is one issue, which cannot be brushed aside just because it is given in an important text, though the bright side is to see its normative view – a job yet unfinished.

Conclusion

It is clear that it is not possible to conclude what led to scientific stagnation in India in spite of an illustrious past with a lot of scientific discovery and traditions. There are many factors and reasons, as we can see. Even if a history of science were ever to be written for India, it would not be easy to select the methodology that would be needed to adopt. There is a total absence of political history from which social and scientific matters can be extracted. This also is a great intellectual challenge. What is continuity and what is change? All practices of the past need not be glorified, yet those that are relevant, need to be revived and reused. Satischandra Chatterjee and Dhirendramohan Datta have an important philosophical view:

> If the openness of mind – the willingness to listen to what others have to say – has been one chief cause of the wealth and greatness of Indian philosophy in the past, it has a definitive moral for the future. If Indian philosophy is once more to revive and continue its great career, it can do so only by taking into consideration the new ideas of life and reality, which has been flowing into India from the West and the East, from Aryan, the Semitic, the Mongolian and other sources.[36]

If the statements made by the elected political leaders and some constitutional leaders are analyzed, many claims are not based on any research or scientific enquiry but are mere opinions. With this sort of public utterances what is of real value does not get due attention as these are monologues and not healthy dialogues. Fiction gets mixed up with facts. Our reputed scientists at a national and international level, as we saw, have told us what is wrong with making false and unimaginable claims of our past. The astrophysicist, Jayant V. Narlikar makes an important observation on this lack of scientific temper. He warns against "pseudoscience that grows around superstition". Claims of super weapons need to be explained with technical details like mathematical principles of flight, knowledge of nuclear physics and so on. He also questioned why there was no mention of the forces of electricity and magnetism, "knowledge of which would be necessary for understanding nuclear physics."[37]

Even the ancient "Kautilya" of the 4th century BCE, warns us to be wary of superstations and religious rituals. In Book 9 (the activity of the King about to march) of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (9.4.26) there is a good deal of scientific temper: "The object slips away from the foolish person, who continuously consults the stars; for an object is the (auspicious) constellation for (achieving) an object; what will the star do?"

But, it is clear that this enquiry needs to be taken forward and all relevant past must be researched and the unsuitable or unscientific matters need to be systematically discarded. This is an intellectual problem, that needs much debate and deliberation (*vichara* or *tadvidyasambhasha* – friendly discussions of the cooperative variety) or *sandhyaya sambhasa* and not the aggressive and hostile known as '*vigraha'*. India has had a sophisticated tradition of debates and discussions in the past. Rather, I would put it as: "the Indian philosophical schools have attained their current richness and fullness only because of the criticism and opposition that they have faced."[38] It is in this sprit that this desideratum-necessary prerequisite needs to be addressed.

Notes

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4. Zaheer Baber, *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 64, p. 66, p. 68.

5. B.M. Udgaonkar, "Why Did Early India Science Not Fulfill Its Promise?", note 2, p.60. The work on the heritage part quoted is D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subbarayappa (eds.), *A Concise History of Science in India*, New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 1971.

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10. *Ibid.,* p. v.

11. *Ibid.,* p. vi.

12. As quoted (with his italics), by Roddam Narasimha, "The Chequered Histories of Epistemology and Science"**,** Jawaharlal Nehru Centre for Advanced Scientific Research and National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, p. 2.

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17. B.V. Subbarayappa, "Pioneers of Science and Nationalism in India", in B.V. Subbarayappa (ed.), *Science in India: Past and Present*, Mumbai, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. / Nehru Centre, 2007, pp. 285-286.

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19. *Ibid,* p. 7.

20. *Ibid,* p. 8

21. *Ibid,* p. 9.

22. *Ibid,* p. 46.

23. Roddam Narasimha, 'The Chequered Histories of Epistemology and Science', n.d, p. 4.

24. Chattopadhyaya, n. 18, p. 132.

25. *Ibid.,* pp. 17-18. Quotes omitted from reference quoted above.

26. Udgaonkar, n. 2, pp. 74-75. A brief snapshot of some of these issues was included as an Appendix B - 'All Knowledge of Science and Technology is in the Vedas?' in P.K. Gautam, "One Year of *Arthashastra*: Response, Pedagogy and Research" in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (eds.), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*, Volumes II, 2015, pp.124-125.

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Kalikant Mishra[*]

Importance of Forensic Audit in Controlling Non-Performing Assets in Banks

Abstract

In the last two decades, a large number of scams, frauds and scandals have rocked the business fraternity across the world. The accounting scandals or manipulations in the books of accounts have led to big frauds like Enron, WorldCom, Madoff, Satyam, etc....This has created a crisis of confidence in the financial reporting practice and the effectiveness of 'Corporate Governance' in large companies. This has clearly demonstrated a failure of statutory audit in preventing and reducing misappropriation of corporate funds. This has resulted in an increase in corporate crimes, which in turn have put considerable pressure on the professional accountants and legal practitioners. A nationwide survey conducted by Kessler International concluded that this problem could be reduced by adopting Forensic Accounting or Forensic Audit by companies or organizations, worldwide.

Introduction

Indian companies are notorious for inflating project costs. A bunch of bankers, (into whose ears the political leadership and ministry minders whisper compelling advice) accept inflated project costs and sanction loans much larger than would be warranted if the project cost were realistic. While implementing the project through captive companies, the promoter then pilfers money out from the project funds, to line his own pocket and, also pay off the 'neta-babu' nexus or politicians, who were the reason for the inflated projections in the first place. Now, the project (whose actual cost is much lower) has to service a loan larger than what its viability warranted. The solution then is to set up yet more companies with inflated project costs and use these loan proceeds to service the original debt. A vicious circle is thus set up, that drains the money out of our

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system to line the pockets of a few nefarious elements in our existing political system. If the process can be sustained until the original project becomes completely debt free and turns into a cash cow (a source of income) to service the subsequent rounds of loans, the promoter would have pulled off the project successfully. But, he has to repeat the process with the subsequent loans as well.

If this chain of recycling bank funds is broken before enough projects turn debt free and ready to finance the remaining loans, things turn sour. Multiple loans turn unserviceable. "During the period of aggressive lending from 2008 to 2014, the gross advances of Public sector banks increased by about Rs.34 lakh crores, from Rs.18.16 lakh crores to 52.15 lakh crores in 2014. It is also observed that despite repayment not being regular on these, through relaxation in loan classification, banks continued to keep defaulters as non-NPA account holders by restructuring them." (FM Arun Jaitley, speaking in the FICCI conference at New Delhi, TOI, 29 November 2017).

Forensic Audit – Need of the Hour

This problem of the generation of non-performing assets could have easily been avoided if banks had opted for forensic audits in order to verify the end use of funds. The often-quoted reason, by Banks, for the creation of non-performing assets is inefficiency in the credit assessment and the credit management of a particular loan. This is evident from the diversion of funds, inflation of project costs and opening of shell companies by promoters. But, this could have easily been detected earlier, through *forensic audit as this audit actually verifies cash flow of the company with the help of the Company's bank's account statements and not just by relying on projected balance sheets of the company.*

"This 'Forensic Audit' also checks credit worthiness and other antecedents of bidders in the resolution plans under IBC. The conducting of the forensic audit of the bidder under Bankruptcy Code is essential to rule out the possibility of any fraud perpetrated by the promoters. In case of no fraud, genuine promoters may be allowed to proceed for insolvency proceedings or bid for stressed assets and in situations of fraud or siphoning of funds, the promoters may be charged and misappropriated funds may be recovered. The Forensic Audit is also a risk-mitigation strategy for IRP" says V. Dinkar, Partner (restructuring) at EY India. (ET, 13 November 2017) Nowadays, no lender wants to take any risks and a forensic investigation is just one of the things that could and should be done in the situation.

As non performing assets have been growing exponentially, among Indian banks, in the last few years, especially in the years 2012-2017; the Supreme Court has also expressed serious concern about this matter. During several hearings of many legal petitions and PILs filed against Big Corporate Houses, the Court has asked the concerned Ministry/departments/banks to initiate Forensic Audit of certain companies to verify whether the funds have been diverted by the promoters/directors for their own personal use. (ET, 12 December 2017).

Reserve Bank of India has asked Banks to conduct Forensic Audit of all 28 NPA accounts referred by it for resolution, to ensure that the end use of the lenders' funds is appropriate and they are utilised for the purpose for which these have been taken. Hence, Forensic Accounting or Audit is getting more and more importance while handling NPAs or Money laundering cases.

Forensic Audit or Accounting

Joshi (2003) gave the credit for the origin of forensic accounting to Kautilya, (the first economist to openly recognize the need for the forensic accountant) who mentioned 40 ways of embezzlement centuries ago. Crumbley (2001) stated that a form of forensic accounting can be traced back to an 1817 court decision. He also stated that a young Scottish accountant issued a circular advertising his expertise in arbitration support in 1824.

But, Maurice E. Peloubet is probably the first to publish the phrase *finance accounting in his 1946 essay "Forensic Accounting: Its Place in Today's Economy."*

Forensic Accounting is a combination of two words—forensic and accounting. Forensic means suitable for use in a court of law. Accounting is the system of recording, summarizing, analyzing, verifying business and financial transactions and reporting the results thereof. Hence, in plain words, Forensic Accounting utilizes accounting, auditing and investigating skills to conduct an examination into a company's financial statements thus providing an accounting analysis that is suitable to present in court.

According to AICPA (American Institute of Chartered Public Accountants), "Forensic Accounting is the application of accounting principles, theories, and disciplines to facts or hypotheses at issues in a legal dispute and encompasses every branch of accounting knowledge." Horty defined forensic accounting as, "The Science that deals with the relation and application of finance, accounting, tax, and auditing knowledge to analyze, investigate, inquire, test and examine

matters in civil law, criminal law and jurisprudence in an attempt to obtain the truth from which to render an expert opinion." (Bhasin 2007).

Forensic science according to Crumbley (2003), "may be defined as application of the laws of nature to the laws of man." The science in question here is accounting science, meaning that the examination and interpretation will be of economic information.

Joshi (2003) defined Forensic Accounting as the application of specialized knowledge and specific skills to stumble upon the evidence of economic transactions. Zysman (2001) put Forensic accounting as the integration of accounting, auditing, and investigating skills. Simply put, forensic accounting is accounting that is suitable for legal review offering the highest level of assurance and including the now generally accepted connotation of having been arrived at in a scientific fashion. (Crumbley 2006) Coenen (2005) stated that forensic accounting involves the application of accounting concepts and techniques to legal problem. "Investigative and forensic accounting engagements' are those that:

- require the application of professional accounting skills, investigative skills and an investigative mindset, and
- involve disputes or anticipated disputes or where there are risks, concerns or allegations of fraud or other illegal or unethical conduct." (Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountant 2006)

There are separate bodies of Forensic Accountants spread all over the world like National Association of Forensic Accountants, American College of Forensic Examiners, Certified Forensic Financial Analyst CPA society, etc.

In the USA, the Sarbanes—Oxley Act (SOA) of 2002, has forced top management to certify that financial statements are free of frauds and material misstatements. Similar is the situation prevalent in India. As per clause 49 of the BSE/NSE listing requirements, companies have to give similar certificates to stock exchanges.

In India, after modification of Companies act, section 235 and section 237 deals with Forensic Audit and in case of large numbers of non-performing assets and shell companies, the Banks have started Forensic Audits to verify whether there is a possibility that funds have been diverted from the companies, by their promoters, for their personal use.

Main Steps in Forensic Analysis

- Data collection

- Data preparation
- Data analysis
- Reporting

For example, forensic analysis is used to review diversion of funds by verifying end use of funds. It is used in case of suspected embezzlement or fraud, to determine tax liability, to investigate allegations of bribery among other reasons.

The financial audit work would check whether, there has been misuse of the book of accounts, funds, including facilitation of accommodation entries or compromise of minority shareholder interest if any.

A forensic auditor examines a company's system of internal controls to identify any weakness in the control, designed to safeguard assets and to determine whether anyone in the company has exploited control weaknesses to misappropriate assets for personal gains.

Asset theft fraud occurs using one's position in a company usually as an employee to deliberately misuse or steal company's resources or assets for personal gain. Forensic Audit helps in detecting diversion of funds, wilful defaults and window dressing of financial statements. "With the rise in money laundering and wilful defaults cases, RBI has made forensic audit mandatory for large advances and restructuring of accounts. As per RBI, "The reasons for frauds include gap in credit underwriting standards, liberal cash flow projection at the proposal stage, lack of continuous monitoring of cash flow and cash profits (EBITDA) and lack of security perfection. The other reasons are over valuation, gold plating of projects, diversion of funds, double financing and general governance issues in banks." (*Economic Times,* 18 September 2017—PTI News quoting senior officials of RBI)

The Enforcement Directorate and the Serious Fraud Investigation Office (SFIO) under Ministry of Company Affairs, GOI have underscored the need for forensic audit following the rise in money laundering and wilful defaults cases that are plaguing the banking system.

The enactment of the 'Benami Property Act' increases the importance of Forensic audit in the country's fight against financial offenders. (Economic Times, 20 February 2017).

Reasons for the Creation of Present Day NPAs in Banks

- "Deficiencies in evaluation can be somewhat compensated for by careful post lending monitoring, including careful documentation and perfection of collaterals as well as ensuring assets backing; the promoter

guarantees are thus registered and tracked. *Unfortunately, too many projects were left weakly monitored even as costs increased.*

- The socialistic past led to the Indian Banks lending with compassion.
- Borrowers managed to exploit the fear of loss, which existed in the Banker's mind to their advantage and benign lenders fell into the trap and waited for the tide to lift the failed business. (Raghuram Rajan, ET, 21 June 2017).
- The role for the banks in mature markets is to originate loans and then distribute to other willing players in the market. (S.S. Mundra, Deputy Governor, RBI)
- Beyond loan appraisals, banks have to build teams that would do forensic audit of promoters' equity claims, and monitor the way funds are used and misused." (ET 21 June 2017).
- With times, banks have become wiser, and this has also led to an operationalization of credit information and thus the formation of the credit information bureau (CIBIL), which helps the banks to essentially perform background checks before lending. But, still it is not fully operational.
- Similarly, the central Repository of Information on large Credits (CRILIC) can help banks get more information about the history of corporate borrowers. But, it is again not fully used by banks to keep track of borrowers' activities.
- Banks can prevent promoters from gaming the system, if they begin sourcing data from institutions like CIBIL, which has live feed on defaulters.
- "Capitalism without financial failure is not capitalism at all, but a kind of socialism for the rich." (Uday Kotak, Executive Chairman, Kotak Mahindra Bank).
- "Big Borrowers may not see Karnas in Indian banks, but Shylock enforcing contracts." (M.C. Goverdhan Rangan, Sangita Mehta, ET 21 June 2017).
- Inability to assess the quality and capability of borrowers in the age of credit ratings speak voluminously about managerial inefficiencies.
- Banks are known to resort to window dressing and ever greening their assets accounts. But, such manipulated assets cannot generate real and sustained cash flows for the banks. Nor do such accounts get fresh advances from the bank in question. Banks at best facilitate and cajole such defaulters to pay up, thus facilitating adverse business cycles.

- "Schemes such as CDR and SDR had been primarily used to avoid provisioning for the assets rather than resolving them" (Viral Acharya, Dy. Governor, RBI).
- "After the financial crisis of 2008, there was a push in lending to infrastructure and capital goods sector. But, as economic growth faltered, demand slowed down and capacity became idle, crimping the ability of firms to service their debts. So dumping took place as there was no buyer due to a concurrent slow down in the global economy. No foreign buyers were available, further resulting in a decrease in exports. Loans, thus became NPAs for banks.

Forensic Audit prevents the generation of non-performing assets in banks, by unearthing discrepancies in financial statements, by verifying actual cash flow statements, bank statements, etc. For example—in a recent case, forensic auditors found that a company with existing, huge cash reserves had surprisingly applied for loans. Later, the company was labelled as a wilful defaulter.

Some Latest Cases of Forensic Audits Conducted in India in 2017

- *Economic Times* (04 August 2017) reported: "SBI led consortium of lenders ordered a forensic audit of Videocon Company to find out whether the company had floundered because of adverse business conditions or due to financial mismanagement. A forensic report will also give lenders a clear idea of the liquidity position of the company, whether there has been any diversion of funds, misappropriation of assets and non-compliance of any of the regulatory norms. That will help banks in considering debt restructuring of Videocon in the region of approximately Rs. 43000 crores."
- *Economic Times* (12 July 2017) reports that GTL Company (Telecom Infra Co.) has come clean in Forensic Audit and now Lenders are set to pursue one time settlement (OTS) for restructuring their debt amounting to Rs.6000 crores.
- "MCX (Commodity Exchange) is set to undergo Forensic Audit", reports ET, 05 April 2017.
- "National Stock Exchange (NSE) faces a second Forensic Audit of trading system, this time by Ernest Young." (ET, 30 March 2017).
- "Members of Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Parliament asks for Forensic audit of PSB defaulters." (ET, 03 March 2017).

Statutory Audit or Financial Statement Audit will usually not aid in discovering asset theft fraud, because the objective of the financial statement audit is only to determine whether the financial statements fairly present the

company's financial position. For example: If an employee sets up a dummy vendor to siphon off company cash into his own account, the company's book will reflect the cash payment. Even though the transaction is fraudulent, the company's financial statements will accurately reflect this transaction as an authentic one and thus fail to identify the asset theft.

An auditor conducting a financial statement audit cannot examine every transaction in the company's business record and cannot be charged with not discovering asset-theft fraud. If the financial statements fairly state the company's financial position, the auditor would be justified in issuing an unqualified opinion, even though undetected asset theft fraud is present.

Financial statement audit (Statutory Audit), is done for assurance that the business's financial statements in all material aspects, fairly state the company's financial position as on a certain date. An auditor conducting a financial statement audit is charged with performing audit procedures to *discover financial statement fraud but not asset theft fraud, which is subject of Forensic audit. A forensic auditor will not express any opinion on the company's financial statement.*

Suspicion of Asset theft Fraud

Sometimes, a small business owner will mistakenly request an accounting firm to conduct a financial statement audit if he suspects asset-theft fraud. If we tell our audit firm our suspicion or the audit is to detect asset-theft fraud, it should recommend a forensic audit instead of, or in addition to, a financial statement audit. Ideally, a forensic audit should be conducted by a certified public accountant who is also a certified fraud examiner.

Financial Statement Fraud

Financial statement Fraud is the intentional misrepresentation of a company's financial position through the misstatement or omission of certain transactions or disclosures in the financial statements. Financial statement Fraud is designed to deceive financial statement users, such as owners, investors, creditors or others who rely on the financial statements to make financial decisions.

This type of fraud is usually perpetrated by company executives whose compensation is tied to the financial performance of the company or whose position is dependent on the company meeting certain financial goals. If we suspect, a member of our business's management team is "cooking the book", so as to speak, a financial statement audit is designed to detect the financial statement fraud.

Through their analysis, Forensic auditors convert complex financial transactions into simple ones for laymen like the jury or judicial persons who are not very conversant with financial data interpretation.

Financial Forensic Engagements are in following Categories

Economic damage calculation suffered through breach of contract like in case of Banking NPA where there is breach of contract between bank and borrower who has diverted the bank's funds elsewhere for purposes far removed from the original purpose.

Money Laundering: Business Valuation (like over-valuation of the project cost that is submitted to the bank in order to get sanction, so that it takes care of the promoters' margin money too, thereby making the financial stake of the borrower NIL.)

After fraud, they frequently involve the assessment of accounting systems and accounts presentation; in essence assessing if the numbers reflect the actual position.

Internal auditors (Statutory Auditors) go through the checklist, that may not surface the evidence, which the regulatory body is searching for while forensic auditors convert complex data into terms which are understood and accepted by the regulator as well as the court.

Forensic Auditors: Four, big accounting firms are on the panel of the Indian Bank Association (Umbrella Organisation of Banks) for audits of frauds in Banks. Besides, there are other 39 accounting firms, empanelled by the Reserve bank of India for the smooth operation of Forensic audits. "The number of, banking fraud cases, in the fiscal ending March, 2017 have steadily increased to 5076 from a modest 4235 in 2012-13." (ET, 18 September 2017, PTI Reports).

Financial Forensic Engagements are thus in the Following Categories

- Economic damage calculation suffered through breach of contract like in the case of Banking NPA, where there is a breach of contract between the bank and the borrower who has diverted the bank's funds.
- Money Laundering.
- Business Valuation (like overvaluation of the project cost submitted to the bank for sanction, which takes care of the promoter's margin money, thereby making the financial stake of borrower NIL).
- After fraud, they frequently involve the assessment of accounting systems and accounts presentation—in essence assessing if the numbers reflect actual position.

Internal auditors (Statutory Auditor) go through a checklist which may essentially not be capable of surfacing the evidence, which the regulatory body is searching for, while forensic auditors convert complex data into terms which are easily understood and accepted by regulators and the court.

Need for this Forensic Study

NPAs are a part and parcel of the banking business and this will remain thus till banks exist, but it should be under strict control. The level of NPAs depends on how the bankers handle NPAs efficiently. The forensic analysis will help the banks to find out the level of NPAs in each sector, their reasons, and also suggestions of possible remedial measures for real income recognition, asset classification and provisioning. The causes and effects of NPAs need to be analysed at micro level to find out the causes and effect of the NPA, contribution of various sectors in increasing NPA levels, etc. Therefore, the proposed study will concentrate on micro-analysis of NPA accounts from a purely forensic angle. The research findings from the proposed study will enlighten the stakeholders of the various banks. This will help in enriching their knowledge of risk assessment and credit management.

Need of Forensic Analysis of NPAs of Banks

Though the NPAs are accounting norms, they have a direct relationship with recovery of loans and increase in the profits of banks. Hence, NPAs are the major cause for almost all problems in banking. So, the NPAs needs to be analysed thoroughly at micro and sub-micro levels and find out the actual value of the net NPA, Gross NPA and also the causes of NPAs. Forensic Analysis of NPA in bank thus provides the answer about the level of NPAs under various categories, NPAs in various sectors, real causes of NPA, etc. Therefore, there is a real need for study, concentrated on analysis of NPA accounts in a scientific way and considering the forensic angle.

Based on the analysis of secondary data collected from various sources, it is concluded that the inefficiency of bankers in credit assessment and credit monitoring is the main reason for the generation of non-performing assets in banks along with political interference in granting of loans. Forensic audit reduces this problem and helps in containing the number of NPAs in banks.

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Mental Health in Digital Age

Abstract

Mental health encompasses emotional, social and psychological well-being. It influences the individual at affective, cognitive and behavioural levels. Mental health per se is deciphered when a person makes choices, copes with a distressed event or situation and when relating to others. With the advent of digital technology, primarily, computer, laptop, mobile telephony, etc., there are noticeable changes with regard to attitudes and behaviour, particularly, maladaptive ones, like changes in mood patterns and social behaviour. Nevertheless, technology has become the part of one's daily lives and helps in engaging a person in online facilities of online shopping, banking, maintaining a relationship with significant others, maintaining a professional profile and exploring how we are and what we show to others. Digital technology has a strong interface each one influencing the other. On a similar note, technology offers application for mobile and web-based services for enhancing one's mental health. Technology has the capacity to influence human beings and also has the capability to offer preventive measures for poor mental health.

Key words: *Mental health, digital technology, affective, cognitive and behavioural*

Introduction

Engagement in cyberspace (space within which communication occurs via the internet) is a necessary activity in the era of digitization. Keeping in view the all pervasiveness of digitization of information, the concerns arising are whether mental health is being enhanced or diminished in the present times, what are the challenges emerging thereby and the benefits in the digital world. These are a few questions that will be addressed in the present article.

Health per se includes both physical health and mental health. But most often, any discourse on health generally focuses on just the physical aspects.

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Brock Chisholm, the first Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO), in 1954, stated that, "Without mental health, there can be no true physical health." Mental health, as defined by WHO, "is a state of well-being in which an individual can realize his or her own potential, cope with the normal stresses of life, work productively, and make a contribution to the community." Ryff and Singer (1998) opine that health is a complete state, consisting of not just the absence of illness but also the presence of something positive. The markers of mental health include perceived life satisfaction, generally positive emotions, optimism, purpose in life, healthy relationships with others, and self-acceptance. Mental health thus, is regarded as an optimal psychological state that becomes a necessary goal to be obtained by the populace in all the societies. Nevertheless, it is greatly influenced by biological, psychological and environmental factors.

Given the fact that mental health contributes significantly in overall development , two important goals related to mental health defined by WHO under Sustainable Development Goals (September 2015) were considered. The first is to reduce by one-third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases (behavioural, developmental, and neurological disorders) through prevention and treatment and to promote mental health and well-being by 2030. Secondly, to strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance use disorder(s), including narcotic drug use and harmful use of alcohol. It may be highlighted here that mental health is a major public health concern in both developing and developed societies. For example, anxiety and depression are the most common disorders in developed countries like the US and the UK, just to name a few. About 20-25% people in UK, and US experience mental illness in a given year. Mental health problems not only impact them economically, but its ramifications are observed in all aspects of life, like children dropping out of school, behavioural problems, delinquent behaviour, inattentiveness, distress, anxiety disorders and the like.

Status of Mental Illness in India

A recent survey on the state of mental illness in India, National Mental Health Survey (2016) was conducted by National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences (NIMHANS), Bangalore in 12 states of the country. It is estimated that approximately 150 million people in India are experiencing one or the other kind of mental health problems. As per the survey, 13.7% experience various disorders. Prevalence of mental disorders including common mental health disorders, severe mental health disorders, and alcohol and substance use disorders (excluding tobacco use disorder) in adults over the age of 18 years, is

about 10.6% and most of whom require immediate interventionsshow 1.9% suffering from severe mental disorders.

The major findings that emerged are:

- the prevalence of mental illness is high in urban metropolitan areas,
- neurosis and stress related disorders are twice as high in women as compared to males, and nearly 50% of people with major depressive disorders face difficulty in carrying out their daily activities.
- The common psychological problems reported by participants (total participants were 34802, above the age of 18 years) are:
  - problems in anger management,
  - emotional instability,
  - lack of tolerance, and
  - reduced attention span.

The survey points that poverty and inaccessibility to basic amenities that are essential to mental health and well being are missing. The report also states that due to stigmatization of mental illness, there are huge gaps in the treatment modalities and the patient is often left untreated in most cases, even after 12 months of illness. Since mental health is not a priority, like physical health, there is a paucity of mental health specialists as well. Among the 12 states covered in the survey, Manipur had the highest prevalence of mental disorders.

Another multi-site survey (2017) conducted by Department of Psychiatry, AIIMS, Delhi, in 11 cities across India (total participants were 24371 above 18 years) concluded that women had a higher prevalence of anxiety and mood disorders. The most important finding was the huge treatment gap of about 95% - only 5 of 100 individuals with common mental disorders received any treatment over the past year. (The study focused on twelve-month prevalence and treatment gap for common mental disorders) Women were twice more likely than men to have anxiety disorders (4.42% women, 2.44% men), and 1.16 times (1.79% women, 1.11% men) more likely to have mood disorders. Substance use on the other hand was more common among men (2.23% men, 0.08% women).

Digital Technologies: Harmful or Empowering

The cyber world has immense information. It has been regarded as informative, convenient, and resourceful with economic and social benefits. The cyberspace is being used and misused at the same time. And, in this context, it is a double-edged sword. With reference to misuse of technology, Internet Addiction (IA) has recently been added in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*

of Mental Disorders (*DSM–5*). In defence of IA being included in the manual, Block (2008) states "Internet addiction is a compulsive-impulsive spectrum disorder that involves online/ and or offline computer usage and consists of at least three subtypes, excessive gaming, sexual preoccupations and email/text messaging". Block further suggests that IA shows commonality with substance use disorders, like excessive use, withdrawal phenomenon, tolerance and negative influences. Presently, IA is a major public health concern in China and South Korea.

Interface of Individual and Digital Technology

Digital technology has become all pervasive in our everyday and work lives, and its importance will continue to increase in future. The innovations in digital technology have not only brought in various threats, but also opportunities. For example, it acts as a facilitator in delivery of health services to the society. Access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has been a key driver of development. The number of internet users in India is expected to reach 500 Million by June, 2018 (Internet and Mobile Association of India). There has been an increase of 11.30% from December 2016 to December 2017. The internet penetration in urban India is 64.84% while as, rural internet penetration is 20.26% (December, 2017).

In light of the above data, it is assured that more and more people will be able to access cyberspace in future. The new technologies like video conferencing, smart mobile devices, virtual world, and electronic games, etc. are here to stay. These new technologies alter the human experience as well as health care. It is also a challenge to psychologists of how it is changing the ways of communication and processing information. The community of netizens that includes 'digital natives and digital immigrants' (Pransky, 2001), and the advances in technology is increasing at an exponential rate. Digital natives are the generation of young people who are 'native speakers' of the digital language of computers, games and internet. While the digital immigrants have not been exposed to digital technology at an early age, exponential growth in technology has enabled, facilitated and augmented new services for mental health care where self-monitoring is possible and autonomy in decision making is present. This may happen with or without professional involvement also.

Digital technology, being a part of modern day living, helps individuals to interact in cyberspace and how these interactions affect lives outside the realm of cyberspace also becomes significant. It has been rightly pointed out, that digital technology has the capacity to enhance or diminish mental health. There are potential risks involved in cyberspace as its negative outcomes, like being

exposed to danger, harm and hazards. In other words, it may have favourable and not favourable consequences. It has been observed that people develop a habitual pattern of overuse of technology with increase in screen time (mobile, laptop, computer and television) to the extent of impairing healthy functioning.

Usage of Cyberspace According to Developmental Stages

The usage of digital technologies differs across developmental stages. Though, variations do exist within the group also, but overall the pattern observed (Third, et al. 2014) is as follows:

1. *Children***:** The primary need for children (upto the age of 11 years) to use digital technology, primarily, is for entertainment, watching cartoons via streaming videos or playing online games. The UNICEF report on 'State of the World's Children: Children in Digital World', states that 1 out of 3 internet users, worldwide is a child. Parents also use technology to pacify infants and children. Researcher Jenny Radesky at Boston University School of Medicine points out that this strategy used by parents may have negative consequences for social and emotional development. Children face difficulty in developing emotional self-regulation and social competence. Children are able to register themselves on adult social networking sites where there age cannot be verified. Children also become target to free online games like, 'advergames' intended to interest children for their products. Most often the advertisement is for unhealthy foods for which the children might be greatly influenced. (Independent, 29 March 2014) Children also are exposed to cyber-bullying, and may be contacted and connected digitally with strangers. This age group is also vulnerable to getting access to pornographic and/or violent content unintentionally. The online and offline risks for this age group are more or less same. In order to overcome the risks, parents should be familiar with the technology and vigilant about their children's online activities. The problems encountered thereof, are likely to be in developing social competence and emotional regulation. According to American Paediatrics' Association, digital media exposure of children of all ages should be limited to the bare minimal.

2. *Adolescents***:** For this age group, of 12 to 17 years, technology is primarily used to socialize with peers, both, for communication as well as for entertainment. The risks involved, in this age group includes, cyber-bullying, 'sexting', violation of privacy, being exposed to sexual images and text. Many a times, adolescents are also not aware of the legal implications of some online activities like, 'sexting'. Development of aggressive behaviours like self-harm, truancy, neglecting school duties, addictive behaviours are all common problems in this stage of developments.

3. *Adults***:** For the age group from 18-64 years, cyberspcace is primarily used for gathering information, shopping, banking and communication. The Pew Research Centre (2014) reported that 73% of adults have witnessed online harassment, such as being threatened, cyber-stalking, and sexual harassment. Adults are also at risk of online fraud, embezzling of funds and identities thefts.

4. *Seniors***:** Adults above 65 years, primarily use cyberspace to maintain contact with friends and family, receive or send updates of significant others who are not in close proximity, for medical purpose, and information for local services. At times, seniors may also use cyberspace for online gaming. Seniors are not particularly aware of misuse of cyberspace and thus, can be particularly vulnerable to cyber criminals.

Thus, it may be said that people who use technology more often are at a greater risk, but both children and seniors are almost equally vulnerable in cyberspace. The other risks involved in cyberspace are content-related risks, conduct-related risks, contact-related risks, and other risks. (Livingstone, Kirwil, Ponte and Staksrud, 2013) Researchers have concluded that the risks involved with content are primarily because of pornographic or violent content. This type of content many a times pops up accidentally and thus, is more shocking and upsetting. Violent content may be frightening and cause anxiety disorders. Contact-related risks include people assuming false personalities, impersonating someone and later, even trying to meet face-to-face. Conduct-related risks include hacking of information, sharing images without consent, and cyber-bullying. Cyber-bullying has been linked to many negative mental health problems like, depression, social anxiety, somatic symptoms, poor self-esteem, increased school absences and lowered academic performance. Researchers have found an association between victimization in cyberspace and suicidal behavior. At workplace, cyber-bullying may cause high levels of stress that may lead to severe anxiety related disorders, and depression, decrease in productivity, lack of job satisfaction and increased absenteeism.

Cyberspace for Delivering Mental Health Services

Delivering mental health services very quickly is one the biggest advantage of digital technology. As mental health refers to positive functioning, promoting mental health and treating mental illness should go hand in hand. Delivery of mental health services in developing countries is at a very slow pace. For example, India was facing a possible "mental health epidemic" and not simply a challenge. Addressing the concern, President Kovind in his address in NIMHANS, 2017, stressed the need for providing access to treatment facilities to all those suffering from mental disorders, by the year, 2022.

To achieve this objective, and to bridge the burgeoning gap between service providers and the unmet needs of the patients, there has to be an increased use of ICT to improve the health care mechanism and access to services. Digital movement in mental health care or e-mental health is a cultural phenomenon that has empowered patients to exercise greater choice and control. The online space helps in overcoming stigma, helps in prevention and in practical interventions in community settings. The services for e-health and m-health already exist. Similarly, now we have e-mental health on the same lines that uses ICT to support and improve mental health with the use of online resources, social media, and smart-phone application. Given the fact, that there are only 43 government-run hospitals across India to provide services to more than seventy million people living with mental disorders and 0.30 psychiatrists, 0.17 nurses, and .05 psychologists per 1 Lakh mentally ill patients in the country being available, the role of ICT becomes really significant.

There are two types of e-mental health that one commonly refers to, one being web interventions and the second is mobile applications (MHapps), referred to as Internet- and mobile –based psychological interventions (IMIs). Another delivery mechanism related to it is tele-mental health, a subset of tele-health that uses video-conferencing techniques to provide mental health services from a distance. It includes, tele-psychology, tele-psychiatry, tele-mental nursing and tele-behavioural health. An example of tele-psychiatry is SCARF's (Schizophrenia Research Foundation, based in Chennai) use of mobile clinics in rural India. This has been used since 2005, when it started counselling Tsunami victims through video conferencing. It has also introduced mobile tele-psychiatry since 2010. Blogging and social media have also shown their positive impact.

The basic premise of using digital technology in providing mental health services is to ensure that everyone has access to mental health and emotional health support is available at all times. This also serves the purpose of reaching the under-served sections of the population in society, at all times using synchronous or asynchronous text communication for screening, prevention, therapy and measure his/her mood, behavior, psycho-education and so on.

Mental health services have so far followed a traditional path of face-to-face therapy in clinical settings and, more often than not, away from the normal lives that the patients lead. But now with hordes of mobile applications that are available on the net, the patient can record, activities in real–time and share information with the therapist. Early detection of problems, greater engagement in one's care, timely adjustment of the problem, and shared decision making, flexibility, are a few of the benefits of these innovations. Secondly, this modality has paved the way for more objectivity, and reliability to the process of

assessment, diagnosis, and monitoring. This has been validated by few studies as well. Thirdly, it addresses the concern of the under-served. It also helps in overcoming social stigma, and social isolation. There is an increase in social media platforms, thereby impacting the ability to access information and support from peers and professionals in informal ways. At present, a large section of young adults are afflicted with mental health issues and this is the largest group using ICT also. Such a platform can enable the provision of such services to those who will not otherwise, go for traditional ways of treatment, and thereby maintain some semblance of anonymity. Lastly, it will also sensitize general masses about mental health and will be able to address the low psychologist to patient ratio challenge in India, in a cost-effective manner. Blended mode, i.e., combining face-to-face traditional approach with the Internet-and mobile-based approach also has the potential of increasing the effect of psychological intervention as well as being cost-effective at the same time.

Challenges

Digital technology has a huge potential in delivering and transforming mental health services in a developing country like, India. However, there are a few gaps to realize this potential. Primarily, the 'digital divide', or the gap between people who do not have access to technology and those who have access to technology is one of the biggest challenges. Also people who face certain barriers in using the technology like the elderly and the senior citizens, intellectually disabled, and people who are not able to adapt the technology, may also not benefit from the services. Hence, customizing the device to the needs of such a group is particularly important.

Secondly, there is an absence of any clear cut guidelines with regard to mental health services being provided in the cyberspace. Specific guidelines for licensure, referrals, privacy, screening, assessment, record-keeping, etc., are the present day requirement. The American Psychological Association guidelines for the practice of tele-psychology, in general are being applied and that includes standards on informed consent, competence to practice, confidentiality, doing on harm, and on how termination, interruption of services, payments, technology disposal and inter jurisdictional practices. Apart from this, training is required for the software being used when treatment is being planned.

Lastly, trial-based experimental validation and randomized trial of the mental health applications is also required. This would help in public acceptability of innovative methods for delivering mental health services.

Conclusion

In light of the above discussion, it may be said that mental health and mental

illness can be addressed positively within the cyberspace and paradoxically, cyberspace also has the potential of mental health risks and threats for its users. Bullying, harassment, sexual activities and sexual predators and pedophiles, gaming and gambling, deception, scams, frauds and pornography are all happening in the cyberspace. Technological innovations in ICT are thrusting new challenges for the psychologists. In light of these facts, technology can and should be used in a healthy way for progress. Apart from conventional media, the online space is also another way forward in creating awareness, access to treatment and adoption of preventive measures about mental health. ICT has the potential to cater to underserved population and to address mental health issues. Face-to-face consultations has so far not been able to meet the needs of large number of people and so cyber solutions in mental health services in the country promises a healthy functioning life.

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Inclusion of Artificial Intelligence in the Recruitment Process in the Indian Corporate Sector

Abstract

As the Indian corporate sector is moving towards digitization, one observes an immense potential for the utilization of artificial intelligence in the human resource department, especially in recruitment. This research paper will be analyzing the future applications of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the recruitment process and also, how this technology can/will reshape the 'human resources department' (HRD) holistically. The analysis will also be done in order to explore the strength and weakness of the existing corporate sector, to be more precise, the HRD dynamics in accepting AI. The research is done with a future orientation kept in mind, wherein the forecasting is done more on the basis of the current requirements of AI.

Introduction

While the world of recruitment is constantly evolving, it is now in the process of experiencing a real revolution. Companies are now being forced to transform their methods so that they will not be outdistanced by competition and Artificial Intelligence (AI) is a technological evolution that responds precisely to these new needs.

Each year the talent acquisition executives are expected to hire more and more employees;- recruits who are faster, better and within a limited budget. Most companies' needs are increasing and the race to hire the best candidates is becoming, day by day, more and more intense. So, recruiters are more likely to fail because sourcing is becoming arduous and time-consuming and at the same time, the labour market is suffering from a talent shortage. Hence, today, it

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seems that it is better to entrust 'recruiting' to algorithms. And, for this simple reason: 'artificial intelligence' AI, a technology, developed by man, to be able to reason like a human being is becoming popular when recruiting employees.

1. What is Artificial Intelligence?

Artificial Intelligence is a branch of computer science that aims to create intelligent machines[1] that are powered by the ability to learn through the process of solving problems[2]. AI helps the systems to think and act like rational human beings, so as to gain the benefits of performing the work at a faster pace with less computational errors and less fatigue[3]. AI is the capacity that machines and computers have acquired through the processes of integrating algorithms that are able to simulate and produce the same reasoning as human thoughts with a greater level of accuracy and in a much shorter period of time. The concept of artificial intelligence was introduced, in 1937, by Alan Turing. An English mathematician, who was behind establishing the basis for programmable computers. While trying to answer the question "*Can machines think?*" he developed the Turing test to see if the machine will be able to handle a small talk with another human and understand what is the context of the conversation[4]. Turing was hoping that a computer will pass the test by the year 2000 but none passed this test; however, this test is still used as a reference to the machine`s intelligence and to distinguish what can be computed with its aid and what cannot?

Machines are, now, more powerful with more memory, advanced processor technology and better algorithms that made them able to perform activities like learning, planning, speech recognition, problem solving[5]. So, by mimicking human's ability to think, machines can now collect information from the real world, use it to learn and acquire knowledge while continuously keep correcting errors and developing new solutions for a better performance.

SIRI, which is now famous, is one such form of a virtual assistant in Apple IOS, Mac IOS, etc. amongst the common end users. The assistant uses voice queries and a natural-language user interface to answer questions, make recommendations, and perform actions by delegating requests to a set of Internet services. Now artificial intelligence is used in different fields and offers a wide range of benefits too. In the healthcare sector, for example, starting in around 2010, AI was used in order to provide clinical decision support, patient monitoring and coaching, automated devices to assist in surgery or patient care, and management of healthcare systems,[6] in various AI forms like multi layered neural networks (NN), Graphic Processor Units (GPUs) and large labelled data sets have thus given a deep paradigm shift in the service. It is utilized, also, to

advance national defence and public security. Machine learning significantly enhances the ability to predict where and when crimes are more likely to happen and who may commit them.[7] Algorithmic trading and automated trading systems are very famous, among large investor's institutions, for their capacity to provide fast and correct trading decisions.

In agriculture, machine learning can help farmers to optimize the use of fertilizers to produce larger, healthier fruits and vegetables. Transportation is likely to be one of the first domains in which the general public will be asked to trust the reliability and safety of an AI system for a critical task.[8] Equipped with sophisticated sensors, data and applications like real-time sensing and prediction of traffic route calculations, smart cars will now be better and safer drivers then individuals. Not only in transportation, machines with their capacity to learn and carry out an enormous number of tasks at the same time, are doing things better than their human counterparts in different areas. These small examples show what kind of changes and ameliorations are brought about by Artificial Intelligence. So, what about human resource management?

2. AI and Human Resources

In 2016, AI funding reached a high record of $5.02 billion compared to just $589 million in 2012 according to Cloud Tweaks report.[9] Companies, nowadays, spend a huge amount of time and money on AI trying to develop new solutions that will help them to increase their productivity and ameliorate the performance of their core and support functions.

While dealing with employees, the Human Resource Department (HRD) has to analyse multiple variables that can be quantifiable and qualitative. Many times, the inability to decode huge and complicated data may lead to an oversight of some important parameters and failed Human Resources (HR) strategy. This requirement has lead to a demand of AI in Human Resource Management (HRM). Some companies like Pepsico and L'Oreal have made some notable changes in HR through AI. With applications like Natural Linguistic Processing (NLP) for tracking the behavioural patterns of employees, virtual employee assistants like "Personik", the organization is finding it easy to manage employee engagement and facility management. The ability to analyse and to provide analytics and metrics are the most widely preferred aspects of AI, among HR professionals and managers according to a survey held by HR.com. One of the most interesting findings, in this survey, is that HR leaders think that human resources represent a high potential of AI and they are expecting that machine-learning applications will be utilized in many HR functions specially.[10]

- Time and attendance
- Talent Acquisition
- Training and development
- Compensation and Payroll

Jonathan Kestebaun, executive director of Talent Tech Labs, says "Implementing AI software simply eliminates mundane tasks and time-consuming data analysis to serve as an ongoing problem-solver for HR. These digital assistants will save HR pros from falling into an inevitable pit of bias while providing predictive, impactful data and identification of trends to solve recurring problems in the HR process."[11] HR is one of the targeted functions by artificial intelligence start-ups. Surprisingly, in spite of the high potential of AI, the current usage rate of AI in HR in India is still low but predicted to increase in the upcoming 5 years. Most of today's debates are focused on whether automatization and artificial intelligence will lead to a massive dismissal of employees leading to managers having to deal with downsizing in the nearest future, or whether they will create more jobs then destroying existing jobs during downsizing. So, managers will be, from now on, more concerned about orientation and career management. It is certain that HR has the duty to ask the right questions associated with the future changes of the business. This proactive approach should be supported by the development of employees' skills. The mission of HR is to rethink each position to prepare for the automatization of the tasks in order to reorient them based on their new added value.

3. AI and Recruitment

One of the most obvious applications of artificial intelligence, in HR, is recruitment. To deal with a mass of candidates, artificial intelligence now facilitates the management of candidates and candidatures by using algorithms. In job offers, the goal is no longer simply to target a 'metier' but rather a panel of skills. Thus, the Big Data, processed by algorithms, makes it possible to refine the criteria of selection and to specify the researches to find the ideal candidate. The use of AI, in recruitment, is increasing and this is due to 3 main reasons[12]:

- ***Good Data is Finally Available***: The increased use of social media like Facebook, LinkedIn and the rise of subscribers in job boards helped to ascend available and valuable data that can be used for sourcing and screening. It, also, made access to a large scale of candidates easy and efficient, which means more data that makes AI bear the imminent promise of an automatic analysis and management.[13]

- ***Machine Learning has Matured (Enough)****:* There was a dramatic shift related to how software was delivered. Over the last half a century, or so, most software would assist one in doing the job a little bit faster and a little bit more accurately but with the new algorithms, one just needs to describe what one wants done and the software will actually do it. Moreover, in the recent past, business processes were able to manage, only, small data sets and they were used more for explaining statistical, formal models, while today, with stronger and complex algorithms, machines are, now, capable of predicting and explaining; they are, also, able to use "unstructured" data like video, audio, and free text.[14]

- ***Predictive Analytics has become a Competitive Necessity***: Predictive analytics involves a set of various statistical (data mining) techniques used to predict uncertain outcomes.[15] Applying 'predictive people analytics' is comparatively new but early adopters showed us some astonishing results that actually helped the companies to save or earn a lot of money. Using predictive analytics is a key aspect for companies to survive in a competitive environment. For HR departments, "*analytics is one such tool that can help them predict employees' performance based on historical and real-time data*."[16] And it can also help the companies for the recruitment process, like for example, by predicting a candidate's personality just by analysing his Facebook profile, according to a study made in 2012 by Kluemper, Rosen &Mossholder.

By using AI and machine learning, it's, now, possible to forecast data and understand the phenomenon that surrounds most employees. Predictive people analytics is a game changer for HR managers and for the companies that are, always, seeking for more productivity, more control and a better understanding of the performance's variables, so they can cope up and keep being competitive.

Every part of the recruiting process can be enhanced with AI, from Advertising to sourcing, to screening, to scheduling the interviews, to selection, to engaging and retaining talents. Recruiters can be assisted with Artificial Intelligence that can provide critical data to them, components to predict analytics and information that will help them to comprehend, evaluate, and make the right decisions.

Advertisement

AI start-ups have developed different assisting solutions that will help the hiring executive while publishing the job offers. Textio is an AI assistant, trained to provide reviews and score the language used in the advertisement copy and looks at how positive it is and then adopt the provided suggestions to improve the attractiveness of the advertisements and differentiate it from other

competitors.[17] Artificial intelligence applications, for example, Recruitz.io, can also help to find the most suitable online channel for ads and the best timeframe to publish and reach a large pool of candidates.

Sourcing and Screening

When it comes to tracking future candidates and matching the right person to the co-related job description, you can find a lot of AI products that are able to facilitate the talent acquisition executive job. Intelligent machines can automatically search for adequate job seekers by collecting information from social media sites like Facebook, LinkedIn and Twitter, job boards sites or companies' sites and quickly identify the potential of each candidate. In addition to that, it can also easily reach passive candidates with personalized messages at the right time[18].

HR managers can use AI ability to quickly assess and analyse text or video patterns to shorten the screening process. In other terms, AI-applications are able to extract information from CVs, conclude the degree of concordance based on job requirements, measure the candidate's experience, run background checks and rank them according to the need. Using video interviews, the assessment can go further and evaluate the applicants on a large scale by adding sentiment analysis and computational linguistics.

Engage and Reengage

Engaging your future applicants may begin way before starting the recruitment process by using artificial intelligence as a virtual assistant.[19] Cognitive computing can use company's local data, like for example resignation rate, retirements turnover rate and attrition risk, to predict trends and the need in term of qualifications and skills and then engage customized conversation to convince potential applicants to join your company.

AI assistant is also able to inform different candidates about the progress of their situation and respond to their questions related to the recruitment process. It can also re-engage candidates, especially the ones who got rejected, by notifying them about the job offers that match their profiles.

Selection

Intelligent computers and machines are now able to enhance the recruitment process performance due to their effectiveness and their capacity to reduce the errors that can happen during a cognitive decision[20] by providing almost 100 percent accurate information during the selection process. Chatbots facilitate the process of decision-making, and collecting and evaluating information about different applicants, by maintaining a productive conversation and by being

able to conduct cognitive and personality tests, measure their motivation, their engagement and their expectations and match it with the expectations of the teams that they might join.[21]

Scheduling Interviews

AI start-ups are generating assisting solutions that can schedule interviews, meetings and negotiate on the recruiter's behalf. So, once the HR professional chooses his settings, the intelligent assistant's first task is to understand what exactly the constraints are; what the preferences are, and then remove the HR professional from the conversation to start a very human-like dialogue back and forth with one or more participants to negotiate with them and invite them for the interviews.

"Onboarding"

Engaging and conserving employees is one of the biggest HR's concern;[22] AI applications can offer customized "onboarding" procedures for every single position and can provide well-planned programs, dedicate enough time to each of the employees and make the retention rates go up.

AI can also help to reduce the time accorded to the hiring process by executing quickly and effectively, monotonous operations related to scanning, evaluating applications and quickly eliminating a high number of inadequate candidates. And, also, it will advance the performance of HR practitioners by reducing poor hiring decisions and the cost related to that. Intelligent applications will provide recruiters with a greater insight on candidates by gathering multi-sourced data that will help to inform if the candidate is adequate for the position at a particular company.[23]

"*AI will likely replace tasks rather than jobs in the near term...*" – a 100-year study on Artificial Intelligence:[24] In other words, this means that the main purpose of applying AI in recruitment is not to replace the role of a recruiter by a computer but to automate administrative, repetitive and time-consuming tasks, that can be apprehended by machines, in a way that will increase the efficacy and the efficiency of the hiring process. It will also help HR professionals to focus more on the IQ aspects of their job, and try to understand why an employee is leaving, or try to create a conversation package to attract more talent, or try to convince talented recruits that their company is the best for the candidate and thus to concentrate more on human judgement and the interaction part of the recruitment process.

4. What are the Limitations of Applying AI on Recruitment?

1. ***The Cloning Effect is a Real Disadvantage***: One of the aspects that

HR pros need to be aware of while integrating Artificial intelligence in the recruitment process, is the cloning effect, due to the tendency of recruiting similar profiles shaped by the same experience and qualifications. Indeed, the recruiter will acquire highly operational workers but will be deprived of innovation, diversity, fidelity and critical reasoning which can lead to a kind of stagnation and resulting poor performance.[25]

2. *Racist Robots*: AI needs huge amounts of information, provided by Bigdata, in order to learn. So, companies need to be careful of what they feed to AI because they might end up with biased candidates' information hand outs to the machines and, then, apply it in their hiring process. Because of the defective information, the decisions made by the computer might be racist[26] or show some tendencies like preferring masculine names[27] or with any other kind of discrimination related to genders, age, races, etc….

3. *Inability to Read and React Appropriately to Some Human Aspects*: Although AI has reached a certain degree of intelligence, they are still unable to assess and understand some features of human speech, languages, signals[28] and emotions (for example using emojis, stickers or GIFs in a conversation)[29], which can lead to a misinterpretation and thereby, wrong decisions, especially, while using chatbots, speech recognition soft wares or video analytics.

4. *Inadequate Decision-making Ability*: AI tools can't perform alone or make decisions outside what is already programmed in the algorithms and can be wrong because they might not be able to detect the nuances and the context as humans do.[30] In other words, even though AI can manipulate different forms of data and replicate[31] humans reasoning, it is inept to make as good decisions as humans. Consequently, intelligent computers need continuous monitoring from the user, which involves certain knowledge about how to use this new technology, and actually, most of the HR managers are not yet ready and they lack the main skills to utilize this technology.

5. How Indian Organisations should Use and Integrate AI in Recruitment?

Today, the world's biggest economies are all aware of the importance of artificial intelligence, the opportunities that it offers and in order to benefit from the profitability of AI related-activities they rushed to implement strategies and guidelines, especially USA, China, UK, Japan, France. Those strategies imply an increase of scientific research in this area, a development of skills and

talents that can handle this new technology, an intensification of digital infrastructure to make networks connectivity faster and safer and finally the establishment of incentives and tax benefits to businesses and AI's start-ups to encourage innovations and new ideas.

The second largest population in the world (India) is, actually, very concerned by the inevitable effects of AI on society and on the economy. Given the unique identity of this country, which is characterized by a social and cultural diversity and its distinguished economic and political situation, India represents an ideal territory for the development of AI applications. However, it also has a very vulnerable environment, on one hand, to the risks that, artificial intelligence and automation of tasks might represent due to the size and the variety of the population, and on the other hand, to the challenges, starting from income inequality and caste-based discrimination to linguistic diversity IA[32], and this makes applying AI in India hard, and not exactly appropriate for some problems.

In response to this situation, the Indian government started with the implementation of a task force of artificial intelligence under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 2017. The objective of creating this task force was to determine the strategic direction for artificial intelligence development in India.[33] The focus of the public sector is on developing AI in 3 main sectors. Agriculture and Healthcare to increase the prosperity of the population using Artificial Intelligence technology and, also, an Indian Languages Project was installed, for a long-term period, to help the development of NLP's (Natural Language Processing) applications, like conversational, general and career counselling through 'chatbots' and assistants, conversing, in 22 Indian languages.[34]

In the private sector, Indian start-ups and tech firms, have started integrating AI in their products and services but India is still far behind compared to the other developed countries. The race to acquire the full potential of Artificial Intelligence technology is still long and India has far to go. According to the reaction from Mr. Avi Patchava, Vice President, Data Sciences, ML and AI – InMobi, India has a lot of knowledge as far as picking up a review of India's greatest qualities as a nation's capacity to use AI is concerned. Avi conveniently summed up what he accepts are India's three greatest qualities to confront the forthcoming AI interruption:

- "India has a wealth of designing ability which has been prepared throughout the most recent 2 decades which should be streamlined and focused into a new direction because of its automation of IT services. This centre base of building is required to get things done with AI at scale".

- "Data – We have a nation that is quickly moving towards digitization – For instance, the Aadhar or UIDAI Project in India is the biggest ever one of a kind, identifier venture on the planet. India is effectively pushing increasingly more and more into making open datasets and the fact that it is a 'majority rules'- system, assists it with this reality over China where open information might be confined only to the legislature"

- Over 3 million individuals who are either specifically occupied with the IT administrations around the world are from India. It has a talented workforce, however with the required standard, which makes it a key to opening doors for machine learning and computerization. The IT administrations players like Infosys, Wipro and so on have seen this opportunity and have begun to create rearrangements to embrace AI".

Keeping the above observations in mind, and as per Madhu Gopinathan, Vice President, Data Science at MakeMyTrip, India's largest online travel company, there were two concern areas for creating the compatibility for AI; a lucrative salary in the IT sector and the availability of data.

As per his interview, "Academic and Industrial collaboration is a serious issue in India. Although we have a lot of universities, the incentives are skewed towards the corporate sector. For example, people like me who have an understanding of the technology may not be inclined to teach the next generation at universities, since working at the larger companies is far more lucrative today."

With the dynamics of inclusion of artificial intelligence, there is one factor undisputed is the huge potential of involving AI in human resource department for redefining the functionalities.

AI technology is reshaping the processes and the functions in a lot of sectors. A few Indian applications, that target optimising recruitment, are available, like for example Belong.co a Bengaluru start-up that assists companies and simplifies their hiring process by publicly looking for data of talent on online community networks and social media to intelligently match candidates to relevant opportunities and jobs.[35] This start-up has as clients, companies such as Cisco, Paypal, Adobe, ABB, Tesco, ThoughtWorks and Tavant Technologies, most of which are MNCs (Multinational Companies); some of their other clients include, Flipkart, Myntra, Ola, InMobi and Directi. Belong.co and other few Indian applicationswhich, are providing HR solutions that help their clients to acquire the best talent and put them in an advantaged position in a job market characterised by an intense competition between local enterprises and MNCs.

A 2018 study made by PWC, demonstrates that the high cost of AI technology and the lack of technical ability and quality data are the main barriers to AI integration in Indian businesses, as is shown in the figure below.

Artificial intelligence is still new, and using this technology is still relatively expensive but the prices will start decreasing when AI will attend a certain maturity and therefore, it will be affordable for most Indian companies but this
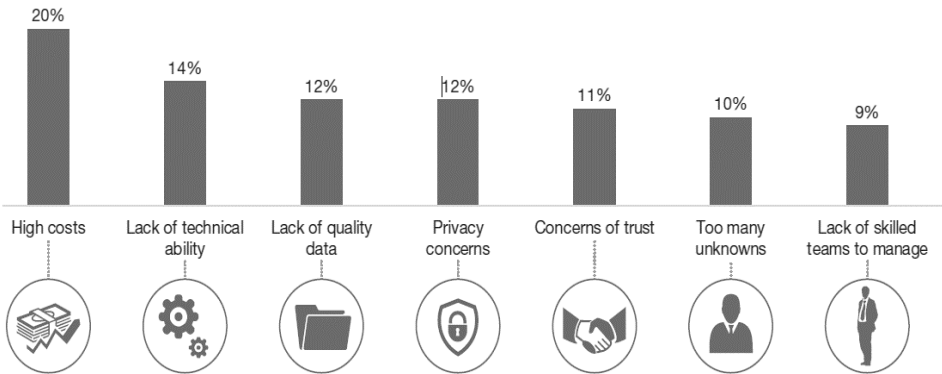
Source: PwC report on 'AI in India – hype or reality?'[36]

is not the only concern, though Indian companies are facing issues collecting funds for their AI pilot projects which slows the progress of AI in India. The lack of skilled workforce, unlike other domains, AI/recruitment business is powered by huge available data coming from social media, like Facebook pages, LinkedIn profiles and others, that provide valuable information that is ready to be used in sourcing and screening potential candidates.

AI applications can cover different parts of the recruitment process, starting from sourcing applicants to the on-boarding process. Facing this multitude of solutions, the Indian HR pros need to decide in which area they need to include the help of intelligent machines, especially, when the cost of AI applications is still so high. To decide that recruiters should take into consideration, first, the size of the company, if an enterprise has a huge staff and if they are recruiting constantly or not. Second, they should think about where they are facing problems? Where time is wasted the most? Managers need to find parts that are time-consuming and enhance them with AI tools to make effective time management.

AI systems are specialized in accomplishing one task intelligently and quickly which made the demand on digital services escalate due to its applicability in multiple domains of activity. Integrating this technology in the company's recruitment process can present multiple opportunities that need to be well-thought-out while taking into consideration, the companies manpower needs and the individual particularities of their recruitment process.

Conclusion

The summarization of the research can lead to a definite conclusion about the undisputed potential of artificial intelligence. In the early stages, there is a tremendous requirement of information gathering and analysis from the side of the recruiter as the job seeker also collects and collates data about the organization to create a mental representation and analyse and compare with their own satisfaction. This aspect can be successfully covered by AI. This technology will help recruiters to focus more on the intellectual, human and social aspects of their jobs while eliminating repetitive and time-consuming tasks and reduce all forms of errors that can occur while selecting or hiring a candidate. AI technology however, also represents a number of limits, mainly related to its huge independency to the data fed to this technology (Cloning effect and racist AI) or to its incapacity to understand some features of human speech, languages, signals and emotions, which can lead to wrong results and affect the decision-making process.

There is a yawning gap between the future needs of AI in the corporate sector and the current academic structure of academic institutes of information technology. The gap gets extended because of the speedy evolution of technology in implementation and the curriculum designing and forecasting doesn't match the pace till now in India.

As India is dealing with 400+ dialects of languages, there is again an immense crisis of adopting the same system even within the states. A similar situation can be considered though as the solution as an easy adaptability factor by the end user.

Therefore, considering the overall scenario of the Indian corporate sector, which is immensely reflected in the human resources department, it can be judged on the basis of the technology adaptability of the sector. There were some sectors which could be identified as having huge adaptability potential such as the IT and ITeS (Information Technology enabled Services) sectors which can be conceived as low hanging fruits of the benefits of AI. Also considering the workforce age of the country there are high chances the "internet generation" will take over 50% of the population with the median age of 35 by 2020. The generation always was inclined towards technology and the inclusion of same in form of AI will enhance their work capabilities and effectiveness.

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HIV/AIDS, Security, and the United States of America

Abstract

This paper debates on how pandemics like HIV/AIDS have become an important security concern for many countries and especially the United States of America. While the focus here, is on this particular epidemic, which has shaken international politics since the 1980s, it takes a more generic approach to what measures states undertake when it comes to protecting their interests, their jurisdictive geo-spatial spaces and the people governed by them. The humanitarian side of it is of course acknowledged, but along with that comes state interests, which transcend humanitarian beliefs and ethics. The relationship between humanitarian ethics and security has been kept so ambiguous and blurred in formal writings on the subject, that the various dimensions of security are often ignored by states. Often, under the pretext of economic growth and military expansion, individual wellbeing of the people being governed is equated merely with the state's interest in productivity. The stronger states, in their efforts to alleviate the weaker ones, customarily patronize the latter, thereby creating a wider gap and disparity, leading to further dependence.

Keywords: *HIV/AIDS, Epidemic, Humanitarian, Security, USA.*

Introduction

The idea of sovereignty is perhaps as old as the idea of the formation of the states itself. Respect for sovereignty and non-interference in each other's administrative jurisdiction are the cardinal principles on which the states exist as independent entities and what they fundamentally demand of each other. Like mediaeval times, modern democratic nations pursue the same old strategy for survival and self-protection, but often, this is done in the guise of humanitarian

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and welfare measures, which are used as an excuse to impose, control, suppress, and finally to invade. When it comes to health, the need for security and humanity go hand in hand. No doubt, strategic protection from infectious diseases has necessitated global intervention but the definition of security is so ambiguous, that global actors have manipulated it to influence not only individual consciousness but the global consciousness as well. In this context, the relationship between HIV/AIDS and national security gains importance, the reason being its slow incubation period, history of incurability, its devastating impact on individuals, groups, communities, institutions and nations at large, and finally because of the fear of its global transmission. In the present-day scenario, international relations are no longer defined as the cat and mouse game of the past and with the development of human and state ethics, perhaps the idea of security has also changed; from the very obscurantist to a relatively progressive one. (In terms of comparison and not in the absolute sense of the words) This however did not happen in a vacuum, but through decades of intellectual and political discourses on the Public Health System.

In the field of international relations, security is understood through the perspective of the state, while HIV/AIDS is looked at more through a political lens, where the intervention in its prevention and treatment is not entirely on humanitarian grounds, but largely supplemented by the idea that a pandemic can influence internal security too (McInnes, 2006), destroy labour productivity and hinder national growth.[1] This has led to the unfortunate practice of quarantining weaker states by the more developed ones.

The Approaches to Security and HIV/AIDS

Constructivists take an objective view of military interventions and the power struggle exhibited by powerful states, but also focus on the subjective meaning of security as fabricated by states, societies, or individuals, based on their historical, cultural, or psychological understanding of intimidation and security. (Lo and Yuk, 2015) Recognising the importance of health to national security, states now include health as an integral component of military strategy. In the post-Cold War period, modern nation states have become increasingly concerned about the security issues relating to global public health, especially when it comes to addressing the spread and containment of infectious diseases. Hence, every approach to deal with an infectious disease being followed be it leprosy or HIV/AIDS, it would appear to become a security concern.

What also compels critical attention is the way economic interests, like health interests, have merged with the larger security aspects. McInnes and Rushton (2011) argue that the concept of security has changed from a classical

military definition to a broader approach which includes the not so well-defined factors influencing the socio-political environment such as the physical environment, food, and migration, to name a few. To that extent modern approaches by states are confronted by the disquieting question: 'What is not a security issue?' Experts on the subject have said that even though health, as a human security issue, has a humanitarian flavour, it must connect to national security. McInnes (2006) claims that pandemics like HIV/AIDS are more easily transmitted in conflict prone areas and hence sensitive to military and national security. It would appear that we are living in an age of deception and contradictions where security is the mask under which health strategies too, find a convenient refuge.

In her article entitled, 'What contribution can International Relations make to the evolving global health agenda?' Davies and Fidler mention two approaches towards public health in the international arena–the 'statist' approach and the global approach. The former mainly focuses on the security aspect where the health aspect is considered a mere strategy in a nation's overall foreign and defence policy. They portray weak states as being largely dependent on stable governance for their good health and conclude that they are, by implication, poor protectors of health. That is why the statist approach empowers states to put forward their public health agenda by securitization of the area commonly called 'high politics.' (Davies, 2001; Fidler, 2004) Though the globalist approach acknowledges various aspects of health concerns in the everyday lives of the people and is sensitive towards the individual's health needs and expects the state to cater to those needs in a humanitarian manner, it does not necessarily consider the state as being vital to the needs of individuals. While the global approach does not entirely reject the importance of national security, it does not concur with the exclusivity of the 'statist' approach of *securitization* of states. In the case of infectious diseases, the globalists analyse it in their own right and argue that regardless of the fact of who is infected, it is important that intervention be carried out in the name of humanity. The statist, on the other hand, as Davies points out, is focussed on protecting a specific group or population to whom it is accountable.

Developed nations strongly believe that HIV/AIDS is posing a major threat to the global social environment and its psycho-social well being, which is detrimental to the stability of states or regions.[2] They have coined the term 'hollowing out' to describe the socio-economic impact of effective production, caused by illnesses and premature death (Vieira 2007) on the state institutions by the loss of life. This, they claim is leading to deviant behaviour in the youth[3] and the increasing problem of orphaned children of parents dying from HIV/

AIDS[4]; all further having a detrimental impact on the military services of the states. (Rushton 2001) DuPont (2001) points out that if the prevalence of HIV/AIDS continues to expand further in East Asia, it will increase the poverty levels, intensify the problem of resource allocation, and thereby have an overall impact on the democratisation process of the regions. This will not only add to the national security concerns of individual states but it will also affect the collective national security. While these countries are suppressed under the ruthless arms of poverty, poor public health attracts big corporates and governments from developed nations, (DuPont, IBID) who, as a political strategy, offer economic benefits in the guise of their securitization and humanitarian policies. (DuPont, 2001; Fidler, 2004; Rushton, 2000).

The Changing Nature of State Approach to Security and HIV/AIDS: A Tale of American Interest

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has not only affected individuals, but, over the years, has impacted the psycho-social, economic and national development of many potential societies, leaving large parts of the world in a post-traumatic condition. Unlike other pandemics, when we talk about security in the context of HIV/AIDS, we must take into account various aspects of individual, family, community, economic, military, and global health security, which influence individual behaviour, institutional and structural orientation and overall societal wellbeing. Security being associated with HIV/AIDS has seen the emergence of new policies influenced by health and medical experts, leading to a wider process of *medicalization*. (Elbe, 2011).

Among the security concerns associated with HIV/AIDS, the technical aspect of security in its different perspectives has been discussed in many scholarly dissertations. Often the term security is associated with national and global security (Cecchine and Moore, 2006) almost completely, or at least partially, ignoring the most fundamental aspect of security, which should be family and societal security. This is so, mainly owing to the fact that the major focus has been appropriated by military and institutional concerns, which are considered as the essential foundation of national security by world leaders. The pandemic is no longer merely a humanitarian crisis, but a security crisis that emerges from the larger consciousness of the state to protect itself and its institutional interests.[5]

In the process, personal security, which is related to human life span and productivity and forms the basis of individual wellbeing, gets increasingly threatened by a pandemic like HIV/AIDS. The 108th Congress of the United States of America, in its capitalist mode of comprehension of public health, and particularly infectious diseases, pointed out that HIV/AIDS can be a major threat

to national productivity, which could lead to losses in the growing business of the country. The Congress, although it acknowledged the importance of individual wellbeing, considered it from the perspective of labour and productivity, and did not hesitate in pointing out that the pandemic is a threat to international business and security, not forgetting to mention its effect on the American military under the UN peace keeping forces deployed in war-torn underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia. Section 2, Article 10 of the Congress mentions how the American military under the UN peace keeping force has a greater likelihood of getting infected in those environments in which it operates.

The idea here is to analyse how the United States' concept of security is confined to the economic boundaries defined by capitalist interests and American internationalism. Authors like Fieldbaum (2006) and others have pointed out the hypocritical nature of the United States and its duality in failing to identify non-communicable diseases that are a threat to national security. As mentioned earlier, developed nations like the United States have used military intervention for their own economic expansion, but in the guise of humanitarian concern. To address the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS the emphasis has shifted from the Western Phalian approach which was based on the principle of non-interference in the sovereignty of nations and respect for self-determination to the Post-Western Phalian approach wherein aspects of human rights have been given prime importance. (Fidler, 2004) The United States of America came a long way from being a nation which had neglected the HIV/AIDS pandemic during the Reagan administration to a more progressive humanitarian Obama administration. But again, it has become very apathetic and regressive under the Trump administration. Over the years, the idea of America's National security as a state strategy has been the focus of attention and has taken precedence over the humanitarian and ethical path. In this however, the American ideals, interests and internationalism had always been of prime concern, especially the protection of American military from infection during its operations in Africa and Asia.

Though the US was involved in securing itself from the HIV/AIDS pandemic it was only during the 1990s (Rushton, 2000; Fidler, 2004; Vieira, 2007) that the HIV/AIDS-security linkage became apparent in Washington policy circles. Some of those involved in pushing forward the case complained that the Clinton administration was somewhat slow on the uptake. Though the argument was gaining ground, such a pandemic concerning global public health did not receive the kind of attention it demanded from a global power like the United States of America. In fact, the regressive mind-set of the American administration was only too evident. In 1982, in an interview with the journalist and radio host

Lester Kinsolving, Larry Speakes, Press Secretary to Ronald Reagan, could not resist making fun of the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a 'gay disease' and mocking those suffering from it. (Lopez, 2016) Even after that, there was very little effort made by the Reagan administration to address the HIV/AIDS problem and it was only years later, in 1990, that the Ryan White Care Act[6] was launched in America during President George H. W. Bush's tenure.

Recognising the serious threat posed by HIV/AIDS, the Clinton administration (1993-2001) increased the funds for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS and also put in place other measures to combat the pandemic. America's idea of security as a component of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment has its genesis in the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Richard Holbrooke's visit to Africa in 1999 to get an overview of the AIDS outbreak in that country.[7] It was Holbrooke who redefined the HIV/AIDS pandemic as world-wide as well as an internal stability threat, though most give President Clinton credit for it. It was his seminal observation of the condition of the US military in the UN peace keeping forces in Cambodia[8] and Africa and his continuous persuasion of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, that led to the UN Security Council Resolution 1308[9] being passed in July 2000 and the pandemic being included as a threat to international peace and security. (Vieira, 2007; Cecchine and Moore, 2006).

During this period, the situation in Africa had grown so serious that there were more deaths from HIV/AIDS than from civil conflicts. In December 2004, the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel Report on Threats, Challenges and Change, highlighted the need for immediate intervention to deal with the pandemic and to protect state and societies through proper research and planning and action taken to reduce the impact of the endemic in the long run. (Tony Barnett and Gwyn Prins, 2006) This was an event of paramount importance because, for the first time, the popular notion of public health and development was brought under the ambit of international security. (Stefan Elbe, 2006).

US Perspectives on HIV/AIDS and Security

Although the Security Council had started monitoring the securitization process, its efforts were half-hearted and non-committal. Rushton (2000) argues that discourses around the securitization of HIV/AIDS have been far less successful than it is often supposed. Meanwhile, though the security threats posed by the African nations on the United States vis-a-vis, HIV/AIDS had been widely debated, from the period of the Clinton administration, there was a gradual shift in US thinking, with attention being diverted from Africa to countries like India, Russia and China where the US saw greater opportunities

for involvement to further their economic interests. It is no secret that the US designs its strategies and re-defines its core and peripherals based on its own interests, and though sub-Saharan Africa was most important to the national security debate it was ultimately peripheral. (Fidler, 2003).

The United States has repeatedly, time and again pointed out that infectious diseases endanger its citizens at home and abroad and also puts the US armed forces deployed in different missions, overseas, at risk. Infectious diseases exacerbate social and political instability in regions where the US has been showing interest. While infectious diseases are addressed in terms of interventions, one cannot say the same for non-communicable diseases as far as US interventions are concerned. Such strategic focus by the US has isolated important global health problems that exhibit high morbidity and mortality. The lack of interest shown to non-communicable diseases by powerful states like the US in developing countries only goes to prove that non-communicable diseases do not meet their strategic interests and hence the politics hidden in the guise of security and humanitarianism becomes quite evident.

During the initial years of the detection of HIV/AIDS, it was relegated to the category of public health and development in the US and was not given due importance. Though the US Central Intelligence Agency endeavoured to link HIV/AIDS with security in the 1990s, it could not get the attention it required until 2000 in the form of the 1308 resolution. (Fidler, 2004; Cecchine, Moore, 2006) A National Intelligence Council report entitled, 'The Global Infectious Disease Threat and its Implications for the United States', which supported the Clinton Administration's portrayal of HIV/AIDS as a global security threat, analysed the devastating internal impact caused by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. (Vieira, 2007) Developing nations, immigrants and retired US personnel were held responsible for its spread and the report claimed that it not only had a tremendous impact on internal security and the military, but also on the very socio-political fabric of the United States of America. (John C. Gannon, 2000).

However, scholars like Susan Peterson argued that such a portrayal of the pandemic was exaggerated and maybe slightly overestimated, and that the security implications had insufficient arguments to support it, which might only fuel suspicion, rivalry and conflict between states, thereby triggering other security concerns. She advocated a more progressive approach in dealing with the issue, through better multi-national co-operation. Peterson further argued that responding to pandemics like HIV/AIDS only through the perspective of national security would, in the long run, discourage nations and eliminate the chance of states addressing public health issues in their own right. The garrisoning of states over human rights might provide them the opportunity to be vigilant,

but they could abdicate from the moral responsibility that they should have towards the weak and the vulnerable. Peterson, in this regard, argues that the nation-states should strengthen their capacity to actually face the pandemic rather than securitizing states against it. States should come up with interventional plans to deal with the pandemic for what it is and recognize the unprecedented tragedy it could bring and endeavour to build a network of international humanitarian assistance to solve the problem of HIV/AIDS. (Susan Peterson, 2002).

Concluding Remarks and Concerns

The idea of security has always been a major concern for countries like the United States. On one hand, the United States has extended support to developing countries through its different policies, but on the other, it has also engaged in manipulating, re-constructing and re-orienting the idea of security by putting too much focus on the technical aspects pertaining to national security, and through it all, has missed the essentials of human rights and humanitarianism. The United States has not been able to address the global HIV/AIDS pandemic in recent years in the way it has been expected to, and American Internationalism, hidden in the sympathetic nature portrayed by Bush or the empathetic nature of Obama is no less harmful than the outwardly ignorant attitude of President Reagan in the early 1980s and the very apathetic nature of President Trump today. The intention here is not to discredit or belittle the efforts of successive American governments, but to better appreciate the fact that the concept of security should not remain confined to the American notion of security, which focuses on mere labour productivity, capital expansion and military security.

Along with the complexities of imposing the responsibility on developing nations, the United States has also been discriminatory in its approach within its own boundary. Although this is not an important aspect in this paper, it is nonetheless a matter of concern, which reflects the plight faced by people of developing countries when it comes to addressing the problem of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The ethical question related to the securitization of HIV/AIDS is well mentioned by Elbe (2011) who traces the cases of discrimination and marginalization faced by countries of suspect, as in the case with Haitians in the United States, who are denied housing or other basis facilities of life and sometimes even dismissed from jobs.

Similar was the fate of Africans in Europe who were denied basic rights because of the fear of them being HIV/AIDS carriers.[10] The practice of discrimination followed by countries like the United States, who, on the one hand, portray themselves as torch bearers of the humanitarian philosophy, and on the other, discriminate against migrants and settlers infected by HIV is

definitely a form of double standard, a paradox and oxymoronic in the American context. It is contradictory because it is a well-established fact that HIV/AIDS has definite criteria for infection and people cannot be infected through the physical environment and, therefore, discriminating against certain ethnic groups, for example and not providing them houses, and other basic amenities is an act which reflects racist perceptions associated with HIV/AIDS.

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Book Reviews

Stephen F. Cohen, *War with Russia? From Putin and Ukraine to Trump and Russia Gate*, (New York: Hot Books Publisher, 2019), Price: INR 5,219.00, Pages: 251.

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Stephen Cohen's *War with Russia?* centers on his assessment of the situation that the new US-Russian Cold War is far more dangerous than its 40-year old predecessor, which the world barely survived. Cohen cites that during the preceding cold war, the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe was in the forefront of American mainstream political and media discussion, and in policy-making decisions and laws. The book draws attention to this new cold war, that has been evolving in Ukraine and which has been over ruled by Russiagate allegations that remain unproven. This orthodox narrative of U.S has also constrained President Trump's capacity to conduct crisis-negotiations with Moscow while American media outlets have vilified Russian President Putin for attacking "America Democracy" during the 2016 presidential campaign. Cohen's book is an excerpt of his radio broadcasts from 'The John Bachelor Show', a program based at WABC AM in New York.

In this book, Cohen states that "Cold war without diplomacy is a recipe for actual war; one that is unfolding in the heart of Russia's historic civilization." The political epicenter of the new cold war is not in far-away Berlin, as it was from the late 1940s on, but directly on Russia's borders, where NATO's unprecedented buildup continues and is provoking equally dangerous forms of Russian "brinkmanship." The Ukrainian civil war in Donbass, Moscow and Kiev, precipitated by the unlawful change of the government in Kiev is already growing into a proxy US-Russian war which can lead to an actual war between US-led NATO and post-Soviet Russia.

The Ukraine crises that erupted in 2014 have been blamed solely on the "aggression" of Putin, which Cohen considers as a highly questionable assertion but more an orthodox media narrative of the new cold war. The book delves into how demonizing Putin has generated more widespread Russiophobic hysteria among the American political and media elites rather than among ordinary American citizens; which according to Cohen is neo-McCarthyism. Cohen's disparate view on the Russian leader has made him out to be the prominent defender of Putin. He contends that branding Putin as "kleptocrat" lacks context as Putin had mobilized enough wealth to undo and reverse those human catastrophes and put billions of dollars in rainy-day funds that buffered the nation in different hard times that lay ahead. In the book, Cohen questions that if the Russians are accused of wrongly perceiving American intentions, hasn't Washington given them cause to do so? Putting it another way, is Putin really the "aggressor" depicted by the US political-media establishment or a leader responding to a decades-long "American war against Russia?" Due to such remarks, Cohen has been attributed as Putin's American "apologist," among the American media elites.

Cohen has pointed out in the book that Moscow's view of the Ukrainian crisis is entirely missing in the 'US mainstream' coverage. Cohen, being an acclaimed historian of Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, explains that the underlying causes of the crisis are Ukraine's own internal divisions and not primarily Putin's actions. The essential factor escalating the crisis has been Kiev's "anti-terrorist" military campaign against its own citizens, mainly in Luhansk and Donetsk. According to Cohen, the proposal by Washington and Brussels to bring Ukraine into NATO's "sphere of influence" was a form of political aggression against the centuries of intimate relations between large segments of Ukrainian society and Russia. Ukraine is deeply divided as to whether it should join Europe or remain close politically and economically to Russia. There is not one Ukraine or one "Ukrainian people" but at least two, generally situated in its western and eastern regions. Cohen further adds that everything that followed from Russia's annexation of Crimea and the spread of rebellion in southeastern Ukraine to the civil war and Kiev's "anti-terrorist operation," was triggered by the February coup, which was endorsed by Washington and Brussels.

The book progresses towards another cold war front that has become more fraught with the possibility of hot war in Syria, where the growing numbers of American troops are increasing in military proximity to the Russian-Syrian alliance. In the book, Cohen examines how the neocon/liberal interventionist principles and practices that have guided US policies merely rest on fallacious opinions. The bipartisan American orthodoxy since 1990's has led to disastrous

outcomes; the intervention in Iraq, Libya, Ukraine and Syria has led to international instability, wars (unilateral, proxy, and civil), growing terrorism, failed "nation building," mounting refugee crises, and a new cold war with Russia. Putin may have contributed to it along the way but his actions in his tenure of fourteen years were mostly reactive and not actively aggressive as portrayed by the American media.

Cohen further assesses that Washington's anti-parity thinking and assertion of America's pre-eminence in international relations remains a virtually sacred US policy-making axiom. The book examines Washington's policy toward Moscow, from the disastrous crusade to remaking Russia in America's image in the 1990s, ongoing expansion of NATO to Russia's borders, nonreciprocal negotiations known as "selective cooperation," double-standard conduct abroad, and broken promises to persistent "democracy-promotion" intrusions into Russia's domestic politics and the recent Ukrainian crisis. Washington has perceived post-Soviet Russia as a defeated and thus lesser nation. Cohen advises the US policy makers that when there is military parity between Washington and Moscow, as during the preceding cold war and now again, it is imperative to cooperate and not to ostracize.

Cohen further evaluates on how US "core" interests would "need" Russia's cooperation in many vital ways that includes:
- avoiding nuclear war;
- preventing a new and more dangerous arms race;
- guarding against the proliferation of weapons and materials of mass destruction;
- coping with international terrorists;
- achieving lasting peace in Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East;
- fostering prosperity and stability in Europe;
- promoting better relations with the Islamic world; and
- avoiding a generation-long confrontation with a formidable new alliance that already includes Russia, China, Iran, and other non-NATO countries.

The book explores how Russia has played a crucial role in the nuclear-weapons agreement with Iran; its behind-the-scenes part today, in attempts to resolve the conflict with North Korea; its potential as a deciding partner in bringing peace to Syria; and the role it is likely to play when the United States finally decides to leave Afghanistan. Russia can be a vital peacemaker. Cohen has recommended this based on how diplomatic breakthroughs, involving Syria and Ukraine that might end or substantially reduce the US-Russian proxy wars

in those countries and thus the new cold war itself. This two-front détente diplomacy represents a fateful opportunity, to be seized or lost as were previous ones. Cohen believes that if given opportunity president Trump with his pro-détente diplomacy could end the cold war. He further examines that the pro–cold war party's refusal to engage Trump on these vital issues would be detrimental to US national security and to American democracy. Such perception of Cohen about Russia which is also prevalent in his previous books has earned him the image of the most controversial Russia expert in America.

The book further discusses on a *myopia* that has been constantly perpetuated by the American media that Russia is "isolated from the international community." According to Cohen, this is an Anglo-American conceit. Russia has expanded its multi-dimensional relations with non-Western countries such as China, Iran, India, and other BRIC nations where most of the world's territory, people, resources, and growing markets are located. Russia's turning away from the West, and its "pivot to China," is now widely acknowledged and embraced by many Moscow policy thinkers. As for these countries, Russia is an eagerly sought out partner. The book further examines that Russia is not a real threat to the US national security, but in actuality, they are:

- Russiagate allegations which is a threat created more by American elites and not by Russia;
- Demonization of Putin by mainstream American media who are not well informed;
- ISIS and other international terrorist organizations who are in pursuit of radioactive materials;
- Proliferation of states with nuclear weapons;
- Climate change.

Both Trump and Putin have insisted that the real threat is not Syrian President Assad but the Islamic State and other terrorists. "Putin's Kremlin" had destroyed the vicious Islamic State's grip on significant parts of Syria, for which it has still got no credit in Washington. According to Cohen, any actual Russian threats today are primarily of the West's own making; mostly reactions to US-led policies in recent years. Further Cohen has suggested a US–Russian coalition against the Islamic State and its terrorist accomplices, which could possibly diminish the new cold war. Cohen believes that US does not need a "friend" in the Kremlin, but a national-security partner whose nation's interests are sufficiently mutual for sustained cooperation for détente instead of Cold War.

The book also focuses on the failure of NATO's eastward expansion since 1990's in Balkans and later in Iraq and Libya that has resulted in more military

and political insecurity than security. Cohen describes this as a "pseudosecurity of simmering crises." The outcomes of NATO wars have bred political-ideological insecurities in Serbia (1999), Iraq (2003), Georgia (2008) and in Afghanistan, (initially NATO's effort) which is now the longest war in American history. Cohen implies that the only "Russian threats" since the end of the Soviet Union are ones provoked by US-led NATO itself, from Georgia and Ukraine to the Baltic states. The enormous resources devoted to NATO expansion have scarcely contributed anything to resolving real international crises, among them economic problems in Europe that have helped inspire its own secessionist movements; international terrorism in the Middle East and the refugee crisis; the danger of nuclear proliferation, which NATO has abetted by spurring a new nuclear arms race with Russia; and others. As NATO expanded, space for democracy in Russia has diminished. Cohen believes that for the sake of international security, NATO expansion must end. Cohen reiterates the accusation that Putin wants to "destabilize Western democracies," from America to Europe. Cohen clarifies that Putin needs a stable and prosperous EU as an essential Russian trading partner as he needs security guarantees for Russia.

Furthermore, the book tries to uncover the Ukrainian neo-Nazism, that has been ignored by the U.S. political-media establishment, including prominent American Jews and their organizations due to unqualified support for Kiev. Cohen states that media outlets have reported on corruption in Ukraine, but not on the frequent manifestations of neo-fascism.

Cohen mentions in his book that American media, today, are less objective on Russia, less balanced, more conformist, and scarcely less ideological than when they covered Soviet Russia during the preceding cold war. The stenographic American media has gone from the fog of cold war to falsification. According to him, media malpractice is now pervasive and the new norm and mainstream media outlets like outlets *New York Times, Washington Post*, *CNN, Times,* etc.) have played a woeful role in all of this. Cohen further adds that American media establishment continues to enforce their orthodox narrative that Russia is solely to blame for the new cold war. They have failed to offer diversity of opinion and reporting, but "confirmation bias." Alternative voices rarely appear any longer in the most influential newspapers or on national television or radio.

Cohen's book has disclosed various facts and figures that have nullified Russiagate's allegations. Cohen states that for most mainstream media, Russiagate has become a kind of cult journalism, that no counter-evidence or analysis can dent. The book explains that the claims of the American president being compromised by or that he is an agent of the Kremlin lacks persuasive historical evidence or political logic. Russiagaters have even alleged that Russia

"meddled" in the 2016 US presidential election and thus committed "an act of war against America." According to Cohen, the word "meddle" is both capacious and imprecise as governments have meddled in the elections and interfered in the domestic politics of other states for centuries in one form or another. One such instance cited is the Clinton administration's highly intrusive political and financial intervention on behalf of Russian President Yeltsin's reelection campaign in 1996. Cohen has provided an extensive analysis that states that the American media's fact-free allegations and unbiased reporting and commentary on Russiagate has delegitimized American elections.

Moreover, Cohen speculates that the CIA and FBI have played unsavory roles in Russiagate. Trump-Putin allegations that alarmed cold war hysteria in the American political-media establishment have no facts to support them. To this, Cohen indicates that the CIA has had a long history of leading American presidents into disastrous wars, from the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam to Iraq and Libya. According to him, Russiagate is a ploy to keep the conspiracy theory moving forward toward Trump's removal from office by whatever means. This is a futile investigation, which generates smoke but no smoking gun is to be found. Cohen believes that such allegations by political and media elites have denounced Trump's meeting with Putin at the expense of American and international security. Although Cohen's perspective on US-Russia relations has excluded him from various media outlets, his opinions cannot be completely denied. This is discernible from the fact that Cohen's assessment was proven correct that Mikhail Gorbachev was a true democrat, which was contrasted in 1980. Further in 1990, Cohen was among the first one to uncover the corrupt policies of Boris Yeltsin that adversely affected Russia.

The book attempts to provide Cohen's evaluation of how the American media and political elites have misrepresented Russiagate allegations and the new cold war preceded by the Ukrainian crisis. Cohen's book has raised a controversial debate that has invited a lot of criticism from the media and academic scholars. However, the book is strongly recommended as it gives an alternative outlook based on substantial facts that one may possibly have overlooked. This book should not be perceived as one of the conspired theories, as Cohen suggests, but be read for in-depth understanding of the intertwined relations between American politics and media.

Dharmaraj K. Veer and Shivaji Sontakke, *Advancement and Challenges for College Libraries in IT Era* **(New Delhi: Studera Press, 2018), Price: 1954.00, Pages: 385.**

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The edited book under review is divided into seven different sections examining the imperatives, process and status of development of library and information technology, especially the use of the e-Resources, library automation software, to make library an open source digital repository. Besides, the contributing authors have analyzed the role of library management and librarian during visit of The National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC).

The first part of the volume deals with the issue of application of Information Technology (IT) in libraries. The section scrutinizes how the information technology has become indispensable tools for accurate storage, processing, retrieval, and dissemination of information. As highlighted by K. Veeranjaneyulu, all library professionals have to understand and adapt to the new roles in the promotion of digital information environment. Some authors have examined on the 'cloud computing' in greater details. The cloud computing is basically the practice of using online remote servers which is hosted on the Internet to store, manage, and process data, rather than a local server or a personal computer. U.D. Vikram discusses on the cloud computing and how security was the common concern about implementing it as it generally depend on networking. K. Suryawanshi explains in great details how the development and application of ICT has made significant improvements in library services that he broadly defines in terms of 4 Es - Economy, Ease, Extension and Efficiency). With the extensive use of ICT libraries now can extend services 24/7 worldwide in very cost effective manner. In addition, it has also changed the work professionalism of library professional and library services.

In the second section, authors have talked about the importance of collection development as it is integral to success of any library. B.S. Trimurtu while highlighting the rich legacy of India's publication tradition mentions in his research that *Darpan* was the first newspaper in Marathi language, started on 6 January 1832 by Balshastri Jambhekar and *Asiatic Researchers* was the first Indian journal published in 1788.

The third section of volume deals with 'e-Resources' available in every library in different forms like e-Journals, e-Books, e-Databases, e-Thesis, consortia, etc. The main purpose of e-Resources is to provide the latest information to the library users as per their requirement through the internet and from and in any corner of the world. As aptly highlighted by V.R. Morale and B.S. Murkate, the academic libraries prefer electronic resources to substitute print collection for best use and to address shortage of physical space. This also provides cost-effective sources when journal prices on the increase and unavailability of trained manpower. Undoubtedly, there are both advantages and disadvantages of e-Resources, which the librarian should be able to identify try maintain a balance.

Section four deals with 'library automation', which refers to the use of computers to increase efficiency of the library staff and provide new services to patrons. The main objectives of the library automation are: to increase processing efficiency, improve library service, avoid the duplication of work, and make library management efficient. This section describes the use of automation in library activities such as acquisition, cataloguing, and circulation. Especially in India, the commercial software packages like Sanjay, Libsys, Libman, Libra, Librarian, Memlib, E-Granthalaya, SOUL, etc. are popular.

Section five elaborates how librarians should work together with IT professionals to develop the knowledge management in twenty-first century. As reflected by G.P. Sambhaji, and G.N. Panchal, knowledge service should be enhanced by setting up virtual libraries for scientific research institutions, digitalized knowledge service and library resources. Librarians have to develop the resource collection and increase the reading materials for readers. Process and techniques for collection development are the major roles of librarians. The library management largely depend on the librarian and his/her professionalism in performance of duties including acquisition, cataloguing, digital repository, stock verification, and maintenance of library records.

The subsequent section discusses the use of library software and related issues. As present day libraries are gradually shifting from printed resources towards digital resources, digital library is fully automated information system

which saves precious time, strength and energy of the users. Authors mention some open source digital library software which can be used in digital libraries like DSpace, Greenstone, GNU E-Print, Ganesha, Libronix. Open source software have become very popular day by day and helped improving the library services and collection. Also these softwares do not cost the initial expenses like the commercial software. Some examples of open source software that have made the working environment smooth are: Koha, Fedora, Word Press, Open office, Ubuntu, Firefox, GIMP shop, etc. Open source phenomenon has attracted attention by digital revolution, economics of digital products, internet, new way of services. Though cost-effective open source software are available in market at ease but librarian should take utmost caution before selecting any for the library. V.M. Pawar mentions eleven criteria that are useful for selecting specific open source software.

The last part of the volume examines the role of librarian in the NAAC process. Undoubtedly, The Library and Information center of Higher Education institutions play a vital role in enhancing the quality of academic and research environment. Especially, authors in this section explain the Librarian's role is described regarding NAAC process that undertakes internal quality assessment and suggest how to develop a system for consistent and catalytic improvement for the overall performance of the institution. S.B. Deshmukh describes the role of library in developing quantity and quality collection on core and interdisciplinary subject. Also through collection of feedback about library and its services from the users it strives for constant improvement. For research consultancy and extension services library must have enough number of journals and convenient work space. For student support and progression the library has to provide user friendly services by efficient staff, orientation modules, exhibitions, guidelines and book bank services.

Overall, the volume is an important addition to the existing literature on the role of library in academic excellence and is a must read for the library management, the officials who are responsible for quality assurance in the university.

David Charles Kimball, *Cases in Human Resource Management,* **(Los Engeles: Sage Publications, 2017), Price: $42.00, Pages:104.**

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The current buzzword in both business and academia is 'management'. The new age modern students are not just interested in plain textbook knowledge but are hungry for experience and work in the field of their choice, or simply put, on the knowledge that they have obtained through their studies and want to get actively engaged in the practical world. Over the years, many trends have come and gone but the singularly striking method of making any decision through the experience gained through past cases has always been a classic teaching method. Case studies have to be classic because of their requirement for critically analyzing the information and then taking the decision. David Kimball's cases of human resource management not only offer real-world business cases but also offer the student a set of skills to develop, e.g. like critically analyzing and even decision making.

Human resource management (HRM) has evolved a lot in the past few years. And through this evolution, there have been many perspectives and ways that have changed for the HRM department as a whole. Kimball's book highlights the changes through cases in a very systematic and a processed manner. There are five sections in this book, and each section has various cases that have been aligned in such a way that it is easy for students to understand the current process as well as aspects in human resource management and thus how to work accordingly.

In the beginning of the book, the author shows the evolution of HRM, right from the 1980s to date. Back in that time, HRM was known as personnel management, where not much interference was allowed in the department, like that of accountants, etc. However, the changing time and perspective has changed all that as well as the job role and people's views have also changed drastically

on this subject. Personnel management developed into human resource management and it possessed all the active requirements of HRM departments, like legal issues or strategic planning, training employees, taking care of their motivation level, searching and evaluating low costs, etc.

In the first section, the author has shown the evolution of HRM from personnel management to human resource management and different HRM careers to grow along with this change. With the help of a successful company like ZAPPOS, he has shown the change in HRM and how this company's core values ultimately helped them to be successful.

In this book, some light was also thrown on strategic, driven, human resource management and how a company like COSTCO, using strategy always managed to have a competitive advantage whilst using the Porter's Five Forces model. After showing the past review of HRM and its growth, the author went onto elaborate on the next important process called STAFFING. Kimball was able to cite cases with best possible examples about how VISIER® inc. was the best case to understand about forecasting workforce with technological advancement. In General Electric (GE), CEO Jack Welch had a really unique method for succession planning which did not lead to any disturbance to the working time and also all the employees, selected were tested to the core, to find the best one suitable for the job. The trend of e-recruitment is explained with the best cases of the company like LinkedIn, MySpace, etc. Kimball gave really accurate selection process cases and where we stand in that process, for students to identify what they will have to look at and how it works.

After the second level of the process is completed, the next step is to manage and train the employees; Kimball through his cases of using massive, open, online courses to managing functional conflicts has explained about every detail, problem and rights an employee and organization can have and when one has to use a particular way in order to manage the employee(s) and the organization and how human resources plays an important role in the process.

With cases like maintaining secrecy in the amount of pay and its effect on employees, to those highlighting how to keep an employee motivated as well as workplace safety and health rules, the author has made sure to work on the smallest of details and give information with a 'real-life experience' feel to the information, (for students and readers to understand HRM in deeper details).

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