

JOURNAL OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

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Absence of Suffering is not Happiness: Seeking Happiness the Indian Way

Sanitization of mind over body, search for happiness over removing pain, realization of dream over solving the problem, happiness over desires and enjoyment, if made the goals of life, may help in attaining the bliss (ananda). Since mind, happiness, dream and bliss are more elusive and difficult to approach, focus is continuously given to the physical and the visible. We also live with the delusion that solving the problem is reaching the dream, removing stress and pain will give happiness or attaining physical health will bring peace of mind. Fitness of mind which is the true source of energizing the body has taken a back seat. After World War II, western psychology can be considered as a science about identification and treatment of diseases and problems. It largely concentrated on repairing damages with a disease model of human functioning. Attention to pathology neglected the fulfilled individual and the thriving community. In modern world the drug mafia thrives on this bio-medical model of human being and ensures the sustainability of this model which focuses on the diseases and their cure through drugs.

Indian philosophy is in contrast to the present disease model of the western world and western psychology. It provides, in detail, the theoretical base of the connection between mind and body as well as the processes to attain happiness and bliss-Ananda. Whether modern or western the desire to get more and more is increasing in today's youth, who consider material gain a synonym of happiness. This has led the youth to a stage where they are not even aware about the ultimate aim of their life. Recent western studies too (e.g., Diener & Diener 1995) emphasized the need for search of happiness than material gains. I often ask a question to my students in the very first class as to what is the goal of their life. The most common answers given by youth are "job in MNC, name, fame and wealth". On probing the ultimate aim of life, sometimes the response would come "want to be happy". But what is happiness, how to achieve it has eluded the youth. Sexuality and lust over love, dishonesty over honesty, wealth over quality of life are dominant and desired. Happiness and bliss are not aimed and

hence not achieved. A major thrust of this editorial note is to emphasize that you get what you search for and hence the stress management model has to be replaced by happiness and bliss model. To achieve happiness you have to know what it is and strive to achieve this positive state of mind than just removing the trash.

In my therapies, I experienced that identifying the problems and pains and then working to remove them did not work. Effort towards logical analysis of the situation did not work. Because, happiness and peace are state of mind and not a logical explanation, that in reality, what the client is trying to achieve is very different from removal of conflict and pain. Happiness and peace is aim of the future and can be generated by facilitating a person to explore the dream of one's life and find ways to achieve it. This paper very strongly wants to reiterate that happiness is not absence of suffering.

I was never interested in the in-depth study of Indian philosophy and Indian mythology. While writing this paper I got interested to explore it and realized my mistake of not doing so earlier. With my first effort to talk about the psychology of happiness rooted in Indian scriptures, I felt delighted when many of my beliefs and my experimentation in therapies to help client take a direct path to realize a dream than to solve the problem rooted in history were, directly or indirectly, corroborated. I wonder why in a country rooted in philosophy of tranquility, a country which has taught the world the value of sacrifice (parityag), detachment (anasakti), satisfaction within (Santosh paramdharm) and art of living (yoga), wondered, there is so much emphasis on spa of body than spa of mind, why for Indians 'my convenience over other's inconvenience' has acquired more significance. Western counterparts have started researching how to achieve the ultimate joy and wellbeing and to include it in modern psychotherapies. This is already well evolved, well researched and well documented in our Indian philosophy and scriptures. It is also well demonstrated by Indian Gurus who internationalized the Indian philosophy like Lord Budhda, Swami Vivekanand, Gandhi and many more

One of the oldest Indian scripture, the Bhagwad Gita, is categorical about happiness being in the domain of spirituality rather than in the material world. Gita has even differentiated between enjoyment and happiness and has stated that often enjoyment leads to unhappiness. It talks about enhancement of self, emotional intelligence, how one's cognitive abilities are hampered due to stress, need for controlling the desires, positive life orientation and dealing with stress, detachment, cognitive restructuring etc. Some of the many quotes given below refer to the richness of Indian philosophy on the psychology of Self.

Prajahaatiyadaakaamaansarvaanpaarthamanogataan; 2.55

Aatmanyevaatamanaatushtahsthitaprajnastadochyate.

When a man completely casts off, O Arjuna, all the desires of the mind and is satisfied in the Self by the Self, then is he said to be one of steady wisdom.

Duhksheshwanudwignamanaahsukheshuvigatasprihah; 2.56

Veetaraagabhayakrodhahsthitadheermuniruchyate.

He whose mind is not shaken by adversity, who does not hanker after pleasures, and who is free from attachment, fear and anger, is called a sage of steady wisdom.

Lord Krishna has also described fully evolved and well defined personality systems (called gunas). He has enumerated in detail in Gita the three Gunas: sattvic, rajasic, tamasic, the balanced personality, and even the ways to attain them. When sattvaguna is dominant, a person has intrinsic desire to be good and gentle. They have complete control on emotions, thoughts and actions. Sattvic intellect clearly understands the discrepancy between desirable and undesirable, undutiful and dutiful action. Further elaborating He elaborates how this guna can be attained by acquiring knowledge, skills, healthy daily routine, serving society, meditation and increasing spiritual level which eventually goes beyond happiness-unhappiness and towards Bliss.

Moving forward, philosophy of Lord Buddha has a lot to say about happiness 2500 years back. Enlightened at the age of 29, Buddha self-realized that wealth and luxury did not guarantee happiness. A very simple definition given by Buddha of happiness is "Happiness (sukha) is that which can be borne with ease; suffering (dukkha) is that which cannot be borne with ease." Buddha talked about feelings and experience as happiness. He said, "Happiness is in the mind which is released from worldly bondage. And the first element to achieve Nirvana is a perception of futility of a life that centers around satisfying of sensual desires.

Buddha was first, much later Rogers, to teach that the solutions to our problems are within us and not outside. Buddha said we cause our own suffering and need to take responsibility of our own actions- a key concept behind psychotherapies.

A very deep analysis of mind is given by the great Indian philosopher Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902). According to Vivekanand true happiness consists in killing selfishness and that no one can make one happy except oneself. The only way of getting out of misery is by giving up the idea of happiness. Emphasizing the concept of love, he said that there is no act of love, which does not bring peace and blessedness as its reaction. He detailed the interconnectedness and co-existence of Existence - Knowledge - Bliss.

Gandhian philosophy of happiness is also about 'one's own control'. Espousing the Indian philosophy of harmony between manasa (cognitive processes), vacha (communication) and karmana (actions and behaviour), Gandhi said the ultimate truth which can bring eternal peace and happiness is "when what you think, what you say, and what you do are in harmony." Gandhi also talked about focusing on self and changing the self to attain happiness and making the world a better place to live. He also emphasized the importance of living in the present.

Indian philosophy and Indian scriptures are manuals of psychology and sermons based on these scriptures by the so called Indian gurus, (Shri Shri Ravi Shankar, Brahmakumari, Baba Ramdev), are more sought after, than the trained psychologists, for giving peace and strength. Recital of some excerpts of Bhagwad Gita are found to bring solace to deal with trauma of death in Hindi families. The challenge lies before the stalwarts of psychology to go back to our own roots to train our budding psychologists who can make their inroads as successful psychologists in service of people showing them the path of happiness. They need to be trained how to activate the healing system possessed by each individual, how to help individuals realize their dreams than just treat disorders. The challenge is to evolve a system of teaching and training so that our budding psychologists can evolve, within these systems, to facilitate the society develop a positive control over their self and attain bliss the ananda.

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Strengths valued in an Indian cultural setting: relationship with urbanization

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India is described as an emerging nation that is undergoing transformation on many fronts. A noticeable parameter is the degree of urbanization experienced within the country, which is likely to have a relationship with the psychological framework of people. To explore how psychological changes related to this kind of transformation are being manifested, this research looked at exploring strengths that are valued in places that were differently urbanized. A semi-structured interview was administered to 400 students (200 male, 200 female, 17-24 years) from across four types of locations in north India that differed on their level of urbanization. A thematic analysis of the data collected revealed that many of the themes that emerged were common across the types of locations and across gender. However, differences related to gender and location were observed in the degree of endorsement of these valued strengths. These results are discussed keeping in mind a background of cultural orientation. This study was the initial step in the development of the Positive Personality Traits Questionnaire (Singh and Jha, 2010)

Keywords: Strengths; Cultural Orientation; Urbanization

As a country, India has been in the thick of change for a few decades now, ever since it opened up to the global market. As a result, the forces of globalization are at play, spreading slowly and gradually across the nation. According to Arnett (2002) 'globalization has existed for many centuries as a process by which cultures influence one another and become more alike through trade, immigration and exchange of information and ideas. However in recent decades the degree and intensity of the connections among different cultures and different world regions have accelerated dramatically because of advances in telecommunications and a rapid increase in economic and financial interdependence worldwide'. According to Arnett (2002), global culture is believed to be led by the western countries and is defined by individualism. Other researchers also substantiated this position and used individualist traits to characterize people from western countries like Western Europe, North America and Australia and collectivist traits for non-western context like Asia, South America and Africa (Green, Deschamps, & Paez, 2005). Since western values appear to direct the forces of globalization, it is significant to note what the associations are with the concepts of individualism and how it contrasts with collectivism. Overall, individualism is seen to be associated with modernity, democracy, wealth, urbanism and

higher education as well as parenting that focuses on autonomy and positive self regard; Collectivism in contrast is associated with poverty, less education, hierarchical or caste based societies and parenting and educational systems that focus on obedience to authority and acceptance of social structure (Kagitcibasi, 1997). However, cultures differ in how much they are affected by the forces of globalization. The extent to which people of a given society shift their mind frames depends upon among other things, how open the culture is to incoming influences and the potency of the incoming influences in confronting and prevailing upon the existing beliefs, preferences and practices (Sinha & Pandey, 2007). For example, in India, diverse new experiences arising out of invasions and immigrations, alien rules and more recent western and global cultural influences, combined with a rich spiritual-philosophical heritage, have created a complex plurality in Indian thoughts and behaviour (Radhakrishnan & Moore, 1954). The plurality of Indian thoughts and behaviour includes a combination of collectivistic and individualistic cultural orientation. However, collectivism, hierarchical orientation, emotionality, spirituality are considered as primary while individualism, rationality and materialism are considered secondary and acquired through western influences (Sinha & Kanungo, 1997). According to Sinha and Pandey, (2007) collectivism was found to be typical of Indians in the pre-liberalization phase; liberalization and globalization particularly after the nineties, (the new economic policy, 1991), made

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changes in the Indian environment and lead to a more individualistic orientation which was still combined with collectivism.

The notion of globalization however is further compounded by the effect of intervening factors such as urbanization. Social demographers define urbanization as an increase in population size especially with regard to ratios and distributions of specific populations to national populations, (for example, ratio of urban to rural population etc.) (Goldstein & Sly, 1975). In contrast sociologists define urbanization as increases in population size with resulting changes in social dynamics like differentiation, segmentation etc. among the population (Burton, Forrest & Stewart, 1985). Psychologists investigate urban life from the viewpoint of human adjustment and adaptation (Baum, Singer & Valins, 1978; Freeman, 1984; Harpham, 1994). Urbanization ultimately represents a convergence of specific population, environmental, economic, cultural, and political forces with their psychosocial consequences (Marsella, 1998).

Arnett (2002) states that urban areas experience the changes brought about by globalization with greater intensity as compared to rural areas. Therefore, regions within India where the penetration of these forces may be weaker might be different from places where the influence of these forces is more pronounced. For e.g. Sinha, Sinha, Verma, & Sinha (2001) reported that more developed and urbanized places were associated with a mix of collectivist and individualist behaviour and intentions as compared to less urbanized places. Aycicegi-Dinn and Caldwell-Harris (2013) also reported that urbanization covaried most strongly not with individualism, but with low values of collectivism, which and collectivism was less frequently endorsed in larger urban areas compared to rural areas.

Strengths Valued in an Indian Setting

The current research looks at strengths that are valued in an Indian setting. To place these valued strengths in a cultural context, it is helpful to understand them through their association to individualism and collectivism, which have been discussed earlier in the paper. Further, to place the understanding of valued strengths in a positive psychology framework, it is imperative to look at the concept of character strengths (Peterson & Seligman, 2004). Character strengths at the

individual level are described as positive individual traits and at the group level as civic virtues and institutions that move individuals towards better citizenship, responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic. (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000)

To understand these character strengths, Park, Peterson and Seligman (2006) put forth two perspectives. One perspective posits a pervasive human nature, shown in a handful of common values and virtues displayed by most people in most societies because these dispositions are needed for a group to survive and thrive (Bok, 1995; Schwartz, 1994). Another perspective holds that different strengths come to the fore in different places for idiosyncratic, cultural and historical reasons.

In light of the latter perspective described above, it becomes interesting to study what strengths would be valued in the Indian culture keeping in mind the effects of globalization and urbanization. This research explored how globalization and urbanization relate to the manifestation of valued strengths keeping in mind the associations between Indian culture and the individualism-collectivism domain. This study also proved to be a starting point for the development of the Positive Personality Traits Questionnaire (Singh & Jha, 2010).

Method

Participants in this research were undergraduate students chosen randomly from colleges across north India from places like Delhi, Chandigarh, and district Rohtak in Haryana. District Rohtak contained places that suited both the requirements of a small town, among the relatively more urbanized towns within the district, and had surrounding villages that were taken to represent the village levels location for the study. The students indicated the exact location from which they commuted to the colleges and this was used to segregate the students from district Rohtak into the small town and village level samples. The total sample consisted of 400 students. The sample consisted of 200 male and 200 female students. The range of age was 17-24 years. Mean age and SD = 19.16 ± 1.16 years. Using the census of India 2001 guidelines, four different locations at each level were chosen randomly. The details of the locations are given in Table 1. The classification of the four locations was confirmed according to the 2011 Indian Census report (Registrar General of India.

Census of India, 2011). However since the data collection for this study occurred before the publication of the new census, the figures reported here are from the 2001 census (Census of India, 2001a; Census of India, 2001b; Census of India, 2001c). In the next step, colleges with courses like B.A., B. Com., B.Sc., and B. Tech. were identified in these places and a few were chosen randomly. Both male and female students were considered in order to enable a cross gender comparison in terms of the within-culture variation. The details of the sample are given in Table 2.

The focus group of the study was the youth as it was assumed that they are likely to be more responsive to the effects of globalization and urbanization. Arnett (2002) notes in his paper, 'Unlike adults, they are not yet committed to a definite way of life and have not ingrained habits of belief and behaviour; they are more open to what is new and unusual. They tend to be more interested than both adults or children in global media- recorded music, movies, television, the Internet-and to a considerable extent, global media are the leading edge of globalization (Schlegel, 2001). An open-ended interview was used for the collection of qualitative data. The interview was adapted to suit the requirements of the context of the study. It was translated into Hindi, as the participants from villages and from the small town did not possess high level of English language proficiency. The questions were first translated into Hindi and then back translated into English twice by experts who had good knowledge of both the languages and psychological testing.

The language of the interview was preference based and both Hindi and English versions were made available to all participants. Almost all students from the villages and small town chose to opt for the interview in Hindi, most of the participants from Chandigarh chose to answer the English version and all Delhi participants chose the interview in English.

The key questions that were put across to the sample are as follows:

- Identify three strengths that you possess.
- What three strengths would you want to develop in yourself?
- Name 3 important strengths that you value most in other people.
- How do you think people in India are changing as a result of development and modernization?

- What strengths do you think are special about Indians?
- What strengths do you think are important in a person to help him/her be successful in life?
- What strengths do you think are important to make the society better?
- What do you value the most in life?

A booklet containing a demographic sheet, instructions and the interview was administered to the students. Participation was voluntary. After permission was sought from the college authorities, the students were assembled in class, were briefed about the study, and were offered a choice to participate. Only those who showed interest participated on a voluntary basis.

Results

The responses obtained from the interview were subjected to a thematic analysis to look for key themes that emerged in the respondents' answers. This method of analysis was chosen due to its flexibility and ability to provide a rich, comprehensive, yet intricate account of data. It is also suited to large data sets and allows the interpretation of themes supported by data (Guest, 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It includes six phases ranging from familiarization with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. They state that a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set. The emergent themes for this research along with excerpts from interviews are given in Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5.

Barun and Clarke (2006) further state that there is no strict answer to the question of what proportion of the data set needs to display evidence of the theme for it to be considered a theme. They further state that part of the flexibility of thematic analysis is that it allows the determination of themes in a number of ways. One of the different ways in which a theme can be counted is in terms of the number of different speakers who articulate a theme. They add that what is important is the consistency in the analysis carried out. Keeping these guidelines in mind, three different levels of prevalence of themes were extracted from the data.

While most of the themes that emerged were common across the types of locations/ places of residence and across gender, some differences were observed. It was also found that even though all themes were present in almost all groups, the degree of endorsement (i.e. the percentage of individuals rating it as important) differed across groups.

From the villages, female students reported higher orientation (i.e. more than 70% female students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of males), towards self-confidence, hard work and determination than male students. Being sociable, orientation towards family, social welfare, respect for elders and belief in God were common themes among more than 70% of both male and female students in the villages.

Female students in the small town showed greater proclivity (i.e. more than 70% female students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of males) than male students towards self-confidence and self-reliance. Male students showed a greater bent (i.e. more than 70% male students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of females) towards social welfare, attachment with others, tradition and respect for country. Both male and female students showed an orientation towards hard work, self discipline, equality, helping others and towards family.

For the data collected from students in the city, female students showed greater orientation (i.e. more than 70% female students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of males) towards self-confidence, helping others, honesty, cooperation compared to male students. Male students showed a greater inclination (i.e. more than 70% male students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of females) towards humour, patience, hard work, self-discipline, love, optimism, loyalty and success. The orientation towards belief in God, intelligence, family, friends was common between the two groups.

Determination, optimism, hard work, family orientation, honesty, patience were common among male and female students in the metro city. Female students compared to male students, showed greater inclination (i.e. more than 70% female students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower percentage of males) towards respect for elders, belief in God, self-confidence, friendliness, being helpful, and equality. Male students tended to be more oriented (i.e. more than 70% male students endorsed this trend as compared to a lower

percentage of females) towards being tolerant, courageous, goal oriented, valued knowledge and originality compared to female students.

In addition, the common themes such as being hardworking, self-confidence, determination, being helpful, family orientation, emotional control, honesty, equality, self discipline were stated as being important by more than 30 % female students in all locations/ places of residence. Among male students, the common themes that were stated as being important by more than 30% of the sample were honesty, self-discipline, hard work and family.

Discussion

Although some differences with respect to valued strengths were seen across locations, it was observed that all locations showed the occurrence of most of the strengths that emerged post thematic analysis. Therefore, even though differences were seen in the endorsement of these strengths among students, all students endorsed almost all strengths in varying measures. Therefore keeping these findings in mind, it emerged that many valued strengths were present across locations. This is in line with findings that suggest similarity in the endorsement of strengths across regions and cultures (Park, Peterson & Seligman, 2005a; Park, Peterson & Seligman, 2005b; Park et al., 2006).

It was found that all students endorsed the valued strengths of 'family orientation', 'honesty' and 'hard work', across locations equally. These strengths appear to be in line with attributes traditionally associated with collectivism like social concern, being a good person, well being of others, fulfilling one's duty, helping others, and getting affection from elders (Agarwal & Misra, 1986), the central role of the family in India (Roland, 1988) and respectfulness, humility, deference, obedience, dutifulness, reciprocity, self sacrifice, security, traditionalism, conformity and cooperativeness. (Grimm, Church, Katigbak, & Reyes, 1999). A study carried out by Sinha et al. (1994) found results along similar lines. They found that values such as familialism that reflected embeddedness in the most salient in-group, hierarchy and relationship orientation, which formed a general factor for collectivism, to be present across regional samples in India.

While it was observed that valued strengths associated with collectivism were present across locations and gender, it was also found that villages and small town showed a greater presence of these

valued strengths in comparison to city and metro city. There appears to be some relationship with the different levels of urbanization and consequent globalization. Mishra (1994) who found that less urbanized settings with lower levels of education tend to foster greater collectivist behaviour in comparison with more urbanized places, reported findings similar to the current research. Another significant finding was that most places in the current research showed the presence of some valued strengths that can be described as being individualist. These included 'self confidence', 'determination', 'self discipline', 'judgment and perspective', 'originality', 'goal orientation', 'personal ambition', 'leadership' and 'open mindedness'. Evidence of some valued strengths being more individualistic than collectivistic can be sought in research carried out by Matsumoto, Weissman, Preston, Brown and Kupperbusch (1997) who found that individualism was associated with disengaged emotions such as being superior, proud, feeling on top of the world etc. Similarly, Grimm et al. (1999) listed certain attributes as being more individualistic such as independence, pleasure seeking, assertiveness, creativity, curiosity, competitiveness, self-assurance, efficacy, initiative and directness.

To sum up the above, it was found that students across locations showed a combination of valued strengths associated with both types of orientations. Further, students in the rural and small towns showed a somewhat greater occurrence of valued strengths associated with collectivism. An explanation of these findings can be sought in the research findings given by Arnett (2002). He states that as globalization spreads, people develop a bicultural identity in which, part of their identity is rooted in their local culture and part in their awareness of their relation to global culture. He also states that changes due to globalization appear to reach urban areas with greater intensity as compared to rural areas. Therefore, while students endorsed the strengths associated with both orientations across locations, in the village and small town where the forces of globalization were likely to be relatively weaker, the endorsement of strengths associated with collectivism was higher. The presence of valued strengths associated with both types of cultural orientations also shows that the process of urbanization in India seems to give rise to a plurality of thought and behaviour, so that multiple and often contradictory valued strengths exist at the same time. This is in line with earlier research that found an existence of both

individualist and collectivistic attributes within Indians (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994; Varma, 2004). In more recent findings, Rao et al (2013) observed that a common response to globalization among urban middle-class adolescents in India was that they remained strongly connected with Indian collectivist beliefs, values, and practices but also identified and at the same time participated in individualistic, beliefs, values, and practices.

In summary, the findings of this research reveal that valued strengths associated with the two cultural orientations of individualism and collectivism are found to exist among all groups. However, strengths linked with collectivist orientation were seen more among the sample groups from the villages and small town as compared to the other two more urbanized places. There are some considerations to be kept in mind while interpreting the findings of this research. Since the study was carried out in North India, other regions could possibly show a different pattern. In addition, it is possible that sources of livelihood and other moderating variables such as the family background in terms of monetary and educational standing could play a role in how easily a region adapts to change. These were not recorded in the study and this forms a limitation in achieving a comprehensive understanding of the current results. Another limitation of the study is that the thematic analysis was carried out manually and inter coder reliability was not established for the themes that emerged.

This study helps in understanding the unique way in which Indian culture is adapting to the processes of urbanization and consequently globalization. The way Indians combine valued strengths associated with both cultural orientations appear to give them a unique edge in terms of assimilating the new while retaining the old. This study contributes to literature by shedding light on evolving Indian valued strengths in the current changing times. This research also proved to be a significant starting step in the development of a statistically sound instrument, the Positive Personality Traits Questionnaire (Singh & Jha, 2010) which assesses these strengths among individuals. It will be interesting to carry out a similar study with other regions and other age groups within India to see what patterns exist with respect to valued strengths. It would also be of interest to carry out a follow up study in a few years time to see whether there is a change in trend in terms of valued strengths with the passage of time.

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Table 1: Details of Location/ Places of Residence

Parameters	Delhi	Chandigarh	Rohtak district
Total Population	13,850,507	900,635	940,128
Urban Population	12,905,780	808,515	329,604
Rural population	944,727	92,120	610,524
Percentage of urban population	93.6%	89.7%	35.06%
Density of population	9,340 persons per sq. km.	7,900 persons per sq. km.	325 persons per sq. Km (in Haryana)
Literacy ratio	81.7	81.9	73.7
Other workers (in occupations other than agriculture/cultivation)	95.7%	98.1%	46.5%

Note: Data taken from Census of India (2001a), Census of India (2001b), Census of India (2001c)

Table 2: Details of the Sample Used

Sample	N	Min Age	Max Age	Mean Age	SD
Villages female students	50	17.00	20.00	18.72	0.97
Villages male students	50	17.00	22.00	19.02	1.36
Small town female students	50	17.00	20.00	19.06	0.96
Small town - male students	50	17.00	23.00	18.88	1.33
City female students	50	18.00	21.00	19.32	1.00
City male students	50	18.00	24.00	19.70	1.57
Metro city female students	50	17.00	21.00	19.02	0.84
Metro city male students	50	17.00	23.00	19.56	1.26

Table 3: Thematic Analysis of Students' Data: Endorsed by 70% of Sample and Above

Place	Sample	Emergent themes
Villages	Female	Hard work, self confidence, determination, being dutiful, 'ek achhi beti, behen aur patni banna', being helpful, 'mujhe doosron ki madad karna achha lagta hai', being sociable, 'main har kisi ke saath mil jul ke rehti hoon 'empathy, 'doosron ki bhaavnaon ki kadra karna' learning, respect for elders, belief in God, orientation towards the community, 'kuch aisa karna ki doosron ke kaam aa sakoon', 'garibon ki sahayta karna' orientation towards family 'mata pita ki achhi santan banna'
	Male	Respect for elders, 'apne se badon ka aadar aur choton se pyar' love, patriotism, social welfare, 'samaj ke liye accha kaam karna' 'koi bhi aisa kaam na karna jis se kisi ka nuksan ho' belief in God, helping others, 'garibon ki maddat', being sociable and friendly, 'sabhi ke saath miljul ke rehna' unity
Small town	Female	Unity, honesty, hard work, discipline, being helpful and kind 'Doosron ki sewa karna', 'doosron ko khushi dena' self confidence, sense of duty 'apna kaam kisi pe naa chodna', intelligence, self reliance 'apna kaam swayam karna', equality 'sabhi dharmon ka samman karna'
	Male	Social welfare 'samaj sudhar', 'doosron ki bhalai karna mujhe accha lagta hai', being helpful, honesty & integrity 'main kabhi kisi ka vishwas nahin todta', attachment with others, being sociable, respect for country 'desh aur samaj ke liye kuch karna', love, fairness, 'samaj mein bhedbhav nahin hone chahiye' sense of duty 'apni padhai ko imandari se karna', hard work 'apne lakshya ke prati kadi mehnat', self discipline
City	Female	Self confidence, intelligence, being helpful, honesty, family, friends, belief in God, cooperation, parents 'I value the happiness of my parents the most in my life'
	Male	Humour, patience, hard work, 'I value success and hard work' family, friends, self discipline, 'A person should be disciplined to achieve goals', love, optimism, spirituality, intelligence, loyalty, success
Metro city	Female	Determination, respect for elders, belief in God, optimism, self confidence and self esteem, being hardworking, family orientation, 'My biggest strengths are my parents and family', friendliness, honesty, patience, being helpful, equality
	Male	Tolerance, patience, honesty, determination, courage, hard work, goal orientation, parents, 'blessings of parents and elders' originality, family, cooperation, knowledge, optimism

Note: Italics are Hindi responses. Their main theme is also described alongside.

Table 4: Thematic Analysis of Students' Data: Endorsed by 30% to 40% of the Sample

Place	Sample	Emergent themes
Villages	Female	Emotional control, honesty, 'kisi ko dhokha na dena', unity, equality, 'doosron mein bhed bahav nahin karna', self-discipline, patriotism, 'main desh ke liye mar mitna chaahti hoon', self reliance, 'apne pairon pe khade hone ke layak banna', courage, humor, goal orientation, social welfare, 'doosron ki bhalai ke bare mein sochna' loyalty, 'main apni dosti bohut achhi tarah nibhati hoon' tolerance 'ek doosre ke vicharon ki kadra karna'
	Male	Family, 'mata pita ki sewa karna', honesty, self discipline, hard work, judgment and perspective, tolerance, empathy, leadership, good health, being dutiful, 'apne kartavyon ka palan karna'
Small town	Female	Personal ambition 'apne pairon pe khada hona', respect for elders 'pyar aur izzat se bolna', friendliness, emotional control, positive attitude, determination 'kisi bhi kaam ko poora kar ke chodna', family 'mata pita ki aagya ko maana', patriotism 'desh ko achha banana' 'desh ke hit ke bare mein sochna'
	Male	Growth, non violence, learning new things, emotional control, adaptability, loyalty, determination 'apne lakshya ke prati dhriddh rehna aur use poora karne ki himmat karna', self reliance, self belief, empathy, valuing tradition 'samaj mein rehkar niyamo ka palan karna', family 'mata pita aur guru jano ka aadar karna'
City	Female	Hard work, 'I want to achieve my goal with hard work', courage, simplicity, emotional stability, leadership, judgment and perspective, determination, equality, 'no discrimination of any kind' self discipline
	Male	Honesty, tolerance, originality, openness, gratitude, respect for others, unity, warmth, 'there should be understanding between communities', self confidence, duty towards work, self respect, respect for elders, punctuality
Metro city	Female	Self discipline, punctuality, love and respect for others, friends, emotional control, courage, loyalty, being dutiful, humour, judgment and perspective, unity
	Male	Self confidence, being sociable, judgment and perspective, education, open mindedness, equality, 'no class discrimination', kindness, emotional control, intelligence, forgiveness, unity, spirituality, self discipline

Note: Italics are Hindi responses. Their main theme is also described alongside.

Table 5: Thematic Analysis of Students' Data: Endorsed by Less than 30% of the Sample

Place	Sample	Emergent themes
Villages	Female	Judgment and perspective, positive thinking, hospitality, intelligence, personal ambition 'adhik se adhik padhai aur naukri'
	Male	Goal orientation, personal ambition, 'apne aap ko prasidh karna' 'samaj mein aadarsh sthan prapt karna', learning orientation, equality, emotional control, determination, courage, self reliance, positive thinking, self confidence, forgiveness, enthusiasm, being hopeful, intelligence
Small town	Female	Learning new things, resilience, creativity, simplicity, open mindedness, valuing tradition, courage, judgment and perspective, loyalty, spirituality, individuality 'main sabse alag hoon'
	Male	Ambition 'main apne kareer ke prati sachet rehta hoon', competitiveness, intelligence, dignity, humility, courage, leadership, self confidence
City	Female	Career orientation, 'only listen to yourself and pay attention to your aim in life', valuing tradition, punctuality, being sociable, respect for elders, positive thinking, hospitality, flexibility, love, enthusiasm, kindness, curiosity, adjustment, being dutiful, forgiveness, patience, generosity, politeness, tolerance, self reliance, learning orientation, loyalty
	Male	Generosity, cooperation, forgiveness, emotional strength, humility, hope, learning orientation, judgment and perspective, simplicity, determination, self dependence
Metro city	Female	Time management, goal orientation, open mindedness, self reliance, independence, success, adjustment, intelligence, tolerance, enthusiasm, education
	Male	Loyalty, love, punctuality, trust, forgiveness, hope, leadership, respect for others, enthusiasm, humour

Note: Italics are Hindi responses. Their main theme is also described alongside

The Not-So-Soft Power of Culture and Diversity

Nico van Oudenhoven* and Rona Jualla van Oudenhoven**

The paper is a wider set of arguments, or rather of an ongoing narrative, that seeks to advocate the vision that Early Childhood Education efforts should move away from treating young boys and girls exclusively as 'early learners'. It goes against the almost universal trend of sending ever younger children to school-like institutions. An illustration of this movement to transform even the littlest children into students is evinced by the Canadian Early Years Study 3: Making Decisions, Taking Action, which recommends school attendance of two-year olds (McCain et Al. 2011).

Here it is reasoned that young children should foremost be approached as active participants and contributors of culture. Alternatively, even shorter and more to the point: ECD² should be foremost a 'cultural enrichment' affair. ECD should not exclusively be about 'reading, writing and arithmetic', but 'culture' should determine its content.³

Keywords: Culture and diversity, Early childhood Development, Culturalized Development, Childhood Development Initiatives.

"For us, the concept of 'culture' consists of dynamic constellations of interlinked views, perceptions and emotions. We, therefore, will use the term in a rather cavalier way, but will, when needed, will try to be clear in our intentions. At this stage, we will look at 'culturised ECD' as something as an enjoyable and wholesome process, that challenges and engages young boys and children, fosters their curiosity and eagerness to be active and explorative, increases their faculties, talents and skills and makes them 'better' persons in the sense that it helps them in valuing, searching for, finding, contributing to and creating beauty and meaning in life as well as appreciating the connectedness of things organic and inorganic. It also engenders children with hope, or, in the words by Cornell West (1993), with: "the audacious attempt to galvanize and energize, to inspire and to invigorate world-weary people"⁴. The totality of those activities makes children participate in things that are meaningful, beautiful, pleasing and good. It is a very wide description, but this cannot be otherwise as ECD is all-encompassing and should therefore be much more than providing schooling to the little ones."⁵

"Without culture, and the relative freedom it implies, society, even when perfect, is but a jungle. This is why any authentic creation is a gift to the future."

Albert Camus (1955)

Why this text then, which in essence a detour from the central argument on the necessity for a

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culturised ECD? The main impetus is to show that investing in culture and embracing its allied notion of embracing, if not celebrating, diversity, do also make economic sense, which may allay the concerns of those who push for an early learning agenda. The wholesome effects of involving in cultural activities and of opening up to other cultures will be elsewhere in this text.

Culture is undeniably increasingly seen as a valuable 'soft power' (Nye, 2004) with great economic potential. Recent data in Ontario, Canada, for example, reveal that 'culture' drives tourism and creates some 67,000 jobs and that the 'arts and culture' tourist spends almost twice as much per trip

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² We use the term ECD -Early Childhood Development- here to denote the wide range of processes, events, services, policies, interventions and practices that impact on the growth and development of children in the 0-8 age group. It subsumes other acronyms such as ECCE -Early Childhood Care and Education, ECED -Early Childhood Education, or ECCD -Early Childhood Care and Development

³ For a more extensive justification of this argument, see: Van Oudenhoven and Jualla Van Oudenhoven (2013).

⁴ As quoted by Reed and Johnson (2000).

⁵ Most definitions draw on the one given by the anthropologist Edward B. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*, published in 1871. According to him, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Varenne provides a list of definitions of culture, approached from a range of social sciences; we feel close to his quote attributed to Levi Strauss: "culture substitutes itself to life, in another way culture uses and transforms life to realise a synthesis of a higher order". varenne.tc.columbia.edu/vv/clt/and/culture_def.html, Accessed 18 April, 2012. Freud (1961), in his *The Future of an Illusion*, refuses also to give a precise definition of culture: "...and I scorn to distinguish between culture and civilization." (Page 6). Foster (1991:235 defines "culture as the site of multiple contests informed by a diversity of historically specific actions and intentions" (Italics ours).

as the uninterested tourist (Menon, 2013), and of all the many things that are of interest in the United Kingdom, the British Museum, the nation's cultural hub, is since many years the nation's top attraction (Kim, 2013), the same goes for museums everywhere, from Brazil to Japan to the USA the Louvre in Paris ranks top with attracting ever-increasing record numbers of visitors (Pes and Sharpe, 2013). The reopening of the renovated Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which offers a selection of 800 years of Dutch culture, was world-wise news, and remarkably also mentioned in the leading medical journal *The Lancet* (Martin, 2013); interestingly, the same issue carries a paper on the importance of ECD (Chan, 2013). The deaths of the singers Wahid al-Safi from Lebanon, Zubaida Khanum from Pakistan, Manolo Escobar from Spain and Lou Reed from USA in 2013 caused grief world-wide, showing that their cultural contributions mattered to humankind, wherever, and for good reasons.

In Cuba, many gifted young people now turn to music as a way of gaining money (Bo, 2013). In addition, former France's President, Nicolas Sarkozy, realised this when he referred to 'Culture as an investment which will help us get of the [economic] crisis and not an expenditure that should be cut'⁶. He may have been inspired by the small Canadian town of Stratford that saw its economic base disappear after the collapse of the railway industry in the early 1950s. By investing in 'culture', it has become the home of the Stratford Shakespeare Festival boasting the largest classical repertory theatre in North America with an annual budget of CND 60 million, and what's more, it has become a vibrant and exciting place⁷. However, the story does not stop here, while we were writing these lines, representatives of the Festival were at work in the civil war-torn, depleted and violence-ridden Salvadorian town of Suchitoto. Their goal is to bring about a similar movement, but then with wider objectives: in addition to bringing the town back to life, it seeks also to combat violence, loosen the iron grip of pandillas or street gangs, and to enhance the position of women (Ross, 2012). In addition, South-Korean slums followed a different approach by transforming their houses and streets into objects d'art and they now attract thousands of tourists who admire the hitherto avoided places and bring in substantial income (Fawcett, 2013). The nation sees culture in particular 'K-pop'- as a strong export product, while the Japanese government decided almost a decade ago to promote 'Gross

National Cool' as an engine of growth and for export and speak about the 'strategic value of culture' (Nagata, 2012). In a similar vein, the local business community of the dilapidated Wynwood district, Miami, Florida, turned the area into the world's largest 'blank canvas' for the best graffiti artists from everywhere, making it a major tourist attraction. Although economically a success, the irony is that the original and poor people are now forced out as prices for properties are rising (Gallacher, 2013). Although Australia's indigenous art primarily served as statements about the inferior treatment and dispossessed position of many Aboriginal citizens or as a window invaluable window into their culture and belief systems, it is now also increasingly seen as an economic force to reckon with: it is estimated that it has an annual value of over USD 200 million (Mercer, 2013). It is also telling that in Russia, 'Arts' takes on the highest position as far as crowd funding is concerned (Ilina, 2012).

"Culture is perhaps China's last uncut economic pie...in a year of leadership transition when everything is politically sensitive; promoting culture is easy and uncontroversial. Everyone is eager to get their share of the pie but big state companies are in for the gain from property development only, and the whole thing is doomed", says Zhu Dake, culture researcher at Shanghai Tongji University, "A government drive to promote culture means we will have more physical features of cultural development. There will be a boom."⁸ Among many other cultural initiatives, China is now rapidly increasing the number of Confucius institutes all over the globe (Haiyan, 2013), in particular when economic benefits are at stake. Thus, as Sudan is an important training partner in sub-Saharan Africa, China is now disseminating its culture here through opening cultural centres, organising exhibition, and inviting Sudanese students to study in Chinese universities (Vall, 2013). Christie's, the influential auction house, will start operations in China which is now the world's largest art and auction market (Barboza, 2013), underlying the economic spin-offs of culture. In Trinidad and Tobago, in a similar move, the Chinese

⁶ As quoted by Alison Smale (2012), 'Investing in culture in time of crises', *New York Times*, Global Edition, 3-4 March.

⁷ See: <http://www.stratfordfestival.ca>

⁸ Quoted in Becker (2012). *Alain de Botton is more forthcoming with his belief that art has therapeutic value as his exhibit 'Art as Therapy' shows. His approach could have been seen in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Netherlands, The National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia, and the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.*

state-owned Shanghai construction company, in addition to training student in nursing and pharmacology, seeks to support sports initiatives and to establish national academies of the performing arts (Bethel, 2013). In an analogous mood, in the UK, Cultural Learning Alliance (2012) notes that 'the employability of students who study arts subjects is higher and they are more likely to stay in employment' and emphasise the "export strength" of creative industries.

"Our definition, however vaguely defined, does not permit 'cultural practices' that benefit the economy but are detrimental for the people, especially the children, as is the case, for example, the case in the dirt-poor village of Nat Purwa, Uttar Pradesh India. There, for so-called economic reasons, young girls are prepared for a life in prostitution and where this is regarded as "normal" as for generations women have been passing on the trade to their children (Gaedtke and Parameswaran 2013)."

O'Brien (2013), in her BBC series 'The Power of Art' poses the question: "Can Culture have an economic value too?" She concludes that 'hard evidence' is not there yet, but is building up and that many signs are point out that art and culture are indeed key to a sustainable economy and that they as such are an indispensable ingredient in economic growth and urban renewal.

The notions of 'culture' and 'diversity' are often mentioned in one breath, so to speak, and increasingly regarded as the sides of one cube if not coin. The philosophical and policy underpinning of this interconnection is well formulated by UNESCO, the organisation that counts almost every nation among its members. Alternatively using the labels 'culture' and 'diversity' and 'cultural diversity', it argues, among others, that "cultural diversity is ... as a means of leading a more fulfilling intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual life" ..., and "a driving force of development, ... of economic growth". In addition: "Cultural diversity is thus an asset that is indispensable for poverty reduction and the achievement of sustainable development". UNESCO sees the promotion of cultural diversity as "one of the most pressing contemporary issues and, for this reason, is central to the Organization's mandate."^{9,10}

Zachary goes a few steps further by elaborating on the concept of 'diversity advantage' a great deal of traction by arguing that nations come again his emphasis in on economic performance- out on top

by embracing diversity. The following excerpt says succinctly: "Diversity defines the health and wealth of nations in a new century. Mighty is the mongrel. The mixing of races, ethnic groups and nationalities -- at home and abroad -- is at a record level. The hybrid is hip. In a world of deepening connections, individuals, corporations and entire nations draw strength and personality from as near as the local neighbourhood and as far away as a distant continent. The impure, the mélange, the adulterated, the blemished, the rough, the blue-and-blue, the mix-and-match -- these people are inheriting the earth. Mixing is the new norm." Zachary, (2003)¹¹.

The statement "the new dog could be a mutt like me" by USA President Barack Obama when talking about the new dog he promised to get for his two daughters has become more than a household phrase¹². Apparently, 'diversity advantage' is also profitable on the work floor, as successful companies such as IBM, Pfizer and Turner Broadcasting have discovered. To them, diversity is more than race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation, but also about thoughts, skills and passions. Also here is increasing profitability the main motive (Love, 2012).¹³

For most members of a dominant society it is usually a big step to celebrate and happily and embrace cultural and ethnic diversity and all that comes with it; it is a move that does not always come easy and generally calls for some hard work. Immigrant families living in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, are, on average, less self-reliant socially and economically, and surprisingly less tolerant of diverse life-styles (Aboutleb, 2013). The burden of

⁹ See: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=34321&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html; accessed 16 May 2013.

¹⁰ Interestingly, UNESCO's sister organisation, UNICEF (2012) lists the following deprivations of slums as follows: lack of access to improved water, of access to improved sanitation, security of tenure, durability of housing, and sufficient living area, but omits the people's wish for 'culture', 'nature' of simply 'beauty'.

¹¹ However, Zachary appears to be mistaken about his praise for the economy of Ireland and his condemnation of that of Germany if one looks at the economic data in 2012. However, his basis tenet that diversity is a powerful tool in a nation's health and wealth seems to be holding.

¹² As reported by inter alia CNN on 7 November 2008.

¹³ The reverse seems also effective as thriving commercial companies play the culturally-sensitive card', thus McDonald's caters the following 'culturized' hamburgers: McBaguette (France), McKroket (Netherlands), McShrimps (Russia), McShawarma (Israel), Hamdesai (Philippines), McCurrywurst (Germany), McAloo Tikki Burger (India), Bubur Ayan McD (Malaysia), Mc Mollette (Latin America), Spam, Eggs and Rice (Hawaii, USA) and Ebi-Filet-O (Japan) (see: *Les différentes recettes de chez McDonald à travers le monde* www.demotivateur.fr/article-buzz/les-differentes-recettes-de-chez-mcdonald-a-travers-le-monde-48; accessed 23 May, 2013).

introducing and living with diversity is, however, not equally distributed and those from marginalized minorities carry the bulk of it, whether they are immigrants or 'first nation' citizens. Although most extensively documented for White-dominated regions, with North America and Australia as prime cases, minorities all over the globe fare equally bad. To mention a few: the Bushman in Botswana, the Ainu in high incidence of mental illness, including schizophrenia. The State of the World's Minorities and Indigenous Peoples 2013 report can be summarised in one sentence: minorities and indigenous peoples around the world suffer far worse health outcomes than majorities (Minority Rights Group International, 2013).

The main causes are racialised experiences, racial minority status stress, racism-induced stress, and racial bias as well as the 'colour blindness' of psychiatrists who make false diagnoses and describe ineffective treatments as they do not recognize the specific ethnic symptoms. Not only is the burden of diversity unequally divided in favour of the dominant group, the kudos are similarly unevenly distributed: when, for example, Dutch adolescents speak a few words of Arabic or Turkish, both significant minority languages in the Netherlands, their achievements are usually widely applauded; when teenagers from Turkish or North African background get by in Dutch but don't speak the language fluently, they are scoffed at. Thus it doesn't come as a big surprise that in the Netherlands, higher educated Moroccan parents - thus those with more 'cultural capital' participate more and better in Dutch society; the children whose families have access to limited 'cultural capital' fare worse in the schools (Van Pels, 1991). Often, even worse, are the close to ten million Roma who have lived in Central and Eastern Europe for over one thousand years and are still regarded as 'outsiders', to use a euphemism. Their children, not seldom willfully kept away from mainstream society and provided with separate and inferior education, 'special classes', starting with kindergarten. In some places, the separation is physical, as is the case in Ostrovany in the Slovak Republic, where since 2009 a concrete wall keeps the Roma community isolated from the white neighborhood (Higgins, 2013).

There is a wide and short bridge between pursuing economic growth and promoting, enjoying and creating culture and diversity; as it is, it seems more likely that both spheres have ground in common.

The debate initiated by Anielski (2007) on 'culture' and 'economics' recognises this overlap as he defines 'genuine wealth' as including the strength of relationships, the joy of children's play, the beauty of nature and our sense of happiness with life. What is genuine is that which resonates with people's hearts, minds; values and principles. In any event, the phrase 'Culture as an engine of development' sounds much friendlier than 'greed as the engine of development' or than 'In greed we trust' (Schumaker, 2004) and, in the ultimate analysis may turn out to be closer to reality.¹⁴

If we go back to the start of the paper: investing in a 'culturised ECD', therefore, makes also sense in an economic sense; in the preceding pages the argument will be presented that it will open up the children's minds, make them more flexible and creative, more willing to engage with 'other people' and appreciate and make use of their [sub-] cultures and that they will not only turn out stronger, more skilful but also more wholesome. A 'culturised ECD' has indeed many valuable spin offs, economic gain is but one of them.

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A Study of Sexual Attitude Difference among the Male Same Sex Sexuality Practitioners in India

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The males who have sex with males comprise of many identities, gender constructs, and communities in India. The present research has attempted to study the sexual attitude difference in different male same sex practitioners. For this purpose five different Kothi-identified MSM (men sex with men) categories i.e. Ariyal Kothi, Koripese Kothi, Dupli Gupti, Hijra and Parikh were studied. Sexual Attitude Scale (SAS) developed by Hendrick and Hendrick (1987) was used. Total 700 participants were interviewed who were selected by snowball technique. Two regions of India (West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh) were explored for conducting research. For analyzing the data one way ANOVA was used. The result revealed mean scores of permissiveness and instrumentality were lower among Ariyal Kothis and Koripese Kothis than other MSM categories. Scoring of sexual practice was moderately higher in Hijras and besides Hijras, scoring of other groups was overlapped each other. The mean score of Communion was also high in case of Hijras.

Keywords: Same sex sexuality; sexual attitude; permissiveness; Kothi

Theorizing sex and gender may link a long period since Plato or Sappho, to Freud or Foucault or Judith Butler's study of 'performative acts'. As a sequence to Kinsey's (1948, 1953) sex survey of white Americans, Ford and Beach (1951) undertook a sex survey of the world's cultures and with regard to human same sex sexuality, they found that the male form was widespread. Responding to the continued lack of ethnographic attention paid to same sex sexuality, Sonenschein (1966) challenged the scholarly community with his essay, "Homosexuality as a Subject of Anthropological Inquiry". With Rubin's Thinking Sex (1984), anthropologists and others have conceived of 'sexuality' and 'gender' as two distinct, yet linked realms of human knowledge and experience. Gender, more than any other variable or a structural principle (Dowsett, 2003) dominates the pandemic of HIV/AIDS (Connell, 2002) which needs deeper structural analyses of gender (Liguori & Lamas, 2003) within and across the boundaries of cultures.

Studies in India (Cohen, 1995, 2005; Hall, 1995, 2005; Jaffrey, 1996; Jenkins, 2004; Khan, 2000, 2001, 2005; Lal, 1997; Lynton & Rajan, 1974; Nanda, 1985, 1990, 1999; Purkayastha, 1999; Reddy 2000, 2004,

2005, 2007; Sharma, 1989; Vyas & Yogesh, 1987) emphasize on the past and the present of the local categories of 'other' genders and sexuality. They differ and overlap in their frameworks in accepting any unanimous position. In contrast to the somewhat similar positions of Cohen, Hall, Jenkins and Reddys' (2000, 2004, 2005, 2007) ethnographic fieldworks in Hyderabad found that Hijras fall under the umbrella term Kothis referring to a multitude of identities within the spectrum of male sexuality. Hijra and Kothi (male having feminine self) are coherent identities crafted by diverse ethical practices which do not construct them merely as sexual identities but as identities articulated by and through a multiplicity of morally evaluated differences. There appeared to be constant movement and flux between the various Kothi 'identities' (Reddy, 2005). Recently Dey et al. (2010) focuses on the emergence of the construct of the new categories, mostly as situational usages of identity in West Bengal, similar to Reddy's (2005) observation.

Research on sexual attitude and behaviour was profused since 1960's with the work of Burr (1973), Jessor and Jessor (1973), Reiss (1964), and Reiss and Miller (1974). The early researchers like Jackson and Potkay (1973), Jessor and Jessor (1975), Kanin (1967), Libby et al. (1978), Perlman (1974), Reiss (1967) Stratton and Spitzer (1967) and Teevan (1972) have discussed about specific variables associated with sexual attitudes and sexual behaviour. It should be mentioned that despite the divergent explanations for sexual attitudes and behaviours, the two

perspectives often lead to similar prediction (Oliver & Sedikides 1992). In 1985, Hendrick et al. had reported on gender differences in sexual attitudes, which were studied in contemporary student population by using a new and quite extensive scale. DeLamater (1987) and Sprecher et al. (1987) have discussed social psychological explanations of sexual attitudes and behaviours tend to account for the gender differences in terms of socialization scenarios. In contrast, evolutionary perspectives explain gender differences in terms of differential parental investment and sexual selection (Buss 1989).

It is a widespread belief that there are men and women gender differences in sexual attitudes and behaviour (Hatfield et al., 1988; Hendrick et al., 1985; Kinsey et al., 1953; Peplau et al., 1977; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). However, there is a lack of study on the differences in sexual attitudes among the MSM¹ (men sex with men) categories where gender attitude difference (between effeminate and straight men) is prominent. The present research is a challenge for exploring the variance in sexual attitudes among the Kothi identified different MSM sections of India. For this purpose, Sexual Attitude Scale (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987) has adopted. The importance of using the Sexual Attitude Scale (SAS) is that it cuts across the sexual permissiveness in different gendered expressed persons in sexual attitudes.

Major objective of this study is to find out the significant difference of sexual attitude among the Kothi-identified MSM categories and to assess the reasons behind it.

Method

The present research has explored the population of MSMs in two different regions of India; first one is West Bengal, where the participants came from the urban and adjacent areas of the Mursidabad, Kolkata, Howrah and South 24-Parganas districts. The other one is Uttar Pradesh, where the people of Varanasi district were participated in this study. As the population is marginalized, they are hard to reach. The snowball technique helped to expand the network as well as explore the areas. At first, a CBO (Community Based Organization) of the MSMs at Kolkata was selected purposively and then rapport was created. Apart from the offices of the CBOs, the fieldwork included different spaces of the above districts like station, park, bus stop, pay toilets, ghats (river side) etc.

The present research has observed same situational usages like Dey et al. (2010) among the MSMs of Uttar Pradesh as well as West Bengal, such as Veli / Ariyal Kothi, Koripese Kothi, Dupli Kothi, Dupli Gupti, Hijra and Parikh. The identifiable terms may differ according to the location. Perhaps, at Varanasi, there is no such category of Dupli Kothi within MSM networks, the features of Dupli Guptis of West Bengal are found in the category of Double Decker. So for the research convenience Dupli Kothis who are found very scanty are not included in this study. 'Kothi' (in West Bengal) or 'Kothma' (in Uttar Pradesh) has been a general usage of terms of reference to the self-identity of such males, who have feminine self, do everything like a woman and prefer male to male sexual behaviour with a 'real men' ('Parikh' / 'Giriya', only taking an inserter role in sexuality). The Kothis only take the role of the receiver at the time of anal and oral penetrative sexual act. There have been two other distinguishing sub categories among this category, i.e. a) The 'Ariyal Kothis/ Veli Kothis' of West Bengal or the 'Ariyal Kothmas' of Uttar Pradesh, who prefer loud make-ups in any of their public events and wear feminine dresses. They like flamboyance in their public appearances to attract the 'real man' and are willing to be sexually penetrated by them always, b) 'Koripese Kothis' of West Bengal or 'Kare tal ki Kothmas' of Uttar Pradesh, who do not prefer to use feminine make-ups or to wear feminine dresses, but like other Kothis/ Kothmas they wish to perform feminine roles in sexual acts for the 'real men' and to seek pleasure only with the role of insertee. 'Dupli Gupti' (in West Bengal) or 'Double Decker' (in Uttar Pradesh) is another self-identified category. They appear always straight, like to penetrate and to be penetrated by their partner at the time of sexual act. The role varies depending on the desire of the partner. Most of them are found as bisexual. 'Hijra' is an intentional transformation of Kothis into Hijras through an initiation process in a specific Hijra 'khol/gharana' (clan). They have their own sub-culture, have particular profession known as 'Badhai toli'² (earning by performing dance at newborn babies' place) and have traditional

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¹ MSM as a behavioral phrase was accepted by governments in the global programme on AIDS conference in Geneva (1992-93) [WHO, 1993]. The phrase 'men who have sex with men' (MSM) is a collective social identity for all men, who have sex with other men irrespective of how they might identify themselves.

² There are other two types of Hijras (Chhallawali means beggar Hijra and Khajrawali means Sexworker Hijra) found but their existence is denied by the Badhaiwali Hijra who claim they are real and royal. For the research comfort Badhaiwali Hijras are only encountered.

acceptance. Sometimes they go through emasculation (they called as Chhibri) or without emasculation (called Akhua). The 'Real man' (exclusively inserter in sexual performance) of the Kothis is addressed as Parikh (in West Bengal) or Giriya/ 'Panthi (both in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh) by the insiders of the MSM community, generally this term is not used for self-identification of a 'real man'. They self identified themselves as 'Real'man/ Purush/ Mard. They believe themselves as 'straight' heterosexual as the representative of the hetero-normative society. Generally, they marry a woman and have children.

A total number of 700 MSM participants were identified and gave consent to participate in this research. Among them 145 Ariyal Kothi, 165 Koripese Kothi, 96 Dupli Gupti, 125 Hijra and 169 Parikh were interviewed.

The study was adopted both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative data derive from in-depth interviews of individuals. It was necessary to understand the situation, perception of relationship, sexual performance and practice. Purposive sampling, including Snowball technique and availability sampling helped intensifying network. Since noted by Hendrick and Hendrick in 1987, the SAS is appropriate for partnered couples of all types whose relationships have a sexual component, the research was used SAS to measure the difference of human sexuality among the MSMs. As the participants were Bengali and Hindi speaking, SAS was presented with appropriate vernacular language to the participants and at the same time, authors were much conscious to maintain the originality of the scale. The scale measures four dimensions of sexuality, i) permissiveness (items 121), ii) sexual practices (items 2228), iii) communion in the relationship (items 2937), and iv) instrumentality (items 3843). After reverse scoring (1 = 5, 2 = 4, 3 = 3, 4 = 2, 5 = 1) items 19, 20, and 21, the score for each dimension is the sum of the item ratings divided by the number of items in that scale. An overall scale score is not computed. The scale was designed to assess attitudes generically, including maritally, premaritally, and for nonmarital couples (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987) and was applied to heterosexual beings in earlier studies. The MSM sexual practice does not overcome the stereotype of heterosexual model (Khan, 2000, 2001). The sexual practice between two same sex practitioners or between a Kothi/Hijra (womanized men, always being inserted in penetration) and his Parikh (the real

straight men, always act as an inserter) actually follows a conventional heterosexual model of sex practice between a male and a female. The scale assessed sexual attitudes from a dependence on sexual permissiveness in a more comprehensive and multidimensional way.

Results

One-way ANOVA was taken up (by using SPSS 21) for statistical analysis of the obtained data of SAS.

Table 1 reveals the age group wise distribution of the MSM categories in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Table 2 showing the difference of sexual attitude (on the variables of permissiveness, practice, communion and instrumentality) among the Ariyal Kothi, Koripese Kothi, Dupli Gupti, Hijra and Parikh. Mean score of permissiveness is high in Hijra and it is low in Koripese Kothi. Scores of practice and communion are also high in Hijras than other categories. Parikh showing higher score in instrumentality.

The result of One Way ANOVA is presented in table no. 3 and conform the above findings, since the statistically significant difference was found among different MSM categories in permissiveness, practice, communion and instrumentality. In case of these four variables, the F values are 20.544, 107.467, 55.411 and 29.253 respectively and in every case, the p value is 0.000, which is lesser than the p value of 0.05.

Table 4 confirms the significant level of mean differences between the selected MSM groups in case of four variables of SAS. As the sample size of each category was unequal, there might be an uncertainty of knowing whether the population variances were equivalent or not, that is why the GamesHowell procedure was used in case of Post-Hoc Tests.

ANOVA test showing the overall differences between the groups, and post-hoc test revealing which specific group differing.

Discussion

This study has validated significant difference of sexual attitude is present among the different Kothi identified MSM categories and has clarified gender differences are prominent within the MSMs. Permissiveness is a casual, tolerant, game-playing orientation toward sex. Higher permissiveness means positive attitudes toward sexual

advancement, seen as essential to the healthy social adjustment. Scholars have noted women are less permissive than men (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987; Kraaykamp, 2002; Li, 1983; Peplau et al. 1977; Sprecher, et al. 1988). This study revealed Hijras who think themselves woman trapped in male body were less permissive but at the same time Koripese Kothi and then Ariyal Kothi who were also feminine have moderately higher permissiveness than other groups. Majority of the Ariyal and Koripese Kothi prefer to go for multiple sexual relationships (Chakrapani et al., 2007; Khan, 2005; Thomas et al., 2011) due to lack of relational stability (Winter, 2012). Most of them were betrayed by their lovers or Parikhs (Dey, 2013). Parikh used to marry women as they are bisexual in orientation and want to carry forward bloodlines. Thus casual sex is performed the Kothis to fulfil their sexual urge. However, it is also a fact, their narrations were depicted that still they dream a man will come and will marry (Khan et al, 2005). Continuous search for settled life with a stable partner made them more vulnerable in case of sexual relations than other groups (Winter, 2012). Besides, there are also other reasons for choosing multiple partners. Their economic instability pushed them to select sex-work as a profession (Chakrapani et al., 2007; Dey, 2013). Majority of them have poor educational background. Maximum (70.34%) left study at middle standard. The main reason behind dropout from education was financial problem in the family. In addition, discriminatory attitude and avoidance of the larger hetero-normative society, further with high emotional disturbances pushed Kothis/ Kothmas to leave their study. These also hampered their career. A number of Kothis (68.96%) was compelled to go for casual sex with many partners for money. On the other hand, in case of Hijras (transformation of Kothis), they were found to be conservative in sexual attitude and their mean score of permissiveness is higher than other groups. It is because of their regimentation within the society. They have their own subculture and have a traditional acceptance. To them, their culture does not permit them to have sex with anybody for maintaining originality, purity ('nirban' or asexual) and the belief that Hijras are supposed to be above sex. In India, sex is justified as opposite pole of purity and thus people who believe Hijras could not sex, used to look them with awful eyes and that helps to earn money to them. Despite the fact, who practice sex, avoid multiple sex partners to maintain secrecy. Else, they are much devoted to the cultural

values of Hijra tradition. The sexual practice score is also moderately higher among the Hijras. Besides them, scoring of other groups is found to be overlapping each other.

Sexual practices emphasize relationship aspects. High endorsement of this sub-scale represents a strong agreement with the use of birth control, with sex education, and with the acceptability of such sexual behaviours as masturbation. There was a difficulty to collect their opinion regarding birth control belief as the participants were same sex practitioners and it is a severe limitation to use this scale on MSM people, particularly on those who do not have any interest in females and reproduction. In case of masturbation oriented inquiries, the effeminate that perform only a receptor role in penetrative sexual act admitted that they do not want to practice masturbation. They believed women do not masturbate. The Kothis and Hijras had reported that they used to try not to show their genitals (even lying frontally) to their sex partners to make them feel that they are having sex with a woman. At the time of anal intercourse, they used to hide their genitals between two legs and generally used to cover it with under garments or bed sheet.

Communion is related positively with commitment and commitment avoids permissiveness (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987). Communion scale reflects attitudes toward sex that focus on sharing, involvement, love and more than a tinge of idealism. The finding shows Kothis have more communion than other groups. However, their permissiveness is found high. They have confessed that they have fantasy to create their own family with husband and in-laws. This pushes them to seek out settled and secure life with a permanent partner. They go for multiple partners with the expectation to find a man with whom they will live together forever (Khan et al., 2005).

On the other hand, Parikh group also reflects higher communion. It is so because the majority (73.37%) of the participants had their wives. When they were questioned about commitment, they answered from the ground of their happy marital life. A number of married Parikhs (61.29%) had shared that only for the satisfaction of physical pleasure they go for the same sex relationship. To them, female body could not bear the stress of anal penetration what a male body can and the tightness of the anus provides much pleasure than vaginal intercourse.

In case of Hijras, they have moderately low communion than other groups, though they are less permissive. It is because of their tendency to being asexual. A number of respondent admitted that they generally avoid having sex due to the hectic schedule throughout the day. They had confessed that they used to get up very early in the morning, and then used to go to Guru's (boss) house after finishing their own usual work at home. Then they had to do some regular household jobs at Guru's place also. They used to go for 'Badhai toli' (way of earning by performing dance at newborn baby's place) after having breakfast. In the evening, they again met the Guru for sharing of money and had to complete the rest of the household work at his place. After returning home at night, they felt low on energy to do anything, even to have sex. Thus, sex is not a frequent phenomenon for them.

Instrumentality is seen mutually related with permissiveness (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987). Kothis are much instrumental than the other groups as they are highly permissive. They were consistent with the fact sex as just a bodily function (instrumental) and thus to fulfil the basic sexual urge they used to go for multiple partners. They were also well accustomed with the reality that they could not lead a married life with a man. On the other hand, instrumentality is low between the Parikh and Hijra.

Conclusion

The difference in sexual attitude among the MSM categories is due to the manifestation of different gender expression and the influence of social construction, which expect specified behaviour from men and women. The array of findings point out an overall higher vulnerability in Ariyal and Koripese Kothis than other MSM groups as they are more stigmatized and discriminated for societal un-acceptance due to having different gender appearance (publicly).

The present study is the first attempt to explore the difference in sexual attitude among the different categories of MSMs in India. The researchers were well aware of the limitations of the study. The selected categories were well hidden in the population and hard to reach. The sample size of the each category was unequal and not enormous. However, the study may justify as a resource to conduct more research on the sexual attitude of the various categories of MSMs in India.

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Table 1: Distribution of Participants (N=700)

Age groups (yrs)	Ariyal Kothi (n=145)		Koripese Kothi (n=165)		Dupli Gupti (n=96)		Hijra (n=125)		Parikh (n=169)	
	WB	UP	WB	UP	WB	UP	WB	UP	WB	UP
18-25	42	14	33	30	16	22	14	5	40	12
26-33	37	19	35	25	25	8	37	11	48	20
34-41	22	5	21	12	14	3	39	13	27	11
42+	4	2	6	3	8	0	2	4	5	6

WB- West Bengal UP- Uttar Pradesh

Table 2: Permissiveness, Practice, Communion and Instrumentality of the selected MSM categories

Categories	Variables	N	Mean	SD	Variables	N	Mean	SD
Ariyal Kothi	Permissiveness	145	50.255	10.870	Communion	145	17.289	2.169
Koripese		165	46.024	14.442		165	18.309	2.291
Dupli Gupti		96	51.354	2.303		96	19.968	2.099
Hijra		125	57.056	10.205		125	20.672	2.778
Parikh		169	54.639	12.353		169	17.775	1.751
Ariyal Kothi	Practice	145	18.806	1.355	Instrumentality	145	14.351	1.361
Koripese		165	18.060	1.421		165	14.248	1.428
Dupli Gupti		96	18.197	1.677		96	15.208	0.614
Hijra		125	21.408	1.143		125	16.600	1.631
Parikh		169	18.142	1.991		169	16.609	4.778

Table 3: Comparison on scores of Permissiveness, Practice, Communion and Instrumentality of the MSM categories.

Variables	Types	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Permissiveness	Between Groups	10675	4	2668.74	20.544	.000**
	Within Groups	90283	695	129.904		
	Total	100958	699			
Practice	Between Groups	1046.54	4	261.635	107.467	.000**
	Within Groups	1692.01	695	2.435		
	Total	2738.55	699			
Communion	Between Groups	1094.17	4	273.543	55.411	.000**
	Within Groups	3430.99	695	4.937		
	Total	4525.16	699			
Instrumentality	Between Groups	808.816	4	202.204	29.253	.000**
	Within Groups	4803.93	695	6.912		
	Total	5612.75	699			

** P < 0.05 level.

Table 4: Multiple Comparisons (Games-Howell Post Hoc test)

Groups	Permissiveness	Practice	Communion	Instrumentality
A1- K2	0.029*	0.000*	0.001*	0.966
A1- D3	0.764	0.028*	0.000*	0.000*
A1- H4	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
A1- P5	0.008*	0.005*	0.199	0.000*
K2- D3	0.000*	0.962	0.000*	0.000*
K2- H4	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
K2- P5	0.000*	0.993	0.121	0.000*
D3- H4	0.000*	0.000*	0.206	0.000*
D3- P5	0.008*	0.999	0.000*	0.002*
H4- P5	0.356	0.000*	0.000*	1.000

* P < 0.05 level.

A1= Ariyal Kothi, K2= Koripese Kothi, D3= Dupli Gupti, H4= Hijra and P5= Parikh

Constraints Thwarting Rural Livelihoods - The Case of District Mewat (Haryana)

Bindiya Narang*

The importance of ensuring security and sustainability of rural livelihoods has been recognized in all the current policy discourse on rural development and poverty alleviation. The viability of rural livelihoods depends upon the context of an area and the resultant access to adequate resources or capital assets. This paper endeavours to describe the various resource constraints that affect the potential for livelihood security in District Mewat in Haryana. In doing so, the paper builds on a referenced literature review, secondary data and the primary data obtained through focused group discussions and from certain key informants to assess the communities' access to the multiple capitals (natural, human, physical, financial and social). The study locale is one of the most backward districts found to be beset by a plethora of impediments and characterized with very low capital endowments. The paper thus attempts to offer important insights into the main arenas of policy or project interventions which could help mitigate some of the constraints and improve the rural poor's asset holdings for optimizing livelihood potential in the district.

Keywords: Rural livelihoods; Livelihood security; Capital assets; Sustainability of rural livelihood

Rural development has been the centre stage of planned development in India ever since independence. The paradigms of rural development have been adjusted time and again, according to the changing economic policies, contemporary challenges and political ideologies. However, rural poverty has been singularly conspicuous and has endured for decades. The official estimates of Government of India (Census 2011) indicate that 70 per cent of the poor in India are overwhelmingly concentrated in rural areas. A vast majority of these rural poor are landless agricultural workers, non-agricultural workers and small and marginal farmers. A colossal percentage of them belong to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward castes, minorities and economically backward households. It is these sections of population whose livelihoods are impeding the most.

Rural livelihoods constitute the economic, social and cultural universe wherein rural families are bound to make their living. Consequent to signing the Millennium Declaration in 2000, the current development mandate in India is to strengthen livelihoods of poor as a legitimate policy commitment. Ensuring rural livelihood security in a sustainable manner has thus become a cornerstone

of all poverty alleviation policy discourse. Livelihood security can be considered as a community's ability to maintain and improve its income, assets and social well-being from year to year (Frankenberger, 1996). The concept of Livelihood Security embodies three fundamental attributes: (1) the possession of human capabilities (e.g., education, skills, health and psychological orientation); (2) access to tangible and intangible assets; and (3) the existence of economic activities (Drinkwater and Rusinow, 1999). The interaction between these attributes defines what livelihood strategy people will pursue to reach their desired well-being outcomes.

A holistic analysis of livelihood security, for any given population, begins with understanding their context and access to capital assets. It is the context historical, economic, environmental, social and political that largely determines the assets that are accessible to people, how they can use these, and thus their ability to obtain a secure livelihood (Meikle, 2002). Peoples' assets are the means through which they make a living and achieve capability to act. These capital assets serve as the resources (or inputs) that make livelihood strategies possible, give people capability and are the outputs that make livelihoods meaningful and viable. In some sense, these assets can be seen as vehicles for instrumental action (making a living), hermeneutic action (making living meaningful) and emancipatory action (challenging the structures under which one makes a living) (Habermas, 1971).

Assets are as much implicated in empowerment and change, as they are in survival. Thus, livelihoods are inseparable from the asset base that underpins them.

In the livelihood frameworks of Carney (1998), DFID (1999) and Ellis (2000), the various capital assets available to households for use in pursuit of livelihoods are identified as:

- human capital ('the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies')
- natural capital ('the natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived')
- physical capital ('the basic infrastructure and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods')
- financial capital ('the financial resources whether savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions which provide [people] with different livelihood options')
- social capital ('the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods')

In this light, it is important to examine the context and asset base of various households and communities to garner information on their livelihood security. By mapping out the different assets that people draw upon in their livelihoods, the effectiveness and relevance of public investment can be improved. Yapa (1998) rightly insists that it is important to relate changing livelihood dynamics among the poor to the changing asset portfolios. We therefore need to be concerned not only with the ways in which assets are translated into income, but also with their impact on peoples' sense of well-being. In this sense, peoples' capital assets affect poverty status and quality of life by affecting human experience as well as income.

Method

The paper attempts to underline the livelihood constraints in Mewat, which is a district in the southern part of Haryana, adjoining the National Capital Region of Delhi. Mewat was carved out from erstwhile Gurgaon and Faridabad districts, and came into existence on 4th April 2005 as the 20th district of the Haryana State. The district has five Blocks (Tauru, Nuh, Nagina, Firozpur Jhirka and Punhana) and three Municipal areas. The total area of this district spreads over 1499.46 Sq Km / 148310 Hectare and accommodates a total population of

over ten lacs. The Meo Muslims, account for 70.9 per cent of the total population and are numerically preponderant. They are listed under the OBC category being recognized as part of the backward class communities. The district is predominantly rural in its demography, having 88.62 per cent rural population (see Table 1), with just 6 towns and around 491 inhabited villages (Census 2011). The literacy rate recorded in district was 56.14 per cent, which is much below the national average. It also has a low sex ratio of 906 as against the national average of 927.

The region of Mewat also has had a unique ethno-cultural past. Historically, this terrain had been extremely turbulent and subject to repeated invasions throughout the post-Vedic period. This was largely due to the situational peculiarity of the area. Mewat was the military bye pass for the Muslim invaders who invaded Delhi and its geographical boundaries kept changing from time to time. Thus, the repeated loot, plundering, destruction and devastation over the centuries did not allow the region to develop resources that could be channelized for the economic development of the area (Mayaram, 2003). Thus, Mewat sets an important case evidence to study different capital constraints impeding rural livelihoods.

The study is based on a referenced literature review, secondary data, the primary data obtained through focus group discussions, informal observations, and other participatory exercises carried out at the village level. A cross section of village inhabitants were purposively selected across ten villages, spread across different blocks of Mewat (see Table 2)

Table 1: Demographic Data Summary of Mewat

Population Person	1089406	Sex Ratio	906
Population Males	571480 (52.45)	Urban Population	124017 (11.38)
Population Females	517926 (47.54)	Rural Population	965389 (88.62)

(Figures in parentheses are percentages)

(Source: www.censusindia.gov.in, accessed in January 2013)

Table 2: Villages Selected Across Mewat

S.N.	Blocks	Villages
1	Tauru	Beri Tauru, Sarai
2	Nuh	Rithora, Akera
3	Nagina	Kherli Khurd, Multhan
4	Firozpur Jhirka	Hamzapur, Jharpuri
5	Punhana	Lafuri, Aminabad

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The villages were selected based on convenience sampling with the help of a NGO Sehgal Foundation, working in the region. Information was also obtained from certain key informants like Block Level Officers and Village Sarpanchs, to assess the availability and access to multiple capitals (natural, human, physical, financial and social). Relevant information on the livelihoods practiced and the associated constraints was collected from the respondents across all selected villages. The data presented in this paper is thus mostly (but not entirely) qualitative.

Results and Discussion

The results give an overview of livelihood constraints affecting people in rural Mewat specifically reviewed in terms of capital assets and livelihood resources as available and accessible to the populace.

Natural Capital Constraints

There exists no livelihood that does not directly or indirectly depend on the natural resources. Incomes in rural areas are closely tied to natural resources (land, forests, water, fisheries, pastures, etc.), and access by the poor to these resource flows is essential for sustainable poverty reduction. The livelihoods of rural people without access, or with very limited access to natural resources are vulnerable because they have difficulty in obtaining food, accumulating other assets and recuperating after natural or market shocks or misfortunes. The region of Mewat fares poor on this front and suffers from a host of natural resource constraints.

According to the facts given by Mewat Development Agency (MDA, 2009), the district has low geographical endowments as it falls under sub-tropical, semi arid zone with extreme climatic conditions. It is characterized by low and erratic rainfall, averaging annually around 372 mm confined over a period of not more than a month. More than 80 per cent annual rainfall is received in the month of July-August and September (Monsoon Period). There are also high temperature variations in different seasons. May and June are the hottest month of the year with the temperature ranging from 30°C to 48°C. Relative humidity in the entire region remains low and the occurrence of high-velocity desiccating winds in summer is a common phenomenon. It emerged from discussions, particularly in Punhana villages, that the area also experiences a high incidence of thunderstorms and dust storms, often accompanied by violent squalls and sporadic droughts.

Further, the land area in Mewat has uneven topography of plain and undulating patches dotted with hillocks and sandwiched between two parallel ranges of Aravalli hills. Physio-graphically the area is divided into two tracts- upland and low land, running apart by 510 km (MDA, 2009). The upper hills are mostly barren with huge deposits of good quality slate and quartzite. However, the block level officers revealed that illegal and uncontrolled mining have caused severe degradation in the region. They also pointed out that the soil of the low land is loam and sandy loam with light texture and are not so fertile. It was observed that factors such as increased human population, deforestation with expansion of real estate and resorts, and improper land management have caused steady but obvious land and water resource degradation.

According to the District Development Plan (2005-06), out of the total land area, the net cultivated area is 76.8 per cent (see TABLE 3), and net irrigated area is around 53 per cent (MDA, 2009). The main crops grown are wheat, mustard, gram and barley in the Rabi season. In the kharif season, bajra and pulses are grown. In addition, close to five per cent area is under forest cover.

Table 3: Land Distribution in Mewat

	Hectare	Percentage
Total area	191,154	100.00
Cultivable area	168,804	88.31
Net area sown	146,805	76.80

(Source: <http://mda.nic.in/Mewat-Glance.htm>, accessed in January 2013)

According to Gandhi et al., 2009, the surface water in the region is scarce and the groundwater recharge is difficult due to topography. Larger parts of Nuh, Nagina and Firozpur Jhirka blocks are underlain by brackish/saline ground water even at shallow levels. It was reported by the block officers that the density of tube wells is more in Taoru block, and less in other blocks. This was confirmed during visits to Beri Taoru and Sarai villages in this block. They also cited that since Taoru block falls in overexploited category, no further development of ground water is allowed. The average level of ground water development in the district is 75 per cent and falls in critical category.

In terms of livestock, a majority of households in Mewat possess buffaloes (47.8 per cent) and poultry (31.1 per cent) followed by goats (11.1 per cent), cattle (6.3 per cent) and sheep (3 per cent) (MDA,

2009). Dairy is the secondary source of income for a significant number of households in Mewat. It was pointed out in discussions across all villages, that buffaloes are the most common mulch animals reared. The discussions with villagers also reflected that milk yield is not so low, but due to heavy indebtedness, the income from milk is much reduced as many farmers had to sell milk to the lender at lower than the normal price. The high cost of feed and fodder and lack of guaranteed price of milk were the major constraints cited by most of the respondents.

The land and water hold immense value for the agriculture based and allied livelihood activities. However, lack of water resources, prevalence of sodic lands, sandy soil and brackish underground water were widely reported constraints by rural people across all surveyed villages in Mewat.

Human Capital Constraints

The human capital represents different aspects of people such as skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people or individuals to pursue different livelihood strategies enhancing their livelihood outcomes. Sen (1997) has noted that the possession of human capital not only means people produce more, and more efficiently; it gives them the capability to engage more fruitfully and meaningfully with the world, and most importantly the capability to change the world.

The government of Haryana declared Mewat to be a socio-economically backward region (Jatrana, 1999). The Meos, who are a majority in the district, have been listed under Other Backward Castes (OBC). The average household size in Mewat is approximately 7.6, with reportedly a high number of dependants, particularly children and potentially economically active unemployed people (Census 2011). Child marriage is another institution faithfully preserved with the average age at marriage being 14 years for girls and 17 years for boys (MDA, 2009). Thus, a disproportionately high number of teenage mothers also characterize Mewat. Jatrana (1999) also asserts that low age at marriage is a significant cause of the deteriorating state of maternal and child health in Mewat. Meo society is also highly patriarchal which is reflected in the demographic indicator of male-female sex ratio, that is 906 as against the national average of 927 (see TABLE 1). It was revealed in discussions that the Meos do not practice sex selective abortion

or female foeticide but preference for male progeny results in larger family size.

The other human development indices for the area are also abysmal. As TABLE 4 indicates, the overall literacy rate of the region is 56.1 per cent (which is 24 per cent below the national average) and the female literacy rate is further low at 37.6 per cent. It was found that since most of these families belong to poor economic status, the capacity to educate their children becomes highly limited. Accordingly, due to insecurity in their employment, it was revealed that the education of a particular child was foregone in order to compensate for the household chores or for looking after the siblings so that the parents can earn their livelihood.

Table 4: Literacy Rates in Mewat

	Percentage
Literacy Rate Person	56.14
Literacy Rate Males	72.98
Literacy Rate Females	37.58

(Source: www.censusindia.gov.in, accessed in January 2013)

Another major setback for education of girls, cited during discussions, was that of lack of security. It was not deemed fit to let girls travel to distant villages for further schooling since all selected villages had schools till middle level only. According to a report by Indian Institute of Human Development (2008), only one in ten Meos is able to properly read and write. The poor educational attainment is also attributed to the extremely conservative social milieu, with the strong influence of Tablighi Jamaat, an Islamist movement that was born in Mewat and denounces "worldly education" (Akbar, 2010). Lack of education is thus an important detriment, which not only impedes livelihood options but also compels a household's diversification into low return activities or selling their labour power for low wages in unskilled labour markets.

The overall work participation rate in Mewat district is also very low (23.98 per cent). Out of the total working population, 44 per cent are engaged in cultivation, 15.43 per cent in agricultural labour, about 2 per cent in household industries and the rest in other activities (see TABLE 5). Gender differentials in work participation are noticeable and quite alarming. Female work participation, between both Hindu and Muslim households, is reported to be 6.72 per cent and 5.61 per cent respectively (MDA, 2009).

Physical Capital and Infrastructural Constraints

There is a wealth of literature that debates the role of infrastructure in economic growth and livelihood enhancement. Kessides (1993), the World Bank (1994) and Jalan and Ravallion (2002) have all demonstrated through rigorous theoretical, statistical and econometric modelling, the role played by infrastructure in poverty reduction. Kessides (1993), in her paper 'The Contributions of Infrastructure to Economic Development A Review of Experience and Policy Implications', highlights that infrastructure contributes to economic growth by reducing the cost of production, contributing to the diversification of the economy, providing access to application of modern technology and raising the economic returns to labour and capital. Infrastructure also contributes to raising the quality of life by creating amenities and providing consumption goods. The physical infrastructure is thus very important to the pursuit of livelihood strategies. However, people in Mewat face a considerable deprivation of both personal and community assets.

As far as educational infrastructure is concerned, Mewat has hardly any higher educational institutions. However, primary schools exist in 78.14 per cent of the villages, but there is again a high short fall of Middle, High School and Senior Secondary Schools. The district, which was once represented by freedom fighter and the country's first education minister Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in 1957, has only two government degree colleges for a population of about a million. It has only one polytechnic and seven Industrial Training Institutes, which reveal the precarious situation of educational facilities (MDA, 2009). The girls' formal education in the district suffers from further neglect. The discussions revealed that girls belonging to Muslim communities are preferably sent to Madarsas or Makhtabs and not to high schools, which are located far from their village. This results in a very high dropout rate of female students after primary and middle levels of formal schooling. People openly admitted that the education for Meo girls is limited primarily to religious education (Deeni Taleem).

The region also shows a poor health infrastructure. Malaria, tuberculosis and other diseases were reportedly rampant. In the entire district Mewat, there is just one general full-fledged hospital, Al

Table 5: Distribution of Working Population in Mewat

	Number	Percentage
Cultivators	175794	44.37
Agriculture labourers	61136	15.43
Workers in HH industries	7629	1.93
Other workers	151647	38.27
Total	396206	100.00

(Source: <http://mda.nic.in/Mewat-Glance.htm>, accessed in January 2013)

Afiya Hospital, built with aid from the Sultan of Oman at Village Mandikhera. There are only 7 community health centres and 17 Primary Health Centres that cover just 10 per cent of population. It was reported that the sub-centres lack trained medical professionals and hence, the response to institutional delivery is not encouraging. Prohibitive distance to health centres increases morbidity and child mortality. Due to the lack of qualified medical professionals, quacks and traditional healers have good business in villages of this district (Saifi, 2010).

The other principle infrastructural constraints cited by Sarpanchs and villagers, interviewed during the course of the study, are the lack of provision of water followed by the need for toilets and transport facilities. Out of 503 villages in district Mewat of Haryana, only 61 villages have fresh ground water, others have very high salinity content in their underground water reserves (SANDRP, 2004). In Lafuri village, people reportedly travelled 4-5 kms everyday to fetch potable water. With only 31.6 per cent households having access to pipe water supply, the problem of availability and quality of water is of prime concern and continues to magnify by the day. It was further reported that freshwater is available only to the villages located on the foothills of Aravalli and the other villages are dependent on irregular government supply, bore wells or water purchased at high cost from the tankers. The problem is compounded by unsustainable use of water resource, shortage of recharge options and the geology of the area.

The scarcity of freshwater for consumption and other domestic needs also leads to a host of other health and sanitation related problems. In some of the villages, people were also observed consuming water from open wells or small dug outs of sub surface water at the dried up pond sites and reportedly suffered from a host of water borne infections. It was further observed that there was

also no proper drainage system in the region leading to domestic wastewater flowing in the streets creating dirty puddles, which are a breeding ground for pathogens and their carriers. In addition, MDA (2009) claims that barely 12 per cent households in Mewat have access to toilets. The lack of access to sanitation further perpetuates diseases and puts a financial strain on the households, not only in terms of expenditure incurred on availing health care but also as loss of productive potential and waste of income earning opportunities.

Mewat district has also been deprived of certain basic amenities such as a railway link, regular bus services, markets, cooperative banks and industries, which could provide jobs to the local people. It was found that the paved roads are virtually nonexistent and the only modes of public transport are the archaic jeeps. Jalan and Ravallion (2002), through extensive studies in rural China, found that poor households living in communes with paved roads have a higher probability of escaping poverty than households living in communes without paved roads. They also highlighted the importance of public assets like roads in lowering transaction costs and improving incomes to farmers by providing market access. In addition, all the selected villages are electrified, but people showed gross discontent with power supply inconsistency, limited to few hours per day. In terms of fuel consumption, all the interviewed families reportedly relied on firewood and animal dung as fuels for cooking. For irrigation purposes, diesel pumps were being used in tube wells, which was seen as an expensive proposition.

Lack of access to and availability of physical assets is indicative of poor living conditions across the district and these have significant effect on efficiency and productivity of working members in all households. It also leads to high costs of transactions and high information asymmetry, thus affecting the livelihoods.

Financial Capital Constraints

Based on a survey conducted by the Ministry of Minority Affairs (IIHD, 2008) the demographic information about the Meo community suggests that almost 62 per cent of the rural Meo households in the Mewat region live at or below the national poverty level. Below Poverty Line survey conducted in 2002, identified nearly 33, 229 families living in Mewat as those belonging to the BPL group. After five years when the survey was

conducted in 2007-08, their numbers had risen to 40,815.

In smallholder systems in semi-arid areas, financial capital in the form of cash is severely constrained; cash received is soon allocated and spent (Mortimore, 1998). It was revealed in discussions and interviews that the income sources of people were multiple and diverse. The main occupations cited were farming, livestock rearing and casual wage labour. The people cited mixed reasons responsible for their financial crisis and claimed that their income from farming was inadequate and farm inputs were found to be expensive (particularly, expenditure on water for irrigation). This was worsened by the absence of adequate viable alternative income generating activities. The small and marginal farmers in Hamzapur, Multan and Lafuri also admitted to be working as wage labourers for major part of the year.

The financial intermediation through banks and Self Help Groups was found to be quite limited in Mewat, so liquidity constraints also bound many rural households. Savings and thrift were reported as negligent, though a great majority of respondents admitted having taken debt and reported widespread defaulting on the loan repayment. The credit was mainly obtained from milk vendors or moneylenders, who charged high rates of interest ranging from 5 per cent to 48 per cent per annum. Some even charged the interest on monthly basis and in case of non-payment compounded it monthly. The indebtedness also reflects on the low-income base of households. Many of the respondents took loans for consumption purposes like meeting household needs, for social events and primarily for treatment of illness.

With the rising population, lack of jobs in the formal sector for youth and the limited land redistribution, financial capital is severely constrained in Mewat. Jha (2012) states that consequent to the burden of debt and poverty, many Meo youth have engaged in crimes like vehicle theft, kidnapping, illegal mining, poaching of wild animals and cattle smuggling etc.

Status of Social Capital

Woolcock (1999) defines social capital as 'a broad term encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefits'. There is emerging consensus that social capital is crucial for societies to prosper and achieve sustainability (Bebbington, 1999). Social capital has

been variously measured as the number of civic organizations, degree of 'trust' (civic norms and level of association), degree of local rule compliance and degree of functioning of local institutions. In ethnographic work, the focus is on social processes that enhance people's abilities to access and defend resources. Social capital can translate into access to relevant market information and buyers, wage employment and business opportunities, formal and informal loans, cash advances, inputs on credit, skills, shared resources for production and marketing, and migration opportunities. Douglass recognizes that not only development professionals, but also the poor themselves acknowledge that social capital is a valuable and critical resource that contributes to their wellbeing, especially in their times of crisis and social and economic change (Douglass, 1998, p.122).

Although no SHGs or other community groups were identified in the selected villages, nevertheless, it was reported that social relations played important role in mitigating adverse financial crisis. It emerged from discussions that the wider family networks and neighbours supported each other with small amounts of money, information, water and electricity connections. Minor sums taken interest free from friends and relatives were also repaid quickly to ease pressure on social networks. The incidence of collective activities also reportedly took place in the form of construction of Mosques and Madarsas. These formal religious institutions often provided services that the public sector fails to do satisfactorily, for example in relation to education or direct support for the poor by organizing alms giving, or in other ways mobilizing resources to assist those in desperate need.

In general, it was found that the Sarpanch, the village elderly and related hierarchies of traditional authority were highly regarded and played pivotal role in matters of social cohesion and conflict resolution. However, plentiful examples were provided in group discussions of the ineffectiveness of such leaders in solving critical problems that on the face of it are susceptible to solution (such as, for example, getting a minor fault in a community hand pump repaired or getting BPL cards issued), and the propensity of such leaders to require bribe in cash or kind, in order to grant access to various resources or permission to engage in certain activities. Putnam (1993) has also argued that in areas where social structures are more "vertical" and based on

authority relations, then citizen capacity for collective action is limited, and access to and influence over state and market are far weaker. This was found to be true for selected villages in Mewat.

Conclusion

Making Mewat a separate district was galvanized by a hope for better governance and development. However, the above analysis of livelihood assets suggests that vulnerability and poverty are endemic in this region and a result of a combination of interacting social, economic and environmental factors and processes. It was found that the livelihoods in Mewat were characterized by instability, unpredictability and variability and the principal reasons seem to derive from inability of people to defend their existing assets and inability to identify and secure opportunities to turn assets into livelihoods. The constraints described in the previous section are stumbling blocks in achieving livelihood security and provide an explicit focus on what matters to rural households.

The description of livelihood constraints offers important insights into the arenas of policy or project interventions, which might be effective in improving either the poor's asset holdings or their access to higher return or lower risk uses of the assets they already possess. It follows that all policy interventions by government should address reduction of livelihood constraints and expanding options to spread risk. Suggested strategies may include utilizing Government schemes in convergence mode to develop requisite infrastructure; increasing access to microfinance; dairy development; vocational skills training and offering educational support services, specifically paying attention to gender considerations and other contextualized interventions. The key suggestion is that Government, NGOs and communities must work in tandem to increase livelihood options, strengthen the asset base of poor and expand their opportunities to accumulate and consolidate their assets in a sustainable way.

The livelihood portfolios of rural poor are so wide that any improvements in particular sectors will only make a small improvement overall. The multi-faceted nature of constraints indicates that there can be no silver bullet to livelihood security and rural development. Livelihood enhancement is an onerous task for which an integrated, multi-pronged, community based and participatory approach is critical, with different but

complementary activities across a wide range of sectors.

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Positive Organisational Behaviour in Industrial Managers: A Study of Resiliency, Self-Efficacy and Optimism

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The empirical study reported in this article documents the role of positive organizational behaviours (resiliency, self-efficacy and optimism) in organization. The study also tested the prediction that positive organizational behaviours are significantly interrelated. In addition, employees of different job categories were compared with respect to these variables. The findings supported the predicted pattern of interrelationship among variables. However, the results did not indicate significant group differences. The findings were explained in the light of current conceptualizations of positive organizational behaviour. Major implications were suggested for intervention programme.

Keywords: Resiliency; self-efficacy; optimism; positive organizational behaviour

Today's Indian economy is largely dependent on the growth of the industries of various sectors. Growth of industries is dependent on the performance of the individual organizations. During last two decades, Indian organizations have experienced a number of changes related to people, market, economy, Government policies and work culture. It is undisputed fact that the first "M" factor (i.e. man) has become the most important for an organization. Both values and attitudes of employees influence organizational behaviour. Hundreds of studies have strengthened the notion that work motivation and positivity improve employees' job performance (Luthans, 2010).

Positive organizational behaviour originates from the positive psychological movement, initiated in 1998 by Martin Seligman and colleagues. Positive organizational behaviour (POB) is important for present-day-organization because of the element of uncertainties, merger and acquisition anxieties, and stiff competition as today's employees face the risks and uncertainty associated with global sourcing, technological change and work-life balance. POB is becoming an indispensable factor that can turn such threats into opportunities for growth, development and sustainable adaptability to change.

By integrating positive psychological behaviour to organizational setting, Fred Luthans has pioneered the positive organizational behaviour research in 1999. Since then, Luthans and colleagues have been attempting to find ways of designing work settings that emphasize people's strengths, where they can be both their best selves and at their best with each other.

Despite initial studies and conceptualizations, the field of positive organizational behaviour is still in its infancy. Further research regarding precise antecedents, processes and consequences of positive psychological behaviour is needed. The challenge currently awaiting positive organizational behaviour is to bring about a more profound understanding of the real impact of positive states for organizational functioning and how these states can be enhanced within the work place.

An Overview of Literature

Positive organizational behaviour is defined as the study and application of positively oriented human resource strengths and psychological capacities that can be measured, developed and effectively managed for performance improvement in today's work place (Luthans, 2010). The psychological capacities that meet these POB criteria are optimism, hope, happiness/subjective well-being, resiliency, emotional intelligence and self-efficacy.

Application of positive psychology to the work place focuses on strengths and building the best in the work place under the basic assumption that goodness and excellence can be analyzed and

achieved. In the present empirical study, three major constructs of POB (i.e. resiliency, self-efficacy and optimism) have been considered.

Resiliency

Resiliency means the capacity to minimize the negative effect of adverse circumstances. It is an attribute with special significance. It is viewed as the capacity to rebound or bounce back from adversity, conflict, failure. This "bouncing back" capacity involves flexibility, adjustment, adaptability, and continuous responsiveness to change and uncertainty that can represent as a challenge. Resiliency is a lifelong journey, an elaborate process in which competence is developed over time as a person interacts with continuous change and uncertainty.

Based on established research of Masten (2001, 2007) and her colleagues, resiliency has been found to be influenced and developed by three types of factors: assets, risks, and adaptation process. Resiliency can be developed through enhancing the assets that a person possesses, through education, training and nurturing social relationship. Risk factors can be managed through appropriate physical and psychological health care.

Adaptation process can be enhanced through developing other positive capacities such as self-efficacy, hope and optimism. Resiliency is increasingly being viewed not only as a desirable characteristic of humans in general, but also as an essential attribute of today's employees, managers and organizations. The state like conceptualization opens the door for proactive efforts to create and develop resilient individuals in an organization.

Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy means people's beliefs about their capabilities to produce outcomes. Self-efficacy beliefs determine how people feel, think, motivate themselves and behave. The construct of self-efficacy has been well articulated by Bandura (1997) within the theoretical framework of social learning. Self-efficacy refers to the extent of belief that an individual can execute a function competently. According to Bandura, the generalized personal self-efficacy denotes a general level of self-confidence, whereas domain-specific self-efficacy such as efficacy in work habits indicates the belief system pertaining to work domain. All these variables are measurable and it is possible to examine specific predictions based on efficacy

variables.

The other advantage with the concept of self-efficacy is its process like nature. It may be indicated that many of the personality variables are trait like concepts, which are not easily changed. On the contrary, domain-specific self-efficacy is a state like concept.

Bandura (1997) has provided a developmental framework to explain the source and growth of self-efficacy. Accordingly, it is possible to devise mechanism for enhancement of self-efficacy in managers once the existing levels of their self-efficacy are measured.

Optimism

Optimism is "power of positive thinking". Seligman (1991) defines it positive causal attribution (explanatory style). It is the conviction that the future holds desirable outcomes irrespective of one's personal ability to control those out-comes. Optimism as a behavioural construct is intimately related to many of the domains of human functioning.

Studies have shown that optimism is prospectively associated with important physical and mental health out-comes including lower level of post-partum depression (Seligman, 1991). Overall optimism is linked with desirable characteristics such as happiness, achievement and health. Though some researchers view optimism as dispositional - a trait like concept, Seligman has popularized the concept of learned optimism. Accordingly it is possible to devise mechanism to break the depressive cycle of A(antecedents), B(belief), C(consequences) by adopting D(disputation) and E(energisation) for realistic optimism in managers once the existing levels of their optimism are measured.

In sum, the main objective of the present research is to examine the role of self-efficacy, optimism and resilience in managers. The other objective is to examine the role of job level in this context. The purpose is to generate specific implications for gearing intervention programs aimed at enhancing adaptation.

Method

The study involves a two-group comparison design. It includes two levels of managers: (seniors and juniors). Managers of two levels (senior level: E6 to E8 and junior level: E1 to E5) has been drawn from

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Head Quarter of Mahanadi Coalfields Limited (MCL), a public sector undertaking. The participants were from different functions. There were 60 participants in total (30 each from senior and junior managers). Care was taken to equate income, position and power base across the categories within the level as far as possible.

The dependent variables were resiliency, self-efficacy and optimistic explanatory style.

Sixty managers were randomly sampled from among the managers of a public sector undertaking (i.e. MCL HQ). Within the organization, two levels (i.e. senior level -from E6 to E8 and junior level - from E1 to E5) were chosen from different functions. Care was taken to maintain the level of power, position and emoluments similar within the organization, function and level.

Measures

The study includes a number of measures as dependent variables.

The Measure of Resiliency: Resilience is the capacity of individual to cope successfully in the face of significant change, adversity or risk. Everyone has some resilience; it occurs every time we pull through stressful experiences. Conner and Davidson (2003) have developed and validated a psychometric measure of resiliency. The scale has 25 items to which the participant has to respond on a 5 point scale (0-4). The sum of scores across items is indicative of an individual's resiliency.

The Measure of Generalized and Domain-specific Self-efficacy: Generalized and Domain-specific Self-efficacy gauges an individual's perceived belief that he/she can competently execute a task. The scale is based on Albert Bandura's (1997) construct.

Wengner, Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1993) have developed and validated the scale of general efficacy. Work related self-efficacy is a domain specific measure of self-efficacy.

The scale presents a number of odds. Respondents are asked to indicate their level of confidence that they can execute a work despite such obstructions. Drawing on Bandura's conceptualization and operationalization, Sahoo (2000) has developed and validated this domain specific (work-related) efficacy.

The Measure of Optimism: The optimism scale is developed and validated by Seligman (1991). The

scale is based on the proposition that an optimistic individual explains positive events in terms of internal, stable, and global factors. When positive (good) events happen, optimistic persons think of their role in the causation process (internal factor), consider the positive effects relatively permanent (stable factor), and generalize the positive effects to other domains of life (global factor). In contrast, negative events are explained in terms of external, unstable and specific factors. This implies that optimistic individuals explain negative events in term of external and outside circumstances (external factor). They view bad (negative) events as relatively temporary (unstable factor) and restrict the negative consequences to a limited domain of life (specific factor).

The scale presents 48 hypothetical events out of which 24 are positive events and 24 events are negative. Each event is followed by two hypothetical causal explanations. An equal number of casual events (eight events) are indicative of each of internal, global and stable factors. Respondents are asked to imagine the events happening to them. They are also asked to choose one of the two alternative causal explanations that appear appropriate for them. In this process, it is possible to compute the score of an individual with respect to internality, globality and stability for explaining positive events. These are indicative of optimistic explanatory styles. The sum scores of internality, globality and stability generates a composite score for optimism. Similarly, scores for externality, specificity and instability can be generated for explaining negative events. These are also indicative of optimism. The sum of these three scores indicates composite score for optimism. With the help of a scoring key, the optimistic explanation scores of an individual can be derived. The scale has been validated (Saligman, 1991).

The participants were contacted in their work place. All the measures were individually administered. The quantitative data were generated with respect to each of the dependent measures. Appropriate statistical analysis was used to examine the group differences as well as the network of association amongst variables.

Results

The purpose of present investigation is to compare senior and junior managers with respect to several dimensions of the positive organizational behaviour. Apart from this main objective, the

pattern of association amongst variables is also examined. In addition, the role of socio-demographic variables is investigated.

The comparison is first directed to examine difference on resiliency. The result shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = 1.55$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much resiliency as do junior managers ($M = 74.10$ and 69.20 , respectively). Groups are compared on general-efficacy and the result shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = 1.35$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much general efficacy as do Junior managers ($M = 33.40$ and 32.10 , respectively). When groups are compared on job-efficacy, the t -value does not reach the level of statistical significance. Yet the trend is indicated in the direction of higher job efficiency of senior managers compared with junior managers. As shown by Table-1, senior managers tend to exhibit greater job efficacy in comparison with junior managers ($M = 33.60$ and 29.90 , respectively).

In the context of explaining positive events, internality denotes the role of self in the causation of positive events (say, success in competing a project). Attribution of globality refers to the attitude of generalizing positive impact of several areas of life. Stability denotes the tendency of considering the impact more permanent. Obviously, all these indicators are signs of optimism.

When groups are compared on internality (for explaining positive events), the result shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = .43$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much internality as do junior managers ($M = 3.40$ and 3.20 , respectively). When groups are compared on globality, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = .19$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much globality as do junior managers ($M = 4.0$ and 3.9 , respectively). When groups are compared on stability, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = .27$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much stability as do junior managers ($M = 3.9$ and 3.8 , respectively).

When groups are compared on composite scores of optimism with respect to positive events, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = .5$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much optimism with respect to positive events as do junior managers ($M = 11.3$ and 11.0 , respectively).

In the context of explaining negative events, externality refers to the tendency of considering

external causes and avoiding self-blame. Specificity denotes orientation of viewing negative events confined to a specific domain (and not generalizing to other areas of life). Instability refers to the attitude of viewing negative events as temporary.

These parameters are indicators of optimism. When groups are compared on externality (for explaining negative events), the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = -.20$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much externality as do junior managers ($M = 3.60$ and 3.60 , respectively). When groups are compared on specificity, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = 0$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much specificity as do junior managers ($M = 4.50$ and 4.50 , respectively). When groups are compared on instability, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = -1.37$, n.s.

As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much instability as do junior managers ($M = 4.20$ and 4.60 , respectively). When groups are compared on composite scores of optimism with respect to negative events, the result also shows non-significant effect, $t(58) = -.74$, n.s. As shown by Table-1, senior managers report as much optimism as do junior managers ($M = 12.20$ and 12.70 , respectively).

In sum, senior and junior managers exhibit same level of optimism as reflected in each of the indicators of optimism.

Network of Association

The inter-correlation matrix is examined in the context of all managers (both senior and junior). The product moment correlation coefficient shows a significant association between resiliency and general-efficacy, $r(58) = .59$, $p < .01$. It implies that with increase in general-efficacy, the resiliency increases. A significant association can be seen between resiliency and job-efficacy, $r(58) = .41$, $p < .01$. It implies that with increase in job-efficacy, the resiliency also increases.

The optimism expressed in form of internality, globality and stability of explanation of positive events shows significant correlation with composite optimism in the context of positive events, $r(58) = .55$, $.71$, $.46$, $p < .01$, respectively. This implies that there is internal consistency in measurement; all separate explanatory style (attribution) measures cohere together.

Similarly, the optimism expressed in form of externality, specificity and instability of explanations of negative events shows significant correlation with composite optimism in the context of negative events, $r(58) = .59, .74, .68$, respectively, $p < .01$. This implies that there is internal consistency in scores, separate measures of attribution styles cohere together.

Role of Sociodemographic Variables

While group comparison and examination of relationship amongst variables constitute major research goals, additional objectives included the role of sociodemographic variables such as age, experience and education.

Age. Table 3 presents correlations between age and other variables. It is shown that age is negatively related to general efficacy of senior managers, $r(28) = -.40, p < .05$ (see Table 3). It implies that general efficacy declines with advancing age of senior managers. Similarly there is negative association between age and composite optimism (in the context of positive events) of senior managers, $r(28) = -.35, p < .05$.

In other words, optimism in explaining positive (good) events decline with advancing age of senior managers. In all other cases, the correlation coefficients are non-significant. With these two exceptions, all other variables are found to be independent of age, both in the group of senior managers as well as junior managers.

Experience. The role of the length of work experience in general and work experience in the present organization has been examined. As depicted by Table 4, general efficacy is negatively related to the length of work experience of senior managers, $r(28) = -.40, p < .05$. It denotes that, general efficacy declines with increasing length of work experience of senior managers. This pattern is also shown in the context of composite optimism (for explaining positive events). In all other cases, measures are independent of the length of work experience both in the group of senior managers as well as junior managers. Similar findings are obtained in the context of examination of correlation between work experience in the organization and other variables (see Table 5)

Education. Table 6 depicts correlations between education and other variables. In the group of senior managers, education is significantly related to general efficacy, $r(28) = .39, p < .05$. It implies that,

general efficacy of senior manager's increases with increasing level of education. However, in the group of junior managers, education is significantly related to residency as well as job efficacy, $r(28) = .40$ and $.44, p < .05$. It denotes that, resiliency and role efficacy increases with increasing level of education in junior managers. It is interesting to note that, education is negatively related to internal explanatory (attribution) style, $r(28) = -.47, p < .05$. It implies that, junior managers use less and less internal attributions (also to themselves) with increasing level of their education. In contrast, there is positive association between education and global explanatory style, $r(28) = .40, p < .05$. With increasing level of education, junior managers spill over (generalize) the positive effects of good event to other areas of their lives. This pattern of relation is found in the group of junior managers is also shown the total pool of participants is considered (see Table 6).

Summary of Results

The findings of the study generate a number of salient features.

1. There is no difference across two groups (senior managers and junior managers) with respect to any of the positive organizational behaviour except that senior managers tend to display higher job-efficacy compared with junior managers.
2. As predicted, the positive organizational behaviour (resiliency, self-efficacy and optimism) are significantly inter-related with each other. This is in harmony with our predictions.
3. The separate indicators of optimism (internality, globality, stability for positive events and externality, specificity, instability for negative events) are significantly correlated with each other.
4. All the positive organizational behaviours are independent of age excepting that general efficacy and optimism for explaining positive events declines with advancing age of senior managers.
5. All positive organizational behaviours are independent of the length of overall work experience as well as organizational experience excepting general efficacy of senior managers declines with advancing age.
6. However, education is significantly related to

general-efficacy of senior managers. Furthermore, education is positively related with resiliency and job-efficacy of junior managers.

Discussion

There is no difference across two groups (senior managers and junior managers) with respect to any of the positive organizational behaviour except that senior managers tend to display higher job-efficacy compared with junior managers. It may be because the study was carried out in an organization where similar environment and ambience exist. The sample size is also small.

The positive organizational behaviours (resiliency, self-efficacy and optimism) are attitudinal structures. An organization provides a homogeneous environment where all the managers work in the same ambience. Hence, there are no major differences across the groups with respect to the POBs. However, senior managers tend to display higher job-efficacy than the junior managers do. Where or not this difference is significant can be determined when large sample sizes are examined in future.

The positive organizational behaviours (resiliency, self-efficacy and optimism) are significantly inter-correlated with each other. This is in harmony with our prediction.

It means the managers who are resilient show greater general-efficacy as well as job-efficacy and they are optimistic. Data obtained from both junior managers and senior managers show high degree of inter-correlation amongst resiliency, general efficacy, and job-efficacy. This is because organizational realities present difficulties and obstacles. In the midst of difficulties, people with a robust sense of self-efficacy continue with perseverant effort to be successful and this is an attribute of resiliency. Self-efficacy can be strengthening through intelligent structuring of initial experiences. This is also a factor for resiliency, which helps the young managers to cope the organizational difficulties.

Both individual and organizational performance is improved by developing good qualities like self-confidence (efficacy), optimism and resilience. This has been demonstrated theoretically and empirically to be a higher-order core factor that Luthans and colleagues termed as psychological capital or PsyCap, Luthans F, Youssef (2004).

The specific indicators of optimism (internality, globality, stability for positive events and externality, specificity, instability for negative events) are significantly correlated with each other. It means the scale is working in a robust way, which has been proved earlier also. The positive inter-correlations of dimensions of optimism display the property of self-consistency. It will manifest in various forms of behaviours.

Seligman (1991) pointed out that optimism not only as a means to individual wellbeing, but also as a powerful aid in finding your purpose and contributing to the organisation. With a firm belief in a positive future, you can throw yourself into the service of that which is larger than you are.

Education is significantly related to general-efficacy of senior managers. In addition, it is positively related with resiliency and job-efficacy of junior managers. It is in line with our predictions that educated persons show more resiliency and self-efficacy.

Education is an internal resource. When internal resources are harnessed self-confidence increases. A person who is aware of self shows greater self-confidence.

Thus educated senior managers show greater general efficacy. During shaping of career, the junior managers are more eager to learn and hence they have shown more job-efficacy. They have also shown more resilience as at the initial period of their career, they have to adapt to change and face the challenges that come on the way.

While the analysis of data reveals no group difference with respect to positive organizational behaviour, the saliency of the constructs in organizational context has to be recognized.

The study may be taken up with a bigger sample in more than one organization. Managers of different job environments may be considered for study. Both male and female managers may also be included for the study. The participants may be from two different functions - line functions in which managers are directly involved in production and staff functions in which managers are not directly involved in production but they help the line managers in production.

Although senior and junior managers do not differ with respect to any of positive organizational behaviours, findings obtained from the examination

of role of sociodemographic variables provide inputs for interventions. Since senior managers exhibit declining level of general efficacy and optimism with their advancing age, it is suggested efficacy-building measures should be adopted for senior managers. They should be trained in the art of structuring their initial tasks, exposing themselves to mastering experience, identifying and imitating role models from their vicinity. These are effective ways of strengthening general efficacy in senior managers.

In order to check the declining trend of optimism in senior managers, they need to develop effective attribution (explanatory styles). Positive and continuous feedbacks regarding successful performance are helpful in breaking the pessimistic cycle and inculcating optimism.

Finally, it is evinced that education is found to be a valid predictor of general efficacy of senior managers and job efficacy and resiliency in junior managers. Consequently, attempts need to be directed towards upgrading education both for

junior and senior managers. Although managers of MCL do not lack in basic education, additional efforts to raise educational level and educational inputs would be provide positive consequences for employees and the organization.

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Table 1: Mean Scores of Participants

Variables	Groups						t-Value
	Sr. Managers (n-30)		Jr. Managers (n-30)		Total (N-60)		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Resiliency	74.10	8.70	69.20	14.90	71.60	12.40	1.55
General-efficacy	33.40	3.10	32.10	4.60	32.80	3.90	1.35
Job-efficacy	33.60	8.20	29.90	6.80	31.80	7.70	1.87
Positive event: internality	3.40	1.00	3.20	1.40	3.30	1.20	0.43
Positive event: globality	4.00	1.30	3.90	1.40	4.00	1.40	0.19
Positive event: stability	3.90	0.90	3.80	1.10	3.90	1.00	0.27
Positive event: composite	11.30	1.90	11.00	2.20	11.10	2.10	0.50
Negative event: externality	3.60	1.00	3.60	1.50	3.60	1.30	-0.20
Negative event: specificity	4.50	1.30	4.50	1.50	4.50	1.40	0.00
Negative event: instability	4.20	1.10	4.60	1.30	4.40	1.20	-1.37
Negative event: composite	12.20	2.40	12.70	2.80	12.50	2.60	-0.74

Table 2: Inter-correlations amongst Measures Obtained from All Managers (N-60)

S.N.	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Resiliency										
2	General-efficacy	0.59**									
3	Job-efficacy	0.41**	0.41**								
4	Positive event: internality	-0.21	-0.17	-0.13							
5	Positive event: globality	0.07	0.20	0.16	0.02						
6	Positive event: stability	0.17	0.03	0.03	-0.08	0.06					
7	Positive event: composite	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.55**	0.71**	0.46**				
8	Negative event: externality	0.02	0.25	-0.20	0.14	0.16	-0.13	0.13			
9	Negative event: specificity	0.08	0.20	0.11	-0.02	0.20	0.24	0.24	0.13		
10	Negative event: instability	0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.09	-0.06	-0.13	-0.05	0.07	0.32*	
11	Negative event: composite	0.07	0.24	-0.06	0.10	0.15	0.00	0.16	0.59**	0.74**	0.68**

Table 3: Correlations between Age and other Variables

Variables	Groups		
	Sr. Managers	Jr. Managers	Total
Resiliency	-0.31	-0.25	-0.07
General-efficacy	-0.40*	0.06	0.01
Job-efficacy	-0.22	-0.22	0.01
Positive event: internality	0.03	0.06	0.08
Positive event: globality	-0.32	-0.09	-0.10
Positive event: stability	-0.31	0.11	0.01
Positive event: composite	-0.35*	0.03	-0.02
Negative event: externality	0.11	0.14	0.08
Negative event: specificity	0.11	0.04	0.04
Negative event: instability	0.23	-0.21	-0.17
Negative event: composite	0.22	-0.01	-0.02

Table-4: Correlations between Length of Experience and other Variables

Variables	Groups		
	Sr. Managers	Jr. Managers	Total
Resiliency	-0.05	-0.25	-0.02
General-efficacy	-0.45*	-0.08	-0.01
Job-efficacy	-0.16	-0.16	0.05
Positive event: internality	0.07	-0.17	0.07
Positive event: globality	-0.32	-0.08	-0.09
Positive event: stability	-0.22	0.08	0.02
Positive event: composite	-0.29	0.01	-0.01
Negative event: externality	0.05	0.07	0.03
Negative event: specificity	0.10	-0.01	0.01
Negative event: instability	0.10	-0.26	-0.23
Negative event: composite	0.13	-0.09	-0.09

Table-5: Correlations between Experience in Organisation and other Variables

Variables	Groups		
	Sr. Managers	Jr. Managers	Total
Resiliency	-0.16	-0.06	0.02
General-efficacy	0.03	-0.07	0.06
Job-efficacy	0.23	-0.12	0.16
Positive event: internality	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01
Positive event: globality	-0.21	-0.07	-0.10
Positive event: stability	-0.16	0.09	0.01
Positive event: composite	-0.24	-0.03	-0.07
Negative event: externality	-0.27	0.05	-0.07
Negative event: specificity	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04
Negative event: instability	-0.15	-0.28	-0.28*
Negative event: composite	-0.21	-0.13	-0.19

Table-6: Correlations between Education and other Variables

Variables	Groups		
	Sr. Managers	Jr. Managers	Total
Resiliency	-0.12	0.40*	0.18
General-efficacy	0.39*	0.12	0.21
Job-efficacy	0.06	0.44*	0.20
Positive event: internality	-0.20	-0.47*	-0.35**
Positive event: globality	0.33	0.40*	0.36**
Positive event: stability	0.08	0.16	0.12
Positive event: composite	0.16	0.05	0.10
Negative event: externality	0.09	0.09	0.09
Negative event: specificity	0.05	0.32	0.19
Negative event: instability	0.18	-0.13	0.04
Negative event: composite	0.16	0.15	0.16

Interventions in Child Sexual Abuse: What We Know and What We Still Need to Learn

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Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) is known to have both short- and long-term psychological sequelae. Ameliorating these sequelae requires developing, disseminating, and implementing effective intervention approaches. The interventions in CSA can broadly be classified into two levels: preventive interventions which address the general population (universal intervention), and those who are at risk for being abused or at risk of abusing (selective intervention) and the interventions for those who have been sexually abused and the abusers (indicated intervention). There are group, individual and community based approaches to address the issue. The present paper provides an overview of such programs and delineates current understandings about what works in CSA intervention at all the these levels. It also highlights the lacunae in the present knowledge regarding these interventions and outlines the directions for future research.

Keywords: Child sexual abuse; Universal programs; Selective programs; Indicated programs, Interventions.

According to a recent report by the Government of India, 53.2% of children in India have faced sexual abuse. 72% of these children do not talk about it and suffer in silence. People known to them have abused a majority of these children (Ministry of Women & Child Development, 2007). Although the above numbers reflect either high prevalence, given the fact that most cases of child sexual abuse (CSA) are not reported at the time of occurrence or anytime later, it is difficult to determine the actual incidence and prevalence.

Research and clinical evidence corroborate the finding that a large proportion of sexually abused children and adolescents experience deleterious outcomes. The negative outcomes of CSA often extend into adulthood, and include substance abuse, suicidality, interpersonal problems, PTSD, depression, anxiety, and anger. In addition, these outcomes occur regardless of age or gender of the victim at the time of the abuse (Chen, Murad, Paras, Colbenson, Sattler, Goranson et al., 2010). Because of the recognition of the widespread impact of CSA, efforts have been made to develop and evaluate intervention programs that aim toward either ameliorating these difficulties or reducing the incidence of CSA in the first place.

Interventions for CSA include universal programs that adopt a preventive approach; these programs are aimed at the general population, regardless of risk, and seek to disseminate education about CSA. Selective programs include identifying children at the risk of being abused or individuals who are at risk of abusing and reducing this risk. Indicated programs target children who have been sexually abused and delivering individual or group-based interventions, as well as individuals who have a history of sexually inappropriate behaviours. The paper attempts to provide an overview of the prevention and intervention programs addressing CSA with a focus on their relative contribution and lacunae.

Universal Programs

Programs aimed at children attempt to empower them with the goal of deterring them from becoming victims. They also seek to narrow the gap between self-reported prevalence and judicially confirmed incidence. Programs aimed at parents and other adults seek to identify and prevent the sexual assault. Following is a summary of the research on universal programs for CSA.

A) School-based prevention programs

Most universal programs are school-based and focus on teaching personal safety to children, particularly on how children can protect themselves from sexual assault and what they should do if they experience actual or potential abuse (Daro, 1994; Daro & McCurdy, 1994). The

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effectiveness of these programs is operationalised as how well the children learn the material presented, by examining the difference between pre-test, post-test, and follow-up scores.

Overall meta-analytic studies, like those described below, have found that children participating in prevention programs perform better on outcome measures than control children.

Rispers, Aleman, and Goudena (1997) conducted a meta-analysis of school-based prevention programs and found that there were improvements in knowledge acquisition, particularly among preschool children, but they noted that knowledge gained did not necessarily reduce the occurrence of CSA. In a Cochrane Review of 15 randomized controlled trials of school-based prevention programs, predominantly conducted in the USA, Zwi, Woolfenden, Wheeler, O'Brien, Tait, and Williams (2007) found that although the majority of studies reported significant improvements in knowledge measures and protective behaviours in simulated at-risk situations, only a few studies aimed to change actual behaviours. Topping and Barron (2009) conducted a systematic and critical review of 22 school-based CSA prevention program efficacy studies. The results showed a significant impact on increasing children's knowledge, awareness, and abuse prevention skills. They found an effect size of 0.61, and concluded that overall, children who received school-based abuse prevention programs experienced definite but average gains in knowledge and skills, retained immediately after the program.

However, many of these studies had methodological limitations (e.g., sampling problems, lack of adequate control groups, and lack of reliable and valid measures). There was limited follow-up evidence of actual effectiveness of prevention skills, and the evidence for maintenance of gains was mixed. The above findings throw light on the fact that actual transfer of skills to natural setting can be a challenge and that indices of assessing the maintenance of gains are unclear.

Whether it is essential to provide information about sexual abuse specifically, rather than teaching skills to communicate with trusted adults, is something that still needs to be

addressed. For example, information about CSA could be incorporated into a larger program that also entails using the same skills such as identifying when one feels uncomfortable, validating one's feelings, sharing the problem with appropriate people, and communicating (Tutty, 2000). Sorensen and Snow (1991) delivered a program that did not focus exclusively on sexual abuse prevention but identified inappropriate behaviours, stressed assertiveness, and personal rights, and found high rates of purposeful abuse disclosure, especially among adolescents.

In order to ascertain the usefulness of universal prevention programs, Finkelhor, Asdigian, and Dzuiba-Leatherman (1995a, 1995b) telephone surveyed a large representative sample of 10- to 16-year-olds that underwent such programs. They reported using self-protection strategies and perceiving themselves as more effective in disclosing abuse. However, a major weakness of retrospective self-reporting is the potential bias in memory accuracy. In addition, how disclosure of abuse is interpreted merits caution. For example, Briggs and Hawkins (1994a, 1994b) noted that increased disclosure rates could be interpreted as program failure (since children did not use self-protection strategies) or as program success (since children disclosed abuse).

Parental support is an important factor in recovery from CSA (Trembly, Herbert, & Piche, 1999) and to that end, communication between parents and children is crucial. One study noted that if parents were given specific instruction in how to talk to their children about CSA, they would more often follow through and discuss it with their children (Burgess & Wurtele, 1998). MacIntyre and Carr (1999a, 1999b) found that parental engagement with the program created communication between children and parents about CSA. According to Herbert, Lavoie, Piche, and Poitras (2001), 66% parents reported that their children talked about CSA and prevention at home after the program, even though parents were not directly involved in the project. Parental satisfaction with these programs has been high.

B) Media Campaigns

The need for raising the public awareness is supported by the fact that a significant proportion of parents do not know many facts

about CSA. It was found that most of the parents did not know that the children most often are sexually abused by familiar people, females can be CSA offenders, boys are equally susceptible to sexual abuse, and that there may be no obvious physical signs after sexual abuse (Chen, Dunne, & Han, 2007; Singhal & Johri, 2012). Multimedia campaign is also used in addressing the issue of CSA. Chalk and King (1998) evaluated a CSA media campaign using interviews with 200 American parents and found it effective with regard to increased awareness and response toward children who disclose abuse. In a similar attempt, Hoefnagels and Mudde (2000) conducted multimedia campaign in the Netherlands in 1991/1992. Because of the program, they found that there was increased disclosure of CSA as measured by calls to a children's helpline before and after the campaign. Interestingly, an Indian study by Singh (2012) researched the impact of a campaign against CSA which involved interaction with children about child rights, screening of an educational film 'Chuppi todo' (Break the Silence) in schools and communities, followed by a discussion with child rights psychologists. Empirical assessment of the impact showed an increase in awareness levels about safe and unsafe touch. Similarly, 30-seconds TV spots have been made to increase public awareness about CSA and encourage children to talk about it with the slogan 'Don't keep mum, speak to your mom'. The campaign has been taken to 10 cities of the country since its inception. However, it is stressed that media campaigns alone may not significantly affect primary prevention of CSA (Rheingold et al., 2007).

Selective Programs

There are limited attempts at identifying those who are at risk and intervening. In one such attempt, Malamuth, Linz, Heaney, Barnes, and Acker (1995) identified factors that put college males at greater risk for perpetrating sexual violence. According to them, being reared in hostile family environments where they witnessed physical violence between their parents or directly experienced sexual/physical abuse was a risk factor. History of maltreatment is also identified as one of the risk factors (Ford & Linney, 1995).

However, not all youth who are sexually victimised become sexual offenders. Over the past decade,

some programs have aimed at decreasing rape myth attitudes in college youth (Johansson-Love & Geer, 2003). Researchers have also started targeting adolescent offenders to prevent them abusing in adulthood (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006, cited in Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Turner, 2007). Outcome studies in this direction have been promising (O'Reilly, Carr, Marshall, & Beckett, 2004).

In an innovative program called STOP IT NOW! (Tabachnick, 1997) media campaigns were used that bring attention to CSA and describe steps to stop the abuse. The programs addressed the adults in order to stop the cycle of abuse. People were also encouraged to call a toll-free helpline for information and referrals. In the first 2 years of operation, nearly 250 calls have been made to its helpline. 25% of the calls came from abusers, and 50% from adults who knew an abuser. The program also increased awareness, with participants recognising that abusers were likely to live in their communities.

On the Indian front, a 24-hour emergency outreach service called CHILDLINE has been, since 1996, serving exploited street children/youth, and currently operates in 200 cities in 30 states of India. After the initial crisis intervention, the children are linked to long-term rehabilitation services.

Indicated Programs

The interventions have been documented for both the victims of sexual abuse and perpetrators of abuse.

A) Individual and Group Interventions with victims

Much research on psychotherapy effectiveness with children who have been sexually abused concentrates on comparing different modalities of therapy. Evidence has been found for various therapeutic interventions in review studies ranging from CBT and abuse specific therapy (Saunders, Berliner, & Hanson, 2004), art therapy (Kolko, 1987), family therapy, group therapy (Silovsky & Hembree-Kigin, 1994), and psychodrama (Avinger & Jones, 2007). Trowell, Kolvin, Weermanthri, Sadowski, Berelowitz, Glaser et al. (2002) provided evidence for both psychoanalytic psychotherapy and psycho-educational group therapy in an RCT study.

MacDonald, Higgins, and Ramchandani (2006) included 10 studies (n=847) in their meta-

analysis and found that CBT interventions significantly decreased children's PTSD symptoms and anxiety. MacDonald, Higgins, Ramchandani, Valentine, Bronquer, Klien et al. (2012), reported similar findings in a recent study. The authors reviewed ten randomised or quasi-randomised controlled trials of CBT. All of them provided CBT to children (below 18 years) and their non-offending parent.

Hetzel-Riggin, Brausch, and Montgomery (2007) in their meta-analysis included 28 studies (n=1,839) and found that therapy was more effective than no treatment with play therapy being more effective for social functioning. Cognitive-behavioural (CB) abuse-specific and supportive therapy was most effective for behaviour problems, while CB-family and -individual therapy were most effective for psychological distress. Thus, the authors concluded that the choice of therapy modality should depend on the child's presenting problem.

More recently, Trask, Walsh, and DiLillo (2011) in their meta-analysis including 35 studies found that consistent with previous meta-analyses, therapeutic interventions significantly decreased specific emotional problems in sexually abused children. Both individual and group treatments were found to be equally effective regardless of the study design. Studies with older children and longer treatments revealed larger effects, consistent with previous research. However, contrary with prior studies, in the current review a better trend was found for studies with a greater proportion of male participants and for samples comprising of children that suffered intra-familial versus extra-familial abuse.

Specific individual interventions that have been explored in CSA are Trauma-focused Cognitive-Behaviour Therapy (TF-CBT); Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing (EMDR), Cognitive Processing Therapy (CPT), and the Triple P Positive Parenting Program. Project SAFE (Sexual Abuse Family Education) has been investigated as a group intervention program.

B) Therapy with Offenders

WHO (2006) note the value of therapeutic intervention with various groups, such as offenders or perpetrators, as part of a

multi-pronged approach to prevention of CSA. CBT has been found to be effective, particularly those including relapse prevention. Hall (1995) showed a small but robust treatment effect in his meta-analysis. Alexander (1999) reviewed 79 treatment studies and noted recidivism rates of 8.1% compared to 18.3% for other treatment approaches and 25.8% for untreated molesters.

However, research has also found that a substantial majority of offenders are involved more generally in criminal activity (Soothill, Francis, Sanderson, & Ackerley, 2000). Despite that, treatment programs for sexual offenders remain highly specialised.

Limitations of prevention and intervention Programs

a) Universal Programs

One set of difficulty with universal programs is their limited range. This could be due to factors such as the societal discomfort surrounding sexuality, lack of clear risk factors identifying potential victims or perpetrators, and lack of public awareness about the issue (Daro, 1994).

Another set of difficulty is that many of the prevention concepts included in CSA programs are not facts but beliefs, which sometimes contradict cultural or family norms about how children are required to behave. For example, giving children permission to "sometimes say no to a grown-up" is contrary to what children, especially in collectivist societies such as India, are generally taught. In addition, the idea of teaching children that someone they know might touch them inappropriately is not comfortable for many parents.

One of the important immediate outcomes of universal programs is increased knowledge; however, there is no clear evidence whether increased knowledge translates to behaviour change and reduced incidence of CSA. The reported failure in generalisability may be explained in terms of limited cognitive capacity of abstraction of these school age children who are the target audience of the interventions (Melton, 1992).

The issue that 'unsafe' (or 'bad' as was previously termed) touch may be physically pleasurable is absent from the programs. Often, programs occur prior to formal sex education,

framing the child's first exposure to sexual matters with the message that sex is bad, wrong, or illegal (Pelcovitz, Adler, Kaplan, Packman, & Krieger, 1992).

b) Selective and indicated interventions

Children who have been sexually abused are a heterogeneous group, often with little in common other than their experience of abuse. So devising an intervention program with a 'one size fits all' approach is unlikely to address the diverse symptoms of these children.

Another problem is that the nature of samples in the context of CSA intervention research appears highly selective; such research is typically based on clinical or legal samples. High reluctance to disclose abuse (Hershkowitz, Horowitz, & Lamb, 2005) and a high likelihood of recantation (Malloy, Lyon, & Quas, 2007) have been found to militate against inclusion in therapy outcome studies, further resulting in skewed samples.

In addition, it has been found that families are less likely to agree to participate in research if the abuse experienced by the child was intra-familial (Goodman-Brown, Edelstein, Goodman, Jones, & Gordon, 2003). However it has also found that those who have been abused within the family show less improvement following therapy (Hetzel-Riggin, Brausch, & Montgomery, 2007) and may be more subject to the cumulative impact of poly-victimisation (Finkelhor, et al., 2007). Despite these findings, the majority of intervention research does not distinguish between those abused within the family or by someone outside the family.

What We Still Need To Learn: Future Research

In the following section, we discuss the lacunae in our current understandings regarding the programs discussed above and the future directions that research could take.

Universal Programs

The existing programs designed to prevent CSA suffer from a serious lack of replication. There is also no evidence of differential effectiveness of their pedagogical components such as behavioural rehearsal in comparison to didactic discussion, but this requires empirical confirmation. Thus, the future research needs to focus on dismantling the

effectiveness various components of prevention programs.

For future research, the theoretical underpinnings of the program components also need to be made clear. Programs ought to consider the developmental appropriateness of content and delivery to different ages, developmental stages, and familial/cultural acceptability. Similarly, the nature of presenter (teacher, school counsellor, or an external mental health practitioner) as a variable also needs to be examined.

Evaluation of program implementation fidelity is very important and should be incorporated systematically in future research. That is because, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, presenters may alter the content of the program. For example, Briggs and Hawkins (1994a, 1994b) noted that teachers reported that they had omitted significant program content because of the feelings generated for them in presenting the material.

Parental involvement in CSA prevention programs is especially important in the Indian context since they are susceptible to societal myths about the extent, seriousness, or most common perpetrators of sexual abuse (Singhal & Johri, 2012) and so may provide misinformation to their children that may contradict the concepts taught in the prevention program. Thus, future research needs to make parental involvement a crucial part of the prevention programs.

Addressing healthy sexuality and fostering open communication about healthy sexual behaviour are important and need to be incorporated as part of sex education programs in schools. There is also a need to make questions about sexual abuse a routine part of assessments in all clinical settings (Tutty, 2000). Teachers, parents, and professionals should be reminded that the most important response when a child discloses abuse is support (Elliott et al., 1995) and thus to believe them as children never lie about being sexually abused.

In India, the 'Protection of Children against Sexual Offences Bill' was passed in 2012. Although a welcome move, there are many concerns regarding operationalising the bill: it does not make a distinction between contact and non-contact sexual offenses, and since it puts the onus of innocence on the accused, it can be misused through manipulating a child to accuse an innocent person. We still need to learn to develop ways of hearing children and creating mechanisms to address their exploitation and punish their violators.

Selective Programs

A limitation of many selective programs is that they were designed using gendered sexual scripts, which assume that potential abusers are always male (Denov, 2003). As a result, the effectiveness of many such programs in reaching at-risk females is significantly less than it could be. Future research needs to incorporate gender-neutral scripts in prevention programs.

Also, given that females sex offenders usually have a high prevalence of history of CSA, would offering greater support to female victims of CSA decrease their chances of becoming sexual offenders? Future research needs to empirically test this issue.

We also need to learn whether medical interventions would be helpful in reducing the risk of some individuals who are either hypersexual or suffer from an entrenched paedophilic arousal pattern. There is some support for this hypothesis in research (Chow & Choy, 2002) but evidence that is more empirical is clearly required.

Indicated Programs

When it comes to therapy for CSA survivors, there exist more questions than answers. With regard to parental involvement in the therapy, it is not clear as to when they should be involved and if they have emotional problems when, who and how it has to be dealt with?

With respect to the child, is it essential (or even desirable) in all cases for the child to explore his or her memories concerning the abuse experience? When (if ever) should treatment be offered to an asymptomatic child? How should the therapist deal with the child's past or present exposure to emotional neglect, lack of intellectual stimulation, physical abuse, or domestic violence: problems that often precede or accompany sexual abuse?

With respect to offender treatment, given the findings that explain child sexual offences as extensions of more general antisocial patterns, would developing intervention programs that target these patterns, such as opportunism, exploitation of interpersonal relationships, or the discounting of socially accepted behaviour, is more useful.

In terms of intervention research, how should the index treatment be controlled? If a no-treatment or 'usual services' control group is ethically unacceptable what can be a most desirable comparison group? Future research is needed to help clarify these questions.

Conclusion

Prevention and intervention attempts made in the literature in fact are found to establish benefits of both kinds of interventions. However, there is severe lack of replication of the interventions, generalisability of the findings to actual prevalence, establishing of efficacy and effectiveness. The interventions are still to identify the effective components and establish as empirically supported therapies. However, given the complexity of the problem it may still take time to answer many questions that are unanswered by the literature thus far. In India, though there is increased awareness and attempts at intervention over the past decade, there is still a long way to go in achieving integrated uniform efforts across the country towards addressing CSA. There is acute need to focus on the offenders, who are in real control of abuse and on the other adults who can realistically protect children from abuse.

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