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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Anthropological Bulletin is a communication window for anthropologist, sociologist, policy planners, development thinkers and practitioners etc. to present their views. The journal keeps an interdisciplinary focus, and covers range of issues concerning mankind, as domain of anthropology is continually stretching its boundaries and transcendent to other social sciences and science. The 'Anthropological Bulletin' was first published in 1960s with a different name 'Research Bulletin'. Unfortunately, the publication of this journal was ceased owing to the paucity of funds and related problems. With the motivation and encouragement of present Former Vice chancellor, Dr. S.B. Nimse, we have started its publication again. The present volume contains varied articles on issues prevailing in modern times concerning to mankind like environment and development, tribal issues, gender issues, human rights etc. It provides insights into nature of current debates, present range of perspectives on key challenges and outlines possible alternatives and ways forward. We owe special gratitude to our Former Vice Chancellor, Dr. S.B. Nimse whose inspiration makes its publication possible. I also wish to thank all the authors for their valuable contribution in making this a success. No good work is possible without team effort. I extend my thanks to the entire team for attractive style, format, design which enhances the pleasure of reading.

Prof. U.P. Singh
Editor-in-chief

Some Observations on Education in a Vanishing Tribe Raji

Keya Pandey¹

Education is an integral part of our society. The word education is derived from the Latin verb *Educane* which means *to bring up child* and was itself formed from the verb '*Educare*' which means 'to lead'. Education is transitional in the sense that it should prepare the child to move with autonomy and self understanding into the adult years.

Mead (1931) considers "Primitive education is a process by which preliterate people induct children into the cultural tradition of the tribe." Boas (1928) devotes an entire chapter of this text to the relationship between anthropology and education. He discusses such factors as environment, sex, and ethnic differences and their influence on the cultural transmission process. Brameld (1957) brings the cultural approach of anthropology to bear on the field of education. He thus unites ideas of anthropological theory with those of psychology, sociology, history and philosophy of education. In linking anthropology and education, Bryson (1939) touches upon a number of areas- from incidental instruction to education as a complex organization of cultural behaviors.

Since the last five decades various plans and programmes, not to mention the countless academic exercises, have been at work to raise and improve the educational levels among the tribal people. Unfortunately the picture is grim as the results are far from satisfactory. It is truism that the education has an important role in social development. Thus it is assumed that the formal education would enable the tribal people to meet the present and future confrontations especially in the market and consumer cultural milieu while eventually integrating them in the national mainstream. But this could not be resulted given the unequal social conditioning.

Education among the tribal communities right from 1880 was launched to civilize the "wild tribes"-a colonial perception of the people. For the colonial government appointed the Indian Education Commission emphasizing the need to educate the tribal people. The issue of the tribal education is one of the most unresolved items in India despite all the efforts, measures and provisions since fifty years. However, this is not to deny a few changes in tribal Literacy rates. In addition not only there is a wide disparity between the tribal people and non tribal people but also among various states and among different tribal communities.

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This trend clearly signals that a uniform educational policy for all the communities cannot be formulated.

More often the assumption with regard to tribal education is to develop them enlarge their world ethos and also to enable them to face the changing social conditions. This way it is assumed that the formal education of the tribal people would eventually lead them to participate in the national stream. In other words the objectives of education are to reduce the gap between the tribal and non tribal people. (Pathy, 1996)

The Area

Pithoragarh and Champawat districts are situated in the north west of Uttarakhand and forms the north eastern part of the Kumaun division. It lies between lat 29.4° N 30.3° N and long. 80° E to 81° E . On its north and east lies international border of Tibet and Nepal respectively, while on its south west touches the district Almora. It is bounded in the south by district Nainital and district Chamoli, is on its west. The total geographical area of the district is 8,856 square kms.

The Rajis inhabit nine villages of the districts Pithoragarh and Champawat namely Jamtadi, Altadi, Kuta & Chaurani, Madanpuri in tehsil Didihaat, Kimkhola, Bhaktirwa, Gangaon and Chipalthara in tehsil Dharchula, and Khirdwari in Champawat. The physical location and approaches to the field centres are either by kuchha road or pucca road. Rajis have been reported from other places also like Udham Singh Nagar and Central Himalayas but the present study was confined to Pithoragarh and Champawat districts.

Selection of the Field Centres

The selection of the field centres were made on the basis of a twofold consideration. Firstly, the village to be selected must have a representative character with regard to the culture of the region for study and secondly, the village must have a suitable size and setting. I have divided the field centres into two areas interior area and the outer area. It is the interior area which possesses more of the typical culture of the area. Whereas the condition of the outer area, which is comparatively open to the outsiders may not give a good insight into the people understanding of the way of life of the people. My primary attention, therefore, was focussed on the interior area to know the traditional pattern of the culture and secondly attention was on the outer area to know the changes occurred in the lifestyle of the tribals.

The interior area includes Gangaon, Bhaktirwa of Dharchula Tehsil, Kuta & Chaurani, Madanpuri and Altadi of Didihaat tehsil whereas outer area includes Kimkhola and Chipalthara of Dharchula tehsil and Jamtadi of Didihaat tehsil respectively. In the interior areas, local differences are so great and they vary so much from tehsil to tehsil in context of some of the cultural traits that it was not advisable to depend on single centre for my study. However, frequent visits to the areas were made which includes Kimkhola, Chipalthara of the outer areas and Altadi, Kuta and Chaurani, Madanpuri and Gangaon of the interior area. Other remaining villages were visited and they served the purpose equally but the easy rapport we could establish in these villages and rich data made us finally select them. (Pandey, Keya 2007)

The village site

Village settlements are to be found in comparatively open parts of a slope half way up the hill, with greater or lesser number of terraced plots for cultivation on one or more side, above and below, though most of the fields are often situated near away from human habitation. The topography of the Raji region is such that all the huts in a village are never situated at the same level. The difference in elevation between the clusters of houses may vary greatly. The village Gangaon & Kuta Chaurani is on the peak of the hills may represent an extreme case of ruggedness. The huts in the villages are not aligned. They are scattered in a small area of uneven terraced lands. The densest village is kimkhola and due to the limited

space to one hut they have generally untidy and clumsy appearance. Rajis prefer to live aloof from the outsiders and reside in dense forest with the help of which one cannot negotiate their villages. Small cultivable lands are all around their huts.

Tribe under study

There were five scheduled tribes in the state of U.P. namely- Bhoksa, Bhotia, Jaunsari, Raji and Tharu. Raji is one of the five scheduled tribes who were declared for the first time in June 1967 vide scheduled caste and scheduled tribe list modification 1967 along with Tharu, Bhoksa, Jaunsari, Bhotia in U.P. in which Raji was declared the primitive tribal group (PTG) by Govt. of India in 1975. Before 1967 there was no recognised scheduled tribe in this state. Presently the tribe under study falls under the state jurisdiction of Uttarakhand.

Historical background of Rajis

The Raji tribals dispersed over the Pithoragarh and Nepal are not of equal status. The Rajis of Nepal and the Rajis of India intermarry but the Rajis of India consider themselves to be of higher racial group. Raji is a little known tribal community which was brought into light for the first time in 1823 by the then Commissioner of Kumaun C.W. Trail. It is said that Rajis or Banrawats are descendents of the prehistoric kiratas, who were comparatively early settlers of the region then the Nagas and the Khasas.

Atkinson stated that these early tribes entered India by the same route as the Aryans and the Kiratas who were the first to arrive than the others. In course of time Kiratas were gradually uprooted from the region by the dominating impact of other ethnic groups but their few descendents remained in Kumaun and Nepal. In Kumaun they were called Rajis but they are not aware of their prehistoric Kirat origin.

The legend current among them is that they were descendents of the royal family of Askot. Until recently they lived a life typical of neolithic age, as cave dwellers and food gatherers subsisting on hunting, fishing and jungle produce. Still they cannot be considered as aboriginals as they had not inhabited the region from the beginning. Regarding the origin of Raji tribe there are many reasons which are told by Raji informants. However, according to W. Crooke- *"The Rajis have been identified with Raja Kiratas, who in early Sanskrit literature are joined with Sakas and Savaras as Dasyu and are placed by the Varaha Samhita between Amarwana and China or between Jageswar and Tibet and a title will mean either" the princely Kiratas or the "Kiratas of Ragya"*. Crooke further stated that the Rajis represent themselves as descendents of one of the aboriginal princes of Kumaun who with his family fled to the jungles to escape the destruction threatened by an usurper under the pretention of royal origin, the Rawats or Rajis abstain from offering to any individual whatever his rank, the usual eastern salutation. Further on the basis of fresh inquiry based on the notes of Bhawani Singh, teacher of Devaliakote School in the Almora district, Crooke mentioned that they are known by the two names Raji and Rawat. These names are used by the people themselves as well as by outsiders. They say that they are descended from the Raja of Kutpur by whom they were expelled for some fault. Since then they have been wandering about in the hills and forests, living on jungle produce. At the time of their expulsion, the Raja of Kutpur was NilKamal, but they cannot say how many years ago he lived. This Kutpur family, they say, reigned for 38 generations from Vikramaditya to Biramdeo. All the members of the tribe considered themselves equal and intermarry.

Rajis are locally known as Banawats and Rajwar and this name is used by the members of the community themselves as well as by outsiders. During the field inquiry few elderly Raji informants told about their origin that they were descendents of the king of Askot and give the following account of their origin. It is said that the king of Askot had two sons. The elder son was fond of hunting and fled into the forest. He never returned from there and practically he ruled in the forest. He being in the forest used to live on forest fruits,

roots and jungle games. The younger brother therefore, the ruler of Askot kingdom, it is alleged that the Rajis are the descendents of elder brother who called themselves *Banrawats* or *Rajis* or *Rajwars*, where as the descendents of younger brother are called *Pals*. In support of their origin from elder brother, they maintain a status of supremacy and do not offer salutation to anybody. Thus from the tradition of their origin the Rajis claimed to have a royal descent.

Racial stock of Rajis

Mr. Traill stated that there is a total dissimilitude of language between the Rajis and Kumaunis, and that the Doms may have been descended from the Rajis - "*the former being, for the most part, extremely black, with crisp, curly hair, inclining to wool.*" This until the present inquires is the only account that has been given on any authority regarding the Rajis, yet Prof. Ritter found in it confirmation of the opinion that a Negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Himalayan and Kuen- Jima. There is no foundation for the statement that the Doms have curly hair inclining to wool. Out of hundreds they have come under notice, not a single one can be said to have any Negroid characteristic, though many are of an extremely dark complexion, like the other similar servile castes in the plains. (Trail, 1954) Dr. Pritchard conjectured that the Rajis would be found to resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himalayan border. All possessing the physical character of the Bhotiyas in general and very unlike the Doms. (Trail, 1954).

Dr. Latham too expresses his conviction that the Rajis are the equivalents to the "Chepang of Nepal" (Atkinson, 1981). Captain Strachey noticed "*nothing very remarkable about them, except an expression of alarm and stupidity in their faces, and they are perhaps darker and otherwise more like lowland Hindustanis than the average kumaun paharis*". Atkinson stated the "*in countenance race and appearance, presently they exhibit mixed physical traits of Aryans, Dravidians and Mongoloids. It appears that the intermingling of different ethnic elements for ages has caused the disappearance of their original racial features*". (Anonymous, 1981).

Distribution of Rajis

Rajis are reported from different parts of Uttarakhand but in Pithoragarh district they have been reported from the nine villages *i.e.* Kimkhola, Ganagaon, Bhaktirwa, Chipalthara, Altadi, Jarntadi, Kuta Chaurani, Madanpuri which falls under Dharchula and Didihaat tehsil. These villages are scattered and dotted in a vast area of about 200 kms. Their habitations are generally at the altitude ranging from 2000' to 5000' above sea level. Their settlements are in accordance with hilly nature and are away from the main habitation because they prefer to live aloof from other communities.

According to the census of 1991 the population of Raji was 494 but the present situation of their population is different from the former. The present data has been collected from door to door survey in July 1997. A classified enumeration of population is not only intrinsically valuable in providing data for statistical estimations of density of population, sex rates, fertility rates and other indices, it is also essential to an understanding of social structure since the organization and functions of kingroups, associations and other social groups will be found to be related to their numerical strength and to be modified with change in that strength.

Table 1 Showing population according to Tehsilwise, blockwise and villagewise

SN	Name of Tehsil	Name of Block	Name of village	No. of households	Total Pop.
1.	Dharchula	Dharchula	Kimkhola	25	112
			Bhaktirwa	03	17

			Ganagaon	17	67
			Chipalthara	09	22
2.	Didihaat	Didihaat	Madanpuri	06	26
			Kuta & Chaurani	17	71
		Kanalichhina	Jamtadi	05	18
			Altadi	10	48
3.	Champwat (District)	Chapawat	Khirdwari	10	44
			Total	102	425

From the above table it is evident that three villages viz. Kimkhola, Ganagaon and Kuta Chaurani have a sizeable Raji population whereas Altadi village has average size of population and the remaining four villages viz. Bhaktirwa Chipalthara, Madanpuri and Jamtadi have a very small population. The population trend shows the sizeable increase in their population during past years. The main reason of their population variation is on account of their cross country relationship as Rajis are also reported to be in good number in Nepal. The villagewise distribution of Rajis according to age and sex is furnished in following table 2-

Table -2 showing distribution of Rajis according to their age and sex.

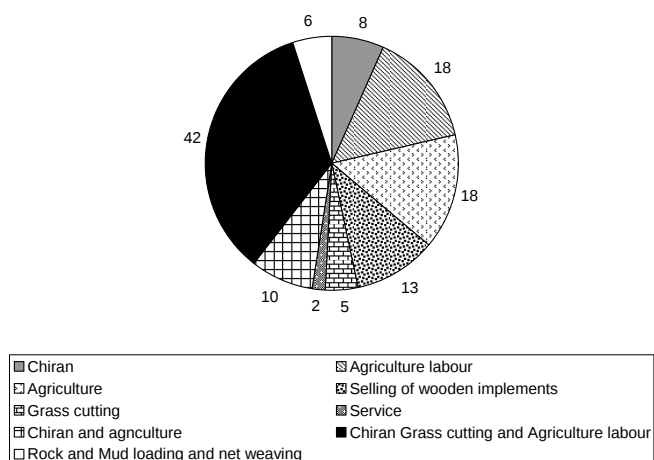
SN	Village	1-10		10-20		20-30		30-40		40-50		50-60		60 above		&Total	Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	Kimkhola	27	21	12	09	07	08	07	06	04	03	03	03	00	02	60	52
2	Bhaktirwa	04	02	02	02	01	01	01	00	02	01	00	01	00	00	10	07
3	Ganagaon	10	06	07	10	07	04	03	03	04	04	02	01	03	03	36	31
4	Chipalthara	02	02	03	01	03	03	01	02	03	01	00	00	00	01	12	10
5	Chaurani	12	13	16	00	07	06	02	04	01	00	00	00	00	00	38	33
6	Jamtadi	01	04	01	02	02	02	00	02	02	01	00	00	01	00	07	11
7	Altadi	09	05	06	00	01	03	06	05	01	01	03	02	04	03	29	19
8	Madanpuri	07	05	03	05	01	00	00	00	02	03	00	00	00	00	13	13
9	Khidwari	08	05	05	06	06	06	03	02	01	01	01	00	00	00	24	20
Total		80	63	55	45	35	33	13	14	20	15	08	07	08	09	229	196
%age		18.8	14.8	12.9	10.5	8.23	7.76	5.41	5.64	4.7	3.52	1.88	1.64	1.8	2.11	53.8	46.1

From the table 2 it is evident that the village kimkhola has the maximum Raji population i.e. 112 whereas village like Bhaktirwa, Ganagaon, Chipalthara, Chaurani, Jamtadi, Altadi, Madanpuri and Khirdwari have 17, 67, 22, 26, 71, 18, 48 and 44 population respectively. Accordingly the percentage of males and females comes to 53.8% and 46.1% Amongst the 0-10 years age group there are 143 children out of which 80 (18.8%) are females. Amongst the age group of 10-20 years there are 100 children out of which 55(12.9%) are

males and 45 (10.5%) are females. Amongst the age group of 20-30 years there are 68 persons out of which 35(8.23%) are males and 33(7.76%) are females. Amongst 30-40 years of age group there are 47 persons out of which 23(5.41%) are males and 24(5.64%) are females. In the same way amongst 40-50 years of age group there are 35 persons out of which 20(4.71%) are males and 15(3.52%) are females. In the age group of 50-60 years there are 15 persons out of which 8 (1.88%) are males and 7(1.64%) are females. Amongst 60 and above age group there are only 17 persons out of which 8(1.88%) are males and 9(2.11%) are females. The largest number of the persons are in the age group of 0-10 years and the least number of the persons are in the age group of 50-60 years and 60 and above category of age groups. Very few people remain alive after fifty years of age. As compared to females, males have a large population among Rajis i.e. 196 females and 229 males thus we can say that the population of Rajis is decreasing as they are suffering from malnutrition.

Table-3 showing occupation of Rajis

S.N.	Occupation	No. of Household
1.	Chiran	08
2.	Agriculture labour	18
3.	Agriculture	18
4.	Selling of wooden implements	13
5.	Grass cutting	05
6.	Service	02
7.	Chiran and agriculture	10
8.	Chiran Grass cutting and Agriculture labour	42
9.	Rock and Mud loading and net weaving	06
Total		102



The above table 3 presents the distribution of Raji folks according to their occupation. Out of 102 households of Rajis 08 households practice Chiran' which is also known as wood cutting in English language. Again there are 08 households which are under the leading agriculture labourers. They have no lands of their own. They work as labour on the lands of other people. Those households which practice only agriculture are 08 in number. They are fully dependent on it. They get sufficient food to eat and sufficient food to sell for their livelihood. As I have written earlier that they are well versed in their wooden craft which is day by day deteriorating but today also there were 13 households which are still making wooden implements and selling them to fulfil their necessity 05 households were reported which were involved in grass cutting and 02 households were reported in which one member of the family is a Govt. servant respectively.

There are some household which supplement their occupation with some other work. They are 58 in number in which 10 households practice chiran and agriculture 42 households practice Chiran along with grass cutting and agriculture labour and 06 are involved in rock and mud loading and net weaving. Last category was seen in the village Bhaktirwa which falls under the tehsil Dharchula. Raji folks are hunters, food gatherers and agriculturalists.

The traditional occupation of Rajis was hunting and food gathering. They were leading a wild life depending upon the forest produce and partly to secure food grains from local villages by bartering their handmade wooden articles of domestic use. Now they are almost leading settled life and depending upon labour and partly upon agriculture with the contact of local people.

Table 4 showing monthly income of the Raji households

S.No	Income/Mth.	No. of households	Percentage
1.	0-500	12	11.7%
2.	500-1000	46	45.0%
3.	1000-1500	22	21.5%
4.	1500-2000	17	16.6%
5.	2000-2500	05	4.90%
Total		102	100%

The above table shows that the income of 102 households was calculated. 12 were reported in the income group of 0-500. In the income group of 500-1000, 46 (45.0%) households were found. In the monthly income group of Rs. 1000-1500, 22 (21.5%) households were reported. Similarly in the income group of Rs. 1500-2000, only 17 (16.6%) households were reported, 5 households (4.90%) were reported in the income group of Rs. 2000-2500. Maximum number of households i.e. 46 (45%) were reported in the income group of Rs. 500-1000 and the least number of households were reported in the income group of Rs. 2000-2500 and the number of households are 5 (4.90%) respectively.

Education Among Rajis

In Raji society five years old child considered as little bit dependent child. The child starts taking milk with glass from the age of four years. Mother teaches her the habits of taking food, toilet training, respect to elders etc. The basic training is given by the mother of the child. Elder people of the family teach the child about cleanliness. Among Rajis 6 to 7 years old child do his work on his own. Elder girls of the family take care of their siblings.

Elder member of the family teaches a child about respective behaviour towards elders of the family and society. Most of the Raji people are below poverty line and this is the main cause that their children does not show any sign of cleanliness.

Informal education is the education which is given by the members of the family of a child. In which mother is the main teacher who teaches her child about language, behaviour, cleanliness, dress, toilet training, basic knowledge etc. She guides the child about right or wrong activities. Family is the unit which makes the foundation of a child future and the future of a child totally depends on his/her basic education which is imparted by his family. A Raji child is not able to enjoy his childhood cause of poverty. Raji parents are not educated so they are not aware towards their child future but all children get total training to become a social animal through the process of socialization.

Formal Education.

From the given table 5 it is invent that out of total population of Rajis only 104 (24.4%) are literate and 311 (75.5%) are illiterates. It shows that above 75% of the population are illiterate. Out of 104 literate no Raji was found educated above primary level except three from kimkhola . In fact Rajis do not want to send their children outside the village. If we calculate the literacy level in the above written nine villages we find that 63 males i.e. 14.8% of the total population are literate and 41 females i.e. 9.64% of the total population are literate. As compared to females the literacy level of the males is greater. In the same way 161 males are illiterate i.e. 37.8% of the total population and 160 females are illiterate i.e. 37.6% of the total population.

Table-5 showing distribution of Rajis according to their literacy and sex.

SN	Village	Literates			Illiterates			Total
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
1.	Kimbhola	24	15	39	36	37	73	112
2	Bhaktirwa	02	01	03	08	06	04	17
3	Ganagaon	12	09	21	24	22	46	67
4	Chipalthara	06	02	08	06	08	14	22
5	Chaurani	03	00	03	35	33	67	71
6	Jamtadi	01	04	05	06	07	13	18
7	Altadi	06	04	10	22	16	38	48
8	Madanpuri	00	00	00	13	13	26	26
9	Khirdwari	09	06	15	11	18	29	44
Total		63	41	104	161	160	321	425
%age		14.8	9.64	24.4	37.8	37.6	75.5	100

The following are the causes which led them towards illiteracy.

- a) There is no facility of schools or any other educational institutions in the village itself.
- b) The schools which are outside the village are quite far form their places that they avoid their wards going there especially the girls because of the forest route.

- c) The marriages of boys and girls takes places at a very early age so they enter into household activities which makes them devoid of education as they have to start with some work for their livelihood.
- d) If some person starts teaching them in their village, then also they will not take advantage of the facility because they are shy and are not open to the outsiders.
- e) They lack trained teachers as it was reported that some institutions were opened which are now closed due to the lack of trained teachers. It was evident from the fact that some persons who claim themselves to be literate don't know even how to write their names properly.

Formal education means the theoretical aspect of the education which is imparted into the children of a society in a preorganized pattern. This education is given to boys and girls in the institution, individually or collectively. These institutions vary in their nature as well as functions. For the education Rajis have schools in or near their villages. The data was collected from nine different villages of Rajis falling under Pithoragarh & Champawat region. The villages have primary schools and junior high school but only Kimkhola was reported as one of the village which has a high school and inter college but it was about 8 kms from the village. These institutions are mostly financed by the governments. This is interesting to note that in all these schools co-education prevails. According to the respondents the schools which were opened inside the village of Dharchula Tehsil were closed because the salaries of teachers were not given on time and it was not sufficient for them. The result was that they were closed and the case related to their salaries is still going in the court. It was also informed that these schools were opened by Hira Lai Vora who is a well known ex political leader. These schools are four in number. The nearest school from kimkhola is '*Ashram Padhiti Ucchatar Madhyamik Vidyalaya*' in Balwakot. This school, as the name implies has a hostel facility and the students are provided breakfast, lunch and dinner, and it includes both the boarding students and the day scholars. This school is upto 10th class. The total number of the students enrolled were 125 (including Bhotias, kumaunis and Rajis) Only seven students belong to the Raji tribe. It was reported that one student Mr. Kaman Singh, had passed his Xth class and now a days he is working as a peon in a leprosy centre at Pithoragarh. The other student, Inder Singh had passed VIIth class and he too is working as a peon in the C.D.O. office. Gagan Singh was reported to be one and the only student after Kaman & Inder Singh who was in class IXth when the field data was collected. Other remaining students were in primary section. One more school only meant for girls was running in Gothi. This school also have boarding facility and it was known as Gothi Balika Vidyalaya Ashram Type School. But no student of Raji tribe was reported from here. The school of Balwakot about is the nearest one but still children are not permitted and allowed to joint the school, by their parents because firstly, the schools are far away from their places and secondly, hill tracks do not allow parents to send their wards alone. The school has a very small staff and they are - K. S. Kathayat, Shamim Ahmad Khan, I.D. Joshi, Asha Naviyal, Shri Shyamlal, B.K. Saraswati and Bindu Gwal. They are placed here through the placement scheme of the U.P. government. This was reported to me that since they are not the residents of Balwakot, most of the time they prefer to live with their family at their native places. They also lack trained teachers especially for the nursery classes as well as for the craft classes. Mr. K.S. Kathyat told me that they are running short of staff members and the school has not enough classes and rooms to make the students adjust. Only a big hall was there which was divided into different sections during the day time and at night they keep their trunks on their desks and after joining them, sleep on it.

The credit for initiating the process of education among the Rajis goes to a voluntary organization called '*Raji Vikas Samitee*'. This organization opened a kind of elementary educational institution called '*Bal Sanskar Kendra*' in the villages of Didihaat Tehsil between

1965-1970 (Joshi 1996). Initially cultural apprehensions inhibited the parents in sending their children to the schools. It was the first experience when the members of a N.G.O. started pursuing and convincing the parents and equally for the parents to come out of the culture shock and send their children to school. The N.G.O. was also ceased to work as they were financially weak and it resulted in closing-reopening-closing the schools in some of the villages until 1978 (Joshi 1996). In 1983, renewed efforts of another voluntary organization '*Seemant Anusuchit Jati - Janjati Sewa Sansthan*' in collaboration with U.P. Directorate of Social welfare, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh saw reopening of villages inhabited by Rajis and by 1986 there were about eight schools to serve their existing 8 villages. To motivate the parents and children, incentives like Rs. 30/- to parents mid day meals, school uniform, reading material and scholarships to children were provided (Joshi, 1996). One teacher and one attendant were attached to each school which was run in a single room building. The supervision of the functioning of the school was jointly done by the N.G.O., Department of Primary Education and *Zila Samaj Kalyan Vibhag*. For that time schools worked very well and almost all the school going children were enrolled in the school. In 1988, the NGO handed over the charge of the schools entirely to the department of social welfare and in 1989 incentives and facilities provided were withdrawn resulting in drop in attendance. This situation was aggravated by the non payment of the salaries to the teachers and the entire educational process among the Rajis was gradually getting paralyzed. (Samal, Topal & Pant 2000)

The total percentage of literates in Raji society is 24.4% and 75.5% are illiterates. Based on the total percentage of literates 14.8% males and 9.64% females were reported. If we calculate percentage of illiterates we decipher that 37.8% of males and on 37.6% of females are illiterates. But very few were found who have passed the level of primary.

But today also the level of education among these people remained confined so far to lower levels though the entire process of education started about 25 years back. This was all because of socio-cultural, ecological and economic conditions of the Raji tribe. The other point which was reported from the village was that the higher education does not exist in the nearby area and the tribe does not have a resource base that would support expenses of their children for higher education staying away from their native village. Though the effort in educating the Rajis are successful, the education has not so far been able to give expected direction to better or alternative livelihood as reflected in their occupational pattern. They are still substantially dependent on forest, wage labour, crude farming system and other unorganized section. Unlike, other neighbouring tribes, Rajis are not being able to take advantage of constitutional privileges. For example Article 16 of Indian Constitution provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment for all citizens irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex, residence etc. However equality of opportunity amongst unequals may in effect mean discrimination. Therefore clause (4) makes an exception and provides for reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward classes of citizens. Specific provision has also been made under article 335 in respect of services and posts for ST's. Each and every village comprises one primary school but the desired results were not obtained.

Vocational Education.

Vocational education was also imparted on Rajis which was specially related to their wooden art and some other training programmes were imposed on them but they were not as successful as they ought to be. Employment generation programme started in the year 1982-83 which includes tailoring, collection of minor forest produces and sericulture, some co-operatives and training in wood craft were also implemented but the desired results were not obtained in the fields of tailoring, sericulture and cooperatives. But to some extent the training programmes in wood craft got popularity among the tribals. The raw materials for the wooden craft were provided to them and the new implements were launched by the

Govt. to save their wooden art from the extinction. Among these centres the 'Training and Production Centre, Jauljibi' got popularity and the maximum population of tribals were reported from this centre for getting new implements, subsidies and training. But later on in the late 1996 this centre was closed due to some irregularities in the centre. Now the Rajis are not availing this beneficiary nor the other training centre one.

The attitude of parents and students towards education:-

Most children seem to be aware of the fact that their future is marked by following the tracks of their parents, where the son grows up to be a man working in their fields earning for his survival and the girl grows up to be married. Not only this, there is a lack of awareness regarding the importance of education but also a lack of proper educational environment which urgently needs to be stressed upon.

Their parents too have different views regarding the education of their children. They don't have any clear idea about the future of their children. They say that Govt. has not gives proper help for the education. Secondly, there is no school situated inside their villages so that their wards can go and study. The schools which are quite far from their villages require full concentration on the children, as the forest hilly tracks are not safe to move alone. There are very few parents preferring to send their wards to schools. These parents mostly belong to those villages who are on lower slopes and not so far from the schools. Some parents are not well off to send their wards to schools but they want their wards to be literate. Life in Rajis is so hard, and the need of hands to cope with the voluminous work both in and outside the household so great, that even children of five or six years of age have to be actively engaged. In an agricultural cum pastoral family, both small boys and girls go to graze cattle, and goats specially in summer and rainy season, when the elders have more to do in the field. Some of the older children have to give hand in the seasons agricultural operations as well. Girls of all families and classes too are taught to become helpful in the household. Under these circumstances parents have to think twice before sending their wards to the school.

Besides, there were other reasons which contributed to the small roll and low attendance of the students in the schools. Some remarked that after education children are becoming 'useless'. They believe that after coming out of the school, the boy could do no more than what other boys of his age were doing. Obviously, the economic condition of the family has been one of the most important factors in determining the schools of children but an equally important point governing children's, education is the number of working member available in the family.

Girl students

Very few girls were found among the students in the schools. This was natural, as the people disfavoured girls education. There were many reasons for this, but the one that was most cited was that the literacy training imparted to students in schools had nothing to do with a girls or woman's traditional duty in the family and society of Rajis.

A married woman or a mistress of the house had to do all kinds of household jobs. The training and practice for these had to be given to a girl from an early age in her parental house, by her mother and other elder women. She becomes a working member of the family and a very essential helping hand, busy with all sorts of daily routine in her parental house. She could not be easily spared from the household for her education. Also it would not be advisable to let her ignore the traditional duty in order to get literacy and other knowledge which would never be of any practical use in life. Many villages argued that as they did not even educate their sons the question of educating their daughters could not arise. And in Rajis there are still more reasons for the parents to overlook the education, of their daughters, who become 'others' property and are generally married off at an early age. After a girl's

marriage, all matters concerning her future are determined by her parents -in-law, who prefers to let her be better conversant with household jobs than have school education.

Factors responsible for illiteracy

There are many factors which are responsible for the growth of illiteracy in the society and they are as following.

- a) Most of the Raji tribals are below poverty line which ceases their hands to spend money on the education of their wards.
- b) Parents are illiterate and they don't understand the importance of education therefore they don't like their children to go to schools.
- c) They are not aware of the educational programmes of the government and their benefits.
- d) They (parents) think that educating their wards is a sheer wastage of money and time both as they have to work in fields in the future.
- e) They don't have schools in their villages. For that they have to come down on the motor road which is not safe for small children after covering a long distance of forests.

Governmental schemes and developmental programmes.

The government has made various schemes to upgrade the standard of education in the Raji villages but not succeeded and achieved the desired target. Educational programmes were started in the year 1982-83. The emphasis was given on the pre primary and primary education. Besides, incentives to guardians and incentives to motivators were planned again in the year 1988-89 it was planned to open eight primary schools in different Raji locality. The same planing was done in the year 1989-90 but some amount was kept for the year 1990-91 and eight schools were opened in different Raji locality. It was reported that 156 students were enrolled in eight different schools. In 1983, renewed efforts of voluntary organization 'Seemant Anusuchit Janjati Seva Sansthan' in collaboration with U.P. Directorate of social welfare, Govt of Uttar Pradesh sawreopening of schools in villages inhabited by Rajis and by 1986 there were about 8 schools to serve then existing 8 villages. To motivate the parents and children, incentives like Rs. 30/- to parents mid day meals, school uniform, reading material and scholarships to children were provided (Joshi 1996). One teacher and one attendant were attached to each schools which was run in a small building.

The supervision of the functioning of the schools was jointly done by the NGQ. Department of Primary education and Zila Samaj Kalyan Vibhag. The schools worked very well and almost all the children of school going age in the villages enrolled in the schools. In 1988, the NGO handed over the schools entirely to department of social welfare and in 1989 incentives and facilities provided were withdrawn resulting in drop in attendances. The situation was aggravated by non payment of salaries to the teachers and the entire educational process among the Rajis was gradually paralysed.

The outcome and efforts in educating this nomadic people was commendable. This achievement was significant for a tribe which was completely nomadic about 3-4 decades back and which has less than 4.0 percent of its population literate about three decades back. But the level of education among these people remained confined so far to lower levels though the entire process of education started about 30 years back.

The major restraints in promoting the education were socio-cultural, economical, ecological, content of education, structural imbalance, supporting services, quality of personnel and administration of educational system etc. It is worth mentioning that these factors were said as constraints in tribal education by the National Committee on Development of Backward Areas in 1981 (Planning Commission, 1981) and are still seen to

some extent. For a nomadic people like Raji, who lived an isolated life for generation, it was natural to suspect the motives of the voluntary organization who initiated the process of education among them. During this preliminary stage of education, the tribe was in total turmoil as they were facing the situation of basic conceptual change in relation to property right, ownership of natural resources i.e. threat to their livelihood based on forest and were also facing the threat to their tradition and value system under the process of acculturation. It was natural that their traditional habits and values deterred the parents to send their wards to schools. It was all due to lack of awareness, non understanding of education and illiterate background of parents or guardians. During this initial phase of education i.e. in early seventies, the school going children were the first generation learners. Their parents or elders neither had any education nor did they appreciate the value of education (Joshi 1996.)

The educational system among the Rajis was an extension of the general educational system highly laden with urban orientation. Though in theory it is argued that learning in the elementary classes should be organized in the form of exploration by the child leading to its higher levels from what he had already picked up from his home, community and environment, in practice this in never followed (Planning Commission, 1981.) The contents of education among the Rajis never took into cognizance, the socio-cultural and environmental backdrop and were rather incompatible from the point of view of language, model curricula, text books etc. Education in the practised form is more or less a kind of mechanism to promote economic advantage and security attaching least or no significance to its qualitative value. The negative contributions of the present education among the Rajis have been reflected in the form that the little knowledge is dangerous. It had led to growth of unemployment and dissatisfaction among the little educated Raji youths resulting in non adherence and disregard to culture and tradition, loss of confidence in self and authority.

Like in other tribal areas of India, among Rajis provision like no fees from the students, free reading materials, scholarships to meritorious students, incentives to parents in the form of cash etc., were made available to the Rajis initially. They were withdrawn later in 1989 resulting in drop of attendance. Also there were delays in the grants and payments to the teachers, which had led them to resorts to agitations. Non payments of salaries to the teachers is still prevailing, leading to partial or complete closure of many primary schools. For example, schools in three settlements are closed while in other three settlements they are partially closed. In addition the schools are run in a single room building which accommodate classes from one to fifth. Only one teacher has to teach the entire five classes. The school also lacked minimum infrastructural provisions. The single teacher in the school, generally recruited from outside, was neither educated enough nor trained to teach the students. (Samal, Topal & Pant, 2000)

Table -3 shows that out of total population of Rajis only 104 (24.4%) are literate and 311 (75.5%) are illiterates. Out of 104 literate no Raji was found educated above primary level except three people of kimkhola village (Dharchula tehsil of Pithoragarh). This achievement was enormous for a tribe which was complete 'nomad' about 3-4 decades back and which had less than 4.0% of its population, about three decades back. The level of education among these people remained confined so far to lower levels though the entire process of education started about 30 years back. This was largely because of socio cultural, ecological and economic specificities associated with the Rajis and their habitat. Secondly, there is no facility for higher education in the tribe or nearby area. Thirdly, the tribe does not have a resource base that would support expenses of their children for higher education staying away from their native village. Thus, though the efforts in educating this nomadic people has been successful, the education has not so far been able to give expected direction to better or alternative livelihood as reflected in their occupational pattern, they are still dependent on the

forest labour and forest produce. Unlike other neighbouring tribe Rajis are not being able to take advantage of constitutional privileges.

The problem of educational development among this nomadic tribe has been very complex. The educational system among the Rajis was an extension of the general educational system highly laden with urban orientation. Though in theory it is argued that learning in the elementary classes should be organized in the form of exploration by the child leading to its higher levels from what he had already picked up from his home, community and environment, in practice this is never followed. (Planning Commission 1981) The contents of the education among the Rajis never took into cognizance the socio-cultural and environmental backdrop and were rather incompatible from the point of language, model curricula, text books etc. The content has also no relevance to the immediate environment and towards enhancing their productive sectors which are primarily the forest and the agriculture. Further the language of the textbooks was in Hindi, which is different from the vernacular language of the Rajis based on Tibeto-Burman family. A large number of children could not proceed beyond primary school. Lack of opportunity for higher education and its application in promoting the quality of life particularly from point of view of economy has made both the parents and children indifferent to even primary education. Non effective administration and organizational failure were the major factors in the defoliation of educating among the Rajis.

Before three to four decades Rajis were totally nomadic, pursuing a life of hunter gatherers taking shelter in caves or temporary huts. Their occupation and material culture are also changing. From hunter gathering stage they have now adopted agriculture but today also they are fully dependent on forest labour, wage labour, and some are still practising nomadism. Few decades back, they used to avoid going to other communities. They were of shy nature, used to hide away in forests from people of the Kumaun and the only relationship it had with the other people was through barter of wooden utensils and implements. The Rajis were famous for the unique practice of invisible trading and were known as the traders of the night. During nights they disguised themselves under barks and skins of animals and go to nearby settlements of other communities carrying wooden implements and utensils, bamboo baskets and other forest produces. They use to keep these materials at the gate of the house or at doorsteps and disappear. These articles were collected and replaced by foodgrains, salt, sugar and other essential material by the household, which were collected by the Rajis in the next night again. Also like the primitives of Africa the Rajis usually kept the forest produces as well as wooden utensils at a distance in the forest or behind the bushes. The local traders or people, acquainted with this practice, would visit the place and replace these products with articles of these peoples need i.e. cloth, foodgrains etc. which the Rajis collected afterwards. This trade of this nomadic people was completely based on mutual belief and trust. With the introduction of forest rules by the government they were forced to leave their traditional pattern of living and adopt a new one i.e. agriculture and allied sectors. With the advent of the agricultural schemes of the government tribal were allotted land for agricultural activities which resulted in their lifestyle and the community is gradually adapting to sedentary agriculture.

Rajis are good artisans and prepare variety of articles of daily and domestic use. Rajis are specially skilled in carpentry and woodwork and earn their livelihood through this occupation as such they mostly prepare agricultural articles of domestic use such as plough, wooden dish, etc. They also work as agricultural labours and as wage labourers during the construction of roads and water channels. With the low levels of training skill and technology that remained largely traditional the tribe lacks employment/occupational opportunities. A majority of the family do not possess any right on the land they cultivate. Reviewing the policies and programmes undertaken during various plans, it is concluded

that efforts so far made for social and economic development of the tribe did not bring about appreciable changes in their livelihood. The plan programs largely failed to take into account the actual needs of this tribal people that are at lowest socio-economic level of development. The major bottlenecks in the program implementation were lack of political will among the decision makers, leakage at the level of functionary, lack of inter departmental coordination and lack of trained and committed personnel. It was felt that to ensure a balanced economic development of the tribe, a different approach would be necessary in the forthcoming initiatives.

The strategy for the development of this tribe needs to be holistic so as to narrow the gap between the levels of development of the tribe and other in the region as well as to improve the quality of community building upon the inner strength of tribal people and improving their organizational capabilities.

The basic components of the strategy may include : a realization and special consideration of the peculiarities of the ecology and environment of the tribe in development policy formulations and planning process, an appreciation of the values of the tribe in the maintenance of ecological balance, apart from its economic values, preference to development programmes rely more on indigenous/ local rather than external resources, emphasis on the area specific development programmes compatible with ecological and social specificities and need for hastening the process of technological transfer. The development process needs lands of different peoples for the holistic approach. The very recently introduced Swarana Jayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna (SGSY) will be, probably, a very successful package in the development of this tribe as it blends all the aspects described above. (Samal, Topal & Pant, 2000).

Conclusion

The problem of education among this nomadic tribe has been very complex. As said earlier in the chapter that the educational system among the Rajis was an extension of the general educational system highly laden with urban orientation, and for this reason it was very difficult for the tribals to accept in full, the developmental programmes in this regard. The contents of the education among the Rajis never took into cognizance the socio-cultural and environmental backdrop and were rather incompatible from the point of language, model curricula, text books etc. The substance has also no relevance to the direct environment and towards developing their productive sectors which are primarily the forest and the agriculture. Further the language of the textbooks was in Hindi, which is different from the vernacular language of the Rajis based on Tibeto-Burman family. And for this reason large number of children could not proceed beyond primary school. Another cause is the lack of opportunity for higher education and its application in changing their quality of life more particularly from the standpoint of economy has made both the parents and children unsympathetic towards primary education. The government, local NGO's, social scientists and powerful political people have to come forward for their development in every respect in connection to the tribe. And for this we need effective administration and organizational success which are the major factors in educating the Rajis.

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The Homecoming of the Gods: '*Devta Laana*' Among '*Jaunsaris*' of Dehradun

Anjali Chauhan²

The Himalayas in India is the abode of several tribes. One of the most chivalorous tribes i.e. the Jaunsaris who live in Dehradun district of Uttarakhand state is known for its exotic religion, supernatural powers, and magic. The tribals are Hindus and the main deity worshipped is called '*Mahasu devta*'. Mahsus are four brothers who are believed to have come from Kashmir region of India. The present paper explains one of the important religious ceremonies held in the area called '*Devta Laana*'. Whenever the people construct a new house or prosper in life, or their wish is fulfilled or a *dosh* occurs they go and invite the *devta* to their house to bless them. On a pre-decided day the ceremony begins from the temple of the *devta* on foot. The entire procession must follow certain rules and regulations. On reaching home there is a series of rituals and customs which are followed. There are certain taboos to be observed during the duration of stay of the *Devta* in the house. The departure from the house depends on the will of the *devta*. During the stay of the *devta* there is celebration and feasting. The entire ritual has been focussed upon and explained in the paper. The data has been collected through empirical study. The researcher was a participant in the ceremony and witnessed the events at a village called Kuwanoo in subdivision Chakrata of district Dehradun. It is indeed a unique and unbelievable, a hair-raising ritual experience which needs to be seen to be believed. One cannot rationalise such religious encounters just keep them for memoirs.

The area and the people

The Jaunsar-Bawar region, which is the home of Jaunsari tribe, spreads over 1002 km² and 400 villages, between 77.45' and 78.7'20" East to 30.31' and 31.3'3" North. It is defined in the east, by the river Yamuna and by river Tons in the west, the northern part

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comprises Uttarkashi district, and some parts of Himachal Pradesh, Vikasnagar subdivision of District Dehradun forms its southern periphery.

The Jaunsaris are one of scheduled tribes of Uttarakhand. Their population according to the recent census 2011 is approximately (1.5 lakhs.) The tribe has a rigid caste system. The Jaunsaris comprise of the *Khasas* (Rajputs) and Brahmins at the top, *Lohar*, *Bajgi*, *Mistri*, *Nath* make up the middle group and the *Dom*, *Chamar* and *Koltas* are at the bottom of this hierarchical structure. The Rajput and Brahmins are the landowners. The *Lohars* are the ironsmiths as well as the goldsmith. The *Bajgi* play different kinds of musical instruments. The *Kolta* are landless labourer and they work for the *Khasa* people. The *Koltas*, *Dom* and *Chamars* are regarded as untouchables and are not allowed to enter the houses of the higher castes. The *Khasas* are not only landowners but they also play a leading role in the society socially and politically. The Jaunsari tribe has a distinct culture neighbouring Garhwali culture, though there is close resemblance with the culture of Sirmour region of Himachal Pradesh. The tribe practiced polyandry in the past but slowly education, social awareness and economic progress is resulting in eradication of such practices.

Religion in Jaunsar Bavar

One of the most striking features of Jaunsar Bavar is the religion. It is Hinduism with a difference. The Jaunsari people are idol worshippers. They believe in ghosts and spirits. Their methods of praying are extremely different from the Greater Traditions of the Hindus. Their life-cycle rituals are conducted very differently. They have their own set of beliefs, calendar and list of festivals. There is a very rigid caste system. The notions of purity and pollution are observed strictly. It is this reason why D.N. Majumdar called their religion as the 'wonder world'.¹

The entire region of Jaunsar Bavar is the Kingdom of Mahasu. He rules the life, words and actions of the people. He acts as a judge, and the people follow his commands with awe and reverence. There are four Mahasu brothers Botha Mahasu, Chalda Mahasu, Bashik Mahasu and Pabashik Mahasu. Each brother's geographical territory is defined. The population of each region follows the respective Mahasu. The four brothers have absolute authority in their own regions and do not interfere in their functioning. But the most powerful one is the Botha Mahasu who is also the eldest of all. All the brothers obey him. Madhu Jain² has argued that Mahasu is the same as Shiva but that does not seem to be correct according to my ethnographic explorations.

Besides Mahasu's Mother Deolarhi Ma there are Birs of Mahasu (who are his guards), some ghosts and spirits are worshipped. They also worship their ancestors. Each village has their own deity also. The *Kaali* is also worshipped throughout Jaunsar Bavar.

All the Mahasu brothers travel across their region. They do so in a *palgi* (i.e. a palanquin) or their *doria* (a measuring vessel called the *thaap*, made of silver and is carved) or sometimes the *jot* (sacred flame) is brought. The *devta* may move in his territory on a routine basis (the cycle of his movement and the route is fixed) or when a devotee invites him specially to visit his house.

'All the *devtas* have their *palgi* but the Botha Mahasu is a static one so he does not go outside the temple at Hanol. However his *doria* has the same divine power and is symbolic of his supernatural, religious and legal authority. *Doria* stands for a bowl, (of medium size), *palgi* (derived from *palaki*) for palanquin / litter and *Jot* (*Joyti*) for light (flame). The last term *Jot* is highly abstracted in the Indian philosophical system. And, the local meaning is not different from that. At that level, it symbolizes the Light of devta which radiates, moves from *devta* to other objects. It can be carried (*Jot Lena*). It is always prone to radiate and diffuse. For, it pervades all. It can be ritually taken from Hanol's or any other Mahasu and can be installed at another place in a Mahasu temple.'³

Why is the *Devta* invited ?

The *devta* may be invited in two conditions, either there is an extraordinary achievement and the people are extremely happy and wish to express their gratitude or when there is some untoward occurrence like the death of a young family member or an epidemic or an accident. In the later case it is said that a *dosh* has inflicted upon the family in other words a sin may have been committed knowingly or unknowingly. In such a case the *devta* shall recognise it and suggest the solution or the corrective method and eliminate the wrong done. It is also seen that sometimes the *devta* himself visits a person to bless him.

Bhatt says that '*Dosh* is a fault, blame, blemish, error, mistake, noxious behaviour with detrimental effects. In brief ,it is an offence against *devta*, Nature and social norms. Offence and noxious behaviour cause imbalance in the existence of life and *devta*.

Dosh and *pap* are akin but with a subtle difference. *Pap* is sin or sinful behaviour. It is evil, wicked, vicious, destructive and accursed. *Pap* karm (sinful act) leads to inauspicious and bad consequences. *Pap* is ethically dressed whereas *dosh* carries a causative definition. Being consequential *Pap* can become *Dosh* as well.'⁴

The *devta* moves with his officials- the *Maali* (speaker), *Vazir* (minister), *Bhandari* (treasurer), *Thani* (keeps the entire cleanliness, maintainence and cooks)

When is the *devta* invited?

The *devta* cannot be invited casually. One has to go to Hanol and meet the *vazir* of the *devta* and seek time. Secondly he can be invited only in the pious months of *margshish*, (November-December) *paush*, (December-January) or in *baisakh* (April)

'Mahasu's *Doria* enters the house of Rajputs and Brahmins only. The members of other castes have to keep out of the house in which the *devta* has entered. The *Harijan* can neither touch nor carry it, nor can they come near it. They offer *dhal* from a respectable distance. After the *Doria* has been taken inside the house of the host (Rajput or Brahman) entry of the *Nath* and *Bajgi* into that house is barred though otherwise, ordinarily, they enter the house but only up to the outer verandah. If a host to *Doria* can afford, he invites his *dai-bhai*, relations (*rishtedar*) and friends for the occasion. Then *Doria's* visit turns into a grand ceremonial festival affair'⁵

How is the date decided?

The eldest male member or the eldest son goes to the *Vazir* (minister) and *Maali* (the speaker) and makes a request for appointment. 'The *Maali* is neither an interpreter nor a go-between. When possessed the *Maali* is incarnate. *Devta* is supposed to descend in the *Mali*.'⁶ It is called *devta utarna* or *Devta khelta hai*. The *Mali* sees the *saaat* (auspicious time).The person gives a one rupee coin (*Rupaya chodna*)

And says *aapne hathon ke jindau de de* (rice is given by mali which is kept safely and shall be delivered when the *devta* will reach the house of the person). 'Rice is regarded as *jindal*, /*jindau*/ *jindaul* which means the existential substance of life'⁷

The Event

On the predetermined date the host goes to the temple with his male relatives and friends. It is to be made sure that no females can be part of this procession. The holy Symbol (*doriya*, or *Palgi*) is given to the person who invited him. From this time the person has to move only bare feet. He has to maintain purity and he cannot put the holy symbol on the ground. If he wishes to go for natural call he will give it in the hands of his companions. The *wazir*, *Maali* , *Thani*, *Bhandari*, *pujari* of the *devta* move on with them in a royal procession accompanied by the ceremonial musical instruments- *ransingha*, *dhol* ,*damanna*, and *karnai*.

On the way if it becomes dark they have to place the *doriya* on a tree .It cannot be taken to any temple. The journey shall continue the next morning. On their way home people of other villages can try to stop them and take the holy symbol first, a kind of mock fight takes place (in olden days it was a fierce fight). However the *devtas* never stops nor does he change his route and goes to the predetermined host's house.

Sometime the people are adamant and they forcibly do so. In such a case they have to pay *dand* (compensation) and the *devta* can curse them too.

The preparations at the Host's house

The notions of purification are observed very strictly. The *devta* prefers to stay in the wooden devadar houses to the modern houses of concrete. So it is those that are cleaned up specially. The entire house is purified with *gaut* (a mixture of milk, cow's urine, *gangajal*, and honey)

On this occasion taboos (ritual prohibitions) are observed. It is to be ensured that no low caste person/or people of other religion is supposed to enter the house. (It is to be noted that the low caste people and the women are not allowed to enter the inner sanctorum of the temple at Hanol.)

Secondly menstruating women should not come in the house where the *devta* has come. When the date is being decided the host makes sure that no women in the house would be menstruating or else the date would have to be changed or the woman should not remain in that house where the *devta* is supposed to come.

The people must not use any leather objects such as belts, purses or shoes nor should they be present in that house.

The host also is required to make sacrificial preparations. At least three to four *bakras* (he-goat), and two *Pathi* (female lamb) are kept ready. Besides the *Prasad* (food offering) for the *devta* is prepared.

The devta arrives

The ladies, men, and children of the village go to the the boundary of the village to receive him. The ladies sprinkle *gaut* (a mixture of milk, cow's urine, *gangajal*, and honey) with twigs of *shwine* (local holy leaves) on the path in their traditional attire.

The traditional instruments like *dhol*, *damanu*, and *ransingha* is played by the *bajgis* or *dhakis* (traditional castes who play them)

The girls are possessed by the goddess *kali* (it is believed that *Mahasu* moves along with *kali*.) They all dance in trance around the *doria* of the *devta* until the *mali* sprinkles rice on their forehead after reading some mysterious mantras.

The *devta* enters the village and stops at the *kaali* temple. The *doriya* is kept on the tree until further *saait* (Sacred time) for entering the house is decided by the *maali*.

The devta enters the house

On the sacred time schedule he moves towards the house. On reaching the house he does not enter through the door like ordinary human beings but through the *Tanak* (the balcony.) He goes to the north east corner of the house. Then the *doria* of the *devta* is kept on a wooden box on which a cloth measuring about one meter is laid out then rice is spread out on it. Thereafter the people and relatives do *Dhal* (Salute), make offerings of silver *chattar*, or 1 rupee. A lamp of cow's ghee is burnt (*Akhand deep*) it should burn continuously for duration of stay of *devta* .Then the *puja* is done . After that the *pudi-halva* *prasad* is distributed .The people dance and celebrate his arrival. Then *one bakra* is sacrificed in the name of the

devta, it is cooked and served late in the night. The people will keep awake and do *jagra* till the holy bell is rung (*namti bajti hai*)

Early in the morning again the puja is done and people of the family do *dhal*. Now the *maali* and the *pujari* sit with family members. The *devta* possesses the *maali* and the family heads ask whether the *devta* is happy. Then the *devta* dicusses about the problems of the family members. The *maali* makes predictions and gives solutions to them. The *pujari* plays the role of facilitator in communicating with the *devta*

The *devta* departs

The *devta* decides upon the time of departure through his *maali* and *wazir*. Again he comes out through the balcony or the roof of the house. Now he takes a round of the house (*gharo barori ki ritai*). At first the sacrificial goat is held in hand, behind him the *Maali* moves with the *doriya*. Again he goes to the *kaali* temple and the people go behind him and leave him till the boundary of the village. One of the male members of the house accompanies him to the next village of invitation.

Analysis

If one analyses the entire movement and manner in which the *devta* is invited and the way he talks, expresses his emotions and gives judgements, there is a treatment of the *devta* as a superhuman who wields supernatural powers. He is a king with his own team of officials. There is a anthropomorphism of the deity which is an amazing fact. 'In religion and mythology, anthropomorphism refers to the perception of a divine being or beings in human form, or the recognition of human qualities in these beings.

Ancient mythologies frequently represented the divine as deities with human forms and qualities. They resemble human beings not only in appearance and personality; they exhibited many human behaviors that were used to explain natural phenomena, creation, and historical events. The deities fell in love, married, had children, fought battles, wielded weapons, and rode horses and chariots. They feasted on special foods, and sometimes required sacrifices of food, beverage, and sacred objects to be made by human beings. Some anthropomorphic deities represented specific human concepts, such as love, war, fertility, beauty, or the seasons. Anthropomorphic deities exhibited human qualities such as beauty, wisdom, and power, and sometimes human weaknesses such as greed, hatred, jealousy, and uncontrollable anger. Greek deities such as Zeus and Apollo often were depicted in human form exhibiting both commendable and despicable human traits.'⁸

The way in which he traverses the entire region one by one it is a Socio-spatial reaffirmation of the *devta's* authority. Wherever he goes people gather for his blessings, no matter how important job they have. The entire distance travelled from Hanol Temple to this village is about seventy kilometre kilometres. When the procession moves it is well received in the villages it passes. Thus the people of the region help each other and share goodwill and bonding.

If the *devta* is coming to any house, the people of the entire *khat* (local administrative unit) make it a point to visit that person's house. This obviously requires very large scale preparations which calls for community action and labour. Thus it also helps in strengthening of kinship bonds and maintaining social solidarity.

The power and authority of the deity was transmitted into a ceremonial *doria*. This symbolism in religious ceremonies is not uncommon.

However one can also see that certain castes are restricted socially from participating directly in the ceremony or from coming near the *doria* or touching it on this occasion. This

shows the rigidity of the caste system which still exists in the minds of the people inspite of the legal ban on such discrimination.

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Study of the Profile of Chinese Outbound Tourists: An Emerging Segment in the Buddhist Sites of Uttar Pradesh

Anupama Srivastava³

Tourism plays an important role in contributing to cultural exchange and sustainable development. Tourism may increase recognition of the importance of respecting cultural diversity and developing an identity as a world citizen. Consumer can play a major role in the transformation of societies towards sustainability. Tourism is heterogeneous in nature, made up of many different types of traveler, seeking a wide range of tourism products. Tourist demand depends on the availability of time and money, on images, perceptions and attitudes. This paper has aimed to give demography's, motivations and behaviors of Chinese tourists visiting the Buddhist sites of Uttar Pradesh. The results of the analysis for the tourist's profile can be used by actors of tourism in the area, who are interested in marketing, planning and development of tourism in this promising sector. Most Chinese who visit these sites in Uttar Pradesh come here for paying homage to Lord Buddha since as their religion is Buddhism or they visit the places as pilgrims. It is essential then to compare religious tourism and pilgrimage before venturing on the profile studies.

Religious tourism

Religious tourism is a significant and rapidly growing segment within the tourism industry. It is sometimes referred to as faith tourism, faith-based travel, or any other religious denomination linked with the words 'travel' or 'tourism'. However, regardless of the name, the inference is that this is a form of tourism that is driven by a given faith. As a sector, religious tourism is not well researched and documented. Few reliable statistics are available regarding its size and value within the tourism sector as a whole, mainly because only a few countries measure tourist arrivals using a classification that refers to 'religion' or 'pilgrimage'. Consequently, most religious tourists are combined with 'other leisure' visitors, with most European countries classifying international inbound tourists into three purpose-of-visit groups: leisure/holiday; other leisure; and business/conference. There are some exceptions to this, mainly in destinations where religious tourism is highly popular such as Saudi Arabia and Israel. In Saudi Arabia, religious tourism is the most significant type of tourism, and consequently the authorities measure it as a clearly defined activity. Another

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common problem with the measurement of religious tourism relates to the inconsistent definition of the segment. Many statistics quoted by destinations and appearing in publications do not clearly identify whether they include only international religious tourists (ie those travelling from one country to another) or domestic religious tourists (ie those travelling to destinations within the same country in which they live) also. This probably generates the greatest misunderstandings when attempting to measure the volume and value of the sector.

Pilgrimage

A pilgrimage is a journey to one's religious sacred land and is thus an act performed out of religious devotion. The individual who engages in such a religious journey is called a pilgrim (Pavicic et al., 2007; Rotherham, 2007; Vukonic, 1996). Pilgrimage is one of the oldest forms of tourism and is an integral component of the tourist industry. Pilgrimage is a journey made by a pilgrim, who travels from place to place, usually journeying a long distance and to a sacred place as an act of devotion (Onions, 1983). Harvey (2000) describes religion as structured, orderly, socially sanctioned ways of reaching out for what people want most. Cohen (1992) raises important ideas, in particular noting relationships between pilgrim and tourist as travellers. Religious tourism – including pilgrimage – is embedded within a complex of heritage tourism and mass tourism activities and the interrelationships are complex.

Buddhism as a religion

The Buddhist cultural heritage has a long and special history that dates back more than 2,500 years and actually unites most of South, South-East and East Asia. The influence of Buddhism can be seen cross all Asian countries in terms of history and culture. Buddhism is a religion, which arose in and around ancient Magadha, India (Bihar), and is based on the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama (born in Lumbini, Nepal), who is known as the Buddha (literally the Enlightened One or Awakened One). It is a philosophy encompassing a variety of traditions, beliefs, and practices largely based on teachings attributed to Lord Buddha. There are two major branches of Buddhism: Theravada ("The School of the Elders") and Mahayana ("The Great Vehicle"). 1. Theravada has following in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka, and Mahayana in west, north and later east throughout East Asia. 2. Initially, Buddhism remained one of the many small sects in India. The main breakthrough came when King Asoka (ca. 270-232 BCE) converted to Buddhism. He organized the spreading of Buddhism throughout India, but also beyond, most importantly to Sri Lanka.

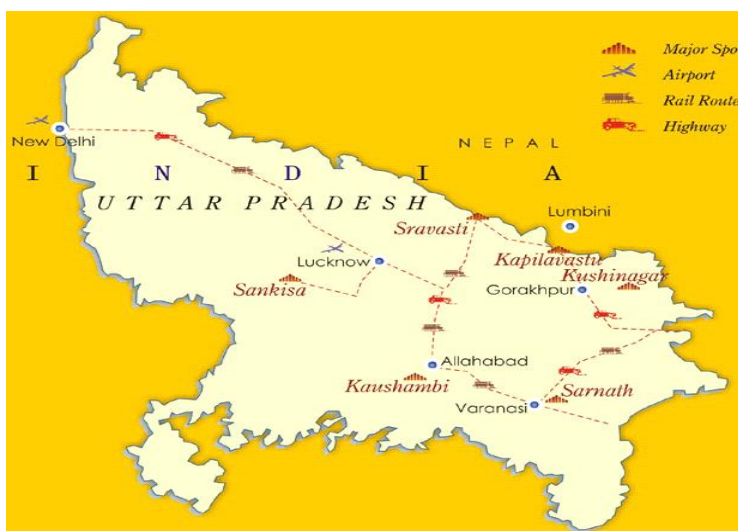
There are several Buddhist destinations all across India which is important from pilgrimage perspective. The four holy places associated with Gautam Buddha in India are – Bodhgaya, where he attained enlightenment; Sarnath, near Varanasi, where he preached his first sermon and Kushinagar, near Gorakhpur, where he achieved Mahanirvana.

At the core of Buddha's teaching are the Four Noble Truths. They are: (1) Life from birth to death is suffering; (2) Craving or desire leads to renewed existence and is the cause of suffering; (3) Craving or desire must be impeded to stop suffering; (4) Enlightenment can be reached by following the Path. It is the desire for self-satisfaction, self-existence and self-advancement that create pain and lead people to the eternal Wheel of Life and Death, from which they will never escape. Human beings are urged to seek emancipation and enlightenment in Buddhism, the superpower, in order to be saved.

Buddhism pilgrimage in uttar pradesh

A pilgrimage route of immense significance to the world's 500 million Buddhists, the circuit attracts religious and secular visitors alike interested in following the Buddha's footsteps across four locations that are now historical heritage sites. Despite the spiritual and cultural importance of the circuit, tourism infrastructure in these destinations remains

relatively undeveloped. The circuit has yet to become a key economic driver for the surrounding areas, which remain some of the poorest in India.



Kushinagar

Located about 53 km from Gorakhpur, the place is famed for its association with Lord Buddha who is believed to have attained 'Maharparinivana'- the highest stage of salvation. Although Lord Buddha is known to have preached his last sermon at Kushinagar in 543 B.C. and the city kept flourishing till about 12th century A.D., it was only in 1861 that extensive excavations at the site led to the resurfacing of the main stupas related to Buddha. Main existing tourist attractions in and around the place are:

- Ramabhar Stupa:** This large stupa, estimated to be about 50 feet tall, is famed as the site where Lord Buddha was cremated.
- Mahanirvana Temple:** This temple features a six meters long statue of Buddha in a reclining position and the statue is a representation of Buddha in his last hours.
- Mathakuar Temple:** Located about 400 yards from the Nirvana stupa, this temple houses a black stone image of the Buddha and has inscriptions dating back to 10th-11th century.
- Watt Thai Temple:** One of the most popular and visited tourist attractions in Kushinagar area, the Watt Thai temple is modeled on the Thai Buddhist architectural style.
- Japanese Temple:** This temple attracts tourists for, among other reasons, its 'Ashta Dhatu' or 'Eight Metals' statue of Lord Buddha. This statue was initially brought from Japan in dismantled form and was reassembled in Kushinagar.
- Chinese Temple:** This temple has a predominantly Chinese architectural style and is designed similar to temples found in China.

Kapilvastu

Commonly referred to as Piprahawa, Kapilvastu is a place with immense historical significance. The place was formerly the capital of the Shakya Dynasty where Lord Buddha was born. The place holds significant value for Buddhist pilgrims and has several Stupas. The archaeological excavations have revealed stone caskets containing relics believed to be that of Buddha. Main existing tourist attraction includes:

- a) **Stupa Complex:** This is the main archaeological site which was discovered during excavations in 1973-74. It is here that old inscriptions were found with references to 'Deoputra' (Kanishka of the Kushana Dynasty), a great patron of Buddhism who built the biggest Vihara at Kapilvastu and renovated the main stupa here. Additionally, this complex is an ASI protected monument.
- b) **Palace Site:** Another attraction of this place is the site of a palace believed to be the ruins of the palace of King Shuddhodhan, the father of Prince Gautam.

Sarnath

Located 10 km from the holy town of Varanasi, Sarnath is one of the most important and revered places that form part of the Buddhist Circuit. It is believed that after attaining enlightenment in Bodh Gaya, Lord Buddha came to Sarnath to deliver his first sermon more than 2500 years ago. Among the number of stupas that were erected here, one of the more famous ones was erected by Emperor Ashoka between the 3rd century BC and the 11th century AD. Major sites include:

- a) **Chaukhandi Stupa:** Believed to have been originally constructed during Emperor Ashoka's reign, the stupa is the first monument encountered after entering Sarnath. The Stupa is primarily made of a mound of bricks and an Octagonal tower surrounds the square edifice.
- b) **Dhamek Stupa:** An imposing conical structure, 28 mts in diameter at the base and 43.6 mts in height, the Dhamekh stupa signifies the place where Buddha delivered his first teachings in the form of the Four Noble Truths. The stupa was constructed by Emperor Ashoka.
- c) **Mulagandha Kuti Vihar:** A modern temple erected by the Mahabodhi Society, the Mulagandha Kuti Vihar is a modern version of the older temple that lies in ruins today. A storehouse of Buddhist literature, the temple also has frescoes by Kosetsu Nosu, Japan's foremost painter.
- d) **Sarnath Museum:** There are numerous sculptures comprising numerous Buddha and Bodhisattva images spread over Sarnath. The Museum houses some of the finest specimens of Buddhist art adjacent to the site.
- e) **Ashoka Pillar:** Ashoka Pillar is one of the most famous and most visited tourist spot in India. It consists of a canopy representing an inverted bell-shaped lotus flower.

Sankisa

The town of Sankisa is located about 47 km from Farrukhabad, and is a place of tremendous importance for the Buddhists. It is believed to be the place where Buddha descended after giving sermons to his mother in heaven. There are ruins of many stupas and monasteries here from ancient. The place is also known for a temple dedicated to Bisari Devi and an excavated Ashokan elephant pillar. There is also colossal Shiva Linga here. A large fair is held at Sankisa in the month of Shravana (July-August) every year.

The Buddha Temple: This temple has become the most important attraction of Sankisa, as it is believed to be at the spot where Lord Buddha was supposed to have descended from heaven. The temple houses a statue of Buddha.

The Temple of Maya Devi: This temple is dedicated to the mother of Gautam Buddha who is regarded as the goddess of fertility by the people here. The walls of the temple bear Buddhist sculptures dating back to Mahayana age.

The Ruins of Ashokan Elephant Pillar: Another attraction of Sankisa is the ruins of the Ashokan Elephant Pillar. The uniqueness of the pillar is the presence of elephants instead of

lions. The elephant is believed to be symbolic of the white elephant of which the mother of Buddha had a vision at the time of conception of Siddhartha (Lord Buddha).

Sravasti

Sravasti (ancient Savatthi), which was the capital of ancient Kosala Mahajanapada, is an important Buddhist destination. Founded by the mythological King Sravasta, Lord Buddha and his disciples stayed and preached for 24 years in Sravasti. This ancient city has several age-old stupas, majestic monasteries and several temples. Some of the existing tourist attractions include:

a) Sahet

Sahet is a place of Buddhist importance and spread over 32 acres of land. The place is believed to be one where Anathapindak, a wealthy merchant, constructed the Jetavana Vihara. The Vihara is a holy place where the Buddha stayed for 24 years in Sravasti

b) Mahet

Located near Sahet, Mahet was once a fortified city whose ruins today include two Stupas.

c) Jain Temple

Another tourist attraction consists of the ruins of a Jain temple, the birthplace of the third Jain Teerthankara, Swayambunatha, which dates back to the medieval era and is a sacred place for the Jains.

d) Monasteries

There are a number of monasteries near Jetvana Vihara such as Sri Lankan, Chinese, Myanmar and Thai monasteries and temples, which perform meditation and other Buddhist practices. Nearby these monasteries lies another tourist attraction consisting of a huge World Peace Bell that was established with the help of the Japanese.

Importance of profiling tourists

One aim of the tourism is to raise the productivity and competitiveness of tourist destinations, private businesses and community organizations, in order to enhance tourist experience. Research into Tourist Profile and Satisfaction Level makes it possible to monitor how tourists perceive the quality of destination services and also serves as the basis for various actions to be taken, both at a government level as well as for private companies to improve various services offered to tourists.

The results of the Tourist Profile and Satisfaction Level can also be used as guidelines on which to base the development of promotional strategies in specific areas such as hospitality, hygiene and safety. They can be used as a reference point to refine the communications infrastructure improvement plans at destinations. The Tourist Profile and Satisfaction Level is based on an interview conducted at the tourist destination, based on a homogenous methodology for the sampling and collection of questionnaires which generate standardized satisfaction indexes by topic. It is important to realize that the management of tourism will be ineffective without an understanding of the way in which tourism consumers make decisions and act in relation to the consumption of tourism products.

Objective of the study

We need to study a tourist profile to be aware of:

- The needs, purchase motives and decision process associated with consumption of tourism
- The impact of the different effects of various promotional tactics.
- The possible perception of risk for tourism purchases

- The different market segments based upon purchase behavior
- How managers can improve their chance of marketing success

Further Tourism destinations appeal to a wide variety of different types of visitors who are often categorised by:

- Demographics
- Attitudes and values
- Type of holiday
- Duration of trip
- Purpose of travel
- Life stage

It is therefore essential that a tourism destination clearly understands their current and desired visitor markets to influence how a destination is developed, managed and marketed. Identifying and understanding a destination's visitor markets involves consideration of the following points:

- It is important to understand not only *who the current visitor markets are* but the *preferred future target market/s* for that destination as highlighted in the Grampians region where market research identified the opportunity to reposition the destination in order to attract the preferred target market;
- The development of a strategic direction for a destination should take into consideration *both the current and future visitor markets* to ensure that both short-term and long-term sustainability goals are achievable; Social trend analysis can be used to identify future visitor demands and potential new target markets for a destination.
- Market segmentation is important in identifying different characteristics and demands of visitor markets and to assist in the identification of a destination's *preferred target market*
- *Market segmentation* can be undertaken based on visitor *demographics, behaviours, preferences and interests*. The aim of better understanding a destination's current and future visitors is to get the best match between the aspirations and expectations of visitors, the host community's aspirations and the potential of the destination. For this reason *psychographic segmentation* (attitudes and values) is becoming increasingly used to find the perfect match.
- Identification of the preferred target market of a destination should be based on an assessment of the market segments against the *destination image, stakeholder vision and goals, product and experience offering*;
- Understanding the destination target market's *needs, behaviours, characteristics, preferences and decision-making processes* is important in developing appropriate strategies for destination development and marketing.

Methodology of research for the study

In realizing this study, a methodology mainly dependent on secondary data was used. A series of secondary sources, such reports from international organizations and other publications were provided through using electronic libraries and other sources like Internet and reports of important national and international organizations. Analysis of Consumers Profile is an Important Tool for Tourism Development. The questionnaire asked to tourists

provided general information on tourist market profile, considering the object of visiting the destination, the information source used.

Justification of Sample Selection: (Chinese Tourists)

The reason for choosing Chinese tourists visiting Uttar Pradesh is inspired by its sheer Buddhist population and the recent positive liberalised changes in its political scenario due to which Chinese are now allowed to travel outside their country.

In the 10 years from 1997 to 2007, the number of Chinese outbound visitors grew from 5.5 million to 40.9 million, averaging more than 20 percent growth each year. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2001) forecast, China will generate 100 million arrivals, ranking fourth in terms of outbound market size in the world in 2020. This will represent 6.4 percent of the global outbound tourism volume. UNWTO revised the forecast in 2007 bringing forward the timeframe by five years, indicating that China will reach the fourth position in 2015 (Tourism Forum 2007, 2007). With an average annual GDP growth of 7-8 percent in the past decade, Chinese have become much better-off and demand more leisure travel as part of their lifestyle. The growth potential of China's outbound tourism has been an area of great interest among academics and the industry in many destination countries.

About 160,000 Chinese tourists visited India in 2013. In 2009, 96,997 Chinese tourists made their way to India, accounting for 1.9 percent of total foreign arrivals in the country. About 41.5 percent of Chinese tourists came to India for leisure, holidays and recreation while 50.4 percent came for business and other professional reasons. A total of 4.1 percent were visiting friends and relatives, according to the Tourism Ministry of India.

Although China came in at 12th among the tourist generating markets for India, it is the fastest growing market with a compound annual growth rate of 16 percent. "The tourism market between China and India is developing really fast and we find the growth potential to be huge," quotes Zhuge Hong, general manager of Sanya Holiday Travel India Ltd. The Hainan-based Chinese tourism agency recently opened its first sales office in New Delhi, aiming to take advantage of the booming tourism between the two biggest Asian countries. Industry analysts predict that by 2020, the number of Chinese outbound travelers will grow to 100 million globally, making China the world's fourth largest outbound tourist market and the largest incoming tourism market. This explains why the Chinese market has become one of the most coveted, especially after India's inbound tourism was hit hard by the global financial crisis as the number of tourists from the US and Europe dropped sharply.

The Indian government opened its tourism office in Beijing in 2008, aiming to woo more Chinese tourists. With the opening of the office, people-to-people exchanges started to pick up, which has helped to heighten awareness on both sides. The Indian tourism office has a dedicated team of agents who have been trained to highlight India's cultural and tourist attractions. As a result, Chinese traffic is picking up for resorts, yoga and religious tourism.

As a close regional neighbour, with an estimated population of 1.3bn, China represents a valuable potential tourist market. However, in 2007 Chinese tourists comprised only 1.4% of total tourist arrivals to India, or 14th in the ranking of arrivals by country. As part of the drive to increase tourism from China, the Ministry of Tourism is running several programmes, including a familiarisation programme for Chinese travel agents and tour operators, and the introduction of tailor-made tours and websites for Chinese tourists. This initiative is likely to provide a valuable boost for the Indian tourism industry, by strengthening links between the two countries. The table below presents the total Chinese tourists visits to India.

Table 1: showing the International Tourist arrivals from China

Country of Nationality	No. of Arrivals		
	2010	2011	2012
China (Main)	119530	142218	168952
China (Taiwan)	23915	25916	31639

Source: Annual Report 2013, Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of India

M.V. Babu, assistant director of the India Tourism Office in New Delhi, said that the tourism office has stepped up an advertising campaign for the Chinese market termed "Walk with the Buddha" to promote sites connected to the life of the religious figurehead. "Buddhism has been the major focus of our promotional efforts to tap into the rising demand of Chinese tourists," Babu said. Zhuge, of Sanya Holiday Travel India Ltd, said that more airline flights will be launched between major Chinese and Indian cities which could substantially increase the bilateral tourism volume. The governments on both sides have also vowed to make the visa application process easier for each other in order to boost the number of travel groups. The possibility thus of attracting the Chinese to visit Uttar Pradesh is immense and as already shown earlier was the fact that Uttar Pradesh is the cradle of Buddhism. The data given below suggests that the Chinese tourists visiting Uttar Pradesh is extremely low.

Table 2: Tourist arrival in key Buddhist Destinations of Uttar Pradesh

Buddhist Destinations of Uttar Pradesh	Tourist Arrivals			
	2005	2006	2007	2008
Sarnath	201725	215911	241891	284510
Kushinagar	13328	14128	26349	41638
Kapilvastu (Piparhawa)	18888	17566	18253	18483
Sravasti	28642	75428	75553	80757
Sankisa	5000	6000	195	210

Source: Uttar Pradesh Tourism Report

Notwithstanding the huge Chinese market it becomes extremely pertinent to profile these visitors so that future endeavours to increase the market size can become a reality.

Results of the study

The profile studies of the Chinese tourists first begin with the information on the significance of Buddhism for the people of China to understand why they should/would be motivated to visit India. The key factors shaping the trends and patterns of outbound international tourist flow from China explain the outbound tourism phenomenon in China. The result also outlines the socio-economic environment, cultural backdrop, state politics and other macro-issues. By understanding how these factors interact and affect China's

outbound tourism, the study will contribute to the understanding of outbound tourism as a whole, to India and to Uttar Pradesh.

Buddhism in china

Buddhism originated in India and took root in China during the Tang Dynasty 1,500 years ago.

Buddhism inspired men to undertake journeys, either in quest of the teaching at its source or, on the other hand, to carry the word to those suffering in ignorance abroad. The most famous of all was probably Hsuan-tsang (or Sanzang in pinyin), a Chinese monk who left Chang-an (known as Xian today) in 629 and spent more than a decade in Central Asia and India. When he returned to Chang-an in 645, he is said to have come home with 657 Buddhist books, 150 relics, and many images and pictures; he is usually portrayed carrying all this on a huge baggage rack strapped to his back. (Meskill 1973: 96).

In Hsuan-tsang's book "A record of the western regions", he gave a detailed account of conditions in India and its adjacent regions. His pilgrimage captured the imagination of many Chinese for centuries, and was developed as a novel called "Journey to the West" in the 1570s, and became one of the four classical novels of Chinese literature.

In an influential paper on pilgrimage, Turner says that there are two major types of motivations in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage, "... *hsu yuan* and *huan yuan*. *Hsu yuan* is the making of a wish before the God with the vow that, if the wish should come to be realised, one would come back to thank, worship and offer sacrifices.

Huan yuan is worship and sacrifice to the God as an expression of gratitude after the wish had come true" (V. Turner, 1973, pp. 197-198). Both these then become the reasons that motivate people to engage in Buddhist pilgrimage.

Chinese people pay respect to and worship multiple supreme powers; they always seek help from supernatural powers and *hsu yuan* is a form of rite, a process to pray for blessings and for being free from disasters, sufferings, to pray for getting something from any divinity or

In a Buddhist context, there are probably different terms to differentiate between the two groups of visitors - those who are in search for enlightenment versus those who are simply asking for favours from divinities. According to Venerable Master Hsingyun, "To believe in Buddhism, one must progress from beseeching, believing in and worshipping the Buddha to studying Buddhism and doing as the Buddha did to become a Buddha, which is the highest faith of all" (Hsingyun, 2005, p. 79).

The meaning of undertaking a pilgrimage for a Buddhist practitioner - as opposed to a mere worshipper - is to put all of Buddha's teaching into practice. Along the pilgrimage journey, one should maintain a mindset of being always in a serene state, with no sorrows and fears, by realising that emptiness is the real nature of everything. When one truly understands and applies this mindset along the journey, there is indeed no favour that one needs to ask for. A pilgrimage is then a process to awaken and practice inner Bodhi-wisdom (*prajna* 般若), the Buddha's intelligence, in order to achieve spiritual contentment and Buddhist enlightenment.

In such a Buddhist context, those who undertake a journey to a Buddhist place with the motivation of asking for a favour that concerns this lifetime's needs are still at the elementary level of learning Buddhism and perhaps they are called something else other than pilgrims (Hsingyun, 2005, 2006; Karmapa, 2008; Too, 2003).

The following literature review shows the huge interest among different countries and regions beginning 2001.

Behaviour of Chinese Tourists

Most studies on China's outbound tourism can be found only recently in and after 1999, when Chinese tourists become more noticeable and there is mounting interest in the potentially huge Chinese market. Mok & DeFranco (1999) developed a conceptual framework of dominant Chinese cultural values that influence the behavior of Chinese travellers. The six cultural values are: "respect for authority", "inter-dependence", "group orientation", "face", "harmony", and "external attribution". The authors suggest that understanding the cultural values and how they shape preferences and expectations is the first step of any business that wants a share of the Chinese market. The authors come up with the following eight hypotheses concerning Chinese tourist behaviour:

- Chinese tourists are likely to engage in shopping activities on their trips;
- Chinese consumers are more likely to be influenced by opinion leaders than westerners;
- Chinese consumers are more responsive to relationship marketing techniques;
- Chinese consumers are likely to be more consumer conscious than westerners;
- Tourism services consumption decisions for individual Chinese are the result of group decisions;
- Chinese consumers are less likely to complain to tourism suppliers about their dissatisfactions than westerners;
- Chinese are likely to be less responsive to advertisements that are openly critical of competitors and their products and services;
- Chinese consumers are sensitive to products and services that concern numbers.

Wang & Sheldon (1995) provided one of the earliest studies on China's outbound travel market, examining its determinants, trends and characteristics. The study found that the booming economy and the resultant emergence of a upper-middle class have made outbound travel financially accessible to larger sections of the population. The liberalization of policies and regulations from both China and its destination countries also pave the way for the growth. The authors analysed the economic and political factors underlying the growth, and concluded that if the expansion was to continue, given that no major economic or political shifts occur, certain strategies need to put in place...

First, as long as demand exceeds supply, it is recommended that more travel agencies handling outbound travel be created. Second, it would be advisable to streamline application procedures, including the possibility of paying for the package in China instead of in the destination by a relative. This would enable those who have no relatives in the destination area to travel. Third, further liberalization of restrictions for leisure travel is recommended. This would include cooperation with destination countries and regions on entry policies to facilitate travelling. Countries such as the US have been reticent to remove restrictions because of the concern that travellers may stay in the destination rather than returning home. (p. 52)

Zhang & Heung (2001) in their study of the emergence of the mainland Chinese outbound travel market suggested that the development follows the classic "ripple effect". The effect of outbound travel over time becomes more geographically distant, like dropping a pebble into a pond. The first ripple is the growth in domestic tourism. The second ripple is

outbound travel to Hong Kong as a proximate destination. The third ripple effect comprises intra-Asia travel. The fourth wave refers to travel beyond Asia. The authors suggest that in promoting a particular destination to China, it is important to highlight the destination features that would appeal to the Chinese visitors. The authors see the growth potential of outbound tourism in China under two conditions...

It is likely that the outbound travel market will continue to grow, provided that economic growth in China continues to raise people's incomes, particularly those of the middle class. A second provision is that the Chinese government does not continue artificially to limit outbound travel. If these two conditions are met, and they are certainly not guaranteed over the short term, there is no reason why China's outbound travellers would not become a major regional and global force, shaping the travel industry market in the next decade and beyond. (p. 12)

Arlt (2006) published the first ever book on China's outbound tourism. It discusses China's outbound tourism from the following angles: economic and social development, government policies, profile of Chinese travellers, motivations of Chinese travellers, marketing by National Tourism Organizations in China and the future development of China's outbound tourism.

China has a relatively short history of about 20 years of recorded outbound travel. The growth of outbound travel became significant in 1997, when China issued the "Temporary Regulations on Chinese Citizen Self-paid Outbound Leisure Travel", which signified the beginning of leisure travel. The temporary regulation was later superseded by the "Regulations on Chinese Citizen Outbound Leisure Travel" in 2002. "Self-paid" was removed from the title of the regulation, probably because by then it was commonly understood that Chinese citizens paid for their own travelling and no longer relied on travel expenses being paid by someone outside of the country. In order to better recognize the trends and patterns of outbound travel, it is important to understand the historical, socio-economic and political context of the tourism development. The geographical context of China's outbound tourism is also important because the economic and social situation in such a large country is uneven. Some regions are more advanced in terms of economic growth and travel experience, whereas other regions are less developed.

China's outbound international tourist flows in recent years will be compared with situations in Japan, Korea and Taiwan in the era when travel bans in the respective countries were lifted. Similarities and differences in the outbound travel patterns and travel policy in these countries will be discussed. The existence, trend and effect of suppressed travel among the four source markets will be compared and investigated. It seems possible that there is suppressed demand for outbound travel as the result of regulations on such travel and administrative obstacles to outbound travellers. How was the pent-up demand in China different to that in Japan, Korea and Taiwan?

Socio-economic environment of china

The factors in the socio-economic environment that are considered to have an effect on China's outbound tourism are: household income, education level, trade balance, leisure time, foreign exchange control, inbound tourism, use of credit cards, accession to World Trade Organization, restructuring of state-owned enterprises, Chinese populations outside of China, Beijing Olympic Games 2008 and Shanghai World Expo 2010. The above factors are discussed in this section.

Household income

Both urban and rural household income has increased steadily since the "open-door" policy was implemented in China. Per capita annual net income of rural households increased from RMB 709 in 1991 by four fold to RMB 3,255 in 2005. Per capita annual disposable income of urban households increased from RMB 1,701 in 1991 by more than six

fold to RMB 10,493 in 2005. As a result of the faster income growth in urban areas, the gap between urban and rural household income is widening. In 2005, urban household incomes were on average 3.2 times larger than those of rural households.

Education level

The level of education in China has improved steadily in the past decade. As an indication of education levels, the percentage of the population enrolled in higher education increased from 0.24 percent in 1995 to 1.19 percent in 2005. With an increasing level of education, more and more people in China will want to travel outside of the country for leisure purposes, for personal fulfilment or for economic reasons.

More leisure time

The “holiday economy” concept has been identified by the government as a means to boost the national economy, and the domestic tourism industry was the first to benefit from the implementation of more holidays. There is now more free time available in China, which makes leisure travel outside of the country feasible. China has been practicing a five-day week since 1993, and Golden Week holidays were introduced in 1999. The three Golden Week holidays are: Spring Festival in February; Labour Day in May and National Day in October. Together with Saturdays and Sundays, there are 117 days of public holiday in a year. Chinese citizens are encouraged to take their annual leave during the Golden Week holidays, making the three weeks the peak travel time, both for domestic and outbound tourism.

Relaxation of foreign exchange controls

The control on the amount of cash allowed to be carried by a Chinese traveller leaving the country has been relaxed from time to time. The current limit on foreign currency is US\$ 5,000 cash, and the limit on Chinese currency is RMB 20,000 cash (equivalent to about US\$ 2,500). The relaxation of foreign exchange controls is further exacerbated by the fact that renminbi are now freely convertible to Hong Kong dollars in Hong Kong and Macau, and most shops catering to Chinese tourists in Hong Kong accept renminbi. This phenomenon of renminbi being freely convertible in Hong Kong and Macau is significant because 70 percent of the departures have either Hong Kong or Macau as the destination.

Conclusion

It is evident from the above observations that if Uttar Pradesh has to optimise the opportunities presented by the Chinese market it needs to integrated all those elements that would encourage this market to visit the State. The destinations should be developed keeping in mind the profile of the Chinese outbound market. The destinations especially the Buddhist sites could be a major pull for Chinese pilgrims and religious tourists.

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Effect of Recreational Exercises on Emotional and Behaviour Problems among Juvenile Delinquents

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Abstract

Since earlier times, the population of juvenile delinquents has faced many challenges of deviant behaviour and emotional issues. Researchers and authorities have tried many feasible methods to correct these issues. Early theories of sports and recreation have provided that recreational exercise and physical activities help to correct emotional and behavioural problems. Current study aims to investigate the effect of recreational exercises on the juvenile delinquents' emotional and behavior problems. Fifty (50) juvenile boys, age ranging between 14-17 years were randomly selected as subjects from Government Juvenile Home (Boys), Mathura. They were divided randomly into two groups of 25 each, namely recreational exercises group and control group. Subjects' behavior was rated by their supervisors on 'Emotional and Behavior Problem scale (EBPS) developed by McCarney & Arthaud (2012) in pre and post intervention sessions. As intervention, subjects were administered with selected recreational exercises for a period of 12 weeks. Paired samples t-test was used to see the significance of difference between pre and post scores. In recreational exercises group mean scores on EBPS at pre-test (50.88 ± 9.93) were found higher than the mean scores at post-test (45.28 ± 8.40). t-test indicated statistically significant change in these scores ($t = 9, p < .001$). This study concludes that recreational exercises reduce emotional and behaviour problems and enhance well-being, mental focus, mood, attention, and stress tolerance among juvenile delinquents.

Key words: Juvenile delinquents, Recreational exercises, emotional and behaviour problems

Introduction

Juvenile delinquency or juvenile offence has been a domain of study for many years (Rutter and Giller 1983). The word 'juvenile delinquency' is most frequently used in modern era to signify the problem of juvenile agitation and offences. The term 'juvenile', is derived from a Latin word 'Juvenis', that means young and it refers to boys and girls who have not attained an age of majority (18 years). The term 'delinquency' is derived from Latin word 'delinquere', a combined form of 'de' (away from) and 'linquere' (to leave) (Glueck and Glueck 1950). It was, in earlier times, often referred to as the failure of an individual to perform a task or a duty. In other words, we can say that 'delinquency' is more a 'fault' than a 'crime'. (bprd.nic.in/writereaddata/linkimages).

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Young children behave according to the environment they live in (Mullineaux, Deater-Deckard et al. 2009). When environment of a young child is depressing, stressful or traumatic, he or she shows problematic behaviours that resemble his or her environment (Robins 1966). The studies suggest that all children go through some type of crisis in their life, but the high-risk crises are the ones that have the most influence on a child and can lead a child's life towards negative outcomes (Bagley and Ramsay 1986). In recent years, considerable time, thought, and attention have been given to the study of juvenile delinquency and to its probable causes and solutions. As a result of such investigations, it is widely agreed that delinquency is complicated and has many causes. Therefore, it does not appear that any single solution or one-sided approach to the problem of delinquency is enough to tackle (Anderson III 2014). Unfortunately, many of children are being raised in highly stressed families in this contemporary world. Consequently, child abuse and neglect is increasing dramatically (Kumpfer and Bayes 1995). Delinquent children generally show behaviours that are inappropriate for the society which they might commit habitually such as anti-social and harmful activities e.g. truancy, staying out late, stealing, robbery, wandering aimlessly or vagrancy, challenging attitude, bullying, smoking, drug addiction, drug trafficking, telling lie, teasing, forgery, suicide, sex offences and the like (Vadackumchery and Kattakayam 1995; Fry 2012; Black 2013). Youth violence, Delinquency, alcohol and drug abuse, forming or joining gangs, early sexual involvement, and other problematic behaviours could also be counted as for grave concern (Lerner and Galambos 1998; Thornberry, Lizotte et al. 2003).

Leisure and recreation by the involvement in physical activity has become an area of growing interest in present years. Researchers have begun to recognize the role of participation in sports and physical exercises and, consequently, there has been an increase in the number of studies related to this field (Fink, Trail et al. 2002). Specifically, participation in physical and outdoor leisure and recreational activities have been associated with increased happiness, lower levels of depressive symptoms and life satisfaction (Menec 2003), and improved health and social functioning (Drakou, Tzetzis et al. 2008). Furthermore, involvement in physical exercises may promote active lifestyle and associated health benefits (Davison and Lawson 2006). Participation in recreation exercises and regular physical activities has been associated to reduced depressive symptoms, decreased stress and anxiety, improved self-concept, self-esteem and self-acceptance, changes in anti-social behaviour, and enhanced psychological well-being. Recreational exercises and physical activities also improve self-efficacy and sense of competence. Physical exercises are not only helpful in combating obesity, but they have also been helpful in maintaining lower stress levels and a healthier self-image (Harrison and Narayan 2003), improved self esteem (Ransdell, Dratt et al. 2001) and overall physical health (World Health Organization, 2010)

It has been recognized that recreational exercises and physical activities are valuable tools in preventing children's deviant behaviour since the earliest days of the playgrounds and recreation movements (Parish-Plass and Lufi 1997). The basic prediction is that social results are influenced by recreational exercises, and that these exercises can be used as a control mechanism for children's deviant behaviour (Conrad 1975). This is evident in many of the early theories of sports and recreation activities. This attitude forms the early practical and theoretical basis for the link between recreational exercises and the problems of children (Law, King et al. 2006). Over the years, research studies have suggested that a positive influence could be exerted on children through physical activity and recreational exercises. Physical activity and recreational exercises have also been shown to facilitate the development of children and to play an important role in influencing behavioural problems and in preventing or reducing risk (Scully, Kremer et al. 1998; Law, King et al. 2006).

Recreation could be defined as being all those socially acceptable activities that a person selects to do in order to make their leisure time more interesting, more enjoyable, and more personally satisfying (McKay, Reid et al. 1996). It is the time when a man could, if he would, understand and master the forces inside and outside himself for a happy, orderly and peaceful living. It is an opportunity for the mind to look back with an inward eye on its long and arduous journey. These are the moments of deep insight, of subtle and fleeting glimpses, into the workings of the world; the moments of stepping aside from daily affairs to gain a sense of balance. Researchers studying leisure, parks and recreation have an important role to play in addressing active living and health issues (Henderson and Bialeschki 1993).

The main objective of a recreation program is to give the children a chance to exercise and recreate which would physically wholesome, mentally stimulating and socially sound. Recreational exercises may also have a favourable effect on development of mood, boredom and character. Particularly, in adolescents' lives, boredom is showed as an important factor because of its links to loneliness, hopelessness, depression, and distractibility. Boredom has also been associated to the use of alcohol among college and school students and to deviant behaviour at school. Children who participate in suitable recreational activities have been able to decrease the symptoms and remain themselves away from deviant behaviours (McKay, Reid et al. 1996; Witt and Crompton 1996). Apart from this, building healthy bodies and acquiring precious skills, participating of children in recreational exercises can protect them from emotional and social problems (Ross and Roberts 1999).

The current study takes a quantitative approach to identify the effectiveness of recreational exercises in reducing the symptoms of emotional and behavioural problems amongst the population of juvenile delinquents.

Methodology

The study was formulated as a true random group design, consisting of a pre and post-test. Fifty (50) subjects, age ranging 14 to 17 years were selected from Government Juvenile Home (Boys), Mathura. They were divided into two groups of 25 each through randomization with MS Excel. Group 'A' acted as recreational exercises group and Group 'B' acted as control group. Subjects of group 'A' were administered with recreational exercises and group 'B' was under control, not to perform any interventional activity, for a period of 12 weeks (five days a week) at juvenile Home. The subjects' behavior was rated by their supervisors on 'Emotional and Behavioral Problem scale (EBPS)' before as well as after the administration of the intervention. Paired samples t-test was used to see the significance of difference between pre and post scores. The level of significance was set at 0.05.

Training program of recreational exercises:

The intervention program was delivered to the subjects in the following format.

Day	Recreational Games	1 to 4 weeks	5 to 8 weeks	9 to 12 weeks
Monday & Thursday	Musical chair & Blindman's buff	30 minute	40 minute	50 minute
Tuesday & Friday	Dodge ball & Burning balls	30 minute	40 minute	50 minute
Wednesday	Stole the meet & Lemon race	30 minute	40 minute	50 minute

Subjects of recreational exercises group were administered with selected recreational exercises. They performed above selected six recreational games as recreational exercises. Two games were played every day and each game was played for 15 minutes in the beginning. There was 5 minute rest between the games. Duration of games was increased after each four weeks for specific time as per the schedule.

Administration of EBP Scale:

EBP scale consists of 32 items which assess different dimensions of emotional and behavioural problems. The scale is used by an independent assessor who observes the subject and rates their behaviour. In our study, juvenile observation home supervisors were appointed as assessors who assessed and rated each subject individually. The assessment procedure for each child was done twice, once before the delivery of intervention and once after the intervention. The EBPS scores were recorded in SPSS software for statistical analysis.

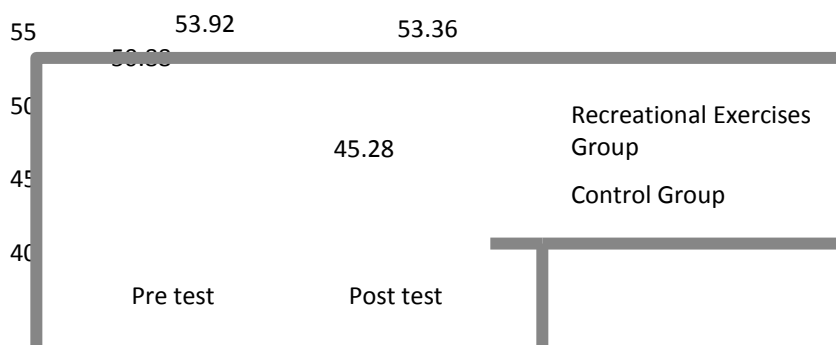
Results:

Comparison of means between pre and post test of both the groups

Group	Mean		Mean difference	Standard Deviation		t	(p)
	Pre	Post		Pre	Post		
Recreational Exercises	50.88	45.28	5.60	9.93	8.40	9.00	<.001
Control	53.92	53.36	.56	12.53	12.22	1.53	.139

Paired samples t-test was used to see the significance of difference between pre and post mean scores of recreational exercise group and control group. Results indicate that there is significant difference exists between the pre-test and post test scores in emotional and behavior problems. The mean values of control group in pre and post measurement do not show any statistically significant difference. Thus the experiment suggest that the reduction in the symptoms of emotional and behaviour problems has occurred specifically due to our intervention i.e. recreational exercise program.

Fig.1: Graphical representation of Mean of emotional and behavior problems of both the groups.



Discussion

The health benefits of recreation and physical activity for the general population are well established. For children and youth, the health benefits are equally important. While the level of benefit can depend on the kinds and amount of activities (in this case, we are referring primarily to physical activities), it is generally recognized that moderate bouts of activity throughout a child's day can be beneficial. The benefits for children lie in the fact that physical activities can help control childhood obesity, lower elevated blood pressure and improve children's overall health and growth (Ewing, Seefeldt et al. 1996)

In addition to building healthy bodies and acquiring valuable skills, children's involvement in cultural and recreational activities can protect them from emotional and social problems (Ross and Roberts 1999). Participation in recreation and regular physical activity has been linked to improved self-concept and self-esteem, reduced depressive symptoms, decreased stress and anxiety, improved self-acceptance, changes in anti-social behaviour, and enhanced psychological well-being. Exercise and physical activity also improve self-efficacy and sense of competence. Early play experiences with parents, for example, teach physical control, skill and social competence. A supportive coach or supervisor in a recreational setting can also provide children with similar benefits vis-a-vis skill development, competence and self-esteem (Ewing, Seefeldt et al. 1996) Recreation can also have a positive effect on boredom, mood, and character development. Boredom is viewed as an important factor, particularly in adolescents' lives, because of its links to depression, hopelessness, loneliness, and distractibility. Boredom has also been linked to alcohol use among college and high school students, to smoking among high school students, to deviant behaviour at school, and to over-eating. Youth who participate in appropriate recreational activities have a decrease in leisure boredom and subsequently and a decrease in deviant behaviours (McKay et al, 1996; Reid, 1994; Witt, 1996). While participation in recreational activities was excellent, only marginal spillover effects on school performance or behaviour in the home were observed. It was generally felt, however, that the children had improved their overall level of skill development and had an improved level of self-esteem (Offord et al, 1992).

The Ottawa study and others have established a clear and statistically significant link between participation in recreational activities and changes in antisocial behaviours. Police charges against juveniles and security violations were seen to decrease considerably, as did the number of fire-related telephone calls (Jones and Offord 1989; Offord, Hanna et al. 1992; Ewing, Seefeldt et al. 1996).

Conclusion

The obtained data suggested that recreational exercises help in reducing inappropriate behavior and depression and increase the feelings of satisfaction, self-confidence, well-being and self-control among juvenile delinquents. Recreational Exercises work on the brain and therefore on the mind and emotional levels of the child, helping to re-establish harmony. On the basis of statistical analysis of data it was concluded that 12 weeks of recreational exercises caused significant reduction in emotional and behavior problems among juvenile delinquents.

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Carpet Industry and Economic Liberalization: A Social Work Perspective

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Abstract

The carpet industry provides opportunities to almost all sections of the society i.e., workers, designers, contractors, exporters and above all to the consumers irrespective of caste, class, gender and religion. The establishment of carpet industry, need and demands of new technology paved the way for skilled, technical education in designing. The openings of institutes are in abundance which in turn provides opportunities to the adults who are educated and interested in such jobs and also to those who opens such institutions. Moreover, China and other countries highlighted the issue of child labour through photographs of children working in various small units of carpet industry. In the words of exporter, since it is skill, therefore, one has to learn from the childhood. The neglected attitude of our Government in 1990s and issue of child labour causes the downfall of the hand knotted carpet work and carpet industry as a whole. The current study is ethnographic approach to collect primary data. The collection of data become possible through interview with workers, contractors and exporters involved in the carpet industry.

Key words: Hand Knotted carpet, tufted machine, Social Resource Map, Ethnographic approach

Introduction

The people of Bhadoi since centuries have been using their dexterous fingers to make *kaleens* (carpets) into which they weave their dreams (Syeda, 2012). The enthusiasm of weaving dream is an art more than the profession. In 1984-85 the work of carpet on tufted sheet started from Mirzapur. The places such as Bhadoi and Mirzapur together account for over 65 per cent of India's carpet exports. Companies give contract per month to about 20-25 contractors. A small contractor usually takes contract of 250-300 square yard carpet and a big contractor takes contract of 2500-3000 square yard in a month as per the availability of workforce. A contractor requires skilled workers to complete a target. The contractors, therefore, are essential part of the whole process.

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A number of companies are there for the purpose of carpet export. Every year exporters used to come to Delhi 'Trade Fair'. The exporters have their showrooms at various places within the country and outside in America, Egypt etc. The phase of 'export boom' continued till early 2000s. Since then export has entered into a new phase which is characterized by an overall decline in the production and exports of hand knotted carpets. The production of hand knotted carpets is very labour intensive and time consuming. The demand for hand knotted carpets in the international market has declined due to changes in consumer tastes in favour of cheaper, less durable, and modern design carpets rather than more costly, long lasting, and traditional design carpets. The new preferences of the US markets were in favour of tufted carpets and durries which are cheaper where as the German market used to absorb mostly hand knotted carpets of Persian variety. In recent years there has also been a shift in consumer preference in German market towards hand tufted carpets. Change in consumer taste also accompanied the slump in the market. There has been a general decline in carpet exports despite the growth in the tufted variety. The present slump has affected all the sections involved in this business. The labour force was affected because their real wages declined and stagnated. On the other hand, the profit margins of the entrepreneurs also declined severely (Venkateswarlu, D, Ramakrishna & Mohammed Abdul Moid, pp.8-11)

Thus, the ethnographic approach on carpet industry in the current study looks in to the system of carpet industry by interviewing workers, contractors, expert designers, exporters and the livelihood opportunities and hurdles for them. The current study focuses on weaving skills and opportunities of local population and carpet making as an international import and export business and its challenges. The investigator visited for the collection of data about hand knotted work, its current status in market, training, competition, changing scenario and the adaptability of technology for more production and related challenges since economic liberalization in India.

Objective of the Study

The assumption is that women work with more sincerity and without diversion during their working time. The accepted fact is that women are better in hand knotted carpet work because of their soft fingers. Thus, involving women of SHGs for the work can be a good initiative for micro-finance development. The objective of the study, thus, is to find out the process of business in hand knotted carpet work. The second objective was to find out its prospect for backward and marginalized sections of society. The current study intended to learn about and evolve opportunities to the members of Self-Help Groups.

Research Design

The ethnographic study on carpet industry has been conducted using methods of Social Resource Map and personal interview. The social resource map was drawn with the participation of workers whereas personal interviews were conducted with contractors, expert designers, trainers and exporters and workers too. The workers were willing to participate in the process of study. Hence, the investigator used only one method of PRA (Participatory Rapid Appraisal) i.e., social resource map for identification of units of carpet industry and accessed by transect walk/travelling in the city. Thus, the actual locations of the carpet industry and its working, repairing, workshop and training units were identified. The investigator approached across Mirzapur city to personally observe and conduct interviews. The investigator took interviews by visiting four carpet making units, one carpet repairing work unit, one handloom workshop unit, two offices of carpet unit, one *lachchi* converter unit, one household handloom unit and one exporter's company at Bhadoi. The exporters, designers, contractors were not made part of social resource map. The limited spare time and competition in the market keep them confined. Most of the exporters were reluctant to interview. The principle of confidentiality of social work has been applied to keep the

promises committed to the interviewee. The contractors designers and exporters were ready to let record their names in record dairy but reluctant to give photographs of their carpet designs. The unwillingness to share photos of carpet design was due to the cut-throat competition in the market.

Participatory Rapid Appraisal method

A Social Resource map was drawn with the participation of carpet unit workers. The social resource map guided in accessing the place for observation and conducting interviews. The keys have been shown on the left side of the figure. A few landmarks such as Mirzapur jail, Railway station, river Ganga, railway track, highway across Ganga has been drawn in map with the cooperation of the participants (Appendix, Figure 1).

Market Challenges: Understanding the Context

The competition was with Iran at the stage of initiation of carpet industry. The Iranian carpet industries, however, have still not adopted new techniques and remain dependent upon old techniques. The past experiences during the tenure of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1970s are noticeable. She herself visited Bhadoi and pledge to provide incentive and subsidies to carpet industry. As a result, hand knotted carpet touches the peak, thus, leaving behind all the other countries as competitors in the field. The downfall in hand knotted industry began particularly with the initiation of New Economic Policy in 1991. With the initiation of the era of economic liberalization, the less costly Chinese carpet products invaded Indian market. Presently, the main competitors are China and Pakistan. China and Pakistan has adopted new techniques and consequently adapted themselves to the use of computers for designing, clipping machines and others. This adaptability intensified the production and profit in carpet industry. These countries came into competition with hand knotted carpet because of the incentives, subsidies provided in those countries. The availability of cheap and fancy carpet attracts more customers in India and the world. The countries like China adopted market strategies to condemned child labour as against the belief and practice of exporters that hand knotted work is an art and need to be learnt from childhood. According to one of the exporters, up to 40% incentives and subsidies on trade in Pakistan and China are provided to carpet industries for its fullest growth and development. The Indian Government, on the other hand, evaded its interest and paid negligence which grossly affected hand knotted work. It grossly affected carpet industry. Now retailers directly bought items from shopping malls in the city. Prior to that trend the importers bought and provide it to the retailers. The backdrop presented an opportunity to take interviews with varied strata of people engaged in the process of carpet making. The first interview was conducted with designers.

Interview with Designers

Designing comes before weaving. The designers earn by designing on the paper. They adjust appropriate colour for attractive look to model design. The place called 'Khamarya' in the district Bhadoi is one of the centre of designers and a number of designers are available. They usually design by hands. According to one of the designers, designing course is available in Mirzapur city using computers. The course generally takes six months or one year and learns designing skills. Moreover, the computer printout is costly than design by hand. There is exception in learning through work experience. The companies like HAG Pvt. Ltd. Eastern Pvt. Ltd so on and so forth have their designer who designs. The designers go to various places to design and this is performed by micro mirror. One simple design could be prepared in a single day and cost Rs. 100 for 1 yard size of the design. On the other hand, complicated designs cost Rs.150 per yards and such design takes two to three days. The designers not only design but also fill it with colours. The design for tufted carpet is easy to make in comparison to the design for hand knotted carpets which take too much time.

Interview with Trainers

According to a trainer, learning skill requires time. The gun tufted work in carpet industry can be learnt depending upon the mental capacity of a beginner. A sharp minded person can learn simple design work in 7 to 10 days while complicated design can be learned in at least 30 days. The 4 ply (number allotted to the wool) takes no more time while 2 ply take time and is in much demand. Almost 1 square yard (3X3 feet) work could be completed in a day. The carpet industry also involves women. According to him there is only one difference in work between male and female. Women work in slow manner with more sincerity. Thus, involving women of SHGs for the work can be a good micro-finance development. Women are in more numbers working in Jaipur, Agra, Shahjahanpur and in Chinese carpet industry. Women indeed are better in hand knotted carpet work because of their soft fingers and sincerity. Girls and women are also provided training at training centers.

Interview with Contractors

According to Mr. Siraj, the agreement is made between contractors and exporters; therefore, contractors have to complete the task within agreement period. With a view to facilitate the process of manufacturing carpet on time, some companies provide white sheet to the contractors. However, contractors find it profitable to either purchase or manufacture required white sheet. The scissors are available in the market and trainers could be accessed on fare basis. To acquire more profit, contractors generally install white sheet manufacturing unit, scissors manufacturing machine and their own expert trainers. These experts are concerned with the modification of scissors, frame, wool etc. The expert used to sharpen and repair defective scissors. For the purpose of manufacturing scissors, the contractor owns their private scissor machine. Thus, they can manufacture the scissors at minimum cost. Scissors, if manufactured at contractor's workplace, it may cost less than the market price. The contractor generally own machine for scissors; however, they have to purchase parts of scissors whereas the complete scissors could be purchased from the market depending upon the quality. There are other benefits as well. The waste material ousted at the time of finishing kept automatically collected in a box attached to the clipping machine. The waste can be used as manure, in tent house items like (pillow, mattress) etc and separated white wool can be used in making new wool. Further, waste material can be mixed with silk and used in sewing and manufacturing low quality blanket. This waste material is usually sold out of Rs. 1 per kg in rainy season while in the winter the cost raised up to Rs. 3 to 5 per kg. The white wool separated from the wastage may cost Rs. 12 per kg.

Interview with Exporters

According to one of the exporter Mr. Abdul Qayyum, the exporters are facing shortage of experts in hand knotted work, therefore, opened their own training centers. The training centers provide training to the trainees from Bihar, Assam, Orissa and other parts of Uttar Pradesh. All types of incentives, accommodation and facilities of food are being given by exporters to the trainees during training course. They can learn hand knotted work maximum in 6 months. The trainers at the centre are skilled enough to provide training to people of other countries. Thus, 20 skilled trainers from Mirzapur had gone to impart training to the Egyptians. This enhances awareness about the beauty and demand of hand knotted carpet work in developed countries. The countries like New Zealand, Australia, and offshoot countries of erstwhile USSR, South American countries like Argentina and others manufacture wool. Moreover, Middle East and Indian wool is also in the market. However, the best quality wool is manufactured in New Zealand and he always prefers wool from New Zealand. He exports most of his manufactured product to USA. Indeed, 50% of the total carpet production is exported to USA. While the remaining 50% goes to the European countries like Germany, Spain, Switzerland, London, Belgium, France and others.

Interview with workers

The interaction with the workers such as *Santosh*, *Kamal*, and *Sipahiya* in industries shared that working hour starts from 9 o'clock in the morning and end up at 6 o'clock in the evening including one hour lunch interval to the workers. They work at night if demand increases and earn more for over-time work as per square yard. Workers are paid as per square yard of work. The workers shared that the sheet used for manufacturing tufted carpet is called white tufted sheet. The scissors or gun tufted machine as it is called used in tufted carpet. The scissors are called *Kaichi* in local language whereas frame is called *Khaddi* and differs from one to the other. These machines are of different shape and quality. The shape of the machine depends upon the mode of the woolen thread. The nozzle of scissors used for 2 ply is minute while the nozzle for 4 ply is broader than the nozzle of 2 ply scissors. The maximum length of a frame is generally considered 10/14 and minimum is of 3/5 feet. The cost of the frame, therefore, differs from one another according to the size and quality of the material used. The wool is provided to the contractors by the company. Local industry people called the wool as *Kati*. The cost depends upon the quality of wool. The contractors give woolen *lachchi* to locals in the neighbourhoods (*mohallas*) to unfold. The local females irrespective of age used to make woolen ball out of *lachchi*. They usually take the help of *Charkhi* in converting the *lachchi* in to woolen ball. *Charkhi* is made up of iron plates. The cost of one *Charkhi* in the market is Rs.70-80. The locals earn Rs. 3 or 5 for converting 1 Kg woolen *lachchi* into balls. Normally every company provides the contractor extra 100 gram wool on 1 yard carpet work. The contractors fetch profit out of the extra wool provided by the company. They save it and sell it to the local shopkeepers. The shopkeepers, in turn, sell it on certain amount of profit.

Interview with workers on Health Hazard

Malaysia is the largest producer of rubber in the world. In India, the state like Kerala is the largest producer of rubber. The care taker at a unit shared that latex chemical is made from liquid extracted from rubber plants. This chemical is mixed with chemicals like dispulsor, CMC powder, CMC liquid, Sulfur, white *mitti* etc as per the requirement. The latex chemical spreads on back side of carpet and a sheet is placed on it and kept for almost five hours in sunlight to dry. The winter season takes less time in drying the carpet in comparison to rainy season. The clipping machine is used to furnish it. A sharp iron rod used to create space between two lines of different colours. The work of sewing is done from all corners of the carpet. The worker makes corrections in the carpet during the process. They shared that dust and tiny spare particles of wool causes problem for health. He, however, shared normal working hours doesn't cause harm to the health. Those who engage in extra work during night throughout the month usually found sick at least for a week. The carpet industry does not create harm to the health of those involved. Latex chemical is also not completely harmful as now it does not mix sulphur which is poisonous in nature. The tufted carpet does not have longer life to throw away usually in water resources which indeed harm to the environment.

Analysis of Interviews

The carpet industry provides employment and earning opportunities for exporters, contractors, trainers, designers, workers and local people in the vicinity of carpet industry. For instance, a worker can easily earn Rs. 80 per day and more than Rs. 100 if over time is done. They receive their money on monthly basis in between 5-10th day of the month. The workers are paid money as per their need on every Saturday after the work. According to one of the contractor profit is less now since 2000 when he initiated carpet work. By 2001, in Bhadoi and Mirzapur, there were around 850 exporters. At present only 40% exporters are in the market competition. As a result only 10% hand knotted carpet work remains and, 90% tufted, gun tufted, silk and other carpet work is in prevalence. The hand knotted carpet is indeed costly. One square fit carpet generally cost Rs. 5 thousand. The hand knotted carpets

are prepared as 8/10, 9/10 in size and manufacturing takes minimum 6 months to be completed. Indeed, profit declines as the rate of dollar falls. Every year before 25th day of December all completed work assignments have to return to the exporters. The contracts are allocated again to the contractors in last week of January. Thus, work in the period in between 25th December to 25th January usually moves in slow pace. In return to the manufacturing of scissors, contractor will have to pay to the experts. Approximately Rs. 5,500 is given to the trainer per month. On the basis of discussion and personal observation of the investigator it was assessed that a worker in carpet industry inhales not more than the quantity of dust particles an ordinary person consumes on daily basis. Thus, it justifies that there are little hazards for worker's health.

Conclusion

All revolutions disrupt the traditions and customs of people. Indeed, they threaten peoples' very safety, security, and even identity. The world revolution, that is, globalization in some measure threatens the security of every people on the globe. It is not only to be expected that the impact of such disruption and threat exacerbates the conditions of groups that are already excluded, vulnerable and are at the margins of society (Radhakrishnan, 2009). The participant observation through ethnographic study and its subsequent analysis reveals clear impression about the benefit from all tiers of carpet industry. On the basis of carpet work availability at indigenous level, people find an alternative to live a dignified life and excel in the field of social, economical and educational spheres. Such a social groups leaves no space for the vested interest to create havoc in the society. But the policies of the government in the time of economic liberalization, in turn, created havoc in the lives of earning hands. The growing competition in the market as well as the campaigns against the child labour in a headlong way crumbles the whole indigenous skilled work in these cities of eastern Uttar Pradesh. In totality, it could be said that it is a field which provides opportunities to the people at their door step, however, according to their capacity and capability. Apart from this, the carpet industry of Mirzapur is in competitive era with the other states manufacturing carpet by using information technology and digital use of electronic resources.

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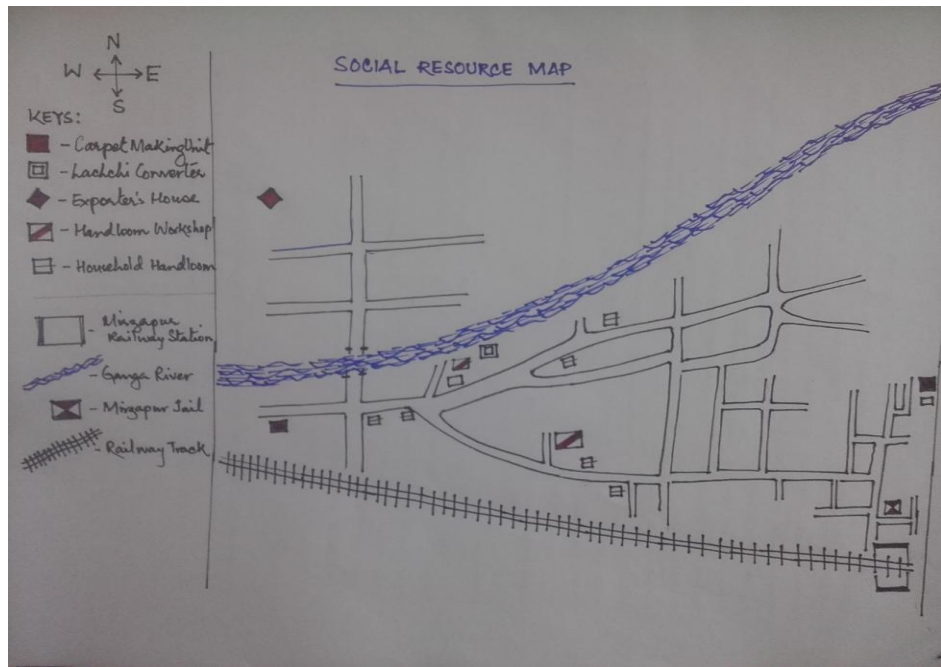
Notes

The social resource map under PRA (Participatory Rapid/Rural Appraisal) approach does only require indicators in the form of keys and does not require mentioning of names of

the places. The map mentioned the keys to understand the available carpet related resources in Mirzapur and Bhadoi.

Appendix

Figure-1. Social Resource Map



(Source: Fieldwork: Carpet units and landmarks)



Book Review The Tourist Gaze 3.0

Anupama Srivastava⁴

This third edition is published by SAGE Publications Ltd, London, Los Angeles, Washington DC, New Delhi, Singapore, on September 19, 2011

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This book is a classic guide to critical tourism studies useful to scholars and students across the social sciences and humanities. It takes the readers on a detailed tour of the major concepts and approaches to one of the world's largest culture industries. With fresh insights and new materials written revision will immediately become required reading for those who pay attention to the world of travel, mobility, and visual culture. This book is one of the most influential books in tourist research and meets the challenges of a changing world of tourism encouraging the lively contemporary debates in the field. The impressive updating in response to theoretical debates is matched only by the response to the profound shifts in tourism itself, its markets, technologies and organisation. This third edition of *The Tourist Gaze* radically restructures, reworks and expands the two first editions to make this book relevant for tourism researchers, students, planners and designers in the twenty-first century. The original chapters have been thoroughly updated. Outdated data and studies have been deleted, new studies and theoretical concepts have been incorporated.

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The book constitutes of nine chapters with chapter one titled as 'Theories'. The second chapter is on 'Mass Tourism' and the third is based on 'Economies'. The fourth chapter is about the service providers and is titled 'Working under the Gaze'. The next and the fifth chapter explains the 'Changing Tourist Cultures'. The sixth chapter takes into the account of roles of 'Places, Buildings and Design' on tourism and leads to the next chapter titled 'Vision and Photography'. The eight chapter is based on 'Performances'. The last and the ninth chapter takes an account of 'Risks and Futures'. Chapters are supported by numerous case studies.

CHAPTER 1. Theories

The first chapter is basically a review of works been done by eminent contributors in building foundations on tourism and is aptly titled 'Theory'. This discusses about pleasure, about holidays, tourism and travel, about how and why for short periods people leave their normal place of work and residence. Gazing according to the authors refers to the 'discursive determinations', of socially constructed seeing or 'scopic regimes'. The chapter is about how in different societies and especially within different social groups in diverse historical periods the tourist gaze changes and develops. They elaborate on processes by which the gaze is constructed and enforced, and consider who or what authorise it, what its consequences are for the 'places' which are its object and how it interrelates with other social practices. They observe how the gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non tourist forms of social experience and consciousness. By considering the typical objects of the tourist gaze one can use these to make sense of elements of the wider society with which they are contrasted. According to them Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. In this chapter they consider the development of, and historical transformations within, the tourist gaze. Making theoretical sense of 'fun, pleasure and entertainment' the authors say has proved a difficult task for social scientists. In this chapter they have summarised some of the seminal contributions to the sociology of tourism. According to them, tourists show particular fascination in the 'real lives' of others that somehow possess a reality that is hard to discover in their own experiences. Modern society is therefore rapidly institutionalising the rights of outsiders to look into its workings. Hence, the gaze of the tourist will involve an obvious intrusion into people's lives, which would be generally unacceptable. So the people being observed and local tourist entrepreneurs gradually come to construct backstages in a contrived and artificial manner. They argue in this book for the fundamentally visual nature of many tourism experiences. Gazes organise the encounters of visitors with the 'other', providing some sense of competence, pleasure and structure to those experiences. The gaze demarcates an array of pleasurable qualities to be generated within particular times and spaces. Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary. Tourist experiences involve some aspect or element that induces pleasurable experiences which, by comparison with the everyday, are out of the ordinary. Gazes range from seeing a unique object, the seeing of particular signs, seeing unfamiliar aspects of what had previously been thought of as familiar, the seeing of ordinary aspects of social life being undertaken by people in unusual contexts and finally, there is the seeing of particular signs that indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so. Authors quote that "Gazing is a set of practices. Individual performances of gazing at a particular sight are framed by cultural styles, circulating images and texts of this and other places, as well as personal experiences and memories." They emphasise the systematic and regularised nature of various gazes, each of which depends upon social discourses and practices, as well as aspects of building, design and restoration that foster the necessary 'look' of a place or an environment. Such gazes implicate both the gazer and the gazed in an ongoing and systematic set of social and physical relations. Thus they categorise gazes as

spectatorial, reverential, anthropological, environmental, mediatised and the family gaze. The analysis of globalisation has thus ushered in some momentous reconfigurations of the tourist gaze. There has thus been a major shift from a limited range of tourist gazes in the nineteenth century to the proliferation of discourses, forms and embodiments of tourist gazes now. In a simple sense, the authors say "we can talk of the globalising of the tourist gaze, as multiple gazes have become core to global culture sweeping up almost everywhere in their awesome wake."

CHAPTER 2. Mass Tourism

The second chapter on mass tourism is devoted to examining the historic development of tourism revolving around industrialization in England, taking the readers through the world wars and into the modern world and how the tourist gaze has been affected. It analyses why the industrial working class came to think that going away for short periods to other places was an appropriate form of social activity. It examines the reasons that led to the development of the tourist gaze among this industrial working and the revolution in experience, thinking and perception that led to tourism as a momentous modes of social practice which according to the authors represents a kind of 'democratisation' of travel. They observe that travel had been enormously socially selective, available for relatively limited elite and marker of social status. They point out that in the second half of the nineteenth century there was an extensive development in Europe of mass travel by train and later how in the twentieth century the car and the aeroplane further democratised geographical movement. They suggest that "as travel became democratised so extensive distinctions of taste came to be established between the different places to which people travelled, which became markers of social 'distinction'." Major differences of 'social tone' were established between otherwise similar places and some such places like the new working-class resorts, quickly developed as symbols of 'mass tourism', as places of inferiority. They examine their development because this was the first mass tourism to occur. During the eighteenth century in Europe there was a considerable increase in sea bathing as the merchant and professional classes began to believe in its medicinal properties. At that stage it was just for adults with little association between sea sides and children. The beach was a place of 'medicine' rather than 'pleasure'. The development of these new resorts by the seaside was spectacular. The authors historically prove that by 1911, 55 per cent of people in England and Wales took at least one trip to the seaside. In addition, there was rapid urbanisation, with many small towns growing incredibly. This produced extremely high levels of poverty and overcrowding. As work became rationalised the hours of working gradually reduced with of longer breaks of week-long holidays. A further precondition for the growth of mass tourism was greatly improved transportation As the market developed, so wealthier holidaymakers went elsewhere looking for superior accommodation, social tone and tourist gaze. The pattern was soon established of holidaymakers repeating visits to the same resort. In the inter-war period many developments affected the development of the tourist gaze within Britain. The growth of car ownership, considerable development of air transport and a strong growth of the holidays-with-pay movement supported tourism. Thus by the Second World War there was widespread acceptance of the view that going on holiday contributed to personal replenishment. Everyone according to the authors become entitled to the pleasures of the 'tourist gaze' by the seaside. An entire section details how this gaze came to be organised and how different resorts came to specialise in providing the tourist gaze and related services to distinct groups in the social hierarchy. In this chapter the nineteenth-century origins of English seaside resorts have been examined and authors have tried to bring out just how crucial this development was. In the twentieth century places by the sea emerged all over the world, modelling themselves on these early mass resorts with many new features to gaze upon.

CHAPTER 3. Economies

The relations between the tourist gaze and those industries that develop to meet that gaze are complex and in this third chapter on 'Economies' the authors have attempted to connect the two. They state that most tourist services are delivered at the time and place at which they are produced thus the quality of the social interaction between the provider of the service and the consumers is part of the 'product' purchased by tourists. In recent years there has been enormously heightened competition to attract tourists. So while the producers are to a significant extent spatially fixed, in that they have to provide particular services in particular places, consumers are mobile, able to consume tourist services to some degree on a global basis. The authors note that the industry is inevitably competitive since almost every place in the world could well act as an object of the tourist gaze. They emphasise on the quality of the social interaction between producer and consumers of tourist services means that tourist developments are not simply explicable in terms of 'economic' determinants. A thorough examination has been done on a range of social and cultural changes which transform people's expectations about what they wish to gaze upon, what significance should be attached to that gaze, and what effect this has upon the providers of relevant tourist services. This industry has normally necessitated considerable levels of public involvement and investment, and in recent years this has increased as all sorts of places attempt to construct or reinforce their position as favoured objects of the tourist gaze. In this chapter attention is directed to some developments in the changing political and cultural economy of the tourism. This chapter includes how 'globalisation' produces further shifts in the production and consumption of tourism sites – especially through the emergence of global brands and internet. The distinctive feature of the experience economy is that services need to be more than just mere 'services', and need to be somehow pleasurable and memorable. The concept of Disneyization as a strategy is introduced. This allows businesses seek to increase the value of goods and services by transforming them into differentiated experiences, 'magically' making the ordinary extraordinary. They observe that increased leisure time people, especially young people, are increasingly moving away from the standardised package holiday and seeking different leisure activity which has been further developed by the popularity of low-budget airlines. A further indicator of the networked nature of tourism economies is the proliferation of international internet-based reservation websites which are very visible on the internet when browsing for cheap air tickets or hotels. These sites are time-effective, create transparency, comparability and informed choice in a virtual world of many choices and disparate sites, they allow flexible and individualised travel patterns. Systems affected through the internet permit customers to 'self-serve' themselves with airline tickets and other standardised products. The authors also consider the organisation of the tourist industry more generally through examining some aspects of the social relations between hosts and guests. They examine ways in which tourism services and experiences are divided by class, gender and ethnicity and how gazing is also inflected by divisions of gender and ethnicity. These interconnections they say 'are important in forming the preferences that different social groupings develop about where to visit and in structuring the effects of such visits upon host populations and the fashionability of different sites.' These are important because most tourist practices involve movement into and through public space where people both gaze at and are gazed upon by others. The effects of tourism are complex and contradictory. There has been much discussion about the desirability of tourism as a strategy for economic development in developing societies. They finally discuss issues about developing countries that conceive tourism as a development strategy and suggest that there are serious economic costs, as well as social costs that need to be addressed.

CHAPTER 4. Working under the Gaze

In the chapter on 'Working under the Gaze' the authors have analysed various aspects of the tourist gaze and noted that the gaze can take different forms, relating to the kinds of organisation possible of the tourist-related industries that develop to meet such different gazes. They consider in detail the complex relationship between two elements involved in the provision of tourist services. The practices of tourism they say are highly structured by distinctions of taste. Such practices lead people to want to be in certain places, gazing at particular objects, in the company of specific other types of people. To fulfil this the authors have observed that many services are provided and performed under conditions of profit maximisation. Various contradictions may develop between the practices and the industries that have emerged. Such industries of transport, hotels, property development, catering and entertainment are all concerned with the provision of consumer services and are sometimes known as the 'hospitality' industry. The authors quote that *'Furthermore, the tourist gaze is structured by culturally specific notions of what is extraordinary and therefore worth viewing. This means that services provided, which may of course be incidental to the gaze itself, must take a form which does not contradict or undermine the quality of the gaze, and ideally should enhance it. This in turn poses, as we shall see, immense problems of managing such industries, to ensure the service provided by the often relatively poorly paid service workers is appropriate to the almost sacred quality of the visitors' gaze on some longed-for and remarkable tourist site'*. The authors have examined the significance of 'performative labour' for delivering services and say that since labour is itself part of the service product, this poses particular issues for management. This leads to a situation where employees' speech, appearance and personality are treated as legitimate areas of intervention and control by management. The authors argue that there is a theatre-like character to frontstage service encounters and that 'good' service requires managerial scripting and skills of 'acting', both by following a script and through improvisation. Much service work they say is difficult and demanding, under-recognised and relatively under-rewarded. The quote that *'One can think of this workplace as a stage, involving a mix of mental, manual and emotional labour. Staff are chosen because they possess the right sort of cultural and aesthetic capital, they have to be informal, young, friendly, with the right sort of body and skills to produce appropriate emotional performances during the course of each evening'*. The authors have in this chapter examined many aspects of the so-called 'hospitality industry'.

CHAPTER 5. Changing Tourist Cultures

This chapter opens doors to changes in the nature of especially western societies over the past few decades. The authors argue that there has been a reversal of the long-term process of structural differentiation by which relatively distinct social institutions came to specialise in particular tasks or functions. There has been a dissolving of the boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism, art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture. They emphasise that mass communications have transformed the tourist gaze which is increasingly bound up with, and is partly indistinguishable from, all sorts of other social and cultural practices. The authors briefly have outlined the historic developments of these shifting patterns beginning from the 1980s till date. Because of the importance of the visual, of the gaze, tourism has always been concerned with spectacle and with cultural practices which partly implode into each other. Most tourist activity they say has been thoroughly anti-auratic and based on mechanical and electronic reproduction. They also consider how one key characteristic of postmodernism, Part of postmodernism's hostility to authority is the opposition felt by many to mass treatment. The service-class preference for the 'real' or the 'natural' can also be seen in the increasing attraction of both visiting the countryside and protecting it. They examine the work of Feifer who has proposed the notion of 'post-tourism'.

She highlights that the post-tourist does not have to leave his or her house in order to see many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze, with TV, video and the internet, all sorts of places can be gazed upon, compared, contextualised and gazed upon again. The distinctiveness of the 'tourist gaze' is lost as such gazes are part of a postmodern popular culture and most important, the post-tourist knows they are a tourist and tourism is a series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience. The pleasures of tourism stem from complex processes of both production and consumption. The authors then emphasise the socially constructed character of the tourist gaze, that both production and consumption are socially organised, and that the gaze must be directed to certain objects or features which are extraordinary, which distinguish that site/sight of the gaze from others. The development of post-tourism transforms these processes by which the tourist gaze is produced and consumed. Thus, holidays have become less to do with the reinforcing of collective memories and experiences, especially around family and neighborhood, and more to do with immediate pleasure. As a result, people keep demanding new out-of-the-ordinary experiences. So in this chapter has explored some major shifts in contemporary culture which has been expressed in terms of the move from the modern to the postmodern.

CHAPTER 6. Places, Buildings and Design

The sixth chapter on 'Places, Buildings and Design' an examination of the impacts of cultural shifts upon places, buildings and design has been made. It is also concerned with the places that are made and remade through the different forms of the gaze of such tourists. A particular physical environment does not in itself produce a tourist place. It has to be designed into buildings, sociabilities, family life, friendship and memories. They quote that *'Places emerge as 'tourist places' when they are inscribed in circles of anticipation, performance and remembrance. In this chapter we thus de-centre tourist studies away from 'tourists' and on to the networks and discourses that enable or perform various places. Places are thus (re)produced through tourist performances that are made possible through networked relationships with other organisations, machines, and especially buildings'*. The authors in this chapter consider various connections between buildings, their design and the places that tourists may gaze upon, consider questions of heritage and especially the look of heritage buildings and finally, they examine the changing character of museums and especially the designing and using of postmodern museums. Readers have been also introduced to two specific aspects of contemporary architecture: theming and malls. The authors show that much theming revolves around the tourist gaze. Many shopping malls have now become major tourist attractions. Developments of this sort also represent the changing nature of public space in contemporary societies. The authors introduce world fairs as another themed environment which are enormous international tourist attractions. Rather than tourists having to travel worldwide to experience and gaze upon different signs, they are conveniently brought together in one location. The authors also consider the increasing popularity of museums and assess the significance of the heritage industry and subsequently of museums to contemporary tourism.. the authors argue that how people gaze within museums has significantly changed. The sense of aura has been undermined through the 'postmodern museum', involving different modes of vision and use and how many alternative or vernacular histories have developed. People today are attracted by representations of the 'ordinary', of modest houses and mundane forms of work. Buildings, designed themes and diverse heritages are thus central to the tourist gaze and the authors have stressed that many tourist sites and resorts are designed as themed, with enclavic spaces stimulating primarily the visual sense of the place.

CHAPTER 7. Vision and Photography

Here the authors have argued that vision is central to tourism experience. They begin by examining the history of visibility and what is meant by the idea of seeing and in turn being seen, and how vision became the dominating sense in modern societies. Particular attention has been paid to the profusion of new visual technologies and urban spaces. They also link vision and the tourist gaze with the medium of photography, the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze. They show how the tourist gaze has been inseparably tied up with the development and popularisation of cameras and photographs. The gaze is constructed discursively and materially through images and performances of photography, and vice versa. The authors also analyse significant moments within tourism photography and show how photographs enhance, frame and substitute for physical travel in complex and contingent ways, especially as photography is bodily central to the tourist encountering of the other. They quote that 'Photographs are 'blocks of space-time' that have effects beyond the people or place or events to which they refer. We examine the performativity, or doings, of photographs, how they organise gazes, constructing and mobilising the places that tourists consume and remember. Both tourism organisations and tourists invest much energy in photographs'. They say that tourists take photographs so as to produce tangible memories to be cherished and consumed well after the journey. Through photographs, tourists strive to make fleeting gazes last longer. Photography they say has become coupled to consumer capitalism and the globe was now offered 'in limitless quantities, figures, landscapes, events which had not previously been Places and humans are transformed into objects passed from person to person. Photographs are now very widely produced, consumed and circulated upon computers, mobile phones and via the internet, especially through social-networking sites. Photography has thus been crucial in developing the tourist gaze and tourism more generally; they are not separate processes but each derives from and enhances the other, as an 'ensemble'. Cameras and images have speeded up and mechanised the tourist's vision. Complex places are consumed as lightweight pre-arranged photo-scenes and experiencing is akin to seeing, seeing reduced to glancing and picture-making to clicking.

CHAPTER 8. Performances

This chapter explores some contemporary practices of gazing by considering the tourist gaze as a performance. There are many similarities between the paradigms of the gaze and performance and they should 'dance together' rather than stare at each other at distance. The authors develop this further by examining the embodied and multi-sensuous nature of gazing as well as the complex social relations and fluid power geometries comprising performances of gazing. The authors have through this chapter responded to various authors who criticised the 'tourist gaze' thesis by outlining the 'performance turn' and how Goffman's sociology has influenced and shares commonalities with the gaze. They also clarify some elements of what the idea of the 'gaze' is meant to achieve. They outline the main components of the performance into eight parts. First, the performance turn highlights how tourists experience places in multi-sensuous ways that involve bodily sensations and affect. Second, the performance turn conceptualises the themed and staged nature of tourist places. Third, following on from Goffman's observation that teams are the basic unit, the performance turn discusses the many agents that make up particular tourism stages. Fourth, while performances are taught, learned and regulated, they are never completely predetermined. Fifth, tourist places are often presumed to be relatively fixed, given, passive and separate from those touring them. The performance turn destabilises such static and fixed conceptions of places and sites. Places and performances are conceived as non-stable and contingent enactments. Sixth, the performance turn emphasises how objects and technologies, such as cameras, tour buses and cars, are crucial for making tourism

performances happen. Seventh, the performance turn does not see tourism as an isolated island but explores connections between tourism, the everyday and significant others, such as family members and friends. Lastly, the performance turn challenges representational and textual readings of tourism by making ethnographies of what humans and institutions enact and stage to make tourism and performances happen. They clarify the relationship between the senses and the gaze and then develop an embodied and multi-sensuous approach to gazing. They have brought out the crucially visual nature of tourist experiences and put forward a relational approach that acknowledges the complex intersections of the senses in people's encounters with places. They also discuss the multifaceted social relations of gazing, how they are tied up with relations between gazers, on the one hand, and hosts and guests, on the other. They quote that 'Gazing almost always involves significant others. Gazing is an interactive, communal game where individual gazes are mediated and affected by the presence and gazes of others.'

CHAPTER 9. Risks and Futures

The final chapter is on 'Risks and Futures'. In this chapter the authors examine some contemporary and future developments within tourism. Especially significant are the interconnections between tourism and risk. They examine in particular whether and in what ways tourism itself is self-destructive, that it is using up or destroying the very preconditions of its own activity through generating powerful local or global risks or bads. They examine in this book many different kinds of place that contemporary tourists seek to see for themselves and how they can collect and compare them with other places and obtain cultural capital from having been there and displaying this information increasingly via Web. They say that as the tourist gaze has gone global it generates some powerful new configurations of risk in the contemporary world. Before examining these risks the authors consider some strange intersections of risk and danger that stem from the proliferation of the tourist gaze and the many 'compulsions to consume' that it generates. They emphasise that high rates of international mobility have generated new risks, such as syphilis, Aids or SARS, which are diseases of mobilities of travellers and tourists. In addition tourist places have often been and imagined as places of danger, where crime and fears around personal safety are central. Finally they explore the fact that in this new century the (imagined) risks and corporeal fears of terrorism and the widespread surveillance gaze. They consider first the generation of congestion, overcrowding and local environmental degradation, topics of debate. As per the authors 'The spread of mass tourism does not democratise travel. Tourism is an illusion which destroys the very places being visited. Allowing the market to develop without regulation destroys the very places which are the objects of the tourist gaze'. They have discussed how the contemporary tourist gaze is increasingly signposted, identifying the things and places worthy of one's gaze. They close the chapter by considering what the world and tourism may be like in 2050, given the interdependence between declining availability of oil (and gas), changing climates and continued huge growth in population. They quote that *'The first possibility for 2050 is a future of hypermobility and hypertourist consumption. New kinds of fuel and vehicles overcome limits of space and time. Personalised air travel would be common through the use of third-generation biofuels or hydrogen. People would be unperturbed by a lack of long-distance travel and connection. Long-distance travel and forms of mass tourism based on 'choice' and 'convenience', cars and planes, would be uncommon and a source of low status. As a result, many international tourism systems, of places and transport, would fade away'*. They finally open up the crucial debate on will there still be a relatively widespread and common 'tourist gaze' operating away in 2050.