

## **Towards Understanding Civil Society–Government Relationship: the Study of Young Mizo Association (YMA) in Mizoram**

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**Abstract:** *Today, the failure of the government has led the civil society to become active in raising the people centred developmental issues and problems. The civil society through its constituents can play a viable role. Civil society as an entity cannot be inimical to the state as it needs the support and assistance of the government. Similarly, the government will also benefit from the civil society in order to bring about a democratic and just social order. This paper makes an attempt to study YMA which is the largest voluntary developmental organisation in Mizoram and also tries to examine how YMA is seen as one important components of civil society in the context of Mizo society. This paper studies the varied roles played by YMA in the Mizo society and examine the nature of relationship that exists between government and civil society.*

**Keywords:** *Civil society, Government, Non-governmental organizations, Social capital, Voluntary developmental organisations.*

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### **I. Introduction**

Civil society is increasingly gaining attention from scholars as it is one of the important sectors which contribute towards people centred developmental issues and problems which the state has either failed to address or has not achieved much success in achieving them. Though the onus lies on the state to solve people's problems and fulfil the people's needs, civil society through its constituents can play a viable role. Similarly a collaborative approach where both the state and the civil society could contribute to each other for people's welfare is possible only when they work in tandem and cooperate with each other. In this context, civil society often plays a mediating role between the individual and the state.

This paper seeks to understand the nature of relationships that exists between the state and civil society. It tries to examine how YMA, a non-political, voluntary organisation in Mizoram has emerged as an important constituent of civil society. As a civil society organisation it has played diverse roles and contributed towards the developmental issues and welfare of the people. In the context of the Mizo society, YMA may be seen as one important component of the civil society that tries to establish the link between the individual and the state. As a mediating organisation, it tries to establish the relations between the state and society. This paper attempts to outline and examine the various roles undertaken by YMA and in the process highlight the nature of relationship that exists between YMA and the state.

### **II. What is civil society?**

Of late scholars have developed considerable amount of interest in studying the importance of civil society. The civil society is being considered as the third important segment of the society along with two others such as the state/government and the corporate/business. For Tocqueville, civil society constitutes the third sphere of society whereas the first sphere comprises the state and its institutions and the second the economy [1].

Tocqueville propounds that the civil society limits the state. For him, 'an association unites the efforts of minds which have a density to diverge in one single channel. And urges them vigorously towards one single end which it points out' [2]. Association unites the people and acts as a means of cultivating civic virtues and democratic values. 'Feelings and opinions are recruited, the heart is enlarged and the human mind is developed by no other means than by the reciprocal influence of men upon each other' [3]. The presence of a number of associations was the best way for reconciling the public and the private interest, and also from the unmitigated power of the state. Through these associations, the potential excesses of the centralised state can be curtailed. 'There is no other dyke', wrote Tocqueville, 'that can hold back Tyranny'.

Hegel advocates that the civil society is the product of the modern world. For him, civil society is the manifestations of the ethic of freedom. However, this ethic of freedom can also be realised in institutions like the family or the state. But in contrast to both these institutions civil society is the site marked by

particularity and competition. He ultimately subordinates civil society to the state, which in his theory is the embodiment of the universal spirit. Civil society, for him, is the necessary stage for the formation of the state. He views civil society and the state as having a symbiotic relationship. While on the one hand the state apparatus particularly, law and public authority is a part of civil society on the other hand the spirit of freedom that civil society represents permeates the state [4].

Marx argues that civil society is the site where private economic interest is advanced. For him, civil society is only the ground where one individual's selfish interest meets another individual's selfish interest. It is the domain of exploitation. According to Marx the state is a product of civil society and civil society is the source of power of the state. The essence of the modern state is to be found in the modern characteristics of the civil society- in its economic relations. He further argues that for ending the conflict of civil society and for releasing the full potential of the human being, both civil society and the state should be abolished [4].

Neo-Marxist scholars such as Gramsci, comes up with different interpretation and addresses the complexity of civil society. Society is not a matter only of legal rights guaranteed by the state or of economic interests driven by the market. It is a matter of ideas, beliefs, values, customs and habits that act on the state and the market [5]. For him, civil society is the space where the state constructs its hegemony in alliance with the dominant classes. The concept of the state includes elements of civil society. The state for him is protected by the hegemony in civil society while the hegemony of the dominant class is strengthened by the coercive state apparatus. Not only are the state and civil society a pre-condition for each other, but the logic of one actually constitutes the other [6].

Drawing insights from Tocqueville, Oommen [7] says 'secondary power' that falls within the ambit of the civil society, can help combating the monopoly of the state. Voluntary organisations can be seen as manifestation of this secondary power. Beteille [8] asserts that the civil society can exist freely in liberal, pluralist and secular regimes than in totalitarian regimes. It is neither antithetical nor substitutable to the state but the state and the civil society are complimentary to each other. He emphasises on the importance of the 'mediating institutions'. These mediating institutions according to him are of a different kind from the institution of 'Kinship' and 'religion'. These mediating institutions for him are 'open and secular institutions'. In contrast to this view, Oommen is of the opinion that, 'if religion, caste, language, etc., are elements of society, religious organisations, caste associations and linguistic movements are dimensions of civil society' [9]. Therefore, organisations that stem from the domain of civil society constitute an important segment of the civil society.

As evident there are different views, perceptions and formulations of civil society. On the basis of the insights developed from these formulations the civil society can be broadly be defined as that realm of society which interacts with the state and yet maintains independence from it and works for the public good through its constituents.

The civil society is occupied by non-government, non-commercial citizens, and is organised and is devoted for the public good [10]. According to Tandon [11] civil society can be seen as

- a) a movement for advancing various causes;
- b) a set of organisations which are self help and mutual support organisations and
- c) intermediary organisations that enhances the capacities, voices and articulations of other citizens.

The civil society is comprised of various associations and organisations. According to Putnam [12] civil society is a dense network of associations; associationalism produces habits of cooperation, trust, social, networks and norms. Among the different social groups and associations that are considered to make up civil society, non- governmental organisation (NGOs) have become especially prominent here in the last two decades. It may be clarified that various synonymous terms such as Voluntary Developmental Organisations (VDOs), Action Groups (ACs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), Voluntary Organisations (VOs), etc. have been used in the literature to refer to the term NGO. 'If strong vibrant and lively civil society is the foundation of modern-democratic polity, NGOS are the very life forces for the civil society. One cannot exist without the other. The NGOs may be engaged in a variety of activities, implementing grass roots or sustainable development, human rights and social justice, protesting against environmental degradation and many other tasks' [13]. Speaking in the context of heterogeneous and hierarchical societies such as India, Oommen [14] argues that the organised groups and communities should also be recognised as legitimate constituents of civil society.

In India, in recent times, there has been rapid rise of voluntary organisations. The growing interest in voluntary action and the NGOs has further led to the creation or revival of civil society in India. The democratic polity and the state which is permissive of activism allow civil society and its constituents to flourish in India. There has been upsurge of VDOs in India in recent times. Many Indian scholars such as Kothari, Beteille, Dhanagare, Oommen and others have written on diverse aspects of civil society. For

Kothari, civil society essentially arose as disenchantment with the state. In this perspective, civil society is seen as that domain which can play an effective role towards the creation of a more active and a more participatory role for the common people especially for the poor and the disadvantaged sections of the society. Referring to the rise of action groups and their growing involvement in uplifting the vulnerable sections of the society, Dhanagare says that their growth is the “striking feature of contemporary social reality in India” [15]. Hence sociological study on these voluntary organisations will assume significance in the context of India.

Najam [16] in his study to understand the nature of relationships between governmental and non-governmental organisations has outlined the different possible relationships: (a) Cooperation (b) Confrontation (c) Complementarity and (d) Co-optation respectively encompass the realm of possible NGO-government relationships. Hence the nature of relationship between the civil society and the state can be antithetical as well as complimentary.

### III. Emergence of Young Mizo Association (YMA) as a civil society organisation

YMA is one of the biggest and oldest voluntary organisations in Mizoram. It was established on 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1935 in Aizawl as the Young Lushai Association (YLA). The YMA was possibly envisioned as a likely substitute for the *Zawlbuk* institution. *Zawlbuk* is the traditional dormitory for young men which was considered as one of the most important institutions for moulding youth (boys) into responsible adult members and also inculcate moral values in them, which came to an end with the establishment of YMA [17]. YMA was registered under societies Registration Act 1860 (Act XXI) on May 14, 1977. Since then it has grown and expanded even in the neighbouring states of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Nagaland.

According to Beteille, the interest about the civil society did not originally arise because of any desire to study civil society but because of the increasing disenchantment with the state [18]. However, in the context of YMA, the emergence of YMA as one constituent of civil society in Mizoram was formed not because of the disenchantment with the state. It was the Mizo barbaric practices- their raids, wars, attacks, on the British frontiers - which primarily invited the British to annexed Mizoram and opened the way for the establishment of the British colonial rule in Mizoram. The impact of the British colonial rule along with the entry of the Welsh missionary in Mizoram, in a way, has led to the establishment of YMA. YMA pledges three objectives to its members:

- a) To make productive use of leisure time.
- b) To seek for holistic development of Mizoram.
- c) To promote good Christian life in all spheres of life.

In terms of organisational structure, YMA also has well defined organisational structure. The central point of the YMA is the Central YMA (CYMA). The CYMA is located in Aizawl, the capital city of Mizoram. The entire structure is built upon the CYMA, from the CYMA to the Sub Headquarters YMA (which comprises a number of group YMA, to strengthen the development of YMA), to the Group YMA (a number of Branches may be grouped together to form Group YMA) and finally to the Branch YMA (Branch YMA can be established in every village or within the city of Mizoram and even outside the states of Mizoram if their aims and objectives are accepted where there is Mizo settlement). The CYMA directs and controls the entire activities of the YMA. Though the Branch YMA occupies the bottom most in the structural hierarchical arrangements of the organization, yet it is through them, that the aims and objectives of the organization are being carried out.

The role played by YMA is varied and numerous. Their influence can be felt in different spheres of life. This varied roles played by YMA is said to have been carried out by the ideology of *tlawmngaihna*. It is a Mizo term which literally means helping others who are in need of help.

The idea of *tlawmngaihna* comprises of various virtues and ethics in the life of the Mizos and there is no single word in English to bring out the idea of *tlawmngaihna*. The emphasis of *tlawmngaihna* is an act of charity wherein self interest is subordinated to the interest of community. When practised in its true sense it unites the community.

The idea of *tlawmngaihna* can often be equated with social capital. Putnam defines social capital as “features of social life-networks, norms, and trust- that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives” [19]. This social capital is said to have manifested in YMA in the form of *tlawmngaihna*.

In Mizoram, what binds the members of different association is governed less by kinship ties but more by the members' interest and common concerns for the welfare and freedom of one and all. In YMA, the act of voluntarism and activism is backed by the idea of *tlawmngaihna*, which is believed to be one of the most important assets in the individual life of the Mizos. It urges its members to be *tlawmngai* while carrying out the varied activities of YMA.

YMA is an integrative mechanism that bridge particularistic concern and involves citizens in networks of social interaction around common activities and presumably shared goals. These forms of participation promote the formation of social capital, which Putnam defines as "features of social organisation that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" [20]. *Tlawmngaihna*, therefore, may be the result of interpersonal trust and networks, which on the other hand, the core elements of social capital.

The origin of *tlawmngaihna* may not be accurately known, but it is considered to be one of the vital assets of the Mizos. YMA took the leading role in upholding and preserving the idea of "*tlawmngaihna*" particularly after the abolition of *Zawlbuk* institution. YMA urges its members to be *tlawmngai* when the need to help others arises. It is through the varied activities, YMA earned the trust and cooperation from the society, which in turn took the opportunity of dominating the various aspects of the societal activities in the Mizo society.

As one of the objectives of YMA is to work for the holistic development of the Mizos, the activities carried out by YMA involves almost all aspects of life. We will therefore try to classify the different roles played by YMA as social, political, cultural and economic roles.

#### **a. The Social roles**

From the very objectives of YMA, we can say that YMA stands for the cause of the Mizo society. So the social roles played by YMA are varied ranging from the micro level to the macro level which may be discussed below.

During the first decade, following its formation, YMA did remarkable work for the society. During the first few years, YMA gave more attention to subjects like debates, group discussions and drama. On every Monday night, group discussions and debates were organised, to broaden the outlook of the Mizos in general and to evolve more progressive ideas among the individual Mizo Youth in particular. It also enhances the art of public speaking.

It was also a challenging task for YMA to create civic hygiene among the Mizos. It taught its members how to keep their utensils, houses and surroundings clean. Through the monthly journal "*Kristian Tlangau*", it tries to create awareness by publishing articles on civic awareness, where it has written on minute details of hygiene and cleanliness. To make the campaign more effective it uses "*the year for sanitation and cleanliness*" as its first annual theme in 1983. Public sanitations were stressed by constructing public lavatories and pit latrines at different places in Aizawl. The effort made by YMA volunteers led to improvement towards cleanliness and hygiene, which can be visibly noticed today.

At the outset of its formation, YMA engaged itself in doing relief works for the society. When *Mautam* Famine (caused due to the flowering of the bamboo) broke out in 1959, there was widespread disturbance in terms of scarcity of food. YMA stepped in, in response to the request made by the Zoram Famine Relief Committee. The General Conference in 1959 appealed to all the branches to sacrifice all it could to bring some relief to the famine-stricken people. It received a positive response from the people. This was the time when the state deeply disappointed the people by not providing immediate relief while YMA, despite of all its limitations tried to do something which was appreciated by the people.

The main objective of YMA is to help the poor and the needy. One of the most remarkable works done by YMA for helping the needy is the construction of houses either for the homeless or homes destroyed by natural calamities such as earthquakes, landslides and wild fire.

YMA also plays a vital role during the occurrence of death in the community. In Mizo community, when any Mizo dies, it is seen as a customary that the community mourns for the death. YMA takes up the initiative role such as preparation of tea, arrangement of the house and benches, fitting of the PA system, digging of the graveyard and so on and so forth. Apart from such activity YMA also tries to console the bereaved family by singing songs for three consecutive nights starting from the day of burial.

YMA have also directed itself towards rendering relief work in times of calamities. When such incident occurs, YMA initiate various activity and programs to provide relief to the affected people. Such initiative includes collection of relief material, donations from various sources such as individual donors, churches, government.

**b. The Economic roles**

YMA since its inception from the very outset of its formation taught its members to be self reliance and self sufficient. There are many activities taken up by YMA towards this direction. In 1938, an attempt was also made to popularise Mizo tobacco in place of imported cigarettes, with the thought that smoking Mizo tobacco was more economical since the local products was cheaper than the imported ones. To make matter effective, song was even composed to popularise the advantage in smoking the Mizo cigarette. The campaign was so effective that during the year, no cigarettes and *bidis* were available in Aizawl (capital city of Mizoram). To be self reliant, in one of the conferences YMA has passed a resolution stating that all Mizos should master the art of cotton spinning, and should wear only the clothes woven by Mizos themselves.

In the contemporary period, CYMA has organised programmes, such as free computer classes in collaboration with Bharatia Vidya Bhavan, Kolkata (Gandhi Institute of Computer Education and Information Technology) and free Cement Mason training with joint collaboration with the Labour Employment and Information Technology Department. The main idea behind was to help and enable the youth to stand on their own feet and provide employment opportunities.

**c. The Cultural roles**

Mizo society has witnessed multiple forms of change brought in by number of factors both externally and internally. Mizo society is characterised as a society having its own culture and traditions. The richness can be identified in the form of many traditional dances and festivals that it has. Gradually with the passage of time, these dances and festivals have also started diminishing in the society. Steps have been taken by YMA to promote and revive the cultural dances and festivals. Some of the initiatives taken by YMA include organising inter-branch cultural dance competition. *Chapchar Kut* (a Mizo festival celebrated every year in the month of March), in which the leading role for the success of the celebration of these *Kut* (festival) has been undertaken by YMA though expenditure is made by the government. YMA members participate showcasing the different cultural dances of the Mizos.

YMA has also given emphasis on matter of popularising Mizo traditional costume or attire as the traditional costume faces the challenges of survival. For instance, *Venghlui* Branch, Aizawl, has made every Wednesday as “*puanbihni*” (a day to wear *puan*; *puan*, a Mizo term meaning a cloth that is wrap around the waist of a woman) where it has made an appeal to all the Mizo women in the locality comprising of the College students, University students and all working women to wear *puan*.

YMA in general, has also made an appeal to all the Mizo women, to wear *puan* on any social gathering of the Mizos such as funeral, wedding, or any cultural festivals. Mizo men are also encouraged to wear the traditional shirt called the *thangchhuah kawr*.

YMA also put emphasis for safeguarding and promoting Mizo Language and literature. In the early stage of its formation, it tried to develop and promote by organising a patriotic song composing competition. Mr. Rokunga's song was awarded the best song and this song is still sung today. Another step taken to popularize the Mizo Language was through the mailing of Hymn books and text books written in Mizo literature to spread the language among the *Hualngos* and *Zahaus* at Chin Hills.

Moreover, after the declaration of the Mizo Language as one of the endangered language among the various languages of India by the UNESCO, there is a special need to address to these problems. YMA organises seminars and workshops for the promotion of Mizo language. Recently YMA organised a National Seminar on “Mizo Language: Contemporary Challenges and Prospective” in collaboration with the Department of Mizo, Pachhunga University College in Aizawl on the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> July 2013. The objective of this seminar was to disseminate information, discuss problems, and strategy for the future development of Mizo language; the problem and prospect of translation with other language was also dealt with.

For effective promotion and preservation of the Mizo language and literature, a special Sub-Committee called the Literature Sub-Committee was formed under the CYMA. CYMA and almost all the branches in and around Mizoram, publish weekly and monthly newsletters and journals. Most of the publication is done in Mizo language. Articles written by YMA members or any Mizos are published in newsletters or journals. To promote branch newspapers, every year, Literature Sub-Committee of CYMA, gives award to the best three branch weekly newspapers and the top three subscriber branches of “YMA *Chanchinbu*” (a monthly journal) within and outside Mizoram. They also occasionally organise media workshops for editors of local YMA newspapers.

### **3.4 The Political roles**

YMA also plays an important role in the political aspects also. The formation of the first political party in Mizoram can be credited to YMA. The early educated Mizos, who were also members of YMA, had ignited the thought and the need for forming a political organisation. As a result of this prevailing idea among the educationally enlightened Mizos, the first political party, the Mizo Union was formed in April 1946 [21].

In the field of electoral process, YMA also plays a vital role. For ensuring fair election, YMA takes proactive role by creating awareness in the minds of the Mizos and sensitizing the voters, for free and fair elections in Mizoram. In terms of voters turn out, YMA can also be credited in increasing the voters turn out. The CYMA before every Mizoram Legislative Assembly General Election enumerate a lists of 'Do's and Don'ts' to be followed by all the political parties contesting for election in order to ensure a free and fair election.

#### **IV. The relationship between YMA and the state: An analysis**

YMA plays a vibrant role in addressing the people centred developmental issues and problems of the Mizos, because of which it could not isolate wholly from the activities from the state, which the state has either failed to address or have not achieved much success in achieving them. Therefore, in almost all the activities carried out by the YMA, we see that the state also directly or indirectly plays a vital role. Many of the departments of the state and YMA have been working collaboratively till date. For better understanding this issue let us try to look at some of the departments of the state such as the Excise and Narcotics Department, the Police Department of Education, Forest and Environment, which work in collaboration with YMA where both the actors play a vital role in fulfilling the objectives.

In the field of prevention of substance and alcohol, YMA has also contributed significantly. Pressure from civil society organisations (such as YMA, churches etc.) to control alcoholism led the government to enforce Mizoram Liquor Total Prohibition Act (MLTP Act) 1995 from 20<sup>th</sup> February 2007. However, even after the enactment of the MLTP Act there were still many individuals, and families engaged in bootlegging, many drunkards were still to be found on the streets and the percentage of death among the youth due to the consumption of prohibited substance and alcohol still remains high. YMA therefore, undertook the responsibility to fight against this menace.

YMA to make its operation effective made a special operation team, first known as Supply Reduction Service (SRS) and later on changed to Central Anti Drugs Squad (CADS), to deal with illegal trading in drugs and alcohol. However, both the operation teams formed by CYMA have earned social criticism as they often take the legal matters in their hands which eventually led to dissolution of SRS and CADS. YMA launched another operation team known as the Flying Squad, in consultation with the Department of Police. Members of Flying Squad operation team were given identity cards by the Police department, so that they could legally carry out their operation. However, the change of the Mizoram Liquor Total Prohibition (MLTP) Act to Mizoram Liquor Prohibition Control (MLPC) Bill by the government of Mizoram, made the Flying Squad to remain dormant. It is now evident that YMA has to change their strategies, as drinking and selling of alcohol now remain legal. In an interview Mr. Vanlalruata, the General Secretary of CYMA, has said that, "YMA is now keen on combating illegal trading of substances and therefore is now working towards supply reduction service, demand reduction and harm reduction by giving counseling to drug abusers". The CYMA has received National Awards for Outstanding Services in the field of prevention of Alcoholism and Substance (Drug) Abuses in 2013. The Award was instituted by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India.

In the field of education, YMA has worked for the promotion of education in Mizoram. Drama, elocution and debates on varied topics were organised at least once in a week to broaden the outlook of the Mizos. According to Vanlalawma [22], "The outcome of the debates and discussions was felt by the people, who directly or indirectly were affected in shaping the personality of the individual Mizos and also in bringing about development of Mizoram as a nation". In this context it may be mentioned that the present Government Higher Secondary School in Aizawl was established in 1944 with the active participation of YMA.

YMA and the Department of Education have worked collaboratively. To achieve the target of cent percent literacy, the state introduced Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and Eradication of Residual Illiteracy (ERIP) where it collaboratively worked with YMA to carry out the operation effectively. YMA has opened and is running a number of Adult Education Centres throughout the length and breadth of Mizoram.

YMA holds several seminars and workshops in order to spread awareness on the importance of education and to decrease the drop-out rates. YMA has been credited as the chief architect in bringing the literacy rate of Mizoram to over 96%, the second highest in the country.

In areas of protecting the environment, afforestation programme of the state, 'Green Mizoram' project has been supported by YMA since 1974. Tree plantation is taken up by YMA branches during the month of June every year since then. YMA has received Indira Priyadarshini Vrikshamitra Awards in 1986 and also Indira Gandhi Paryavaran Puraskar in 1993, from the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India.

Thus, from the above discussions it is evident that the relationship that exists between YMA and the state are collaborative and cooperative in nature. However, this is not to deny that the relationship shared between YMA and the state is not always collaborative and cooperative in nature. There are instances where conflicting and confrontational behaviour approach is also pursued by YMA. Such situation arise when the state feels that YMA interferes beyond its boundary, while the YMA feels the state is not effective enough in catering to the needs of the people and people's welfare.

YMA regards itself as the guardian of the Mizo society; therefore YMA intervenes in the state policies wherever it feels that the policies taken up by state will be a threat for the Mizo society. For instance YMA was against the government in matter of giving the Nepalese (who has been residing in Mizoram) the OBC status, on matter of job distribution especially to the Non-Mizos, issues on direct funding of the Chakma Autonomous District Council where the YMA felt it unnecessary, screening of electoral rolls and checking of inner line permit (ILP) and many other such related issues.

In the urge for spontaneous response from the state, YMA also often acts as pressure groups. In an interview, the YMA President (2014-2015) reveals that, "YMA is not a pressure group and does not want to be known as pressure group. However, YMA in matter of disapproval on certain policies and programmes taken up by the state sometimes acts as pressure group, in spite of the request and appeal made to the government". He further said that, "YMA never wants to act as a pressure group, but due to unavoidable circumstances, there arises a need on the part of YMA to act as a pressure group". In this study it has been observed that though YMA acts as a pressure group however, it does not go beyond the extent of acting as a stumbling block for the government to carry out its activities.

## V. Conclusion

Thus from the above discussions we can say that there is enough scope for both civil society and the state to work together and collaborate with each other for the people's issues. In the context of Mizoram the relation between the YMA and the state has primarily been collaborative and cooperative. However, there are areas where conflicts and tensions arise between the state and the YMA. As both the state and YMA recognises the importance of co-existence, they try to maintain cordial relationship and work collaboratively and cooperatively on the issues relating to the people's welfare.

Though civil society and the state represent two different domains, the relationship between civil society and the state need to be properly analysed and assessed. The relationship can be collaborative and as well as confrontational. "It is truism that civil society and the state must be protected from one another, but neither can function effectively without the countervailing force and support provided by the other" [23].

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