

Research Article

Scheduled Tribe Youth in India and Their Institutions: A Study of *Dhumkuria*

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ABSTRACT

This study tries to connect with the subjugated knowledge practices of indigenous communities of India by attempting to comprehend and disseminate valuable information about one of their significant institutions called *Dhumkuria*. This is the name of youth dormitory of the *Oraon* tribal community of Jharkhand. It provided training in socio-cultural, politico-economic and religious grounds, along with mores of collective living. *Dhumkuria* encouraged learning by doing, as well as teaching while learning – to younger and from elder cohorts, simultaneously. Here, knowledge was mostly orally accumulated, education was an act of sharing skills and values for collective and harmonious living and pedagogy was dialogical and co-constructive. However, this practice was lost due to cultural changes, out-migration, impact of formal religious practices and then encouragement given by Colonial and Indian Government to formalised schools and colleges. Also, for intellectuals and knowledge brokers, working within positivistic framework, youth dormitories like *Dhumkuria* represented backwardness and promiscuousness. Such epistemic violence humiliated tribal communities and eroded several of their institutions and practices. Nevertheless, in the last few years there has been an attempt to resurrect pivotal tribal institutions. Hopefully, we can undo the wrong and change public perception and policies to encourage marginalised communities and their youth.

Keywords: Subjugated knowledge, Cultural heritage, Tribal community, Youth, Education, Health, Jharkhand

INTRODUCTION

What is India? Well, of course, it is a nation-state. It is an emerging economy. Beyond these popular discourses contemporary India exists, at least, at three levels – for want of some simplicity (Raj, 2010). One is the urban, cosmopolitan and relatively privileged India. The second would be the struggling and expanding India, whereas the third is the disadvantaged and challenged India. In this paper, we will focus on the marginalised and the opaque India. We hope that our effort will help gauge the unseen and unheard discourse. The aboriginal communities of India are the least heard and would be in the third category. There are different names for this community but Government of India (GOI) officially classifies them as the scheduled tribes (STs). The STs are at the lowest level of most developmental indicators in India. The GOI is trying to uplift the conditions of the STs with the help of several public policies. However, there has only been limited success. We feel these policies, meant for the welfare of STs, are not guided by proper understanding of the people and their needs. Also, most attempts to study STs are from the perspective of the dominant elite. Therefore, the existence and life experiences of the STs in India are greatly jeopardised.

There have been numerous studies on the STs in India, but only few of them have focused on ST youth. We believe that a renewed focus on the ST youth will augur well for India. There are reports which suggest that India has the demographic dividend because of the youthful nature of its huge population which has been constantly rising (Chandrasekhar *et al.*, 2006; James, 2008; Bloom *et al.*, 2012). The ascendancy of India in the coming years as a world power is substantiated with the fact that India has this demographic dividend. It becomes imperative, therefore, to see how youth in different sections of India are performing. The focus on ST youth will allow us to look at those beyond the urban centres and at the periphery of the Indian social structure. Also, and since, ST youth are traditionally socialised with egalitarian social practices; one can expect that highlighting their everyday experiences will be valuable for the multicultural heritage of India. This would be useful, especially at a time, when the social structure of India is threatened by communitarian and xenophobic struggles of one or the other kind.

Understanding the tribal communities from their perspective is very important. Many earlier researches (Sachchidanand, 1958; Vidyarthi and Rai, 1985; Munshi, 2012) have only perpetuated epistemic violence by conducting their research in the positivistic paradigm without considering the cultural context of any social practice or their support institution. This process of knowledge construction have relegated and abused (Smith, 2012) many communities and their way of life. Our approach was to minimise epistemic violence. The locus of study was the province of Jharkhand as it has a sizeable tribal population. Here, we focus on the *Oraon* tribal community which is the second largest tribe in Jharkhand (Government of India, 2011). Ethnographic field notes have guided our comprehension and

delineation and this has been supported by oral history narratives. It is our quest to look at reality beyond the surface of what is visible. The *Oraon* tribe, on whom this paper is based, resides mainly in Ranchi and Gumla districts of Jharkhand. We chose to spotlight their institutions and see how a selected institution, like *Dhumkuria*, plays a part in the everyday practises of youth of the community.

Dhumkuria provided training in socio-cultural, politico-economic and religious grounds, as well as mores of collective living. It encouraged learning by doing, as well as teaching while learning – to younger and from elder cohorts, simultaneously. Tribal institutions like *Dhumkuria* reflect a sense of unity with the community by promoting inter-personal behaviour and dealings among the youth. They were much inclined towards co-operative and collective ways of living. In contemporary society, collectiveness and co-cooperativeness have changed to competitiveness and individualism. In this paper, we will try to comprehend how with passage of time the informal education system of the STs weakened and lost its value. We will elaborate on what compelled the STs to give up practices and institutions of immense values to their community.

THE SCHEDULED TRIBE OF INDIA

The word 'tribe' has no specific definition. Social scientists more or less agree that the term, by and large, refers to territorial communities living in a geographical region having a common language, culture, tradition, norms and values, beliefs and practices and materialistic life. To Munshi (2012: 1), tribe is a small group of people who are considered primitive, backward and uncivilised by nature. One of the tricks, to think about one's research while doing it, Becker (1998) suggests, is to define any term by looking at its meaning in a network of relations with other similar or dissimilar terms. In this seam, and according to Munshi, other names that are commonly used in India are *aboriginals* (original community), *adimjati* (primitive people), *janjati* (folk people), *anusuchit jati* (scheduled tribe), *adivasi* (first settlers), *vanvasi* (inhabitants of forests), *vanyajati* (forest communities) and *pahari* (hill-dwellers). The term ST first appeared in the Constitution of independent India. Article 366 (25) of the Indian Constitution describes STs as those communities who are scheduled under Article 342, while Article 342 defines a ST as a community which has been notified as such by the President. The vagueness of definition adds to the acceptance of the multiplicity of the names which also reflects regional variations¹.

STs in India are distinguishable by their way of living. Their habitation has been in geographically specific areas, hilly terrains, islands and/or deserts. There is prevalence of pre-industrial traits in clothing and cleanliness. There is peculiarity in dress, as it included wearing of headgears such as turbans, ornaments, body

¹The lists are state specific, e.g. the Santhals and Mundas are STs in Jharkhand but not so in Assam or the Andamans, where some of them migrated.

marking and tattooing. They have been found to be engaged in occupations like hunting, trapping of bird and animals, stone carving, making of articles from forest wood and bamboo, hide, skin work and so on. They are mostly non-vegetarians with distinctive food habits like consuming roots and tubers, meat of animals, homemade alcoholic drinks and so on. Also, their social customs and religious practices are found to be discrete. They are characterised by unique rituals and ceremonies for marriages. They have specific deities and distinguishable ways of worshipping. Moreover, they show unflinching faith in the dictates of their clan and their community leader. Their dialect is generally different from the general population in the area. Their level of literacy is quite low as compared with the general literacy rate in the region. There is absence of practice of saving. Often they live in very poor conditions much below the poverty line. Major axis for showing differences is created along the distinctiveness that this communities present in their ways of life, socio-cultural practices and relative distance from the protocol of modernity.

Tribal communities have been represented in the ancient history of India as well. For instance, in *Ramayana*, when Lord Rama was exiled, he reached the forest-border region of Central India where a piece of land was offered by *Jana-sthana* tribes. The Vedic literature also mentions about tribal community who appeared distinctively. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985: 25) mention that they still have distinctiveness, and, yet maintain contact with other communities. Interactions of tribes with other social groups have been based on give-and-take but this has led to their acculturation (Kosambi, 1976). This process may seem useful for the tribes but on many occasions it has hampered their social practices and their organisation. In the process of being developed in accordance to the mainstream values, they have been further marginalised, devalued from their own cultural practices, traditional knowledge, skills, language, nature's resource management and its uses.

STs have a simple lifestyle for surviving with nature and to meet their basic needs. Their social life is a composite whole of the web of different social organisations and phenomena. Their everyday practices involve methods of grouping for effectively carrying out various activities for common existence. We emphasise that traditional knowledge is not only good for them but also its implications today will enhance national growth and sustainable development. Formal modern-schooling system not only destroyed the indigenous knowledge that tribal young ones already possess but also damaged ways of imparting knowledge. In the next section, we zoom in to look specifically at the ST youth.

SCHEDULED TRIBE YOUTH OF INDIA

Youth is a formative as well as a transitory phase. In the fields of youth research, the concept of 'transitions' is problematised in terms of its usefulness for

understanding and developing programmes to support young people. The focus on youth, although recent, is imminent because of the potential of this age group to shape not just the socio-political and economic sphere of one's community but also sustain mooring of one's culture and values. Steinberg (2006) rightly points out that youth culture is influenced by the historical and social forces. She further argues that any study of youth culture should appreciate the diversity and complexity of youth and should never equate difference with deficiency. As we know, a country like India has varied differences across region, religion, class and other social categories. Indian youth culture, therefore, shows tremendous varieties. Despite global influences, Indian youth culture mirror continuity along with change.

DeSouza *et al.* (2009) has proposed few rubrics to understand the Indian youth in a changing world. These include trust and circles of belonging, family and social networks, leisure and life style, politics and democracy, governance and development, nation and the world and, finally, anxiety and aspiration. This study by DeSouza *et al.* was very popular and trend setting for future studies on Indian youth. At this stage, we would like to recognise that most of these rubrics form the everyday experiences of ST youth as well. They echo the life and time of tribes in India. For instance, ST youth would live in harmony with nature and would attest to egalitarian lifestyle. Individual identity was less important as they are one with nature and with their community of practice. To these youth, therefore, displacement has been traumatic no matter if this was physical, cultural or socio-economic. Becoming part of the mainstream would require efforts by the ST youth as well as those in the mainstream. It is usually found that ST youth culture differences are equated with deficiency. This deficiency, then, is attempted to be solved by remedial measures in most public policy discourses of the government.

While cultural traits and practices should be a matter of celebration, the ST youth experience abject humiliation. Guru (2009) makes us aware that humiliation is a matter of attitude in the West, whereas in the East it is a notion. The former case is mainly grounded in the experience of race; the latter foregrounds it in un-touchability. The social paradox produced by the dominant elite in either society for perpetuating humiliation is constructed and re-constructed using social practices to differentiate 'us' and 'them'. To minimise this distance, ST youth try to deculturalise themselves by learning mainstream culture and values (Raj and Raj, 2004). While this allows them to become part of the mainstream, the traits of their culture are lost. The educational system devised and being implemented in tribal areas only creates mirage for these youth even as they deprive them of their heritage, their processes of knowing, and their being. The pedagogy followed relies on banking concept of education that limits their capacity to think and makes them mere recipient of 'deposit' considered useful by the dominant elite of Indian society.

The tribal communities in India have had their own system of being, knowing, and doing. They have institutions for each aspect of their social life and behavioural patterns. For instance, the *Oraon*² tribes had an institution called *Dhumkuria* for this purpose. Before proceeding further, we would like to reiterate that among the rubrics used by DeSouza *et al.* (2009) such as trust and circles of belonging, family and social networks and leisure and life style to study youth in India, one can find that these are part of the ST youth as a matter of fact. Yet, institutions like *Dhumkuria* were not visible to people in the mainstream.

DHUMKURIA

Dhumkuria is the name of the youth dormitory of *Oraon* tribe. For the non-tribals, it meant several things including ‘a communal sleeping house’ (Roy, 2006). *Dhumkuria* represents a centre for cultural education for *Oraon* community. Fundamental concern of the institute was to make community youth a perfect human being, particularly in matters of respect for others, discipline and self-control in life. Indigenous people gave more worth to youth potential. They consider youth as the power kernel of their community. To channelise them in proper manner was an essential requirement. *Dhumkuria* as an institute has pivotal concern to preserve cultural heritage. Also it had the responsibility to help youth in understanding their passion and potential.

Anthropologists have pointed out different usage of this institution from their own perspectives. Roy (1915) states three functions for this youth dormitory. One was to serve as an effective economic organisation for purpose of food quest. Then, it was used to train youth in socio-cultural and other activities. Thirdly, it was a place for performance of magico-religious ceremonies designed to bring about success in hunting and enhance the procreative powers of young men. Elwin (1947) suggested two distinct roles of *Dhumkuria*. One, semi-military barrack type which aims at strict segregation of the boys and is connected with wars, hunting and magic. The other which allow or encourages relation with the other sex and possibly aims at regulating pre-marital interest of ST youth. Sachchidanand (1958) categorised three purposes – as a sleeping house, as a school of dance and music and as a co-operative labour unit on request by any needy member of the village. Despite different perspectives on the assumed functions of this institution, there are few things on which there is possible agreement. Most scholars who knew this institution pointed out that the process in which knowledge was imparted was different in these institutions.

²The *Oraon* are the second largest populated tribe in Jharkhand. They are 19.60% (Census of India, 2011) of the total population. They are relatively short, narrow headed and broad-nosed. They are one of the dominating tribal groups in Chotanagpur plateau because of better equipment and hold over strong knowledge about local agricultural practice. *Kurukh* is the language spoken by *Oraon* tribe of Chotanagpur plateau.

In this youth dormitory, approach of imparting knowledge was based on experienced-based learning technique. This technique was used to solve problems, learn and discover. Instead of a *guru*, usually seen in a typical Hindu learning milieu, tutor was found in these institutions (Roy, 2006). These tutors acted as a mentor to the young cohort. They helped organise the activities while sharing knowledge they had experienced. Role of mentor was to bring the mentees in a comfort zone in which knowledge construction and sharing would be easily achieved. Figure 1 demonstrates the structure of relations in a *Dhumkuria*.

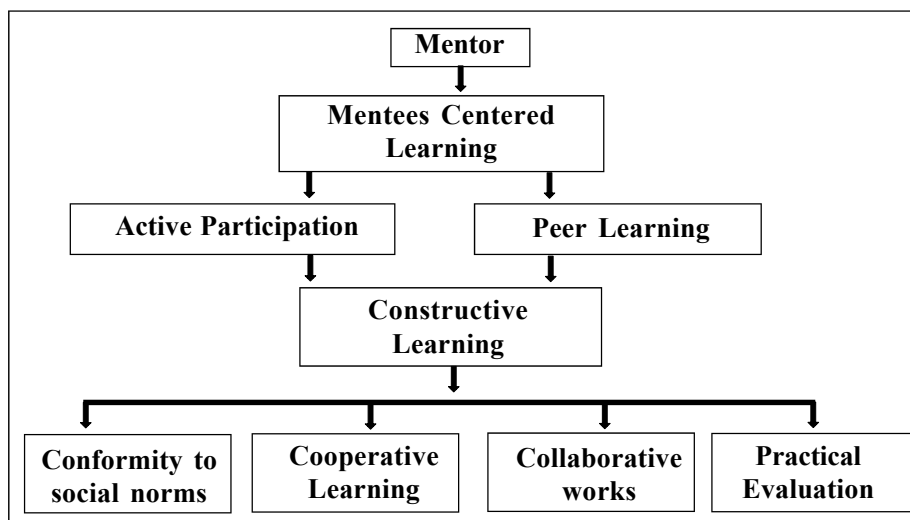


Figure 1: Representation of structure of relations in the *Dhumkuria*

We sincerely believe that this process defied the banking concept of education which Paulo Freire stood against. Life of mentees in dormitory was based on observances and customs (Narayan, 1986). At early phase, young ones learned by observing other learners there. Later on, mentor set curriculum based on heritage centric. We have tried to make a figurative representation of the approach of imparting knowledge in an institution like *Dhumkuria* (Figure 2).

The process of learning and teaching involved storytelling which may look traditional but is a powerful medium to express experiences, emotions and other ideas. The theme and the context are best expressed through stories and without directly stressing the need to be memorised on a linear scale. Grumet (1988) in her book the *Bitter Milk* points that our curriculum is nothing but stories that elder generation chooses to tell the younger generation. Among ST community in India, storytelling was also used for passing of beliefs and values of culture in hope that new generation will preserve and pass on to the next generation. From the view point of Smith (2012), the story and storyteller connects the past with future, the land with

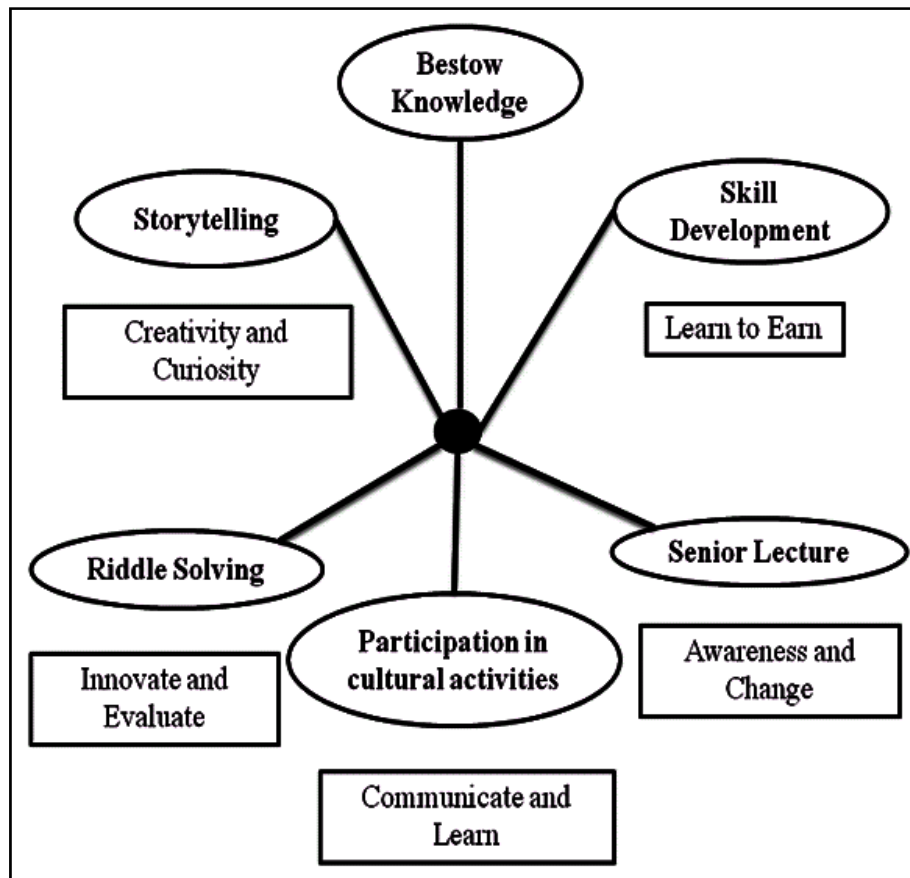


Figure 2: Approach of imparting knowledge in *Dhumkuria*

people and the people with the story. Bishop (1996) suggests story telling is culturally appropriate for representing diversities of truth. Story is a means of entertainment, education, cultural preservation and to continue moral values among children. Storytelling is also an art which binds the mentees to listen, catch words, develop imagination power, relate themselves to story and believe themselves as part of the story. Bishop also asserts that the indigenous community becomes a story that is a collection of individual stories, ever unfolding through the lives of the people who share the life of that community.

Another approach involved *riddle-solving* which sharpens the mind and generates new thoughts in an open and creative process. These acts improve judgemental capability, simplify thinking and provide better memory retention. *Participation in cultural activities* was encouraged to make them aware of themes of culture and belief in culture heritage. It linked mentees with different functional features

of tradition-bound linkages between nature and culture. On occasion, *senior gave focused lecture* on social, cultural, political, economic and other issues. They revitalise arts and cultural practices in various forms. With their experiences, they try to connect young ones with society and environment through specific rituals and practices. After delivering lectures, mentees are allowed to negotiate on lectures to increase ability to create and be creative.

When these mentees become responsible person of society, they have their own thought, views, concept to behave and react within their group. This reflects personality and shapes the life of young generation. After gaining education, mentees have to act as mentor in *Dhumkuria*. Only getting knowledge is not enough for youth. Time comes to impart knowledge to new young groups. Now, they have to act as mentor. The learning process recognised that in early stage of life, young ones learn every day in stimulating context about oneself and the society in the company of their peers. Roy (2006: 24) suggests that in *Dhumkuria* youth received knowledge and skills of training through sharing and unconscious imitation. Values helped in socialisation and formed the kernel of learning milieu. It seems to be informal education system in modern time but had its own value in respect to human behaviour. Education with values seems to be almost vanished in modern education system.

Along with values youth learned *skills* for their livelihood. Skill development was related to hunting practices including arrow-head making; medicinal-practices such as recognising herbal plants and parts to use, as well as magico-religious practices. Learning skill was related to the then technology. Act of acquiring knowledge, learning process and experience distinguish man from other creatures. However, the tribal communities also understood that change was the only thing constant in life. Change from simple to complex society brought change in learning process, acquiring knowledge, skill development and gaining from experience through others or by own. Accumulation of knowledge in an individual's life is throughout lifespan but the most formative years are childhood to adolescence (Roy, 2006).

Dhumkuria had no particular set of curriculum but it was different from the present educational system. Curriculum was based on people's everyday experiences. Freire (2000) insists that curriculum should directly come from the people and must be prepared by them. Each night in *Dhumkuria*, youth inculcated with recreational activities mainly with song, dance, music, games, riddles, folktales, origin of their world, traditional plays, heroic deeds of their ancestors and concept development of social, culture, economic and political organisations. Conversational technique of conveying knowledge in this communal group aimed at achieving the emancipation of human being. Freire (2000) suggests mentor portrays the subject matter of their action from their own values and ideology. Mentor has ability to create an atmosphere to grab the attention of mentees and make them able to

listen to him/her. S/he do not teach or transmit knowledge but learn with the new generation of young ones and connects with universe as a whole. Both mentor and mentees get enriched. Mentees, on other hand learn much because a day comes when they have to take responsibility as mentor.

To be a good educator, Freire (2000) wrote that you need above all to have faith in human beings. You need to love. You must be convinced that the fundamental effort of education is to help with the liberation of people and not their oppression. Curriculum in *Dhumkuria* was designed according to the themes of cultural heritage and conditions of people's lives. But, faith in each other and in the institution as a whole was the fulcrum. Love was the catalyst. Here, the mentor prepared themselves for mentees and their community to discover the essence of their heritage, norms and values, words, ideas, conditions and habits, which relates them to their experience. Freire (2000) emphasised that foundation of curriculum should be on the experience of the learners. It was easy for learners to understand the situation. They could examine the situation themselves and then can take further steps to transform it. Mentees had right to discuss about the curriculum. In *Dhumkuria*, the curriculum was set according to all age group of members. It was set in such a manner that mentees were made to attend the class, but after a certain time choice were given to them.

As we have seen earlier, like curriculum, *Dhumkuria*'s pedagogy was based on dialogical negotiation and emancipation that brought awareness among youth for their community. Here, both mentor and mentees worked upon theme based activities such as cultural events, political issues, economic works and discussion on socio-political or administrative issues which involved equal participation. Main purpose of these activities was to enhance their learning about their society and preserve cultural tradition. Ceremonial activities such as attending festivals and religious ceremonies taught mentees cultural heritage of their community. Practical behaviour of mentees towards social groups was given more importance by their mentor. The community had to learn some skills to survive in the lap of nature. Skill development was related to hunting practices such as arrow-head making; ethno-medicine practices for instance, medicine making process, recognising herbal plants and parts to use; magico-religious practices and religious activities. These were the main learning events where mentor always made mentees to stay along with them. The mentees learn by participating in these events. Generally, mentees learn through observing people around them. They learn about skills, beliefs, existence and survival in the environment with mentor. They are, then, assessed based on their learning. Figure 3 is a representation of this.

Dhumkuria provides cultural capital among ST youth. According to Bourdieu (1986) cultural practices are assets. One can draw from him that cultural capital exists in form of these assets. This means cultural capital is acquired by ST youth

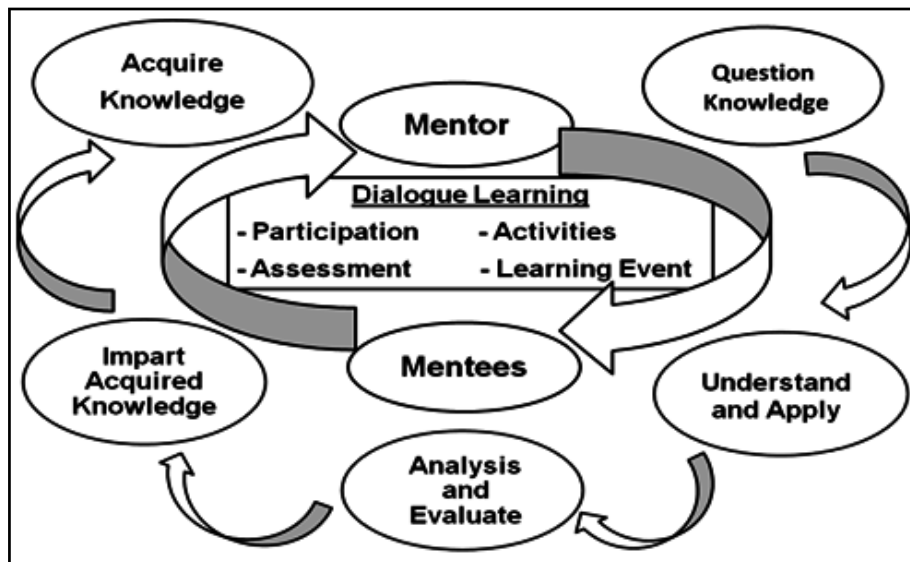


Figure 3: Learning process in *Dhumkuria*

in the institution. Smith (2012) opines indigenous people's knowledge is based on spiritual relationship to universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks and natural things, seen and unseen world. Notion of spirituality, values, attitudes, concepts, language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clear contrast and mark of difference between indigenous people and the civilised one.

Certainly, contemporary educational institutions engage youth to achieve success. Even youth's passion is influenced by several factors within and outside these institutional boundaries. These passions should not be dissuaded. Elder members of *Dhumkuria* as in an educational institute played a role of mentor and let the mentees decide the future for them. This institute intended to regulate behaviour of youth by providing socio-cultural repertoire for inculcation.

PEOPLE AND THEIR PRACTICES

Dhumkuria was an institution around which the social life of the community was organised. It symbolised the kernel of cultural heritage. It was also a pivotal institution for precipitating change. However, the significance of *Dhumkuria* declined. This started during the British rule in India. There are several reasons for this. We will highlight few which we consider noteworthy. Most crucial were the knowledge brokers. Among these the colonial anthropologists were at the forefront. They looked at the tribal institutions mostly devoid of the understanding of local context and the processes in which institutions like these worked and helped social organisation. Their agenda was guided by the grand design of

portraying the 'natives' as inferior. When these anthropologists encountered any institution like the *Dhumkuria*, they did not understand them properly and instead in their grand agenda mis-represented them. According to these anthropologists, institutions like the *Dhumkuria* were places of primitive practices and were breeding promiscuousness. This portrayal helped them spread the tentacles of European modernity- first, by misrecognition and then by humiliation.

The process of misrecognition by others, especially the intelligentsia, created a situation of ridicule by other communities with which they had existed earlier. These started being internalised by the tribals themselves. The tribals started doubting themselves and sooner they started hating themselves and their practices. Fewer people would turn up at the regular functioning of institutions like *Dhumkuria*. Gradually, the community itself started breaking up because it was *Dhumkuria*, and their like, which held the community together. The social organisation of the community was etched around these institutions and the pattern of behaviour that they created. The epistemic violence, unleashed by the academicians, therefore, had very bad consequences. They humiliated people and their practices and for no fault of these people.

The research design and practice of these celebrated academicians were at fault, then. They unleashed notion of misplaced modernity. The valuable community institutions which held the community together was gone and the people were made to feel inferior. The ST youth were the most confused. They did not have the backdrop of history to interact their biography with. The practices of their ancestors were portrayed as not normal. The search for normality further misplaced the youth. They started becoming deviants of their own cultural heritage and of their personality's basic connect with nature. Socio-psychological disorders were often reported. These youth were gradually depicted as criminals and humiliated. A simple interrogation into the system that forced and re-enforced humiliation shows that people and their practices were valued for who they were but what their worth was for the colonial or other dominant power holders. Natural resources from forest areas were brokered for the colonial masters through the middlemen and the tribals themselves were not of much use. Their practices were incomprehensible to the oppressors and, therefore, deviant.

The condition of the ST youth explains the working of both capital and state – whether it was during the colonial rule or after India gained independence. The lights of freedom have not yet reached people in tribal areas and their practices are still stamped with colonial authority. The problem lies not with the internal peculiarities of the STs which prevent them from accessing development as the standard narrative would have us believe, but in what development has done to them. ST youth have been disorganised and unlike the scheduled castes, do not have leaders of national stature like B.R. Ambedkar. The STs are still humiliated

because they and their practices are not understood by the GOI. There is existence of affirmative action policies. There is also the Ministry of Tribal Affairs as well as the presence of statutory commissions like the National Commission for STs, laws like the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act and laws against land alienation in all the provinces. However, the ministries which really affect the lives of the STs are the Ministry of Environment and Forests, the Ministries of Commerce, Coal and Mining, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the various state police departments. Moreover, negative policies towards the STs far outweigh any protective policies. The language of protection and uplift associated with STs has also negated the possibility of their rights in their land.

IN SOLIDARITY

We need to highlight people and practices that have been pushed to the margins of our society. We need to expand the circle of our meaning making to understand that there were well thought out and very useful institutions which kept the community flourishing. They were what we, critical thinkers, want our schools to be. But they were made vulnerable. We need to be in solidarity with them. Otherwise, such useful voices will be lost. Their revival will be useful for these communities as well as for anyone else. In the recent years, there are efforts to revive these and other indigenous cultural practices. Nevertheless, the lens of social justice has been skewed in India. While the injustice perpetuated by the caste system is being addressed through the re-distribution framework with a premise that lower caste people did not get access to social resources in the past.

The public discourse for tribal justice focuses on the recognition of their cultural practices. While we believe that tribal cultural practices and their institutions should be recognised and reconstructed, we would like to see a bivalent approach (Fraser, 2008) adopted for social justice to the STs in India. This means a midway approach for recognition and re-distribution. We feel that a process of conscientisation, especially of the ST youth will set in motion the much desired wish for people to live and let live. The pedagogy of love would encompass people and perspectives from all walks of life. This should form the framework for education for the mainstream in India and elsewhere. Education should enable us to think critically, reflect on issues which concern the individual and the collective and act in the interest of humanity at large.

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