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Contents

Editorial

It is my great pleasure to present this issue of *Intellectual Resonance-DCAC Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, Volume III, Issue IV, September, 2016* to academicians for their perusal. The Journal is multidisciplinary in concept and welcomes articles on all disciplines. The Journal offers its readers an eclectic selection of wide ranging articles from varied disciplines of social sciences, cultural studies and other related disciplines.

The authors, however, must follow the ethical code of sending us original unpublished articles and the onus of plagiarism, if detected, would lie on them. Moreover, the ideas and views expressed in these articles are those of the respective authors and the publishers of the Journal are not liable to any responsibility for them. The Delhi College of Arts and Commerce through its Journal, *Intellectual Resonance* is facilitating publishable academic space to authors for an expression of their intellectual ideas. All manuscripts submitted will be peer reviewed. However, the copyright of the articles remains with the respective authors.

The Journal is coming out after a hiatus of two years but judging by the enthusiastic response of the contributors and avid interest shown by others we have planned to bring out another issue in January-February, 2017 since we want to maintain this as a bi-annual Journal. We look forward to your continuing participation in contributing articles to make it a success.

I would also like to thank and congratulate my Academic Executive Board for their continuous efforts in making this issue possible.

--- Dr. Rajiv Chopra,
OSD-Principal

1

Canadian Indigenous sovereignty, self-government and identity: Recent Dichotomy

-- Dr. Mukesh Bogaria

Indigenous peoples or tribes of Canada have long suffered under the political and cultural oppression of European and Canadian societies. As a result, these indigenous peoples are perceived as stateless and "nations within" Canadian state. The term "nation" implies sovereignty of indigenous peoples as community possessing self-determination right to indigenous governance- a right that indigenous peoples never relinquished or given up to any foreign white people to control and alter the matters relating to their lives. However submergence of this nationhood within the larger Canadian nation-state is the reality behind the "nations within"-is a paradigm shift in indigenous –state relations where latter attempts to control and maintain the status of this new social order.

Thus, in this article, an attempt is made to understand the undercurrents acting on the indigenous-state relations in terms of governance. Since the decade of 1980s witnessed significant changes in relation to autonomy for indigenous communities nevertheless the fact remains that struggle for indigenous peoples is not yet over because the structure of self-government as proposed by federal government will not help indigenous peoples, for long, to sustain their indigenous cultures and traditions and

make them distinct and culturally different ethnic groups among recent immigrants to Canada. Hence this article also attempts to emphasize on the importance of indigenous self-government right as an existing right that will reflect indigenous sense of culture and spirituality.

Politics in Defining Sovereignty

"We are the original inhabitants of this country now called Canada, and as First Nations peoples we never gave up our sovereignty. We are the First Peoples and we are a Nation with the inherent right to create and maintain our own identities and cultures, languages, values, practices, to govern ourselves and to govern our relationship with other governments as distinct entities."[1]

The above lines clearly state the indigenous sovereignty as vital and important in governing indigenous lifestyle and that indigenous right to self-government is derived from indigenous status as original inhabitants of Canada which is important in defining indigenous identity. So sovereignty as an indigenous concept is defined as power to govern indigenous political, social and cultural affairs. It is a distinct right derived from their ancestral Canadian land. It is also based on the indigenous-white settlers relationship on nation-to-nation basis. Such rights according to indigenous peoples, is an inherent right that can never be surrendered or taken away. But today, indigenous concept of sovereignty is understood in the context of the European nation-state. As Dale Turner writes, "Aboriginal sovereignty is viewed solely as a legal political term, its meaning remains safely embedded in Western-European legal and political traditions." [2] However, in this connection, sovereignty as interpreted by indigenous is based on the settlement of Canadian land and the relationship that developed between the settlers and the indigenous. Hence, it can be said that indigenous sovereignty can be defined on the basis of interpretation of indigenous history which has never been considered as legitimate and without an indigenous interpretation of history, one cannot understand the right to indigenous self-government leading to indigenous identity. Indigenous sovereignty which is based on indigenous belongingness to their land and is rooted in notions of freedom, respect and autonomy-stands in direct contrast to European-Western concept of sovereignty in which there is "a permanent transference of power or authority from to an abstraction of the collective called government". Such notion of western concept relates

to notion of domination which indigenous peoples rejects and finds it incompatible with the indigenous concept of governance which sees "government as the collective power of the individual members of the nation; there is no separation between society and state." [3] Therefore, sovereignty as an exclusionary concept, is an inappropriate concept for indigenous peoples "rooted in an adversarial and coercive Western notion of power." [4]

As an exclusionary concept, Paul Keal states that, Taiaiake Alfred attempts to draw attention to the fact that, "it [sovereignty] confers property rights on some people and not others; and that it excludes some from the rights enjoyed by others". Further, "it is coercive because it is inextricably linked to the practices of colonization and colonialism which means it has served to justify dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands and taking their children away from them". Sovereignty also continues dependence of indigenous peoples on the state. This "suggests that sovereignty is not imaginable outside state structures, that it involves structures of domination, including the imposition of non-indigenous systems of justice and policing, and that it is not about spiritual connection with land" that indigenous peoples emphasize on.[5]

Thus, attempts by indigenous peoples to emphasize on indigenous sovereignty to reassert control over their sacred lands and their cultural heritage from the 1970's, has given rise to indigenous nationalism. Further, what emerges from the demand for recognition of indigenous sovereignty is that, it is an essential step to self-determination and self-government, an expression of distinct identity and a way of achieving empowerment, autonomy and equality. For indigenous peoples demand for indigenous sovereignty is to demand the recovery of indigenous identity in Canada but the politics of defining indigenous sovereignty both by indigenous and non-indigenous raises many complexity of the matter. Thus due to lack of proper definition of indigenous sovereignty, the issue of self-government had "bothered" and continues to "bother" Canadian government and their leaders, the public, academicians, and indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, it has become an "effective vehicle for indigenous critiques of the state's imposition of control", and "created space required for greater assertion of self-governing powers". [6] Since sovereignty is seen as the best vehicle to assert their territorial rights which, once again, will provide indigenous peoples to govern themselves according their traditional socio-cultural and

political rules and regulations. In other words, it can be said that indigenous rights to sovereignty over their ancestral land was never extinguished and that it still exist by virtue of being the original occupants of Canadian land.

Towards Self-Government and Identity

While it is clear that indigenous sovereignty is closely linked to recovery of indigenous identity in Canada. Self-government, for the indigenous peoples, may be viewed as an extension of the individual identity into the community thus the concept of self-government is linked to the restructuring of indigenous nationhood and it has been understood as vital for determination of indigenous affairs.

So far Canadian federal government has been seen advancing indigenous self-government legislation for example the Sechelt Indian Band of British Columbia, the Cree Naskapi of Quebec, the Nunavut territory, the Teslin Tlingit from British Columbia and most recently the Nisga'a. However, the collective indigenous self-government remains under the jurisdiction of the federal and provincial government.[7] Plus its constitutional definitions are yet to be defined.

The issue of self-government emerged in the second half of the 2oth century. In 1950's the provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and British Columbia commissioned studies of their indigenous population and finally in 1959, a joint Senate House of Commons Committee examined indigenous issues. On one hand, the house realized problems being faced by indigenous peoples however on the other, it ignored self-government issue of indigenous. Further, in 1966, the Hawthorne Report recommended greater involvement of municipal and provincial government in the matters of indigenous peoples. Though Hawthorn report provided a greater role for the provinces while giving more autonomy to indigenous communities along with improved services, but it aimed at assimilation of and integration of indigenous into Canadian society. The report emphasized more in delivery services to indigenous rather than economic development of indigenous communities.[8] At the same time, the proposals for a much greater role for the provincial governments paved the way for the 1969 White Paper. But instead of improving indigenous status, the White Paper aimed at abolition of indigenous distinct status as Indians. This meant an unequal citizenship for all including the

indigenous peoples. This White Paper was met with serious protests by indigenous leaders.

Nevertheless, decisions in 1973 by the Supreme Court of Canada in Calder case and Quebec Superior Court in James Bay Cree, stimulated the development of policies recognizing the existence of indigenous rights leading to the beginning of land tile claims. Finally in 1975, James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was signed which became a vehicle for self-government. Infact, this development led Canada pass its Constitution Act which included section 35 (1) which affirmed indigenous existing and treaty rights and that it was applied to all Indian, Inuit and Metis people of Canada. In 1993, Inuit and Canadian government signed the Nunavut land claims agreement that gave birth to Nunavut territory. Infact, creation of Nunavut territory, was the largest and most comprehensive of all indigenous land claims and self-determination agreements settled by Canada. Since then, most of comprehensive claims are being worked in British Columbia, Newfoundland and other parts of Canada. Hence, the issue of sovereignty lies at the heart of rights to self-government. For indigenous peoples, right to self-government is a way to define their distinct indigenous identity.

The Supreme Court and Self-government

The Canadian judiciary, in most cases, doesn't feel passing the judgement in favour of indigenous peoples and this is very much clear from the three main cases- *R. v. Pamajewon*, Delgammuukw *v. British Columbia* and *R. v. Sparrow*, where indigenous peoples have failed to acquire their rights to sovereignty and self-government. This is partially due to the perceived threat of self-governance to the sovereignty of the Crown in Canada.

R. v. Pamajewon

R. v. Pamajewon dealt with the issue of the right of gambling pursued by the Shawanaga and the Eagle Lake First Nations without the licence to gambling. So the court based it judgement of indigenous rights that-it must have an element of a practice, custom, or tradition integral to the distinctive culture of the indigenous group claiming the right to gamble. This judgement disassociated self-government from indigenous rights and because emphasizes was laid more on cultural traits of indigenous peoples so the judiciary aimed to impose the policy of multiculturalism by making them

just another minority ethnic group in Canada.[9]

Delgamuukw v. British Columbia

In Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, the court did not give any judgement in relation to self-government because it could not determine a proper definition of self-government. This position of the court reflects the basic fact that judiciary is being used to legitimize the position of the Canadian state and maintain Crown's sovereignty over indigenous land. So the issue of self-government as an independent right was not ushered to them.[10]

R. v. Sparrow

The Supreme court decision in Sparrow case marked a turning point in indigenous rights to fish. In 1984, Musqueam member Ronald Sparrow was arrested fishing with a net longer than permitted by food fishing license. The matter was taken to court and finally in 1990, ruled out that despite governmental regulations and restrictions on Musqueam's fishing rights, indigenous rights has not been extinguished and that this was in accordance with provisions made in 35(1) of the Constitution Act.[11]

Though, this ruling did provide protection to indigenous cultural practices but such rights were not absolute and can be infringed upon providing the government can legally justify it.

In more recent decision in *R v. Sappier*; *R v. Gray*, the Supreme Court showed its flexibility in defining indigenous cultural rights. In *R v. Sappier*, Dale Sappier and Clark Polchies (Maliseet) were "charged under New Brunswick's Crown Lands and Forests Act with lawful possession of or cutting of Crown timber from Crown lands", for the construction of a house while Darrell Joseph Gray (Mi'kmaq) had cut timber "to fashion his furniture". The Supreme Court, in these cases, held that, "the respondents possessed an aboriginal right to harvest wood for domestic uses on Crown lands traditionally used for that purpose by their respective First Nations" thus, "a practice of harvesting wood for domestic uses undertaken in order to survive is directly related to the pre-contact way of life and meets the 'integral to a distinctive culture' threshold".[12]

In Canada many indigenous rights are considered as cultural rights. The purpose of section 35(1) of the *Constitution* is to reconcile indigenous

peoples' rights to traditional customs and practices with European law and the present-day rule of the state. Because cultural rights are also grounded in the historical practices, customs and traditions, it includes activities practiced by indigenous peoples such as the right to speak indigenous languages and the right to perform traditional customs such as dances, songs and ceremonies. Thus, cultural activities such as hunting, fishing, language and art are the most basic type of indigenous rights, and may exist without indigenous title to land. Further, in order to establish that an activity is an indigenous right, today, it has become necessary to prove that the indigenous group bringing the claim practiced this activity, tradition or custom and that it was culturally important at the time of European contact.[13]

Conclusion

Identity of indigenous peoples of Canada has often been understood by Canadian policy makers within the narrow construct to expand the concept of indigenous rights leading to enhance self-governance movements in Canada, often linked to indigenous sovereignty. Such understanding of indigenous identity politics within the mainstream conceptual framework created by non-indigenous peoples in Canada, is to make indigenous peoples adapt within the value system of the existing dominant paradigm.

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9   R. V. Pamajewon (1996) 2 S.C.R. P-821

10   *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* (1997) 3 S.C.R 821 at para 72

11   R.v. Sparrow (1990) 1. S.C.R. P-1075

12   (R v. Sappier; R v. Gray [2006] 2 S.C.R 686)Netaji Nagar, New Delhi

2

The Changing Image of the Nation in Popular Hindi Cinema: From Nehruvian Socialism to the Present

-- Dr. Vinita Gupta Chaturvedi

If we are to accept Raymond William's explanation of the term popular culture as 'belonging to the people' and its historical shift towards the widespread modern usage of being " 'widely favoured 'or 'well liked' " [1]then the commercial Hindi cinema can be dubbed popular both in terms of attracting vast audiences and in terms of dominating all other forms of entertainment : " on an average day, India releases more than two-and-a-half feature films, produced by the world's largest film industry, and sees some 15 million people throng the country's 13,002 cinema halls"[2] There is a thriving film culture in our country and for most Indians, cinema is an integral part of our lives. It is not just a distant two or three hour distraction but a whole vicarious lifestyle for them. The large screen provides an alternative, an escape from the realities of a humdrum existence. The protagonists, larger than life, are identified with, the hero is applauded, the heroine is admired and the villain is condemned. The actors and actresses are household names and obliterating the popular distinction of high and low art , the reach of cinema is far and wide – from the humble 'paan' vendor to the highly celebrated barefoot painter who painted a paean to the beauty of a film actress. The cultural hegemony of Hindi cinema is

indisputable.

Hindi cinema has been a major point of reference for Indian popular culture in the twentieth century. It has shaped and expressed the changing scenario of pre- independence, post- independence and modern India to an extent that no other art form could ever achieve. Cinema has always reflected the anxieties of the age, the changing social mores and attitudes of the nation. In a facile manner I have tried to pick on the landmark films that have lain dormant in collective memory of viewers from my generation to show how Hindi cinema, since its inception, to the modern times has helped forge the identity of a changing nation. At every crucial juncture in the nation's history, the corresponding films reflect the major social preoccupations of the times. Film scholar Sumita S. Chakravarty in the Department of Communication in the New School for Social Research, New York writes, "The cinema is widely considered a microcosm of the social, political, economic and cultural life of a nation. It is the contested site where meanings are negotiated , traditions made and remade, identities affirmed or rejected."[3] Describing the relationship between nation and cinema as an intimately symbiotic one, she says her book deals with a "master narrative [Indian national identity] and a mistress narrative [Indian entertainment cinema]"[4]

Tracing the origins and development of cinema in the early twentieth century, chakraborty notes that the Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, busy port cities, active in culture and commerce and bearing the deep imprint of British influence developed into major film producing centers. Bombay, now Mumbai, in particular had developed an industrial base and its mixed population gave it a cosmopolitan air. The influx of western visual technology-first photography and then film, found congenial soil and a commercially successful class which could adopt and exploit these technologies for profit . The agents of Lumiere Brothers held the first film screening onJuly7,1896 at Bombay's Watson's Hotel and the city's elite had enthusiastically received the new medium. Soon the arrival of motion picture attracted a large number of business people, artists and craftspeople into film production and exhibition of rudimentary shots.

The man generally acknowledged as having laid the foundation of Indian film industry, Dadasaheb Phalke (1870-1944) produced and directed

the first silent feature film Raja Harishchandra in 1913.He produced a series of mythological, devotional and historical films, thematically familiar to the audience. These films established the ever appealing themes of the undeniable virtue of truth, goodness triumphing over evil; and played upon the Indian spiritual code of self abnegation and self sacrifice. According to Chakraborty, Phalke was engaged in reclaiming the past glory of a Hindu culture and cinema to him was a 'cultural-nationalist' vehicle. His films, emphasing India's glorious heritage was meant to generate a sense of pride and patriotism. He is the first filmmaker to link Indian politics and statehood, the cinema screen became a 'political space' and Indian films established a "distinct identity for themselves as indigenous national products"[5]. But he also asserted the primary function of cinema, which is entertainment. The 1920s saw the beginnings of Studio Era, a period of consolidation of film industry which bears all the marks of a capitalist enterprise- the standardizing of product, investment in technological machinery, work of studio pioneers in advancing the craft and language of cinema. With the advent of Gandhiji came a plea to accord better status to women , the clarion call to remove untouchability which got reflected in the reformist and socially conscious cinema of the 1920s and the30s , as in the works of and Devika and Himanshu Rai's *Achyut Kanya*(1936) and V. Shantaram's *Doctor Kotnis Ki Amar Kahani*(1946).

In the post independence Nehruvian India, an intricate relationship came about between the Indian film industry moored in the private sector and the nation state symbolizing the public sector. To some extent film industry became the ideological mouthpiece of the Indian state, which as Chakraborty says, was capitalist in its structure and functioning but socialist in its aims and rhetoric. Along with the fledgling nation, cinema , reformist in nature, entered into a nation building exercise. Questions of film policy, of finance and government subsidies , of state censorship, as well as state instituted film aewards and festivals became crucial factors in determining the wider role of cinema in society. Consequently cinema arrogated to itself a responsible social role of guiding public morality and looked upon itself as a propagator of family values and private virtues. As a culture industry, the cinema churned out in its studio factories was supposed to enhance the prestige of the new nation and if we were to look back at the dominant lasting images of the cinema of this period, they are those of large scale

industrial projects like building of dams; power plants spewing smoke symbolically spiraling upwards into the sky; the bellowing hoots from factories sounding a clarion call to progress ; tractors triumphantly marching into the fields; this is how "Modernity as a product of technology-the technological quartet of railway, irrigation, electricity and telecommunications-also makes it an important character within the national saga: named, celebrated, ferried across, invited into the frame"[6]. To quote Ashish Rajadhyaksha again, social themes got "mapped on to the narrative destinies of the post-war Indian state, specially its epiphanic 'Nehruite' moment"[7] and according to him, cinema in the hands of filmmakers began a process of reworking an earlier mythical, feudal, traditional language into one that moved into new and post feudal uses. To reinforce his point Rajadhyaksha further quotes another influential film critic Nasreen Munni Kabir:

The 1950s was a golden time for Indian cinema. Filmmakers created authored and individual workswhile sticking strictly within the set conventions of films. The example of Mahatma Gandhi and Prime Minister Nehru's vision of the newly independent nation was also highly influential throughout the decade, and many excellent Urdu poets worked with filmmakers in the hope of creating a cinema that would be socially meaningful.[8]

One of the results of State stepping in as the patron of arts and culture resulted in film censorship laws. The Film Enquiry Committee in 1950 stated what measures should be adopted to "enable films in India to develop into an effective instrument for the promotion of national culture, education and healthy entertainment". Setting up of Film Censors in 1952 was done in the name of culture preservation. The Government looked upon itself as the guardian of public morality and put familiar puritanical injunction on cinema as a medium of education plus entertainment and cinema as a repository of family values.

The film *Mother India* (1955) christened a "nationalist epic" (Rajadhyaksha,143) is also a first in the long line of the popularly termed 'women oriented' films with an inherent ambivalence regarding the position of women. The iconic film poster sends out very strong socialist image of the hero and heroine the husband and wife, sickle in hand working together in the fields, suggesting equality of gender, presenting the comrades in

arms. Despite this the film offers a predominantly patriarchal view of woman's role in society, her duties and obligations as a wife and a mother. The worldview reflected in the film shows the archetypal life experiences of a rural woman,which is mired in misery, debt and despair. The protagonist Radha is shown to lead a very circumscribed life where the riveting moments of her life are marriage, childbirth and rearing of children and finally a careworn old age. The trajectory of her life has shown her fulfilling the role of a loving wife, a dutiful daughter in law and a doting mother. However the travails in life that she goes through – abject poverty, drought, starvation-with complete resilience is also emblematic of the spirit of an undaunted nation. The iconic film poster showing an agonised face of the peasant woman carrying a plough on her shoulder became a symbol of the overburdened nation determined to plough ahead through all adversities.

In keeping with the socialist ideals of Nehru, a special significance was attached to the idea of poverty in the cinema of the fifties. There is a suspicion of capitalism, wealth and affluence and a certain dignity attached to sparse living and frugal habits. There are a number of films where the hero is living on a meager income and the woman he loves would belong to an affluent family, very often this affluence connoting taint and corruption, especially if there is a prospective suitor in his flashy imported car, in an impeccably tailored suit, smoke spiraling out of his cigarette. In case the heroine is in want of it, she lends herself to a genteel upbraiding regarding the accumulation of her wealth. Even so, the hero's so called poverty is only an approximate term denoting lack of economic resources and a consequent difficulty in maintaining a certain lifestyle, not abject poverty.

The psycho analyst Sudhir Kakar explains this deep seated suspicion of money and a certain embarrassment about possessing inordinate material wealth by attributing it the religio –cultural beliefs of the age which tended to attach negative connotations to material acquisitions. The fifties cinema deployed this value system by pointing to the corrupting influence of wealth . This distrust of money a critique of western materialism also served to underscore India's inherent 'spirituality' which as Ranjani Mazumdar argues served to give a 'cultural identity' to India, different from western ethos. The fifties film's code of work ethic posited belief in honest earnings through hard work and selfless, principled service. Possession of the basics was a

social virtue but excessive accumulation of wealth was decried. Thus the cinema of the times showed ubiquitous figures of the poor but joyous peasant, miserable but blessings-showering alms seeker, hard put up labourer reveling in bucolic rectitude, the scrupulous doctor or the idealistic teacher. The principled schoolteacher in a crumpled tunic riding a bicycle is a most familiar trope, the last of which was seen in the 1975 film *Deewaar*, where the intense narrative gets stalled by a ten minute long digressive story of an honest schoolteacher who holds his deprived, bread stealing son guilty of theft. He has no grounds to plead his son's innocence, that his booty is small while others are amassing more wealth, because as he points out stealing one rupee or stealing one thousand is immaterial, what is unpardonable is the act of appropriating that which does not belong to him. But this minor interpolation serves to provide a moral lesson to the police officer protagonist who was vacillating till now whether to bring his errant criminal brother to book or not.

The Fifties decade also saw the growing importance of the city and the perils of urbanization. The cityscape was fraught with greed , avarice, competitiveness and meanness of spirit. Raj Kapoor playing the eternal country bumpkin trumped by the city dweller in films like like *Shree 420* (1955) and *Jaagte Raho* (1956) pitted the charmed and idyllic village life against the hypocrisy and deceit of the town-bred, one of the polarizations of rural/urban, village/ city that continues to be worked till day.

During the stable Sixties decade, the country had glided into a relatively calmer phase where the immediate concerns and anxiety of nation building were not weighing heavily on the film makers's psyche. There was a discernible shift from social issues towards more romantic genres, involving a greater thrust on musical soundtracks, melodious scores, exuberance of emotions and newer stars with romantic pairings. Some of the factors responsible for the emergence of this cinema could be the passing of Nehruvian era with its preoccupations with nationhood and reformist predilections, paring of social responsibility and the advent of colour medium in cinema. The relative stability of the period is reflected in the cinema of this decade which in popular parlance is referred to as the Age of Innocence in cinematic history. A major shift can be seen in the change of locale – cinema moves out of the decadent, over industrialised cities to the more

salubrious countryside. There is a certain flamboyance and joie de vivre in the films which is encapsulated in the 'yahoo' song of gay abandon, the liberating cry from all cares of the world. In fact one can discern the classical constructions of the features of Roman comedies in these Romances-the love interest of the hero and heroine with all the stereotypical complications forming the main plot which acts as a foil to the comic sub plot of another pair of lovers, usually involving the hero's sidekick and the heroine's confidante; a few pedantic elderly characters, the aunts or uncles mouthing vast quantities of sententious dialogue; a comic suitor sometimes bordering on the villainous; the misunderstandings, either love related or about actual parentage, ultimately resolved in the end with multiple marriages. The films largely adhered to this time proven melodramatic formula of love-intrigue- marriage evoking the Victorian novelist Wilkie Collins' prescription for his reader/ audience: 'make them laugh, make them cry, make them wait'.

The Sixties is also notable for a few patriotic films asserting an aggressive Indian nationalism when the nation was in grips of war. The Indo-China war of 1962 and the Indo –Pakistan war of 1965 spawned patriotic films like *Hum Dono* (1963), *Haqeequat* (1964) and *7 Hindustani* (1969) celebrating the valour and grit of the Indian armed forces which appealed to and assuaged the anxieties of the national imagination.

However, the ebullience of the Swinging Sixties gave way to the political incertitude and turmoil of the early Seventies- the Nav Nirman movement led by Jay Prakash Narayan in Bihar and Gujarat, the faultlines in the model of the welfare state, the imposition of Emergency and the ensuing muzzling of dissent, the growing social inequality, unemployment and a lopsided pace of development generated such angst and frustration that it resulted in the rise of the anti-establishment persona of the Angry Young Man, who single handedly took on the unsympathetic and corrupt elements in the legislative, executive or judicial arm of the political edifice. The nation hobbling out of the dark period of Emergency and institutional breakdown gave rise to the Bachchan phenomenon, and his relentless fight against the unjust and exploitative 'System' can be understood in this context. The darkness and despair of the times gave rise for the first time in the Hindi cinema to a figure of the hero who is morally ambiguous, who takes the

law into his hands and whose solution to the problem are questionable, bordering almost on the anarchic.

In the post modern, post-liberalised Nineties of India, Hindi cinema changed the way the country had transformed – the economy underwent a complete overhaul and there emerged a burgeoning middle class with its easy accessibility to global culture and consumerist goods and its aspirational lifestyle. The potential worth of overseas market for Indian cinema became apparent. Filmmakers tapped into the Indian diaspora's irrepressible longing for their nation's tradition and culture. A further fillip came in the year 1998 when the Government of India in deference to its pro-diaspora policy, accorded industry status to the Indian filmmaking enterprise. Post liberalization the complexion of Indian cities changed- new cityscape with its ritzy shopping malls, gleaming foreign cars, global fashion house apparels, new gadgets and commodities brought a new cosmopolitan look to Hindi cinema. This transformed picture of India needed to be showcased in cinema, before the diasporic community and could best be coupled with the time tested formulae of projecting Indian traditions and customs, its extravagant weddings and festivals and the abiding 'family values'. A new 'export-oriented commercial cinema' came into being, inaugurated by the extremely successful *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (1995) which spawned an entire gamut of such films that satisfied the non resident Indian's nostalgia. The essay "Beyond Diasporic Boundaries" describes the stupendous success of this cinema on account of these factors:

With music, melodrama, elaborate costumes, and the feel good factor, these films evoke the nation through cultural practices of the diasporic Indian family. They structure these practices with a certain attitude of nostalgia and sentiment towards the 'family film' that was a prominent part of the history of Indian cinema.[9]

These films evoking the harmonious Indian joint family, with its small joys and tears, traditional celebrations of festivals, their spirited handling of family crisis, songs and dances with a genteel patriarch or a gentle matriarch holding the family together, became the staple of cinema of the decade, where to quote Rajadhyaksha slightly out of context, a new brand of 'cultural nationalism' was offered to the global consumer of hindi cinema.

If cinema is a reflection of the times and the major preoccupations of its nation then the current wave of cinema, in keeping with the new found confidence and political and economic stability, is willing to experiment with new forms and engage with off beat ideas. If the Nineties were a reflection of the post liberalisation effervescence then the current spirit of new age start ups and brave entrepreneurship has produced a generation that is not averse to taking risks, to revaluating the canon and reassessing traditions. The last couple of years have seen an unleashing of new creative energies and a spurt in cinema that has increasingly rejected the formulae – films like *Udaan* (2010),*The Ship of Theseus* (2012) ,*Masaan* (2015) and a host of films from filmmakers like Anurag Kashyap, Vikramaditya Motwane, Neeraj Pandey, Abhishek Choubey, among others, has resulted in ground breaking experimental cinema. To sum up in words of Farukh Dhondy, Films "came to colonized India and developed its nationalist instincts against the colonizers. It continued through a 'free' India looking for a national personality that transcended the histories- separate and distinct-of regions, castes and religions" and it continues now when we are " being dragged into the influences of urbanization and the ways of the modern world".[10]

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3

Education of Children with Special Needs in India: Inching towards Inclusive Education

Rashmi Sharma, Shalini Saksena, K. Suresh Kumar

Introduction

The one group that is widely excluded from quality education is that of children with disabilities. It is increasingly being recognized that 'disability' is one of the most potent albeit least visible factors resulting in educational marginalisation. Despite extensive government policies, programs and legislative initiatives with an unequivocal commitment for inclusive education of children with disabilities in India, both the rates of educational participation and outcomes of education remain very poor for children and young adults with disabilities. Dropout and illiteracy rates for this group remain much higher than the general population and school attendance continues to lag behind that of non-disabled peers. Only 1/8th of students with disabilities enrolled at primary level remain until the higher secondary level of education. In its 2015 survey on the status of students with disability in higher education in India, the National Centre for Promotion of Employment of Disabled People[1] (NCPEDP) found that the percentage of students with disabilities fell from 0.63 in 2014 to 0.56 in 2015. Such a performance is abysmal given that the Disability Act of 1995[2] has been implemented for over two decades with the aim of filling seats reserved under the 3% mandated quota for students with disabilities in all educational

institutions.

In the above backdrop, this paper traces the evolution of government educational policies and legislations relating to inclusion of students with disabilities over the last four and a half decades. It focuses on the shift in policy emphasis from ensuring physical access alone in order to integrate such students, to second generation concerns focusing on reforms in curriculum and pedagogy along with a change in attitudes and beliefs as reflected in the culture of the educational institution which enables and empowers these students in the real sense.

Disability estimates in India: an overview

There is no exact definition of 'disability'. It is a multi-dimensional and complex construct, with no single universally accepted, un-contentious definition. Several characteristics are considered 'disabilities', such as deafness, blindness, diabetes, autism, epilepsy, paraplegia and even depression. It covers diverse conditions such as 'the congenital absence or adventitious loss of a limb or a sensory function, progressive neurological conditions like multiple sclerosis, chronic diseases like arteriosclerosis, the inability or limited ability to perform cognitive functions such as remembering faces or calculating sums, and psychiatric disorders like schizophrenia and bipolar disorder' (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)[3]. There exists a lot of variation in the experiential and functional states of these 'disabled' people to justify a common definition.

The definitions differ across countries and also change within a country over a period of time with evolving legal, political and social discourses. In India, there is wide variation in estimates of prevalence of disability. The two main large data-sets are the Census of India and National Sample Survey. The 2001 Census recorded a prevalence rate of 2.13% (21.9 million people), while the 2002 National Sample Survey 58th Round (NSSO, 2003) reported that 1.8 percent of the population (18.5 million) had a disability. The World Bank[4] study, whichadopted a more inclusive definition, particularly for mental illness and mental retardation, arrived at a figure of 80-90 million as the 'real' rate of prevalence of disability in India in 2007.

The question on disability was canvassed in all the Censuses in India

from 1872 to 1931. It was not canvassed in the Censuses from 1941 to 1971. In Census 1981, information on three types of disability was collected. The question was again dropped in Census 1991. In Census 2001, the question was again included and information on five types of disability was collected. In Census 2011, information on eight types of disability was collected with the idea of covering most of the disabilities listed in the 'Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995'[5] and 'The National Trust Act, 1999'. The country's disabled population grew by 22.4% between 2001 and 2011, and the proportion of disabled population rose from 1.87% in 2001 to 2.01% in 2011, with nearly 12 million disable persons in 2011, with the largest percentage belonging to the 90+ age group (see tables 1, 2 and figure 1).

Table1.Disabled Population in India 2001, 2011 Census

Census Data	Persons	Males	Females
Proportion in total Population-2001	2.13	2.37	1.87
Proportion in total Population-2011	2.21	2.41	2.01
Persons in 2011	26,810,557	14,986,202	11,824,355

Source: C-Series, Table C-20, Census of India 2001 and 2011 (http:// censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/disabled_ population. aspx)

Table 2. Proportion of Disabled Population in the Respective Age Groups   2011

Age Group	0-4	5-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90+	Age Not Stated
(%)	2.21	1.14	1.54	1.82	1.97	2.09	2.31	2.83	4.15	6.22	8.41	8.4

Source: C-Series, Table C-20, Census of India 2011 (http://census india.gov.in/ Census_And_You/disabled_ population.aspx)

Figure 1.Disabled Population by Type of Disability (2011)
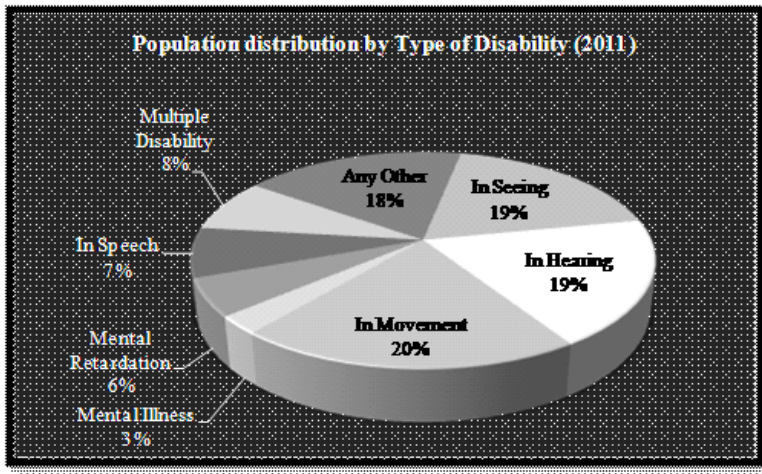
Source: C-Series, Table C-20, Census of India 2011 (http://census india.gov.in/ Census_And_You/disabled_ population.aspx)

Models of Disability and Education

Two common features stand out in most official definitions of disability: that it is a physical or mental characteristic perceived as'impairment', and/ orit is some personal or social limitation that is associated with the impairment. The first feature forms the basis of the Medical Model of Disability, which understands a disability in terms of the limitations faced by individuals that result from their impairments. Since the focus is on individual impairment(s), the way out suggested focuses on 'fixing' or 'curing' the individual. Under such an approach, the disabled person is seen as the problem and the rest of the world perpetuates this situation by ignoring their role.

The second feature of the definition of disability forms the basis of the Social Model of Disability, which was developed by the disabled people. Under this approach, disability is understood in the context of the relationship between an individual and the social environment around him/ her. It takes the view that society creates barriers which 'disable' people from participating fully and on an equal basis with others.It is by creating barriers in buildings and structures or by not providing information in different formats such as Braille or Easy Read, that people with impairments/

certain health conditions are 'disabled'. It focuses on the society's attitude which is seen as the main problem (see figure 2).

Inbetween these two definitions are those which assert that individual impairment and the social environment are jointly sufficient causes of such limitations. The best interactive definition is provided by the WHO's International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF, 2001) that identifies disability as an outcome of the 'dynamic interaction between health conditions and environmental and personal factors.' However, it must be noted here that such distinctions and semantic discussions on considering what one means by the medical or the social model and which definition is most appropriate, tends to obscure the real issues in disability which have more to do with oppression, discrimination, inequality and poverty.

Figure 2. The Medical and Social Models of Disability

Source: Authors
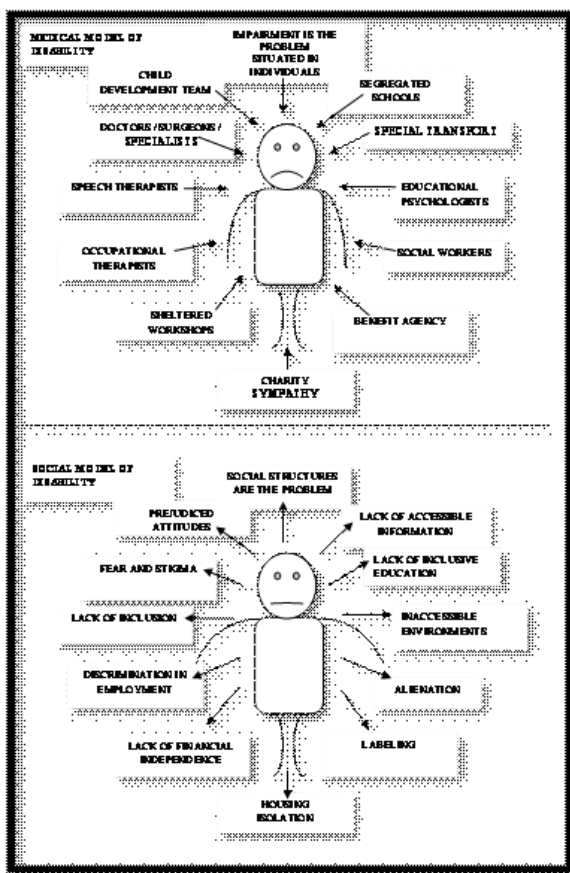
The underlying ideologies towards disability guide the approach towards educating children with special needs. There are three basic types of Special Education, although many different models of classroom organization and teaching are available within each type.The ideologies of the medical model are integral to the segregated and integrated models of education, which view the person and their disability as the problem, and seek to 'fix' the disability by bringing the person as close to 'normal' as possible. The inclusive education model is built around the goals and ideologies of the social model of disability which takes a more holistic view of the causes and remedies to overcome the limitations imposed by disabilities. The defining characteristics of different models of disability and education are as follows:

(i) **Segregated education**: This is provided through special schools or colleges that are separate from the other schools and colleges. It is often provided through separate units within the existing schools and colleges or through separate segregated courses designed specifically for the students with disabilities introduced within mainstream education settings.Such a concept labels the child as the problem in the system, who does not fit in and requires a completely different curriculum and different methods oftesting.This separation in schooloften creates separation within other spheres of life as well.

(ii) **Integrated education**: Thisprovides education to students with disabilities in a mainstream classroom with someadaptations and provision of additional resources.This model has no ideological commitment to equity. These students are expected to 'fit in' with pre-existing structures, attitudes and an unaltered environment.There is no paradigm shift within the school including the curriculum or pedagogy while trying to attain the objective of integrating such students with the existing system of education.

(iii) **Inclusive education**: It focuses on 'Education for All'. It is a process of strengthening the capacity of the education system toreach out to all learners.It requires that all children, regardless of their ability level, are included in the most appropriate and least restrictive environment, be it the mainstream classroom or a special school. Thus it doesn't necessarily require all children with disabilities to be enrolled in mainstream schools. It requires that education be imparted in an environment most suited to a child's needs. The most suitable environment for many may be the

mainstream school/college, and for a few it may be a specialised school/ college/institute and for some it may be home based education. For those who can study in mainstream schools/colleges, it involves restructuring the culture, policies and practices in schools and colleges so that they can respond to the diversity of students. Most importantly, it requires the attitudes of administrators, teachers, and otherstudents to be positive towards students with disabilities.

Inclusive practices include attitudes, approaches and strategies to ensure that no learners are excluded or isolated from the education on offer.The idea is to develop a culture where all learners are assisted to develop their talent and achieve their goals in life. Equal access to education empowers all, including children with disabilities, to be independent, helpful and contributive members of an inclusive, barrier free society.

Special Education in India: The Transition from Segregated to Integrated and Integrated to Inclusive Education

'All concerned must now rise to the challenge and work to ensure that Education for All effectively means FOR ALL, particularly those who are most vulnerable and most in need' -- (UNESCO)[6].

Government policies, programs and legislative initiatives show unequivocal commitment of the government for inclusive education of children with disabilities in India. These have mirrored the developments of international mandates and policy frameworks which provided a significant impetus to efforts undertaken at the national level.At the international level, the UN General Assembly's declaration of 1981 as the 'International Year of Disabled Persons', the proclamation of 1983-1992 as the 'Decade of the Disabled' by UN,'Decade of the Disabled Persons' from 1993-2002 declared by the UNESCAP, and subsequently the 'Special Needs Education' World conference held in Salamanca in June 1994,played an important role in not just bringing the spotlight on to people with disabilities, but also highlight the role of education as a vehicle for integration and empowerment of disabled population. These mandates played an important role in shaping new national legislations and policies. The policy shift that took place in India in 1974, away from segregated setting to a more integrated setting, was strengthened by a number of initiatives of the Government of India towards an inclusive setting. Such initiatives have found international

support in the form of financial assistance from the World Bank, UNESCO and the UNICEF. In this section, we run through the policies and legislative initiatives of the government in moving towards a more inclusive education.

From Segregated to Integrated Education Policies (1970 to 2000)

Until the 1970s, specialized and segregated schools were the primary method of service delivery for children with disabilities. Most of them were for children who were blind or visually impaired and majority of them were funded by missionaries, non-governmental organization or private sources[7].

The origin of Government's effort to promote integrated education in India can be traced back to 1974 when for the first time,the scheme of Integrated Education of Disabled Children (IEDC) was implemented by the Ministry of Welfarein the country. This ground breakingscheme[8] stressed the need for educating children with mild to moderate disabilities in regular school settings. The program provided children with disabilities 'financial support for books, school uniforms, transportation, special equipment and aids' with the intention of using these aids to encouragechildren in to mainstream classrooms.

Although it was encouraged and partly funded by UNICEF, fifty percent of the funding was supposed to go via the state governments. Despite the fact that this scheme was supposed to be nation-wide, it was implemented in only 10 out of 29 of the states in India. Three major problems with the IEDC were identified as (i) a lack of teachers' training and experience, (ii) a lack of orientation among regular school staff about the problems of disabled children and their educational needs, and (iii) the lack of availability of equipment and educational materials. By 1979-80, only 1,881 children from 81 schools all over the country had benefited from this program.[9]

IEDC 1974 had no provision for children with moderate to severe disabilities, who were still expected to be taught in segregated schools. This dual approach of stressing the need for expansion of special and integrated facilities continued for the next 20 years. This created tensions between mainstream and segregated special education schools.

Later, the National Policy on Education (NPE) of 1986[10] reaffirmed the

dual approach by stating in section IV titled 'Education for Equality' that 'where feasible children with motor handicaps and other mild handicaps will be educated with others, while severely handicapped children will be provided for in special residential schools'.Thus, it did not differ very much in spirit from the 1974 IEDC scheme.

While the NPE was made in 1986, it was only implemented with the adoption of the Plan of Action (POA) in 1992, which paved a solid ground for initiatives under the NPE. The 1992 POA broadened the 1986 definition of who should be included in mainstream schooling. It stated that'a child with a disability who can be educated in the general school should not be in the special school'[11]. It called for schools to share their resources with other institutions. However, most schools only opened 'resource centers for the underprivileged' which provided learning resources also to the children with disabilities, which was not in an inclusive setting. This was normally done after typical school hours.

All of these efforts got a boost by a shot in the arm when the Government of India passed the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act in 1995[12]. It defines a 'Person with disability' as anyone suffering from not less than 40% of the following disability as certified by a medical authority: blindness, low vision, leprosy-cured, hearing impairment, loco motor disability, mental retardation and mental illness. The Act provides that all Government educational institutions and other educational institutions receiving aid from the Government shall reserve not less than 3% seats for persons with disabilities as mandated quota. This law requires that all states and Union Territories must ensure that persons with disabilities have access to the same educational opportunities and basic human rights as their peers without disabilities. The Act further emphasized that, whenever possible, students with disabilities should be educated in regular school settings.

Specifically, it notes that, 'it [the Act] endeavours to promote the integration of students with disabilities in the normal schools'and also promotes the 'establishment and availability of special schools across the nation' in both Government and private sectors. This was landmark legislation since it acted as a catalyst for a number of other significant initiatives in the new millennium around inclusive education and disability

in India. However, there have been serious criticisms regarding the definition of disability and the requirement of deciding the quantum of disability as 40 per cent, which is not practically possible in case of mental illness.

Policies in the New Millennium (Post 2000): Moving from Integrated towards Inclusive Education

The 1990s witnessed rapid change with India becoming a signatory to the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO[13]). There was mass incorporation of the term 'inclusive education' in various official documents, reports published by institutions such as the NCERT and the media. However, the provisions at best aimed at providing integrated and not inclusive education. The real shift in policies from integrated towards inclusive education began only in the new millennium.

The Government of India, in conjunction with the World Bank, launched the SarvaShikshaAbhiyan (SSA) in 2001, an initiative which translates to 'Education for All'.Although SSA is not a disability-specific program, it can be seen more as a disability-inclusive program, with specific aspects that benefit people with disabilities.

SSA[14] aims at ensuring that every child with special needs, irrespective of the kind, category and degree of disability, is provided education in an appropriate environment. SSA seeks to adopt the 'zero rejection' policy such that no child is left out of the education system.The program seeks to open new schools in those habitations which did not haveschooling facilities and strengthen existing school infrastructure through provision ofadditional class rooms, special toilets, drinking water, maintenance grant and school infrastructure improvement grants.The SSA lists 8 priority areas of intervention for successful transition to an inclusive education setup, which include:

1) Survey for identification of Children with Special Needs (CSWN)

2) Assessment of CWSN

3) Providing assistive devices

4) Networking with NGOs/Government schemes

5) Barrier free access

6)   Training of teachers on Inclusive Education

7)   Appointment of resource teachers, and

8)   Curricula adaptation/textbooks/appropriate teaching-learning materials.

While the first five priorities listed focus on issues of access, the last three are associated with quality of educational experience determined by classroom based 'processes'. SSA categorically brought the concerns of children with disabilities under the framework of 'inclusive education'. It extended the dual approach historically adopted towards the education of children with disabilities, by propagating a "multi-optional delivery system" ranging from special and mainstreamschools to Education Guarantee Scheme/Alternative and Innovative Education (EGS/AIE) as well as Home Based Education (HBE).

In 2005, the Right to Education Bill was drafted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development. Again, this bill is not disability-specific, but is inclusive of children with disabilities, with specific sections that address the educational rights of students with disabilities. There are important clauses in the act to ensure that students with and without disabilities are guaranteed an education. More specifically,

(1) The act prohibits schools from charging any type of fee whose non-payment would prevent children from completing their elementary education.

(2) If a child turns six and is not in school, the child will be admitted into an age-appropriate classroom, and not into a classroom based on their perceived level of education. An exception to this rule makes such a provision anti-inclusive, which states that if children have an intellectual disability they may be placed according to their perceived level of education.

(3) If there is an area where children live that does not have a school, the government will be responsible for creating a school within that area within three years of the enactment of the Right to Education Act, or alternatively, to provide transportation or residential facilities to an adequate school out of the area.

(4)   Lastly, both the state and central governments hold joint responsibility for carrying out the responsibilities outlined in the Right to Education Act.The Right to Education Act was passed in 2009 and put into full effect in 2010.

The most recent development concerning rights of disabled people and education facilities for them is the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Bill (RPWD), 2014. It repeals the PWD Act of 1995 by defining disability to include 19 conditions instead of the 7 conditions under PWD Act (2005). Children with disability have the right to free education up to 18 years of age. Also, it provides for access to inclusive education, with 5% seats reserved in all Government institutions of higher education for persons with benchmark disabilities. This bill was drafted in 2012 and modified in 2013-14. Till date, it remains with the Standing Committee of the Government and has not been passed.

Thus, an extensive and exhaustive policy and legislative network exists, addressing almost all the requirements for moving towards an inclusive education system. Most policies suggest and highlight the need for learning in an 'appropriate' environment. However, there is lack of critical reflection on what this appropriate environment might look like, and more significantly, who makes the decision about where a child is appropriately placed. The current view of students with disabilities still seems to largely be overly medicalisedin the sense that the emphasis is largely on efforts directed at fixing child related factors through the provision of aids and appliances. This takes the focus away from the learning needs of the child.

Current educational status of children with disabilities

Even though various efforts have been made in the recent past, both the rates of educational participation and outcomes of education, remain very poor for children and young adults with disabilities. Illiteracy rates for this group remain much higher than the general population and school attendance continues to lag behind that of non-disabled peers. A 2007 study by the World Bank[15], for example, noted that children with disability are five times more likely to be out of school than children belonging to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes. Moreover, when children with disability

do attend school, they rarely progress beyond the primary level, leading ultimately to lower employment chances and long-term income poverty.

According to the NSS 58th round[16], 25 percent of the literate population of people with disabilities had received education up to the primary level (five years of schooling), 11 percent up to the middle level (eight years), while a mere 9 percent had nine or more years of education in India in the year 2002.A study by the National Centre for the Promotion of Employment of Disabled Persons[17] shows that only 0.1% (=1635 students) of total enrolled students in higher education institutions in the year 2005 are students with disabilities. Apart from this, there is hardly any information on availability and adoption of inclusive pedagogy and policy in higher education.

Based on the most recent statistics from the District Information System for Education (DISE) and Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE) reports of NEUPA[18], the following figure depicts enrolment of students with disabilities at the primary, upper primary, secondary, higher secondary stage. Data suggests a significant drop in enrolment postupper-primary level of education.
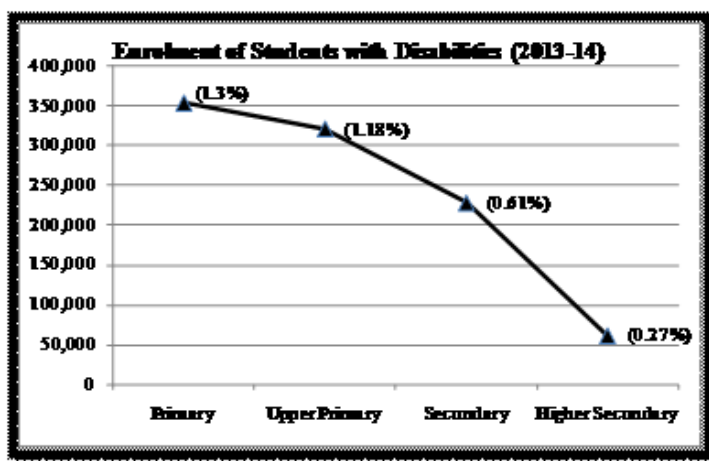
Figure 3. Enrolment of Students with Disabilities (2013-14)

Note: Number in brackets is the percentage enrolment of students with disabilities to total enrolment

Source: Based on data from NEUPA, DISE (2013-14) and U-DISE (2013-14)[18]

Data from the Seventh All India School Education Survey (7th AISES) reveals a sharp decline in the number of schools for physically challenged children from upper primary stage to secondary stage of education. Realizing this dismal scenario, the Department of Education of Groups with Special Needs (DEGSN), NCERT, undertook a study to evaluate the implementation of the Inclusive Education of the Disabled at the Secondary Stage (IEDSS) scheme introduced in 2008 in India, to assess the current impact of the scheme on enrolment, access, retention of students with disabilities at the secondary and higher secondary stage and to find out whether the students covered under this scheme are getting the required resource support in terms of trained (general and special) teachers, assistive devices, appropriate teaching materials and learning environment etc.

Major findings of the study revealed that out of 35 states/UTs, only 16 states/UTs had started implementation of IEDSS in 2009-10, 7 of them started it in 2010-11 and another 4 of them started it in 2011-12. Out of these 27 states/UTs, 17 of them had established the administrative cell for implementing this scheme, while 10 of them were yet to even establish a proper cell for implementation. In most states that had implemented the scheme, activities to create an enabling physical environment remained restricted to the mere removal of architectural barriers such as construction of ramps, railings and in few places toilets. Only 12 states had appointed special teachers under IEDSS andthey had provided training on special needs education to general teachers, with only 3 states providing training for more than 5 days to general teachers.

Based on the extensive impact assessment study, the high dropout rates among students with disabilities can be attributed to the following:

- short Sage of special teachers in the States,

- lack of funds to provide assistive devices and resource rooms to students with disabilities,

- absence of secondary schools in the neighbourhood especially for girls,

- absence of basic infrastructural and other facilities in school;

- lack of modified/adapted curriculum,

- poverty and social stigmas attached to disability,

- lack of awareness and sensitization,

- Absence of linkage between different inclusive schemes/interventions, between different departments, and between school and vocational education.

Thus, one finds a wide gap between policy provisions and actual utilization of these provisions which needs to be addressed through appropriatepolicy interventions.

Need to move beyond Integrated to Inclusive Education

Almost all policies and legislative provisions aimed at the education of students with disabilities in India have been based on the distributive paradigm of social justice with main focus on equality in terms of access and provision of resources such as assistive appliances and devices. The main limitation of such a conception of social justice is that it is too individualistic in its perspective and locates the problem 'within' the individual (the medical model of disability). As a result, it takes attention away from questioning how social structures and institutions may uphold patterns of injustice.

While this focus on redistribution of resources and access may be desirable and important since students with disabilities tend to belong to the lower economic strata, it is too narrow and inadequate to deliver the whole of justice. It must be recognized that access does not automatically deliver equality. Second generation concerns focusing on curriculum and pedagogy, need to be become an integral part of the efforts towards the education of students with disabilities. The current approaches are largely directed towards integration via transformation of special schools into resource centres, or even shifting children to mainstream settings. These efforts will remain inadequate till the time the desired teaching-learning practices are in place. Changes in the classroom require simultaneous development of reforms in curriculum, alongside a change in attitudes and beliefs as reflected in the culture of the educational institution. It is essential that teachers are made aware of and assisted in developing innovative teaching strategies focusing upon (and changing) values, beliefs and attitudes.

The focus needs to shift from the outside to the 'inside': be more concerned about what children are being offered in these educational settings, in what format, and its relevance to the lives they would like to lead, rather than the kind of lives that is deemed appropriate for them by the society. Only then cana successful transition be made from integrated to inclusive education in India.

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4

Fluidity of Positionality : Connotations of Space and modifying Political Ideology

Dr. Devika Khanna Narula

The novelistic use of space, whether it is an actual geographical location or a fictitious place created by the writer, is always ideological. It projects the socio-cultural nuances of a community and the power-politics that shape its identity. The history of a nation lies in its relationship to the land that it has possessed or (dis)possessed. Hence, the history of imperialism is intricately involved with appropriation of geographical space and the subsequent political power over the material, mineral and human resources that lie within that territory. Consequently, place becomes a testimony to the history of a race as possession of geographical space changes hands from one racial group to another and subsequently causes the association with place to be (re)negotiated. In the postcolonial and postmodern period of personal narratives and fragmented histories, the narration of geographical space becomes all the more vital since it also defines the location of cultural space.

Diasporic literature is imbued with descriptions of place in the narratives privileging homelands and the nostalgia of the life that was lived then. Commenting on the significance of space, Jasbir Jain states, "History unfolds itself through constructions of space …. Space provides in itself a

dynamics for history."[1] Evidently, a negotiation of memories of the homeland is intricately related to a description of location that defines the social 'positionality' (Linda Alcoff,1988) of the individual. Frantz Fanon in his essay "Concerning Violence" comments, "The colonial world is a world cut in two."[2] (FF, p. 269), and specifically bisects it into the world of the settlers and that of the natives. By inference, we can assume that between these two lies the buffer zone of the middlemen, who belong neither to the race of the settlers nor to the race of the natives. Fanon further describes the polarized identity of the two,

The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easygoing town; its belly is always full of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners. …

The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light.[3]

In *The Gunny Sack,* M.G. Vassanji describes the location of the living quarters of the Europeans, Asians and Africans in Dar-es-Salaam, and the space occupied by each race itself defines their socio-political positioning :

As you approach [Dar es Salaam] from the sea, as you enter the harbor, you see to the right all those beautiful, white buildings of the Europeans…. The dainty houses with red roofs, all laid out cleanly with gardens and servants looking out. Behind this beautiful, white European face of the town is our modest Indian district, every community in its own separate quarter, and behind that the African quarter going right into the forest. [4]

The comment "every community in its own separate quarter" very precisely defines the exclusivity of each community as far as the others are concerned, as well as the racial tensions reflected in the positioning of these three groups. The Europeans occupy the privileged location near the sea with the Africans relegated to the hinterlands, almost receding into the forest. The Asians, being neither the colonizers nor the colonized, occupy the space between the two. Being the middlemen, the traders, they inhabit a world that is 'in-between': they are not a part of the Europeans' world and the Africans do not belong to their world, whether it is geographical space, social intercourse, cultural communion, or political ideology. The location

in the middle also contributes to an ambiguity in their allegiance – who do they owe commitment to? Is it to the Africans or to the European s? Do the Asians sympathize with the cause of the Africans or do they support the imperialism of the Europeans? The consequence is that theirs is a pretentious position where they are not acknowledged by the Europeans with whom they would like to align themselves, and they do not in their turn acknowledge the Africans who would have aligned themselves with them. They thus occupy the position of *Trishanku*, a Hindu mythical figure, hanging between two worlds and belonging to neither of them. In his novel, *The In-Between World of Vikram Lall*, M.G.Vassanji describes the ambivalence in this psychological 'middle' space of the Asian in a self-analysis by the protagonist Vikram Lall as he considers his relationship to his two school friends, the African Njoroge and the British Bill:

> There was a depth to [Njoroge] that I could not reach, could never fathom even when we became close. Just as there was a mystery and depth to Bill and his Englishness… I couldn't help feeling that both Bill and Njoroge were genuine, in their very different ways; only I, who stood in the middle, Vikram Lall, cherished son of an Indian grocer, sounded false to myself, rang hollow like a bad penny.[5]

In the collection *Uhuru Street*, a cycle of short stories by M.G.Vassanji, the stories deal with the 'positionality' of the Asian vis-à-vis the European and the African. M.G. Vassanji presents the in-between world of South Asians. Living in their cushioned space in East Africa, the Asians admire and ape the Europeans and pretend to ignore the off-hand patronizing behavior of the British. Though they themselves have suffered colonization at the hands of the British in India, yet they seem not to remember their own indignities because in East Africa it is the Africans who bear the brunt of colonization. In fact, the native suffers a double colonization, one at the hands of his White masters and the other at the hands of the Indian middleman. In Africa, the Indians become the abettors of the White rulers in exploiting the African though, at the same time, sympathizing with his 'disadvantaged' position. The colonial / postcolonial perspective of the Indians with regard to the British and then the colonial / postcolonial perspective of the Africans with regard to the Indians is explored in *Uhuru Street*,

before and after the change in the political ideology of Africa with its independence. The difference lies in the quiet acceptance of the British by the Indians on African soil versus the simmering hostility by which the Indians are regarded by the Africans as the 'baniyani', the merchant class, who lives off them without being the colonisers. The short story cycle starts with the pre-independence period in Africa and goes on to present the change in attitude and 'positionality' of the Indians and the Africans vis-à-vis each other as decolonization and independence comes to East Africa. Here the in-between world of the Asians changes from the semi-advantaged position between the Europeans and the Africans to the disadvantaged position vis-à-vis the newly independent Africans, with the Europeans discreetly moving away from the scene. Fanon describes decolonization in the following terms,

> Decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species"of men. Without any period of transition, there is a total, complete, and absolute substitution.[6]

He further adds that "decolonization is always a violent phenomenon."[7] In the case of East Africa, the Europeans quietly drew away, leaving the Indians to face the now independent and beligerent Africans. Hence, the Indians become the scapegoat for venting their pent up anger and frustration, targets of violence and revenge, as the Africans see them as the abettors of the Europeans and as a race who kept themselves aloof from the Africans.

The present paper proposes to take up two stories, "Ali" and "What Good Times We Had",   from M.G.Vassanji's collection of short stories, *Uhuru Street*, the first being from the colonial period and the second from the post-colonial period. The second/third generation of Indians/Asians consider the secondary space of their parents' adopted land as their primary space, i.e. their homeland, because they were born and bred there. However, with the independence of Africa, they are made to realize that they had only appropriated the land: it does not belong to them since they never accepted social integration with the Africans. They had always remained a distinct community, a closed class structure, unwilling to change or assimilate. The two short stories under consideration project the 'positioning' of the South Asians and explore the intra-racial tensions between the two

communities, consequent to a total reversal of power-structure that becomes evident with the change in their political circumstances.

The story "Ali" is about an African servant by the same name, who works for an Asian family. The story is interesting in the way it juxtaposes British values with those of the Indians or the Africans in matters of attire, of cleanliness and of general behavior and holds up the Europeans as the standard model for everything. The Asian children are reprimanded at school because the British standards of impeccably ironed clean clothes are not met with, but, in contrast to this, is the dirty, unkempt Ali coming straight from the village – his clothes in tatters, shirt without buttons, broken toenails, fissured soles and barefoot. In appearance, too, there is an implicit contrast between the White Europeans, the visual impact of this being the symbolic figure of the visiting Princess Margaret, and the coal black complexion of the native Ali, and the in-between brown complexion of the Asian. Where employment is concerned, the Asians are not willing to pay much but expect the same cleanliness and efficiency from the African servants as the Europeans do: "We all wished … that we could afford the well-trained servants who could run a household as smoothly as a well-oiled machine, without being visible."[8] But where do the African servants get their training? In the Asian households, of course, before they step into the sanitised world of the European.

When Ali comes to the Indian household, he is sullen, he mumbles, he does not do anything – his only positive feature is that he looks honest. The Indian household could well become a stepping stone to his employment with a European family: "If he was smart enough, he would pick up the requisite skills and sooner or later move on to employment in a richer home, finally even with a European family."[9] The ideal example of a discerning employer is that of the narrator's Grandmother who tells the servants she employs that her sons "require a clean house, like those of the Europeans"[10]. Ali, too, improves not only in his appearance but also in his work efficiency so that he becomes indispensable to the family, since he manages everything perfectly. The household is in a perpetual state of suspense because Ali shows no restlessness to move away and neither does he ask for a raise. Eventually, the narrator's Mother gives him a raise on her own to keep him

with her as he has become indispensable to the smooth functioning of the household.

Ali turns out to be a cheerful boy who works happily and becomes a friend to the young narrator, carrying him on his shoulders, telling him stories and often playing games with him and the other children. The confidence that this boy Ali gains as he lives in and works for the Indian household finally overshoots his social boundaries. Everyday Ali starts going up to make tea at the same time as Mehroon, the daughter of the house, would be taking her bath, so that he could peep in through the ventilation window. When he is discovered by the narrator to be spying on his sister as she takes her afternoon bath, Ali is not at all ruffled or frightened, neither of losing his job nor of being otherwise punished. He, in fact, confides to the narrator that he would one day marry Mehroon. Fanon describes the envious behavior of the native when he says that

> The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession—all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible. … there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself up in the settler's place. [11]

The statement of Ali is not surprising as Mehroon becomes to him the embodiment of all that he envies and is desirous of possessing in the Indian family. On the other hand, the Indian family would entertain no other community except its own as a solicitor of Mehroon in marriage, and treats the African servant as much below their level. This reveals the precarious position of the Asians vis-à-vis the growing aggressiveness of the Africans, a precursor of what is to come when decolonization takes place. Inhabiting the in-between world, caught between the Europeans and the Africans, the Indians have no authority to protect their own against such threatening insinuations. The calm audacity that Ali exhibits shows a certain confidence in his control of the situation and is disturbing to the Asians considering that no African could normally presume to touch one of the Asian girls. It foreshadows later brutalities to come when Africa gains independence and the political ideology changes, bringing with it a change in racial equations. Nevertheless, the difference between the 'positionality' of the Asian vis-à-vis

the European as against the African vis-à-vis the Indian is established by a situation parallel to the spying of Ali on Mehroon, when the young narrator goes to gaze at the visiting Princess Margaret as she drives through their town,

> I saw the princess waving a white-gloved hand. Her dress was white and her wide-brimmed hat was also white … And beside her, in his tasseled black and gold ceremonials, the Governor, Sir Philip Morrisson – a name whose each syllable we had learnt to pronounce with mystical awe. [12]

The reiteration of the word "white" in describing the princess, distances her from the real life sphere of the narrator just as Mehroon is far removed from Ali's sphere. They view her as an 'angel' descended from the sky, beyond their area of contact. The image of the Governor, however, is a powerful and threatening image that creates a protective shield around her, simply by his presence. In symbolic terms, he is an authoritative figure of supremacy, guarding the icon of emblematic power, Princess Margaret, repelling any aspirations of attaining her even before they are born in the hearts of the Indians and the Africans. As Fanon says,

> 'The governing race is first and foremost those who come from elsewhere, those who are unlike the original inhabitants, "the others". [13]

The distancing device of creating an elitist aura around the Princess also conjures a dreamlike bubble around her, producing a gaze of impotent desire in the viewer that clearly establishes the social distance between them.

Thus, the story "Ali" makes a statement that predicts the course of future events. It clearly defines another of Frantz Fanon's assumptions that

> …it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species. In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. [14]

The statement also reveals the precariousness of the in-between world

of the Asians that can lose its social positionility due to any change in the tensions of power-structures as actually they have no standing locus in the arrangement of things. Eventually, this is exactly what happens with the declaration of independence in East Africa as the social positioning in the interdependence of the two races, the Asians and the Africans, reverses with the change in the political ideology of the country. True to the postmodern concept, social positionalities are not rigid, they are fluid situations where one-to-one equations can change at any time.

In the second story, "What Good Times We Had", the new locations of power are revealed. After the declaration of independence, the Africans have assumed total control over everything, ousting the Asians from their assumed position of power and control that they had exerted over the Africans under the rule of the Whites. The Indian community had benefited from the presence of the Whites and had established total control over the trading business; they had prospered and invested in property and they exercised economic power over the Africans by giving them employment. On the other hand, the Africans could not even enter the city of Dar unless they had an identity card displaying information about their employment in the city. Hence, disadvantaged in their own land and unable to take revenge on the Europeans who fled from Africa after handing over power, all their bitterness and hatred turns towards the Indians, as is depicted in the later stories in *Uhuru Street*.

In the story, "What Good Times We Had", things are turning from bad to worse for the Indian community as the newly decolonized African government is tightening its hold over the Indians. Most of the Indians have fled from East Africa to Western countries under some pretext or the other to escape the injustice and threat that looms over them. In this story the protagonist's complete family, except for her brother and herself, have already left the city. She has to take the bold decision of making good her escape, while the possibility of the chance is still there: "There was no choice, she told herself… She had waited too long and perhaps it was already too late."[15] The government has issued a ruling that air tickets for going out of the country could be bought only with the bank's permission, and that she knew is not an easy task since corruption is rampant and

everyone is out to make a quick buck.

The first obstacle to her going away is her sense of guilt in leaving her brother behind to fend for himself in a new disadvantaged situation. He is good enough as a businessman running a 'duka' but nothing more than that. She decides, however, to make good her escape but she has to depend on the goodwill of a bank-clerk who will get her a ticket in exchange for money. The story, thus, reveals the new focal points of power. The building too is a symbolic statement of a new political centre of power:

> The building was new, erected a few years after Independence as headquarters of the national bank after the foreign banks were nationalized. Its modern expansive structure, grey and concrete, rose up a few storeys high to preside over an array of white-washed colonial buildings spread out around it. [16]

This show of power in the structure and location of the building is also evident in the total stranglehold that the African government is exerting over the Indian community, an example of which is the restraint on the free sale of air-tickets for foreign travel.

The young Asian woman's confrontation with the African bank clerk shows the binaries of the changed equations of power. The clerk is complacent and in control of the situation whereas the young woman tries to show her aggression and annoyance. Nevertheless, she knows that she has to keep her calm until the time that she gets hold of the ticket. She pretends to be in control of the situation, but is very well aware that no one believes it. She agrees to the amount of money that the bank clerk asks for, though she knows he is asking for too much; she further agrees to drive him to the place he will pick up the ticket from, though she is annoyed and protests that she is not at his beck and call. In effect, she knows that there is no alternative in these precarious times and she is at his mercy,

> There was a price for everything here. And after all that, there was no peace to be had even at night time for fear of robbers. They lived on the edge, not knowing if they would be pushed off the precipice the next day – or if the hand of providence would lift them up and transport them to safety. [17]

This picture of the present times is in sharp contrast to her memory of the past as she had lived it and remembered it. She remembered a different by-gone world, and experience of happiness in the very area to which she drives the bank clerk,

> What times they had had there, she thought with bitterness. On this very road they used to go on picnics in open trucks, … singing, playing, laughing, … Food was abundant, fruit almost free, servants plentiful … violence, real violence, unknown … Gone, wiped clean. A dream had passed. [18]

In the changed socio-political scene, the bank clerk sits in a proprietary manner in her car, relaxed and at ease, his body language projecting his control over the situation, "He sat comfortably beside her, the thought of which irked her. Like a husband, or a boss, arm resting on window, stomach pushing out." [19] As she approaches the picnic spot on the beach, of which she had been thinking, she sees the huts are burnt down – a clear indication of the undermining of their authority. By the time she realizes the real purpose of the bank clerk, it is too late to retract her steps. He takes the money from her and makes her drive him to the isolated picnic spot where he rapes her and then murders her brutally. The 'in-between' world in which they had lived, deluded into a sense of superiority and security, has now left them at a totally vulnerable position vis-à-vis the Africans.

Thus, the calculated hostility of the Africans jeopardizes the world of the South Asians, and places them in a precarious position. The main objective of the Indian community in East Africa was that of peaceful survival. Their positionality between the Europeans and the Africans is also indicative of the 'mean' path, not veering to either extreme, not getting involved in politics, but quietly, through their hard work, to establish themselves in their adopted land. They cling to their native community and carry the cultural baggage that they have brought with them, and do not try to assimilate into the cultural space of the adopted land. They are a peaceful law abiding community that avoids attracting attention to themselves, but they cannot help becoming 'visible' because of their economic prosperity. So long as the British are there, they flourish under their patronage but the end of colonialism changes all positionalities. At a stroke, they became the

disadvantaged and marginalized periphery, and the tensions of power equations between the Africans and the Asians change as in the name of 'socialism' the Africans confiscate the dignity and the wealth of the Asians. In the effort of the Africans to establish themselves as the masters, the Asians become the sacrificial scapegoat and bears the brunt of the natives' anger and violence for having rejected them earlier. To conclude in the words of Fanon,

We have said that the colonial context is characterized by the dichotomy which it imposes upon the whole world. Decolonization unifies that people by the radical decision to remove from it its heterogeneity, and by unifying it on a national, sometimes a racial basis. …that is to say that the native can see clearly and immediately if decolonization has come to pass or not, for his minimum demands are simply that the last shall be the first.[20]

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Investor Preference in New Issue Market: A Study of Non – Government Public Limited Companies

Lt Bhupinder & Shweta Raj

Abstract – *Present study mainly aims at exploring the investor preference in the difference kind of instrument for investment in the new issue market in India in case of non – government public limited companies. This study also cover the Prospectus and right issue methods of floating of new capital in the new issue market during the span period of the study 1995-96 to 2007-08 by non – government public limited companies. In the present study the data is collected from the secondary source. Non-government public limited companies in new issue market use ordinary or equity securities as the main instrument to raise new capital. Prospectus method is popular during the span period of study in non-government public limited companies. Study also reviled that numbers of issue made by non-government public limited companies were decline significantly.*

Introduction

The new issue market is the channel for creation of new capital. In 1947, Capital Issues (Control) Act came into force in order to help to safeguard the interest of investors and regulate the raising of new capital. During the four decade of post-independence the new issue market was control by Capital

Issue (Control) Act, 1947 which was known as control base regime.

In 1992, the Government of India abolished the Capital Issue (Control) Act and focused towards discloser based regime by established Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) for providing protection to investors and toning up the operations of the New Issue Market. On 30[th]January, 1992, SEBI was given statutory status by an ordinance, which was subsequently substituted by an Act of Parliament. It was also given the responsibility of development and regulation of New Issue Market. In the same year the Government of India allowed foreign portfolio investors to invest in its domestic stock market. Since then, foreign private investment (FPI) has become the most dominant form of private foreign capital flow in India.

The Depository Act, 1996 has its own significance in the enhancement of new issue market. The main function of the depositories is to de-materialization of securities and transfer of securities through electronic book entries to help in reducing settlement risks and infrastructure bottlenecks. Dematerialization of securities is one of the major steps for improving and modernizing market and enhancing the level of investor protection through elimination of bad deliveries and forgery of shares and expediting the transfer of shares. One of the main function of new issue market is the distribution of the securities to the ultimate investor are simplified by depository Act.

In 2000, SEBI issued mandatory guideline, viz., 'Securities and exchange board of India (disclosure and investor protection) guidelines, 2000' to raising new capital in India for protection of investor interest and boost up the new issue market. The said guidelines are issued by SEBI under section 11 of the Securities and Exchange Board of India Act, 1992. SEBI has framed the guideline in1992, which were changed many a time keeping in view the inconsistencies, market development and changing needs of the capital market. In the year 2000 the guideline issued in the above said name and also amended subsequently. The new issue market is regulated by SEBI in terms of SEBI guidelines.

SEBI guidelines are applicable to (i) all public issue by listed and unlisted

companies, and (ii) all offers for sale and right issues exceeding Rs50 lakhs by listed companies whose equity share capital is listed. SEBI guidelines not applicable to (a) A banking company including local area bank, (b) Public sector Banks, (c) Infrastructure Companies, and (d) Right issue by a listed company.The listing agreement between issuing company and stock exchange helps to build the investor confident in new issue market. Present study mainly aims at exploring the investor preference in the difference kind of instrument for investment in the new issue market in India in case of non – government public limited companies. This study also cover the Prospectus and right issue methods of floating of new capital in the new issue market during the span period of the study 1995-96 to 2007-08 by these companies.

Function Of New Issue Market:- The mechanism of floating of new issue, share application and allotment and the intermediaries which help in the process of the issue are the basis function of new issue market. The primary function of New Issue Market is to facilitate shifting of funds from saving-surplus units to saving deficit units. New Issue Market discharges the function of transferring the idle and unproductive funds to the more profitable and productive investments through a triple-service-function (Tripterous function)[3].These three functions can be split into three distinct services as follows:

1. Organization
2. Underwriting
3. Distribution

The new issue market does not enjoy any tangible form and geographical location. It is nationwide in its scope and not only commands over disposable saving of the investors, but also offers facilities by which these resources pass readily from the possession of one group to the control of the other group in more or less streamlined fashion.[4]

Method Of Floating Of New Capital In The New Issue Market:- The objective of the New Issue Market is to centre its activities towards floatation

of New Issue. The various methods by which new issue are placed in the market are explained below.

1 Public Issue by using Prospectus: - Public offer by using prospectus can be categorized as follow:-

A) **Initial Public offering**:-When a public company raise capital by making an offer to public; its debut is known as the Initial Public Offer (IPO).Generally IPOs are fixed price offers. In the fixed price sale, the company advertises the number of share on sale and the price. The investors then decide how many share they wish to apply for. If the investors consider the price attractive, they may apply for more shares then on offer in which case the issue will be oversubscribed. The company then has to decide on an allotment rule, such as proportionate allotment. In some countries IPOs take the form of tender offers. Investor are invited to submit a sealed bid stating how many share they wish to buy and at what price. The company then determines the price at which the total issue would be sold and all the successful bidders receive shares at that price;

B) **Follow-on public offering**: - When an existing listed company either makes a fresh issue of securities to the public or makes an offer for sale of securities to the public for the first time, through an offer document, such issues are called as Follow-on Public Offering. Such public issue of securities or offer for sale to public is required to satisfy the stock exchange listing obligation along with SEBI's guidelines.

Both the Initial Public offering and Follow-on public offering may be offered either for cash subscription or for consideration other than cash. In the latter case 'no new money' is raised but the issue merely affects a change of ownership of either physical assets or of 'Technical Know-how'. Because of limited scope of this study the latter type i.e. issues for considerations other than cash have not been considered here.

2 Initial Public Offers through The Stock Exchange On-Line System (e-IPO): - When a company proposing to issue capital to public through on-

line system of the stock exchange for offer of securities, is called e-IPO, shall comply with the requirements as contained in Chapter XIA in addition to other requirements for public issue as given in SEBI's guideline.

3 Offer for Sale :- This is a method of floating shares through an intermediary and indirectly through an issuing house or share brokers. It involves two steps. The first step is a direct sale of shares by the issuing company to the issue house and to shares brokers at an agreed price. In the second stage, the intermediaries resell the above securities to the ultimate investors. Offer for sale method is not used in India but sometime foreign company floats its share by using this method. Offer for sale as used in Indian terminology has a different meaning. It is used not to sell securities to the public but to comply with certain stock exchange regulation at the time of listing of shares.So in India, if a company want to made an Offer for sale ofits equity share or any other security which may be converted into or exchanged with equity share of company at a later date, it has to fulfill eligibility norms issued by SEBI.

4 Further issue of capital or Right Issue:- Under this method, the existing shareholder are offered the right to subscribe to new shares in proportion to number of share they already hold. This offer is made by circular to 'existing shareholder' only.

5 Preferential Issue or Private Placement: - When a company raises capital by placing their securities with small group of sophisticated investors is called preferential issue or private placement.

A new issue to the public to public has no history of trading on a stock exchange. Prior to an amendment to the Companies Act, 1956 in 1988, however, a public issue of securities in India did not necessarily require listing of the securities. Listing was not compulsory, unless the prospectus provided that the newly issued securities would be listed. Today, listing is mandatory and an application for listing has to be made before an issue is offered to the public.

The SEBI as a capital market regulator has since its inception in 1992 made tremendous strides in achieving the twin objective of investor protection

and capital market development. In keeping with this, SEBI has been constantly reviewing and orienting its policies and programmes. SEBI has successfully created a credible regulatory structure for the securities market and has become the major catalyst for market development by bringing about far reaching changes in market practices. A package of reforms consisting of measures to liberalize, regulate and develop the securities market was introduced which has changed corporate securities market beyond recognition during the last decade.

Objective of Study:- Pre-pointed objectives of the present study are :

i)   To study the mechanism of New Issue market in India.

ii) To analyses different instrument to raise new capital in New Issue Market by non – government public limited companies.

iii) To analyses the Prospectus and right issue methods during the span period of study by non-government public limited companies.

iv) To analyses trends in the new issue made by non-government public limited companies New Issue Market.

Research Methodology:- Every research requires certain data to be used that may be primary or secondary. In the present study the data is collected from the secondary source. These are *Handbook of Statistics on the Indian securities Market, 2008* published by Securities and Exchange Board of India which contains data from RBI, BSE, NSE and World federation of Exchanges. Apart from it the data of RBI, SEBI and NSE published in various other sources have also been used. The data so collected from the above sources are converted into tables and charts, which are used for analysis to determine the investor preference trends in New Issue Market.

Review Of Literature:-Review has its own importance in the research study. An in-depth review of the available literature can help us in setting up of scientific objective. This section covers a review of some of the available studies done in the area of New Issue Market. Review of literature seeks to explore the existing research gap.

National Council of Applied Economic Research (1966)[5]:- A survey conducted by national Council of Applied Economic Research for a period of 1956-65 reveals that 73 out of 125 issue of new companies were over-subscribed and the rest 52 were undersubscribed. The study highlight that during 1963-64 and 1964-65, this proportion of amount underwritten increased from 81% to 87% for the existing companies. The study show that over the period as a whole, equal proportions of the two categories of the issues were underwritten. The study point outthe extraordinarily heavy burden that the underwriters had to bear due to poor public response to new issue. The study reveals that although the public response to new issues has been declining during the reference period, the whole of New Issue Market has not been however, uniformly affected.

Department of Company Affairs' Research & Statistics Division (1971)[6]:- A study carried by the Department of Company Affairs' Research & Statistics Division, highlights the structure of the capital issues and the pattern of financing the project cost of non-government, non-financial public limited companies which issued prospects during the year 1970-71. It reveals that 91.6 % of the total amount issued was underwritten and 41.6 % of the amount offered to public was subscribed by the underwriters both in their capacity as investors and as part of their underwriting obligation. Public subscription in the case of equity issued accounted for 85.6 % of the total amount offered to public, whereas, in the case of preference share and debenture, public subscription was of the order of 29.3 % and 38.7 % respectively. Public response to capital issues according to size groups revealed that it was the highest according for 60.5 of the aggregate amount offered to the public in the case of companies making a public offer of more than Rs.1 crore and the lowest at 50.6 % in the case of issue of sizes ranging between Rs.25 lakhs to Rs.50 lakhs. An industry-wise analysis reveals that public response was the highest in respect of companies engaged in providing services like hostels, engineering, consultancy, etc. accounting for as much as 92.7 %. The study also shows that the share of the ICICI was the highest of 15.4 % of the total amount underwritten.

Department of Company Affairs (1983)[7]:- Study on the public response to capital issues in 1981-82, conducted by Department of Company Affairs, revealed that the public subscribed to the extent of 94% of equity shares and 82 %of debentures but public response to the preference shares was only to the extent of 26 % of the amount offered. According to the size of capital issues, the study reveals that the public response was the highest 98 % in the highest group (Rs.1 crore and above). The industry-wise analysis of public response to capital issues reveals that it was nearly 100 % to the capital issues of companies engaged in agriculture and allied activities mining and quarrying, transport and communication, community and business services and construction and utilization. Public response was the lowest at 67% in case of companies engaged in processing and manufacturing the goods not elsewhere classified. It further reveals that during 1981-82, among the various underwriters, six public financial institutions viz.,LIC, IFCI, IDBI, UTI, and GIC together accounted for 40 % of the total amount underwritten.

Samal C. Kishore (1997)[8]:- He observed that in resent years, particularly in developing countries including India, there has been increase liberalization of domestic financial and capital market and an opening up of the markets to FIIs. According to author the main emerging feature of India's equity market since 1991 is it gradual integration with globe market and its consequent problems due to hot money movement by FIIs. The FIIs are manipulating equity market through price rigging even during GDR issues of Indian companies for their own benefit at the cost of domestic investors. However, FIIs whose hot money moves from one emerging equity market to other market on whims and flimsy grounds are creating disasters. When 'Equity Price Movement' is greatly influenced by FIIs, the price of a company's scrip may falling even when good results come from the company. In this situation, domestic investors may retreat form the equity market, thus narrowing down the investment base which will have an adverse effect on the economy. Therefore, any policy measure to 'develop' equity market should encourage small domestic investors, who have deserted the market, to participate in the equity market particularly in the primary market which is also dependent on the secondary market, instead of attracting the portfolio

investment of FIIs who have potential to destabilize the emerging equity market and to drain the surplus form it by manipulating the equity market with their vast resources.

Cho Yoon Je (1999)[9]:- Study on Indian Capital Market; Recent Developments and Policy Issues stated that with a proper regulatory framework and more transparency, the private placement market can develop further as an integral and important constituent of the primary market for raising resources by corporates. Furthermore, favorable tax treatment may be extended to institutional investors to encourage individual investment in the private placement market through professional fund managers, which can reduce asymmetric information and provide better investor protection.

Nagaishi Makoto (1999)[10]:- According to him Indian Stock Market from the 1990s onward has not played any prominent role in domestic saving mobilization. The share of financial assets of the household sector has been stagnating since 1992, that is, the post reform period. The shift of saving of household sector from stock market instrument to non-banking deposits has been dramatic since 1993. If there is further deregulation of stock market to attract more foreign direct investment there seems to be no way to avoid falling into similar problems such as more volatile movement of domestic stock price and installed balance of payment position. The contribution of foreign direct investment to sustained economic growth is, at least so far, just a foul hope. We have to be more cautious regarding recent argument on more liberal capital account convertibility which is likely to violate India's convention. Indian Stock Market and financial intermediaries have generally achieved hand-in-hand development since the 1980s and the World Bank research group hypothesis is concrete in this respect. However, it is challenged by the contradictory fact that bank credit to the commercial sector has no positive co-relationship with indicators of stock market development. If it is the case that there is a substitutive function between the stock market and financial intermediaries in terms of financing private investment, an increase in financing in the primary market does not necessarily lead an economy to a higher growth scenario. The function relationship between stock market

development and economic growth is dubious in India.

Gupta Pardeep (2001)[11]:- He find out that the stock market efficiency means the ability of securities to reflect and incorporate all relevant information in their prices. The author opines that efficient market hypothesis is based on the assertion that rational investors rapidly absorb new information about a company's prospects which is then impounded into the share price. The author feels that all price-sensitive events occur randomly and independently of each other and if stock markets are efficient, then the current price of a company's share is fair. An efficient stock Market contemplates that the price of different financial asserts should fully reflect all available information and such prices should adjust very rapidly to new information. The information set used the market efficiency in the study consists of (a) historical prices, (b) all publicly available information and (c) inside information.

GoyalAshima (2004)[12]:-Feels that liberalization requires de- and re-regulation, since with internationalization government controls become ineffective, and with the use of new technologies new governance structures are required. The functioning of the reformed Indian regulatory structure is examined in the context of the basic principles of regulation, the special regulatory requirements of capital markets, and the features of Indian markets. The regulator's aim was to achieve international best practices, and encourage market -integrity through clear and self-enforcing rules of the game while encouraging the game itself. It contributed to implementing world-class technology and processes in the markets. Following general principles allowed flexible response to arbitrage and change. Insider groups lost power as the liquidity advantage tipped in favour of automated systems, but there were imperfections in implementation due to design inadequacies. As these are addressed, and markets revive with growth, thinness of participation and in depth of securities may be overcome.

Raju M. T., BhutániUpasana, SahayAnubhuti (2004)[13]:- In their Working Paperon Corporate Debt market in India: Key Issues and Policy Recommendations presents an overview of the corporate debt market in India.

A study of the structure and the status of the corporate debt market along with the current policies initiated by Securities and Exchange Board of India, help to identify the associated structural problems in this segment. Based on a detailed analysis of these identified problems, this paper recommends certain steps, which can help to activate the corporate debt market and to become an important source of finance for the economy.

Singh Rajinder pal (2006)[14]:- He seeks to appraise the behaviour of primary capital market after SEBI came into existence. The need for such an appraisal has arisen due to changing environment in which participants of the capital market have to function. The study spans the period from 1990-1991 to 2005-06 which is marked with regulatory changes surge in activity in capital market followed by periods of depression and again recovery. This period is also credited with regulated institutionalization of primary capital market, and new methods of floating capital.

The list of studies given above is by no mean exhaustive. There may be a number of other studies done on the subject but due to the limited nature of the work involved, it is not possible to enlist all the work that have been done till now.

New Capital Issues By Non-Government Public Limited Companies Through Various Securities: -New issue market is deals with the new securities which were not previously trade able to the investing public. There are various type of securities use to raised the new capital. New capital raised through equity shares as depicted in table 1 reveals that it is decline from Rs.11877.4 crore in 1995-96 to Rs.460.2 crore in 2002-03, thereafter; over the years it increased and was found Rs.56848.3 crore in 2007-08.Number of issues of equity issue was sharply decreased from 1591 issue during 1995-96 to 111 issues in 2007-08. The average size of the equity issue was Rs.512.14 crore in 2007-08 as against Rs.7.46 crore in 1995-96. Percentage shares in total resource raised by non-government public limited companies though various securities, equity had 89 per cent during 2007-08 as against 74 per cent in 1995-96.

Table 1

New Capital Issues by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Various Securities

Year	Ordinary shares		Preference shares		Debentures		Total	
	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1995-96	1591	11877.4	9	150.1	63	3970.1	1663	15997.6
1996-97	801	6101.4	5	74.9	32	4233.2	838	10409.5
1997-98	89	1162.4	1	4.3	12	1971.6	102	3138.3
1998-99	33	2562.7	3	59.7	12	2390.7	48	5013.1
1999-00	69	2752.5	0	0	10	2400.8	79	5153.3
2000-01	128	2607.6	2	142.2	9	3068.3	139	5818.1
2001-02	6	860.4	0	0	13	4832.0	19	5692.4
2002-03	5	460.2	0	0	4	1417.5	9	1877.7
2003-04	35	2470.9	0	0	3	1250.9	38	3721.8
2004-05	51	11451.8	0	0	3	1627.4	54	13079.2
2005-06	128	20899.0	1	10.0	2	245.0	131	21154.0
2006-07	114	29756.0	0	0	3	847.0	117	30603.0
2007-08 P	111	56848.3	1	5480.8	3	1308.8	115	63637.9

Note: -1.P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

New capital raised through debentures as depicted in the table 1 reveals that it is decline from Rs.3970.1 crore in 1995-96 to Rs.1308.8 in 2007-08. It was highest in the year 2001-02 to Rs.4832 crore and lowest in the year 2005-06 to Rs.245 crore. The average size of the debenture issue was Rs. 436.26 crore in 2007-08 as against Rs.63.01 crore in 1995-96. Number of issue of

debenture declined from 63 during 1995-96 to only 3 in 2007-08. Preference share played negligible role during the period of study. During 1999-00, 2001-02 to 2004-05 and 2006-07, the contribution of preference capital to the total capital raised from New Issue Market by non-government public limited companies was nil. It was found highest to Rs.5480.8 in 2007-08, which was raised only from one issue.

Graph 1

New Capital Issues by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Various Securities

New Capital Issues by Non-government Public Limited Companies
Rupees (crore)

Note: - 1. P: Provisional

    2. Data are on April-March basis.

    3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

Role of preference share in new issue market is negligible in the study span period can be predicted from graph 1 Highest contribution of debentures in total capital was during 2001-02. During the last four years of the study's span period, graph of equity share significantly contributing to the total capital.

Table 2

Percentage Share in Total Amount raised by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Various Securities.

Year	Percentage Share in Total Amount of Equity shares	Percentage Share in Total Amount of Preference shares	Percentage Share in Total Amount of Debentures
1995-96	74.24489	0.938266	24.81685
1996-97	58.61377	0.719535	40.6667
1997-98	37.03916	0.137017	62.82382
1998-99	51.12007	1.19088	47.68905
1999-00	53.41238	0	46.58762
2000-01	44.81876	2.444097	52.73715
2001-02	15.11489	0	84.88511
2002-03	24.50871	0	75.49129
2003-04	66.38992	0	33.61008
2004-05	87.55734	0	12.44266
2005-06	98.79455	0.047272	1.158173
2006-07	97.2323	0	2.767703
2007-08 P	89.33089	8.612478	2.056636

Note: -1.P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

During the span period of study i.e. from 1995-96 to 2007-08, average percentage share of equity shares, preference shares and debentures in total amount is 61.3983 percent, 1.0838 percent and 37.518 percent respectively. On the yearly basis highest percentage share of equity shares, preference shares and debentures in total amount is 98.794 percent, 8.6124 percent and 84.8851 percent during 2005-06, 2007-08 and 2001-02 respectively.

Graph 2

Percentage Share in Total Amount raised by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Various Securities.
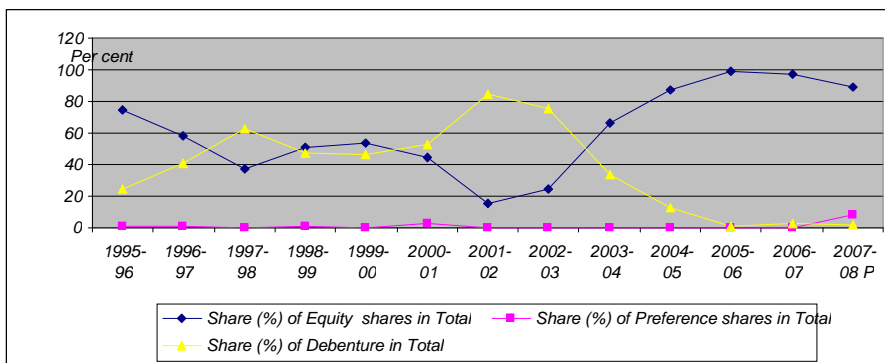
Note: -1. P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.
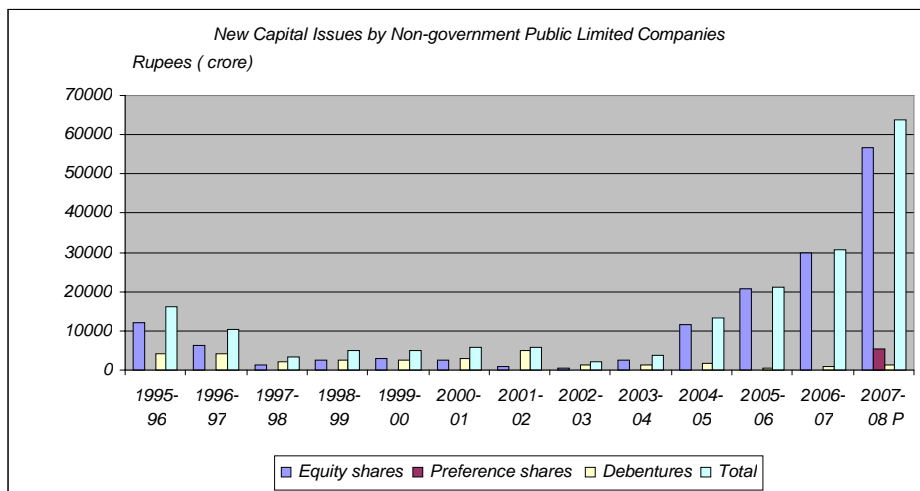
Source: RBI

The graph of Percentage share of equity shares in total amount firstly decline upto 1997-98, then marginally increase and again decline to the lowest level during 2001-02. Thereafter it constantly increased to its highest level during 2005-06. Average percentage share of preference share in total amount is 1.0838% during the span period of study, which reflected from the graph. Due to contribution of preference share in total amount is negligible therefore, debenture's graph just opposite to the equity graph. Contribution of debentures during 2005-06 is just 1.1581 percent, which is lowest reflected from the graph.

New Capital Issues Through Prospectus And Right Issue By Non-Government Public Limited Companies:-Public limited companies issues prospectus in the public issue only when they want to raise new capital in the form of cash only. Public issue through prospectus is most popular method

of floating of new capital in New Issue Market in India. Right issue method of floating of new capital in new issue market is use by the existing companies.

Table 3

New Capital Issues through Prospectus and Right issue by Non-government Public Limited Companies.

| Year	of Total of Capital Issue			
	Prospectus		Rights	
	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)	No. of Issues	Amount (Rs.crore)
1995-96	1405	10331.9	258	5665.7
1996-97	727	7748.2	111	2661.3
1997-98	54	1411.1	48	1727.2
1998-99	24	2601.8	24	2411.3
1999-00	55	4028.1	24	1125.2
2000-01	118	5290.5	21	527.6
2001-02	14	4980.2	5	712.2
2002-03	6	1406.7	3	471.0
2003-04	16	2715.2	22	1006.6
2004-05	28	9635.5	26	3443.7
2005-06	95	16937.0	36	4217.0
2006-07	81	27175.0	36	3428.0
2007-08 P	86	47977.5	29	15660.4

Note: -1.P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

During 1995-96, 1663 non-government public limitedcompanies accessed the new issue market and raised Rs.15997.6 crore through

prospectus(1405) and rights issues (258) as against 115 non-government public limited companies which raised Rs.63637.9 crorethrough prospectus (86) and rights issue (29) in 2007-08 (Table 3). Resource mobilized through prospectus was lowest Rs.1406.7 crore during 2002-03 and highest Rs.47977.5 crore during 2007-08. Table 3 reveals that new capital raised through prospectus always higher than capital raised through right issue during the span period of study except during 1997-98. During 2007-08 Rs.15660.4 crore was generate through right issue in new issue market, which is the highest during the span period of study through right issue.

Graph 3

New Capital Issues through Prospectus and Right issue by Non-government Public Limited Companies.

Note: -1.P: Provisional

      2. Data are on April-March basis.

      3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

      During the span period of study we finds that only during 1997-98 resource mobilized through right issue is more then the prospectus which can seen from graph 3 and the new capital raised through right issue in new issue market is increase from Rs.5665.7 during 1995-96 to Rs.15660.4 in 2007-08, which is a growth of 36.18 %. New capital raised through prospectus by

non-government public limited companies is increase from Rs.10331.9 crore during 1995-96 to Rs.47977.5 crore in 2007-08, which is a growth of 21.53%.

Table 4

Percentage Share in Total Amount raised by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Prospectus and Right Issue.

Year	Percentage Share in Total Amount through Prospectus	Percentage Share in Total Amount through Right Issue
1995-96	64.58406	35.41594
1996-97	74.43393	25.56607
1997-98	44.96383	55.03617
1998-99	51.90002	48.09998
1999-00	78.16545	21.83455
2000-01	90.93175	9.068253
2001-02	87.48858	12.51142
2002-03	74.91612	25.08388
2003-04	72.95395	27.04605
2004-05	73.67041	26.32959
2005-06	80.06524	19.93476
2006-07	88.79848	11.20152
2007-08 P	75.39139	24.60861

Note: -1.P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.

Source: RBI

Average percentage Share in total amount of new capital raised through prospectus and rights issues from new issue market during the span period of study is 73.71 per cent and 26.28 per cent respectively. This high % indicates

that prospectus method of floating new capital in new issue market is most popular. Yearly basis percentage share in total amount of new capital raised through prospectus by non-government public limited companies from new issue market during 2000-01 is 90.93175 which is highest during the span period of study and lowest is 44.96383% during 1997-98.

Graph 4

Percentage Share in Total Amount raised by Non-government Public Limited Companies through Prospectus and Right Issue.
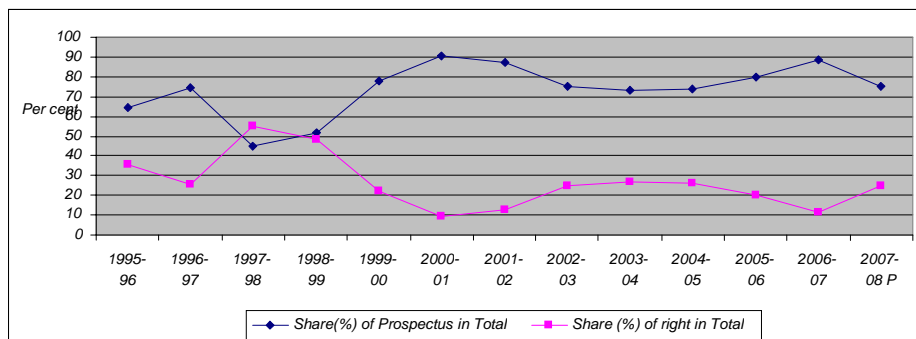
Note: -1.P: Provisional

2. Data are on April-March basis.

3. In conformity with the Controller of Capital Issues, the 'initial' and 'further' capital issues were changed to 'new' and 'existing' along with conceptual changes from 1971.
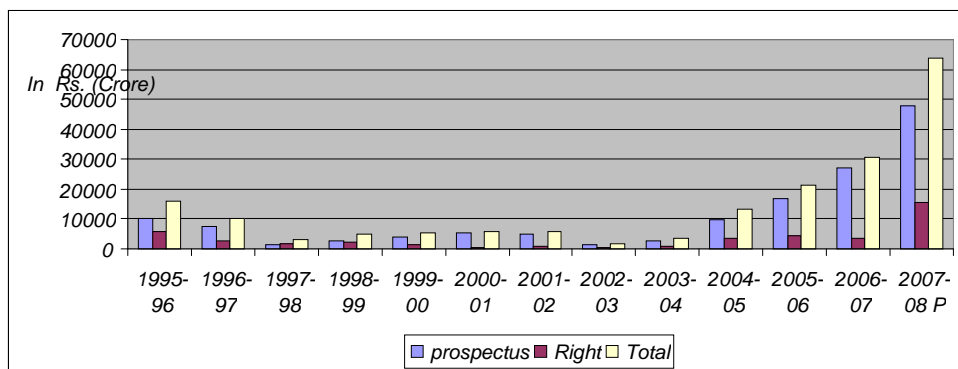
Source: RBI

The curve of share (%) of prospectus in total new capital issue by non-government public limited companies is firstly increased then it fall, thereafter, it increased upto 2000-01. During 2002-03 to 2005-06 the graph of prospectus seems to be constant. Curve of share (%) of right issue in total new capital issue by non-government public limited companies is below the curve of prospectus during 1998-99 to 2007-08, which indicate that right issue method of floating capital in new issue market is less popular than the prospectus method of floating capital.

Conclusion:-The new issue market is a perennial source of supply of

funds as seen in study for, non-government public limited companies. A developed new issue market provides a triple-service-function viz., origination, underwriting and distribution. In new issue market trading in securities is mainly through public issue, offer for sale, preferential issue or private placement and further issue or right issue. Thus, primary function of a new issue market is to facilitate the transfer of investible funds from their owners to entrepreneurs seeking to establish new enterprises or to expand the existing ones. From analysis new issue market for the span period 1995-96 to 2007-08, following findings has founds.

- Total capital rose from new issue market by non-government public limited companies increased four times from Rs.15997.6 crore in 1995-96 to Rs.63637.9 in 2007-08.

- The average size of the issue made by non-government public limited companies in 2007-08 was Rs.553.37 crore as against Rs.9.62 crore in 1995-96, which is 5752.28 percent increase.

- No. of issue made by non-government public limited companies decline from 1663 issues during 1995-96 to 115 issues in 2007-08.

- Non-government public limited companies in new issue market use ordinary or equity securities as the main instrument to raise new capital. During the span period of study i.e. from 1995-96 to 2007-08, average percentage share of equity shares, preference shares and debentures in total resource raised through various instruments is 61.3983 percent, 1.0838 percent and 37.518 percent respectively. Percentage shares in total resource raised of equity had 89 per cent during 2007-08 as against 74 per cent in 1995-96.

- Average percentage share in total resource mobilized through prospectus was 73.71 per[1] cent, this high percentage indicate that prospectus method for floating new capital in new issue market was the popular method during the span period of study in non-government public limited companies.

- During the span period of study we find that average percentage share in total resource raised by existing non-government public limited

companies in new issue market was 70.39 per cent; indicate role of new non-government public companies was not much affective in new issue market.

(Footnotes)

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1

6

Emergence of Nationhood and Culture in South Asia: Unity despite Divergence

Ms. Nidhi Madan

Asia has for long been understood as the exoticized 'other' in Western discourses. From the Western standpoint of reference it is seen as divergent and essentially different. The idea of nationhood as it has emerged in South Asia, from the Western perspective, is diametrically opposed to their own concept of nation and nation-building as they adopt a Eurocentric referential index. However, as we undertake a closer scrutiny of the process of nation-building in Asia we see similarities, largely because of a common, historical colonial past and struggles for independence around an overlapping timeframe.

Through this paper, I would like to focus on studying the emergence of nationhood across South Asia by using culture as a tool of investigation - as object and subject both - to make apparent as Comparative study enriches us, in seeing nations within South Asia in relation with each other. These 'imagined communities'[1] within South Asia become sites of enquiry through the interface of culture, politics and economy with resonances of identity movements and nation-building that bind them, despite the ostensible multiplicity and plurality of race, region, religion and ethnicity within them. Comparative literature and analysis enables us to study nations

and their literature in relation with each other.

While the methodological tool used herein is comparison, the comparison holds % as is the case here % a mirror to societies and cultures that have emerged within their geographical terrains, over time, as markers of both difference and unity. While homogenizing them is not the intention here, the avowed aim is studying them as different from each other and yet similar in many aspects, as this paper proposes to make apparent.

This study would attempt to break stereotypes that have been created by Orientalism and post-colonial discourse since as Swarupa Gupta asserts "it is only in the so-called 'inner' arena of culture that nationalism's journey begins, and this nationalism is sharply delinked from public discourses of the outer sphere".[2] The objective then would be to move away from "Western post-Enlightenment discourses and colonial hegemonic forms of power-knowledge", to see not South Asia against itself but rather as being and emerging with its "vast, rich cultural heritage, resources, histories, memorializations, and actual people's movements"[3] over time that begin to reveal sites of intersection, often similar, despite the multiplicity and plurality under which it is so often subsumed. The paradigm of 'Asian nationalisms' offers hope rather than stasis and these "contextual connections may form the foundation for imagining a reincarnated and contextually connected Asian spatiality"[4] which enables us to experience movements and practices across the vast spectrum of South Asian nationalism(s).

The central argument here will be explicated with reference to two selected literary texts from South Asian countries. I would be considering the following literary texts (1) Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines* and (2) Tahmima Anam's (Bangladeshi writer) *A Golden Age*, to enable this conceptual understanding of nation-building, identity formation and protest movements within the unit of the 'nation' through the study of literature. Hence, by using literature to understand certain crucial aspects here, we begin to see the manifestations of culture already, as offering modes of investigation and study, in understanding unity and divergence within nations that have experienced similar processes of nation-building.

The political upheavals that swept the Indian subcontinent with the creation of East Pakistan and West Pakistan in 1947 and subsequently the

creation of Bangladesh in 1971, can be taken as sites of enquiry for understanding the processes through which a nation is born. This includes within its ambit, the sacrifices and violence individuals face and the sequestration of identity along regional, religious lines to etch out those illusory 'shadow lines' that geographically mark out the terrains which define what is within as one's own and what lies outside as alien or different. We may begin to ask then, what is a nation? Does it follow a process of historical continuity with the past or is it something that is new, delinked from any prior existence in the past? Benedict Anderson states validly in his seminal text, *Imagined Communities* that:

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. [...], it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.[5]

Clearly then, this paradoxical concept of a nation iterates unity and difference both. It is imagined rather than real since the boundaries that mark a nation are forever illusory and in the process of being re-defined. But the principle that, it generally seeks to homogenize what lies within its borders and mark as different or excluded what lies outside those borders, then makes us wonder how the nation-state (which is by and large a Western construct, as understood in the modern world) came into existence. Did the nations that emerged in South Asia undergo a similar process of the politics of inclusion and exclusion? The nationalist movements that aimed, at first, in gaining liberation from the colonizer % which from the standpoint of this paper was Britain, since the discussion will be confined to India-Pakistan-Bangladesh i.e., the Indian subcontinent.

Also quite obviously, a reference to India and Pakistan's Independence in 1947, the Partition of India-Pakistan and the creation, hence, of East and West Pakistan, unsettle any closure of the category of nation, as it gets

redefined through resistance and protest movements and may be read as 'sub-nationalisms'. A term which is coined to define what goes on within the nation through identity and protest movements, working on the logic of defining 'us' and 'them', a divide which coterminously occurs across regional, religious, ethnic and often racial lines, even within a nation. The entity of the nation, by its very logic of being a home to people of multiple identities, faiths and beliefs, defies any seemingly essentialist definition that homogenizes it into one stable unit. It undergoes processes of resistance, exclusion, seclusion and an 'othering' by which its people perceive differences amongst each other.

This is a common thread that links most struggles within a nation to other nations, here in particular to struggles for independence in South Asia. The countries of South Asia "-- (especially the colonized parts), [...] -- still remain fragmented, fissured and fissioned. Such division within, and between countries in Asia seem to depict an Asia against itself. Contemporary post-colonial predicaments of fragmentation, separatism, and division are considered as legacies of colonialism".[6]

To understand the concept of Asian nationalisms, Swarupa Gupta points out that "cultural and political nationalisms, then, need to be seen as co-eval, sometimes parallel, and sometimes inextricably interlinked".[7] Through the interface of culture and politics one may observe what constitutes a nation, its people and accord a level of subjectivity to people who belong to South Asian countries. One cannot expect to have here "any single uniform model of Asian nationalism", [...], because nationalism as a political, cultural, social or economic phenomenon does not have any universalist, single form".[8] The idea is to be able to perceive Asian nationalism as different from the dominant, hegemonic European/ Western form and yet see clearly similar "forms and patterns of nationhood, developing in Asia along specific trajectories".[9]

Our purpose of study becomes twofold then, one, to see the European model of nation-state formation as hegemonic and, second, to see the similar processes of identity formation in South Asia. Clearly with respect to the European model, if we use cultural systems as the mode of understanding the rise of nation-states, "the two relevant cultural systems" were "the *religious*

community and the *dynastic realm*".[10] The growth of print-culture in capitalist enterprises further contributed to the popularity of the concept of the nation.[11] Here Anderson notes that "the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation".[12]

Print technology, did contribute to a large extent even to later, emergent nation-states, and is not a feature intrinsic to only the Western world. But largely, the Western model of nationalism, nation-state can be seen as different from the Asian model of nationalism, where different histories of the two continents and political, economic, cultural situations reveal divergent forms of nationalism. However, within South Asia strictly speaking, we find that nationalist and identity movements are strikingly similar. Here we find cultural nationhood often "entwined with political nationalisms at levels", more so during "the mid/late colonial period".[13] The colonial history that countries in South Asia share, make it possible to trace its trajectory on similar lines and offers hope in beginning to study the "new variants of nationalism from Asian experiences"[14] as individual and with a history of their own -- no longer subsumed under the overarching Western discourses on nationalism and their role in the rise of nation-states.

The particular concern vis-a-vis South Asian nationalisms then being "the ontology of being and becoming a nation", where "the past, present, and in a sense -- possible futures, interlock to give expression to Asian nationhood and identity movements".[15] If there are differences in this rich mosaic of Asian nationalisms, there are also points of commonalities and bonds, more so with regard to India-West Pakistan and East-West Pakistan where the point of rupture of a single nation came through Partition.

These experiences define the multiple practices of South Asian nationhood and offer a comparative study of the concept of nation across the looking glass. A metaphor used to define identity as created through a dual process of identification and othering. Only to remind oneself that what one sees across the borders was carved, at the time of Partition, out of one nation and yet there is the notion of difference implicit within it. Communities that had lived harmoniously till a point, at once were divided.

Geographical contours and borders became the legitimized means of articulating that difference and also of claiming a territory as one's own, through which the concept of nationhood in the Indian subcontinent emerged.

Nation-building is an arduous task, especially when what is to be excluded or included comes into question. Important questions surface here, like "what were the levels of interconnection between nationhood and identity in Asian nationalisms? Which identity was prioritized/legitimized over others in claims to nationhood? Which identities were forgotten or submerged? [...] Which identities were rescued from history and reconfigured so that ancient bonds could become modern unities?"[16]. These are some of the ways by which we can construe the identity politics of inclusion and exclusion, through which Asian nationalisms came into being. Obviously then, certain identities assumed hegemonic centrality while others remained in the periphery, or in other words, were marginalized. The comparative mode adopted here would be to see these nationalisms "through the prism of connected histories"[17].

I now move on to specific literary texts to render this discussion in clearer terms. Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines* is a novel that shows the force of nationalism, traversing periods from the Second World War to Partition, civil strife in post-partition Dhaka and simultaneously a riot in Calcutta, where the anonymous narrator lived as a child. The main concern of the novel as spelt out in the title is that what is across two nations, separating them, drawing them apart as two separate nations are nothing more than 'shadow lines' illusory and a result of political end-games that rift a nation apart % which forever keep the identities divided on regional, religious, linguistic, racial or ethnic grounds.

The narrator begins to see the world through the eyes of his mentor, uncle, Tridib. He says that he knew of places he hadn't even travelled to yet because his uncle "Tridib had given me (*him*)[18] worlds to travel in and he had given me (*him*) eyes to see them with"[19]. In the backdrop of the novel we begin to see historical events unfolding, like the Second World War that had shaken the entire world, the period of Partition and riots that happened simultaneously in Calcutta and in civil strife stricken Dhaka, where his

uncle Tridib is killed by a violent mob. The events as they emerge through the narrative offer us an understanding of the darker moments of nation-building marked by violence, bloodshed and the spectre of inhumanity that haunts a nation, recognizing only difference and otherness. Cartography and through it the sense of alignment that is configured through the discipline of geography became the means of codifying space, marking areas beyond the boundaries as at once a threat and alien to one's own sense of culture and identity.

Memory, photographs, private and even public narratives-- by which I allude to the official records that the grown up narrator looks for at the Teen Murti House library in Delhi many years later in 1979 while attending a lecture there% become the mode of chronicling the process of nation formation through the categories of time and space.

The novel follows a non-linear pattern, offering to the reader, moments of introspection between the silences and gaps that intersperse the historical flow of events. The events of 1964, in which the narrator's uncle Tridib lost his life, are significant for him even if they do not find a recording in official history, where an event like a war gains significance, while local events are often subjected to erasure or insignificance. His friend Malik says "there are riots all the time"[20] but it is evident that to find a mention in the official, public chronicles of a nation its level of significance is not decided by the individual. As they browse through the newspaper section in the library, his friend Malik says:

Didn't you say the riots happened in Calcutta?

Yes, of course, I answered.

That's strange, he said, tapping the open newspaper. Because these riots here happened in Khulna, in East Pakistan, across the border from Calcutta.[21]

The report that his friend reads out from the newspaper confounds and perplexes him, as the ground beneath him slips away. Events beyond boundaries even when seen as existing in different spaces, do have a connection, as historical connections become established when the imaginary lines that divide two nations are effaced to see the other as not entirely

distinct from oneself. The riots in Khulna hold ground for the narrator in *The Shadow Lines*, for it was in them that his uncle Tridib was brutally killed by an incensed mob, while trying to rescue Tridib's grand-uncle, Jethamoshai from their old paternal home in Dhaka.

The narratives of a nation are often multi-layered and more nuanced readings of such narratives unearth some accounts, mostly the official ones that are privileged over the 'others', which are more private and survive either in memory or are narrated as in novels to give voice to these hidden narratives. The purpose of reading beneath the surface and seeing narratives other than merely the public chronicles is to sensitize oneself to these more individual accounts that survive through memories, testimonies, auto(biographies) or even photographs and to then comprehend the act of truth-telling as destabilized and often ruptured.

While in the official history only what is considered relevant from a certain ideological or political standpoint seems relevant, the narratives through literature *read as* individual or personal history, capture the defining moments of nation-making, which is a result of dismemberment, violence and trauma; mostly more horrifying than what the statistical records offer or even hide away. As Homi K. Bhabha rightly points out in the Introduction to *Nation and Narration*, "[...] nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which -- as well as against which -- it came into being"[22]. This unsettles the notion of truth and knowledge as unified and complete.

Rather, through the representation of nation-making in literature, films, personal chronicles and as recounted through memory we begin to see the complex process of its coming into being, a moment of becoming and being, not a given but a construct, that continually seeks redefinition and further investigation.

These points are crucial paradigms by which we may see nation-formation and the concept of the nation-state as it arose in the South Asian region. Instead of reading nation-formation restrictively through the privileged "ideological apparatus of state power", we must seek to 'assign

new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change"[23]. Comparative study facilitates such a vision that encompasses more, within its ambit, by studying similar processes across two nations, albeit the divisive, boundary lines that seek to confine territories within limits.

In studying the 'other', across the boundary, similar historical processes that offered resistance to colonization and even similarities in lifestyle, culture, value-systems, beliefs -- which are at times conflicting and yet at other times binding people across nations -- gain relevance, by offering unity despite divergence. Perhaps the points of divergence begin through coercive, ideological state apparatuses or power structures that work through the logic of difference, but as sensitive individuals and as readers of literature we perceive the liberating potential of comparative literature as offering solutions and in blurring those otherwise illusory lines marked on terrains, confirming the concept of 'imagined communities'.

The idea of a nation goes beyond mere religious divides, ethnic clashes or racial othering. To conceptualize the nation, one must not forget its human aspect. As Bhabha states, "the nation, like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice, and devotion. [...] To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more -- these are the essential conditions for being a people"[24].

I now move on Tahmima Anam's novel, *A Golden Age*, to trace similar trajectories in the process of nation-making. It is at once the making and unmaking of a nation. The story in this novel is set in Dhanmondi, in Bangladesh, erstwhile East Pakistan. The events as they unravel in the book, reveal the poignant moments in a mother's life -- Rehana, who is the protagonist of the novel -- as the events leading to the Partition of East and West Pakistan engulf her children Maya and Sohail in its grips. A nation is born out of the choices that people make, destinies are carved even out of these individual choices. Her children are imbued with nationalistic fervour and her house, 'Shona', becomes a haven for the guerrillas -- comprising of her son Sohail and his friends -- who offer resistance to West Pakistan's hegemonic control of East Pakistan.

The narrative develops in a historical continuum from the year 1959

and ends logically with the year 1971, the year of liberation for the people of East Pakistan and the creation of the nation, Bangladesh, with patriotic slogans of 'Joy Bangla' being sung by its people. Anam quotes these lines by Shamsur Rahman in her novel before the **Prologue** which capture the quintessential charm of being free and an independent nation and I quote them here:

> Freedom, you are
>
> an arbour in the garden, the koel's song,
>
> glistening leaves on banyan trees,
>
> my notebook of poetry, to scribble as I please. (Shamsur Rahman, *Shadhinota Tumi* as quoted in Anam)

During military conflict, there is unity between people who stand united against the oppressors and seek liberation for their country. It is, as said before, attained at a huge price, with violence in its most heinous forms and innocent lives sacrificed for the cause of something bigger than the individual. The altar to which this selfless devotion is made holds significance as it is also the means by which identity formation begins through protest movements and resistance, instead of succumbing to hegemonic structures that oppress and contain it within limits.

Rehana chooses to stay in East Pakistan, while her sisters live in Karachi. She makes a choice to stay committed to her home and even converts the house into a shelter for resistance movements against West Pakistan's leadership and control over East Pakistan. Initially, when her son tells her that, "the Bengali regiments have mutinied. [...] They need volunteers. Aref and Joy and Partho are going too. [...] I really struggled, Ammoo, but I realized I don't have a choice"[25]. Rehana responds back by saying that "Of course you have a choice. You always have a choice"[26]. Her initial stance will change as she begins to see the larger reality, her children's selfless devotion to a cause, makes her their supporter and confidante. These inhibitions and fears slip away and she becomes as much a participant in their nationalist activities. Even when Maya goes into hiding in Calcutta, Rehana visits her as much to escape the air of suspicion that shrouds her house 'Shona' as she

identifies with what her children believe in. She dedicates some of her time in Calcutta, with her daughter Maya, at the refugee camps, looking after the ailing patients at the hospital ward there.

Nationalism entails the complicity of the individual with the cause. It seeks to homogenize all within that territorial space as 'one', and all beyond the territorial lines as the 'other'. Often in this process of homogenization, as in *The Shadow Lines*, we fail to recognize the heterogenous nature of a nation's composition. Mutliple identities are put together as one, for the project of constituting a nation on the logic of sameness. Almost simultaneously, there is a constant defining of oneself against the other. The illusoriness of 'one' and the 'other' hits the anonymous narrator in *The Shadow Lines* when he understands how at one single point of time in history similar events occur across geographical spaces, reducing those etched out boundaries on maps to nothing more than notional, imaginary lines that reveal sameness even across borders. Something which Rehana too, sees in the war-zone of East-West Pakistan, where similarities, in situations that surround people, and human bonds can be seen amongst people despite religious or regional divides. At this point it is crucial to define a nation, which works on the principle of both unity and divergence.

The modern nation as it comes into being can be defined in valid terms, even in South Asian countries as "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members. [...] Modern nations are 'mass nations', appealing to and equating the nation with the whole people as citizens, something that only very rarely occurred before the onset of modernity.[27] Nationalism too has its positive and negative aspects. If on the one hand it "represents the attempt to actualize in political terms the universal urge for liberty and progress", on the other "it could also give rise to mindless chauvinism and xenophobia and serve as the justification for organized violence and tyranny".[28]

Thus, by seeing the ends it serves, we can clearly see the extreme forms that nationalism can take, with the former kind of nationalism being the one that offers a more free, democratic space for cultivating the ideals of liberty and progress. The process by which a nation comes into existence

is one that offers its individuals choices, works through resistance and organized revolt or protest. However, the nation-state as it finally emerges is one that must recognize, at the core, the human principle, for that is the one that unites, while identities that are avowed in more zealous terms on religious, regional, ethnic or racial lines only seek to pull people apart and create boundaries, even within the mind.

These are no more than 'shadow lines', the lines that seek to define are constantly redefined, erasing some identities while privileging others. The project of Comparative studies enables our understanding of nations in South Asia as mirroring each other in many a ways, through similar historical events that swept through them, organized resistance and identity movements and the final emergence of these nations as revealing unity despite divergence.

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1   The phrase 'imagined communities' was coined by Benedict Anderson. It is a concept coined by Anderson, in his study and analysis of *nationalism*. According to him, "a *nation* is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group" (Taken from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imagined_community). See the book by Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism for more on this subject.

2   See Gupta, Nationhood and Identity Movements in Asia: Colonial and Post-colonial Times, p. 1.

3   Ibid. p. 2.

4   Ibid. p. 7.

5   See Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, p. 7.

6   See Gupta, Nationhood and Identity Movements in Asia: Colonial and Post-colonial Times, p. 2.

7   Ibid.

8   Ibid. p. 3.

9   Ibid.

10 See Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, p.12.

11 Anderson points out that, "the coalition between Protestantism and print-capitalism, exploiting cheap popular editions, quickly created large new reading publics % not least among merchants and women, who typically knew little or no Latin % and simultaneously mobilized them for politico-religious purposes. Inevitably, it was not merely the Church that was shaken to its core." See Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, p. 40.

12 Ibid. p. 46.

13 See Gupta, Nationhood and Identity Movements in Asia: Colonial and Post-colonial Times, p. 4.

14 Ibid. p. 5.

15 Ibid. p. 6.

16 Ibid. p. 8.

17 Ibid. p. 9.

18 Italicized one, my own.

19 See Ghosh, The Shadow Lines, p. 20.

20 Ibid. p. 221.

21 Ibid. p. 223.

22 See Bhabha, Nation and Narration, p. 1.

23 Ibid. p. 3.

24 Ibid. p. 19.

25 See Anam, A Golden Age, p. 91.

26 Ibid.

27 From Greenfeld as cited in Guibernau & Hutchinson. See Guibernau & Hutchinson, Understanding Nationalism, p. 19.

28. See Chatterjee, "Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A erivative Discourse?" From *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus* , p.2.

7

FDI & Tourism- Path Towards Economic Development

Dr. Rajiv Chopra

ABSTRACT

Tourism and hospitality industry are one of the key drivers of the Indian economy. The gradual increase in tourism sector (especially through FDI) is leading to the path where Indian economy can see its increase in growth rate. They are becoming one of the leading factors contributing to increase in growth rate of India's GDP. From December 2000 to December 2013 cumulative FDI equity inflows received in the India amounted to Rs. 999059 crores. Out of this Rs 34925.78 crores is received in Hotel and tourism sector. This amounts to 3.28% of total FDI equity inflows. The paper is divided into six sections. Section I deals with introduction and types of tourism. Section II deals talks about various initiatives taken by government of India to promote tourism and hospitality in India. Section III cites reasons as to why people should invest in India. Section IV gives statistical support to show status of tourism and hospitality in India and FDI received in this sector. It also shows an upwardtrend in terms of FDI inwards in India. Section V is the last section which concludes about how FDI inwards are important for the Indian economy. Section VI deals with references.

Section I: Introduction

Tourism and hospitality industry are one of the fastest growing sectors in the Indian market. This sector comprises of trade, hotel services, restaurant service etc. and is one of the largest contributors to GDP of the Indian eoonomy. Tourism sector in India is bestowed with rich culture, vast heritage and diversenatural beauty. People from various countries come to India to experience this diverse culture and heritage of the Indian society. Tourism industry is source of huge employment for the people and also a source of revenue. They help us to earn foreign exchange for the Indian economy which fuither helps to improve the GDP of the economy.

Types of Tourism

People from all over the places come to India not only to enjoy natural beauty, heritage, culture but also for various other reasons and few of them are mentioned below:

A. **Medical Tourism**: India has a rich heritage in Ayurveda. Various therapies using natural ingredients is quite popular in India. Not only this but India has invested good amount of money and time in its overall health infrastructure. People from various countries come to get treatmentat reasonable cost.

B. **Spiritual Tourism**: India is country of Gods. Given the great and enriching heritage of this country, there are various spiritual destinations. People from all over the country come here to experiment enlightening process and experiment with inner self.

C. **Rural Tourism**: Rural India also offers great opportunities to the India. As far as tourism is concerned people from all over the world come here to get away from the complexities of day to day life. In villages one can have true experience with rural India.

D. **Mice Tourism**: This is one of the latest types of business tourism where people travel to attend meetings, conferences, events etc.

E. **Eco Tourism**: This is one of the responsible form of tourism. It acts as

akey to a sustainable ecological development of a country. It basically aims at promoting conservation of wildlife etc.

So we can say that overall India is one of the attractive tourism destinations. Efforts if taken in the right direction to promote tourism will benefit India. It will not only provide employment and career opportunities to people but will also increase the reserves availability with the country.

Section II: Initiatives Taken By Government of India

Realizing the importance and scope of development in tourism sectors the Government of India and Reserve Bank of India has taken few important initiatives, few of them are stated below:

a. Union cabinet has given approval to Memorandum of understanding between Ministry of India and Ministry of trade Industry and Tourism of Columbia. This will increase the cooperation level among the two countries.

b. Ministry of Tourism has sanctioned Rs 844.96 crores to states and Union territories in order to promote development of tourism destinations in financial year 2014-2015.

c. The Government of India is planning to include over 150 countries under its E-Visa scheme.

d. The Government of India has launched project "MAUSAM" in order to encourage cross cultural links.

Apart from initiatives taken by Government of India, Reserve Bank of lndia has also given few suggestions like:

- It has suggested quarterly reporting practice/ annual reporting practice on foreign inward payment.

- They have also suggested a lock-in period for original investment which, will insure money with Indian companies up to a certain period.

- Not only this, Reserve Bank of India has also suggested to keep aconstant check on companies so as to ensure no violation of FDI rules etc.

Section III: Why Should Anyone Invest in Tourism Sector in India?

Investment should be made in tourism sector due to following reason:-

i.   Indian hospitality sector is experiencing a good growth percentage. So investments made now can lead to huge profits.

ii.   India is ranked among top 5 must see countries. So gradually tourism will increase.

iii.   Stable political and stable economic and social conditions are also one of the reasons for the same.

iv.   Number of hotels including luxury hotels is increasing. People from various countries come to experiment this luxury.

v.   100% FDI is permitted in hotel and tourism industry in India.

vi.   It is also found that restaurants, beach resorts and tourism complexes have maximum FDI inflows in India. In 200l-2002 Rs 31 crore were the FDI equity inflows to hospitals and 2013-2014 Rs 3995 crore were the FDI equity inflows to hospitals.

vii.   Economic liberalization is giving new shape to the hospitality sector.

viii. Increased knowledge, awareness, standard of living has lead to increased interest and expenditure in tourism among people.

ix.   FDI in tourism will provide access to new market opportunities.

x.   Benefit of cheap labour, cheaper production costs and finance etc are available in India.

xi.   Existing infrastructure, capital, skills will also benefit people who are willing to invest India.

xii.   Initiatives taken by the Government of India show the support of government towards this sector.

Section IV: Statistical Validation

Indian tourism and hospitality industry has been seen as one of the

promising sectors in the Indian economy. It contributes to nearly US $187.9 BILLION or roughly 12.5% to GDP in 2014-2015. India's rich culture, heritage, natural beauty is added to country's advantage. These provide attractive tourism advantages to India. Even the Ministry of tourism has planned to meet these increased demands by providing adequate necessary educated manpower. Various courses has been introduced to upgrade their skills.

Number of foreign tourism arrival rate has also increased. During Jan-Nov 2015 it has reached 7.103 million. A growth rate of 4.5% is observed in foreign tourism arrival. In Jan -Nov 2015 foreign exchange earnings have also increased to Rs 112958 crore from 16.94 Billion. Not only these but also online bookings for hotels have also doubled. E-commerce is also one of the crucial factors which is helping in further development of hotels and tourism industry. According to data released by Department of Industrial Policy and promotion from April 2000 to September 2015 hotel and tourism sector has attracted around US$ 8.48 Billion of FDI.

There are many companies which have invested in India:

- Thomas cook (owned by Fairfax) has acquired Swiss Tour operator in India.

- Vantage Hospitality group has made a franchise agreement with Miraya Hotel Management and Indian group.

- Omyx Hospitality and Kingsbridge India Hotel Asset Management firm both have signed a joint venture to open various hotels in India by 2018.

- ITC has various investments plans. They plan to invest roughly Rs 9000 crore next few year in Hospitality industry.

According to Department of Industrial Policy and promotion FDI equity inflows from April 2008 to Jan 2012 in hotel and tourism sector can be seen as:

Sector	2000-20012 FDI in Rs. Million	2013 (Jan-Dec) FDI in Rs. Million	2014 (Jan-Dec) FDI in Rs. Million	2015 (Jan-Sep) FDI in Rs. Million
Hotel & Tourism	326937.51	22320.33	48652.88	47971.92

In terms of cumulative figure from Jan 2000-Sep 2015 an overall 44588.3 million or 8458.61 US$ million is received by the tourism and hospitality industry.

Section V: Conclusion

According to Tourism ministry of India, tourism industry of India will provide largest foreign exchange to its country and as stated above it can be seen that it is working in this direction at quite a fast rate. Growth rate of tourism & hospitality industry is quite commendable. According to ministry it is expected that Indian tourism industry will require US$56 Billion in the next 20 years for the development of its economy. Rationalization of taxation on hotel sector is need of the hour. Giving them benefits like tax concession, tax holidays are required to bring out the real results benefiting the economy. The G.O.I has already started taking initiatives like initating few programs like MAUSAM, ATHITHI DEVO BHAVA, E-VISA etc. these will help in driving more and more tourist to India. Even various international hospitality firms like Hilton, Accor, Marriott international, Berggruen Hotels, Cabana Hotels, Premier travel Inn, Inter Continental Hotels groups have announced their plans to invest in India. Over the next few years this will increase the demand and investment in hospitality sector of India and will further stronger the economy helping it to reach new heights.

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8

Global Civil Society: Need For the Power to the People and Deliberative Democracy

Tamanna Khosla

Global Civil Society: Defination in Present Context

In the present postmodern times it is the times of upgradation of civil society. More than just civil society, focus now is on movements from civil society which is global in nature. Globalization in the 90's has promoted this phenomenon. The wave for democratization worldwide has given impetus to the global civil society movement. Why is it important to understand global civil society? One of the reasons is that it gives insight into what a democratic set up would look like in current political societies. Second reason is that there is equal amunt of authoritarian governments in the world with clamor for democratization from the ground example being the Chinese democratic upsurge in Tiananmen square. Global civil society gives hope to worlds oppressed people that world can have a say in their matters. The ideological focus on deliberative democracy has given impetus to global civil society movement. Thus the article argues the need for giving power to civil society to bring about changes in political, economic, social and cultural sphere.

Here we need to understand what is global civil society movement. We will also understand how deliberative democracy assists in global civil society

movement.

I

The words 'global' and 'civil society' have become commonplace during the last decade. Yet what they mean and how they come together are subject to widely differing interpretations. Albrow and Seckinelgin, paraphrasing Nancy Fraser, defined global civil society as a 'dynamic of claims and counterclaims for justice that extends far beyond the discursive frame of the conventional nation state'.[1]

This dynamic has been particularly pronounced in 2011, with virulent claims and counterclaims pertaining to international criminal justice as well as social justice.

Civil society has come to be considered as an essential component in contemporary global politics, taken either as a normative concept linked to the idea of democracy or as a descriptive concept referring to the activism of NGOs, social movements, and global advocacy networks.

Further, from the beginning global civil society is conceived as a 'fuzzy and contested concept' with both descriptive and normative content. For operational purposes, the global civil society year book adopted an empirical definition of global civil society as 'the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located *between* the family, the state, and the market and operating *beyond* the confines of national societies, polities, and economies.[2] As the journey progressed, scholars became increasingly critical of the dominant associational notion of global civil society that is often equated with international NGOs. So subsequently, social scientists began to experiment with alternative, more normative versions of the concept: communicative power, for example, or the space where justice is deliberated, or a realm of civility and non-violence. In india foexample civil society movement was gives importance since time immemorial. But the prim promoter of the concept was MK Gandhi. He gave importance to people to move against violence and injustice and focus on non violence as a method for civil society movement against British. In post independent India he gave importance to villages the lowest tier to

organize itself.

Further, one way in which we chose to interpret civil society is as the medium through which individuals participate in public affairs, and through which they endorse or challenge the dominant discourse. It is a constantly shifting medium – sometimes characterised by consensus and sometimes by sharp polarisation and struggle, sometimes changing slowly and sometimes, in revolutionary moments, dramatically. Its concrete manifestations – as coffee houses or market places in the eighteenth century, town hall meetings and party conferences in the twentieth century, or Facebook and tent cities most recently – vary according to time and place.

Moreover the growth and expansion of global civil society as a phenomenon in the 1990s seemed closely associated with a major shift in cultural and social values that took hold in most developed market economies in the 1970s. This shift saw a change in emphasis from material security to concerns about democracy, participation and meaning, and involved, among others, a formation towards cosmopolitan values such as tolerance and respect for human rights[3]. These values facilitated the cross-national spread of social movements around common issues that escaped conventional party politics, particularly in Europe and Latin America, and led to a broad-based mobilisation in social movements, with the women's, peace, democracy and environmentalmovements the best examples of an increasingly international 'movement industry'[4]. Contemporary society is far more conscious of environmental and human rights and the importance of gender equality, and far more inclusive in terms of race, language, religion or sexual orientation than in 1950s and 1960s. Not only in the West, but also in growing parts of Asia and Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, today's generation are the children of the internet, the mobile phone and cheap air travel – the 'globalisation Generation. They know that the world is a singular fragile eco-system – and that while the national state does have a role to play, it is part of a broader global community. And above all, as has become so movingly obvious in Tahrir Square, on the streets of Syrian towns or even in the Yemen, most believe in non-violence as a fundamental guiding principle.[5]

In particular, Western support for dictators in the region has been

underpinned by orientalist assumptions about the incompatibility of Islamic societies with democracy and civil society. The protestors in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and elsewhere have disproved these theories. They have displayed extraordinary dignity and self-restraint. With the exception of Libya, the protestors have refused to be drawn into violence in spite of huge provocation. This determined stance in Syria, where at the time of writing, some 2,200 people have been killed, is truly inspirational. They have shown an exemplary degree of self-organisation, with people's committees springing up everywhere. They have refused to be framed as sectarian or Islamist; Muslims and Christians, Sunni and Shi'a, women in veils and women with their hair streaming behind them have stood together in Tahrir Square, Pearl Square and many other places. TLike the crowds in Prague or Berlin in 1989, the protestors are showing that they can be the agents of history. However these events unfold, an active civil society has begun a movement for democracy across the region. Even Israelis have been affected by this mood of expressing indignation and taking charge of destiny: tent cities have sprung up all over Israel, inspired by Tahrir Square. The subtitle of the same yearbook suggests that global civil society can be defined as 'communicative power' as opposed to the power of force or money.[6]

Here we would look at the types of civil society which have started in 2000's.

II

Types of global civil society movements

Political Reforms: Emphasis on democratization worldwide against non democratic governments

Political movements world wide have been focusing on democratization worldwide by people. We need to see how these movements have expanded from one state to another. Popular focus on democratization has expanded.

From 2010 onwards there were several movements which spoke about the need for political reforms in world. The attempt was to bring more democratization in world.

The world oldest democracy US saw the need for more transparency in the democratic process. Wikileaks released conûdential documents on the war in Afghanistan , Iraq and gutanamo base,to newspapers .

Similarly in 2010, in Tunisia, a vegetable salesman action sparks huge protests in Tunisia, and marks the start of the 'Arab Spring'. President Ben Ali ûees the country as protest from civil society forced him to do so. In Syria there were protests against the regime of President Bashar al-Assad.[7]

In 2011,the people of southern Sudan vote in a referendum for independence. The Republic of South Sudan is declared an independent state.

In Libya following a Day of Rage in Benghazi against the regime of Colonel Qadhaû, protests spread across the country. Qadhaû refuses to step down and the country plunges into civil war, with citizens taking over the running of all public services in the Benghazi area.

In Egypt huge protests in Cairo and elsewhere against the regime of Husni Mubabarak. After a series of crackdowns and the subsequent occupation of Tahrir Square, the president resigns.Further in, Italy thousands of Italian women protest against the chauvinism of President Silvio Berlusconi, marching in more than 60 towns and cities across Italy, andas far away as Tokyo. In a referendum in 2011, Italians vote against immunity for cabinet ministers, in a move seen as an attack on Burlusconi's future..

In 2010, China arrested and imprisoned in 2008 for authoring the Charter 08 manifesto, which demanded democratic reform and an end to the one-party system. Liu Xiaobo was awarded the 2010 Nobel Prize. This caused a diplomatic row, and immediate censorship of the announcement by Chinese government which was however hailed worldwide.

In Swaziland, Pro-democracy rallies are held in Africa's last absolute monarchy.

Further in particular, Western support for dictators in the west asia region has been underpinned by orientalist assumptions about the incompatibility of Islamic societies with democracy and civil society. But this has been resisted by people and organized civil society.The protestors

in Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and elsewhere have disproved these theories by westerners. They have displayed extraordinary dignity and self-restraint. With the exception of Libya, the protestors have refused to be drawn into violence in spite of huge provocation. They have shown an exemplary degree of self-organisation, with people's committees springing up everywhere. They have refused to be framed as sectarian or Islamist, Muslims and Christians, Sunni and Shi'a. women in veils and women with their hair streaming behind them have stood together in Tahrir Square, Pearl Square and many other places. Like the crowds in Prague or Berlin in 1989, the protestors are showing that they can be the agents of history.[8]

However these events unfold, an active civil society has begun a movement for democracy across the region. Even Israelis have been affected by this mood of expressing indignation and taking charge of destiny: tent cities have sprung up all over Israel, inspired by Tahrir Square. Although focused primarily on social demands, these tent city protests could have implications for the peace process as the demonstrators, who include both Jewish and Arab Israelis, make the point of contrasting the huge settlement programme in the Palestinian territories with inadequate social housing inside Israel. In an era of globalisation, where it is almost impossible to sustain closed societies, authoritarian states depend on consent. When that consent is withdrawn they cannot survive. They can, however, try to reproduce consent through the mobilisation of fear, and this leads not to stability but to anarchy, lawlessness and violence.

In analyses of the Arab Spring, there has been much attention to the extent to which the use of Facebook, Twitter and social media allowed immediate diffusion of information about mobilisation and repression. This was profoundly important. But equally important was the role of satellite television channels in Arabic, particularly al-Jazeera, which disseminated information picked up from social networking sites. These transnational Arabic channels have already contributed to an emerging pan-Arabic civil society and, by the same token, their role in the revolutions has enormously enhanced their status and popularity. The communications aspect of the Arab revolts could also be understood as part of a wider global civil society trend of simultaneously utilising and demanding transparency against

secretive or corrupt organisations, not just in authoritarian settings and not just at the state level. Wikileaks is a prime example in this context: while it has existed and posted classified information since 2006, Wikileaks shot to fame in April 2010, when it showed a video of a 2007 US airstrike on Baghdad in which journalists were mistakenly fired at.[9]

Further global civil society is also defined as 'the medium through which the consciousness and perceptions of risk are shaped and new methods of protection are promoted'[10]. This aspect of global civil society was clearly demonstrated in the rapid change of views on nuclear power after the radioactive leakage from the Fukushima plant caused by the Tohoku earthquake in Japan in March 2011. In Italy, the return to nuclear power was overwhelmingly rejected in a referendum, and in Germany and Switzerland nuclear power is being phased out[11] what these path-breaking decisions showed was that, over the long-term, social movements like the anti-nuclear movement can bring about fundamental changes in attitudes, and ultimately, policy. For example the protests that brought hundreds of thousandsof people to the street in Spain, Greece, Portugal, Israel and Ireland are also about social justice: they protest against unemployment, wage cuts and other austerity measures, but beyond that also about having been lied to by politicians and being disproportionally targeted by austerity cuts while bankers were bailed out.[12]

Environmental Movements: Non-Violence Against Nature

Environmental movements in the last decade have got an impetus from political movements for democracy.Politicians and an oligarchy of industrialists have vested interests in exploitation of environment. Here comes the civil society which has harped on the need for protection of people against these irresponsible behavior of the nexus between politicians and industrialists.

In 2010, United States, an explosion at the BP drilling rig Deep Water Horizon results in the largest offshore oil spill in US history. International outrage ensued. 39 civil society groups post a letter to the US Senate urging them to reconsider off-shore drilling and over 800,000 people join the Facebook group 'Boycott BP', which, along with other mobilizations,

culminates in an international day of protest. Even now, cleanup and litigation expected to take many years.

Also in 2010, Hungary, toxic mud is leaked from the Ajka alumina plant in the worst chemical spill in the country's history, leading to an outcry by environmental NGOs.

2010 also saw in Mexico, a coalition of civil society organisations call for a 'democratic, transparent and participatory process at the UN climate talks' at the COP16 in Cancun, but the deals that come out of the talks are critiqued as rescuing UN credibility rather than the environment.

In 2011, East Africa saw a regional food security alert from the Famine Early Warning Systems Network which joined the rising clamour of voices from NGOs and UN agencies predicting famine in East Africa. Although 'the worst drought in 60 years' was blamed, with climate change ûngered as the culprit, observers also point to rising food prices, continued regional conûict, systemic poverty and the failure of states to honour aid promises. The reluctance of the UN to deûne a critical situation as a famine has also been criticised. The food crisis affected more than 12 million people in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Southern Sudan, with famine ofûcially declared by the UN in areas of Somalia in July.

2011 saw in Germany Following the March 11 tsunami in Japan and subsequent leaks at the Fukushima nuclear plant, large protests against nuclear energy sweep across Germany and France. As a result of popular pressure, Chancellor Merkel announces that Germany will be free of nuclear energy by 2022. Subsequently, Italians vote against the resumption of their country's nuclear power programme, in a referendum held on 14 June 2010.

In 2010, PakistanTwo months of abnormally heavy rains cause repeated ûooding in the Indus basin. 2,000,000 people are affected – civil society rallies to organise help for the victims. 2010, also sees movement in against toxic mud leaked from the Ajka alumina plant in the worst chemical spill in the country's history, leading to an outcry by environmental NGOs.

Economic Movements: In Favor of Welfarism

Economic movements have gained from the socialist revolution and

the need to ensure welfarism for the citizenry.

In United Kingdom for example, major protests take place in London against education cuts, the rise in university tuition fees, along with numerous smaller protests and lengthy university sit-ins that occur around the UK.

2010 saw protests in Dublin,against EU bailout and austerity measures. An estimated 100,000 take to the streets of Dublin to protest against austerity measures called for by the IMF and EU.

III

Global Civil Society: A Trail From 1970s to 2012

Here we will also look at the changes which have come about globally in civil society movements and the medium of these changes. It shows how the present decade focuses on democratization.

Fields	Value Changes
1970s : Economic, research and science;	Humanitarian membership-based INGOs(international non governmental organization)
1980s Value-based ;	INGOs linked to International Social Movement Cosmopolitan values
1990s:Value-based; serviceprovision	Corporate and public management NGOs
2000s: Anti-capitalism; opposition to war	Social Forums
2010s Democracy, social Justice,	Web-based activism; Tweets

IV

Conclusion: Need For Deliberative Democracy

How this struggle plays out depends to a large extent to whether the

newly emergingemancipatory social movements can transform themselves into a political movement. Can they develop a political agenda capable of constructing new sources of political authority with the capacity to address the big issues of our time?

The workers' movements and the anti-colonial movements of the early twentieth century provided the political basis for the strengthening of the state in the late twentieth century. The post-'68 movements had a far-reaching cultural impact and also contributed to democratisation, as well as to the consolidation of humanitarian, human rights and peacekeeping institutions at an international level. The protests of 2011 have the potential to re-instil public morality and to help build institutions at regional and global levels that can tackle such issues as global inequality(be it of wealth or concerns gender disparity) and or environmental necessity, although at present they seem largely focused on national and local levels. Already there are some largely unnoticed but significant innovations at a non-national institutional level. TheGerman and French leaders agreed in August 2011, for example, on a European tax on financial transactions – something long demanded by Social Forum activists. The International Monetary Fund has uncharacteristically reacted to the Arab Spring and the European sovereign debt crisis with political concerns about how to sustain social cohesion. In other words, there is what sociologists call a political opportunity structure. The next decade will be a dramatic learning process for the new global generation. Can they articulate a shared political agenda that has the potential to save their successors from the dire consequences of deprivation, climate change and war?

Thus in the current scenarion the global civil society seems fixated with the idea of need of democracy and more deliberative democracy to the people. No deliberation procedure can succeed till a certain level of trust and mutual respect is established between groups, within groups and between the state and groups. A society needs to fulfil the conditions of 'minimal decency'. No group should be in a more advantageous position. A balance of power should exist between the deliberating parties. Deliberation for groups is not possible from a position of inequality.

Power needs to be transferred to the people. Good governance with

focus on participation and transparency need to be practiced.Responsivness by the states worldwide needs to be spread. Equity between people, between minorities, gender and other social, political groups need to be focus of governments.De beaurocratization is must for democracy to function to the fullest.

Thus dialogue between governments and citizenry is a must. Further contemporary problems like terrorism can also be handled better if people and global civil society are involved. Thus strengthening of civil society in the present cosmopolitan setup is a must which would lead to addressing several contemporary problems.

End Notes

1   Albrow, Martin and Glasius, Marlies (2007) 'Democracy and the Possibility of a Global Public Sphere', in Martin Albrow et al. (eds), Global Civil Society 2007/8. London: Sage Publications. P;1

2   Anheier, Helmut, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor (eds.)(2001) Global Civil Society, Oxford University Press, 2001. P;17

3   Inglehart, R. (1990). Cultural Shift in Advanced Industrial Society. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

4   Diani, M. and McAdam, D. (eds) (2003) Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action.Oxford: Oxford University Press; McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C. (2001) Dynamics of Contention. New York: Cambridge University Press.

5   Anheier, Helmut;c.it Another example that can be set forth is that in May 2011, in his speech announcing the deathof Osama bin Laden, President Obama referred to the operation to shoot him and throw his body into the sea as 'an operation to get Osama bin Laden and bring him to justice' ('Osama bin Laden Killed' 2011). In New York bin Laden, President Obama referred to the operation to shoot him and throw his body into the sea as 'an operation to get Osama bin Laden and bring him to justice' ('Osama bin Laden Killed' 2011). In New York and Washington DC thousands took to the streets to celebrate this 'justice'. In other places, including Berlin, Cairo, Istanbul, Java, Kashmir, London and different cities of Pakistan, protest demonstrations were held ('Reaction to the Death of Osama' 2011).Secondly, The trial of former

Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, and more specifically the controversial decision by the judges to stop televising the proceedings, has led to clashes between Mubarak supporters and opponents (Kirkpatrick 2011). The trial contains elements of social justice as well as criminal justice, as Mubarak and his sons stand accused not only of responsibility for the death of demonstrators but also for corruption and illegal business deals (Shenker 2011)

2   Ibid;p 2

3   Ibid;p 3

4   Ibid;p 5

5   Ibid;p 8

6   Ibid;p 1

References

Albrow, Martin and Glasius, Marlies (2007) 'Democracy and the Possibility of a Global Public Sphere', in Martin Albrow et al. (eds), Global Civil Society 2007/8. London: Sage Publications.

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9

Water Sector in Delhi: An overview

- Yuthika Agarwal

Abstract

Water is a basic necessity for all life forms including human beings. Hence all require minimum sustainable level of water. Catering for the consumption of some groups of individuals at the cost of other's subsistence needs and only for the present consumption without taking care of future consumption is not sustainable. Policies, not incorporating the sustainability, are bound to break the entire system.

Over the last couple of decades, there was a huge demand of water worldwide. According to latest report of India's Water Reforms, if the current pattern of water demand continues, about half of the demand for water will be unmet by 2030. The water level, which is one of the most important source, in most part of the country has fallen considerably and is getting contaminated.

Availability of water is declining with increasing development. New and varied uses of water are emerging. The pattern of household consumption is also becoming more water intensive with increased urbanisation. Understanding factors affecting demand and supply of water is a complex issue. Any policy decision by the authorities will have a very long and lasting impact on the economic and social wellbeing of people. Hence comprehensive studies should be undertaken before any policy decision is taken.

To help policy makers understand the issues involved and take corrective measures, a sample study has been undertaken by the author. This paper revolves around important issues relating to household water sector in Delhi. It also aims to study the sources of water supply in different parts of the city.To avoid being theoretical and to incorporate the actual ground realities the paper is based on primary data collected froma sample of 277 households living in Delhi.

The availability of per capita water in India is falling and hence immediate and steadfast actions by the government is required. The paper examines the water requirements, institutional and legal framework, availability of water resource andsources of water specifically in Delhi. It shows that within different regions of Delhi, there is huge variation in sources of water. It concludes that the demand and supply is not even and equitable and there is a large gap in supply vis-à-vis demand. A lot has to be done by the policy makers to improve and preserve the sources of water and make it sufficiently available to all.

Introduction

India was traditionally endowed with large freshwater reserves. But growth of the Indian economy is driving increased water usage across sectors. Increasing population and overexploitation of surface and groundwater over the past few decades has resulted in water scarcity.According to ministry of water resources, groundwater in 320 of 640 districts in the country is contaminated by fluoride, arsenic and other chemicals, and heavy metals like lead and chromium, which affects 6 lakh habitations directly and many more indirectly. The Central Ground Water Board (CGWB) has revealed a shocking assessment, according to which 276 districts have high levels of fluoride in their groundwater. At least 387 districts in 21 states, of the 676 districts in the country, have nitrate above permissible levels and eighty-seven areas have a high amount of arsenic, which is a slow poison.

Wastewater is increasing significantly and in the absence of proper measures for treatment and management, the existing freshwater reserves are getting depleted. Due to increased urbanization, per capita water consumption in towns and cities is also rising. It is also driving a change in

the consumption patterns and leading to increased demand for water-intensive agricultural crops and industrial production (Grail, 2009)[1].

Around the world, human activity and natural forces are reducing available water resources. On an average, India receives annual precipitation (including snowfall) of about 4000 km^3. However, there exist considerable spatial and temporal variations in the distribution of rainfall and hence in availability of water in time and space across the country. It is estimated that out of the 4000 km^3 water, only 1869 km^3 is the average annual potential flow in rivers, isavailable as water resource. Out of this total available water resource, only 1123 km^3 is utilizable (690 km^3 from surface water resources and 433 km^{3}from ground water resources). The water demand in the year 2000 was 634 km^3 and it is likely to be 1093 km^3 by the year 2025.

The following figure compares the per capita water availability around the world, in 1975 with the per capita water available in 2000.

FIG 1: Per capita water availability in 1975 (left) and 2000 (right)
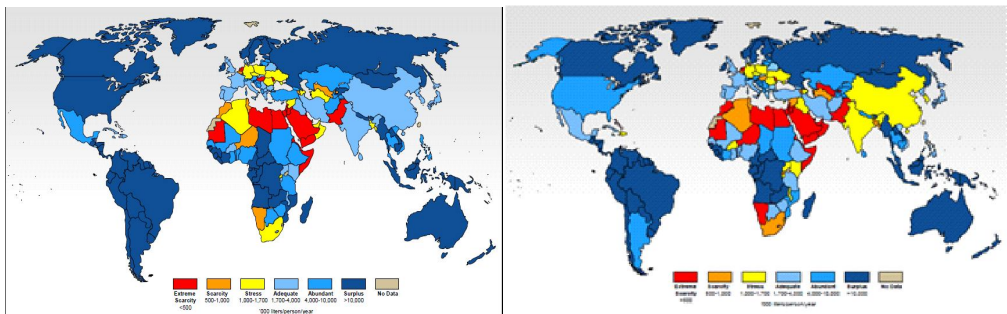
Source: 'Global Water Initiative' (2005, June)[2]

Forms of water availability

The water distribution on earth shows that most water in the Earth's atmosphere and crust comes from the world ocean's saline seawater, while freshwater accounts for only 2.5per cent of the total. The oceanscover roughly 71per cent of the area of the Earth and reflects blue light, therefore the Earth appears blue from space, and is often referred to as the blue planet. An estimated 1.5 to 11 times the amount of water in the oceans may be found hundreds of miles deep within the Earth's interior, although not in

liquid form.

FIG 2: Distribution of Earth's Water
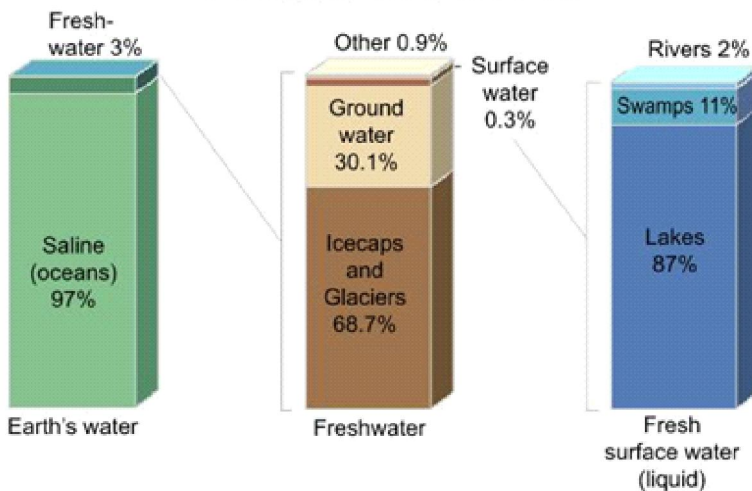
The vast bulk of the water on Earth is saline or salt water, with an average salinity of 35‰ (or 3.5per cent, roughly equivalent to 34 grams of salts in 1 kg of seawater). In all, water from oceans and marginal seas, saline groundwater and water from saline closed lakes amount to over 97per cent of the water on Earth. Though, saline groundwater is seldom considered except when evaluating water quality in arid regions.

The remainder of the Earth's water constitutes the planet's fresh water resource. Typically, fresh water is defined as water with a salinity of less than 1per cent that of the oceans - i.e. below around 0.35‰. Water with a salinity between this level and 1per cent is typically referred to as marginal water because it is marginal for many uses by humans & animals. The ratio of salt water to fresh water on Earth is around 40 to 1.

The planet's fresh water is also very unevenly distributed. Although in warm periods such as the Mesozoic and Paleogene when there were no glaciers anywhere on the planet all fresh water was found in rivers and streams. Today most fresh water exists in the form of ice, snow, groundwater and soil moisture, with only 0.3per cent in liquid form on the surface. Of the liquid surface fresh water, 87per cent is contained in lakes, 11per cent

in swamps, and only 2per cent in rivers. Small quantities of water also exist in the atmosphere and in living beings. Of these sources, only river water is generally valuable. Most lakes are in very inhospitable regions.

Although the total volume of groundwater is known to be much greater than that of river runoff, a large proportion of this groundwater is saline and should therefore be classified with the saline water above. There is also a lot of fossil groundwater in arid regions that has never been renewed for thousands of years; this must not be seen as renewable water.

However, fresh groundwater is of great value, especially in arid countries such as India. Its distribution is broadly similar to that of surface river water, but it is easier to store in hot and dry climates because groundwater storages are much more shielded from evaporation than are dams. In countries such as Yemen, groundwater from erratic rainfall during the rainy season is the major source of irrigation water.

Water Availability in India

Over the years, the supply of water, its reach and penetration all over India is definitely improving. As per the Plan Documents and the Census Data; coverage of water supply in rural India has constantly increased. It was only 3per cent of the total villages in 1971 and has increased to 73.2per cent of total households in 2001. In the urban India the situation has improved over the years. The coverage of water supply was 82per cent of the total population in 1971, and it had increased to 90per cent of total household by 2001.

Table-1: Availability of Water-Facts at a Glance

Area of the India as per cent of World Area	2.4per cent
Population as per cent of World Population	17.1per cent
Water as per cent of World Water	4per cent
Rank in per capita availability	132
Rank in water quality	122
Average annual rainfall	1160 mm (world average 1110 mm)
Range of distribution	150-11690 mm
Range Rainy days	5-150 days, Mostly during 15 days in 100 hrs
Range PET	1500-3500 mm
Per capita water availability (2010)	1588 m^3

Table-2: India's Water Resources

S.No.	Water Resource at a Glance	Quantity (km^3)	Percentage
1	Annual precipitation (Including snowfall)	4000	100
2	Precipitation during monsoon	3000	75
3	Evaporation + Soil water	2131	53.3
4	Average annual potential flow in rivers	1869	46.7
5	Estimated utilizable water resources	1123	28.1
	Surface water	690	17.3
	Replenishable groundwater	433	10.8
	Storage created of utilizable water	253.381	22.52
	Storage (under construction) of utilizable water	50.737	4.5
6	Estimated water need in 2050	1450	129
7	Estimated deficit	327	29
	Interlinking can give us	200	17.8

(*Source: Water Resources at a Glance 2011 Report, CWC, New Delhi*)

Water requirement of Delhi

Water requirement of Delhi as suggested by different institutions based on different per capita water requirements for 2011 are presented here. The institutions referred to are Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Leak detection and investigation LD&I (department of DJB) and Ministry of Urban Development(MOUD) / Central Public Health and Environmental Engineering Organisation (CPHEEO).

FIG 3: Total Water Requirement of Delhi, 2011
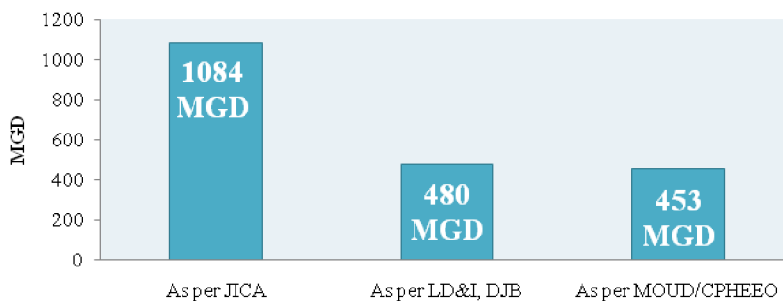
Source: Jaladhikar:Center for social justice and democracy (2012)

The water requirement of Delhi in the year 2011 as per JICA was estimated to be 1084 million gallons per day (mgd) (274.4 liters per capita per day (lpcd) x 18 million population), as per LD&I it is 480 mgd

(126.81lpcd x 18 million population) and as per MOUD/CPHEEO it is 453mgd (119.6lpcd x 18 million population). The total water demand for Delhi is projected to be 1380 mgd by the year 2021, calculated at 60gpcd (274.4lpcd as per UK) for a population of approximately 230 lacks.[3]

Institutional and legal framework of water sector in Delhi

The urban water supply and sanitation in the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi is the sole responsibility of the Delhi Jal Board (DJB). DJB was established by the Delhi Water Board Act, 1998, passed by the parliament. The earlier fragmented division of Delhi Water Supply and Sewage Disposal Undertaking were merged together to form DJB. The Board acts as the parastatal authority for all the capital works, operations and maintenance (O&M) and revenue functions related to water supply within the NCT of Delhi.

As per the Act, DJB has the responsibility of performing all the functions of urban water supply in the NCT of Delhi, but it supplies only bulk water to area under New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) and Delhi Cantonment Board. Further as per section 55 of the DJB Act, the board has the power of levying fees, charges, including development charges, rental, etc. and recovering them for the services rendered by it. The Board member of DJB comprises of selected representatives of government and therefore the state government has a major say in final decision related to tariff fixing and tariff revision. Table3 summarises the various functions of DJB as per the different geographical area of the NCT.

TABLE 3: Responsibilities of DJB with provision of water services in Delhi

Geographical Area	Water Supply Functions		
	Capital works	O&M	Revenue functions
MCD	Yes	Yes	Yes
NDMC	Yes	Bulk Supply only	Bulk payment from NDMC
Delhi Cantonment Board	Yes	Bulk Supply only	Bulk payment from Cantonment

Source: DJB

Though DJB carries out all the functions of urban water supply and sanitation of NC of Delhi, any hike in tariff has to be approved by the State Government. Thus to summarize the institutional arrangement; DJB is the sole body responsible for carrying out urban water supply functions

including capital works, O&M and revenue functions like billing etc. Further, while DJB is an autonomous body, most of its members are selected representative from government itself and hence the state government is indirectly involved in the Board's functioning.

Water resources of DJB

The DJB being the sole controller of water distribution to households of Delhi has the following water resources at its command.DJB's water resources come mainly from three rivers i.e., Yamuna, Bhakra and Ganga.

TABLE 4: Water resources of DJB in the year 2012

Source of water	Water in MGD
Ganga River	240
Yamuna River	310
Bhakhra Beas Management Board	140
Ranney Wells and Tube Wells of DJB	115
TOTAL	**805**

Source: DJB and Economic survey of Delhi 2012

The table shows that the total water resources of DJB was 805 MGD in 2012, which comes from various sources like Ganga and Yamuna rivers, Bhakhra Beas management board and Ranney wells[4] and tube wells. The major source of water to DJB is Yamuna River which supply 310 MGD and the second major source is Ganga River supplying 240 MGD. It is believed that after construction of Renuka Dam, another 275 MGD shall be available for Delhi. This dam may take more than 10 years for completion and is yet to get forest clearances to go ahead.

To assess the availability of water in Delhi and its feasibility, it is also important to analyze the water situation in the states with which it shares waterfrom the common pool. The states are Haryana, Punjab and U.P. These neighbouring states of Delhi have a heavy agriculture base and are the food granaries of India. The report by Central Ground Water Board(CGWB), on the groundwater situation in these states reflects a grim reality. In Punjab and Haryana, more than 50per cent of water blocks have been declared overexploited. It means these states are highly stressed for water and chances of them releasing more water for Delhi are almost impossible. Rather, it is

suspected that even the existing supply may be reduced if the issue heats up in these states. Water war between states can start any day and put Delhi in a precarious position. A studyestimates the carrying capacity of Delhi to be not more than 8 million population (Soni, 2002)[5]. It can be implied that the requirement of Delhi as suggested by JICA cannot be matched with the current availability of water resources of Delhi.

DJB has to treat the water before it is supplied to the households to bring it above the minimum acceptable level of quality. For this purpose, DJB has established various water treatment plants in different areas of Delhi. The following table shows the various plants with their installed capacity to treat water.

TABLE 5: Water treatment capacities in DJB in 2012

Sources of water	Water treatment plant	Capacity (MGD)
Yamuna	Chandrawal I &II	90
Yamuna	Wazirabad I,II &III	120
Bhakra Storage/ Yamuna	Haiderpur I&II	200
Bhakra Storage	Nangloi	40
Yamuna	Bawana	20
Upper Ganga Canal	North Shahdra (Bhagirathi)	100
Upper Ganga Canal	Sonia Vihar	140
Under Ground water	RanneyWells/ Tube wells	100
Recycling of Water	Bhagirathi, Haiderpur&Wazirabad	37
Commonwealth Games Village		1
TOTAL		**848**

Source: DJB and Economic survey of Delhi 2012

The total water treatment capacity with DJB in 2012 in 848 MGD. The largest capacity water treatment plant is Haiderpur I&II water treatment plant with a capacity of 200 MGD. This plant draws water from Bhakra storage/ Yamuna River. The second largest plant in terms of capacity is at Sonia Vihar with a capacity of 140 MGD, which draws water from Upper Ganga Canal.

Transmission and distribution of water

Treated water is first pumped from water treatment plant (WTP) through transmission pipes to around 100 underground reservoirs (UGRs) in Delhi.

Direct tapping from transmission pipes is decreasing. Length of existing transmission pipelines is approximately 700 km. About 85 percent of transmission pipes are of pre stressed concretepipes. They are being replaced because of large number of leakages. Water is boosted at UGR to large number of small UGRs/booster pumping station(BPSs) with few exception of gravitational flow in small ridge areas. Water is finally distributed from small UGR/BPS to consumers (JICA, 2011)[6]. Figure 4 shows that the distribution pipeline are highly concentrated in some places and very scare in other parts of Delhi. This shows the uneven distribution of pipes. The following figure shows the spread of transmission and distribution pipeline in Delhi.

FIG 4: Spread of transmission and distribution pipelines in Delhi
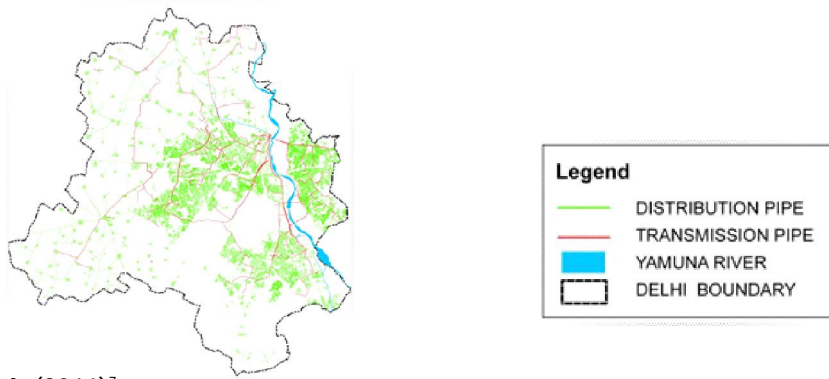
Source: JICA (2011)[7]

Effectiveness in Supplying water

Effectiveness in supplying water is a crucial welfare activity to be accomplished by the state. We have to consider stateseffectiveness in respect of reach/penetration of municipal water in Delhi. Municipal water supply in the city is supplied by DJB, in various modes like individual connections, common tap, municipal tanker etc.

To know how effectively the end user i.e. the households of Delhi are able to benefit from the supply, share of municipal water in total water consumption by households and access to municipal water within the premises are studied through the responses of the 277 sample households belonging to different income groups from six different areas of Delhi like Sawada, Trilokpuri, Baljit Nagar, Jamia Nagar, Vasant Kunj and Greater Kailash.

Supply of water to the households in Delhi

Ahousehold can have its supply of water through many sources depending on different specific factors pertaining to a given area. Each type of source has its specific quality and characteristics like price, available quantity, quality of water etc. Hence studying the sources of water gives a fair idea about the characteristics of water consumed by the respondents. The sources considered in the paper are hand pump, municipal tanker, private tanker, tube well/submersible/boring, municipal individual connection, common tap, bottled water and others. Others include well, spring, river, canal, tank, pond, lake etc. The paper explores the difference in sources of water amongst different areas. Respondents are enquired about their source and the percentage of total household water consumption they procure from each source. Then the average percentage of water used from each source is calculated from each area.

FIG 5: Household water supply
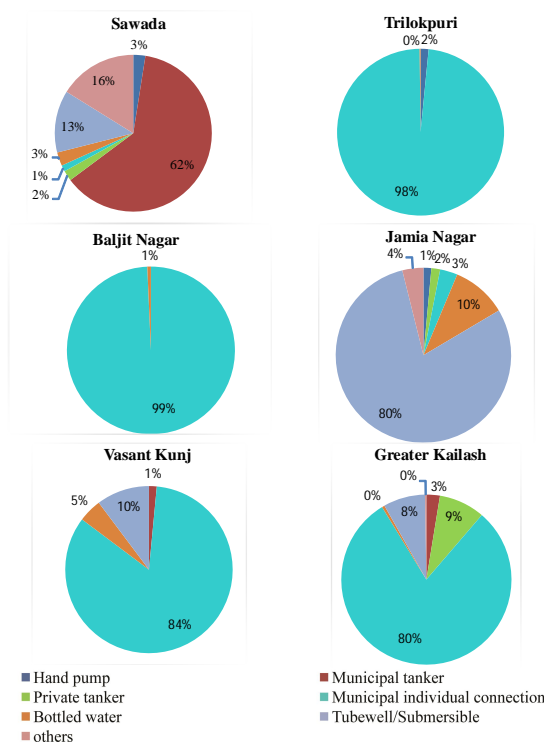
Source: Primary data from field survey

Sawada is a resettlement colony with lowest average household monthly income. The pattern of water usage in such low income colonies can be indicated by studying the pattern in this area. There is no municipal individual connection in Sawada.Only 1 per cent of consumption here is fulfilled by municipal individual connection. Therefore, water is used from more than seven different sources. Municipal tanker is the major source of household water in this area. 62per cent of consumption is from this source. Boring water is another major source which fulfils 13per cent requirements of the area. Hand pump, private tankerand bottled water together constitute 8per cent of water used in the area. A major portion of water i.e. 16per cent is obtained from other sources.

In Trilokpuri and Baljit Nagar, 98per cent and 99per centof the household water requirements respectively are fulfilled from the municipal individual connection. Hand pump gives the rest of 2per cent water in Trilokpuri. In Baljit Nagar 1per cent is bottled water. Municipal individual connection is the crucial source in these two areas.

In Jamia Nagar municipal water either through individual connection or tanker is sparsely supplied. Only 3per cent of household water consumed is fulfilled from municipal individual connection. Hence varied sources of water are exploited in the area. 10per cent of water is sourced through bottled water. Hand pump, private tanker and other sources together contribute 7per cent of water used. Tubewell/submersible water is the major source as it contributes 80per cent of the total water consumed in the area. Tubewell/submersible water directly affects the ground water levels. This has serious implications from the policy perspective.

Major source of household water in Vasant Kunj i.e. 84per centwas taken from municipal individual connection. And 10per cent, 5per cent and 1per cent water is sourced from tube well/submersible, bottled water sources and municipal tanker respectively.

In Greater Kailash's 80per cent of household water requirements are fulfilled by municipal individual connection, 9per cent by private tanker, 8per cent by tube well/ submersible and the rest 3per cent is fulfilled from municipal tanker.

The study of source of water supply found that there is no municipal supply of water in Jamia Nagar and so boring water is the major source used in this area. It contributes 76 percent of the total water consumed here. The unchecked use of boring water in Jamia, directly affects the ground water levels. In Sawada, municipal individual connection is not available. Water used here is from more than seven different sources. The major source of water in this area is municipal tanker. The major source of water in other four areas i.e. Trilokpuri, Baljit Nagar, Vasant Kunj and Greater Kailash is municipal individual connection.

Delhi has inadequate raw watercausing insufficient water supply. The study also found that the distribution of the available water is not even. There are large disparities within the areas when we compare the frequency and duration of municipal water supply. In Sawada, the municipal tanker comes once in two or three days, which is also not fixed.Residents drink stored water, which sometimes is contaminated with mosquitoes, germs etc.Some respondents buy boring water from neighbouring households and therefore are dependent on them. This points towards the seriousness of ineffective penetration of municipal water in Delhi. This also has opportunity cost and adverse health effects for the people.

Baljit Nagar gets supply seven days a week for only an hour in a day.During hot season, sometimes the supply reduces to 15 to 20 minutes only. Short duration and low pressure leads to acute water shortage in summers. This is more severe when there is no electricity at the time of water supply as motor cannot be used to pull water.Jamia Nagar has no municipal supply at all.There is no supply in Jamia Nagar and no daily supply in Sawada hence the problem of these two areas need to be addressed immediately.

Conclusion

Availability of water per capita in India is falling and hence immediate and steadfast action by the government is required.In the year 1975, India was within the range of adequate water availability, now it came under the stressed level of per capita water availability.

The water requirement of Delhi in the year 2011 as per JICA was

estimated to be 1084 mgd and the projected total water demand is1380 million gallons per day(MGD) by the year 2021.Delhi shares its water from the states of Haryana, Punjab and U.P. These neighbouring states of Delhi are also highly stressed; water war between states can start any day and put Delhi in a precarious position.

The falling availability of water and continuous increasing demand has a huge impact on Delhi's water supply. It can be implied that the availability of water cannot be matched with the requirements of Delhi. With the stressed water availability, household income determines the purchasing power of the family and this has direct effect on the consumption pattern of the households. The consumption pattern helps in analysing effectiveness of municipal supply in reaching to different income groups.

In the year 2011, 75.2 per cent of households got drinking water from taps with treated source and 6.1per cent got from taps with untreated water source, rest of the households use drinking water from other sources. Through the years, reach of safe drinking water has improved but still it is not up to the mark. Municipal individual connection is the major source of drinking water in areas where this source is available. In areaswhere municipal water is not connected in houses, there people go for varied sources like municipal tanker, boring water, bottled water etc.Sawada that is thearea with least income households, drinks water from municipal tanker. Jamia Nagar buys water cans from private vendors.

Whenever there is shortage of any resource it leads to inequitable distribution of the resource. The lower income groups are the worst affected. If the resource is a luxury good or not a necessity then it does not have serious repercussions but in the case of necessary goods, inequitable distribution leads to serious repercussion. Thus, if lower income group is not able to get bare minimum water required to live in good health and hygiene then there is a doubt that our state is living up to its welfare motive.

All the above findings of researcher, points that the reach of water supply in Delhi is not equitable. Problems are unique to each area. And some of these problems are severe. Hence, in this sense the reach and penetration of water supply in Delhi is not effective in providing the basic

requirements of water to all.

End Notes

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3. 1 gpcd = 4.55 lpcd (UK), 1 gpcd = 3.785 lpcd (US). Here calculation is according to UK. Differences in figures at places in the study are due to this difference in conversion rates used by various studies.

4. Ranney installed the first horizontal collector well in the 1920s. These high-capacity wells offer an alternative to fields with many vertical wells. Ranney wells comprise a central concrete caisson—typically 16 feet in diameter—excavated to a target depth at which well screens project laterally outward in a radial pattern. In a practice referred to as riverbank filtration, the wells are designed to induce infiltration from a nearby surface water source, combining the desirable features of groundwater and surface water supplies. For detail refer to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ranney_collector

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10

Healthcare Reforms in India and China

Dr. Garima Malik

Abstract

Healthcare reforms are the most complex and daunting challenge faced by any government. Despite its high per capita income U.S. lags behind Asian and European countries in life expectancy due to high body mass index (obesity), high blood pressure and high blood sugar levels. While advanced countries struggle to increase spending on healthcare it is even more difficult for emerging economies like China and India which have to choose between spending on health and sectors like infrastructure. The U.N. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) chart out a number of goals for health policy. However China and India have only made limited progress towards these goals. The main challenges lie in the large breakout of non-communicable diseases in China and there is an urgent need to move away from a hospital-centered care system to a system where primary care providers play a critical role. The Indian health system suffers from various inadequacies such as low government spending, large out-of-pocket expenses and lack of insurance. While infectious diseases have been controlled to some extent new diseases like AIDS, hypertension, cancer and diabetes are on the rise as Indians live more affluent lives and adopt unhealthy diets high in fat and sugar. This paper examines how governments

may soon be facing difficulties if they fail to make the necessary reforms to health care systems.

Keywords: healthcare reforms, non-communicable diseases, primary care

> 'You need an educated healthy workforce to help sustain economic development'

> -Amartya Sen, 2013

Introduction

Economic growth if not accompanied by improvements in health and education can be severely constrained in its scope. Thus broader development outcomes need to be firmly entrenched in any growth trajectory. Despite its high per capita income the U.S. is lagging behind Asian and European countries in its human development index due to its health indicators.

While advanced countries struggle to increase spending on healthcare it is even more difficult for emerging economies like China and India which have to choose between spending on health and other sectors like infrastructure. However no growth model is complete without healthy and productive citizens. Thus it cannot be emphasized enough how much healthcare matters for citizens of a country.
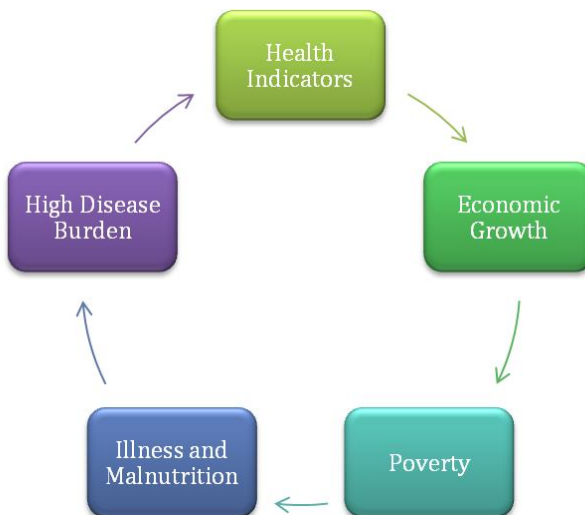
Figure 1: Vicious cycle of ill-health and poverty

Source: World Bank

As espoused by the World Development Report, (World Bank, 1993)[1] poor people in most countries have the worst health outcomes. They are pushed further into poverty due to ill health. They are also excluded from support networks that enhance the social and economic benefits of good health. Several authors have analysed data between 1965 and 1990 and have shown that the improvement in life expectancy was responsible for about 8 per cent of total growth.

According to these studies there are three broad mechanisms responsible for this effect:

Improvements in productivity due to a healthy workforce and less absenteeism;

Increased incentives to invest in human and physical capital as life expectancy increases; and

Increase in savings rates as workers have an incentive to save for retirement
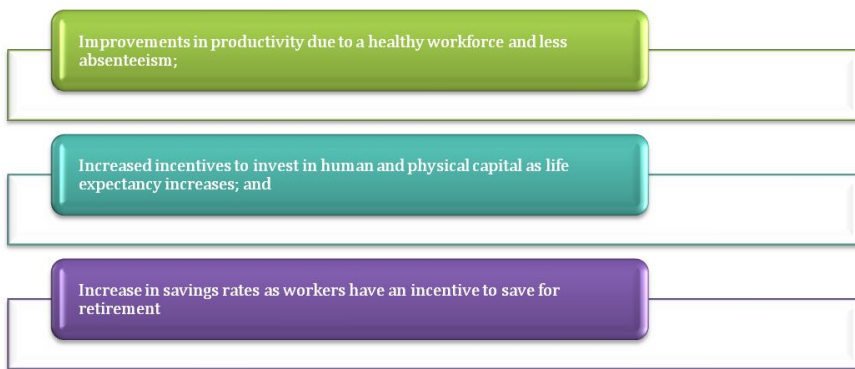
Figure 2: Broad Mechanisms for how improvements in life expectancy affect growth

Source: World Bank

Health and Growth- Theoretical Models

Right up until the second half of the 1990s the role of human capital was mainly linked to education, although a few authors recognized the importance of other factors such as health and nutrition. Mankiw, Romer and Weil (1992)[2] in a groundbreaking analysis, cite the importance of including health and nutrition together with education in a broader concept of human capital. There was however a delay of several years before the link between economic growth and health became widely accepted as a field of economic debate. (Barro, 2013)[3]

To gain a more adequate understanding of the accumulation process driving health human capital and wealth it is essential to know how the

causal relationship between the two works. The main difficulty in any approach to this task lies in the possible existence of endogeneity between health and wealth. While good health may be considered as a form of human capital that has a beneficial effect on productivity, income also influences health in a positive way. The capacity to generate higher earnings facilitates an increase in the consumption of health related goods such as adequate alimentation or medicines. There is also an indirect effect on health via the improvements inherent in changes in life style, a more intensive participation in the work place, higher levels of education for the individual, all of which promote higher health levels through increases in income. The nature of this feedback creates a number of problems when it comes to carrying out estimations for the impact that health has on economic growth. Over the last few years a variety of theoretical and empirical research has given rise to a large body of literature that provides evidence supporting the thesis that health exerts a positive effect on wealth. (Bloom, Canning and Sevilla, 2001)[4]
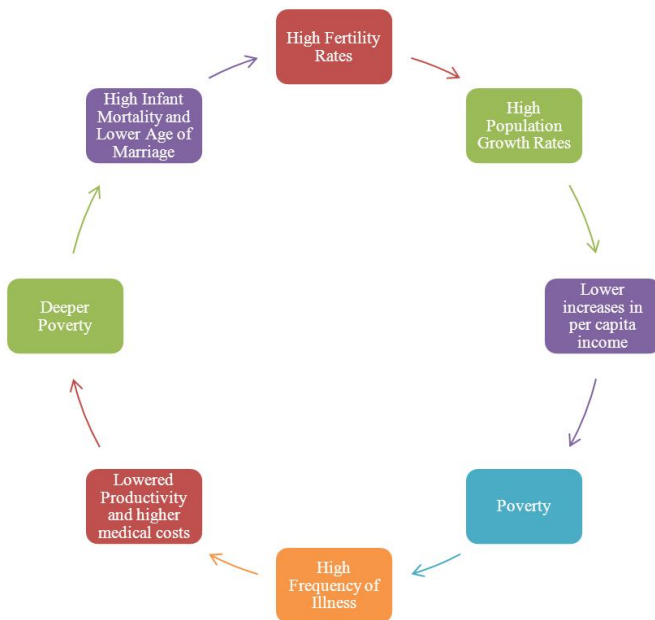
Figure 3: Model of High Population Growth, Poverty and Income

Source: United Nations

Health Sector Reforms

Reforms to health care systems are needed, as costs continue to rise and the private sector can play a pivotal role in the financing and provision of health care. Expanding health care coverage is important for many emerging economies. Reforming health care systems should be high on the list of priorities of governments as they continue to work on cutting deficits and debt.

Health care costs have spiraled over the past few decades with the introduction of new and very expensive technologies to treat patients. Aging populations are also contributing to cost increases. The central question is how governments worldwide can provide healthcare benefits for their citizens without compromising on education, infrastructure and other priorities.

Health care reform must balance various objectives, such as improving health outcomes, controlling spending, and achieving equity. In Asia and elsewhere, there is often overuse of hospital care and underuse of preventive and primary care. Cost containment reforms should minimize any potential adverse effects on the poor. (Bardhan, 2008)[5]

Healthcare Reform in China

Non-communicable diseases (NCDs) (cardiovascular diseases, cancer, diabetes mellitus and chronic lung diseases) are the main cause of mortality in China. More than 85% of mortality in China is attributed to NCDs. Although the main disease burden has evolved from communicable diseases to non-communicable diseases, communicable diseases remain a problem in some western provinces. (Wong, Tang and Lo, 2007)[6]

China operates a three-level medical service system: national level, province level, and county level. Health care in China remains a topic of popular discontent, particularly in rural areas, despite a wave of recent reforms and an unprecedented splurge in government health spending, The common phrase '*kanbing nan, kanbing gui*' (seeing a doctor is hard, and expensive) summarises the issues facing many Chinese citizens with regard to health care. (Li, 2011)[7]

From Mao to the present, China's health outcomes and health care systems have reflected rapid economic development and changing political systems. Under Mao, Chinese suffered from communicable diseases, reflecting rural conditions and extremely low per capita GDP. These conditions were treated successfully by "barefoot doctors" who operated through the commune-based rural health care system (CMS). Barefoot doctors received minimal medical training but their skills matched the health issues facing Chinese, and they were able to keep mortality rates comparatively low. Mao promoted barefoot doctors as part of his political emphasis on the rural population, which was vital to China's economy under Mao, as it relied primarily on agricultural production.   (Hsiao, 2007)[8]

As China's economy grew rapidly and transitioned to a more market-based system in the 1980s, common illnesses shifted from infectious to chronic, similar to developed countries' transitions more than fifty years earlier. Barefoot doctors no longer sufficed, and were largely replaced by private practitioners dispensing more Westernized medicine. Concurrently with this transition, disparities in health outcomes between urban and rural areas grew. This generally reflected the growing wealth inequality in China, due in part to rapid economic liberalizations. China's use of outside experts (even American-trained), a publicly-disclosed government Commission, and solicitation of public comment reflects a willingness to incorporate some measures of transparency and international expertise into its health reform process. However, growing deficiencies in the public health infrastructure were brought to national and international attention most notably during the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemic of 2003.

The April 2009 health care reform announcement represented a significant milestone in China's path to establishing a strong national health care system. Following the guiding principle of building a harmonious society by balancing economic and social development, equity is given a high priority. Moreover, the reform announcement explicitly declares that the government has an important role to play in the health care sector and that this health care reform is government-led. This marks a major departure from the heavy reliance on the market that has been the hallmark of the financing and organization of China's health care system for the past two decades.

China's health reform structure is commonly described as "one goal, four beams, and eight columns." The principal goal is to establish a basic health service system that provides universal coverage. Beams supporting this goal include strengthening the delivery of medical care and the public health infrastructure, providing accessible health insurance, and ensuring a sound system for drug supply and security. Mechanisms to support the accomplishment of the primary goal and implementation of the four beams include: administration, operations, financing, pricing, governance, security for technology and human resources, information systems and legislation. (World Bank, 2012)[9]

Health Infrastructure

Health services in China are provided mainly by the public system, which covers 90 per cent of emergency and inpatient services. Although private hospitals have been permitted, their role is still quite limited: they account for only 6.5 per cent of China's hospital beds. At present, the country has three main types of private hospitals: high-end, service-oriented ones, which target expatriates and wealthy Chinese patients; specialty facilities, which typically focus on elective services, such as simple dental procedures; and large general hospitals. The first two types enjoy clear market positioning but have often been constrained in scale. Hospitals in the third category, which compete directly with large public institutions, have struggled to develop a differentiated and competitive value proposition. As a result, most Chinese patients still prefer to go to public hospitals, despite dissatisfaction with the level of service there.

The major institutions for rural areas are township health centers and county hospitals/maternal and child care stations. The major institutions for urban areas are community health centers (stations), district hospitals/ maternal and child care stations, municipal hospitals/maternal and child care stations, provincial hospitals/maternal and child care stations, and ministry owned (central level) hospitals.

Health Insurance

The urban employee basic medical insurance (UEBMI), the urban residents basic medical insurance (URBMI) and the new rural cooperative

medical system (NRCMS) are the most important components of the China health insurance system. Commercial health insurance, and a variety of other forms of medical insurance, serve to supplement the system. (Li, 2010)[10], (Liu, 2002)[11]

The need to expand healthcare coverage and quality is creating increasing opportunities for private health insurance providers. Premium healthcare has become a big business and has become part of the general boom in the consumption of luxury goods and services once unavailable in China. Although private insurance still accounts for only a very small amount of total healthcare spending, this is not an insignificant figure considering the size of the Chinese market. Spending on private insurance continues to grow steadily in absolute terms.

At the other end of the market, the government has announced a rural co-operative medical insurance programme. Poorer patients with severe medical conditions will be reimbursed at least 90 per cent of their medical expenses. The government's push for health-care reform and 12th five-year plan, combined with unfavourable reimbursement levels for premium products and cost pressures at the largest hospitals, have prompted multinationals to look more closely at deepening or expanding their presence in China through partnerships and acquisitions. In this way, they hope to compete in the lower-tier segments and to capture productivity gains. (Yip and Hsiao, 2009)[12]

The reasons for the problems in China's healthcare system are mainly due to the inefficiencies of the government. The government did not make adequate efforts to insure people's basic healthcare needs which led to breakdown of the public health service system; the lack of government regulations exacerbated market failure; and some hospitals and doctors induced too many unnecessary healthcare services, which not only increased the costs for the patients but may also have damaged their health. The Government reduced the budget in line with market principles, and people were paying for more and more medical costs out of their own pocket.

Healthcare Reforms in India

India's fundamentals are strong and investment and savings rates are

as high in East Asian economies. What India needs to achieve outstanding growth rates as pointed out by Amartya Sen is to focus on the social sectors like health and education in order to improve the quality of human capital, its greatest resource.

In the healthcare sector the implications of ineffective state institutions means the absence of medico personnel in remote areas, negligence by the health bureaucracy and lack of infrastructure including unavailability of Primary Health Care centres and Sub-Health Centres. Also the Primary Healthcare centres were mainly focused on family planning goals and suffered from shortages of staff, equipment, transport and medicines. Primary health care delivery needs to reinvent itself. Only then can India aim for universal health coverage. (Kumar, 2009)[13]

Life expectancy is rising and fast approaching the levels of advanced countries due to affluence and improving hygiene. India has traditionally been a rural, agrarian economy where 75 per cent of the population lives in rural areas. However the rapidly growing economy is leading to greater urbanization and an expanding middle class with higher disposable incomes to spend on healthcare. This is leading to a large rural-urban divide in healthcare.

Also more women are entering the workforce thus increasing the purchasing power of households. However despite women being educated the gender bias in health status and access to healthcare are of serious concern as even now men get better quality care as compared to women.

Another factor driving the growth of India's healthcare sector is a rise in infectious and chronic degenerative diseases. While ailments such as polio, leprosy and tetanus will soon be eliminated some communicable diseases once thought to be under control, such as dengue fever, viral, hepatitis, tuberculosis, malaria, and pneumonia, have returned in force or have developed a stubborn resistance to drugs. These trends can be attributed in large parts to substandard housing, poor water supply, sewage and waste management systems, a crumbling public health infrastructure, deplorable sanitary conditions.

Aside from infectious diseases there is an emergence of diseases such

as HIV/AIDS and lifestyle diseases like diabetes, hypertension, cancer and obesity. Some of these are a result of Indians living more affluent but sedentary lifestyles and adopting unhealthy diets rich in fat and sugar. It is projected that over the next 10 years these lifestyle diseases will take over infectious diseases as leading causes of sickness.

With India's population aging over time, with a higher incidence of NCDs in older age groups, and with evidence emerging that India's poor are at heightened risk of acquiring NCDs because of high rates of smoking and tobacco use, occupational risks and residential living conditions, NCDs will have an even larger financial impact.

Health Infrastructure

India's healthcare infrastructure has not kept pace with the growing needs of the Indian economy. The total healthcare financing by the public sector is much lower than private sector spending. Nearly 70 per cent of hospitals and 40 per cent of hospital beds are in the private sector. There is a large healthcare divide and while India provides high quality medical care to the middle class and medical tourists the majority of the population have limited or no access to quality care, not even basic primary healthcare facilities. Only 25 per cent of the population has access to Western allopathic medicine practised mainly in urban areas while the rural poor rely on alternative forms of treatment such as Ayurveda and Siddha medicine.

The government launched the National Rural Health Mission 2005-12 in April 2005. The aim of the Mission was to provide effective healthcare to India's rural population, with a focus on 18 states that have low public health indicators and/or inadequate infrastructure. These include Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Madhya Pradesh, Nagaland, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tripura, Uttaranchal and Uttar Pradesh. Through the Mission, the government is working to increase the capabilities of primary medical facilities in rural areas, and ease the burden on tertiary care centers in the cities. However only a few states like Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu have realized the importance of having good public health infrastructure.

There is an unprecedented focus on the large-scale replication of development programmes such as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), the Mid-Day School Meal Scheme, the National Rural Health Mission, the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission, and the Self Help Group–Bank Linkage Program. The policy approach of these programmes is to create the right kind of transparent institutions at various levels to improve governance.

In India, public facilities receive the bulk of their revenues from government subsidies and provide services at low cost to those who cannot afford the more expensive private care. At the same time, the government allows private hospitals and practices to flourish, but with little regulation. This large and unregulated private sector is plagued with the consequences of market failures that have contributed to India's health spending inflation. (Haldar and Mallik, 2010)[14]

Health Insurance

A widespread lack of health insurance compounds the healthcare challenges that India faces. Although some form of health protection is provided by government and major private employers, the health insurance schemes available to the Indian public are generally basic and inaccessible to most people.

Only 11 per cent of the population has any form of health insurance coverage. For the small percentage of Indians who do have some insurance, the main provider is the government-run General Insurance Company (GIC), along with its four subsidiaries, The New India Assurance Company, Oriental Fire and Insurance Co., National Insurance Co., and The United India Insurance Co.

India's first medical insurance scheme for the poor was launched in the 1996-97 budget. The "Janarogya Yojana" scheme is marketed by the four subsidiaries of GIC, and covers people between the ages of five and 70 for pre– and post–hospitalization expenses, for up to 30 and 60 days, respectively.

Figure 4 contents:

The Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana. is a programme launched by the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India to provide health insurance to families below the poverty line (BPL) in April 2008

The biometric smart cards issued under the RSBY are being used to identify public distribution system (PDS) beneficiaries; thereby this initiative is empowering beneficiaries to buy subsidized food grains in the lesser developed states

Also policy makers have extended the RSBY to other underprivileged sections of the society, such as street vendors, *beedi* workers and domestic workers.

This process of bringing those working in the unorganized sector into the fold of the RSBY requires identifying domestic workers using two out of four criteria—certificate by the registered Resident Welfare Association, employer certificate, certificate from a registered trade union or police verification certificate.

Figure 4: Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana (RSBY): Some features

Source: Balooni, Gangopadhyay, Turakhia & Karthik (2012)[15]

Because so little insurance is available to the people of India, out-of-pocket payments for medical care amounted to 98.4 per cent of total health expenditures by households. Without insurance, the poor must resort to taking on debt or selling assets to meet the costs of hospital care. It is estimated that 20 million people in India fall below the poverty line each year because of indebtedness due to healthcare needs.

Clearly there is an urgent need to expand the health insurance net in India. Among other things, that will require more state governments to pursue microinsurance initiatives, such as the Yashaswini Insurance scheme in Karnataka, so that most or all of the population can afford to purchase at least a minimum level of coverage.

Comparing Healthcare Systems in China and India

China and India have attracted much global attention in recent years because of their rapid economic growth. Both countries also face similar challenges in their health care systems. (Yip and Mahal, 2008)[16]

Health care delivery: In immunization rates of children China is far ahead of India as seen in the graph below.
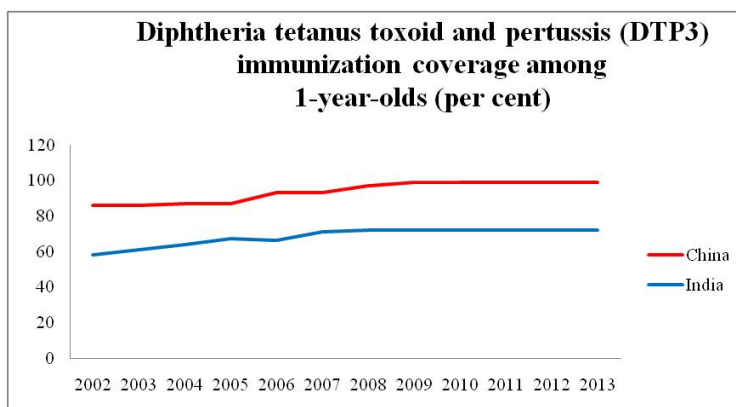
Graph 1: DTP3 immunization coverage among 1-year-olds (per cent)

Source: WHO

Health insurance coverage: Both China and India have limited insurance coverage, and low-income and rural households are the least protected. In Private prepaid plans despite fluctuations China is much ahead of India.

Financial risk protection: Households in both China and India are vulnerable to financial shocks associated with ill health. The metric for assessing whether the health system provides households with adequate financial risk protection is by calculating out-of-pocket spending on health care as a share of income. Out-of-pocket spending for India is higher than in China and has been falling faster in China than in India.
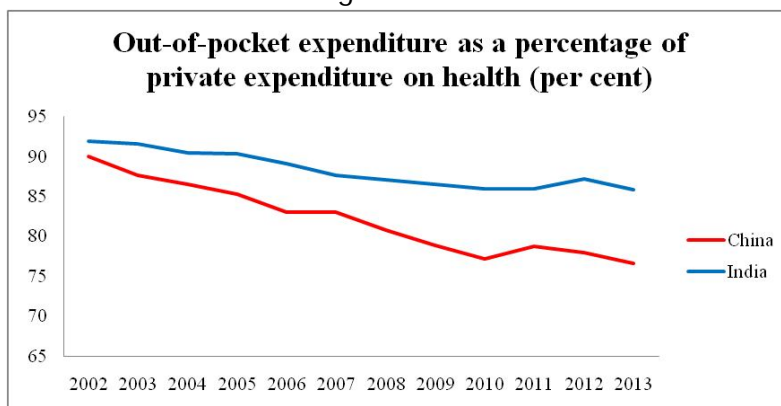
Source: WHO

Graph 2: Out-of-pocket expenditure as a percentage of private expenditure on health

Government spending on health: Reduced government spending on health reflected the policy priorities of the governments. Throughout the economic transition, health was viewed as a consumption activity rather than a productive good and therefore was given lower priority in government funding. The economic crises India faced in 2008 also led Indian policymakers to place a high priority on economic growth, just as China did.
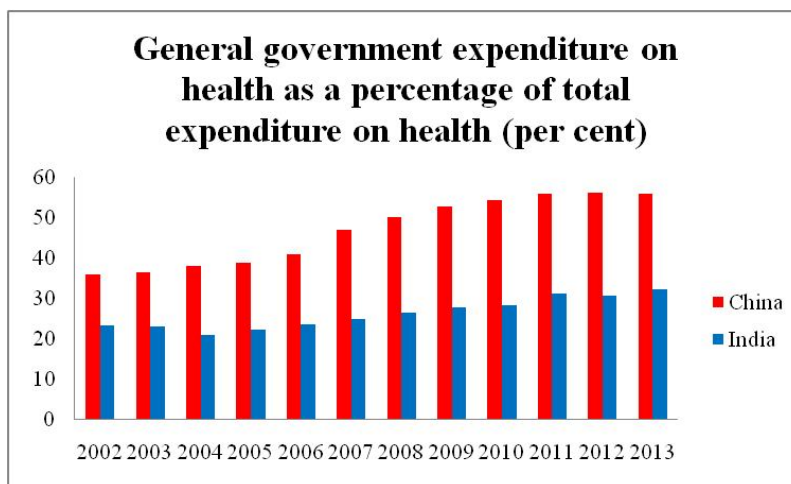
Graph 3: General government expenditure on health as a percentage of total expenditure on   health

Source: WHO

Conclusion

Although both the Chinese and Indian governments started with the good intention of assuring affordable access to basic health care for low income populations, their chosen strategies have been largely ineffective in achieving this goal. In China, when the government adopted a price schedule that sets prices for basic services below cost, the intention was to assure access to basic health care even for the poor. However, the same distorted price schedule has led to perverse incentives to overprescribe drugs and high-tech diagnostic services and procedures. These, in turn, have led to cost inflation and have rendered health services largely unaffordable for the poor and rural populations who have no insurance coverage and whose income growth lags far behind the growth of health spending. In India, the

government almost fully subsidized services provided by the public sector, to ensure access for low-income people. However, poor supervision has led to poor quality, unavailability of drugs, and high levels of absenteeism in the public sector, by default pushing patients to the private sector and subjecting them to uncertain and high health care costs.

Both China and India are likely to face even greater health policy challenges related to financial risk protection and affordable access to care in future years, particularly with the aging of their populations. The percentage of the population age sixty and older is projected to increase from 10.2 percent in 2000 to 29.9 percent by 2050 in China and from 7.6 percent to 20.6 percent in India. Both countries face major disease burden from non-communicable conditions that are expensive to treat, such as diabetes, heart disease, and cancer. Communicable conditions such as HIV/AIDS are likely to impose additional financial burdens.

After many years of government underfunding, both China and India have committed to sizable increases in government investment in health. Both countries have also recognized that the poor and rural populations are particularly disadvantaged in obtaining access to health care and face major financial risk in the event of illness. Thus, explicit policies are being developed to target the governments' funding toward the poor and rural populations. To date, however, neither country has a systematic policy for reducing inefficiencies in service provision and managing health spending inflation— a fundamental cause of unaffordable health care and heavy financial risk.

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Citizenship and Social Worth: Indian Democracy in Search of Dignity

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Abstract

Since the Indian society is a highly inegalitarian one divided on caste color and gender lines, we have numbers of laws and constitutional provisions- both preventive and prescriptive- to fight the menace of inequality, injustice, structural domination and systemic exploitation. However the Indian constitutional democratic state has witnessed many ups and downs in the thorny path of social inclusion and claims of individual dignity. This paper attempts to bring two sets of debates on the success and failure of Indian democracy in establishing a just and human society based on individual dignity and social worth. The points which we attempt to discuss have not directly pitted against each other; rather we have arranged them according to our readings of intellectuals like Upendra Baxi, Gopal Guru, John Rawls, Ambedkar and Andre Beteille and so on. On one side of the argument, Upendra Baxi seems to conclude that despite constitutional provisions, laws and institutions, India has completely failed to generate an authentic practice of the idea of republican citizenship based on individual dignity and self respect. But on the other side, Gopal Guru concludes that

dignity is a kind of claim that needs to be confirmed and communicated. One seeks to communicate this claim through the language of rights, and a democratic set up can provide the background conditions for the realization of those rights. Looking at the ups and downs- or the so called episodic achievements- of Indian democracy Gopal Guru says, "If one were to take a subsidized view of the success of India's democracy one could grant the point that democracy did help the deprived to gain dignity"(Guru 2009:80). Towards the end, we have taken recourse to constitutional morality where we make an effort to show how the textualization of dignity-through constitutional provisions-tends to keep the civil society in tenterhooks. Ambedkar once in the constituent assembly said that 'constitutional morality is not natural rather it has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people are yet to learn it (CAD, 1989: VII, 38). John Rawls, while commenting on constitutionalism, holds that a democratic culture- where people endorse the constitutional essentials and principles-facilitates the constitutional laws to flourish. However, we think, one tends to agree with Andre Beteille who says that the stronger the presence of constitutional morality, the less need there is to put everything in written text. Hence the more Indian society becomes democratic, the more the claim of dignity gets confirmed and communicated. Moreover, Indian democracy has not failed completely; rather the process is going on.

Introduction

The idea of citizenship is as old as the idea of political community. This is because it is inextricably interwoven with the texture of the political community-may it be ancient Greek city-state or modern nation-state. Citizenship characterizes 'free and equal membership' of a political community. This very notion of 'free and equal' membership is too difficult to realize in an inegalitarian society where inequality is entrenched and unfreedom is cumulative. This difficulty, we believe, gets exacerbated not as much because of *exclusion outside* as much it happens due to *exclusion within* the community. A good example of the exclusion outside would be the preamble to the Indian constitution. For, the preamble when reads "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA", excludes members of other political communities (nation states) in the world. This is what can be called the

exclusion outside and this has become a necessary condition for the demarcation of the membership by making a distinction between citizens and aliens. By 'exclusion within', what is meant is the exclusion of some sections of people from the socio-political main stream. This exclusion is a result of the process of structural domination and systemic exploitation in the past which are having their lingering impacts in the present. These sections, for example, are the women, Dalits and Blacks and so on. This type of exclusion has become an essential feature of almost all societies. For instance, even the classical Athenian citizenship was strictly confined to 'young Athenian free men'.

The idea of citizenship, however, has been revolving around the kingpin of exclusion and inclusion with relation to membership of the political community. As the very notion of 'free and equal' membership is too difficult to realize in an inegalitarian society, so is the process of inclusion. When the category of citizen is unable to accommodate or include all sections, the idea of 'free and equal' remains as a shadow without substance. Hence what matters, over all, in citizenship is not formal membership only but also of equal social worth, and hence not only formal rights but also that of individual dignity.

DIGNITY AND SOCIAL WORTH- the Crux of the Idea of Citizenship:

Universal citizenship and formal membership can never explore the felt sense of exclusion. Thus what it needs is the differential treatment which only can catch the substantive notions of humiliation, non-recognition and misrecognition and so on. We need to design formal procedures in such a way as to realize the supreme virtues like equality and social justice, thereby making the road smooth for 'equal and free' membership of a political community. John Rawls for that matter considers the bases of self respect as one of the five key social goods. [1] Dignity, according to Gopal Guru[2], emanates from the desire to acquire equal worth. It presupposes the necessity to lay down normative criterion around which social protocol could be organized. Thus dignity is a kind of claim that needs to be confirmed and communicated. One seeks to communicate this claim through the language of rights. Rights are morally necessary because without them we would have no ground to attribute to a person an absolute and

irreplaceable dignity. Dignity is an irreducible universal principle. The failure to confirm this universal principle also leads to the loss of self-respect, and hence inwardly directed. It is different from the conventional idea of honour. Honour anticipates both hierarchical structures and reverence to these structures, for example based on gender or caste discrimination. Honour, says Gopal Guru, feeds on the repulsive subordination of others.[3]

LAWS & INSTITUTIONS-the Formal and Necessary Language of Dignity

To achieve the sense of equal worth or dignity is very difficult in hierarchical and inegalitarian societies divided in caste, color and gender lines. Indian society is no less barbaric in these respects. Honour killings, even today, are the orders of the day in many parts of India – both rural and urban. Similarly, the recent incidents of floggings of Dalits by cow vigilantes in some parts of the country or the various atrocities on Dalits in general are testimony to the 'unequalness of worth or dignity' among citizens in India. In order to give strong challenge to such grave situations, what we require primarily is stricter legislations. Both constitutional provisions as well as statutory legislations seek to provide not only restrictive or preventive but also preventive cure to the existing social ailments on caste lines.

It is needless to say that the textual (C1) and interpretive (C2)[4] aspects of Indian constitutionalism hunt for preventive measures to abolish untouchability and its practices in any form. In fact, in 1976, The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 has been comprehensively amended and renamed as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 to enlarge the scope and make penal provisions more stringent. The term Untouchability, however, has not been defined either by the constitution or in the Act. However, in interpretive practice (C2) the Mysore High Court held that the subject matter of Article-17 is not untouchability in its literal and grammatical sense, *but the practice as it has developed historically in the country*. It refers to social disabilities imposed on certain sections of people by reason of their birth in certain castes.

Moreover, as dignity is a kind of claim that needs to be confirmed and communicated, one seeks to communicate this through the language of rights. Constitution (C1) provides various provisions[55] Numbers of provisions are provided. Some key features are:

Article-14: Right to Equality

Article-15: Prohibition of discrimination on the basis of caste for the prevention of disrespect towards certain sections of people. Not only formal legal negative rights but prescriptive provisions or positive rights are also made available for the betterment and upliftment of the oppressed section of the society. Special privileges-through reservation and quota in jobs and educational institutional institutions -are provided for the enhancement of their social status and self respect. A number of other legal provisions are available which seek to abolish practices derogatory to individual dignity. For example, Representation of Peoples' Act, 1950 disqualifies candidates to contest election on the grounds of caste atrocities.

Of other provisions, most prominent is the philosophy of FRATERNITY enshrined in the preamble to the constitution of India. It seeks to assure the dignity all individuals. This philosophy gets manifested through fundamental rights, particularly as provided in Article-21 i.e. Right to life and personal liberty. The embodiment of dignity in the right to life and personal liberty as well as the salience of individual dignity is frequently underlined in various judgements of the Supreme Court and High Courts. For instance, in the Meneka case[6], the Supreme Court interpreted that *'Right to life' as embedded in Article-21 is not merely confined to animal existence or survival, but it includes within its ambit the right to live with human dignity and all those aspects of life which go to make a man's life meaningful, complete and worth living.*

Thus, constitutional provisions and rule of law are badly necessary conditions for the promotion, restoration and generation of human dignity in a society which has not been that much democratic as to seek from everybody a sense of fellow feeling. Well furnished and rationally designed laws and constitutional provisions bear the beacon light for the desired goal of claim of dignity. We have incorporated legal provisions, but to what extent they reflect in practice remains a crucial concern.

The flawed invention of citizenship:

No doubt, we have, in India, formulated laws, rules and regulations to curb the caste discrimination and caste related social evils. Laws- both

constitutional and statutory- have sought to redress the past wrongs through prescriptive as well as preventive measures. Some argue that these laws, rules and regulations or even constitutional provisions don't get reflected in the practice of the civil society. The Indian state has failed to provide some sections a dignified life, despite the strict preventive and prescriptive laws as well.

Such an argument is found in Upendra Baxi's article "Outline of the 'theory of practice' of Indian constitutionalism."[7] Baxi holds that the Indian constitutionalism (C3) is somewhat incoherent concerning the relationship between the idea of republic and the idea of citizenship. In the preamble one can find the idea of republic in the categories of justice, liberty, fraternity, dignity and equality. "The invention of republican citizenship, to Baxi, is indeed momentous. It defines arenas of struggle to de-symbolize ritual hierarchy, based on notions of purity and pollution. The social bases of a radical heterogeneous freedom movement, generating a mass of anterior expectations, create the necessary bases for the proclamation of the constitutional outlawry of the practices of untouchability (as a fundamental human right: Article 17), forms of agrestic serfdom (Article 23), and discrimination on the grounds of sex (article 14, 15)."[8] However the structures and processes of governance remain least constitutionally obliged to respect individual or associational dignity of Indian citizens. In their dealings with governments, the bulk and generality of Indian citizens' stand reconstituted as subjects all over again.[9]Baxi further says that the idea of fellow feeling or respect for fellow citizens constitute the very notion of republic. However, these rules, regulations, laws and constitutional provisions- in the Indian case - have failed to generate the above said fellow feeling. Baxi seems to hold this failure to be the end of the process. Thus he concludes that the legal and constitutional enforcement of fraternity has failed, when measured in association with the value of dignity. Hence, to Baxi, the Indian C1, C2 and C3 put together, have failed to create an authentic practice of the idea of republican citizenship.[10] Baxi seems to be in a hurry. He wants the constitutional and legal provisions (employed for a short span of sixty years) to stamp out, as soon as possible, the maladies of the Indian society that have existed for thousands of years. No doubt, Indian state, at times, witnesses failure to communicate dignity. Baxi, however, assumes this to be

a complete failure and thus the end of the process. In result, he regards the formation of anterior expectations to be a flawed invention of citizenship.

Democracy in search of dignity:

Some others think that the Indian state though has employed laws and regulation but it is still in search of dignity. No doubt, Indian state has failed, episodically in many respects, to provide all sections a dignified life. But the rise and fall of Indian democracy to provide dignity is not the finitude or end of the process, rather the process is going on, and Indian democracy is still in search of dignity.

Such an argument finds a clear manifestation in one of the articles by Gopal Guru.[11] In this article he claims that confirmation to the principles of dignity demands confrontation with structures of domination and oppression. Since the inegalitarian character of the Indian society is strongly entrenched for thousands of years, it is obvious that one will face confrontation in many ways if s/he tries to confirm or communicate the claims of dignity. For example inter-caste marriages very often end with Honour killings in many parts of India today. Yes, in India we have citizenship laws, rules and regulations to fight the menace of caste oppression. Hence, democratic framework is expected to separate political institutions from hierarchical social institutions that undermine human dignity and equal social worth. In democracy, according to Gopal Guru, individuals can acquire generic identities to move into different spheres with different identities. This becomes possible through rationalized rotation of political institutions.[12] As mentioned before, one needs to claim dignity through the languages of rights. Rights in order to become rights require a precondition for their realization. And democracy provides the preconditions within which, says Gopal Guru, could be asserted and established and ultimately dignity could be assured.[13]

Gopal Guru, while analyzing the modernist democracy, holds that even the elitist nationalist leaders like Tilak were bound to accommodate the cause of dignity. He criticizes the logic of political competence and efficiency by espousing that some sections are late comers in the cultural modernity. Therefore the modernist democracy with its elitist logic will produce more and more exclusion. For this matter he stands for the right

to commit mistakes. Gopal Guru, however, has provided a paradoxical relationship between democracy and dignity by citing the fact that the state seeks identification parade (as he calls it) in order to empower (or champion the cause of) the Dalits. By identification parade, he means the process of identification of the sections (through certificate or otherwise) seeking benefit of reservations or quota. This according to him results in stigmatization. However, we would say, since there no other better alternative available, in order to attain the objectives of reservation policy, it is necessary in the Indian case to look backward for the rederssal of the past wrongs. He also analyses how the problem of free-ride and proxy representation in electoral democracy lead to self humiliation.

The entire argument of Gopal Guru holds that dignity is a kind of claim that needs to be confirmed and communicated. One seeks to communicate this claim through the language of rights, and a democratic set up can provide the background conditions for the realization of those rights. Looking at the ups and downs- or the so called episodic achievements- of Indian democracy Guru says, "If one were to take a subsidized view of the success of India's democracy one could grant the point that democracy did help the deprived to gain dignity."[14] Hence his arguments hold the fact that the process is going on, and Indian democracy is still in search of dignity.

Conclusion

Ours is an inegalitarian society characterized by entrenched structural domination and systemic exploitation for thousands of years. Ours is also the society to have experienced constitutional democracy and rule of law for a very short period of history- i.e. only about sixty five years since the commencement of the constitution. Probably this is why the constitutional provisions and democratic institutions have not been fully able to uproot the unjust practices from the society. This failure is neither a complete failure nor a finitude nor the end of the process. It may be true to some extent if somebody holds the civil society at bellow has not been able to reflect the textualization of dignity which is at the above. But it would be totally wrong to say that the textualization of dignity in India has been a flawed invention of citizenship. The fact is that the process is going on. In fact, the constitutional provisions have kept the civil society in tenterhooks, and it cannot be denied

that the constitutional democracy in India is on its way to attain human dignity.

In such a situation what is much required is the ethics behind the rule of law or 'constitutional morality'. Democratic practices provide the background conditions for the generation of this morality. To put it in the words of John Rawls: "Our ... political power is justifiable [to others as free and equal] ... when it is exercised in accordance with a constitution the essentials of which all citizens may be expected to endorse in the light of principles and ideals acceptable to them as reasonable and rational"[15] It is necessary to have a look on the 'essentials' and 'principle' mentioned. In Rawlsian analysis the ideas of justice and equality stand for the constitutional essentials, whereas the *difference principle* or the unequal distribution bears the notion of 'Principle'. When people, living in a democratic culture, rationally and reasonably endorse both the categories of 'essentials' and 'principles' in the constitution, it would not be difficult for the civil society at bellow to translate the morale behind the text. However constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. B R Ambedkar, with regard to constitutional morality, once commented in the Constituent Assembly, "It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people are yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic."[16] The expansion of the democratic content of institutions and social life is very much necessary. In the absence of constitutional morality, textualization of dignity - no matter how carefully the constitution may be written- tends to become capricious. Nevertheless, at the cost of reiteration, it must be accepted that the process is going on. Hence, Indian democracy has neither totally failed, nor has Indian constitutionalism nurtured in a flawed invention of citizenship. Of course, intellectuals like Andre Beteille would argue one step ahead by saying that "The stronger the presence of constitutional morality, the less need there is to put everything down in black and white."[17]

Notes

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That is to say, once constitutional morality is generated, it would hardly need strict codification or textualization of dignity. However, until this is generated, laws- both constitutional as well as statutory- hold justification to be in operation. Therefore, we would like to conclude that the textualization or codification of rule of law has not displayed a character of flawed invention of citizenship, rather it has kept the civil society in tenterhooks, and this is what Indian democracy is seeking to confirm and communicate while searching for social worth or dignity.

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1 "All social primary goods - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the social bases of self-respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these goods is to the advantage of the least favored". (John Rawls, 1971:303)

2 Guru, Gopal (2009), 'Democracy in search of Dignity in Ujjwal Kumar Singh (Ed), Human Rights and Peace; Ideas, Laws, Institutions and Movements, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, p-75

3 Ibid: 75

4 Upendra Baxi categorizes constitutionalism into three parts viz. C1, C2, C3. Constitutionalism (C1) stands for the written text of the constitution, Constitutionalism (C2) stands for the interpretive practices of the written text. Constitutionalism (C3) underlies the normative and ideological thought formation. For details see: Baxi, Upendra (2008), 'Preliminary notes on transformative constitutionalism' in BISA Conference: Courting Justice, Delhi,

April 27-28   Article-17: Abolition of Untouchability

6   Meneka Gandhi vs. Union of India, AIR 1978 SC 597

7   Baxi, in this regard, has devoted only one section of the article, though not
      the entire article. The section is titled as 'The formation of anterior
      expectations; the flawed invention of citizenship' (Page-103-106) in Baxi,
      Upendra (2008) 'Outlines of a Theory of Practice of Indian Constitutionalism'
      in Rajeev Bhargava (Ed), Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution,
      New Delhi: Oxford University Press

8   *Ibid-104*

9   Ibid-105

10   *Ibid* p-106

11   Guru, Gopal (2009), 'Democracy in search of Dignity' in Ujjwal Kumar Singh
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12   *Ibid*-76

13   *Ibid*-76

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12

People's Movements and Protection of Women's Rights: A Case Study of India

Shubha Sinha

Historically, women comprise one of the most deprived groups of individuals in the world, and continue to struggle for their rights today. All over the world women are faced with abuse of various types, ranging from simple restriction of freedom of choice to physical violence within and outside their households and are denied access to economic, political and educational opportunities. They have been subjected to mental abuses including battery, prostitution and slavery. The traditional view often regards women as lesser being and as a result women all over the world have engaged in a movement which has attempted to eradicate the injustices towards women and protecting the human rights of women.

It is said that rarely there is any woman in India that has escaped these crime at least once in a lifetime, all women experience molestation or sexual abuse or rape. Eve teasing or public sexual harassment has made public spaces unsafe for women. It is not necessarily that outsiders commit such crimes, but more often the perpetrators of such crimes are known to the victim. It has also been indicated in number of research studies that men often find it as easy means to subjugate opposite sex which no doubt is the ultimate form of humiliation a women can suffer by the hands of

person whom she believes as her protector. Moreover, such crimes, often, go unreported due to the social stigma attached to the victim. Such incidents, taken together violate fundamental human rights of women, especially the rights to dignity, safety, equality and freedom of choice.

The issue of protection of human rights of women has brought into focus the responsibility of the nation- state in creating and sustaining conditions that enable the achievement of gender equality. The current focus therefore has been on the language of rights as the human rights framework provides a useful basis for interpreting substantive gender equality. This transformation requires the redistribution of power-the rules and practices that justify the concentration of power in the hands of those whom it privileges, which, in turn, demands a set of enabling policies and conditions, created by the state to facilitate the reallocation and redistribution of resources. However, without abnegating men's traditional power it focuses on enhancing women's autonomy through the legitimate notion of "shared power" at the individual, household and societal levels as the most potent weapon of ensuring their "right to dignity".

The movement for gender equality of late 20th Century is closely linked to the human rights movement. But the concept of women's participation in governance on equal footing with men dates back at least to the 4th Century B.C. Plato concluded that intelligence and ethics were not limited to a particular class, ethnicity or gender. Thus his ideal polity was a benevolent meritocracy. However, even globally speaking whereas women constitute half of the population, only 3.5 percent cabinet ministers are women, and worse they do not hold any ministerial positions in 93 countries. All political system, regardless of ideology or forms, routinely deny women formal political status. As writer and researcher Maxine Molyneux observed "Politics, more than any other realm, has remained largely a monopoly of men because its condensation of power and authority mainly lies in the hands of this gender." The facts of this statement can be easily observed by looking at the percentage of women occupying political power in every country of the world. As per the HDR report (1999), women hold only 12.7 percent of the world's parliamentary seats and only 8.7 percent of those in the least developed countries. As a consequence, political women are seen as deviants, trespassers or guests in terrain, which

does not fundamentally belong to them.

Historically speaking, in India, the degradation of women started only since 300BC.However, the formalized organization of a "movement" and the emergence of formally organized national bodies within India started in the early twentieth century such as the Women's Indian Associationin1917, the National Council of Women in1925, and the All India Women's Conference in 1927 which gave a new impetus to the women's rights movement and brought about new agendas within the political and social spheres. It must not be forgotten that even prior to emergence of such bodies activists, social reformers, and women in the independence movement have fought for women's rights and legal reform. They have challenged laws that discriminate against women and have demanded laws that prohibit violent practices against women. This movement for emancipation of India's women began inthe19th century, when the social reformers initially were critics of outmoded social norms and practices. These reformers emphasized the need for education of women as a liberalizing activity. The movement not only drew a large number of women to political activity, but it generated strength and confidence among women, which helped them organize and fight their own cause rather than rely on men to promote women's rights.

The first demand for women's franchise in India occurred in the early1900s. On December15, 1917, along-time Congress party worker, Sarojini Naidu, led an all-India delegation of prominent women to meet with the Secretary of State, Edwin Montagu, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy .Members of this delegation presented an address documenting the awakening of Indian women to their civic responsibilities. They wanted women to have the status of "people" in a self-governing nation within the Empire. This meeting was essentially the beginning of what was soon to become a long struggle for securing the political and civil rights of women in India.

British officials and prominent nationalists were suspicious of women's demands and their intentions. For instance, after World War-I, British critics of Indian society complained that middle-class Indians had no sympathy for Indian customs and traditions. They argued that it was the poor women of India who were in desperate need of protection and justice, rather than

all women as a whole. Gandhi, although a firm believer in equality, was not in support of a women's vote campaign. He felt that the timing was in appropriate; as the campaign would waste the nation's energy which he believed should be focused instead on gaining independence from the British. Additionally, Indian men who encouraged female education and the formation of structural organizations for women did not relish hearing women speak about the evils of patriarchy. Women found themselves in a very difficult position due to the varying oppositions-if they spoke bluntly about the sufferings of Indian women, they were labeled disloyal to their culture; if they remained silent, and they were essentially feeding into the stereotypes of being timid, ignorant, and subordinate. Despite the strong opposition, in August of 1918, Sarojini Naidu spoke on behalf of women's suffrage at the special session of Congress held in Bombay; she argued that extending franchise to women was rational, scientifically and politically sound, compatible with traditions and consistent with human rights. Objections to women's suffrage were raised and driven by the view that the involvement in politics would render women less feminine. Nevertheless, in December of 1918, a woman named Sarale Devi Chaudhurani went one step further in presenting a resolution supporting women's vote at the Thirty-Third Session of the Indian National Congress meeting in Delhi. These meetings were followed by several other gatherings of provincial and district Congresses as well as women's organizations in support of the women's movement and franchise. Soon after, Bombay and Madras became the first provinces to extend the franchise to women in1921. They were followed by the United Provinces in 1923, Punjab and Bengalin1926 and, finally, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa in1930.

However, since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, several social reform movements and legal enactments during the British rule attempted to address issues related to restoring and re-casting basic human rights of women which is believed to be enjoyed by them during the Vedic period. Emboldened by such progressive attempts the founding fathers of Indian constitution   adopted several provisions in the constitution of independent India which seek to protect the rights of women and establish equality of status. In the six decades of its journey since independence the Indian state has enacted several legislations to pursue its policy of empowering

women.

The struggle, however, for overall empowerment of women and to eradicate violence against women has been long and difficult as well. There has been extensive evidence of sexual and physical violence against women including rape, dowry murder, and domestic violence. Socio-economic inequality has persisted despite legislation that has been passed for the protection of women. Women continue to be paid less than men, notwithstanding legislation designed to eliminate   discrimination.

Poverty has, considerably impeded women development, in India, along with other forms of disparities and deprivation. The poor condition of women cannot be singularly, attributed to poverty but it is manifestation of myriad other issues that, persistently, restrict gender empowerment and development in India. Gender development and empowerment of women involves many things-economic opportunity, social equality, and personal rights. Women are deprived of these human rights, often as a matter of tradition. Without power to work and earn a good income, their voices are silenced. Even in matters of sex and child bearing, women often do not have ability to oppose the wishes of their men folk.

The human rights framework provides a useful basis for interpreting substantive equality. The principle of social justice is the cornerstone of rights and underlies the goal of gender equality. The transformation of gender equality on the basis of human rights requires the redistribution of power for promoting women's strategic gender interests. Inherent in this transformation is the need to challenge ideology the rules and practices that that justifies the concentration of power in the hands of those whom it privilege. Such transformation involves a set of enabling policies and conditions, created by the states that facilitate the reallocation and redistribution of resources. It focusses on increasing women's access to, and control over the entire gamut of resources that confer power at the individual, household and societal levels. It entails the notion of loss of men's traditional power but it does not envisage the abnegation of men's autonomy in fact it seeks to legitimize women's autonomy by envisioning the vision of shared power.

The absence of equality of women is an outcome of lack of access to

and control over resources, a coercive gender division of labor, a devaluation of their work, lack of control over their own selves, skills, labor, mobility, sexuality, time and fertility. Their powerlessness is expressed in male violence against women, sexual exploitation that erodes all human dignity and very acute experience of vulnerability that quells any need to make a case of gender equality. Therefore social transformation in the context of gender should be premised on the notion of substantive rather than formal equality.

While formal equality is based on the notion of sameness of men and women, substantive equality requires taking legislative account of the ways in which women are different from men, in terms of both biological and socially constructed disadvantages that women face compared to men. Unlike other sectors women's rights issue have not received much support from the society and the government .Often, the premise for ignoring this issue is that if a women is educated and is self-dependent , her rights will follow automatically. However, given rising domestic violence and crime against women in urban centers , where the literacy rate among the women is high and sizeable proportion of women are economically independent, society is gradually realising the fallacy of this assumption .

Practically speaking, women's rights issues encompass a variety of subjects including wage differentials, property rights, women's access to and control over income and crimes against women. The cause of gender inequalityemerges from socio-economic structure of the society, where women is essentially viewed as 'inferior'sex. Even if awareness comes, there are instances in which women do not seek their rights due to familial reasons. Thus society is seriously handicapped in terms of reaching a threshold level at which women's voices can be heard and can begin transformation of the patriarchal society norms into a more conducive living environment for women. Principles of gender justice have been the prime concern of the government, since independence. Protection of women's rights and gender equality are enshrined in the Constitution of India, which confers equal rights to both men and women, and also prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex. It, also, empowers, the State to make affirmative discrimination in favor of women, only to ensure gender justice. Under the backdrop of National Policy for Empowerment of Women (2011), the Tenth Plan onwards all plans have called for a time bound survey to

identify areas with gender gaps. Following are some of the areas identified for initiating immediate interventions:

a) Complete eradication of female foeticide and female infanticide, through effective enforcement of Indian-Penal Code, Pre-Natal Diagnostic Technique (Regulation & Prevention of Misuse) Act, and etc .with most stringent measures of punishment so that a very harsh path is set for legal practitioners.

b) Adopting measures that take into account the reproductive rights of women so as to enable them to exercise their reproductive choices.

c) Working out strategies, in close collaboration with Ministry of Labor , to ensure extension of employment opportunities and, thus, remove inequalities in employment-both at work and accessibility.

d) Initiating interventions at the macro-economic level to amend legislations to improve women's access to productive assets and resources.

e) Ensuring that the value added by women, in the informal sector as well as workers and producers, is recognized through re-definition of conventional concept of work and preparation of Satellite and National Accounts.

f) Defining the Women's Component Plan, clearly, and identifying the schemes and programmes, under each ministry and ensuring the adoption of women related mechanisms, through which benefit flows to women.

g) Initiating action for enacting new legislations, amending the existing women related legislations, based on the review made recommendations already available, to ensure gender justice, besides reviewing all the subordinate legislations to eliminate all gender discriminatory references.

h) Expediting action to legislate reservation of not less than 1/3rd seats for women in the Parliament and in legislative assemblies and thus ensuring women in, proportion to their numbers, reach decision-making bodies.

i) Arresting ever-increasing violence against women on top priority with the strength and support of well-planned Programme of Action, prepared in consultation of the concerned

j) Expediting standardization of Gender Development Index based on which the gender segregated data will be collected at the national, state and district levels, compiled, collated and analysed to assess the progress made in improving the status of women, at regular intervals with an ultimate objective of achieving on par with men.

Thus the Government of India aims to accelerate the process of societal re-orientation towards creating a gender just society. The focus is towards transformation of social and economic norms, along with inducing change in the existing mind-set within the household and community towards women.

The government both at the Centre and State has exhibited its commitment to improve the status of women by launching several schemes and programmes in the past, besides constitutional guarantee. But entrenched caste, class and gender, hierarchies in general, seriously handicap women empowerment and development. Ethnic and religious discrimination, as well as unequal distribution of resources, further aggravate the situation.

One of the basic reasons of recurrence of violation of human rights is said to be the laws pertaining to crime against women themselves as these are antiquated and insensitive to women needs. The biggest flaw in the law is that it is supposed to provide protection to the victim, but in actual practice, it penalizes the victim socially, psychologically and even legally as its inherent inconsistencies leaves lot of scope for discretion and contradictions. This certainly raises issues related to efficient policing, investigation and improved judicial delivery system which, taken together, can act as a deterrent on the one hand and ensure protection of the rights of women on the other.

Government run rural development projects, as practiced today, are unlikely to significantly improve the social and economic status of women in the foreseeable future. Hence, privately funded and managed initiatives on large scale need to be tried to bring about sustaining changes. Such undertakings should seek government involvement only as a facilitator, as oppose that of a "manager" or "partner". Even the government programmes, often, fail to recognize these factors, which adversely affect the women development programmes at the implementation stage. Keeping the status of women and the need of the governmental efforts made in the past there is an urgent need to widely mobilise the poor and the needy women.

There is an ample evidence of constitutional and legal anomalies that Women face within the Panchayati Raj institutions, for example, issue of

rotation, male insecurity about empowered women in decision making systems and the persistence of patriarchy. Efficacy of existing programmes, such as women component plan of Kerela and Madhya Pradesh's Zilla Sarkar and Gram Swaraj, which are considered as important development towards decentralisation and women empowerment, can be questioned, time and time again

Economic empowerment acts as the central force for integrated empowerment of the women community. The scope of the institutional finance is also, too restricted to the poor and the disadvantaged women. The complex eligibility criteria, official delay and red-tapism and the ultimate disbursement of the loans often, nip the entrepreneurial attitude in the bud. Hence it is necessary to build up the spirit and the culture of self-help and initiate micro-credit programme so as to create necessary condition for Micro-enterprise development.

Key women's legal rights concerns, especially crime against women: Crimes against women constitute an important segment of law that is, being reviewed and revised to ensure adequate protection of the women's rights .There has been a number of legislative changes in offences relating to rape, dowry, sexual harassment and prostitution etc. The courts have also contributed to the development of criminal jurisprudence in this regard, but not to the expectations of women at large. Various judicial pronouncements and recommendations of the expert committees, however, indicate the existence of sexist bias in criminal laws, which are enacted for protecting women. Moreover, the National Commission for Women has been created to safeguard the legal interests of women with a mandate covering almost all aspects of women's rights in general and crime against women in particular. There are about 42 central acts concerning women, of which 32 Acts have been reviewed by the NCW for their efficiency and removing gender discriminatory provisions. However, the growing number of new laws, particularly regarding crime against women has not been able to serve its purpose as most of the women do not know their rights and entitlements, let alone have the ability to approach the courts for protecting these rights. Moreover, scholars like P. D. Kaushik argue that the biggest flaw in such laws is that in place of providing protection to the victim it penalises them in various ways. In fact , the type of ordeal women victim

experience ,in accessing justice ,is explicitly documented in the works of Vividha (2002), NIAS(2000) and National Law School (2001) etc.

Most initiatives taken by institutions of the state are taken under pressure from women's groups and these are 'integrating' rather than 'agenda-setting'. Such integration occurs through the dominance of depoliticised discourses of 'common sense' managerialism , that needs to take into account the constraints within which policy is implemented .The acceptance of such approaches to politics , not only impose limits to change , they also raise the issue of co-option of women's groups into the hierarchies of power and influence . Moreover, it is argued that the civil society is seriously handicapped, in terms of reaching a threshold level where women's voice can be heard and transform the patriarchal societal norms into more conducive living environment for women.

Women remain isolated and unequal to men in many parts of the world. As a challenge to the twenty first century, every opportunity must be taken to insist that situation must change to restore the dignity of the women. There is a strong need today as never before to make Indian women aware of their rights. They have to carry on relentless battle for their emancipation; socially, economically and politically.

In the light of the above discussion, let us not shy away from the harsh truth that is: women's exploitation in India is a reality and gender justice a fragile myth. Women emancipation and the issue of their dignity lie in their education and their awareness about rights as co-equal human beings. There are strong measures recommended by the constitution itself to correct the age old exploitation of women and to redeem their equality, dignity and rights. Realisation of this grand vision is function of the laws and legal processes which can deliver only if used properly before various appropriate situations. This presupposes knowledge of the laws and legal processes enacted to encounter injustice in a meaningful manner. In the absence of significant changes in the socio-legal as well as administrative operational mechanisms women should expect to see little improvement over the next several decades in their status, safety from violence, recognition of their rights, or access to justice through courts. Neither a few more civil society organizations in the state nor marginal improvements in, the rate at

which courts dispose the cases before them, will change this picture in lasting manner. What is required is action that is at once more fundamental and dramatic, revolutionary and trend setting. Unfortunately, nothing of that sort is evident on the horizon as it requires addressing the issue structurally as well as substantively.

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Amalgamation of Tradition and Modernity in William Dalrymple's *Nine Lives*

Dr. Neelam Yadav

Abstract

William Dalrymple, a celebrated historian and travel writer is in tryst with India so much so that he has written half a dozen books on this "adopted country", ranging from Moguls period in India to the current era when the country is marching towards greater urbanisation and modernity. India has been a constant in Dalrymple's life since his first visit in 1984. India offers him a deep and limitless will of inspiration. *Nine Live:. In Search of the Sacred in Modern India,* his latest travelogue on India, is the result of Dalrymple's journey in and around the country for twenty nine long years. *Nine Lives* delineates the life stories of nine different people he met on the course of his journey and how each one of his characters tries to maintain the balance between the material and the spiritual paths in this modern world. This paper is an attempt to investigate how the distress, dilemmas and difficulties which these nine individuals endure, delineate the vast transformation the Indian society undergoes due to modernity and urbanistaion. This paper will also try to shed a stream of light on the pluralistic religious traditions of India and how the mainstream religions sidelined the marginalized God and Goddesses in India through the life

history all the nine characters.

Keywords: *Nine Lives*, India, modernity, marginalized, religion, tradition, extraordinary

> To thoroughly enjoy touring in India one must have the digestion of an ostrich, the patience of Job, the temper of an angel, the nerves of a veteran and a sailor's capacity for sleep.[1](Walter Del la Mare)

William Dalrymple, a renowned historian and a travel writer seems to possess all these qualities so much so that he does not only travel across India but makes the country his home. He landed first time in Delhi on Jan 26, 1984 and stupendously marveled the country, "I fell in love with this city"[2], Dalrymple admits in an interview. *City of Djinns (1984)* is the first product of Dalrymple's love affair with India, centering on Delhi, ''a city with a bottomless seam of stories'' [3]. After his famous travel book, *City of Djinns*, which made Dalrymple the centerpiece of a fascinating saga of history of Old and New Delhi, *Nine Lives:In Search of the Sacred in Modern India* is a travel book he wrote after a gestation period of fifteen years, though the idea of the book was growing quietly in Dalrymple's mind, in between the publication of his last three books *The Age of Kali*, the *Last Mughal* and the *White Mughals*. With *Nine Lives* he's made a comeback to the sort of travel writing which first made him famous. "I've returned to the old me with *Nine Lives*," he says in an interview with Sahar Adil.[4]

Dalrymple has gained considerable acclamation and fame from his many scholarly works on India and Indian History. For Dalrymple India is the only country in the whole world so rich in her culture, history and religion, that he devoted couples of books on studying Indian History and couples more on studying and conveying his experiences of Indian culture, tradition and religion.

My concern in this paper is to study Dalrymple's acclaimed travel book on India, *Nine Lives. In Search of the Sacred in Modern India,* on the basis of the issues like how authentic is Dalrymple in his portrayal of the nine characters, believers of 'the lesser known faiths and traditions' in India and, how the paced modernity with which India is developing has resulted into erosion of their spiritual faith and aestheticism.

Nine Lives deals with the issues of religion, spirituality and modernity in India by delving deep into the lives of nine people whom Dalrymple met in the course of his journey and travels across India over the past two decades. He travels through the length and breadth of the country to find the "last remnants of India" (xv).[5] If in the *City of Djinns* Dalrymple found confluence of various religions in India and scrutinized Hindu, Muslims, Sikh religion in India, their mythology, and their dogmas, then in *Nine Lives* he tries to map the lives of nine ordinary, spiritually-aware people, "each of whom represent a different religious path" (Introduction ix)[6] in nine chapters. The nine exotic interviews on the diverse aspects of religions were prompted by Dalrymple's desire to investigate the present state of India following a period of great economic and social change.

Religion is central to Indian culture, and its practice can be seen virtually in every aspect of life in the country. Indians boast to have 250 million or so Gods and Goddesses who serve the purpose of satisfying their religious faiths, superstitions and spirituality. *Nine Lives* is based on Dalrymple's journey to different parts of India and exploring these 'marginalized' religions, overshadowed by the main stream religions like Hinduism, Islamism and Christianity. Madhushree Chatterjee writes that *Nine Lives* is a "religious travelogue, a distillation of Dalrymple's twenty- five years of travelling around the country to document the lesser known faiths and traditions that exists in remote corners of India"[7]. It is written in the form of a series of biographies which unraveled the abounding religious heritage of the subcontinent. Dalrymple's style of narration in *Nine Lives* is quite magnificent and simple at the same time. He hears of a character, finds them out, and then tell us of his first meeting with those characters. Then having arranged to meet them again, he takes down their story, and then, says Ruaridh Nicoll "like one of the anthropologist who used to travel the subcontinent recording the epics told by illiterates, he let the stories do the work"[8]. While narrating the tales of these extraordinarily ordinary characters, he streamlines the issues of religion and spirituality in India. He also examines the different levels to which the modernistic currents and the streams of development affect people's religious faith and conduct.

India is a country with diverse, multilayered religious system, cultural

heritage and traditional values. It is traditionally regarded as one of the most spiritual countries on the earth, with its myriad religions, naked gurus (now replaced by technigurus) and colourful rituals. In the course of his long stay in India, Dalrymple met and interviewed about two to three hundred people. Out of these hundreds of people, he shortlisted nine , on the basis of their 'extraordinary life stories', to be a part of his extraordinary work *Nine Lives.* Apart from these nine shortlisted sagas of unspeakable personal and religious hardships and momentous courage and faith, there were more stories that could not become the part of the book but find mention in the introduction. The nine lives that feature as characters in this book are: a Jain nun, a Buddhist monk, a woman born into a community of prostitutes, a South Indian temple dancer, a prison warden from Kerala, a blind Baul musician, a maker of idols, a tantric from Bengal and a singer of Sufi songs. All these shortlisted characters live on the margins of a society which is going under the process of metamorphosis due to modernity.

The book opens with the story of Prasannamataji, a Jain nun from Dharamshala in Sravanabelagol. Her story delves into the fact that she comes from a wealthy family, is young and attractive but gives it all up for a life of asceticism. The process is a painful and prolonged one but she is determined to go through it even if it requires giving up her youth, material and emotional comforts. But what makes it a unique tale of spirituality and human-ness is that despite the strict asceticism of her beliefs, she developed an intense friendship with a sister nun, and following her *sallekhana*, Prasannamati Mataji is also wanting to take her own life. Such emotional attachment is strictly prohibited in Jainism. It is, as Dalrymple says, very strange, austere and in some ways very harsh religion; but that, explained Prasannamati Mataji, is exactly the point. By narrating this tale of austerity Dalrymple left readers with a question to ponder over, "Is abstention the only road to spiritual enlightenment?"

By narrating the story of a Jain nun in the very first chapter, "The Nun's Tale", Dalrymple opens a window on to the practices and traditions of Jainism that are little known in the west and increasingly marginalised in the new modern India, "Unlike Buddhism, the Jain religion never spread beyond India...Today there are only four million Jains left, and these are largely limited to the states for Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and

Karnataka. Outside India, the religion barely exists, and in contrast to Buddhism, is almost unknown in the west"[9].

The book publisher describes the book as 'a modern *Canterbury Tales'*. Dalrymple travelled through the entire country, meeting people from a variety of devotional background and then narrates their unique beliefs and traditions through their own mouths. Like the characters of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Dalrymple lets his characters narrate their stories of woe and hardship. Like a good listener, he listens to them patiently and does not ever try to put his own notions and beliefs in their mouth. "I was very interested to look at religion not from a theological point of view or even a devotional point of view", Dalrymple says in an interview with Bron Sibree[10], "but primarily through the prism of an individual's life, to see how religion had diverted, even subverted that person's path in life". In the chapter, "The Dancer of Kannur" he lets Hari Das voice his divine feelings as a *theyyam* dancer and hardships he faced as a well digger/Jail warden.

"The Dancer of Kannur" narrates the story of duality and casteism existent in Hinduism. The protagonist, Hari Das, is the representative sufferer of casteism. For Hari *theyyam* is a tool of social empowerment which has improved the conditions of the lower castes but the reality is that the upper class Namboodris who pay their respect to the *theyyam* artist during the performance remain casteist outside it. He narrates that during the *Theyyam* seasons even the Brahmins would touch his feet and seek his blessings, but when he isn't performing *Theyyam*, they are resolute in their caste bigotry, and refuse to mix with him or eat with him. By narrating the story of Hari Das, who's living a dual life of a *theyyam* dancer and a well digger/jail warden, Dalrymple accentuates the wide spread dual mentality that exists in the name of religion.

Caste system is not the only hardship many *theyyam* dancers like Hari Das undergo, modernity and the stream of development is also causing a big harm to this old age traditional dance form. Hari Das is one of the most celebrated and articulated *theyyam* dancers from Kannur in northern Kerala, following the trend of the family: "*Theyyam* is in my blood, because although I never lived with my father, I always wanted to be a *theyyam* artist like him,"[11] (43), but now he is uncertain whether this art will survive the

modern education system.

Most of the characters in *Nine Lives* are equally worried about the fading existence of the traditional art form or the religion they follow as a legacy, but which is now losing its influence in this modern and the fast changing world. "What changes and what remains the same?" is what goes on in the mind of these characters.

Each character narrates not only an unexaggerated tale of unspeakable personal/religious traumas they face but also the momentous courage and faith which led them to survive all. In the chapter, entitled, "The Daughters of Yellamma" Dalrymple reconstructs the hardships, sadness and distresses the sex workers, the *'devadasis'*, who called themselves 'Daughters of Yellamma' face because of their profession as prostitutes. Dalrymple chooses Rani Bai, a beautiful woman in her late thirties, and mother of two daughters (who were, also in the same profession, and died of AIDS) and a son, to narrate the tale of their fate as *devadasis*.

By narrating the story of Rani Bai, who's been a *devadasi* since the age of six, Dalrymple brings to our attention the change in the status which this profession has undergone because of the so called modernism. The *devadasis* today do not enjoy the revered status they had several centuries ago. Earlier they were regarded as honourable professionals, entering the service of God. But, it's sad the services that they render have now reduced them to the level of prostitutes with no honour in the society, which they had once enjoyed.

Religion is often collective in nature, but the characters of *Nine Lives* are looking for their individual release too. Dalrymple in the introduction to the book called *Nine Lives* "a collection of linked non- fiction short stories, with each life representing a different form of devotion, or a different religious path" [12](xv). But all the stories are tied together with a common thread of faith in religion and the resistance against the transformation due to modernity. "Each life is intended to act as a keyhole into the way that each specific religious vocation has been caught and transformed in the vortex of India's metamorphosis during this rapid period of transition, while revealing the extraordinary persistence of faith and ritual in a fast changing

landscape," [13]says Dalrymple in the Introduction.

The story of Tashi Passang, a Buddhist monk in Tibet, unveils the modernity in a more brutal manner and accounts Passang's persistent beliefs in Buddhism above all the sufferings, pains and adversities he had faced. Passang was a young monk when China invaded Tibet in the 1950's. When his monastery came under pressure from the Chinese, he decided to take up arms to defend the Buddhist faith. Passang left Tibet with the Dalai Lama in a trek across the mountain tops. He joined the Indian army to fight the Chinese the specific act his faith allowed – and found himself in an astonishingly unjust turn of events, and ends up fighting Pakistanis in Bangladesh war instead. Following that life, he crawled back to the monastic life, seeking succor for his troubled soul. When Dalrymple met him and interviewed him, he was living a life of solitude in exile in Indian Himalayas, printing the prayer flags in an attempt to atone for the violence he committed after he joined the resistance: "As a part of my penance and reparation for what I have done, I have made it a point that every single flag should be perfect, that every word should be correct and legible"[14] (172) admits Tashi Passang. His concluding words sum up his uncompromising belief in Buddhism, "In my heart I never really gave up my vows. I was always a monk in my heart it was just that sometimes my duty led elsewhere" (172). His story has forced us to change the way we think about devotion.

This travel book is also an attempt, on the part of the author, to offer an insight into the pagan cultures and marginalized religious traditions popular in the different corners of the sub-continent. He says, "In Hinduism, the small village goddesses, the fringe Tantric cult with their blood sacrifices, the regional variants of national epics, these are the things dying out. The things that are gaining around in the new urban centers are these mainstream national gods like Lord Rama and Lord Krishna,"[15] (Introduction xvi). In an interview, with Madhushree Chattrejee, Dalrymple talks about how these local gods and faiths are dying out and how the once popular pagan faiths of Assam, Bengal and Kerela have been marginalised by the overwhelming 'Ram-ification' (domination by Ram) of the Hindu mainstream vaishnavism. "The local 'devatas' are falling off the map", he adds (*IANS*).[16] *Nine Lives*, thus, could be read as Dalrymple's homage to these dying local gods, their

faith and beliefs.

The story, "The Lady Twilight", narrates one such tale of marginalization where old age pagan culture of *tantra* and processions are persistently under political threat and where people are persuaded to reject faith healers, embrace modernity and return to more mainstream and less superstitious forms of Hinduism. The protagonist of the story is Manisha Ma, a Bengali woman who takes refuge at Tarapith, 'the abode of the Devi's Third Eye' and a Hindu cremation ground renowned as a centre of Tantra or the dark arts. In the same chapter, Dalrymple also documents the story of Tapan Sadhu, Manisha's dreadlocked partner, who, for the sake of his two foreign settled sons and their status, gave up his power of Black Magic.

It is because of rise in reformation movements and Vaishnavite *bhakti* cults of Lord Krishna and especially Lord Rama, to the extent that they eclipsed many other more traditional and popular forms of local devotion involving Devi cults and blood sacrifices, which were regarded as something uncivilized, superstitious and against modernity by the urban and often Western- educated reformers. But Dalrymple had not used, even once, the word 'superstition' for the age old rituals and beliefs. To him superstition is a very 'modern urban word' and India is not at all about superstitious people. "All the rituals are re-invented new traditions and an interesting revival of religion" firmly says Dalrymple[17]. To support his view on mingling of modernity and tradition, Dalrymple, in the introduction of the book , narrates a story of an ash smeared sadhu, who, he later discovers had been a sales manager in Mumbai with Masters Degree in Business Administration before he decided to renounce the world. Though, before this incidental meeting, Dalrymple had always assumed that most of the Holy men in India were from traditional village backgrounds and were motivated by a blind and simple faith but traveling around the country has completely changed his perspective of looking at Indian religion and traditions.

"The contrast between the ethereal and the worldly, the old and the new, is at the heart of this latest travel book" says Jason Webster[18]. The rapidly growing modernity is effecting and replacing the old thoughts and beliefs. "The India of sadhus and holy shrines is colliding with Western modernity" says Dalrymple[19](xii).

The chapter on the 'ecstatic red fairy' of the Sehwan Sharif in Pakistan recounts Lal Pari Mastani's story of great hardship, forced immigration—which led her to leave home and family behind, and taking refuge in various places across the sub-continent. It was while enjoying the *dhammal*, a devotional dance to the saint, at Sehwan Sharif that Dalrymple first saw Lal Pari among the transported women, "dancing with an enormous wooden club held aloft in her right hand"[20] (119). The life of Lal Pari Mastani, a lady fakir at a Sindhi dargah in Pakistan reflects the harsh realities the lower class people and local culture face.

In India coexistence of science and religion and, modernity and tradition is a commonality. *Nine Lives* amply shows this cohesion between modern and traditional prospects in religion. Dalrymple believes that modernity has brought a revival in religions in India. Lewis Jones reviewed *Nine Lives* as a travel book which "beautifully illustrates the relationship between tradition and modernity in India"[21]. Much has been written about how India is moving forward and transforming itself at the most incredible rate. But there is other side of this development. It is a picture of different India indeed, the real India. It is the picture of this India that Dalrymple has portrayed in the nine chapters of the *Nine Lives*.

Hence, *Nine Lives* is an attempt to seek the answer to the question, "how earthquake of modernity has affected the diverse religious traditions of the South Asia?" and explores "how the people who live out these rich traditions have coped with living in the eye of the storm of modernity"[22] (Introduction xii).

The chapter, "The Singer of Epics" illustrates the combat between ancient and modern that presents a clear picture of this part of the world today. The chapter narrates the story of Mohan Bhopa, one of the last bards of "The Epic of Pabuji" a 4,000 line poem that Mohan knows by heart and that "takes a full five nights of eight- hour, dusk till dawn performances to unfold" (232). The epic is performed in front of a Phad, a long sheet on which scenes depicting the life and adventures of Pabuji are painted. The Phad is considered a divine manifestation similar to the images of Gods – and the bhopa is assumed to have healing powers. The tradition of oral story telling is all but forgotten in the world and this remains one of the last

few remnants of this art.

Dalrymple makes an interesting point of how modernity and education is affecting this tradition. "Literacy is actually killing off this tradition," Dalrymple states, "only the illiterate seem to have the brain capacity to absorb and remember these magnificent relics of oral history" (92)[23]. Hence, with modernity, this fragile art may disappear totally in few years now if it isn't preserved. This story is an emotive tale of how an individual found, or inherited, a path to spiritual dedication and how he served as a medium between the village god and the villagers. Dalrymple has a sensitive eye for his characters. In an interview with Garima Dutt, he talks about the fragility of the traditions but "none more so than the oral tradition of remembering epics of Pabuji", he bemoaned[24].

On his travels to Kenduli near Shantiniketan, Dalrymple saw a gathering of Bauls who meet every year in January, descending into a cloud of singing and dancing throughout the night. This last story, "The Song of the Blind Minstrel" is again set in Bengal on the banks of Ajoy River. This story unfolds primarily through the eyes of a blind minstrel, Kannai Das Baul who along with this group, keeps walking along in search of inner peace. The Bauls live a wild and abandoned life and believe that God lives in the present moment , in the seeker of the truth and each man must find his own way.

Therefore, each life Dalrymple depicts in this book is much like a short story. Each life represents a different form of devotion, and a different religious path. But "The common thread is how diverse forms of Indian spirituality are changing in a modern world", says Amy Yee[25].

Dalrymple believes that country is marching towards greater development and modernity. But at the same time he is equally aware of the fragility of the unevenness of this boom. In an article in *Newstatesman*, Dalrymple expresses his grief on this unevenness of development and modernity. He says, "...The truth is that much of India remains completely untouched by this astonishing boom. The grandchildren of Brahmin temple may be designing space rockets, but the grandchildren of the untouchables are still untouchables, and the grandchildren of the two- third of Indians

who derive their income from agriculture remain, by and large, farmers...and the country remains as fascinating unpredictable as ever."[26]

The chapter, named, "The Maker of Idols", is about how the age of computers is overtaking the age of bronze casters. In this chapter Dalrymple narrates the story of Srikanda Stapathy from Swamimalai, near Tanjore in Tamil Nadu, an idol maker, the thirty-fifth of a long line of sculptors going back to the legendary Chola bronze makers. Srikanda regarded creating gods as one of the holiest callings in India   but now has to reconcile himself to a son who only wants to study computer engineering in Bangalore. Srikanda doubts whether his son, who is interested in computers, would carry forward the family tradition. Hence, it becomes difficult for a father to persuade his son to opt for family lineage of casting bronze idols above the career in computers.

Dalrymple is an 'interviewer and transmitter of stories' in *Nine Lives.* "Like best kind of traveller," says Pankaj Mishra, "Dalrymple resists judgment and generalization. And, occasionally, the unobtrusive narrative voice is also paired with a more open inclusion of Dalrymple the traveller- now and then; he slips in his aim of staying in"[27]. And that is just a mechanism intended to avoid the ''pitfalls that you can fall into when you have a Westerner speaking about Indian religion''[28] clarifies Dalrymple in an interview taken by Shreevatsa Nevatia, giving the reason for using this kind of narrative technique. Tabish Khair in *Hindustan Times* opines that "it is difficult for anyone, especially a 'Westerner' to write about Indian religious traditions without slithering into Orientalist, New Ageist or Hindutva tropes. It is even more risky to narrate Indian religious beliefs against the template of today's India, which itself a half- mythical being in the throes of constant change"[29]. Khair credits Dalrymple for his task done well and continues, "Dalrymple has managed to do so, and with aplomb."

Hence to conclude, all the stories in *Nine Lives* are poignant and magical, weave together travel, history and legend, and have established William Dalrymple as the greatest travel writer of his generation.

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14

Constructing the Ideal Sikh: Historiographies of Sikh Martial Traditions

Aakriti Kohli

Introduction

My research questions are framed as an inquiry into the representation of Sikh identity as monolithic, seamless and organic. In this paper I hope to unravel the historical and social processes as well as agentic actions, which lead to a particular formation of Sikh martial masculinity.

The ShiromaniGurudwaraPrabandhak Committee (SGPC), is the body which manages the religious institutions of the Sikhs in India. In March 2016, the RajyaSabha passed the controversial Sikh Gurudwaras Act (Amendment) Bill which seeks to bring changes in the Gurudwaras Act 1925. This amendment seeks to disenfranchise Sehajdhari Sikhs from participating/voting in the SGPC elections.[1]

This move, to alienate a group of people who do not conform to the hegemonic template of who is a Sikh, is deeply enmeshed in the project of constructing an ideal, normative Sikh, defined by the dominant groups from within the community, wielding religious and political power, through a certain reading and interpretation of scriptures, and more recently, through

religious jurisprudence. This current development becomes crucial in exploring and unravelling the historical processes which have led to the formation of an exemplar Sikh identity. Conjunctively, the politics of the production of normative identities through the apparatuses of the state and religion is closely associated with the production of hegemonic masculinities among the Sikhs.

Chidyanaal main baazladava,

Tabhi Guru Gobind Singh naamkahawa

(I will make the sparrows' fight with hawks, only then will I be called Guru Gobind Singh)[2]

This epoch-making phrase, taken from *BachitraNatak*, which forms an important part of the DasamGranth, is etched in popular memory.[3] The film *Border* (1997) appropriates this phrase in the backdrop of the India-Pakistan war of 1971. The 23[rd]Batallion of the Punjab Regiment is stationed at the Longewala post in the Thar Desert, Ramgarh, Rajasthan, and after the declaration of war, finds itself inadequately reinforced. The option available is either to hold out against Pakistan's mechanized infantry or flee from the post. In the midst of debating on this decision, the film shows SubedarRatan Singh, who quotes this phrase to convince Major Kuldip Singh Chandpuri, that the regiment can bravely face the assault, and further reiterates that when Guru Gobind Singh ordained that a sparrow can fight a hawk, then Ratan Singh believed that they are far more superior and capable as humans. In a cinematic portrayal of poetic justice, SubedarRatan Singh, sacrifices himself while saving his regiment, clearly placing an emphasis on bravery, valour and martyrdom.

This dominant perception of Sikhs as martial, brave and willing to sacrifice is reflected in popular culture at large. By extension and association, Punjab, seen as the homeland of Sikhs, finds itself venerated as the land of the brave, of the land of the lions, if you like. This idea of the Sikh identity and Sikh masculinity in particular is a very real form of consciousness which does continue to define, shape and configure Sikh masculinity and performance of the male self and are ideas in which Sikh men root their identity. While this particular masculine performance does draw its strength

from religious sanction, it can also be traced to a very complicated relationship with the British in the colonial period. How does one then understand the formation of Sikh identity, of the cultural transformation of Sikhism and Sikh identity, of how they are positioned as oscillating between a continuum of the spiritual and the martial? More importantly, how does one attempt critical scholarship of Sikh martial tradition when identities seem to be projected as natural, organic and seamless? There seems to be a discourse of linearity, discouraging any investigation into the formation of Sikh identity. This hegemonic image of the Sikh identity, reproduced on the internet, in the Sikh organizations and in the consciousness of the community, squarely defines Sikh identity within the boundaries of the Sikh RahitMaryada, the Khalsa code as well as the teachings of the Sikh Gurus.[4] Hence the dominant narrative, which requires others to conform to it, seems to flatten differences, conflicts and contestations in the formation of this identity, and the competing groups within Sikhism. The need perhaps is to question conventional hegemonic interpretations of social history and social identity, and find newer ways of seeing, knowing and interpreting.

The primary question is to trace the emergence of Sikh martial tradition and examine the ways in which we can understand how masculinity was conceptualized in the religion. There is a tendency to depict a 'break' between the spiritual and the martial in Sikh studies, to suggest that from a saintly disposition it evolved into a more martial identity at the behest of the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh's inaugural of the Khalsa order.[5] How then can we also incorporate the agency of the community members (especially rural Jat peasants) in embracing and negotiating with their Khalsa identity, into our analysis? It is necessary to disrupt the linear narrative, which suggests that Guru Gobind Singh solely transformed the Sikhs into Singhs, in order to account for other trajectories that informed and shaped what might be called the 'militarisation' of the Sikh community.

The impetus to pursue these questions came with certain events in the past few years, which point to the martial and militarized Sikh identity, as well as the privileging of Khalsa identity as *the* Sikh identity, thereby making the Khalsa Singh identity as the dominant and often hegemonic representation of Sikhism.[6] This emphasis on the Khalsa Sikh identity also

leads to the effacing of other subordinate identities within the community, which are not considered the 'pure' or 'authentic' forms of Sikhism.

Specifically in the context of Sikh studies, I agree with works which argue that Sikh Studies needs to disassociate itself from the dominant interpretations of Sikh identity and tradition sanctioned by the Singh Sabha, and adopt an interdisciplinary approach, which frees it from the shackles of 'authentic', 'traditional' and 'sacred' readings.[7] We should shift our emphasis to become more inclusive, to recognize the diversity and multiplicity of narratives within the Sikh tradition and factor in the lived experiences of the community in our analysis.

It is in this spirit that I have undertaken my study on the formation of Sikh martial masculinity, while reading, examining, and extrapolating from the existing literature in the field.

The boundaries of Punjab have been re-drawn, re-imagined and re-constituted since many centuries and the region and the people of Punjab have seen successive invasions and annexation owning to its strategic location.[8] Hence various tribes and tribal chiefs in the region were engaged in combat with invaders, monarchies and even amongst themselves. Among the most notable tribes, which dominated the political field in Punjab in 15th and 16th century include the Baloch, Pathan, Kharal, Sial, Gakkhars, Awans, Janjua, Rajputs and the Jats.[9] The Jats, an agricultural tribe, from Sindh and Rajasthan, were present in sizeable numbers.[10] They would eventually constitute a huge percentage of Sikh followers in Punjab. This suggests that a militaristic tradition did exist in the region, much before the emergence of Sikh religion.

Evolution of the Sikh Religious Tradition

The formation of Sikhism as a distinct religion did not follow a neat course of development. Sikhism as well as the community continually evolved over a period of time in response to specific historical and social circumstances. Sikhism is often described as one of the newest religions in the world and media images seem to suggest that it is primarily male, and the symbols of sword and the turban are its significant markers.[11] From the perspective of the Western understanding of a religion, Sikhism clearly has

a founder (Guru Nanak), its own holy scripture (the Guru Granth Sahib), its own places of worship such as Gurdwaras and pilgrimage centers and separate life-cycle rites. According to Census figures, in 1991, 80% of Sikhs in India lived in Punjab, and formed a majority of approximately 63% in the state.[12] Hence most Sikhs might trace their family origins to the state of Punjab.

Many scholars have described the early beginnings of Sikhism in Punjab, mapping it from the last 15th century.[13] The Sikh faith is understood in terms of the role of the ten successive spiritual Gurus. The laying of the foundation of Sikhism is attributed to Guru Nanak, who was born in the Rachna Doab in 1469 during the rule of the Lodhi dynasty. Khatris formed the major bulwark of his followers, which included traders, shop owners, merchants etc. Additionally, peasant cultivators, such as the Jats, were present in great numbers. From towns as well as the rural countryside, it is believed that the followers belonged to all classes and castes. Jat peasants from the Majha region dominated the social base of the Sikh community since they were known for their ideals of social equality and hence they were the first to be attracted by the Sikh gurus. [14] The dominance of the Jat community, and the huge numbers by which they came into Sikhism, lead to the transformation of the community.[15] From merely a community engaged in spiritual and religious affairs, it was transformed into a community that was increasingly pro-occupied with material possessions, property and land. Since the Khatris were also a major part of the community, the trading community benefitted from the construction of religious centers, which also became centers of trade and commerce. Hence the Sikh gurus can in fact be called, 'the harbingers of the emergence of the indigenous trading bourgeoisie in Punjab'.[16] The growth of the bourgeoisie is the most critical element in the emergence of a separate identity, for instance that of nationhood.

During the dissemination of Guru's teachings as well as its understanding among the followers, the first impression of the Gurus, and specifically Guru Nanak comes from religious pictures where Guru Nanak was always represented as an 'elderly man of saintly, meditative persona'.[17] The paintings of Guru Nanak are often the reproduced from the portrayal

of Sobha Singh, a Sikh artist.[18] A painting of Guru Nanak with a halo while he sits cross-legged is another popular representation by an artist, Bhagat Singh. A critical question here is that how do we study religious traditions? Do we privilege religious experiences, or the community's own oral, written and artistic tradition or simply undertake critical scholarly analysis of the religious tradition?

Before his death, Guru Nanak chose his successor from among his followers, in spite of the claims from his own sons.Guru Nanak's successors are sometimes referred to as Nanak 2, 3, 4 and 5. This is because they used the name 'Nanak' even in their own compositions.[19] Hence Guru Nanak's first four successors, Guru Angad Dev, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev's compositions can be found in the Guru Granth Sahib.

The years 1539-1606 were the formative years in the evolution of the Sikh *panth*. Guru Nanak's next four successors worked within the 'ideological and institutional parameters adumbrated by him'.[20] The *panth*or the community steadily increased under the Guruship of Nanak's successors and it is evidenced by the slow institutionalization of the religion, in terms of its place of worship, its holy books, its markers, its rituals and practices etc.

The Guru Phase

The successive Gurus after Guru Nanak were instrumental in developing the specific contours of Sikhism, moving away from a merely spiritual understanding to providing the community with a distinct religious identity in the form of separate rituals, scripture and a holy center. Additionally, social circumstances and the Gurus interface with the Mughal Empire influenced the course and form of Sikhism's path. There were specific events that shaped the community's sense of self and their religious identity, including the move towards a more martial orientation. More importantly, the contours of a Sikh martial identity developed during the successive Gurus, who contributed to the idea of the martial and the military in different ways at certain points of time, responding to the changing social, cultural and political climate of the times.

Guru Nanak's first four successors include, Guru Angad, Guru Amar

Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan. All the gurus were Khatris from the rural countryside.[21] Guru Angad born in 1504 was the first Guru from 1504 – 1552 and is credited for developing the Gurumukhi script, for Punjabi.[22] Guru Angad adopted Gurmukhi to preserve and document Guru Nanak's compositions. Guru Angad, in order to avoid claims over Nanak's property by his family, searched for a new centre and moved to Khadur (in Amritsar) since Guru Nanak's son Sri Chand refused to acknowledge Guru Angad as Nanak's successor.[23] This is perhaps the beginning of rival claims within the Sikh movement, these and other claims would later feed into Guru Gobind Singh (the tenth Guru) declaring the end of person-centric Guruship.

Slowly the specific contours of the community's spiritual and religious identity began to emerge, as successive Gurus introduced and institutionalized certain ways of living, worshipping and being. This was important so as to build a repository of signifiers, icons and symbols, which would come to be associated with Sikhsim. In-fighting within the *panth* perhaps began with heirs of the Gurus claiming legal property rights over centres. After every successive Guru there were contentions over who would succeed and wield control over property.

Fourth Guru, Guru Ram Das born in 1534, and was Guru from 1574-1581. He is credited for making Amritsar the rallying center for Sikhs.[24] Guru Ram Das introduced separate Sikh ceremonies for occasions of death, birth and marriage in Amritsar.[25] Establishing of separate pilgrimage centers as well as rituals further worked in projecting Sikhism as a distinct religion. The introduction of separate ritual ceremonies was a significant move because firstly, it led to the incorporation of a distinct Sikh identity, secondly, it gave a sense of collective identity to the community and thirdly, it expressed gendered identity/self for the Sikhs. Guru Ram Das is also credited for composing *lavan* for the solemnization of Sikh marriage.[26] It is also believed that he was responsible for creating awareness among Sikhs, which would make them distinct from other religious communities and groups.[27] This was perhaps also done due to rising dissension among certain followers who did not respect the nomination of Gurus. Guru Ram Das then chose his youngest son, Guru Arjan as the successor. Hence the principle of nomination was continued but now was restricted to the family of Guru

Ram Das. It is suggested that this was done to ensure that his successor could have legal rights over Ramdaspur.[28]

Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Guru born in 1563, and Guru from 1581-1606, was responsible for the construction of Harmandar Sahib or Golden Temple in Amritsar and installing the AdiGranth, and helping Sikhs develop a sense of identity. Guru Arjan is also considered as the first Sikh martyr, having been tortured by the Mughals.[29] The idea of the martyr also figures prominently in the formation of a martial identity among the Sikhs, an identity, which came to stand for fighting against perceived injustices and persecutions. I shall discuss this further in the context of Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Guru Granth Sahib was composed in a language, which was understood by the common people, and increasingly the Sikhs were becoming aware of how different their scripture was from those of other religions.[30] Slowly a distinctive Sikh identity was emerging, with their own scripture, place of worship, separate ceremonies for death, birth and marriage.[31] After the death of Akbar in 1605, it is believed that the Sikhs witnessed a tumultuous time, with their opponents and enemies making life difficult for them and within a few months of Akbar's death, Guru Arjan was martyred during the reign of Jehangir.[32]

Many have noted that the period between 1606 -1708 is a century of transformation of the Sikh *panth*.[33] Five Gurus succeeded Guru Arjan: Guru Hargobind (his son), Guru HarRai (Guru Hargobind's grandson), Guru HarKrishan (Guru HarRai's son), Guru TeghBahadur (youngest son of Guru Hargobind) and Guru Gobind Singh (Guru TeghBahadur's son).

Guru Hargobind born in 1595 was the sixth Guru from the period 1606-1644. The sixth Guru is generally seen as breaking away from the 'pacifist tradition'of the Sikh religion.[34] He was the first Guru who called on his followers to undertake martial training and also take up arms. This was primarily done to wage a war against the Mughal Empire. He is also responsible for building Lohgarh, a fortress in Amritsar as well as the Akal Takht, a platform across Harmandar Sahib, as the throne of the 'timeless God'.[35] Guru Hargobind, in many ways can be credited for 'militarizing' his

followers in his encouragement to take up arms, in the display of weapons in his court, and in the performance of military prowess and the raising of an efficient army. Guru Hargobind was also known as *'Sacche Baadshah'*or the true king.[36] The construction of the Akal Takht, with Guru Hargobind presiding over the affairs of the community, much like the Mughal court, is indicative of the formation of an institutionalized form of militarized identity sanctioned by religious and spiritual beliefs. This reorientation of the community was in response to the increasing hostility from the Mughals, and this call to arms can be seen as an anti-state activity. Guru Hargobind encouraged his followers to become *SantSipahis*or Saint Soldiers, who would be saintly and take the name of God but at the same time had warrior-like abilities to defend the Sikh community and faith. In the next few sections I will demonstrate how the construction of the *Sant Sipahi* was different from the notion of the Khalsa Sikhs. Guru Arjan, Guru Hargobind and Guru TeghBahadur, can be seen as three central figures that feature prominently in the history and formation of Sikh martial identity.

During the ninth Guru's time, Guru TeghBahadur, who was the Guru from 1664-1675, there was conflict with the Mughal Empire, and he is believed to have been tortured to death and is considered a martyr.[37] It is said that Kashmiri Hindus who were facing persecution from the Mughal Empire approached Guru Tegh Bahadur who stood for their religious rights and embraced martyrdom. In Sikh imagination he was believed to be divine incarnation and his martyrdom was seen as wondrous, for he was believed to have achieved a marvelous feat by giving the supreme sacrifice. On the other hand it can argued that the rhetoric of martyrdom employed after the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur in oral accounts points to the need to elevate the Guru as a charismatic personality who sacrificed his life for the greater good. In the history of martyrdom in Sikhism, the imagination of martyrdom as an inherent aspect of Sikhism was deliberately constructed and was instrumental in militarizing the community.[38] The Singh Sabha and the Tat Khalsa appropriated this rhetoric of martyrdom, to firmly locate the idea of the *shahid* in the history of Sikhism. In fact Guru TeghBahadur's martyrdom was the precursor to the creation of the Khalsa order. The tenth and the last Guru, his son Guru Gobind Singh was the guru from 1675 – 1708. Guru Gobind Singh abolished the practice of personal Guruship before

his death in 1708.

After Guru Arjan's death, Guru Hargobind encouraged his followers to undertake martial activity and made use of two swords (*miri/piri*), according to the Sikh tradition, 'one symbolizing his spiritual authority and other his temporal power.'[39] There are three critical points where martial tradition in Sikhism seems to emerge: the principle of *miri* and *piri*, the cry of '*deghtegh fateh*' (victory to the sword and cooking pot),[40] and the construction of *santsipahi*, a life of meditation and contemplation and military readiness.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom was perhaps the impetus towards a more martial orientation of the Sikh religion. Guru Gobind Singh encouraged his followers to take interest in martial activity. His followers and visitors collected at Makhowal, and the numbers steadily increased, which gave the appearance of an 'armed camp'[41] and can be seen as the slow militarization of the community. Guru Gobind Singh settled at Paunta, on the bank of river Jamuna. This was close to the territory of Garhwal, and the chiefs of Garwhal and Nahan had a long-standing conflict. Due to this, Guru Gobind Singh built a fortress and also 'raised an efficient fighting force'.[42] In 1688 when the chief of Garhwal invaded the territory of Sirmur, Guru Gobind Singh moved out of Paunta to battle them at Bhangani. The chief of Garhwal and other mercenary commanders were defeated after a bloody battle. After this, he adds that Guru Gobind Singh returned to Makhowal and found Anandpur in 1689. It is reported that his men were well equipped to fight and were well armed with bows, arrows and swords. The men who did not fight in the battle at Bhagnani were not allowed in the township of Anandpur, whereas the one who fought were 'rewarded and patronized'.[43] Clearly martial masculinity or the willingness to fight for the faith was privileged. Meanwhile, the numbers in Anandpur continued to grow, and this displeasured Aurangzeb who ordered various attacks, which were foiled due to rebelling hill chiefs who instead fought with the Mughal army.[44] This period saw many clashes.

It was Guru Gobind Singh who had said that after his death the human line of Gurus or person-centric Guruship would end and from then on the *panth* and the Granth (community and the book) would be the

Gurus. It is generally believed that this was perhaps his way of ensuring that no further clashes within the *panth* take place, which might lead to the disintegration of the *panth*. However one can also speculate that Guru Gobind Singh recognized the problems associated with the tradition of martial masculinity and sought to end person-centric Guruship to perhaps re-orient the community to the more spiritual aspects of the religion and also wean them away from violence.

In the above discussion, I have briefly attempted to establish the relationship of the successive Gurus with the Mughal Empire as well as the internal dynamics and challenges in the Sikh movement, which shaped the community. Further it is the events such as the martyrdom of the two Gurus, hard posturing towards the Sikhs by the Mughals, infighting between the community and the need to make Sikhs a distinct community that translated into the development of the Khalsa identity. The history of the Sikh martial identity can be traced to the successive Gurus who reoriented the community in response to the changing social and political climate. The formation of a martial identity developed as a reaction to Mughal hostility towards the Gurus and the Sikh community. The call to take up arms, the performance of military prowess, and the display of arms and weapons point to the deliberate construction of a military persona, which was meant to pose as a threat and challenge to the Mughal state.

Emergence of the Khalsa and Martial Identity

The emergence of a distinct martial tradition within Sikhism is usually attributed to Guru Gobind Singh who initiated the Khalsa order. However there is evidence of the fact that martial training existed right from the time of Guru Nanak. *Gatka*, a form of Sikh martial art, was taught by the Gurus and further practiced by *ustads* or masters who further taught it to their disciples.[45] This martial art form emerged in response to defending the faith or *dharam*and also the principle of *miri-piri* and that it is a style of fighting which involves the use of sticks and swords. Hence there is a stress on the spiritual as well as the temporal. In fact he argues that wrestling has had a long association with Sikhism, and later on Guru Hargobind encouraged his followers to train themselves in martial arts. While the Gatka martial art trained the practitioners into the art of fighting battle, controlling their

mind and testing their bodily limits, it also served and continues to serve as a spectacular visual performance especially during sparring, training and contests. Guru Gobind Singh for instance instituted the festival of HollaMohalla in place of the Hindu festival Holi, wherein Gatka martial art, contests around wrestling and swordsmanship and other military routines were performed at Anandpur Sahib. It is interesting to note that the term 'holla' is derived from the word 'halla' which means to create an alarm, noise or uproar.[46] These competitions and displays of physical prowess, bravery and skill, served as a spectacle of martial masculinity as well as training for the Khalsa for their future battles. In its present form however, it is said to have lost its militaristic fervor and urgency, but continues to retain its martial essence.[47]

The term Khalsa is derived from Arabic and means *khalis*or pure. During the Mughal rule, *khalsa*meant the land, which directly belonged to the Mughal ruler, hence *khalsa* in the Sikh context also referred to allegiance to the Guru directly and no the intermediaries or *masands*.[48] Propounding the use of physical force perhaps became necessary in the mind of Guru Gobind Singh. It is believed that on Baisakhi in 1699 in Anandpur, Guru Gobind Singh announced that all Sikhs would be his Khalsa.[49] The term Khalsa at that point was used for the Sikhs who were initiated by the Gurus themselves and not the *masands*.[50] Before the initiation of the Khalsa order, there were various labels/categories that were used to define Sikhs, with respect to various movements with the Sikh faith. Such as the Nirankaris, Nanakpanthis, Gursikh, Nirmalpanth etc. The categories was relatively fluid, and it is only in the 17th century that ideas around who is an 'authentic' Sikh came to be represented in the form of the Khalsa order, which sought to project a single image of what it meant to be Sikh.[51] In the early Guru period as well as in the *janam-sakhis*, there is no indication of a singular, unified image, but multiplicity of traditions and practices. On the hegemony of the Khalsa tradition over other Sikh identities, and its paradox, it is important to note how the assertion of Khalsa Sikhs as the dominant image of the community, also made it possible for other 'marginal' Sikh identities to exist, and be accepted and regarded as 'non-Khalsa'.[52]

It is generally believed that on the day of Baisakhi in 1699, Guru

Gobind Singh instructed the first five who he initiated to adopt the Five Ks or *panjkakke*. These were five symbols, which became requisite for Sikhs. These were *kesh* (unshorn hair), *kangha*(comb), *kirpan*(sword), *kara*(iron/ steel bangle) and *kaccha* (breeches). While the turban is not mentioned in the Five Ks, the turban came to assume significant importance in the lives of male Khalsa Sikhs. Earlier initiation ceremonies required Sikhs to drink the water, which has been used to wash the feet of Gurus. Guru Gobind Singh replaced it by using a *khanda*or double-edged sword, and stirring it in an iron bowl filled with water. Later his wife added sugar-puffs to sweeten it. During the initiation ceremony, the initiate has to drink the water while Guru Nanak's Japji and Guru Gobind Singh's Jap is recited.[53]

More importantly, the external appearance of baptized Sikhs made them readily identifiable and distinguishable from others and also helped in establishing a distinct religious identity.[54] It has also been argued that 'masculine and martial Sikh look should be seen in the context of Guru Gobind Singh's call… in 1699, for conspicuous loyalty among his followers.[55] While Guru Nanak stressed upon internal reflection and rejected outward marking, Guru Gobind Singh's call seems to be the opposite.[56] This perhaps should be seen as a response to the prevalent political climate of those times.

While Guru Gobind Singh asked his Khalsa to keep their hair unshorn, however the hair had to be tied neatly in a topknot, and then covered, this was supposed to convey disciplined holiness.[57] The *kangha*is linked to the hair and is kept under the turban. The breeches are supposed to represent sexual restraint; the *kara*has been interpreted variously, seen as a link with God, to remind them to have good moral conduct, as a weapon in itself, and also as a restraint to the hand that wields the sword; the *kirpan*reminds them to fight for justice and their faith.[58] Additionally the Sikhs associate the *kirpan* with the term *kirpa* or grace to suggest its positivity rather than its conflation with terms such as 'dagger', which has negative connotations.

While the practice of *panjkakke*is considered to have begun with the inauguration of the Khalsa order, at that point only three items were mentioned (*kesh*, *kirpan*and *kaccha*).[59] It is only in a later version of the *Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama* that the five items are listed. This was under the

influence of the Tat Khalsa and with the establishment of the Singh Sabha.[60] The early Sikh texts do not mention the *panjkakke*, however the reference to arms is evident.[61] The idea of the Five Ks was dynamic and it was in fact the five weapons that were mentioned. In the early Khalsa tradition, it was imperative to carry five weapons. The Khalsa were 'commanded to pay particular respect' to the five weapons, that is, a sword, a bow, a musket, dagger and either a lance or quoit.[62] Since the colonial state banned carrying weapons, the five weapons were in many ways 'replaced' by the *panjkakke* or the Five Ks.[63] This points out to how deeply connected the transformation of Sikh faith was with the idea of the martial and the military.

Additionally while it is argued that women can *also* perform this ritual, it continues to be a masculine one, with the *panjpyare* almost always being men, who initiate other men in the community into the martial Khalsa order, pointing to the gendering of identity in Sikh rituals. The symbolic figure of the *panjpyare*also refers to an aspect of the Sikh martial tradition that privileges the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the community and God. As I had argued earlier, the formation of gendered masculinity is also predicated upon practices in gender relations that influence identities and culture.

The sweetened water, stirred with the sword was believed to have magical and almost 'totemic' qualities of transforming the sparrows into hawks and Guru Gobind Singh has also been popularly represented in paintings with a white hawk/falcon perched on his hands or shoulder. It has also been said that traditionally two sparrows drank this water and went on to fight till their death.[64] Initiating warriors, this rite of baptism is variously referred as *khande di pahul* or *amritsanskar* and *amritchakhna*. Though there is some uncertainty about the exact procedure and details of the practice but the reconstruction and remembering is based on 'Sikh perception' as well as details lay down by the RahitMaryada Code.[65] Further after the initiation, every initiated had to say *Vaheguruji da Khalsa, Vaheguruji di fateh*, meaning that the Khalsa belongs to God, any victory is God's. It is also said that Guru Gobind Singh, named himself and other male members who got initiated as Singh (literally meaning lion) and women as Kaur (princess).[66] This was perhaps done to also do away with names, which

pointed to the caste of a person, and also to make 'Singhs' distinct from others. This re-naming then seems to work through association and disassociation at the same time.

The Khalsa were to be the brave warriors who would fight for justice and in the name of God, who would not worship Hindu deities or follow the caste-system, additionally they would meditate on God's name, and they should not interact with dissenters within the Sikh *panth* who did not respect the succession of Gurus.[67] In terms of diet restrictions, the Khalsa had to abstain from tobacco, alcohol and *halal* meat. These dietary restrictions have been interpreted variously. While some scholars believe that *halal* meat was restricted because the procedure followed to slaughter the animal was considered inhuman, and tobacco and alcohol not permitted since they are inherently bad for health.[68] Some others however have argued that this was a strategic marking of boundaries, since consumption of *halal* meat and tobacco were associated with Muslims, and it was required to create an opposition to them.[69]

Further, many Sikhs came to believe that Guruship was rested by Guru Gobind Singh in the Khalsa*panth*and in the Granth. However it is important to note that the confluence of Singhs with Khalsa happened after Guru Gobind Singh's death. Not every Sikh had initiated himself/herself in the Khalsa order or taken part in the *kandekepahul* ceremony and did not follow the Five Ks religiously. As many others have argued, the Five Ks were a later practice, and that prior to this were the five *shastras*or weapons.[70] Hence the Five Ks were not followed as a practice universally or across all times. Additionally, there were many Sikhs, who followed some or all the Five Ks, and called themselves Singhs but had not been formally initiated into the Khalsa order through the *khandekepahul*ceremony and hence these Singhs were not Khalsa. One crucial point to remember is that, 'All the Sikhs at the time of Guru Gobind Singh's death were not his Khalsa, and all his Khalsa were not Singhs. The difference between the Singh and the Khalsa ended with his death and the two terms became synonymous and interchangeable.[71] Guru Gobind Singh's death, lead to a consolidation of Khalsa identity around the label 'Singh', and hence in the projection of Khalsa identity as *the* Sikh identity, Singh identity became Khalsa identity.

However the difference between the Sikh and the Singh remained. The political ideology of both Singhs and Sikhs were vastly different and the political ideology of the Singhs was an 'essential part of their religious ideology'.[72]

The transition of the Sikh *panth* from 'sparrows' or serene devotees to 'hawks' or warriors can hence be traced to the martyrdom or *shahidi* of two of the Sikh Gurus. After their father's death, Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh took steps to make the *panth* more martial.[73] Bhai Gurudas who spoke during the time of Guru Hargobind said that 'the orchard of the Sikh faith needed the thorny hedge of armed men for its protection' and slowly the Khalsa component became the more dominant one.[74]

The battles fought in 16th, 17th and 18th centuries by the Sikhs, and display of courage and tales of heroisms that circulated thereafter, solidified the Sikh commitment to martial ideals.[75] Additionally the figure of the *santsipahi*, the holy warrior and saint soldier, was seen as an inspiration, to meditate in God's name and wield arms when called upon to do so. Guru Gobind Singh wanted the community to become saint-soldiers, people who meditated in the name of God, were religious in their morality, but ready to take up arms to fight oppression and get justice.[76] In fact it has been remarked that the day of Baisakhi in 1699 can be seen as a 'symbolic, physical, ideological and political' transformation of the community.[77] It is evident that armed resistance to the imperial state, by the Khalsa, a community of *santsipahis* was envisioned. The creation or the birth of the Khalsa is perhaps the most critical and defining moment in the evolution of Sikhs. They acquired a distinctively martial character, with a distinct physical appearance. Khalsa martial masculinity, backed by religious and cultural sanction, was engaged in waging a battle against the state at this point.

From the above discussion I have attempted to illustrate how Guru Gobind Singh initiated the Khalsa and how it was interpreted and re-told, through the *rahitnamas.* More importantly, I have attempted to highlight how Khalsa martial identity continually evolved and how specific attempts were made to fix this identity. It is also interesting to note how peasants, who formed the bulwark of the Khalsa community, re-interpreted, negotiated

and accommodated the Khalsa norms depending on social and political factors as well as their individual considerations. As I have argued before, there is no 'a' Sikh masculinity, and the formation of Sikh martial masculinity, influenced by Khalsa norms, encapsulates only one form of masculinity. If we see masculinity as a set of gendered relations and practices, then the formation of Khalsa identity affects the body, identity and culture of the Sikhs. Khalsa martial identity is essentially embodied masculinity, which ascribes symbols and markers on the Khalsa body, and specifically the male body in this case. The *rahitnamas*, with their elaborate injunctions sought to construct Khalsa identity, which was circumscribed by what they could and could not do, disavowing Sahejdhari Sikhs and the others who did not conform to this template. Additionally, it promoted a culture of martial valour, which placed an accent on bravery, heroism and fight for 'justice'.

Notes and References

1. The question of defining who constitute 'Sehajdhari' Sikhs is contentious. The broad consensus is that Sehajdhari Sikhs believed in Guru Nanak but did not adopt the Khalsa principles, and the construction of their identities was less rigid or bound by the Khalsa norms (Singh and Fenech), such as not keeping their hair uncut, wearing the turban, or other outward visible signifiers which would mark them as Sikhs.

2   M.S. Siali & Suparna Rajguru, Gurudwara in the Himalayas: Sri Hemkunt Sahib (New Delhu: Hemkunt Publishers, 2001).This quote is from Bachitra Natak, a poetic composition in the Dasam Granth

3   The Dasam Granth is usually attributed to the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, and is considered distinct from the AdiGranth, the foremost Sikh scripture. There has been some controversy in attributing certain parts of the Dasam Granth to Guru Gobind Singh, with questions raised on the authorship of those portions, which refer to Hindu goddesses and mythology. However it continues to be regarded as an important scripture by the Sikhs, with its association firmly established with Guru Gobind Singh.

4   Pashaura Singh and Louis E. Fenech "Introduction" in The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies edited by Pashaura Singh and Louis E. Fenech. Oxford University Press, 2014

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8   For a description of pre-modern Punjab and successive invasions and conquests, development of cities, patterns of human settlement, and political changes see Grewal, J.S 1990. The New Cambridge History of India II.3: The Sikhs of the Punjab. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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11   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction.

12   Ibid.

13   W.H. McLeod. The Evolution of the Sikh Community. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975; J.S Grewal. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Pritam Singh. Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy. New York: Routledge, 2008; Eleanor Nesbitt. Sikhism:

A Very Short Introduction. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh. Sikhism: An Introduction. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011

14   Singh.Pritam.Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy

15   McLeod, W.H. The Evolution of the Sikh Community

16   Singh.Pritam. Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy, 23

17   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction, 17

18   Sobha Singh is a 20th century artist, who was known for his portraits of the Gurus. His painting My Meditation on Guru Nanak (oil color on canvas)has been reproduced and circulated in the form of contemporary images of Guru Nanak (Nesbitt 2005). He is also famous for his paintings of Sohni Mahival and Hir Ranjha (Sardar Harjeet Singh 2009)

19   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction

20   Grewal, J.S. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II, 42

21   Ibid.

22   Singh.Pritam.Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy

23   Grewal, J.S. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II

24   Ibid.

25   McLeod, W.H. The Evolution of the Sikh Community.

26   Sikh wedding ceremony is known as Anand Karaj and Lavanshabad, has four hymns and was composed by Guru Ram Das. The prospective bride and groom circumambulate around a sacred fire four times, while the hymns are read and sung during Anand Karaj (Kaur Singh 2011).

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39 Grewal, J.S. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II, 64

40 This slogan is from the DasamGranth and was appropriated by Banda Bahadur (Nesbitt 2005).

41 Grewal, J.S. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II, 73

42 Ibid.

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46   H.S. Singha. Encyclopedia of Sikhism. Delhi: Hemkunt Publishers, 2000

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52   Ibid.

53   Kaur Singh, Nikky-Guninder. *Sikhism: An Introduction. London*

54   Harjot, Oberoi. The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in Sikh Tradition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994

55   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction, 49

56   McLeod, W.H. Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit

57   JPS Uberoi. Religion, Civil Society and the State: A Study of Sikhism. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996

58   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction

59   W.H. Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the KhalsaRahit

60   Ibid.

61   Anne Murphy. Materiality of the Past: History and Representation in Sikh Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012

62   W.H. Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit, 66

63   Nesbitt, Eleanor. Sikhism: A Very Short Introduction, 54

64   Grewal, J.S. The Sikhs of the Punjab: The New Cambridge History of India II

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15

Evaluating Effectiveness of Foster Homes in Delhi: An Assessment of the Needs of Children

Pankhuri Aggarwal

Abstract

India is an abode to maximum number of children who are under the age of 18 years, who comprise of forty percent of the total population. Due to financial constraints and prevalent social stigma, orphan-hood and abandonment of children is not a rare sight in the country. Thirty eightchildren, 25 female and 13 male, aged 10-18 years, across five foster homes in Delhi were selected using non-probabilistic sampling techniques. Their emotional, educational, interpersonal and basic/fundamental needs were assessed using a questionnaire. Descriptive and inferential statistical tools were employed along with thematic analysis for condensing the collected data. The results showed that the children's viewpoints on the quantitative dimensions were highly in agreement with each other, and indicated that the agency was able to cater to most of their needs. However, the qualitative responses were highly varied and indicated a greater disparity in fulfilment of needs across individuals'. The study has implications for policy making, research and development.

Introduction

According to the United Nations, approximately 143 million children across the globe have been abandoned by their parents out of whom 104 million alone reside in Asia[1]. Further out of these, 31 million children live in India, a country which has adoption rate as low as 0.18%.

Abandoned children refer to children who are deserted by their biological or adoptive parents, caretakers or guardians. The abandonment may be physical (absence of parents from the child's life) or mental (neglect, lack of attention etc. from the parents). Similarly, the word orphan is used to refer a child, whose parents are either dead, or are unwilling to take care of him/her[2].

The term foster care is used to refer to a temporary abode for an abandoned child. Provision of foster care was initiated in India in the 1960s. Foster homes are abodes for children who have lost their parents due to adverse circumstances or have been abandoned by them as they were children of unmarried couples, children born in poverty struck family, or the sex of the child wasgirl,or achild with special needs etc.

The foster care parents/care takers of these children are usually selected, approved, trained and qualified as fit by Child Welfare Committees for taking care of these children until they are formally adopted. According to the guidelines given by Union Ministry of Women and Child Development Indian citizens above the age of 35 years who are financially independent, medically healthy and have no criminal record can provide foster care. These foster care families are fully responsible for fulfilling the basic needs of these children including food, shelter, education etc. Although there are different kinds of foster family arrangements, however foster care usually ends when the child turns 18 years of age, until which if he/she is not adopted, can be adopted by foster parents themselves.

Throughout the world, ample literature is available which purports that poor nutrition and medical care, lack of optimal human interaction,

dearth of play facilities and overcrowding significantly affect abandoned children by hampering their psychological, social and cognitive growth[3,4]. These children often belong to minority groups and experience high levels of guilt, fear and insecurity, and find it difficult to trust others. Foster care provides the necessary love, care and respect[5] which these children have lacked in their homes where they might have faced neglect, abuse, disownment, violence etc. Paradoxically, researches show that the love and affection a family is able to provide its children, foster homes are unable to replicate[6]because of which these children develop high rates of depression[7], are more likely to engage in criminal activity and may sometimes even be at a higher risk of committing suicide[8,9]. This poses important questions on the existence and functioning of foster homes. Few countries around the world have gone ahead to abolish such shelters as they felt that these temporary abodes were legalising and promoting more abandoning of children.

The overall well-being of children, whether abandoned or not is moulded by an amalgamation of biological, social, behavioural and environmental factors. In the past literature, although the emotional and economical needs of abandoned children have received significant attention from researchers around the globe, their educational, basic and social needs have not been addressed as much[10]. It was found that meeting the materialistic needs of these children was only a partial step in their empowerment[11]. Identifying the possible range of factors affecting a child's life is thus an important step in laying the foundation of effective childcare[12,13,14].

Methodology

Objectives: The primary objective of the present study was to find out the extent to which the current foster homes are being able to meet the various needs of the orphaned and abandoned children residing there. An attempt was made to bring the voices of these children into limelight thereby highlighting the suggestions made by them about ways in which their unmet needs could be met, further enhancing the effectiveness of these foster homes.

Instrumentation: For the purpose of the study, an open ended semi-structured questionnaire was used. There were four main sub-sets in the questionnaire, covering the main areas of the child's life. The Questionnaire was designed to assess the fundamental, emotional, educational and interpersonal needs of these children.

Basic/ fundamental needs were defined as comprising of the traditional list of immediate needssuch as food, shelter, clothing, sanitation and health care. Emotional needs were operationalized as buffers which helped facilitate good psychological health. Example of emotional needs included need forsecurity; give and take of attention,sense of autonomy and control,sense of belongingness,need for friendship and intimacy etc.Educational needs were defined as the needs related to education and career.Lastly, inter personal needs included the need for social acceptance, prestige, and access to certain people, social events, or resources.

To answer each question on the questionnaire, the child was required to mark one out of the four options: never, sometimes, most of the times, always. In case they answered 'never', theywere directed to the next part of the questionnaire where they got a chance to give their suggestions. There were a total of 29 questions.

Sample: The research was conducted on 38 children, 25 female and 13 male, aged 10 years and above, belonging to 5 foster care homes in Delhi (located in different parts of the city but being run by the same agency)**.** Children with special needs/with IQ lower than 70 were not included in the study as their needs may have varied from that of the mainstream children. Non-probabilistic sampling techniques namely purposive sampling and convenient sampling were used to recruit the sample in the city of Delhi.

Data collection: Permission from the respective mentor mothers/ fathers was taken in writing before starting the process of data collection. Informed consent was taken from all the children who met the criteria of the study to participate in the same. Before giving out the questionnaire, the purpose and the objectives of the study were made clear by the researcher. The process of data collection was made as objective as possible. Each child was assured the confidentiality of his/her responses. The children were

advised to answer all the questions keeping in mind last one year only.

The questions were read out and answers were written for those children who could not read or write. Though even for the children who could read and write, the understanding of the nuances of each question was cross-checked properly by the researcher who was conducting the study.

The data was mostly collected during afternoon and evening time when children returned from their respective schools. Few of them were conducted in study rooms and dining halls/sitting areas, while others were conducted in the bed rooms of the children. On a whole, the environment was calm and un-disturbed; however as the number of children in the homes increased gradually as they returned from their tuitions/school/ taekwondo classes, it became a little difficult to ensure that no child, other than the one filling the questionnaire was coming inside the room where data collection was taking place. Also, as the number of younger children increased in the home, it became slightly difficult to maintain a sound proof environment. However, attempts were made by the researcher, supervisors, caregivers and tuition teachers to keep the children who were filling the questionnaires away from any kind of disturbances around. For majority of them, the researcher recorded their verbal responses, as most of the children were too young to fill the questionnaire, didn't know how to read/write or were more comfortable giving verbal responses as compared to written.

Data Analysis: Appropriate descriptive and inferential statistical measures were applied to the quantitative data. The assessment and the analysis of the data were done on the basis of scales of never, sometimes, most of the times, and always. Each response was given a score of 1, 2, 3 or 4 (depending on the response). The scores were summed to obtain a grand total which was categorized on the basis of the following scale/key: 1-40 (not satisfied), 41-80 (partially satisfied) and 81-120 (highly satisfied). The qualitative data was analysed using thematic analysis. After reading the content multiple times, codes and themes were carefully identified, followed by their categorization into broader themes and classes. The names of the five foster homes have not been reported in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

Results and Conclusion

Home 1: The study indicated that 85.72 % of the children staying in home 1 were highly satisfied with respect to their basic/fundamental needs, emotional needs, educational needs and interpersonal needs (figure 1). On the other hand, 14.28 % of the children were partially satisfied regarding the same. The average individual total score obtained was 90.14 (n=7).
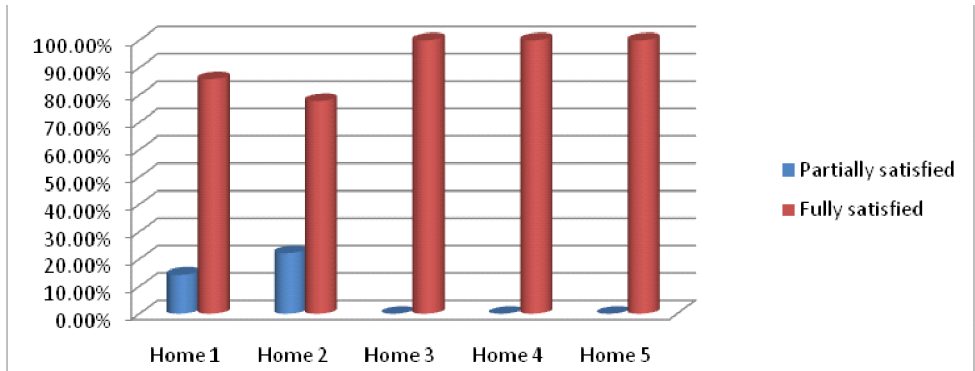

Figure 1. The level of satisfaction of the children with respect to their respective needs across five foster homes

Home 2: It was seen that 77.78 % of the children staying in home 2 were highly satisfied with respect to all their needs (figure 1). On the other hand, 22.22 % of the children were partially satisfied regarding the same. The average individual total score obtained was 96 (n=9).

Home 3: Hundred per cent of the children staying in home 3 were highly satisfied with respect to all their needs (figure 1). The average individual total score obtained was 109.4 (n=9).

Home 4: Similar to home 3, hundred per cent of the children staying in home 4 were highly satisfied with respect to their basic/fundamental needs, emotional needs, educational needs and interpersonal needs (figure 1). The average individual total score was 96 (n=7).

Home 5: Akin to home 3 and home 4, hundred per cent of the children staying in home 5 were highly satisfied with respect to their basic/ fundamental needs, emotional needs, educational needs and interpersonal needs (figure 1). The average individual total score obtained was 104.33 (n=6).

It was seen that the children from homes 1 and 2 had a slender amount of needs which were being partially met as opposed to the homes 3, 4 and 5 where all the needs of all the children were being fully met. Also, out of the three homes (where the needs of all the children were being fully met), the decreasing order of the mean total scores obtained by the children staying in them were as follows:- home 3 (109.4), home 5 (104.33) and home 4 (96).

If all the 38 children were to be divided amongst their respective age brackets, it would be correct to assume that the mean total scores obtained by the different aged children in the decreasing order were as follows:- 16 and above (103.55), 12-14 years (101.25), 14-16 years (96.2) and 10-12 years (95.8). This could possibly indicate that the foster home agency is perhaps more successfully able to meet the needs of the children aged 16 and above, and those who are aged between 12-14 years as compared to the other two age groups.

If all the children were to be divided on the basis of their gender, i.e. into two groups of that of 13 boys and 25 girls, the mean total score obtained by both the sexes individually was not significantly different from each other. The average score for boys was 99.84 while that of girls was 99.2 (figure 2). This is suggestive of the fact that gender amongst the group of children studied, did not play any crucial role in terms of the agency being able to meet the needs of the children. This implies that the agency is as responsive to the needs of girls as it is for boys.

Figure 2. Gender wise average of total scores

If all the girls were to be bifurcated into different age groups, then the mean total scores obtained by different aged girls, in decreasing order could be arranged as follows:- 16 and above (105.43), 12-14 years (99), 14-16 years (98.25) and 10–12 years (93.7).While if all the boys were to be bifurcated into different age groups, then the mean total scores obtained by different aged boys, in decreasing order could be arranged as follows:- 12-14 years (104.4), 10-12 years (99.5), 16 and above (97) and 14 – 16 years (92).

If we were to analyse the degree of similarity in the viewpoints of the children across different homes, different age groups and different sexes, we would reach the following conclusions:-

TABLE 1: Variables Investigated Across Five Homes

HOME	AVERAGE OF TOTAL SCORE	STANDARD DEVIATION	COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION
Home 1 (n=9)	96	13.09	12.85%
Home 2 (n=9)	109.4	8.03	6.92%
Home 3 (n=7)	90.14	9.23	9.48%
Home 4 (n=7)	96	10	9.64%
Home 5 (n=6)	104.33	11.76	10.28%

As indicated in table 1, there is less diversity or more uniformity in the viewpoints of the children staying in home 2 as compared to all the other homes. In increasing order of diversity/differences in opinion, the children who stay in the home 1 and home 4 have considerably uniform viewpoint, as opposed to the children who stay in home 5 and home 3, where a slight amount of disagreement/contradiction has been reported in terms of the degree of fulfilment of various needs.

Table 2 – Variables Investigated Across Different Age Groups Among Boys and Girls

DIMENSIONS/ VARIABLES STUDIED	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS		AVERAGE OF TOTAL SCORES		STANDARD DEVIATION		COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
10 – 12 YEARS	4	7	99.5	93.7	13.50	14.7	11.75%	14.51%
12 – 14 YEARS	5	7	104.4	99	11.86	14.15	10.16%	13.24%
14 – 16 YEARS	2	4	92	98.25	0	7.76	0	6.85%
16 AND ABOVE	2	7	97	105.43	12.73	11.86	9.27%	10.41%

As indicated in table 2, girls who belonged to the age group of 14-16 years of age thought alike as compared to those girls who belong to the other age brackets. In increasing order of diversity/differences in opinion, girls who are aged 16 years and above had considerably uniform point of view, as opposed to the girls who belonged to the age brackets of 12-14 years and 10-12 years, where a slight amount of disagreement was reported in terms of the degree of fulfilment of various needs.

Similarly, boys who belonged to the age group of 14-16 years of age completely thought alike as compared to those boys who belonged to the other age brackets (Table 2). In increasing order of diversity/differences in opinion, boys who were aged 16 years and above had considerably consistent point of view, as opposed to the boys who belonged to the age brackets of 12-14 years and 10-12 years, where a slight amount of discrepancy was reported in terms of the degree of fulfilment of various needs.

Table 3: Need Wise Thematic Analysis of Qualitative Data

Need	Qualitative Codes/ Data Excerpts
BASIC/FUNDAMANETAL NEEDS	*Everyone cleans home; care giver cleans daily; kids dirty house; kids clean only on holidays; unhygienic washrooms; unable to sleep due to noise; unable to sleep because scared of ghosts; whenever hurt/ill get necessary aid; hardly fall sick; not adequate band-aid; mentors get what we need; no adequate space for self-study; not allowed to dance; musical instruments not there; cell phones not allowed; lack of indoor games; no restriction on the amount of food; healthy nutritious food; mostly food is delicious; dislike particular vegetables.*

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS	*Scared of peers; fear of mockery; support from faculty and mentors; lack of facilities and opportunities; get tuitions; no career related guidance; have books and library; mentor always guides if we approach him/her; facing difficulties in specific subjects; unable to concentrate for long; always dependent on others for study; kids make too much noise; capable of self-study but need help sometimes; unable to introspect at times.*
EMOTIONAL NEEDS	*Feel scared of ghosts; don't feel scared because house remains locked; uncle aunty take good care; bhaiya takes care; I am heard in the home; sometimes don't listen; loved; scolded when do wrong; stay like a family; feel respected if I respect others; no one listens to me; recognize that this family can't replace real family; feel lonely at times; doesn't feel safe in neighbourhood; scared to approach people; scared of dark; mentor helps in difficult situations; help outsiders whenever possible; unable to help people because hardly go outside.*
INTERPERSONAL NEEDS	*Take initiative to clean the house; clean only when holidays/festivals or asked to; doesn't take initiative in cleaning; help others if they helped me; help others as they will help me later; help others when they ask; help only brothers and sisters not outsiders; others help if I ask them for help; unable to open up with others; supervisors and caregivers help solve problems; scared if others would leak my talks; others unable to relate because of age differences; respect everyone except when angry; sometimes rude to others; have good friends at school; feel proud to tell others about foster home; unable to tell others because scared of differential treatment.*

It is interesting to note that the responses of children on the qualitative questions were more discrepant as compared to the results obtained on the quantitative domain (see Table 3). For instance, one child from the same home mentioned that everyone cleaned the house daily, yet another child quoted that the house was extremely dirty. Similarly children's views differed drastically on the availability of medical aid. While one child felt that whenever he got hurt, he got the necessary first-aid, however another child mentioned that there was a paucity of band-aids in the house.

Limitations and Scope

Since the data for the present study was collected from five homes

being run by the same agency, comparison of results with other foster homes was not possible. It is advised that future studies could increase their sample representativeness so that the results could be generalized to the entire population of orphans and abandons in the city/country. On a parallel note, children with special needs were not included in the study as their needs were assumed to be different than the mainstream children. Designing a method through which their need assessment could take place, could be a prospective project in the future. Furthermore, comparative analysis of needs of orphans and non-orphans could help fathom the differences between the needs of the two populations as well as the ways in which they could be better met.

Another major challenge that was faced throughout the study was that though almost all the children were quick in giving their responses, they were not able to provide reasoning of those self-chosen options. None of them could come up with any valuable suggestions pertaining to how their needs could be better met by the agency. It may be speculated that the children were too scared to express their true points of view(which could be against the agency) and thus the results should not be accepted at their face value. However this limitation was partly addressed by the researcher's constant reminder of confidentiality and anonymity of responses.

Most of the children did not know their actual age, but the age which was told to them by the agency workers. Since the two may not actually coincide in reality, it is advised to draw interpretations from the quantitative analysis with caution. While interpreting the results, the duration of the stay of each child in their respective homes should also be taken into consideration while drawing conclusions about their met/unmet needs.

The degree of satisfaction with respect to the educational needs may differ for every child depending upon the school that they go to, duration of formal education they have obtained in the past and the class they are currently in, rather than having anything to do with the agency. Further, since the data was collected in the leisure time of children, some children filled the questionnaires extremely quickly, at times frowning and counting the total number of pages. They were looking forward to spending quality time outside (playing etc.). While on the other hand, some children who

got to miss their tuition to be a part of the study, were more willing to devote additional time for the process. Such time constraints could have significantly impacted the data.

The agency's ability to fulfil the needs of the children rests upon adequate funding and strategic planning. Throughout the world, the financial aid offered to foster parents for taking care of these children is substantially less (reimbursement is hardly enough to match actual expenses) or is not there at all. In order to maximize the two for better need fulfilment, the government could offer sponsorship or additional funding and give these external agencies greater decision making power. They could hold centralized training sessions for foster care staff such that there is a more uniformity in care providing. Further, assigning mental health professionals who could assess the needs of these children in a more nuanced fashion is advised.

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