INDIAN JOURNAL OF
SOCIAL ENQUIRY

Indian Journal of Social Enquiry

Contents

September 2017

List of Contributors

- ***Sunil Sondhi,*** Principal, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Aditya Premdeep,*** Research Scholar, Department of English, University of Delhi
- ***Sanjay Kumar Agrawal,*** Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Akshay Mishra,*** Research Scholar, IGNOU
- ***Prabira Sethy,*** Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Raj Kumar,*** Assistant, Accounts Department, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Debosmita Paul Lahiri,*** Assistant Professor, Department of English, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Guntasha Tulsi,*** Assistant Professor, Department of English, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Mona Sinha,*** Associate Professor, Department of English, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Manjari Chaturvedi,*** Research Scholar, Jawaharlal Nehru University
- ***Maneesha,*** Associate Professor, Department of Electronics, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Praveen Kant Pandey,*** Associate Professor, Department of Electronics, Maharaja Agrasen College
- ***Satyaprakash Singh,*** Librarian, Maharaja Agrasen College

Editorial

Need for Education 4.0: Assessment and Reflection

Gitanjali Chawla

While there is no denying the truth in the age-old adage that 'change is the only constant', keeping up with the fast-paced constant changes in the recent times has proved to be a challenge for policy makers in the education sector in India. Though the vision and mission of both governance and leadership factors in foreseen shifts in both social and industrial sectors while framing curriculum and attempts to ensure that higher education is in sync with demands of employers, and that skill sets match industrial needs, but the rapid changes brought in by information technology, cloud computing, artificial intelligence and the likes have made five year plans redundant and obsolete. The need for assessment and reflection is perhaps even more pertinent in today's times. Change has always been the order of the day, but shifts were perhaps neither of this magnitude nor this critical and compelling.

A brief overview of the trajectory of education in India reveals three significant phases. The move from the erstwhile and much acclaimed Guru-Shishya mode of teaching to Education for the masses was inherent in the change from Education 1.0 to its avatar in 2.0. This shift catalyzed by the advent of the printing press and subsequent sharp rise in literacy levels saw a long gap of hundreds of years. Though desirable, as the former had led to brahmanization of education, limited to a privileged few, the latter transposed education into a generic mass education for all. Transmission of knowledge, content and pedagogy though paid a heavy price as 'one size fits all' policy ignored the specific needs for learners. This though led to mushrooming of universities and colleges establishing scientific and empirical methods in research strengthening the public education system and making way for inclusion of women and other marginalized sections of society, who had hitherto been

September 2017

denied access to it. This also led to a move from religion based and controlled education to the establishment of universities in Calcutta, Madras and Mumbai by the British in the mid 19ᵗʰ Century. Aided and regulated by the Government, first by the British and post Independence, by the Nehru led Congress, planning and reform of the Education Sector gained significance. The University Grants Commission, a statutory body was set up by the Government in 1953, as the nodal agency responsible for systematic planning and coordination of its outreach and learning outcomes and maintenance of standards.

Thereafter the nineties witnessed the influx of private players who capitalized on the potential of education as a commercial enterprise post globalisation and liberalisation. Though the enrolment in higher education institutions had increased exponentially, the gap between skilled graduates and the demands of the changing nature of industries was at an all-time high. Furthermore, policy makers were at logger heads trying to keep pace with the WWW world and the impact of virtual space on the real world. This necessitated a transition to Education 3.0.The keywords of this third generational shift were the Internet, Information Technology and Innovation. The digital platform made space for an alliance with the podium and blended learning collaborated with the lectern. Besides, the outreach of the education sector had also now traversed to online programmes, certificate skill-based niche courses had become huge value additions, literacy now included digital literacy, computers and personal devices replaced books and e journals reduced the number of subscriptions of print journals drastically. These shifts though, were not limited to pedagogy and curricula only. HEI administration policy, process and procedure are now governed by LMS and ERP i.e Learning Management System and Enterprise Resource Planning for the uninitiated. This has become a significant chunk of HEI budgets. Assessment, accreditation, collaborations with other Institutions, improved institute - industry interface, social extension activities, sensitization programmes etc jostled with the core academic sphere to pave way for holistic learning. Education 3.0 also spawned multifarious players offering certification in value added courses. Uncontrolled and unregulated by government agencies, these are making a killing by filling the gaps in the government planned and aided educational programmes. The focus here is on new technologies and specific demands of the job market. Skill based curriculum, online driven classrooms and state of the art technology are their USP, enticing students as government supported institutions are caught in the web of restrictions both in budgets and procurement protocols.

Education 3.0 in India was envisaged as a boon, which in many ways it was but 'change' reared its new mutants yet again, much sooner this time making this shift obsolete even before it could make its presence felt across the education sector. Though the policy makers attempted to keep pace with the changing environment, they could not envisage the speed with which changes would outstrip them. Cloud computing, artificial intelligence, social media, genomics, robotics etc are just a few challenges in a long list.

What has also been missing in all these three generational shifts in education has been the need of the student. The focus needs to be more learner centric, teaching should be augmented with mentoring, classrooms must collaborate with learning on the field, MOOC - massive open online courses should be regulated and monitored, the potential of the digital platform and the specific needs of employers must be factored in. Formal Learning and training are no longer controlled by a rigid time frame, it needs to be replaced by a format which encourages and supports continuous lifelong learning. Customisation of education, individuated flexible programmes, community-based activities, harnessing of students' competencies, application of knowledge are some of the key areas that Education 3.0 seems to have missed out on. Though the examination system included testing of value added or higher order thinking skills (HOTS), it is still nevertheless in India more memory based i.e on rote learning. What needs to be tested is not factual knowledge but application of the same. Furthermore, students are not framers of their curriculum, their inputs in syllabi revision are at best skeletal. Alumni who have established themselves as entrepreneurs or employed professionals should also be part of revision committees instead of just academicians. Our vision must visualize and anticipate changes in the future and be prepared for them. That the digital space is omnipotent, and the social mediated space pertinent cannot be ignored, shifting pedagogical paradigms must intervene and make education more relevant, efficient and dynamic. The higher education sector needs to realign with the fourth generational shift in the industrial sector. Our social, cultural and technological matrices have outstripped our teaching learning process. Education 4.0 is the need of the day, an educational culture that does not see education as an acquisition, but instead fosters meta skills, where both hard and soft skills enhance problem solving, participative citizenship, and students evolve as sensitive and sensitized beings.

Society and Corruption in India: Lessons from Latin America

Sunil Sondhi

Abstract

Fighting corruption has emerged as a key development issue in India in recent years. More and more policymakers, businesses, and civil society organizations have begun to confront the issue openly. Corruption in India is today recognized as a complex phenomenon, as the consequence of more deep-seated problems of policy distortion, institutional incentives and governance. Viewed in this perspective, anti-corruption policies are not simply policies that can be planned in advance and isolation, but often a set of subtler insights that can be developed only in conjunction with citizen participation. The Economic Development Institute at the World Bank, in collaboration with the Transparency International and local NGOs, has developed a methodological approach integrating within one empirical framework the various components identified so far for understanding and combating corruption. In this research paper, the World Bank framework is used to understand and explain the role of state and society in combating corruption in India and consider recent initiatives for an effective action plan in this regard.

Keywords: Corruption, Policy, Society, Development, Public Administration, Democracy

1. Introduction

Fighting corruption has emerged as a key development issue in India in recent years. More and more policymakers, businesses, and civil society organizations have begun to confront the issue openly. At the same time the

general level of understanding about corruption has risen markedly. Until recently, it was not uncommon to hear someone discuss anti-corruption strictly in law enforcement terms. By contrast, most people working in the field today acknowledge that public education and prevention are equally important. The field has also come to appreciate how critical the role of civil society is for effective and sustained reform.

A number of factors explain this growing emphasis on fighting corruption. Expansion and consolidation of democracy at the grassroots level has enabled citizens to use the vote and new-found civil liberties to confront corruption, prompting leaders and opposition figures to show a stronger anti-corruption commitment. Internationally, since the end of the Cold War, donor governments have focused less on ideological grounds for foreign assistance and concentrated more on trade and development, both of which are undermined by corruption. Countries with high levels of corruption, like India, have found themselves less able to attract investment and aid in a competitive global market. At the same time, business within the country has faced stiffer competition with the gobalisation of trade and capital markets and has become less willing to tolerate the expense and risk associated with corruption.

2. Literature Review

The body of theoretical and empirical research that objectively addresses the problem of corruption has grown considerably in recent years (Elliot,1997; Coolidge & Rose-Ackerman, 1997; Gandhi, 1998; Gill, 1998; Girling, 1997; HDC, 1999; Kaufmann & Sachs, 1998; Mauro, 1995; Paul & Guhan, 1997; Shleifer & Vishnay, 1998; Stapenhurst & Kpundeh, 1998; Vittal, 1999; World Bank, 1997). A preliminary analysis of the literature shows that corruption in India and elsewhere is recognized as a complex phenomenon, as the consequence of more deep-seated problems of policy distortion, institutional incentives and governance. It thus cannot be addressed by simple legal acts proscribing corruption. The reason is that, particularly in India, the judiciary, legal enforcement institutions, police and such other legal bodies cannot be relied upon, as the rule of law is often fragile, and thus can be turned in their favour by corrupt interests.

3. Basic Hypothesis

Preliminary examination of data from various sources suggests the formulation of a clear hypothesis concerning the role of civil society in combating corruption in India. The hypothesis is that the sustenance and success of efforts to combat systemic corruption in India is directly related to the extent of participation of the civil society in these efforts. The underlying idea is that development is not the product of set of blueprints given by the political leadership independently of the civil society but is often a joint output of the civil society itself. The pace and direction of the developmental efforts is shaped by the umbilical relationship between the state and civil society.

Viewed in this perspective, anti-corruption policies are not simply policies that can be planned in advance and isolation, but often a set of subtler insights that can be developed only in conjunction with citizen participation. Combating corruption is, therefore, not just a matter of making laws and creating institutions, but rather it is deeply rooted in the activities of the civil society itself.

4. Methodology

In recent years significant improvements have been made in the measurement of corruption, in the construction of composite corruption indices, and in the design and implementation of surveys. Beyond applying improved empirics through a multi-pronged approach to surveys, it is now possible to construct a framework linking the analytical and empirical research with operationally relevant utilization. We can effectively utilize empirical analysis in the design and implementation of action programs. The Economic Development Institute at the World Bank, in collaboration with the Transparency International and local NGOs, has developed a methodological approach integrating within one empirical framework the various components identified so far for understanding and combating corruption. This overall empirical approach links worldwide database and analysis with determinants of corruption, in-depth country analysis, and country action program (Kaufmann, Pradhan & Ryterman, 1998). In this research paper, the World Bank framework is used to understand and explain the role of civil society in combating corruption in India, and consider recent initiatives for an effective action plan in this regard.

Database and Analysis	Determinants of Corruption	Country Analysis	Action Programme
*Worldwide and Regional data and analysis	*Political patronage	*Political Will	*Institutional priorities
*Prevalence of corruption	*Administrative labyrinth	*Civil society understanding	*Political will and government role
*Consequences of corruption	*Lack of punishment	*Focus groups	*Civil society
*Country governance factors	*Social environment	*Task forces	*Role of international community

Table 1 Anti-corruption Analysis and Action
Adapted from: Kaufman, Pradhan& Ryterman, 1998

1.   Causes of Corruption

There is little doubt that corruption in present-day India pervades all levels and all services, not even sparing the Indian Administrative Service and Judicial Service. The bureaucracy of the British India was considered to be largely untainted with corruption. Compulsions of electoral politics in independent India changed this image and the administrative as well as the police and judicial services came to be charged with colluding with the political leadership to indulge in systemic corruption, making a mockery of democratic governance.

The mid-1960s is considered to be the great divide in the history of public administration in India. It marked the fading away of the Gandhian and Nehruvian era of principled politics and the emergence of new politics, the keynote of which was amorality. The scams and scandals of the nineties revealed that among the persons accused of corruption were former Prime Ministers, former Chief Ministers, and even former Governors. India's experience with corruption has shown that laws, rules, regulations, procedures and methods of transaction of government business, however sound and excellent cannot by themselves ensure effective and transparent administration if the political and administrative leadership entrusted with their enforcement fails to do so and abuses its powers for personal gain.

Political Patronage

The biggest cause of corruption in today's India is undoubtedly the political leadership at the helm of affairs in the country. From this fountainhead of corruption flow various streams of corrupt practices which plague the political, economic and social activities in the country. The post-independence political leadership has risen from the grassroots level in the form of regional, caste, linguistic and other protest movements. They have transformed the nature of politics and administration. Amoral politics, self-aggrandisement, disregard of the constitutional norms in the pursuit of power, political survival at any cost are their rules of the game. They interfere with the administration of justice and have bent bureaucracy to do their bidding.

The A. D. Gorwala Report(1951) was one of the earliest official documents that laid bare the problem of corruption in India. For Gorwala, character building was the basis of state building and the decline in character in India had two immediate causes in the post-1947 period. The first was the impact of the War. World War II was an expression of violence and also of greed. Though many people shared in the war effort, for most it was not their war. The war was boom time, and people benefitted legally and illegally from it. Gorwala added to that the failure of the national movement to leave behind a spiritual residue among the people (Vishwanathan & Sethi,1997).

The Gorwala Report was particularly harsh on the role of the political leadership in setting examples before the public.

> Enquiries into allegations have been made by senior all-India leaders of the principle party... Often they have remained secret. Nor action was taken. It seems fairly clear that if the public is to have confidence that moral standards do prevail in high places, arrangements must be made that no one, however highly placed, is immune from enquiry if allegations against him are made by responsible parties and if a prima facie case exists. There should be no hushing-up or appearance of hushing-up for personal or political reasons. (Gorwala, 1951)

For the Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee, chaired by J. B. Kriplani, corruption was a failure of citizenship. Whether it was the bribe, ticketless travel or theft, all these were acts which undermined the state. The report ruthlessly listed the categories of people who refused to pay and their attitude towards it. Politicians and senior bureaucrats were among those who claimed

exemption from paying for travel on account of their status. The report therefore went on to insist that "apart from administrative reforms, and punitive measures, there is a great need for higher officials to play the leaders in a reform movement" (1955).

The strange part of the story of the early years of corruption in India is that the protection that Jawaharlal Nehru extended to his corrupt colleagues did not benefit him in any way. Wealth could not tempt him in any form, and he had a typical aristocrat's disdain for money. However, by condoning high-visibility cases of corruption and shielding the guilty, Nehru legitimized graft in high places, and this undermined the rule of law and the moral basis of the polity (Noorani, 1973). After Independence there was a pressing need to strengthen the needs of the state, establish high norms of political morality, and make no exceptions in the punishing the culprit. There are a few failings for which India has paid so heavy a price as his tolerance of corruption among his colleagues and party men (Gill, 1998).

The role of political leadership in aiding and abetting spread of corruption in India was most clearly brought out by the Shah Commission of Enquiry constituted to look into the excesses committed during the period of Emergency (1975-77). Justice Shah reserved his most damning observations for the role that Sanjay Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, played subverting rule of law in the country. Shah noted,

> The manner in which Shri Sanjay Gandhi functioned in the public affairs of Delhi in particular is the single greatest act of excess committed during the period of Emergency for which there is no parallel nor any justification for such assumption of authority or power in the history of independent India. While the other acts and excesses may have been in the nature of acts committed by functionaries have some shadow of authority acting in excess of their powers. Here was a case of an individual wielding unlimited powers in a democracy without even the slightest right to it. If this country is to be rendered safe for future generations, the people owe it to themselves to ensure that an irresponsible and unconstitutional centre of power like the one which revolved around Shri Sanjay Gandhi during the Emergency is not allowed to ever come up again in any form or shape or under any guise. (1978, p. 230)

The nexus between corrupt politicians and corrupt bureaucrats has been clearly proved in recent years by scams like the Animal Husbandry (fodder) scam in Bihar (in which the former Chief Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav, some of his ministers, legislators of the ruling and opposition parties and several senior bureaucrats were charge sheeted by the CBI), Coal scam in Tamil Nadu (involving the then Chief Minister Ms. Jayalalitha), Urea scam (involving the son and a relative of the former Prime Minister Narasimha Rao), Telecom Scam (involving the Union Telecom Minister Sukh Ram) etc.

According to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) for 2016, India continues to be among the most corrupt countries in the world. The CPI has emerged as one of the leading barometers of public sector corruption in the world. The CPI awarded India a score of 40, rendering it the 79th most corrupt country in the world. China, Brazil, and Belarus achieved the same score. The poorest performers in South Asia were Sri Lanka (score 36, rank 95), the Maldives (score 36, rank 95), Pakistan (score 32, rank 116) and Bangladesh (score 26, rank 145) (Transparency International, 2017).

The entire saga of corruption has been compounded by the escape from the country of persons accused of largest scams. The disgraced former chairman of India's United Breweries Group, Vijay Mallya, whose spirits company manufactures Kingfisher beer, fled India in March 2016 after defaulting on loans worth more than Rs. 9000 crores. In such cases, critics have wondered how the Indian government could have permitted such high-profile figures to leave the country given the circumstances. Familiar questions about India's culture of impunity for its rich and powerful have resurfaced (Forbes, 2016). Since corruption flows down from the top it seems it is not easy to stop it or limit it, and this has a devastating effect on the administration and the society in general.

Administrative Labyrinth

Cumbersome and dilatory administrative procedures and practices are another major cause of corruption in India. India's legal and administrative system was designed in the middle of the nineteenth century to serve the interests of colonial administration. The Indian Penal Code, the main instrument for controlling crime and administering criminal justice, was enacted in 1860. The organization and functions of the police are governed by the Indian Police Act of 1861. The Indian Evidence Act came into force in 1872.

The Indian Telegraph Act, which regulates the control of air-waves and licensing of broadcasting facilities, was passed in 1855-even before the invention of the wireless. Fundamental Rules and Supplementary Rules, the financial Bibles for all government financial transactions, were framed in the nineteen twenties when the government's financial transactions and commitments were very simple.

The British had designed this legal system to strengthen a regulatory colonial administration. These laws were based on distrust of the 'natives' and a firm belief in their inability to govern themselves. It has in built provisions for delays, prolonged litigation and evasion. Its provisions are ideally suited to the promotion of corruption at all levels, as graft provides the quickest immunity from delays and punitive action. Thus, archaic legal system is not only least suited to the promotion of a democratic, egalitarian, welfare state, it fosters an outlook which is subversive to social equity. The focal point of colonial justice was the individual and the protection of individual property rights whereas the emphasis of a welfare state is on the rights of the society and social justice.

Lack of Punishment

A contributory factor to the growth of corruption in India is that the cases relating to corruption are often handled in a casual and clumsy manner. Those in hierarchy vested with disciplinary powers shirk duty and show unwillingness to use their powers against corrupt practices. This may be due to different reasons like political or trade union pressure, vested interests, or sheer ineptitude in handling criminal investigation. The result is that the corrupt are rarely caught and even if caught are let off with minor or no penalties. The government officials entrusted with the responsibility of dealing with corruption do it in a most inefficient and lethargic manner and this suits the political leadership which patronises corruption.

The judicial system is so expensive, dilatory, and inefficient that it takes years and years for corruption cases to be decided. The infamous Harshad Mehta case of organised corruption in the stock exchanges of India, in which small investors lost thousands of crores of rupees, has been in the courts for almost a decade now and as yet there is no indication of its nearing any decision. The result of such inordinate delay is that the accused often escape punishment because a long-time span has an adverse effect on the evidence in a case. The conviction rate in the Indian courts is only 6%. There are three crore cases

pending in the Indian courts and average time taken for disposal of cases is from 10-20 years (Vittal, 1999). Justice delayed is justice denied in most cases of corruption.

Social Environment

Public administration is a sub-system of the political system which itself is a part of the larger whole called the social system. Therefore, the societal culture or societal environment has powerful impact on public administration. Put differently, administration cannot be plucked out from the tissue of culture in which it is embedded as a member of the wide societal system. A bureaucrat reflects the spirit and ethos of that society, and his actions are bound to be the manifestation of his cultural moorings.

In present day India, corruption has found an acceptance in the social psyche and behaviour. Social evils like bribery, nepotism and favouritism have come to be accepted in the society. People often approach someone known to them for favours which they know are not legally due to them. Jumping the traffic lights or a queue or getting the benefits not due to one has become part of the social ethos. A person who has acquired wealth through unfair means is often accorded the same, if not higher, status in Indian society as that given to persons of excellence.

Whatever the people may say in coffee houses or in seminars, they show awe and respect to the corrupt. Such people are repeatedly elected or appointed to positions of power, and they go on to distribute the spoils of office to their near and dear ones. This group psyche is very infertile soil for public morality. In the ultimate analysis the corrupt political or the corrupt administrator is a creation of the public and is a concrete manifestation of the psychologically corrupt men in the street with whose approval corruption flourishes with impunity. It is no surprise therefore that at times the corrupt political leaders walk majestically to the court on the day of sentencing and acknowledge their supporters' greetings as if they were to receive an award for public service.

2. Consequences of Corruption

In the final analysis, corruption is as much a moral as a development issue. It can distort entire decision - making processes on investment projects and other commercial transactions, and the very social and political fabric of

societies. The Supreme Court of India in a recent judgement gave its comments on the far-reaching effects of corruption, and these comments deserve to be mentioned in some detail. The apex court observed that,

> Corruption in a civilised society is like cancer, which if not detected in time is sure to malignise the polity of the country leading to disastrous consequences. It is termed as a plague which is not only contagious but if not controlled spreads like a fire in a jungle. Its virus is compared with HIV leading to AIDS, being incurable. It has also been termed as royal thievery. The socio-political system exposed to such a dreaded communicable disease is likely to crumble under its own weight. Corruption is opposed to democracy and social order, being not only anti-people, but also aimed and targeted at them. It affects the economy and destroys the cultural heritage. Unless nipped in the bud at the earliest, it is likely to cause turbulence shaking of the socio-economic political system in an otherwise healthy, wealthy, effective and vibrating society. (AIR 2000, SC 870, p. 873)

Economic Development

Some fairly robust statistical evidence has now been furnished showing that higher corruption is associated with (i) higher (and more costly) public investment; (ii) lower government revenues; (iii) lower expenditures on operations and maintenance; and (iv) ensuing lower quality of public infrastructure. The evidence also shows that corruption increases public investment, by making it more expensive, while reducing its productivity.

A recent study by the Peruvian economist Paolo Mauro (1995 & 1998) found that a corrupt country is likely to face aggregate investment levels of approximately 5 percentage points less, than a relatively uncorrupt country. The evidence from India is particularly stark. If corruption levels in India were reduced to that in the Scandinavian countries, investments rates could increase annually by some 12 percent and the GDP growth rate by almost 1.5 percent each year (Gandhi, 1997). Corruption also acts as an additional tax on investment by lowering the potential return to an investor on both the initial investment and on subsequent returns. In India, current corruption levels mean that the implicit corruption tax on investment is almost 20 percentage points (Gandhi, 1997).

The impact of corruption on the quality of public infrastructure is all too clearly

visible in the towns and cities of India. The Public Works Department and the State Electricity Boards which are largely responsible for the maintenance of roads and management of power distribution respectively, are among the most corrupt government departments in India. In the capital city of Delhi itself, the transmission and distribution losses in the power sector are estimated to be over 50% out of which almost 30% is attributed to theft which is done with the connivance of the electricity board employees. A former Chairman of the Delhi Electricity Board (DVB) was very recently suspended and charged with amassing assets worth over 14 crore rupees, which is almost a hundred times more than his known sources of income. Such massive corruption is certainly one of the main reasons for perennial power shortages and frequent breakdowns in the capital.

Corruption also reduces the government's resources and hence its capacity for investment, since tax revenues are depleted by tax evasion (Jain, 1998; Shahid, 1991). This has two adverse effects: first, shifts away from investments in development areas occur as bribe-takers are less likely to invest in activities with significant positive social benefits like education and health. Second, overall investment levels may fall, since conspicuous consumption or flight of illegal earnings is probably higher than legal earnings. The high potential for capital flight of illegal earnings makes corruption more likely to be associated with a negative impact on the balance of payments (HDC,1999).

India's Chief Vigilance Commissioner recently observed that,

> India's economy today is a standing monument to the corruption and inefficiency of four specific departments, namely, Customs, Central Excise, Income Tax and Enforcement Directorate. It is the evasion of taxes and the failure of these departments to check illegal activities that has crystallised into the large percentage of black money in the economy. The quantum of black money has been estimated from Rs. 40,000 crores to Rs. 100,000 crores. Whole industries today depend on black money. The film industry, a substantial part of the construction industry and a large number of small industries are run on the basis of black money. (Vittal, 1999, p. 1)

Social Welfare

The damaging effects of corruption on investment and economic growth are widely recognised. But corruption also has adverse effects on human

development. First, corruption reduces the availability and increases the cost of basic social services. Access to core social services can be easily restricted with the intention to make corrupt gains. For instance, a government doctor may deliberately store away free medicines until he is bribed, a police inspector may deny a First Information Report to a victim until he is paid a kickback, and a principal may refuse to admit a child in a school until he is paid under-the-counter. Since obtaining access to basic public services normally requires an illegal cash payment, corruption also raises the price of these services.

Second, in addition to a decrease in total government expenditure (due to tax evasion), corruption also shifts government expenditure from priority social sector spending to areas, where the opportunities for rent-seeking are greater and the possibilities for detection are lower. Allocating government funds to a few large defense contracts or mega-projects may seem more attractive to corrupt bureaucrats and politicians than spending the same money to build numerous rural health clinics (Bardhan, 1997). Similarly, there may be a temptation to choose more complex technology (where detecting improper valuation or over-invoicing is more difficult) than simpler, and more appropriate technology.

Political System

Politically, corruption increases injustice and disregard for rule of law. Basic human rights and freedoms come under threat, as key judicial decisions are based on the extent of corrupt bribes given to court officials rather than on the innocence or guilt of the parties concerned. Police investigations and arrests may be based on political victimisation or personal vendettas rather than on solid legal grounds. Commenting on the socio-political consequences of corruption, the Supreme Court of India observed in the judgement cited above that corruption in a civilised society was a disease like cancer. If not detected in time it was sure to turn the polity malignant leading to "disastrous consequences". The apex court said a socio-political system exposed to such a dreaded communicable disease was likely to crumble under its own weight.

3.   Combating Corruption

Looking at the number of agencies created to tackle corruption, it is apparent that the government has been keen to eradicate this malady. Even before Independence, the colonial rulers had established the Delhi Special Police

Establishment (DSPE) to control corruption which surged during the Second World War. The Prevention of Corruption Act was passed in 1947 (Ramakrishna, 1997), and an Administrative Vigilance Division (AVD) created in the home ministry in 1955. Vigilance officers were appointed in each ministry to enquire into charges of corruption against employees in these organisations. Then, owing to mounting public criticism, a Committee on Prevention of Corruption was appointed in 1962 under K. Santhanam to examine this issue in depth and recommend remedial measures. As a result of its recommendations, the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), independent of ministerial control was set up in 1964. Another important measure during the early decades was the creation of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) in 1963, which incorporated DSPE as the Investigation and Anti-Corruption Division (Gill,1998).

Political Commitment

This elaborate and multi-layered apparatus to control corruption could hardly make a dent on the situation because of lack of political commitment on the part of political leadership in the states and at the center. It is more than clear all these institutional arrangements to combat corruption can be useful only if correctives come from the political class which is the final legislative and executive authority in a parliamentary democracy. The waywardness of the politicians can be curbed only from within, there is no agency which can continuously impose probity from outside. Unless the politicians are made to differentiate private conscience from public morality, and personal profit from national interest, the ongoing unrestrained plunder of the exchequer cannot be stopped. The case of Bihar during the past decade shows that all anti-corruption instruments and strategies come to naught against a political leadership which has a vested interest in continuing corruption. Similarly, the spate of criminal cases in which a former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Jayalalitha, was herself involved shows that during her tenure political and administrative corruption could not have been checked effectively primarily because of the political patronage she had given to corrupt practices.

Administrative Accountability

Another essential component of anti-corruption strategy is the strict enforcement of the principle of accountability at all levels. In India the government performs vast functions over a wide range of areas of public

concern. Decisions are taken at various levels of government in which discretionary power may be involved. The present situation is that there is general lack of accountability in administration. Almost everyone in the public services is accountable to no one and is considered above the law. Respect for the rule of law is woefully uncommon and it is often noticed that those who violate the law in the most blatant fashion are the ones who get away the easiest.

The judiciary has a key role in ensuring that political and administrative power is used only in accordance with law and everyone is held accountable for wrong doing or misuse of authority. Recent decisions given by the judiciary have created a hope for corrective action. The apex court and several high courts have upheld cases against political and administrative functionaries at the highest levels. The cases involving former chief ministers of Tamil Nadu and Bihar are illustrative of judicial activism that has come to the rescue of rule of law against the custodians of law themselves. The recent action of the Central Vigilance Commissioner of putting the names of administrative and police service officials on the internet against whom charges of corruption are pending has also gone a long way in instilling the sense of responsibility and accountability among these officials.

Procedural Simplification

As explained earlier administrative delay is one of the major causes of corruption. Therefore, to reduce or control corruption it is necessary to eliminate such delays. For that it is essential that office procedures should be simplified, and levels of hierarchy reduced. In the Indian situation, the persistence of archaic structures has played havoc with the developmental initiatives. After Independence the country framed an entirely new political and economic agenda, and this required new, matching structures for effective implementation, as the old administrative and legal systems clashed with the substance and spirit of the new agenda. And it is this mismatch between politico-economic agenda on the one hand and the administrative and legal structures on the other which is primarily responsible for the poor performance of the government.

Instead of the present system in which official files take rounds of several offices before a decision is taken, new pattern of decision-making, which is transparent and simple, needs to be evolved. This requires reorganisation of government departments so as to reduce from nine to four the levels through which a case is

processed (Gill, 1998). Such simplification and rationalisation is especially necessary with regard to all developmental projects in the infrastructure areas because inefficiency and corruption in these areas makes the whole socio-economic system unstable. There is need for a single-window decision system for all industrial projects, both in manufacturing and service industries. Official forms have to be brief and simple so that unnecessary complications do not hamper time-bound implementation of projects. Latest management techniques and methods need to be incorporated into the functioning of all public services and public sector projects so that their efficiency and productivity keeps up with their social obligations.

Civil Society Participation

Civil society is considered as the realm of association between the household and the state. Typically, this includes professional organisations as well as other formal and informal non-profit associations. Such associations fulfil certain functions essential for aggregating and expressing societal interests, including social integration, social participation in state governance, and promoting the democratic values. Through its many functions, civil society can create pressure for policy reform and improved governance, as well as explicitly monitor the state's actions for fighting corruption and abuse. In other words, the civil society addresses the will of the state to operate in an accountable, transparent and responsive manner.

Civil society organisations have a key role to play in combating corruption. In fact, the task of ensuring sustained political commitment, administrative accountability, and procedural simplification can be achieved more quickly if vigilant and active civil society organisations take up the responsibility of interacting with the government organisations. Civil society is, in the end, the stakeholder and the ultimate affected party of corruption and thus must be engaged constructively to get the support and buy-in for the necessary reforms. Only in this way can the necessary policy and institutional changes become viable and sustainable. Countries that are supportive and hospitable to civil society bodies-through hearing arrangements in their regulatory and legislative procedures, involving them in oversight institutions, etc, have in fact enabled the organic and internally driven evolution of policies and institutions to changes in circumstances.

In recent years a growing number of structures, institutions and associations-

outside state apparatus and profit-making businesses-have evolved in India for the joint pursuit of shared interests. Chambers of commerce, professional associations, various forms of non-governmental organisations have become players, shaping opinions, building coalitions, providing testimonies, monitoring government and enterprises. The Report Card methodology developed by the Public Affairs Center in Bangalore is an innovative instrument to track down and expose corruption in public services (Guhan & Paul, 1997). Similarly, the Common Cause in Delhi has done considerable work in the area of public interest litigation which has served the purpose of dragging corrupt officials to the courts. The *Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan* in Rajasthan has done commendable work in making public information regarding development projects in the state. Such information has served to expose instances of bureaucratic corruption.

A sustainable participatory process, extending far beyond the initial awareness-raising and mobilization stages, is crucial for the implementation of the reforms. The experience of the scorecard method mentioned above illustrates how powerful such integration can be. The periodic application of the scorecard evaluation of local public services by the citizenry (including reporting on bribery and extortion), as well as the discussion and dissemination following each survey, provides continuous support for anti-corruption efforts at the local level.

The Government of India too has now become aware of the need to integrate public policies with public participation. At a Conference of Chief Ministers of Indian States in May 1997, the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Services evolved an

> Action Plan on Effective and Responsive Administration", based on the responses and reactions from officials, experts, voluntary agencies, citizen's groups, media, etc. Among the various steps initiated in this respect, a core group was formed for the formulation and monitoring of Citizen's Charter by identified Ministries with substantial public interface. (Kashyap, 1997)

The development and use of an interactive web site by the Central Vigilance Commission since January 2000 is a positive step in the direction of keeping people informed and involved in the framing and implementation of anti-corruption strategies. Currently the Chief Vigilance Commissioner, N. Vittal, is pursuing a proactive three-point operational strategy to fight corruption in

India. The three points are (i) simplification of rules and procedures; (ii) greater transparency and empowerment of the public and (iii) effective punishment. In this strategy citizen participation has a key role. The civil society could participate in these efforts through the NGOs by bringing corrupt practices to the notice of the powers that be and also effectively help in operations like the trapping of corrupt persons or informing the CVC about the disproportionate assets of the corrupt public persons against whom raids can be undertaken by the CBI and the Income Tax Department (Vittal, 2000).

Another notable instance of citizen involvement in combating corruption is the launching of Satyagrah (non-violent protest) by S. D. Sharma, an octogenarian freedom fighter and Vice-Chairman of the Transparency International-India, against political corruption and for honest and efficient governance. Established in 1997, the Transparency International-India has been playing a significant role in fighting corruption through Gandhian methods of non-violent mass mobilization. It has now undertaken to organise 24-hour relay fast concurrently with the sessions of the parliament, to remind the government and the parliament that they have failed in their duty to the country to take effective steps for eliminating corruption from their ranks (Sharma, 2000).

India Against Corruption (IAC) was an anti-corruption movement which was particularly prominent during the anti-corruption protests of 2011 and 2012, concerned with the introduction of the Jan Lokpal bill. It primarily sought to mobilise the masses in support of their demands. Divisions amongst key members of the IAC's core committee eventually led to a split within the movement- Arvind Kejriwal left to form the Aam Aadmi Party, while Anna Hazare left to form Jantantra Morcha.

The IAC popular protest movement began in 2011. The official position of figureheads in the IAC movement was that it had no formal organisation beyond a 24-member core committee. In 2011, the organisers of IAC determined to launch a campaign to mobilise the masses in support of a demand-the creation of a Lokpal (ombudsman) who would have powers to arrest and charge government officials accused of corruption., that they hoped would help to bring about a corruption-free India.

The campaign gained strength through social media, building a massive network of supporters. Initially, they approached Ramdev, a popular yoga guru to be the figurehead for this campaign but his connections to the right-wing

Sangh Parivar threatened to damage the credibility of what was perceived as an apolitical movement. This led to him being replaced by Anna Hazare, a veteran social reformer. Hazare, too, brought a large support base with him, described by Meera Nanda as being largely "from urban middle-classes and idealistic youth" (2011, pp. xxii-xxiii). The urban sophistication of Hazare, compared to Ramdev's rusticity, attracted high-profile support for the campaign from Bollywood stars, the internet-savvy, and mainstream English-language news media.

Some scholars saw similarity between the Hazare-led IAC campaign and campaigns of the 1970s-spearheaded by Jayaprakash Narayan. The significant difference was that rather than using conventional means of political mobilisation, IAC mainly thrived on the private electronic and social media, supplemented by mass congregation in cities.

A participatory process involving citizens in the formulation and monitoring of anti-corruption strategies is thus taking roots in India. As more and more civil society organisations become involved in this process and take steps to both formulate and implement anti-corruption strategies it can be expected that in the coming years efforts to combat corruption should yield positive results.

4.   Lessons from Latin America

A recent survey by the Transparency International for Latin America and the Caribbean has shown that corruption is on the rise in Latin America. In Brazil, Peru, Chile and Venezuela three quarters or more of respondents said that corruption was on the rise. This compared with only two in five people in Argentina and Guatemala who said the same.

The survey showed that like in most developing countries, police and politicians were seen as the most corrupt. Nearly a half of respondents said that most or all police and politicians were corrupt, which was higher than any other institution. People living in Venezuela were the most likely to call the police highly corrupt, and in Paraguay, citizens were the most likely to say that their elected representatives were highly corrupt.

The survey also showed that governments in Latin America were doing badly in combating corruption. More than a half of people said that their government was doing badly at fighting corruption. Only 35 per cent said that their government was doing well. People in Venezuela and Peru were the most likely to rate their government badly – around three quarters of respondents gave a

negative rating of their government's performance. This contrasts with only around a quarter of people in Guatemala who said that their government was doing a bad job.

Nearly a third of public service users have paid a bribe in Latin America and the Caribbean. People in Mexico and the Dominican Republic were the most likely to say that they had paid a bribe when they had accessed basic public services in recent times. Bribery rates were much lower in Trinidad and Tobago where only 6 per cent of people had paid a bribe when accessing basic services. Bribery risks are highest for healthcare and schools in Latin America and the Caribbean. Around one in five people who came into contact with public hospitals and public schools had to pay a bribe. These were the highest of the six services surveyed in the report.

What appears most shocking in this report and indicates deep rooted corruption is that few report corruption and those who do suffer from retaliation. Only 9 per cent of bribe payers in the survey actually came forward and reported it to the authorities. Of those who did report it, 28 per cent suffered negative consequences as a result. At the same time seven in ten in Latin America and the Caribbean stand ready to support anti-corruption efforts. The majority said that ordinary people could make a difference in the fight against corruption. People in Brazil were the most likely to feel empowered to fight corruption, followed closely by Costa Rica and Paraguay (Transparency International, 2017, p. 6).

Civil Society activism in Brazil is evident from the recent protests and removal from office of President Dilma Rouseff on charges of large-scale corruption. Since 2014, Brazil has been rocked by the largest corruption scandal in its history, the ramifications of which are still on going. Over the course of the investigation – known as Operation Carwash – prosecutors uncovered a huge bribery scheme, which implicated dozens of politicians and executives, and has so far led to 282 people being criminally charged and 165 convictions totaling more than 1,634 years of jail time.

Implicated in the scandal, construction company Odebrecht admitted paying billions in kick-backs to officials running the state-owned oil company Petrobras and in a landmark decision in April 2017, the company was ordered by the courts to pay a US$2.6 billion fine to Brazil, Switzerland and the US. The federal prosecutors for Operation Carwash, started a national campaign, "10 measures against corruption", which called on the Brazilian government to

increase the powers of law enforcement to investigate and prosecute corruption, and ensure that diverted public funds are returned (Transparency International, 2017, p. 12).

Based on the key findings from its survey and its experience and knowledge of the region, the Transparency International made the following recommendations: The first recommendation of the report was to strengthen law enforcement and justice institutions. For that governments should invest in measures to strengthen access to justice and the rule of law, by ensuring an objective and transparent process for appointing judges, protections for judicial salaries and working conditions, and transparent criteria for case assignment. Governments should strengthen the institutions involved in the detection, investigation and prosecution of corruption-related crimes. Governments should consider making court decisions available online to allow civil society, the media and citizens to scrutinise and compare verdicts. To clean up the police governments should strengthen police investigative capacity with specialised intelligence techniques, reinforce internal disciplinary measures and establish permanent accountability mechanisms and integrity management systems across the institution.

The report also recommended that in the fight against corruption, governments should involve civil society as a part of their efforts to fight corruption. This would increase the credibility of these efforts. Governments should create a safe and enabling environment for the involvement of civil society and the media in anti-corruption efforts, including their de jure and de facto operational and physical freedom. Governments should enable civic engagement in monitoring and reporting corruption in government by effectively implementing access to information laws.

Finally, the report recommended that to protect whistleblowers governments should create accessible, anonymous, reporting channels for whistleblowers, which meaningfully protect them from all forms of retaliation. Authorities and employers should ensure that any act of reprisal for, or interference with, a whistleblower's disclosure should be considered misconduct, and the perpetrators must be subject to employment/ professional sanctions and civil penalties. Government legislation should ensure that whistleblowers whose lives or safety are in jeopardy, and their family members, should be entitled to receive personal protection measures (Transparency International, 2017, p. 7).

5. Conclusion

The above report from Transparency International shows that there is a much better grasp today of the extent to which corruption is a symptom of fundamental institutional weaknesses. Instead of tackling such a symptom with narrow intervention designed to "eliminate" it, increasingly it is understood that the approach ought to address a broad set of fundamental institutional determinants. However, the challenge of integrating this understanding with participatory process has barely begun. The implementation of institutional reforms can benefit significantly from the participatory process that is being developed for anti-corruption activities. Equally important, any participatory process, however sophisticated, ought to lead to concrete results beyond enhanced participation and heightened awareness.

The lessons from Latin America show that identifying key institutional reforms in India, and mobilizing support for such reforms, needs to be fully integrated into the participatory process from very early on. Such early convergence is likely to promote a better balance between prevention and enforcement measures in addressing corruption. Until recently, the pendulum was firmly in the "enforcement" corner. The gradual swing towards middle ground has taken place due to recognition of the limitations of ex post legalistic enforcement measures, since rule of law institutions themselves are currently part of the corruption problem in India.

References

Ades, A., & Tella, R. (1996). The causes and consequences of corruption: A review of recent empirical contributions. *IDS Bulletin, 27*(2), 6-11.

Alam, M. S. (1991). Some economic costs of corruption in LDCs. *Journal of Development Studies,27*, 89-97.

All India Reporter (AIR).(2000). SC 870 State of Madhya Pradesh v. Shri Ram Singh, 873

Bardhan,P.(1997). Corruption and development: A review of issues. *Journal of Economic Literature,35,* 1320-1346.

Coolidge, J.,& Ackerman, S. R. (1997). *High level rent-seeking and corruption in African regimes: Theory and cases.* Washington D.C.: World Bank.

Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances, India. (1997). *Action plan for an effective and responsive government.* New Delhi: Ministry of Personnel and Public Grievances.

Doig, A., & Theobold, R. (1999). *Corruption and democratization*. London: Frank Cass.

Elliot, K. (Ed.). (1997). *Corruption and global economy*. Washington DC: Institute of International Economics.

Forbes. Where is Vijay Mallya? March 9, 2016.

Gill, S.S. (1998). *The pathology of corruption*. New Delhi: Harper Collins.

Girling, J. (1997). *Corruption, capitalism and democracy*. London: Routledge.

Government of India. (1951). *Public administration committee report*. Delhi: Planning Commission.

Government of India. (1964). *Committee on prevention of corruption report*. Delhi: Controller of Publications.

Government of India. (1978). *Shah commission of enquiry report*. Delhi: Controller of Publications.

Government of India. (1993). *Committee to enquire into the securities transactions of the banks and financial institutions: Interim report* (1992-93). Bombay: Reserve Bank of India.

Government of India. (1995). *Railway corruption enquiry committee report*. Delhi: Government of India.

Government of India. (1995). *Committee to take stock of all information about the activities of the crime syndicates/mafia organisations report*. New Delhi: Ministry of Home Affairs.

Guhan, S. & Paul, S.(Eds.). (1997). *Corruption in India: Agenda for action*. New Delhi: Vision Books.

Heidenheimer, A. J. (1989). *Political corruption: A handbook*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Human Development Center. (1999). *Human development in South Asia*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Jain, A.K., (Ed.). (1998). *Economics of corruption*. New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kashyap, S.C., (Ed.).(1997). *Crime and corruption to good governance*. New Delhi: Uppal.

Kaufman, D., & Sachs. J. (1998). *Determinants of corruption*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kaufman, D., Pradhan, S., & Ryterman. R. (1998). *New frontiers in anti-corruption empirical diagnostics* (Working paper). World Bank Economic Development Institute.

Klitgaard, R. (1988). *Controlling corruption*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Langseth, P., Stapenurst, R., & Pope, J. (1997). *The role of a national integrity system in fighting corruption (Working Paper)*. World Bank Economic Development Institute.

Martin, R., & Feldman, E. (1998). *Access to in formation in the developing countries* (Working Paper). Transparency International, Berlin.

Moody-Stuart, G. (1994). *Grand corruption in third world development*. Transparency International, Berlin.

Nanda, Meera (2011). *The God market: How globalization is making India more hindu*. New York: NYU Press. pp. xxii–xxiii

Noorani, A.G.(1973). *Minister's misconduct*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Pavarale, V.(1996). *Interpreting corruption: Elite perspectives in India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Quah, J.T. (1982). Bureaucratic corruption in the ASEAN countries: A comparative analysis of their anti-corruption strategies. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,13*(1) 153-177.

Ramakrishna, P.V. (1998). *Anti-corruption laws in India*. Hyderabad: S. Gogia.

Sharma, S.D. Personal Interview, July 2000.

Shleifer, A.,& Vishnay,R. (Eds.). (1998). *The grabbing hand: Government pathologies and their cures*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Stapenurst, R., & Kpundeh, S. (Eds.). (1998). *Curbing corruption*. Washington DC: World Bank Economic Development Institute.

Tanzi, V. (1994). *Corruption, governmental activities and markets*. (Working Paper). IMF.

Trang, D. V. (Ed.). (1994). *Corruption and democracy*. Budapest: Institute for Constitutional Legislative Policy.

Transparency International Report. (1995). *Building a global coalition against corruption*. Berlin: Transparency International.

Transparency International. (1997). *People and corruption: Latin America and the Caribbean*. Berlin: Transparency International.

Transparency International. (1998). *The TI source book*. Berlin: Transparency International.

Transparency International. (1999). OSIRIS: On-line source for information and research of integrity systems. Retrieved from http://www.transparency.de

Transparency International. (2017). *Corruption perception index 2016*. Berlin: Transparency International.

Vishvanathan, S., & Sethi, H. (Eds). (1997). *Foul play: Chronicles of corruption, 1947-97*. New Delhi: Business India.

Vittal, N. (1999). Applying zero tolerance to corruption. Retrieved from http://cvc.nic.in

Vittal, N. Personal Interview, June 2000.

World Bank. (1997). *Helping developing countries combat corruption: The role of the World Bank*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Revisiting Thoreau: Nature and Natural in the Literary Imagination

Aditya Premdeep

Abstract

Thoreau's corpus of writings celebrates nature and the natural. Nature, for Thoreau, is a spiritual vehicle and a living entity. He considers "man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of Nature, rather than a member of society" (2000, p. 627). As a foundational text for environmentalism and ecocriticism, Thoreau's *Walden* (1854) accentuates the importance of nature as an inalienable entity for the human existence. His influential essay "Walking" (1862) demonstrates the significance of nature for the "physical, mental, and spiritual" well-being of human beings. Another essay "Paradise (to be) Regained" (1843) critiques the technological advancement at the cost of nature and manipulation of the natural ecosystem. This paper seeks to locate nature and the natural in the literary imagination of Thoreau's three influential texts *Walden*, "Walking", and "Paradise (to be) Regained".

Keywords: Thoreau, Nature-writing, Ecocriticism, Walden, Transcendentalism

Ecocriticism or the branch of literary criticism that examines the relationship between human beings and nature was formally established in 1970s. However, its original impetus had already been provided in the latter half of the 19th century by Henry David Thoreau (1817 - 1862). In 1857, reflecting on his theoretical position on environment justice he wrote in a journal: "true art is but the expression of our love of nature"(p. 460). His oeuvre and life philosophy constitute the foundational moment for the environmental awareness and ecocriticism. His corpus of writings celebrates nature and the

natural landscape. The theorization of his first-hand experiences and empirical observations of nature and the wilderness near Walden Pond provides the theoretical framework for environmental criticism.

In this paper I will locate nature and the natural in the literary imagination of Thoreau's three influential texts *Walden* (1854), "Walking" (1862), and "Paradise (to be) Regained" (1843). Besides, I will also examine the ways his writings intersect with ecocriticism and environmentalism and enrich our understanding of environmental justice.

Thoreau's environmental position challenges the conventional anthropocentricism that defines man's relationship with nature. Anthropocentricism legitimizes the human beings' exploitation of nature and animals as it believes that man is God's image, he is not part of the nature, rather all the animals and nature have been part of God's design to serve man's purpose and needs (White, p. 9). For instance, Lynn White, Jr. argues that our environmental catastrophe is rooted in anthropocentricism, "an ethic that makes human interests central" and legitimizes man's dominance over nature and the animals (Hiltner, p. 2). However, Thoreau contests this hypothesis. His seminal text *Walden* subverts the anthropocentric tradition of the West and the account of his two years and two months stay in the forest near the Concord Pond redefines the relationship between nature and man. Nature and animals for Thoreau are not subservient to human beings rather they are inalienable entities for the human existence. As he writes: I wish to speak a word for Nature, for absolute freedom and wilderness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil, - to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of the Nature, rather than a member of society ("Walking", p. 161).

Similarly, Thoreau's theorization of his lived experiences of his two years and two months stay in forests near the Concord Pond problematizes the conventional understanding of wilderness and forests. Conventionally, forest and wilderness have been defined in demonic terms to human beings. Civilized society has considered wilderness and forests as alien places, as antithesis to human settlements. However, this demonization has been a late construction. For instance, Ken Hiltner argues that since the medieval period "forests were generally imagined as dark and foreboding places, the home of wild animals and criminals" and "dangerous places, inhabited by very dangerous people outside the reach of law" (p. xiv). However, Thoreau rejects this demonic construction of the nature. He repetitively argues that "wild places, like forest

and mountains" are "sublime and precious" (Hiltner, p. xiv). For instance, *Walden* describes the forests and wilderness as appealing and welcoming. Besides, he defines wilderness not as antithetical to the concept of beauty rather than in terms of the beautiful. As he writes, "all good things are wild and free" ("Walking", p. 197). Also, he is against the taming of the tigers and tanning of the animals and believes that the wild nature of the animals must not be tempered with as it amounts to gross interference into the natural design of the providence. He writes, "it is not the part of a true culture to tame tigers, any more than it is to make sheep ferocious; and tanning their skins for shoes is not the best use to which they can be put" ("Walking", p. 199). Thus he sees other creatures of the earth as indispensable and valuable members of nature rather than subservient creatures to human beings.

Moreover, Thoreau's environmental justice accentuates the "regenerative power" of the wilderness and forests. (Marx, p. 377) For instance, his expedition in the forests near the Walden Pond signifies his pursuit for the restoration and possession of his purity that seems to have been adulterated during the social occupation. Sherman Paul writes,

> Walden was Thoreau's quest for a reality he lost, and for this reason it was a quest for purity. Purity meant a return to the spring (and springtime) of life, to the golden age of his youth and active senses, when the mirror of his self was not clouded by self-consciousness. (p. 353)

Furthermore, Thoreau's understanding of nature personifies nature as a divine embodiment. Nature, for Thoreau is a living entity, a spiritual vehicle that leads heavenwards. According to him, "Nature has from the first expanded the minute blossoms of the forest only toward the heavens, above men's heads and unobserved by them" ("Waking", p. 211). Thoreau finds a causal connection between the environmental landscape and the intellectual health of the human beings and attributes the loss of the pristine nature of man to his alienation from the nature. Pristine woodland provides the inhabitants the pristine occupations and here man is more congenial both to other men and other species.

> For I believe that climate does thus react on man—as there is something in the mountain air that feeds the spirit and inspires. Will not man grow to greater perfection intellectually as well as physically under these influences? … I trust that we shall be more imaginative, that our thoughts

> will be clearer, fresher, and more ethereal, as our sky—our understanding more comprehensive and broader, like our plains—our intellect generally on a grander scale. ("Walking", pp. 182-183)

This view of Thoreau invokes another seminal concept in environmental concerns that is animism. Actually, animism has several connotations and as a terminology it was devised by anthropologist E. B. Tylor. Tylor's conception of animism "summarizes his definition of religion as "belief in spiritual beings'"". His usage of the term denotes a "theory of religion". (Chidester, p. 78) However, in its other application the term is referred to primitive and indigenous religions that believe that human beings share this world with all other living and non-living entities and they possess spirit. This view has been asserted by many indigenous tribes who worship nature or at least project nature as a part of the Providence. In other words, its essence rests on the philosophy that "all that exists lives" and "all that lives is holy". Animism in this sense of the term is antithetical to the idea of anthropocentricism. While primitive religions have been founded on animism, the institutionalized religious are considered to be anthropocentrism. That is why his view of animism is sometimes used by critics to compare the institutionalized religions with the primitive belief system of religion for understanding the alarming environmental disaster in the modern age (Encyclopedia, p. 81). Thoreau's environmental justice also reflects that natural objects possess spirit and their existence must be protected.

Remarkably, Thoreau's occupation in the forests and wilderness profoundly shaped his moral philosophy. He moved in the forests near Walden Pond on July 4, 1845 and lived an ascetic life for two years, two months, and two days. However, his position on the abolition of slavery, war, and the civil government was profoundly informed by this expedition. For example, he delivered his influential essay "Resistance to Civil Government" on January 26, 1848, a year after his expedition in the forests. Besides, he delivered another lecture against the re-enslavement of Anthony Burns on July 4, 1854, which was later published as "Slavery in Massachusetts" and became more voracious for the abolition of slavery.

Walden affirms that wilderness and forests stand for innocence and incorruptibility. Man and his worldly affairs such as religious and political affiliations, agricultural and commercial interests and ambitions have little space in the pristine woodland ("Walking", p.170). Besides, it attributes the

retreat to the wilderness and forests to the restoration of wellness and happiness. For instance, walking for Thoreau is not just a physical exercise, it's a kind a spiritual expedition that gives the walker the opportunity to immerse in the nature. He writes, "For every walk is a sort of crusade, preached by some Peter the Hermit in us, to go forth and reconquer this Holy Land" ("Walking" p. 162). Furthermore, immersing in nature embodies a sort of salvation from the worldly affairs because it bestows freedom, independence, and leisure and it "comes only by the grace of God" ("Walking", p. 163). Thoreau's spiritual signification of walking echoes the importance of walking in Jainism, in which, walking is one of the chief prerequisites for attaining moksha.

Conversely, nature has some divine retributions too when it is tampered with. Natural calamities signify man's misadventures with the nature providence.

> Every gazette brings accounts of the untutored freaks of the wind, - shipwrecks and hurricanes which the mariner and planter accept as special or general providences; but they touch our consciences, they remind us of our sins. Another deluge would disgrace mankind. ("Paradise"p. 452)

Thus, *Walden* provides juxtaposition of his lived experiences both in the society and in the forests and wilderness. Another influential essay "Walking" demonstrates the significance of nature for human beings' physical, mental, and spiritual well-being. It suggests that the presence of the birds and animals have significant bearing on the moral health of the society. A vanished or absent natural landscape has polluting and corrupting effects on the intellectual terrain and wisdom of the human beings ("Walking"p. 182). He goes on to say,

> We are accustomed to say in New England that few and fewer pigeons visit us every year. Our forests furnish no mast for them. So, it would seem, few and fewer thoughts visit each growing man from year to year, for the grove in our minds is laid waste—sold to feed unnecessary fires of ambition or sent to mill—and there is scarcely a twig left for them to perch on. ("Walking", p. 209)

Furthermore, it also underscores human beings' lack of appreciation of nature and the natural landscape and reflects on the alarming shrinking of forests and degradation of the natural ecosystem. "Nature is a personality so vast and universal that we have never seen one of her features" ("Walking", p. 207). It

rebukes the infringement of wilderness for the human settlements and growing industrialization at the cost of the pristine woodland. For instance, Thoreau writes that human progress that comes at "the building of houses and the cutting down of the forest and of all large trees, simply deform the landscape, and make it more and more tame and cheap" ("Walking", p. 169).

Thoreau's worldview on environment was heavily influenced by the transcendentalist movement. Transcendentalism as an intellectual and philosophical movement began in the first half of the nineteenth century and was influenced by the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Along with Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Amos Bronson Alcott, Theodore Parker, and Frederic Henry Hedge, Henry David Thoreau was one of the prominent figures in the movement. Inspired by German Romanticism and criticism of institutionalized religion it was an anti-establishment movement that sought to reform the contemporary American society. It also attempted to redefine man's relation to the universe and therefore, man's relation to nature (Transcendentalism). According to Emerson, the transcendentalists wanted to redefine society through "an original relation to the universe"(p. 3). Therefore, they questioned society's law and morality and were highly critical of slavery, racism, and the materialistic society. Heavily influenced by transcendentalism, Thoreau also experimented with transcendentalist maxis in his day to day life (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). It is important to remember that Thoreau's seminal text "Resistance to Civil Government" was written at this high time of transcendentalist movement. He also started several experimentations at this time. He found solitude and refuge in forests, embarked on expeditions and excursions in the natural landscape, and wrote and spoke against slavery. In 1839, Thoreau embarked on an excursion to Concord, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire with his brother John. The narrative account of this journey has been expressed in his book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849). Interestingly, they set on the voyage in a self-made boat. The boat, fifteen feet long was made in just one week (McPhee, p. ix). The trip went for two weeks that gave Thoreau opportunity to mediate on earthly issues. He contrasts his own occupation in nature with the functioning of the contemporary society. It reflects upon nature's bounty and magnificence and human beings' ignorance about it. He writes,

> It is worth the while to make a voyage up this stream, if you go no farther than Sudbury, only to see how much country there is in the rear of us;

> great hills, and a hundred brooks, and farm-houses, and barns, and haystacks, you never saw before, and men everywhere, Sudbury, that is Southborough men, and Wayland, and Nine-Acre-Corner men, and Bound Rock, where four towns bound on a rock in the river, Lincoln, Wayland, Sudbury, Concord. (*Week,* p. 9)

As a transcendentalist, Thoreau's philosophy is shaped by his appreciation and precedence of nature over the manufactured landscape. For instance, written as a review of J. A. Etzler's celebrated book, *The Paradise within the Reach of all Men, without Labor, by Powers of Nature and Machinery: An Address to all intelligent men, in two parts* (1842) Thoreau's treatise "Paradise (to be) Regained" critiques human beings' technological advancement at the cost of the nature and manipulating the natural ecosystem for their own desires. Etzler's technological utopian text proposes to create a paradise on earth by embarking on the technological exploitation of natural resources.

Etzler envisages a completely mechanized society where everything will be abundantly available to everyone with least of labor and endeavor. Most importantly, the natural ecosystem such as lakes, rivers, and mountains, would be transformed to suit the need of human beings. For he writes,

> "I promise to show the means of creating within ten years, where everything desirable for human life may be had by every man in superabundance, without labor, and without pay", thus he proposes a world where "Mankind may thus live in and enjoy a new world, far superior to the present, and raise themselves far higher in the scale of being." ("Paradise", p. 451)

However, Thoreau sees his proposition morally and ethically unviable as it embarks on the abuse of nature and the natural. For he believes, that though Etzler's futuristic mechanized world seems promising, it comes at the expense of the natural order of the earth. Although, Thoreau is not averse to creating a prosperous society, his means of accomplishing this end is exactly the opposite to that of Etzler. Etzler argues that in order to create a paradise on the earth first the natural ecosystem and surroundings must be reformed and renovated to suit the human beings' comforts and desires. Thoreau, on the other hand, believes that a perfect and prosperous world could only be created when first human beings are reformed. For example, he writes,

> One says he will reform himself, and then nature and circumstances will

be right. Let us not obstruct ourselves, for that is the greatest friction. It is of little importance though a cloud obstruct[s] the view of the astronomer compared with his own blindness. The other will reform nature and circumstances, and then man will be right. ("Paradise"pp. 451-452)

Thus, Thoreau claims that paradise on the earth can be created only when nature is restored to itself. However, abuse of the nature has only prevented it from realizing this aspiration. For instance, he writes,

At present the globe goes with a shattered constitution in its orbit. Has it not asthma, and ague, and fever, and dropsy, and flatulence, and pleurisy, and is it not afflicted with vermin? Has it not its healthful laws counteracted, and its energy which will yet redeem it? No doubt the simple powers of nature, properly directed by man, would make it healthy and paradise; as the laws of man's own constitution but wait to be obeyed, to restore him to health and happiness. Our panaceas cure but few ails, our general hospitals are private and exclusive. ("Paradise", p. 452)

To conclude, Thoreau's oeuvre celebrates the natural and ecological terrain. The theorization of his experience of the nature and the natural redefines the relationship between the human beings and the nature that intersects with the concerns of the environmental criticism. He problematises the conventional understanding of the nature and considers wilderness and forests as divine, appealing, and part of the providence. Besides, he voices his concerns over the shrinking natural landscape and human beings' alienation from the forests and wilderness, and the consequences of man's material and technological advancement at the cost of the naturall and scape. Thus, his writing outlines the theoretical framework that constitutes the foundational moment for the environmental criticism.

References

Chidester, D. (2005). Animism: A Contemporary Perspective. In B. Taylor (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* (pp. 81-83). London & New York: Continuum.

Emerson, R. W. (1990). *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. R. Poirier (Ed.). London & New York: Oxford University Press.

Hiltner, K. (2015). *Ecocriticism: The essential reader*. London & New York: Routledge.

Marx, L. (1992). Walden as Transcendental Pastoral Design. In W. Rossi (Ed.), *Walden and resistance to civil government* (pp. 373-90). New York: W. W. Norton

McPhee, J. (2004). Introduction. In C. F. Hovde, W. L. Howarth, & E. H. Witherell. (Eds.). *A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* by H.D.Thoreau (pp.ix-xlvi). Princeton: Princeton University Press

Searls, D. (2009). Introduction. *The Journal of Henry David Thoreau, 1837-1861.* (pp. xiii-xxiii). New York: New York Review Books.

Sherman, P. (1992). Resolution at Walden. In W. Rossi (Ed.), *Walden and resistance to civil government.* (pp. 349-359).New York: W. W. Norton.

Taylor, B. (2005). *Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature.* London & New York: Continuum.

Thoreau, H.D. (1849). *A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.* USA: James Munroe and Company.

Thoreau, H.D. (1843). "Paradise (to be) Regained". *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review,* XII (LXV), 451-462.

Thoreau, H.D. (1962). "Walking". *Excursions.* New York: Corinth Books.

Thoreau, H.D. (2000). *Walden and other writings.* New York: Random House, Inc.

Transcendentalism. (n.d.) In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/transcendentalism/.

White, L. (1996). The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis. In *The ecocriticism reader: Landmarks in literary ecology* (pp. 3-14). Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Pt. DeenDayal Upadhyaya: Democracy and Role of Political Parties

Sanjay Kumar Agrawal & Akshay Mishra

Abstract

Democracy is a theory of society and not a theory of governance. A democratic government is the product of democratic society and not vice-versa. We may define democracy as the organization of society for liberty and equality, through the spirit of fellowship or fraternity, as well as the right to participate in political decision making. Participation and control of governance by people is the essence of democracy which is a constantly moving dynamic force and which impels us towards a social organisation in which every individual member shall have equal opportunity to develop holistically.

Pt. DeenDayalUpadhaya's views on democracy and the role of political party is relevant in contemporary India as it was in past. He wanted to decolonise Indian political thought which was largely as he said, "A western political picture in the Indian background". He strongly argued against the left-right division as being detrimental to the growth of the constructive, transformative pro-people democracy which is the part of his "Swayambhu philosophy" which contains the celebrated Integral Humanism. He argued that this left-right categorisation does not give a correct idea of politics in India because many programmes of these political parties defy any classification on this orthodox basis. He wanted to wash out this distinction from political parties which hamper the transformation of India into New India in a more democratic fashion. According to him, politics must be controlled by the masses and not by the wealthy. Neo liberalism has challenged democracies to ensure they do not become beholden to corporate interest. DeenDayal cautioned that "if steps are not taken to mend them, powerful lobbies will emerge in the country's

legislature and political decision will hardly be taken in an objective manner". Taking into consideration the welfare of people and promotion of national interest, this paper will focus on the feasibility of practising the concept of Integral Humanism in a democracy, highlighting the importance of it in contemporary issues of policy making and implementation through a more democratic, accountable and participative manner.

Keywords: Democracy, Integral Humanism, Policy making, Governance

Introduction

This research paper focuses on the views of Pandit DeenDayal Upadhyaya on various dimensions of the social, political, and economic life of India keeping in mind the role of political parties in a democracy which got freedom from the tyrannical rule of British empire in 1947. His views reflect a critique of colonial hangover and demand the absolute transformation in every aspect to forge a New India which can overcome the socio-economic injustice done in the past. His views are influenced by the Advait philosophy of Shankracharya and are in consonance with the Absolutist (maximum good for all) wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi[1].

His ideals recognise the theory of Purusharth that is *Dharma, Arth, Kaam, Moksha* (the four essentials in human life) central to the theory of integral humanism which is totally indigenous and ingenious, based on the ancient cultural foundation with a vision of creating a New India with Indian values and modern technology, a secular society with a flavour of multi religious-cultural-linguistic tastes.

Democracy is one of the best forms of government and is enhanced when complemented with conscious citizenry, awakened masses, responsive governance, transparent administration, accountable functionary, predictive and participatory procedure. The complete package of good governance was delivered by Pandit DeenDayal by forecasting his views in a systemic manner which had the potential of transforming India to realise its true potential. This paper, in a phased manner will focus on DeenDayal's views on democracy; its various components-socio-economic, politico-administrative,the impact of his philosophy on democracy, and will also highlight the areas of concern which need the ideological support of Pandit DeenDayal, like issues related to environment, decentralisation, ethics in politics and the recent steps taken by the government to realise the wisdom of Pandit DeenDayal.

Pandit DeenDayal - Integral Humanism

Pandit DeenDayal, the master practitioner of integral humanism focused on the holistic, overarching and all-encompassing approach for development of individual, society, nation and global peace thus recognising the ancient Indian philosophy of *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam* and presented the integrated approach of body, mind, intellect and soul. His integral humanism has integrated not only *Advait* philosophy but also components of Buddhist and Jain philosophy like incorporation of right faith, right conduct, and right knowledge and is heavily inspired by Gandhi's village republic and decentralised conscious living. Thus integral humanism in this sense is also integral as it encompasses in it, the Indian value system derived from all religions, sects, cultures hence enables it to be a part of democratic discourse as it realises the very aspiration of the preamble to the constitution of India i.e.

> WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens
>
> JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
>
> LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
>
> EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all
>
> FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation. (Baruah, p. 3)

After having set the above discourse, it is appropriate to conclude that Dharma according to DeenDayal is not religion but Integral Humanism. He believes that Dharma is the guiding principle of the state. Dharma is distinct from religion; it is the moral compass of the government, it is the guiding norm of the State, it is the torch bearer of humanity, social justice, integrity, love and compassion. Dharma of DeenDayal acts as the bridge between the walls created by the fundamentalist and orthodox pathology of religion. Instead of borrowing from western philosophy, DeenDayal insisted that the Indian system is a testimony to the fact that doctored and dictated philosophy that do not share the cultural identity is bound to fail in India as witnessed in various programmes followed by the Indian government post-independence, for example, the Community Development plan, National Extension plan, Area Development plan etc. The limited success of these plans are the fruit of colonial mind-set and its

hangover not only on the then government but also on the bureaucracy which treated citizens merely as the user of service and had not recognised the

is itself equivalent to the worship of God so, in any duties performed to fulfil Swadharma, the question of high and low, dignified or undignified does not arise at all. If the duty is done without selfishness, no blame attaches itself to the doer (Bhishikar, p. 166)

Pandit DeenDayal on Tolerance

Tolerance was one of the foundation stones of Panditji's philosophy that also conforms to the ideals of democracy as he mentioned in his speeches, that Vedic Sabha and Samities were organised on the basis of democracy; the free, frank and fair discussion held, consensus arrived and collective implementation of policies, plans and programmes and conflict resolution occurred. His famous statement, "I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it" is often presented as a summary of Voltaire's political views, the cognisance of such a level of freedom of expression and speech that it guaranteed under Article 19 of the Indian Constitution bears testimony to the fact that rising centrality in union government, curbing political spaces for masses, concentration of power, autocracy, public neglect and civic apathy had become the narrative of that time and runs antithetical to both the principle of Democracy and Pandit DeenDayal.

According to him, Indian culture goes beyond this and he views democratic discussion, discourse, deliberation as a key for resolution of any conflict in an integrated manner rather than domination by powerful segments or compromise that leaves the element of resurrection in it. Tolerance to him is an integrated approach of Mind, Body, Heart and Soul that can't be legislated. Tolerance comes from a strong internal locus of control that prevents a person from going astray in society, tolerance which bears to constitutional values like right against untouchability, right to educational minority, that is respecting the overall diversity as Gandhiji said, "If you cannot cherish the diversity you can't wish to have unity".

For Panditji, tolerance is the essential force that is necessary for performing the fundamental duties which is in turn important to cherish fundamental rights for all around development of society, realising the notion of "*Bahujan Sukhaya-Bahujan Hitaaye*". According to him, lack of government intervention and inept handling of situation are the reasons for public disorder which not only incur the loss of valuable human life and property but also have the institutional cost of conflict, which can have debilitating consequences for long term growth of society. Physical infrastructure can be rebuilt but the

breakdown of institution breeds cynicism and mistrust and makes it likely that conflict will recur hence leading to unremitting cycle of violence.

a union i.e. it is a uniting force which upholds the virtue of the highest order, any value of paramount importance, subordination of self-interest over national interest as the basic tenets of Dharma. His conceptualization of Dharma is not an undertaking of any particular religion but an integral approach comprising of Mind, Body, Heart and Soul together. Dharma of DeenDayal is the guiding principle of politics and personal life that begins with the right thought, which furthers the right action of a person, repeated right action becomes the behaviour, the behaviour observed over a long period of time becomes the attitude and seeps deep down into the subconscious of a person which he takes into the society. So the collective right thought will produce collective right action and hence it will create an ethical society with strong value premises as its base providing no reason what so ever for conflict. Such an ethically upright and active society was the wisdom of Pandit DeenDayal. According to him capacity building without value premises will only create ignorance and the person will often follow the path of *matsya-nyay* i.e. when the self '*jeev'* becomes more important than *para-jeev*. This *matsya-nyay* was quite evident to him in the western philosophy of capitalism and socialism which were less practical for integral humanism and runs antithetical to it. Capitalism was attacked by Pandit DeenDayal as it creates unconscious consumerism and over exploitation of resources. Such irresponsible philosophy which does not recognise sustainability and runs on profit motive only was unacceptable to him. Capitalism was disliked also because it do not recognise the legitimate and collective right of the citizens. It was viewed as an alien philosophy with the potential of arresting democracy.

Socialism which emerged as an alternative to capitalism also do not strike positively to DeenDayal as he marked that socialism failed to ensure human dignity and is antithetical to integral humanism and dharma. Since socialism recognises the individual which is accorded least preference by Dharma of DeenDayal which considers the national interest (*Janhit*) as supreme. DeenDayal differentiated monism from democracy in this respect, he differentiated socialism from dharma. Dharma is attained by conscious and awakened citizenry and for Gandhi, an awakened anarchy is the constituting force of Dharma, not just submission unto state for the sake of equity but a conscious contribution without breeding a sense of disgust and tyranny against state.

Summing up the discourse, there is space for nothing else to exist in Dharma, there is only a sense of contribution towards the state and no sense of

achievement that breeds ego. Dharma is in communion to love and compassion and in this sense Dharma is also an integral approach of DeenDayal which

Kaam, Moksha brings us closer to the Indian culture as against adopting any doctored and dictated philosophy of the West, once again proving the self-sufficiency and completeness of India in every dimension what so ever.

Endnotes

1. Parel, Anthony J(Ed.),1997, Hind swaraj and other writings, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi.
2. Rivka Witenberg (2000) Do Unto Others: Toward Understanding Racial Tolerance and Acceptance, Journal of College and Character, 1:5, DOI: 10.2202/1940-1639.1283

References

Aboud, F. E. (1993). A fifth grade program to reduce prejudice. In I K. McLeod. (Ed.), *Multicultural education: The state of the art national study report no.1* (pp 20-28). Toronto University of Toronto, Faculty of Education.

Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of freedom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Barauh, A. (2007). *Preamble of the constitution of India*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications Pvt. Limited.

Bhishikar, C.P. (2014). *Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay- Ideology & perception Part - 5: Concept of the rashtra* (2nd ed.). (Y.Kelkar, Trans.). New Delhi: Suruchi Prakashan.

Durga, Basu Das. (2014). *Introduction to the constitution of India*. New Delhi: Lexis Nexis.

Fadia , B.L. (2009). *Indian government and politics*. New Delhi: Sahitya Bhawan.

Government of India, 12th Plan, 2012-2017.

Government of India, Economic Survey, 2015-16.

Government of India, Economic Survey, 2016-17.

Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind*. New York: Penguin Random.

Hoffman, J. (1995). *Beyond the state*. United Kingdom: Polity Press.

IGNOU Study material, *State politics in India* (MPSE-008), 2005.

Kartikayan, M. (2015). *Ethics and aptitude*. New Delhi: Mc-Graw Hills, New Delhi.

Kaviraj, S. (2006). Crisis of the nation-state in India. *Political Studies, 42,* 115-129.

Parel, Anthony J. (Ed.).(1997).*Hind swaraj and other writings*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Rawls, J. (1971). *Theory of justice*. Oxford: Oxford Publishing House.

Sen, A. (1999). Development as freedom. Oxford: Oxford Publishing House.

Sanjay Kumar Agrawal & Akshay Mishra

Remembering Social Reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Perspective on Women

Prabira Sethy & Raj Kumar

Abstract

This paper attempts to develop an explanation for women's unequal position in society keeping in mind Raja Ram Mohan Roy's views on women's right to property. It appears that he saw gender inequalities to be a consequence of the denial of rights to women. Accordingly, it also focuses on how increase in polygamy made the plight of women more dreadful leading them to either commit Sati or otherwise opt for deplorable widowhood. It also deals with other areas of women's concern - such as widow remarriage, female education, female infanticide, respect for women, etc.

Keywords: Social Reform, Women, Gender inequalities, Nationalism

> … To give a daughter in marriage to an unworthy man on account of his rank or future or other such consideration is a deed of mean and immoral example. Is the union to be therefore considered invalid and their children illegitimate…? *Raja Ram Mohan Roy*

Life sketch

A man of charisma and determination, Raja Ram Mohan Roy is considered as the 'father of modern Indian political thought'. He was the real hero of 19th century India who laid the foundation of modern India. He was born in a small village, named Radha Nagar in Hugli district of West Bengal on 22 May 1772 in a high ranking and orthodox Brahmin family. His father Ramkanto Roy was a modest Brahmin *Zamindar* and had the distinction of serving the imperial Mughals for three generations. His great-grand father, Krishna Chandra Banerjee was a servant under the then Bengal Nawab. He was given the title of 'Roy' for his good services. Since then, 'Roy' replaced 'Banerjee' as the title of his

family (Nanda, 1994, p. 24). Ram Mohan was given the title of 'Raja' by the titular Mughal Emperor of Delhi, Akbar II, whose grievances the former was to present before the British king (Pantham, 1986, p. 34). He learned more than ten languages including Urdu, Hindi, Bangla, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English, French, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. His mastery over so many languages reflects his massive intellect. He was a great scholar of comparative religion and the freedom of Bengali prose literature & Bengali Journalism. Ray first entered the service of Europeans in the year 1803 as *Munshi* (private secretary) to the collector of Murshidabad, Thomas Woodforde. In 1809, he took up a job in the Revenue Department of East India Company. During this period (1809-1814), he learnt English. Roy had a critical mind and vast intellect and was a religious encyclopaedist (Das, 2005, p. 87). He provided a rational outlook to the science of theology. Roy was a prolific writer and it is important to note that between 1814-1833, he authored more than 60 tracts & pamphlets in English, Bengali & Sanskrit languages. He was a scholar of the *Vedas*. He published his first translation of *Vedanta Sutra* in Bengali in 1815 and also published its translation into English and Hindi. He translated *Kena, Isha, Katha, Mudka Upanishads* into English. In this respect, he was also called a modern Indian Luther. From Calcutta, he successfully ran three journals/newspapers - the Bengali weekly, *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821) (Moon of Intelligence), the bilingual *Brahmanical Magazine* (1821) & the Persian weekly, *Mirat-Ul-Akbar (*1822) (The Mirror of Intelligence). In 1804 he published a pamphlet in Persian named *Tuft-ul-Muahidin* or A Gift to the Monotheists expressing very strong views against idolatry and polytheism. Roy was influenced by the French Revolution and the freedom movements in Naples, Spain, Ireland and Latin America. Thus, his concerns as a reformer and thinker were not confined to India. Roy left the physical world after a brief illness on 27 December 1833 at Bristol in England with the sacred Hindu syllable '*Om'* on his lips.

In the opinion of Subhash Chandra Bose, Roy as a person, was a 'prophet of the new age', who 'stands out against the dawn of the new awakening in India' (Mukherjee, 2017, p. 44). He was the "first to draw the consciousness of the Indian people from ages past, from the ancient ways, into the free light and the air of the modern day" (Saraswati, 1989, p. 1). He laid the foundation of religious tolerance and established the concept of universal religion for the promotion of "piety, virtue and benevolence, the strengthening of bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds". He was also the "first Indian to comprehend the very significant changes that had taken place in Europe

between the Renaissance and the French Revolution" (Mukherjee, 2017, p. 43). He was an ardent champion of universalism and was the founder of colonial liberalism in India. He was also the first to initiate a comparative study of religion. He is regarded as the 'father of Indian Renaissance'. Roy was a great pioneer of religious & social reforms. He introduced Western education in Modern India. In the words of R. C. Majumdar, Roy may be justly regarded as "the pioneer of organised political movement in India and the methods followed by him marks the beginning of what came to be known in latter days as constitutional agitation". He was the first Indian to condemn religious & social malpractices like idol-worship, enforced widowhood, Sati, and girl infanticide. In 1828 he founded the famous *Brahmo Samaj* (society for the followers of the Absolute). Rabindranath Tagore commended him as' inaugurator of the Modern Age in India' and 'a luminous star in the firmament of Indian history'. In 1815, he started the '*Atmiya Sabha'*or 'the Society of Friends', a spiritual society(a discussion club for scholars of religion and philosophy). In 1821 he founded the Calcutta Unitarian Association. He was the first Indian subject who for the first time had addressed 'His Britannic Majesty' directly. Roy was the"first Indian to have a significant view of the outside world, not just meaning the Mughal world or the Hindu world, but meaning the European world" (Khilnani, 2016, p. 234). He founded the first English school in Calcutta financed completely by Indians. Pioneer of Indian journalism, a liberal, humanist, great visionary and an internationalist, he was the first to believe in the 'publication of knowledge' and use it for reformist political activity. Bipin Chandra Pal says,

> Roy was the first to deliver the message of political freedom to India". Roy was one of the first educated Hindus to react to Christianity and set the general tone of the Hindu reaction to it in the modern period. Raja's proposal for a Congress of Nations was reflected in the formation of the League of Nations and United Nations in 20th century. (Mohanty, 2007, p. 86)

Introduction

To represent the grievances of the Emperor of Delhi, Ram Mohan Roy was sent as his ambassador to England and subsequently also conferred the title 'Raja'. Roy always advocated equality between men and women in matters of education. He thought of education for women as necessary not only for the improvement in their conditions but also for the development of the nation. Roy

refuted the argument that women were in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy. According to him, the male part of the community taking advantage of their corporeal weakness have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. Roy attacked that view of womanhood which provided the psychological justification for their subordination. He raised the voice for abolition of discrimination between man and woman and the system of polygamy. He crusaded against evil social practices like *Sati* or widow immolation which he condemned by relying on classical Indian texts. In most parts of the country, though exceptionally rare but there was it seems an upsurge in Bengal during Roy's lifetime; in 1823, there were approaching 600 recorded cases. Roy's campaign against this practice converged with the birth of an international concern with human rights. To Amartya Sen, "Roy's focus on *Sati* accorded with Roy's generally patrician attitude to reform" (Khilnani, 2016, p. 240). But a much more significant reform measure which Ram Mohan was interested in and pleaded for was the right to property for Hindu women which did not receive the attention it deserved at the hands of scholars and intellectuals. He was the first to draw the attention of his countrymen in this regard and made persistent efforts to establish the fact that the ancient *Shastric* laws granted women the right to inheritance of property, but this right has been further curtailed by modern jurisprudence such as *Mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga* (both are the two schools of law that govern the law of succession of the Hindu undivided family under Indian law).The voice of Ram Mohan did have a sound hearing and independent India chose to extend to them the right that he had pleaded for more than a century and a half before (Sarasvati, 1989, p. 7). Ram Mohan also condemned several other disgraceful practices associated with the treatment of women. He wrote extensively against the custom of fathers selling their daughters to prospective husbands due to some financial interests. He quoted from Manu and Kashyapa to show that the custom was contrary to the dictates of sacred laws (Doctor, 1997, p. 23).

Ram Mohan's Perspective on Women: Opposed Practice of K*ulinism* and Polygamy

The other evils which existed in Roy's days were *Kulinism* and polygamy. *Kulin* Brahmins were placed on the highest pedestal of the caste structure as they were treated with utmost respect. A girl married to a *Kulin* Brahmin was considered

to be very lucky. Caste was the only factor that was taken into consideration for solemnizing any marriage. Physical ability, height, age, education, wealth, etc., were secondary and caste was the primary factor. Since the *Kulins,* were the highest in the hierarchy of castes, they were much sought after. Consequently, they exploited their position to their own advantage. They married as many wives as possible invariably for monetary consideration. In some cases, the age gap between the husband and wife ranged from 30 to 70 years. Roy strongly opposed the practice of this *Kulinism* and its concomitant, polygamy as unnatural and preferred monogamy as it was in consonance with monoandry. While condemning polygamy, Roy cited *Yagnavalkya* who had allowed the husband to have a second wife on eight specific grounds of wife having the habit of drinking, suffering from incurable diseases, unproductiveness etc. Through Press as well as in various platforms, Roy articulated his views on this problem. He argued that anyone who wanted to go for a second marriage or more than that during the life time of his first wife should be allowed to do so only on proving before competent legal authority that the conditions under which polygamy was permitted by the Hindu *Shastras* were fulfilled (Padhy, 2014, pp. 71-72)**.**

Encouraged Widow Remarriage

Roy also encouraged widow-remarriage to save them from inhuman murder or suicide in the form of *Suttee*. He remarkably succeeded in persuading scores of his followers and friends to marry widows. He rather pleaded strongly for the restoration of the property rights of the widows as well facilities of their multifaceted education. He cites authorities like Manu and Yagnavalkia who say that a widow must live voluntarily on pure flowers, roots and fruits, not pronouncing the name of another man, to argue that these authorities expected the widow to live and not commit *sati*. Thus, Roy says that *"sati* is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty. On the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more specially and preferably inculcated" (Doctor, 1997, p. 22).

Advocator of Women's Education

The condition of the Hindu female in those days was truly deplorable. Education among the females was unknown. Roy considered that unless the educational system of India was totally overhauled, "there was no possibility of the people coming out of the slumber of so many centuries" (Banerjee I., 2014, p. 29). Roy was the first prominent advocate of women's education. To him, the

cause of the pathetic condition of women is that they were deprived of obtaining education from many centuries. He argues that from an intellectual point of view, in no way women are inferior from men. Giving an example of ancient India, he pointed out that there was given an equal opportunity to study scriptures to the women with men and women like Lilavati, Bhanumati (the wife of the Prince of Kurnat) and Maitree proved themselves as intelligent beings (Anupama Saxena & Archana Kumari, 2010, p. 125). He preferred for them "education of the household". Roy was nevertheless modern enough to plead with Indian women to shed-offthe *Purdah*, their traditional veil which had kept them apart from both the society and the state. Instead he called upon them to adopt "English manners and English behaviour" (Tyagi, 1998, p. 152). Roy thought education as very important for women in order to reform or correct their condition and in arousing the consciousness of their rights. Though Roy was a great exponent of women's education, but he could not succeed in establishing any separate educational institution for women.

Raised Voice Against Prostitution

The arrival of the British bourgeoisie in Bengal meant the introduction of commercial and administrative systems along with the prevalent values of 19th century capitalism. The collapse of traditional social norms under the impact of the colonial economic changes also led to the loosening of the tight hold of *Kulinism*. The development of prostitution as an industry in 19th century Bengal offered avenues of escape for daughters and wives of *Kulin* Brahmin families, who for almost 700 years suffered deprivation and humiliation locked up within the cell of *Kulin* obligations. Therefore it is not surprising that a mid19[th] century official report estimates that of the 12,000 odd prostitutes in Calcutta, more than 10,000 were Hindu widows and daughters of *Kulin* Brahmins (Banerjee S., 1993, p. 2466). Prostitution is said to be the most heinous of all social evils. It was operating in various forms and manners. It was often operating under the guise or cover of dancing girls, cabaret artists, masseurs, call girls, escorts or mistresses. Roy raised his voice against this social nuisance and wanted the state to abolish or at least to curb and regulate it by law in order to minimise its evil effects. Recently, its regulation has become much more important as these so-called sex-workers are considered potential carriers of sexually transmitted diseases or of acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

Against Dowry System

In the past, social ties, like marriages in the traditional feudal Bengali society

were also dictated and controlled by utilitarian interests of the dominating upper caste and upper-class men. The system of dowry (money and assets demanded by the bridegroom in exchange for marrying the woman) and the custom among the *srotriya* Brahmins to virtually sell off their daughters to the highest bidders among the bridegrooms (since the parents among this community were required to pay bride price for the marriage of their sons) reflected the norms of a feudal society where women were treated as a property to be exchanged between one male and another. Such an exchange, however, had to be justified by the guardians of medieval Hindu Bengali society by invoking the precepts of Manu who ordained that a woman should always be under the surveillance of a man – as a daughter under her father, as a wife under her husband and as a mother under her son (Banerjee S., 1993, p. 2466). Roy was against these kinds of dowry system which virtually resulted in the sale and purchase of girls in marriage in the name of so called *kuleen* tradition. Those who could afford to part with substantial parts of their movable and immovable property got suitable husbands for their daughters and they treated them with some amount of degree of respect and those who could not afford to give dowry, their daughters were compelled to marry the aged, the infirm, the diseased, the widowers, the poor and lower class persons. Though the demanded dowry was given in marriage, the demand for dowry was not a 'one-time' demand but series of demands and the non-fulfilment of which brought them humiliation, harassment, physical and mental cruelties and even death. This social evil instead of being curbed has assumed alarming proportions and resulting in ever-increasing dowry deaths even recent times.

Against Female Infanticide

Female infanticide was another social evil plaguing society. It is a fact that in his days, the *Rajputs* were accustomed to kill their infant daughters at the feet of Goddess Kali to invoke her blessings which was only a shrouded excuse of getting rid of the economic liability. Roy strongly opposed this inhuman social evil that the persons indulging this malpractice must be proclaimed guilty of child-murder and punished according to the law (Banerjee I., 2014, p. 32).

Against the Devadasi System

The birth of a girl child in many Hindu families was looked down upon as a 'surplus-production of God to be eventually returned to Him. If the girl child somehow escaped from being subjected to female infanticide, she was handed over to the temple authorities to make her serve as a *Devadasi* there. Then the

girl was brought up by the temple priests who trained her in the art of singing and dancing. When she attained maturity, she was subjected to gradual prostitution. She was made to dance to please the presiding deity, the priests and patrons of the temples.

Abolished the *Suttee/Sati* System

In Roy's days the social system of the Hindus contained a number of iniquitous and inhuman practices, the most barbarous of which was *Sati* (or '*suttee*', as it was then known) - the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. It was believed by the people that if a woman died along with her husband, she not only would go to heaven but also saved her husband from perdition. *Sati* was widely prevalent in some parts of India especially Bengal. Roy mentioned that the proportion of *Sati* in Bengal was 10.1 percentage compared to other territories (Bombay and Madras presidency) (Lalita, 1990, p. 511). In Bengal, it resulted in the sorry plight of the child widow. It was performed either in the form of con-cremation or post-cremation. In con-cremation the practice was to bind the widow along with the corpse of her husband and then heap over her such a quantity of wood that she could not rise and save herself. Post-cremation was performed in case the widow was away from her husband at the time of his death. In that case, she used to be burnt alive along with some relic of her deceased husband. So inhuman was the practice that the body of the widow in both the cases was tied to large bamboos to avoid the possibility of her rushing away from the flames. There was also a loud drum beating as a part of the ceremony so that her pleas and cries of help went unheard. Their submission was forced and involuntary. The patriarchal notions had impacted the psyche of the people so deeply that women were prepared from their early life for performing *Sati* on the death of their husbands.

In addition to this, for legitimising this practice people were building a place of worship such as a temple or a shrine to commemorate the performance of *Sati* where prayers were offered and funds were collected. However, from a closer scrutiny one would find that the main reason behind the performance of *Sati* seems to be an economic one. By forcing the widow to be *Sati*, her parents-in-law and even her biological parents and other family members not only saved themselves from the economic liability of maintaining her but were also able to turn their economic liability into an asset – a profit which they received in the form of offerings from the people who were coming for prayers so as to seek her blessings. From this analysis it seems that *Sati* practice is one of the classic

illustrations of an economic crime perpetuated by the Brahmins, Priests and a patriarchal male-dominated Hindu society in the grasp of religion.

The *Smritis* were cited as authority. The *Rishis* such as Angira, Harit and Vishnu have sanctioned the practice of con-cremation in the following passage:

> That woman, who, on the death of her husband, ascends the burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven, as equal to Arundhati. She who follows her husband to another world shall dwell in a region of joy for so many years as there are hairs in the human body, or thirty-five million. As a serpent-catcher forcibly draws a snake from his hole, thus raising her husband by her power, she enjoys delight along with him. The woman who follows her husband expiates the sins of three races: her father's line, her mother's line and the family of him to whom she was given a virgin. (Kumar, 2012, p. 84)

In 1818, Roy began his celebrated crusade for the abolition of Suttee, and on 4 December 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the then British Governor-General of India made *Suttee* illegal by Regulation XVII. That's why the year 1829 was considered as an important landmark in the political history of India. Due to this, Roy won great recognition for his crusade to free Hindu women from the dark practice of *Suttee*. However, it must be noted that along with the European Sanskrit scholar H.H. Wilson, Roy was also opposed to any legal enactment for the immediate suppression of *Suttee*.

Championed Right of Hindu Females to Inheritance

With respect to the natal rights of women, Roy emphasised that the ancient lawgivers entitled a daughter to one fourth of the share of the son. The married daughter was given less preference than the unmarried daughter by the ancient law givers, Roy in his tract has paid more attention to the rights of unmarried daughter. He quotes Manu here: "To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth part of his own distinct share and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned" (Fatima, 2009-2010, p. 645). Though the ancient law-givers had provided daughters one fourth of share allotted to sons, the modern commentators on *Dayabhaga* set aside this right of daughters. They did not recognise daughter's share to the property of fathers and only recognised the expenses of their marriage. This defraying of expenses was taken more as a donation than as a duty on the part of brothers.

Apart from daughter's right to inheritance, Roy also dealt with question of

women's right to property in a wedded family. All the ancient law givers unanimously awarded a mother an equal share in her son's property left by her deceased husband. This was to ensure that she spent remaining days independently of her children as is evident from the following: Yajnavalkya. "After the death of a father let a mother also inherit an equal share with her sons in the division of the property left by their father" (Fatima, 2009-2010, pp. 645-646). Roy argued that according to the modern commentators, a mother's right to inheritance is valid only when a person dies, leaving two or more sons and all of them survive and be inclined to allow a share to their mother. Despite the provisions of ancient lawgivers, mothers remain destitute and dependent. Criticising the modern *Dayabhaga* doctrine Roy argued that several limitations and restraints were inflicted upon the right to female inheritance. He emphasised that debarring women from inheriting property was the primary cause of degradation of position of women in society and was largely responsible for polygamy, *Sati*, and the pathetic condition of widows in our society.

Believed in Right to Property for Both Women and Men

As a true liberal, Roy also believed in the sanctity of the 'right to property' for both women and men. According to him, every individual should have the right to own property he inherits or earns. To him, women had become the slaves of the male members of the family and this was because of the fact that they were denied any property rights. In other words, he opined that women's full economic dependence on men was the chief cause of their uncomfortable and uncertain life.

Respect for Women

Roy had tremendous respect for women. He ridiculed those who believed that women by nature were inferior to men mentally without resolution, unworthy of trust, subject to passion and void of virtuous knowledge. He argued that women were inferior to men in physical strength and energy. It is because of this that they were exploited by men and deprived of their dues. He considered women to be as competent as men (Padhy, 2014, p. 70). He opined that natural wisdom and commonsense of women were in no way less than that of men. Men have taken undue advantage of the submissiveness of women. Women have proved to be more fruitful than men (Bhagwan, 1999, p. 76). He argued that women were kept ignorant by men because the latter wanted to monopolise the

whole of social sphere. As a humanist, he thought that the human race could not advance if either sex remained in a degraded condition (Yadav, 1998, p. 66).

Conclusion

The preceding analysis suggests that the reform with which Roy was closely associated with and will always be remembered with his name is the abolition of the cruel and inhuman practice of *Sati*. According to him, Hindu widows burnt themselves not only on account of religious prejudices, but the insults and slights to which they were daily subjected to. The prevalence of *Sati* was attributed to the plurality of wives, the sacred river Ganges and sanctity of the *Vedas*, the *Vedangas*, the *Smrities* and other religious commentaries which were followed by *Brahmins* and the upper castes in the society.

Roy was also a champion of the right of Hindu females to inheritance. He firmly opposed the grave injustice done to women by the modern law of inheritance. He wrote an essay in 1822 titled "*Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance*". Therein he quoted ancient jurists lie Yanavalkya, Narada, Katyayana, Vishnu and Brihaspati and pointed out that on the basis of the opinion of ancient law-givers, in the property left by the husband, the mother was entitled to get a share equivalent to that of her son, and the daughter to one-fourth (Varma, 1992, p. 27). Thus, in order to remove any economic grounds for the practice, he also called for property rights to be given to women, which would help ensure their security after their husband's deaths.

Rammohan's condemnation of polygamy (*kulinism*) was equally forthright. To him, the most important cause of women's miserable condition was polygamy among the rich people. Some of them, especially *Brahmans* of higher birth, marry ten, twenty or thirty women, either for some small consideration, or merely to gratify their brutal inclinations. This leaves a great many of them, both during their life-time and after their death, to the mercy of their own paternal relations. To these women, there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husband. First, to live a miserable life as slaves to others without indulging any hope of support from another husband. Second, to walk the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence. And thirdly, to die on the funeral pile of their husbands loaded with the applause and honour of their neighbours. It cannot pass unseen by those who are familiar with the state of society in India that the number of female suicides in the single province of Bengal when compared with those of any other British provinces is

almost ten to one. Thus, we may safely attribute this disproportion mainly to the greater frequency of plurality of wives among the natives of Bengal, and to their total neglect in providing for the maintenance of their females. This terrible polygamy among Brahmans is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors. For instance, Yagnavalkia who permitted a second wife only on specific grounds such as the vice of drinking spirituous liquor, incurable sickness, deception, barrenness, extravagance, the frequent use of offensive language and producing only female off-springs (Sharma, 2002, p. 20). He argued that the ancient law-givers did not approve of polygamy as a normal practice. He opined that the spirit of Hindu Law clearly does not permit a Hindu male to marry more than one wife at willbut allows a second wife only with the consent of the first and on specific grounds.

Structuring his convictions on the basis of liberty and justice, Roy fought for the cause of women to transform society into a more egalitarian and progressive one. Roy's concern for the improvement in the status of women reflects his concern for the nation, as women were seen as bearers of national identity. He made valiant and successful efforts to save widows from the horrifying self-destruction demanded by the society. He is, indeed, the great path-maker of this country who has removed ponderous obstacles that impeded our progress at every step.

References

Saxena, A., & Kumari, A. (2010). *Pramukha bharatiya raniti kvicharak*. Dimapur, Nagaland: The Gobal Open University.

Banerjee, I. (2014). Ram Mohan Roy: Rights. In P. K. Jha (Ed.), *Modern Indian political thought* (pp. 20-44). New Delhi: Book Age Publications.

Banerjee, S. (1993). The 'Beshya' and the 'Babu': Prostitute and her clientele in 19th century Bengal. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *28*(45), 2461-2472.

Bhagwan, V. (1999). *Indian political thought*. Delhi: Atma Ram & Sons.

Das, H. H. (2005). *Indian political thought*. Jaipur: National Publishing House.

Doctor, A. H. (1997). *Political thinkers of modern India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Fatima, T. F. (2009-2010). Women's rights and Hindu law of inheritance: The approach of Rammohun Roy. Proceedings of *The Indian History Congress*. 70, pp. 645-646. Indian History Congress.

Khilnani, S. (2016). *Incarnations: India in 50 lives*. United Kingdom: Penguin Random House.

Kumar, M. (2012). *Modern political thinkers*. Jaipur: Ritu Publications.

Lalitha, V. (1990). Sati in the Deccan. Proceedings of *The Indian History Congress*. 51, pp. 510 - 516. Indian History Congress.

Mohanty, D. K. (2007). *Indian political tradition: From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. .

Mukherjee, P. S. (2017). Rammohan Roy: Ideas and relevance. In V. Vedic (Ed.), *Modern Indian thinkers*. New Delhi: Sanjay Prakashan.

Nanda, D. B. (1994). *Indian political tradition*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House.

Padhy, K. S. (2014). *Indian political thought*. Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.

Pantham, T. (1986). The socio-religious and political thought of Rammohum Roy. In T. P. Deutsch (Ed.), *Political thought in modern India* (pp. 32- 52). New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.

Sarasvati, C. M. (1989). *Modern Indian political thought*. Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan.

Sharma, A. (2002). *Modern Hindu thought: The essential texts*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Tyagi, R. R. (1998). *Indian political thought*. NOIDA: Mayoor Paperbacks.

Varma, V. P. (Ed.). (1992). *Modern political thought* (11th Edition, Vol. II). Agra: Lakshmi Narain Agarwal.

Yadav, S. (1998). Rammohan Roy: Colonial encounter and his modernism. In M. P. Roy (Ed.), *Indian political thought* (pp. 64-80). New Delhi: Jnanada Prakashan (P&D).

Nationalism and Folklore: Swadeshi Movement and Trivedi's *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha*

Debosmita Paul Lahiri

Abstract

The Swadeshi Movement of Bengal (1905-1908) came up to protest against the division of the Presidency of Fort William into two separate provinces. Its leaders attempted to popularise its ideologies amongst the masses by including ethno-cultural motifs. Religious festivals like Durga Puja and Kali Puja were celebrated by the Swadeshi leaders with the motive of spreading anti-colonial sentiments amongst the people and forging a nation. Urban writers experimented with the folk forms to propagate Swadeshi ideologies. Ramendrasundar Trivedi (1864-1919) wrote *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha* (1905) in the *bratakatha* (ritual tales) form and was an allegory of the nation of the Bengalis as visualised by the Swadeshis. Trivedi's aim was to preach the ideals of the Swadeshi movement among the women, the spiritual core of the nation in the making. However, the principles proposed in the *Bratakatha* reflect an image of a nation which is against the idea of pan-Indian nationalism propagated by the Swadeshis. Trivedi, rather, propagates sub-nationalist ideology. Based on the above made observations, the proposed paper aims to study the use of folklore to represent the ideology of the urban/political. The paper also attempts to study the formulation of nationalism/ sub-nationalism in Trivedi's work.

Keywords: Bengal history, Bengali literature, Folklore, Nationalism, Nation, Partition, Swadeshi Movement

The division of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William in 1905 to create two separate provinces started a period which is of great significance in the history of Indian nationalism. The colonial decision to partition the Bengal

Province on grounds of administrative convenience saw large scale protest from the Bengalis and harbingered anti-colonial sentiments in India. The anti-Partition movement became the precursor of the Indian National Movement as it attempted to reject the Partition and create a united Bengal on the basis of a derivative model of nationalism.

Literature from Bengal took up the cause of creating an 'imagined community' during the Partition era as ethno-cultural motifs were created to signify the making of this community. Literature, through these motifs, also went on to reflect the socio-political situation in Bengal. The reasons behind such phenomena have been obvious. The impact of the 1905 Partition and the consequent anti-Partition movement in Bangla society were deep. Not only was the urban intelligentsia moved by the socio-political situation in Bengal, rural Bengal also felt the tremors of change.

Folklore, as a genre of Bangla literature also reflected this upheaval in Bengal. While rural Bengal continued to enrich folklore, urban-elites of Bengal gradually became aware of the richness of folklore as the bourgeoisie continued with their project of bringing the indigenous literary culture of Bengal to the forefront through print culture. The urban intelligentsia, comprising the urban elite and the middle class, developed a keen interest in the study of folklore and took interest in preserving its heritage[1]. For the intelligentsia, folklore, gradually, became an apt medium through which they could connect with the masses and preach their nationalist and counter-nationalist ideologies emerging in the wake of the Partition of 1905.

Ramendrasunder Trivedi's (1864-1919) *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha* (1905) was one such work which uses the folk form to depict the political process of the 'making' of the nation. The present paper aims to study the use of folklore to represent the ideology of the urban/political through Trivedi's work. The paper also attempts to study the formulation of nationalism/ sub-nationalism in Trivedi's work.

Trivedi wrote the *Bratakatha*, a spiritual form popular amongst Hindu women, to promote the idea of sacrifice for the sake of the nation amongst women. The publication of *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha* coincided with the declaration of the '*Chiraashauch*' (Never ending mourning)[2], *the 'Arandhan Brata'* (No-Cooking Pledge), and the *Rakhibandhan* festival commemorated by the nationalists. Barid Baran Ghosh reports that on the 16 October 1905, the day Bengal Partition was to be implemented, Ramendrasundar Trivedi's mother,

Chandrakamini Devi, collected about five hundred women in their village home in Murshidabad district and started the *Arandhan Brata*. It was at this congregation that Trivedi's daughter Girijadevi read out *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha*.

Published in 1905 (*Pausha,* 1312), in *Bangadashan (Naba Parjay),* Trivedi brings together the two spheres of the '*ghar'* and the '*bahir'* through the concepts of *grihalakshmi,* the goddess of the household, and *bangalakshmi,* the goddess of Bengal. It sends the message that the nurturer and the preserver of the culture of the nation – the ideal wife and the nation's women, who are imagined as *grihalakshmi* – sacrifice for the sake of the motherland – *bangalakshmi* – in order to propagate the spirit of nationalism and strengthen the nationalist movement being fought in the male dominated public sphere.

An allegory of Bengal, the *Bratakatha* begins with the assertion that Bengal was a unified whole since the times when the Hindus ruled over it. It was during this time that the peace-loving goddess – *Bangalakshmi* – had settled in Bengal. Her advent to the mortal world of Bengal is described using allusions of beauty, peace and prosperity, "The nation was now filled with flowers and fruits. The lakes were filled with lotus. White geese swam on them. Men had their granaries full, their sheds filled with cows and faces filled with happiness. Human beings were extremely happy and prosperous" (p. 388).

The Muslim invasion of Bengal leads to unrest in the region. The author writes, "The religion of the Hindus was defiled. The Muslims broke temples and built their Masjids on them. Half of the Hindus were converted into Islam. Hindus and Muslims, living in the same village, fought against each other" (p. 389). Communal tensions force the Goddess of Bengal to appear in front of the Pathan king of Gaur. The Pathan king, Hossainshah, pleads her not to leave Bengal. Hossainshah says: "I will look at the Hindu and Muslims as equals . . . " (p. 389). *Bangalakshmi* agrees to stay in Bengal and predicts a harmonious future for the region under the Mughal rulers. She says: "Delhi will have a Mughal king. The King of Delhi will become the *Badshah* of Bengal. The king will not differentiate between the Hindus and Muslims. Hindus and Muslims will become brothers and all conflicts will be resolved" (p. 389).

The Goddess' blessing is fulfilled in the due course of time and Bengal continues on its path of prosperity. But peace is short-lived once again. The Christians from a distant country arrive in India as merchants during this period. Gradually, they become the rulers of Bengal. This is the beginning of the

colonial period in Bengal. The author tactfully brings in his *Swadeshi* ideology here and shows how the British slowly drained the nation off its treasures, "The merchant king brought glass. The people of Bengal bought this glass and gave their precious stones in exchange. Indigenous goods are no longer a fetish for the people. Charmed by the hues of the false stones, they ignored the real gems of their land" (p. 389).

Following their economic control of Bengal, the British decide to divide the Hindus and the Muslims. It is at this stage that *Bangalakshmi* decides to leave Bengal forever. It is at this stage that thousands of Bengalis crowd the Kalighat temple and plead to the Goddess to stop *Bangalakshmi* from leaving Bengal. They take the *Swadeshi* pledge that they will never touch foreign-made goods. Hence, on the 30th day of *Ashwin,* the day when *Bangalakshmi* was supposed to leave Bengal, she decided to settle there permanently.

As in the case of the traditional *bratakatha,* Trivedi's *bratakatha* also preaches about the proper protocol of commemorating the ritual to pray to *Bangalakshmi.* The "Programme" says,

> Every year in the month of *Ashwin[3],* on the day of the Partition, the women of Bengal will keep the fast for *Bangalakshmi.* No one will cook that day. Apart from serving the Gods, the ill and the children, no housewife will light the kitchen fire. Fruits, puffed rice, or rice cooked on the previous day has to be had for the entire day.

> Women will set up the sacred pot[4]. Widows will wear sandal wood paste markings on their forehead, while the married ladies will put vermillion. They will listen to the *katha* with *Haritaki* or Beetel nut in their hands. After the *katha,* devotees will pray to the *pot* and blow the conch shell. After this, devotees will tie *Swadeshi* cotton or silk threads dipped in turmeric on the left wrists of the women and on the right writs of the men. Conches will be blown to celebrate *Rakhi.* Jaggery will be distributed amongst the devotees. Everybody will then drown foreign-made clothes and articles, as per their capabilities in the water. Everyday all devotees will put a part of the day's earning in the *pot* which at an appropriate time or at the end of the year will be donated for the cause of the Mother. (p. 391)

The *Bratakatha* idealises the attitude expected from the women at a time when the men were engaged in an anti-colonial nationalist movement and thereby creates a 'gendered' nation. Trivedi's concern for the Indian nation and his

desire to establish a strong pan-Indian anti-colonial nationalist movement is re-iterated by Dipika Majumdar:

> To Trivedi, one of the intriguing political questions was why it had been so easy for the British to establish their political domination in India . . . While searching Indian history with this purpose in view Trivedi noticed no change in the attitude of the people of India, in the 13th century when Muslim rule was established in India and in the 19th century when British domination became firmly rooted in India. In both the instances Indians accepted foreign rule without protest and without any concern. (p. 106)

The *Bratakatha* also testifies to it. As in the case of the Muslim invasion, one finds references to violence perpetrated on the Hindus but no instances of protests. Similarly, in the context of British colonisation of India, it is stated that the British did so by duping the Indians. Nevertheless, the anti-colonial movement, according to Trivedi's vision could not be devoid of the Hindu element, dominated by the Hindu culture but inclusive of all religious communities. Majumdar states that Trivedi "finds the presence of the Hindu society but no Hindu nationhood in India" (p. 112). Further, in the essay "*Samajik Byadhi O tahar Pratikar*" (The Disease in the society and its Solution) he states that "No nation would be created without the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims." (as cited in Majumdar, p. 495)

It was for this reason that Trivedi tries to neutralize the Hindu association of mother nation *Bangalakshmi* and give it a secular image. However, Trivedi also could not save himself from falling into the trap, like the other *Swadeshi* writers, as he also unintentionally projects his imagined nation as a Hindu one. For instance, the atrocities on the Hindus which occur in the wake of the Muslim invasion in Bengal, do disturb the mother goddess, she notices the decrease in the number of Hindus due to conversions[5], yet is pleased when the Pathan king promises that he will take care of the welfare of the Muslims as well as the Hindus. She blesses the nation with a future where Hindus and Muslims live like brothers. Even when the British decided to Partition Bengal, she says that "She is neither Hindu, nor Muslim" (p. 390). However, the later allusion to Goddess Kali of the Kalighat Temple re-asserts the Hinduised image of the *Swadeshi* Movement. Also the entire programme along with Trivedi's choice of the *bratakatha* further underlines the predominantly Hindui image of the nation.

Moreover, apart from the Hinduised image, *Bangalakshmir Bratakatha,* also seems to be biased in favour of the upper caste. A man of science, Trivedi expressed support for the Hindu *varna* system but criticized the irrationality and rigidity with which it was followed. In order to remove the false beliefs within the society about various Hindu rituals and the related discrimination of the *Sudras*, Trivedi pointed out that "it is not written in any scripture that without a *Brahmin* priest a *Sudra* cannot perform his religious rites" (Majumdar, p. 74).

However, Trivedi's allusion to only the upper castes in the *Bratakatha* reveals the other side of his views. The story informs that in order to reinstate goodness in Bengal, the Hindu king Adishur had to bring Brahmins and Kayasth as from outside Bengal, as the Bengali Brahmins had wavered from their moral ethics. Therefore, before the advent of the Muslims in Bengal, the king, who represents the Kshatriya caste, the Brahmins and the Kayasthas had the responsibility of restoring the decorum of Bengal and pleasing the Goddess. The lower castes are ignored in this allegory except for a reference to the conversions of the Hindus to Islam. Trivedi, therefore, revives the traditional caste-bias as he bestows power to the upper castes in the Hindu society to cleanse the society[6]. Such an attitude could only give rise to Hindu chauvinism and not a form of secular pan-Bengali nationalism.

Trivedi's narration of the allegory of Bengal establishes the region as a sub-national entity which tends to re-establish the socio-cultural pre-colonial past within its boundaries. The community imagined in his allegory is no different from the one conceptualized by the other *Swadeshi* nationalists[7]. Moreover, Trivedi's narrative of Bengal as a sub-national entity testifies the dominance of Bengal in the Indian political sphere during the anti-Partition agitation, while remaining within the boundaries of the Indian nation.

Bangalakshmir Bratakatha, hence, illustrates the ideologies of the bourgeoisie through the form of the folk. It exhibits Trivedi's concept of nation and nationalism drawn from the West and his typically Indian beliefs about the sanctity of *Vedic* religion and social system came into direct conflict with each other. The traditional format of his composition and the westernized concept of nationalism came in conflict with each other thereby leading to the tight compartmentalization of the gender roles in the society. The conflict between tradition and modernity was further manifest in the dichotomy of the nationalist iconography of the woman. The image of the woman as the ideal

domestic wife was in conflict with her role as the reflection of the motherland and the Mother Goddess. Therefore, through the analysis of Trivedi's work one finds that *Bangalaksmir Bratakatha* failed to project a pan-Indian nationalist movement as the nation it imagined was predominantly Hindu, upper-caste dominated and 'gendered' in nature with the interests of Bengal being more predominant. The interests of the Hindu bourgeoisie Bengalis often came in conflict with the national interests, leading to the failure of the anti-colonial nationalism to garner a pan-Indian status.

Acknowledgement

Endnotes

1. Jawaharlal Handoo in his book Folkore: An Introduction, divides folklore studies into three phases – Missionary, Nationalistic and Academic. The Missionary phase in India can be traced back to 1874 when the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Antiquary were first published. While the Academic phase began in post-Independence India, the Nationalistic phase of folklore studies began in the first decade of the twentieth century, with rise of the nationalist fervor amongst the masses. Folklore studies came out of the domain of the missionaries. Folklore was now studied from the Indian point-of-view. It not only aimed to study or carry folklore which had nationalistic themes but also aimed to make the urban-based traditional intelligentsia aware of the richness of folk culture.

2. On 20 July 1905, Sanjivani, a Bangla periodical declared that "If Bengal is divided, then it will be an everlasting mourning (Chiraashauch) for the Bengalis. Until Bengal is not reinstated in its old position, we will continue to mourn this loss." Reference to the 'Arandhan Brata' is made in the play, Banger Angachched. These fasts along with the Rakhibandhan festival were commemorated in order to protest the Partition.

3. 16 October 1905, the day when the Partition was executed.

4. A pot decorated with sacred symbols on the surface, filled with holy water from the ponds or rivers and covered with Mango leaves and green coconut in all Hindu ceremonies. It is considered auspicious.

5. Trivedi tactfully avoids mentioning about forced conversions which would have drawn bitter comments for the Muslims. He also deters from referring to deliberate conversions by the lower castes as it would have angered the upper caste Hindus.

6. Tagore in Ghare-Baire and Gora preaches against such upper caste Hindu chauvinism which

was visibly on the rise during the Swadeshi era. Refer to the previous chapter for a detailed discussion.

7. Refer to Partha Chatterjee's comments in his book Present History of Bengal on this issue.

References

Chatterji, P. (2000). *Partha Chatterji Omnibus*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Ghosh, B. B. (2005). Bhumika. In B. B. Ghosh. (Ed.), *Samakalin sahitye bangabhanga*. (The partition of Bengal in contemporary literature). (n.p).Kolkata: Punaschya.

Handoo, J. (1988). *Folklore: An introduction*. Mysore: CIIL.

Majumdar, D. (1988). *Ramendrasundar Trivedi: A study of his social and political ideas*. Calcutta: Minerva.

Trivedi, R. (1957). Samajik Byadhi O tahar Pratikar (Social problems and their solution) In S. Chattopadhyay & A.K Kanjilal (Eds.). *Ramendrasundar Rachanasangraha*. (pp. 337-390). Calcutta: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad.

Trivedi, R. (2005). Bangalakshmir Bratakatha. (The ritual story of Bangalakshmi) In B.B. Ghosh (Ed.)., *Samakalin sahitye bangabhanga*. The partition of Bengal in contemporary literature). (pp. 388-391). Kolkata: Punaschya.

Colonial Modernity and Native Identity: A Case Study through Sikh Journals (1900-20)

Guntasha Tulsi

Abstract

This paper will explore the consolidation of colonial modernisation in the Punjab of the late nineteenth century. This will basically be in regard to projects of a similar nature carried in the entire Indian sub-continent. It will then look at fascinating responses in indigenous identity formation as an outcome of the Singh Sabha Movement of 1873, one of the most significant modernising influences on the colonised Punjab. By looking at the examples of various Sikh journals and their coverage of Sikh education and identity related issues during the years between 1900 to 1920, this paper will conclude to observe as to how there was a simultaneous process of influence and subversion on the part of members of native communities to modernising measures introduced by the colonial administration. From a post-colonial viewpoint and that of social enquiry, this is fascinating, as it is not a routine exercise to consult such lesser known sources, while exploring the colonial-native encounter in one of the most significant periods of Indian history.

Keywords: Colonial Modernity, Native Identity, Sikh community, Subversion, Sikh Newspapers

This paper will explore the consolidation of colonial modernisation in the Punjab of the late nineteenth century. This will basically be in regard to projects of a similar nature carried in the entire Indian sub-continent. It will then look at fascinating responses in indigenous identity formation as an outcome of the Singh Sabha Movement of 1873, one of the most significant modernising influences on the colonised Punjab of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By looking at the examples of various Sikh journals and their coverage of Sikh education and identity related issues during the years between 1900 to

1920, this paper will conclude to observe as to how there was a simultaneous process of influence and subversion on the part of members of native communities to modernising measures introduced by the colonial administration. From a post-colonial viewpoint and that of social enquiry, this is fascinating, as it is not a routine exercise to consult such lesser known sources, while exploring the colonial-native encounter in one of the most significant periods of Indian history.

One needs to first look into the details of the aspects of 'colonial modernity'-a project that almost became an organised influence in mid nineteenth century British India. The project of modernisation in India initially begun as being administrative in nature, where the latter part of the eighteenth century, was used by astute administrators such as Cornwallis and Warren Hastings to first streamline the legal, judicial and politico-administrative branches of the government. Thus, the conquest of Bengal became a means of establishing a streamlined and uniform governance based structure all across the country and, through a series of regulations issued in the early part of the nineteenth century, a mechanism came to develop with the British Parliament beginning to exercise an increasingly significant amount of control over the affairs of East India Company. This was to be followed by a complete takeover of East India Company, with India coming under the British rule, after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Here, a reference from Yogendra Singh's *Modernisation of Indian Tradition* (1986)[1] would be useful. Singh observes that the Western tradition came to be based on a form of legal rationalism, which recognised a utilitarian and contractual relationship, between individual and society. There was also foregrounded a new form of achievement criteria which came to be based on a system of social stratification. All of this also coupled with diffusion of Western technology and innovations resulting from the same. Gradually, the dissemination of these Western ideas led to a gradual emergence and consolidation of reformist movements in different parts of the country.

Singh notices how the legal arena became one of the initial fields for change and transformation. The British did away with the prevalent notions of customary law, and introduced new legal principles based on rationalism and individualism. This was further consolidated through the establishment of a decentralised system of law courts in different parts of the country. There then came up developments such as formalisation of the Indian Penal Code in the

early nineteenth century. There also came about, a gradual schematisation of the hierarchy of court system in India with the clear demarcation of the Supreme and the High Courts.

In a similar manner, the foundation of modern education in India was also laid by the British majorly in the nineteenth century. This included policies, from 1835 onwards to promote European learning in English, recognition of the need for 'mass education', and consequent demarcation of the 'filtration theory' with also the recognition of private Indian agencies in the expansion of education. Gradually then; there came about a clear establishment of different levels within Indian education such as the primary level, the high school level and collegiate level. The main idea was to create, a local pool of native intelligentsia, who could be an enabling factor for the British in their administrative work. There also came about a development of professional ethic in the recruitment of teachers. There was a deliberate refashioning of the older existing native traditions within Indian education. These had earlier led to a dominance of religious texts and centrality of caste/class based consciousness.

In addition to the aforementioned innovations in the field of education and law which gradually foregrounded the significance of learning in English for the administrative convenience of the British, there also emerged a reaction against the existing social and cultural orthodoxies in Indian society. When the British administrators began to both speak and legislate against the prevalent forms of social injustices in Indian society such as the dowry system, reality of female infanticide, ban on widow remarriage or the cause of literacy; there also emerged a simultaneous spirit of awakening in the newly emergent generation of Indian intelligentsia. This intelligentsia gradually became sensitive to the ills central to their social customs.

Thus intellectuals and reformers like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Raja Ram Mohun Roy or Syed Ahmed Khan came to the fore. With their emergence, there came about an interesting aspect of unique innovations within indigenous identity formation in response to the project of colonial modernisation. There came about a greater sympathy and understanding of importance of English education and learning; the uniqueness of rationality inherent within Western civilisation; and, why it becomes necessary to fight with social and economic ills of one's own community. In addition to this as has already been mentioned; there was a streamlining and consolidation of the railway, postal and telegraph system in the country with also the establishment of canal projects. These were

undertaken by the British for better irrigation results in the agricultural areas of the country.

Within the field of infrastructure too, through the British administration; there happened an almost entire revamping of the country with the establishment of railways and telegraph, streamlining of newer modes of communication such as the postal system and also the creation of local bureaucratic elite who could aid in this process of decentralised administration. They also bought with them various European ideas of enlightenment and reform, while also bringing in technology and apparatus of the nature of print technology for the diffusion of these ideas. Interestingly, the project of colonial modernisation was introduced in gradual phases in India. This began with an infrastructural and administrative revamping of the province of Bengal through a reorganisation of judicial, agricultural and governmental spheres. Also, through the passing of a series of Regulating and Charter Acts; not only was the Indian trade gradually fully opened to needs and interests of the European markets, but there also came about a gradual and increasing amount of trade regulation in the country.

All in all then, with the advent of British in India; there came about an establishment of new cities, modernisation of transport and communication, and introduction of a new system of modern education. Significantly, most of these changes happened in India's social, economic and cultural system at a time, when the earlier history of the country, under distinct rulers was characterised by a feudalised mode of administration; a hierarchy system characterising both mobility through social goodwill and unequal distribution of resources; and, literacy being confined to a small group of people.

Throughout the pre-British period, there was a territorial and feudal idea which determined the interests of the royal class, and consequently this became a detriment in letting a sense of national unity emerge amongst the country's people. Ironically then, when measures of colonial modernisation were introduced by the British administration; the newly introduced ideas of democracy, enlightenment, and social reform only created a sense of national unity in the country's people.

In the case of mid nineteenth century Punjab and the times prior to that, the situation was somewhat similar to other parts of the country. Punjab was under the Sultans and Mughals for a considerable amount of period, before the authority of Misl chiefs became predominant, leading to final consolidation of power by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The social and economic structures and

prevalent ideas were largely conservative in nature. A feudal system of nobility controlled a major part of affairs of the state both under the Sultans and the Mughals. Even the Misl chiefs largely came to power on the basis of feudal form of territorial sovereignty. Education was excessively restrictive in nature being confined to a few traditional social classes and there was an immense scope of social reform. There was no infrastructural modernisation in Punjab, with income from land revenue, continuing to be the dominant form of economic sustenance for the state. The British were to utilise the system inherited from the Mughals and Ranjit Singh in this regard.

When British then annexed Punjab in 1849 after a ten year long struggle with the Sikhs since Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, they gradually modernised the entire province. In this regard, Surya Kant provides a detailed analysis of the administrative space in British Punjab in his essay, "Administrative Space in British Punjab" (2005)[2]. He notices that Punjab for the British was one of their largest and most profit giving province. Initially, they styled a part of its districts as subdivisions and the rest as *tahsils*. Pretty much in tandem with the principles of their rule and modernisation in other major Indian provinces- as also noted in the earlier part of this section (such as the United Provinces, Bengal, Bombay and Madras)- bureaucracy, rationality, legality and centrality ruled the order in Punjab. This also led to a consequent weakening of the feudal lords, and a subsequent powerful emergence of merit based appointees. The final consequence was the emergence of a "five tier hierarchy of administrative areas at the local level of administration, in place of three tier hierarchy in the Mughal period . . ." (pp. 218-19).

A close administrative focus on the Punjab also meant a huge investment in its public works and infrastructure. There was also a major reorganisation of the province, after the Revolt of 1857, adding major portions of areas such as Delhi to it. While with the British, there was a centralisation in administration; there was also a simultaneous increase in the intensity of the process of revenue collection through its more rigorous reorganisation at the local level. There was also a comparatively greater spatial dissemination of police and legal machinery. Hugh Trevaskis points in his seminal *The Land of Five Rivers* (1928), pretty much in alignment with what the British had done to other parts of India with regard to modernisation (as noted above), they established somewhat similar mechanisms within Punjab also[3]. The administration both at the village and the town level was gradually bureaucratised so that there came about a change in both the social and economic functioning of the villages.

In addition, there was building of railways and roadways, development of canal irrigation, redesigning of the system of education, a new development within agricultural money lending, increase of money in circulation, introduction of true money economy, establishment of Cooperative Credit Societies, legislation to protect the cultivation from the money lending castes, growth of towns and building of factories and importation of manufactured articles (Marenco, p. 169). There was a gradual development of both infrastructure and communication in Punjab by the British to suit their own ends. These basically only opened Punjab to products of outside industry without leading to the development of internal indigenous industries. The consequent outlets could be found nowhere but in the economically unproductive fields of litigation and money-lending.

Reeta Grewal also observes in the essay, "Urban Revolution under Colonial Rule" (2004), that parallel to this infrastructural upgradation of Punjab being done by the British; there was also an "urban revolution under the colonial rule", wherein not only new towns and cities developed, but they also became a means of infrastructural modernisation and communication revolution. This is where a lot of these towns became the centre of social and religious reform due to the presence of printing presses and educational centres in most of these urban areas. There also came about a gradual system of democratisation of political administration and introduction of measures such as election of municipalities in different urban centres.

In this regard, it should be noticed, that in the case of Punjab after the mid nineteenth century, responses in native identity to colonial modernity were similar to these developments in other parts of the Indian sub-continent. Ian Talbot (1988) interestingly mentions in his work *Punjab and the Raj*, that a group of local elites was created to gather support for the British project of colonial modernisation. Usually, a lot of policies in industry and agriculture were made beneficial by the British from the viewpoint of benefitting these classes of local Indian elites. For instance, immediately on their arrival in Punjab, the British realised that they had to "base their political control on the support of the leading landowning groups. . . " (pp. 10-11). The British also created an educational policy to secure loyal landowners as its most powerful allies. An instance of the same was, the establishment of Aitchison College in Lahore in 1886, to provide education for the son of leading landlords. The ethos and syllabus was similar to that of the English public schools, and usually ended with significant political careers in administration for most of these students.

While a system of patronage was put in place to win local allies in all spheres (in the form of cash, honorary titles or land grants), they also diplomatically supported the educational and cultural activities of a considerable portion of the Sikh aristocracy through the Singh Sabha Movement of 1873.

As a matter of fact, one of the most significant contributions to have been made by the British colonial rule in the mid nineteenth century was the creation of a new Indian middle and intellectual class. This, as Indu Banga observes in her essay "The Sikhs under Colonial Rule" (1999) - can be understood in terms of developments such as proliferation of government departments, spread of western education, and possibilities of social mobility[4]. Also then, developments such as the Indianisation of the civil services and opening of lucrative administrative posts for the Punjabis had an impact on aspects of social mobility within Punjab itself.

Gradually, the growing prosperity of these "middle classes" came to reflect in the growth of the number of urban centres in Punjab. The impetus to both literacy and reform within the Sikh community only intensified this social mobility across caste and class barriers, and was provided a further encouragement by the Singh Sabha Movement of 1873. Liberal thought also came to be represented through developments such as the first session of Indian Association at Lahore in 1893. Another rather very fascinating instance of colonial modernisation in Punjab was the establishment of the Punjab National Bank in 1895, which was also the first purely Indian bank, to be established in India. Also, Peshawar, Delhi and Amritsar, were to be the thriving centres of business in Punjab when the century opened.

As a matter of fact, the spate of economic and administrative reforms began in Punjab with the establishment of the Board of Administration after the 1840s. Due to the British becoming extremely successful in tapping the agricultural wealth of Punjab, it was transformed from being one of the poor provinces to being one of the richer centres in India by the onset of the twentieth century. H.S. Oberoi also makes some significant observations in his work, *Construction of Religious Boundaries* (1994), pertaining to colonial modernisation carried by the British in Punjab at the onset of nineteenth century. He observes that for the purposes of convenient administration, British divided Punjab into ten divisions and thirty two districts. Through the introduction of railways, telegraph, postage facilities, printing press, new market towns and establishment of canal colonies; the significance of old divisions was eroded and

gradually, a new pattern of modernisation and administration set in[5]. Punjab also became the leading recruitment centre for the Indian army.

Within the legal and judicial arena also, some significant changes happened[6]. While under Ranjit Singh, the whole province was divided into several small divisions under petty chiefs, most of the population was illiterate and crime rates were prevalent, it was with the arrival of British and by the year 1853, that elaborate and well organised machinery was established for the administration of justice in the province. Gradually, on the civil and criminal side, a successful hierarchy of courts was established. Within the sphere of education, when the British arrived in Punjab, what they discovered was an already existing system of indigenous schools. These were usually owned by the members of the Hindu and the Sikh community; and, the teachers usually tutored their students in areas such as religion, literature and identity. The British project of colonial modernisation of the nineteenth century also aimed at transforming the sphere of education, so as to both invest the ideals of liberal education by creating a pool of local elites and to aid the cultural modernisation of the Indian people.

In the specific context of Punjab, this educational modernisation took the form of opening of a number of Christian styled Anglo-vernacular schools, and propagation of ideals of Christianity and Western religion to the Punjabis. In this regard, they were provided an able hand by the missionaries as well. The missionaries had already established their educational centres in different parts of Punjab much before the coming of the British. They had done so for the propagation of Christian learning, language, and education. Gradually, there came about an establishment of government sponsored schools in different parts of Punjab (Rawalpindi, Multan, Jalandhar etc) with English being introduced as one of the subjects of study.

As far as print infrastructure is concerned, when the British then came to Punjab, they found an already existing infrastructure and support which encouraged them to modernise Punjab like the rest of India. Also, while there was an already existing nascent print infrastructure in the Punjab, yet the British played an important part in the modernisation of this apparatus through establishment of print stations in different parts of the province. Gradually then, through the combined support of the Christian missions and British imperial administrators; press became seminal in leading to the building of associated print support systems such as schools, libraries, and retailed networks[7]. Undoubtedly, this proliferation of print technology was to have a

simultaneous effect on vernacular Indian languages and literacy of the members of different Indian communities. However, before being directly associated with the interests of the members of the Punjabi/Sikh community; the press in Punjab was strongly tied with merely British interests and a few Punjabi elite were involved only for the purpose of serving the interests of the European communities.

Interestingly, this was also a period when this wave of colonial modernisation by the British also begun to usher in a strong sense of reform and transformation amongst the members of indigenous communities. Reformist movements taking place within the Sikh community in the nineteenth century were a testimony to the same. The spirit of reform and dissent (which had begun to present itself in a rather vocal manner with the advent of the nineteenth century) definitely had roots in the Indian sensibility stretching back to the Vedas. Through movements such as Jainism and Buddhism; language, culture and identity had begun to be appropriated; so that a new consciousness could be realised through a questioning of some of the existing social orthodoxies. However, when the British begun their project of colonial modernisation and political annexation of India from the late nineteenth century onwards, they unleashed a cultural innovation and liberal ideology which was to gradually percolate to a new section of the emerging Indian intelligentsia.

These individuals, such as Ram Mohun Roy, Vidya Sagar or Syed Ahmed Khan were to become the products of combined training of the influence of Western liberal education in addition to awareness of indigenous cultural traditions. They were to become instrumental in shaping new traditions of dissent and interrogation, which further became significant, in the shaping of the socio-religious reform movements of nineteenth century India. Understandably then, the nature and spirit of this dissent was bound to be different from anything that had preceded it before. It arose from a desire to provide education to the members of one's community, while also doing away with ills, rampant in the name of conservatism and orthodoxy. There came a newer appreciation for the spirit of liberalism, individualism, and respect for personal rights.

While a beginning to most of these movements was made from the Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta or Madras; Punjab was to remain no exception to its growing influence. As Jones mentions, most of these movements had their origin in Punjab's cities, gradually spreading to the interior towns and then villages. Here, a detailed observation from Jones' *Socio-Religious Reform Movements* would suffice:

> Each (reform movement) possessed missionaries, tract societies, parochial schools, centres of worship, systems of fund raising, bureaucracies and central associations . . . By the end of the nineteenth century, religious identity was in the process of expressing itself in combinations of symbols based on language, script and religion. (p. 121)

The most significant of these was to be the Arya Samaj movement prevalent amongst the Hindus of the Punjab in the 1880's. Interestingly, as mentioned by Jones in his book *Arya Dharm*, a lot of attacks that Dayanand was to propound on Christian religion were ironically based on his sustained contact and communication with the Christian missionaries. They also paid a close attention to the aspect of reform and education amongst the members of the community.

From the point of view of interest of this study, a lot of initial momentum with regard to the founding of the Singh Sabha Movement in the Punjab was related to a similar kind of consciousness pervading the members of Hindu community of Punjab. The legacy of the Arya Samaj, for the founders of the Singh Sabha Movement (1873) in Punjab, became tied to both- the importance of responding to colonial modernisation while also an understanding of necessity of fashioning an 'indigenous identity'.

This study is interested in analysing the link between proliferation of print technology and infrastructure in Punjab, and associated impetus to literacy within the Sikh community after the arrival of the British in Punjab. It was primarily this aspect which not only became associated with the reformist aspects of the Singh Sabha movement of 1873, but led to the commissioning of those Sikh journals which were primarily interested in coverage of Sikh education related issues towards the end of nineteenth century. While these represented an obvious assimilation of distinct aspects of colonial modernisation, they were- at the same time-significant responses in indigenous identity formation. These were to constitute, as mentioned by Sisir Kumar Das in his multi-volume *History of Indian Literature*, originary moments of modernity in the field of Indian literature. They not only represented specific reactions in formulations pertaining to vernacular language, identity and culture; but, were also a depiction of absorption of influences of colonial modernisation with regard to innovations in print technology and education.

One will now analyse the case of these Sikh journals in detail as they presented

fascinating reactions from the point of view of native communities to measures in colonial modernisation. By the mid 1850s; presses had become quickly established in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan, Gujranwala and Sialkot. In the context of the Sikh journals, it would be interesting to note that some of the early journals issued by the members of the Sikh community though stretch back to the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, yet none of them were directly related to Sikh interests. Thus, as N.S. Kapoor has noted in his remarkably written, *Punjabi Patarkari da Itihas* (1988); the first major newspapers, considered to have cemented Sikh journalism, were only issued towards the end of nineteenth century by the members of the Singh Sabha movement[8].

 They were mainly in Punjabi or English; and were commissioned in the nature of newspapers, tracts, periodicals, or weeklies with monthly and bi-monthly formats. The earliest of these journals were very clearly in the nature of documents on Sikh identity and religion with these either being issued by Singh Sabha luminaries or scholars. Their proliferation is both explained by a general impetus that was being provided to print and educational infrastructure in the Punjab with the arrival of the British; while, also an interest that the community members had begun to display in both assimilating and transforming these technologies and infrastructure.

Gradually; they however also became tied to the larger community interests of reformist nature such as language, literacy, female empowerment and democratic representation of members of the community. It is here, that by the initial decades of nineteenth century, approximately thirty journals/newspapers owned by or concerned with Sikh affairs had been commissioned. Both Amritsar and Lahore were to become the main centres of publication and initial efforts with regard to the commissioning and origins of new Sikh journals.

 It is here that there came about more than one occasion on account of which both education and journalism had begun to provide encouragement to each other for the Sikh community members. The same luminaries such as Bhai Vir Singh or Gurmukh Singh or Bhagat Lakshman Singh became actively involved with the founding of organisations, supporting the cause of Sikh education (such as the Chief Khalsa Diwan), while also becoming the founders of printing presses such as the Wazir Hind Press (which was to become the main source for the publication of Punjabi literature in the coming years).

Sikh educationists also constituted the greatest number in terms of being founders of Sikh journals, and specific journals came to be commissioned towards the beginning of twentieth century as being chiefly pre-occupied with issues pertaining to Sikh education and liberalism. Some examples of the same were *Istri Satsang, Istri Samachar, Khalsa Samachar* or *Vishkarma*. The nuances of the interaction also became interesting with these intellectuals and their journals, or printing presses or literary channels being established by them, coming together in the form of these journals intensively discussing about recently published Sikh literature or annotated editions of the Sikh scriptures.

These were those years when nationalistic movement was at its peak in Punjab manifesting in the form of incidents like the Ghadar uprising, Komagata Maru or the Akali Movement. These local/regional newspapers then became a medium of how native communities were getting influenced by colonial modernisation while also being conscious of fashioning deliberate responses for preservation of one's distinctive identity. For the ambit of this paper, I will take the example of some Sikh journals circulated between the years of 1900 to 1920, which as analysed above, represented the first significant mobilisation within the Sikh community; were majorly printed from Amritsar/Lahore through the medium of small printing presses; were written in either English or Punjabi and fascinatingly decoded the influence of British colonial modernisation.

With reference to the journals as per Kapoor, the *Khalsa Samachar* became the first Sikh newspaper to present news articles with proper formatting style with all the desirable techniques[9]. Understandably, it carried significant news about Sikh education related developments and also the working of the Singh Sabhas. The editions consulted for March, 1905 carries short articles on the status of Punjabi language textbooks at Punjab University and also updates about the number of students studying in Khalsa College; its state of affairs etc.

Since this seems to be an earlier issue of the time when the forum of Sikh Educational Conference was not initiated, the coverage of education related issues seems to be limited though there are short articles of the kind titled *Istri Sikhya* (translated as women's education). There are also articles praising the state of affairs under the Sikh Kanya MahaVidyalaya, Ferozepur. A brief translation and paraphrase of the same in an edition of 1903 states, that not only has the Sikh Kanya MahaVidyalaya at Ferozepur been running with a lot of

efficiency; but, it has also effectively transformed the manner in which women's education has been existing in Punjab and should indeed be supported by more infrastructure by the administration. There is also in articles written during this time period, an evidence of engagement on issues pertaining to the preservation of distinctiveness of Sikh identity especially, in the context of what had been the increasing missionary and Arya influences on a segment of Sikh population in the Punjab. There also seems to be an evidence of constant influence of the British administration, its modernizing influences and its specific measures for the Sikh community in most of the editorial articles carried by these newspapers[10].

With regard to Sikh education related coverage, there is a lot of coverage of Sikh educational institutions, Khalsa High schools and in editions consulted for *Istri Satsang* (a weekly Punjabi newspaper initiated from Amritsar), circulating between the years of1904-09, there were exclusive articles written on the importance of women's education (hence, titled 'Istri Sikhiya', dated May 8, 1905), general articles on the importance of education and the importance of educating the women members of the community in the light of larger vision of social reform. The format of the paper consists of quotes from the religious scriptures (titled "Ardas", "Shlokas from the Guru Granth Sahib") and also different points of view-based articles on how a woman should behave when she enters into a kitchen, into a new marriage etc.

A lot of these Sikh journals also covered a range of general news reports about the province of Punjab. One such journal was *Panjab*, issued between the years of 1905-10 from Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar. The general topics of interest included developments on the political and international front vis-à-vis British administration, coverage about ongoing arguments between different religious communities (especially on the issue of religious conversions), grievances of Punjabis settled outside and why Punjab was lacking on the development front when compared to other provinces.

There continued to be articles stating the importance of connection between language, script and identity (for instance; in the edition dated for one of the months of 1905, there is an article titled, "*Ki Gurumukhi akhar Punjabi akhar han*?" translated to mean-"Do the letters in Gurumukhi belong to the fold of Punjabi language?"). The format of the newspaper gave a lot of space to quotes, summaries and teachings from religious scriptures; while, also carrying news about Sikh temples such as Sri Nankana Sahib, Hazoor Sahib etc. From the

perspective of Sikh education, the newspaper carried detailed coverage pertaining to both the significant role of Sikh Educational Conference and the importance of education for community members in order to expand their livelihood opportunities (December 1, 1905).

In addition, there have also been a lot of newspapers during this time which exclusively focus on the issue of Sikh identity, the importance of preserving its distinctiveness and hence, the associated importance of Sikh rituals and Sikh symbols. Some of these thriving in the early part of the twentieth century were *Khalsa Akhbar*, *Khalsa Gazette,Panth* and *Panth Sewak*. They did write on educational issues but that was rare and brief. They did closely focus on identity-oriented issues and an interesting instance was when, the journals *Panth* and *Panjab* took the call of 'Swadeshi' extremely seriously. They exhorted the Sikhs to adopt 'Swadeshi' as the dress and symbols of the 'Khalsa,'so as to showcase the best of the nationalist spirit. Joginder Singh adds to this by observing that newspapers like *Sacha Dhandora* (Lyallpur-1906), *Panch* (Lahore-1909), *Sikh Review* (Delhi-1913), *Bir* (Amritsar-1908) and *Akali* (Lahore-1920) did take uncompromising stand on contemporary issues. This often bought them into confrontation with moderate views within their own community and some sections of the administration as well[11].

The developments in the field of expansion in journalism and education did find a parallel echo at the regional level as well. This spirit of a confrontational and intensely nationalistic fervor was also evident in the attitude of Sikh journals which were in circulation after 1910. The major journals which were in circulation after 1910 included names such as *Patiala Gazzette, Punjabi Surma, Phulwaari, Namdeva Patra, Ghadar, Ghadar-di-Goonj, Shahid, Panth Sewak, Ramgarhiya Patrika, Sach Khanda, Sikh Sepoy, Haq* or *Haq Bulletin*.

The Sikh press during the concerned period had by now adopted a rather strong approach of agitation and required dissent. This became an interesting advance from its initial careful and consciously crafted balance between moderation and reverence, majorly in its attitude towards the colonial administration in the earlier decades of twentieth century. Suddenly, extremely identity centered articulations related to the Gurudwara RikabGanj agitation and the Ghadar had started coming to the fore. Journals such as *Ghadar* and *Shahid* provided the native communities with an opportunity to mobilise members of the Sikh community to disregard peaceful modes of agitation against the British and adopt for something more revolutionary.

Post-1910 journals like *Panth* consist of updates related to the Sikh Educational Conferences, articles in editions consulted for *Panth Sewak* directly link the importance of advancement in community education or those of the women to necessity of development of Panthic interests. In editions consulted for the *Panth Sewak* belonging to the year 1919, there is a wide and extensive coverage on issues pertaining to Sikh education. Significantly though, the coverage is largely related to how Sikh education has to be suitably modified so that it can fulfill expectations related to Panthic interests.

These have been extended to distinct fronts pertaining to Sikh education, most notable ones being the state of the Khalsa schools; infrastructural provisions in these schools; their success in the light of intended objectives; their efforts in the direction of preservation of indigenous identity and their ability to genuinely train women in the light of Khalsa principles. The characteristic in this regard have been articles titled "*Asi bahut piche haan*" (translated to indicate 'backwardness of the community', with the contents indicating, necessity of proper teaching of the Khalsa principles for community's advancement); '*Sikh Istri Vidya*' (translated to mean 'Sikh women's education' with the contents highlighting propriety of Khalsa teachings in Sikh women so that it could adequately reflect in their behavior); '*Saada Vidya Prachaar*' (translated to mean 'desired characteristics of Sikh education' with the contents indicating what more can be done in the process of establishing Khalsa institutions through the forums such as the Sikh Educational Conferences) or '*Sadachaar te Kamyaabi*' (translated to mean 'required character for education' with the contents indicating how Guru's *baani* and teachings from his life cannot be separated from any ideal form of Sikh education).

In the light of trend of Sikh journalism during this period catering to also a lot of agitational developments in Punjab in the post-1910 years such as the First World War, Ghadar, Komagata Maru or the imposition of the Rowlatt Act; one observes that prominent Sikh journals of this period devoted to this kind of coverage. Some examples of the same were *Haq* and *Haq Bulletin* which did end up discussing a lot of issues of secular interest of which education became a significant one. Later journals like the *Akali* became representatives of positions held vis-à-vis distinctiveness of Sikh identity and why it needs to be significantly preserved.

As then clear from the above analysis, the period during the end of the nineteenth century and earlier decades of the twentieth century was one of British administration introducing colonial modernization within the Indian

subcontinent in a major way. While it did so inevitably or for its own administrative convenience, in the process, it led to fascinating responses on part of members of indigenous communities who utilized both the tools of assertion and subversion. This paper has taken the case study of Sikh journals in circulation between the years of 1900 to 1920 to showcase, how members of the native Sikh/Punjabi community carried measures in educational and cultural modernization under the influence of British, while also utilizing their voice as a medium for both nationalist agitation as well as identity assertion. This indeed provides a unique opportunity to reformulate our vantage point of conducting social enquiry pertaining to the colonial-native encounter.

Endnotes

1. These points have especially been mentioned in the "Introduction" of Yogendra Singh's Modernization of Indian Tradition.

2. Details taken from a reading of Surya Kant's essay "Administrative Space in British Punjab" (published in Reeta Grewal/Sheena Pall ed., anthology-Pre-Colonial and Colonial Punjab. For complete details, refer to the Reference section.

3. Interpretations derived from a reading of Hugh Trevaskis' The Land of Five Rivers. Refer to Reference section for complete details.

4. Published in the essay "Sikhs under Colonial Rule" from the anthology, The Khalsa over 300 years. Complete details in the Reference section.

5. For more details on this, see Oberoi pp. 45-50, Construction of Religious Boundaries. Refer to Reference section for complete details.

6. All of these details have been provided in a brilliantly documented manner in an old study (possibly authored by one of the Indian contemporaries of the British administration) by D.L. Kapur, titled History of Development of Judiciary in Punjab; edited and published, H.L.O. Garrett.

7. Details paraphrased from a reading of Davis Emmett's Press and Politics in British Western Punjab, pp. 9-13.

8. Details paraphrased from a reading of N.S. Kapoor's Punjabi book, Punjabi Patarkari da Itihas. Details in the Reference Section.

9. For further details on the same; see N.S. Kapoor's Punjabi Patarkari da Vikas, pp. 82-3.

10. Most of these journals have been accessed from archive centres at libraries in Punjab and Delhi.

11. Observations have been made from a reading of pp.153 -54 of Joginder Singh's The Sikh Resurgence.

References

Banga, I. (Ed.). (1997). *Five Punjabi centuries: Essays for J.S. Grewal.* Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Barrier, N.G. (1969). *The Punjab in nineteenth century tracts*. Michigan: Michigan State University.

Barrier, N.G. (1970). *The Sikhs and their literature: A guide to tracts, books and periodicals, 1849-1919*. Delhi: Manohar Book Service.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Das, S. K. (1991). *A history of Indian literature: 1800-1910*. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.

Das, S. K. (1995). *A history of Indian literature: 1911-1956*. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.

Das, S. K. (1997). *A history of Indian literature: 500-1399*. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.

Emmett, D. (1983). *Press and politics in British Western Punjab 1836-1947*. Delhi: Academic Publications.

Grewal, J.S, and I. Banga. (Eds.).(1999). *The Khalsa over 300 years*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Grewal, R.S., and S. Pall. (Eds.). (2005). *Pre-colonial and colonial Punjab: Essays for Indu Banga*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Jones, K. W. (1976). *Arya dharm: Hindu consciousness in 19th century Punjab*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jones, K. W. (1989). *Socio-religious movements in British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kapur, D.K. (1928). (Ed.). *History of development of judiciary in Punjab*. Punjab: Punjab Govt. Office Record.

Kapoor, N.S. (1988). *Punjabi patarkari da vikas*. Punjab, Bhasha Vibhag.

Marenco, E. K. (1976). *The transformation of Sikh society*. Delhi: Heritage Publishers.

Oberoi, H.S. (1994). *The construction of religious boundaries*. Delhi: Oxford University Publication.

Singh, Y. (1986). *Modernisation of Indian tradition*. Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Talbot, I & H.S. Oberoi. (1988). *Punjab & the Raj, 1849-1947*. Delhi: Manohar Publications.

Trevaskis, H.K. (1928). *The land of the five rivers*. London: OUP

Bringing the *Haat* to the City: The Socio-Cultural and Commercial Dynamics of Dilli Haat

Mona Sinha & Manjari Chaturvedi

Abstract

In the midst of the metropolis and urban center of the capital city Delhi stands Dilli Haat, serving varied purposes for the visitors who throng it, and the artisans, craftspeople, and shopkeepers who sell their products. Envisioned as a glimpse into the richness of rural India for the urban dwellers and a market for display and selling of indigenous crafts sans middle-men, Dilli Haat has transformed and metamorphosed with time in a complex grid of market forces, market players, consumers, and the accompanying constant role change. The paper takes a wholesome look at the *haat*, its changing dynamics, and purported influence over the cityscape and citizens through a research study to understand the nuanced questions of urban-rural divide, confluence, and the role played by created-and-designed spaces like Dilli Haat.

Keywords: Dilli Haat, Urban-rural divide, Dastakar, Museumification

Dilli Haat (established 1994), a crafts village in the heart of South Delhi, has acquired an iconic status as a socio-cultural space in the metropolis in the twenty-one years of its existence. It has been immensely popular with the urban middle classes not just as a market place for authentic traditional crafts but also as a place of leisure with family and friends. For an outstation visitor, a trip to Dilli Haat is mandatorily fitted into the itinerary whether it is to purchase unique and artistic household items, or to pick up trinkets or even to get *mehndi* (henna) patterns on palms and hair-braiding done. For the foreign visitor, Dilli Haat is a one-stop place (recommended strongly as 'Top Choice' by *The Lonely Planet*), which showcases the diversity of non-urban India and offers it in the form of a capsule. At the same time, it also offers an immense range of

traditional Indian products and souvenirs for family and friends back home. Dilli Haat has always had something for everyone, snugly fitting the size of each pocket. What makes the experiment of Dilli Haat unique is the curious amalgamation of the vibrant country fair with urban sensibilities as aptly phrased by its founder, Jaya Jaitly, in an article in *The Indian Express*, titled "Not just rural not just urban" (2015, January 9).

It is important to note that Dilli Haat was established soon after India's economic liberalisation in 1991, at a time when India had just begun to open its doors to globalisation. The community of the middle classes in India had begun to expand and so had its desire for material, visual and cultural consumption. Many observers of the South Asian scene had begun to notice that Indians were engaged in forms of consumption, recreation and entertainment that resembled cosmopolitan cultural forms in other parts of the contemporary world. The palpable growth in domestic tourism, the dynamism of the food and restaurant industries and the general commodity slotting of cultural objects are all part of this process, which has many other expressions as well (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1996). Dilli Haat at INA can, thus, also be viewed as a site which has played its role in creating a public culture, reflecting the negotiations between tradition and modernity by bringing together a crafts bazaar where the seller would not be a merchant or a middleman but the artisan himself, and where the urban middle class buyer would feel a sense of national pride in promoting indigenous craft traditions, a food court where there would be regional cuisines to educate the urban palate and recreational areas for leisure and other forms of live exhibits of cultural productions.

In its essence, Dilli Haat was an attempt to bridge the gap between *Bharat* and India in a manner, which would be beneficial to both[1]. As such, this situation of cultural contact between the two may be termed, as what D.P Sinha describes as "acculturation or cultural change in process" (1968, p. 94). Socio-economic processes taking place within the *haat* also contribute to this change. The present paper attempts to understand the processes of acculturation and its outcomes when the indigenous and the folk came in contact with urban subjectivities at the *haat*.

The Evolution of Dilli Haat

The objective behind Dilli Haat was laudable; it aimed primarily at helping rural artists of the country to preserve the rich heritage of traditional arts and crafts and sustain their livelihood. It was due to the initiative and persistent

efforts of its founder, Jaya Jaitly, also Chairperson of DastkaariHaat Samiti (regd. 1986), which was closely involved with rural artisans for their economic empowerment that the *haat* came up over a covered drain opposite INA market in the heart of South Delhi. It was a joint collaboration between Delhi Tourism and Transportation Development Corporation (DTTDC) and New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC), along with other organisations like D.C. (Handicrafts) and D.C. (Handlooms), Government of India and Ministry of Tourism. The project was funded by Ministry of Textiles. Conceived as a crafts village, Dilli Haat offered a permanent structure where these artisans could display their wares on a mainstream platform and at the same time carry out their trade with dignity under hygienic conditions and secure surroundings.

To ensure equal opportunities to all, an artisan would be allowed to display his goods only for a stretch of a fortnight once in every three months, a system which exists till date. In the words of Jaitly,

> Dilli Haat was conceived ... in 1990 when India was opening its markets to global players, to address rural disparities and create market space for rural crafts people. Brilliant out-of-the-box assistance by a bold bureaucrat helped convert a wide storm-water drain into usable land by making a lid from a concrete slab with overlaying soil, on which only light structures could stand. Needy artisans thereby got a marketplace for themselves in the capital without depriving anyone of precious real estate. (Jaitly, 2015)

Dilli Haat, thereby, incorporates a vital feature of traditional *haats* where the temporary nature of the market translates into savings on land investment or permanent infrastructure like shops, electricity, water, etc. which also enables sellers to cut down on rent premium leading to a lessened price of goods for sale.

Particular attention was given to the architecture of the *haat* which was very thoughtfully designed by Delhi based architect, Pradeep Sachdeva. To some extent it replicates the systems and structures of the village *haat* with an ambience typical of an Indian village: thatched roof cottages installed without any concrete structures, shops laid on platforms in the Bazaar design, the in between spaces made of stone flooring with grass fillings to maintain visual comfort, the landscaping of the area laid out with rich multi coloured flowering shrubs and trees, providing harmonious and pleasing environment. But according to Mr. Sachdeva himself[2], it neither carries purely traditional village type architecture of clay and mud nor does it have a very sophisticated, state of

the art urban design. *Jaalis* (lattices) have been used to give the *haat* a traditional look. Red bricks common in North India were extensively used in an exposed form. It was to be a national market so a tinge of modern look was also given to avoid a completely rural look and give the craftsmen a sense of importance. Furthermore,

> City additions like ticket booths, banking facilities, STD phone booth (in the days before mobile phones), an administrative office, an official meeting room, open-air stage and a children's play area were provided. Regional food stalls offering good quality, inexpensive fare were deliberately located at the far end to ensure foodies saw the crafts on offer before heading for the open-air cafes. These informal facilities were inviting to visitors and did not culturally alienate rural sellers. (Jaitly, 2015)

Clearly, attention to aesthetics, adequate foliage within the *haat*, provision of hygienic convenience facilities, and an integrated developmental approach were considerable improvement on the dirt and dust of the rural *haat*. This also provided a feeling of well-being to the crafts person who felt upgraded in a genuine and permanent environment (Jaitly, 2007).

Bridging the Gap

The most significant aspect of the layout of Dilli Haat is the principle of "democratic space"[3] that governs it. The rural craft-persons and urban visitors, young or old, able bodied or physically challenged, all feel comfortable and at ease at Dilli Haat. According to Jaya Jaitly, one of the achievements of the *haat* is the sense of equalisation[4]. A fashion designer might be found rubbing shoulders with a college-going student at a Chanderi weaver's stall, purchasing similar kind of fabric. Also, the low-income rural seller shares the same kind of market space with a rich urban *kaarigar*. The Assamese cane artisan could have a stall of equal dimensions adjacent to a prosperous silver craftsperson from Jaipur. Urban craft-persons too could have access to a stall in Dilli Haat, as long as their product was traditional. Respect for each craft, however small in terms of economic returns, is the byword.

Socialisation[5] is another important aspect of the *haat*. Traditional crafts have been running in families of artisans for generations and it very often involves the entire family. So when the artisans come to Delhi or to Dilli Haat, they come with their family. Thus, it has brought out purdah-clad women from villages; they could be family members managing the stalls or could be *kaarigars*

themselves. As part of economic and commercial acculturation the artisans are exposed to the market directly, eliminating the need for middlemen. They learn about the demands of the market and also to ask for a reasonable price for their product. Jaitly points out how artisans themselves are conscious of other products and designs as also skills available within the *haat*. For instance, a handloom bag maker is known to have approached a leather craftsperson to make handles in leather for his bags. Skills are thus exchanged and shared within the market, leading to innovative product designs.

The processes of adaptation are clearly visible within the *haat* as artisans have learnt to cater to the changing fashion sensibilities of the urban customer over the last two decades. Some of the fortnightly fairs surveyed during the winter months of 2013-2014 and 2014-15 threw up interesting observations. A *Madhubani* artist revealed how contemporary motifs now exist alongside mythological motifs from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* in their paintings. An *Ikat* weaver/seller from Orissa had more of *ikat* stoles than dupattas stocked in his stall. On being questioned, he mentioned it as the more popular trend. Same was the case across the stalls of Kashmiri, Himachali and Kutch weavers. While the older generation preferred dupattas and shawls, stoles have clearly become the preference for the young and those conscious of global fashion trends. Stoles, thus, become a classic example of the happy fusion of the traditional weave with modernity. Similarly, a *Sanganeri* weaver stocking quilted bedcovers shared the story of how the design, stitch and fabric patterns found their way from bed-linen to the very fashionable cotton quilted jackets demanded by the hip and happening crowd.

The '*haat*' in Dilli Haat

As a *haat,* Dilli Haat performs multiple functions. Various agencies use the *haat* to create awareness on the socio-cultural issues and it is also a favourite venue for launching and propagating various awareness and developmental schemes launched by the Central and the State governments from time to time. In his study of an inter-tribal market in Chhota Nagpur district in the present day state of Jharkhand, D. P Sinha (1968) observes how government agencies set up stalls on a regular basis in the weekly *haat* to propagate the ideas of family planning and spread awareness regarding diseases like tuberculosis. At Dilli Haat awareness camps are conducted in the form of dedicated 'celebrations' such as AIDS Awareness Day, Cancer Sahyog Day, the Braille Day, Earth Day, Meatless Day, International Women's Day, Organic Festival and goodwill

activities such as health check-up camps, blood donation camps, etc., are organised. The Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India organises 'VatsalyaMela' during the month of November every year. In addition, non-commercial promotional stalls are allotted to dedicated persons/organisations, like Prayas, AWWA, CASP, CRY etc., working for the upliftment of disabled people and under privileged sections of society according to the Dilli Haat Operation and Management Rules—2006 (p. 11). Thus, in a cumulative sense Dilli Haat is also an apt space for social sensitisation of people visiting the *haat* towards those under-privileged citizens of the city who cannot enter the precincts of this boutique bazaar as also to generate awareness in people about Government social schemes.

An integral part of the annual cultural calendar at Dilli Haat is the celebration of various Indian festivals. Theme based craft *melas* or 'festivals' are held to coincide with these festivals. The crafts and handloom products on display reflect the flavours of the changing seasons. So the year begins with Dastakari Haat Mela in the first fortnight coinciding with the celebration of Lohri. Since it is at the peak of the winter season, woolen products occupy a sizeable chunk of the market apart from other textiles and crafts products. Cultural programmes and melas are also organised to mark the advent of different seasons such as spring with the Basant and Baisakhi festivals followed by Holi Utsav; the summer with the Sherbet Mela and Mango festival, the monsoons with the Teej festival and Onam, autumn with the Navratra/Dussehra festival alongside India Weaves; Deep Utsav around the time of Diwali, and finally Master Craftsmen and Winter Carnival which celebrate the advent of the Christmas season.

By their very nomenclature these *melas* are not only a means for craftspersons to make profits during the festive season, but are also an endorsement of the cultural agenda of Dilli Haat which encourages traditional cultural practices associated with the celebration of these festivals. For example, the use of traditional and organic colours for the Holi festival instead of harmful chemical ones, has gained popularity with the local city people because of its availability at Dilli Haat. A stall of the NGO Navdanya that sells organic food harks back to the 'connect with nature' and 'back to the roots' philosophy underlining the *haat*. By reviving traditional practices and at the same time exhibiting contemporary ones in the same locale, Dilli Haat provides a meeting point for the two.

Public Culture and Modernity at Dilli Haat

A look at the division of the 201 stalls at Dilli Haat and various spaces around it and the kinds of products that are put on display and sale show an intriguing co-existence of the crafts with urbanity. At the same time a differential pricing structure in renting and use of premises keeps up with the initial aim of Dilli Haat i.e. to promote rural craft and craft-persons. While craft stalls, allotted by D C (Handicraft/Handloom are available at the minimal daily rent, the allotment of space near amphitheatres for Government agencies and NGO's costs fifty percent more. In addition, Dilli Haat has provisions for Brand Promotion Stalls/Promotion of products as well as fashion shows and display of vehicles—motorcycles and cars for promotion and branding for a premium amount. On the fringes of these mega occupants are the clay product sellers, toy cart makers, *sarangi* players and sellers, caricature/portrait makers, tarot card readers, astrologers, hair braiders and *mehndi* artists who also pay a minimal rent for a 'Value addition Art promotional stall' in open space, adding to the rural ambience of Dilli Haat as outlined in the Dilli Haat operation and management rules. (2006, p. 10)

To understand Dilli Haat's influence and appeal for its urban middle classvisitors a study[6] was carried out to understand the perceptions of visitors towards Dilli Haat. Variables that play a role in bringing people to Dilli Haat were identified to understand the different appealing aspects of Dilli Haat for different people. These variables were both demographic such as age, gender, and income; and product based like crafts, clothes, food, entertainment and style quotient of Dilli Haat. The product-based variables were understood to be further governed by factors like the extent of addition to knowledge about cultural diversity as well as perceptions of authenticity, quality, and price of products in Dilli Haat. The study was carried out by means of a specially designed questionnaire[7] aimed to explore the nature of the alliance between rural/folk and commerce that has come to exist in Dilli Haat. In the analysis of the study it was found that demographic factors have a surprisingly insignificant influence on bringing visitors to Dilli Haat. This implies that age, gender and income have a negligent role as a determining factor for visitors to Dilli Haat. Also, contrary to popular perceptions that the *haat* as a cloth and handicraft market caters primarily to women customers, the results being equal for both the genders shows that the *haat* is appealing to both men and women. The study also pointed out that age cannot be a determiner, thus making Dilli

Haat a space for a range of adult age groups to visit. That income is not an important marker also indicates the democratic nature of Dilli Haat where there is something for everyone.

Depending on the objective of the visit to Dilli Haat, the factors taken into consideration were craft, clothes, food, entertainment or style statement. The visitor's decision to buy a product is dependent on the price, quality and authenticity of a product. Similarly, the price, quality and variety of food available play an important role in the decision of purchasing and consuming the wide range of regional cuisine available at the *haat*. The responses were graded into five levels. For instance, to grade satisfaction level, options ranged from very dissatisfied, dissatisfied and average to satisfied and very satisfied.

The entertainment factor takes into account the emergence of Dilli Haat as one of the 'hang out' places in the city; a place for family outings, get-together of friends and shopping sprees. The fact that Dilli Haat also gives space to folk artists and performers as well as renditions of popular culture like fusion music and Comic Con, establishes the *haat* as an interactive hub of the city's pop culture. Finally, the style quotient as a factor assesses Dilli Haat's presence as a unique style icon in the city and of its products making a style statement of their own. Interestingly, for the younger generation the appeal of both entertainment and style quotient emerged as significant factors, which draw them to Dilli Haat.

Commoditisation and Museumification

That Dilli Haat has carved a distinctive niche for itself in popular public imagination is evident. But the question is, to what extent has Dilli Haat been able to sensitise the city to the rural and the folk? In the two decades of its existence, Dilli Haat has undergone a tremendous change. With the *haat* coming to the city, it has also had to cope with the perils of urbanity and the hawkish commercialism associated with it. The corruption prevalent outside in the city has crept within. The city and its demands on its markets have impinged on the evolution of Dilli Haat. When the specialised fairs are not taking place, especially in the lean hot summer and sultry monsoon months, the question arises if Dilli Haat still holds the promise of a rustic oasis for its citizens and tourists. Footfalls of locals, visitors and the foreign tourist continue, but it is especially at these times that Dilli Haat seems to be 'losing its sheen' (Bhatia, 2014). Because of the high popularity of the *haat*, genuine craft-persons are very often beguiled into selling the tenure of their allotted space for petty

amounts to middle-men and city-based traders. The document 'Dilli Haat Operation and Management Rules 2006' defines a craftsman to mean 'an accomplished person possessing the theoretical and practical knowledge of items made by him without the help of automatic machines and properly registered with DTTDC, office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts/Handlooms), Ministry of Textiles, Govt. of India, or any other Government Agency' (p. 2). But the several heads under which Dilli Haat allows sellers to enter makes for a fraction of the physical and thematic space within the *haat*. Thus, Dilli Haat, though modelled and created for a glimpse of the rural within the urban, is not the extension of the rural into the urban.

A popular article describes a staple visit to Dilli Haat,

> As you walk around the open-air space, the same old *chikankari kurtis*, Naga shawls, Kashmiri *phirans*, organic pickles and block printed *saris* lie on show in the stalls, waiting to charm buyers for the umpteenth time. The artist that you had seen sketching profiles of young kids a month or two ago is still there. So is the man who engraves names on rice. (Bhatia, 2014)

It is these perpetual, inexpensive time-pass items and cheap imitations of the authentic products, which as the *Sanganeri* artisan[8] lamented, distract visitors from appreciating fully the original craftworks that crafts-persons bring from the interiors, thereby grossly undermining the primary thrust behind Dilli Haat. In fact, over-familiarisation with the same kind of cheap crafts and textile products on display at most times has even diminished the image of Dilli Haat. A telling pointer in the study reveals that about 69% of the visitors surveyed felt that the products were too highly priced for the quality, and that they could find the same elsewhere at cheaper rates!

Unlike a rural *haat*, the political economy of Dilli Haat does not permit just about anyone who wishes to visit either as a seller or a buyer. Crafts-persons and other sellers need to go through a process of validation and selection before being allotted a stall. The visitors pay to enter the market. Though the charge is nominal at Rs 20/- per adult, it is still premium as an entry ticket to a marketplace. Dilli Haat's ambience also lends it a museum-like appeal where the articles for consumption include visual access to beautiful hand-crafted articles akin to window-shopping with the supposed objective of enhancing cultural exposure to indigenous art and crafts and the multi-state cuisine available in the food-stalls.

Equally important are the foreign tourists for Dilli Haat as its policy document

envisions 'to promote and develop it as a tourism promotion centre with a market place where the tourists visiting Delhi can be provided with a direct access to India's real and original craftsmanship, introduction to richness of India's diverse cultural heritage, the taste of regional delicacies in the leisurely convenient and rural ambience.' In fact, Dilli Haat's museumification, for tourists from both India and abroad, enhances the commercial side of the *haat*. As a living museum, Dilli Haat preserves an image of rural India inaccessible otherwise in the metropolis. The rural and the indigenous of India comprising of numerous tribes, are collapsed in a few artifacts, crafts and crafts-persons, whose presence in Dilli Haat is at best a rarified view of the immense diversity of cultures and people of the country. It is reminiscent of the folk-life museum movement that emerged in 19th century in Europe and USA as a result of industrialisation and declining peasantry. The setting up of Dilli Haat at INA (as a successor phenomenon to the Crafts Museum, Delhi, a dedicated space for display of the process of craft in making by the crafts-person and the sale of the witnessed hand-made product to the urban/foreign buyer) and its eventual promotion by the government as a tourist spot, so much so that its policy document claims Dilli Haat as an 'access to India's real and original handicrafts', alerts us to the danger of Dilli Haat becoming a museumified entity eventually.

Conclusion

Following its immense success, the model of INA Dilli Haat was replicated, albeit with certain variations, with the establishment of two other DilliHaats: one at Pitampura (2008) in north-west Delhi and a recent one at Janakpuri (2014) in West Delhi. These two *haats* reflect the changing nature of physical spaces in the modern public cultural sphere as the processes of globalisation and its consumption find new architectural expressions. DilliHaat's replication of its model at Pitampura or at Janakpuri includes amphitheatres and air-conditioned auditoriums and exposition halls for holding cultural events and exhibitions as well as fun zones for children such as are available in modern day shopping malls. Crafts and crafts-persons become incidental, and seem to be brought in merely to add colour to the visual contours of these spaces. Other than the specialised melas like Dastakari Haat, Master Craftsmen, India Weaves etc., at INA, neither of the later Dilli Haats have an exclusive dedication towards the initial goal of bringing crafts-persons directly in touch with urban customers.

The changing consciousness and demands of the city's metropolitan population today makes Dilli Haat more of an amusement and recreational centre with only a few glimpses of the rural hinterland. Rather, its present role in the representation of rural India can be better understood through the metaphor of the bioscope. The bioscope, a rather enlarged version of the view-finder, was a box with a mechanism for picture slides inside, that could be viewed through circular holes on its three sides. In rural fairs and *haats* in India, the bioscope was a regular sight as it charmed the viewer with exotic images of the outside world (Chaturvedi, p. 78). Traditional *haats* functioned as a bioscope for the rural populace as it was through the news and products of the city available at the *haat* that they were exposed to the world beyond their village. Dilli Haat as an urban *haat*reverses this gaze. The images in the bioscope of Dilli Haat are that of rural India and the folk, and these few glimpses that the city dwellers and foreigners get in Dilli Haat are assumed to be representative of the wide and dynamic Indian rural and folk heritage.

Endnotes

1. The present paper is based upon a study conducted as part of University of Delhi's Innovation Project (2013-2015) titled, "Impact of Dilli Haat as a Socio Cultural and a Commercial Oasis on Urban Youth: Exchanges and Negotiation" (MAC 201) with the present authors being its Principal Investigators.

2. Personal interview with Pradeep Sachdeva, January, 2014.

3. Ibid

4. Personal interview with Jaya Jaitly, September, 2014.

5. Ibid

6. Innovation Project MAC 201.

7. There were 54 questions in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to 300 adults of different age groups out of whom 123 were males and 177 were females. Out of this, the data of 204 people was found to be proper wherein there were 102 males and 102 females.

8. Personal Interview, December 2014.

Acknowledgement

References

Appadurai, A. & Breckenridge, C. A. (1996). Public modernity in India. In C. A. Breckenridge (Ed.), *Consuming modernity: Public culture in contemporary India*

(pp. 1-20). Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bhatia, R. (2014, April 19) The lost spirit of Dilli Haat. *Business Standard*. Retrieved from http://www.business-standard.com/article/beyond-business/the-lost-spirit-of-dilli-haat-114041700840_1.html

Chaturvedi, M. (2014). Peeping through a hole: The haat as a window to the socio-cultural dynamics of rural and folk culture. *LITERARIA, 4* (1), 77-88.

Dilli Haat Operation and Management Rules, 2006. *Delhi tourism*. Retrieved from http://www.delhitourism.gov.in/delhitourism/tourist_place/dilli_haat.jsp.

Jaitly, J. (2007). The urban haat experience and possibilities. Asia In *Ch Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from http://www.craftrevival.org/Voicedetails.asp?Code=109

Jaitly, J. (2015, January 9). Not just rural not just urban. *The Indian Express*. Retrieved from http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/ not-just-rural-not-just-urban/99/

Sinha, D. P. (1968). *Culture change in an intertribal market*. New York: Asia Publishing House.

Top choice-Dilli Haat. (n.d.) *Lonely Planet*. Retrieved from http://www. lonelyplanet.com/india/delhi/shopping/arts-crafts/dilli-haat.

Learning Through Inquiry and Investigation: A Critical Analysis of the Effectiveness of Practical Work at Undergraduate Level

Maneesha & Praveen Kant Pandey

Abstract

Laboratories are a core requirement, in particular in science education for skill training and better understanding of concepts. The importance of good quality practical work is widely accepted for improvement of scientific skills and promoting the scientific culture amongst students, thereby leading to improved learning. Through this study, an effort was made to reflect and explore these often-raised concerns by assessing and mapping the current situation with inputs from stakeholders in developing students' knowledge and skills at the undergraduate level. A survey was conducted to identify and understand students' requirements, expectations, experiences and opinions regarding the practical work being done in undergraduate science laboratories in University of Delhi. The students' expectations in identifying the significant characteristics and requirements that demonstrate effective lab work were derived from this data.

Keywords: Efficacy of practical work, Inquiry, Experimental work

It is universally established that science education enables the learners to foster natural inquisitiveness and creativity, cultivate scientific temper and critical thinking, and understand the scientific processes and acquire the skills. Practical work is a major and characteristic feature of science education which can engage students to develop important skills and develop their understanding of concepts and process of scientific investigation. Hence the role of experiments in a good science curriculum is imperative and central to teaching and learning in science and that good quality practical work helps develop students' understanding of scientific concepts. For this reason, the

teaching and learning of a science program must balance and assimilate theory and practical as two essential and complementary aspects with a creative relationship of experiments, observations and theoretical inference.

Background

The teaching of science has received global attention since 1960 and what followed thereafter was a phase of concentrated and vital development in the science curriculum. The new curriculums laid more stress on the processes and procedures of science rather than science as a body of conventional facts. Subsequent to the effect of assessments carried out of the inquiry approach curricula that were implemented in UK, USA and in many developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s, a lot of research has been undertaken to study the impact on students' learning from doing experiments or watching demonstrations. The implementation of practical work to achieve effective and affective learning of science has been undertaken in numerous forms throughout history including "the discovery approach and the process approach" (Wellington, 1998).

The research conducted by Shulman & Tamir (1973) and Anderson (1982) suggests that the practical work in science education leads to improvement of scientific skills and promoting the scientific culture amongst students. The statement made by Solomon (1980) that "science teaching must take place in a laboratory and science simply belongs there as naturally as cooking belongs in a kitchen and gardening in a garden (p. 7)" emphasizes the relevance of practical work in sciences. Examining the aim of practicals, the studies performed by Kerr, 1963; Beatty & Woolnough (1994), Hodson (1993), Swain, Monk & Johnson (2000), suggest that positive attitudes in students' need to be stimulated and nurtured to improve their chances of continuing to study science during higher studies. According to Robert Millar (2004), 'practical work' is referred to "any teaching and learning activity which at some point involves the students in observing or manipulating the objects and materials they are studying" (Swain, Monk & Johnson, 2000). Lunetta et al., (2007) suggested that science laboratory provides a learning experience in which students interact with materials or with secondary sources of data to observe and understand the natural world. In India, the depth and expanse of vision of science education provided by the Education Commission chaired by Prof. D.S. Kothari led to several changes in science curriculum both in approach and content, during the last forty years or so in keeping with contemporary

worldwide trends in science education and shifting community needs.

According to National Curriculum Framework (NCF)-2005, an important criterion for validating a science curriculum is that it should engage the learner in acquiring the methods and processes that lead to the generation and validation of scientific knowledge and nurture the natural curiosity and creativity of the child. Hence the core mandate of the laboratory should be to provide opportunities to develop a spirit of enquiry in them and seek their answers from various sources.

The vision document for Indian Science 2010, INSA mentions that when it comes to science,

> No national scientific enterprise can be sustainable in the long term if it does not contain generous room for curiosity-driven research. While the technological outcomes and social benefits of basic science are almost always long-term and rarely predictable, such science creates and consolidates overall competence and intellectual diversity. (p. 6)

Although all these and other such studies have been conducted primarily to promote the natural curiosity of students' in science in the best possible manner, however, the problem of waning interest of students in science still persists and in fact is growing at an alarming rate.

It is broadly understood that practical work leads to improved learning, however, research proves that the manner in which the practicals are practiced, learning in students is not as expected and research studies tend to support this view. Osborne (1998) and Hodson (1991) claimed that the manner in which practical work is practiced in most countries is ill-conceived and unproductive and has limited role to play in learning science. Given that such a large proportion of time in science lessons is spent on practical work, it is important to understand the purpose and relevance of this type of activity as a tool for teaching and learning.

Objective of the study

The importance and rationale of practical work has been constantly deliberated, hence, as educators involved in teaching science at undergraduate level, a survey was conducted to reflect and explore the often-raised concerns by assessing and mapping the current situation with inputs from stakeholders in developing students' knowledge and skills at undergraduate level. The questionnaire was designed to identify and understand students' requirements, expectations, experiences and opinions regarding the practical work being

done in undergraduate science laboratories in University of Delhi. The purpose of this paper is to find the difference between rhetoric and reality regarding the effectiveness of practicals in science education at the undergraduate level and examine and discuss the role of practical work in the teaching and learning of science to increase the quality and effectiveness of practical work.

Methodology

The study uses stratified random sampling technique to select a representative sample out of the Maharaja Agrasen College student population. Primary data is generated from college student community through carefully structured questionnaire designed to collect information about their expectations, and opinions regarding the practical work being done in undergraduate science laboratories at University of Delhi.

The survey takes into account the opinions of students working in physics lab, chemistry lab, computer lab and electronics lab with the aim of determining whether the characteristics and expectations of effective lab work were same for all labs or different. Using an open-ended survey, students were asked to suggest the features they believe are essential to effective practical work in science laboratories. First question in the questionnaire caters to the attitude and expectations of students in science laboratories and seeks to know that why do the students think that practical work in laboratories is a core requirement in science education. The aim of other questions in the survey was to seek the students' responses based on their real time experience in laboratories. The last question in the survey questionnaire offered the students an open –ended opportunity to express their ideas about enhancing the effectiveness of practical work in science laboratories. The students' expectations identifying the significant characteristics and requirements that demonstrate effective lab work were derived from this data.

Key Findings

The following responses are culled from Maharaja Agrasen College students who participated in the survey.

Q1.   Why do you think the practical work in laboratories is a core requirement in science education? (Students attitude / expectations towards Science Practicals)

      1.1.   Encourage learning skills

      1.2.   Understand investigation processes

1.3. Encourage enquiry and creativity

1.4. Learn science concepts

1.5. Encourage group work
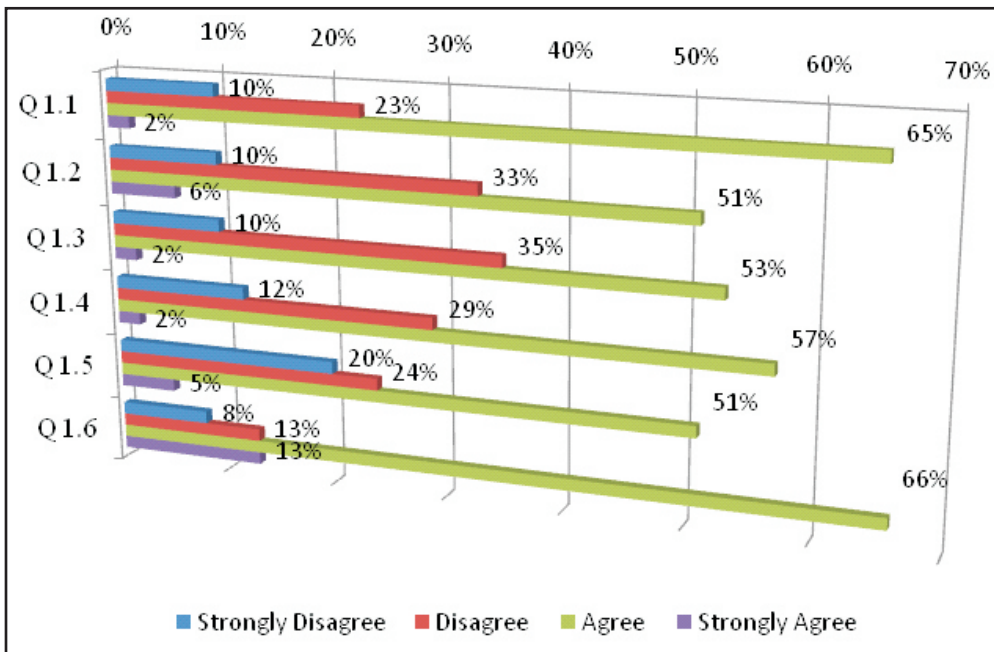
1.6. Science practicals are fun

Figure.1 Participant Response to Q1

After the analysis of the survey's data on students' attitudes, it emerges that students' approach to practical work in science were generally positive. They believe that practical work supports their learning, is enjoyable, and leads to learning science concepts, understand investigation processes.From the responses, it is clear that more than 50% of students at undergraduate level expect the practical work in science laboratories to encourage learning skills, enquiry and creativity and encourage group work.

Q2. From your experience of working in a science laboratory, please comment on the following statements

2.1. It encourages learning skills

2.2. It helps to understand investigation processes

2.3. It encourages enquiry and creativity

2.4.   It encourages group work

2.5.   Science practicals are fun

2.6.   It is important to understand science concepts, principles and learning outcome of the experiment before performing it.

2.7.   Procedural directions should be provided for performing science experiments.

2.8.   It is important to remember formulas and procedures of the experiment

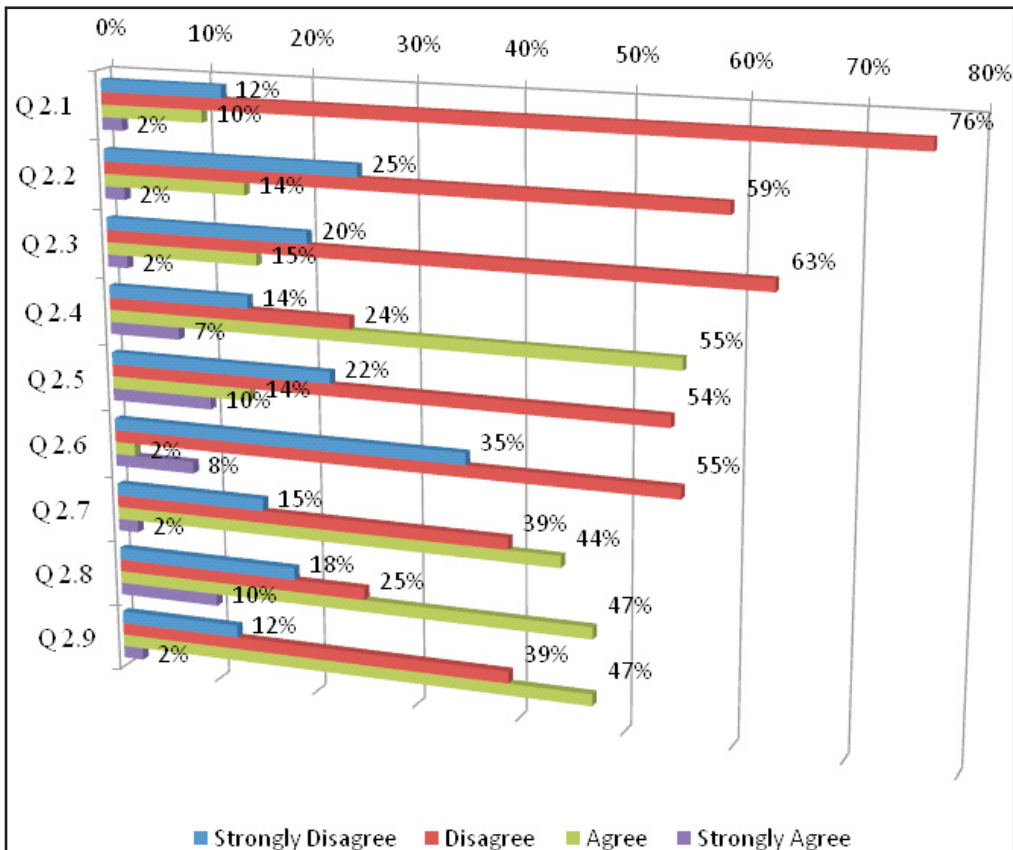2.9.   I would prefer to find out why something happens by doing an experiment than by being told.

Figure.2 Participant Response to Q2

The survey results showed that the undergraduate science students at the University of Delhi had high expectations and strong beliefs about the importance of practical work but experienced low satisfaction with lab work as it did not improve their understanding of concepts of science much. The majority of respondents (> 50%) expected that laboratory work should be enlightening and encourages learning skills and enquiry and creativity. However, this opinion dwindled when they reflected about laboratory activities in their own respective courses. More than half of the students felt that their learning skills, understanding of the experiments and investigation processes was just fair or even poor. 55% students believe that it is not important to understand science concepts, principles and learning outcome of the experiment before performing it, rather majority students concentrate upon procedural directions to perform the experiment.

Q3.   What problems do you experience when conducting experiments in laboratories in sciences?

> 3.1.   More emphasis is on the theoretical concepts rather than on aspects of experimental design i.e. the collection, analysis, and interpretation of evidence.
>
> 3.2.   Students do not get the opportunity to choose the method of investigation and recording of results, observation tables, analysis of results, all are prescribed in advance by the teacher/book.
>
> 3.3.   Rigid curriculum content
>
> 3.4.   Pedagogy used generates limited curiosity
>
> 3.5.   Inefficient technical support
>
> 3.6.   Large practical batch size; limited opportunities to work and investigate independently
>
> 3.7.   Insufficient time for students to reflect on their learning process or try something beyond curriculum.
>
> 3.8.   Challenging, extended, and more open-ended, investigative practical tasks are rarely used to teach students about specific aspects of scientific enquiry.

3.9.   Lack of consistent feedback to improve students' practical skills.

3.10.   Lack of adequate resources and facilities in laboratories
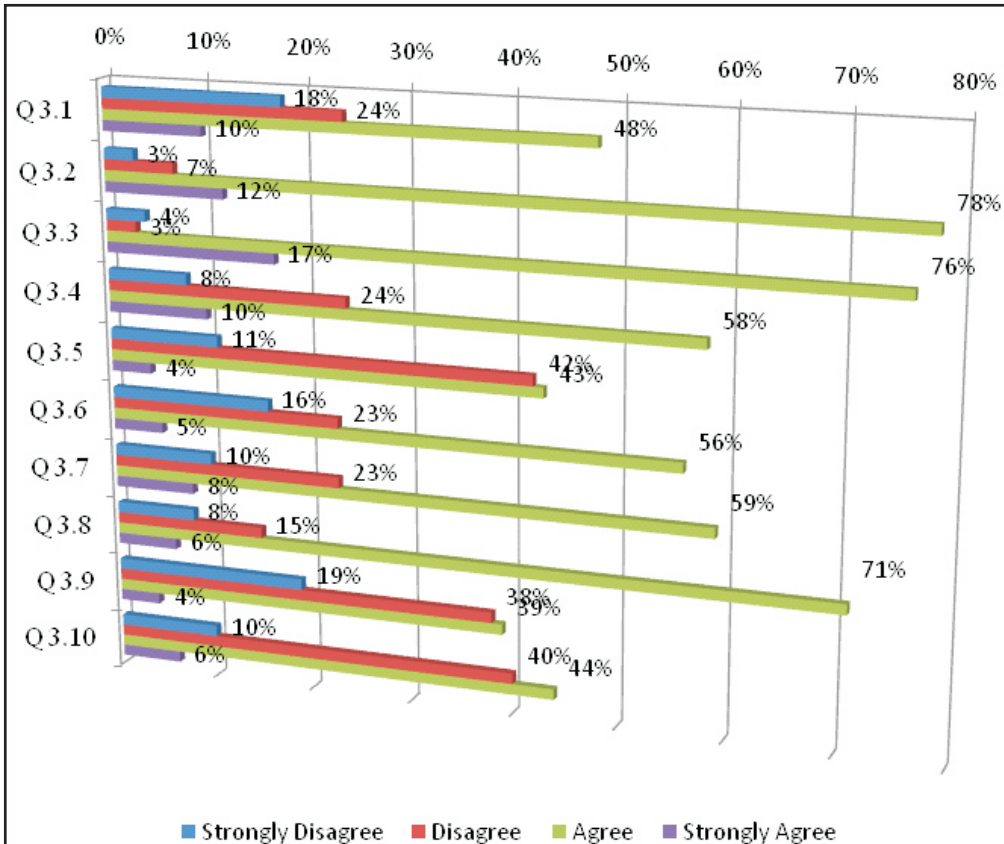

Figure. 3 Participant Response to Q3

When enquired about the various problems faced by students while working in science laboratories, more than 70% students felt that due to rigid curriculum, they do not get the opportunity to choose the method of investigation and recording of results, observation tables, analysis of results(all are prescribed in advance by the teacher/ book) with emphasis on 'recipe practicals'. Challenging and more open-ended, investigative practical tasks are rarely used to teach students about specific aspects of scientific enquiry.Also, students felt that large practical batch size results in limited opportunities to work and investigate independently and they hardly get any time to reflect on their

learning process or try something beyond curriculum due to paucity of time.

Q4.   In science laboratories, how often do you do the following?

> 4.1   Explain and give reasoning behind an idea
>
> 4.2   Work on problems for which there is no immediately obvious method of solution
>
> 4.3   Represent and analyze relationships using tables, charts, or graphs
>
> 4.4   Use computers aids to solve exercises / problems
>
> 4.5   Work together as a class with students responding to one another
>
> 4.6   Work in pairs or small groups without assistance from the teacher
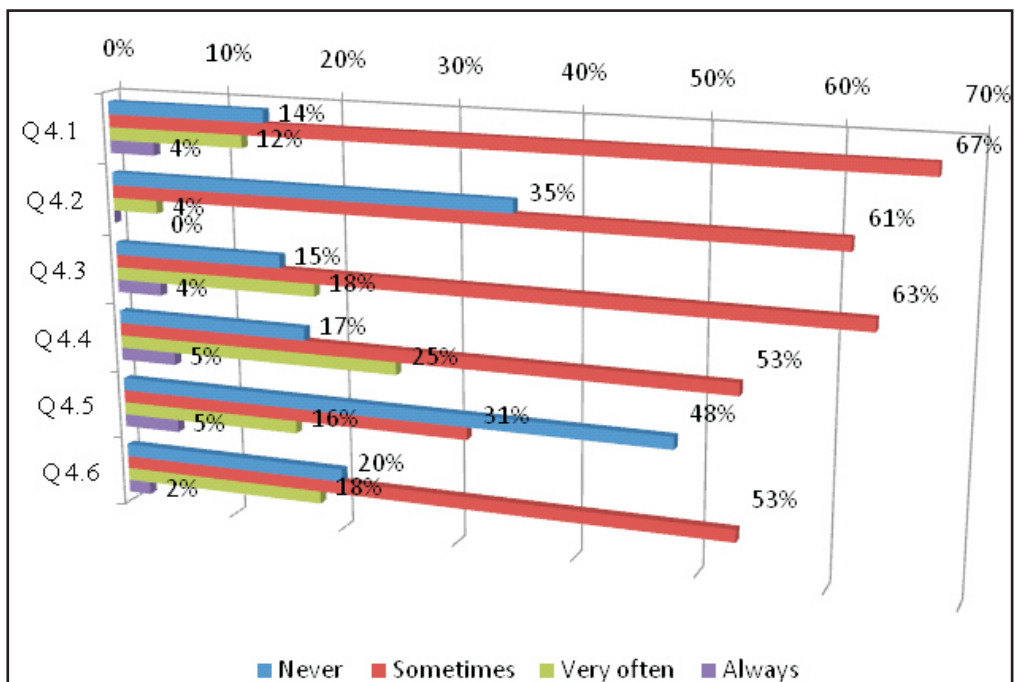
Figure. 4 Participant Response to Q4

The increasing prevalence and impending role of ICT in transforming both the practical and theoretical aspects of science teaching and learning cannot be overlooked as it offers a wide range of tools for information capture, processing and analysis, software for simulation of processes and carrying out 'virtual experiments, graphic tools, etc. Hence it is important that the studentsproperly are well-versed and updated to utilize the powerful potential of using ICT to support science learning. In the survey it was found that 53% students sometimes used computers aids to solve exercises / problems.

It is often argued that practical classes in science laboratories must accomplish much more than simply detailing the obvious unchallenged and unquestioned body of knowledge of science. Hence lab work requires a shift in focus towards ideas, facts and discussion that is more apposite to explain and give reasoning behind an idea and drive towards working on problems for which there is no immediately obvious method of solution. More than 60% students worked in this direction sometimes in the laboratories.

Q5. In what way can the effectiveness of practical work be enhanced in science laboratories?

> 5.1 More flexibility should be provided in terms of pace and place
>
> 5.2 Flexibility between online/offline mode of performing the experiment
>
> 5.3 Encouraging students to design and construct innovative projects/ models related to or beyond the curriculum.
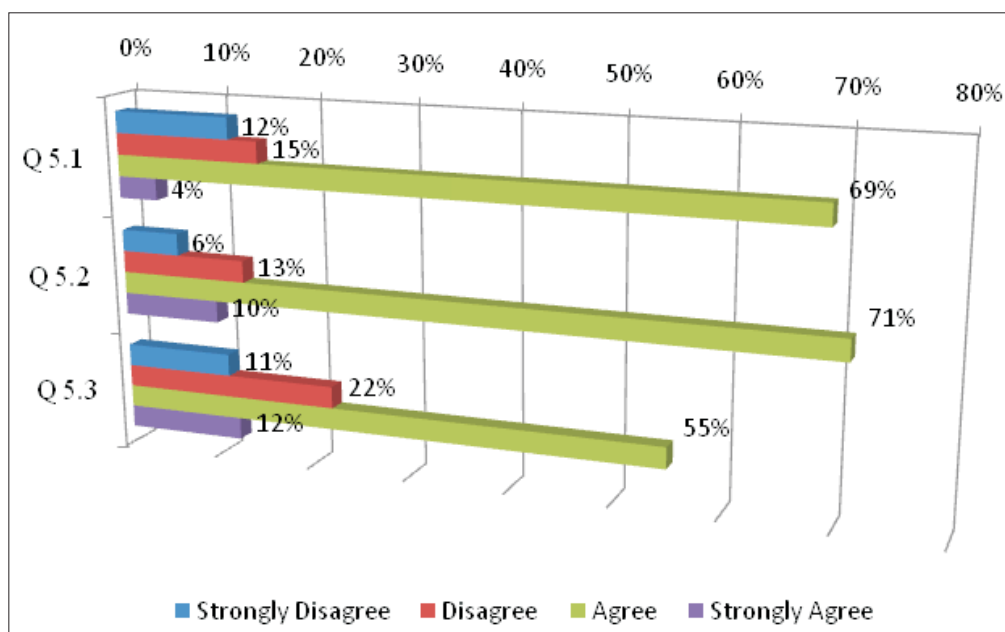
Figure. 5 Participant Response to Q5

In response to methods and mechanisms to enhance effectiveness of practical work in science laboratories, an overwhelming 65% -71% students suggested that more flexibility in terms of pace and place and online/offline mode of performing the experiment is required to increase opportunities and options available to learners and give them greater control over their learning through a variety of learning modes and interactions.

To further enhance the learning experience in laboratories, 55% students chose to design and construct innovative projects/ models related to or beyond the curriculum by applying the theoretical concepts acquired by them to design and construct innovative projects.

Conclusion

Opinions voiced by students in the survey to take stock of effectiveness of practical work in science laboratories at undergraduate level have produced compelling results. Although students' responses regarding their expectation and attitudes towards practical work in laboratories established that laboratory work has a central and distinctive role in science education in achieving the various learning objectives, however their responses based on their experience

of working in science laboratories reveal that these learning objectives are not being translated into actions. The feedback received from the students clearly provides the difference between rhetoric and reality regarding the significance of practical work as experienced by students in real time.

Acknowledgement

References

Anderson, J. R. (1982). Acquisition of cognitive skill. *Psychological Review 89*(4),369-406.

Hodson, D. (1991) Practical work in science: time for a reappraisal, *Studies in Science Education*, 19, 175–184.

Hodson, D. (1993). Rethinking old ways: Towards a more critical approach to practical work in school science. *Studies in Science Education, 22,* 85-142.

Indian National Science Academy. (2010). Vision document for Indian Science 2010. Retrieved from http:// insaindia.org/ pdf/

Lunetta, V. N., Hofstein, A., & Clough, M. (2007). Learning and teaching in the school science laboratory: An analysis of research, theory, and practice. In N. Lederman & S. Abel (Eds.), *Handbook of research on science education* (pp. 393-441). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Millar, R. (2004), The role of practical work in the teaching and learning of science. (Commissioned paper) *Committee on High School Science Laboratories; Role and Vision*. Washington DC: National Academy of Sciences.

Millar, R., & Osborne, J. F. (Eds.) (1998). *Beyond 2000: Science Education for the Future*, London: King's College London.

National Council of Educational Research and Training. (2005). *National Curriculum Framework 2005*. Retrieved from http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/pdf/framework/english/nf2005.pdf

Shulman, L. S., & Tamir, P. (1973). Research on teaching in the natural sciences. In R.M.W. Travers (Ed.), *Second handbook of research on teaching* (pp. 1098-1148). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Solomon, J. (1980). *Teaching children in the laboratory*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Swain, J., Monk, M. & Johnson, S. (2000). Developments in science teachers' attitudes to aims for practical work: continuity and change. *Teacher Development, 4*(2), 281-292.

Wellington, J. (Eds.) (1998).*Practical work in school science: which way now*? London: Routledge.

Woolnough, B. (1994). *Effective science teaching*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Role of E- Resources in Teaching and Learning: An Overview

Satyaprakash Singh

Abstract

The main purpose of this paper is to discuss the need and advantages of e-learning and electronic resources. Nowadays e-resourcesare becoming more popular, since they are not only easy to use but are also reliable. Searching relevant information in a time frame is significant for both researchers and information professionals. E-resources are gaining popularity due to easy and fast accessibility. This paper focuses on the uses of various forms of electronic resources in academics and research. The new and current trend of library services has an economic and user-oriented tendency to access library collections electronically. Library professionals feel that electronic information has a vital role in providing updated information and timely delivery to the users.

Keywords: Library, Information, E Resources, Technology, Research

Introduction

Information Technology (IT) has brought a significant change in all fields of life. It has also revolutionized the role of the library. Information needs of the users in a library, which is the reservoir of information for research, education, reference and guidance may be fulfilled in many ways. Users no longer merely depend upon the printed sources of information. Advancement of information technology has led to the development of electronic resources. In this modern age of new technology in the fields of computer and telecommunication, digitization has finally reached the book publishing industry as well. Electronic resources are sources which provide on-time information in an electronical format, and the information is available at any time as per the need of users.

Electronic resources are enabled by technical capability to create search by using enormous amount of information. Electronic resources include electronic journals, electronic books, electronic database, CD ROMs, DVDs, Internet resources etc.

Features of E-Resources

- Multi-access
- Speed
- Functionality
- Content
- Re-use
- Management
- Storage
- Timeliness

Advantages of E-Resources

- Information access can be made without wasting any time
- Coping with open mouth problem of space and budget etc. in libraries and information centers
- Desired information can be retrieved within few minutes at the learning desk
- Vast collection of information can be stored in a small place
- Resource sharing at desired level among libraries and information centers.

Growth Pattern of Electronic Resources

Although information in electronic formats was created with the advent of the computer in the 1950s when the first data base suitable for searching was developed. MEDLARS were the first on demand computer-based information retrieval service, and it was developed primarily for the profession. In 1971, MEDLIN, the online version of MEDLARS was the first major online dial-up database search service. Many of the first CD-ROM products offered to libraries were versions of larger online databases and were supplied on a subscription basis with ownership of the data remaining with the publisher/producer. Initially the price of the product included licensing of the content, possibly the purchase of a computer and CD-ROM player as well.
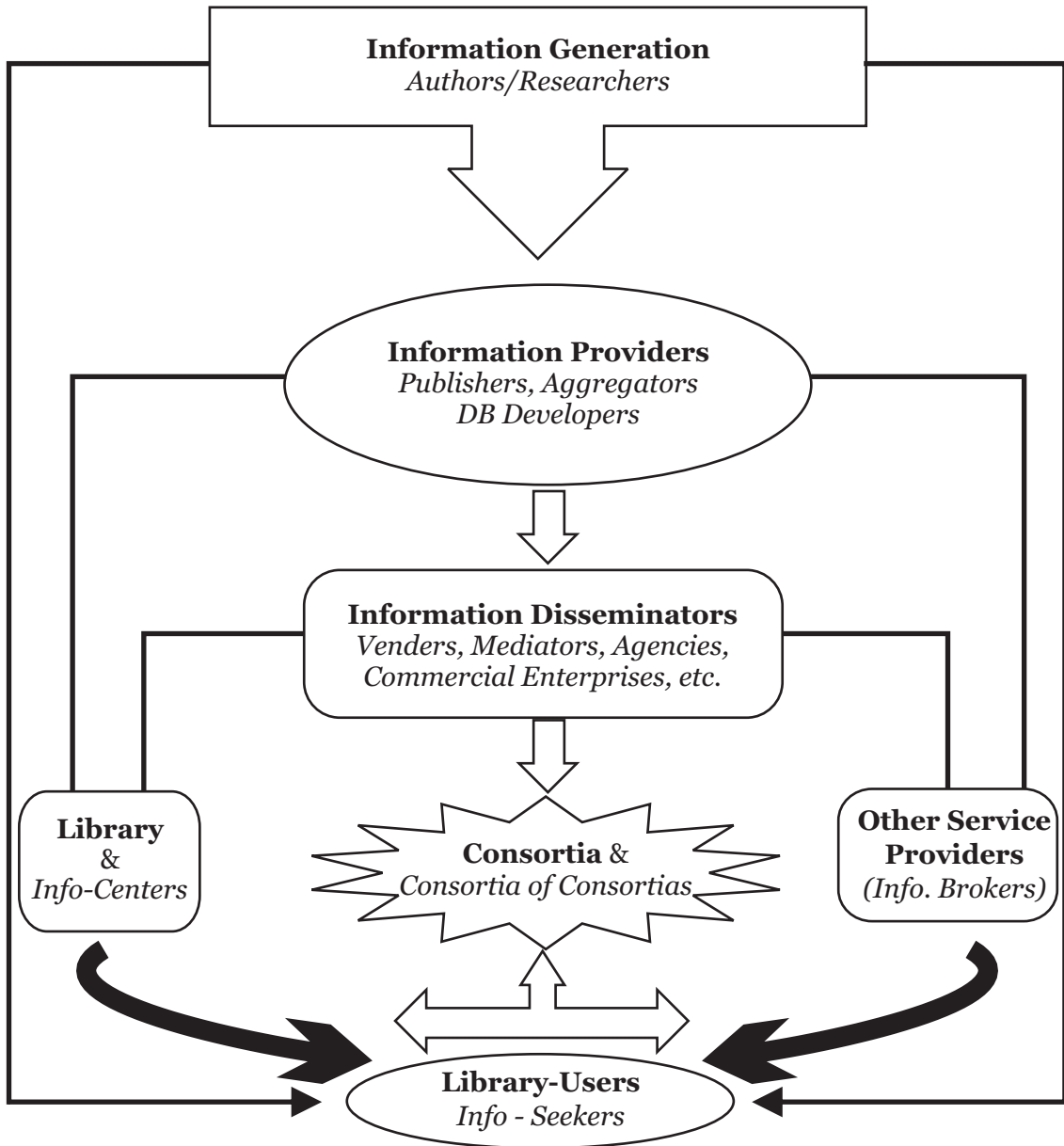
Figure 1. Information flow through "e-resources"

E-Journals

E-journals are simple electronic representations of journals. The library at the University of Glasgow provides the following definition."Any Journal that is available over the internet can be called an electronic journal…some electronic journals (e-journals) are freely available; others have changing mechanism of different types. Established publishers issue some". Others are products from an individual academic's office, with varying quality and relevance. In other words, e-journals are those, which are available electronically to be used with the help of computer and other communication technologies. Journals available on internet, also referred to as Internet journals are networked journals. They include newsletters, magazines, periodicals and discussion lists. Some major Databases products related to science and technology and engineering are as follows: ACM Digital Library, ASCE Journals, ASME Journals, IEL online, Springer's Link, ASTP (Applied Science and Technology Plus). Electronic journals can be grouped under the following three broad categories:

1. **Online Journals:** These are paid journals that are available on 'pay-as-you-go or cost –per-access based via online database, such as EBSCO information services. The user or the organization has to bear the cost of subscription.

2. **CD-ROMs:** These are journals published on CD-ROM, may be bibliographical or full-text. They vary in frequency and are distributed along with search software to access and print.

3. **Networked e-journals:** Networked e-journals are available over networks, such as Internet or many other commercial networks. Many of the networked e-journals are based on mailing list software, such as listserv, majordomo etc. and are distributed in one of the following two ways. The central computer holds a list of subscribers and sends them content pages and abstracts by e-mail when a new issue is published. Subscribers can then retrieve articles through file transfer (FTP) and deliver to their mailboxes or else Subscribers are automatically sent the full-text of each issue by e-mail.

E-Books

An e book is an electronic representation of a book, usually a parallel publication of a print copy, but occasionally born digital. The new concise oxford English dictionary (2001) defines e-book as,"an electronic version of a printed book which can be read for this purpose." According to Ormes (2009),

"The term e-book is used specifically to describe a text, which requires the use of e-book software or hardware to read."The term book includes audio, video, electronic books or e-books. E-books are made on cassette, compact disc, floppy disc, CD-ROM, or downloadable program.

Electronic books are portable computerized devices that allow readers to download text and then read and mark it. E-Book is also referred to as a paperless book and is read on a specially designed device such as personal digital assistant (PAD), or a desktop or laptop computer. There are two types of e-books. Those, which represent an e-version of a whole book (Print) and those, which are effectively database of linked materials.

E- Databases

Electronic database is an organized set of data stored in a computer and can be searched automatically. Database contains usable raw data or description of the sources where data can be found. Database generally refers to machine readable file or bibliography records but may be used more specifically to refer to a shared collection of structured data managed by a set of special software. According to Jennifer Rowley, Database that might be available to information users in the public arena, and which might be accessed either remotely via an online search service or more locally on CD-ROM can be categorized as follows.

- Bibliographic Database: In bibliographic database, all those databases are counted in which the information related with documents such as books, periodicals, encyclopedias etc. are contained and users use them for access of information

- Full text Database: This category contains not only full text of the documents but gives information regarding the source also.

- Numeric Database: Numeric Database is that which contains numeric, statistical or survey type information to give answers of numeric queries.

CD-ROM

Today CD-ROM has become a popular e-media for archival, retrieval and distribution of information. Now every possible title on commercial and technology products, entertainment, database, education and business applications are available on CD-ROMs.The rising demand for multimedia applications, due to easy accessibility of PCs is also fueling its growth.

Features of CD-ROMS

The success of CD/DVD-ROMs over traditional removable media such as floppy disk, tapes can be attributed to following key factors:

- Cross-Platform standard
- Capacity
- Durability
- Portability
- Inexpensive
- Random access

Multimedia Capability

CD/DVD-ROM allows different data types such as text, audio, video to be played in synchronized fashion, for example, an encyclopedia CD/DVD-Rom can simultaneously show text and video clips while playing sound track.

DVDs

DVD- digital video disc or Digital Versatile disc for the computer industry is the next generation to compact Disc in optical disc storage technology. A DVD looks just like a CD (Both have 120 MM Diameter)but has a higher data storage capacity. CD data is recorded on DVD in a spiral trail of tiny pits, and the discs are read using beam. The larger capacity of DVD is archived by making the pits smaller and spiral tighter, and by recording the data in as many as four layers, two on each side of the disc

The main feature of DVD is compression technology and storing of data on multi-layer sides. A single-sided layer DVD holds 4.7 GB and two layer DVD can hold 8.5 GB of data.

Features:

- The high storage capacity of DVDs as compared to CD-ROM
- The quality of sound and video in DVD is better than CD-ROM
- DVD can deliver the data at a higher rate than CD-ROM
- Drives can read both CD-ROM and DVD-ROM
- Multilingual database can be handled
- Better security of data
- Printing and downloading information are feasible

- By using DVD database, it might be possible to avoid CD-ROM, Jukeboxes.

Internet Resources

Internet has been defined as a "networks of networks". It opened new vistas for information seekers during1990. During the period, the internet transformed into a widespread, popular and commercial means of communication, accessible by a large number of people, organization and libraries of all kinds. Individuals/institutions use the Internet as a key information server tool; the World Wide Web (WWW), set up most amount of Information. Many journals, reports, papers and reference sources are available free on Internet and they even constitute sites on the web. For the better use of these resources, library consortia came into existence.Library Consortia are all about sharing resources and improving access to information. These resources are shared among libraries that have common missions, goals and clients (users) and act on those commonalties. Earlier library resources were shared through inter library loan, but in this Information communication technology (ICT) age it has gained momentum even in the developing countries.

E-Journals Consortia: Indian Scenario

INDEST

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has set up the 'Indian National Digital Library in Engineering Science and Technology (INDEST) Consortium' on the recommendations made by the expert group appointed by the minister under the chairmanship of Prof. N. Balakrishnan.

The ministry provides funds required for subscription to electronic resources for 47 Institutions including IISC, IITs, NITs, IIMsand a few other centrally funded Government institutions through the consortium headquarters set up at the IIT Delhi. Government or Government aided engineering colleges and technical department of universities have joined the consortium, as an open-ended proposition, and welcome other institutions to join it on their own for sharing benefits it offers in terms of highly discounted rates of subscription and better terms of agreement with the publishers. All electronic resources being subscribed are available at the publisher's website. The consortium has an active mailing listand a web site hosted at the IIT, Delhi.

E-Resource INDEST-AICTE Consortium

The INDEST-AICTE Consortium subscribes to the following resources for

various categories of institutions. All electronic resources subscribed are available at the publisher's web site. Local hosting of resource has been considered at this stage.

Full –Text E-Resource

Name of Journals	Web sites Address
ABI/Inform Complete	http://www.il.proquest.com/pqdauto
ASCE Journal	http://scitation.aip.org/publications/mybrowsepub.jsp
ACM Digital Library	http://portal.acm.org/portal.cfm
ASME Journal	http://enterprise.astm.org
Journals:	http://journalsip.astm.org
CRIS INFAC Ind. Information	http://www.crisil.com
Digital Engineering Library	http://digitalengineeringlibrary.com
EBSCO Database	http://search.epnet.com
	http://www.sciencedirect.com
Engineering Science Data Unit	http://www.emeraldinsight.com
Emerald Full Text	http://www.emeraldinsight.com
Emerald Management extra	http://www.emeraldinsight.com
Euro monitor (GMID)	http://www.portal.euromonitor.com/portal/server.pt
IEEE/IEE Electronic Library	
Online (IEL	http://ieeexplore.ieee.org
Indian Standards	Internet Version
INSIGHT	http://www.insight.asiancere.com
Nature	http://www.nature.com
ProQuest Science (formerly ASTP)	http://il.proquest.com/pqdauto
Springer Link	http://www.springerlink.com
IET Digital Library	http://www.ietdl.org

Bibliographic Databases

COMPENDEX on El Village http: www.engineeringvillage2.org

INSPEC on El Village http://www.engineeringvillage2.org

MathSciNethttp://www.ams.org/mathscience

UGC-INFONET

The UGC-lnfonet Digital Library Consortium was formally launched in December 2003 by Honorable Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, the President of India soon after providing Internet connectivity to universities in the year 2003 under the UGC lnfonet programme. The consortium proved to be a boon to university libraries which had been discontinuing subscription of scholarly journals because of "Serials Crisis". The term "Serials Crisis" refers to exponential and continuing increase in subscription cost of scholarly journals. The crisis is a result of rise in cost of journals much faster than the rate of inflation, increase in number of journals and the paucity of funds available to the libraries. The consortium provides current as well as archival access to more than 5000core and peer-reviewed journals and nine bibliographic databases from 23 publishers and aggregators indifferent disciplines. The program has been implemented in a phased manner. In the first phase that began in 2004, access to e-resources was provided to 50 universities who had Internet connectivity under the UGC-lnfonet Connectivity programme of the UGC. In the second phase, 50 more universities were added to the programme in the year 2005. So far 153 Universities out of 171 that come under the purview of UGC have been provided differential access to subscribed e-resources. These e-resources covers almost all subject disciplines including arts, humanities, social sciences, physical sciences, chemical Sciences, life sciences, computer sciences, mathematics and statistics, etc.

UGC-Infonet Digital Library Consotium

The UGC Infonet Digital Library Consortium subscribes to the following resources for its member institutions:

Full Text E Resources

- American Chemical Society http://www.pubs.acs.org/
- American Institute of Physics http://scittation.aip.org/ publications/mybrowsepub.jsp#ASP
- Annual Reviews http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/

- Blackwell publishing http://www3interscience.wiley.com
- Cambridge University Press http://journal.combridge.org
- Oxford University Press http://www.oxfordjournals.org
- Royal Society of Chemical http://www.rsc.org/publishing/journals
- Project Mouse http://muse.jhu.edu/

Bibliographic Database

- MathSciNet www.ams.org/mathscinet
- Royal Society of Chemical http://www.rsc.org/publishing/journals
- ISID http://isid.org.in
- JCCC http://jccc-ugcinfonet.in or www.jccc-ugcinfonet.in

FORSA

FORSA came into existence in the year 1982, for sharing the resources available in astronomy libraries in the country. In this consortium, subscription for print and electronic format are paid through the supplier. The agreement is meant for only astronomy journals published by a particular publisher. As per this agreement each member maintains its own print subscriptions and with an additional 12% of its print subscription can access the journals subscribed by other libraries electronically. The entire negotiation was based on the number of the print journals. It is a win-win situation for both the members and the publisher in terms of decreased cost for electronic access to members and a greater number of journals at the same price.

Conclusion

The growth of internet witnessed the emergence of several e-resources that were launched only for internet without a printed counterpart. However, as technology and popularity of internet grew, several mainstream resources primarily available for print subscription also started appearing on the web. The transition from Stone Age to the Agrarian Age to the Industrial Age occurred slowly, unfolding over generations. The 20th century library has faced and conquered the challenges thrown by new formats of materials, from print to microfilms, audio-visual materials, CD-ROMs, computer software, and machine-readable data files. Beginning in the mid1990s, electronic journals access through the internet has made librarianship more challenging. Even though major issues inherent in electronic access management have been raised, not all have been resolved. Librarians are continuing to seek way to

make access for users as easy as possible. While they are confused with the challenging aspect of hunting for creative solutions, they are rewarded in seeing the surprise and amazement of users when told that they can access needed journal articles and other library resources with their computers from their homes and offices.

References

Armstrong, E. Alan etal. (n.d.). Electronic resource accessed; Issues and resolutions in two academic libraries"Retrieved from www.du.ac.in.

Aqili, S. &Maghaddam, A. (2007). Bridging the digital divide: The role of librarians and information professional in the third millennium". *The Electronic Library*, *26*(2), 226-236.

Mounissamy, P.,Kaliammal, A.,& Rani. (2005). Users attitude towards electronic journals. *IASLIC Bulletin 50*(2), 91-95.

Pathak, S.K.,& Deshpande,N. J. (Eds.). (2005). Role of FORSA in Astronomy & Astrophysics Community in India. Proceedings from International Conference. *Digital Libraries: knowledge creation, preservation, access and management*. New Delhi

Singh, S.P. & Kumar,K. (2005). *Special libraries in electronic environment*. Bookwell Publications: India

Thapa, N.et al. (2002). E-Publishing: Beginning of a new era of E-Journals. *IASLIC Bulletin*, *47*(4),216-221.

Kumar, V., & Das C.D. (2000). Rom to DVD-Rom: A new era in electronic publishing of database and multimedia reference source. *IASLIC Bulletin*, *45*(2),49-54.