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THE AGONY OF TRIBAL LIFE

Aju Mukhopadhyay

Aju Mukhopadhyay, Pondicherry, India, is an award winning bilingual poet, author of fiction and non-fiction works and critic. He has authored 30 books and has received several poetry awards, besides other honours from India and abroad. Many of his works have been translated in Indian and foreign languages and anthologised. There are half a dozen books which include discussions on his poetry. He has written essays on more than 30 scholarly books on literature and allied subjects like wildlife, Nature and environment. He has been in the editorial boards of some serious literary journals. He has participated in 30 national and international literary and tribal life conferences. He has travelled across Asia, Europe, America and Africa.

Abstract

It is an irony of human civilization that the most wealthy areas on earth are most impoverished; the people die of disease and hunger, live in ghettos being driven out by the agents of civilization, who live thousands of miles away in air-conditioned rooms in sophisticated countries, who become billionaires plundering resources from the bowl of the earth where lived and still live the adivasis.

The adoption of the U. N. O’s declaration on the rights of the indigenous people in its General Assembly in 2007 and the observation of the General Secretary of the United Nations Organization on the ‘International Day of the World’s Indigenous People’ on 9 August 2009, that scattered in 70 countries, 370 million people throughout the world are the custodians of some of the most biologically diverse areas of the earth, speaking majority of the world’s languages and that they are the repository of traditional knowledge and diverse cultural resources, calls for our immediate attention towards their struggle to get proper social justice and equal rights for their livelihood and development.

The Issue

It is an irony of human civilization that the most wealthy areas on earth are most impoverished; the people die of disease and hunger, live in ghettos being driven out by the agents of civilization, who live thousands of miles away in air-conditioned rooms in sophisticated countries, who become billionaires plundering resources from the bowl of the earth where lived and still live the adivasis.

The legacy continued in India from the time it was a British colony but it was accelerated when Free India wished to take part in the globalization process, for progress in terms of economic development, actually of the few at the cost of the many, plundering natural resources wherever it is available. It was a transition from the License Raj to Economic Liberalisation. Becoming a member of the World Trade Organisation in 1995 India invited all Multi Nationals, both Indian and foreign, to reap the fruits of whatever resources India still had. Such tycoons live in cosmopolitan cities anywhere in the globe. Economic prosperity has been achieved but it has not percolated to the millions, the sons of the soils, who could neither themselves exploit the resources nor stop others doing it. They have not joined the technology propped mainstream of
society. Instead, they decided to follow their age old life style living in their own place, so they became the worst victims of exploitation.

Looking back we find how millions of original Americans, incorrectly named as Indians, and aboriginals of Australia, pushed to the sea, killed and now incredibly reduced, living in reserves, ghettoised. The latest report in Australia indicates that the standard of health and education in respect of aboriginals have fallen to an all time low, child and women abuse have increased to a good extent; among the aboriginals racist division has been increasing. Many fold increase of their incarceration and remand to custody have been noticed. Crime against such people has been on the rise. Fact is, it is an worldwide phenomenon.

Mining is the Core Issue

Mining is the 21st-century gold rush. Governments dream that this infrastructure industry will bolster a new wave of industrial revolution bringing prosperity to people and employment to workers, specially those who will be evacuated from the land or destroyed.

National Mineral Policy was formulated in 1993 after the economic liberalization policy was declared in 1991. Since then mining has become one of the fastest growing sector. It is the well publicized infrastructure sector with the Fund managers. This policy has been revised from time to time to allow gradually 100 per cent foreign direct investment, allowing further venture capital into prospecting and exploration in the mining field. State Governments have been given more discretionary powers. In the presence of huge private sector operators in the field the role of Central Government has been reduced to facilitating and regulating leases, arranging for more infrastructural facilities to business houses, Indian and foreign.

Further steps have been taken on the line in the new National Mineral Policy of 2008. While the emphasis of the NMP 2008 is on extracting minerals for economic development of the country, it pays scant attention to the impact this burgeoning mining activity will have on the environment and the livelihood of local people. Mining always has serious consequences for displacement of people, deforestation, environmental degradation, water scarcity, etc, and these should be seriously addressed in any mining policy. The situation will be further aggravated when the government amends the Mines and Minerals Development and Regulation Act of 1957 to implement the policy directives of the NMP.

The NMP is ambiguous on the subject of rehabilitation and resettlement of the large numbers of adivasis who will be displaced from their lands. Most adivasis are marginal landowners or landless farmers, with no official records to prove their rights over the lands they have been living on and cultivating for centuries. They are thus unlikely to get any compensation or appropriate rehabilitation if a strictly legalistic approach is adopted.

Mining activity hitherto has neither brought any benefits to local populations nor has it shown any concern for the environment as these facts will show that in India there exists an inverse relationship between mineral production and economic growth. Sixty per cent of the top 50 mineral-producing districts are among the 150 most backward districts of the country even after decades of mining.
More and more forest land has been diverted for mining, violating the provisions of the Forest Conservation Act of 1980. During 1998-2005, 216 mining projects were granted forest clearance annually, as against 19 per year during 1980-97.

Mining projects have displaced around 25.5 lakh people during 1950-1991, and 52% of the people displaced are adivasis.

Chhattisgarh, which has a large tribal population, is one of the richest states in India in terms of mineral wealth. The mineral-rich districts of Bastar, Surguja, Korba and Dantewada are also tribal dominated and heavily forested. New mining projects are coming up in these districts which are among the most backward districts of the state in terms of human and social indicators.

Mining impacts negatively on the ecosystems of the area. In Korba district of Chhattisgarh, mining activity has affected around 78% of the forest area. According to a 2006 study by the Indian Institute of Remote Sensing, 6% of forest land has been completely converted for industrial purposes, 55% changed into barren and waste land, and around 17% became highly degraded forest.

West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand has abundant reserves of iron ore and forests, and 66% of its population is adivasi. Large-scale mining has not brought progress to the peoples here. Almost 50% of the population lives below the poverty line and a significant 19% of households are not food sufficient.

Forty per cent of the mineral-rich regions are affected by Naxalite insurgency – radicals who use force to overthrow or destabilise existing administrations that they see as corrupt and anti-poor. In Chhattisgarh, the government has pitted the adivasi population against the Naxals under the Salwa Judum, which it calls a peace campaign. This has divided the adivasis who were resisting industrial activity, including mining. This conflict has led to the displacement of about 80,000 people in the state.

It is more investor-friendly policy to the extent of ignoring schedule 5 of Indian Constitution which safeguards the rights of the tribal people as it forbids the lease or sale of adivasi lands to non-advasis. Going a step further, the R. K. Dang committee recommended permission to mining in hitherto un-mined adivasi inhabited areas.

The threat of European Union-India Free Trade Agreement (FTA), under negotiations from 2007, is ominous to the tribal land and our forest resources including the wildlife. It is said that India is the largest producer of ‘metallic minerals’ and ‘rare-earth minerals’ including ‘chromites’. Greedy eyes are glazing at it. Under the FTA the Government would be legally handing over the rights of resources, the dependent communities and wildlife to business interests. It already happened even before coming into such an agreement.

Mining brings all sorts of disruptive activities that are inimical to conservation of wildlife; roads are cut opening fragile ecosystem for human intrusion. Large scale labour force settlements in the forests fragments the wild habitats. Power lines that bring electricity, water and other pipelines that carry semi-finished product to the nearest ports, briefly the linear structures
breaking the continuous tree canopies are highly disruptive to the wildlife. Surface mining is farmer’s nightmare as it changes the hydrological profile of an area by degrading catchments, affecting both quality and quantity of water. Mining has heavily polluted Ganga, Tunga, Bhadra, Kali, Selaulim, Mandovi, Zauri and innumerable other rivers. Reservoirs built with billions of rupees of public money are clogged with mine silt, decreasing water-holding capacity, announcing a colossal waste of public money in exchange of filling up outsiders’ pockets. Remnants of Forest lands in the dry districts of Bellary, Tumkur, Chitradurga, Koppal and Bangalore beyond the Western Ghats are gasping for breath due to relentless exploitation for iron ore and granite. Panna Tiger Reserve has two diamond mines inside it which acted as the most depletive factors aided by human conspiracy for losing all its tigers. Threat looms large over Bandipur Tiger Reserve for iron ore mining and fear of coal mining over Tadoba-Andhari Tiger Reserve. Goa has 100 mining leases in two districts which have 65 per cent forest cover.

The aluminum industry depends primarily on bauxite, a porous rock that caps mountains; some of the highest and most pristine of which are in Orissa. Bauxite being porous, it retains water, so that the sides and often the summits of these mountains are densely forested; moreover, the bauxite slowly releases the water in the summer, in clear streams that nourish the fields and bodies of the people who live on these mountains, and, further downstream, feed the region’s major rivers. Out of more than 20 mountains in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, mining was planned and has started on all.

Stripping the old-growth forest off the summits and sides of mountains; using explosives to blow up the mountaintops themselves; herding people who live on the hills—who have cherished and nurtured their unique environment for millennia—into settlements that sometimes resemble concentration camps, building dams for supplying enormous quantities of water required to smelt aluminum (almost 1,400 tons of water for every ton of the metal) which drown neighboring valleys and villages, crushing, refining, and smelting, leaving behind toxic smoke that chokes lungs, weakens bones and bleaches crops, leaving caustic, radioactive red sludge that leaches into rivers and kills fish along with the occasional humans are the unheard of stories until recently that make a few billionaires here and there; pride or shame of India at the cost of thousands of lives of men and animals tortured to death. The U.S. Government has not thought it prudent to produce aluminium in their country for these reasons but decided to import it at cheaper cost; India is one of the greatest and perhaps cheapest sources. Bauxite was being sold by India at the pitiful royalty rate of Rs.64 per ton against the world average price of $30 per ton, whereas the finished aluminium is sold by the companies at about $2,500 a ton.

The low, flat-topped hills of south Orissa have been home to the Dongria Kondh long before the name of India or Orissa emerged. Niyamgiri hill, home to their Niyam Raja, God of Universal Law, is worshipped by them as their living deity from time immemorial. Now these hills have been sold for the bauxite they contain to a company called Vedanta which is originally the name of Hindu philosophy, a tradition of Vedic knowledge and poetry that teaches the Ultimate Nature of Knowledge, couched in most beautiful words. It is an irony of India’s fate that such a name has been adopted by a modern non-resident Indian industrial tycoon, engaged in destroying the Mother Earth with its original inhabitants.
Let us see the fall out of this mining industry. Borbhata and Kinnari villages with 120 families were displaced to give way to the factory at Lanjigarh. Villagers of Rengopalli and Chattrapur woke up to a stuffy smoke cloud enveloping their villages as ash cloud spread from 500 metres. The poisonous Ash pond and Red-Mud pond of refinery’s alkaline waste disposal are situated nearby that pollutes Vanshahdara river. A ton of toxic waste is produced for every ton of alumina produced. Ground water is contaminated up to hand-wells and other wells. People died of tuberculosis, cattle died, trees did not bear fruit or they do not yield as before. Supreme Court’s Central Empowered Committee recommended closure of the project as early as in 2005. Still it goes on doing its job. It almost stopped through court order but its revival is on its way.

In Dantewada the Vanvsi Chetana Ashram, a Gandhian ashram run by Himanshu Kumar, was bulldozed in a few hours. Salwa Judum, the "official people's militia" have killed and raped and burned on its way through the forests of Dantewada leaving 300,000 people homeless or on the run, it is reported. Lalgarh in West Bengal was cordoned off, attacked by another undisclosed official force, besides Government forces. The forest once known as the Dandakaranya, which stretches from West Bengal through Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, parts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashastra, is home to millions of India's tribal people. It too has come under fire by the operation ‘Green Hunt’. People who had come from the war zones have spread the stories of police repression, arrests, torture, killing and the corruption; all are done, it seems, on behalf of the industrialists. Muria tribe people, under pressure of conflict between Maoists and the Government, fled to Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh. They were in conflict with another group, the Koyas who had come earlier, it is reported.

Illegal mining in large areas in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining Karnataka raised a battle between the miners, locals and the Government. Governments are apparently involved in all such fights. It is a matter of great controversy in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Bellary district alone has shown exemplary disregard for earth and future of mankind through shameless, illegal mining by the unscrupulous persons in connivance with the governmental authority of the State. Even when convicted the evil raise its heads to justify their activities through vicious politics.

Gond tribe constitutes 60 per cent of Bastar’s population. The tribal population of Chhattisgarh is 33 per cent of the total population of the province and the whole Dandakaranya area is full of tribal people. Tribal people are almost everywhere in India.

Most of the tribal people all over India are utterly poor, ignorant, simple folks, almost entirely illiterate. Below is the eye-witness report of an NGO based worker, Sharanya Nayak, living with the tribal people of Niyama Giri hills:

“For a long time they remained untouched by complexities of caste, class and gender. But gradually as non-tribal monarchies laid claim to their territory in the garb of a zamindari system and British colonial rule in the garb of “tribal development”, adivasi communities began to disintegrate. I not only believe but have firsthand knowledge that tribals are not backward — they are independent, vibrant communities/societies, not individuals, which like all of us are constantly adapting to a changing world. Tribal development all over the globe has been characterized by a grossly insensitive schooling, a complete dependency on welfare programmes
destroying self-sufficient livelihood systems. The resulting abject poverty has largely destroyed their way of life, their ingenuity, and demolished their self-esteem.

“Unable to fathom the changes and cope with the breakdown of their lives and livelihoods, they have become “imbalanced”. And because of this, domestic violence, distress migration, homicide, etc. have become their new characteristics. In fact some communities have the highest suicide rate in the world and every family knows at least one teenager who has killed herself or himself.” (Nayak/Goolden Chain/2009)

It should be remembered that the tribal people have taken up arms because for centuries they have been exploited, neglected and their resistance paid with violence. They believe that if they do not fight for their land they will be annihilated. They have been pushed to the brink of existence.

According to report from the Ministry of Environment and Forest 1.10.000 hectares of forest land was lost up to January 2010 to mining. Apart from legal mining illegal mining abounds; Andhra Pradesh has more than 35.000 cases, Gujarat has more than 23.000 cases, M.P has more than 16.000 cases pending. Apart from some smaller ventures there are large scale operations too. Recent news is, Kolar Gold field area is being captured by outsiders.

“This time around, several corporations are involved, but their tactics have much in common with those that the British East India Company employed 200 years ago—subjugating or co-opting the subcontinent’s rulers, and then robbing the populace by means of the state’s own lawmakers, police, armed forces, and, on occasion, judiciary- The authors have with laudable argument revealed how the world’s largest democracy has blundered into a servitude to corporations that chillingly resembles the colonization from which it had escaped a mere six decades ago”, opined Madhusree Mukherjee. (Book Review)

As the global economy expands, the pressure on adivasi lands to yield minerals will intensify. Mining is a short-term activity with long-term effects. Though the NMP 2008 talks about scientific mining, it is an unsustainable activity and is based on the extraction of non-renewable resources. Millions of people lose their livelihoods because of mining and it has also become the main cause of social unrest, widespread human rights violation, health hazards for people and environmental degradation.

While it is true that the country needs minerals for infrastructure development, it is equally true that over-consumption by one section of society is destroying the livelihoods and environments of another section, which is at the receiving end of mining. Decades of mining have not contributed much to the economic betterment of local populations and this is particularly true of marginalised groups such as the adivasis. Poor development and marginalisation create conditions for social tensions. Mining is an activity that needs to be strictly controlled at all stages. Above all, people living in mining areas should have the capacity to take fully-informed decisions on allowing mining in their territories or decide on how to carry out the activity and ensure environmental conservation and social justice. The new NMP needs to examine these issues with a sense of urgency. The policy itself needs to be brought to centrestage and widely discussed.
Maoism

It is not Maoists in particular, they could have joined hands with any group who would help them to exist for it is ultimately an war of existence. It’s worth keeping in mind that the adivasi people have a long and courageous history of resistance that predates the birth of Maoism. To look upon them as brainless puppets being manipulated by a few middle-class Maoist ideologues is to do them a disservice, thinks Arundhati Roy, the writer. (Roy/Guardian/2009)

The other side of the story is that Maoists run with budgets of rupees thousands of crores which comes from extortion, drugs, ransom, loot and robbery. Every sack of potato, each consignment of merchandise and every Government salary has a price. They encourage running poppy and ganja farms and earn fabulous sum from such operations. It carries on in the same line of action as shown by their leader in whose name their party is founded. In fact, to those who know or have read the activities of Mao Tse-Tung (Mao Zedong), how he achieved his goal at the cost of innumerable lives of poor peasants and ordinary people of his country, would find it detestable to find any party or movement named after him, associated with his name. The internal condition of India is far different from the condition of the then China when Mao operated very brutally and treacherously leading towards his dictatorial position. So it is not in the name or group that matters but the spirit of the tribal people who have never been helped to come out of their poverty and ignorance, illiteracy and deprivation, almost losing all, losing the last straw to hold on in the sea of despair, that fights with whatever weapon and help or solace given by any opportunist or others, to fight with their last blood.

The process of destruction continues throughout the world

This war for eviction and destruction of the aboriginals has been raging the whole world as the recent reports suggest. India is a major partner in the process. All the teak have already been logged in Borneo jungle, spree for more logging and plantation for extracting palm oil have been pauperizing and destroying the original jungle people, the nomadic Penans. In the Amazonian forests of northern Peru tribes such as Awajun and Wambi Indians and others are in a war zone, fighting and dying with indigenous weapons before the modern mercenaries, armed to the teeth. It has been called the ‘Peru’s Tienanmen Square’. Recently Akuntsu tribe of Brazilian Amazon has lost its oldest member, Ururu, who witnessed the genocide of her people, destruction of rainforest by the cattle ranchers and gunmen, besides the construction of the infamous BR 364 highway.

It has been opined that unlike killings in Nazi Germany and Rwanda the genocide of indigenous people are played out in hidden corners of the earth. A massive military force raided the communities opposed to oil companies in Niger-Delta. Indigenous people in Niger-Delta resorted to court cases but that too is under pressure to ignore their land rights when it conflicts with economic opportunities, it is opined. Logging was the main exploitation and now its latest arm is the tourism and encroachment in Andaman and Nicobar islands for agriculture and industrialization, in whatever scale it is. Now tourism is posing a big problem towards giving peace to Jarawas. According to Victor Menotti, Director of International Forum on Globalisation, California, a paradigm war has taken place from the arctic to tropical forests.
Wherever one finds indigenous peoples there must be resource conflicts. It is a battle between the industrial and indigenous world views.

It is not only ignoring the world views but our neglect of history and ecological, environmental teachings that create the disharmony.

Amidst the hot blows of death and destruction of the indigenous people throughout the affected parts of India, the Independence Day speech by the Prime Minister brought some apparent solace when we read, “He said the planning commission had been asked to formulate a comprehensive scheme to end the neglect of tribals and make them join the mainstream of development. Apart from payment of adequate compensation for land acquired from the tribals, it should be ensured that they had a stake in the development projects being undertaken.” (Hindu/16.8.2010)

He said that they should be given 26 per cent of mining profit. But if it is a percentage of the meager royalty as is taken by the Government, it becomes a pittance. It seems that one does not have a clear idea about what the future actions on such speeches were or are.

Though there is an admittance of neglect of the adivasis in the past, proposal to bring them in the mainstream may be contested for every community should be allowed to live their life according their tradition and choice. The call is akin to another call to Jarawas whose population in the Andamans is under threat. It has been suggested that compensation for the land taken for mining, etc. from the tribal people on mutual terms be paid as agreed by the tribal people which should be reasonable. It may be suggested that each tree that exists in the land can be valued based on the amount of CO2 it would absorb over its' life. The land could then be valued based on the value of all the trees. But one very important thing is how it will be ascertained that they agree to such mining and other works and to their eviction? Their Hindi speaking representatives may speak differently, succumbing to different allurements. If at all an agreement has to be reached it should be decided in dialogues with the people at their place, in languages known to them, the majority of the tribal people. It is heartening to note that the United States Government has recently passed the ‘Tribal Law and Order Act’ that tackles violent crime against Native American and Alaska Native women. But this is only a part of the full job of compensating what wrongs have so far been done.

**Non recognition of indigenous knowledge in the sphere of biology and medicine**

Another area of deprivation of the indigenous people is the piracy of indigenous knowledge and of biological resources, by governments, scientific establishments, and corporations, has been going on all over the world. However, local communities and sensitive governments have been increasingly raising their voice against this, and demanding that the rights of the originators and conservers of resources and knowledge be protected by both national and international law.

**Forest is the mainstay of our life**

Apart from the problem with the tribal people there is a greater problem of destruction of forests, so vital for human existence. In India Forest Conservation Act (FCA) was passed in 1980, Environmental (Protection) Act was passed in 1886 followed by Coastal Regulation Zone Notification (CRZ) in 1991, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Notification in 1994 and
Biological Diversity (BD) Act in 2002 which was passed as India became a signatory to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) in 1992.

It has been pointed out that from 1986 to 2006 MOeF (Ministry of Environment and Forest) granted Environmental Clearance in respect of 4016 projects but much larger numbers operated without any clearance. As the Supreme Court ordered closure of all the units operating without clearance in response to a petition, MoEF began seeking temporary working permission followed by amendment to EIA notification. Environment concerns are considered as potential bottlenecks towards development. Streams of amendments were made to facilitate speedy clearance for which MoEF is better known.

More and more areas that are wildlife habitats, agricultural lands, critical watersheds and sensitive coastal and marine areas are being freed of legal and administrative encumbrances for roads, logging, mining, cattle ranching, for new human habitats. Since 1980, with the promulgation of FCA, the MoEF has allowed diversion of 11,40,176.86 hectares of forest land for non-forest use. Illegal encroachments continue with many bitter results. The trees, the vegetation, the rivers and streams, all those human and non-human agencies everywhere help life and existence possible. We can find the consequence of its absence from an example of a glorious civilization ruined hundreds of years ago.

**The Mayan Civilisation**

Mayan civilization continued for some 1500 years; from before Christ’s official birth to almost the end of the first millennium of the Christian era. Its antiquity has been stretched to 1800 B.C. Hieroglyphics on a temple staircase found in the jungles of Guatemala in Mexico after a hurricane in 2001 reveals a story of the Tikal ruler, Jasaw Chan K’awiil, who ruled in the eighth century AD. After his bloody win over his rival, the Snake kingdom of Chalakmul, Jasaw and his accomplices began rebuilding the city in full euphoria, in an unprecedented scale. Temple was a symbol of their prosperity. He began building huge temples with timber from trees, even 200 years old.

Historians are of the view that before Jasaw forests were conserved and cutting logwoods were prohibited for ninety per cent of the population depended on lakes, ponds and rivers. The massive hacking down of logwood did upset the ecological balance. According to Professor David Lentz, a botanist in U S, with abiding interest in ancient history- “When you clear all the forests, it changes the hydrological cycle. With no trees, you lose water retention in the soil or aquifers so the ground dries up and then there is less transpiration, so therefore less rainfall as well.” (D.T.E/48)

The article mentions that there were three droughts between 810 and 910 AD resulting in crop failure, mal-nutrition, disease and competition for resources causing warfare of different scales; the great socio-political upheaval. The ultimate result was evidenced by the huge excavation at the Mayan site in Guatemala, Mexico, that led to discovery of massive death due to disease, mal-nutrition and hunger. It is a pathetic example of annihilation of a civilization due to annihilation of trees.
We find a solid analysis for such decline in another work. It says that the decline and eventual
collapse of the Mayan civilization has been attributed to many possibilities like wars, famine,
natural calamity, disruption of trade routes, popular unrests and others. A combination of all
these might have hastened the process but the real reason or the core issue is destruction of
forest, the essential green belt. It says that the constant need for cal (stucco) to cover the big
temples certainly produced a complete deforestation in a land not suited for agricultural use but
for forestry due to its very little humus content. To cover just one temple with stucco, the
Mayans had to cut 400 hectares of forest because only green wood reaches enough temperature
to form it and there were hundreds of big structures in their cities.

Alas, the process still continues; latest report is that great sweeps of Guatemalan rain forest
are being razed to clear land for cattle-ranching drug barons. The other parts of Maya Biosphere
Reserve, Central America’s largest protected area, have been burned down by small cities of
squatters.

Conclusion
The adoption of the U. N. O’s declaration on the rights of the indigenous people in its General
Assembly in 2007 and the observation of the General Secretary of the United Nations
Organization on the ‘International Day of the World’s Indigenous People’ on 9 August 2009,
that scattered in 70 countries, 370 million people throughout the world are the custodians of
some of the most biologically diverse areas of the earth, speaking majority of the world’s
languages and that they are the repository of traditional knowledge and diverse cultural
resources, calls for our immediate attention towards their struggle to get proper social justice and
equal rights for their livelihood and development.

It should be our duty to conserve the forests with its age old residents, human and non-human
habitats. To maintain ourselves we have to maintain the biological diversity. Mining should be of
secondary importance, wealth from the bowl of the earth to be raised when essential, not exactly
for profits. No technology can save us if the nature’s bounties are denied for we depend on
natural resources whatever we do.

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HEGEMONIC CULTURE AND DALIT POETRY

Anil Suresh Adagale
Assistant Professor
Symbiosis College of Arts and Commerce,
Senapati Bapat Road, Pune – 411 004 (Maharashtra)

ABSTRACT

The research paper attempts to interrogate the ideology and hegemony of caste in the larger context of cultural studies in general and Marathi dalit poetry in particular. Caste determines the identity of an Indian. Caste has created the binary of two antagonistic groups of Brahmin and non-Brahmin. Brahmin established their hegemony in the social, economic, political, intellectual, cultural and literary fields. Dalits were denied the right of being ‘human’. The Brahmins have established the theories that the caste system is God-made and not Man-made. Because of the rigidity of the caste system, Dalits are considered outcastes downtrodden, polluted, marginals and are exploited by the higher castes since centuries. Dr. Ambedkar considered that caste is a system of graded inequality in which castes are arranged according to an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. This indicates the upper caste held power and high status, on the contrary the lower castes have no power, no status and considered as dirty and polluting. This offered a counter view on the caste system by focusing on the experiential dimension of caste based oppression experienced by dalits and the same is articulated in dalit literature. Dr. B R Ambedkar defined Caste as an Enclosed Class. Brahmins occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy of Hindu society. They strictly observed the customs to maintain their social superiority. Thus it leads to the establishment of ‘unnatural institution’ maintained through the unnatural means.

Keywords: Dalit, caste, hegemony, hierarchy, cultural studies, outcaste, power, inequality.

Introduction:

Caste is the basis of the consciousness of the Indian people. The term is used in various contexts like history, sociology, religion, anthropology and ethnography and offers the diversified perspectives of its use. The term encompasses two major aspects namely rejection and reinterpretation of the hegemonic tradition of Brahmanism and the vision for the casteless society. The research paper attempts to interrogate the ideology and hegemony of caste in the larger context of cultural studies in general and Marathi dalit poetry in particular. Caste determines the identity of an Indian. Caste has created the binary of two antagonistic groups of Brahmin and non-Brahmin. Brahmin established their hegemony in the social, economic, political, intellectual, cultural and literary fields. Dalits were denied the right of being ‘human’. The Brahmins have established the theories that the caste system is God-made and not Man-made. Because of the rigidity of the caste system, Dalits are considered outcastes downtrodden, polluted, marginals and are exploited by the higher castes since centuries.

The initial sociological and political discourse on caste is based on the brahmanical view drawn from brahmanical text. The dalit writers offered a counter view of on the caste system by
focusing on the experiential dimension of caste based oppression. Scholars like Louis Dumont and Michael Moffat present the caste system as a system of consensual values. This means that both the dominant and the dominated have willingly accepted the designated role in the caste hierarchy. The structuralist analysis of caste led by Dumont is historically unsatisfactory since an overarching concept of caste conceals a complex and heterogeneous social reality which is continually shifting and which structural analysis of caste does not indeed cannot capture. The caste system can not be regarded as a consensual arrangement or one in which the low are reconciled to their status as low and contemptible.

In contrast, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar formulated the counter view. According to him, caste is a system of graded inequality in which castes are arranged according to an ascending scale of reverence and a descending scale of contempt. This indicates the upper caste held power and high status, on the contrary the lower castes have no power, no status and considered as dirty and polluting. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar argued that it was neither the Hindu law-giver Manu nor the Brahmans had created the caste system. They are not the creator but the upholder of this pernicious caste system. He further stated that the caste system emerged out of the class system. Initially, there were four classes namely Brahmans or priestly class, the Kshatriya or the military class, the Vaishya or the merchant class and the Shudra or the menial class. This class system was elastic enough to permit the social mobility among the classes. At some time in the history, the priestly class detached itself from the rest and adopted the closed door policy that became the caste in itself. So the open door character of the class system has become the self enclosed units called castes.

**Hegemony:**

In Marxist philosophy, the term cultural hegemony describes the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class, who manipulate the culture of that society — the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values, and mores — so that their ruling-class worldview becomes the worldview that is imposed and accepted as the cultural norm; as the universally valid dominant ideology that justifies the social, political, and economic status quo as natural, inevitable, perpetual and beneficial for everyone, rather than as artificial social constructs that benefit only the ruling class. One of Gramsci's ideas was the concept of "hegemony," or ideological domination. When one ideology, or world view, dominates, it suppresses or stamps out, often cruelly, any other ways of explaining reality. Actually, hegemony can contain a variety of ideologies. Some are artificial -- theoretical explanations created by academics or political activists or philosophers. Other ideologies are "organic," which means they come from the common people's lived experience. These consist of a culture's way of seeing and believing, and the institutions that uphold these beliefs, like religion, education, family, and the media. Through these beliefs and institutions, society endorses the ethical beliefs and manners which "the powers that be" agree are true, or right, or logical, or moral. The institutions and beliefs that the dominant culture support is so powerful, and get hold of people when they are so young, that alternative ways of envisioning reality are very hard to imagine. This is how hegemony is created and maintained. Gramsci's adoption of the term represents a break with the Marxist emphasis on ideology. Hegemony is the more sensitive and useful critical term than 'domination' which fails to acknowledge the active role of subordinate people in the operation of power.
Caste and Hegemony:

History testifies the presence of social cleavages in Indian society, in terms of caste, class, gender and the like. Such cleavages has changed the entire social fabric of Indian society, whereby the exploited section, be it the Dalits, adivasis or women, have been systematically pushed to the periphery by the traditional Brahmanical structure of oppression. Dalits are the people who are economically, socially, politically exploited from centuries. Unable to live in the society of human beings, they have been living outside the village depending on lower level of occupation, and lived as —untouchable. This exploitation is due to the discrimination followed by age old caste hierarchical tradition in the Hindu society. This hierarchy has been the cause for oppression of Dalits in each and every sphere of society since centuries. It has subjected them to a life of poverty and humiliation. The Dalits (ex-untouchables), who have been brutally exploited by the so-called upper castes, lag outside the Varnasrama theory and were referred to as outcasts in pre-independent India.

The Religious texts of the Hindus, which strives for an unequal society, a society where a certain group of people are given the status of God, in total contrast with the other group who are considered even worse than animals. God who is considered as the Almighty do not exist, but is considered as the Supreme power. Is it that the Arya-Brahmins, devised the institution of Varna and thereby caste, in order that they consider themselves as the Supreme'. By putting themselves in the supreme position, they actually wanted to attain superior status, a life of dignity, and aspired to be obeyed by everyone in the Indian society. Caste, the very creation of man and not God, is now rooted firmly in the Indian society, through the religion of majority Hinduism .Gail Omvedt in her book —Dalit Visions, equated Hinduism with Brahmanism. Hinduism is constructed in order to hide the discriminatory laws of Brahmanism under a religion to be considered as the religion of the country, and thereby obeyed without any question. The caste ideology is founded in the twin religious doctrines of Karma and Dharma. And that it was the basic duty of every individual to maintain Dharma which was to retain the social structure based on the Varnasrama Theory. Not only Manu , Kautilya , another Brahmin , also emphasized on retaining the Caste structure as the basic structure of Indian society that cannot and should not be changed.

It is controlling the minds of the people, which made the minority groups –the Brahmins to be the policy makers of the country. And in order to retain their position they have devised myths .For instance, they devised the myth of ‘Punarjanma’ which explains the phenomena of ‘re-birth’.It explains that the activities of our past janma , is responsible for our present status , and the activities of present will decide our life after re-birth . This myth has two connotations- Firstly, the Dalits should accept the exploitation done against them as the result of their own deeds of past birth. They should consider that they committed some bad deeds due to which they are facing such kind of oppression.

Secondly, even if they are exploited in this birth, they should not protest, which will provide them a good life in the next birth after re-birth. That is with the desire to get happiness in the next birth, they should cry. Because it is believed that, God will help them to come out of distress, and that the Brahmins being Gods are the only solution for their distress. If these texts are observed closely in socio –historical perspective , the aim to write these texts become clear,
which is to establish and maintain Brahmanical hegemony, and exploit the non-Brahmins, basically the Dalits. The Dalits were believed to be unclean and therefore must not touch anybody belonging to one of the four main castes. If they do, or even if their shadow falls on a upper caste member, the person is deemed to have been polluted and must perform a series of cleansing rituals in order to rid their body of this pollution.

Deprivation of resources at every sphere of social, economic and political lives, led to a state of immense oppression and degradation. The basic reasons for this degraded status of the Dalits is to end that state of exploitation, and live a life of dignity, the only thing required was power.

The Dalits were believed to be unclean and therefore must not touch organisations and all the other possible measurers. So it can be called as a movement which has practiced cleansing rituals in order to rid their body of this pollution.

To end that state of exploitation, and live a life of dignity, the only thing required was power. Power on other side can be cut by only power. Hence, to attain power, the first thing required is knowledge. It was thus, Phule and Ambedkar gave the main emphasis on the education of the Dalits, which will not only bestow them with reason and judgement capacity, but also political power, and thereby socio-economic status and a life of dignity. (Chakraborthy. 13)

Savitribai Phule analysed the situation and revealed the importance of education in acquiring knowledge and overpower the hegemonic structure. She wrote;

\[ O \text{ God, my caste is low, how can I serve You? } \\
\text{Everyone tells me to go away; how can I see you? } \\
\text{When I touch anyone, they take offense. (Abhanga 76) } \\
\]
.........go, get education
End misery of the oppressed and forsaken,
You’ve got a golden chance to learn
So learn and break the chains of caste.
Throw away the Brahman’s scriptures fast.

Dalit Movement, a social revolution aimed for social change, replacing the age old hierarchical Indian society, based on the democratic ideals of liberty, equality and social justice. Golpitha is an expression of Dhasal’s anarchistic wish to destroy every civilized institution to get rid of its destructive aspects. He voiced the exploitation of the underclass and under caste in universal terms and is proclaiming a global revolution on their behalf. He said;

“ .....you who conceived of giving a burial
To the cage of religion, caste, gender, and race
preserved under armed protection’.

Being dissatisfied with the present set-up, the poet in Dhasal wishes to demolish it. He raised his voice against sacred books that have divided mankind on the basis of religion .Hence he shows his anger saying that

“one should tear off all the pages of all the sacred books in the world,
And give them to people for wiping shit off their arses.” (Man ,You should Explode)

Books on Dalit Movement are written but these books do not reflect the actual things and are written keeping in view the Brahmin elites. No one wants to confront with those who have power. Besides this, the minds of the people are brahmanised through hegemony. It should be noted that Dalit Movement is against Brahmanism and not Brahmins. The Brahminism is a mental state which accepts superiority of one man over another man. It gives more respect and profit for the caste which is up in the ladder of caste system, and as it goes down the ladder, resources and respect also decreases. It’s contribution for the Dalits which is lowest of all the castes is nothing but exploitation, jeering and slavery. This mental state of Brahminism not only exists in Brahmins but also in Shudras, who simply shape the ideas of Brahmanical practices without testing them with scientific temperament and reasoning. India got independence but the Dalits are humiliated even now. Untouchability is abolished but injustice practices are not.

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PORTRAYAL OF MOTHERHOOD: A STUDY OF D.H. LAWRENCE’S SONS AND LOVERS

Pamposh Ganjoo
Research Scholar
Department of English
University of Jammu
Jammu

Abstract
What sustains a family? The answer to this question is very simple. It is husband, wife, children and grandparents. These four can be described as pillars of warmth. Out of these four, mother remains one of the strongest pillar because she is the one who takes responsibilities in comparison to father. If these is a conflict in the household, the worst hit is none other than the child. So the objective of this paper lies in an attempt to locate certain parameters which leads to destruction of a family unit. Every relation has its limitations and if limitations are crossed, repercussions could be severe. Accordingly paper seeks to examine the relation which mothers share with their children especially sons in its true sanctity. More emphasis will be on outcome of this relationship.

Key words: Relationship, Mother, Child.

Can a mother be destructive to her child or can a mother use her child just for the sake of benefit? The answer is no because she is the one who nurtures her child and can go to any extent for his/her comfort. To be mother and to look after children was the primary duty assigned to woman. The explanation of this lies in male and female grooming. “One explanation for women’s mothering is a functional-cum-bioevolutionary account of the sexual division of labor put forth mainly by anthropologists who combine a functional account of contemporary gathering and hunting societies (closest to the original human societies) and an evolutionary explanation of the origins of man. These accounts may argue that men’s greater agility, strength, speed and aggressiveness made it natural for them to hunt and women therefore gathered and reared children” (Chodorow 17). If a woman failed to bear a child it was certain that accusing finger would be raised against her. Feminists no doubt opposed this kind of notion and in a way have tried their best to look for alternatives. But when it comes to parenting both mother and father ought to play their role. Of course in the absence of mother “We can talk about a man, mothering a child if he is this child’s primary nurturing figure or is acting in a nurturing manner” (Chodorow 11). But by and large it is mother who is said to be caretaker of the child. The origin of motherhood can be well traced from Bible. Accordingly motherhood symbolizes love and sacrifice. Different critical opinions have been put forward in this regard:

As Benedek puts it, it is characteristic of the spiral of human development that the representations of the primary object relationship with the mother are in continual transaction with the representations of all later object relationships according to the age and maturity of the child and the significance of the particular object. In
later years as well the relation to the mother informs a person’s internal and external relationship stance. Fairbairn considers the child’s relationship with its mother as one foundation upon which all his future relationships with love objects are based. His theory of personality and clinical evidence he discusses elaborate and support this claim. Even Freud whose clinical work and theory provide more insight into later relationships emphasizes the way the mother, through her influence on all subsequent relationships remains as an important inner object throughout her growing infant’s life (Chodorow 79).

Feminists have analysed motherhood from a very broad perspective. It was “In 1976 Aderinne Rich published Of Woman Born: Sisterhood and Experience as Institution in which she refined the concept of matrophobia which she further defined as a desire to be purged once and for all mother’s bondage to become individuated and free” (Chesler 21). This can be taken as one part of motherhood.

Fiction as such is full of instances when it comes to motherhood and how a mother grieves for the lose of her child. “Maternal absence is suffered far more than maternal abuse” (Chesler 76). We have ample instances of motherhood from Indian, Jewish-American and Black-American fiction. Motherhood is one of the theme which Shashi Deshpande takes in her novels – A Matter of Time, The Binding Vine and Small Remedies. The novels of Saul Bellow and Toni Morrison highlight different aspects of motherhood. What is specific about Bellowian protagonist is that he seeks mother in every woman (whether wife or mistress). Freud’s concept of love (between mother and son) and its aftermath is seen in Bellowian heroes. Toni Morrison dwells in detail, when it comes to racial atrocities executed upon Black mothers. Motherhood has been discussed in detail in Black-American fiction and is seen with reference to “Grandmothers, sisters, aunts or cousins” who “act as other mothers by taking the childcare responsibilities of another’s children” (Collins 193). Moreover an uphill task for black mother was to protect her daughter from an atmosphere of oppression. Toni Morison is well recognized for her novels – The Bluest Eye, Sula and Beloved. The Bluest Eye presents an example of estranged mother who suffers from racial discrimination. Sula presents a typical contrast between two mothers – one who cares for the child and other who is least bothered. In Beloved it is mother who kills her daughter because it is the need of hour. Even Mexican novelist Laura Esquivel’s novel Like Water for Chocolate presents a mother who completely shatters the life of one of her daughter.

Clues of motherhood can be well traced from the personal life of novelists as well as poets which created deep impact upon their writings as well. “The writers Sylvia Plath, Dorris Lessing, Signe Hammer and Lydia Grey Sexton all describe psychotic and abusive mothers” (Chesler 188). The moment we shift towards D.H. Lawrence it is all together a different story. It is mother who attains the role of predator and prey is none other than her own son. Both mother and son feel attracted towards each other. It is mother who takes the lead and son falls in the trap. Son becomes a lover of his own mother despite the fact that he loves other women as well. This is the core issue which D.H. Lawrence projected in Sons and Lovers. This sounds shocking. Can we take this as a part of motherhood? The answer is no. D.H. Lawrence in his novels talks much about life. He deals frankly with sexual matters. We do see unconventional things happen in Lawrence’s novels. Upto certain extent Sons and Lovers is a projection of Lawrence’s life and
protagonist Paul Morel is Lawrence himself. Women characters especially Mrs. Morel and Miriam Leviers present a duplicate copy of Lawrence’s mother and Jessie Chambers (friend-cum-sweetheart). If we take a look towards Lawrence’s life “Lawrence’s mother Lydia Beardshall was a school teacher who came from a religious family that had seen better days, her father was a noted hymn writer. Lawrence’s father Arthur Lawrence was an untutored coal miner ….”. What is significant to note is that “Lawrence came from a family in which a pattern of domestic violence was set by his quarrelling parents. In his youth he admired and sided with his educated mother in their quarells but like many batterers today he would emulate his father and repeated in his marriage the domestic violence of his childhood home” (Spilka 202). It is an admitted fact that Lawrence had been an abusive husband. The influence of his mother was so strong that he failed to establish a healthy relationship with any other woman (despite the fact that he had contact with several women (including his close friend-cum-sweetheart Jessie Chambers). Lydia Beardshall (Lawrence) was always there to push her sons and in a way proved to be domineering in comparison to her husband. Same story is repeated by Mrs. Morel in Sons and Lovers. “Alfred Kazin traces the progress of Lawrence’s sense of authority, his pride to his mother’s love. Agreeing with Freud that mother’s favourite becomes a conqueror he sees Lawrence as a favourite son who confidently assays the world and recreates mother’s love in all his works. It seems more plausible to see Lawrence’s career as a reaction to his mother’s love and an attempt to reclaim the masculine heritage and selfhood she absorbed” (Spilka 61-62). This can be taken as an abnormal aspect of mother-son relationship. It is mother who uses son just for her own gratification.

But what prompts a mother to take her son as a substitute for her husband. This needs an explanation. Normally what happens in a household is that “Wives focus energy and concern on their husbands or at least they think and say they do. They usually consider or at least claim that they love these husbands. Mothers may present fathers to children as someone important someone whom mother loves …” (Chodorow 181). Husband or father in a way acts as a role model to the family. But if there is a flaw on the part of husband or father it is certain that the spark will ignite:

Psychoanalytical and anthropological clinical accounts … further illuminate specific tendencies in early mother-son relationships. Bibring argues that the decline of husband’s presence in the home has resulted in a wife as much in need of a husband as the son is of a father. This wife is likely to turn her affection and interest to the next obvious male – her son – and to become particularly seductive towards him. Just as the father is often not enough present to prevent or break up the mother-daughter boundary confusion he is also not available to prevent either his wife’s seductiveness or his son’s growing reciprocated incestuous impulses. A mother here is experiencing her son as a definite other – an opposite gendered and sexed other. Her emotional investments and conflicts given her socialization around issues of gender and sex and membership in a sexiest society make this experience of him particularly strong (Chodorow 104-05).

Looking back to Lawrence hatred for husband and father is one of the dominant theme which he created not only in Sons and Lovers but even in the novels like The Tresspasser and
The White Peacock. Especially in Sons and Lovers marital life of Morels gets disrupted right from the very beginning because neither of the partner is willing to compromise. The result is that one moves towards east, other towards west and the worst hit is none other than their own children. Domestic violence remains at its peak in Sons and Lovers. Gertrude Coppard enters in wedlock with Walter Morel who works in mines. What paves the way for wedlock is passion which is seen from both sides. But this goes just for a moment. There are certain things which add fuel to the fire. Gertrude is educated very much refined in character while as Walter Morel has a different taste for life. What is seen between the two is the clash of beauty and beast. It would be more appropriate to say that Walter Morel lacks gentlemanly behaviour. “A father’s first responsibility is to provide for his family monetarily” (Chodorow 179). Here Walter Morel becomes a complete failure. He comes home late in night, remains in debts, feels least bothered about his children (William and Annie) and when things go out of control, he is left with no option but to abuse his wife physically. He feels no pity for her even when she is expecting third child (Paul Morel). Walter Morel no doubt is efficient in his vocation but apart from this whatever he does there is only mismanagement on his part. To call him a dedicated husband or father would be a big mistake. Ultimately it is the question of rejection which remains with Mrs. Morel and she rejects none other than her own husband. If we take sexual conflict into consideration “Lawrence ensures that his characters find out through their sexual conflict – what and especially whom they really want” (Worthen 24). Sexual conflict can be taken as one of the primary motive with Mrs. Morel where she is left with no option but to lay trap for her sons (William and Paul). To put it specifically it is the suppression of instincts which dominates her. Apart from this what matters most in every relationship is understanding which can be taken as a hallmark. So what Mrs. Morell has missed with her husband that she wants to achieve with her sons. At times we see a feeling of pride in her heart that she is blessed with sons. There are ample scenes in the novel where sons take side of mother and reject father. There is a scene where young Paul advises his mother not to share bed with her husband because he is in a drunken condition. “Masculinity becomes an issue as a result of boy’s experience of himself in his family …” (Chodorow 181). The formula is fully applicable to Paul Morel. Even when Walter Morel gets injured and remains out of the house Paul is there to comment: “I am man in the house now …” (Lawrence 21). Both the sons are ready to share achievements with mother and father is always on periphery. When we talk about bonding (mother and son) it is Paul who supersedes his brother. He is the replacement of William (when later dies). On the whole the tussell remains between mother, son and other women. Who will win the race? This is the major theme of Sons and Lovers.

When it comes to prenatal and postnatal development (as mentioned earlier also) there the infant is wholly and solely reliable on mother. “Analysts emphasise that mother-infant relationship provides gratification to mother as well as infant ….” Mrs. Morel is always there to look after Paul whenever he feels sick. So far as maternal role is concerned there she leaves no stone unturned. She can be taken as a good mentor, because she knows how to cope up with the problems of life. But the other part of the story is that “Turning from mother (and father) represents an individuation, progress, activity and participation in the real world: ‘It is by turning away from our mother that we finally become by our different paths grown men and women’” (Chodorow 82, 85) which means that there is a world beyond this as well. Human relationship in
the fiction of Lawrence attains a broad connotation. Grown up child (especially son) has every right to live his life. Son owes a duty towards his parent but at the same time he has dreams as well as aspirations. He cannot live a life of suppression. This yardstick applies to both William and Paul. William is little ahead of Paul. Being eldest son in the family he takes the lead, because he knows how to do it. He supports his mother financially, comes in contact with a young woman (with whom he wants to enter in wedlock) but mother is always there to create hurdles. In case of William it is destined that he had to die. Death for William is a release from mother fixation. What about Paul Morel? The condition of Paul Morel is troublesome because of the close proximity which he shares with his mother. Opportunity no doubt is give to Paul Morel which he comes in contact with women other than his mother. Twist comes into his life when he meets Miriam Leviers (daughter of his mother’s friend) and Clara Dawes (a married woman who has deserted her husband). The relationship which Paul Morel shares with Miriam Leviers runs parallel (upto some extent) to the relationship which Lawrence shared with Jessie Chambers. Jessie Chambers can be taken as intellectual companion to Lawrence, so is Paul Morel to Miriam Leviers. What existed between Lawrence and Jessie Chambers was the platonic love. With Lawrence and Jessie Chambers it is mother who dominates the scene and with the result this relationship ends in fiasco. Same is the problem with Paul Morel. Miriam Leviers and Paul Morel no doubt love each other, but Lawrence describes love in broad terms. He points out:

There must be two in one always two in one – the sweet love of communion and the fierce proud love of sensual fulfillment both together in one love. And then we are like a rose. We surpass even love, love is encompassed and surpassed. We are two who have a pure connexion. We are two, isolated like gems in our unthinkable otherness. But the rose contains and transcends us we are one rose beyond … in this duality lies fulfillment … these two movements are possible yet they do not negate each other (Wadhawan 52-53).

The concept of two in one remains missing in Paul-Miriam relationship. So far as physical component of love is concerned. Paul at times takes the lead but Miriam becomes a failure. By and large the communion between Paul Morel and Miriam Leviers stands only in spiritual sense and mother is always there in the background. Can we say that Paul Morel has a separate life other than which he shares with his mother? The answer will be no. Lawrence in a way allows Paul Morel to move one step further when he meets Clara Dawes. Clara Dawes as such can talk about the rights of women but her personal life remains a complete failure. Clara’s character presents a paradox. Even Mrs. Morel upto some extent tries to develop cordial relation with Clara. Paul goes to Clara because it is the need of hour. Clara satisfies Paul only through carnal desire. So what Miriam lacks that Clara can provide. But neither of these two women can be described as the combination of whole. Lawrence peeps into the psyche of Miriam and Clara. Both women feel jealous of each other because of Paul. But on the whole it is mother who gains supremacy and as long as mother remains there Paul is there to comment: “And I shall never meet the right woman while you live …” (Lawrence 427). So in a way it is mother who exploits her son to such an extent that nothing is left for him. Lawrence gives a different twist to the tale when Mrs. Morel is diagnosed of cancer. Her death is certain but she dies by inches. Here Lawrence has a purpose and purpose is to show that even during last days of life Paul remains attached to her. She wants to live even when she is in pain. This speaks of the strong will in her.
It is Paul who puts an end to her life because she turned his life into hell. Paul in a way becomes victim of matrophobia. “Paul Morel’s disguised aggression in hastening his mother’s death appears sharply in tales like ‘The Rocking Horse Winner, Rawdon’s Roof, Mother and Daughter, where unsurping mothers are deftly satirized for enslaving or destroying children’” (Spilka 63). Physically Mrs. Morel is not with Paul, but spiritually she remains alive with him.

So what is Paul towards the end? He is all alone. No doubt he tries to come out of the dilemma but he has not grown at all. He has not been able to achieve his self. His relationship with other women (besides his mother) simply becomes a flop show. Miriam loves Paul and with Clara, process is simply mechanical (as mentioned earlier also) which gets worn out with the passage of time and Paul is left with no other alternative but to send her back to husband. Moreover “Love in Lawrentian terminology is not a goal but a means of traveling towards the goal” (Wadhawan 52). But this is seen neither with Miriam nor with Clara.

To conclude we can say that life of an individual is not only confined to his/her home but life moves beyond this as well. As an individual Paul had every right to meet people (whom he likes) or to select a person (woman) of his choice but this right is denied to him by none other than his own mother. There lies the dark part associated with motherhood.

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THEME OF DEATH IN RABINDRANATH TAGORE’S POETRY

Pooja Choudhery,
Research Scholar,
Department of English
K.R.G. Post Graduate (Autonomous) College, Gwalior (M.P)

&

Dr. Savita Shrivastava,
Professor,
Department of English Language,
K.R.G Post Graduate (Autonomous) College, Gwalior (M.P)

Rabindranath Tagore was born in Calcutta and later died there, but he traveled extensively around the world for all of his life. Rabindranath Tagore was born into a wealthy and prominent Brahmin family. Rabindranath Tagore’s grandfather was an industrialist and his father was a renowned scholar and religious reformer. The Tagores were one of the wealthiest and most influential families in all of India, and they were also one of the most artistically talented. Rabindranath Tagore was the youngest child, and he started to write poems at the young age of eight. His early education came from private tutors in the home, but later he attended Bengal Academy before leaving for London. Rabindranath Tagore studied law in London, but he left within a year without earning a degree.

The Vaishnav poets had a strong influence on Rabindranath Tagore. Rabindranath Tagore’s sister-in-law and Jyotinendranath’s wife, Kadambari Devi passed away in 1885, which jolted Rabindranath Tagore and shook him to the core. Kadambari Devi had inspired the young Rabindranath Tagore to pen down his thoughts, and now her absence caused utter grief to the poet. In this hour of grief, Rabindranath Tagore sought solace in the writings of the Vaishnav poets. Rabindranath Tagore has referred to death as the mystery. Rabindranath Tagore ponders over the mystery of death in his poetry written during his teenage years as well as his later years.

According to Rabindranath Tagore, life is a contract process in a stage of continuous movement. Rabindranath Tagore use analogy of the wheel of time to convey this message. Rabindranath Tagore does not fear death, he realizes that death is inevitable, and uses the expression of ‘the cycle of spring’ in the following lines:

It is futile to be impatient and try to
Break through the met of the inexorable
Fisherman: sooner or later death the
Fisherman will brave his soul. 1

Rabindranath Tagore says that, human beings are sailing in the ship of life, and while performing this journey, they face a number of sorrow, failures, dejections and difficult times. The journey
takes a person from the finite to the infinite, i.e., from life to death. When the journey culminates at the shore, it is the point where the person feels ultimate ecstasy because he unites with the supreme, thereby taking him to a never-before experienced level of sheer happiness:

The travail of the night, will it not
Usher in the dawn?
In the night of sorrow, under death’s below,
When man bursts his mortal bounds
Will not god stand revealed in his glory? 2

Rabindranath Tagore suggests that though death may appear to be harsh on its exterior, it actually signifies the end of sorrow, pain and misery from life, and signifies a new birth, a journey towards the ultimate love, which one has been craving for:

The infinite life will never remain chained
In unchanging
Shackles of immortality but will speed
Through death to countless new shines of
Light in its eternal pilgrimage of love.
Again Rabindranath Tagore pens down his thoughts as:
The tear washed timid light reveals at life’s last sunset
Point the hints of paradise, where descending flame
Of kiss from starry sphere of love light the sorrow of
Our earth to splendor of their end, in one
Pleasing ecstasy of uttermost extinction. 3

Rabindranath Tagore expresses that life and death are two faces of the same same coin – they cannot be separated. They can be inter-changed, inter-converted and united to form a whole. There is only one certainty, that death follows life. The philosophy of life and death is clearly reflected through the following verse of Rabindranath Tagore:

At creations’s beginning.
The joy that look form in me,
Lies covered in the dust
Smeared by the smoke of sleepless bungers
That form I carry
Along the holy shore of the river of death. 4

Rabindranath Tagore has alluded to the journey of life, where he has used the metaphor of a boat to denote life, and the metaphor of a mysterious woman, who glides the boat to denotes death or God. While gliding endlessly on the surface of the river of time, the boat faces a number of turbulences. Rabindranath Tagore goes on to describe clearly that endless life floats on the stream of endless death:

Ceaseless life floats on the stress of
Ceaseless death
To reach what nameless, purposeless shores
Does this tiny raft cross the perilous sea?
What unless helmsman in any heart
Is issuing commands without end? 5
Rabindranath Tagore is bewildered that the boat of life floats endlessly towards an unknown destination. It seems to him that the boat is moving towards a shore that neither has a name nor a purpose. To add to his bewilderment, the helmsman, who is unknown and unseen, is giving commands endlessly. Rabindranath Tagore feels uneasy and anxious as he is unable to get an answer to his queries regarding the identity of the helmsman. The people who live on the earth are mere observers in this infinite and incomprehensible game of life and death. However, they are not aware of the inevitability of death, and that sooner or later, they have to face a similar fate, and perform their journey in the direction where the sun sets, in this manner, Rabindranath Tagore has discussed at length the concept of life and death by using the metaphors of the river and sea, boat and boatman. Rabindranath Tagore, future expands the horizons of his creativity and highlights the realities of life by using the metaphor of ‘stage’ where he pens down:

One by one
The light on the stage go out
And empty is the hall
At the call of silence
Profound peace descends upon me
Like dreamless sleep
The actor’s mask I had worn
Become meaningless
The moment the curtain dropped.

Rabindranath Tagore suggests that life is a stage and that actors perform various roles by putting on various masks. As the actors end their performance, the lights go out, the curtain drops and the spectators leave. The light and sounds are supplanted by deafening silence, limitless peace and undisturbed sleep. The show has ended, and the actor’s mask that the performer had been wearing, now holds no significance. The show, the actor’s role, everything becomes meaningless with the end of the show. Rabindranath Tagore is quick to dispel the doubt of having lived a meaningless life. Rabindranath Tagore experiences a blissful feeling and does not fear death and misery, for Rabindranath Tagore suggests that:

Mixing imagination and reality, truth and
Deceit victory and defeat, in the drama
Of many colours, behind the screen aside
That deep mystery of creation.
Which manifest it on many levels?
And in varying degrees,
In life’s story, with my life as the carries,
How often in moments of wakefulness
Wonderful and the ineffable touched me,
Today at the hour of departure I will
Acknowledge it.

Rabindranath Tagore delves deeper into the drama, highlighting the multidimensional nature of the drama, ranging from victory to defeat, truth to deceit, and reality to imagination. Rabindranath Tagore reflects that the varying hues of a drama are a manifestation of God’s handiwork and creation. Life’s meaning, which had hitherto remained a mystery, is revealed at
the time of death. As the poet transcends life and death, he is able to sort out the pieces in the puzzle and create a meaningful picture. Death is redeeming experience and it frees man from the cravings and shackles of the materialistic world and helps him transcend boundaries of space and time and take rebirth as a new form. Rabindranath Tagore future states that we are born out of God and after completion of life’s journey. Rabindranath Tagore visualizes life as a journey to an ultimate destination, unknown to man. During the voyage of life, man has to face the joys and sorrows, as life offers them to him. According to Rabindranath Tagore, this cycle of life and death repeatedly goes on. Life and Death are interdependent, synonymous and inter-convertible. Life is incomplete without death. Death is ultimate culmination of life, the union of the soul with God.

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IDENTITY POLITICS:
DALIT LITERARY AND DALIT PANTHER MOVEMENT

Tanya Singh,
Assistant Professor,
Kalindi College, Delhi University.

The issue of untouchability as a social evil gained momentum largely in the pre Independent India through the ideas of Gandhi and Ambedkar, though differing in their stance. Ambedkar, with his western republican educational background, approached the entire question of caste belonging radically so as to have proposed an absolute ‘annihilation of caste’ as the only possible solution to the caste hierarchy in the Indian society. His contribution to the upliftment of the lower castes, right from the removal of untouchability (as was his proposition to be included in the constitution) to arousing self-esteem and consciousness (through the text *Buddha and his Dhamma*) amongst the latter, has been immense. The constitution drafting committee, under the chairmanship of Ambedkar, abolished the practice of untouchability as is stated under article 19 of the constitution. However with his death in 1956, just a few years after the independence, followed by the disintegration of his political party Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF), the world of Dalit politics entered into a different trajectory. This paper traces the position of the ‘Scheduled Castes’ in the post-independence scenario, tracing a shift in identity from being a *Shudra* to Dalit, focussing on the Dalit Literary movement and Dalit Panther movement.

With the introduction of constitution and democracy in the independent India, the society was aimed to be free from colonial rule and social ills. Ambedkar commenting on the nationalist pursuit for liberation from British rule said that such an approach may free the nation from colonial rule but will ultimately lead to another form of colonisation, the hegemony of the upper castes whereby the ‘depressed classes’ would remain in the same position. The efforts of Ambedkar at educational opportunities and ‘special privileges’ for the ‘scheduled castes’ was undeniably significant however the latter still had to fight the prevalent age old caste dogmas and internal battle of caste consciousness along with their economically deprived status. However in the sixties, the emergence of the educated youth from the ‘scheduled castes’ gave a new and much needed turn to the politics and identity of lower castes, after the demise of Ambedkar. These educated youths with their awakened sense of consciousness entered the literary realm, which was primarily dominated by caste Hindus and their supposedly sophisticated writings. This young generation or the new Dalit intelligentsia wanted to articulate themselves in their own words and in their own style, without a sense of borrowedness. In other words this can be seen as their attempt to un-caste the literary world. They denied the literature of the upper castes
as representative of their voice and experience. This gave rise to the Dalit literature. Arjun Dangle commenting on the nature of Dalit literature says:

Dalit literature portrays the hopes and aspirations of the exploited masses. Their fight for survival, their daily problems, the insults they have to put up with, their experiences and their outlook towards all these events...Dalit literature is one which acquaints people with caste system and untouchability in India, its appalling nature and its system of exploitation. (Dangle, xlviii, lli)

The initiation of the Dalit literature happened primarily with the aim of ‘speaking for oneself’ which gradually shaped into the problematization of the issues, envisaging the experiences of the exploited sections of the society. The collective effort to channelize their thought through their writings paved way via Little Magazine movement of 1967 which, in the words of Lata Murugkar, “challenged and protested against the monopoly of the established caste Hindu writers’ ideology in the literary field” (50). The current of protest imbued with the bitter writers’ ideology in the literary field” (50). The current of protest imbued with the bitter experiences of the Dalits can be traced in Arjun Dangle’s poem “Revolution” where he expresses how the lower castes were the “friends” with the upper caste Hindus as long as they were the Shudras following all the ‘code of caste’ forced upon them. But a changed identity from Shudras to Dalits became a matter of agitation to the upper castes as he says “Burn, burn those who strike at tradition” (Dangle, 43). Therefore the ones who revolt in order to claim their new identity are actually demanding equality, and hence are to be ‘burned’. The poem clearly lays out the persistence of varnashrama despite independence though in a transformed state. In another poem by Tryambak Sapkale entitled “That Single Arm”, a protest poem, communicates a denial of the enslavement of the “poor” by the “rich” which is shown as possible only with a denial to endure any injustices and discriminations. The poem conveys the difference between the two generations, father and the son, whereby the father is merely looking at the pictures of the exploitation of the poor at the hands of the rich, implying his silent acceptance of such a structure. Whereas the son’s act of slicing off the attacker’s arm as he explains the motive while he says, “for the vision of that single arm/ will remain before them” (Sapkale, 6). This implies the spirit of revolt and refutation for any kind of unjust treatment. The poem, characteristic of its time, does not clearly mentions caste as the problem but the issue of class, which was seen as embedded in the fabric of caste and furthermore raises a voice against exploitation. Also the short stories produced during this period attack the fixity of labour on the premises of caste that in turn restricts wealth only to a certain section of society while the rest as a result remains dependent upon them. This idea is articulated through Bandhumadhav’s “The Poison Bread” that traces the reliance of the lower castes on the rich landlords for their livelihood because of not only the long followed caste and class hierarchy but also of the deprivation of material possession. The story is set in independent India as the landlord in his denial to give a share of grain in return of labour of the grandfather, a Mahar, says “you’re no longer the Mahar-Mangs of the good old days, to beg for your share of corn. You are now Harijans! You have even started
claiming equality, so I was told, eating and drinking with us at the city hotels. So, there remains absolutely no difference between us, does there?” (Bandhumadhav, 168). The story articulates the refutation on the part of upper castes to treat the lower caste as their equals despite the abolition of untouchability and also the inability of the lower castes to claim that equality which is their right. The grandfather, an exemplar of this situation, dies of the poisoned bread that he takes from the landlord but asks his grandson to “never depend on the age-old bread associated with our caste” (174), implying a need to break away from the “traditions”. The works of this period critiqued not only the upper caste/upper class section but also satirised the white collar section of the lower castes who under garb of their recently acquired middle class status assumed a false sense of superiority and set themselves apart from their lower caste brethren. Arjun Dangle’s short story is premised on the same idea whereby Waghmare, a Mahar, who has recently climbed the social ladder, starts maintaining as what he calls “standard” by hiding his identity at most occasions even to the extent of thinking of changing his surname. He also veers away the ‘Backward Class Association’, his lower caste friend Awale and also his wife’s relatives, all of which he thinks would spoil his reputation as an officer. Even so the consciousness of his caste haunts him throughout and he finally confronts it as his own son was beaten at the school because he had water from his classmate’s bottle. The superficiality of the assumption of superiority from those of the other not so well-to-do lower castes is shattered immediately, relaying that you may leave caste but the caste would not leave you.

The writing of the sixties and seventies was filled with anger and angst and hence is also characterised by the rise of ‘Angry Young man’ in Marathi literature since language employed by these young poets was crude and filled anger. Dilip Chitre (translator to Namdeo Dhasal’s poems) comments on the language of anger that Dhasal uses as not just mere anger but a way to relay one’s thought streaming from one’s consciousness.

However with changing socio-economic condition of the society where colonial rule gave in to feudalism and created vast economic discrepancy amongst the landlords and the workers or the upper castes and the lower castes, as Murugkar explicates that caste and class are “interwoven elements” and hence one by the virtue of being a low caste by implication was low on economics too, which although is not a case with class. With the awareness of the capitalist system and growing discrepancies, the young poets and writers who were associated with the movement realised the need to further the literary movement into a more concrete organisation that would undertake the issues of caste as well as class as the varying forms of exploitation. Hence under the leadership of Namdeo Dhasal and Raja Dhale was formed Dalit Panther movement in the year 1972. Nevertheless, Dalit literary movement is seen as a precursor to the Dalit panther movement. The name for the movement is taken from Black Panthers of America. The movement there with the rising of the African-American youth against exploitation is seen as one of the major influencing movements on the Dalit panthers. The Naxalite movement, Marxist ideology and Ambedkarism were also the foundation stones to the movement. Though
the first two focusses on the class struggle, Ambedkar’s primary concern was the issue of caste and religious belonging. The goal of the Panthers was problematized with their attempt to marry the two different ideologies of class and caste, which can be considered as one of the crucial factors contributing to the split of the party in next few years of its formation.

The Dalit panther manifesto was written in the year 1973, one year after the birth of the panther movement. The manifesto functions as the preamble to the movement whereby the aims and objectives of the movement are laid out. The manifesto begins with the citation of the stance of the panthers as they distinguish themselves from their previously engaged activities of “emotional outburst” (Manifesto, 233) to being a “political organisation” (Manifesto, 233). The intention behind this was to broaden the ideology of the movement as not confined to a particular section of caste but encompassing all those who are the victims of some or the other form of exploitation. They attacked government claiming it to have fathered Hindu feudalism and foregrounded their objective of “social change”. Extending the meaning of their revolution, the inference of the word Dalit was also widened. The adoption of the term Dalit, meaning ‘ground down’ or ‘down trodden’, created much controversy. Dangle points out that since the term literally connotes “wretchedness, poverty and humiliation” (Dangle, iii) therefore to some it was “derogatory” (iii). The objective behind the conscious adoption of the term Dalit can be seen as two fold. It can be viewed as a desperate attempt at an uninhibited acceptance of their position or situation vis-à-vis society. Secondly, it also functions to dismantle the society of its pretentiousness of the ‘acceptance’ of other castes which are deemed as “low”. The idea remains to be to claim one’s identity unhesitatingly. Eleanor Zelliot comments on the politicised nature of the attempt as she associates the term Dalit with “pride” (Zelliot, 1). Explaining the meaning of the term, the panthers’ manifesto says that it identifies “all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion” (Manifesto, 237). The panthers not only extended the parameters of Dalit identity but also the cause for which they were contesting as it no longer remained a call for caste equality but also class equality with an emphasis on social revolution and ideological reformation as they demanded the redistribution of land and inculcation of new ideas.

The Panthers also attacked the society and government in their manifesto as their Baba Saheb’s motto of “liberty, equality and fraternity under the Hindu feudal system changed to discrimination, inequality and exploitation. Thus they rejected this kind of independence claiming it to not to be a “true independence” (235) and hence implying its hollowness or worse independence of only a particular section. The manifesto also denounces Gandhi and his ideology claiming his involvement with the issue of untouchability as being merely pointed at his larger motive of independence struggle. They also denounce his idea of “change of heart” (238) as a fruitless pursuit against the cause of exploitation. Similarly they also discard the other political parties, congress and Left parties, to have ignored to take collectively “the class struggle with the struggle against untouchability”. They also clearly demarcates of who all their “Friends”
are and who are their “Enemies” as the former included all the exploited section of society and the political and Left parties that, like them, aims to “break down the caste system and class rule” (235). The latter section conversely includes the exploiters and the political parties that encourage “religious or casteist politics” (237). Thus by extending the meaning of the term Dalit and relating it to all the exploited masses, irrespective of caste, they universalised the term, diverting from Ambedkar who was writing for the *shudras* and *ati-shudras*. These are the few parameters within which the Dalit Panther Party attempted to define itself. Claiming themselves to be the descendants of Ambedkar, their diversion from Ambekarite ideology is significant. Gail Omvedt remarking on the same says that the Panthers’ “thrust was to universalise the Dalit identity as proletarian experience. This differentiated it from the dalit movement of Ambedkar’s time, which had accepted the separation of economic and cultural spheres, of class and caste, sometimes ignoring the economic spheres substantially” (Omvedt, 75).

The Panthers influence upon them from the Black Panthers movement in America is also mentioned within the manifesto. One the major reasons for the rise of Black Panthers movement was the need for economic restructuring as they challenged both the white establishment and the principles to an extent. Both the movements imply a transformation from self-emancipation to self-empowerment where they rely on themselves and their political stance for the upliftment of the exploited section of the society. However, one of the crucial aspect that distinguish Dalit Panthers from the Black Panthers is that the former unlike the Black Panthers were writers first and then activist. They employed the literature as a tool to express their stance and to articulate their objectives.

The politicised nature of the Dalit Panther movement is also brought forward in the “Programmes” that they laid down in the manifesto as the objective of their organisation whereby they emphasized on the redistribution of land, rejection of feudal system and casteism, increase in wages of labour, employment opportunities, free education, and equality. This can be seen as a major factor that traces the evolution of the Dalit Literary movement of the sixties and the seventies into a political organisation where the members of the party not only conveyed their aggression through their writings but were actually aligning themselves for the constructive efforts aimed at the upliftment of the oppressed sections.

From the genealogy of the movements associated with lower caste from the Gandhi-Ambedkar debates to the Dalit Literary and Panther movement, the transition is not only in terms of the employment of certain phrases to identify them but their identity itself can be traced. *Varnashrama* superimposed upon them the identity of being a *Shudra* that made them outcastes and untouchables. With the arrival of Gandhi and his popularisation of the issue of untouchability, they were christened by him as *Harijans*, however this was rejected by Ambedkar as he coined a more sociological term, ‘Depressed classes’, for them. After independence, under the constitution they were listed as the “Scheduled Castes”. However with the emergence of Dalit panthers, they rejected all these terms and assumed the more political and
more confident term “Dalit” that is filled with their political consciousness and unhesitating acceptance of the self. The transformation from being a Shudra/untouchable to being Dalit marks their evolution socially and politically.

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The Victorian period viewed women as belonging to the domestic sphere. A great deal of repressive conventions and norms were imposed on women by the dominant patriarchal society and a Victorian woman was expected to accept the norms unhesitatingly meeting the needs of her husband and her children. However, the picture changed with the emergence of the “New Woman”.

To begin with the concept of the “New Woman” was a feminist ideal that emerged during the late nineteenth century which pushed the limits set by the male dominated society. The “New Woman” was a reaction to the long held notions of femininity; it discarded the Victorian norms of sexuality and made itself free from the idea that a woman is to be shut behind the four walls of a home. A new woman was characterised as living a single emancipated lifestyle, having adequate education and a new sense of dressing style. Sarah Woodruff in The French Lieutenant’s Woman is a perfect example embodying the image of a “New Woman”. The ideal of the “New Woman” is also to be found in Ibsen’s works such as A Doll’s House (1879) and Hedda Gabler (1890).

John Fowles’ novel The French Lieutenant’s Woman is concerned with the effects of the Victorian society on the individual’s awareness of herself or himself and how that awareness transforms their entire lives. The narrative centres on Sarah Woodruff who appears to be a mysterious figure from the beginning of the novel. The paper intends to argue the emancipation of Sarah Woodruff from a “fallen Woman” to a “New Woman”. As the title of the novel suggests, Sarah Woodruff is referred to as a “Poor Tragedy” or “The French Lieutenant’s Whore” for her association with the French sailor. The novel presents the typical Victorian society which imposes all kinds of restrictions on women and declares Sarah as an outcast for losing her virginity to the French sailor. The novel shows the trials and tribulations of the enigmatic Sarah who discards all the societal norms and achieves her own identity at the end of
the novel. Unlike the other women characters in the novel, Sarah is different from her Victorian counterparts in her sense of dressing, behaviour and attitude. The novel depicts Sarah as the mover of all actions and the creator of her new self through her own choice. Her unconventional attitude makes her stand out from the conventional community of Lyme. Sarah typifies the growing number of women gaining emancipation during the late nineteenth century. After being abandoned by the French sailor, she comes to Lyme Regis despite being a pariah there. Fowles describes Sarah as “an independence of spirit… a determination to be what she was.” (Fowles, P.119)

Sarah is not influenced by the stereotypical and traditional roles of a woman. Her ideals about marriage do not reflect the other women in the Victorian society. Fowles uses a visual description of her appearance to symbolise the difference of opinions between herself and the people of her time.

“Delicate, fragile, arched eyebrows were then the fashion, but Sarah’s were strong, or at least unusually dark, almost the colour of her hair, which made them strong.” (Fowles, P.119)

She likes her eyebrows had a strong sense of what she wanted to do and did not let anyone else’s opinions stand in her way. This is represented as she continues to take walks in Ware Commons even after she is forbidden to do so. She is a woman far ahead of her time. Sarah has a freedom which allows her to be truly not like other women.

Sarah flees to London without telling Charles about it, who still very much in love with her, looks for her the next several years and finds her living in the Rossetti’s house enjoying her new found freedom. Charles is surprised to see her in the new creative look which breaks his traditional belief that “a fallen woman must continue falling”. (Fowles, P.445)

When Charles meets Sarah in the Rossetti’s house, she re-appears as a “New Woman” with her fresh dressing style. She rejects the contemporary clothing style and her new image surprises Charles.

“And her dress! It was so different that he thought for a moment she was someone else. He had always seen her in his mind in the former clothes, a haunted face rising from a widowed darkness. But this was someone in full uniform of the “New Woman”, flagrantly rejecting all formal contemporary notions of female fashion.” (Fowles, P.446)

Her new dressing style reinforces her frankness and directness. She chooses not to pursue the conventional woman’s career of marriage and motherhood. Sarah’s achievement of subjectivity in the final second ending by refusing the imprisonment of marriage is the significant element to consider her as a “New Woman”. She finds her individuality and stands out working herself and being economically independent in the house of the Rossetti’s. Sarah asserts the finding of her true happiness and the achievement of her selfhood by refusing Charles’ proposal of marriage even though he assures her freedom without setting any condition.

“Mr Smithson, I am happy, I am at last arrived, or so it seems to me, where I belong.” (Fowles, P.453)
Sarah’s breaking herself away from the norms of the society and living in the Rossetti’s house enables her to find her identity and assert her autonomy and completely emancipates her from the restrictions of the sexual codes. She no longer bears the name of the “Poor Tragedy” or the taint “The French Lieutenant’s Whore” anymore. Her liberation from the social and sexual shackles is possible from her denial of marriage as well as free from being a sexual property of the husband.

“…I don’t want to share my life. I wish to be what I am, not what a husband, however kind, however indulgent, must expect me to become in marriage.” (Fowles, P.453)

Fowles presents Sarah stigmatised as a fallen woman, an outcast rejected by her society for her image of being a whore, but she reappears with the fresh image of the “New Woman” challenging the conventional Victorian attitudes towards women. Sarah rejects the codes of womanliness in her continuous pursuit of her individual self. The strangeness in her character and her varied images of a governess, a virgin, a fallen woman and also a hysterical patient echoes her freedom. Sarah employed the strategy of being stigmatised as a French Lieutenant’s Whore to pursue her freedom. Sarah breaks away from the patriarchal dominant ideology that the domesticity is a woman’s nature and the role of a mother and wife are the duty they should fulfil. Sarah’s association with the Rossetti’s and her refusal of the bondage of marriage are the significant factors that make Sarah a veritable “New Woman”.

Bibliography:

**THEY THAT SIT IN DARKNESS**  
**BY MARY BURRILL**  
**AS A REPRESENTATIVE TRAGEDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN**  

B.N. Wakchaure  
Associate Professor, and Head, Dept. of English  
Sonubhau Baswant College  
Of Arts and Commerce, Shahapur, Dist-Thane.

Mary Burrill (1881-1946) was an early 20th century African American female playwright and educator. She also inspired her students to write plays. They That Sit in Darkness is one of her best known plays. It was published in 1916 in Margaret Sanger’s Progressive Birth Control Review.

The story of They That Sit in Darkness focuses on the effects of having multiple children to a young mother. Melinda Jesper, the heroine of the play, continues to have children in spite of repeated warnings from midwives. This play was considered to be controversial because it advocated birth-control as a means to escape poverty long before women were given reproductive rights.

Burrill’s drama focuses on a poor, early 20th century African American family in the rural south. This one act play reveals a complex set of causes for the family’s poverty including lack of information regarding birth control, racial economic inequality, and a cyclical denial of education.

The Jespers is a Negro family in south American Town. It is a large family, containing ten members- a father a mother and eight children. They live in a poorly maintained house. There is only one room which is used for three purposes- kitchen, dining room and living room of Jesper family. The house is dingy and disorderly. There is very little furniture.

Mrs. Melinda Jesper and Lindy have finished their task of washing laundry clothes. Mrs. Jesper is very much tired of her work. She is completely exhausted by the work done. She sinks into the rocker and takes one of the tablets given to her by the doctor for her pain. She sorrowfully shakes her head and says that her life would come to an end very soon. She did not give any attention to the advice given to her either by the nurse, Elizabeth Shaw or the doctor. She was advised is take complete rest and not to work. She was warned not to come out of the bed for three weeks. She does not care for the advice she says that “Ah ain’s keerin’ ‘bout what Mis’ Liz’beth say! Easy nuf, Lindy, fo’ dese nurses to give dey advice – dey ain’t got no seben chillern to cloth an feed … but dis washin’ git back. Ah kin nevah ketch up!
Mrs. Jesper has given birth to a new child a week before. Lindy is not willing to go away because she does not wish that her mother should be left alone to do all the work. Mrs. Jesper has to work hard to look after her children and a new child. She assures Lindy that she should go away to Tuskegee to become a teacher and to make a good career. She encourages her daughter with the bright future. If she becomes a teacher, she would be in a good position to do more for her mother and her brothers. “Nebbey you mind, Lindy, Ah ’m going be getting aw-right bime by. Ah ain’t a- goin’ be stan’ in in’ yo’ gittin’ dis edicashun. ‘To chances don’ come, Lindy, an’ Ah wants ter see yoh tek it! Yoh been a good chile, Lindy, an’ Ah wants ter see you git mo’e out’n life dan Ah gits. Dem three yeah at Tuskegee warn’s seen long”

The Jesper family is too poor to provide enough food and clothes to their children. Even Mr. Jackson, the shopkeeper refused to give them anything till the previous bills are paid. Miles “Nup! Master Jackson say yuh cain’t have no milk, an’ nothin’ tel de bill’s paid.”

Mrs. Jesper desperately utters “Den Gawd Knows we’ll starve, ’cause Ah see’d you daddy give de doctor ebery cent o’ his wages las’ week. An’ dey warn’t be no mo’e money comin’ in’ tel Ah kin git dis wash out to do Redmon’s.”

There are many children in the house. The parents cannot send them to school. Therefore they keep on playing, wandering, hitting and complaining against each other. There appearance is dirty and pathetic; their heads are unkept ; they are in rags. They don’t have good clothes on their bodies. They are undersized and are not properly fed. They did not have eaten anything that day. They are always hungry and want something to eat.

Miss. Elizabeth tells Mrs. Jesper that she was not as strong as before. She says, “God is not punishing you, Melinda, you are punishing yourselves by having children every year. Take this last baby-you knew that with your weak heart you should never have had it and yet___”. She asks Melinda to be careful. She even cannot tell them how to control the birth of children.

“I wish to god it were lawful for me to do so! My heart goes out to you poor that sit in darkness, having year after year, children that you are physically too weak to bring into the world --- children that you are unable not only to educate but even to clothe and feed. Melinda, when I took my oath as nurse, I swore to abide by the laws of the State and the law forbids me telling you what you have a right to know!”

Mrs. Jesper expresses her helplessness because they have to work for their children. He husband also works very hard. Miss Elizabeth pitifully sympathises with the poor people who produce children every year. These children are too weak to survive. They are illiterate and ignorant. The law of the land also forbids the nurses to tell them the ways of contraception.

Lindy packs her trunk. She promises her brothers that she would bring pretty things for them. Their faces become radiant with the dreamy hopes. Suddenly Miss. Shaw calls Lindy and asks to send all children to bed. The condition of Melinda becomes very serious. Miles is sent to call the doctor urgently. All their efforts fail and Mrs. Jesper dies. Miss Shaw advises Miles to help Lindy. With the death of their mother, all their hopes are gone. Lindy comes to know that
the way before them has become darker than they have already known because their mother is no more to help and support them.

They That Sit in Darkness portrays a pathetic story of the Jesper family. This one-act-play deals with suffering of the black community. The main theme of this play is poverty-stricken life of black community and having multiple children. Most of the black people are laborers. They live poverty-stricken life. Charles Lamb has rightly said in one of his essays that the poorest people have the largest number of children. Most of them are so poor that they cannot provide education, enough clothing and enough food to their children. They lived in the dirty places. Their children are in rags. They have several health problems.

They That Sit in Darkness is a representative story of black community. Mary Burrill portrays Mrs. Jesper as a black woman. She is used as a vehicle to represent the life of black women and community. It has universal appeal. She works for the laundry of Redmon. She is 38 Years old. She gave birth to ten children-two died and eight are alive. She never got rest after any of her deliveries. She had to start working hard immediately after all her deliveries. It has adversely affected her health. Her heart has become weaker. They are illiterate, ignorant and superstitious. They are ignorant about the ways of family planning. They are conservative and think that children are the blessings of God. They neglect their health. They even ignore the medical advice offered by the doctors. They think that taking rest is a luxury. Melinda Jesper is the best example of it. She wishes that her daughter Lindy must not wash laundry clothes. She should take education and well settle in life. She is sorrowful because they (parents) are not able to take good care of their children.

They That Sit in Darkness is not only the tragedy of poverty but also the tragedy of having multiple children. It is not the problem of black community only. It is the universal problem. During 1910 the black people were the victims of poverty, racism, exploitation, suffering, insult, humiliation etc. Their children were deprived from education and good care. Therefore generation after generation remained uneducated. Lack of education resulted in poverty and poverty in turn resulted in ignorance. It became a vicious circle in which they were mercilessly churned. Very few people like Booker Washington and Mrs. Jesper understood the importance of education. She is an ambitious and brave woman. She is aware of suffering of her community. She plainly admits that they all are ignorant and know nothing. She bravely fights against many odds in her life. All their efforts fail to make both the ends meet.

Mrs. Jesper is the victim of having multiple children. She is ‘tired looking” African American woman of thirty-eight who struggles to raise and nurture a family of eight children. Lindy Jesper is her seventeen year old daughter is going to soon leave to study at the Tuskegee Institute. Despite her doctor’s warnings she has left her bed to wash laundry clothes and to attend to household chores. In the end, Lindy realizes that she must abandon her hopes of receiving an education in order to stay and care for her brothers and sisters. At the beginning of the play, there is a strong hope that Lindy will leave to be educated at the African American Tuskegee Institute and escape poverty. However, as a result of Melinda’s death at the conclusion of the play, Lindy is trapped by the demands of child rearing. Lindy who is presented by the dramatist as kind,
smart and exited about her educational opportunity is not trapped by any inherent “inferiority”. Rather she is trapped by a vicious evils of intersectional oppressions because Lindy is black, a woman and poor, she will never have the educational opportunity to raise herself out and poverty. Black women haven lack of access and knowledge regarding birth control. Mrs. Jesper tells Miss Shaw, “But what Kin Ah do – de chillern come”. Miss Shaw also states that the Law “forbids my telling you what you have right to know.” In this way, poor black women are barred from the means of knowledge of contraception that would help them manage their family size, on a societal level.

The play also emphasizes the negative consequences of having too many children. Several of the Jesper children experience birth defects. This play also emphasizes the multiple systems of oppressions that affected black women- lack of access to education and to birth control. The different systems of oppressions affect Melinda as well as Lindy at the end of the play because of their blackness and womanhood. Mary Burrill very cleverly and skillfully raises awareness about race and gender issues. In emphasizing the vicious cycle of oppressions that trap African American women, Mary Burrill directly challenges the cultural narrative that blamed African Americans for their own poverty. The black women are doubly affected and oppressed. It results sometimes in the tragic deaths of many mothers like Mrs. Melinda Jesper. To conclude the portrayal of Mrs. Medinda Jesper is representative of all black women. It brings to our notice the life of black women who undergo much suffering in their lives. Mary Burrill emphasizes the need of education of black community. She strongly brings to our notice the potential of education to bring transformation among black people.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF TIME IN THE POETRY OF T.S. ELIOT

Anjali Mewada
C.S.A. PG College, Sehore, M.P.

The age in which Eliot lived was deeply anarchic and complicated, throwing up several difficulties and possibilities of human action. There was an intense upsurge of trends and counter-trends in English literature. It would be a wonder, to be sure, if someone appeared to speak about the numerous issues of the era in a persuasive manner. The wonder came about in the form of T.S. Eliot, who gave the evidence of an all-embracing creative consciousness. It is widely acknowledged that time plays an essential role in T.S. Eliot’s poetry. In the twentieth century concept of time was a very fashionable subject. Thinkers like Bernard Cook, Henri Bergson, William James and Paul Tillich had already talked about their theories of time. Eliot had read their works; so, they influenced the theme and style of his writing. The years during and after the First World War were marked by many far-reaching, new discoveries and developments, which were guaranteed to affect the attitude and style of literature. Most innovative was the scientific change brought about by the new physics, notably Theory of Relativity promoted by Einstein. Vikramaditya Rai points out:

The highlights of the new discovery are that there is no continuity, solidity or causality in nature, that matter has no substance, in the final analysis, and time and space are not distinct entities. This last gave rise to a concept of time which has been adopted by many a poet and novelist. It simply means that the division of time into Past, Present and Future is artificial, because it is the present moment itself which is real, and in it all the moments past and all the moments called future meet, blend and have their being. This is known as the 'Isness' of time, which has found support in the theory of 'Duree' or duration propounded by French philosopher, Bergson. (9)

Rai also observes:

This idea of time is as old as Plato's philosophy and has been a staple of religious and mystic speculation. But it was for the first time that science joined hands with philosophy to set the seal of approval upon this 'time-space continuum'. Its impact on literature, especially on the structure of novels or poems, was deep and pervasive. Poets and novelists alike discarded the old concept of plot as the progress of the narrative in a straight line towards a definite end or destination. In Eliot, Proust and Joyce the straight-line structure has yielded place to circular motion. (9)
While the topic of time does not take up an important place in the poems written between 1922 and 1935, Eliot returns to the subject in The Rock and the Four Quartets. This shows that he had continued to involve himself with it. Eliot's later works show that his observation and treatment of the philosophy of time is more complete than earlier. Eliot has used the word 'time' 29 times in "Burnt Norton", 9 times in "East Coker", 18 times in "The Dry Salvages", and 10 times in "Little Gidding".

The result of the human consciousness of time is the tool of measurement. Time is measured and recorded by numerous mechanisms. The most familiar include the clock and the calendar. Above all, there are three categories of time. First, there is Absolute time, or the time which will never come to an end. Secondly, there is relative time, or the time that is not a standardized concept and that expands and contracts according to relative motion. Thirdly, there is Psychological time. This term is sometimes used to refer to time as it is.

Eliot was deeply influenced by Bergson's account of time, change and individual consciousness. He used to go to hear Bergson's series of lectures at the College-de-France. Bergson's concept of 'real time' and 'la duree' influenced the poems which Eliot wrote while staying at Paris. "The Love Song of J.AlfredPrufrock", written during this period, seemed to have borrowed something from Bergson. Bergson holds the view that the intellect misunderstands time as a series of separate units. The real quality of time is duration and it flows in an undividable continuity. In contrast to intellect, Bergson puts intuition, which understands the real nature of time as 'duration'. While the theories of Bergson are important sources of the philosophy of time T.S. Eliot has used in his work, St. Augustine's contribution to the same cannot be overlooked. The truth is that "St. Augustine has always loomed large on Eliot's mental horizon" (Rajnath 161).

According to St Augustine, time is always fleeting. He holds the view that past, present and future can never stand (simultaneously) at one specific point: only by memory one can recollect the past, by observation, the present, and by expectation, the future. Rajnath writes, “St Augustine demonstrates the unacceptance of the threefold division of time, saying that both past and future are rooted in the present” (161). Past, present and future are in the present-- the past is the present recollection of the past, the present is the present awareness of the present, and the future is the present expectation of the future. Thus, time is recognized according to the perception of the viewer. Kukreti states:

One can only feel that the days are passing if he is consciously waiting for any particular moment. In this process, the different changes make human being realise the passing of time. So, time is, indeed, to be identified with change and transformation of things; and to experience time is to experience change in concrete events." (16)

Time and timelessness constitute the most frequent theme in Eliot's works. Timelessness, or the desire to attain time without end, has been expressed by Eliot in almost all his poems. In "Ash-Wednesday", the speaker reveals an inner hope:

Because I do not hope to turn again,
Because I do not hope
Because I do not hope to turn,
Desiring this man's gift and that man's scope
I no longer strive to strive towards such things. (I, 1-5)

He expresses his intense desire to achieve the state of eternity, as death and birth are always inside time. The only way to reach the eternal state is to get freedom from the circle of birth, death and rebirth. The speaker of the poem explains it further:

Because I know that time is always time
And place is always the only place
And what is actual is actual only for one time
And only for one place (I, 16-19)

The notion of the continuity of time runs throughout Four Quartets. "Burnt Norton" emphasizes co-eternity as follows:

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future
And time future contained in time past
If all time is eternally present
All time is unredeemable. (I, 1-5)

In fact, not only the Buddhist scriptures but also the Vedas influenced Eliot’s philosophical viewpoint. He studied some parts of the Vedas and the Upanishads in their original texts in his graduate course. He read translated material from the Vedas, as well as the Sacred Books of the East series, edited by Max Mueller. The Vedas supplied him with new ideas and images. Thus, “Eliot’s time philosophy has close resemblance to Vedic time-concept” (Kukreti 109).

In the Puranas, the widely accepted idea is that time views everything, and that is the cause of bringing a number of changes in material objects or living beings. In Four Quartets, Eliot regards change as a basic fact related to time, as is evident in “East Coker”:

In succession
Houses rise and fall, crumble, are extended,
Are removed, destroyed, restored, or in their place
Is an open field, or a factory, as a bypass.(I, 1-4)
Houses live and die: there is a time for building
And a time for living and for generation
And a time for the wind to break the loosened pane.
And shake the wainscot where the field mouse trots
And to shake the tattered arras woven with a silent motto. (I, 9-13)

The influence of the Bhagavad Gita on Eliot is universally accepted. If it may be said that Eliot almost became a Buddhist when he was writing The Waste Land, then turned into Vedantic and mystic when he came to write Four Quartets. DanyantiGhosh discusses close connection between Four Quartets and the Bhagavad Gita:
An interesting parallel can be drawn between *Four Quartets* and the four important yoga’s of the *Bhagwad Gita*. Though the Gita is divided into eighteen cantos, there are only four basic ways or yoga’s for men to follow; Dhyanyoga, Jnanayoga, Karmayoga, and Bhakti yoga. These four basic ideas are illustrated in various ways through the different cantos, and there in definite overlapping of thoughts. We might relate these four yoga’s to four elements that are represented in *Four Quartets*, the air (Quartet I) corresponds to dhyana (meditation). The earth (quartet II) to karma (action), water, (Quartet III) for Jnana (wisdom), and fire (Quartet IV) to bhakti (devotion). (56)

Both the *Four Quartets* and the *Bhagwad Gita* mention that life and time revolve in an inveterate order. Each event of the universe passes through this succession of change. Eliot was a highly perceptive individual. His main concern as a poet was to criticize the modern people’s way of life and awaken them to the need of developing certain human values, so that they might emerge from the overwhelming chaos of self-absorption as well as the deep cultural, moral and spiritual confusion which they were experiencing. He knew well that the old social order was changing fast, and that the European Renaissance had become a spent force. The rapid growth of industries had initiated an era of commercialism, colonialism and imperialism, eating into the very core of simple human values like love, humility, tolerance, equilibrium, sanity, justice and truth. Eliot was convinced that the general disorder could be removed only when a fresh code of conduct was developed. This had to be based on tolerance, mutual trust and understanding. Creative people, such as philosophers, scientists, litterateurs and artists, have always tried to make self-enquiry a conscious reality in their communications with the human race. The Indian mystics since the Vedic Age have applied their critical acumen and instinctive awareness to understand the reality of the time. It can be said that time is a frequent theme in Eliot’s works; he presents its detailed description in his poetry. He discusses time not in parts but in entirety, taking up almost all its possible aspects.

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THE POETRY OF T.S. ELIOT

Veronica Mondal
Research scholar, Department of English
Sri Satya Sai University of Technology and Medical sciences
Sehore, Madhya Pradesh

T.S. Eliot was an immensely learned poet. The age of T.S. Eliot, i.e., the modern age was predominated by a spirit of weariness and disillusion. The scientific growth, economization and world wars had shattered and disintegrated civilization. T.S. Eliot’s sensitive mind reacted to the predicament of modern man’s futility and misery of modern existence, and expressed them in his work. The plights of human soul, the anxiety, disillusionment, instability, unsettled life, pessimism of life were depicted by him in his works. He began his career by training as a professional philosopher, but his artistic imagination recognized the limits of philosophy. Eliot engaged in philosophical problems throughout his career, though he stopped doing so through philosophical means. Instead, Eliot insightfully investigated these questions in his poetry. The influences on T.S. Eliot were many and varied, but he did not simply copy and mimic others. In spite of multifarious influences, there was an identity of spirit, movement and growth in his works.

Besides his family and the institutions where T.S. Eliot was educated, there were many poets, writers, critics and philosophers of Europe and India who went in to make him what he was. Sumitra Kukreti has rightly stated about Eliot:

The most formative period of his life was spent in St. Louis, and, also Harvard, where he came in contact with some of the great poets, philosophers and learned men of Europe, who, like Eliot’s own family background, contributed largely towards establishing his point of view to the men and the world. (01)

Harvard brought him in contact with great figures and new currents of thought. When Eliot was doing his graduation from Harvard University, he studied Sanskrit and Pali under Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman, a giant literary figure of those days. Eliot's Indic studies began in 1911. He developed a strong inclination towards Oriental, especially Indic, studies. Eliot also read Patanjali's metaphysics under James Houghton Woods. These courses intensified his interest in Indian classical philosophy. Lanman was the first source of Eliot's knowledge of the Vedas. He prepared Eliot’s mind for absorbing Hindu thought. Eliot’s famous poem The Waste Land exhibits a sterile world of spiritual and moral degeneration, in which one does not know how to make the spirit work. The land in the poem is Christian, but Hinduism works as an infusion of regenerative waters. The poem begins on the banks of the "Thames" and at the edges of "unreal city", and ends on the banks of the river Ganges. As far as the "Thunder", used in
section V of the poem, and taken from the "Thunder" passage in *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (5:1-3), constitutes the most "complete and philosophical movement of the poem" (Rai 123). Eliot's concern here is clearly Vedic. "What the Thunder said", as the 'most complex of all the five sections of The Waste Land' (Shahane viii), not only projects Eliot's vision of the human condition and the predicament of man in the contemporary world, it also aims at a solution on Vedic principles. The journey of the protagonist, from part first to fifth of the poem, shows that the solution is evident in the philosophical restraint of the East.

Then spoke the thunder
DA
Datta........
.................
DA
Dayadhvam.....
...................
DA
Damyata:........
.................... (395-99, 400-01,410-11 417-18)

The arrival of the thunder, which justifies the title of the section, "What the Thunder Said", is marked by the three commands. The thundering sound, 'Da', used thrice in the section, abbreviates the three Sanskrit sutras- Datta, Dayadhvam and Damyata. Eliot refers the readers to the fable of the Thunder in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* V, 2. The three fold offspring of the creator Prajapati, gods, men and demons, approach Prajapati for instruction after completing their formal education. To each group he utters the syllable 'Da'. Each group interprets this reply differently. The gods interpret it as 'damyata' (control yourself). The men interpret it as 'datta' ('give'). The demons interpret it as 'dayadhvam' ('be compassionate'). When the groups, in turn, give their interpretations, Prajapati responds with 'Om', signifying that they have fully understood. The fable concludes: "This very thing the heavenly voice of thunder repeats da, da, da, that is, control yourself, give, be compassionate. One should practise this same triad, self-control, giving and compassion" (Radhakrishnan 289-290). The concluding line of *The Waste Land*, "Shantih Shantih Shantih" (403), is in consonance with the title of the last section. It makes Eliot's Vedic references more explicit. Shantih-chanting appears for the first time in the *Yajurveda* (36:17). It is part of both ritual as well as religious activity in the Vedic way of living. Eliot wants peace for the whole universe, including the Waste Landers who live in an atmosphere of desperate fear, doubt and frustration.

In many poems, Eliot has drawn upon the *Gita*. In "The Dry Salvages", a reference to the *Gita* is to be found in the lines:

So Krishna, as when he admonished Arjuna
On the field of battle.
Not fare well,
But fare forward, voyagers. (III, 169-172)

T. S. Eliot was also profoundly influenced by the philosopher Henri Bergson, whose lectures the former attended at the College de France. In his writings, Eliot can be seen to examine the consequences of Bergson’s views on time, memory, intuition and consciousness. It is clear that Bergson continued to have a strong interest for Eliot’s mind. Even in 1952, whilst promoting a philosophy based on dogmatic theology, Eliot expressed a longing for the appearance of a philosopher whose writings, lectures, and personality will arouse the imagination as Bergson, for instance, aroused it forty years ago. (Quoted in Pfeifer 11)

At Harvard University, Eliot was busy with the study of the philosophy of F.H. Bradley, the result of which was represented by the former’s doctoral dissertation, “Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F.H. Bradley”. Bradley provided Eliot with several crucial concepts and ideas, as well as the model of a prose style well suited to the latter’s reserved nature.

With his migration to London in 1914, Eliot slowly gravitated towards Ezra Pound, the most active and energetic figure in the English literary life of the day. Pound proved to be a mentor for T.S. Eliot. Another powerful influence during these early years came from T.E. Hulme, a Bergsonian philosopher and sponsor of the Imagist style in poetry. St Augustine also exercised a deep influence on T.S. Eliot’s mind. St Augustine, with his ideas and concepts, is an important figure in many poems that Eliot wrote after 1914. The inclusion of St Augustine, with effective allusions, in The Waste Land makes it highly relevant. The power of the section, "The Fire Sermon", may be felt through the whole poem. The presence of St Augustine enhances The Waste Land considerably. Rajnath observes in T.S. Eliot’s Theory of Poetry:

St Augustine has always loomed large on Eliot’s mental horizon. "Mixing memory and desire" in the opening lines of The Waste Land is Augustinian and St Augustine has been juxtaposed with the Buddha in "The Fire Sermon." It is the Confessions from the fifth book of which Eliot quote in "The Fire Sermon" that sets forth in the eleventh book the philosophy of time embodied in the Four Quartets. (159)

The view of human life lived purely on the physical level is supported by the words in the Confessions of Augustine, a true voice of Christian asceticism. The reference to St Augustine is deliberate. V.K. Rai states:

The intention here is to present life in The Waste Land as a reckless surrender to the senses and all the abnormality, morbidity and perversion to which it leads. The remedy for this torment of insatiable craving is continence as prescribed by the Buddha and St Augustine. (128)

In The Waste Land, sexual craving has been let loose and people are coming together, coupling and then separating. Not satisfied with ordinary sex, they are quick to develop deviant, inhuman and abnormal ways for lending freshness to their sexual enjoyment and gratification. Eliot contrasts the burning in lust and restlessness to the enlightened Buddha’s view of men and
women, with which St Augustine’s ideas are also included.

To Carthage then I came
Burning burning burning burning
O Lord Thou pluckest me out
O Lord Thou pluckest
burning (307-311)

This has reference to the Confessions of St Augustine, where the famous Christian mystic wrote of the bodily temptations of his youth. He was born in what is now Algeria and went to Carthage when he was sixteen. He prayed for God's help to save him from the fire of lust prevailing in Carthage. He sought God's grace for freedom from lust and was eventually saved.

In England, T.S. Eliot made progress and his fame grew slowly but steadily. In 1927, he obtained the citizenship of England and joined the Anglican Church. The recognition of his merit and poetic eminence came in 1948 with the awards of The Order of Merit and the Nobel Prize for Literature. At the close of his life in 1965, he had risen to the enviable position of a writer who summed up an epoch. Eliot died on 4 January 1965. Among the mourners at the memorial service in West Minister Abbey was Ezra Pound, whose homage to Eliot was perhaps the most fitting: ‘I can only repeat, but with the urgency of 50 years ago: READ HIM’ (Quoted in Moody 13).

The age in which Eliot lived was deeply anarchic and complicated, throwing up several difficulties and possibilities of human action. There was an intense upsurge of trends and counter-trends in English literature. It would be a wonder, to be sure, if some one appeared to speak about the numerous issues of the era in a persuasive manner. Eliot was a highly sensitive person whose primary concern as a poet was to awaken modern people to the need of cultivating certain human values in order to emerge out of the overwhelming chaos of selfishness and deep cultural, even moral and spiritual, crisis in which they were involved. Eliot knew well that the old social structure was changing fast, and that the European Renaissance had become a spent force. The rapid growth of industries had led to an era of commercialism, colonialism and imperialism, destroying the very core of simple human values like love, humility, tolerance, equilibrium, sanity, justice and truth. Eliot was convinced that the widespread general disorder could be removed of only when a new code of conduct was developed, based on tolerance, mutual trust and understanding.

Eliot tried to achieve this code of conduct in the epoch-making poem, The Waste Land (1922), which was written against an atmosphere of deterioration and dehumanization. In the background was the horrifying First World War and before its vision was the reconstruction of traumatized human society:

I sat upon the shore

Fishing, with the arid plain behind me

Shall I at least set my lands in order? (423-05)

A humanist upholds the dignity of human beings and places them at the centre of all actions and values. T. S. Eliot also clarifies his position in this regard when he recognizes the
strength and weaknesses of human beings, and when he advises them time and again to 'make perfect' their wills. It is the 'perfection of will' which enables a person to attain spiritual renewal and the beauty of life. It is this that renders him (or her) a whole being and helps create a strong, contented society.

T.S. Eliot declared in 1927 that he was "classicist in literature, royalist in politics, Anglo-Catholic in religion." This indicated his unmistakable religious position: he was an 'Anglo-Catholic'. However, more religious trends than merely Christianity were traceable in his poetry. Of these trends, Hinduism and Buddhism were very prominent. Eliot's religious bent of mind was shaped at an early age. His religious inclinations received a boost in the Puritan atmosphere of his family. Eliot, in his Notes towards the Definition of Culture, acknowledged the fact that "the primary channel of transmission of culture is the family." (43). Being born in St. Louis, Missouri, and belonging to a distinguished Boston family, Eliot inherited the Unitarian background of New England. But Unitarianism was an austere religious sect, and so Eliot considered it lacking in the colourful elements of Christianity.

The early poetry of Eliot, though not so religious as his later poetry, powerfully expresses its concern at the growing forces of scepticism. The pervasive air of suffering and pessimism to be generally seen in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," "Gerontion", The Waste Land and "The Hollow Men" is actually indicative of the non-spiritual atmosphere in the modern world. But with "Ash Wednesday" (1930) Eliot’s tone changes and a kind of religious belief returns to him. (By this time, he had become a staunch Christian, which provided him with an anchor in earthly life and beyond it.) The poetry written thereafter reflects a sort of spiritual awakening in him. The Christian ideas to be found in Eliot's poetry include the Catholic philosophy of disillusionment. This is best demonstrated in Dante's Vita Nuova and in Eliot’s Four Quartets. This philosophy leads Eliot to realize the ultimate truth of life in its relation to the absolute. The doctrines of sin, salvation through suffering and the divine revelation as an act of grace and many other Christian ideas are to be found in T.S. Eliot’s poetry.

T.S. Eliot appears on the scene of twentieth century English literature as a wonderful trendsetter. He initiates a new brand of poetry of the city, a poetry essentially intellectual, impersonal, persistently urbane and typically observational. Eliot's poetry is mystifying as well as energetic. His early poetry records the struggle between two opposite forces such as the ‘self’ and the ‘Self’. His middle poetry marks his strong religious faith in trying to merge these opposites by surrendering himself to God in whom all dialectics end. Eliot's later poetry, namely Four Quartets, achieves this resolution. Four Quartets ends with such a state of composure that allows the self to enjoy "pure being and becoming, absolute existence and historical existence" (Krishnachaitanya 311).

Eliot’s sensitive and philosophical mind had stored up several catagories and kind of knowledge. Eliot was a genius of strong individuality and left his distinctive mark on the poems that he composed. After having won various distinctions and honour including Nobel Prize, British Order of Merit and recognition as one of the greatest forces in modern English literature, T.S. Eliot died in 1965. Eliot is dead, but his contributions to literature remain invaluable assets.
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SHASHI DESHPANDE’S NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE AND STYLE OF WRITING

Sujata Ramkrushnarao Khandagale
Ph. D. Scholar
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
Marathwada University,
Aurangabad, (MS) India

Shashi Deshpande, an eminent novelist, has emerged as a writer possessing deep insight into the female psyche. She is born on 19th August 1938 in Dharwad in Karnataka State in India. She is an eminent Indian woman novelist in English. She is also one of the most popular short story writers in India. She has written special four books for little children. She reflects a realistic picture of contemporary middle-class woman in her writing. Her novels are set in big towns like Mumbai, Bangalore. Sometimes the town is mentioned; sometimes it is left to our imagination. Shashi Deshpande is a very renowned name in fiction writing in Indian English Literature. She has written eleven novels in English such as - The Dark Holds No Terrors (1980), If I Die Today (1982), Roots and Shadows (1983), Come Up and Be Dead (1985), That Long Silence (1988), The Binding Vine (1993), A Matter of Time (1996), Small Remedies (2000), Moving On (2004), In the Country of Deceit (2008), and Ships That Pass (2012).

Her novels are translated into many languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, Urdu, German, Dutch, Finnish, Danish and Kannada. She has also been awarded ‘Sahitya Academi Award’. Indeed, Deshpande is a good mother, a good wife and an eminent writer. Hence, in 2009, she has been awarded a prestigious, Padma Shri, award by the Government of India for her great contribution to the Indian English Literature.

This research paper focuses on the narrative technique and style of writing of Shashi Deshpande in her novels. Indeed, Shashi Deshpande is a very eminent woman novelist and short story writer. She has used a fine narrative technique and style to make her novels interesting and realistic. She tells the story of her novel using a common method of storytelling. Indian English novelists used a plain narrative or storytelling, which is the most common method of storytelling and the novelist, is omnipresent and omniscient in this type of writing. The first person narrative is usually employed by the novelist to make his story appear more realistic or more credible. While novels written in such a manner have a ring of authenticity to them, they do not enable the novelist to look deep into the minds and motive of the rest of the characters. The use an appropriate technique was the major problem for the Indian English novelists. But Shashi Deshpande overcomes this problem by using a combination of the first person and the third person narrative coupled with flashback devices to lend force and realism to the novel. A chronological analysis of Deshpande’s development as a novelist requires a close study of her
narrative technique and style used by her in her novels. Deshpande’s ten novels have a very fantastic and realistic narrative technique.

Shashi Deshpande has used her fantastic narrative technique and style in her first full length novel, *Roots and Shadows*. The present novel deals with the protagonist, Indu’s painful self-analysis. But Deshpande tries to cover several other themes in this novel. There is a theme of woman’s Fate in general and the old order giving away to the new order. Deshpande avoids the simple technique of straightforward narration and employs the flashback method to capture the interest of the reader. In the novel, *Roots and Shadows*, the first chapter deals with the present and the other chapters move backwards in time in the past and the final chapter of the novel is again in the present. This type of narration has been criticized by various critics and reviewers. These critics and reviewers say that this type of narration creates confusion in the mind of reader. The entire novel is written in the first person narrative. The narrator is a young woman writer who returns to her childhood home after a long gap of 15 years and finds herself in the whirlpool of family intrigues. The first person narration also allows the author to probe deep into the mind of the protagonist, exposing her fears and frustrations with admirable candor, inviting the praise of reviewers and critics. A famous reviewer Watson C. W. compares Shashi Deshpande to the master story teller Chekhov and he says:

“Other South Indian writer has been compared to Chekhov but Shashi Deshpande, in this novel at least, comes closest to that writer, and the tragic-comedy of The Cherry Orchard is constantly recalled in the description of the crumbling house and the squabbling of the family. The writing is beautifully controlled and avoids the temptation of sentimentality which the subject might suggest and again the control is reminiscent of Chekhov”. (Watson C. W. 1995:75)  

Deshpande’s another novel, *The Dark Holds No Terrors*, portrays the psychological problems faced by the protagonist, Sarita. In this novel, Deshpande shifts the narrative from the first person to the third person. When Deshpande was asked by Lakshmi Holmstorm in an interview as to how she (Deshpande) had hit upon this technique, Deshpande replied:

“The present is the third person and the past is the first person. I was doing throughout in the first. But that’s often a perspective I use in my short stories. I wanted to be more objective. So, then I tried it in the third. But it wouldn’t work at all. Yet I really needed to distance myself from the narrative in the present, otherwise it was going to be far intense. And then I read an American novel by Lisa Alther where she uses this method. And the minute I came across her novel I thought—Let me admit it freely—Oh god, this is how I am going to do my novel” (“Interview: Shashi Deshpande talks to Lakshmi Holmstorm,” 1993: 23-24)
This is the method of storytelling by which the novelist tells the story objectively. The book reviewer Meenakshi Mukherjee reviews the novel, *The Dark Holds No Terrors*, and says:

“No summary will do justice to the intricate web the author has woven through the superimposition of the past over the present, through dreams, nightmares, flashbacks, introspection and simple straightforward third person narration” (Meenakshi Mukherjee. 1981: 31)

Deshpande’s Sahitya Akademi Award winning novel, *That Long Silence*, is a very complex novel about suppression and freedom, and despair and triumph which played a better part in the heroine’s mind through memories and recollections. The narrative of the novel is like an interior monologue quite similar to the stream of consciousness technique used by Virginia Woolf. Prema Nandkumar rightly observes that the novel, *That Long Silence* “is not a forbidding stream of consciousness probe in Virginia Woolf tradition. It is very much a conventional tale full of social realism evoked by links of memory. Not misty recollection but clear-eyed story telling” (Prema Nandkumar.) The narrator, Jaya, achieves a kind of catharsis by an objective analysis of what went wrong with her marriage and why she had failed as a writer. The narrative technique is beautifully described by Jaya who is telling her own story. Thus the narrative technique used in this novel by Deshpande is like an interior monologue. Deshpande has intermingled the present and the past in this novel.

Deshpande’s other novel, *The Binding Vine*, is a different kind of novel. It differs in its mode of narration from Deshpande’s earlier novels. The narrative structure of Deshpande’s earlier novels such as *Roots and Shadows, The Dark Holds No Terrors* and *That Long Silence* do not develop chronologically, but it moves back and forth thematically, slowly relating one incident after another until the entire story is revealed. However, in *The Binding Vine*, separate plots of three different stories are interwoven bringing together three women separated by age, status and education. The entire story is narrated in the first person by Urmia, the protagonist of the novel. Deshpande used the poetry and writing in a diary to make glimpses into the life of the narrator’s mother-in-law, Mira. This novel indicates the development in Deshpande’s narrative technique than her earlier novels.

Shashi Deshpande’s next novel, *A Matter of Time*, deals with the human predicament of three women presenting three generations of the same family. Indeed, for the first time, Deshpande makes a man the protagonist of her novel. In this novel, Gopal walks out on his family comprising the wife and three daughters. The novel is narrated in the first person. The past and the present are again mixed with each other in this novel. The novel is structured skillfully and it tells a pathetic story of a deserted woman, Sumi and her three daughters. In this novel, mother-daughter relationship is beautifully presented by the novelist. Deshpande used satire and irony to present the dilemma of Indian woman in Indian society. A Review in the *New York Times* observes that

“Deshpande’s unadorned style refuses to call attention itself and that the book is written in ‘an unfussy, unmagical prose,’ surely a compliment at a time when use of an unexoticized
English language by writers in India is a much debated topic” (Maureen Mclane. 1999).

Deshpande’s novel, Small Remedies, deals with different themes-the personal, the worldly, women’s rights, communal violence and motherhood. It mixes the past and the present focusing on the lives of Savitribai, Leela, Munni and the narrator Madhu herself. It is structured as a biography within a biography, with the writer Madhu, often in a dilemma about how to tell her story. Madhu narrates the story of the novel. In this story woman’s dilemma, Indian tradition and woman’s struggle for freedom is skillfully presented by Deshpande. Deshpande faithfully reflects the life as it is without any personal commentary and explanation in this novel. The present novel is highly feminist novel. But she does not want to teach a moral lesson to the society through this novel. Deshpande makes it clear that she does not write her novels with social purpose. They are written spontaneously whatever she thinks in her mind. Hence, Deshpande says in an interview to Sue Dickman:

“Somebody once asked me if I have a social purpose in my writing and I very loudly said, ‘No,’ I have no social purpose, I write because it comes to me” (Sue Dickman. 1995: 34).

Deshpande’s simple but powerful prose reads like a grandmother’s tale which comes from the heart and reaches directly deep into heart of its readers. If at one point the use of omniscient narration teases the reader as the speaker claims to foresee events but is not ready to share until time and plot unfolds it, at other end there is a sudden revelation of plot for poignant appeal.

Deshpande’s novel, Moving On, is a presentation of a personal diary of a dead man, read by his daughter and her own thoughts revolving around the pages she is going through and her own perspective about the past which consists of her parents, husband and children. The book talks about family ties, relationships, commitment and the generations. Sometimes you just don’t have proper words to describe what you feel about certain things. Deshpande’s command over language, verbal ability to match the plot and easiness with which the story moves and dwells the characters that are designed to form the entire book is truly amazing.

A sheltered a happy childhood, a romantic fling which the mother disapproved of turning into marriage. A set of complications arising from a sister’s illness and a husband’s inability to provide for his wife leading to infidelity and betrayal in the woman’s past. The story of a family as it weaves its path through the years and becomes closer knit than it was after undergoing tribulations that could have split it wide open. A shade better than an MB and a couple of shades less than a classic is how I would describe it.

Deshpande’s novel, In the Country of Deceit, is a skillfully structured novel. It is the tenth and the last novel of Deshpande. Devayani is a young married woman living in a small town Rajnur in the state of Karnataka in India. She is just recovering from the loss of her mother and starting a new life. Devayani chooses to live alone in the small town of Rajnur after her parents’ death, ignoring the gently voiced disapproval of her family and friends. Teaching English, creating a garden and making friends with Rani, a former actress who settles in the town with her husband and three children, Devayani’s life is tranquil, imbued with a hard-won
independence. Then she meets Ashok Chinappa, Rajnur’s District Superintendent of Police, and they fall in love despite the fact that Ashok is much older, married, and—as both painfully acknowledge from the beginning—it is a relationship without a future.

Deshpande’s writing style is very easy to her readers and so the pages fly when one reads this novel. The story is told from Devayani’s point of view, with many letters thrown in between her narration. The setting of the novel is very authentic-small town India-and the characters described in the book look quite authentic. The love story is interesting with a bittersweet ending. The narrative is in the first person from Devayani’s perspective. Deshpande uses letters from various people to Devayani probably to fill out other characters and their perspectives. However, this falls flat as the content of the letters is stilted and definitely not realistic. There is no discernable difference between the regular narrative and the letters in language or tone.

Deshpande opens the heart of her protagonists to present the inner thoughts of her heroines. So, the narrative becomes realistic or authentic which creates a beautiful story of her novels. Indeed, “Shashi Deshpande’s extraordinary skill in portraying inner psychology builds a tale of beauty” (http://vishytheknight.wordpress.com). In her novels, she uses the Indian myth which creates an epic quality in her novels. Thus, “There is an epic quality that she brings to her portraits of families in a time of flux and disintegration of group identities” (http://vishytheknight.wordpress.com). Deshpande is a very powerful Indian writer who has a full command over the words. Her style of writing is very attractive for her reader.

Really, Shashi Deshpande is “one of our finest writers in English...Her style is elegant, substantial, and full of the surprises of exactitude” (http://vishytheknight.wordpress.com). Trained as a journalist, Deshpande’s work focuses on the reality and truth of the lives of Indian women. Deshpande has described her literary style as “really a very simple and stark style, which rarely draws attention to itself.” (www.amazines.com)  

It has been said that Deshpande rewrites the same novel over and over. In fact, her fictions often begin with a married woman going back to her parents' household and goes on with family secrets being slowly revealed. But it is not true, her each novel has a separate theme, separate heroine which creates a new meaning. Really, Shashi Deshpande has given a great contribution for the Indian English Literature. But she says that she does not contribute for the propagandist literature. In an interview to Stanley Carvalho, she once again emphatically states:

“I hate to write propagandist literature. I think good literature and propaganda do not go together. Any literature written with some viewpoint of providing something rarely turns out to be good literature. Literature comes very spontaneously and when I write I am concerned with people” (Stanley Carvalho. 1990)  

It means that Deshpande writes for only people and the writing comes to her spontaneously. Deshpande says that her writing reflects the live picture of the world. It is also
noted that Deshpande uses satire and irony or humour in her all novels. We find the flashes of irony and satire in her novels but they do not seem to be included intentionally by Deshpande. She uses the Indian myth from Ramayana and Mahabharata in her novels. But she does not believe that myth is used as a literary device.

Apart from narrative technique and style of writing, the most challenging task before Indian English writers is the use of English language in a way that will be distinctively Indian English. The problem generates from the great difference between the Indian and the Western cultures. Like the earlier Indian English writers who used the English language according to their talent, Shashi Deshpande also writes in this language to give voice to women’s problems. Deshpande comes from a middle class, Marathi-Cannada background, and she was educated in English at a local school in Dharwad, Karnataka. Even she has also educated in Mumbai in Maharashtra. It is these influences which have played an important role in shaping her writing and the use of the English language. So, she has also used some words of Marathi language in her writing.

The kind of English language which she uses is a very simple. She does not use showy, bombastic or rhetorical English language in her writing. It is so simple and straightforward that it never hinders the readers in any way. Deshpande’s concern has been the expression of the Indian middle class ethos. And her simple, unassuming English reflects it. The English language which she uses is a kind of language used by an average, middle-class, convent-educated individual. She writes about the middle-class people and the language used is also middle-class English, sometimes a little incorrect by the British standards.

Deshpande’s writing is spontaneous. She does not use Indian English awarinessly. Vanamala Vishwanath observes that Deshpande’s writing is not obviously Indian, Deshpande says:

“No, I don’t believe in making it obviously Indian. But all this is basically because I’m isolated- I’m not part of any movement and conscious of readers to impress. To get wider recognition here and abroad, you have to be in the university and places like that with the right contact. I’m an ordinary woman who writes sitting at home. None of these things are within my reach. This has, I believe, done me good; it has given me great freedom. I’m happy with this anonymity. Once you get publicity-conscious, your writing becomes affected. I’m truly happy with this freedom” (Vanamala Vishwanath.1987: 11).

Shashi Deshpande feels that writing in English is a drawback in this country because it alienates the writer from the main-stream. But Shashi Deshpande considers English as one of the Indian languages. So, she says:

“I believe that English writing in this country is a part of our literatures; I consider English as one more of our bhashas as Ganesh Devy calls them. I know our writing comes out of an involvement comes out of our experiences here. Our
relationship is now here, and happily our publishers are here as well. Yet I am disturbed by the recent trend in English writing which in its pursuits of role models outside, is alienating itself from its roots” (Deshpande Shashi. 1996:108)

Really, Shashi Deshpande is different kind of writer than other Indian English writers in the sense that she was never educated abroad and she is firmly rooted in the Indian soil. So, Deshpande says:

“My novels do not have any westers, for example. They are first about Indian people and the complexities of our lives. Our inner lives and our outer lives and the reconciliation between them. My English is as we use it. I don’t make it easier for anyone really. If I make any changes, it’s because the novel needs it, not because the reader needs it.” (Lakshmi Holmstrom. 1993: 26)

Deshpande was fully aware of the problems which Indian writers in English face and she is of the opinion that they should evolve a language of their own; this will remain distinctively Indian, and yet be English. She has always aimed at the Indian readers and not the Western. Her creative use of the language has been greatly admired by the reader and the critics. She handles the Indian women’s issues in her novels and short stories. Thus, she is ever vigilant to the issues associated with the contemporary society, and she has evolved a literary skill that enables her to present them realistically and convincingly. Really, Deshpande’s style of writing is very easy and simple for her reader. In her narrative technique of all novels, she makes a combination of the first person and the third person narrative coupled with flashback devices to present the credibility and authenticity of her novels. So, C. V. Venugopal comments on Shashi Deshpande as, “Deshpande is a mature and technically accomplished story teller” (Venugopal, C. V. and Hegde. 1991(set. 1): 215). Her narrative technique and writing style made her novels very popular among her readers. Her novels are translated into a number Indian and foreign languages because they attracted the readers because of its themes, structure and narrative technique. Her novels are very popular all over the world. So, Deshpande has been awarded prestigious awards for her novels. Thus, Deshpande’s writing style and technique is very simple and straightforward. Thus, Deshpande’s narrative technique and style of writing is developed novel after another novel and now she is a very mature and renowned novelist in the Indian English literature who lives in Bangalore with her doctor husband.

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LACAN, ‘THE MIRROR STAGE’ AND SUBJECTIVITY: A PSYCHOANALYTIC READING OF BLACK SWAN

Sakshi Dogra
Assistant Professor
Department of English
Deshbandhu College, University of Delhi

Abstract:
Black swan directed by Darren Aronosky is a critically acclaimed movie which bagged multiple awards at the Oscars. The movie revolves around a timid and nervous Ballerina, Nina who desperately competes to bag the role of the swan queen. This struggle however is marked by images of mutilation, anguish and emotional and psychological upheaval. This paper purports to argue that behind this seemingly simple tale of aspiration, failure and success one can perceive a more complicated narrative of acquisition of subjectivity. An attempt has been made to read Black Swan through the prism of Lacan’s initial postulations to answer questions such as: Why is there a predominance of reflective surfaces such as mirrors in the movie? How does it tie with Lacan’s conception of the constitution of the subject? Is ‘othering’ constitutive of the subject? How does the movie portray the latter? Lastly and most importantly how does one understand Nina’s death in the light of these queries?

Introduction

The publication of Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in 1975 in the British film theory journal Screen was one of the most visible expressions of the tilt of film theory towards the psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan. The relevance of psychoanalysis to film studies has only acquired firmer grounds in the past decade. From Jean-Louis Baudry's and Christian Metz’s articulations concerning the relationship between the screen and the spectator to Slavoj Zizek’s Pervert’s Guide To Cinema that speaks of how the cinema tells us not just “what to desire” but also “how to desire”, the discourses around psychoanalysis have only widened the peripheries of film theory.

Lacan’s psychoanalysis has been at the heart of multifarious observations made in the practice of film theory. This paper attempts to look at the 2010 release Black Swan directed by Darron Aronsky (lauded for cinematic wonders such as The Fountain and Requim for a Dream) in the light of Lacan’s conceptualization of the mirror stage. The paper shall begin by summarising some of Lacan’s theories and as we progress an attempt will be made to engage those theories with the narrative of Black Swan. Slavoj Zizek, whose manifold writings lie at the
intersection of Lacan and popular Hollywood cinema while commenting on the 2010 release *Black Swan* in an article titled "Redefining family values on film" wrote,

The other winner at the 2011 Oscars, *Black Swan*, a feminine counterpart to *The King's Speech*, is even more reactionary. Its premise is that, while a man can dedicate himself to his mission (as in *The King's Speech*) and still lead a normal, private life, a woman who totally dedicates herself to her mission (here to be a ballerina) enters the path of self-destruction. It is easy to recognize in this plot the old topos of a woman torn between pursuing her artistic mission and having a happy, calm private life.

This paper shall try to steer clear of any such obvious feminist reading of the text but instead provide an alternative meaning to the story by reading the text in the light of Jacques Lacan’s initial theoretical conjectures.

In the very first few shots of the movie, Thomas Leroy, the choreographer of the swan lake ballet in the movie while describing his ballet in the following words summarizes the movie rather simply.

We all know the story, virginal girl, sweet and innocent trapped in the body of the swan, she desires freedom but only true love can break the spell. Her wish is nearly granted in form of a prince but before he can declare his love, the evil twin, Black Swan tricks and seduces him. Devastated, the White Swan leaps of the cliff killing herself and in death finds freedom.

Thus, on the surface level the movie is a contemporary psychological depiction of this very description of the fairy tale. It is a thriller that hinges on the struggle of a ballerina who is selected for playing the White and the Black Swan in a much acclaimed ballet called the swan lake. However, where she has no trouble dancing and enacting the innocent and virginal White Swan, the manipulative and seductive Black Swan escapes her comprehension. She is threatened by competition from another ballerina who personifies the Black Swan. Her obsessive compulsive mother is not much refuge either. Soon in her struggle for “perfection” she begins to lose herself and her sanity. Gradually, in order to fit into the role of the evil Black Swan she claims a break from her mother, her helpless attitude, acquiring in the end perfection in death.

**The Curious Case of Aimee**

Lacan’s doctoral thesis, “Paranoid Psychosis and its Relations to the Personality” was completed in 1932. The thesis revolved around a certain Marguerite Anzieu (named Aimee after the heroine of her unpublished novel) who had tried to attack/stab Huguette-ex-Duflos, an actress. By plunging into the psychical, personal and social world in which Aimee had grown up (by looking at the inherited nature of her problem, her relationship with her elder sister, the trauma over her still born child, the liability of raising her children rather than fleeing to America to pursue her dream to become an author and so and so forth) Lacan tried to piece together the logic behind her seemingly mindless act.
In brief, this analysis led him to the conclusion that she was suffering from self-punishing paranoia. Aimee tried to stab the actress because the actress became for Aimee both an object of hate and desire. Aimee saw the figure of this actress as a threat to the life of her young son and herself. It was only in punishment and solitude of the mental asylum that Aimee understood the true import of her act. As Olga Cox-Cameron in the essay ‘Lacan's Doctoral Thesis: Turbulent Preface Or Founding Legend?’ writes “It is not the aggressive act in itself which appeases the unconscious desire, but the realisation that she has struck herself by this action which eventually brings the delusional impetus to a halt.” (33) Lacan’s thesis thus impinged on the idea of doubling and images (tropes that are intrinsic to the narrative and cinematography of Black Swan). These ideas became far coherent and pronounced in Lacan’s formulation of the mirror stage.

Mirroring, Reflexivity and Movie-watching

In his essay ‘The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience’ Strongman, Lacan was to lay down his analysis of the ‘the transformation that takes place in the subject when he assumes an image’. (76) This transformation occurs, he argued, because of identification in the mirror stage. Although, he initially argued that such a period lasted from 6 months to 18 months, a shift in this idea took place later in his career where the imaginary was seen as an integral part of the subject's entire life. This section aims at highlighting the chief arguments of the aforementioned essay to elucidate the centrality of doubling and identification to Lacan’s notion of subjectivity.

Lacan argues that children are born prematurely and suffer from “motor impotence and nursling dependence” however whence looking at a mirror they seem “to overcome, in a flutter of jubilant activity, the constraints of his prop” (76). Although mirror stage can best be understood “as an identification”, by making this kind of connection the subject/infant/child/individual also implies an ensuing of an eternal war that the subject will wage forever to correspond wholly with the ideal-I.

This form would, moreover, have to be called the "ideal-I"... the important point is that this form situates the agency known as the ego, prior to its social determination, in a fictional direction that will forever remain irreplaceable for any single individual or, rather, That will only asymptotically approach the subject's becoming, no matter how successful the dialectical syntheses by which he must resolve, as I, his discordance with his own reality. (Lacan 76)

Thus, though this identification is important and gives the subject a sense of unity, at the same time the self becomes something that’s outside, external, alienating. The consciousness of a stable unitary self is thus produced at the cost of this self, being regarded as other. The ego comes into being at this moment and has its genesis in, firstly, the lack of completeness in the body and nervous system and, secondly, in an alienating identification.

The mirror stage is a drama whose internal pressure pushes precipitously from insufficiency to anticipation—and, For the subject caught up in the lure of spatial identification, turns out fantasies that proceed from a fragmented image of
the body to what I will call an ‘orthopaedic’ form of its totality—and to the finally
donned armor of an alienating identity that will mark his entire mental
development with its rigid structure. (Lacan 78)

Thus, even though the body of the infant is still incapable of performing basic functions, the
image reflected in the mirror on the other hand is whole, complete. The ambiguous or dual
relationship with the specular image thus implies both aggressivity and eroticism. ‘This ‘erotic
aggression’ continues as a fundamental ambivalence underlying all future forms of identification,
and is an essential characteristic of narcissism. Narcissism can thus easily veer from extreme
self-love to the opposite extreme of ‘narcissistic suicidal aggression’”(Evans 6). All these
arguments will be taken up later in the essay to weigh Lacan’s arguments and the movie on an
axis of simultaneity.

It is interesting to note here that there is a recurrent motive of mirroring throughout Black
Swan. Except for the last shot of the movie where there is an absence of any kind of reflective
surface, the entire movie is loaded with the motive of one or the other kind of mirror. The glasses
on the train, the long length mirrors in the ballet class, the mirror at home, water: the trope of
themirror keeps reoccurring. This repetition of reflexivity is further embodied in the reflexivity
of the camera and subsequently the screen.

To digress from the central engagement of this paper, the film theory propounded by
Jean-Louis Baudry’s in his ‘Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus’, first
published in Cinethique wherein he appropriates Lacan's conception of the mirror stage to
explain the spectators’ gaze, the screen and the function of the camera works with this very
phenomenon. He speaks of the screen as the mirror that reflects back images and not reality. The
two conditions that dominate the mirror stage: one of immobility and second of enhanced visual
comprehension, are both characteristic of the subject watching the movie as well. The
identification however as opposed to the original (i.e. Lacan’s conjectures) happens at two levels.
The first one is that which is established between the subject and the images and the second one
that which is established between the subject and the camera. Thus reflexivity makes an
appearance time and again in terms of symbolism, of narrative and in terms of a prerequisite for
the meaning production of the film as such.

Black Swan, Nina and Ideal-I

Nina inhabits a world of stuffed toys, of butterfly ridden wallpapers and of miniature dancing
ballerinas. Her obsessive mother consistently refers to her as my sweet girl and does not shy
away from undressing her to cutting her nails every single time. During the first thirty minutes of
the movie Nina is seen wearing shades of pink (baby pink precisely) she wears a pink muffler, a
pink bathing gown, a pink coat and pink shrug.

The motive behind this description is the portrayal of Nina as a child who is still
dependent on her mother for the littlest of tasks and lives in a world meant that all girls are
stereotypically inscribed to when they are young. This is the world of all things pink, supple and
stuffed. Her room has no locking system and she sleeps while her mother looks over her. She constantly seeks approval from her mother and wants to be admired and accepted by all.

When Lacan spoke of image, reflection and the subject he was not just referring to mirrors or some reflective surface. For the infant, the mother, or another child can also be the ideal-I, the gestalt⁴⁰. Likewise, Nina also identifies with her mother, who becomes a reflective surface. She learns to desire what her mother desire, a fondness for dancing and the attitude to excel. However the jubilation from achieving the perfection of the (m)other’s image is only short-lived as soon the wholeness of the mother’s image begins to threaten the body with disintegration and fragmentation. This fragmentedness of the self is portrayed through the gruesome images of scratching, accidental skin peeling and toe twisting.

The obsession with perfection is not to be purely understood as some ambitious harking for the ideal-I. Thus in her search for perfection, for a similarity between her and Beth, that is what she is seeking.

Another pertinent analysis of the movie centres on her identification with Lily, the other of Nina. There is an intermittent bond of alienation and identification that Nina forges with Lily. Where Nina is intrigued by Lily, she is simultaneously infused with a sense of competition. She shares her feelings with Lily, and then immediately derides her; she goes to the night club, discovers her sexuality and in the morning dismisses her. There is an oscillation between aggressivity and eroticism throughout her relationship with Lily. Gradually, she reaches a stage where she is paranoid that Lily is out to steal her part in the ballet reproduction of the folk tale.

Black Swan ends with Nina’s death. The movie presents Nina’s death as an inevitable result of an over-arching Faustian deal, as the price the latter has to pay in order to gain penultimate perfection. Slavoj Žižek on the other hand as mentioned before argue that Nina’s tale and her death relive the age-old rationale of women’s failure and doom when they claim an access to public life and spaces. However, when one reads the text in the light of the postulation that Lacan made in his early career one can welcome a different interpretation.

It is only in Nina’s death that her ego can assimilate with the external image. Her death is the price for a sense of narrative closure and also the cause for a synthesis. The Hegelian dialectic of slave and master relationship thus had a huge influence on Lacan’s ‘The Mirror Stage’. Although, an attempt has been made, through this paper to enrich the body of work done in the field of psychoanalytic film theory, some avenues in the movie still remain uncharted. What symbolic role does Thomas Leroy play? Does he perhaps depict the name of the father of the symbolic order? Does he offer Nina a break from the imaginary and an initiation into the order of society and language? These are some of the questions that can be answered by engaging with Lacan’s later writings.
End notes

iiiThe paper was first presented in 1936 however since Lacan was interrupted in the middle of his paper. The version in *Ecrits* dates from 1949, 13 years later. This explains the beginning of the essay.

ivGestalt can be best explained as our understanding of a form whose meaning exceeds the totality of its components.


**Webliography**


“A HELL OF A PUZZLE”¹: LANGUAGE AS A SITE OF NATION-BUILDING AND COMEDY IN G.V. DESANI’S *ALL ABOUT H HATTERR*

Neha Khurana
Asst. Professor
Department of English,
Gargi College
(University of Delhi)

Abstract

This paper explores how language becomes the primary site at which the significant themes and issues of the text become available for analysis in G.V. Desani’s *All About H Hatterr*. These issues include first and foremost the issue of multi-lingualism (rather the heterogenous mix of different registers of language the text uses); the production of comedy in the text originating from this mix of language-registers and the social groups they represent; the cultural schizophrenia that can be perceived particularly through the character of the protagonist H Hatterr and perhaps most importantly what this schizophrenia means in the context of nation-building.

An engagement with the idea of nation-building in the text requires us to first establish a theoretical framework to inform our understanding of nationalism. For this purpose I turn to the seminal works of Benedict Anderson, Partha Chatterjee and Leela Gandhi. Benedict Anderson in ‘Imagined Communities’ defines the nation as – “an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson: 6)– imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will not know most of their fellow members; limited because establishing a nation implies drawing boundaries and limiting territories as “no nation imagines itself as coterminous with mankind” (7); and sovereign because every nation imagines itself as in some way different and superior to others. In the same breath however Anderson also draws attention to the derivative nature of all nationalism other than European. Thus in my reading of Anderson, he suggests, though implicitly, that though the concepts of nation and nationalism came out of an idiom of Enlightenment and Reason, for most derivative nationalisms their origins are as much shrouded in mystery as those of the divinely-ordained world that Enlightenment critiqued.

¹ Desani: 275
In a fruitful critical engagement with Anderson, Partha Chatterjee in a section titled ‘Whose Imagined Community?’ in his book *Nation and its Fragments*, argues that the nationalist imagination of Asia and Africa is based not on an identity but rather on a difference with the modular forms of the national society. The material is considered the domain of the outside, of science and technology- a forte of the West; and the spiritual the domain of the inside, bearing the essential marks of cultural identity and thus necessary for the colony. As an implication, he believes, nationalism declares the domain of the spiritual/cultural its sovereign territory and refuses the colonial power to intervene in that domain. Leela Gandhi in her book ‘Postcolonial Theory’ draws from Tom Nairn as she points out his “vital understanding of nationalism’s structural vulnerability- of its intrinsically unstable, self-deconstructing discourse. It is both ‘good’ and ‘bad’, both normalising and rebellious” (Gandhi: 107). Gandhi also cautions against the deceptively neat opposition between positive or modern and negative or non-modern nationalisms which renders all local, plural and recalcitrant varieties inevitably inadequate and subordinate.

It is with such an understanding of nationalism as simultaneously good and bad, rebellious and normalizing; as limited, imagined and sovereign; and as necessarily thriving on difference that we should proceed to look at G.V. Desani’s *All About H Hatterr*. Desani commenced writing the book in 1943 and finally published in 1948 which was obviously a period of immense social unrest and instability arising primarily out of the contradictory impulses of nationalism- of rebelling against British imperialism and normalizing its own stance. One of the areas in which this forceful process of normalizing becomes most apparent is language, which, as closely linked with national identity and self-expression, continued to be a central concern even after independence. Late nineteenth century onwards, the choice of language for the various activities of the freedom struggle as well as the problem of identifying a national language (Hindi or Sanskrit) came to the fore as issues of concern even as Hindu nationalists made attempts at the progressive Sanskritization of Hindi to distance Hindi from its Persian-Urdu past. Nehru is reported to have been a staunch supporter of the Sanskrit language even as Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have favoured Hindi or Hindustani in the Devnagari script. (see: Paranjape). As the teaching of English was included in the formal education of the country, the language that the middle-class youth of the country are likely to have picked up is a mix of Hindustani and English – a dialect of Hinglish. This problem of language, it is not hard to imagine, would only become more magnified when we are concerned with the diasporic community.

Such is the case with Desani’s protagonist H Hatterr who is born “fifty-fifty of the species” (31), born to a mother from the Malay Peninsula and a father from Europe. The ‘H’ in the name ‘H Hatterr’ stands interestingly, we are told, for ‘Hindustaniwallah’. Particularly this part makes the text autobiographical for Desani who, born in Kenya, lived for many years in Sind before running off to England where he received British education. Hatterr speaks a mix of several language-registers: in the way of Nissim Ezekiel’s ‘Miss Pushpa T.S.’, he uses the present continuous and past continuous tenses all too often and retains several Hindi words as is apparent from the ‘Mutual Introduction’ where Hatterr describes how Bannerji “had tears in his eyes as he
was saying adieu” and Hatterr “was receiving same, with the best of feelings, and my *topi* in hand” (34). There are other awkward sentence-constructions too like- “The sun was scorching!” (51), “I felt so humble” (50) and the like. In one sense then we could say that the text is written in translation as the thinking seems to have happened (atleast for Hatterr) in another language which he translates and writes in English. Hatterr also speaks in archaic English when, quite authoritatively he asks the Sage to teach him the art of living. Hatterr says: “I will do anything at thy bidding! ... I will give my life for thee!” (53).

As the rest of the paper will explicate, I propose that the use of various registers of language to piece together this text is an attempt to deal with several themes simultaneously: the issue of multilingualism; the varied responses to nationalist thought; and the debate between tradition and modernity. Above all it is an attempt to push language into producing meaning, and in this way to deal with the issue of representing a nation with varied communities- all in a flux. This debate around tradition and modernity features later too in Arun Kolatkar’s ‘Jejuri’ in which disparate images come together to enable the representation to approximate reality. An example is the poem titled ‘Vows’ in which we are told how we will “bathe the station-master in milk/and promise you will give/a solid gold toy train to the booking-clerk/if only someone would tell you/when next train is due.” Yet, in proposing this, I do not propose that there is an authentic reality which must be supplemented with an authentic way of representation. Instead, in the vein of Salman Rushdie’s essay ‘Imaginary Homelands’, I would argue that “To conquer English may be to complete the process of making ourselves free.” (Rushdie: 17). However in my interpretation, this kind of conquering entails adapting (rather than adopting) the language for the specific purposes of the author which in turn could entail inserting Hindi words, using many different registers of language in the same text, changing the conventional structure of sentences of that language and so on.

This aspect seems to become apparent, in the first instance, in the original subtitle of the text: “A Gesture” rather than the later subtitle “A Novel” with which we read it now. The idea seems to be that the varied responses and modes of thought and their critiques in the autobiography of a diasporic protagonist that this text offers, can only be represented through a gesture (perhaps a series of reflections) rather than in something like a conventional novel with a beginning, middle and end. However in a postmodernist fashion that is known to have inspired several authors including Salman Rushdie, the text constantly plays with readers’ expectations. In the last section of the text, Bannerji’s guru Yati Rambeli’s Critique of Hatterr’s text fills in some of the gaps in the text for us - a gesture which leads us to simultaneously trust and distrust whatever we have read so far.

In a cursory reading of *All About H Hatterr*, one is likely to miss several of the references to nationalist concerns that Desani offers and these become recognizable only on closer scrutiny. One such episode that directly addresses some of the issues of the time is Hatterr’s encounter with the Sage of Wilderness who is the author of a famed commentary on Panini’s Sanskrit grammar and at the same time what Hatterr thought was a holy-man. By exposing this man to be a sham (as he cleverly stole Hatterr’s clothes), Desani simultaneously satirises two aspects of the
nationalist movement- the element of spirituality considered characteristic of India, and the debate over whether Sanskrit should be made our national language. Both these aspects then are revealed to be hollow and superficial.

The conclusive passage in which Hatterr describes two kinds of people –“Hitters” and “ruddy crabs” (Desani: 60) and subsequently two kinds of ruddy crabs -those that hit and repent, and others that never hit back and wait for compensation (ibid.) is worth analyzing as it fuels further arguments in the paper. Critic Eric D. Smith analyses the significance of this passage in the context of the knowledge that the Sage and his brother run a second-hand (European) clothing business which explains their material interest in robbing Hatterr of his clothes. Smith convincingly interprets this passage as advancing a subtle critique of the Gandhian philosophy of Satyagraha and Non-violence as followers of Gandhi could be identified as the second sort of ruddy crabs who never hit back but go on complaining and waiting for compensation and sympathy. Hatterr (and presumably Desani) offers retributive compensation against the Gandhian Non-violence, saying that “the desire for retributing, though without malice, satisfies the fellers who have had a mean deal from life” (61).

What is further interesting is that in the characters of Bannerji and Hatterr, the spiritual (the domain of the East) and the material (the domain of the West) overlap with and reveal each other, thus not allowing this to be anything like a one-sided critique. In two vivid instances in the text we see the spiritual being made to serve the purpose of the material: first, when after being robbed of his clothes by the Sage, Hatterr rubs ash liberally all over his body to “pass for a holy man” (55) and second, when he decides to pose as a holy man as he sets out to find the treasure hidden in the Western Ghats, to avoid spending even a single penny on the task. This intermingling is apparent in another telling passage after Hatterr is kicked out from the Sahibs’ club. He says: “Damme, I will go Indian! Live like you fellers, your neighbourhood, and no dam’ fears! Go to flannel dances! No fancy rugs!” . In the context of Hatterr turning to the Sage for a search for the meaning of life, these sentences might seem to signal Hatterr’s turn once again to the spiritual. However the next couple of sentences revealing the material revengeful intent behind the action belie this belief. Hatterr continues: “The sahibs have kicked me. But for that kick, mark me, I will return ten, till the seats of their pants wear out!” (47).

While Hatterr constantly resembles the mad Hatter of Lewis Carroll’s Alice in Wonderland through his joker-like actions and a hat too big for his head, in a world he does not understand, Bannerji speaks in what critic Karan Mahajan calls “semi-apologetic formal English”

2 http://www.believermag.com/issues/200806/?read=review_desani
Accessed: 12/10/12
Indian) become the laughing stock, thus affirming the author’s critical attitude towards both kinds of upbringing and life goals. Thus I suggest that the binaries of the East and the West are first exposed and then, in comparison with each other, the two sides of the binary are shown to be more similar than is usually believed. This intermingling of languages on the one hand and of the spiritual and the material on the other are both once again evident in Kolatkar’s poetry- the former being evident in the fact that many of his poems were first written in Marathi and then translated by him; and the latter in poems like ‘A Scratch’ which begins with – “what is god/and what is stone/the dividing line/if it exists/is very thin/at jejuri/and every other stone/is god or his cousin.”

In the case of All About H Hatterr, this difference in registers between the perpetually misplaced Hatterr and the perpetually praising Bannerji becomes the source of comedy in the text. Hatterr and Bannerji talk in different languages not only literally but also metaphorically as they represent two very different social classes, each dissatisfied with its own position, trying to become quite ironically like the other. Thus each is revealed and reveals the other as insecure and looking to change. When they interact then, the futile attempts on Hatterr’s part to find spiritual fulfilment become the target of the reader’s laughter and Bannerji’s inability to understand Hatterr’s state of being misplaced, and to respond appropriately, add to the humour. In this sense the working of comedy in this text is strikingly similar to that in Cervantes’s Don Quixote where Quixote thinking, speaking and performing like an Arthurian knight is a misfit in a Renaissance world. The incident in Don Quixote in which Quixote insists on believing a barber’s basin to be an enchanted helmet which was molten by someone who could not appreciate its worth is a case in point. So is the freeing of the galley slaves that Quixote undertakes believing that anyone being taken anywhere “against their own free will” (Cervantes: 127) deserves to be helped by a knight. This is not to suggest that Desani necessarily read Cervantes or was influenced by him but it is striking that the working of comedy in these two texts is so similar.

The theme of hybridity is one that has also inspired several other writers like Rudyard Kipling. Kipling’s attitude towards imperialism, like G.V. Desani’s, is ambiguous at best. His story ‘His Chance in Life’ describes a protagonist of “seven-eighths native blood”, having a Cochin Jew and a menial uncle for his ancestors and living in the Borderline area where white and black mix. Though it appears that Kipling sides with what he calls “Our Authority”, in the entirety of the story he presents, in my opinion, a subtle critique of both India and the colonial power. While the Indian populace is critiqued in the way in which “finding lawlessness pleasant, Hindus and Mahommedans together raised an aimless sort of Donnybrook just to see how far they could go” robbing each other (Kipling), the colonial power is critiqued for leaving no choice for many like Michele D’Cruz for moving up in life other than by killing a native man. This takes me to the last issue I raise in this paper- does hybridity become an instrument of colonial power? This has been argued by critic Sara Suleri in the context of Kipling’s Kim, another hybrid protagonist, and she is influenced by Kim’s involvement in the Great Game in insisting that “instead of serving as locus of conflict”, Kim’s hybridity “practically becomes an instrument of the Great Game”. However I do not think that the same could apply to the case of H Hatterr as his narrative does
not end with him becoming an agent of imperialism in any way but with his belief that perhaps all humans come from the same ancestors – “our grand-dad chimpanzee”, then “why bite one another?” (278). What one can concede though is that Hatter’s hybridity becomes an instrument in the hands of G.V. Desani. Finally, what I hope to have done in this paper is to have explored at some length the primary concerns of Desani’s text through language as a site of analysis which becomes the focal point, as it were, of the themes of nation-building, hybridity, the role of comedy and the issue of representing a reality that is so diverse and still in a flux.

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Abstract
Much has been said and written about the nature of identity construction in diasporic communities. This paper explores this area through the otherwise ignored category of food as a symbol through which members of a diasporic community relate to concepts of nationality, ethnicity and belonging. In the process, it focuses on two short stories – “Mrs. Sen’s” from the Interpreter of Maladies by Jhumpa Lahiri and “Orbiting” from Middleman and Other Stories by Bharati Mukherjee. Finally, it problematizes the issue of identity construction and looks at the phenomenon whereby ethnic foodways are relegated to the status of exoticised commodities.

Food and Identity in Works of Jhumpa Lahiri and Bharati Mukherjee
The changing dynamics of global diasporic communities have been the loci of several anthropological, political, sociological and literary studies. Coupled with diasporic fiction, this has resulted in the formation of an entire corpus of postcolonial writings centred around the themes of exile, migration and immigration. An appropriation of the process of construction of individual and collective identities within diasporas has been a primary concern of this body of literature.

Studies of diaspora call for a revaluation of the notions of homeland, nation, and ethnicity, the co-ordinates that define identity formation in diasporic communities. Homi Bhabha, one of the foremost theorists in this field, believes that the migrant experience is a form of “half-life” since migrants repeat the pattern of their lives albeit in a disruptive time sphere (139). This peculiar “doubling” of time wherein the past functions not just as a source of nostalgia but also as a force that redefines “cultural contemporaneity” becomes a characteristic feature of the migrant experience (4). This doubling also informs the rift between nationalist pedagogy and performativity i.e. people of a nation exist in two dimensions for the purposes of studying the process of nation building – firstly, as objects shaped by primordial and predetermined ideas of nation that originated in the past, and secondly, as subjects who continuously redefine the concept of nation through their daily acts of intervention. People of a nation are therefore both affected by pre-ordained historical notions of nationhood and responsible for creating contemporary perspectives shaped by the “recursive strategy of the performative” (Bhabha 145).
Within the framework of ethnicity, Stuart Hall asserts that identity formation is contingent on the interaction between an individual’s psyche and the power structures that affect it. He goes on to say that this process is never complete resulting in the formation of subjects “in-process” (3). Christie Karner builds on his ideas and asserts that ethnicity enters into everyday life by furnishing different ways of seeing and structures of action and feeling through which an individual negotiates with his or her surroundings (73). Consequently, multiple ethnic frameworks intersect and overlap in complex ways resulting in the emergence of hybrid identities. Therefore, diasporic identities are not rigidly defined or pre-ordained, instead, they are forged by the interplay of cultural, social, economic and political factors.

Several theories have been proposed regarding the dynamics of identity formation within the sphere of ethnicity in diasporic communities. The essentialist or primordialist approach emphasises the role played by biological aspects like skin colour, facial features and cultural aspects like myths, legends, food, dress etc. as tokens through which an ethnic identity is maintained. The psychological approach studies the association between people and the cultural attributes mentioned above including a common history, folklore and other binding signs. On the other hand, the instrumentalist approach believes that the desire behind maintaining ethnic identity is grounded in very practical concerns which are divorced from any sentimental or essentialist moorings (Sheffer 18). Finally, the approach that seems to have gained academic currency in the recent past is the constructivist approach, premised primarily on Benedict Anderson’s definition of a nation as an “imagined political community” (6). This approach destabilises traditional notions of nationhood, replacing them with the idea that a nation is an artefact of modernity that gained momentum at the end of the eighteenth century. This concept of the nation as an abstract, imagined entity has been used to study ethno-national diasporas; in fact, Anderson even coined the term “long distance nationalism” to study the phenomenon. However, one has to synthesise select elements from all these approaches to study the finer nuances of a diasporic community.

This paper will attempt to study this complex framework within which individual identities are forged in diasporic communities. More specifically, it will study tokenistic symbols through which this process is mediated to represent a particular set of values related to nationhood, ethnicity, religion etc. If one accepts that members of a diasporic community try to recreate an idea of their homeland by holding on to a certain set of cultural symbols, the nature of this process needs to be problematized.

Role of food in South Asian diasporic literature

Study of foodways and food habits has been a major practice in the fields of sociology and anthropology. Claude Levi-Strauss posited the concept of the “culinary triangle” which studies three different ways of cooking food – boiling, roasting and smoking – and places them within the dynamics of nature v/s culture. Mary Douglas in her essay titled “Deciphering a Meal” analyses the contents and nature of a meal to look for a specific ‘pattern of social relations’. According to Douglas, a meal encodes a message about “different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transaction across boundaries” (61).
However, food studies hasn’t emerged as a prominent area of research within literary academic circles. James. W. Brown, in 1984, was one of the first literary critics to study culinary symbols in nineteenth century French literature. It is only in the recent past that food studies has emerged as an important discipline in postcolonial criticism and critics are focussing on foodways and patterns of consumption as important signifiers of race, ethnicity and nationality in literature emerging from diasporic communities.

Food practices are now being studied both as material indicators of the lived migrant experience and means through which migrants create an imaginary homeland. On the one hand, foodways and patterns of consumption are symbolic of material concerns like class, race, gender etc. while on the other hand, they are tokens through which migrants relate to their ethnic and cultural origins. Besides this, foodways are also reflective of the historical and social journeys undertaken by members of different diasporic communities. For instance, Sau-Ling Cynthia Wong asserts that “alimentary images…symbolize Necessity – all the hardships, deprivations, restrictions, disenfranchisements, and dislocations that Asian Americans have collectively suffered as immigrants and minorities in a white-dominated country” (20).

In the backdrop of South Asian diasporic culture, food often becomes a visible symbol of ethnic otherness, a means of registering difference and alterity. The notorious smell of Indian curry has been utilised as a trope that marginalises immigrants in several modes of popular culture. At the same time, a sizeable portion of South Asian immigrants make their living through food either by opening Indian restaurants or grocery stores. Thus, food simultaneously defines them as the Other and gives them a sense of selfhood in terms of financial stability. This gives rise to a peculiar dynamic where foodways can be used to study the politics of difference within a multicultural setting. Having said as much, it is also important to question if the status of food has been reduced to a marketable commodity whose value is its fetishized exoticism.

Short stories written by authors of South Asian American origin like Jhumpa Lahiri and Bharati Mukherjee prove to be fertile grounds for the practice of literary food studies. Laura Ahn Williams believes that food reflects character’s poverty (both monetary and emotional) and isolation in Lahiri’s first collection of short stories The Interpreter of Maladies (70). In the story titled “Mrs. Sen’s”, food functions as an atavistic link to memories of home for Mrs. Sen, the wife of a university professor who has recently migrated to America. Throughout the story, her name is never revealed and she exists simply as the wife of Mr. Sen, who, as she repeatedly mentions, “teaches mathematics at the university” (Lahiri 112). It is only through the acts of procuring authentic Bengali ingredients and cooking a traditional, sumptuous meal that she substantiates her existence. Lahiri goes to great length to describe the intricate details involved in the preparation of meals and the ceremonious value attached to them. For Mrs. Sen, food provides not only gastronomic but emotional nutrition as it invokes memories of her homeland and her family.

Irrespective of the central role played by food in her life, she feels the need to hide all signs of her culinary activities in the public sphere. For instance, when she chops vegetables using a traditional Bengali knife, she ensures that Eliot is a safe distance away. When it is time for Eliot’s mother to pick him up, all signs of cooking and slicing of vegetables are carefully removed from the room. In other words, she consciously makes an attempt to hide any indicators
of foreignness and difference. In an instance where a bus driver questions her about the smell coming from the fish she is carrying in her bag, she is made to feel like a racial other and she pledges never to take the bus ride again. At the end of the story, as Anita Mannur puts it, Mrs. Sen “returns to a world where she negotiates the pangs of loneliness and alienation that she feels as a woman with no real community located far away from her family” (160).

Lahiri uses food as a metaphor to articulate one of the central dynamics of diasporic literature – the tension between the instinct to preserve ethnicity in the private realm and the need to assimilate in the public realm. A similar opinion is articulated by another South Asian author, Monica Ali in her more recent book titled Brick Lane. One of the novel’s characters, Mrs. Azad says that “If I want to come home and eat curry, that’s my business. Some women spend ten, twenty years here and they sit in the kitchen grinding spices all day and learn only two words of English” (Ali 114). Clearly, one can see the transformation in the subjectivity of immigrants that has taken place over a course of four decades which is the interval between the temporal settings of the two works in question. Lahiri bases “Mrs. Sen’s” in America of the 1960s when America hadn’t embraced the tenets of multiculturalism and the sense of alienation felt by immigrants was more pronounced than it is today while Ali’s novel portrays London of 2001 where a character like Mrs. Azad can afford to be unapologetic about her hyphenated existence. This is not to say that immigrants in the 21st century do not feel any anxiety but the way they choose to mediate with their status as immigrants undergoes a considerable change.

In fact, more contemporary diasporic writing seems to portray a growing level of comfort with the exhibition of immigrants’ cultural moorings as these begin to gain acceptance within the society. However, this seemingly harmonious model of assimilation still falls under the purview of suspicion. For instance, the central protagonist Rindy, in Bharati Mukherjee’s short story titled “Orbiting” from her collection Middleman and Other Stories, sees her boyfriend Roashan’s body in a new light when he slices the Thanksgiving turkey into perfectly sculpted pieces. Roashan or Ro is an immigrant from Afghanistan who lives in a neighbourhood called Little Kabul and is saving money to attend New Jersey Institute of Technology. In the meantime, he earns his living by butchering chickens, a profession which engenders images of abject violence. For Rindy, Ro becomes beautiful primarily because he comes from a “culture of pain” (Mukherjee 73); for her, Ro is a “chance to heal the world” (Mukherjee 74). Clearly, the immigrant becomes subject to the exotic gaze of the Americans as markers of ethnicity are fetishized. This leads to the disturbing possibility that cultural tokens like food could become subject to a fetishizing process which turns “cultures of the non-Western world into saleable exotic objects” (Huggan 10)

Exoticisation of the postcolonial

Over the past decade, the contours of the post-colonial as a conceptual category have undergone a significant transformation. This section of the paper will study the phenomenon wherein cultural difference becomes an exotic commodity in a global capital driven market. More specifically, it will focus on how food has matured (or not) as a symbol of cultural and ethnic belonging and the ramifications of such a transformation.

In the field of culinary studies, Frank Chin has coined the term “food pornography” to signify the practice by which people make a living by exploiting the exotic appeal of their ethnic foodways.
In other words, immigrants make a deliberate effort to exaggerate the foreignness of their cuisine for several reasons – to make material profits and to seek assimilation within the dominant discourse. However, even if this assimilation is achieved, it fails to destabilise hierarchies as an immigrant still remains the ‘other’ in many ways. Sau-Ling Cynthia Wong comments that even as cultural practices are glorified to highlight ethnic differences, the phenomenon is disturbing because it divorces cultural practices out of their contexts which are then displayed to gain approval from white patrons (56). According to her, this produces a version of culture which has been “domesticated, ‘detoxed’, depoliticised, made safe for recreational consumption” (56).

Anita Mannur studies fusion cookbooks to articulate a somewhat similar concept. She problematizes issues of assimilation and cultural hybridity by questioning the apparent palatability of difference. She suggests that even as food is the most palatable of cultural differences, it might not translate to an experiential change in the lives of immigrants. According to her, fusion cuisine is “enacted in the cultural realm, where mixing is always only ephemeral and not capable of transforming the structural nature of race in the United States. Differences are rendered palatable, easily consumed and digested” (193).

These developments suggest the emergence of a commodifying process which markets cultural difference as an exoticised and fetishized product. Graham Huggan believes that the aesthetic value of cultural difference is measured in terms of the exotic appeal of ethno-cultural commodities (13). Huggan defines the exotic as a “semiotic circuit that operates between the poles of strangeness and familiarity” (13). The exotic, then, is a double edged sword – while it highlights cultural difference instead of suppressing it, the process of assimilation is never complete as the attribute of foreignness needs to be preserved. Under this rubric, a commodity undergoes what Arjun Appadurai calls the “aesthetic of decontextualisation” (28) whereby the value of an exotic artefact is premised on its removal from its cultural context.

Within this context, one needs to reassess the role played by cultural tokens in recent diasporic fiction. One needs to question if their potential as cultural markers has been compromised by their fetishism. In other words, have they been decontextualized to a point where they have become empty stereotypes incapable of articulating any ethno-cultural value for immigrants? Instead of functioning as a means of asserting ethnic identity, does food become a fetishized commodity that ensures the survival of a frivolous multicultural model which fails to address the deeper concerns of cultural assimilation.

This question is of paramount importance as it anticipates a bigger concern in the field of postcolonial literary production. To understand this concern, it is imperative to draw a distinction between postcolonialism and postcoloniality. Ella Shohat hints at this difference in the essay titled “Notes on the Post-Colonial” and it is later elucidated by several postcolonial critics. Even as a definition of postcolonialism remains ambiguous at best, it can be understood as a means of literary resistance against colonialism. Postcoloniality, on the other hand, is more difficult to define. Huggan describes it as a system of symbolic and material exchange in which the language of resistance may be manipulated (6). Postcoloniality is involved in a value-regulating system whereby forms of cultural production are ascribed a place in the global capitalist marketplace. According to Huggan, postcoloniality underscores the emancipatory agenda of
postcolonialism and the two are so intricately related that the dissent articulated by postcolonialism has itself become a commodified entity.

Significantly, the process of exoticisation hasn’t been limited to cultural commodities, instead, postcolonial cultural criticism has become indistinguishable from commodity fetishism, in the words of Aijaz Ahmad (217), who is one of the strongest critics of what he calls an “opportunistic kind of Third-Worldism” (86). According to Ahmad, this has given rise to a body of self-serving postcolonial intellectuals who align their intellectual activity in accordance with the dominant course in Western metropolitan universities. Extending a similar argument to the field of fiction, Huggan questions if authors of diasporic fiction are affected by the prevailing trends in criticism, and if their role has been reduced to that of “bonafide cultural representatives” (26).

Based on these developments, it is possible to argue that the literary genre of postcolonialism seems to have undergone a similar phenomenon as have cultural tokens – both started off as being significant indicators of ethnic identity, as means by which immigrants could mediate their cultural and national belonging and assert their subjectivity. Yet, the exoticization of marginality itself under the forces of the global capitalist marketplace and the postcolonial intelligentsia made way for a situation where their potential as instruments of dissent and resistance might have been seriously undermined.

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Department of English,
Mangala Devi Smarak Degree College, Naini, Allahabad.

The Merchant of Venice is a play that has a great number of issues that are either directly or indirectly related to postcolonial theory. The primary reason for the special interest that The Merchant invites is that the play is very largely concerned with wealth. If there is any thematic unity in the play that unity can be seen as emanating from some connection or the other with wealth.

The two parts of The Merchant into which the play is often divided for critical convenience – the fairy tale plot and the pound of flesh plot – are both directly related to wealth.

In most of Shakespeare's typical comedies unless they are the dark problem comedies, Shakespeare almost does not give any attention to wealth. Most of these comedies are romantic in nature, often placed in pastoral or other exotic settings, where money scarcely makes any difference. Even where money does seem to matter it does not stand out thematically. But in the case of The Merchant money seems to inform the very spirit of even the romantic plot of the love affair between Bassanio and Portia. We are taken to a romantic setting, Belmont but here there is an absence of the kind of romance that the other comedies provide. In this comedy there is a continuous role of anxiety that has been promoted by money.

When we consider the romantic plot of The Merchant, the fact that strikes us rather clearly is that the relationship between Bassanio and Portia is not a purely romantic relationship. It involves material factors. Bassanio asks Antonio for three thousand ducats only because he wishes to marry the rich Portia. It seems that Shakespeare is suggesting that love is not the only criterion that would go to finalise the marriage of this pair. In other romantic comedies and tragedies Shakespeare does not raise this kind of a problem where marriage depends on material factors.
Then again in the casket scene three caskets of gold, silver and lead represent three material levels which a man is supposed to choose. His suitability for marriage with Portia is therefore dependent on material considerations at some level.

There is a close relationship between material factors between a literary text and its postcolonial interpretations. This fact can be presented in Edward Said’s treatment of Mansfield Park. Said points out the fact that this text should be interpreted with the help of postcolonial theory only because it contains a plot in which property and wealth receive so much importance.

Like Mansfield Park, The Merchant is also dependent very heavily on property and wealth and the human relationship displayed in the literary text revolves round property and money. Unlike this text the relationship between Romeo and Juliet, Othello and Desdemona, Antony and Cleopatra, Duke Orsino and Viola, Orlando and Rosalind etc., are not governed by material factors. Hence, The Merchant is a text that should not be treated like the other comedies and tragedies of Shakespeare but should be seen as one in which power and wealth, subordination and social position, and similar other factors play a crucial role even in ordinary everyday relationship.

In Act I, scene i, we see that Bassanio wishes to go to Belmont to woo Portia. He is interested in Portia not only because of her beauty alone but also for her enormous wealth. While speaking to Antonio about the fair Portia, Bassanio says:

In Belmont is a lady richly left,
And she is fair, and-fairer than that world-
Of wondrous virtues. Sometimes from her eyes,
I did receive fair speechless messages.
Her name is Portia, nothing undervalued
To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia.
Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth;
For the four winds blow in from every coast
Renowned suitors, and her sunny locks
Hang on her temples like a golden fleece,
Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
And many Jasons come in quest of her. . . .

(I.i. 160-171)

Bassanio's going to Belmont to woo Portia depends on money. He needs a big amount so that he can venture forth for Portia. He further says to Antonio, in this regard:

. . . O my Antonio, had I but the means
To hold a rival place with one of them,
I have a mind presages me such thrift
That I should questionless be fortunate.
Later in the course of the play, we see that Bassanio, fuelled by the three thousand ducats, reaches Belmont and wins Portia. There, we see that Portia measures the intensity of love to Bassanio through wealth. She says to Bassanio;

. . . Though for myself alone
I would not be ambitious in my wish
To wish myself much better, yet for you
I would be trebled twenty times myself,
A thousand times more fair, ten thousand time
More rich, that only to stand high in your account . . .
I might in virtues, beauties, livings, friends,
Exceed account. . .

(III.ii. 150-57)

Here, we see that wealth has become an essential element in Portia’s love for Bassanio.

Later in the play, when Portia comes to know that Antonio is in peril due to her lover, Bassanio, she tries to save Antonio with the help of her wealth, just to get the love of Bassanio. She seems to fear that without saving Antonio who is a bosom friend of her lover, she can never get the whole-hearted love and attention of Bassanio and so she offers to help Antonio with her wealth. She says to Bassanio:

. . . Pay him six thousand, and deface the bond
Double six thousand, and then treble that,
Before a friend of this description
Shall lose a hair through Bassanio's fault.
First go with me to church, and call me wife,
And then away to Venice to your friend!
For never shall you lie by Portia's side
With an unquiet soul. You shall have gold
To pay the petty debt twenty times over.

(III.ii. 298-306)

She further says to him:

. . . Since you are dear bought, I will love you dear. . .

(III.ii. 312)
Here again we see that wealth becomes an important part of the love-affair between Portia and Bassanio. It seems that for both - Bassanio as well as Portia, wealth and love are complements to each other. For love, wealth is necessary and for wealth, love is necessary. Both seem to be two aspects of the same coin. In this love-affair, it seems that love and wealth cannot be separated from each other. Bassanio is like a colonizer who goes to a country to colonize it for his material aspirations: he goes to Belmont to get Portia's wealth. For Bassanio, Portia becomes the medium through which he can get enormous wealth.

In the play, we see that Antonio is a merchant prince, who is widely loved and respected in Venice, due to his sound financial condition. He gains a prominent status in the mercantile world of Venice due to his vast business empire. He does business through navigation. His ships go to many countries including Tripolis, Mexico, England, Lisbon, Barbary, India etc. to do business. Thus, he can be seen as a colonizer who exploits colonies to amass wealth. Through trade with far off countries, he has made his financial condition in Venice very strong. We get a glimpse of his large business when we hear the speech of Salarino. Salarino says to Antonio:

Your mind is tossing on the ocean,

There where your argosies with portly sail
Like signors and rich burghers on the flood,

Or as it were the pageants of the sea,

Do overpeer the petty traffickers

That curtsey to them, do them reverence,

As they fly by them with their woven wings.

(I.i. 8-14)

When Salarino guesses that the cause of Antonio's sadness is his worry about his-merchandise, Antonio says to him:

Believe me, no. I thank my fortune for it, My ventures are not in one bottom trusted, Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate

Upon the fortune of this present year:

Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.

(I.i. 41-45)

We see that Antonio's business is spread overseas. His position in Venice is that of a prosperous merchant who earns a lot of money by trade and commerce with far off countries. His position and status in Venice depends on his wealth that he accumulates from other countries through business.

Apart from the fairy tale plot, the other important plot of this play—the one that revolves round Shylock, is even more governed by money. From beginning to end, money plays a
significant role in this plot. Shylock seems to value money above everything else; even above his relationship with his daughter, Jessica.

Shylock's obsession with money is very deep. He makes money 'breed as fast'. When his daughter Jessica steals large amounts of his money and many precious stones and elopes with Lorenzo, he becomes made with anger and despair and behaves in a crazed manner. He not accept the losses. We come to know about his frustration through Solanio.

About the madness of Shylock over his loss of wealth, Solanio says to Salarino:

I never heard a passion so confused,
So strange, outrageous, and so variable,
As the dog Jew did utter in the streets:
'My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
Justice! The law! My ducats and my daughter!
A sealed bag, two sealed bags of ducats,
Of double ducats, stolen from me by my daughter!
And jewels-two stones, two rich and precious stones,
Stolen by my daughter! Justice! Find the girl!
She hath the stones upon her and the ducats!'

(II.viii. 12-22)

Later on, we see Shylock expressing his anguish to Tubal over his loss of wealth, caused by his daughter. He says:

Why there, there, there, there! A diamond gone cost me two thousand ducats in Frankfurt! The curse never fuel upon our nation till now, I never fell it till now. Two thousand ducats in that, and other precious, precious jewels! I would my daughter were dead at my foot, and the jewels in her ear: would she were hearsed at my foot, and the ducats in her coffin. No news of them, why so? And I know not what's spent in the search. Why thou loss upon loss - the thief gone with so much, and so much to find the thief, and no satisfaction, no revenge. . . .

(III.i. 66-74)

Again when Tubal informs him that his daughter has spent a lot of money in Genoa, he is shocked and baffled. He says to Tubal:

Thou stick'st a dagger in me; I shall never see my gold again. Four score ducats at a sitting! Four score ducats!

(III.i. 87-88)
We see that Shylock loves money even more than his daughter, Jessica. His obsession with money is abnormal. We may study his obsession with money through postcolonial perspectives. We know that Shylock is an alien in Venice. In the course of the play we see that he is treated by the Christian characters of the play, as a ‘racial other’. He is humiliated because of his Jewish religion. Shylock knows that the only way to get respect and recognition in his host country is by creating an identity for him. It seems that money in the only way through which he can make an identity for himself in Venetian society that is biased against the Jewish race.

In the play we see that Shylock lends three thousand ducats to Bassanio. Antonio becomes a guarantor on Bassanio's behalf. Initially, Shylock hesitates in lending three thousand ducats to Bassanio, for which Antonio shall be bound as he fears that his money may not be repaid. He expresses doubt over Antonio's capacity to repay. He says:

. . . his means
are in supposition: he hath an argosy bound to Tripo his another to the Indies; I understand moreover upon the Rialto he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England, and other ventures he hath squandered abroad. But ships are but boards, sailors but men; there be land rats, and water rats, water thieves and land thieves I mean pirates—and then there is the peril of waters, winds and rocks. . . .

(I.iii. 14-21)

Still, after some consideration, he decides to lend three thousand ducats to Bassanio. He agrees to make a bond with Antonio as he thinks that his money will be returned in due course of time frame. He shows his trust in Antonio's financial capacity. He says:

. . . The man is notwithstanding sufficient. Three thousand ducats: I think I may take his bond.

(I.iii. 21-22)

What is important here is Shylock's fear of losing his principal sum due to the risks that are involved in navigational merchandise. Shylock fears that if he loses his money, his financial position in Venice will drastically deteriorate and it will result in an identity crisis for him. Thus we see that for Shylock, money is of vital importance as that is related to his identity in Venice.

Shylock tells Antonio the terms and conditions of the bond. He says to him:

. . . Go with me to a notary, seal me there
Your single bond, and, in a merry sport,
If you repay me not on such a day,
In such a place, such sum or sums as are
Expressed in the condition, let the forfeit
Be nominated for an equal pound
Of your fair flesh, to be cut off and taken
In what part of your body pleaseth me.

(I.iii. 137-44)

On coming to know of this condition, Bassanio expresses alarm. He asks Antonio not to sign the bond. Antonio seems to have full faith in his financial might. He seems confident over his merchandise. He says to Bassanio:

Why, fear not, man, I will not forfeit it.
Within these two months, that's a month before
This bond expires, I do expect return
Of thrice three times the value of this bond.

(I.iii. 149-52)

The wealth that Antonio earns through his business ventures is of great significance, if seen through postcolonial perspectives. It generates the power that he exerts over Shylock.

We see, at the beginning of the play when Antonio's financial condition is strong, the scale of power between him and Shylock, tilts towards him and in the middle of the play, when he collapses financially, the scale of power between him and Shylock clearly tilts towards Shylock. Thus, we see that money generates power, and power influences the lives of many characters in the play.

Wealth happens to be perhaps the most significant aspect for colonial aspiration and desire. Therefore any study of a postcolonial nature cannot ignore a thematic presence in which wealth plays such a significant role.

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COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS AND CRITICAL THEORIES OF T.S. ELIOT: AN OVERVIEW

Anjali Mewada
C.S.A PG College, Sehore, M.P.

Internationalism in aesthetics made a first debut in the first international congress of Aesthetics, held in 1913 in Berlin. But it was confined within the limits of Western literature. The gap between the occidental and the oriental aesthetics remained as ever before. But due to the zeal of renaissance spirit, scholars in the East, particularly in India, China and Japan, and orientalists in the West started writing on oriental arts and aesthetics in English and other European languages. Oriental school of poetics has six types; Dhavani, Rasa, Alamkar, Vakroti, Reeti and Auchitya. The last school is Auchitya propounded by Kshemendra (circa 11 A.D.) After the gap of six hundred years, the name of Panditraj Jagannath can be mentioned, but his theory of poetics can also be included in rasa-theory. It should also be kept in mind that all these theories which have been developed are related to poetry. For dramaturgy the Natysashashtra of Bharat Muni and Dashroopak of Dhananjaya, Sahityadarpan of Vishvanath Kaviraj are prominent books on the subject. But in Sanskrit tradition poetics and dramaturgy are interconnected, so that is why, all the three above mentioned books focus on drama and poetry both. After Panditraj Jagannath no outstanding literary theory was developed and came into being. In the vernacular languages also, no original theory was propounded afterwards.

Whereas, the literary criticism of West is concerned, it has been developing since Plato up to the present age. Not only in Greek and Latin, but in European vernacular languages various theories have come out. For instance in English there is long tradition of criticism, since Philip Sidney to Matthew Arnold of Victorian Age. Then modern criticism was started by T.S. Eliot which was continued by F.R. Leavis and I.A. Richards. There has since long been a tendency to point out the dichotomy that exists between Eastern and Western literary concepts. On the one hand there have been scholars like Fraz Bopp, Grassman, Schiller, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche who have been attracted by the universal appeal of classical Indian thoughts and on the other hand there are the detractors who despise all things Indian.

However, there may be traced various parallels between Indian and Western literature as well as literary theories. For instance, there has been a spurt in the recent times to trace the affinity between Aristotle's Poetics and Indian dramaturgy. "Noted exponent Bharata, expounding his theory of rasa theory took into account not only the Indian world-view but also..."
human psychology, which forms the essence of all great literature” (Ray 7). His Rasa-sutra has never been refuted though it has been appreciated by several followers of Bharata who have added their own perception to it and have thereby enriched it to a considerable extent. Bharat's Rasa-sutra though conceived in fourth century B.C. holds relevance even today. Researches have been drawn in this course, some parallels between anubhava, a major constituent of rasa and T.S. Eliot's concept of objective correlate and also between sadharanikaran and another principle implied in rasa theory and the concept of negative capability expounded by Keats. Although there is a basic difference between sadharanikarana and negative capability, the first appears in common men/readers/viewers, while the second appears in poets but, a via media can be traced out between the two.

In the sixth chapter of Natyashastra, Bharata expounds his famous rasa sutra as: Vibhavanubhava - vyabhichari - samyogodrasanishpattih, which is retranslated as this: Rasa comes from “a combination of vibhavas, anubhavas and vyabhichari” (Meson and Patwardhan 46).

Rasa... according to Bharata is poetic pleasure. This pleasure comes only when there is a stimulusor vibhavas and it does not come to light unless it is manifested through anubhavas. A dark deserted place may arouse the emotion of fear hence it will serve as the cause or vibhavas. This fear in the heart of the character shall not be known unless it is manifested through horrification and trembling and trembling etc. These manifestations are simply the physical effects of the emotional state (permanent emotion as well as transient emotion). There is and has to be a casual relation between the stimulus and the emotional state experienced and manifested by the character. For instance the dark, lonely place in the above quoted example must inevitably arouse the emotion of fear; hence the manifestation of fear by the character will sufficiently generate the same emotion in the reader. On the contrary if the writer were to present a well-lit, well inhabited place and the characters were still to experience fear, the readers shall not be convinced. This disparity between the emotional state shown by the writer and that of the reader will pose serious hindrance in the enjoyment of poetic pleasure or rasa. Bharata talks of two types of manifestations: auditory and visual - angica and vachika. Both these types are essential in a work of literature; especially in a play the visual manifestation has an important place as it is through this only that the spectator experiences rasa or pleasure.

In his essay “Hamlet and His Problems” Eliot puts forward the concept of objective correlates as a kind of meditation between the creator and the reader/spectator. Eliot writes:

The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an objective correlate in other words a set of objects a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of the particular emotion, such that when the external facts which must terminate in sensory experience are given. The emotion is immediately evoked. (124-125)

The very word ‘sensory' denotes physical effect. This effect may be auditory and it may also be visual. Eliot takes into account all stages of emotional process. The principle of objective correlates presupposes the existence of an emotion in the heart of creator prior to its embodiment in the work of literature. Ray states:

The poet or playwright experiences the emotion and then he infuses it into his characters that must manifest it through accurate correlates so that an exact
emotion is produced in the heart of the reader / spectator as well. If at any stage any one element is not proper, the realization of pleasure suffers. (9)

Eliot takes two examples - one to show how objective correlativeworks for communication and another to show how the writer fails in communicating the emotion in the absence of the same. Lady Macbeth's sleep-walking in Shakespeare's Macbeth is taken as a perfect example of objective correlative. The picture of the lady, walking in her sleep, holding a candle brings to the reader's mind her emotional and mental state. The objective correlative here is accurate. The dramatist doesn't need to say anything. The picture stands as an objective symbol of the emotional state. Shakespeare could not transmit the pleasure of the Hamlet reader / spectator as "he failed to create an objective correlative for the purpose of communicating Hamlet's agony and dilemma" (Ray 9).

Eliot calls Hamletan artifice failure because Hamlet's anguish does not seem accurate in the given situation. Had he been an adolescent, the reader / spectator could still expect or at least accept, such excessive sentimentality from him but keeping in mind his age and calibre one does not understand why he suffers so terribly. Had any other man been in similar situation, he would never undergo the same intensity of anguish. Shakespeare shows such emotional state as is supported neither by the situation nor by the characters. Hence he fails to convince the reader / spectator due to lack of a proper correlative. Thus this principle takes into account the cause as well as the representation of emotional state as manifested through physical effects.

Wimsatt and Brooks, however, make a useful distinction between motive and objective correlative. Quoting Yvor Winters who talks about "motive as a kind of objective correlative, Wimsatt and Brooks make suggestion:

If the poet is to "control emotion by providing" motives for it, he is indeed compelled to make use of "a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events. These are objectives and can be presented; since the emotion is generated by these objects and actions and, in so far as it is controlled, by the selection and rearrangement of these objectified elements, they may fairly be called the correlative of the emotion. For whether relation to the emotion is that of cause or of symbolic equivalent, their correlation with the emotion is evident. (676)

The principle of objective correlative has been interpreted variously by various critics. Matheson represents the poet's emotion. Objective correlative means the objective, concrete form of the subjective and abstract emotion. Thus objective correlative is a means through which the creator can depersonalise even personal through which the creator can depersonalise even personal emotion while at the same time retaining its human content. The emotional state of fear can be well expressed by trembling and horrification even without the writer saying a word. While admiring Dante's poetry, Eliot praises his visual imagination or the ability to make the reader see what the poet saw. This is possible only when instead of describing the emotion by the help of words; the writer presents a picture of that emotion which becomes synonymous with the emotion itself.

One may find a literary equivalent of anubhavain T.S. Eliot's principle of objective correlative. Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep is an example of angicor visual correlative whereas Macbeth's speech at the death of his wife is that of vachikao auditory correlative: What Eliot takes as the formula of a particular emotion is naturally the inevitable
motive and manifestation of the emotional state. If the creator has a proper knowledge of human psychology, he shall necessarily present only such motives and manifestations as are accurate.

As Eliot points out, Bharat in his rasa theory presupposes the experience of pleasure in the heart of the creator. The creator then conveys it to the reader/spectator by the help of manifestation anubhava. While depicting the emotion of love the creator is helped by the permanent emotion of love in his own heart. This he projects in his work, the character experiences love which is manifested through various objective presentations. Restlessness, perspiration, trembling and anxiety are some manifestations of love. The speech of Macbeth at the death of Lady Macbeth (Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow) is also quite comprehensible, as it seems the inevitable consequence of the tragic death of his wife. Lady Macbeth's pitable condition is caused by her sense of guilt. Hence her guilt is the vibhava for karunaor pity here. This sufficiently fills Macbeth's grief or shoka. Since Macbeth's grief is rightly caused by his wife's sad plight, it successfully generates similar emotions in the heart of the reader/spectator. Anyone in Macbeth's place will experience precisely the same emotions, Lady Macbeth's sleep walking and she repeatedly washing her hand serves as the proper correlative. Hence the poetic pleasure is realized unhindered. It may also be noted that vibhava cause and anubhavaor manifestation of the character becomes the cause of vibhava of the poetic pleasure for the reader/spectator. The sleep walking of Lady Macbeth is the manifestation of her anguish but it becomes the cause of grief for Macbeth as well as the reader. It is this that leads to the reader's perfect identification with Macbeth; thereby increasing the scope of poetic pleasure or rasa.

Eliot takes a complete logical as well as psychological view of emotional states which results in the poetic pleasure. As early as 4th century B. C. Bharata had evinced a similarly holistic approach. One notices that what was conceived by an Indian poetician in as early as 4th century B.C. was still considered innovative in the 20th century A.D. The principle of anubhavaor objective correlativeis relevant even today and it is taken as the best method of poetry.

For its realization rasadepends on various constituents but there is one very important aspect which explicit, is implied in Bharata's Natyashastra and that is the role of the reader/spectator. While defining the mental faculty of sumana BhattaNayaka calls this state sadharanikarana. In the sixth chapter of Natyashastra, Bharata writes about sumanasby which he seems to mean sensitive reader/spectator, one who has a pure mind. Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabharatihas developed this concept of sumana. He interprets it in this way:

With a mind that is completely free from any kind of obstructions, from any sense organ (i.e. completely concentrated) because they are completely absorbed in the thrill of imaginative experience. (quoted in Messon and Patwardhan 47).

For as long as the reader/spectator remains bound by his ego, he shall not be able to enjoy pleasure. This transcendence leads to generalization of emotions. Sadharanikarana requires total identification of the perceiver with the perceived. This is the ideal state for poetic pleasure. It is a kind of advaita(monism) or oneness between the perceiver and the object of perception. This is the state when one becomes oblivious of all personal boundaries and goes beyond time and space. This is how pain becomes pleasurable and
karuna or pity brings joy.

While considering Eliot’s critical theories in the light of the Sanskrit poetics A.N. Dwivedi points out,

The characters projected by the poet cease to be mere individuals and become representatives of humanity as a whole. What the poet artistically produced is nothing but vibhasas (universalised stimuli), anubhavas (universalised responses) and vyabhicharibhavas (universalised moods and fellings). Their successful combination is the essence (atman) of literature-poetry and drama. Ifarththa is the soul (atman), a language heightened by alamkars and gunas is the very body (sharira) of poetry and, therefore both are inseparable prerequisites. (91)

Both Eliot and Bharata are concerned with the manner in which the creative poet should plastically mould the aesthetic situation or context in such a way that it stimulates in the perceiver the same emotion which the poet originally felt. The poet is, therefore, credited in his creative moment to impersonalise and universalise the world of emotion by the spell of his art.

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RIGHT TO FOOD, FOOD ADULTERATION AT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Dr. Pawan Kumar,
Associate Professor,
Regional Campus Gurdaspur,
Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar

&

Ms. Mukta Verma,
Assistant Professor,
Faculty of Law,
University of Allahabad, Allahabad

Abstract

Food security is a human right recognized as right to food at international level and national level. Article -21 of Indian constitution has provision of it under right to life and article-39(e), 39(f), 42, 47 for directive principle for state policy. At international level it is protected under international law and humanitarian law. Food security is a major concern for vulnerable group of people. As population is increasing day by day natural resources are decreasing in reverse way. Science and technology advancement is also threatening to food security in term of safety by food adulteration, genetically modified food. One side there are people who are dying due to excessive calorie intake on the other side vulnerable group of people are suffering from malnutrition. Many men and women are suffering from chronic undernourishment suffer from “extreme hunger” by UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). It leads to physical and mental retardation of growth of human being. Food security is not fulfilling due to lack of public distribution system, corruption in any executive machinery of a state. Right to food is recognized in article 25 of universal declaration of human rights, article-11 of the international convenant on economic, social and cultural rights (ICESR) Article-2(11), 11(1),23. State should take step to the maximum of their available resources to achieve progressively the full realization of the right to adequate food. The 2009 optional protocol to the international convenant on (ESCR) Economic social and cultural right make the right to food justifiable at international level. Food adulteration is a process to add inferior substance to food item and removal of essential nutrients from food stuff. Food adulteration is a criminal offence. It can lead to cancer and lethal disease to human. Food safety and standard act has taken place earlier act as prevention of food adulteration act. Right to food can be fulfill only if safe, hygienic and wholesome food products will be available to consumers. Food security act is a milestone to provide food to all vulnerable group of people. In urban, rural and sub urban model food should be in the reach of every one but in pure and consumable state if it is not wholesome than there is no mean to access that food product. It is duty of government, public distributor, food processor, consumer, legislature, judiciary and public food analyst, non government organization to protect food from adulteration. Consumer should check to food products and send it to analysis and for legal proceeding in consumer forum by consumer protection act. One major point should be to make aware consumer and public to check the menace of food adulteration and food safety and standard act should be regulate to processing and quality of food products from small scale vendors to food processors.
INTRODUCTION

The word international law was first used by Jermy Bentham in 1780. The term members of International community now denotes states, international organization, individuals and certain non-state entities. Human rights are the rights which are posses by all human beings irrespective of their human race, caste, nationality, gender, age language, simply because they are human being. Human rights are the basic human right are also called fundamental or basic rights or natural rights. These basic rights cannot be taken away by any legislature or any act of government and which are often set out in a constitution. Members of the united nation have committed themselves to respect them, promote respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the protection of human rights it may be divided into universal, regional, national, protection of human rights. Universal protection of human rights can be protected under united nation charter and human rights , united nation bodies the rest of primarily concerned with human rights, the universal declaration of human rights, the international bill of human rights. The concept of human right emerged along with the rest of contemporary international human rights law in the aftermath of world –II. The right to food was initially codified in the universal declaration of human rights, articles 25(1). Food security refers to the availability to food, and one’s access to it. A house hold is considered food-secure when its occupants do not live in hunger of fear of starvation. The USDA estimates the nearly nine out of ten U.S. household were food secure throughout 2005. It is a measure of resilience to future disruption , food shortage, economic instability , wars. Food security assessment is divided into the self –sufficiency rate and external dependency rate as this divides the largest set of risk factors. Counties may be difficult to achieve especially for wealthy countries due to higher economic means leaves countries vulnerable to production risks. World health organization defines the three facets of food security, food availability , food access and food use. Food availability is having available sufficient resources, both economic and physical to obtain appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, as well as adequate water and sanitation. The FAO adds a fourth facet, the stability of the first three dimensions of food security over time. Food security in India has not been fulfilling due to corruption, lack of proper implementation of policy among society. Food adulteration is major blockage in the way of implementation of right to food and food security act. If food be adulterated than it has no value to consumer. It should be wholesome and free from all extra and deleterious matter.

BROAD OBJECTIVE

To critically evaluate the food security in terms of human rights at international level and national level. There are united nation charter, organization, food and agricultural organization, food and drug administration UNICEF to protect vulnerable group of people, children, lactating women and weaker section of society to prevent malnutrition and chronic disease to enjoy right to food as human right besides it is not preventing what are the drawback in implementation to enjoy right to food and food security to all along with food adulteration. Study also aim to evaluate to which the government and courts has imparted right to food.
HYPOTHESIS

Law is inadequate, there are human rights at international level as international law and fundamental right by Indian constitution to protect each and every one to enjoy right to food in healthy environment and food security to all. There is a need of strengthen to public distribution system with corruption free to legislative, executive function. Public awareness to curb the starvation, hunger, adulterated and improper food from the country.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The system of method to be applied in the present research will be based on primary sources and secondary sources. The method adopted is purely doctrinal research.

DISCUSSION

FOOD SECURITY – A HUMAN RIGHT AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The right to food is a human right recognized under international law which protects the right of all humans being to feed themselves in dignity, either by producing their food or by purchasing it. It should adequately meet the individual dietary needs. The right to food protects the rights of all human being to be free from hunger, food insecurity, and malnutrition. The right to food does not imply that government have an obligation to handout free food to every one who want it, or a right to be fed. However of people in times of war or after natural disasters the right requires the government to provide food security. The right to food goes beyond the provision of subsidized cereals. This requires not only nutritious food but also attention to child care, clean water, hygiene, basic health care and unadulterated food. Unfortunately this goes beyond the sort of legislation that is being contemplated and requires political well and vision of a kind that is sorely lacking.

Food access is having sufficient resources, both economic and physical to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet the appropriate knowledge of basic nutrition and care, as well as adequate water and sanitation. The food and agricultural organization adds a fourth facet, the stability of the first three dimensions of food security over time. Food security is a major concern for world. The ongoing global credit crisis has affected farm credits, despite a boom in commodity prices. Food security is a complex topic, standing at the intersection of many disciplines. A new peer-review journal of food security: The Science, Sociology and Economic of Food Production and access to Food began publishing in 2009. In developing countries, often the 70% or more of the population lives in rural areas. In that context agricultural development among smallholder farmer and landless people provide a livelihood for people allowing them the opportunity to stay in their communities. In many areas of the world land is not available, thus who want or need to farm to make a living have little incentive to improve the land.

Two commonly used definitions of food security come from the united nation food and agricultural organization (FAO) and united state department of agricultural (USDA). Food security exists when all people at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active
and healthy life. Food security for a household means access by all members at all times to
enough food for an active, healthy life. Food security includes at a minimum the ready
availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods an assured ability to acquire acceptable
ways (that is, without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, or the coping
strategies) USDA.

The stages of food insecurity range from food secure situations to full-scale famine. Famine and
hunger are both rooted in food security. Food security can be categorized as either chronic or
transitory. Chronic food insecurity translates into a high degree of vulnerability to famine and
hunger, ensuring food security presupposes elimination of that vulnerability. Chronic hunger is
not famine. It is similar to undernourishment and is related to poverty, existing mainly in poor
countries.

**FOOD SECURITY- RIGHT TO FOOD AT INTERNATIONAL AND INDIAN LEVEL**

The right to food was initially codified in the human rights, article 25(1) thus, “Every one has the
right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family,
including food, clothing, housing,…”.

Under article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights, States
parties, “recognize the right of every one to an adequate standard of living for himself and his
family, including adequate food, clothing and housing…” in paragraph 2 of the same article ,
states parties to the covenant recognizes fundamental right of every one to be free from hunger to
an end. India acceded to the human rights covenants on 10 of April 1979. General comment-12
delineates the core content of the right to food as sustainable access to sustainable access to
sufficient, nutritious safe and culturally appropriate food. In September 2000, united nations
millennium Declaration committed of this right and elaborated on how it should be protected in
different situations. It is also recognized specific international instruments such as convention on
the right of the child Article-24(2)(c) and 27(3) the convention on the elimination of all forms
discrimination against women Article-25(f) and 28(1). The right to food is also recognized as
the additional protocol to the American convention on human rights in the area of economic,
social, cultural rights, known as protocol of San Salvador (1998) the African charter on human
and welfare of the child (1990) and the protocol of the African charter on the rights of women in
Africa (2003) and in many national constitutions, several non-legally binding international
human rights instruments including recommendation, guidelines, resolution or declaration are
also relevant to the right to food. The right to food guidelines were adopted by consensus in
November 2004 by the council of FAO. They are a practical tool to implement the right to food.

**FOOD SECURITY IN INDIA**

**AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**

Article 21 of the Indian Constitution provides for the right to food along to Medicare, Right to
livelihood, Right to Shelter, Right to education, right to privacy, right to healthy environment to
all citizens of the country all rolled into Article 21 and directive principle of State policy under
Article 39,41,42. Article 25 of the universal declaration of human rights lays down that every one has the right to standard of living, adequate for health and well being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social service.

Developing countries like India which is going through the phase economic reforms and market driven economy, the issue of food security has assumed an importance but major fact to note one third if population is still poor. Right to food can be fulfilled when people have both physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food. World is still characterized by chronically undernourished people. In the face of increasing population is still poor.

**FOOD ADULTERATION : FOOD SAFETY AND STANDARD ACT, 2011, CONSUMER PROTECTION ACT**

Food adulteration may be defined as a process by which the quality of food stuff to be decreased by addition of inferior or cheaper quality product or removal of any essential ingredients of food stuff. Example-milk can be added with water or removal of fat from milk. Some time vendor can add lead which have carcinogenic effect on human body. Food preservatives, food colour and synthetic flavor should be up to prescribed limit. Food should be prepare stored and distribute in hygienic, safe and on prescribed limit as shown on food packaging. It is the duty of consumer to take matter in consumer forum for any mishandling or downgraded product. It is the duty of food analyst, non government and government organization to work together with consumer to check food adulteration from all root causes from the society, manufacturer, food processor, retailer, vendor in urban, rural and sub –urban area.

**ROLE OF STATE IN THE NATIONAL FOOD SECURITY ACT, 2013**

The national food security bill should ensure freedom from hunger, malnutrition and other deprivations associated with the lack of food. This require not only nutritious food including a balanced intake of calories, protein, fats, and essential micro-nutrients but also attention to child, water and forests which play an important role in people livelihoods. The bill has elements of a life cycle approach to food security. The needs of infants a focus on breastfeeding and maternal health are different from the needs of vulnerable groups such as the aged, disabled, and widows, urban destitute, community kitchens will be required to complement other intervention, mid day meal, integrated development services scheme. There are conceptual problems in this process what criteria are used to identify the poor household and implementation. The standing committee on food submitted its report to parliament and has suggested merging the two categories into one, with identical entitlements. A reliable and updated and computerized database of ration card holders and end to end computerization will be the first step towards successful implementation of the national food security bill. A credible grievance redressal and this has delivered positive results. Some states have shown that painting a toll free number and the ration dealers numbers outside public distribution system outlets can also bring greater accountability to the system. Most importantly where dealers have been found to be at fault, the running of the PDS outlet has been handed over to the gram Panchayat – help group or co-operative societies. Electronic weighing scales, in widespread use in Tamil Nadu, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh have also helped reduce corruption at the PDS outlet.
CONCLUSION

Food and water are the universal human rights for all kind of discrimination every citizen of the country has the right to free from hunger and malnutrition. India is a signatory to many treaties it is an obligation of state to fulfill right to food of the people. The percentage of malnutrition is much higher in the state of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Private sector may have to be involved in the storage and handling of food grains. In the case of public distribution system cost effective methods have to be tried in order to reach the poor effectively. In the case of agricultural policies, there is a need to have faster reforms in agriculture in order to have win-win situation for the farmer, worker and consumer. Supply side factors such as irrigation, infrastructure, technology, research and extension and marketing have to be improved to have higher and sustainable growth. A multi-dimensions reform and extention and marketing have to be improved to have higher and sustainable growth. A multi-dimensional reform has to be developed by improving incentives, rationalizing subsidies, promoting investment and protecting the poor. There is a need for extreme vigilance so as to take timely measure within the existing binding to restrict imports, which affect our producers livelihood. The accumulation of food grains also indicate that there is a need for increasing rural non farm employment have to be removed in order to have rural transformation. Better monitoring systems have to be developed at central, state, district and village levels to realize to right to food and food security. Food adulteration can be stop if consumer are aware and can plead in consumer forum. It is the duty of state under directive principle of state policy to provide safe and whole some food to all people by all means.

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A KEY ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF UNORGANIZED SECTOR WORK-FORCE IN INDIA

Dr. Varsha Rokade
Assistant Professor
Department of Management Studies
MANIT, Bhopal

Ms. Manisha Singh
Research Scholar
Department of Management Studies
MANIT, Bhopal

Abstract

Unorganized sector covers about half of the GDP of our country. This preponderance of unorganized workers occupies almost 90% of the national labor force. This sector is characterized by seasonal employment (in agricultural sector), contractual work, no social security and welfare legislations, no rights and minimum wages. Lack of skill and education, few new openings in organized sector, unawareness of legal rights, deficient work quality and terms of service draws the labor into the available vortex of the unorganized sector. Here they face problems like poor health conditions, substandard working life, harassment at work, inadequate and unequal wage structure, long working hours, poor housing facilities, lack of safety measures, atrocities on women workers and no proper education for children of workers. Government intervention in taking necessary steps at the legal and policy level for unorganized workers is required for improving their working and living conditions. In the present paper the researcher tries to make an attempt to understand the research related to the working and living conditions of workers in the unorganized sector and identify the gaps for further research.

KEYWORDS: Working and living condition, unorganized sector, workers

An Overview

The term ‘unorganized sector’ has been defined by the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS) Government of India as the sector which “consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or household engaged in the sale or production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers” (Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganized Sector. Academic Foundation, 1 Jan 2008, p. 1774).

Easy entrance, local operations, ambiguous legal standing, ready requirement of labor, education and skill deficit, no fixed regulations of working hours or payment, poor rate of reparation, ignorance regarding and lack of possible government intervention and help characterizes this sector. Domestic helps, construction labor (migrant or otherwise), drivers, masons, carpenters, street vendors, incense sticks and several others are a part of this informal sector. Workers of the unorganized sector have lower job security and a poorer chance of growth and no leaves and paid holidays, they have lower protection against employers indulging in unfair or illegal practices.
(Kulwant Rai Gupta (1 January 2009). The informal sector is not a separate and closed circuit of work and labor. There are different terminologies used to signify the unorganized sector like informal sector, informal economy, and even informal labor which often highlights the most affected part of the sector, namely, the labor. “Informal labor is a labor whose use is not governed either by state regulations or by collective agreements between workers and employers.” A 2007 report by the state-run National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS) found that 25% of Indians, or 236 million people, lived on less than 20 rupees per day with most working in “informal labor sector with no job or social security, living in abject poverty.

The Indian Economy is characterized by the existence of a vast majority of informal or unorganized labor employment. As per the Economic Survey 2007-08, 93% of India’s workforce include the self employed and employed in unorganized sector. The Ministry of Labor, Government of India, has categorized the unorganized labor force under four groups in terms of occupation, nature of employment, specially distressed categories and service categories.

1. In terms of Occupation:
Small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural laborers, share croppers, fishermen, those engaged in animal husbandry, beady rolling, labeling and packing, building and construction workers, leather workers, weavers, artisans, salt workers, workers in brick kilns and stone quarries, workers in saw mills, oil mills etc. come under this category.

2. In terms of Nature of Employment:
Attached agricultural laborers, bonded laborers, migrant workers, contract and casual laborers come under this.

3. In terms of Specially distressed categories:
Toddy tappers, Scavengers, Carriers of head loads, Drivers of animal driven vehicles, Loaders and un-loaders come under this category.

4. In terms of Service categories:
Midwives, Domestic workers, Fishermen and women, Barbers, Vegetable and fruit vendors, News paper vendors etc. belong to this category.

In addition to these four categories, there exists a large section of unorganized labor force such as Cobblers, Hamals, Handicraft artisans, Handloom weavers, Lady tailors, Physically handicapped self employed persons, Rikshaw-pullers, Auto drivers, Sericulture workers, Carpenters, Tannery workers, Power loom workers and Urban poor.

According to the Economic Survey 2007-08 agricultural workers constitute the largest segment of workers in the unorganized sector (i.e. 52% of the total workers). As per the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO), 30 million workers in India are constantly on the move (migrant labor) and 25.94 million women workforce has been added in the labor market from the year
2000 onwards. It is widely acknowledged that the informal sector in India suffers from a low productivity syndrome, compared to the formal sector. The prominent features of the sector are lower real wages and poor working / living conditions. Further, the sector is characterized by excessive seasonality of employment (especially in the farm sector), preponderance of casual and contractual employment, atypical production organizations and work relations, absence of social security measures and welfare legislations, negation of social standards and worker rights, denial of minimum wages and so on. Poor human capital base (in terms of education, skill and training) as well as lower mobilization status of the work force further add to the vulnerability and weaken the bargaining strength of workers in the informal sector. Thus, the sector has become a competitive and low cost device to absorb labor, which cannot be absorbed elsewhere, whereas any attempt to regulate and bring it into more effective legal and institutional framework is perceived to be impairing the labor absorbing capacity of the sector.

**Traits of the unorganized workers**

- The unorganized labor is overwhelming in terms of its number range.
- As the unorganized sector suffers from cycles of excessive seasonality of employment, majority of the unorganized workers does not have stable durable avenues of employment.
- The workplace is scattered and fragmented.
- There is no formal employer – employee relationship.
- In rural areas, the unorganized labor force is highly stratified on caste and community considerations.
- Workers in the unorganized sector are usually subject to indebtedness and bondage as their meager income cannot meet with their livelihood needs.
- The unorganized workers are subject to exploitation significantly by the rest of the society. They receive poor working conditions especially wages much below that in the formal sector, even for closely comparable jobs.
- The unorganized workers do not receive sufficient attention from the trade unions.
- Inadequate and ineffective labor laws and standards relating to the unorganized sector.
- Have limited or no education or other skills.
- Have insufficient labor laws relating to them
- Still today, they act as “bonded labor” in some cases due to low incomes & permanent indebtedness
- High percentage of migrant labor.

**Problems of Unorganized Sector**

- Problems of the workforce- 90% of workforce in vast informal sector, little awareness of workplace hazards, living areas close to work areas, extended work hours, exploitation, no concept of occupational safety/services, lack of implementation of Health & Safety legislation, no concept of Trade/Labor Union.
Problems of women workers and ‘beedi’ workers- Desperately poor low wages, fraudulent contractors, disease causing environments, child labor, and >50% women Deplorable social conditions.

Problems faced by Govt. - Problem of definition and identification, workforce uneducated about the benefits of organized sector, scattered nature of sector, employers avoid any form of regulation, unorganized sectors contribute to almost 60% of GDP (apart from providing livelihood to population), same labor laws cannot be applied.

Problems from the Organized Sector- Unfair competition (Walmart, Reliance), loss of employment Legal “bullying”, buyer preference for the “cleaner” retail stores, financial aid not available to the unorganized sector easily to comp

### Share of Labor Input in unorganized Sector (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tabulation category/Description</th>
<th>Share of Unorganized Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and forestry</td>
<td>99.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>98.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>64.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>87.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas, Water supply</td>
<td>12.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>92.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Trade</td>
<td>98.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotel &amp; Restaurants</td>
<td>96.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage &amp; Communication</td>
<td>82.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial Intermediation</td>
<td>32.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Real estate, renting and business activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public Administration and Defence</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>37.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health and social work</td>
<td>55.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Community, Social and Personal Services</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Households With Employed Persons</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Problems faced by Unorganized Sector Labors

- Lack of Skills
- Less exposure to Info & Tech.
- Lack of Formal Training
- Absence of non-farm policy
- Marketing support
- Non-competitive products
- Unable to thrive competition
- Application of traditional left over technologies

Key Labor Issues

- Insufficient labor laws
- No social security
- No guaranteed minimum wages
- Bonded labor (they don’t complain about this because if they do their master may remove them) considering their ignorance
- Child Labor (they are the most exploited among them)
- Working Women – issue of harassment at work place
- Low literacy among them
- Low incomes which they don’t complain about
- Vulnerable to diseases

ASSESSMENT OF UNORGANIZED SECTORS SOCIAL SECURITY ACT (2008)

Social Security: A Mirage

The Act has mentioned that the government would periodically notify schemes related to life and disability cover, health and maternity benefits, old age protection and any other benefit as may be determined by the central government. It has also mentioned ten schemes in the schedule which includes Aam Admi Bima Yojana, Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana, Janshree Bima Yojana, Janani Suraksha Yojana, Old Age Pension, Family Benefit and schemes related to weavers, artisans and master crafts persons. None of these schemes are new and are mostly applicable only for BPL families. Most of the urban unorganized workers may not fall under the BPL category. The BPL income of Rs 500 is too less even for bare existence in urban areas. Moreover, most of these schemes are insurance schemes which are to be sourced from workers and operated by insurance companies. The only possibility is that the central and state
governments may subsidies contributions from BPL workers at a ratio of 75:25. Beyond this, there appears to be no plan for the government to fund the entire social security schemes. The state governments have been given a free hand to design their own schemes related to provident fund, employment injury benefit, housing, and education, skill up gradation, funeral assistance and old age homes. It can be noted that none of them are mandatory on any government.

Social Security can be defined as “the provision of benefits to households and individuals through public or collective arrangements to protect against low or declining standard of living arising from a number of basic risks and needs.

Some examples of social security measures:
- Medical care of all sorts
- Provident Funds/Gratuity
- Medical Care of all sorts

Except some medical treatment and age-old pension schemers with meager amount of benefit around Rs. 100 to 200 per month) there are no special social security measures available for the unorganized workers in the country.

The organized sector on the other hand enjoys a lot of social security measures which establishes a question that why it can’t be don’t for unorganized workers.

**Social Security legislations** for mainly urban and organized workers in the country are as follows:
1. Payment of gratuity Act 1971
2. Workmen compensation Act 1923
3. Maternity benefit Act 1971
4. Employees state insurance Act 1948
5. Employees provident fund and the miscellaneous provisions act 1952

Above mentioned legislations do not mention unorganized workers specifically nor do they prohibit coverage of them. In other words they can’t enjoy any social security measure which is freely open for organized workers.

**Recommendations**

Create an independent and participative functional body, free from bureaucratic limitations to assist the government in its vision of organizing the unorganized.

- Organizing the unorganized” being proposed as a state prerogative, appointed by state.
- Volunteer size will depend upon the economic scenario of the District/ Village/State varying from 20 to 50.
- Representation from unions, co- operatives, employers, NGO’s will be there Interns and volunteers Professional Bodies eg. ICAI, ICWA etc., Managerial employees Trade Unions, Association s, Co- operatives, Welfare e funds, NGOs Public Service commission officers Researchers & Field Experts.
- Identifying the priority informal sector in the area of operation.
Creating awareness about various policy reforms of the government, existing and as per the solution proposed.

Encouraging informal workers to join existing Trade Unions or Co-operative/societies or to form one in case not present in that district.

Facilitate formation of such local bodies and ensuring their registration with the government which make them eligible for all the benefits of the governmental policies and schemes.

Settling disputes between employers or employees or local bodies.

Ensuring the workers get full benefit of the schemes and policies designed for them.

Measuring and evaluating the performance of local bodies and conducting performance audits.

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ENGLISH AND THE MOTHER TONGUE

Dr. Usha Masram
Astt. Prof. (English)
Govt. Model Science College Jabalpur (M.P.) India.

The mother tongue, native or first language, is what a person learns by birth and within a particular atmosphere. The ability to learn a language is a biological process which after certain space of time becomes one’s social identity. Mother tongue-based education benefits children from rural communities who belong to that particular group who have less exposure to the second or target language. They are supposed to spend more time in school; achieve better marks repeatedly with good grades when they are taught in their mother tongue. Fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lay a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning additional languages. When children acquire formal education in their first language at primary level at the early stage of their life and then gradually move to learn the second language, they learn the second language quickly. If they continue to have opportunities to develop their first language skills in secondary school, they emerge as fully bilingual (or multilingual) learners. If, however, children are switched abruptly or moved too soon from learning in their mother tongue to learning in a second language, their first language learning may be interrupted or even lost. Even more importantly, they may lose self-confidence as learners and their interest in what they are learning may decline, leading to lack of motivation, school failure and early school drop-out. Systematic use of target language and a minimal use of mother tongue in English language classroom may provide learners with explicit knowledge of the target language systems. Although some amount of mother tongue in monolingual foreign language class is acceptable, in the literature concerning the same issue, a good number of researchers focus on the increasing methodology in second language teaching for a more systematic and principled way of using the mother tongue in the classroom.

Knowing when to use the mother tongue and when to use English in a classroom is one of the hardest decisions to make. In the past, many experts have suggested that teachers should only use the target language and the mother tongue, should not be allowed. This is not a proper suggestion especially for young learners. Firstly, it becomes difficult to learn anything new unless you relate it to what you already know. Children are habitual of translating words and sentences even if we tell them not to. It is important, then, that we make sure they have the correct translation. Secondly, it is important that the children have freedom in the classroom that they feel they can ask for help, explain problems, say how they feel, and so on. They will only do this in the mother tongue. Thirdly, using the mother tongue means that it is possible to do more interesting work and more complex types of activities. There is, of course, a danger in this – that the children will
learn very little second language. The old argument about ‘encouraging them to think in English’ is only really feasible when they have enough language in which to think. Every situation is unique, but a general principle might be to try to use the target language as much as possible – without producing confused, worried or bored learners.

Practical ideas

• Give instructions in second language, but repeat them in the mother tongue. After a while, you could give instruction in the target language and get the children to say it in the mother tongue, so that you know they have understood.

• Give instructions in the target language, but try to use as much gesture as possible to make the meaning clear. While performing several extra activities, for example, the children can hear an instruction in the second language and see what it means.

• Give instructions in the second language, but allow time for the children to ‘process’ the language before you give another instruction. Comprehension is improved by giving the children time between statements, not by speaking more slowly.

• Only make the judicious use of mother tongue at certain times. For example, when you are helping the children to understand something new.

• Try to use the same language again and again. The ‘Classroom language’ section in the teaching notes for each unit gives examples.

• Teach the children the meaning of second or target language that you will use a lot. For example: form the group. Start writing. Listen carefully. You could put a poster on the wall with common phrases that you use, and their meanings. When you give an instruction, you can then point to the poster at the same time.

• Teach the children some phrases that they can use. For example: I can’t hear. Please repeat it again.

Language Learning Methods

As the Grammar-Translation Method was not focused on the use of target language and the role of mother tongue was crucial here, the Direct Method was its complete opposite since the mother tongue is avoided altogether. It has one very simple rule, which is prohibition of translation. In fact, the Direct Method got its name from the fact “that meaning is to be conveyed directly in the target language through the use of demonstration and visual aids, with no recourse to the students’ native language.” (Diller cited in Larsen-Freeman, 2000:23). According to Richards
and Rodgers, the fact that the new language points are introduced and practiced situationally became a key feature of the approach in 1960s, and since then the term *situational* was used in referring to the Oral Approach. The terms *Structural-Situational Approach* and *Situational Language Teaching* came into common use (2005:39).

Concerning Situational Language Teaching, it is still true that “this method is widely used at the time of writing and a very large number of textbooks are based on it.” (Hubbard cited in Richards and Rodgers, 2005:36). In the United States, toward the end of the 1950s, the need for a desired change and rethinking of foreign language teaching methodology resulted in the emergence of the Audiolingual Method with strong ties to linguistics and behavioral psychology (Richards and Rodgers). Many teaching approaches and methods developed with different characteristics and assumptions about how a foreign language should be taught and further many teaching techniques were changed to improve the teaching methodology in the last century. In the 1980s, the alternative approaches and methods came into existence by more interactive views of language teaching, which collectively came to be known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) and which refer to a set of principles that reflect communicative approach of language. “CLT has spawned a number of off-shoots that share the same basic set of principles, but which spell out envision instructional practices in somewhat diverse ways. “ (Rodgers Digests).These Communicative Language Teaching approaches include The Natural Approach, Cooperative Language Learning, Content-Based Teaching, and Task-Based Teaching.

In recent years, there have been some dramatic variations in views towards both first language and foreign language teaching. “Language is more than simply a system of rules. We need to distinguish between grammatical rules and being able to use the rules effectively and appropriately when communicating.” (Nunan, 1989:12). His view has up holded communicative language teaching. Historically, however, communicative competence cannot be developed without using English in the foreign language classroom as often as possible and without establishing English as the main language for communication. This does not mean that the mother tongue should be banned altogether, since recent studies indicate that appropriate and judicious use of mother tongue can play a significant role in foreign language teaching and successful target language acquisition.

Students using mother tongue feel more relaxed and comfortable when acquiring a foreign or second language. This feeling helps students to build up their confidentiality, and making them more secure during the process of language learning/acquisition. Some difficult concepts really need to be translated in students’ mother tongue in order to help them follow up the activities.

Mother tongue enables students to understand new professional concepts that are first created first in English and as such they need exclusive explanation in mother tongue. Using of mother tongue definitely helps the learner, since they become more capable of understanding the concepts and learn better all language skills. Sometimes it might be helpful to clarify very difficult concepts or vocabulary which is unfamiliar to students and the teachers cannot elicit
their meaning from students, or when they cannot guess their meaning from the context. Sometimes students need translation into their native language in order to understand better concepts that seem difficult for them. Students might feel less nervous in learning the difficult concepts in English language. In some cases, the first language helps to check understanding of very complex expressions, like idioms, phrases, etc.

Therefore, we may use mother tongue to clarify or check understanding in very complex language expressions. I believe that using the first language in classes helps lower level students when new vocabulary introduced or when we teach them comparative grammar. Students understand better the second language if they base it upon the first language.

English should be the primary means of communication in the second language classroom and that you should give students ample opportunities to process English receptively as well as to give them the opportunity to practice the target language and drag out as much output in second language as possible even outside classrooms. The second language can be learned through comparison of similarities and differences between the mother tongue and the second language. Additionally, bringing mother tongue into the English classes has made learning English appear to be less of tense and less lost students but students being more comfortable. This way, students will be more courageous and willing to learn English since their preferences are taken into consideration and are valued properly. The mother tongue represents a powerful resource that can be used in a number of ways to enhance learning but that it must always be used in a principled way. We have to see English as the language that should generally be used, and that whenever English is not being used there should be a good reason for this. The mother tongue can play a constructive role in helping students cultivate a wider range of strategies for expressing themselves.

References

3. Andrea Koucká. The Role of Mother Tongue in English Language Learning. Anglisticum Journal (IJLLIS) Volume: 2 | Issue: 3 | June
DETERMINANTS OF DECISION TO PARTICIPATE IN VALUE ADDITION TO MILK: LEVEL OF VALUE ADDITION AND DECISION TO CHOOSE MILK MARKET ACCESS

Sanjoy Kumar Karna  
(PhD student, IGNOU, New Delhi)  
Faculty of Economics  
Butwal Multiple Campus  
Rupandehi District  
Butwal, (Nepal)

Abstract

This study in Rupandehi District of Nepal was undertaken to identify and prioritize constraints and come up with strategic interventions, to identify determinants of participation decision and level of participation in-farm level milk value addition, to assess factors affecting milk sales decision and access to alternative milk market outlet choices. Age of household head (p=0.0425), milk yield per day (p=0.383), the number of children under six years (p=0.333), female farmer as head of the household (p=7.7%), level of education (p=0.0458) is positively associated, with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. On the other hand, market distance for sale (p=4.4034×10^{-5}), size of family (p=2.209%), labour hours (p=0.36%), year of dairy experience (p=3.29×10^{-3}) is negatively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. Milk yield in litre per day (β=0.208 litre per day), Market Distance (β=0.777 liter per km), age of farmer (β=2.27ml/year), male farmer results in (β=704 ml ) child under the age of six (β=502 ml per child) are positively related with the level of participation in value addition to milk. Consideration of value added milk products for social factors such as festivals and fasting (β=4.12 litre), family size (β=3.86 ml), amount of milk self consumed per day (β=783ml) are negatively associated with level of participation. The study revealed that probability of selling milk to cooperative is negatively related with farmer’s age (P=0.394%), and child below six years (P=2.41%), market distance (P=0.022%), size of family (P=1.971%), amount of milk sold (P=1.821%). Likelihood of deciding to sell milk to dairy is positively associated with household head’s age, (P=0.445%), milk yield per day (P=2.18%), market distance (P=0.0457%). Likelihood to choose cooperative as a milk market outlet is positively related with milk yield per day (P=2.552%), milk value addition (P=2.05%). The probability that a farmer decides to sell milk to local dairies is negatively related with households who have a child under age six (P=14.1%), size of family (P=0.576%), milk value addition (P=4.494%), quantity of self-consumed milk (P=3.558%), quantity of milk sold (P=1.021%). The likelihood of deciding to sell milk to consumer is positively related with households possessing children below six years and size of households.

Keywords: value addition, level of participation, market access, dairy farmers, milk production

1 P is the numerical value of probability associated with particular variable
2 Level of participation in value addition to milk implies the amount of milk used to make ghee, curd and butter
1. INTRODUCTION
On-farm value addition to farm products is recognized and highly promoted through value chain approach for its benefit in terms of improving farm income. Growing demand for value added milk products, together with the availability of ample livestock resources, would provide opportunities for dairy farmers in Nepal to diversify their livelihoods. Nevertheless, their participation in milk value addition and level of participation is perceived to be generally low. By analyzing survey data from randomly selected 100 farm households and using probit model, the article identified determinants of participation decision and level of participation in farm level milk value addition in Rupandehi District, Nepal. The first-stage probit model estimation results for participation decision indicate that milk yield in litter per day, distance from urban centers, household demography (age and child), poor access to livestock extension services, the need to extend shelf life, consideration of milk products for social factors such as holidays and fasting, and availability of labor for milk value addition determined household’s decision to add values to milk. The results also show that most of the factors determining decision of participation in milk value addition also determined the level of participation. Therefore, dairy production policies that take into account determinants of farmers’ milk value addition decision and level of participation are likely to serve the interest of dairy value chain actors. The objective of this study is therefore to identify determinants of participation decision and level of participation in farm level milk value addition.

Identifying such determinants help to inform subsequent interventions aimed at promoting commercialization of dairy farmers.

2. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM
Some common problems of milk farmers are: depletion of animal feeding base and inadequate government support services, inadequate and inappropriate breeding support services, weak farm advisory services and training, critical shortage of dairy animals, high opportunity costs of land and labour, shrinking farm labour due to migration of youth for off-farm jobs, inadequate credit facility, poverty and illiteracy among livestock raisers, limited market opportunities, higher cost of milk production.

Market oriented dairy production offers significant scope for diversification and augmenting income and employment generation for dairy farmers. The profitability of dairy production depends upon cost structure and a remunerable price for which a good market outlet is crucial. Governments of Nepal have plans to upgrade dairy production to alleviate poverty and reduce malnutrition. For this to be effective, they should take into account the huge informal milk marketing sector. This requires empirical study to investigate factors affecting access to alternative milk market outlet choices of farmers. Given its ample livestock resources for milk production both in the pastoral, agro-pastoral, and mixed crop-livestock farming systems, promoting on-farm value addition to milk products is believed to be useful for poverty reduction through creating income generating opportunities to the rural poor. In addition to serving as mechanisms in generating income, value added products are potential avenues to minimize losses and increase milk shelf life, a unique opportunity due to strong local demand for such
products. Apparently, determinants of institutional and economic nature could easily be approached to enhance on-farm level milk value addition as a means to promote income generation and reduce rural poverty. The results will be of interest to various actors in the dairy sector, such as developing countries which intend to upgrade dairy value chain, consumers, governmental and nongovernmental organizations engaged in transforming dairy value chain in a pro-poor approach. Poor institutional support services such as livestock training, access to credit, and facility of Insemination and membership of cooperative are hypothesized to affect milk value addition decision and level of participation negatively. Milk value addition requires access to labour, mostly of female and children, and labour availability is hypothesized to affect milk value addition decision and level of participation positively. Income growth, urbanization, and technological advances, along with ever expanding global trade in agriculture, have contributed to a growing global demand for processed products with added values. The emerging trend for value added agricultural products in the global market creates opportunities for dairy farmers in the developing countries to benefit from such opportunities by linking their activities to value chain through vertical and horizontal linkages. Yet, there are ample opportunities for dairy farmers in the domestic markets for them to supply products with added values. Farmers add values to milk to get products such as curd, butter and ghee. Milk provides a typical example with growing demand for value added products, such as curd, ghee and Paneer in Nepal.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Value addition refers to the act of adding value(s) to a product to create form, place, and time utility which increase the customer value offered by a product or service. It is an innovation that enhances or improves an existing product or introduces new products or new product uses (Fleming, 2005). Participation decision and level of participation in-farm level milk value addition is hypothesized to be affected by socio-economic and demographic characteristics of farm households and also in relation to factors associated to market access and institutional support services. Each dairy farmer is different in many aspects, including resource ownership, market orientation (commercialization), access to services, etc which contribute to different decision making behavior and participation level. Nevertheless, none of the studies in Nepal attempted to identify determinants of participation decision and level of participation in-farm level milk value addition.

To analyze determinants of participation decision and level of participation, data from 394 households were used. However, 90 households added values to milk indicating that milk production is not necessarily for value addition, given a household demand for fluid milk consumption and fluid milk market access. The specifications of the empirical models used to identify these determinants follow the selectivity models widely discussed in the participation literature (Gotez, 1992; Key et al., 2000; Heltberg and Trap, 2002; Holloway et al., 2004; Bellemare and Barrett, 2006). In selectivity models, the decision to participate can be seen as a sequential two-stage decision making process. In the first-stage, farmers make a discrete decision whether or not to participate in milk value addition. In the second-stage, their decision to add values to milk, farmers make continuous decision on the level of participation. To analyze determinants of participation decision and level of participation, data from 394 households were used by Berhanu (2008). As expected, his study revealed that distance to the nearest urban center
is statistically significant and positively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. This indicates that as farmer’s distance from the nearest urban center increases by a km, farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk increases by 8.27x10^-1%. As expected, poor access to livestock extension services is negatively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. This indicates that poor access to livestock extension services decreases the probability of adding values to milk by 2.34%. The need to extend shelf life of milk through value addition is positively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. As the number of households who need to extend shelf life increases by a member, the probability of adding values to milk increases by 4.19%. As prior expectation, consideration of value added milk products for social factors such as holidays and fasting by households is positively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. The probability of adding values to milk increases by 3.79% for households who consider milk value addition for social factors. Contrary to prior expectation, dairy farmers add values to milk to meet consumer quality demand is negatively associated with the decision to add values to milk but statistically insignificant. This shows that on contrary to developed countries where milk value addition is in response to consumer preference, dairy farmers do not worry about consumer quality preference when making decision to add values to milk. Availability of labor for milk value addition is positively association with household’s decision to add values to milk and the effect is statistically significant. This indicates that the probability of adding values to milk increases by 7.13% for farmers who have available labor. Farmers who do not have available labor reported that they sell fluid milk than add values.

4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
The present paper aims to fulfil following objectives:
1. To assess factors affecting dairy farmers’ decision to value addition to milk;
2. To examine the factors that influence the the level of value addition to milk;
3. To identify the factors that affect the decision of choice of milk market access

5. HYPOTHESES
Following hypothesis is set for the present research study:
Farmer characteristics such as sex, age, education, experience, extension services, availability of pasture land etc influence; decision to add value to milk, level of value addition to milk and decision to choose the milk market access

6. METHODOLOGY
6.1. Study Area
Rupandehi district lies in Terai region. It is situated in the Lumbini zone of western development region of Nepal. It's headquarter is Bhairahawa. Geographically, Rupandehi district lies at longitude 83°12’16” east to 83° 38’16” east and latitude 27°20’00” north to 27°47’25” north with the borders Nawalparasi in the East, Kapilbastu in the West, Palpa District in the North and India in the South.

6.2 Sampling Techniques
The first stage involved purposive selection of five villages. In addition, villages were purposefully selected due to the large number of improved and local dairy farmers who produce milk. In the second stage, from dairy farmers simple random sampling method was used to select 100 farmers.
Formal survey was conducted with dairy value chain actors such as dairy farmers, local dairies (Retailer) and milk cooperatives. To conduct formal survey with dairy farmers, five villages, namely, Semlar, Rudrapur, Godaha, Tali and Ranibari have been purposively selected on the basis of dairy production and milk sales potential. Sample size was determined using a simplified formula provided by Yamane (1967) provided below. Out of the total 5000 (nearly) dairy farmers in the five selected villages, 100 representative dairy farmers were selected, 20 dairy households from each village using Simple Random Sampling. 

\[ n = \frac{N}{1+N(e^2)} \]

Where, \( n \) = sample size, \( N \) = population size, 
\( e \) = level of precision. The level of precision is the range in which the true value of the population is estimated to be; it is expressed in percentage points (±10)

6.3 Data Collection, Data entry and Data Processing
Primary data was collected from dairy farmers in the selected village by administering semi-structured questionnaire. The collected data was entered in raw and column in Excel. Each raw includes all the characteristics of one household while each column represents different characteristics of the households.

6.4 Methods of Data Analysis

6.4.1 The Probit model was applied to find whether dairy farmers make a decision or not to participate in milk value addition:

\[ Y_j = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{N=9} \beta_i X_{ij} \]

where
\( Y = 1 \), if farmer makes decision to add value to milk
\( =0 \) if farmer does not make decision to add value to milk

\( X_i \) = the factors that affect the decision to participate in value addition to milk

\( \beta_i \) = coefficients of estimates

6.4.2 To estimate level of value added by dairy farmers:
The model is:

\[ Y_j = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{N=8} \beta_i X_{ij} \]

where
\( Y \) = amount of milk used to add value
\( X_i \) = the factors that affect the amount of milk used to value addition to milk

\( \beta_i \) = coefficients of estimates

6.4.3 Multinomial Logistic Model will be used to identify the determinants of dairy products market access
The model is

\[ Y_j = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{N=8} \beta_i X_{ij} \]

where
\( Y = 0 \), if farmer decides to sell directly to Consumer
\( = 1 \), if farmer decides to sell to Cooperative
\( = 2 \), if farmer decides to sell to Local Dairy

\( X_i \) = the factors that affect the decision to choose milk-market access
\( \beta_i = \) coefficients of estimates

7. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Determinants of Decision to Value Addition to Milk

Results of probit model estimation of the determinants of the probabilities of the households to add values to milk are given in Table-7.1

Table-7.1: The Estimates of Determinants of Decision to Add Value to Milk

Model: Probit, using observations 1-100 (n = 68)

Missing or incomplete observations dropped: 32

Dependent variable: VAM

Standard errors based on Hessian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Marginal effect</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
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</thead>
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<td>0.1498</td>
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<td>1.056989</td>
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<td>0.2906</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.934747</td>
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<td>0.3499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
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<td>0.140623</td>
<td>2.736634</td>
<td>0.383639642</td>
<td>0.0062</td>
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<td>LHD</td>
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<td>0.0178</td>
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<td>LOE</td>
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<td>0.055759</td>
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<th>McFadden R-squared</th>
<th>Adjusted R-squared</th>
<th>S.D. dependent var</th>
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<td>0.166666</td>
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<td>Schwarz criterion</td>
<td>80.61763</td>
<td>60.51656</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 66 (97.1%)
f(\beta_i) at mean of independent vars = 0.357

Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square (14) = 39.4649 [0.0003]

Test for normality of residual -

Null hypothesis: error is normally distributed

Test statistic: Chi-square(2) = 17.5093  with p-value = 0.000157728

Source: writer’s calculation (Eviews)

The Table-7.1 also contains the values of marginal effects which are evaluated at the means of all other independent variables. The overall goodness of fit for the probit model parameter estimates is assessed based on several criteria. First, the log likelihood ratio test is applied to assess the overall joint significance of the independent variables in explaining the variations in the dairy farmers’ likelihood to add values to milk. The null hypothesis for the log likelihood ratio test is that all coefficients are jointly zero. The model chi-square tests applying appropriate...
degrees of freedom indicate that the overall goodness of fit of the probit model is statistically significant at a probability of less than 1%. This shows that jointly the independent variables included in the probit model regression explain the variations in the farmers’ probability to add values to milk. Second, the McFadden’s Pseudo R² is calculated and the obtained values indicate that the independent variables included in the regression explain significant proportion of the variations in the dairy farmers’ likelihood to add values to milk. Third, the probit model predicts about 97.1% of the cases correctly.

On contrary to prior expectation, age of household head is positively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk and statistically significant at less than 10% significance level. As household head’s age increases by a year, the probability that household adds values to milk increases by 0.0425. The reason behind is that older people like to consume more curd and ghee. As expected, milk yield per day is positively associated and statistically significant at 10% with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. As milk yield per day increases by a litre, the probability of adding values to milk increases by 0.383. The reason behind this potentiality to use milk for various purposes such as, self consumption of milk, quantity of milk to be sold and value adding to milk increases with increase in milk yield. On contrary to prior expectation, the number of children under six years is positively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. The result shows that the probability of adding values to milk increases by 0.333 for households who do not have a child under age six.

On contrary to prior expectation, market distance for sale is negatively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk significant at less than 10%. This indicates that as farmer’s distance from the nearest urban centre increases by a meter, farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk increases by 4.4034×10⁻⁵. As expected, size of family is negatively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. This indicates that increase in size of family decreases the probability of adding values to milk by 2.209%. The reason is that larger the family size more will be the quantity of self consumption of fluid milk. As prior expectation, female farmer as head of the household farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk would increase. The probability of adding values to milk increases by 7.7% for households which are headed by female.

As expected, dairy farmers decision to add values to milk is negatively associated with labour hours required to care dairy animals but statistically significant at 5%. This shows that more hours required to care dairy animals would decrease the availability of labour for milk value addition. This indicates that the probability of adding values to milk decreases by 0.36% for farmers who have not available labour. Farmers who do not have available labour reported that they sell fluid milk than add values.

As expected, level of education of farmer is positively associated and statistically significant at less than 10% with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk. As the level of farmer’s education increases by one grade, the probability of adding values to milk increases by 0.0458. The reason behind is that higher level of education enables to realize the importance of milk products as they are important source of nutrients.
On contrary to prior expectation, year of dairy experience of farmer is negatively associated with farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk significant at less than 10%. This indicates that as farmer’s dairy experience increases by one year, farmer’s likelihood to add values to milk decreases by 3.29x10^{-3}. Rational behind is that farmer’s dairy experience reveals that selling fluid milk is more beneficial than to value add to milk because demand for curd, butter and ghee is comparatively low in the village and it is difficult to market them to urban areas.

B. Determinants of Level of Participation in Milk Value Addition

In table-7.2, milk yield in litre per day is positively related and statistically significant with the level of participation. This indicates that ceteris paribus, an increase in milk yield per day by a liter results in 208 ml increase in the level of participation because higher the milk yield more amount of milk available to farmers in value addition. Market Distance to the nearest urban centre is positively associated and statistically significant with the level of participation. This implies that holding other explanatory variables constant, a km away from urban centre results in 777 ml increase in level of participation. As expected, the number of children under age six in a household is negatively associated and statistically significant with the level of participation. By keeping other independent variables constant, absence of a child under the age of six in an additional household results in 502 ml decrease in level of participation. Respondents reported that when they are sure of having a child, they look for milking animal in order to feed a child and lactating mother. Excess fluid milk left over from child and mother is used to add values to nourish mother and child.

Table-7.2: Level of Participation in Milk Value Addition

: Heteroskedasticity-corrected, using observations 1-90

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>t-ratio</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<td>0.0237054</td>
<td>8.7985</td>
<td>&lt;0.00001 ***</td>
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<td>AMSC</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOF</td>
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<td>MD</td>
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<td>2.6309</td>
<td>0.01019 **</td>
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<tr>
<td>QVAF</td>
<td>4.1299</td>
<td>0.464779</td>
<td>8.8857</td>
<td>&lt;0.00001 ***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>0.0176309</td>
<td>0.1291</td>
<td>0.89758</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
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<td>CBSIX</td>
<td>-0.502335</td>
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<td>-4.1552</td>
<td>0.00008 ***</td>
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Statistics based on the weighted data:

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<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>S.E. of regression</td>
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<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.734988</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-squared</td>
<td>0.708814</td>
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<tr>
<td>F(8, 81)</td>
<td>28.08076</td>
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<tr>
<td>P-value(F)</td>
<td>2.29e-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Log-likelihood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akaike criterion</td>
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<td>Hannan-Quinn</td>
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</table>
Statistics based on the original data:

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean dependent var</td>
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<td>S.D. dependent var</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum squared resid</td>
<td>1703.797</td>
<td>S.E. of regression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Writer’s Calculation (EViews)

Consideration of value added milk products for social factors such as festivals and fasting is negatively associated and statistically significant with level of participation. Ceteris paribus, consideration of milk value added products for festivals by an additional household result in 4.12 litre decreases in level of participation. This means in normal days on the average 4.12 more milk is used to value in comparison to festivals and fasting. The rationale behind this is that in festivals demand for fluid milk increases resulting into less availability of milk for value addition. Family size is negatively associated in milk value addition and statistically significant. While keeping other explanatory variables constant, contrary to prior expectation, family size decreases values to milk and results in 3.86 ml decreases in the level of participation but not statistically significant with the level of participation.

Amount of milk self consumed per day is negatively related and statistically significant with the level of participation. This indicates that ceteris paribus, an increase in amount of milk self consumed per day by a litre results in 783 ml decrease in the level of participation because larger the amount of milk self consumed per day less amount of milk available to farmers in value addition. Age of farmer is positively related and but not statistically significant with the level of participation. This indicates that ceteris paribus, an increase in age of farmer by a year results in 2.27ml increase in the level of participation but not statistically significant with the level of participation. Sex of farmer is influences and but not statistically significant with the level of participation. This indicates that ceteris paribus, male farmer results in 704 ml increase in the level of participation in comparison to female farmer but not statistically significant with the level of participation. The reason behind is that female farmer consider the value adding activity as an additional load to other daily activities.

C. **Determinants of Decision about Access of Milk Market**

Barrett (2008) provided a recent detailed review and synthesis of market participation literature. Nevertheless, none of these studies has focused on factors affecting dairy farmers’ access to alternative milk market outlet choices in the informal milk marketing sector. Hence, generating data with regards help to formulate appropriate policies that improve the livelihood of dairy farmers. The major contribution of this study is to provide insights into factors that influence dairy farmers’ access to alternative milk market outlet choices. The results will be of interest to value chain actors intending to upgrade dairy value chain. Information generated help the study areas and agencies aiming to upgrade dairy production and support policy tools including marketing strategies.

Table-7.3 also contains the values of marginal effects which are evaluated at the means of all other independent variables. The overall goodness of fit for the model parameter estimates is assessed based on several criteria. First, the log likelihood ratio test is applied to assess the overall joint significance of the independent variables in explaining the variations in the dairy farmers’ likelihood to choice of access to market. The null hypothesis for the log likelihood ratio test is that all coefficients are jointly zero. The model chi-square tests applying appropriate degrees of freedom indicate that the overall goodness of fit of the the model is statistically...
significant at a probability of less than 10%. This shows that jointly the independent variables included in the model regression explain the variations in the farmers’ probability of choice of access to market. Second, the model predicts about 61.7% of the cases correctly.

In Table-7.3, base category is decision to sell milk directly to consumer. As household head’s age increases by a year, the probability that household decides to sell milk to cooperative decreases by 0.394% (statistically significant at more than 10% significance) whereas the likelihood of deciding to sell milk to dairy increases by 0.445% (statistically significant at less than 10%). As milk yield per day increases by a litre, that household decides to sell milk to cooperative increases by 2.552% while the likelihood of deciding to sell milk to dairy increases by 2.18% (both statistically significant at more than 10%). The result shows that decision to sell milk to cooperative decreases by 1.1 for households who do have a child under age six whereas the likelihood of deciding to sell milk to dairy for them decreases by 2.41% (statistically significant at more than 10%). This means in case of the households possessing children below six years more likely decide to sell milk directly to consumer.

Table-7.3: Determinants of Milk-Market Access
Multinomial Logit, using observations 1-101 (n = 81)
Dependent variable: access to milk market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to Cooperative</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Marginal effect</th>
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<table>
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<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
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Mean dependent var 1.234568  S.D. dependent var 0.939037
Log-likelihood -60.90559  Akaike criterion  157.8112
Schwarz criterion  200.9113  Hannan-Quinn  175.1035

Number of cases 'correctly predicted' = 50 (61.7%)

Likelihood ratio test: Chi-square(16) = 20.0711 [0.2170]

Indicates that increase in size of family decreases the probability of selling milk to cooperative for households which involve in milk value addition the probability of selling milk to dairy also decreases by 1.021% (both statistically significant at less than 10%).

for households which involve in milk value addition the probability of selling milk to cooperative by increases by 2.05% and decision to sell milk to dairy decreases by 4.494% (both statistically significant at less than 10%). The result shows that the probability of selling milk to cooperative for the dairy farmers who increase the quantity of self-consumed milk decreases by 23.33% and decision to sell milk to dairy decreases by 3.558% (both statistically significant at less than 10%). The result shows that for the dairy farmers who increase the quantity of milk sale by one liter likelihood of selling milk to cooperative decreases by 1.821% and decision to sell milk to dairy also decreases by 1.021% (both statistically significant at less than 10%).

8. **POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

1. In an increasingly globalised world, research on economic development of dairy farmers can no longer afford to limit itself only to optimization of livelihood support strategies and agricultural technology. It should also seek strategies to improve competitiveness and efficiency as driving forces in research for economic development. This study contributes through identification and prioritization of constraints and coming up with strategies for leveraged intervention for improving competitiveness and efficiency of dairy market chain in Rupandehi, Nepal.

2. Productivity and quality are becoming more important for dairy farmers to compete in an increasingly competitive market. To promote dairy productivity, public support should formulate appropriate policy in the form of managerial capacity building and institutional support. Policy makers should also encourage through facilitating the negotiation process and raising awareness. Furthermore, the core constraints of dairy productivity could be tackled through appropriate institutional support and extension services. Therefore, there is a need to pool efforts together and make the the dairy production economically viable which requires provision of fully fledged technical backups. Increased availability at affordable prices and promotional activities can increase consumption levels.

3. The multinomial logistic model results indicate that household size, presence of at least a child in a house, distance to the nearest urban market and milk yield in liter per day...
played a significant role in the probability of milk sales decision. The model results indicate that compared to accessing individual consumer market outlet, the probability of accessing local dairy market outlet was higher. As a result, access to milk market outlets of households can be segmented by socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, physical capital, market access, institutional support services and attributes of alternative milk market outlet.

4. The findings are quite consistent with the expected behavior of Nepalese dairy farmers and provide a clear picture about participation decision and level of participation in-farm level milk value addition. They have important policy implications because these value addition behaviors of farmers would seem to continue to play a vital role in enhancing efficiency of dairy farmers thereby increasing the productivity and of dairy animals. It is important to understand the determinants of value addition processes of dairy farmers for the benefit of the poor farmers. Information generated help all dairy market chain actors aiming to upgrade dairy production and support policy analysis and policy making. Therefore, dairy production policies that would consider determinants of dairy farmers’ participation decision and level of participation in-farm level value addition are likely to serve the interests of dairy market chain actors.

5. In this study, determinants of dairy farmers’ participation decision and level of participation in-farm level milk value addition has been analyzed using probit and OLS model. The findings revealed that milk yield in liter per day, distance from the nearest urban center, household demography (age and children), poor access to livestock extension services, consideration of milk products for social factors such as festivals, and availability of labor for milk value addition determined household’s decision to add values to milk. The results also showed that most of the factors determining participation decision in milk value addition also determined the level of participation.

6. The findings are quite consistent with the expected behavior of Nepalese dairy farmers and provide a clear picture of the milk marketing behavior. They have important policy implications because these milk marketing outlets would seem to continue to play a vital role in dairy value chain. It is important to understand the milk marketing for the benefit of rural farmers and consequently market players. Information generated help the country and agencies aiming to upgrade dairy value chain and support policy tools including marketing strategies. Therefore, dairy production policies that would allow milk market players improve their performance, including quality control are likely to serve the interests of chain actors.
References


A STUDY ON SLUM PEOPLE OF KOLKATA METROPOLIS

Sanjoy Sana
(Research Scholar-C.U.)

Slums are inevitable concomitants of urbanization and industrialization. An old city without slum is inconceivable, particularly in the developing countries. Slums have grown with the growth of cities and this is universal. The difference only lies in the extent of this proliferation, squalid level of deficiencies in civic services. These slums in underdeveloped or developing countries are by and large characterized by environmental deficiencies and sub human conditions of life.

However, nature of slums and social background of its inhabitants depend largely upon economic development and technological advancement of the concerned country. An increase in slums is characterized by an increase in migration from rural to urban areas. Since there is a substantial increase in India's urban population since Independence, most of slums in towns and cities imply migration from rural areas particular of those who live in slums. The towns and cities which have attracted more people from rural areas are those, which have provided jobs and employment to rural people. Industrial towns, district head quarters, capital towns of states and metropolitan centers in particular have witnessed rapid growth of slums.

As a consequence, Industrial Revolution, laid the roots for slums and more particularly after World War-II the growth of slum gained its momentum as material development concomitant with massive urbanizations, slums have rapidly grown in underdeveloped, developing and even developed countries. In fact, slums are a feature of any urban landscape.

Definition of Slums:

Social scientists have given different definitions of slum depending on, the angle from which they view the problem. Following are some of the definitions.

1. Slum is a building, a group of buildings or area characterized by over crowding, deterioration, in sanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities, which because of these conditions or any of them endangered the health, safety or morals of the inhabitants of the community.

2. Slum is an area of poor houses and hence inhabited by poor people. It is an area of transition and decadence, a disorganized area occupied by
human derelicts, a cache of the entire criminal or the defective, the down and out.

3. It is an area of substandard housing condition within a city. As the definition states, Bergel is explaining only about the physical condition of the slum houses. He calls slum "a complex product of many factors, as is true of many other social phenomena". But he agrees that poverty is the foremost cause of slum dwelling. He writes: "As a single dilapidated building does not make a slum, the term 'housing conditions' refers to actual living conditions rather than to mere physical appearance of a building. Also the term 'substandard' is to be taken not in an objective or technological but rather in a relative social sense, i.e. compared with recognized standards at a given time in a specific country".

4. Slum a highly populated area in which housing and other living conditions are extremely poor. This explanation comes out with these two inter-related characteristics. There are many more features of slum such as illiteracy, semi/underemployment, high crime rate and delinquency etc.

5. A slum has also been referred as any area where such dwellers predominate who are by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangement or design of buildings, narrowness of streets, lack of ventilation, lack of sanitation facilities, inadequate open space and community facilities, or any combination of these factors suffer in terms of proper safety, healthy and moral, standards."

6. "The slums are residential areas that are physically and socially deteriorated and in which satisfactory family life is impossible. Bad housing is a major index of slum conditions. Bad housing mean dwellings that have inadequate light and air and toilet and bathing facilities that are in bad repair, dump and improperly heated; that do not afford opportunity for family privacy; that are subject to fire hazard and so overcrowded that land leave no space for recreational use."

Thus slum refers to an area, a situation and does not constitute an isolated building. It can be identified by a combination of physical attributes, but these attributes alone are enough cultural life and its ramifications are also important. There is a considerable range of variations in regard to the manifestations of each one of the physical attributes. The main physical attributes of a slum are sub-standard houses, in sanitary conditions, insufficient / total lack of water supply, no proper drainage and lack of facilities for garbage clearance.

Though slum is a building, a group of buildings or an area characterized by overcrowding insanitation, deterioration in health conditions, life in slum becomes unbearable and inhuman. However, the fact is that people live in slum, as they have no options available to them. "Slum refers to an area in transition near the central business district as a result of the continuous invasion and succession of improvised migrants, with houses which once
were considered adequate but now are in the process of physical deterioration due to low rents and/or maintenance.

Following the attributes listed above in various definitions of slum, the terms employed officially by most local government bodies vary. In Delhi, "the term slum should be applied to those parts of the city which may be considered unfit for human habitation either because the structures there are old, dilapidated, grossly congested and out of repairs or because it is impossible to preserve sanitation for want of sanitary facilities including ventilation, drainage, water supply etc. or because the sites by themselves, are unhealthy". For example, in Baroda, the term slum applies to all those dwellings that do not even provide the basic minimum facilities for human subsistence. The very lack of basic infrastructure facilities, high infant mortality, utter negligence of personal health and hygiene, all those together characterized what may be termed as slum.

An area is declared as a 'slum' if the State Government is satisfied that the conditions of the land, huts, or other structures in any area in such that the continued existence of such conditions would be injurious to public health or safety or to the health, hygiene or moral of the inhabitants of such an area (section 3 of the West Bengal Slum Areas - Improvement Clearance Act, 1972).

In short 'Bustees' are not slum in the eyes of law, but conditions may be the same. Bustees become slum only when the State Government makes a declaration to that effect. But for the present study we have adopted here the UNESCO definition of slums -

'A building, a group of buildings, or area Characterized by overcrowding, deterioration, in sanitary conditions or absence of Facilities or amenities which, because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community.

(United Nations, 1952)

Characteristics of Slum:

Another pertinent question as to what are the basic characteristics of slum. In the opinion of Neil Anderson the characteristics could be as follows:

**Appearance**

A slum looks neglected with disorderly buildings, roads and yards.

**Economic Status**

Slum is a poverty prone area generally poor people reside there.

**Overcrowding Population**

This is a specific characteristic of slum. Heterogeneous occupancy is the order of the day. A slum may have separate area of linguistic, cultural, economic, and religious
and caste groups. In other parts of the world the diversities are mainly of race, language and at times, colour. In spite of all this, there is a sense of community feeling among the slum — dwellers, and some degree of social cohesion.

In some of the Indian cities the phenomenon of overcrowding is quite instructive. In 1951, Greater Bombay had a density of 25,580%. Ahmedabad had 38,834; in Surat it was 58,723 persons per square miles.

**Historical Overview:**

Kolkata, henceforth Calcutta is situated on the east bank of the river Hooghly. Like all riparian towns in the lower Gangetic delta, it stands upon rich silt, which however, has a history of its own. Traditionally, we are accustomed to think of Kolkata and Job Charnok together. It is not even three centuries that this 'block of rough hewn British man-hood' laid his anchor for the third and last time at the 'Sutanutee Ghat' on the eastern bank of the river Hooghly, on the mid day of 24th August, 1690 (Ray, 1986). This was a memorable event, marking the commencement of the 'settlement', which grew to be the capital of one of the biggest empires in recent times.

If we turn to the traditional accounts as recorded in mediaval literary works, the first distinct mention of Kolkata and Kalighat along with such ancient sites such as - Triveni, Rishra, Konnagar on the Western Bank of river Hooghly and Chitpur, Kamarhati and Kumarhatta on the eastern side of the river occasion 'Manasa Vijaya' written by Bipradas Pipalai about 1495 to 1496 A. D. (Chaudhuri,1990). Social life of Kolkata of the 18th Century reflects the two fold process of transformation of a group of struggling riperine villages into a busy mercantile unit on one side, and on the other, the conflict and adjustment of two distinctly opposed cultural patterns. So, the social history of Kolkata largely presents an interesting study of action, interaction and synthesis of two distinct cultural patterns — the older Hindu, Muslim and the newer or western woven into one. From historical events it is evident that society in Kolkata was composed of heterogeneous elements.

The slum and the city of Calcutta were born as twins. Since the days of company rule the cities started drawing people from its immediate hinterland. This resulted in the cropping up of degraded human settlements at different locations. The city was originally born out of the cluster of three villages of Sutanutee, Govindapur and Kolkata. Its roots could be traced to the economic policies pursued by the British which were export orient and therefore port oriented with the increased economic importance of the city, the absentee zamindari system was also thriving under the permanent settlement that enabled the land lords to transfer their surplus from the countryside to the metropolis. All these led to the development of various trading activities in the city. Too much attention to the metropolitan industries encouraged the inflow of migrants from villages to the city in search of jobs. Together with that floods and draughts in the hinterland contributed their share in the movements of immigrants to the city. Such an influx of poor and mostly population from the different parts of the country led to the development of a new type of makeshift shelters in the city, and they were called slum.
Bustees in the city of Calcutta were developed not only to house those who had migrated only for earning, but also to accommodate those who were drawn from all over India to meet the demands of urbanization. The historical significance of the bustee development of the city of Calcutta had been very well explained by Sunil Kr. Munsi 1974. Calcutta metropolitan explosion and under-development. Marxist Miscellany Vol. 4. PP:42-60. in his writing on the Calcutta slum situation. To him, "Poverty and splendor lie so close to each other in Calcutta that is has always attracted the attention of foreigners. Calcutta grew so fast that there was hardly any time to clear all the slum before new mansions could be built... slum were needed for servicing the mansions and their occupants, or how else could the rich get servants, cooks, darwans, chowkidars, cleaners, gardeners, dhobis and the rest? Labour was abundant and cheap and it paid to keep slum within the city, in fact nearer the mansions."

The first group of bustee dwellers had entered the city much before the growth of industrialisation. They came to serve the English families. The lavish style of living of the Imperial rulers drew a large group of villagers to the city. They gave rise to the first slum of Calcutta. Their dwellings were developed very near to the English quarters, as their services to the English families were demanded from early morning to late night.

The second group of bustees were the outcome of industrialisation. The large flow of British capital led to the development of jute and engineering industries in and around the city. Railway, Postal facilities, Banks and Dock facilities also led to the diffusion of the population over forty miles on the bank of the river Hooghly.

Laying out of the tram track in the city attracted many to migrate to Calcutta and work in the Tram company. This group of slum-dwellers were mostly found in the central part of the city.

The other group was the rickshaw pullers. They arrived at the city from different parts of the country. Majority of the Bihari people had procured the job of rickshaw pulling in the city. Oriyas of the city were mostly unemployed labourers or employed in skilled craftsmanship like plumbing gas and electrical works. They were also found in other occupations. House servants and pan stall keepers were from Orissa. As the economy of Calcutta was mostly based on trade and commerce, the light engineering industries were grown up as an ancillary to other industries. The workers employed in this sectors were late comers, they did not get shelter in the central part of the city. Their slum could be seen in the Kidderpore dock areas of the western fringe, Maniktala and Beliaghata in the eastern fringe and Cossipore on the extreme North.

The bustee communities in the city not only maintained their own occupational identity, they also tried to maintain their own residential and linguistic identity along with occupations. The largest group of bustee dwellers, that arrived at the city, were from Bihar and the U. P. Consisting of Hindus and Muslims they spoke Hindi and occupied the bustee areas in northern, eastern and southern reaches. They had joined mostly in the local factories. A very few of them could be seen in the commercial wards. They came to work as porters, pullers of hand carts and carriers of shacks and baskets on their heads.
Muslim population, especially the lower class Muslims lived as tenants in the slum districts on the east and the north-east. They were mostly employed in soap and leather factories."

Whatever were the types of occupation and concentration of the residents, the native town was infested with dirt, poverty and diseases. The Imperial rulers made no attempts towards the environmental improvement of the native haunts. They spent for the native areas only when their environment became a cause of direct threat to the city or when an improvement in the city life was directly related to the ever expanding trade and commerce.


Categories of Slum:

In Kolkata there are two broad categories of slum: those that are officially authorized are called Bustees. There are also a large number of squatter settlements, which are not authorized. These squatter settlements have grown up by the side of canals, large drains, garbage dumps, railway tracks and roads, The living condition of the people living in these shanties are the worst. They do not have proper access to any basic amenities such as sanitation or water. There is always a stench in these areas with many people usually being involved in rag picking, with garbage dumped outside their houses. In other words, this type of settlements not only faces tremendous problems regarding basic facilities but also causes environmental pollutions.

Types of Authorized Slum:

The authorized slum can be classified into four broad groups. The first kind of slum existed during the British period when middleman took land from the land owners usually for a long term and build hut type settlements which let out to migrants. As mentioned earlier migrants needed a place to live and had no alternative but to accept accommodation without basic amenities. There is another type of slum called "Thika Tenant Slum" where the slum dwellers have taken possession at a fixed rent and have constructed their houses. A third type of slum are those constructed by zamindars (land owners) themselves and let out to the slum dwellers. These types of slum are locally called Bustees. The fourth type of slum are refugee resettlement colonies locally called Udbastu colonies where land has been leased out for 99 year to the refugees from present day Bangladesh by the government at nominal rents.

Types of Unauthorised Slum:

Among the unauthorised slum types are those which are simply encroachments on the road side (locally called ihupris). canal (called khaldhar), or any vacant place (called Udbastu) by the poor people either displaced from the city itself or retrenched from this work place. Another type of displacement is reported as displacement due to an excessive increase in family size.

It has been found that the predominant structure types in the slum areas are pucca, semi pucca and Kuchcha (crude or imperfect). The percent of these structural type in Kolkata are pucca
(85.1%), semi pucca (12.8%) and Kuchcha (2.1%). These are houses with roofs made of tiles and asbestos which have floor which are kuchcha or pucca or both.


Classification of Slum:
Considering the background of the growth of slum mentioned earlier, it is important to identify the slum from different areas. There are three types of slum based on the type of their origin.

Classical Slum:
Historically many poor settlements grew as the people from different states and adjoining districts migrated here in search of employment. The so-called classical bustees exist at the care of Central Kolkata. The old Kolkata Municipal Corporation limits of 100 words with area of about 140 sq. km contain these bustee structures. Within the case area, the bustees are partly registered with KMC and partly non-registered.

Refugee Colony:
The settlements grew in the peri-urban areas dating back to partition and others from 1971. They have heterogenous population and poor living conditions. Many of them occupied the low-lying pockets and were subjected to flooding. These settlements have achieved security of tenure.

Similarly in the added areas, the colonies are partly regularized and partly non-regularized. These colonies, per se do not fall under the category of slum and as such taking up on improvement works, under slum Improvement Programme becomes a debatable issue unless it can be shown that the area suffers from environmental deficiencies and are detrimental to the health and hygiene of the population in terms of air volume, service delivery norms and the like.

Squatter Settlements:
These pockets comprise the poorest neighborhoods with irregular settlements sited on private or government owned land. These have little or no access to services and are frequently located in hazardous areas under bridges or on canal banks and railway lines. Most unrecognized settlements have been occupied for a long time at least 20 - 30 years. To avoid encouraging squatters, the Government of West Bengal's policy does not allow for the provision of infrastructure in irregular settlements.

In the added areas, particularly in Jadavpur - Tollygunge area, a number of settlements developed comprising mainly refuge population after the partition of Bangal. These colonies are not so called bustees, but squatter settlements with little or no civic amenities.

Selection of Slum as an Area of Study:
In every major city in the capitalist world highly industrial or underdeveloped - one fifth or one half of the population live in slum or slum like conditions today. After Second World War,
the Third World consisting of the newly liberated colonial and semi colonial countries have launched a concerted program of industrialisation and urbanisation based on capitalist mixed economy postulates. During the last twenty years the pattern of urban development emerging in these areas has drawn serious attention. The rapid growth of big cities in the Third World has 'bred those refuse dumps of human misery known as slum' in Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai and other cities. These slum are spreading like white ants and are enveloping larger segments of population living in the urban sprawls (Desai & Pillai, 1970).

Slum punctuate almost every city of the world. Though few countries deny their existence, types of slum vary from place to place. As there are varieties of slum, definitions too are not contributed their share in the movements of immigrants to the city. Such an influxes of Calcutta : A socio economic survey 1954 - 55 to 1957 - 58); P. Ramachandran (The slum: A segments of population living in the urban sprawls (Desai & Pillai, 1970).

The understanding of slum life are possible through the studies by F. G. Bailey (Structure and change in Indian society : A review Article, 1969); S. N, Sen (Experts from the city of Calcutta : A socio economic survey 1954 - 55 to 1957 - 58); P. Ramachandran (The slum: A note on facts and solutions, 1971). In most of the cases, the slum has been described as an area of darkness despair and poverty. Cousins and Goyder (1979) made a sympathetic and analytical account of change and growth that resulted from a community development program in the slum of Hyderabad. UNICEF sponsored this study. They also demonstrated the genuine people's involvement in a government program. This study also showed that when self-help activities systematically linked with governmental, financial and voluntary institutions, it could go beyond to schemes of major economic significance.

Desai and Pillai’s (1972) study an important landmarks to readers. The study was conducted in a slum, Golibar, Bombay. The authors highlighted the extent to which private ownership of land hinders all efforts of urban renewal, the nature of political and social tensions taking roots
in slum areas, housing, health, patterns of living, links with native place, basic amenities, occupational life, tenant owners, landless etc. Finally this type of study will help a proper comprehensive of the true cases underlying the pattern of living that is emerging in slum and other parts of India.

In their edited volume, Desai and Pillai (1970) described the nature, characteristics and theories of slum. They also incorporated the slum situations in the United States of America, Latin America. Asian Cities, India and other states, and lastly the government renewal programs in some countries. This volume is no doubt an important addition in the slum studies so far done in India and they were called 'Slum'.

Apart from this above mentioned historical background slum has been selected as the venue of work because, slum dwellers are basically a marginal community. The social, economic, health and infrastructural facilities available to them are more or less similar. Irrespective of ethnic identity and location of residence of its member the social opportunities are often not within reach of the slum dwelling communities. The individuals are admitted within a slum as economic, political or social have not and are sucked into the vertex of its culture. Generally the resident communities imbibe a pattern of life and living, which is distict from city and village core groups. Their personality, behaviour and perception of life satisfaction change mutatis mutandis their immediate environment. A slum stands out as district entity from outside world.

Besides, most of the urban slum are inhabited by the immigrants the adjacent rural areas. These people, many of whom belong to the surplus labour force of the rural sector, come to the urban areas in search of jobs or any alternative economic pursue. Thus they live as a special category of people for whom poverty remains a major problem and who do not have any root in the urban sector.

**Literature on Slum Studies**:

The phenomenon of slum has come to be regarded as a major problem of urbanization. No Indian city is free from slum. But the problem is more acute in metropolitan cities. Knowledge about the social conditions of the superannuated people living in the slum can be made through the general studies made on slum, few of which are discussed below.

Bhattacharya (1989) had conducted a study on slum dwelling women of Calcutta metropolis. This book was an outcome of a fieldwork-oriented research on the slum dwellers of Calcutta metropolis with special references to the maidservants. This book highlighted a comprehensive account on different facets of socio-economic condition including demographic features of the slum of Calcutta. There is also a separate section, which deals with the material existence and problems of the maidservants who live in the slum.

Bardhan Roy (1994) highlighted in her book about the public policies in the slum situation of the city of Calcutta. Available information in regard to the activities of various organizations, viz.- the CIT, the CMDA, specially the CMC have been used here to support the discussion and to illuminate the conceptual issues written in the context of the Calcutta slum situation. Thus this book marks a pioneering effort to present a rounded discussion on public
policies on the Calcutta slum, their health, and education, economic as well as their environmental situation in a single volume.


The above-mentioned slum studies in a nutshell highlight the nature of studies done in the metro city of Kolkata.

**Salient Features of Population of Kolkata**

The phenomenon of slum has come, to be regarded as a major problem of Urbanization. No Indian city is free from slum. Slum are found in all the district cities/towns of West Bengal. A large number of people are living in the slum and their total population is 3822309 constituting 26.82 per cent of the total population of the 52 cities/towns of 18 districts having 14250720 individuals. Percentile distributions of male and female members living in the slum are 27.20 and 26.39 respectively to the total population of the cities/towns. The sex ratio of the slum dwellers is 850 against the total sex ratio of 876 for the cities/towns of the state. The percentage of 0-6 age population to the total population of the slum dwellers is 10.62 against the general 0-6 age population in the cities/towns which is 8.96 percent. Literacy rate (excluding 0-6 age population) of the slum dwellers is 74.99 per cent against the general population of the region, which is 87.17 per cent. The literacy rate of the female slum dwellers is 68.31 per cent against the general population of the region, which is 78.33 percent. Therefore, the demographic status of the slum dwellers can be readily apprehended from the preliminary demographic data available from the recent census (2001) report.

There are 52 cities & towns in West Bengal where 3822308 individuals live in slum. Among the population number of male is 2066223 and the corresponding figure for female is 1756085. The slum population shares 26.62 percentage of the total cities/towns population in West Bengal and the total male population living in slum constitute 127.20 per cent of the total population of cities/towns in West Bengal and the female population constitutes 26.30 per cent.
Total Population and percentage of slum Population to Total Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities and Towns</th>
<th>Total No. of Individuals</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slum</td>
<td>3622308</td>
<td>2066223</td>
<td>1756085</td>
<td>26.82</td>
<td>27.20</td>
<td>26.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General 0-6-age population lives in town are 1277143 individuals of which 656724 are male and the figure for female is 620419. The corresponding figures for the slum are 406053, 208059 and 107094 individuals. The percentage of General 0-6-age population in cities and towns are 8.96 and in slum the figure is 10.62. Therefore, the difference is only 1.66 per cent, which is not that significant.

Salient Features of Population of Kolkata

Kolkata with 45,80,544 population has a density of 31779 person per sq. km. according to 2001 census report. The Calcutta Municipal area is the largest metropolis in India. As per census data there are 34.93 percent workers and 70 per cent of the population are literate of which 83.21 per cent are male and 68.07 female. This metropolis is famous for its vast range of diversities (Bose 1968, 79-82). The dynamic and diversified morphology of the city, therefore, presents interesting point of study to social scientists. The sex ratio of Calcutta population registers 828 female per 1000 male population. It is important to note that there is a steady increase of female population in the city.

Sex-ratio per (1000 male) over the decades in Calcutta and West Bengal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.B.</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the point of view of economics of growth Calcutta is essentially remaining as a commercial city. Ghosh (1983, 36-37) has shown that the growing city of Calcutta has maintaining trade and commerce vigorously rather than industry during the three successive decades 1911-31. The labour force engaged in the sectors of transport, storage and trades are 32.0 per cent 29.9 per cent and 25 per cent, against the sector of industry: 20.8, 18.6 and
17.6 per cent during 1911, 1921 and 1931 respectively. There is of course, growth in industrial employment from 17.6 percent in 1931 to 30.74 percent in 1971, on the other hand, trade, transport, and occupation show higher incidence of labour force participants figure 42.35 per cent in 1971. During 1931 the corresponding figure was 25 percent. Thus Calcutta has remained a commercial town so far economic growth is concerned. The grown-up metropolitan character of the city can be traced back to 1801, when permanent residence in the growing settlement increased considerably as much as 1,40,000. Over a hundred years fourteen times increase of the population of the city could be related to a mass exodus from the rural areas of Bengal from other states as well. These immigrants sought residence around the city core which ultimately gave birth to suburban habitation in and around the sprawling habitation occupied by very 'low-income' people leads to the growth of the bustees. During the early part of nineteenth century the suburbs and slum were grouped into five residential areas: (1) Shyam Bazaar Street (2) Tollygunge (3) Ballygunge 4) Gariahat and (5) South Suburban. (6) Sealdah   (7) Hatibagan, (8) Rajabazar

Initially Calcutta comprises three villages, Sutanati, Gobindapur and Dihi Kolkata and historical date of the foundation of the city has been fixed on August 24, 1690, the very day when Mr. Job Charnok came back to Calcutta from Madras and permanently settled here. But the East India Company purchased the three villages of an area of 1.692 acres on November 10,1698, in exchange of a sum of Rs. 1300 only from the then zamindar f this area, the Sabarna Choudhury, with an additional payment of nazrana worth Rs. 6000 to the then Subedar of Bengal   (R Mitra. Kalikata.Darpan, 1988, p-318)

It is interesting to note that the major production centers of Calcutta were set up by the working groups on the outskirts of the city mainly, at Rajabazar, Shyambazar and Sealdah. Here the job seekers coming from outside settled with their families. In fact, bustee-dwellers in such suburbs lived in a family life in contrast to those lived in the care town area of Calcutta. This statement can be corroborated by 1901 census of Calcutta, where immigrants of town Calcutta were enumerated and found to be 65.7 per cent against 87.9 per cent for the suburban population (bustee-dwellers). The same census also recorded that there were 386 female immigrants per 1000 male in the core town area, but the corresponding figure 592 female per 1000 male in the suburban area. At the beginning of the twentieth century the growth rate of the suburbs was much higher (40.3 per cent) than that of city population, which registered 6.3 per cent growth rate. The population structure of the next decade 1911-1921 or the core city and suburban are 2.8 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively; so far the growth rate is concerned. During 1901-1911 improvement of drainage the Municipal authority of Calcutta as well as private landlord took up systems and sanitation. Thereafter there was a steady growth of population as evident from the table below.
The survey conducted by Kolkata Municipal Corporation in 2001 Table 1.3

### Population of Kolkata City from 1901-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population (per thousand)</th>
<th>% Decade Variation</th>
<th>Sex Ratio (female per 1000 male)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>933</td>
<td></td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>8.86</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1221</td>
<td>15.94</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2167</td>
<td>77.49</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2968</td>
<td>24.50</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2927</td>
<td>08.48</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>3148</td>
<td>07.57</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3305</td>
<td>04.96</td>
<td>712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>4385</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>4580</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The survey revealed that in Calcutta space for residence is becoming very acute. In an estimate, it has been revealed that about 35 per cent population are deprived of minimum floor area of 2.5 sq. m. per person. On the other hand, 9.00 per cent of the city populations are enjoying 12.5 sq. m. per head. Of the total residents only 12.57 per cent live in their own house and 59.43 reside in rented house. There is 21.12 per cent population who are classified as other category (ISt, 1976). In this context we may refer to the study report of Banerjee (1988), which presents a systematic analysis on the Housing and related problems of Calcutta.

### Decadal Growth of Population of Kolkata

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>West Bengal</th>
<th>Calcutta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901-11</td>
<td>+6.25</td>
<td>+8.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-21</td>
<td>-2.99</td>
<td>+3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-31</td>
<td>+8.14</td>
<td>+15.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-41</td>
<td>+22.93</td>
<td>+77.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-51</td>
<td>+13.22</td>
<td>+24.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-61</td>
<td>+32.80</td>
<td>+8.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-71</td>
<td>+26.87</td>
<td>+7.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-81</td>
<td>+23.17</td>
<td>+4.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Slum Population in Cities and Town in West Bengal, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total No. of Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Percentage</th>
<th>Male Percentage</th>
<th>Female Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities and Towns</td>
<td>1277143</td>
<td>656724</td>
<td>620419</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>51.42</td>
<td>48.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum</td>
<td>406053</td>
<td>208059</td>
<td>197094</td>
<td>10.62</td>
<td>51.24</td>
<td>48.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Literacy rate among the slum dwellers is also not that low. It appears from the Table 03 that discrepancy between the two populations, general and slum people, is 8 percent. The sex wise number of literate is shown below:

#### Literate and Literacy Rate among General and Slum Dwellers 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total No. of Individuals</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities and Towns</td>
<td>47821757</td>
<td>27784790</td>
<td>20037007</td>
<td>83.06</td>
<td>87.17</td>
<td>78.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slum</td>
<td>2561975</td>
<td>1496986</td>
<td>1064989</td>
<td>62.24</td>
<td>70.60</td>
<td>58.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discrepancy among the general population is about 9 percent. The corresponding figure among the slum dwellers is little more than 12 percent. Kolkata slum population constitutes only 32.55% of the total population but so far size of slum population is concerned the Metropolis comes to the top most rank.

The slum can be classified on the basis of sex ratio, one of the valuable socio demographic indicators. The categories are as follows: 1) Sex ratio below 750, 2) 750 - 800, 3) 800-850, 4) 850-900, 5) 900-950, 6) 950 and above.
### Categories and number of slum in Cities / Towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>No. of Slum</th>
<th>Cities / Towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) below 750</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>Chapadani, Rishra, Bally,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) 750-80</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>Titagarh, Bhadreshwar, Habra, Budge-Budge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) 800-850</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Chandannagar, Serampur, Konnagar, Kolkata, Bidhanagar, Bansibera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv) above 950</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Jalpaiguri, Balurghat, Jangipur, Berhampur, Katwa, Krishnanagar, Nabadwip, Ranaghat, Chakdah, Kachrapara, Habra, New Barrackpur, North and South Dum Dum, Rajarhat, Gopalpur, Hugli, Chinsurrah, Medinipur, Kharagpur, Haldia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The lowest sex ratio is observed at Rishra (721) followed by Bally (723) and Chapadani (744). This is due to the fact that high percentage of migrant labourers have been living here from neighbouring states where they have left their wives and children. This is not very unusual. At Berhampur (998), Ranaghat (988) and Habra (988) sex ratio is very high where men with their wife and children have been living together. In the Metropolis the ratio is 806 which is not very exceptional as people from different walks of life have to stay for the need of the metropolitan mega city. Neighbouring town, Haora, has also tower sex ratio (777) which characterizes its mixed and composite nature of varied population and their occupations..

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THE ANALITICAL STUDY OF CASTE CONSCIOUSNES IN BAMA’S SANGATI

Mr. Arjun S. Kharat  
Assistant Professor, Department of English 
Ramnarain Ruia College, Matunga, Mumbai. 400 019

Abstract:

Dalit literature is marked by the revolt against unjust social system in India and negativism. It is associated with the hopes for freedom of people who as untouchables are victims of social, economic, political, religious and cultural inequality. Although there are numerous theories about the origin of Dalit literature, it is doubtless that it was Dr. Ambedkar who was the pioneer of Dalit literature, whose revolutionary ideas stirred into action all the Dalits of Maharashtra and other states in India and gave them a new self-respect and dignity. Therefore, Dalit literature is nothing but the literary expression of this consciousness and awareness.

In the present proposed paper, I wish to focus on the caste consciousness as presented in Bama’s Sangati, a prominent Dalit autobiography. Bama has unravelled many aspects of Dalit life. It is primarily a feministic narrative however; it draws our attention towards the exploitation of Dalits in the caste ridden society. The autobiography is the story of an individual written by him/her. It offers great scope for an author to reveal his/her world view on philosophy of life. It provides a natural outlet for his/her suppressed feelings. And therefore it is widely used literary form of expression in Dalit literature.

The aim of this paper is to explore the long lasting impact of caste system in the life of a Dalit with special highlight on Bama’s Sangati. Further, I would also like to enumerate on various modes of resistance as depicted in Sangati against the vicious caste system.

Introduction:

In the preface of Sangati, Bama says that this narrative is widely received mainly because of its “glowing message of self-confidence in place of self-pity (and for) its strength as well as its voice that directly addressed what was in the heart.” On the whole this book seeks to offer a complete Dalit-feminist perspective. Lakshmi Holmstrom, who translated Sanagati into English from Tamil, maintains that:

“These individual stories, anecdotes, memories of personal experience are narrated in the first person then counterpointed by the generalizing comments of the grandmother and mother
figures, and later still, by the author-narrator’s reflections. The narrator is, in the earlier chapters at least, a young girl of about twelve, and in the last three or four chapters, a young woman; but the reflective voice is that of an adult looking back and meditating upon her experience. The reflections which may seem didactic-are a means of bridging experience and analysis, and end with a practical call for action. The form of each chapter is therefore exploratory, and the structure of the book as a whole seeks to create a Dalit- feminist perspective.”

In Sangati, Bama exposes all the vicious aspects of middle class morality. It is about her own life specifically and about her society in general. She tries to uncover different issues of Dalit women’s life such as sexual discrimination in the patriarchal society, Dalit culture and dual exploitation of women on account of their caste and gender both at familial and social level. She says that her stories are based on these aspects of Dalit women’s lives which have subjected them to triple oppression on the ground of their class, caste and gender. All women in the world are second class citizen but the problems of Dalit women in India are graver, because they are denied basic human dignity. They have absolutely no status in the society.

‘Sangati’ speaks about Bama’s own experience of her childhood and her experiences working within her oppressed community as a social activist. It is a collection of several interconnected stories, anecdotes, events, experiences and reports of Dalit Paraiya community narrated by writer herself. Owing to this unique aspect, it can be called as the autobiography of a community rather than of a single individual. In her introduction to Sangati, Lakshmi Holmstrom maintains, that it is not just about the life of the author/ narrator but also about the community in which the writer is born and brought up.

“Sangati moves from the story of individual struggle to the perception of a community of paraiya women, a neighborhood group of friends and relations and their joint struggle. In this sense, Sangati is perhaps the autobiography of a community.”

There is no single protagonist in the book but there are more than 35 women characters that are equally important. Bama justifies ‘Sangati’ in the acknowledgement of the book itself. She says:

“My mind is crowded with many anecdotes: stories not only about the sorrows and tears of Dalit women, but also about their lively and rebellious culture, their eagerness not to let life crush or shatter them, but to swim vigorously against the tide; about the self confidence and self respect that enables them to leap over threatening adversities by laughing at and ridiculing them; about their passion to live life with vitality, truth and enjoyment; about their hard labour. I wanted to shout out these stories.”

The story develops through past and present experiences of several women characters under the male dominated society. Bama narrates the story from Dalit feminist point of view. Further she formulated a Dalit feminism which redefined woman from the socio-political perspective of Dalit who are converted Christians. Economic disparity plays a vital role in the life of Dalit women. The characters depicted in ‘Sangati’ are land labourers, construction workers, who work more than their men folks but earn far less than them.
“The women, in any case, whatever work they did, were paid less than the men. Even when they did the very same work, they were paid less. Even in the matter of tying up firewood bundles, the boys always got five or six rupees more. And if the girls tied up the bundles, but the boys actually sold them, they got the better price.”

Men do not care for their family and very often they spend their whole earning on themselves as they please. On the other hand, women bear the financial burden of running the family single handedly. Moreover women are frequently vulnerable to sexual harassment at the work place. They are subjected to the physical violence at home if they fail to satisfy their husbands’ sexual hunger.

The caste courts, churches and power structures of their society are concerned only with men. All social institutions are indifferent towards women. Hard work, poverty, ignorance and indifferent social norms lead to a culture of violence. This is the major theme of Bama’s writing. She writes very boldly about domestic violence i.e. violent treatment of woman by her father, husband, brothers and higher caste people.

‘Sangati’ is also about everyday happenings in the life of Dalit women who work together tirelessly making and eating food, bathing and swimming, celebrating and singing. It is the voice of heterogeneous women talking and addressing to each other, sharing incidents of their daily lives. They are also protesting against their tormenters by raising questions in anger and pain. Bama takes a strong approach of Dalit feminism and boldly writes about exploitation, subordination and subjugation of Dalit women converted to Christianity.

Caste Issues in ‘Sangati’:

One of the major concerns of this narrative is discrimination and marginalization of Dalit on account of their caste. Bama presents this caste consciousness through many anecdotes. She recalls how her grandmother Paatti was never called by higher caste people to deliver their babies. She says:

“In our village it was my grandmother who attended every childbirth, only the upper caste never sent for her because she was a paraichi.”

The socio-economic situation of Dalit was so degraded in the hierarchical Indian society that the Paraichi community women were not allowed to cover their bodies fully. Bama never saw her grandmother wearing a chattai, a sari-blouse because “in her times, lower-caste women were not allowed to wear them.” The position of Dalit women is very pitiful and humiliating.

Dalit women are molested and sexually assaulted by the upper caste land lords when these women worked in the fields. Caste discrimination is still a problem in Tamil culture. A Dalit woman is always blamed even if she is molested by higher class and caste men. Mariyama, one of the women characters in Sangati becomes a victim of an upper caste land lord called, Ayya. But her friends warn her not to open her mouth against him. Nattamai, the headman of the village throws all the blame on Mariyama. She becomes the victim of unjust caste system. Mariyama refuses to fall on her knee before the caste court to beg its forgiveness. It is her silent
defense towards the hierarchical caste system and patriarchy. It so happens that when Mariyama goes to drink some water in the Kumarasami Ayya’s fields, finding her alone he catches hold of her hand. Somehow she manages to escape from his strangle hold and tells everything to her friends when she came back home. But she is warned by her friends not to open her mouth against him because ultimately she only would get the blame and be called a whore. Her friends tell her:

“It is best if you shut up about this. If you even try to tell people what actually happened, you'll find that it is you who will get the blame; it’s you who will be called a whore. Just come with us quietly, and we'll bring away the firewood that you left there. Hereafter, never come back on your own when you have been collecting firewood. That landowner is an evil man, fat with money. He's upper caste as well. How can we even try to stand up to such people? Are people going to believe their words or ours?”

In order to safeguard his reputation in the village Kumaraswami Ayya goes and complains to the headman of the paraiya community. He cooks up a false story pairing up Marriamma with Manikkam and putting all the blame on her. This is because soon after his encounter with her he had seen Manikkam walking along with the firewood he had gathered. Caste court in the village blamed Marriamma only and charged her father with a big ransom amount. Finally her father got her married to Manikkam who beats her every day. When Bama thinks of Mariamma’s Life history she gets angry and says:

“Because of some upper-caste man's foolishness, she was made the scapegoat, and her whole life was destroyed. If a woman is slandered, that's always her fate. People won't consider whether the accusation is true or not, nor will they allow the woman to speak out. They'll marry her off to any disreputable fellow and wash their hands off her, not caring in the least whether she lives or dies. I was disgusted by it. I wanted to get hold of all those who had brought her to this state, bite them, chew them up, and spite them out.”

Similar case took place with Paralokam, who was molested by Modlali’s son a barbarian. Eventually only Paralokam was punished and also called a whore.

In Sangati Bama strongly criticizes the hypocrisy of church authority. Though Dalit are converted to Christianity, prevalent system in Christianity did not practice what Christians say of equality before God. Dalit converted Christians fight against this partial attitude of Catholic Christianity. She says:

“The position of women is both pitiful and humiliating, really. In the fields they have to escape from upper-caste men's molestations. At church they must lick the priest's shoes and be his slaves while he threatens them with tales of God, Heaven, and Hell. Even when they go to their own homes, before they have had a chance to cook some kanji or lie down and rest a little, they have to submit themselves to their husbands' torment.”

She pinpoints, how vehemently in the Church as well, the caste discrimination plays on Dalit converted to Christianity. The paraiya community, converted to Christianity in order to escape
the caste based tyranny of orthodox Hinduism, is greatly disappointed by the Church for its discriminatory and double standard approach towards Paraiyas. In the following lines she describes this partial attitude of the Church towards Dalit through one of her characters speech:

“Sothipillai shouted angrily, just look at what goes on in our Church as well. It is our women who sweep the Church and keep it clean. Women from other castes stand to one side until we have finished and then march in grandly and sit down before anyone else. I have stood it as long as I could, and at last I went and complained to the nuns. And do you know what they said? It seems we will gain merit by sweeping the Church and that God will bless us specially.”

Dalit community is not only marginalized by the higher caste and class people but also by their God as well. Bama shows how paraiya women have realized this fact and, protest against this partiality in the name of God by the higher caste community.

“See how they fool us in the name of God. Why don’t those people need God’s blessings too?”

She says that even in the name of God higher caste people and Church authorities practice caste discrimination. Even the priests in the church are hypocrites. They try to take advantage of Dalit women’s loneliness and helplessness. In the name of God they play with the emotions of these women and exploit them sexually. Instead of helping such helpless women they question their moral character and humiliate them by spreading blasphemy. In Sangati Bama mentions how in her community when a girl falls in love with a palla (i.e. a kind of caste) boy, was beaten and tortured severely everyday by her own father and brother. When writer suggest her to get married quickly to avoid the torture, she explains her how difficult it is to do so. She was teaching in a school run by Christian priests who would have terminated her services if she hadn’t married as per the Christian norms. On the other hand paraiya boys would never stand for this inter-caste marriage. In that situation the only option left before her was to get married in the church of another village with the written permission from her own parish priest. In the following lines Bama reveals the true nature of the Christian priests:

“Although the line that the church takes is that inter-caste marriages are a good thing, these priests themselves are always blocking them. As for that parish priest, he listened to the girl’s story and then went and broadcasted it to all and sundry, humiliating her and holding her up to ridicule. He spoke about her as if she had been behaving like a whore, cast suspicion on her morals, met her in a room all alone and leered at her, made false promises to her, and kept her running between the church and her home like a dog; but he never organized a wedding or anything for her.”

Bama shows us that inter-caste marriages are very rare and difficult phenomena in her community. In the following lines she mentions how difficult it is especially for women in her community.

“Now when I reflect on all this, I realize that when it comes to inter-caste marriages, our people are not bothered if boys make a marriage outside their caste. But if a girl marries out of caste no one will accept it. They’ll make a big quarrel out of it.”
She criticizes and questions this double standard attitude of her community wherein men can marry outside their caste and live happily but when women do the same they are objected. However, this kind of male dominated attitude is prevalent in all other caste communities in India.

“In our streets there are men who have married girls from other castes and other villages and who live together happily. People who can accept such marriages get really angry and upset when it is the girl who marries a man of a different caste. If the men do it, it’s fine. But if a girl does it, it’s terrible. I don’t see how this can be just. They say that if a man marries outside his caste, it is nothing. But if a girl marries outside her caste, the honour and pride of the whole community is lost. I really can’t understand how honour can be lost in such a way.”

Bama, uncovers another interesting fact that women only from the lower caste communities are possessed by the ghost. Dalit women have to go out for work in the fields to earn their two times meals. Therefore, they are more vulnerable to the mental slavery laid by Hindu religious rituals and customs. They are compelled to believe these practices and blind faiths that have made them mentally handicapped. On the other hand upper caste women don’t have to go out to work in the fields so they are unlikely to be haunted by evil spirits. Poor women from Dalit community are the victims of these bad rituals and blind faiths.

“And even among women, I never heard of upper-caste women becoming possessed or dancing in frenzy. The peys always seem set on women from the pallar, paraiyar, chakkiliyar, and koravar communities.”

These stereotypical ideas are so deeply rooted in the minds of these women that they cannot leave them their entire life time. They accept these ideas blindly without trying to know the truth. Ignorance is primarily responsible for their mental slavery and indignities.

“It's women who are polluted every month. It’s when they are menstruating, they say, the pey will get at them. Men don't have this nuisance, you see. If Esakki gets her hands on you, she won’t let go easily. Specially if she catches you when you are a virgin, she'll never leave you in your entire lifetime.”

She finally justifies her point of view saying that only fearless mind and heart will win over human frailties. Further she reasons out the common logic behind this blind faith and gives a very practical explanation in the following lines:

“Of course peys would catch upper-caste women, too, if they were to go out to work as we do. What do they care who it is? It's just that don't catch men. And that's because men don't carry the same fear in their hearts. And they won't catch women either, if they dare to walk past without fear.”

The pains and sufferings of Dalit women are really unbearable. The plight of these women is worst as compared to the situation of women from other communities across the world.
“Thinking about it, I have to say that even if all women are slaves to men, our women really are the worst sufferers. It is not the same for women of other castes and communities. Our women cannot bear the torment of upper-caste masters in the fields, and at home they cannot bear the violence of their husbands.”

The upper caste women also get similar treatment of contempt from the male dominated society, but still they never show sympathy towards Dalit women. Bama says it’s ridiculous when women discriminate among themselves. In the following lines she exposes this ironical discriminatory attitude of upper caste women towards the Dalit women.

“Besides all this, upper-caste women show us no pity or kindness either, if only as women to women, but treat us with contempt, as if we are creatures of a different species, who have no sense of honour or self-respect. They themselves lead lives shut up inside their houses, eating, gossiping, and doing their husbands’ bidding, and then they treat us like this. God knows how they stay shut up within four walls, all twenty-four hours of the day. From this perspective, it seems to me that at least our women work hard and earn their own money, and have a few coins in their hands. They don't hold out their palms to their husbands for every little expense, like those others. All the same, because of our caste and because of our poverty, every fellow treats us with contempt. If ever there is a problem or a disturbance, everyone, starting with the police, chooses to blame and humiliate the women of our community. The government does not seem prepared to do anything to redress this. So we must take up the challenge ourselves.”

Dalit women cannot move around freely. They can’t even go out to watch the cinema. If they go to the cinema, they may get assaulted by other caste men and it may lead to a fight between upper caste men and Dalit men. Paraia community cannot afford to have fight with upper caste people because ultimately they have to go to them for work. Dalit women have always been a soft target of the upper caste people who are aware that Dalit people cannot resist back because on either ways their defeat is inevitable. This is the true situation of Dalit in villages in India. In the following lines Paati, narrator’s grandmother says:

“They never dare touch the women from other castes. But they don’t have any respect for our women. And our men are afraid that if anything indecent happens to one of us, it might end in a riot. Look how old I am. I have no idea what a film looks like....They are afraid to touch other women. Because they have caste-power, money, everything. And what do we have? Even if a fellow assaults one of us, it’s difficult to stand up to him or make an enemy of him. Because in the end, we have to go to him for employment. How long can we keep up the fight?”

Bama also upholds some healthy practices prevalent in her community. Unlike upper caste women they don’t have to suffer indignities of widowhood when their husbands die, because they can marry a second time after a death of a husband. They don’t have to wear gold ornaments symbolic of their husbands as they don’t afford to have them at the first place. Moreover they also enjoy equal rights during the rituals of funeral. She mentions those good practices in the following lines:
“In our streets, even when there’s death, it is the women who will go and sit by the corpse and sing dirges. The men remain outside. If a woman dies, the other women get together, bathe and prepare the body, and lift it on to the bier. When the burial takes place, everyone will go to the graveyard, both men and women. When the burial is over, people will go home and bathe. There aren’t rules saying this must only be done by women and this by the men. Everyone does everything.”

For Dalit woman wearing jewelry, bangles and bindi about her husband is not mandatory because she neither have time to make herself up nor have the jewelry at the first place.

“If a man dies, there is no rule that says his wife must immediately go into white saris nor that she must behave in such and such manner. She will carry on in her usual way. And this is because, even when her husband is alive, it isn’t compulsory that a woman must wear a pottu in her forehead, nor bangles and other jewellery about her person, nor smear herself with turmeric. Where does she have the jewellery in the first place? And where does she have the time to smear herself with turmeric, have a bath, and dress herself up with pottu and flowers? She runs to work at dawn and comes home after sunset. So whether her husband is alive or dead, she will follow the same routine. She might, perhaps, remove her tali. On the other hand, some women never wear tali, though they marry and live with their husbands. Talis are not that important among us.”

In Paraiya community woman can marry a second time if her husband dies. Every woman married or widow get same treatment. Enforced widowhood is not practiced in their society.

“Some women marry a second time after the death of a husband. That is quite normal among us. On the other hand, among the other communities of our village, you can see straight away, the indignities suffered by windows. In our street though, everyone is held the same; widows are not treated differently.”

In paraiya community dowry system is not practiced. Bama says:

“In our streets, there is no snatching and grabbing in the name of dowry and such-like. People make do with what they have. Instead of the woman bringing a dowry at the time of marriage, in our case, the man gives a parisam, a bride-price. He gains respect according to the amount he is able to give.”

However, nowadays it is changing drastically as educated Dalit youths are imitating upper caste rituals like demanding dowry from girl’s side. Bama says that it is causing a real threat to their culture.

“Such people can change themselves into a different caste only in these superficial matters, though. Because, whatever we do, whatever rituals we copy from other castes they, for their part, always rate us as beneath them. So what is the point of trying to copy them? Why should we lose all the better customs that are ours, and end up as neither one thing nor the other?”
Even in politics caste plays a very vital role as it determines the fate of a political party. During elections many promises are made by the different parties to attract Dalit votes. However, after the elections these parties turn their backs towards the public for yet another five years. Writer’s grandmother talks about the days when all political parties seem to be one as all landlords of different political parties join together but Dalit youths don’t understand this caste politics and keep fighting among themselves because of different party loyalties.

“So it isn’t the party that’s important; it is caste that comes first. Isn’t that true, Paatti?”

Bama says that the Dalit women are never concerned about the dirty party politics because they have realized the root cause of their wretched condition. Caste is at the center of every problem.

“However much we strain to leap forward, caste holds us down like a tap root. It is at the centre of religion, politics, education, and every other wretched thing. In our streets, most importantly, women never have anything to do with this stinking party-politics. They don’t care who comes and who goes. They know they have to look after their stomachs themselves. Given our condition, that’s all we can do. It’s the wealthy who stir up all the trouble for us.”

Bama mentions how in the name of God, religion, caste, political party upper caste people discriminate and fool lower caste communities. Dalit community is subjected to starvation and not allowed to work in the fields of upper caste people because they are followers of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar who led a fierce struggle against the vicious caste system for the emancipation of untouchability, worked ceaselessly for the upliftment of the downtrodden communities in India and throughout his life upheld the human values such as Equality, Fraternity or Brotherhood, Liberty and Justice. In the following lines Bama expresses her great concern towards his philosophy and maintains that they must follow his teachings and act accordingly to empower themselves. They must follow his shown path ‘Educate, Unite and Agitate’.

“Now, in recent years, there is the whiff of Ambedkar-talk blowing right through our streets. Bhakkiyam complained one day, “Our boys are going around everywhere talking about Ambedkar. But it is really only cause trouble for us. When we tried to go to work, the landlord wouldn’t let us work for him, but drove us away, saying, “You people had better go and make a living by working on your great Ambedkar’s fields. Why come here? ‘How does it hurt them if we mention Ambedkar’, my mother wanted to know. But Ambedkar was one of us, wasn’t he? He struggled for the sake of our community, didn’t he? Well, tha? That’s what these boys say; is it true?” Bhakkiyam turned towards me and asked. ‘Yes, and if we act as he hold us to, then these other people will realize how strong we can be. But they will never let us unite. They separate us in the name of party, God, priest, and caste; they play games with us. And we are like grinning puppets in their hands.’ I spoke angrily.”

Modes of Resistance in ‘Sangati’:

“When they come home after an arduous day’s toil, there is only more and unending work. From all sides they have to deal with the pesterling of children and the anger and unfair domination of
their husbands. Their lives are unceasingly tedious. When they are so frustrated by all this, they are driven to venting their bitterness by quarrelling and shouting.”

However, some female characters like Raakkamma and Kaaliamma do fight very strategically against this male domination. Kaaliamma, one of the women characters in Sangati, who fights with her husband Chinnappan and sometimes emerges victorious. If her husband hits her she is ready to hit him back.

In case of Raakkamma, she resists male domination by using very obscene language. Bama describes domestic violence in Paraiya community in their own language which gives a clear picture of the community and lends it a ring of authenticity. Pakkiraj, husband of Raakkamma says:

“Don’t try all that here or I will crush you to pieces with a single stamp. Remember that! Then he dragged her by her hair, pushed her down, and kicked her lower belly”. “Raakkamma got up after kick and wailed out aloud. She shouted obscenities; she scooped out the earth and flung it about. How dare you kick me, you low life? Your hand will get leprosy! How dare you pull my hair? Disgusting man, only fit to drink woman’s farts! Instead of drinking toddy every day, why don’t you drink your sons urine? Why don’t you drink my monthly blood? And she lifted up her sari in front of the entire crowd gathered there. That was when Pakkiraj walked off, still shouting.”

This is how women in Paraiya community have to fight back against violent attacks by their husbands. Bama described that even if both men and women came home after a day’s hard work, men went straight to the Bazaar or chavadi to pass their time but women have to do house hold work at home from the moment they return home. They have to clean house, vessels, collect firewood and water, go to the market to by rice and other grocery, cook their food, feed their children and husband before they eat and go to sleep.

“It was always like this in our streets. Although both men and women came home after a hard day's work in the fields, the men went off straight away to bazaar or the chavadi to while away their time, coming home only for their meal. But as for women, from the minute they returned home they washed vessels, cleaned the house, collected water, gathered firewood, went to the shops to buy rice and other provisions, boiled some rice, made a kuzhambu or a kanji, fed husband and children before they could eat what was left over, and go to bed.”

Dalit women work round the clock. Unlike men, at a time they have to do so many jobs.

“As for the fathers, it never seems to strike them to carry for their children around. They go off immediately to the shops and other meeting places, returning only to eat and to go to sleep. It’s the women who have to struggle with childcare and everything else. Yet how many jobs they are able to do simultaneously, spinning about like tops! Even machines can’t do as much.”

Women are very vulnerable to inequality whereas men are pleasure seekers and hold unequal rights. Bama further reveals:
“Even though they are male, because they are Dalits, they have to be like dogs with their tails rolled up when they are in the fields, and dealing with their landlords. There is no way they can show their strength in those circumstances. So they show it at home on their wives and children. But then, is it the fate of our women to be tormented both outside their houses and within?”

Poverty is one of the major causes of women subjugation and oppression. When Bama asks her Paatti, why only Dalit women are subjected to the exploitation? Paatti, her grandmother replies:

“They are afraid to touch other women because they have caste power, money everything. And what do we have? Even if a fellow assaults one of us, its difficult to stand up to him or make an enemy of him. Because in the end, we have to go to him for employment. How long can we keep up the fight?

“Whatever happens must be according to the pleasure of men folk and their convenience. They can marry out of caste. In the case of women they can marry only within the caste.”

“Nowadays women can take up all sorts of responsibilities. But just as they fooled us and took away our rights within our homes, they have also marginalized us in the world outside. But now, generation by generation we must start thinking for ourselves, taking decisions, and daring to act. Don’t we sharpen and renew a rusted sickle? Just like that, we must sharpen our minds and learn to live with self-respect.”

Bama encourages Paraiya community women to rise against this subjugation and exploitation. She says that the women should realize their strength and believe in their independence. They must not let themselves down by the negative thoughts and should not accept the exploitation as their fate. She urges them to be tough both physically and mentally.

At the end, Bama is very hopeful and optimistic. She concludes her story saying:

“We should educate boys and girls alike, showing no difference between them as they grow in to adults. We should give our girls the freedom we give our boys. Then there will come a day when men and women live as one, with no difference between them; with equal rights. Then injustices, violence and inequalities will come to an end, and the saying will come true that “women can make and women can break”. “I am hopeful that such a day will come soon.”

**Conclusion:**

In short Sangati is not only the self narrative or an autobiography of the author but it is also a narrative of her community. The pivotal focus of this work is on Dalit feminism wherein the writer is trying to highlight the distinctive features of Dalit feminism and its unique modes of resistance. Dalit feminists concern is with women’s sexual exploitation at work place and sexual violence at the hands of their husbands at home.

Sangati is about those women who have been subjected to multiple oppression, exploitation and subjugation not only by the upper caste and class men and women but also by their own men folks from their own community. They have been treated very badly like disgusting creatures by
the age old orthodox customs, traditions and rituals. There is no ray of hope for them. However, the writer is very optimistic and looks forward as she believes that such a time will come when all women will receive equal respectful treatment from their men folks. There will not be discrimination on account of their race, class, caste and gender. But it is possible only when women start believing in themselves and have faith in their power. The main inspiration of Dalit literature is the teachings of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the Dalit writer should also have the Dalit consciousness and vision. Bama’s Sangati fulfils these criteria to be regarded as the true Dalit literature.

References:

GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATION; A CASE STUDY OF ‘KASHMIR SOZANI’ AND ‘KANI SHawl’

Sanjiv Singh
PhD Scholar,
IGNOU, New Delhi

Abstract
The protection of Geographical Indications (GIs) has, over the years, emerged as one of the most contentious intellectual property right (IPR) issues in the realm of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). It has gained more interest since its protection has been ensured multilaterally under the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement of the World Trade Organisation. ‘Kashmir Sozani’ and ‘Kani Shawl’ are the officially registered items in GI registry of India under Handicraft goods form Jammu and Kashmir. A GI certification is licensed to the producers and other business operators of the GI production line through a membership application in a GI club. This paper aims at identifying factors that are likely to predict the behaviour/characteristics/uniqueness of Kashmir Sozani and Kani Shawls in adopting a GI certification in general and by this bring to light the lacunas in the Geographical Indications and its implementation in particular.

Introduction
Crafts of various forms play a significant role in the overall economic growth of the Jammu and Kashmir state. Most of the crafts are based on traditional material, traditional knowledge and local skill. It makes good economic sense to protect them legally under the GI Act. Among the craft items of Jammu and Kashmir, Sozani Embroidery and Kani Shawls have been registered as GI are ‘Kashmir Sozani’ and ‘Kani Shawl’. They got its GI cover in 2008 acceding to the longstanding demands of Pashmina weavers of patenting it. In Kashmir valley Embroiderer’s plays a very significant role in the production of Pashmina Shawls. They follow simple traditional pattern of Production with the help of family members. Generally after washing Pashmina Shawl, embroidery is done. The value of Pashmina is highly influenced by the nature and pattern of the embroidery.

On the basis of process of embroidery it is divided into two parts.

a) Sozni embroidery (Kashmir Sozani)
A form of embroidery using thin needles and therefore a very fine and accurate art requiring much skill and attention to detail. Using needles of different sizes, one shawl may be worked on
by as many as two or three artisans and can take any time between one month and a year to complete.

The Production process of Sozani craft

Materials and tools:
The base fabric is of natural fibres like Cottons. Silks and Woollens and synthetic fibres being mostly Crepes, Georgettes and Polyester. The threads used are single ply viscose and pure silk threads. Viscose threads are called 'staple' by the embroiderers and costs around Rs. 20/- per 50 gms. Silk threads are available for Rs. 35/- for 10 gms. The threads are brought from wholesale markets from other centres of the country and supplied to manufacturers after dyeing it in various colours. Most of these retailers also have an in house dyeing facility.

Tools that are employed in the embroidery process are Needles of 7 No. to 10 No. sizes and a steel cap wrapped around the linger called yeuf, and sometimes scissors to nip knots in the threads. The process involves selection of the pattern and tracing of it subsequently on to the fabric surface to be embroidered. The traced pattern is first filled in with embroidery starting with individual motifs of flowers, then finished with defining the outlines and finally the continuous lines that connect these motifs. A single patch is done first and then repeated after it is approved. Typically the pattern is bound on all sides with a ‘Hashia’ border and a kingri- a smaller running ornament

Selection of the Pattern:
Once the fabric is ready, the most important stage is the selection of the pattern. The client consults with the master craftsman regarding changes in the pattern or a different colour scheme based on feedback from previous designs. A deal is negotiated once the pattern is selected, which is usually a lump sum amount of money, depending on the intricacy of the work and the estimated time that it would require. For e.g. a typical 'Beldaal border of $\frac{1}{2}$ on all four sides would be Rs. 2500 for an estimated 40 days of work and the material being provided by the client while a ‘Jamawar’ with all over, filled in type of work can cost Rs. 28000/- for estimated time of 14-15 months. The master craftsman receives an advance of 10% and is also responsible for guiding his team of embroiders in all stages of the execution of the work and ensuring delivery within the specified time. After the selection of the pattern, the colours are selected and a shade card prepared with the threads of the final approved ones. Colours play a very important role and the yarn is dyed several times till the exact shade is procured. Most patterns use 7 to 15 shades of colours to create their unique kind of effect typical of Sozani embroidery.

Tracing the Pattern:
Moorcroft mentions a method of tracing on the fabric with transparent paper and charcoal powder. Though this method is currently used in other embroideries, it is not used for Sozani craft. The tracing for Sozani is printed on to the stretched fabric by specialized tracers (Naquash) in Kashmir with the help of engraved wooden blocks dipped in a watery solution of charcoal powder mixed with a type of binder

Engraved blocks with Sozani patterns:
These blocks of wood are first engraved in fine detail by the specialized wood workers called 'Naqash Gurs'. Sozani embroiderers rely on this method for the fineness of the tracing and also because it stays for the required time to complete the work which takes sometimes up to two years. These blocks consist of a single section of the pattern that is repeated one next to the other to cover the entire surface to be embroidered.

Tracers usually have hundreds and thousands of blocks with all different motifs for the embroiderers to choose from but connoisseurs invent a new pattern every time with slight changes from the traditional ones and retain their blocks so that their exclusivity is maintained and the designs are not copied.

**Embroidery work:**

Once the patterns and colours are decided, each fabric piece with the tracing is given exclusively to one crafts-person to work on, as the handwork of each is distinct and identifiable. In an all over ‘Jamawar’ the craftsmen starts from one edge of the fabric and works towards the centre in patches while borders are usually embroidered from one end to the other. Utmost care is taken to work on the outer edges last so that the threads do not catch dust or stains from the floor. One patch is first completed fully to check out the balance of colour and clarity in form before it is repeated all over. The sequence of embroidery is as follows; The individual flowers are treated first, with the filling in stitches of stem and sozani for the petals with a kind of knot stitch in its centre and finally outlined with a dark coloured Sozani stitch. The buds and leaves follow next and finally the creepers firmly made in Sozani stitch. Abstract patterns like Dontavothis are outlined in a buttonhole stitch with a knot in each. The borders are finished before the last Kingri and Kanj are added to complete the piece. Vatchikan and Chikandozi stitches are also used sometimes to fill larger flower petals using longer stitches but in limited, quantities.

**Washing and Ironing:**

The embroidered pieces at this stage has a withered, wrinkled and dirty appearance with the charcoal printing stains, given all the manual handling of months and the tensions of the embroidery not evened out. It is only after vigorous washing by traditional washers and calendaring process that the brilliant colours shine out of a clean background in beautiful patterns and the beauty of this embroidery is revealed. The finished pieces are pressed and carefully packed in plastic coverings to keep it dust free.

**Specification:**

- Fine Needle work on various fabrics, done by a Sozankar employing predominantly the Sozani Stitch, Darn Stitch and Stem Stitch using silk and viscose yarns. Button hole stitch, Herring bone stitch, Chain stitch, Satin stitch and Knot stitches are also used, though in limited proportions.

- The Sozani stitch is a fine couching stitch with a reinforcing stitch laid over a basic stitch.

- The Sozani stitch can be a simple, continuous line or a diamond shaped outline used for petals and flowers. It can also be used in filling up of a motif. It always has a reinforcing stitch.
• The Sozani stitch lends a delicacy to the overall embroidery and uniformity on both sides of the fabric.

• The Sozani Embroidery involves minute work and is highly skill intensive.

• The most dominant motif in Sozani Embroidery is the 'buti', which is a floral or Almond motif with a bent tip'

• Sozani Embroidery has a rich colour spectrum and exquisite workmanship, with intricate patterns with predominant use of motifs depicting natural flora and fauna of the Kashmir Valley. Popular motifs include the Chinar leaf and Cypress tree, Almond, Grapes, Pomegranates and Cotton seeds, and flowers like the Iris, Narcissus, Lotus, Daffodil, Pansy, Lily and Rose; Geometrical themes like the octagonal Phanus, Dontavot and Agraphool.

Name of the Geographical Indication (and particulars):

Sozani Embroidery: herein called as "sozani Kashmir", visually identified as fine needle based embroidery done with silk and viscose yarn using primarily Sozani stitch, depicting motifs based on flora and fauna of Kashmir Valley and done on various textiles.

Description of the goods:

Sozani embroidery used in different apparel and textile products

Method of production:

The Sozani Embroidery process involves visualization and tracing of a pattern on to a fabric surface which is subsequently filled in with minute stitches and finally finished with defining the outlines of the motifs with yam that has been dyed in specific colours. The embroidered fabric is later washed and pressed, using traditional methods to provide lustre and final finish

Uniqueness:

• Use of minute Sozani stitches, a type of couching stitch, which has a reinforcing stitch, laid over a basic stitch.

• Use of Sozani stitch as a continuous line, as outlines of different motifs or as a filling-in stitch.

• Strength and durability in the embroidery with the stitches laid as flat as possible against the fabric.

• Predominant use of motifs depicting natural flora and fauna, like Chinar leaf, Almond, Pomegranates, Grapes and Cotton seeds, flowers like the Iris. Narcissus, Lotus Daffodil, Pansy, Lily or Rose blossoms, of the Kashmir Valley.

• Use of colour palette commonly described as "Sofiyana Rang" associated to a subtle yet colourful look with many shades of colours blending harmoniously.

• The Embroidery is applied in the following ways:

2. "Butis", mostly small sized individual motifs that are repeated in several ways.

3. "Jaali", a kind of net like pattern embroidered all over the fabric in straight lines, or criss-crossed or in wave like patterns inter-spersed with floral butis.

4. "Jama", a highly intricate Sozani Embroidery style that is so closely filled-in with fine stitches that it barely allows any ground fabric to be visible.

5. "Kunj", a large sized Almond motif that is placed on the corner of the fabric facing towards the centre.

b) Kani or Loom woven:

A Kani shawl takes weeks to a year for an artisan to complete depending on the embroidery. The shawl is woven with special wooden needles, called ‘kanis’ in Kashmiri, and on a traditional hand loom, hence the name “kani shawls”. The knots are made according to a set design, which is already printed on paper called ‘taleem-e-kakud’ in a language only the taran-guru can interpret. The process of weaving line by line is repeated time and again until the final masterpiece is ready.

Specification:

- It is hand woven using a number of 'Kanis' or 'Tujlis', in the place of a shuttle for the weft yarns. ‘Kani’ is a small eyeless wooden spoke with coloured yarn that is inserted round a specified number of warp threads as per the design
- Is woven in the Twill Tapestry Weave with interlocking of weft yarns at each colour joining.
- Is woven with the help of written instructions in the form of a 'Talim'
- Is made of warp and weft yarns that have been dyed in varied colours following traditional methods and
- Is woven by traditional artisans of Kashmir'

Name of the Geographical Indication (and particulars):

Kani Shawl is generally identified as a particular type of shawl that is woven using numerous eyeless wooden spokes in the place of a shuttle. These spokes are traditionally called 'Tujlis' or 'Kanis" meaning eyeless in Kashmiri language. This traditional method of weaving is also termed as the 'twill tapestry weaving technique with interlocking of weft yams at each colour joining'.

Description of the goods:

The Kani shawls which are resultant of the above mentioned technique are woven in various highly intricate patterns comprising of floral and almond motifs in subtle shades of colours using the traditional technique of twill tapestry with interlocutory of weft yams at each colour joining' by the artisans of Kashmir.
It has a light weight and compactly woven look comprising of single weft unlike its jacquard woven imitations.

Characteristic Kani Shawls are

- Hashiadaar Shawl, with nanow running borders on all four sides.
- Palladaar Shawl, with intricate pattern only on the two ends of the shawl along with narrow borders.
- Butidaar Shawl, in which small or large 'butis' (individual motif) is used repetitively.
- Khat-e-rass shawl, with various striped patterns rendered with almond' leaf and flower motifs. Longedaar and Thahridaar are variations of striped shawls.
- Jamawar or purmattan shawl in which the entire field is covered with intricate all over patter and motifs.
- Chand-daar Shawl, square or rectangular shawls with a central medallion on four quarter medallions on four corners. It is also called the moon shawl.
- Du-Shaalli

Method of production:

Typically, the Kani Shawl production involves sequence of jobs which are

1. Processing the raw material
2. Dyeing of Yarn
3. Warp arrangement, dressing and threading
4. Weaving of Kani Shawl
5. Clipping and finishing
6. Washing and Ironing

Characteristics and Uniqueness:

The fabric is result of a craft form with traditional roots and renowned all over the world as 'the artistic Kani shawl of Kashmir'. This technique results in intricate, colourful patterned shawls that are fine, light weight and also have a compact weave.

This craft form is also called the twill tapestry weave with interlocking of weft yarns at each colour joining. According to this, wefts of the patterned part of the fabric are inserted by means of wooden spokes without the use of a shuttle. Weft threads alone form the pattern; these do not run the full width of the cloth, being woven back and forth round the warp threads only where each particular colour is needed.

The most unique aspect of this tapestried form of weaving is the interlocking of the weft yam with the one before it and with the one after it, wherever there is a change of colour, thus distinguishing the different motifs in the pattern. It also gives the shawl strength and durability.
The Kani Shawl is unique also in the way that every single shawl is woven based on a drawing of the pattern and its corresponding 'Talim', which is a written script consisting of precise instructions to be strictly followed by the weaver during the weaving process. Thus the Kani Shawl is woven in a highly streamlined manner employing specialized artisans at each stage. The patterns comprise of arrange of floral, Almond, Cypress tree, Chinar leaf and Fruit motifs depicting the floral and fauna of Kashmir Valley. The predominant motif that is seen in the Kani Shawl is the elongated Almond 'buti' with a bent tip, also known as the 'Teardrop' moti, 'Kairi' or mango motif and the 'elongated cone' or 'Paisley' motif in the Mediterranean, Indian and European cultures respectively.

This craft is presently being practiced in the district of Srinagar and some parts of district Anatrag, district of Budgam, district of Pulwama and district of Baramullah of Jammu & Kashmir, where about 50,000 artisans are working in different capacities required in the process of production of this craft.

**Concluding Remarks**

Undoubtedly, there is vast improvement in the Pashmina production and their support price but still majority of Kashmir Sozani and Kani Shawls Embroiderer’s spend their life under poverty line and far flung from the basic amenities, yet it is true that Craft Development Institute, Srinagar and TAHAFUZ, a society of artisans from Kashmir who is the Registered Proprietors of Kashmir Sozani and Kani Shawl acts as a mile-stone in the journey towards the development of GI in J&K but due to the weak coordination between Directorate of Handicrafts J&K Government, J&K Handlooms Development Corporation, Directorate of Industries and Commerce, J&K Entrepreneurship Development Institution and GI Registry of Government of India, GI registration become fruitless in J&K in general and in case of Kashmir Sozani and Kani Shawl in Particular.

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EMULATING OR RIDICULING: FORAY INTO THE COLLOQUIAL USE OF ENGLISH IN BOLLYWOOD

Kanika Sharma
Department of English
Lakshmibai College
University of Delhi

From Amitabh Bachchan’s line in Namakhalal “English is a very phunny language” to the hilarious lesson of mixed up English in Phas Gaye re Obama or to the use of English(?) in the recent title Mujhse Fraaandship Karoge? , the 5000 crore industry of Bollywood Cinema has presented the audience with comedy scenes through the use of English language. With big banners like Amir Khan Productions making movies like Dhobhi Ghat and Delhi Belly originally in English and then dubbing them in Hindi, one is bound to question the currency of this language in the most absorbed popular bases in India: Bollywood. Largely understudied, Bollywood cinema produces the maximum number of films per year and is one of the most popular media to travel globally. What charm does it create for its global audience and what is the framework through which it functions? What impact does this language have in cinema and how are the film-makers using the language? How can this site of entertainment, which is so culturally enriched, also become a site of questioning and enquiry?

Bollywood cinema is based on a completely different set of rules, when it comes to viewership and reception of the cinema compared to its western counterparts, where movies are watched in silence and most of the time only once, at least in the theatres. Here, on the other hand, Bollywood masala is cherished in its loud preppy songs even outside the theatre and creates a market of a different kind. The film-makers present an “attraction spectacle” to the viewer that is bound to sell, which makes the contents of the film even more fascinating. One needs to understand the uniqueness of Bollywood Cinema which intertwines influential cultural, political and industrial influences and presents a montage of a variety of moods, music and colors. “In order to understand today’s world, we need cinema; literally. It’s only in cinema that we get that crucial dimension which we are not yet ready to confront in our reality. If you are looking for what is, in reality, more real than reality itself, look into cinematic fiction.” (Zizek)

Taking inspiration from the most entertaining philosophical lesson by Salvoj Zizek, I would like to read beyond the ‘larger than life’ Bollywood world, and understand the decisions thus made, regarding the use of English language. Also I would like to question the successful reception of such cinema and understand the psyche of the target audience.
Bollywood cinema has come to signify not just a cinema industry set in Bombay, but a national cultural coding, and it is likewise used variously to depict anything and everything: a sweeping term for Indian Cinema and even a term to depict the Indian culture through Hindi Cinema, with its usual routine of song and dance. It then becomes interesting to see the archived meaning of the term in the Oxford English Dictionary; the 2005 edition defines it as, “a name for the Indian popular film industry, based in Bombay. Origin: 1970s. Blend of Bombay and Hollywood.” (Dictionary)

It is a really short definition to explain the growing phenomenon that Bollywood has now become, and not only that, it becomes problematic to understand the current movie productions from Bollywood along with this definition, basically to understand them as a “blend of Bombay and Hollywood” as films are not centered in the geographical domain of Bombay anymore but choose foreign locations for shooting major sequences of their films. Alongside this, most of the films and film-makers are trying hard to develop themselves as valid parts of an ‘industry’ and the very name is also trying to get out of the overshadowing factor that Hollywood poses, though the glamour quotient remains intact. The term is at once become a taste, a fashion statement, an exotic enigma, and a global phenomenon, out of the cultural and political economy of a film industry, based primarily in Mumbai.

Bollywood was and is a living phenomenon and due to the advent of globalization, it is a phenomenon that has even travelled abroad and established itself as a cultural icon, not only before the Diaspora but also the foreign audiences. Despite that, there has not been a valid critical inquiry into the cinematic forms of Bollywood. The study of this cultural phenomenon that could exhibit sociological preoccupation is easily derided or discarded by ‘serious’ cultural scholars as ‘masala’ or ‘fluffy movies’. Mostly these scholars do not view Bollywood cinema to fit adequately as an example for any cinematic theory vis-à-vis its sociological purview. Bollywood’s most prominent lyricist, Javed Akhtar, explains in one of his interviews how these masala films reflect changes in India’s society and politics. “You can analyze India from the films,” said Akhtar.

Art records hopes, fears, pride, and humiliation. Behind the glamor and the dances you can see our contemporary aspirations. In the Fifties, there was idealism and hope in politics and cinema. Prosperity seemed just around the corner, but since there was a socialist climate, rich people were the bad guys. In the Seventies there was a breakdown of our institutions, martial law, the rise of vigilantes and the angry young man. The Eighties saw a dip in politics, music, films, and art. The industrialization of the Seventies had led to the rise of a middle class that was different from the landed gentry. They were the first generation to get educated on a massive scale. (Moij)

Therefore one cannot ignore Bollywood’s growing impact and the need to critically study it. As Rajender Kumar Dudrah, in his book, “Bollywood: Sociology goes to the movies”, asserts, there is a need to counter and move away from such commentaries and, perhaps more importantly, to situate the study of cinema, in this case, Bollywood cinema, in relation to culture and sociological inquiry that demonstrates explicitly, the role and nature of the cinematic
form as part and parcel of cultural and social processes and elaborated on, although not exclusively, through an engagement with actual subjects too. (Dudrah, 2006)

Although many critics have traced Bollywood cinema being a global phenomenon and how its contents cater to the globalised framework, there is hardly any follow-up as to how language and especially English language has been used in Bollywood cinema. Through this paper, I would like to read beyond the, “larger than life” Bollywood world, and understand the decisions thus made, regarding the use of English language. Over the years, one sees the development of a pattern, as to how English as a language has been dealt with in extremities and it becomes interesting to see how this has come to mould Bollywood. And after validating this trajectory, we can question that what induces humour in the depiction of faulty use of English in movies, and one tends not to take too seriously or neglects the politics of humour, despite the long historical association between politics, humour and the expression of national and minority identities. There are inherent ambiguities in this humour such that it is not guaranteed that the humorous critique will always hit its intended mark, in fact in many cases an intention to critique is hardly available for any retrospection or interrogation of such representation. To fit the dimensions of this paper, I will be charting the most prominent examples of Bollywood Cinema and trying to understand how these movies are directing one towards a different manner through which the English language has been incorporated therein.

**Ranjeet:** Yeh sab to theek hai, magar ab tum sheher main aiyen ho, aise hi baatein karoge, ya tumhe English vagarabhi aati hai?!

**Amitabh:** E lo kar lo baat. Arey aisi angrezi ave hain ke I can leave angrez behind. I can talk english, I can walk english, I can laugh english, because english is a barrey phunny language. Bhairon becomes barren and barren becomes Bhairon because their minds are very narrow. In the year 1929 sir, when India was playing Australia in the Melbourne city, Vijay Merchant and Vijay Hazare, they were at the crease. Vijay Merchant told Vijay Hazare, “look Vijay Hazare, this is a very prestigious match and you must consider this match very carefully.” So considering the consideration that Vijay Hazare gave Vijay Merchant. Vijay Merchant told Vijay Hazare that “ultimately we must take a run” and when they were striking the ball on the leg side sir the consideration came into an ultimatum and ultimately Vijay Hazare went to Vijay Merchant...

**Ranjeet:** (shouts) Oh!! Shut Up!!

**Amitabh:** Similarly sir in the year 1979 when India was playing against Pakistan at Wankhade stadium Bombay, Wasim Raja and Wasim Bari were at the crease. Wasim Bari gave the consideration to Wasim Raja and wasim raja told Wasim Bari this ultimately has to end in a consideration which I cannot consider. Therefore, consideration that you are giving me must be considered very ultimately. Therefore, the run that they were taking, wasim raja told wasim Bari, wasim Bari you take the run and ultimately both of them ran and considerately they got out!

**Ranjeet:** Okay, okay
This is one of the oft-quoted dialogues from the 1972 movie, Namak Halal. In this scene, the character Arjun Singh, played by Amitabh Bachchan, is a villager who goes to the city for an interview. He seems to have little knowledge of English. However, as soon as he is given the cue, he starts off on a breathless discourse, in English. Through the whole episode, what seems to be ridiculed is Arjun Singh’s faulty knowledge of what he is saying in English, rather than the language itself. He goes on to describe two completely unrelated cricket events which seem pre-rehearsed and memorised and English is used to create humour and make fun of the villager, who, through his garrulity, is able to fool the interviewer into agreeing with him. This clearly creates a comic scenario, for which English is used in this scene. Interestingly, however, he ends the dialogue in pure Hindi, “Kya aapko mere samanya gyan par, kuch vishesh tipanni karni hai?” this time forcing the interviewer to seek help in understanding what he means. A middle man explains it to him in English. One can now see how the satire is directed, not at the likes of Arjun Singh(s), but at a class of people like the interviewer, who cruelly mock the ‘country bumpkins’ for their lack of English knowledge, being fed by a culture of superficial, acquired knowledge of English, which they themselves are not really masters of, while all along, having sparse knowledge of Hindi, a language that the Arjun Singh, are very well versed in. But this scene in the social memory is recalled for its dialogue, “english is a barrely phunny language” and not for any apparent sociological critique on the times, thus one questions what induces humour, how can this trope of a villager speaking wrong English present a hit formulae for the Bollywood film-makers that it was reproduced time and again.

Another exemplary comic performance by Amitabh Bachchan, from the 1977 movie Amar, Akbar, Anthony is where Anthony Gonsalves says right before the song My name is Anthony Gonsalves,

Wait, Wait, Wait. You see the whole country of the system is juxtapositiones by the haemoglobin of the atmosphere because you are sophisticated rhetorician intoxicated by the exuberance of your own verbosity.” The character stuns everyone with this dialogue and then starts singing the song and following the comic act, he pauses before every refrain with “Excussh mee, pleashe.

Amitabh Bachchan’s character is not as literate as one would hope and his putting together of random English words in a single sentence, leads to comedy. Interestingly, his verbal display of English is to gain attention in a social upper class party and impress the heroine. The scene draws one’s attention to the growing trend of using English in normal conversation, even at the expense of Hindi and how it led to a certain class of people trying hard to fit in, by learning the language by rote, leading to comic effect, often bordering on ludicrity.

Another example can be taken from a 2010 release Phas Gaye Re Obama, which is centred on an almost bankrupt NRI, who comes to sell off his ancestral property in India, but gets sucked into the circuituous recession ridden, kidnapping sector.

Teacher: Ae Hello!

you long hair.. and lunky fellow!

Stand where your sitting!
Teacher enter, no notice!
hmm? full insulting??
hmm?
you mother father's manners.. this?
hmm?
Anni: Sir woh baat aisi hai..
Teacher: Speak in ENGLISH!
This english coaching!
Not a..local language.
Anni: Actually talk was that sirji ki dis...
Teacher: FULL STOP!!
Anni: Sorry Sir!
Teacher: Sorry ka baby!
You together thinking!
hmm?
English speaking like a rice plate eating?
No! Never! huh! Not.
English speaking not a children play!
English speaking like a undertaker play!
TajMahal create!
Anni: TajMahal create??
Teacher: YESS!
Again time!
Careful!
Again time this behaviour, so touch to my finger print you chick!
So big cheek, you cheek, red-red cheek!
Understand?
Anni: yes sir...
Teacher: The postman, the busyman, the collector letter from the fever ishtin jack bhanda!
Stand up. (while gesturing them to sit down.)
The character Anni, in this movie, is fascinated by anything American and dreams of going to America. Hence, he learns English from Tyagi English Coaching Centre and the scene involving this exchange of English from an English teacher, dressed rightfully in a brown suit with a tie, is one of the most hilarious exchanges in the movie. Here the teacher speaks in wrong English and part of it is literally translated directly from Hindi. Thus all the proverbs and sentences that might seem absolutely fine in Hindi, sound entirely wrong, if translated to English, in a word for word fashion. Here Anni and the teacher both represent a certain cult of people, from distant villages, townships and even metropolitan cities, who dream of going abroad. Some thus register for such tuitions at mushrooming centres of English learning, which present crash courses, promising to teach English within 15 days.

Tashan is another example of a movie, where faulty English is used, but here the humour is created not only in a scene or two, but throughout the whole movie. The movie is structured around the character of the goon, Bhaiyaji, who struggles to learn English and hires a teacher to that end. His repeated failed attempts create humour in the movie. The whole movie is rife with scenes showcasing just that, as Bhaiyaji displays his command over English by mis-translating classic dialogues from the Hindi movie Deewar. The upbeat song from the movie which created furore was Dil dance mare re.

"White white Face dekhe
Dilwa beating fast
Sasura chance Mare re...
O can’t stop my feet
Zumalwa Kare hain jalim beat...
Rose ke jaisan pink pink
Humrai gaal gulabi
Sky jaisan blue blue
Tohara Nain sharabi
Aah bholu chehra jaise moon
Kali zulfe jaise cloud
Abb na aur chupaya jaye
Dhadkan hogai very loud"

The song is not only a mix of English and Hindi but also Bhojpuri words, which leads to a heightened comic affair.

Despite the quite apparent, but sidelined social commentaries in some of these scenes, one needs to overview these as being drastically different to those which use code-switching of Hindi and English or create dialogues in Hinglish. This is also a recent phenomenon as can be validated...
through Harish Trivedi’s assertion in his essay “From Bollywood to Hollywood: The Globalization of Hindi Cinema”,

Now Hinglish is used in Hindi films in all earnestness as reflecting realistically the language in which the Westernized upper- and upper-middle-class characters normally speak. The extent and the nature of code mixing that goes on in metropolitan India between the local Indian language and English is accurately caught in some recent Hindi films. (Trivedi, 2007)

He goes on to give examples of movies like Taal, Dil Chahta Hai and Biwi no.1. One understands the reasoning to validate the depiction of such a code-switching in movies as an earnest intention to depict the reality and to accept the workings of globalism and thus of our Pan-Indian identities. One however, does not agree with the idea that such a trend of usage of the language is sequential or chronological. One needs to also question this realism that one conveys through these contemporary productions, and how this realism just highlight a certain cinematic representation, which is far removed from the general audience. Javed Akhtar in his interview to The Times of India, feels the urge to ask, where is realism in today’s cinema?

Today's hero is hardly a working class man. He is born rich, sometimes not even born in India, the heroine is all about designer lehengas in weddings and Karva Chauth, the location is about a big, palatial house, the honeymoon is nothing short of Europe...so at least filmmakers need to retain the realism of society. They should bring the 'gareeb ki samasya (poor man's problems)' to the fore. (TOI, 2011)

He also question the disappearance of various languages of our culture from the cinema, as the filmmakers have moved to a certain ‘lingo’ that appeals to the youth and reflect their society he says, "The middle class, rural culture seems to have no relation to cinema nowadays. I am an urban person, have always stayed in metros, never ever lived in a village, but I can write Awadhi...but in today's writers that connect is missing." (TOI, 2011)

With today's films highlighting alcoholism, sex and drugs, Akhtar feels the change in cinema is evident with the change in "morality and aspirations" of society. When people's morality and aspirations change in society, the hero's image -- be it in reality, a play or a film -- changes. What's working today is because today's generation is praising the directors for it, and cinema will continue to be influenced by the changing morality and aspirations of society year after year. So if the quality of cinema is changing, society is responsible. (TOI, 2011)

Thus the apparent sociological input that goes in to the making of Bollywood cinema, which is propelled by the choices and liking of its audience has to be accountable for the box office success of the movies, which use English for comic deployment. These examples present in Bollywood cinema problematize the situation of the earlier understood conception of usage of Hinglish vis-à-vis globalization. As these scenes are directed primarily at local audiences and in case these movies travel globally, they reiterate the picture of struggling Indians, trying to master the foreign language by aping the west, which leads to comic situations.
Bollywood is now foraying into the truly global scene, with movies that are created in a way such that, English has become an inherent part of its discourse. Hindi, in fact takes a backseat. It represents not only an industry but a unique and fashionable brand, a statement if you will, for the global audiences. Viniti Vaish says in one of her essays,

In the last decade or so, Bollywood has become a symbol of globalizing India’s ‘soft power’, i.e. the power of culture, Taal released in 1999 and starring former Miss World, Aishwarya Rai, was the first Bollywood movie to become a top Bollywood draw in the U.S and the U.K, beating numerous Hollywood films that were released in the same week. Since then, multiple Bollywood movies have collected revenues in excess of competing Hollywood movies, which has turned the gaze of the media to this new cultural export from India. (Vaish, 2011)

Monsoon Wedding, Slumdog Millionaire, The Girl in the Yellow Boots, Dhobi Ghat (The Mumbai diaries) and Delhi Belly are some movies which make heavy use of English, to feed into the modern global viewership. Dhobi Ghat (the Mumbai diaries) and Delhi Belly come from the globally acclaimed banner, Amir Khan Productions, which has presented a new standard of Bollywood Cinema not only in concept, by making cinema more realistic, but also in its rubric of production, by shortening the usually three hour long Bollywood movie and steering it towards a more Hollywood-like, 90 minute film. The production house also does away with song and dance routines, which create the staple identity of a Bollywood cinema. Dhobi Ghat has no such sequences and even though Delhi Belly does, such sequences are actually used in the movie, to parody the very notion of exaggerated emotional situations created in traditional Bollywood movies through melodramatic song and dance routines. This shift towards an ‘improved’ cinema can be seen as an attempt to fit into the global parameters as set by the globally acclaimed awards such as Oscars, Cannes and Bafta. Another interesting aspect of these movies is that they are originally made in English, in an attempt to target the global market, after which they are dubbed in Hindi for the local consumption. These movies posit a problem for the critical viewer as one cannot decide on the category of Bollywood Hindi cinema that could include these movies.

Therefore, one can perceive these two different directions in which Bollywood cinema is moving; while one section is ‘progressing’ towards a cinema that is experimental and ‘realistic’, the other section is mocking at the faulty attempts of Indians, who are struggling to speak English and fit themselves in the standards set by urban populace. The ideology of English as a language to be followed and grasped in all its entirety has been a recurrent preoccupation of the Indian psyche for so long that it comes through in flashes of mocking laughter at such people and their attempts at command over the language. India, in spite of having created a new and authentic brand of English, is still divided between the global Indians and those who emulate the English language according to the standards of the global world, in order to simply fit in, more often than not, failing to do so and ending up as parts of ridicule. At the close of this essay, one might refer to the infectious song that over the last few weeks, became a rage over the internet, getting 1.5 million hits on its official page, ‘Why this Kolaveri Di’ from the Tamil movie Three. “It's probably a rage because of the funny, broken English (with a thick local Tamil flavor) and
some amount of musicality, but I cannot really explain beyond a point.” (Kamath, 2011), says Anirudh Ravichander, music director of the film.

Though the movie is not from Bollywood, it is one of the first regional movie genres, other than Bollywood, to have made its mark on the global audience. It is too early to analyze the future of such songs but one thing that surely needs to be studied is the reasoning behind the currency and validity of such a distortion of English language. Through this discussion, one can perceive Bollywood as a fertile ground for more cultural inquiry and pertinent sociological revelations, and can question how these representations ‘presenting’ light humour which escapes the scrutiny and questions because of its mass appreciation and probably the nullified status attributed to masala Bollywood, to direct a reflection on such issues.

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वर्तमान त्रासदी और बदलते जीवन मूल्य

मूल्य शब्द का तात्पर्य होता है पैमाना जिसके आधार पर प्रत्येक वस्तु की योग्यता व उसकी उपयोगिता का आंकलन किया जाता है। डॉ. नगदेव का कथन है कि "मूल्य शब्द पदार्थ के आत्मिक गुण का वाचक है, जिसके कारण लोक जीवन में उसका महत्त्व या मान होता है।" व्यापक अंतर्गत में हम कह सकते हैं कि वह वस्तु मूल्यवान समझी जा सकती है जो उपयोगी हो महत्वपूर्ण हो। लेकिन वर्तमान समय के मूल्य अब ऐसे नहीं रहे, जो भारतीय जीवन मूल्य माना जाता रहा है। कहा जाता है कि परिवर्तन प्रकृति का नियंत्रण है परिवर्तन शास्त्र सत्य है इसी प्रकार समय काल परिस्थिति के कारण व्यक्ति और जीवन मूल्य भी हमेशा परिवर्तित होते रहें हैं।

मानवीय मूल्य प्रत्येक धर्म जाति और प्रत्येक राष्ट्र के अन्य—अन्य होते हैं इसलिये बितानों ने अन्य—अन्य मूल्य को स्वीकार किया है। जीवन मूल्यों की व्याख्या की जाए तो मानव जीवन के लिए जीवन मूल्य के गुण होते हैं जो मानव को मानवीय बनाते हैं उसके जीवन को व्यवस्थित सहनपील, शांती और सुन्दर बनाते हैं। जिससे सत्य, अहिंसा, साहस, शर्म, उत्साह, शक्ति, आत्मविश्वास, सेवा, धैर्य, करुणा, उदारता, स्नेह, सहानुभूति प्रकृति प्रेम, राज़बोध, कर्मयोग परायणता आदि तथा जीवन मूल्यों को उदात्त बनाते हैं। इन्हीं तत्त्वों के माध्यम से सत्य ध्येय सुन्दरम् की अभिव्यक्ति कर सकते हैं। व्यक्ति में इन गुणों का होना अत्यंत आवश्यक है इनके अभाव में व्यक्ति के जीवन के साथ सामाजिक व्यवस्था भी विगड़ जाएगी। जीवन की रास्ता को हानागाम रखने के लिए मुनुष में इन सभी गुणों का होना अत्यंत आवश्यक है। जब व्यक्ति इन गुणों को अपने जीवन में आत्मसात कर लेता है तो उसकी एक अलग पहचान बन जाती है।

आज हम गांधी बिनोदाभास्वामी विवेकानंद आदि किसी भी महापुरुष को याद करते हैं तो उनकी सामाजिक जीवन मूल्य से अलग उनकी पहचान है उसका मूल कारण है उनके द्वारा जीवन मूल्य के उन सभी गुणों को स्वीकार कर लेना और व्यवहारिक जीवन में, प्रयोग में लाना है। वर्तमान में एक प्रयास उत्पन्न होता है कि क्या आज वे मूल्य जिज्ञासा है जिसकी हम बाल कर रहे हैं क्या इनका प्रयोग आज भी हम उसी रूप में करते हैं जैसा हमारे महापुरुषों ने किया है। क्या प्रत्येक व्यक्ति मानवीय मूल्यों से अवगत हैं ? क्या उनका हम उसी रूप में करते हैं जैसा हमारे महापुरुषों ने किया है। क्या प्रत्येक व्यक्ति मानवीय मूल्यों से अवगत हैं ? क्या उनका हम उसी रूप में करते हैं जैसा हमारे महापुरुषों ने किया है। क्या प्रत्येक व्यक्ति मानवीय मूल्यों से अवगत हैं ? क्या उनका हम उसी रूप में करते हैं जैसा हमारे महापुरुषों ने किया है।

विगत कुछ वर्षों में मानव समाज में तकनीकी एवं आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में व्यापक परिवर्तन हुए हैं वैश्विकित्य और आधुनिकीकरण जैसे शब्दों ने हमारी सामाजिक अभिलक्षियों और जीवन मूल्यों को पूर्णरूप से परिवर्तित करके मान दिया है। सुविधा और संगठन क्रांति के इस दौर में हिस्सा है कि मानवीय मूल्य कहीं खो गये हैं दया उदारता धैर्य सहानुभूति संतोष कर्मना मानो वह शब्द मात्र रह
गये हैं। परिवार के संबंधों का व्यवसायीकरण हो गया है और अपनी रिश्तों की प्रगति समाप्त होती जा रही है मातृ देवी भव: पितृ देवोधर: के उद्घोषणा करने वाले भारत का सामाजिक ढोरा आज चरमरा रहा है परिवार में यदि बुद्धि जनों का पास जीवन जीने का साधन नहीं है तो बुद्ध आश्रम की राह दिखा दी जाती है जो एक भयानक दु:स्वन ही होता है। लेकिन वे अपनी ही संतानों की उपेक्षा प्रताड़ना अपभ्रंश एवं यातना जैनी नहीं पड़ती है। इंडिया तुढ़े में प्रकाशित लेख में दलाल दम्पति की आत्महत्या की घटना दिल को दहला देने वाली थी। बम्बई के मालावाल हिल के बीच के आठवें माले पर रहने वाले दलाल दम्पति वासुदेव और तारा (दोनों 76 वर्ष) जिन्होंने छत से कुदकर आत्महत्या कर ली थी उनके पत्र में आत्महत्या की बजह लिखी थी “हम अपने बेटे और बहू की लगातार झिलकियों और प्रताड़ना से तंग आकर अपनी जिंदगी खाल कर रहे हैं।” ऐसे में जब परिवार में हिंसा पर बसाहत लगाती है पति-पत्नी के संबंधों में विवादी की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो रही है। यही कारण है कि मनुष्य का भारी जीवन जितना सुंदर हो सकता था वह नहीं हो सकता। जीवन की संपूर्णता व अखण्ड सामाजिकता के लिए स्वीकार पुरुष के प्राकृतिक मानसिक वैश्विकता द्वारा ही हमारा समाज सामाजिक ज्ञान और अखण्ड हो सकता है, उनके विच-प्रतिविच भाव से नहीं। उससे समाज की दृष्टिकोण एकांगी हो जाएगा तथा जीवन की अनेकपट्टी का वास्तविक मूल्य आंकना असंभव।

आज हमारे मानवीय रिश्ते किस तरह दम तोड़ रहे हैं सर्वत्र बढ़ती हुई विकटगत स्वार्थ साधना बेइमानी आदि में मानव मूल्यों की जड़ें हिला दी हैं। आज के जीवन में मनुष्य का व्यक्तित्व तेजी से विघटित होता जा रहा है भारतीय समाज व्यवस्था का अस्तित्व समाजता की ओर है। आज मनुष्य में जीवन का प्रत्येक क्षण व्यर्थ प्रतीत होता है। आज मनुष्य सब कुछ जानते हुए भी अज्ञात है कि जो क्षण बीतता जा रहा है वह वापस नहीं आयेगा फिर भी वह इस आपातपरी की जिंदगी में वर्तमान समय में यह भी पूरी तरह सत्य है कि मानवीय जीवन भय कुंडा और आए दिन घटित होने वाली आतंकियों से इतना ग्रसित हो चुका है कि अब वह मृत्यु से भी नहीं उत्तर वह उसका वर्ण भी बढ़ा सकता है किसका कारण भारतीय समाज व्यवस्था में व्यापक विपरीतता है ये विपरीतताएं मनुष्य में निरंतर निराशा को जन्म दे रही है। निराशा और अनाथता ही भावों की जन्म है, व्यक्ति जीवन से उभ उठता है यह उच्च ही निराशा का चरण रूप है। समाज में एक विद्रोह पनप रहा है मनुष्य के अंदर मनुष्यता समाप्त होती जा रही है। महिलाओं के साथ हिंसा बलात्कार जैसी घटनाओं के बारे में आए दिन अखबारों में पढ़ते है और आस-पास के परिवेश में भी पाते हैं कि महिलाएं सुरक्षित नहीं है किसी भी दृष्टिकोण से यह केवल आस-पास के परिवेश की ही नहीं बल्कि समूचा भारतवर्ष की है। भारत की राजधानी दिल्ली में होने वाली ‘दामिनी’ घटना ने तो दिल को दहला दिया है।

हमारे समाज में पंगीय परंपरागत मूल्य का प्रभाव बढ़ती तेजी से पड़ रहा है हमारे समाज में आज कामयाबी एवं नफ़्स के विजयाधीन से ही नारीशियों पर बढ़ते अल्पव्रत बलात्कार दहेजपथ नारी उत्पीड़न आदि की समस्याएं मनवमूल्यों के परिवर्तन के लिए उत्तरदायियों हैं। आंकड़े बताते है कि सबसे ज्यादा अनुशासित महिलाएं ही हैं। देश में स्त्री समाज पर अल्पव्रत बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। यही कारण है कि भूल हत्या भी बढ़ती जा रही है इससे पुरुष स्त्री अनुपात भी घटता जा रहा है जहाँ भारत में 1901 में प्रति हजार पुरुषों पर 972 महिलाएं थी वहीं 2011 में 940 हैं और 2011 में 947 हैं जबकि शहरी क्षेत्र में 926 हैं। मध्यप्रदेश में भिन्न जिले में अभी भी बच्चों के जन्म लेने के साथ ही उनके मुंह में तमाम गोले लगे तक दूसरा दिया जाता है जबसे बच्चों का दम घुट जाता है।
और वह दम तोड़ देती है। जब नारी सप्तकितकरण की बात कही जाती है वहाँ नारी कहाँ सफल है। उसे किस प्रकार की सुप्रभावता का बर्दाह दिया गया है जो भूमि की तरह उसे ही भस्म किये जा रहा है। इस समूह संसार की जननी रही है वह अनेक हृदयों में इस संसार का संबंध बनाती है। हृदय देवी तपस्वी है, जिसका हम आज अपमान किये जा रहे हैं। जिसका हम शोषण भी कर रहे हैं वेतनों को अभिव्यक्ति भी मान रहे हैं। यदि हम मध्यप्रदेश की बात करने को तो 2001 में 919 और 2011 में 930 जबकि ग्रामीण और शहरी क्षेत्र में 936 और 916 है।

वर्तमान संदर्भ में देखकर तो आज भौतिकता हम पर हादस है आधुनिक जीवन में ल्याक के स्थान पर वामनप्पा है, विश्वेष है, व्याख्या के स्थान पर अभिनीत है, असंरचन, विबंध, महत्त्वकास्तिक हैं। चारों तरफ पाने की भूमिका है, आज अंतिम दौड़ है, सागर के खराब पानी की तरह न बुझावे वाली अतुल्य प्यास है। पुरुष ने नारी को दलाल दिया उसके नारीत्व का घोर अपमान किया उसे पशुकित जीवन दिया। आधुनिक ध्वनि नारी के लिए बच्चे का ध्वनि है। पुरुष नारी को दोष दे रहा है। यह यू कहे दोनों एक दूसरे की दोष दे रहे हैं। नारी सागर में सरिता सी मिलकर जीवन का उत्तरीक बहार है। पुरुष के साथ पूर्ण जीवन नारी चाहती है। परन्तु सत्य यह है कि पुरुष अपनी पूर्णता में नारी को सम्बलित ही नहीं करता चाहता है। वह अलग अस्तित्व बनाकर रखना चाहता है। नारी को समाज में पूर्ण जीवन नीति का अधिकार ही नहीं करते चाहते। यह सहायक की भूमिका देखकर संदर्भ करना चाहता है। जिसमें नारी आज संदर्भ नहीं है। इसी कारण वह सिद्धांत व व्यवस्थास के माध्यम से ज्ञान सुधार व आर्थिक अध्याय चार के साथ गृहध्वनि जीवन के भावान्वित संदर्भों से बोधे होने के कारण गृहध्वनि के माध्यम को बिना ल्याके भारतीय नारी ने सारे के बारे निफलकर व्यवस्थाक संदर्भ को अपमान किया। उनकी भूमिकाओं के विस्तार से उन्हें दोहरे भार सौंपे हैं। जब सामाजिक समझों की सिफ्टति निर्माण होती है, तो प्राय: नारी को ही स्वातन्त्र्य की विली देनी पड़ती है। नारी के संदर्भ व मूल्य प्रतिमाओं का एक ऐसा बदलाव आया जिसे परिवर्तनों का आधुनिकीकरण कहा जा सकता है।

आज मुख्य किसी के दर्द को महसूस नहीं करना चाहता है, वह चाहता है सब कुछ में, संदर्भ शून्यता इतनी बड़ी गई है कि मानवीयता खाली हो गई आज का मनुष्य समाज में तो कठ ही रहा है वहाँ तक कि वह परवार और स्वंय में भी कटता जा रहा है। जीवन का भागदौड़ इतनी बड़ी चुकी है कि मनुष्य के पास परिवार के लिए समय ही नहीं रहा है। भौतिक लालसा ने हर संस्कार के एक दूसरे से दूर कर दिया है। तेजी से बदलते हुए वरिष्ठ ने सक्त संदर्भों को पानी कर दिया है। युग की बढीती हुई स्वाध्यंपत्ति ने दुनिया के दूर्गे रूप में आत्मीयता की दूरी रेखांडरों ने मानवता के विचार के हुए मूल्यों ने आदर्श को बढी बेहतर रूप से राखा है।

वर्तमान आधुनिकीकरण संदर्भ में प्रकृति और पर्यावरण की बात की जाए तो यह अतिशयोत्त नहीं होगी की प्रकृति विवाह की ओर अग्रत है। प्रदूषण रूपी काल के गतिविधि में हमारा पर्यावरण समस्या जा रहा है। आज शुद्ध वातावरण की बात करना दु: स्वाभाविक स्थान सा लगता है। आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया में तेजी से होता विकास और नमोदारी करण, इनके विकास के साथ इनके अभिप्राय भी ठोळने पड़े रहे हैं यह उमड़ते हुए शहर और अर्जिते हुए गांव और विगतता पर्यावरण, पर्यावरण का सुबलित सिवाद जाने के दुस्मर्याम जब सामने आये तब प्रदूषण निवारण के उपाय भी सामने आये किंतु विवाह की रक्षा के लिए जागरूकता बहुत विलंब से आई जो अभी भी सवार्थी नहीं बन गई।

विकास की इस दिशा में कहा जाता है कि क्रुद्ध पाने के लिए क्रुद्ध खोना भी पड़ता है आज देश के विकास की बहुत बड़ी कीमत चुकानी पड़ रही है इस पर घिता व्यक्त करते हुए जो।
राखाक्रमणन के कहा था कि— "प्रायोगिकी मानव के लिए है न कि मानव प्रायोगिकी के लिए" अतः हमें इसका प्रयोग करना चाहिए विकास के हित में तबाही के मंजर में नहीं। नम्बर बचाओं आदोलन की नामिता में भाग तकरीबन करके लोगों की बहुमुखी जिन्होंने विकास के आदोलन का नेतृत्व किया विकास के नाम पर्यावरण सुधार की ओर कितनी बल दी जाये। नवीन आंकड़े कहते हैं कि पर्यावरण में प्रदूषण के कारण शहरों में घुटने बर्दे वातावरण में स्वास्थ्य की बुझिल हो गया है। औद्योगिक नगरों के वायुमण्डल में पहुँच आंकड़े इसने प्रमाणित किया कि इन नगरों में जमीन में चाहे बाद सुबह को एक जमीन पर जमी पहुँच गई है। इससे दहल है अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि कितना नुकसान और विशेषता तब से नुकसान के तरीके में पहुँचकर तभी पहुँचता है। वह औद्योगिक शहर और धूल कणों की सांद्रता माइक्रोग्रामज घनी मीटर तक रहती है। यह इस तात्कालिक से स्पष्ट किया गया है—

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<td>मुम्बई</td>
<td>238</td>
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<tr>
<td>दिल्ली</td>
<td>700</td>
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<tr>
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<td>530</td>
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मुम्बई में पैदोसाइन इकाइयों स्थापित हुई है, दिल्ली में नाइट्रोजन ऑक्सायड, सल्फर ऑक्सायड, कार्बन ऑक्सायड आदि जहाँ-हाँ गैसें निकलती है। कोलकाता में ‘स्मांग सिटी ऑफ इंडिया’ कहा जाय तो अतिशय नहीं होगी। विकास कार्यों ने प्रकृति के इस सदर नुकसान पहुँचाया है कि वह विकास कार्यों न रहकर विनाश कार्यों के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गया है। पहले मनुष्य ने प्रकृति और पर्यावरण को नुकसान पहुँचाया अब वह खुद अपने स्वयं के कर्मों से विनाश का वेश हाल रहा है। उत्तराखंड में होनेवाली तबाही जो तेरासनाथ गंगात्री में हुई अभी वर्तमान में ही पूर्ण का एक गांव मलान घुंघरा का पूरा जमीन में धार्मिक गया जब हम जमीन को खोखला करते चले जायें तब उसके ये गैरमिश्र परिणाम हम आप सभी को पड़ गया है।

भारत में विषेषकर प्रामाणण जन वृक्षों के प्रति अधिक संबंधी होते हैं जैसे पीपल बराबर नीम, तुलसी आदि को किसी भी प्रकार की हानि उन्हें नहीं पहुँचना चाहते हैं। हमारे बेद पूर्ण में तो सभी को अपने पर्यावरण, समूह के प्रकृति के भाग करने की शिक्षा दी गई है। अध्ययन के पुरुषसूत्र में ऋषियों ने कहा है कि— हम धरती माना जो कुछ में उसके लूहा वह उतना ही होगा जिससे तू पूर्ण। पैदा कर सके। तेरा गर्मस्थल पर या तेरा जीवन शक्ति पर अवधारणा नहीं रहना।
किन्तु वर्तमान संरचना में हमारे समाज के जीवन मूल्य विघटित होते जा रहे हैं, मानव का जीवन अक्ष की जीवन के बुद्धि में बदल गया है। इससे ज्योति स्वर्य के समाज में अपने असत्य को भी विस्मृत करता जा रहा है। इस बात का इतिहास गया है कि जब--जब हमारे देश में धर्म संकुलता और मानवीय मूल्यों की हानि हुई है तब उसका स्वर्य का जीवन भी उससे प्रभावित हो गया है।

मानव का जीवन के प्रति विस्मृति दृष्टिकोण अपनाना चाहिए जिससे मनुष्य को धर्मित ध्व新鲜 के बजाय ध्व新鲜 ध्व新鲜 माना गया है उसका प्रतिबंध ही उसे दिखाई दे इसके लिए आवध्यक है उसका जागरूक होना यदि वह भवानों और मानवीय मूल्यों का ख्यात नहीं करता अपितु उसके खेलता हुआ है तो इसके परिणाम भयंकर होगे इससे दूर भागना भी संभव नहीं है यह युग की आवध्यकता है इसी में जीना है आवध्यकता है तो केवल तभी रह सकेगी।
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