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# **NEW HORIZONS**

**A Multidisciplinary Research Journal**



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# **NEW HORIZONS**

**A Multidisciplinary Research Journal**

**Double-Blind Peer Reviewed**

**Volume XIII, August 2016**



**Mehr Chand Mahajan**  
**DAV College for Women**  
**Chandigarh**

Mehr Chand Mahajan DAV College for Women, Chandigarh, established in 1968, is a premier institution for women's education in North India. *New Horizons*, ISSN: 2277-5218, is a double-blind peer reviewed multidisciplinary research journal. It is published annually by the college and has been in circulation since 2005. The objective of the journal is to provide a critical forum for diverse fields of thought and facilitate academic discussions.

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## **Gendering Christianity: Men and Women Missionaries in Punjab, 1849 onwards**

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With the changing scenario in the Western Christian missionary world, role of missionaries was reconstructed. Men and women working in the Protestant missionary societies were given new roles that were informed with the process of colonization. This transformation was more evident with the rise of evangelicalism especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Social views that advocated women's equality were included in the evangelical movement and campaigned for by the imperialists. India witnessed this revivalism in the missionary movement. The activities of men and women missionaries were redefined leading to two separate zones – the masculine and the feminine side of Christianity. It is on these lines that the paper has been titled “Gendering Christianity.” Punjab makes an ideal example to unfold all those processes that specified activities of men to spread Christianity and reveal the new image of women missionaries that not only supported Christianity but worked as subjects as well as agents of social reform – all within the mission framework. While looking into these notions one realizes how complex the parameters of Christianity were that intertwined issues of religion, power, gender and colonialism. Although all these concepts worked in different operations yet they play in connection to a larger drama of women's emancipation and western education. The paper draws attention to those intersections of colonialism where Christianity defined notions of masculinity and femininity. These concepts resulted in what I would term as institutionalising Christianity that came into effect with the work of women missionaries. This was one of the most domineering phases of missionary movement in Punjab that not only helped to understand the Christian missionary movement but also signified the importance of gender in it.

Keywords: women missionaries in India, colonialism, gender in Christianity

### **Introduction**

The history of the British rule in India has largely been written with reference to the coming of Christianity in India. Right from the early days of the East India Company till the hey-days of Indian nationalism, Christianity evolved in India in different tones, some subtle and some overpowering. Debates continued on how much Christianity India needed and where. Christianity intervened in various social and political quarters of India in different forms. The Christian

officials of the Raj, the missionaries, men and women or the Christian mission institutes, each represented an image of Christianity that made a fascinating story. It was during the mid-nineteenth century that the most dramatic shift in the missionary work in the colonies was seen, when women became a part of the missionary societies and shouldered (the much talked about) “white man's burden.” A large amount of work has come from various scholars on the onset of the women missionary societies within the colonial context. Jayawardena (1995), Chawla (2000) and others remind us that imperialism provided white women in Britain with unprecedented opportunities for negotiating the terms of their own subordination and negotiations that gave the missionary feminists imperial status quo.<sup>1</sup>

What caught my attention here was the intersection of missionary work in relation to gender and Christian institutionalization. Gendered Christianity came up well before the coming of women in Churches. Evangelicalism played a major role in the creation of an ideology of female domesticity and male activism, where the woman ran the household while the role of the men was to spread the word of God in the world. In the 1850s, conventional gendered distinction gave rise to the term “muscular Christianity” that saw the Christian put oneself into the service of the British nation and the Empire. Christian heroism was not only seen in the missionary men but also in the lives of those devout Christian officials who laid down their lives during the Mutiny. Along with Christian masculinity, there was a rise of what I would call “feminine Christianity,” where the traditional role of a woman missionary was replaced. She slipped into her new image of “shouldering the white woman's burden” with ease. Missionary Societies all over the West joined in redefining what could be accomplished by women as active participants. They could reach out to the indigenous women, empathize with them more than the men could, sensitize the indigenous society and the colonial government on the needs required to liberate those colonized women whom they encountered. This era of Christianity in India was dominated by the women missionaries.

Punjab became an interesting ground, where both, the masculine and feminine side of Christianity could be seen right from the early years of its annexation. On this note, one can observe how in *Orientalism*, Edward Said also argues that gender was used by Colonial government to signify relationships of power between themselves and their colonial subjects (1978). Christianity, on similar lines, was defined in terms of gender where ideas of masculinity and femininity were important to the development of imperial attitudes. In this paper, the focus is on the ways Christianity signified gender.

The argument laid here is that missionaries had to come to terms with the changing notions of colonialism to sustain their presence in the mission field in the colonized lands that contributed to the gendering of Christianity. While focusing at those spaces in Punjab especially where the feminine forms of Christianity were produced, namely schools and hospitals, the notions that articulated masculine and feminine Christianity that resulted in visible forms are analysed.

### **Imperial Officers and “Masculine” Christianity**

As the pressure grew to justify the colonial rule, the idea of a “civilising mission” gained importance. Not only were the Christian missionaries considered specialists in civilizing the colonized lands, many imperial authorities proudly pushed themselves into the same bracket. The ideology of humanitarian commitment by imperial expansion was justified when British officers became active supporters of missionary settlements. Male participation was not only from the Christian men as missionaries but also from the British officers. If the spread of Christianity was part of the colonial goal, then Punjab saw a good deal of evangelical response from the British officers. Often labelled as “Christian heroes,” these officers advocated manly virtues to justify the imperial projects (Veer, 2006: 85-94).

The aphorism that “first comes the missionary then comes the resident and lastly comes the regiment” was aptly seen in Punjab (Etherington, 2005:2). Before the annexation of Punjab, Christian missionaries gained entry under various Christian missionary societies. The American Presbyterians were the first to settle in Ludhiana in 1834 (*Journal of Presbyterian History*, 1984: 190). They were followed by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), who were strongly patronised by the British officials (Clark, 1907: 52). It was in 1846 that an appeal was first made to the CMS by officers of the army and by civilians in India to urge them to send missionaries in Punjab. Major Martyn, an officer in the East India Company's army, took keen interest in the matter. He sent Rs 10,000 to the Society with the request to commence missionary work in the new dependency. He did so through an American Presbyterian missionary, Rev. John Newton, who had arrived in India in 1835 and proceeded to Ludhiana, and after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, was appointed together with Rev. C. W. Forman to Lahore (Clark, 1907: 52). Thereafter, the Punjab Mission began in 1851.

The following year, the Lawrences formed a Christian Missionary Association (inaugurated on 9 February 1852) and had Amritsar fixed upon with the CMS headquarters. The pioneers Rev. R. Clark and Rev. T.H. Fitzpatrick from the

Church of England laid the foundation of the Amritsar Mission (*History of Christianity in India, with its prospects*, 1895: 65). In 1854, the next important mission station began in Peshawar that also came up under Pastor Robert Clark along with Dr. Pfander and Sir Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar (Clark, 1907: 53).

Missionaries were allowed from the first to enter Punjab, as observed by Robert Clark, without let or hindrance, and the Missions commanded the interest and support of Christian men in every way that was consistent with their official position and duty (Clark, 1907: 53). Robert Clark intended to demonstrate the reality of his hope in Punjab when he further added:

The character of the people, their geographical position and their readiness at this present time to hear the word of God, together with the zeal and liberality of those Christian friends who by the providence of God have been sent here since the occupation of the country have all united to give an importance to missionary work in this country which it is difficult to express in any adequate terms. (Clark, 1907: 53)

The participation of the imperial rule in evangelistic activities varied. Although the relationship between both the missionaries and the British officials remained complex, yet it was clear that both felt British rule would bring a variety of beneficial western influences in India and heading that list would be Christianity. For many administrators it was impossible to divide religion from the Empire. Commissioner Edwardes' participation in the promotion of Christianity comes across strongly with his involvement in missionary activities. His presence in a missionary meeting at Peshawar in December, 1853 reflected the enthusiasm he shared with the missionaries for the latter's accommodation in Punjab. It came as no surprise when a large number of military and civil officers along with their families attended the conference.

It is not the duty of the government, as a government to proselytize India. The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians . . . We may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it. (*History of Christianity in India*, 1895: 65)

A memorial was signed after the meeting and sent to the CMS asking for missionaries. The initial zeal among the officials was further witnessed in 1862 in the Punjab Missionary Conference where the Christian officials attending outnumbered the missionaries. By participating directly in the missionary conference what Punjab administrators were willing to do was declare that they were not only rulers but also Christians (Cox, 2002: 33).

The popularity of the missionaries was much appreciated. The gesture of admiration and cooperation towards the missions was expressed even more clearly when Col. Martyn left the army and became a missionary of the CMS.

He looked after the accounts of the Mission. He donated the larger part of his belongings to the Mission and led a very simple life. Putting it down humbly, he stated: "All my worldly things can be accommodated in small vehicles" (Barkatullah, 1932:18).

Almost a decade after the annexation, the mutiny too saw the heroic emergence of imperial officers in Punjab. As pointed out earlier in the introduction, evangelicalism not only "gendered" Christianity, it also justified the colonial cause with war, providing imperialism the imagery of the brave Christian soldier. Edwardes and the Lawrence brothers were acknowledged as devout Christians. Sir John Lawrence in his much celebrated minute, wrote just after the Mutiny, "that all those measures that are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but on the contrary with every advantage to its stability" (Clark, 1885: 8). This interpretation provided a good impetus to Christianity in Punjab.

Missionary centres in Punjab spread all over the North West. Referring to the momentum with which Christianity spread, Kenneth Jones stated it as "an aggressive and uncompromising Christianity." He further concedes that "in Punjab the missionaries were seen a part of the government, who were all set to govern the Punjabi and eventually convert him" (1999: 87).

### **Redefining Roles: Coming of the Women Missionaries**

It all began with *zenana* [of the women] visitations. If the western woman had to be accommodated, then she required space to work in. The argument for a special mission for women would have met with little success had it not been rooted in the practical realities of mission work. There were types of work that could only be done by women: access to the house of a local woman was one of them. Using the *zenanas* to consolidate their position, the women missionaries served yet another function: that of uplifting the downtrodden Indian women. Hence, it was here at the *zenanas*, as argued by scholars like Indira Ghose that the battles of feminism were fought (1998: 61).

Not surprisingly, the significance of evangelistic labour, in context of the women of India, was put across as an important matter of discussion even in the Punjab Missionary Conference held at Lahore in 1862-63. As soon as they stepped in, women missionaries played a central role in conflating Christianity and the reform movement for indigenous women in the mission practice in Punjab. The report of the conference carried the complexities of the interaction between the women missionaries and the native women. The perception of the latter was to suit the preference and needs of the mission societies. Keeping in

view women's influence in the family, it was concluded in the conference that the usefulness of women in the missionary movement cannot be denied.

Had the mothers and wives, the daughters and sisters of this heathen population been fully accessible to the voice of love and mercy that sounds from Cavalry, tell what an influence they would have exerted on those around them? (*One Hundred Years Being the Short History of the CMS*, 1898:103)

Women could now be recruited in “their own right” and as independent missionaries, who, in the years to come, began to disrupt the gendered paradigm of the missionary project. Demand as missionaries in India coincided with a surplus of single females in Great Britain. The census indicated that as many as 30 percent of the women aged 20 and above were single, creating a major social problem (Forbes, 2000: 71). When opportunities became available in India, as suggested by Geraldine Forbes, it was not difficult to find educated, young women of “a religious bent” ready to accept the challenge of converting the “pure heathen” (72).

Not only this, there emerged societies synonymous with women's work: once the women caught with the mainstream mission work, “women's work for women” commenced. An expression used initially by the Presbyterian missionaries whom they admit, “began more by accident than by conscious design” (*Journal of Presbyterian History* 232), the slogan has been used by historians studying women missionary.

Glimpses of early work by the *zenana* missionaries came through various initiatives. Needlework, sharing of bible stories, teaching of etiquettes etc., became popular subjects taken up by the women missionaries. Framing visits in such a manner gave credibility to women missionaries entering the *zenanas*. They were quick to count the numbers related to *zenana* work, small though it would seem. In 1877, there were 25 *zenana* missionaries in North India. Punjab itself had 7 (*The Indian Female Evangelist*, 1878: 101). Ms. Rose Greenfield of Ludhiana, another pioneer of women's work accounted a marked increase within five years before 1884: 14 houses to 99 and from 37 pupils to 335 (1886: 37).

The index to measure the success of the missionary work among women varied. Perceptions came in different shades. Two contemporary references of its value are worth mentioning that would throw light on the response of the *zenana* visitations. The first comes from Rev. Golukhnath of the American Presbyterian Missionary at Jalandhar, who found it extremely “difficult to persuade the people to send their daughters to our schools . . . hence we must carry out work at once into the *zenanas*” (*Report of the Conference held at*



Lahore, December and January, 1862-63:120). The other is a part of the observation on *zenana* visitation made in the *Arya Gazette*, “*zenana* mission in India was not to teach needlework to the native women but to decoy the latter into the Christian fold, Hindus should not therefore allow members of these missions to enter their homes” (*NNP, The Arya Gazette*, 1906: 158). Contradictory reports became a pattern of missionary work that often did not bring the desired result in their work. Baptisms were, however, extremely rare and questions were often raised about the effectiveness of this work. It is only appropriate to add here that the women missionaries soon realized that the efficacy of their work in the *zenanas* did not depend upon the number of conversions. It served as an important backdrop from where the women missionaries took off with a Christian zeal to open mission institutions to educate the indigenous women.

Besides door to door visitations, village itineraries became a part of the *zenana* visitation programme. Commencement of the village *zenana* missions in Punjab came from Miss Clay in 1876. Pioneering work was done in Jandiala, followed by Ajnala in 1885, Tarn Taran and finally Narowal. The number of lady missionaries in Ajnala has varied from four to seven. While at Tarn Taran a few resident ladies were kept. The credit for opening a *Zenana* Mission house goes to Miss Hewlett, who spent her initial years at Tarn Taran to extend the *zenana* mission work and is remembered as a pioneer of medical work in Amritsar (Clark, 1904:115). It came as no surprise when the President of the Government Education Commission publicly expressed his opinion that “the *Zenana* missions are at present the only effective agency for the education of women in India” (Clark, 1904: 115).

The task of women missionaries as teachers was strongly supported by the mission boards. Women were recognized as missionaries in their own right; they were now paid and listed on missionary rolls. Interestingly, *zenana* visitations were all about exposing each other's world – for the women missionary, it paved way for further ventures and for the indigenous women, it was the first time they were introduced to the western world. Although *zenana* visitation was not productive when it came to conversions but it most certainly broadened the scope for women's work in missionary projects. As Susan Thorne has argued, missionary-imperial feminism had less to do with the inevitable expression of feminine qualities intrinsic to the mission project and more to do with a historically specific moment in British mission and imperial history (1999: 40).

The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East was one of the earliest

organizations that set the precedent of employing women as school teachers in 1834. The Church of Scotland Ladies Association for Foreign Missions (1837), followed by the Ladies Association for the support of *Zenana* Work and Bible women in India in connection with the Baptist Mission Society in 1867, later known more simply as the Baptist *Zenana* Mission, was a major contributor in the “women's work” in Punjab. The Indian Female Normal School in the years to come was known as the *Zenana* Bible and Medical Mission, of which the Church of England *Zenana* Missionary Society (CEZMS) was an offshoot that came up in 1880 and was a prominent women's society during the end of the nineteenth century (Chawla 43).

From door to door visits to opening of *zenana* schools, all fell into the bracket of early *zenana* missionary activities. In most parts of Punjab the concept of schooling was a novelty of unproved value, or so the missionaries believed. *Zenana* education became one of the most significant activities for women missionaries. Mission education, they felt, would provide unprecedented opportunities for the indigenous women to handle social pressure. Catch phrases like “educated men should have educated wives” were popularized by the women missionaries, more so to gain acceptance in the indigenous households. How many women looked upon missionary education from this point of view is yet another story but it was during the closing years of the nineteenth century that *zenana* visitation emerged as a strong missionary enterprise that gave credibility to women missionaries.

The Ludhiana *Zenana* and Medical Mission was started in 1867 by the Society for Promoting Female Education in India and the East at the invitation of the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Mission (Clark, 1904: 50). A Christian Girls' Boarding School was built and carried on for many years, till financial difficulties compelled the Society for Promoting Female Education to close it.

Amritsar stood as one of the major cities for imparting “Christian” education. Mrs. Fitzpatrick, wife of Rev. Fitzpatrick and the sister of the well-known Mr. Thomas Gooch laid the foundation of women's work in the Amritsar Mission (Clark, 1904: 53). The first girls' school which was established by her with just three scholars, who sometimes came to school, but were most often absent. In a very small way, commenced a work which became a great one, for the schools had 400 girls in 1902 (Clark, 1904: 53). The work at CMS Alexandra School, Amritsar was carried by the ladies of CEZMS. Opened in November, 1879, the object of the school was to give to the girls of the higher classes of native Christians in the Punjab the best possible vernacular education in the language

of the country. By the end of the founding year, the school had 33 pupils, a number that gradually reached to 63 in 1897 (Barnes, 1897: 151). A chain of Lady Henry Lawrence Schools was established in 1865 by many friends as a memorial to Lady Henry Lawrence.

### **“Feminine” Form of Christianity: Institutionalising Missionary Medicine**

Besides schools, hospitals became the next most important mission project that redefined gender in Christianity. One of the most interesting analyses of this area of work is Rosemary Fitzgerald's “Clinical Christianity,” which clearly points at the rise of hospitals as an alliance between medicine and missions (2001: 88-136). The social transformations that were seen in the western women's life, resulted in their strong participation in the colonized lands. The “new” professional woman with medical qualifications fulfilled her ambitious desires in the colonized lands. It all fell extremely well for them. And as pointed out earlier in my paper, the all-women-missionary-undertaking gained exceptional popularity in Punjab, more than any other part of India. “Punjab-and the rest” was not an unfair description of the way the number of women doctors were deployed by the various missionary societies to work as medical missionaries. The popularity and impetus of medical mission work could be seen prominently in Punjab. As compared to Bengal, that had a large population of 46.6 million and only 9 mission hospitals, Punjab with approximately 20 million had 21 such hospitals. Out of these, 17 were exclusively for women (*A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, 1929: 10). The following report speaks for itself the influence the hospitals and the women medical missionaries had on the indigenous society. Dr. Henry Martyn Clark reported a conversation with a friendly Hindu on the subject of Christian missions.

We do not fear your schools; we need not send our children. We do not fear your books, for we need not read them, we do not much fear your preaching, we need not listen. But we dread your doctors, for your doctors are winning our homes and our hearts and our homes our won, what is there left with us? (*The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 1893: 166)

The development of the medical mission enterprise in Punjab was solely recognized by the women's agency – a male dominated space that was taken over by the women medical missionaries. Endless stories of women medical missionaries came from various missionary societies. Stories made a fascinating picture of women's hospitals being opened amidst adversities like poor weather conditions, inappropriate infrastructure and many a times, weak financial support. The journey from a *verandah* dispensary [courtyard dispensary] to a full-fledged hospital unfolded the struggles of women doctors to impart western medicine within the frame work of Christian missionary movement. Punjab saw various missionary societies getting together for the

common cause of founding women's mission hospitals.

The earliest medical missionary work amongst women commenced in Amritsar by Mrs. Robert Clark in 1867. The idea of a medical mission was further supported by Sir Donald Mcleod in 1872 and Amritsar with its large population and its close proximity to Delhi was “the most convenient and the most busy and prosperous city in the Punjab” chosen for it (Clark, 1885: 75). Dr Henry Martyn Clark was placed in charge of the CMS Amritsar Medical Mission in 1882 (Clark, 1904: 34-35). It was in connection of the early work started by Mrs. Clark that was re-established by Miss Sarah Hewlett of the CEZMS in 1880, that the St. Catherine Hospital at Amritsar was opened. Initially it was opened at a native house, with six beds; it was under the charge of Ms. Hewlett that the hospital expanded. One of the strong features of St Catherine's was the training of native medical women as medical assistants and nurses. Many had passed the necessary Government exam and were certified for actual medical work. While referring to the work of Ms Hewlett, one cannot avoid writing about her contribution in Tarn Taran, where a dispensary was opened by her in 1883 and medical work began (*Until The Shadows Flee*, nd: 121).

Ferozepore was occupied in 1882. It was considered one of the important missionary stations of the Presbyterians. Besides being a large military centre, it had a strong background of politics of missionary activities. The medical work commenced on 29 November 1896, with six patients (*Medical Mission Work at Ferozepore, North India*, 1900:5). The hospital was also the home of one of the two hospitals staffed and managed by the Punjab Mission (*The 93rd Annual Report of the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for the Year 1927*: 25). The institution owed its existence to the indefatigable efforts of the late Mrs. Frances R. Newton, who spent 35 years in the Mission service with her husband, of which 26 years were spent in Ferozepore (*The 74<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian church in the U.S.A. for the Year 1907*: 113). The hospital was made a memorial in the founder's name and was called the Frances Newton Hospital for Women and Children. Another prominent medical contribution was that of Miss J.R. Carleton, M.D., who was largely instrumental in the founding and building of the hospital at Ambala. After graduating from the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, Dr Carleton came to the Punjab Mission in 1886 (*The 92nd Annual Report of the Punjab Mission of the Church in the U.S.A., for the Year 1926*: 2). The Hospital was opened in 1901 and for over forty years, she committed herself to the medical work for women in Ambala city and district. Her work being

recognized by the Government, Dr Carleton was awarded the *Kaiser-i-Hind* medal (first Class) in 1926. With the passing years, for reasons unknown, the zeal of the Ambala hospital lessened in the mission reports. It was overshadowed by the other Presbyterian hospitals in Punjab.

Bhiwani and Palwal too saw the beginning of women mission work under the Baptist Missionary Society in 1887 and 1892, respectively (*Report of the Ladies Association for the support of Zenana Work and Bible Women in India and China in connection with the BMS for 1898-999*). A medical centre at Bhiwani was opened in 1890, when a Delhi School girl named Maryam, trained at the Medical School in Agra came to open a dispensary here. The next year Dr Ellen Farrer arrived and a house in the city was rented to function as “Miss Farrer's Dispensary” (Benzie, nd: 6). Very soon upgraded as Farrer hospital, it became one of the most important medical centres of the Baptist Zenana Missionary Society. Dr Edith Brown (of Ludhiana women's hospital) started her earliest venture at Palwal, before moving on to Ludhiana. The hospital, for a long time, remained the only hospital for women and children in the district.

The most ambitious of the women's hospitals opened during this time was the Christian Medical College and Hospital (CMC) at Ludhiana in 1894 (French,1901: 31). Opened by Dr Edith Brown, the hospital became an epitome of Christian perseverance. Not only did it boast of imparting high standard medical treatment, but the medical school too became popular with the students. Although it provided a licentiate-level training (that was inferior to a MB degree), the success of the hospital was revealed in the numbers that showed a steady rise year after year. By 1933, CMC had trained 265 medical assistants, 136 compounders, 174 nurses, 206 midwives and 82 *dais* [indigenous midwives] (*North India School of Medicine for Christian Women, Report for the Year Ending Oct.31<sup>st</sup> of 1934-35*: 22). The medical school admitted Christian as well as non-Christian students. One of the few hospitals to have survived the crisis of the partition of Punjab, CMC came out stronger in independent India; not only was the M.B.B.S. course introduced but with it began the admission to male students in 1953 (*Journal of the Christian Medical Association of India*,1954: 26). The very fact that till today it is popularly called as “Ms. Brown's Hospital” speaks of the manner in which it operates.

Mission hospitals were designed in a way that enforced strong Christian discipline. Cleanliness, with white bed-sheets and clean beds became the

signature of these hospitals. Religious rituals were a part of every day schedule and presence of a Bible woman was mandatory to involve and initiate Christian interest among the patients. Above all, the hospitals were designed to demonstrate the power of the founding woman missionary doctor. It was a challenge for her to equip the hospital with staff and infrastructure. Such battles were often depicted for others as a role model. Medical mission work had been strongly hospital-centred in Punjab and the women's mission hospitals gradually gained reputation for opening doors of medical profession for the indigenous women. Within this body of mission studies, as observed by Huber and Lutkehaus, missionary efforts in health services helped secure colonialism (1999: 3). Western ideologies for the emancipation of the indigenous women flowed through such institutions.

### **Conclusion**

It is valuable in ascertaining how gender was instrumental in shaping the different ways in which women and men were within the Christian frame work. Gender has been construed differently according to the places the missionaries worked in. Punjab saw an extremely defined role of the men as well as the women missionaries. It was perhaps an exemplary province that witnessed participation of both in conceptualizing Christianity. The enthusiasm of the imperial officers in founding the early missionary centres could not be witnessed in any other part of British India. If the beginning years could be called as the era of masculine Christianity then the decades that followed after 1860s can be aptly labelled as feminized Christianity that replaced the male missionaries by single women missionaries. The missionary women provided an opportunity to the indigenous women through these hospitals, a stream of professionalism which they had never experienced before. When looking at the areas the missionaries worked, it's not difficult to notice that it was connected with the larger colonial project of which the missionaries were a part of. The gradual shift of what I would address as moving from masculine to feminine Christianity was in the same years when the British government was promoting the cause of indigenous women, and influencing them with all that fell under the colonial umbrella. Imparting western medical treatment for indigenous women seemed to be the only route to reach out to them. A process that came from 1880's onwards, it was in the same years that the rise of women's emancipation movement in the West began. The opening of the medical profession enabled many women to get qualified as doctors, go overseas as medical missionaries and join the bandwagon of "colonising the women."<sup>2</sup> Women missionaries as cultural agents of imperialism or emancipators or mere

reformers complicated the entire edifice of missionary feminism. Whereas most provinces of British India had already well-established-missionary-zones, the newly annexed Punjab became a good ground for “women's work for women.” Perhaps the findings to this article is that how with every shift in the colonial policies, mission practices defined and redefined gender roles that entered into the lives of women and men of Punjab. The question one needs to ask is not whether the mission hospitals in Punjab were an outcome of the demand from the indigenous society but did it emerge out of a need for the women missionaries to strengthen their position both-back at home and in the foreign lands? Needless to say, the process benefitted both- the disseminators of western medicine and the recipients. The dynamism that was produced with this intervention gave rise to Christian institutions, each representing the profundity of mission work that in many ways contributed to the larger picture of women's movement in Punjab.

#### Notes

1. Jayawardena reevaluates the women missionaries who lived and worked in South Asia during the period of British rule. She distinguishes, on one hand, between those western women who were bringing Christianity, western education and social reform within a frame work of acceptance of the British rule and on the other hand, western women who were rejecting Christianity and rediscovering Oriental religions and indigenous cultures. Jayawardena tells the stories of many well-known women from Katherine Mayo to Annie Besant. In the course of this telling, Jayawardena raises issues of race, class and gender which are part of current debates on feminism. Maina Singh Chawla attempts to go beyond the scholarly assessment of cross cultural missionary interventions of the typical western categorisation of missionaries as “saviours” in “heathen lands.” A primary concern of the study is to historicise the intervention of American missionary women in South Asia and situate them with dual contexts of the sending society and the receiving culture. When I refer to “others,” here I would like to mention John Webster who closely studies the women of Amritsar through the conceptions of the women missionaries (2012). He concludes how the latter, by the end of the day offered alternatives and options to the indigenous women that eventually led to the women's movement in Punjab.

2. I borrow the phrase from David Arnold's study where he argues that the body was a site of colonising power and as a contestation between the colonized and the colonizer (1993). The ambiguity in the meaning of the phrase here applies to medicine as a means to generate gender power that the women missionaries used for legitimizing and controlling their domain of work that brought about a “new” profile of independent Indian women as nurses, hospital assistants and doctors as well.

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**Regional Integration in South Asia – A Specific Focus on the  
India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISLFTA)  
and its Impact on Trade and Investment<sup>1</sup>**

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The current global business environment has undergone a significant change in the last few decades driven by changes in the patterns of trade and investment flows. This has been accompanied by a strong wave of regional economic integration in the world economy, visible through the increasing number of Regional Trading Agreements (RTA) in different parts of the world. Economic integration in the South Asian region has been characterized by multilateral trade liberalization, alongside regional, sub-regional and bilateral liberalization. This paper focuses on the India Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISLFTA) and its associated trade and investment effects on the business environment in the South Asian Region. It uses a simple descriptive analysis of data to discuss the topic. The paper can later be extended towards a more empirical assessment of issues.

**Keywords:** ISLFTA, trade and investment effect, RTA

## **Introduction**

The decade of the 1990s has been characterised by a strong wave of regional economic integration in the world economy, visible through the increasing number of RTAs in different parts of the world. The number of RTAs reported to the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) since its inception in 1948 was 25 in 1990, which had increased to 91 in 2000, and had reached 612 as on April, 2015, of which 406 agreements were actually in force. 90% of the reported RTAs are FTAs and partial scope agreements, with customs unions accounting for merely 10% of the arrangements.<sup>2</sup> This reflects a changing perception in the existing paradigms of development, as regionalism is being considered as a developmental option that would promote competitiveness of trade bloc members and help accelerate integration of the members into the international economy. It also reflects changes in trade policy objectives of certain countries, changing perceptions of the multilateral liberalization

process, and reintegration of countries in transition from socialism into the global economy (Joshi, 2012).

The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is a manifestation of regionalism with the basic stated objective of reducing trade barriers between member countries. In their simplest form, these agreements merely remove tariffs on intra-bloc trade in goods, but recent years have seen the emergence of “comprehensive preferential trade and investment agreements” – PTIAs (UNCTAD, 2006) or “new generation RTAs” as they are called, which extend their scope not only to cover non-tariff barriers, but also cover liberalization in investment and other policies, with the ultimate goal of economic union and a shared executive.

PTIAs have become the focus of development strategy, especially for developing countries. According to UNCTAD 2006, at the end of 2005, developing countries were party to 79 per cent of the PTIA network, while developed countries were involved in 54 per cent of the agreements. South-South PTIAs included 86 RTAs at the end of 2005 (UNCTAD, 2006a), with 67 under negotiation on July 1, 2006, at least 67 involving 106 countries (Agarwal, 2008). There were more than 300 PTAs in force by 2013, about half of which covered services; taken together these PTAs covered almost half of world trade (UNCTAD, 2014).<sup>3</sup> The economic impact of regional economic integration is manifested through the obvious channels of trade and investment. The literature gives special importance to the impact on FDI in the case of the “new generation RTAs” not only through investment-specific provisions but also preferential trade-related conditions and other initiatives contained in them. There is however, a complex relationship between regional agreements and FDI flows which is determined by several factors, including the degree of integration, the nature of capital flows, the patterns of trade and FDI, the structural composition and the level of development of partner countries (Aggarwal, 2008).

RTAs also cover various other forms of regional co-operation besides trade and investment. These include cross-border movement of people, better information flows, publication of data and statistics, contract enforcement and so on, which help to improve the general economic climate and hence boost trade and investment activities.

This paper uses descriptive statistics to examine regional economic integration in South Asia with a specific focus on the India Sri Lanka Free trade agreement (ISLFTA), which was a pioneering attempt at economic co-operation in South Asia (Kelegama, 2014). The paper is organized as under: following the

introduction in section I, section II examines regional co-operation in South Asia, section III explores the growth of economic co-operation between India and Sri Lanka, section IV establishes the theoretical relationship between RTAs and trade flows, section V contains the research methodology, section VI has a discussion of the results and section VII concludes.

### **Regional Co-operation in South Asia**

The South Asian region started the process of economic *opening up* in the 1940s, but continued to have a highly protectionist economic policy regime until late 1970s through a system of high tariff and non-tariff barriers, state interventions in economic activity, strict exchange controls and a general discouragement of foreign investment (Pant, Bishnu et al., 2014).

South Asia is one of the economically most underdeveloped parts of the world with five least developed countries viz. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Nepal, two low income countries viz. India and Pakistan and one lower middle income country viz. Sri Lanka. It is among the world's least integrated regions and houses more than 20 per cent of the world's population living in abject poverty. Geographically Nepal, Bhutan and Afghanistan are landlocked, whereas Bangladesh, India and Pakistan are located in the border areas and suffer from lack of market integration. However, this started to change in the late 1970s beginning with gradual liberalization in Sri Lanka from 1977. It was followed by others in the 1980s including India which started the process of liberalization in 1991. The economic environment began opening up as a whole from the early 1990s (Jayasuriya and Weerakoon, 2001; Sahoo, 2006; Dutta, 2000) as regional integration of different forms started taking effect and led to a significant reduction in trade and investment barriers.<sup>4</sup>

Economic integration in the South Asian region has seen multilateral trade liberalization, alongside regional, sub-regional and bilateral liberalization. The South Asian countries with the exception of Afghanistan formed the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) in 1985 as a political consultation entity. This in turn led to the establishment of SAPTA (SAARC Preferential Arrangement) and SAFTA (The Agreement on South Asian Free Trade Area) directed towards deepening regional economic integration. In addition, there have been three bilateral FTAs (one of which is between India and Sri Lanka) and seven trade agreements (one of which is between India – Bangladesh). There are others in process including a comprehensive “Economic Partnership Agreement” between India and Sri Lanka. Besides this four RTAs are under negotiation which includes one between India and Bangladesh. The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and

Economic Co-operation i.e. BIMSTEC (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Thailand) – FTA aims to achieve its own free trade area by 2017. An interesting feature of regional co-operation in South Asia is that it is representative of “traditional regionalism,” since all agreements with the exception of BIMSTEC, are traditional RTAs which aim at reducing/ eliminating only trade barriers and exclude other important issues such as services, competition, IPRs, government procurement and investment (Agarwal, 2008). The other form of regional co-operation is through FDI and takes the form of BITs (Bilateral Investment Treaties) and DTTs (Double Tax Avoidance Treaties). India has one BIT with Sri Lanka and one DTT with Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are also party to one DTT each.

The following tables list the different forms of co-operation between SAARC countries.

**Table 1: FTAs between the SAARC countries**

	Afghanistan	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri lanka
Afghanistan		SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA
Bangladesh	SAFTA		SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA PBFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC
Bhutan	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC		SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC
India	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC		SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC ISLFTA
Maldives	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA		SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA
Nepal	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA		SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC
Pakistan	SAFTA	SAFTA PBFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA		SAFTA PSFTA
Sri lanka	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA BIMSTEC ISLFTA	SAFTA	SAFTA BIMSTEC	SAFTA PSFTA	

**Table 2: Status of FTAs among SAARC Countries**

<b>FTA</b>	<b>Members</b>	<b>Signed and in Effect</b>	<b>Signed but not yet in Effect</b>
Pakistan-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement(( <b>PSFTA</b> ))	Pakistan Sri Lanka	2005-06-12	2002-08-01
South Asian Free Trade Area ( <b>SAFTA</b> )	Bangladesh India Nepal Sri Lanka Afghanistan Bhutan Maldives Pakistan	2006-01-01	2004-01-06
Pakistan-Bangladesh Free Trade Agreement ( <b>Pakistan-Bangladesh FTA</b> )	Bangladesh Pakistan		Negotiations launched 2003-11-16
Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation (BIMSTEC) Free Trade Area ( <b>BIMSTEC FTA</b> )	Bhutan Myanmar Sri Lanka Bangladesh India Nepal Thailand		<b>(FA) signed</b> 2004-09-07 <b>Negotiations launched</b> 2014-0-0
India-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement ( <b>ISLFTA</b> )	India Sri Lanka	2001-12-15	1998-12-28

**Table 3: Other Significant Trade Agreements**

Bhutan	2006-07-29	2006-07-28
India		
India	2002-03-06	1991-12-06
Nepal		
Iran		2003-07-17
Islamic Republic of Tajikistan		
Afghanistan		
Pakistan		
Turkey		

**Table 4: Preferential Trade Agreement**

India-Afghanistan Preferential Trading Agreement <b>(India-Afghanistan PTA)</b>	India Afghanistan	2003-05-13	2003-03-06
Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement <b>(APTA)</b>	Bangladesh India Lao PDR China, People's Republic of Korea Republic of Sri Lanka	1976-06-17	1975-07-31
Preferential Tariff Arrangement-Group of Eight Developing Countries <b>(PTA-D8)</b>	Bangladesh Indonesia Malaysia Pakistan	2011-08-25	2006-05-13
	Egypt Iran, Islamic Republic of Nigeria Turkey		
India-Afghanistan Preferential Trading Agreement <b>(India-Afghanistan PTA)</b>	India Afghanistan	2003-05-13	2003-03-06

Source: ADB website

**India – Sri Lanka Economic Co-operation – An Overview**

Economic relations between India and Sri Lanka date back to the colonial times in the form of trade of food items as mandated by the colonial masters. Trade between the two countries remained at modest levels even in the post-independence era, as both countries opted for inward looking import substituting models of development. In 1977, Sri Lanka became the first South

Asian country to opt for a liberalisation program; the subsequent opening of its markets led to a flooding of East Asian goods, against which substandard Indian products produced in its closed inefficient markets stood no chance of competition. Trade between the two countries finally began to pick up in favour of India with the onset of partial liberalization during the 1980s and further liberalization in 1991. Trade figures doubled between 1993 and 1996, and between 1990 and 1996 imports of Indian goods to Sri Lanka grew by 556 per cent. In 1995, India toppled Japan from its position of top importer to Sri Lanka as Indian imports constituted 8-9 per cent of total imports to Sri Lanka (Kelegama and Mukherji, 2007).

Sri Lanka's perception of the obvious benefits of trading with India - the largest economy in the South Asian region with a growing middle class population, was the impetus towards a FTA to boost to mutual trade. Sri Lanka perceived the benefits of FTA membership through increased trade ties with South Asia's dominant economic power, and hoped to change the Sri Lankan export profile from low value added goods to high value added goods aimed at niche markets and to provide low-income groups with cheap consumer imports from India (Kelegama, 1999). Sri Lanka also hoped to attract more export-oriented Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from third world countries by promoting itself as an effective entry point into the Indian market. India viewed the agreement as the much needed foothold into the South Asian markets in the aftermath of economic sanctions imposed on the country for the nuclear tests conducted in May 1998. The ISLFTA thus came into effect on December 28 1998 as a pioneering attempt at economic co-operation in South Asia and began with a liberalization of trade in goods (Kelegama, 2014).

### **Conceptual Framework - FTAs and their Effect on Trade and Investment FTAs and Trade**

There has been considerable debate in academic circles about the impact of FTA on member countries and on the rest of the world (Bhagwati and Krueger, 1995) through trade creation and trade diversion explained using a partial equilibrium approach (Viner, 1950).

The trade creation effect of FTAs improves resource allocation within a region and income for member countries by reducing trade barriers. It makes consumers better off by giving them greater choice as they can buy goods from the most efficient supplier at the lowest cost.

The trade diversion effect on the other hand, means that the FTA would replace imports of highly efficient non-member countries by imports from less efficient



FTA members. Trade creation results in an improvement in resource allocation and economic welfare, while trade diversion worsens efficiency in resource allocation. Besides, trade diversion has a negative impact on non-members as they lose an exporting opportunity. Thus, while consumers in FTA member countries may have increased welfare as the FTA enables them to buy imports at lower prices, an FTA member country in totality may face a loss if the decline in government's tariff revenue exceeds the consumers' gain.

In general, an FTA would lead to some amount of trade creation and trade diversion. If the trade diversion is sufficiently large relative to the trade creation effects, the FTA could conceivably end up being harmful to the member countries.

Successful regional agreements might be expected to increase trade between partners relative to those countries' trade with the rest of the world. This is subject to three important conditions:

- First, successful regional integration is typically accompanied by reductions in tariffs for all partners. Hence, regional trade shares may not rise even though the volume of regional trade is increasing.
- Second, regional trade agreements that provide for the removal or reduction in trade costs other than those associated with formal trade policies (such as improved customs procedures), may stimulate trade from all sources.
- Third, many agreements cover non-trade issues such as investment, services, and labour, and these can have important consequences for growth and incomes. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind here that an agreement may be successful even if the propensity for members to trade among themselves does not increase markedly.

FTAs also aim at strengthening a region's participation in global production networks both through trade and capital flows. Integration has the potential to promote intra and extra regional FDI flows and economic development in individual countries of the region. This will pave the way for the most efficient use of the region's resources through additional economies of scale, value addition, employment and diffusion of technology.

### **FTAs and FDI**

The decade of the 90s witnessed the emergence of the “new generation RTAs” which are “comprehensive preferential trade and investment agreements” or PTIAs (UNCTAD, 2006), and has led to a proliferation of theoretical and

empirical literature on their role as tools of economic integration.

This approach examines the relationship between FTAs and FDI. It posits that FTAs affect FDI flows not only through investment specific provisions but also through preferential trade related conditions and other initiatives contained in them. The relationship between regional agreements and FDI flows is complex, being determined among other things by the degree of integration, the nature of capital flows, the patterns of trade and FDI and the level of development of partner countries.

Theoretically, there are three broad categories of provisions through which FTAs influence FDI flows in the integrating regions (Borenzstein and Lee, 1995; Blomström and Kokko, 1997; Dunning 1997): preferential trade terms, investment - related stipulations and other forms of co-operation. Each of these effects is discussed below. Preferential trade conditions, which aim at removing internal tariff barriers, can affect both, intra-regional FDI flows (generated in integrating countries) and extra regional FDI (generated outside the region) through static and dynamic linkages.

The framework analyzing static linkages points towards the impact of trade-related provisions on intra-regional FDI which is determined by the motive and nature of pre-agreement intra -regional investment (Blomström and Kokko, 1997) which may lead to either a positive or negative effect on intra-regional investment patterns. As trade barriers are reduced, companies with high fixed costs may focus their investment activity in one country and serve the partner markets through exports rather than set up subsidiaries in each of them. In this context the RTA would have a negative effect on intra-regional investment patterns as trade replaces investment.

However, if intra-regional investments efficiency-seeking (looking for increased profits), an RTA would have a positive effect as increased trade in goods and services would also allow firms to locate production where competitive conditions are most beneficial to it. In such a case, investment complements trade.

It has also been seen that the formation of an RTA changes the balance between vertical and horizontal FDI in member countries, resulting in some increase in the former at the expense of the latter. An example of this was the distribution of production in the automobile sector between the USA and Mexico after the implementation of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA). Production got distributed between the two countries, as the manufacturing of parts and components was concentrated in the US, labour- intensive assembly operations

were transferred to Mexico, leading to an increased flow of FDI there.

The stipulations on Rules of Origin also encourage intra-regional investment, driving away extra-regional inputs, even if they are more efficient. This also promotes intra-regional efficiency seeking FDI (Velde and Bezemer, 2006). Trade liberalisation also promotes cross-border investment in trade, transport and distribution within the region, giving a boost to intra-regional FDI in services.

Preferential trade stipulations in an RTA also affect extra regional FDI. The possibility of future protection for external investors, acts as an inducement for them to become insiders in an RTA (Blomström and Kokko, 1997). The lowering of tariff barriers leads to an expansion of market size of individual countries (Jaumotte, 2004; Lederman et al., 2004), and the lowering of non-tariff barriers within an RTA may provide an incentive to extra-regional investors to set up operations inside the region.

The *dynamic effects* of FTAs on FDI emerge out of the framework of the new trade theories (Ethier, 1998), highlighting the potential of RTAs increasing the appeal of the region by promoting trade-oriented economic growth (Baldwin, 1989). FTAs act as a driver of competition between participating countries, leading them to improve their investment environment to attract maximum FDI in the region (Jaumotte, 2004). A larger market also improves the inter-firm competitive environment, providing opportunities for growth through the creation of intangible assets. FDI also acts as a trigger for the growth of the economy by promoting technology transfers and spillovers.

- **Effects of Investment-related Provisions:** Investment provisions in RTAs consist of rules on pre and post entry treatment, protection of FDI and expropriation and dispute settlement mechanisms. These regulations liberalize FDI flows by reducing/eliminating restrictions on the entry and ownership of foreign investors and by ensuring that they do not suffer in treatment in comparison with their domestic counterparts. The investment rules guarantee a predictable investment climate and enhance investors' confidence on the legal and political milieu, particularly in low and middle income countries (Velde and Bezemer, 2006). RTAs may have positive effects on FDI inflows to the extent that the investment provisions lower barriers and facilitate capital flows.
- **Other Forms of Regional Initiatives:** RTAs cover various forms of regional co-operation other than trade and investment terms. These include cross-border movement of people, cross-border transaction of

funds, better information flows, publication of data and statistics, contract enforcement and so on. Some regions (ANDEAN, ASEAN, MERCOSUR) have co-operation schemes, which aim to establish regional enterprises by promoting joint ventures. Thus RTAs are not about merely setting trade and investment rules. They improve the economic climate and hence promote trade and investment activities.

### **India-Sri Lanka Economic Co-operation and its Impact on Trade and Investment Trade**

Economic relations between India and Sri Lanka began in the pre-colonial times in the form of trade which was focussed at satisfying the needs of the British colonial master, and was dominated by imports and exports in food-related items. Post-independence era saw both countries adopting inward-looking policies centred on the concepts of “self-reliance” and industrialization aimed at import substitution, with limited scope for trade between them (Kelegama and Mukerji, 2007). Sri Lanka initiated a program of liberalisation in 1977, which kick started the rather hesitant process in the region, till India launched its own program in 1991 leading to momentum for the entire region.<sup>5</sup>

Sri Lanka's liberalisation program in 1977 led to a flooding of East Asian goods in its markets, against which substandard Indian products produced in its closed inefficient markets stood no chance of competition. Trade between the two countries finally began to pick up in favour of India with the onset of partial liberalization during the 1980s and gained momentum with further liberalization in 1991. Trade figures doubled between 1993 and 1996, and between 1990 and 1996 imports of Indian goods to Sri Lanka grew by 556 per cent. In 1995, India toppled Japan from its position of top importer to Sri Lanka as Indian imports became 8-9 per cent of total imports.

Sri Lanka saw the obvious benefits of trading with India which was the largest economy in the South Asian region with a growing middle-class population and there was a push to the government towards a free trade agreement (FTA) as a boost to mutual trade. India also needed to enter the South Asian markets following economic sanctions imposed on the country for the nuclear tests conducted in May 1998. These factors led to the birth of the bilateral Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISLFTA) on December 28, 1998.

The ISLFTA was a pioneering attempt at economic co-operation in South Asia and began with a liberalization of trade in goods (Kelegama, 2014). The Sri Lankan objectives were increased trade ties with South Asia's dominant

economic power, and an attempt to change the Sri Lankan export profile from low value added goods to high value added goods aimed at niche markets and to provide low-income groups with cheap consumer imports from India (Kelegama, 1999). Sri Lanka also hoped to attract more export-oriented foreign direct investment (FDI) from third countries by promoting itself as an effective entry point into the Indian market.

The ISLFTA became operational in March 2000. Unlike most bilateral FTAs which are formulated on a “positive list approach” which states the individual commodities in which preferential treatment would be granted, due to paucity of time the ISLFTA was formulated based on the “negative list” approach; each country extended tariff concessions/preferences to all commodities except those indicated in its negative list (Kelegama, 2014).<sup>6</sup>

In order to ensure that an FTA between unequal partners leads to a “win-win” situation for all, it is important to take the asymmetry between the two countries into account and build Special and Differential Treatment (SDT) for the smaller country into the FTA, with the larger country not insisting on reciprocity by the smaller country. SDT was built into the ILFTA in favor of Sri Lanka through measures such as a longer negative list, longer trade liberalization schedule and favorable Rules of Origin (ROO) (Kelegama, 2014).<sup>7</sup>

The ISLFTA had a trade creation effect for both the partner countries (Mukerjhi, Kelegama and Jayawardena, 2003) as well as the rest of the world (Joshi, 2010). Sri Lanka's trade with India changed dramatically in the early years of the FTA, with a number of new products being exported from both countries (Mukerjhi et al., 2003).

Implementation of the ISLFTA brought about a dramatic change in trade between the two countries. Prior to the FTA, although India was an important source of imports for Sri Lanka, it was not a major export market. Post the ISLFTA in 2000, India ranked 14th in terms of export destinations. In the period 1995-2000, immediately preceding the agreement, average annual exports from Sri Lanka to India were US\$39 million (about 1% of Sri Lanka's overall exports) while average imports were US\$509 million (about 10% of Sri Lanka's overall imports). By 2005, Sri Lanka's exports to India reached US\$566 million, a tenfold increase compared to 2000, and stood at US\$567 million in 2012 (see Table 1). India was the fifth largest destination for Sri Lanka's exports in 2008, and by 2012 India had become the third largest export destination after the European Union (EU) and the United States (US) (Kelegama, 2010).

The FTA also resulted in a significant change in the nature of products traded as primary products like pepper, waste and scrap steel, areca nuts, dried fruit, cloves, were gradually replaced by higher value products such as insulated wires and cables, pneumatic tires, ceramics, vegetable fats and oils, refined copper products and furniture.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 5: Trade Flows**

BILATERAL TRADE								
ALL FIGURES IN US \$ MILLION(FTA IMPLEMENTED IN 2000)								
YEAR	INDIA'S EXPORTS				INDIA'S IMPORTS			
	SRI LANKA	TOTAL	% SHARE	%GROWTH	SRI LANKA	TOTAL	% SHARE	%GROWTH
1998-1999	437	33219	1.32		38	42389	0.09	
1999-2000	499	36822	1.36	14.22	44	49738	0.09	17.40
2000-2001	640	44560	1.44	28.22	45	50536	0.09	1.75
2001-2002	631	43827	1.44	-1.45	67	51413	0.13	49.71
2002-2003	921	52719	1.75	45.98	91	61412	0.15	34.80
2003-2004	1319	63843	2.07	43.24	195	78149	0.25	114.41
2004-2005	1413	83536	1.69	7.12	378	111517	0.34	94.31
2005-2006	2025	103091	1.96	43.27	578	149166	0.39	52.67
2006-2007	2258	126414	1.79	11.54	470	185735	0.25	-18.59
2007-2008	2830	163132	1.74	25.33	635	251654	0.25	35.00
2008-2009	2426	185295	1.31	-14.29	357	303696	0.12	-43.84
2009-2010	2188	178751	1.22	-9.81	392	288373	0.14	9.99
2010-2011	3508	249816	1.40	60.31	502	369769	0.14	27.93
2011-2012	4379	305964	1.43	24.84	637	489319	0.13	27.05
2012-2013	3984	300401	1.33	-9.02	626	490737	0.13	-1.82
2013-2014	4534	314405	1.44	13.82	667	450200	0.15	6.57
2014-2015(Apr-Dec)	5165	237735	2.17		464	350365	0.13	

*Source: Department of Commerce, India(<http://www.commerce.nic.in/eidb/centq.asp>)*

There was a simultaneous increase in the number of products exported by Sri Lanka to India also during this period. While in 1999 Sri Lanka exported 505 tariff lines to India, by 2005 this had increased to 1,062, and by 2012 had further increased to 2,100. In the early years of the FTA there was trade creation, with a number of new products being exported from both countries (Mukherji et al., 2003). The ILFTA did not become a discriminatory trading framework for the rest of the world and according to Joshi (2010) it had a trade creation effect on the rest of the world.

The overall view of bilateral trade between the two countries in the aftermath of the FTA presents a very positive picture, with a sixfold increase in overall trade and a tenfold increase in exports from Sri Lanka. The view is further enhanced by the increased diversity and greater value addition in exports from Sri Lanka. There has also been a substantial increase in imports, which have grown at a rapid rate following the implementation of the FTA. Imports from India, which amounted to US\$600 million in 2000, reached US\$3,640 million in 2012 – a six-fold increase. India has been Sri Lanka's main source of imports



since 1997. The view is further enhanced by the increased diversity and greater value addition in exports from Sri Lanka.

A significant feature of bilateral trade is that Sri Lanka's exports to India during 2005-2007, were largely concentrated in two products-copper and vanaspati. The rise in exports of these items was not due to any distinct comparative advantage that Sri Lanka held, but rather was due to short-term tariff arbitrage by Indian manufacturers investing in Sri Lanka.<sup>9</sup>

Changes in trade patterns have led to an increased trade deficit between India and Sri Lanka – however, this is not the result of the FTA between the two countries, since most of the major traded items are not subject to the FTA. Various studies have clearly shown that there is hardly a deficit between the two countries for actual goods moving under the FTA, and it is actually normal trade patterns between the two countries which are likely to have resulted in an even wider trade deficit since the FTA has provided some scope for Sri Lankan exports to India (Kelegama, 2014).

### **Investment**

There are three distinct visible waves of Indian investments into Sri Lanka in the post liberalisation period commencing 1977:

- The first wave witnessed greenfield investment as companies such as Ashok Leyland set up manufacturing units for the domestic market. However, domestic turbulence in the aftermath of the 1983 political turmoil put an end to this FDI flow.
- The second wave of investment started in the mid-1990s as India became Sri Lanka's largest importer. FDI flowed into areas such as steel, cement, roofing sheets and paint manufacturing.
- The third wave began in the post FTA phase in 2000 and with firms such as ICICI bank, Bharat Airtel, IOC, Apollo Hospitals, making a foray in the Sri Lankan market. India is presently the second largest investor in the country, surpassed only by Malaysia.

India is the main FDI host for Sri Lankan investment and companies such as Carson Cumberbatch, Brandix (which has established a US\$1 billion “apparel city” in Vizag), MAS Holdings, John Keells, Hayleys, Aitken Spence, Damro, Dankotuwa Porcelain, Ceylon Biscuits and Atlas Stationery are some of the prominent firms with investments in India.

Table 6 gives an overview of FDI flows between the two countries.

**Table 6: FDI Flows**

Inward and outward foreign direct investment flows, annual, 1970-2013

Measure US Dollars at current prices and current exchange rates in millions

<b>Economy</b>	<b>Sri Lanka</b>		<b>India</b>	
<b>Year/ Direction</b>	<b>Inward</b>	<b>Outward</b>	<b>Inward</b>	<b>Outward</b>
1990	43	1	237	6
1991	67	5	75	-11
1992	123	2	252	24
1993	194	7	532	0
1994	166	8	974	82
1995	65	6	2151	119
1996	133	7	2525	240
1997	433	5	3619	113
1998	150	13	2633	47
1999	201	24	2168	80
2000	173	2	3588	514
2001	172	0	5478	1397
2002	197	11	5630	1678
2003	229	27	4321	1876
2004	233	6	5778	2175
2005	272	38	7622	2985
2006	480	29	20328	14285
2007	603	55	25350	17234
2008	752	62	47139	21147
2009	404	20	35657	16031
2010	478	43	27431	15933
2011	981	60	36190	12456
2012	941	64	24196	8486
2013	916	65	28199	1679
Source: UNCTAD				



## **Conclusion**

This study examined the trade and investment effect of the ISLFTA as an instance of regional economic integration between India and Sri Lanka and its associated benefits for business activity in the region. The ISLFTA has now existed for 12 years. There has been a significant increase in both trade and investment during this period but it is not yet free of problems.

The ISLFTA had a trade creation effect for both the partner countries as well as the rest of the world. There was a dramatic increase in both the volume and composition of trade between the two countries – with a number of new products being exported from both countries and lower value added products being replaced by higher value added products (Abhyaratne and Varma, 2016).

FDI flows between the two countries also increased following implementation of the FTA and India is the largest investor in Sri Lanka today. It is seen that vertical FDI flows have dominated to take advantage of the abundant and relatively cheap labour. The leading sector which has attracted FDI in Sri Lanka has therefore been the textiles and garments sector, creating employment opportunities for the unskilled female labour force. Another significant feature of FDI flows has been the predominance of M&As as compared to other forms of flows. In India, M&As through MNEs have accounted for almost one third of all corporate acquisitions, reducing the employment benefits that other forms of FDI such as Greenfield investment can have. The overall employment benefits associated with FDI have thus not been very significant.

In order to reap the full benefits of the FTA it is imperative that there is a deepening and broadening of its scope. This can be done by implementation of the CEPA as an attempt to manage Sri Lanka's economic relationship with India taking into account the disparities between the two countries. The Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) provides a legal framework which defines the rules and regulations under which trade and investment occur between the two countries. The CEPA needs to be implemented keeping in mind the inter-relationship between trade in goods and services with investment. The trade–investment relationship needs to be put to its full use through the use of both the causality from trade leading to investment and also of investment leading to trade. This needs to be accompanied by a ruled-based investment regime with renewed double taxation agreements, investment protection agreements and pre-establishment national treatment clauses.

It is also important to keep in mind disparities between the two countries and to factor in strategies to reduce these differences. The use of Joint Ventures with buyback conditionality is a case in point, such as the CEAT Kelani tyres, which exports tires produced in Sri Lanka to India among other countries. This will act as a boost to intra-industry trade, supply chains and production networks, leading to further increase in the economic relations between the two countries. Increased FDI also requires a safe and congenial investment climate and a fair tax regime so that investments are not taxed twice through amendments in existing legal provisions.

### Notes

1. An earlier version of this study was presented at the International Symposium on *Contemporary Issues in the South Asian Region*, organized by B.R.Ambedkar College, Delhi University.
2. [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/region\\_e/region\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/region_e.htm) [15 March 2016].
3. [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditctab2014d3\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ditctab2014d3_en.pdf) [10 March 2016].
4. For a detailed discussion on individual country efforts at liberalisation see Acharya 2006 and Tendulkar and Bhavani for India; AtiqurRehman and Tipur 2006 for Bangladesh; Hussain 2006 for Pakistan and Kelegama 2006 for Sri Lanka.
5. World Bank (2004).
6. Sri Lanka's negative list comprises mainly agricultural products, key revenue items such as motor vehicles and items of significant domestic production such as ceramics and footwear.
7. The immediate duty-free list (319 items) and 50% preferential duty list (889 items) were considerably smaller than those offered by India (1,351 items and 2,799 items respectively), while the Sri Lankan negative list (1,180 items) was considerably larger than India's (196 items) (Kelegama and Mukherji, 2007).
8. Department of Commerce, Sri Lanka, Available at: <http://www.doc.gov.lk> [12 March 2016].
9. India maintained high tariffs on imports of crude palm oil from countries such as Malaysia, while Sri Lanka maintained relatively low tariffs on imports of these products. Thus Indian manufacturers set up vanaspati manufacturing plants in Sri Lanka, imported crude palm oil, processed it in Sri Lanka to form vanaspati and exported it to India free of duty under the FTA.

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### 3 रागांग राग वर्गीकरण

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भारतीय शास्त्रीय संगीत व राग समपर्याय हैं। शास्त्रीय संगीत की अभिव्यक्ति रागदारी संगीत के इर्द गिर्द घूमती है। सभी सांगीतिक परिभाषाओं, व्यवहार, प्रस्तुतिकरण, सौंदर्यानुभूति, रसाभिव्यक्ति, व संगीत के इतिहास का केन्द्र बिन्दु राग है। इसी क्रम में विभिन्न कालों में रागों को सीखने सिखाने के लिए विभिन्न राग वर्गीकरण पद्धतियों का सृजन किया गया। उपयोगिता, परिवर्तन व विकास क्रम को सम्मुख रखते हुए नवीन राग प्रचलित होते रहे। इनमें से रागांग राग पद्धति भारतीय संगीत में चिरपरिचित वर्गीकरण प्रणाली के रूप में मान्य रही है। समय के साथ-साथ राग वर्गीकरण के मानदंड बदलते रहे। आधुनिक समय में यह प्रणाली सर्वसम्मत होते हुए भी सुनिश्चित स्वरूप प्राप्त नहीं कर सकी है।

हिन्दुस्तानी संगीत में रागांग शब्द का प्रयोग मतंग मुनि के समय (संगीत बृहदेशी) से हो रहा है। देशी रागों की चर्चा करने वाला यह प्रथम उपलब्ध ग्रंथ है। ग्राम रागों व देशी रागों को जोड़ने की कड़ी में रागांग रागों का वर्णन किया गया है। आचार्य पार्श्वदेव ने 'संगीत समय सार' में रागांग रागों की चर्चा उनके लक्षणों सहित दी। तत्पश्चात् पं. शागदेव के दशविद्य राग वर्गीकरण में इस वर्गीकरण को स्थान मिला।

मध्यकाल में लगभग सभी ग्रंथकारों ने रागों का उल्लेख किया। आधुनिक समय में भी रागांग वर्गीकरण प्रणाली भारतीय संगीत की बहुचर्चित प्रणाली है। सभी कलाकार व शास्त्रकार इसे मान्यता देते हैं, परन्तु यदि शास्त्राधार की बात की जाये तो इस वर्गीकरण को सर्वसम्मत मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है। इसके समक्ष थाट वर्गीकरण प्रणाली जो हमेशा अपवादों में घरे में रही एक सुनिश्चित स्वरूप प्राप्त किये हैं। इसी कारण प्रारंभिक शिक्षण से ही संगीत विद्यार्थी थाट वर्गीकरण की अलोचना करते दिखाई देते हैं। इस लक्ष्य लक्षण भेद के चलते रागांग पद्धति को सुनिश्चित आधार प्राप्त नहीं हो सका है। आधुनिक समय में कई ग्रंथकारों ने इस प्रणाली पर काम किया है परन्तु शिक्षण प्रशिक्षण के जो आधार बिन्दु होने चाहिये उन्हें निर्धारित नहीं किया गया है। पं. नारायण मोरेश्वर खरे जी ने इस ओर विशेष प्रयत्न किये, परन्तु आधार रागों की बहुल संख्या के कारण व प्रचार के अभाव के कारण यह वर्गीकरण सुनिश्चितता प्राप्त नहीं है।

इस विषय को लेकर इस शोध पत्र में चर्चा की गई है तथा रागांग राग वर्गीकरण प्रणाली को व्यवहार व शास्त्र सम्मत बनाने के लिये विचार व्यक्त किये गये हैं, ताकि शिक्षण प्रणाली में इसे सर्वमान्य स्वरूप प्राप्त हो सके।

मूल शब्द: शास्त्रीय संगीत, हिन्दुस्तानी संगीत, रागांग राग, रागांग पद्धति, थाट राग पद्धति, थाट वर्गीकरण प्रणाली

भारतीय संगीत राग प्रधान है। जब से राग अस्तित्व में आए तभी से राग वर्गीकरण की परम्परा चली आ रही है। भारतीय संगीत में, राग एक ऐसी सांगीतिक अभिव्यक्ति है जिसका प्रयोग प्राचीन काल से निरंतर किया जा रहा है। भारतीय संगीत के विकास क्रम में युगानुसार राग नये रूप लेते रहे और नवीन स्वरूप कभी प्रचलित कभी अप्रचलित श्रेणी में गिने जाते रहे। इसी विकास क्रम को क्रमबद्ध व निश्चित रूप देने के लिए अलग-अलग वर्गीकरण प्रणालियों की आवश्यकता पड़ी। आधुनिक समय में थाट राग वर्गीकरण पद्धति मुख्यतः प्रचार में है जो केवल राग के ढाँचे पर विचार करती है। जिस कारण थाट राग पद्धति में कई विवाद व अपवाद सामने आए हैं व नवीन राग वर्गीकरण प्रणालियों की संभावनाओं पर विचार किया जाना आवश्यक प्रतीत होने लगा है। जिसके फलस्वरूप रागांग पद्धति को राग वर्गीकरण पद्धति के रूप में मान्यता देने की बात सामने आई है।

भारतीय संगीत में रागांग की कल्पना प्राचीन काल से चली आई है परन्तु किसी भी समय इसे राग वर्गीकरण की स्वतंत्र पद्धति के रूप में नहीं अपनाया गया।

हिंदुस्तानी संगीत में रागांग का प्रमुख स्थान है रागांग एक सांगीतिक शब्द है जो राग + अंग से मिलकर बना है। राग का वह खण्ड अथवा अवयव विशेष जो राग का स्वरूप निर्माण करने में प्रमुखतया सहायक है वह रागांग है। प्रत्येक राग में कुछ विशिष्ट स्वर समूह होते हैं जो उस राग का विशेष अंग बन जाते हैं और ये अंग कई अन्य रागों में भी प्रयोग किए जाते हैं।

जैसे— ग म रे रे स ग म ध ध प (भैरव), म रे प ग म रे स (मल्हार), ग म रे स ध नी ण (कान्हड़ा)। ऐसे स्वर समूहों को किसी प्रसिद्ध राग का नाम दे दिया जाता है जो उस रागांग विशेष का राग कहलाता है। जब भी राग संगीत की चर्चा होती है, रागों के संदर्भ में रागांग का नाम अवश्य लिया जाता है। उदाहरणतया मियां मल्हार, सूर मल्हार, रामदासी मल्हार, मीरा मल्हार, इत्यादि रागों में मल्हार रागांग प्रमुख है। डॉ. कृष्णा बिष्ट के अनुसार, “जिस प्रकार एक भाषा केवल व्याकरण का संग्रह मात्र नहीं होती, अपितु शब्दों, वाक्यों व मुहावरों आदि के प्रयोग द्वारा सही रूप प्राप्त करती है उसी प्रकार राग भी केवल स्वर सप्तक (स्केल) के द्वारा ही नहीं बल्कि राग के विशिष्ट गुण व व्यक्ति का दर्शन, अंग के माध्यम से होता है” (बिष्ट, 1973)।

अतः राग की प्रकृति स्वरूप व सौंदर्य राग के विशिष्ट अंगों पर निर्भर करता है। राग की सामान्य पहचान तो स्वरों द्वारा की जाती है परन्तु सूक्ष्म पहचान विशिष्ट स्वर समुदायों के माध्यम से होती है जो रागांग कहे जा सकते हैं। पंडित भातखंडे के अनुसार, “रागांग में अंग ऐसा भाग है जो रागों में स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है। किसी राग के आरोह अवरोह में नियमित स्वर छोड़ना, किसी राग आरोह अवरोह में स्वर विशेष प्रकार के रखना, किसी राग की स्वरचना विशिष्ट रखना आदि” (भातखंडे, 1970: 27)।

रागांग शब्द का सर्वप्रथम प्रयोग मतंग कृत बृहदेशी में प्राप्त होता है। मतंग ने देशी रागों का निरूपण करते हुए रागांग रागों की चर्चा की है। जिन रागों में ग्राम रागों की छाया दिखाई दे वे रागांग राग माने हैं (बृहदेशी 1201)।

पंडित शागदेव ने संगीत रत्नाकर में दशविधी राग वर्गीकरण के अंतर्गत रागांग रागों की चर्चा की है पूर्व प्रसिद्ध व अधुना प्रसिद्ध इक्कीस राग माने हैं। (8+13) (शास्त्री, 1976)।

आचार्य पार्श्वदेव ने 'संगीत समयसार' में रागांग रागों की चर्चा करते हुए उनके लक्षण भी दिए हैं। सम्पूर्ण षाडव व औडुव प्रकार बताते हुए कुल 20 रागांगों का वर्णन किया है (भारती, 1997)

मध्यकाल में ग्रंथकारों ने भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकारों से रागांग रागों की चर्चा की है। रागांग के लिए राग प्रकार व भेद शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है। महाराणा कुंभा ने 'संगीत राज' (1419-60) ग्रंथ में रागोल्लास नामक अध्याय में रागांग रागों की चर्चा की है व इनके लक्षण, आलाप व कुछ रागों के ध्यान भी बताए हैं (शर्मा, 1964: 403)।

तत्पश्चात् राजा मानसिंह ने अपने ग्रंथ 'मान कुतूहल' रागांग का नाम स्पष्टतः न लेते हुए राग प्रकारों का वर्णन किया है कान्हड़ा के पाँच, कामोद के पाँच और नट के नौ प्रकार वर्णित हैं (मानसिंह और मानकुतूहल, 2010)।

तानसेन ने अपने ग्रंथ 'रागमाला' (1556-1605) में रागभेद की चर्चा की है (मित्तल, 2003: 19)।

नारद ने अपने ग्रंथ 'संगीत मकरंद' में (16वीं शताब्दी) रागांग का उल्लेख मात्र किया है (नारद 18)।

पंडित सोमनाथ ने 'राग विबोध' (1609) में शारंगदेव के मत से रागांग रागों की चर्चा की है (सोमनाथ, 1945: 102)।

पंडित वेंकटमखी ने अपने ग्रंथ 'चतुर्दण्डप्रकाशिका' (1620) में शारंगदेव के समान रागों के स्वरूप का वर्णन किया है।

पंडित दामोदर ने 'संगीत दर्पण' में (1625), लोचन ने (1670-1705) 'राग तरंगिणी' में, हृदयनारायण देव ने (1660) 'हृदयकौतुक व हृदयप्रकाश' में, पंडित अहोबल ने (1665) 'संगीत परिजात' में, पंडित भावभट्ट ने 'अनूप संगीत रत्नाकर' 'अनूप संगीत विलास' में (1674-1709), श्रीनिवास ने 'राग तत्त्व विबोध' में राग भेद या राग प्रकारों की अपने-अपने ढंग से चर्चा की है। इस प्रकार मध्य काल में लगभग सभी ग्रन्थकारों ने रागांग की प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप में चर्चा की व अन्य राग वर्गीकरण पद्धतियों के चलते भी 'रागांग' का अस्तित्व बना रहा।

आधुनिक काल में पंडित विष्णु नारायण भातखंडे जो थाटपद्धति के संस्थापक माने जाते हैं, ने दस थाटों के अंतर्गत समस्त रागों का विभाजन किया परन्तु साथ-साथ स्वरूप बताने के

लिए रागों के रागांग भी बताए और अपने ग्रंथों में (भातखंडे संगीत शास्त्र-4) तोड़ी, भैरव, कान्हड़ा, पूर्वी आदि अंग रागों की भी चर्चा की है। इन्होंने काफी थाट में पांच अंग दिए हैं काफी अंग, धनाश्री अंग, कान्हड़ा अंग, सारंग अंग, मल्हार अंग' (भातखंडे, 1970: 29)।

भारतखण्डे के पश्चात् भी कई विद्ववानों ने रागांग को महत्वपूर्ण मानते हुए इसकी चर्चा अपने ग्रंथों में की है। उदाहरणतः पंडित ओंकारनाथ ठाकुर ने अपने ग्रंथों (संगीताजली भाग-1-6) में जितने भी रागों का वर्णन किया है उनके साथ रागों के थाट न बताते हुए राग का मुख्य स्वर समुदाय बताया है, व राग की विस्तृत चर्चा की है।

पंडित विनायक राव पटवर्धन ने 'राग विज्ञान' के 1-7 भागों में समस्त रागों के रागांग बताए हैं। पंडित रामकृष्ण व्यास कृत 'राग प्रवीन' भाग 1-2, पं. रामाश्रय झा ने 'अभिनव गीतांजली' भाग 1-5 में रागांग को आधार मानते हुए एक-एक अंग को लेकर उसमें आने वाले रागों का परिचय दिया है। रागांग प्रणाली को इतनी मान्यता होने के पश्चात् भी रागांग वर्गीकरण पद्धति को एक स्थापित वर्गीकरण प्रणाली के रूप में मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है।

आधुनिक काल में रागांग को राग वर्गीकरण की स्वतंत्र पद्धति के रूप में सामने लाने का श्रेय पंडित नारायण मोरेश्वर खरे को जाता है (पटवर्धन, 1953)। इन्होंने समस्त रागों का अध्ययन करके कुछ ऐसे स्वर समुदाय चुने जिनका स्वतंत्र स्वरूप था। ऐसे 26 स्वर समुदायों को रागांग की संज्ञा देकर समस्त रागों को इन रागांगों के अंदर रखा है। इनके अनुसार, "बहुत-सी रचनाएँ स्वतंत्र होती हैं। इन स्वतंत्र रागों की छाया जिन रागों में हो उन्हें 'रागांग' कहना चाहिए। स्वतंत्र रागों का तो मूल नाम है ही, इनसे निकलने वाले उपरागों को रागांग कहा जाएगा इन सब रागों के वर्गीकरण को रागांग पद्धति का नाम दिया गया है" (पटवर्धन, 1953: 10)।

पंडित नारायण मोरेश्वर खरे के समकालीन सभी ग्रंथकारों व कलाकारों ने रागांग पद्धति को मान्यता प्रदान की परन्तु वर्गीकरण की प्रणाली के रूप में सर्वसम्मति से मान्यता प्रदान नहीं की गई, न ही इसका प्रचार किया गया। क्रिया रूप में जब कोई प्रक्रिया अपना ली जाती है तो इसके लिए नियम निर्धारित किये जाते हैं। रागांग पद्धति के लिए इसका अभाव रहा, जिसके फलस्वरूप इस वर्गीकरण प्रणाली को मान्यता नहीं मिली जितनी कि थाट पद्धति को।

पंडित भारतखण्डे के प्रयत्नों से थाट राग वर्गीकरण पद्धति संपूर्ण हिंदुस्तानी संगीत में प्रचलित हुई। यद्यपि बहुत से कलाकार इस पद्धति की आलोचना करते रहे परन्तु इसके समक्ष कोई सुनिश्चित अन्य पद्धति स्थापित न कर पाए।

पंडित नारायण मोरेश्वर खरे ने रागांग पद्धति के आधार पर रागों को वर्गीकृत करने का एक नमूना हमारे समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया है। उनके अनुसार, "किसी भी राग का मुख्य आधार एक प्रकार 'विशिष्ट स्वर संदर्भ' पर स्थित होता है। ऐसे स्वर संदर्भों को लेकर देखा जाए तो निम्नलिखित तत्त्व ज्ञात होते हैं। बहुत सी स्वर रचनाएँ स्वतंत्र होती हैं, जिनसे विशेष प्रकार



के भाव अथवा रस का आविर्भाव होता है, ऐसी रचनाओं में आरोह—अवरोह, वादी—संवादी आदि के ह्रस्वत्व, दीर्घत्व तथा अल्पत्व और बहुत्व का नियम अच्छी तरह पाला जाता है। ऐसी स्वर रचनाओं में पूर्वांग के स्वर उतरांग के स्वरों के साथ पूर्णतया संबंध रखते हैं। ऐसे स्वर वाले रागों को स्वतंत्र राग कहना चाहिए और इन स्वतंत्र रागों की छाया जिन रागों में हो उन्हें 'रागांग' कहना चाहिए। ऐसे स्वतंत्र रागों और उनसे निकलने वाले दूसरे 'रागांग' को यथायोग्य समूहों में बांटने का प्रयत्न किया गया है। स्वतंत्र रागों का तो मूल नाम है ही, उन्हीं रागों को 'रागांग' कहा जाएगा। इन रागांगों में अन्य रागों को सबद्ध करने के वर्गीकरण को 'रागांग पद्धति' नाम दे रहे हैं" (पटवर्धन, 1953: 10—11)।

स्व. पं. नारायण मोरेश्वर सारे द्वारा रखे गए राग तथा उनके अंतर्गत रखे गए राग निम्नलिखित हैं।

१. भैरव — भैरव, कालिंगड़ा, जोगिया, गुणक्री, गौरी, शिवमत, रामकली, अहीर, प्रभात, मंगल, बैरागी, सोभावरी।
२. बिलावल— बिलावल, अल्हैया, सरपरदा, कुकुभ, लच्छासाख, शुक्ल, यमन, देवगिरी, जैज, सुखिया।
३. कल्याण — कल्याण, शुद्ध कल्याण या भूप कल्याण, यमन, चन्द्रकांत, तीव्र कल्याण, पहाड़ी, हेमकल्याण, जयंत कल्याण।
४. खमाज—खमाज, झिंझोटी, तिलंग, मांड, खंभावती।
५. काफी— काफी, सिंधोरा, आनंद भैरवी।
६. पूर्वी— पूर्वी, पूरिया— धनाश्री, पूरिया।
७. मारवा— मारवा, भटियार, भंखार, पूरिया।
८. तोड़ी— तोड़ी, गुर्जरी तोड़ी, छाया तोड़ी, मुल्तानी।
९. भैरवी— भैरवी, मालकंस, भूपाल, सिंध भैरवी।
१०. आसावरी— आसावरी, जौनपुरी, गांधारी, देवगांधार, कोमल आसावरी, देशी।
११. सारंग— बिन्द्रावनी सारंग, मेघ, शुद्ध सारंग, मधमाद सारंग।
१२. धनाश्री— धनाश्री, भीमप्लासी, धानी, पटदीप, प्रदीपकी, हसंकिकणी।
१३. ललत— ललित, बसन्त, पंचम, प्रभात, ललिता गौरी।
१४. पीलू— पीलू, बरवा, बड़हंस।
१५. सोरठ— सोरठ, देस, तिलक, कामोद, जयजयवंती।
१६. विभास— विभास, रेवा, जयताश्री।

१७. नट— नट, गौड़ ।  
१८. श्री— श्री राग, तिरवन, चैती, दीपक ।  
१९. बागेश्री — बागेश्री, रागेश्री, बहार, कौशिक कान्हड़ा ।  
२०. केदार— केदार, नट, भवानी केदार, कामोद, जलधर केदार ।  
२१. शंकरा— शंकरा, बिहाग, मालश्री, हंसध्वनि ।  
२२. कान्हड़ा— दरबारी, अड़ाना सुधराई, शहाना, नायकी, गुंजी कान्हड़ा, मल्हार, हुसैनी कान्हड़ा, मुद्रिकी, कौंसी, आभोगी ।  
२३. मल्हार— मल्हार, रामदासी मल्हार, सूर मल्हार, गौड़ मल्हार, मेघ मल्हार, नट मल्हार, चरजू की मल्हार, घुंडिया मल्हार ।  
२४. हिंडोल— हिंडोल, सोहनी, भिन्न षड्ज, शुद्ध सोहनी ।  
२५. भूपाली— भूपाली, देसकार, जयंत, जयंत कल्याण ।  
२६. आसा— आसा, दुर्गा, भवानी ।

(रागांग स्वरावलियों में मतभेद व विस्तारभय के कारण रागांगों के स्वरात्मक स्वरूप नहीं दिए जा रहे ।)

इस प्रकार मोरेश्वर खरे जी ने 26 प्रमुख रागांग रागों व उनके अंतर्गत आने वाले रागों की सूची दी है । इन रागों में प्रयुक्त स्वरावलियों का उल्लेख नहीं किया है पंडित विनायक राव पटवर्धन ने नारायण मोरेश्वर खरे कथित रागांग पद्धति को अपनी पुस्तक 'राग विज्ञान' में प्रतिष्ठा दी ।

उपरोक्त कथित रागांग पद्धति का अध्ययन करें तो यह स्पष्ट होता है कि खरे जी द्वारा उल्लेखित कई रागांग राग आज अधिक प्रचार में नहीं हैं । विभास, पीलू, शंकरा, हिंडोल, भूपाली, किसी भी दृष्टि से प्रमुख रागों की श्रेणी में नहीं रखे जा सकते । सोरठ और आसा अप्रचलित राग हैं । भैरवी स्वयं एक संकीर्ण राग है । ऐसा माना जा सकता है कि जब इन्होंने यह प्रणाली निर्धारित की तब यह रागांग काफी प्रचार में रहे हों । आज सोरठ के स्थान पर देस अधिक प्रचार में है, भैरवी के स्थान पर कौंस । इस प्रकार की कई त्रुटियों के कारण यह पद्धति अपने इसी रूप में लागू नहीं की जा सकती । आज स्थिति यह है कि संगीत शिक्षा प्रदान करते हुए शास्त्र रूप में थाट का परिचय दिया जाता है और क्रिया रूप में रागांग से शिक्षण प्रदान किया जाता है ।

लक्ष्य व लक्षण में भेद को मिटाने के लिए रागांग वर्गीकरण पद्धति को एक सुनिश्चित स्वरूप प्रदान करना आवश्यक होगा । इसके लिए कुछ नियम निर्धारित करने होंगे जिनमें से कुछ निम्न विचारधीन रखे जा सकते हैं ।

१. सभी प्रमुख रागांगो के निश्चित स्वर समूह निर्धारित करने होंगे जैसे—भैरव के लिए ग म ध ध प, ग म रे रे स।
२. रागांगो का नामकरण उस वर्ग के सबसे प्रचलित नाम पर करना होगा।
३. दो अंगों से मिश्रित रागों में प्रभुत्व रखने वाले राग का नाम रखना होगा।
४. रागांगो की संख्या कम करनी होगी।
५. नए बनाए जाने वालों रागों या मिश्र रागों के लिए संभावनाएं रखनी होंगी।
६. रागांग पद्धति को सर्वसम्मत बनाने के लिए इसे मान्यता देकर प्रचार व प्रसार करना होगा।

यद्यपि हिंदुस्तानी संगीत में थाट राग पद्धति सर्वसम्मति से प्रचार में है परन्तु यह भी तय है कि क्रियात्मक रूप में शिक्षा प्रदान करते समय राग के अंगों का वर्णन व उल्लेख अवश्य किया जाता है। यहाँ तक कि पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय, गुरु नानक देव, पंजाबी विश्वविद्यालय, हिमाचल प्रदेश विश्वविद्यालय, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय इत्यादि के पाठ्यक्रमों में रागांगों के आधार पर सीखने सिखाने के निर्देश हैं। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि भारतीय शास्त्रीय संगीत में रागों में वर्गीकरण के लिए थाट राग व रागांग राग दोनों समान रूप से प्रचार में है। थाट राग प्रणाली स्थूल रूप से रागों का वर्गीकरण मान्य करती है, जिसे समझना और समझाना आसान है और प्रारंभिक प्रशिक्षण के लिए इसका प्रयोग उचित है परन्तु जहाँ रागों में विस्तृत अध्ययन की बात आती है तब थाट राग प्रणाली बहुत से अपवादों के घेरे में आ जाती है। रागांग वर्गीकरण प्रणाली सामान्यतः प्रचार में है परन्तु उसे सुनिश्चित स्वरूप प्रदान नहीं किया गया है। इस शोध प्रबंध की लेखिका का यह मत है कि रागांग राग वर्गीकरण को यदि प्रचार में लाना है तो इसका मानकीकरण करना और व्यवस्थित आकार देना अत्यंत आवश्यक है। उचित शिक्षण प्रशिक्षण के लिए इसे शत प्रतिशत अपनाया गया है। यहाँ तक कि यू. जी. सी. के संगीत पाठ्यक्रम में भी दस अंगों को रखा गया है। किसी भी पद्धति को क्रिया में लाने से ही उसके गुण व दोष सामने आते हैं, उसी प्रकार रागांग पद्धति को भी विद्वानों की सहमति से सुनिश्चित स्वरूप दिए जाने पर और पूर्ण रूप से अपनाए जाने पर जांचा परखा जा सकता है।

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## **Uncle Tom Beyond Borders: Contemporary Relevance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin***

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Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) belongs to that category of books that holds incredible power to move nations and inspire individuals. The second best-selling book of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a response to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Stowe, being an abolitionist herself, wrote with a purpose to portray the evils of slavery that was at its peak in the Southern states of America. Moreover, the novel played a crucial role that led to the American Civil War by personalizing the political and economic arguments about slavery. Stowe's account was based on her interactions and interviews with fugitive slaves who escaped slavery from Kentucky, a slave state. The overview on the discourse of slavery that Stowe presents has helped World Literature and society take a pivotal turn.

The main focus of this paper would be to study how *Uncle Tom's Cabin* still holds significance even in the present Global Capitalist world, in which race and power imbalance is still a sensitive issue. That while slavery is overthrown, race relations and prejudices are still very much part of our world. Yet at the same time, the paper would analyse how the novel brought drastic changes in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century society. Studied as a historical artefact, it was one of the initial attempts by a white American woman author to voice the atrocities on African-Americans. Its scholastic relevance lies in inspiring writers to speak against social injustice, which is also a part of the program taught at the Harriet Beecher Stowe Centre.

Keywords: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, slavery, African-American victimization

Of the critical acknowledgement that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* gathered, its role in arousing the social consciousness of people cannot be dismissed. The text, which was one of its kind, came at a crucial point in the history of slavery in southern states of America. This paper seeks to examine how this novel by an American woman writer struck a heavy blow at the very foundation of white power supremacy and challenged it; yet at the same time it shall look at how even today, a century and a half later since its publication, it continues to inspire people and hold special prominence.

Like all white Americans, Stowe initially avoided all discussions about the sensitive issue of slavery. It was too unbearable for her to talk about it. We

know about her confession in the “Concluding Remarks” to the text, when she, “for many years of her life...avoided all reading upon or allusion to the subject of slavery, considering it too painful to be enquired into, and one which advancing light and civilisation would certainly live down” (Stowe, 2002: 409). However, after the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which punished those individuals who aided runaway slaves, she thought it was time to speak up: “And from this arose a desire to exhibit it in a *living dramatic reality*. She has endeavoured to show it fairly, in its best and its worst phases” (Stowe, 2002: 409). Her sister-in-law's plea to her to voice her opinion was partly responsible for her decision of writing the novel. In a letter to Stowe, Mrs. Edward Beecher wrote: “If I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that will make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is” (Fields, 1898: 145). As a matter of fact, Stowe did exactly what Edward Beecher inspired her to. A vision seen at a communion in church finally confirmed her decision to engage in writing the bestselling novel of the nineteenth century. This proves that Stowe wrote the novel consciously with the intended purpose of bringing social change.

The biblical message brought forth by the martyr Tom and the extreme sentimentalism associated with the novel made it heavily popular during its time. But the reason that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* still engages wide discussion is because of its central theme of slavery and its representation of African-American stereotypes. The mixed responses that the novel enjoyed were primarily due to different notions of slavery. Critic Theodore R. Hovet has endowed Augustine St. Clare, Alfred St. Clare and Simon Legree as representing the “three-well known periods in human bondage: Joseph's Egypt, the Classical Age, and the Cotton Kingdom” (Hovet, 1989: 5). Not just slavery, African-American characters like Uncle Tom, Eliza, Topsy and Cassy symbolize a caution for the whites to distrust the African-Americans for being emotional blackmailers, runaways, stealers and malicious plotters respectively. In fact, it ascribed and fixed stereotypes on the coloured men.

The dual plot of the novel depicts the fate of two African-American slaves, as pointed out by Professor John R. Adams in James Hall's *Western Monthly Magazine*, as:

consist(ing) of two journeys, that of escaped slaves to freedom in Canada and that of Tom to martyrdom in the deep South. Tom's adventures fall into three stages, his life in Kentucky with his first owners, his sojourn with kindly new masters, and his final torture at the hands of Simon Legree. The first of these sections gives the book its verisimilitude, for Mrs. Stowe had observed the life of Negroes on Kentucky estates. The second section contains most of the humour, in the contrast between the New England spinster, Miss Ophelia, and the wayward

slave girl, Topsy. Here also is to be found the most effective discussion of Negro slavery, in the witty and tolerant complaints of Augustine St. Clare. The final section is pure melodrama, intensifying the horror previously suggested in the opening chapters by the frenzied escape of Eliza over the icy Ohio River. Throughout the book, the basic themes of human repression and suffering are described with a vivid awareness that is still appreciable. (Wagenknecht, 1952: 93-94)

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the urgent need of the society, at a point in history when people had turned a blind eye to the injustice done to the racial subalterns of America. What is surprising is that, even after such blatant narratives and evidence, African-Americans still form the subaltern and are biased against even today. Stowe was present during President Lincoln's signature on the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. If we observe closely, we shall find that on the centenary celebrations of the same event, American Civil Rights activist Martin Luther King Jr. mourned the atrocities inflicted on the African-Americans and gave his revolutionary speech, "I Have a Dream." He deplores the fate that Negroes face even after a century when he exclaims:

One hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. (King, 1963)

Exactly a hundred years later, the African-Americans in Luther's America were not physically chained, but unfortunately they were still mentally shackled and their situation was no better.

Stowe in the mid-nineteenth century identified and portrayed the root of racial suffering; while later the revolutionaries like Luther and Mandela were seen waging a social war against the oppression of African-Americans. Uncle Tom had become an epithet for a martyr and an ideal subaltern individual who had set quintessential standards for African-Americans regarding behaviour in their colonizer's presence.

The novelist's work was applauded for being a repulsive yet a true picture of society. It had "made the public realise...the unspeakable wickedness of American slavery" (Gossett, 1985: 178). The young generation represented by Master George Shelby and Evangeline St. Clare held a strong anti-slavery stand and firmly propagated it. These children in the novel symbolize a silver lining in the history of slavery. George pledges on Tom's grave that he would "from that hour...do *what one man can* to drive this curse of slavery from (his) land!" (Stowe 390). Similarly, Eva who is ready to die for Tom and other slaves alike, feels grieved at their suffering when she states that:

other poor creatures have nothing but pain and sorrow all their lives; it seems selfish. I ought to know such things – I ought to feel about them! Such things always sank into my heart; they

went down deep; I've thought and thought about them. Papa, isn't there any way to have all slaves made free? (Stowe 257)

Perhaps, such a Christ-like anti-slavery stance did not seem to fit in the white man's pro-slavery outlook. This was the reason why immediately after the novel's publication, in Southern states of America, it was illegal to possess a copy of the text. Only a book of such a stature can expect such extreme responses from their readers. Another similar ugly rejection of Stowe's realistic craftsmanship was observed when she was sent a severed ear of an African-American slave, which cautioned her to back off from engaging in such stark social depiction. She was critiqued because she was a voice for the silent African-Americans, because she gave a fictional human face to the vicious institution of slavery.

Even though Stowe is seen to side with the African-Americans who unveil the evils of slavery, yet the protagonist martyr Tom is explained as an Other, not just as being an African-American slave. In the very statement where she generalises the whole African-American race and provides her own white-biased analysis of African-Americans, she remarks:

The negro, it must be remembered, is an exotic of the most gorgeous and superb countries of the world, and he has deep in his heart, a passion for all that is splendid, rich, and fanciful; passion which, rudely indulged by an untrained taste, draws on them the ridicule of the cooler and more correct white race. (Stowe 152)

The selective use of the phrase "more correct white race" hints at her belief in the white supremacy. Perhaps, this is the reason why her mouthpiece, Tom, the subaltern is shown embracing non-violence and submitting his will to Christ. She does not portray him as taking up arms against his superior oppressors, and her obvious message to other slaves out there was to accept slavery, serve their masters obediently and have faith in Christ who shall be redemptive at some point of time. Another evidence of such biased attitude comes forth when she brings Eva and Topsy face to face, representing two different worlds.

The Saxon, born of ages of cultivation, command, education, physical and moral eminence; the Afric, born of ages of oppression, submission, ignorance, toil, and vice! (Stowe 228)

To recognise, acknowledge and critique a book of social importance that emerged many decades ago, it becomes essential to consider both its angles objectively. Only then can we rightly say that it held the power to change history, inspire individuals and introduce fresh perspectives.

*Uncle Tom's Cabin* has become such an incredible iconic piece of literature, that, it has not just awakened people to start a war against slavery, but also inspired African-Americans to work towards their liberation, surprisingly in



order to avoid being labelled as “Uncle Tom.” This does not go against the importance of the novel, but sets it as a principal parameter that must or must not influence others of its kind. Rev. George Alexander McGuire, a supporter of the Black Nationalist leader Marcus Garvey, first used this phrase in 1919 as a popular epithet. In the first convention of Universal Negro Improvement Association, he spoke against the usage of Uncle Tom and asserted that the phrase must “go, and his (Tom's) place must be taken by the new leader of the Negro race ... not a black man with a white heart, but a black man with a black heart” (Starkey, 2015: 46). Such racial consciousness arose in African-Americans only when they learned to distinguish themselves from an already set parameter, in the form of Uncle Tom. The slaves during the 1850s saw their guide in the face of Tom, but as times changed, the African-American identity was widely celebrated and prided in. In the text itself, the new African-American identity and a desire to identify oneself with one's land and race can be observed towards the end, where optimistic hopes for the African Nation as a Republic were seen blossoming. The speech of George Harris where he thinks aloud had directly affected the ongoing debate on immigration, colonization and gradual emancipation that existed when the novel emerged at the time of Liberia's evolution as a nation. The “African dream” to return to one's own homeland and remain free was a dream come true, which motivated slaves to escape the clutches of slavery. Stowe talks through the character of George Harris who expresses his views in an epistolary form, of his love for being a proud African rather than being known as an American. He writes:

It is with the oppressed, enslaved African race that I cast in my lot; and, if I wished anything, I would wish myself two shades darker, rather than one lighter. The desire and yearning of my soul is for an African *nationality*. I want a people that shall have a tangible, separate existence of its own. (Stowe 400)

Later George Harris speaks for fellow slaves in the same way as Luther shall speak a century later. He speaks of the power of coming together and ending the long-endured bondage of African-Americans:

What can I do for them here? Can I break their chains? No, not as an individual; but, let me go and form part of a nation which shall have a voice in the councils of nations, and then we can speak. (Stowe 401)

This working together is also propagated by Luther by his echoing tone of “We cannot walk alone.” Unlike Uncle Tom, later revolutionaries did not wait for Christ to redeem them, but became substantial men who wrote their own fate. This was precisely the reason why Luther was referred to as a “modern” Uncle Tom, who stood for the same rights and principles, but instead of waiting, acted and urged others to do the same.

More recently, the term has been applied to US President Barack Obama, RNC chairman Michael Steele, American statesman Colin Powell, US Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, among others. These are African-Americans who serve the world that includes whites too, but are not passive like the original Uncle Tom. However, it was only courtesy the original Tom, that the later African-Americans determined to step out of his shadow and make the change. Had there been no Tom to differentiate themselves from, the African identity would have initiated its struggle with hostility rather than with an evolved non-violent conscious stability.

Stowe did her bit at a decisive moment in the history of social change. The book finds its genesis in the atrocities and the injustice done to African-Americans. It was exactly the kind of work that was necessary as per the societal requirements. Truthfully, no matter how much of melodrama, religious sermon or sentimental romanticism it contained, what binds the plot to the readers even today is Stowe's idea to stop discrimination, something that we all can universally relate to. Her remarkable contribution in being a conscious revolutionary writer did not stop after the novel's publication. It is till this date, and furthermore, that we shall witness the importance and influence of her work. An incredible evidence of this is The Harriet Beecher Stowe Centre at Connecticut that introduced the Harriet Beecher Stowe Prize in 2011 which gives opportunities to budding writers to write stories that must invoke and encourage themes of advancing social justice. In short, her aim of depicting the ills of society did not end in 1852. It has continued ever since. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* today, after a century and a half, engages dynamic argument and proves essentially crucial in the history of the world, because although the vicious discourse of slavery is over, we still deal with issues like racial segregation and power imbalances. Even in the very place where the figure of Uncle Tom took birth and died as a martyr, injustice, unequal treatment and discrimination are witnessed. If Uncle Tom represents all the pious subalterns of the world, we still fail to assure his grieved soul that many others like him, who were not just African-Americans, but weak and inferior in some way, still are a victim to a certain Simon Legree's atrocities. Uncle Tom signifies not just the struggle of the African-Americans, but of all the underprivileged victims of society who suffer because they have been refused recognition by all humanity. Today our fight is not limited to a fight against colour prejudice or race hostility but more ideologically a religion-cum-nation based identity that falls prey to the clutches of power blocks in one way or the other. Questioning other's identities and their ability to prove themselves innocent is not different from Uncle Tom's standpoint. What Tom shares with today's victims are a lack of trust and an

absence of empathy that we must inculcate and learn from the freedom struggles across the world. However, if we don't, then we shall witness new Toms being born across nations and colours. Before such Toms are born, we must put an end to all embodiments of Simon Legree who only spread animosity and intolerance.

This is exactly the kind of power that the author advocates for her readers. "There is one thing that every individual can do, they can see to it *that they feel right*" (Stowe 411). This idea to feel right is universal and connects not just the readers, but all the citizens of different nations, classes, races, or colours to feel right and stand up for justice. What is incredible is the universal and enduring relevance of this revolutionary text. A text that a white woman wrote for the African-American community, to represent and redeem them with only humanity in her heart.

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## **Inhibitory Potential of Limonene as Bioherbicide against Obnoxious Weed *Parthenium hysterophorus* L.**

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A research study was conducted to assess the inhibitory potential of limonene, a volatile monoterpene against ragweed parthenium, *Parthenium hysterophorus*. Limonene was found to have a significant inhibitory effect on the germination and early seedling growth of the test weed. The germination in the test weed was reduced by about 60% at the lowest concentration of 25  $\mu$ l of limonene and a complete germination inhibition was observed at 300  $\mu$ l treatment. Similarly, the seedling growth of the test weed in terms of radicle length, seedling length and seedling dry weight was also reduced considerably in response to various increasing concentrations of limonene. Not only this, the test monoterpene was also observed to cause an inhibition in the physiological parameters including the content of total chlorophyll and percent cellular respiration of the test weed to varying degrees compared to control, indicating a negative effect of the test monoterpene on the photosynthetic efficiency and energy metabolism of the weed species. Based on the above study, it is concluded that limonene possesses natural ability to suppress weeds and can be utilized for the management of various obnoxious weeds.

Keywords: inhibition, *Parthenium hysterophorus*, limonene, chlorophyll content, cellular respiration

### **Introduction**

Limonene is a volatile monoterpene constituent of essential oils of several aromatic plants like *Syzygium aromaticum* (L) Merrill and Perry. The monoterpenes are the simplest chemical molecules belonging to the terpenoid family and possess multiple biological and ecological functions. They are of great importance commercially because of their natural aroma and find extensive use in food, perfumery, cosmetic industries and aromatherapy. They are also reported to play many other significant roles including plant-plant interactions, defense mechanism as plant-protectants against herbivory, as attractants of pollinators and thus help in maintaining the delicate balance of natural ecosystems (Swain, 1977; Fischer, 1991; Vokou, 1999; Paiva, 2000). Additionally, these monoterpenes are involved in allelopathic interactions (a

kind of negative plant-plant interaction in which a plant releases chemicals called allelochemicals into the environment that are inhibitory for the growth of other plants in its vicinity) and thus play an important role in structuring and patterning of plant communities in natural ecosystems (Muller, 1965; Asplund, 1968; Abraham *et al.*, 2000; Singh *et al.*, 2002a, b; Weidenhamer *et al.*, 1993; Vokou, 1999). Further, they are easily biodegradable and possess little or no toxicity against mammals and other non-target species. These properties of monoterpenes make them highly suitable for agro-industry (Isman, 2000; Beuchat, 2001). Several monoterpenes like citronellal, citronellol, linalool, eugenol and cineole have been observed to inhibit germination and initial seedling growth of several weeds such as *Amaranthus viridis*, *Echinochloa crus-galli*, *Cassia occidentalis* and *Bidens pilosa* (Singh *et al.*, 2002b, 2004). In spite of being a natural plant product of high phytotoxicity and abundant availability, the potential of limonene as a bio-herbicide still needs to be investigated. The present investigation was therefore undertaken to explore the potential phytotoxic effect of limonene against a weedy species, *Parthenium hysterophorus* with a view to explore its potential use as a bio-herbicide.

## **Materials and Methods**

### **Experimental Design and Collection of Material**

Seeds of ragweed parthenium (*Parthenium hysterophorus* L.) were collected locally from wildy growing stands in the outskirts of Chandigarh. Limonene of technical grade was purchased from Lancaster, UK. The seeds were surface sterilized.

### **Bioassay Studies**

450 seeds of *Parthenium hysterophorus* were dipped in distilled water for 16 h for imbibition. These were divided into 9 groups of 50 each and were then equidistantly placed in 6" diameter Petri dishes lined with two layers of moistened Whatman no. 1 filter paper. The treatment of limonene was given in concentrations ranging from 25, 50, 100, 150, 200, 225 and 300  $\mu$ l. The Petri dishes were properly sealed after the treatments. A similar set-up without the treatment of limonene served as control. For each treatment, 5 replicates were maintained. The entire set up was kept in an environmentally controlled seed germinating chamber at  $25 \pm 2$  °C and  $75 \pm 2$  % relative humidity with a photoperiod of 16/8 day/night. After 7 days, the number of seeds that germinated was counted, radicle length, seedling length and seedling dry

weight were measured and the total chlorophyll content and percent respiratory activity were determined.

### **Estimation of Chlorophyll Content and Respiratory Values from Experimental Plant Tissue**

Chlorophyll was extracted from 25 mg of fresh plant tissue in 4 ml of Dimethyl sulphoxide (DMSO) following Hiscox and Israelstam (1979). The extinction values of chlorophyll thus recovered in DMSO were measured at dual wavelengths of 645 nm and 663 nm on Shimadzu Spectrophotometer using DMSO as blank. Total chlorophyll content was calculated from extinction values following the equation of Arnon, 1949 and expressed on dry weight basis as per Rani and Kohli (1991). Values on dry weight equivalents were calculated by placing same amount of tissue in an oven at 80°C for 24 hr.

Respiratory values were determined from the fresh plant tissue indirectly using 2, 3, 5-triphenyl tetrazolium chloride (TTC) following the method of Steponkus and Lanphear (1967). This is an indirect measure of cellular respiration in which formation of red coloured formazan occurs due to trapping of the oxygen molecules released through the respiratory chain. The values of treated samples thus obtained were expressed as percent cellular respiration with respect to control.

### **Statistical Analysis**

The data of percent germination, radicle length, seedling length, seedling dry weight, chlorophyll content and respiratory activity was analyzed by one-way ANOVA followed by Duncan's multiple range test.

### **Results and Discussion**

It is evident from the results that in response to limonene, germination of *Parthenium hysterophorus* was reduced considerably and the reduction increased with each increasing concentration of the former (Table 1). At the lowest concentration of 25 µl limonene treatment, germination was reduced by about 60% while at 200 µl, a reduction of over 80% was observed. A complete inhibition of germination of the test weed was observed at a concentration of 300 µl. Similarly, the radicle length of the test weed was also significantly reduced in response to the test monoterpene. At 25 µl treatment, radicle length was reduced to about 44% while it was reduced to a mere 8% at 200 µl limonene treatment compared to control (Table 1).

**Table 1: Effect of Limonene on the Percent Germination and Radicle Length (cm) of *P. hysterophorus***

Concentration (μl)	Percent Germination	Radicle Length (cm)
0	100 ± 0 <sup>a</sup>	4.09 ± 0.32 <sup>a</sup>
25	40.46 ± 9.24 <sup>b</sup>	1.81 ± 0.23 (44.25) <sup>b</sup>
50	29.77 ± 6.0 <sup>c</sup>	1.78 ± 0.13 (43.52) <sup>b</sup>
100	20.67 ± 4.16 <sup>d</sup>	1.49 ± 0.19(36.43) <sup>c</sup>
150	21.13 ± 3.54 <sup>d</sup>	1.35 ± 0.15 (33.01) <sup>d</sup>
200	19.84 ± 3.06 <sup>d</sup>	0.33 ± 0.04 (8.07) <sup>c</sup>
225	16.81 ± 1.42 <sup>d</sup>	0.28 ± 0.06 (6.75) <sup>f</sup>
300	-	-

Different superscripts in a column represent significant difference at  $P < 0.05$ .

In addition to this, seedling growth measured in terms of seedling length and seedling dry weight of the test weed was also significantly affected compared to control (Table 2). At 25 μl treatment, seedling length was reduced by 46% while it was reduced by about 87% at 200 μl compared to control. At the concentration of 50 μl limonene treatment, seedling dry weight was reduced by about 47% while at 225 μl, a reduction of about 87% was observed. The observed inhibition in germination and initial growth of the weedy species could possibly be due to the disruption of mitotic activity in the germinating seeds. This is strengthened by references available in literature (Romagni *et al.*, 2000). This disruption of mitosis could be due to several reasons including disruption of microtubule organization or alternation of cell wall biosynthesis (Lehnen and Vaughn, 1992).

**Table 2: Effect of Limonene on the Seedling Length (cm) and Seedling Dry Weight (mg) of *P. hysterophorus***

Concentration (μl)	Seedling Length (cm)	Seedling Dry Weight (mg)
0	1.33 ± 0.21 <sup>a</sup>	0.38 ± 0.08 <sup>a</sup>
25	1.1 ± 0.31 (82.71) <sup>b</sup>	0.22 ± 0.05 (57.89) <sup>b</sup>
50	0.99 ± 0.14 (74.44) <sup>c</sup>	0.20 ± 0.07 (52.63) <sup>c</sup>
100	0.98 ± 0.37 (73.68) <sup>c</sup>	0.14 ± 0.05 (36.84) <sup>d</sup>
150	0.76 ± 0.21 (57.14) <sup>d</sup>	0.11 ± 0.03 (28.95) <sup>e</sup>
200	0.38 ± 0.18 (28.57) <sup>e</sup>	0.085 ± 0.02 (22.37) <sup>f</sup>
225	0.30 ± 0.06 (22.56) <sup>f</sup>	0.05 ± 0.01 (13.16) <sup>g</sup>
300	-	-

Different superscripts in a column represent significant difference at  $P < 0.05$ .

Likewise, the content of chlorophyll was significantly decreased in limonene-treated samples compared to control. At the lowest concentration of 25  $\mu\text{l}$ , chlorophyll content was reduced by about 40% while at 50  $\mu\text{l}$ , a reduction of around 73% was observed (Table 3). The decrease in chlorophyll content, points towards the diminishing photosynthetic efficiency in response to the test monoterpene. The mechanism behind the decrease in chlorophyll content in the target weed (whether it is due to its decreased synthesis or enhanced degradation) could not be ascertained from the present study. However, references available in literature indicate reduction in the levels of chlorophyll pigment in response to allelochemicals (Romagni *et al.*, 2000; Singh *et al.*, 2002b).

Similarly, there was a reduction in percent cellular respiration of the test weed in response to various increasing concentrations of limonene. At the lowest concentration of 25  $\mu\text{l}$ , cellular respiration was reduced by about 15% while at 50  $\mu\text{l}$ , a reduction of around 62% was observed.

**Table 3: Effect of Limonene on the Total Chlorophyll Content ( $\mu\text{g}/\text{mg}$ ) and Percent Cellular Respiration of *P. hysterophorus***

<b>Concentration (<math>\mu\text{l}</math>)</b>	<b>Total Chlorophyll Content (<math>\mu\text{g}/\text{mg}</math>)</b>	<b>Percent Cellular Respiration</b>
<b>0</b>	<b><math>10.8 \pm 0.43^a</math></b>	<b><math>100 \pm 3.33^a</math></b>
<b>25</b>	<b><math>6.44 \pm 0.14</math> (59.63)<sup>b</sup></b>	<b><math>84.99 \pm 4.66^b</math></b>
<b>50</b>	<b><math>2.97 \pm 0.08</math> (27.5)<sup>c</sup></b>	<b><math>37.73 \pm 2.05^c</math></b>
<b>100</b>	<b><math>2.85 \pm 0.18</math> (25.39)<sup>d</sup></b>	<b><math>22.51 \pm 1.49^d</math></b>
<b>150</b>	<b><math>2.47 \pm 0.17</math> (22.87)<sup>e</sup></b>	<b><math>20.45 \pm 1.24^d</math></b>
<b>200</b>	<b><math>1.77 \pm 0.10</math> (16.39)<sup>f</sup></b>	<b><math>11.63 \pm 0.58^e</math></b>
<b>225</b>	<b><math>1.46 \pm 0.09</math> (13.52)<sup>g</sup></b>	<b><math>9.11 \pm 0.27^e</math></b>
<b>300</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

Different superscripts in a column represent significant difference at  $P < 0.05$ .

Result of Annova between various sample means should be shown to show the significant differences.



## Conclusion

It is clear from the present study that limonene has a potential to reduce the germination, early growth and development of the weed species and thus could be used in various weed management programmes either directly or by serving as a lead molecule.

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## **Functions of Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) – An Opinion Survey**

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Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) is an apex financial institution for the promotion, financing and development of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) in the country. In this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the extent to which Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) in the state of Punjab have catered to the needs of entrepreneurs belonging to different areas of Punjab. For this purpose, a survey of beneficiaries has been conducted to examine their satisfaction level regarding working of SIDBI in the state. The study is based upon the primary data collected through filling up of a questionnaire from 100 entrepreneurs who have availed loan by the bank. The 100 entrepreneurs have been selected on the basis of convenience sampling. The satisfaction level of respondents regarding various banking aspects has been determined by using five-point scale. The factors used for evaluating satisfaction level are location of branch/office, products or schemes offered, loan inquiry, presence of employees, knowledge of employees, behaviour of employees, time taken in sanction and disbursement of loan, procedural formalities, documentation required, project appraisal mechanism, inspection done by the bank officials, conditions imposed, security required, repayment schedule, moratorium period, services charges, adequacy of loan, interest rate, customer query services, grievance handling mechanism.

Keywords: SIDBI, weighted average score, satisfaction level

### **Introduction**

With an objective to foster the growth of small-scale sector in the Indian economy, the need for setting up of a separate institution was strongly felt. Accordingly, the Government of India established Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) as a wholly-owned subsidiary of Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI). The bank started its operations from April 2, 1990. It is an apex financial institution for the promotion, financing and development of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

(MSMEs) in the country. Thus, the basic idea underlying the formation of SIDBI was to foster the growth of MSME sector, which occupies a vital position in Indian economy (SIDBI Annual Report, 2011). The main functions of SIDBI are to render direct assistance and refinancing of loans and advances to micro, small and medium industries; to subscribe stocks, shares, bonds or debentures of SFCs and SIDCs; to initiate steps for technological upgradation and modernization of MSMEs. For promotion, development and growth of micro, small and medium sector, the bank extends technical and related support services. Thus, it has to pay concentrated attention to the multi-dimensional growth and development of industries in the small-scale sector with special emphasis on the micro, small and medium enterprises. Initially, SIDBI's business comprised of refinancing loans granted by SFCs, SIDCs, banks and other eligible financial institutions; direct discounting and re-discounting of bills arising out of sale of machinery or any capital equipment by manufacturer in the MSME sector and re-discounting of short-term trade bills arising out of sale of products in the micro, small and medium enterprise sector (Srivastava and Nigam, 2008: 485-486).

In this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the extent to which Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) in the state of Punjab have catered to the needs of entrepreneurs belonging to different areas of Punjab. For this purpose, a survey of beneficiaries has been conducted to examine their satisfaction level regarding working of SIDBI in the state. The study is based upon the primary data collected through filling up of a questionnaire from 100 entrepreneurs who have availed loan through SIDBI. Further, the primary data collected has been bifurcated into three main categories as "branch-wise," "organization set-up-wise" and "turnover-wise." The branch-wise respondents have been further categorized into, "Jalandhar," "Ludhiana" and "Chandigarh." The organization set-up wise respondents have been classified into "Proprietorship," "Partnership" and "Company" form of organization. Further, turnover-wise respondents includes respondents earning turnover, "below Rs. 5 crore," "Rs. 5 to 15 crore" and "above Rs. 15 crore." The satisfaction level of respondents regarding various banking aspects has been determined by using five-point scale. The factors used for evaluating satisfaction level are location of branch/office, products or schemes offered, loan inquiry, presence of employees, knowledge of employees, behaviour of employees, time taken in sanction and disbursement of loan, procedural formalities, documentation required, project appraisal mechanism, inspection done by the bank officials, conditions imposed, security required, repayment

schedule, moratorium period, services charges, adequacy of loan, interest rate, customer query services and grievance handling mechanism. The Kendall's coefficient of concordance has been used to analyze the data. In the present study, the reliability of the statements has been checked by using Cronbach's alpha. The value of Cronbach's alpha is 0.912, therefore, it justifies that rating instrument is reliable. Table 1.1 shows the frequency distribution of responses of the respondents in this context.

**Table 1.1: Respondents Satisfaction Level Regarding Various Factors**

(N=100)

Banking Aspect	Highly Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Highly Dissatisfied	Weighted Average Score
Location of Branch/Office	28 (28.00)	38 (38.00)	15 (15.00)	14 (14.00)	5 (5.00)	3.70
Products or Schemes Offered	36 (36.00)	37 (37.00)	15 (15.00)	8 (8.00)	4 (4.00)	3.93
Loan Inquiry	39 (39.00)	41 (41.00)	10 (10.00)	7 (7.00)	3 (3.00)	4.06
Presence of Employees	50 (50.00)	34 (34.00)	11 (11.00)	3 (3.00)	2 (2.00)	4.27
Knowledge of Employees	50 (50.00)	32 (32.00)	10 (10.00)	4 (4.00)	4 (4.00)	4.20
Behaviour of Employees	52 (52.00)	35 (35.00)	8 (8.00)	3 (3.00)	2 (2.00)	4.32
Time Taken in Sanction and Disbursement of Loan	34 (34.00)	39 (39.00)	16 (16.00)	7 (7.00)	4 (4.00)	3.92
Procedural Formalities	32 (32.00)	38 (38.00)	13 (13.00)	11 (11.00)	6 (6.00)	3.79
Documentation Required	29 (29.00)	33 (33.00)	15 (15.00)	14 (14.00)	9 (9.00)	3.59
Project Appraisal Mechanism	44 (44.00)	34 (34.00)	12 (12.00)	7 (7.00)	3 (3.00)	4.09
Inspection Done by the Bank Officials	49 (49.00)	33 (33.00)	11 (11.00)	4 (4.00)	3 (3.00)	4.21
Conditions Imposed	34 (34.00)	37 (37.00)	12 (12.00)	10 (10.00)	7 (7.00)	3.81
Security Required	36 (36.00)	41 (41.00)	11 (11.00)	7 (7.00)	5 (5.00)	3.96
Repayment Schedule	43 (43.00)	47 (47.00)	6 (6.00)	4 (4.00)	0 (.00)	4.29
Moratorium Period	40 (40.00)	43 (43.00)	11 (11.00)	4 (4.00)	2 (2.00)	4.15
Service Charges	39 (39.00)	31 (31.00)	15 (15.00)	10 (10.00)	5 (5.00)	3.89
Adequacy of Loan	40 (40.00)	36 (36.00)	13 (13.00)	7 (7.00)	4 (4.00)	4.01
Interest Rates	34 (34.00)	35 (35.00)	16 (16.00)	10 (10.00)	5 (5.00)	3.83
Customer Query Services	44 (44.00)	38 (38.00)	10 (10.00)	6 (6.00)	2 (2.00)	4.16
Grievance Handling Mechanism	40 (40.00)	42 (42.00)	8 (8.00)	6 (6.00)	4 (4.00)	4.08

Table 1.1 highlights that majority of the respondents have represented their satisfaction with regard to repayment schedule (90%), behaviour of employees (87%), presence of employees (84%), moratorium period (83%), knowledge of employees (82%), inspection done by the bank officials (82%), customer query services (82%), grievance handling mechanism (82%), loan inquiry (80%), project appraisal mechanism (78%), security required (77%) and adequacy of loan (76%). However, the respondents have also represented their dissatisfaction with regard to documentation required (23%), location of branch/office (19%), procedural formalities (17%), conditions imposed (17%) and service charges (15%). Further, 16% of the respondents have shown indifferent attitude towards the time taken by the bank in sanction and disbursement of loan followed by interest rates (16%) and products or schemes offered (15%) by the bank.

Table 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 shows branch-wise, organisation setup-wise and turnover-wise distribution respectively of respondents in this regard. Average Weighted Scores have been computed by assigning weights as 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 to “highly satisfied,” “satisfied” “neither satisfied nor dissatisfied,” “dissatisfied,” and “highly dissatisfied” respectively.

**Table 1.2: Average Weighted Scores Corresponding to Satisfaction Level of Respondents  
(Branch-wise Classification)**

(N=100)

Banking Aspect	Branch			Total
	Jalandhar	Ludhiana	Chandigarh	
Location of Branch/Office	3.8235	3.6364	3.6364	3.7000
Products or Schemes Offered	4.0882	3.9394	3.7576	3.9300
Loan Inquiry	4.2353	4.0303	3.9091	4.0600
Presence of Employees	4.2647	4.3030	4.2424	4.2700
Knowledge of Employees	4.2353	4.2121	4.1515	4.2000
Behaviour of Employees	4.4706	4.3030	4.1818	4.3200
Time Taken in Sanction and Disbursement of Loan	4.0882	3.7273	3.9394	3.9200
Procedural Formalities	3.8824	3.7879	3.6970	3.7900
Documentation Required	3.7353	3.5455	3.4848	3.5900
Project Appraisal Mechanism	4.0882	4.0909	4.0909	4.0900

Inspection Done by the Bank Officials	3.9706	4.3636	4.3030	4.2100
Conditions Imposed	3.6765	3.9091	3.8485	3.8100
Security Required	4.0588	3.9091	3.9091	3.9600
Repayment Schedule	4.2059	4.3636	4.3030	4.2900
Moratorium Period	4.1176	4.1818	4.1515	4.1500
Service Charges	3.7059	3.9394	4.0303	3.8900
Adequacy of Loan	3.9118	3.9697	4.1515	4.0100
Interest Rates	3.7941	4.0606	3.6364	3.8300
Customer Query Services	4.1176	4.1818	4.1818	4.1600
Grievance Handling Procedure	4.0588	4.0303	4.1515	4.0800
<b>Mean Value of AWS</b>	<b>4.0265</b>	<b>4.0242</b>	<b>3.9879</b>	<b>4.0130</b>

The Kendall's Co-efficient of Concordance=0.055, Chi-Square value=2.211,d.f. =2, Not significant at 5 percent level of significance

Table 1.2 indicates that the respondents are highly satisfied with the behaviour of employees (4.3200), repayment schedule (4.2900), presence of employees (4.2700), inspection done by the bank officials (4.2100), knowledge of employees (4.2000), customer query services (4.1600) and moratorium period (4.1500). Further, the respondents are satisfied with regard to project appraisal mechanism (4.0900), grievance handling mechanism (4.0800), loan enquiry (4.0600), adequacy of loan (4.0100), security required (3.9600) and products or schemes offered (3.9300). Branch-wise analysis reveals that the respondents are highly satisfied with regard to presence of employees in all the three branches. The respondents financed by Jalandhar branch are highly satisfied with behaviour of employees (4.4706), loan enquiry and knowledge of employees (4.2353 each). Most of the respondents have expressed their moderate level of satisfaction with regard to service charges and conditions imposed by the bank. The respondents from Ludhiana branch (4.3636) and Chandigarh branch (4.3030) are highly satisfied with the inspection done by the bank officials and repayment schedule as compared to the satisfaction level of respondents financed by Jalandhar branch for both factors. Further, the satisfaction level of respondents financed by Ludhiana and Chandigarh branch was not high with regard to location of branch/office and documentation required.

The mean value of average weighted scores related to the satisfaction level of respondents regarding various factors is the highest in Jalandhar branch (4.0265), followed by Ludhiana branch (4.0242) and Chandigarh branch (3.9879). The Kendall's co-efficient of concordance shows that there exists no

significant concurrence of rankings ( $w=0.055$ ) amongst respondents of SIDBI, regarding various factors affecting their satisfaction.

**Table 1.3: Average Weighted Scores Corresponding to Satisfaction Level of Respondents**

**(Organization Setup-wise Classification)**

**(N=100)**

Banking Aspect	Organisation Setup			Total
	Proprietorship	Partnership	Company	
Location of Branch/Office	3.6842	3.9032	3.5161	3.7000
Products or Schemes Offered	3.9737	4.1290	3.6774	3.9300
Loan Inquiry	3.9211	4.3226	3.9677	4.0600
Presence of Employees	4.1579	4.3548	4.3226	4.2700
Knowledge of Employees	3.9737	4.4194	4.2581	4.2000
Behaviour of Employees	4.2895	4.4839	4.1935	4.3200
Time Taken in Sanction and Disbursement of Loan	3.9474	4.1613	3.6452	3.9200
Procedural Formalities	3.9211	4.0000	3.4194	3.7900
Documentation Required	3.7632	3.6452	3.3226	3.5900
Project Appraisal Mechanism	4.2105	4.3226	3.7097	4.0900
Inspection Done by the Bank Officials	4.4737	4.2258	3.8710	4.2100
Conditions Imposed	3.7895	3.9677	3.6774	3.8100
Security Required	4.0526	4.2258	3.5806	3.9600
Repayment Schedule	4.4474	4.2258	4.1613	4.2900
Moratorium Period	4.2368	4.0968	4.0968	4.1500
Service Charges	3.9474	3.9355	3.7742	3.8900
Adequacy of Loan	3.9211	4.1290	4.0000	4.0100
Interest Rates	3.5789	4.0323	3.9355	3.8300
Customer Query Services	4.1579	4.2258	4.0968	4.1600
Grievance Handling Procedure	3.9737	4.2581	4.0323	4.0800
<b>Mean Value of AWS</b>	<b>4.0211</b>	<b>4.1532</b>	<b>3.8629</b>	<b>4.0130</b>

The Kendall's Co-efficient of Concordance= 0.498, Chi-Square value= 19.924, d.f. = 2, Not significant at 5 percent level of significance

Table 1.3, organization setup-wise, depicts that the respondents are highly satisfied with the behaviour of employees for all the three categories. Further, the respondents from proprietorship form of organization are highly satisfied with the inspection done by the bank officials (4.4737) and repayment schedule



(4.4474). But their satisfaction level was low in comparison to other factors regarding interest rate (3.5789) charged by the bank. The respondents belonging to partnership (4.4194) and company forms of organization (4.2581) are highly satisfied with the knowledge of employees. However, the satisfaction level of respondents from all the three categories was not too high with regard to location of branch/office. Further, particularly the respondents belonging to proprietorship business have shown their divergent view with regard to rate of interest (3.5789). The table also highlights that the respondents from partnership business (3.6452) and company (3.3226) have shown their less satisfaction towards documentation required in comparison to other services offered by the bank. The mean value of average weighted scores related to the satisfaction level of respondents regarding various factors is the highest for partnership (4.1532), followed by those belonging to proprietorship (4.0211) and those belonging to company form of organization (3.8629). The Kendall's co-efficient of concordance shows that there exists no significant concurrence of rankings ( $w=0.498$ ) amongst respondents of SIDBI, regarding various factors affecting their satisfaction.

**Table 1.4: Average Weighted Scores Corresponding to Satisfaction Level of Respondents**  
(Turnover-wise Classification) (N=100)

Banking Aspect	Turnover			Total
	Below Rs 5 crore	Rs 5 to 15 crore	Above Rs 15 crore	
Location of Branch/Office	3.8947	3.5349	3.6842	3.7000
Products or Schemes Offered	4.1316	3.6977	4.0526	3.9300
Loan Inquiry	4.0526	4.0000	4.2105	4.0600
Presence of Employees	4.3947	4.0698	4.4737	4.2700
Knowledge of Employees	4.1842	4.3023	4.0000	4.2000
Behaviour of Employees	4.4211	4.3256	4.1053	4.3200
Time Taken in Sanction and Disbursement of Loan	3.9211	3.9302	3.8947	3.9200
Procedural Formalities	3.7895	3.8372	3.6842	3.7900
Documentation Required	3.6842	3.4419	3.7368	3.5900
Project Appraisal Mechanism	4.0263	4.1860	4.0000	4.0900
Inspection Done by the Bank Officials	4.1053	4.3023	4.2105	4.2100
Conditions Imposed	3.7105	3.9302	3.7368	3.8100

Security Required	3.8947	4.0233	3.9474	3.9600
Repayment Schedule	4.2368	4.2791	4.4211	4.2900
Moratorium Period	4.1579	4.0930	4.2632	4.1500
Service Charges	3.9211	3.8837	3.8421	3.8900
Adequacy of Loan	4.0789	3.9535	4.0000	4.0100
Interest Rates	3.6842	3.8837	4.0000	3.8300
Customer Query Services	4.2632	4.0233	4.2632	4.1600
Grievance Handling Procedure	4.1579	4.1163	3.8421	4.0800
<b>Mean Value of AWS</b>	<b>4.0355</b>	<b>3.9907</b>	<b>4.0184</b>	<b>4.0130</b>

The Kendall's Co-efficient of Concordance= 0.004, Chi-Square value= 0.177, d.f. =2, significant at 5 percent level of significance

Table 1.4, turnover-wise, shows that the respondents belonging to all the three categories of turnover are highly satisfied with behaviour of employees. Further, the respondents from all the turnover groups are satisfied with regard to repayment schedule of the loan. The respondents generating turnover below Rs. 5 crore are highly satisfied with presence of employees (4.3947) and show low degree of satisfaction towards documentation required and interest rate charged by the bank (3.6842 each). The respondents receiving turnover of Rs. 5 to 15 crore are highly satisfied with knowledge of employees and inspection done by the bank officials (4.3023 each). However, the satisfaction level of respondents with turnover of Rs. 5 to 15 crore (3.5349) and those whose turnover is above Rs. 15 crore (3.6842) is comparatively less for location of branch/office of the bank. The level of satisfaction is highest among the respondents generating turnover above Rs. 15 crore (4.4737) with respect to presence of employees in the bank.

The mean value of average weighted scores related to the respondents opinion regarding various factors is highest for respondents with turnover below Rs. 5 crore (4.0355), followed by those whose turnover is above Rs 15 crore (4.0184) and those earning between Rs 5 to 15 crore (3.9907). The Kendall's co-efficient of concordance shows that there exists significant concurrence of rankings ( $w=0.004$ ) amongst respondents of SIDBI, regarding various factors affecting their satisfaction.

## Findings

The study revealed that majority of the respondents have represented their satisfaction with regard to “repayment schedule” (90%), “behaviour of employees” (87%), “presence of employees” (84%), “moratorium period” (83 per cent), “knowledge of employees” (82%), “inspection done by the bank

officials” (82%), “customer query services” (82%), “grievance handling mechanism” (82%), “loan inquiry” (80%), “project appraisal” (78%), “security required” (77%) and “adequacy of loan” (76%). However, the respondents have also represented their dissatisfaction with regard to “documentation required” (23%), “location of branch/office” (19%), “procedural formalities” (17%), “conditions imposed” (17%), and “service charges” (15%). Further, 16% of the respondents have shown indifferent attitude towards “time taken by the bank in sanction and disbursement of loan,” followed by “interest rates” (16%) and “products or schemes offered” (15%) by the bank. Further, the mean value of average weighted scores indicates that the satisfaction level of beneficiaries regarding various services offered by the bank like location of branch/office, loan inquiry, presence of employees, knowledge of employees, behaviour of employees, time taken in sanction and disbursement of loan, procedural formalities, documentation required, project appraisal mechanism, inspection done by the bank officials, conditions imposed, security required, repayment schedule, moratorium period, services charges, adequacy of loan, interest rate, customer query services and grievance handling mechanism is the highest in respondents financed by Jalandhar branch (4.0265), followed by Ludhiana branch (4.0242) and then Chandigarh branch (3.9879). The analysis further highlights that the satisfaction level of respondents regarding various services of the bank is highest for partnership (4.1532), followed by proprietorship (4.0211) and then those who belong to company form of organization (3.8629). Further, the respondents satisfaction level is highest whose turnover is below Rs. 5 crore (4.0355), followed by respondents earning above Rs. 15 crore (4.0184) and those receiving turnover of Rs. 5 to 15 crore (3.9907).

## **Conclusion**

The overall analysis highlights that majority of the respondents are satisfied regarding repayment schedule, behaviour of employees, presence of employees, moratorium period, knowledge of employees, inspection done by the bank officials, customer query services, grievance handling mechanism etc. The satisfaction level of respondents has been low regarding documentation required, location of branch/office, procedural formalities, conditions imposed and service charges of the bank. Further, the respondents from all the three categories have shown their indifferent attitude towards the time taken by the bank in sanction and disbursement of loan, interest rates and products or schemes offered. The respondents who belong to proprietorship form of organization seem to be less satisfied about the interest rate charged by the

SIDBI. In Punjab, the bank has only two branches i.e. at Jalandhar and Ludhiana to serve the entire class of entrepreneurs. So those entrepreneurs, who belong to faraway places, have to face lot of inconvenience in availing loan from the bank. It has been suggested that bank should open more branches near industrial areas to serve entrepreneurs belonging to different areas of Punjab in a better way.

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## APPENDIX

### Growth and Performance of Small Industries Development Bank of India (Questionnaire for Entrepreneurs)

1. General Information:

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

District: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age: Below 40 years ☐ 40-50 years ☐  
50-60 years ☐ 60 years or above ☐

2. Educational Qualification:

Under graduates ☐ Graduates ☐

Post graduates ☐

3. Annual turnover (Approx. in Rs.):

Below Rs. 5 crore ☐ Rs. 5-15 crore ☐

Above Rs. 15 crore ☐

4. Nature of Business Organization:

Manufacturing ☐ Others ☐

5. Nature of Industry:

Micro ☐ Small ☐ Medium ☐

6. Number of Employees/Workers:

7. Experience in the Industry:

Below 10 years ☐ 10-20 years ☐

More than 20 years ☐

8. Registration Status: Registered ☐ Unregistered ☐

9. Type of Organizational setup: Proprietorship ☐

Partnership Firms ☐ Company ☐ Any Other ☐

10. How would you rate the following on the basis of your satisfaction level?

<b>Banking Aspect</b>	<b>Highly Satisfied</b>	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied</b>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	<b>Highly Dissatisfied</b>
Location of Branch/Office					
Products or Schemes offered					
Loan inquiry					
Presence of Employees					
Knowledge of Employees					
Behavior of Employees					
Time taken in sanction and disbursement of loan					
Procedural formalities					
Documentation required					
Project appraisal mechanism					
Inspection done by the bank officials					
Conditions Imposed					
Security Required					
Repayment Schedule					
Moratorium Period					
Service Charges					
Adequacy of loan					
Interest Rates					
Customer Query Services					
Grievance handling mechanism					

## विमर्श के कैनवास पर पर्यावरण

डॉ अनीश कुमार

सहायक प्रवक्ता

श्री गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह कॉलेज, चण्डीगढ़

‘पर्यावरण’ समकालीन कविता की केन्द्रीय चिन्ता का एक उल्लेखनीय पक्ष है। अतः यह आकस्मिक नहीं है कि समकालीन कविता में पर्यावरण— प्रदूषण से उत्पन्न चिन्ताएँ भी जहाँ—तहाँ झाँकती है। अनेक कवियों को लगता है कि आज की अनेक समस्याएँ प्राकृतिक सन्तुलन के बिगड़ने से पैदा हुई है। सृष्टि में मानव एवं पर्यावरण एक दूसरे से सम्बद्ध है। पर्यावरण के बिना मानव अस्तित्व एवं अस्मिता की कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती। प्रकृति के साथ मानव की क्रूरता को चित्रित कर कवियों ने यह चित्रित करने का प्रयास किया है कि यदि मनुष्य ऐसे ही प्रकृति के उपादानों और उसके सौंदर्य को नष्ट करता रहा तो वह दिन दूर नहीं जब प्रकृति क्रुपित होकर इस वसुंधरा का अपने भीतर विलय कर लेगी और मनुष्य के पास विलाप करने के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं होगा।

मूल शब्द: विमर्श, पर्यावरण, प्रकृति, प्राकृतिक सन्तुलन, अस्तित्व, अस्मिता

जब किसी बात या विषय में किसी निर्णय या निश्चय पर पहुँचने से पहले कुछ व्यक्ति उसके सभी पक्षों के ऊँच—नीच तथा लाभ—हानि को देखकर जो कुछ अच्छी तरह सोचा समझा जाता है उसे विमर्श कहते हैं। ‘हिन्दी शब्द कोशों के आधार पर विमर्श का अर्थ—समालोचन, परामर्श, परीक्षण, किसी बात पर सोच—विचार, चिन्तन व मनन से है। जब दो या दो से अधिक लोग मिलकर किसी विषय पर सोच—विचार बहस करते हैं तो चिन्तन की यह प्रक्रिया ‘विमर्श’ बन जाती है। प्रश्नोत्तर करते हुए वाद—विवाद करते हैं, इसके प्रयोग से जहाँ विषय में स्पष्टता आती है वहाँ रचना प्रवाह भी अखण्डित रहता है’ (पवार, 2009: 3)। आचार्य रामचन्द्र वर्मा द्वारा लिखित ‘शब्दार्थ—विचार कोश’ के आधार पर—विमर्श का अर्थ “किसी बात या विषय में किसी निर्णय या निश्चय पर पहुँचने से पूर्व जब हम कुछ लोगों के साथ बैठकर उसके सब अंगों या पक्षों का ऊँच—नीच और हानि—लाभ देखते हैं या सब बातें अच्छी तरह सोचते समझते हैं तब हमारा यह कार्य ‘विमर्श’ कहलाता है। विचार तो हम स्वयं या अकेले भी कर सकते हैं परन्तु विमर्श में किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति या व्यक्तियों की अपेक्षा भी होती है। आपस में मिल जुल—कर और अच्छी तरह सोच—समझ कर की जानी वाली चर्चा ही मुख्यतः ‘विमर्श’ कहलाती है” (तिवारी, 1974: 175)। चतुर्वेदी द्वारा प्रसाद शर्मा के ‘संस्कृत—शब्दार्थ कौस्तुभ’ में विमर्श के निम्नांकित अर्थ दिए गए हैं— “1. किसी तथ्य का अनुसंधान या विषय का विवेचन या विचार, 2. आलोचना, समीक्षा, 3. बहस, 4. विरुद्ध निर्णय या फैसला, 5. शंका, संदेह, हिचकिचाहट” (चतुर्वेदी, 1927: 171)। श्री नवल जी द्वारा सम्पादित ‘नालन्दा विशाल शब्द सागर’ में विमर्श का अर्थ है— “1. किसी बात का

विचार या विवेचन, 2. आलोचना, समीक्षा. 3. परीक्षा, परखने का काम, 4 परमार्श सलाह. 5. अधीरता, असंतोष”(नवल, 2007: 1276)। भाषा शब्द कोश में विमर्श का अर्थ— “परामर्श, विवेचना, समीक्षा, आलोचना, परीक्षा, नाटक का एक अंग जिसमें व्यवसाय प्रसंग अपवाद खेद, विरोध, शक्ति और आदानादि का वर्णन हो”(शुक्ल, 1936: 2262)।

अतः विमर्श शब्द विचार, विवेचना, परीक्षण, समीक्षा, गुण—दोष, की मीमांसा, परामर्श, तर्क, ज्ञान और चरमबिन्दु को परिभाषित करता है।

हिन्दी के कवि— आलोचक डॉ० वेदप्रकाश अमिताभ के अनुसार “संवेदना को सुरक्षित रखते हुए ‘नारी,’ ‘दलित,’ व्यवस्था के साथ साथ ‘पर्यावरण’ भी समकालीन कविता की केन्द्रीय चिन्ता का एक उल्लेखनीय पक्ष है। अतः यह आकस्मिक नहीं है कि समकालीन कविता में पर्यावरण— प्रदूषण से उत्पन्न चिन्ताएँ भी जहाँ—तहाँ झाँकती है। अनेक कवियों को लगता है कि आज की अनेक समस्याएँ प्राकृतिक सन्तुलन के बिगड़ने से पैदा हुई है। औद्योगिक और नागरीकरण की अन्धी दौड़ ने प्रकृति को इतना क्षत—विक्षत किया है कि उसका खामियाजा हमें कई स्तरों पर भुगतना पड़ रहा है। मौसम चक्र गड़बड़ाने से लेकर ओजोन की पर्त में छेद हो जाने के हादसे मामूली नहीं है और इनके दुष्परिणाम दूरगामी है। हिन्दी के अनेक कवियों ने चिन्ता व्यक्ति की है कि जब तकनीकी सभ्यता धरती के स्नायु तंत्र छिन्न—भिन्न करेगी, प्रकृति की स्वाभाविकता को नष्ट करेगी, तब धरती और प्रकृति विक्षुब्ध होगी ही”(मधुमती, 2005: 18)। सृष्टि में मानव एवं पर्यावरण एक दूसरे से सम्बद्ध है। पर्यावरण के बिना मानव अस्तित्व एवं अस्मिता की कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती। “प्रकृति के साथ मनुष्य का रिश्ता माँ और पुत्र का रहा है। पृथ्वी पुत्र होने की पीछे बरसों और युगों से यही अवधारणा काम करती रहती है। ‘माताभूमि: पृथिव्या:’ के साथ साथ एक अवधारणा द्यौ की भी रही है। ऋग्वेद (1.191.6). द्यौर्व पिता पृथिवी माता’ अथवा ‘द्योषिपता पृथिवी मातः’ (6.51.5) में प्रकृति की सारी अवधारणा समाहित हो जाती है। यही द्यौ और पृथ्वी प्रकृति स्वरूप है और पर्यावरण के जनक जननी है”(सिंह, 2009: 9)। जिस तरह मानव जीवन के लिए पर्यावरण नितान्त आवश्यक है, उसी तरह एक श्रेष्ठ काव्य में पर्यावरण संबंधी चिन्तन अनिवार्य होता है। एक प्रबुद्ध कवि अपनी काव्य—संपदा में मानव और पर्यावरण के अन्योन्याश्रित सम्बन्धों को आरेखित करते हुए श्रेयस एवं प्रेयस भावनाओं का प्रस्तुतीकरण करता है।

पंच तत्व से निर्मित मानव की यह देह बचपन से ही प्रकृति के साथ तादात्म्य स्थापित कर लेती है। प्रकृति की प्रकृति उदार है जो निर्व्याज रूप से मनुष्य के लिए समर्पित है। संसाधनों को समृद्ध करने में प्रकृति की उपादेयता अर्निवचनीय है। अशोक स्याल अपनी गजल ‘ऐ प्रकृति’ में प्रकृति के साथ अनुरागात्मक संबंध स्थापित कर प्रकृति को जीवन की उज्ज्वलता एवं दिव्यता का आधार कहते हुए लिखते हैं

जब से मैंने होश सम्भाला  
तेरी नेहमतों का पिया प्याला



तेरी उष्मा और ऊर्जा से  
मिला मेरे जीवन को उजाला  
'ऐ प्रकृति'

मैं तुझ से जुदा है ही नहीं,  
हूँगा भी कभी नहीं (स्याल, 2012: 33)

आधुनिक कवियों ने जहां दृश्यमान जगत के प्रत्येक कोण का संस्पर्श किया हैं वहीं दूषित पर्यावरण के प्रति अपनी संवेदना के सैलाब को प्रवाहित किया। कवि नरेश सक्सेना का प्रकृति प्रेम 'एक वृक्ष भी बचा रहे कविता में परिलक्षित होता है। वे पेड़ों के अस्तित्व को बनाए रखना चाहते हैं। ताकि उसमें निवास करने वाले गौरेया-गिलहरियां सुरक्षित रहें। पेड़ों के निरन्तर कटाव के कारण कवि की इच्छा है कि अन्तिम समय में इनके पार्थिव शरीर का दाह संस्कार बिजली के दाह घर में हो ताकि इस वसुंधरा पर पेड़ों का वजूद बना रहे। कवि मानो अपनी वसीयत लिखता हुआ कहता है

अंतिम समय जब कोई नहीं जायेगा साथ  
एक वृक्ष जायेगा  
अपनी गौरेया-गिलहरियों से बिछुड़कर  
साथ जायेगा एक वृक्ष  
अग्नि में प्रवेश करेगा वही मुझसे पहले  
...लिखता हूँ अंतिम इच्छाओं में  
कि बिजली के दाहघर में हो मेरा संस्कार  
ताकि मेरे बाद

एक बेटे और एक बेटी के साथ  
एक वृक्ष भी बचा रहे संसार में (सक्सेना 2001: 35)

आज सर्वत्र नदियों की निर्मलता, पारदर्शिता, विमलता, शुद्धता, स्वच्छता, लुप्त सी हो गई है। कारखानों से निकले दूषित रसायनों ने नदियों की गरिमा को खण्डित किया। आज जलाशयों, नदियों, तलाबों, का जल विष में परिणित हो गया। ज्ञानेन्द्रपति ने अपने काव्य संग्रह 'गंगातट' में प्रदूषित एवं विषाक्त होती, अपनी पावनता एवं शीतलता से वंचित होती नदियों पर सूक्ष्म चिन्तन किया है। इन्होंने अपनी कविता 'नदी और साबुन' में मलिन होती नदियों पर वैचारिक चिंतन किया है—

नदी  
तू इतनी दुबली क्यों है  
और मैली-कुचैली  
मरी हुई इच्छाओं की तरह मछलियाँ क्यों उतराई हैं  
तुम्हारे दुर्दिनों के दुर्जल में  
... आह! लेकिन

स्वार्थी कारखानों का तेजाबी पेशाब झेलते  
बैंगनी हो गई तुम्हारी शुभ्र त्वचा  
हिमालय के होते भी तुम्हारे सिरहाने  
हथेली-भर की एक साबुन की टिकिया से  
हार गई तुम युद्ध (ज्ञानेन्द्रपति, 1999: 20)

स्वार्थलिप्सा में अनुरक्त मनुष्य ने अपने लाभ हेतु प्रकृति के सौंदर्य से छेड़-छाड़ की। 'विलासिता के दृष्टिकोण ने मिलों, फैक्टरियों, कारखानों और संयंत्रों के माध्यम से चारों ओर प्रदूषण फैलाया; तेज रफ्तार की चाह ने मोटरों, ट्रकों और स्कूटरों की ताबडतोड़ दौड़-भाग से वातावरण में धुआँ-ही-धुआँ भर दिया, उपभोग की संस्कृति ने कोयले, पेट्रोलियम एवं अन्य अनेक खनिजों को स्वाहा करने के लिए उसे विवश किया तथा बहादुरी, खानपान और सजावट की लिप्सा ने जीव-जंतुओं के व्यापक संहार का रास्ता खोल दिया' (व्यास, 2010: 14)। कवि मदन कश्यप 'पृथ्वी' कविता में ऐसे लोगों से पृथ्वी को बचाना चाहते हैं जिनकी लिप्सा ने पृथ्वी के प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य, प्राकृतिक वैभव, प्राकृतिक खनिज संपदा, प्राकृतिक भूगोल को आहत किया। कवि कहता है—

जिनकी आकांक्षाएँ छेद रही हैं  
ओजोन की रक्षा परत  
जिनकी ऐषणाएँ रौंद रही हैं  
पर्वतों की छातियाँ  
जिनकी तृषा पी जाती है  
सारी नदियों के स्वच्छ जल  
जिनकी लिप्सा निगल जाती है  
पूरी वसुधा की हरियाली (कश्यप, 2008: 106)

क्यूँ बार बार विनाश का तांडव होता है? क्यूँ प्रलय बार बार दस्तक देती हैं? सुनामियां नर्तन करती हैं, अनावृष्टि, अतिवृष्टि जैसी समस्याएँ मुँह बाएं खड़ी हो जाती है, सूखा एवं अकाल जैसी भयावह समस्याएं स्थायित्व पाने लगती है तो इसका कोई अन्य कारण नहीं प्रत्युत मनुष्य की प्रलोभी प्रवृत्ति ने ही ऐसी विध्वंसक आपदा को निमंत्रण दिया है। कवि उमेश चौहान ने अपनी कविता 'महानाश के कगार' में पर्यावरण को दूषित करने वाले घटकों पर सूक्ष्म एवं गंभीर रूप से चिंतन किया है।

कवि ने इस विषय पर चिंतन किया है कि अगर मनुष्य अपने लाभ हेतु इस तरह पर्यावरण का दोहन करता रहा है तो भविष्य में वह प्रकृति की अनुपम देन से वंचित हो जाएगा।

एक बड़ा, अभिशाप—सा लगता है  
सुख—सुविधाओं के भोग के लिए  
इतने सारे प्राकृतिक संसाधनों के अनाप—शनाप उपयोग करना  
... धरती के फेफड़ों में समाई हुई प्राकृतिक गैसों

परमाणु ऊर्जा के लिए जरूरी खनिज अयस्क

शीघ्र ही खत्म हो जाएँगे धरती से,

ऐसे में क्या करेगा मनुष्य अपनी जिन्दगी की

सुख-सुविधा को बरकरार रखने के लिए (चौहान, 2012: 25)

साथ ही कवि ने विषैले वातावरण के कारण विलुप्त होती गौरेया प्रजाति एवं दूषित जल के कारण जल-जीवों के लिए उत्पन्न खतरे एवं लोगों द्वारा पवित्र गंगा के गंगत्व को कलुषित करने को शब्दांकित किया है जो पाठक को सचमुच वर्तमान परिवेश पर सोचने के लिए विवश कर देता है—

याद आ रही है मुझे

उन व्याकुल गौरेयों की व्यथा

जो विषाक्त वातावरण के कारण गायब होती जा रही हैं

भारत के गाँवों के घर-आँगन— व खेत-खलिहानों से

याद आ रही है मुझे

पवित्र मानी जानी वाली गंगा नदी में

अपने देश का अधिकांश शहरी कूड़ा और

प्रतिदिन विसर्जित कर देते हैं करोड़ों गैलन कचरा

दरकिनार कर अपनी सारी आस्था व आध्यात्मिक चेतना (चौहान, 2012: 26–27)

सर्वत्र वातावरण दूषित है, प्रकृति की सहजता को व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ ने माँस के लोथ की तरह नोंच लिया जिसके कारण प्रकृति का विस्तार, प्रकृति का स्वाभाविक रूप, प्रकृति की शोभा, उसकी उपादेयता, खण्डित हुई। आज कवि चिन्तित है कि वह किस फूल और फल का चयन करे जो उसके लिए हितकर एवं श्रेयस्कर हो। एकान्त श्रीवास्तव लिखते हैं —

किस ऋतु का फूल सूँघूँ

किस हवा में सांस लूँ

किसी डाली का सेब खाऊँ

किस सोते का जल पिऊँ

पर्यावरण वैज्ञानिकों! कि बच जाऊँ (कामिल, 2011: 165)

आधुनिक युग में वायु प्रदूषण एक जटिल समस्या है। विभिन्न प्रकार के वाहन, खानें, मानव-स्वास्थ्य के लिए घातक कार्बन-डाई-ऑक्साइड, कार्बन मोनोऑक्साइड, हाइड्रोजन सल्फाइड, क्लोरिन, अमोनिया, हाइड्रोकार्बन्स आदि व औद्योगिक धूल जैसी धातुओं की धूल, कल-कारखानों से निकलने वाला धुआँ और राख हमारी प्राणदायिनी वायु को प्रदूषित कर रहे हैं। लीलाधर मंडलोई ने 'कार्बन मोनोऑक्साइड' शीर्षक कविता में इस प्रकार लिखा है।

कहां से आती हैं इतनी  
कार्बन मोनोऑक्साइड  
कि बर्फ पिघलते हैं  
समय से पहले  
धँसकते हैं पहाड़ धीरे धीरे  
धीरे-धीरे खत्म होता है जीवन (भारद्वाज, 2009: 48)

लीलाधर मंडलोई ने 'पोलिथीन की थैलियाँ शीर्षक कविता में पोलिथीन के प्रयोग के परिणामों को स्पष्ट किया है। पोलिथीन का प्रयोग मानव-स्वास्थ्य का क्षय एवं नदियों की सहजता, उसके गौरव, उसके वेग, उसकी गति, उसकी धवलता एवं स्वच्छता, अनवरत प्रवाह का हरण करता है—

करोड़ों  
या  
अरबों  
कितनी हो सकती हैं  
पोलिथीन की थैलियाँ  
कितनी नदियों का दम घुट सकता है  
इन थैलियों में (प्रगतिशील वसुधा, 2008: 104)

समकालीन कवियों ने पर्यावरण की समस्या को एक विकट और अपने समय की जीवंत समस्या के रूप में वर्णित किया है। प्रकृति के साथ मानव की क्रूरता को चित्रित कर कवियों ने यह चित्रित करने का प्रयास किया है कि यदि मनुष्य ऐसे ही प्रकृति के उपादानों और उसके सौंदर्य को नष्ट करता रहा तो वह दिन दूर नहीं कि प्रकृति कुपित होकर इस वसुंधरा का अपने भीतर विलय कर लेगी और मनुष्य के पास विलाप करने के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं होगा।

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## **The Art of Stained Glass in India: Moving Backward and Ahead**

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It is truly said that the presence of beautiful objects lifts the human soul closer to God. 'Stained Glass,' the art of making coloured glass windows, reached its apogee in Gothic architecture but stimulates the sensitivity of viewers even in contemporary period. This art has gained momentum in India during recent years and has become a fashionable addition to public and private buildings. The art of stained glass is increasingly used in homes at various places: windows, entry doors, wall hangings, decorative panels, lampshades, murals and some kinds of furniture. New experiments by stained glass artists in Europe are extremely encouraging for the market all over the world, including India. This paper will focus on the developments of stained glass art in Europe and its importance in modern interiors. It would deliberate on the rationale and the cultural and social factors that keep this art alive in India, and also on the various movements pertaining to this art in modern times. Another important question that would be explored is –What is perceived as the future of this art? In an attempt to keep stained glass art alive, there is a need to explore the new creations and inspirations through education policy.

Keywords: stained glass, decorative art, Churches, stained glass window

### **Introduction**

Where there is glass, there can be stained glass – that is the motto of Jo Kobler, a stained glass designer in Madison. Stained Glass is a decorative art of combining small pieces of glass together to make a picture or pattern (Plate No. 1& 2). “Stained glass painting has always occupied a special place in the popular imagination. The translucent, radiant quality of the medium produces an aesthetic experience entirely different from that of any other art form” (Wylie, 1997: 4). It is associated with the power and mystery of churches. The nineteenth century revival of stained glass remains one of the most remarkable phenomena in art history. During the same period, the British introduced this art in India. They constructed various churches according to Gothic architecture pattern in various parts of the country and the art of stained glass especially caused a renewed interest in decoration. These stained glass paintings, called windows, were fitted in Churches to offer a view of the past. Also known as Holy Scriptures, their continuous light flooded the interior;

their colourful brilliance enlightening all those gathered inside the church. These paintings were used to express spiritual motifs and ideas with the help of boldly applied colour, which gave meaning and purpose to all paintings. The technique of this art developed with the passage of time.



Plate No 1: "Angel holding the Sun" - Stained Glass Window by William Morris



Plate No 2: Stained Glass Window by Frank Lloyd Wright at  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

### **Historical Background of Stained Glass Art**

The technique used in making and painting pictures in stained glass originated in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The earliest surviving stained glass goes back to the tenth or eleventh century. By this stage it was a fully developed art in its essentials. Artists in Italy first used thick coloured glass in a decorative way during the Byzantine era. The earliest complete pictorial window extant could be attributed to the twelfth century and is in a window in Augsburg Cathedral,

Germany. From the twelfth century period, there are several windows at St. Deni near Paris, York Minster, and Canterbury Cathedral – the Medallion window being a distinctive design of this age. After the year 1300, there was a steady change of style. A characteristic window of the 14<sup>th</sup> century can be seen at Merton College Oxford, York Minster and St. Ouen, Rouen. The effects of Franciscan teaching can be observed in the stained glass art of this period.

### **Developments and New Horizons**

In Europe and America, artists were experimenting and developing new techniques. Out of them, John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany were two contemporary American painters who began experimenting with glass and working independently. They were trying to develop glass that possessed a wide range of visual effects without painting. La Farge developed and copyrighted opalescent glass in 1879. He worked in stained glass creating many famous projects in public buildings, especially churches (Plate No. 4). Tiffany popularized it and his name became synonymous with the American glass movement and opalescent glass, also known as Cathedral Glass. La Farge and Tiffany used intricate cuts and richly coloured glasses and achieved depth and texture with detailed flowing designs, plating, and layering of glass. Both made windows for private homes as well as churches. Tiffany adapted the technique to construct lampshades and capitalized on the innovation of electric lighting (Plate No. 3). He is responsible for enlarging the market for domestic stained glass windows and decorative objects and remains a household name. His favourite and most popular scenes were naturalistic images of flowers, colourful peacocks and cockatiels, and landscapes at sunrise and sunset. The Tiffany style prompted many imitators and so opalescent windows and shades remained popular through the turn of the century.



Plate No.3: “Dragonfly” Lamp by Clara Driscoll, Tiffany Studios



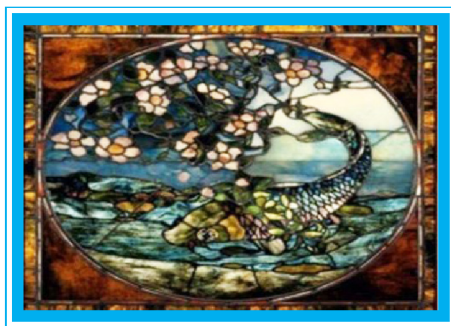


Plate No. 4: "The Fish" by John La Farge

Further revival of this art came when William Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites turned their reforming zeal to stained glass. Many stained glass artists were influenced by William Morris' work (Plate No.1). They were able to fully capture the luminous qualities so essential to good stained glass. The influences of these artists spread and, since the beginning of the twentieth century, great development has taken place in design, technique and material composition under the guidance of scientific research. The exquisite beauty of this ancient art can now be brought into homes and offices. One of the most protean figures associated with the Art and Craft movement is Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959). The Art and Craft movement under him was especially productive and he freely used stained and leaded glass for windows, doors, skylights, and lighting features in harmony with the custom designs for furniture, textile and other accessories. "Nothing is more annoying to me than any tendency towards realism of form in window glass to get mixed up with the view outside," Wright wrote in an article in *Architectural Record* (1928:16). His designs featured straight parallel lines and small squares in repeated patterns. The glass from the Coonley house has colourful circles like children's balloons (Plate No. 2). The Martin house in Buffalo has over 100 leaded windows and a gallery between the house and a greenhouse. Unity Temple has a skylight of amber squares "to get a sense of a happy cloudless day...no matter what the weather" (Freuh and Frueh, 1983: 64). It concludes that stained glass windows are capable of creating new environment for spectators. The most successful and most widely accepted new technique in the world of stained glass today is *dalle de verre*, better known as faceted glass, which is set into epoxy or other material. Its process of production results in a mosaic-like approach of pure colour effects that can be utilized in window openings or entire walls. Rouault, Matisse, and Chagal have used the medium with great effectiveness. The market by this time was extremely encouraging for stained glass and other decorations by Morris and Co. in London, L'Art Nouveau Bing in Paris, and Tiffany Studios in New York.

## **Stained Glass Art in India**

Moving backwards, the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a revival of stained glass in Europe, even bettering the art of the cherished past with appearance of moral imperatives and virtues. Glass painting was supported by the royal houses of Bavaria, France, and Belgium, and by the Ecclesiologist movement in England and its American affiliates (Raguin, 1990: 320). Stained glass panels arrived in India in the mid nineteenth century from England through ships as a direct result of the introduction, predominantly to Bombay, of the neo-Gothic architectural form. The British built numerous churches in the state of Uttrakhand (previously part of Uttar Pradesh), Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Goa and Delhi and fitted them with stained glass paintings brought from London to give a majestic look and ensure a pervading light.

We find total similarity of subject matter, style as well as technique in all the Churches because their source of production was the same in London. The paintings show scenes from the life of Lord Jesus; portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, Prophets and saints; religious symbols and decorative designs mainly based on the Old and the New Testament. The theme of “Crucifixion” has been beautifully depicted in St. Michael Cathedral, Shimla; Christ Church, Kasauli; St. Paul Church and Roman Catholic Church, Mussourie; and St. John Church, Nainital. Jesus has been shown nailed to the cross. This painting fills the beholder with deep sympathy and pain. The painting on the theme of “Nativity” is there in Roman Catholic Church, Mussourie; the Holy Trinity Chapel, Sanawar; and St. John Church, Roorkee (Plate No.5). The theme “Good Shepherd” shows Jesus as a good shepherd who is ready to sacrifice His own life for the sake of His sheep. This has been beautifully depicted in Holy Trinity Chapel, Shimla; Christ Church, Amritsar; Sherwood Chapel, Nainital; and Roman Catholic Church, Mussourie. “Baptism” of Jesus Christ is another important episode and has been depicted in St. John Church, Nainital; St. John in the Wilderness, Dharamsala; and St. John Church in Roorkee (Plate No. 7). “Christ in Glory” theme has been executed in St. John Church, Nainital; Holy Trinity Chapel, Shimla; and St. John Church, Roorkee (Plate No. 6).



Plate no.5: “Nativity” at St. John Church, Roorkee (Photograph by the Author)

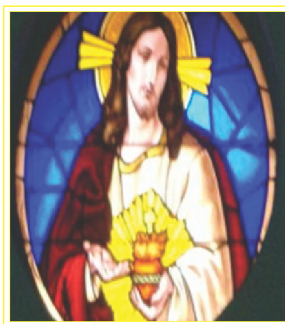


Plate no. 6: “Christ in Glory” at Sacred Heart Church, Roorkee (Photograph by the Author)

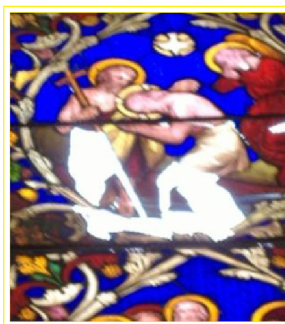


Plate no.7: “Baptism”— St. John Church, Roorkee (Photograph by the Author)

These earlier windows of this style are simpler. They depict well-known saints or stories from the Bible, stylized vegetal ornaments and decorative beading around the scenes and figures. The predominant colours are red and blue. They are often viewed as translucent pictures. Viewed from the ground, they appear not as a picture but as a network of black lines and coloured light. These paintings made the church that special, sacred dwelling place of an all-powerful God. The author found in these churches the maximum usage of Gothic style, simple ornamental windows and painted figural windows.

Besides stained glass work in churches, a row of stained glass windows along the back wall at J.N. Petit Institute Library, Mumbai depicts allegorical figures of Devotion, Charity, Constancy, Generosity, Culture and Commerce.

### **Moving Forward with New Imagination and Ideas**

In India, the tradition of stained glass painting slowed down and nearly stopped after the declaration of Independence. The Churches, however, continued to be preserved as a treasure. In the late twentieth century, this art again became popular through media, popular magazines, local arts centres, and craft fairs; and became a fashionable addition to interiors of residences, hotels,

restaurants, railway stations, and public buildings. The rise of the individual artist with new technologies and the growing interest in stained glass as a hobby craft have all lead to what is being called a new golden age in glass. An explosion of interest in the last 30 years has given rise to many new and imaginative forms of this art. Its techniques have become more sophisticated. Accompanied by changes in design, it is not bound in any tradition now. New homes are frequently embellished with spectacular bevelled glass entryways, stained glass bathroom windows, Tiffany style lampshades, wall hangings, decorative panels, napkin holders, shower doors, hot tub enclosures, room dividers and furniture (Plate No. 8). Stained glass is an exterior feature as well as an interior one. Decorative panels are hanged in a sunny window. Marvellous hot-formed glass pieces adorn tables, walls, shelves and fill windows. "It's a piece of art and usually becomes the focal point of the room," says Kobler of White Iris Restoration and Stained Glass Co. He further opines: "It's an heirloom, kind of like a quilt or needlepoint" (Cotant, 2002:1). Apart from private spaces, commercial glass paintings can be seen even in churches, such as the new building of St. Mary's Cathedral at Jalandhar Cantonment. These paintings are completely different from the work found in the old churches. Executed in bright colours, these paintings, however, are devoid of the grace and novelty of the classical art.

New artists are combining, creating and developing unique new forms and styles every day. There are a number of Indian artists who are doing a lot of work in this field. According to Atul, an Indian glass artist at Studio Lead Light, depth of experience and an adventurous spirit have led him to cover the whole spectrum from restoring traditional stained glass windows and panels in century-old churches; executing commissioned works for private homes and business establishments; sculpting glass into abstract. The talented artisans at Vidri Arte have designed a table that features a forged iron base that permits the table to be folded (Plate No.8). The setting sun over the Mexican sierra creates a luminous spectacle of colour, inspiring this original table. The table's surface is a stained glass masterpiece, which is patiently executed by hand. Artist Aparna from Apurva Stain Glass, Chennai, started using stained glass paintings in furniture in 1995. She uses designs varying from floral, with butterflies and humming birds, to geometrical patterns. She uses imported paints from America and water based colours. Depending on the needs of the clients and the talents of the designers, studios are able to produce stained glass windows and other decorative articles in a variety of styles (Plate No. 10).



Plate No. 8: Vidri Arte designed table--Stained glass as an exterior feature



Plate No. 9: A modern stained glass window in Prakash hotel, Roorkee (Photograph by the Author)

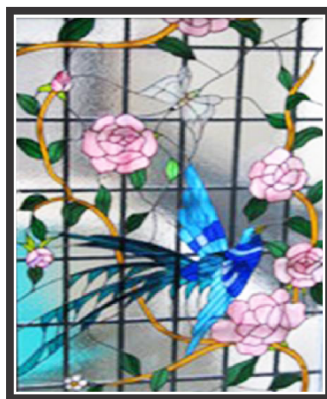


Plate No.10: "Bird of Paradise"

Now the position of stained glass artist in society has changed entirely. Artists today are using modern material and techniques to express themselves, filling the spectator with wonder and delight (Plate No. 9). This is achieved through lighting effects, which add to the overall mystery of the environments. The inspiring hues and images along with the lighting bring forth a chastening effect and add a meditative quality to the surroundings (Plate No.6). Conversely, it is for these reasons that stained glass panels are not seen much in

offices, hospitals and classrooms of academic institutes—places requiring extreme focus on the job-- apart from the fact of being comparatively costly. Nonetheless, stained glass panels and windows adorn bar areas and five star hotels such as the Stained Glass Cottage, Goa; Leela Palace, Bangalore; Nice Hotel, New Delhi; Jaiwana Haveli, Udaipur; Prince's Room, Taj Mahal Palace; and Royal Venue, Mumbai.

## **Conclusion**

Globalization and liberalization effect may lead to further popularization of this art. Access to internet has played a remarkable role in its promotion. The young artists today are seeking forms that convey multiple meaning. It is important to make the best of the art market, created by the increasing number of commercial galleries, studios, and the inflow of foreign buyers, offering attractive sale prospects. Many private studios/art galleries in India offer professional courses and workshops classes on techniques of stained glass.

In the present system, it is necessary that educators evolve an understanding of the role of not only the functionality of this art as a visual medium but also its emotional and spiritual values. Secondly, arts school should include stained glass courses in their curricula. Thirdly, new dimensions are possible when this art is practised more in workshops with other materials and mediums. Stained glass art can achieve new horizons through new experiments and broader public interest. To conclude, it would be appropriate to say that the grace and charm of the stained glass art is peculiar in itself. What is necessary is a new kind of inspiration that can enrich our present-day culture and lives. It is an appropriate time to promote this art.

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## **Economics of Communalism: Questioning Religion as the Primary Factor in Determining 'Religious' Identity**

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The othering of a religious minority in India is done not on the basis of its religious affiliation, but on that of its economic class. Economics becomes the basis of branding a certain community as “lowly,” “unclean” and “barbaric:” pejorative adjectives are assigned to religious minorities on the basis of reasons other than religion. The marginalization of communities is a result of their socio-economic status. No doubt, religion is a part of the equation, but it is just another layer of identity, and more often than not, secondary or tertiary. The paper explores the underlying cultural variables that contribute towards the rise of communalism. Economic condition is determined as one of the most active variables of religious communalism. Against a literary backdrop, the Marxist classification of communities causing their ossification into social hierarchies is explored.

**Keywords:** Hindu-Muslim conflict in India, religious identity, capitalism as a means of fuelling communalism

In India, religion has been one of the most commonly exploited bases of hegemonic construction of identity. Right from the colonial occupation of India by the British, religion has been used at different times by different parties as a means of hegemonic power wielding. Even the partition of the country in 1947 was a result of the politics of religion. The populace was segregated on the basis of religion by both Hindus and Muslims who incidentally formed the two largest religious communities of India. Communalists on both sides found the basis to such religious segregation in the presumed religious homogeneity within the Hindus and the Muslims.

It is imperative to question the role of religion in defining the identity for an individual and the homogeneity that is imagined as a basis of religious segregation. By analysing the role of economics that is central to identification and subsequent representation, the presumed precedence of religion as a determiner of identity can be challenged.

The violence during the Partition was given a communal colour for the vested interests of political groups. Such communalization of events validated the



stereotyping of communities, thereby obliterating from identity its organic and fluid tendencies. Despite popular belief, communalism in India is not just about religion. It has various cultural underpinnings that are ignored due to political insignificance. Economics is, perhaps, one of the biggest cultural variables that needs to be investigated for its role in 'religious' communalism. A society that is divided into classes has vividly defined economic identities. This aspect of individual identity tends to permeate into other aspects of culture and claim centrality. When a certain religious community forms an upper economic class, it automatically tends to see itself in antagonistic terms against the other community that forms the lower economic class. Yashpal's novel *This Is Not That Dawn* (2010) is set in the time of the Partition. In the following excerpt, it deals with the politics of communalism brewing in the background, and the threat of partition looming large. Even the pre-partition Punjab and particularly the city of Lahore, considered to be a shared cultural space for both Hindus and Muslims, could not remain unaffected by the politics of Hindu-Muslim communalism. The city is divided into Hindu and Muslim quarters. Bhola Pandhe's Gali is a Hindu area where many Muslim peddlers and hawkers come down to make a living. The insecurity, stemming from the fear of partition of the country, makes the Hindu residents of the *gali* wary of the Muslim peddlers. It becomes a perfect setting for exercising the politics of representation at a micro level. Yashpal brings to light the typecasting of both Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu women of Bhola Pandhe's Gali in Lahore tend to represent both Hindus and Muslims as *self* and *other* respectively:

Now Hindus will sell vegetables and fruits and demean themselves to do the job of a rai [read: Muslim]...they will work as gujjars [read: Muslims] and sell milk, will do the lowly job of washing other people's clothes as dhobis do, will make shoes, and *defile their caste* by being dyers of cloth. [Emphasis added] (Yashpal 57-58)

It is interesting to note here that all the professions that have been called menial and lowly are associated with the Muslims owing to their economic backwardness. Many Hindus consider it below their prestige to engage themselves in these jobs. So, by default, these jobs come to be associated with Muslims. The economic condition of Muslims, therefore, gradually gets associated also with their religious affiliation. Yashpal attempts to bring to light the economic condition of Muslims owing to which they are represented as "lowly" and "menial," hence, the *other*. There is also a communal tendency of transmuting caste in economics, hence using both the variables synonymously. Therefore, taking up of some 'lowly' professions by Hindus threatens to "defile their caste", as if all Hindus are, by default, upper-class, and upper-caste. The Hindu women of the *gali* go on:

Hindus will become potters, as kalaigeers they will tinplate kitchen utensils. They are doomed. Turn away from your family profession, and you defile your caste. Both the communities have *discarded their dharma*, their age-old professions. The Muslims will make mithai and sweets; will be cloth merchants. Who's ever heard of a Muslim halwai or cloth merchant? If Hindus drink water piped into their homes, water touched by the Muslims, how can they save their religion? [Emphasis added] (58)

While it is a case of typecasting of Muslims at the hands of the communal minded Hindus, there is also an attempt to identify Hindus as the binary opposites of Muslims. It is here precisely that the binary opposition of the “Self” and the “Other” is indicated. What begins as an economic, or Marxist classification, tends to find its way into the communal politics through the means of identity formation and representation at the hands of the right-wing communal project. Moreover, the idea of *dharma* is invoked here with an attempt to sanctify and perpetuate the stereotypical image that is created on Marxist lines. It is as if Muslims are born to do the “menial” jobs and Hindus the “respectable” ones.

It is such typecasting of a community that fuels the politics of identity and representation. The stereotyping of a certain community tends to bind its people in a definition and gradually it becomes a sort of a trademark of that community in the minds of people, even when there is no logical base to it. Religion offers only a limited or an incomplete view in the direction of such representation of a community. It is important to note here that the stereotyping of Muslims as “lowly” is done on the basis of their religious identity, whereas the conditions that suggest it are purely economic. This means that it is not unlikely to find some Hindus engaged in the so called menial and lowly jobs. It is entirely an economic condition that is presented as a religious one by the communalists. It is completely reasonable to say that a particular individual is a *dhobi* or a potter not because he is a follower of Islam, but because he is economically weak. Given these economic conditions, Yashpal does not hesitate in addressing the Hindus as the “haves” and the Muslims “have-nots” (481).

The economic condition of the Indian Muslim is one of the biggest reasons that they have been represented thus by some communal minded Hindus. Muslims, according to the Sachar Committee Report, are largely an economically weaker section.

[Muslims'] share in regular work, especially in the government, public sector and large private sector, is very low. A larger share of Muslim workers is engaged in manufacturing and retail trade than workers of other SRCs [Socio-Religious Communities]. The conditions of work are more precarious for Muslim workers than most other workers. Their earnings are relatively

low among regular workers. Moreover, vis-a-vis others, a much larger proportion of Muslim workers is engaged in street vending and are without employee benefits and long-term (even written) contracts. In other words, their participation in the informal sector is much higher than most other SRCs, especially in own account trade and manufacturing enterprises. (Basant, 2007: 829)

Similar economic conditions of Muslims are highlighted in Githa Hariharan's novel *Fugitive Histories* (2009). Yasmin and her family – the documentary film subjects of Sara, a Muslim woman from a well-to-do family – live in Muslim ghettos, the “safe areas” (42). They live in the conditions where even potable water is a luxury and is obtained after prayers.

Yasmin silently mouths her daily morning prayer:

Allah, your grace can do anything. You know better than anyone that *anything* can happen. Let your grace melt to become water, corporation water. Let it come to your thirsty children through the city pipes. If the city pipes are broken, if the government has forgotten to repair them or thinks we are so worthless we don't need pipes, let the water find other ways. [Emphasis in original] (117)

One may also find the explanation of why ghettos are considered to be the “safe area” by the underprivileged and riot affected Muslims:

[W]e're lucky we have two rooms even if they're dark and small. We're lucky we have two rooms in a *safe area*. We're lucky we have a tap in the bathroom . . . We're lucky we have electricity. You're lucky you go to school. You're lucky your father got some money at least for the old house. You're lucky you didn't have to see your brother's dead body or see him killed. You're lucky you can remember him as he was. [Emphasis added] (122)

The insecurity of Muslims can be traced to their poverty and minority status and their preference for such deplorable “safe areas” indicates their socio economic condition, rather than religious ghettoization. Bipin Chandra tries to highlight the social backwardness of Muslims that becomes one of the prime reasons for their representation at the hands of the communal Hindus at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Muslim middle classes were much less open to renaissance and modern ideas. There was a much lesser spread of enlightenment. They remained much more traditional and backward, and therefore easier prey to pre-modern forms of self-perception. This was so for several reasons: the lateness of and the delay in the reform effort; the stronger hold of orthodoxy, the very revivalism having occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century; the large social influence of landlords and bureaucrats and the strong affiliation of the new intelligentsia with these two social strata; and the virtual absence of an organized movement of social and religious reform. (1984: 216)

Reform in the *sharia* laws, for instance, has been a matter of great unrest amongst Muslims. Most Muslims find it unacceptable to make any changes to the *sharia* laws governing the Muslim society. Many Hindus see this aspect of

Islam as exclusivist. They believe that Muslims have their allegiance and loyalties only towards their religion and not towards the Indian constitution or society. This becomes one of the main causes for them being branded or represented as foreigners or outsiders by the Hindu communalists. Even though the demand for Pakistan was made at a political level and the common Muslim population hardly had any political role to play in it, all Muslims, including the ones who chose to stay back in India, are branded as the so-called agents of Pakistan. Rahi Masoom Reza attempts to bring to light the real sentiment of the ordinary Muslims as far as Pakistan and the Partition are concerned. The common Muslims of Gangauli who seem to disown the idea of Pakistan have no affiliation with Jinnah. For them, Gangauli is and will always be their home (2003: 234).

The representation of Muslims as foreigners was also apparent during the Partition, when the attacking Muslims were referred to as *Turks* or *Mughals*, reminiscent of the times of invasion of the Indian sub-continent by the Muslims centuries ago (Yashpal 449). The continued link sought between Muslims from the remotest past in this tradition is indicative of their unchanging situation as foreign adversaries even though they had been living in India for generations. Any offence of the Muslims is identified in religious terms and categorized as a continuous violence that started with the earliest of invaders who also shared their religion with them.

Furthermore, the resistance from Muslims to religious and social reform is seen as the primary reason for their deplorable economic conditions and is, therefore, seen and propagated as a religious conditioning that makes them live in ghettos and filthy conditions. Communal slurs like *mlecchas* [unclean] that are commonly used for the Muslims suggest a general idea of unhygienic lifestyles associated with them. M. J. Akbar's *Blood Brothers* (2006) highlights the Hindu sensibility in representing Muslims:

[F]ood was a sensitive matter to many Hindus. Some upper castes treated Muslims as *yavana*, or outsiders, the term originally used for Alexander's Greeks when they invaded a centre of Hindu civilization, Taxila, and later applied to Muslims. All outsiders were *mleccha*, unclean. Hindus might happily converse with a Muslim, work with him, conspire with him, but not eat with him. [Emphasis in original] (2008: 6)

The class differences between the rich and the poor start taking shape of religious differences through representation of this kind. The Muslims, therefore, become *mlecchas* not just because they live in ghettoes; they are termed so for being followers of a particular faith. At the political level too, the class conflict between Hindus and Muslims, on numerous occasions, was

termed or presented as religious conflict. The communal forces on both sides found it politically profitable to cleave the society on the basis of religion rather than class. Bipin Chandra rightly comments:

The social, economic and political vested interests deliberately encouraged . . . communalism because of its capacity to distort popular struggles, to prevent the masses from understanding the social and economic factors responsible for their social condition and to turn them away from . . . socio-economic interests . . . Communalism also enabled them to disguise their own privileged sectional, economic and political interests in the garb of communal ideology and religious identity and instead to secure for their interests not only a moral and ideological cover but also popular mass support, inspired by religious passions. *And where class identity was submerged in communal [religious] identity, and class struggle was represented as communal [religious] struggle, the upper classes were able to use even the class struggle of the oppressed to serve their own purposes and class interests.* [Emphasis added] (97-98)

It is interesting to see how communalists use class identities and repackage them for political motives to use them as religious identities for their own political agendas. Since, on most occasions, Muslims formed the working class or the have-nots, and Hindus the haves, the struggle between the two was projected as a sectarian struggle, rather than that of class. This convenient *misrepresentation* fulfilled two strategic agendas — the class struggle between the rich and the poor was presented as religious strife which took away the attention from the real economic issues, and secondly, it gave rise to the development of communal thought within the society and accentuated it. A “false consciousness” (Engels) of communal conflict was created among the masses for vested political interests of the communalists on both sides. Gyanendra Pandey comments on the economic basis of sectarian violence:

The outbreak [of sectarian violence] in 1893 was more 'serious', 'widespread' and 'uncontrollable' than that of 1874. The dispersal of the crowd that initially attacked the Hanuman Temple would appear to have had the effect of arousing the Muhammadan population of the city generally; and, as will always happen on such occasions, the criminal classes . . . were not slow to avail themselves of the confusion. Much of the looting, and probably some of the deaths, are due rather to the depredations and violence of these classes than to religious excitement. (1999: 60)

The economic aspect can hardly be ignored for its contribution in the spread of communalism in colonial India.

[C]ommunalism is one of the by products of colonial underdevelopment of Indian economy. The rise of modern politics and social classes occurred in the same period and the crisis of colonial economy began to be largely felt. Colonial economy, underdevelopment and economic stagnation produced conditions 'conducive to the growth of internal division and antagonism within society. (Kumar, 1991: 72)

Since the country was battling an economic recession, it was vulnerable to the development of class based fissures. However, economic underdevelopment is

not to be blamed here. The problem was an outcome of a strategic endeavour to conflate economic conditions and class struggle. Kumar writes:

Due to the worsening economic condition, increasing unemployment and professions overcrowded, the middle class started thinking in terms of their future programme. They faced the fear of being declassed and losing their social status. Existing opportunities and traditional sources of livelihood were fast disappearing. A certain edge and urgency was imparted to their worldly struggle to maintain their class position. This frustration, a sense of social deprivation and a constant fear of loss of identity and status often created an atmosphere of violence which when triggered off by a religious issue led to communal riots. (73)

This is not to deny the significant presence of religion in the scheme of things, but to understand that it was not the primary basis for rioting. The religious difference only worked as a trigger to the already fragile and restless situation. It needs to be understood that religion alone did not provide enough fuel to the communal fire that burnt in the form of sectarian violence or communal riots. M. J. Akbar, in *Blood Brothers*, attempts at highlighting the economic aspect of such religious violence:

Till 1871, Bengal's social conflicts were largely between the powerful and powerless: rich and poor; landlord and peasant. European Sahib, Anglo-Indian, Hindu Baboo, Muslim peasant and Bihari labour formed shifting patterns of coexistence. After the census [of 1871], rift lines sharpened between Hindus and Muslims as they gradually acquired *another layer of identity*. Hindu revivalism . . . found a new momentum from powerful and lyrical writers of Bengali prose. Less dramatically, more slowly, the Muslim peasant became conscious of the strength of numbers, making Hindu landlords apprehensive. [Emphasis added] (22)

Akbar tries to draw attention towards religion as “another layer of identity” along with economic identity that functions within the social space. It is important to note that an individual's identity is shaped by a number of factors within the social space. It is easy to ascribe communal violence to religious identity but there are other factors at play which cannot be ignored. Religion happens to be only one of the many “layer[s] of identity” that is in a constant state of flux. Religious identity, in most cases, has not been the only determining factor when it comes to social conflict between people. As Akbar avers, the reason for Muslim peasants to unite was not religion as much as it was their common status of peasantry and subjugation at the hands of the rich or the moneylenders. It is incidental that in most places, Muslims formed the majority of the peasant classes and Hindus formed the majority of the rich classes of money-lenders. The culture of Telinipara with the backdrop provided by the jute-mill economics and division of the society between the poor and the rich is the only factor that divides the people of the town. Hindus and Muslims share a common cultural space. There were hardly any dividing lines other than those determined by the economic structures. The religious

divide was offered to the inhabitants of Telinipara by the outsiders. The character of Govardhan Ahir is one such example of an outsider who acts as an agent of religious communalism attempting to threaten the communal harmony of the town. It is this outside, or foreign, influence that underscores religious identity in Telinipara. Based on a detailed study of Akbar's *Blood Brothers*, it may not be altogether wrong to say that economics is that one factor that makes Indian Muslims the *other* in the eyes of Hindu communalists even before religion. Gyanendra Pandey also brings to light how the declining economic conditions of Muslim weavers (*Julahas*) in Bengal forced them to come into direct conflict with rich moneylenders and middlemen, most of who happened to belong to the Hindu community (66-108). One may analyse the economic conditions of the jute-mill workers along with that of the other Muslims, like the protagonist Rahmatullah, who were dependant on the jute-mill industry for their survival as portrayed by Akbar. Most of the workers of the mill are shown to have migrated to Bengal from Bihar, U.P. and parts of northern India. Such economic insecurity among the poor classes, who were largely Muslims, contributed to the spread of communalism.

The massive rearrangement of economic benefits under colonialism, and of the rules to be observed for survival and prosperity, was surely of consequence in many instances of strife between beneficiaries and losers in northern India. Thus...the defilement of [a] Hindu temple was accompanied by an attack by the weavers [Julahas] and their associates upon the houses and account-books of some of the bigger traders and moneylenders. (Pandey 79)

Religious communalism seems the outcome of class difference between the rich and poor. It was not a surprise, therefore, that

a large number of Hindu zamindars and *tahikdars* of UP joined the Hindu Mahasabha . . . To attract them further towards the Mahasabha, its president, V. D. Savarkar, condemned any 'selfish' class tussle between landlords and tenants. Even earlier..., Hindu zamindars and merchant-money-lenders of UP had started supporting Hindu communalism though there did not yet exist a formal Hindu communal party. (Chandra 102)

While Savarkar dreamed of a united Hindu community, the policies of his organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha, did not seem to be concerned with the elevation of the peasant and poor classes. Interestingly, in much the same way, the communal policies of the Muslim League were also not for the poor or the deprived classes:

The Hindu Mahasabha . . . actively opposed land reforms as well as anti-landlord, anti-capitalist movements. It also opposed all anti-money-lender legislation designed to give relief to the peasants and small landlords. Similarly, the Muslim League generally opposed anti-landlord measures. In Punjab, the Muslim League supported landlord domination of the agrarian social structure. It vigorously defended landlord interests against the tenants. (Chandra 107-8)

Both Hindu and Muslim communal organisations saw political merit in siding with the rich. For the poor, matters related to religion were hardly as important since they were struggling to make both ends meet. On the other hand, the hegemonic assertion of power through religious communalism suited the ambition of the rich who offered their allegiance to the power-politics agenda masquerading as religious-national revolution. Such realigning of power relations indicates a hidden hegemonic agenda that works within the civil society with long-lasting repercussions.

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## **A Survey on Use of Machine Learning Methods in Image Classification in Big Data**

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Big data is voluminous data generated at an exponentially fast pace. It is structured and unstructured in nature. While structured data is relatively easy to process, unstructured data, due to different formats and added complexity, is very difficult and time consuming to process. This voluminous data can be used for any kind of useful task if it is pre-processed for the high-end query and retrieval activities. One of the steps in pre-processing is classification. This study aims to understand the machine learning methods that are used for automatic or semi-automatic classification of images a major unstructured data format in Big Data.

**Keywords:** machine learning, big data, unstructured data, classification systems

### **Introduction**

Big data refers to the excessive, speedy and variant generation of structured and unstructured data. Structured data is relatively easy to process and manage. The major issue that big data scientists face today is managing the unstructured data in the form of e-mail messages, social media chats, images, animations, videos, audio, presentations, pdfs, webpages and business documents. The proliferation of electronic gadgets and mobile technology have made mobile devices reach each and every corner of the world and people are using these handheld devices to capture videos and images and share them with the world. Localities, buildings and homes are equipped with Wi-Fi, CCTV cameras, sensors and other monitoring devices which generate a continuous stream of data that needs to be stored and processed. Satellites capture and transmit data related to astronomical projects, weather and climate conditions and other scientific and governmental activities.

With such a huge amount of data, classification becomes imperative for any decision-making process or for any other useful application. Classification is done on various types of unstructured data collected from live feeds, stock information, scientific calculations, chats, twitter messages, sensor data, satellite information, CCTV footages, social network conversations and image

posts using mobiles. It may be important to determine whether the e-mail messages are spam, analyze the tweets of people about a certain topic/news/event, social media chats to evaluate trends, emotions and sentiments for a product.

Big data is associated with multidimensional issues of storage, classification, processing and analysis. Due to rise in this unstructured data, it has become imperative to design and evaluate different techniques that could be used to classify it for better and efficient processing. Business organizations, government agencies and scientists across the world are forced to look seriously into the challenge of big data to use this growing repository of data in profit generation and development.

Image classification has been an important aspect of research in data mining and big data. Many existing software applications are available for image classification, but they are limited to the specific image types and the process of classification is quite slow. Catering to a large volume of image data being generated at a very high frequency is not possible through these kinds of applications. Furthermore, developing fast, reliable, efficient and accurate tools will help in reducing the time of efficient image classification by accurate annotation and minimization of error.

Studies for newer, more effective and reliable classification methods are being done since the 1990s. This work is aimed at studying various techniques and research work being done in the field of image data classification in a big data environment and understanding different machine learning approaches for classification of images.

### **Literature Study**

Classification is the task of assigning objects to one of the several predefined categories. It is a pervasive problem that encompasses many diverse applications (Tan, Steinbach and Kumar, 2015). Big data is very complicated in itself due to four characteristics: velocity, variety, veracity and volume. It becomes even more pertinent to classify the incoming data so that the subsequent processes of retrieval, analyses and decision making become efficient in terms of turnaround time and storage. The frequently used classification techniques are Decision Trees, Rule Based, Neural Networks, Support Vector Machines and Naïve Bayes. All these techniques apply similar methods of using a learning algorithm to identify the best model for representing the relationship between the attributes set of the class and the class assigned to the input data set.

These techniques are based on the concept of machine learning, wherein a classification problem is solved by making the machine learn and predict the class or category to the input data based on the training dataset. The training dataset is a set of data with a sufficiently large size containing pre-classified samples collected after the sample data is presented to humans who classify the data beforehand. This sample data is analyzed for different attributes that define the input dataset which is used to define various attributes of the data. For example, classifying a loan applicant as “reliable” or “fraudulent” could be based on analyzing the credentials of the applicant such as the status of the existing account, credit history, saving account/ bonds, date of employment in the current job, personal status etc. Such features collected after careful study of the big data are used as an input to the algorithm to classify the credit applicant. For a bank, it will be more reliable if it can gather a large amount of trusted as well as fraudulent sample data and all the applicants in between, for the machine learning system.

The EM-algorithm consists of "back and forth" least-squares calculations on the cross-products matrix of all variables and can handle many cases using only familiar computations (Dempster, Laird and Rubin, 1977).

Joachims, in 1998, introduced Support Vector Machines (SVMs) for text categorization of Reuters and Ohsumed corpus. The experiment proved that SVMs are very well suited for text categorization and that they give consistent good performance on categorization tasks in comparison to earlier techniques of classification. SVMs generalize well in high dimensional feature spaces and eliminate the need for feature selection making them robust, promising and easy to use methods for learning text classifiers.

Nagarani, Venkata Ramana Chary and Rajya Lakshmi (2012) proposed an image annotation technique using Low-level semantic Features and an Image Retagging approach to refine the tags associated with images. Bharthi and Tamizharasi, in 2014, demonstrated an automatic image annotation method using SURF descriptor to select right count and type of features and their framework with semi-supervised Multilayer Perceptron (MLP) used in training and annotation phase for the images captured on mobile and saved on the cloud.

Weston, Bengio and Usunier (2011) proposed a method WSABIE that scales big datasets by learning to optimize precision at the top of the ranked list of annotations for a given image and learning: a low-dimensional joint embedding space for both images and annotations. Tariq and Foroosh (2015) experimented to create an unsupervised feature-independent quantification of

the context of the image using the estimated context as prior knowledge in the process of automatic image annotation. In 2013, Olszewska proposed an approach that computes multi-layered active contours of an image, identifying the sub-parts, extracting visual features of regions and are finally mapped into semantic notions. Decision trees are used for training using identified attributes to perform semantically annotation from the decision rules created. Moran and Lavrenk (2014) introduced a sparse kernel learning a framework for the Continuous Relevance Model (CRM). State-of-the-art image annotation models linearly combine evidence from several different feature types to improve image annotation accuracy.

Shi, Yang and Wang (2012) formulated image annotation as a multi-class classification problem, which deals with the weak annotation problem and works with image-level ground truth training data. They used the supervised Bayesian learning to establish a relationship between low-level visual features and semantic concepts. Bannour and Hudelot (2012) proposed One-Versus-Opposite-Nodes method that allows decomposing the problem in several independent tasks and therefore scales well with a large database. They performed a top-down classifiers voting and bottom-up score fusion.

## **Methodology**

The study has been conducted to understand the use of different machine learning algorithms like Decision Trees, MLP, Random Forests, SVM used in the image classification. These four machine learning techniques are discussed along with the work done on image classification using this technique.

## **Decision Tree**

A decision tree is a tree-like graph structure used to model solutions for those problems that require decision making and expected outcomes. It is featured as a flow chart structure. Its internal nodes represent the condition on the basis of which a decision is made, leaf nodes represent the outcomes and branches connect nodes at different levels. A class to which an object is classified is represented by the leaf node. Yang et al. (2003) used the hyperspectral images of agricultural plots for classification using regression tree (C&RT) approach. They replicated the tillage/cropping combination thrice to reflect three stages of crop growth. They classified the images on tillage practice, residue level, cropping practices, tillage/cropping (residue) and their proposed C&RT models displayed accuracy of 0.89 for tillage practices and 0.98 for residue levels. Rajendran and Madheswaran proposed a hybrid approach of association rule mining and decision tree algorithm to classify the brain tumors

cells in 2010. Their algorithm showed an accuracy of 95% and sensitivity of 97% when used to classify images of brain tumors at Pandima CT scan centre, Dindigul.

### **Random Forest**

Random forests (RF) are another category of classification algorithms extending the capability of the decision tree. Breiman, in 2001, used RFs which change technique of the classification or regression trees construction. In an RF, the splitting at each node is done using the best among a subset of predictors randomly chosen for that node. Horning studied RFs for image classification methods in 2010. It was concluded that RF is a non-parametric, easily parameterized, handles over-fitting and outliers in training data and calculates ancillary information such as classification error and variable importance.

Ko, Kim and Nam (2011) offered a method of classifying X-ray images using random forests with local wavelet-based local binary pattern (LBP) to improve image classification performance and reduce training and testing time. They extracted local wavelet-based CS-LBP (WCS-LBP) descriptors from local parts of the images to describe the wavelet-based texture characteristic and applied the extracted feature vector to decision trees. The constructed RFs improved performance and faster classification of X-Ray images.

Joshi et al. (2015) in their experiment, showed the method to train an RF model to recognize gestures from a given vocabulary. The training dataset includes video and 3D-body joint locations. They evaluated their technique by segmenting and recognizing gestures from two different benchmark datasets: the NATOPS dataset of 9,600 gesture instances from a vocabulary of 24 aircraft handling signals and the Cha Learn dataset of 7,754 gesture instances from a vocabulary of 20 Italian communication gestures.

### **Multilayer Perceptron (MLP)**

Multilayer Perceptrons are the most popular feed-forward neural networks used in a variety of classification problems. MLP is a neural network at the core which is capable of approximating generic classes of functions, including continuous and integral functions. These are the most popular category of neural networks used today. Zhang and Zhang (1999) and Al-Rawi and Shadfan (2011) applied two approaches to train MLP for classification of satellite images. In the first approach, one hidden layer M-H1-L and two hidden layers M-H1-H2-L and in the second approach, one-against-all strategy (for one hidden layer (M-H1-1)xL, and two hidden layers (M-H1-H2-1)xL are

used. They reported classification accuracy up to 90% using one-against-all strategy with two hidden layers architecture. Taravat et al., 2015 created a multilayer perceptron neural network cloud mask for Meteosat Second Generation SEVIRI (Spinning Enhanced Visible and Infrared Imager) images classification. They trained the model for cloud detection on MSG SEVIRI daytime data. The MLP was created with one hidden sigmoid layer and trained with the error back-propagation algorithm. It reported cloud detection accuracy of 88.96%.

### **Support Vector Machines (SVMs)**

SVMs are supervised learning methods used for classification by using certain kernels. They transform the problem in such way that the linear classification techniques can be applied to non-linear data. Applying the kernel equations arranges data instances in such a way within the multi-dimensional space that there is a hyperplane that separates data instances of one kind from those of another. Gao et al., in 2006, proposed a hierarchical boosting algorithm to scale up SVM image classifier training in high-dimensional feature space. The high-dimensional multi-modal heterogeneous visual features are partitioned into multiple low-dimensional single-modal homogeneous feature subsets and each of them characterizes certain visual property of images. They observed encouraging results in classifying specific domain natural images. Tai, Hai and Thuy (2012) combined Artificial Neural Network (ANN) and SVM for image classification. They separated the image into many sub-images based on the features of images and applied the ANN for sub-grouping of each sub-image. The results were compiled with SVM recognized Roman numerals with an accuracy of 86%.

### **Conclusion**

This study has been done to understand the image classification in the age of big data and various machine learning techniques used in the classification of all possible kind of images like satellite imagery, natural scenes, characters, medical images etc. The decision trees can be successfully used in classification of images related to crop and severe medical conditions like a brain tumor. RF algorithm which is an extension of the capability of the Decision tree is used effectively to classify X-ray images as well as in complex tasks like gesture recognition from the videos as well as 3D real entities. MLP can be used in classification and identification of images like satellite or weather related images. SVM is a kind of ANN and an effective learning tool for classification of images. There are many other supervised and unsupervised learning techniques which can be explored further for image classification in Big data.

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## Transnational Wives and Bengali Diaspora House Space: Contextualizing Jhumpa Lahiri's Novels

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In Jhumpa Lahiri's novels, *The Namesake* (2003) and *The Lowland* (2013), the two transnational wives – Ashima and Gauri respectively – leave their husband's houses for getting themselves relocated in other places. The only difference is that while Ashima leaves her Pemberton house to return to Bengal, Gauri leaves the Rhode Island house to get herself relocated in California and re-turn to her 1960s' memories of Bengal and Udayan. For these Bengali-American wives, house space (in addition to the potent and fixed image of the original house structure) provides a site for crystallization of the imagined past, and for the metaphoric support system of the estranged family connections caused by displacement. This anxiety between travelling and staying determines the conflicting attitudes of Ashima and Gauri towards the diaspora house space.

This paper would explore the diaspora house space of Ashima and Gauri in order to study how these wives attempt to transform it as a site of assimilation of the material and imagined realms of the lived space and the desired space respectively. This notion of an ideal life is directly related to their individual nature of negotiation between their lived life and desired life, within the context of diaspora. By undertaking such a study, this paper would attempt to find out firstly, whether such structural alterations of house space (or at least the desire to do so) can lead us to an understanding of Ashima and Gauri's mode of response to the host land and the homeland and, secondly, whether the diaspora house space goes through any kind of power geometry.

Keywords: Jhumpa Lahiri, Bengali diaspora, women in domestic space

### I

This paper would explore the house space of the transnational wives within the dynamics of Bengali-American diaspora, as represented in Jhumpa Lahiri's novels *The Namesake* (2003) and *The Lowland* (2013). It would study how these wives attempt to transform their diasporic house space as sites of assimilation of the material and imagined realms of the lived/desired space. For example, the paper would examine how they attempt to decorate the interiors and exteriors of a house, alter the zoning patterns within the house,

and most importantly, respond to the various spaces of the house in order to construct, deconstruct or reconstruct a historical, cultural, culinary and geographical environment of what they, as separate individuals, think about an ideal life in the host land. This notion of an ideal life is directly related to their individual nature of negotiation between their lived life and desired life, within the context of diaspora. By undertaking such a study, this paper would attempt to find out firstly, whether such structural alterations of house space (or at least the desire to do so) can lead us to an understanding of these wives' mode of response to the host land and the homeland and, secondly, whether there are gender differences operating within the diasporic house space.

## II

House as space involves a multi-disciplinary discourse which is based on the study of the domestic space and its multifarious representations in a variety of scholarly disciplines. In the present-day discourses, analysis of house has gained great importance. It is a space for everyday routine activities. It sometimes even brings to our mind specific events from the past. However, it remains invisible and concealed amidst the hullabaloo of everyday life. Theoreticians have examined the physical, social, cultural, emotional and economic attachments of the inmates with the house from different perspectives. The relationship between the house and its inhabitants becomes more complex in case of immigrants whose historical prospect has distanced them from their territorial reference. According to Bahloul (1996), as the indigenous concept of house is in all cases firmly related to the structure and conceptualization of the native household as a conceived reality, immigrants automatically transform their symbolic construction of the house in the migration process, while modifying their cultural, political, and economic characteristics. Moreover, not only the furnishing and structuring of the concept of house is modified in the migration process, but even its social significance undergoes certain changes. For the immigrants, in addition to the potent and fixed image of the original house structure, the house space also provides ground for the crystallization of the imagined past, and for the metaphoric support system of the estranged family connections engendered by the displacement. This anxiety between travelling and staying determines the conflicting attitudes of the immigrants towards the house space. The liminality and elusiveness of an immigrant's subject position problematizes his/her relationship with the house space.

### III

*The Namesake* begins as Ashoke and Ashima leave Calcutta and settle in Central Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Since house, human body and mind are in continuous interaction with each other, Ashima (lacking easy access to her homeland) tries to re-create her kitchen space as a geographical, cultural and culinary substitute for Bengal. In the kitchen of her Central Square apartment, Ashima, in the beginning of the novel, stands blending Rice crispies, Planters peanuts and chopped red onion in a bowl. She has been consuming this mixture throughout her pregnancy. Food becomes both an intellectual and emotional anchor for her as a diasporic subject, psychologically transporting Ashima to her geographically and temporally distant childhood home and giving her a sense of rootedness in the United States as well. She stares lifelessly at the “pegboard behind the counter top where her cooking utensils hang, all slightly coated with grease” (2003: 1). Her swollen feet ache against the spotted gray linoleum. The shelves of the cupboard are creased with a “grimy yellow-and-white-checkered paper” which she has been thinking of replacing but ultimately has not replaced (1). The gloomy picture of the uncared for kitchen space of Ashima's flat in the US and her craving inside it for “jhalmurhi,” --easily found almost everywhere in Bengal, show her pain of separation from Bengal and her fruitless efforts to recreate Calcutta in her house in Seattle. After giving birth to Gogol, when she arrives from the hospital at her house, she finds herself once again in the “gloomy three-room apartment” (32). As she walks slowly through the rooms, it troubles her to think that she is back to the never ending process of cleaning “dirty dishes stacked in the kitchen” (33). With the baby crying, it suddenly becomes unbearable for her to continue her life in the house and she insists strongly, “I won't,” (33) looking neither at the baby nor at Ashoke, her husband. She then pulls back a bit of the curtain, looks outside her house and feels dejected and miserable. She now lets the curtain fall and says, “Not here. Not like this” (33).

According to Bachelard, while a house gives one a sense of protection and allows to daydream in particular corners, in some cases it cripples and stifles the dweller, and turns the intimate spaces of the house hostile. It is of course, a painful experience for the dweller when the house space subverts its womb like nature. Something similar happens to Ashima in her Seattle house, especially during her first few years in America, as she finds it difficult to get acculturated in the host land. The house space, in fact, adds to her distress by imprisoning her within the daily chores of the house without giving her the much-wanted relief and thus destabilizing her identity and dreams of an ideal life in the host

land. Evidently, the house space is gendered, comprising the kitchen as the focal point of Ashima's activities.

It is in the bedroom space that Ashima communicates mostly with her husband since he has a hectic schedule in the university all day long. "At night, lying beside her in bed" (10), Ashoke listens to her describe the eventless happenings of her day. On one such night when Rana, Ashima's brother, telephones in the middle of the night to convey their father's death in Calcutta, Ashoke manages to pass on the news to her using the bed space. He reaches to her side of the bed and presses her hand closely and then lies "on top of her, his face to one side, his body suddenly trembling" (46). He holds her this way for so long that she begins to wonder if he is going to turn off the light and caress her. Instead, he tells her what Rana has told him a few minutes ago. The bedroom is the space where Ashima's husband is most sensitive and caring to her emotional needs. No doubt that later in her life, Ashima will miss Ashoke the most in the bedroom space. Bedroom space without her husband at night will be too hostile for her to bear.

When Ashoke buys a house in America and shifts with his family to this new house, Ashima decorates the interiors of her house and controls the liminal spaces of the house in order to deconstruct, and further, reconstruct the diasporic space according to her ideal notion of life in the host land. Ashima frames a watercolour painting by her father, "of a caravan of camels in a desert in Rajasthan" (52) and hangs it in the living room. Her wish to incorporate her father's presence and recreate an Indian milieu of a popular tourist spot in the living room space is evident over here. Ashima also preserves her dead parents' letters in a large white purse on the top shelf of her closet. For Ashima, the closet becomes an archive of memory, connecting the private moments of concern along with the subjective space of love and longing. It becomes a tiny but precious and fragile corner of the world where the massive, incommunicable and intangible feelings of Ashima, pertaining to another time and space, get filled up.

Ashima tries to control the liminal spaces of the house by regulating the access of the outsiders to the intimate spaces of her house. For example, when Gogol introduces his American girlfriend, Maxine, to his parents in their house, she is allowed to sit in the "formal living room, where they formally never sit" (147). It is in this space that Ashima consciously shows Maxine Gogol's childhood photo albums and the school pictures of Sonia and Gogol "in front of blue-gray backgrounds arranged on the mantel of the brick fireplace, the family portraits from Olan Mills" (147). She does not give her any access to the other parts of

the house. Maxine is allowed to see only that what Ashima wants to publicly display within the liminal space of her house. Ashima's implicit non-acceptance of Maxine is obvious from this. Ashima dismisses Maxine as someone whom Gogol would eventually break up with. She considers his love for Maxine as a passing phase of his life. Therefore, the drawing room space, which becomes a semi-public space for Ashima, has been strategically used to control the Gogol-Maxine relationship.

In her late forties, when Ashoke decides to join Cleveland, leaving Ashima alone in the house, she finds her evenings and nights in the house painful and weary. Sometimes, not knowing what to do with herself after dinner, she, while in bed in her nightgown, watches the small black-and-white television they have owned for decades and that lives on her side of the bed. If there is nothing decent on television, she leafs through books. In this way, she substitutes Ashoke's presence in the bed space by different activities, which seem to be poor substitutes for Ashoke. Burton, while referring to the writings of Janaki Majumdar, Sorabji and Hosain, observes that this dwelling-place is gendered and marks the "liminal space between public and private" (2003: 6), demonstrates critical historical consciousness, and is one of those "ideological configurations" (6) that extend across national boundaries. Ashima is greatly dependent on her husband and feels at home with his presence in the house, but the house space fails to soothe and shelter her in his absence.

After Ashoke's death in a heart attack in Ohio, his absence haunts Ashima and makes the hitherto familiar bedroom space unfamiliar to her. At the end of the novel, Ashima finds it impossible to live in the house without her husband. She decides to sell her house and get herself relocated in Bengal. In the last few hours of her stay at her Pemberton house in America, Ashima takes a shower. When she finishes, she wipes the steam off the bathroom mirror and examines her face. The house has never been a space of her own and "Ashima feels lonely suddenly, horribly, permanently alone" (278). She identifies herself as a widow who, for most of her life, has been simply a house wife attending to her husband's needs. Her subject position as a Bengali - American wife within the house space has been culturally and psychologically tilted towards her homeland. The gravitational pull of the homeland has been so intense that once her husband expires, Ashima's job at the library, her opportunity to drive – in short her very entity as a Bengali diasporan – gets subverted. Her response to the diaspora house space, which she had tried to convert into a site of assimilation of her lived space and desired space, has ultimately turned her into a parasitic wife. Therefore, after Ashoke's death, Ashima feels, "without a

home of her own, a resident everywhere and nowhere" (276). She decides to travel to America someday as a grandmother, "leaving, a month or two later, inconsolable, in tears" (278). All through her stay in America, she has tried to carve out her own space within the interiors of the house, despite the gendered nature of the house space. However, her psychological dependence on her husband and his eventual death creates a perennial tension between the host land and the homeland, the public space and the private space. The diaspora house space fails to negotiate this tension and therefore, the house space turns hostile to Ashima. This hostility of the house space leads her to the selling of the Pemberton house in order to get herself relocated in Bengal. However, in Lahiri's next novel, i.e. *The Lowland*, we find Gauri (within the dynamics of a Bengali- American transnational marriage), who breaks all stereotypes of a Bengali wife, especially when it comes to the activities and the access to the inside and outside of the house space.

*The Lowland* is a story about Subhash and Udayan Mitra who are two inseparable brothers, one often mistaken for the other. The story is set in the 1960s when Udayan finds himself drawn to the Naxalite movement and Subhash leaves India to pursue a life of scientific research in a quiet, coastal corner of America. When Subhash learns that his brother has been shot dead by some policemen in the lowland outside their family's home, he comes back to India, hoping to heal the wounds Udayan has left behind for their family, and eventually, marries Gauri, Udayan's wife. He then takes her to the Rhode Island. Gauri is pregnant with Udayan's child and accepts Subhash's wish to support her and be the baby's father when they get to America. She is not in love with Subhash, but she appreciates his kindness. During her first few days in America, Gauri notices that Subhash's apartment is on the ground floor, facing a little grass, a pathway and then a strip of asphalt. On the other side of the apartment is a row of matching apartment buildings that appear to Gauri as barracks. To Gauri's astonishment, she finds the locks on the apartment doors flimsy with little buttons on knobs instead of padlocks and bolts. The campus police station is nearby but there are no curfews or lockdowns. To her great relief, the neighbours – consisting of other graduate student-couples and children– neither notice her nor her bereavement. She hears from inside her house a door shutting, or the muffled ring of someone else's telephone, or footsteps going up the stairs. To a wife of a dead Naxalite activist of the 1960s Bengal, it is quite surprising that the liminal and the exterior spaces of the house are turned into semi-public spaces that can be easily accessible to the public areas of interaction. Strikingly, unlike India, no servants come to

prepare tea, make the beds and sweep or dust the rooms. For Gauri, the nature of domestic space in America varies from that of India as the intimate spaces of the house aren't invaded by the servants who, otherwise, would almost become participants in the everyday life of the master and the mistress.

In his apartment, Subhash offers Gauri the bedroom and he sleeps on the sofa. Gauri communicates with Subhash through the closed door as she listens to his morning routine – the beeps of his alarm clock, the sound of the exhaust fan in the bathroom, the switching off of the fan followed by the whispering of water, a razor blade scraping his face. She does not get up from her bed until she hears the apartment entrance door being shut firmly behind as Subhash leaves for work. His entry and exit are predictable to Gauri, unlike Udayan's. Though she waits all day for Subhash to come back to the apartment, feeling uneasy when he is not there, yet consciously avoids him once he does. While they eat together, they watch the nightly news – the news about America, of America's concern.

Once they shift to a furnished apartment, reserved for married students and their families, Subhash feels that he has “set up a household for Gauri” (2013 : 138). At night, lying on his sofa, he is aware of her door opening as she goes to the bathroom or gets herself a glass of water. He gets drawn towards Gauri as he starts becoming conscious of her urinating inside the bathroom or sees her hair undone from its usual knot, tensile, suspended like a serpent from the branch of a tree as she walks through the living room. Lying on the sofa, he listens helplessly to her animal whimpering in the middle of the night, “waiting for her terror to pass” (138). However, Gauri, aloof from Subhash, moves inside the house as if it were empty, as if he were not there. They live in the house, “both together and separately” (141). The understanding of the living room and the bedroom spaces by Gauri shows that though she has chosen to come and stay with Subhash in the same house, psychologically she is miles apart from Subhash.

Though Turner (1969) has argued that the liminal spaces of a house divide the outside from the inside of the house, Gauri's and Subhash's zoning patterns of the house prove that there are liminal zones even within a house. The door of Gauri's bedroom illustrates the presence of such a liminal zone in their house. Subhash and Gauri maintain this liminal space to stay away from each other, but, interestingly, they remain connected to each other through this liminal space as well. The door, irrespective of whether it is open or shut, is never crossed by either of them, at least physically. Yet they have a clear understanding of each other's private life through the bedroom door, mostly by

listening to the various sounds in the houses that they make while communicating with the house space. The trauma of Udayan's death, actually, has led them to stay away from each other and has thus created this liminal zone between them. However, later in the novel, Udayan and Gauri's daughter Bela's birth would mould this liminal zone as they would cross it without much hesitation in order to attend to the newly born. Slowly this liminal zone would get erased from the house as Subhash would ultimately start sleeping with Gauri in the bedroom.

Gauri breaks all stereotypes of a Bengali house wife by creating a mess in the house. Subhash finds clumps of her hair falling in front of the dressing table and all of her saris and petticoats and blouses heaped in one corner of the floor as if "an animal [had] shredded the fabric with its teeth and claws" (141). Evidently, Gauri feels more detached towards Subhash's house and starts spending more time outside it, mostly at the library. However, one day, when the contractions begin in the library, she returns to the house, packs her bag and waits for Subhash to take her to the hospital. This move on the part of Gauri proves that though apparently detached, she has some sense of belonging to the house space and so she chooses first to come to her house, instead of getting directly admitted to the hospital.

After her daughter's birth, as indicated earlier, there is a change in the use of the house space both by Gauri and Subhash. Subhash enters the bedroom without knocking now whenever Bela wakes up in the middle of the night and cries. In one such night, when Bela rests on top of his body, Subhash falls asleep on the same bed, "lying next to her [Gauri] on top of a shared sheet, with Bela between them" (147). Though Subhash apologises when he wakes up, Gauri assures him saying that she is "ready" (147) to share the same bed with him. After this incident, they set up the playpen for Bela, and when she is asleep, "the bed was theirs" (147). However, she remains detached from Subhash while making love to him, which is evident from her postures. While making love, she lies on her stomach, or on her side, "her back to him, her head turned, her eyes closed" (147). After some time, though, she turns to face Subhash and feels "no part of her resisting him" (148). She, however, realises that by the end of their lovemaking "he had nothing more to give" (147). In her heart of hearts, she can never find a substitute for Udayan, in spite of her attempts to do so.

Bela, the second generation diasporan, gets more and more involved with Subhash. Every night, she insists that he lie with her in her bed until she falls asleep. Some nights he falls asleep briefly beside Bela. However, the rift between Gauri and Subhash remains intact. Gauri's medicine cabinet is a proof



of her impassivity towards him. After five years of their wedding, when Subhash suggests Gauri to have a child with him, she assures him that she would think about it in another year or two. It is an empty promise becomes clear as every month Gauri purchases a new packet of birth-control pills and keeps it in the medicine cabinet. She actually does not want to re-establish another serious bond in her life. With Udayan, she was never calculative and conceived Bela without any kind of hesitation but with Subhash she deliberately and methodically maintains only a sexual relationship. Eventually she withdraws herself from Subhash, and ultimately finds herself unable to love Bela as well.

Once straying into a Philosophy class on Subhash's campus, Gauri gets hooked on Plato and Descartes, and begins neglecting the little girl, leaving her alone in the house. She feels that there “was no place to work in the apartment, no door she could shut, no desk where she could keep her things” (163). The moment Subhash is home, she packs her bag and goes out for her class. At first it is just a few evenings in a week, but then it is every evening of the week that she spends at the library, away from the house, “away from them” (163). This results in a largely unhappy conjugal life; in withdrawal, rejection and isolation for both of them. But later in her life, after separating herself from the Rhode Island house, Gauri remembers the “slow birth of the dissertation, behind a closed door” (234) of the Rhode Island house. Whenever she has to open a new jar of jam, she resorts to the trick Subhash taught her, of banging the edge of the lid three or four times with a spoon, to break the seal. But gratitude to Subhash was not enough for Gauri to love him and to stay with him in the same house for the rest of her life.

Out of her love for Udayan and also out of a sense of guilt for leaving Subhash and little Bela on their own, Gauri isolates herself from any form of companionship, always keeping herself busy in attending conferences, and then retiring to her room. She can only find companionship in the “reliable silence of her rooms” (237) in California house, where she has got relocated after leaving the Rhode Island house. After some hectic years of work, she allows herself “some frivolities” (241) – a group of jasmine, hibiscus and creamy gardenia plants planted by her in pots on her patio. On the patio, with its wooden trellis overhead and terra-cotta tiles underfoot, she likes to sit after a long day; drink a cup of tea and sort through her bills; feel the afternoon light on her face; look over a sheaf of printed pages she is working on, and sometimes eat her dinner as well. For the first time in the novel, we find her attached to a certain space of the house to such an extent. The patio is, no doubt, a space of her own.

She replaces the “dirty glass-topped wicker table” (242) lying there with an assembled table made of teak. She feels the table with her hands and breathes in the strong odour of the wood, “her cheek against the slats” (242). It brings back the memories of the smell of the bedroom furniture she’d left behind in Tollygunge – the wardrobe, the dressing table and the bed on which she and Udayan had created Bela. According to Bachelard, “An entire past comes to dwell in a new house” (1969: 41). Ordered from an American catalogue, delivered off a truck, the table brings the Tollygunge memories back to “her again” (Lahiri, 2013: 242). The smell of her Tollygunge bedroom spreads every now and then when the Santa Ana winds blows over it: “a peppery smell that reduced all distance, all time” (2013: 242). For a house in one’s imagination, neither the space nor its accessories have to be fixed, but there has to be something regular about the appearance and reappearance of its memory. One thing that she can’t come out of, even after years, is the web of the memories of the bedroom in which she spent priceless moments with Udayan in his last few days. She searches for Udayan on internet but there is no trace of his participation in the Naxalite movement, no mention of things he had done along with hundreds like him in Calcutta. She gets an access to a video showing a seventy-eight year old Kanu Sanyal<sup>1</sup>, “wearing an undershirt and cotton pajamas, hanging from a nylon rope” (282) in his house. For a few days, she is unable to come out of the trauma that this image creates. It is also in the patio that she reads the final letter from Subhash asking her for a divorce and removing her name from the joint ownership of the Rhode Island house. The house would be left to Bela in course of time.

When Gauri flies from California to Boston, she rents a car for driving her way to Rhode Island just to handover the divorce files (which she could have easily posted) to Subhash. She is in two minds before entering the house after so many years of separation from it. She sits in the car, looking at the house “knowing she was in no position to expect him [Subhash] to open his door to her” (307). She is hesitant and so she stands to the side of the peephole, unable to face Subhash even through the peephole. But Subhash is absent and after some initial hesitation, Bela opens the door. Gauri sits where guests are received. Bela makes her feel unwanted in their lives, as well as in their house. After a brisk interaction, Gauri leaves the house with a wounded heart.

Gauri’s relationship with the Rhode Island house mirrors her desire to realise the self by leaving the Rhode Island house. On her return to the house, Gauri hesitates twice while crossing the threshold of the house – first, when she enters for the first time the sitting room and secondly, when she re-enters the house to

touch Meghna (her granddaughter), before finally leaving. Her hesitation shows her being conscious of transgressing the private space of Subhash and Bela. Her long physical separation from the house makes her think so. Curiously, both Ashima and Gauri leave their husbands' houses for getting themselves relocated in other houses. But the only difference is that while Ashima leaves her Pemberton house to return to Bengal, Gauri leaves Rhode Island house to get herself relocated in California house and re-turn to her 1960s' memories of Bengal and Udayan.

#### IV

The two novels by Lahiri represent two different patterns of diasporic experience that Ashima in *The Namesake* and Gauri in *The Lowland* undergo as Bengali-American wives within the dynamics of house space. Their responses to the inside and the outside house space become elemental signifiers of their nature of negotiation with host land and homeland; lived space with desired space; public sphere with private sphere; and, family demands with personal aspirations. While Ashima performs the domestic activities within the gendered spaces of the house, Gauri refrains from them. Of course, Gauri's marriage with Subhash and her arrival in America, unlike Ashima's story, is somewhat determined by the unfavourable political and familial circumstances of the 1960s Bengal. While Ashima finds solace in home making and turning her intimate spaces into mini-Indias (both in time and space), Gauri makes no such efforts. Instead, she dwells more and more in her study space and thus deliberately breaks the stereotypical images of a Bengali home-maker. Marriage and motherhood in her case don't lead her to get involved in the domestic chores inside the house. Ashima goes out of her house to work in a library on a temporary basis but she prefers to cook *samosas*<sup>2</sup> in the kitchen, or decorate the interiors of the house, spend time with her family members and invite Bengali guests in her Pemberton house. However, Gauri attends regular classes in the University campus from her Rhode Island house, even at the cost of locking in her sleeping child. Spending most of her time in her study, she writes her dissertation which becomes her stepping stone to the outside world. But her attachment with the study space alienates her from her husband and daughter. It is through her academic inclination, that she finds access to the outside host land space. For both Ashima and Gauri, their Pemberton house and Rhode Island house respectively, go through a power-geometry.

It must be pointed out here that according to Massey, houses and other places go through a "power geometry" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 25) where people

are situated differently and discrepantly in relation to home. For example, a sense of isolation in relation to home is more associated with women members of the house than the male members. It is due to this power geometry of the lived and the imagined house space that some people find a house space un-homely and feel alienated while others are well-adjusted. Power geometry often segregates male and female responsibilities within the house space, by assigning female members traditional roles of home making. In fact, a house, like any built environment, is a culturally manufactured object which is shaped by human planning and involvement. The house, the place to which women have been intimately connected, produces sex-role stereotypes and subtly perpetuates traditional views of families; where women from early childhood have been taught to assume the role of homemaker, housekeeper, and housewife. From drawing room to bed room, dining room to kitchen, the man of the house/bread winner owns a place of authority, privacy and leisure as he can afford his own study or a special relaxing chair. However, a home maker has no such inviolable space of her own. She is attached to spaces of service – she is a hostess in the drawing room, a cook in the kitchen, a mother in the children's room, a lover in the bedroom and a waitress in the dining room. These stereotypical sex roles within this hierarchical binary are continually reproduced. According to Kathyryn Allen Rabuzzi, most domestic tasks “are so obviously circular” (qtd. in Ann Romines, 1997: 163) that their achievement can hardly be experienced. While Ashima conforms to the stereotypical sex roles within the house space, Gauri subverts them. In doing so, both fail to find a space of their own in their husband's house.

Ashima sells her Pemberton house after her husband expires and her children get established in America. Strikingly, she sells the house not to shift to some other house in America (which would not haunt her with Ashoke's memories anymore) but to re-turn to her homeland and her cultural roots, alone, with an American passport, Massachusetts's driving license and social security card. Though her house space (a mini-Bengal of her own) in America can no longer provide support and comfort against the outside diaspora space, her diasporic identity still remains. Ashima returns to India as an Indian-American widow who would like to travel to America in future in order to meet her grand children and leave a month or two later, inconsolable, in tears. Gauri, like Ashima, leaves her Rhode Island house, but to settle in her California house as a single resident carrying her legal marital status with Subhash and her emotional longing for her dead husband, Udayan. The California house and her free access to the outside world from it helps her in getting acculturated to the

host land. The California house enables her to assimilate her emotional crisis for Udayan as a widow and her academic aspiration as a scholar. The diaspora house space transforms over time the identity formations of Ashima and Gauri by influencing them in their nature of participation in the host land. The result of this is the complex identity formation of both Ashima and Gauri as Bengali-American women within the dynamics of transnational marriage.

#### Notes

1. Kanu Sanyal, (1932-March 23, 2010), was an Indian communist politician. In 1967, he was one of the main leaders of the Naxalbari uprising. He was one of the founding leaders of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI (ML)) formed in 1969. He committed suicide on 23 March 2010.
2. Samosas: A samosa or samoosa is a fried or baked dish with a savoury filling, such as spiced potatoes, onions, peas, lentils, macaroni, noodles, and/or minced meat (lamb, beef or chicken). The samosa is claimed to have originated in the Middle East (where it is known as sambosa) prior to the 10th century. Abolfazl Beyhaqi (995-1077), an Iranian historian, mentioned it in his history, *Tarikh-e Beyhaghi*. Samosas were introduced to the Indian subcontinent in the 13th or 14th century by traders from Central Asia.

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## Skill Development: A Tool to Empower the Youth of India

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By putting the spotlight on skill development, the present prime minister of India has clearly emphasised on the need to develop a skilled workforce that can face the global challenges. Today, India is considered as a “Young Country” because 65% of its population is below the age of 35. This fact of a youthful India, if exploited meticulously can reap benefits in the direction of India becoming a global economic leader. However, despite having a young workforce, the problem lies in the fact that they lack the necessary skill sets that can make these young workers employable. It is estimated that only 4.69 percent of Indian workforce has undergone formal skill training. This is a dismal figure in comparison to the skilled workforce of countries like UK (68%), Germany (75%), Japan (80%) and South Korea (96%). Thus, it is very clear that if we want our dream of becoming global leaders to come true then developing a skilled workforce is imperative. The current government has taken a number of initiatives for doing the same. The present article first discusses the need of having a skilled workforce in the current state of affairs. Second, it briefs about the potential challenges of running these skill development programmes; and last, it suggests some strategies as to how the mission of skill development can be made effective and efficient.

**Keywords:** skill development, skilled workforce, skill training

### Introduction

Skill development is one of the essential ingredients for India's economic growth as the country progresses to a globally competitive economy. The history of skill development goes back to 1947 when during a talk with teachers and students at Birla House, New Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi said, “only through imparting education through crafts can India stand before the world” (*The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 1948). Throughout his life he insisted upon imparting craft training in education. It was a revolutionary and futuristic vision that could have changed the growth trajectory of India, had we understood the spirit of his words and acted in time. However, the concept is still relevant as there is shortage of skilled workforce that can face the challenges posed due to globalization, rapid technological changes and fierce competition. The country, however, has a big challenge ahead as it is estimated

that only 4.69% of workforce in India has undergone formal skill-training (National Sample Survey Organization, 2010) as compared to 52% in USA, 68% in UK, 75% in Germany, 80% in Japan and 96% in South Korea (Saini, 2015). While the argument on the exact quantum of the challenge continues, there is no denying the fact that it is indeed a challenge of redoubtable proportion. Thus, all developed and developing countries need skilled workforce today to meet global standards of quality, improve foreign trade and boost their economic development.

### **Research Methodology**

The present article is descriptive in nature. Secondary data from various reports and articles of government and non-government organisations, research articles from national and international journals and relevant websites have been used.

### **Need of Skill Development**

The need for imparting skill training to the workforce is evident from the words of the honourable Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narendra Modi. In his Independence Day Speech (2014), he says that today, the world and India need a skilled workforce. If we have to promote the development of our country then our mission has to be 'skill development' and 'Skilled India'. He wants to create a pool of young people who are able to create jobs and the ones who are not capable of creating jobs and do not get opportunities, they must be in a position to face their counterparts in any corner of the world while keeping their head high by virtue of their hard work and the dexterity of their hands and win the hearts of people around through their skills.

According to the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (2015), the words said (above) by Honourable Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narender Modi emphasized that skill development is indeed the need of the hour. These were further corroborated by the following facts:

- The Indian economy is widely expected to grow at sustained high rates over the next few decades and emerge as the second largest economy by 2050 (Palit, 2009). These robust projections have much to do with the demographic profile of the country. India is one of the youngest nations in the world. More than 65% of its population lies in the working age group of 15-59 years and more than 54% of its population is below 25 years of age (Okada, 2012; Saini, 2015). It is further estimated that the average age of the Indian population will be 29 years by the year 2020 as against 40 years in USA, 46 years in Europe and 47 years in Japan.

Another fact that in the next 20 years the labour force in the industrialized world is expected to decline by 4%, while in India it will increase by 32%, poses a formidable challenge and also a huge opportunity. To reap this demographic dividend (expected to last for the next 25 years) India needs to endow its workforce with employable skills and knowledge so that they can contribute significantly to the economic growth of the country.

- India presently faces a dual challenge of scarcity of trained workforce and non-employability of the conventionally educated youth, who possess little or no job skills. Despite these challenges, India has the potential to not only meet its own demand for workforce, but can also provide skilled workforce to overcome the expected shortfall in the ageing developed world.
- The economic growth and social development of any country is impossible without the two essential driving forces namely, skills and knowledge. Countries having workforce with better standards of skills adjust more effectively to the challenges and opportunities in domestic and international job markets.
- Around 26.14 million people enter the work force age group annually. Out of these at least 16.16 million persons will enter workforce and they all, except for those opting for higher education, need to acquire skills. This will add another 113 million persons to be skilled in the next 7 years i.e. by 2022. In addition to this, 298.25 million of existing agriculture and non-agriculture sector workforce will be required not only to be need to be skilled, but also re-skilled and up-skilled.
- Apart from Skill India Mission, the central government has also undertaken another significant project called “Make in India”. Its main objective is to promote manufacturing in 25 sectors of the economy, leading to job creation and consequently need for skilled manpower. Some of these sectors like pharmaceuticals, electronics, renewable energy, automobiles, chemicals, IT, textiles, aviation, design manufacturing, mining, bio-technology, etc. will require highly skilled and trained workforce. Other factors that have made the need for skilling our youth essential are: structural shift in global economy, technological advancement, productivity augmentation; focus of employment to shift from agriculture to services and manufacturing by year 2030; 3.5 billion skilled jobs are expected to be created by year 2020.



## Challenges Ahead

Despite various concentrated efforts from the government and other stakeholders for skilling India, there is still a long way to go for its effective implementation. Due to the presence of the following key challenges (Figure 1) in the path of the mission, the desired scale and speed has not been attained:

**Mismatch:** First and foremost, there is a mismatch between demand and supply of skilled labour. This fact has three perspectives: first, the number of skilled youth required in industry is much more than what is available, second, the geographic aspect i.e. the states with higher economic growth like Punjab have more jobs but fewer skilled workers and states with lower economic growth like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc. have lesser jobs but more skilled workers, and third, mismatch perspective is the skill/competency required by employer and those possessed by a trainee due to lack of industry-trainer linkages. As per a survey conducted by Confederation of Indian Industry in collaboration with All India Council of Technical Education on 1050 engineering and management institutes (with the objective of mapping the industry linkages of AICTE-approved technical institutions in India), it was observed that industry-academia linkages, though, greater in parameters such as governance (26%) and placements (19%) are low in curriculum collaborations (11%) (Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2014a).

**Public Perception:** This is a major barrier in imparting skill to the youth of India. Vocational education or skill-based education is considered to be the last alternative, usually chosen by those who could not be absorbed in formal education system. This myth has mushroomed from factors like treating skilled and unskilled workers alike and assigning lesser status to jobs done with one's hands. Furthermore, the vocational training courses are not aligned with the requirements of industry that leads to the unemployment of large number of skilled youth.

**Lack of Basic Education:** Though a lot has been done by the government in the field of providing education, there are certain regions which still lag behind in terms of accessibility to basic education. Factors like gender bias, lack of proper transportation system for students, improper infrastructure, ill-trained teachers, etc. have made education unattainable for people living in those regions. This deprivation of basic education makes it difficult for them to learn any kind of skill.

**Lack of Awareness:** The basic idea of providing skills is meant for youth

working in rural areas and/or in unorganised or informal sector and they are the ones who are not actually aware of the initiatives/policies being run by the government.

**Lack of Infrastructure:** Barring a few urban vocational training centres, majority of such centres in rural and backward areas not only lack basic physical infrastructure but also modern tools and machines. Curriculum in these institutes is also outdated and is devoid of industry connect. As a result, workers get trained on obsolete equipment and remain deficient in skill sets required in the respective job. This has hampered the progress of skill development in those particular areas.

**Training of Trainers:** This is again a very fundamental obstacle in the implementation of skill development programmes. It is observed that there is a lack of focus on development of well defined training programmes for trainer. Moreover, absence of discrete career progression pathways for trainers makes the problem more belligerent as trainers themselves stop showing interest in training the people effectively.

**“Fee/Free”:** The various grant-based, “free” training programmes available have their own limitations on parameters of quality and employability. Students undergoing training for free attach little or no value to the programme whereas trainers focus on increasing their numbers rather than quality of training.

There are numerous other challenges like involvement of female workforce, duplication of efforts state and central government etc, the discussion which are beyond the scope of this paper.

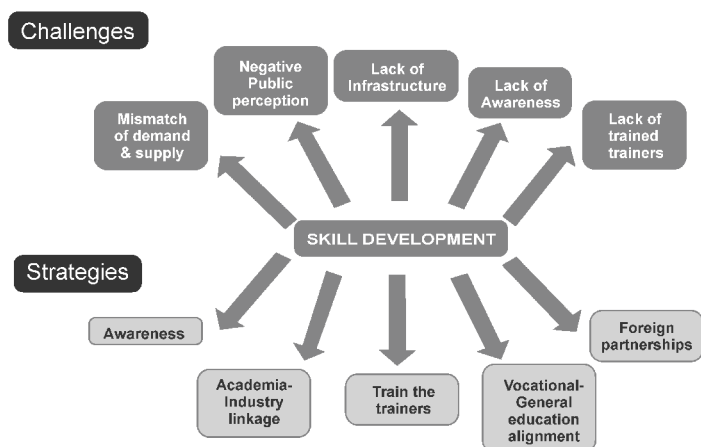


Figure 1: Various Challenges in Skill Development and Strategies to Overcome

## **Strategies for Better Results**

The above mentioned challenges can be overcome by developing the following strategies for effective implementation and alignment of the maze of initiatives taken till date:

**Awareness:** The government of India, through the formation of Ministry of Skills Development and Entrepreneurship in 2015, emphasises on the role of skill development and tries to bring education and training closer to the world of work for a progressive India. It is undertaking a number of initiatives but the dire need is to spread awareness among all the stakeholders. While the industry must be aware of the benefits of hiring skilled workforce, the parents must be aware of the vocational or skill development programs that can be opted by their wards. Awareness campaigns should be launched in the vernacular language of the region using print and electronic medium so as to target the maximum “audience.” This will surely change the perception of Indian parents towards vocational education. In this era of “branding,” the mission should be promoted as a brand and brand value should be added to it.

**Linkage of Vocational Education with Formal Education:** Instead of considering vocational education in isolation, it should be linked with the formal education system. Schools should align their curriculum with the modules of some kind of skill development or skills required by industries. Moreover, the vocational course done in school should be duly recognised in college or university. A seamless facilitation should be there from secondary school to higher education so as to promote skill development. All existing institutions of higher education should offer some additional career oriented courses with specialized skills.

**Linkage of Academia with Industry:** This is a major hurdle in employing skilled workforce. Majority of the workforce has been trained on an outdated curriculum and they are unaware of what exactly is the present-day demand of the industry. This not only makes even the skilled workforce unemployable but also leads to frustration among them. Thus, the need of the hour is to align the demand and supply in terms of the skill sets required. For this, the bodies drafting the curriculum should encourage the participation of representatives of Sector Skills Council, experts from industries and relevant academia. Furthermore, continuous up gradation or review of this curriculum is also essential because the speed with which new technology is coming up, the curriculum might become obsolete in a year. All skill training programmes must include basics of computer literacy, finance, language and soft skills like etiquettes, value gender diversity at workplace, building positive and healthy

attitudes towards work and life. So, employability of the skilled workforce is possible only if the skills are in sync with the needs of the dynamic market.

**Training at Sourcing Cluster or Geography:** Migration of labour from rural to urban areas is a common phenomenon in India. These migrant labourers are unskilled and the high cost of living in urban areas makes it more difficult for them to attain any sort of skill. Thus, the trainers or government bodies should facilitate their training for specific skills at the source or the geographic area they belong to. For example, there is a trend of hiring people from the north east regions of the country for hospitality jobs. So training of these skills should be imparted in the north east itself. It can help providing skilled workforce from day one to the employer who is relieved from imparting on-job training to employee and the employee can ask for premium wages because of the skills they have acquired. Thus, it is a win-win situation for both the employee and the employer (FICCI, 2014b).

**Up-gradation of Infrastructure:** Although a lot of efforts are being put in by the state and central government in the field of skill development but we lag behind in acquiring upgraded infrastructure. As a matter of fact, a large number of Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) do not have the requisite machinery and equipment for practical training of students. To help resolve this issue, the industry can come forward by providing infrastructure in the form of machinery not being used (though not obsolete), and can also provide apprenticeship jobs with stipend to trainees to promote “earn while you learn.”

**Train the Trainer:** The gross requirement of instructors in India is approximately 79,000, with an incremental requirement of 20,000 per annum: whereas, the current annual capacity of training trainers is only 2,000 (FICCI, 2014c). It is of utmost importance to have adequate quantity and quality of trainers capable of training people in several fields to attain the massive target of skilling 500 million people by 2022. The quality of the trainer is also as important as the modules of the training programme. Skill training should be continuously assessed and if there are certain gaps then corrective measures should be taken. Career pathways and salary structures for the trainers should be redefined to make the training profession more lucrative for the youth. Some short-term modules with updated information and techniques on skill development, which can be taken up by the interested trainers, should also be developed regularly. This will further help the trainers to update their knowledge in terms of the market demand. In addition to this, such modules shall also be linked with their promotion or salary hike which in turn will also motivate the trainers to update themselves.

**Global/Foreign Partnerships:** Inviting training partners from across the globe to set up training centres in India will leverage best practices in the world. Some examples of this concept already working are the Indo-German Joint Working Group on Vocational Education, which is working with the Government of Karnataka to develop multi-skills development centres having state of the art infrastructure and a prominent vocational education provider from Australia, which offers diploma courses in automotive technology and aircraft maintenance engineering in Maharashtra.

Such collaborations will enhance the quality of training programmes through successful international models of vocational education. Foreign governments and corporate sector can also be encouraged to participate in content creation, design of curricula and delivery of training. The government should identify countries which lack skilled workforce and facilitate training and placement of skilled youth to these countries.

Some other strategies like promoting entrepreneurship to help skilled artisans earn livelihood, reforming of labour laws etc can also help achieve the desired results.

## **Conclusion**

The government of India's initiative of Skill India is appreciable. The futuristic approach of the policy formed by the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship is evident from the vision statement which aims to "create an ecosystem of empowerment by Skilling on a large Scale at Speed with high Standards and to promote a culture of innovation based entrepreneurship which can generate wealth and employment so as to ensure Sustainable livelihoods for all citizens in the country." The efforts put in by the government can prove beneficial only if the implementation of the policy is done in a timely and systematic manner. Though some of the challenges discussed above are already taken care of but at a very small scale. Thus in the coming years, India will have all that it needs to be a global leader– skilled youth, increased participation of industry and a vision to cater to the demand for skilled workforce, both domestic and global.

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## हिन्दी साहित्य में साक्षात्कार विधा का इतिहास

डॉ दीपिका उपाध्याय

सहायक प्रवक्ता

सेण्ट पीटर्स कालेज, आगरा

साक्षात्कार विधा पाश्चात्य जगत की देन है। पश्चिम में इसका बोलबाला उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में ही हो गया था। रोचक तथ्य यह है कि प्रारम्भ में साक्षात्कार काल्पनिक होते थे। कुछ विद्वान इसके आदि-सूत्र आर्ष ग्रंथों में खोजते हैं तथा शास्त्रार्थ परम्परा, जो कि वैदिक काल से भारत में चली आ रही है, को इसी कोटि में रखते हैं। दुःखद है कि इतनी रोचक तथा बहु-आयामी विधा का अभी तक कोई सैद्धांतिक रूप सामने नहीं आया है। हिन्दी साहित्य में इस विधा का जितना सदुपयोग हुआ या हो सकता था, वह न हुआ। इस अमूल्य विधा का उपयोग तमाम साहित्यकारों ने अपनी सफाइयाँ देने तथा अपने विरोधियों के विरुद्ध कुप्रचार करने में किया। यह महत्त्वपूर्ण विधा अब टेलिविजन के न्यूज चैनलों पर होने वाली बेसिरपैर की 'लड्डुमार बहस' का रूप ले गयी है जो कि साक्षात्कार का रूप विकृत कर रही है। लम्बे समय से इस विधा में नयी पुस्तकें नाममात्र के लिए आयी हैं जो साहित्यकारों के सही विवेचन के लिए अपर्याप्त हैं।

मूल शब्द: साक्षात्कार, पाश्चात्य, आर्ष ग्रंथ, परम्परा, साहित्यकार, इंटरव्यू, विधा, कला

किसी साहित्यकार के उत्कृष्ट विचारों तथा ज्ञान का प्रमाण उसकी रचनायें दे देती हैं, उसके जीवन-संघर्ष का पता उसकी जीवनी एवं आत्मकथा से लग जाता है तथा भावुकता का ज्ञान उसके द्वारा लिखे गये संस्मरणों से मिल जाता है, किन्तु फिर भी व्यक्तित्व का कुछ अंश सामने आने से रह जाता है। साक्षात्कार उसी छूटे अंश को सामने लाने का कार्य करता है। व्यक्ति के मन की ग्रंथियों को खोलने का, उसके अवचेतन के अंधेरे कोनों में झांकने का कार्य साक्षात्कार ही करता है। साक्षात्कार वास्तव में साहित्यकार को पाठक के समीप लाने का भी कार्य करता है। साक्षात्कार द्वारा पाठक अपने प्रिय साहित्यकार की कमियों तथा अच्छाइयों से परिचित हो उसके साथ न केवल गहराई से जुड़ता है बल्कि कभी-कभी उसके जीवन-संघर्ष में अपना अक्स ढूँढ़ लेता है।

यह घोर आश्चर्य का विषय है कि साक्षात्कार जैसी सशक्त एवं विस्तृत विधा पर कोई भी समग्र पुस्तक नहीं है। इसके व्यावहारिक पक्ष की पुष्टता का प्रमाण साक्षात्कारों की अपरिमित संख्या स्वतः ही दे देती है किन्तु इसके सैद्धांतिक पक्ष की अभी तक कोई पुष्ट विवेचना नहीं की गई है। यह निस्संदेह आश्चर्यजनक ही नहीं वरन् दुःखद भी है कि इतनी रोचक तथा बहु-आयामी विधा का अभी तक कोई सैद्धांतिक रूप सामने नहीं आया है।

साक्षात्कार विधा पाश्चात्य जगत की देन है। पश्चिम में इसका बोलबाला उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में ही हो गया था। "इस दृष्टि से कवि लैण्डर की 'इमेजिनरी कान्वर्सेंशांस' पुस्तक

उल्लेखनीय है। इसका रचनाकाल सन् 1824 से 1853 ई. है। वाइल्ड की 'इण्डेशांस' भी एक और महत्वपूर्ण रचना है" (असद, 1992: 10)। विभिन्न पत्र-पत्रिकाओं, रेडियो, दूरदर्शन आदि पर इनका प्रसारण होता था। रोचक तथ्य यह है कि प्रारम्भ में साक्षात्कार काल्पनिक होते थे। कुछ विद्वान इसके आदि-सूत्र आर्ष ग्रंथों में खोजते हैं तथा शास्त्रार्थ परम्परा, जो कि वैदिक काल से भारत में चली आ रही है, को इसी कोटि में रखते हैं। "यम-नचिकेता संवाद, सावित्री-यम संवाद, लक्ष्मण-परशुराम संवाद, मरणासन्न रावण से लक्ष्मण का संवाद, रावण का हनुमान एवं अंगद से संवाद, युधिष्ठिर-यक्ष संवाद, युधिष्ठिर-भीष्म संवाद तथा श्रीमद्भगवद् गीता को भी बहुत से विद्वान साक्षात्कार की कोटि में रखते हैं" (रस्तोगी, 1988: 298)। सत्य इससे थोड़ा सा विलग है। उपर्युक्त सभी ग्रंथ तथा प्रसंग संवाद तो कहे जा सकते हैं किन्तु साक्षात्कार नहीं क्योंकि इनमें से अधिकांश संवादों में ज्ञान पाने की लालसा है, अपने मुमुक्षुत्व को पूर्णत्व तक पहुँचाने का प्रयास है, कहीं-कहीं हतोत्साहित करने वाला वार्त्तालाप भी है जैसे परशुराम-लक्ष्मण संवाद। इसे आजकल की बहस का नाम भी दे सकते हैं। ये संवाद एकांतिक रूप तथा भाव से किये गये हैं। संवाद स्थापित करते समय मात्र ज्ञान लेने (श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, रावण-लक्ष्मण संवाद, युधिष्ठिर-भीष्म संवाद), विवाद करने (लक्ष्मण-परशुराम संवाद, रावण का हनुमान एवं अंगद से संवाद) अथवा अभीष्ट की प्राप्ति हेतु ज्ञान तथा कौशल का परिचय देने (यम-नचिकेता संवाद, सावित्री-यम संवाद, युधिष्ठिर-यक्ष संवाद) का प्रयास यहाँ किया गया है। इसके विपरीत साक्षात्कार लेते समय दोनों पक्षों को उसके सार्वजनिक होने के विषय में भली प्रकार पता होता है या यूँ कहें कि सार्वजनिक करने के उद्देश्य से ही साक्षात्कार लिये जाते हैं, तो अनुचित न होगा। जबकि उपर्युक्त संवाद तो परिस्थिति की देन हैं इसलिए साक्षात्कार के प्रारम्भ का सेहरा आर्ष ग्रंथों के सिर बाँधना ठीक नहीं। सत्य तो यह है कि हिन्दी साहित्य के आलोचक स्पष्ट रूप से दो धड़ों में बँटे दिखाई दे रहे हैं जिसमें से एक धड़ा तो हर विधा, हर ज्ञान को पूरी तरह पाश्चात्य जगत के चरणों से निःसृत मानता है तो दूसरा हर विधा, हर शब्द के आदि-सूत्र संस्कृत के आर्ष ग्रंथों में खोजता फिरता है। यह अतिवादिता किसी भी साहित्य की आलोचना क्षेत्र के लिए अच्छा संकेत नहीं है।

### **प्रारम्भिक काल**

हिन्दी साहित्य में इस विधा का प्रारम्भ भारतेन्दु युग से माना जाता है। "डॉ. श्री निवास शर्मा इस विधा के प्रारम्भ का श्रेय पं. राधाशरण गोस्वामी को देते हैं जिन्होंने भारतेन्दु हरिश्चंद्र का साक्षात्कार लिया था" (शर्मा, 2002: 743)। यह छपा भी था "किन्तु डॉ. आलोक कुमार रस्तोगी का मानना है कि साहित्यिक प्रस्तुतीकरण के अभाव में इसे साक्षात्कार की कोटि में नहीं रखा जा सकता" (रस्तोगी, 1988: 300)। "'समालोचना' पत्रिका में 1905 ई. में छपी पं. चंद्रधर शर्मा 'गुलेरी' के 'संगीत की धुन' (प्रतिनिधि से संवाद) शीर्षक से पं. विष्णु दिगम्बर पुलस्कर से बातचीत को प्रथम साक्षात्कार माना जाता है" (शर्मा, 2002: 743)। "कुछ विद्वान



इसे 1901 में छपा हुआ मानते हैं" (सुमन, 1975: 213) तो "कुछ 1906 की रचना मानते हैं" (रस्तोगी, कुमार, 1988: 300)। "डॉ. ओमप्रकाश सिंहल तथा डॉ. बहादुर सिंह पं. बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी को साक्षात्कार विधा का प्रवर्तक मानते हैं" (सिंह, 2003: 651)। "'विशाल भारत' में प्रकाशित 'रत्नाकर जी से बातचीत' (सितम्बर 1931) और 'प्रेमचन्द जी के साथ दो दिन' (जनवरी, 1932) इनकी उल्लेखनीय रचनायें मानी हैं" (नगेन्द्र, 1976: 719)। "डॉ. राधिका प्रसाद त्रिपाठी भी चतुर्वेदी जी को ही इसका श्रेय देते हैं" (नागर, 1991: 7) किन्तु श्री विष्णु पंकज इनसे सहमत नहीं हैं। अपने 'इंटरव्यू को कमलेश जी की देन' शीर्षक से लिखे गये निबंध में वे लिखते हैं— "इस रचना का विश्लेषण किया जाये तो यह इंटरव्यू-विधा की कसौटी पर खरी नहीं उतरती। केवल 'बातचीत' शीर्षक से 'इंटरव्यू' का भ्रम होता है। हाँ, प्रेमचंद के इंटरव्यू को वे इंटरव्यू की कोटि में रखते हैं" (सुमन, 1975: 213)। "डॉ. श्री निवास शर्मा" (शर्मा, 2002: 743) तथा "डॉ. माजदा असद भी हिन्दी साहित्य में इंटरव्यू विधा का आविर्भाव गुलेरी जी के द्वारा मानते हैं तथा पंडित बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी का नामोल्लेख उनके बाद ही करते हैं" (असद, 1992: 11)। "चतुर्वेदी जी ने गांधीजी, टैगोर, पर्ल बक, रामानन्द बाबू, आचार्य द्विवेदी, रोम्या रोलाँ, गोर्की की प्रथम पत्नी, रत्नाकर जी, प्रेमचंद, अज्ञेय आदि के इंटरव्यू हिन्दी तथा अंग्रेजी में लेकर इस विधा का समुचित विकास किया" (सुमन, 1975: 214)। चतुर्वेदी जी के बाद सन् 1941 ई. (मार्च-अप्रैल) में डॉ. सत्येन्द्र के सम्पादकत्व में 'साधना' पत्रिका का 'परिचयांक' इंटरव्यू विशेषांक के रूप में निकला। "अनेक गणमान्य लोगों के बीच डॉ. जगदीश प्रसाद चतुर्वेदी द्वारा लिया गया श्री भदन्त आनन्द कौशल्यायन का तथा श्री चिरंजीलाल एकाकी द्वारा लिया गया महादेवी वर्मा का इंटरव्यू प्रमुख थे" (असद, 1992: 11)। "इसी अंक में डॉ. सत्येन्द्र ने इंटरव्यू की विवेचना भी की थी" (सुमन, 1975: 214)। चौथे दशक में पत्रकार तथा शिकार साहित्य के लेखक पंडित श्रीराम शर्मा ने सर्वप्रथम पत्रकारों के इंटरव्यू लिए। 'कबूतर' शीर्षक इंटरव्यू 'विशाल भारत' के नवम्बर, 1933 के अंक में प्रकाशित हुआ था। इसी तरह मुंशी प्रेमचंद ने कहानी लेखिका उषादेवी मित्रा का 'पत्र इंटरव्यू' लिया था, जिसमें कहानी और साहित्य के विषय में उनके विचार जाने थे। डॉ. प्रभाकर माचवे ने सन् 1937 में आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल जी तथा 1938 में श्री जैनेन्द्र जी के इंटरव्यू लिए जो क्रमशः "'जैनेन्द्र के विचार' पुस्तक तथा 'वीणा' के अक्टूबर अंक में प्रकाशित हुए। 'जैनेन्द्र के विचार' में उन्होंने साहित्य की अनेक समस्याओं पर जैनेन्द्र जी के विचारों को प्रश्नोत्तर रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है" (असद, 1992: 11)। इसके बाद "'साहित्य-संदेश' के जनवरी, 1950 के अंक में श्री चंद्रभान राधेश्याम का एक लेख 'इंटरव्यू: एक कला' प्रकाशित हुआ" (सुमन, 1975: 214)। पाँचवें दशक में बेनीमाधव शर्मा की पुस्तक 'कवि दर्शन' प्रकाशित हुई। संग्रह के रूप में प्रकाशित यह इंटरव्यू साहित्य की पहली पुस्तक मानी जा सकती है। इसमें अयोध्या सिंह उपाध्याय 'हरिऔध', मैथिलीशरण गुप्त, रामचंद्र शुक्ल, बाबू श्याम सुन्दर दास आदि के इंटरव्यू संकलित हैं। डॉ. सरनाम सिंह ने भी आचार्य रामचंद्र शुक्ल, सूर्यकांत त्रिपाठी 'निराला', हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी, डॉ. नगेन्द्र, डॉ. रामविलास शर्मा आदि के इंटरव्यू लिए हैं।

इसी प्रकार सन् 1947 में नरोत्तम नागर ने निराला जी का एक ऐतिहासिक इंटरव्यू लिया जो 'हंस' के दिसम्बर अंक में छपा था।

इंटरव्यू साहित्य के इतिहास में सन् 1952 अविस्मरणीय वर्ष माना जाएगा, क्योंकि इसी वर्ष डॉ. पद्मसिंह शर्मा 'कमलेश' द्वारा लिए गये इंटरव्यू के दो संकलन 'मैं इनसे मिला' नाम से प्रकाशित हुए। "इस पुस्तक की खास विशेषता यह है कि इसमें शर्मा जी ने एक ओर साहित्यकारों से पूछे गये कुछ निश्चित प्रश्नों के उत्तर संजोये हैं और दूसरी ओर उनसे बातचीत करने के बाद अपने मन पर पड़े प्रभावों को रचनात्मक भाषा में लिपिबद्ध भी किया है" (नागर, 1991: 7)। श्री विष्णु पंकज अपने लेख 'इंटरव्यू को कमलेश जी की देन में' लिखते हैं—

"इन इंटरव्यूओं में लेखकों के जीवन की घटनाओं के सजीव वर्णन के कारण कहानीपन है, संबंधित साहित्यकारों के सम्पर्क से गृहीत प्रभाव की मार्मिकता में उनके साथ बीते कुछ क्षणों की मधुर स्मृति के चित्रण से संस्मरणपन है। संबंधित साहित्यकारों की आकृति-प्रकृति के चित्रोपम वर्णन से रेखाचित्र की सी विशेषता भी है। और चूंकि साहित्य के गम्भीर प्रश्नों पर साहित्यकारों के विचार भी हैं इसलिए इनमें निबंध की विचारशीलता भी है तथा संबंधित साहित्यकारों के जीवन की सभी घटनाओं के वर्णन के कारण इतिहासपन भी है। और चूंकि डॉ. कमलेश स्वयं कवि हैं इसीलिए भाषा की मधुरता और भावुक शैली के कारण गद्य-काव्य का—सा आनन्द भी है। प्रत्यक्ष भेंटात्मक इंटरव्यूओं के अतिरिक्त उन्होंने बाबू श्यामसुन्दर दास का एक अत्यंत सफल और काल्पनिक इंटरव्यू भी लिखा है, जो कि 'साहित्य-संदेश' के 'श्यामसुन्दर दास अंक' में प्रकाशित हुआ था। हिन्दी इंटरव्यू विधा को डॉ. कमलेश का अविस्मरणीय योगदान रहा है। जिस समय कमलेश जी ने इंटरव्यू प्रस्तुत किये थे, उस समय दिशा-निर्देश के नाम पर कुछ विशेष न था। कमलेश जी को अपना मार्ग स्वयं बनाना पड़ा। आज जबकि इंटरव्यू एक समृद्ध विधा के रूप में परिणत हो गया है, इसका स्वरूप स्थिर करने वाले इंटरव्यू विधा के निर्माताओं में डॉ. कमलेश का स्थान अमर रहेगा" (सुमन, 1975: 215-216)।

उपर्युक्त गुणों को ध्यान में रखते हुए 'मैं इनसे मिला' हिन्दी साहित्य के साक्षात्कारों की दुनिया में मील का पत्थर सिद्ध होती है। वस्तुतः इंटरव्यू लेना एक कला है जिसमें साक्षात्कारदाता के साथ-साथ साक्षात्कर्त्ता के व्यक्तित्व, ज्ञान, बौद्धिकता तथा भावुकता की झाँकी मिलती है। हिन्दी साहित्य के क्षेत्र में पहली बार 'मैं इनसे मिला' में साक्षात्कर्त्ता भी सशक्त तथा महत्वपूर्ण होकर उभरा और साक्षात्कारदाता की दैवीयता कम हुई। इसी के बाद साक्षात्कारदाता के 'घेरने' की प्रवृत्ति हिन्दी साक्षात्कारों में दिखाई दी।

### **विकास काल**

इंटरव्यू लेखन के विकास में सुप्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार श्री रामधारी सिंह 'दिनकर' ने भी अपना योगदान किया है। दिनकर जी ने 1953 ई. में नृत्यांगना रुक्मिणी देवी का इंटरव्यू लिया था,

जो उनकी पुस्तक 'वट-पीपल' में संकलित है। सन् 1954 में श्री देवेन्द्र सत्यार्थी की कृति 'कला के हस्ताक्षर' प्रकाशित हुई। इसमें रेखाचित्रों के साथ हिन्दी-क्षेत्र के साहित्यकारों के इंटरव्यू भी हैं। छठे दशक में ही हिन्दी इंटरव्यू लेखकों में श्री कैलाश कल्पित का नाम भी चर्चित है। "सन् 1957 में 'साहित्य के साथी साहित्यकारों के संग' शीर्षक के इंटरव्यू संग्रह प्रकाशित हुए" (असद, 1992: 13)।

सन् 1962 में 'समय और हम' शीर्षक से वीरेन्द्र गुप्त ने जैनेन्द्र का साक्षात्कार लिया। 648 पृष्ठ का यह साक्षात्कार लगभग 6 माह तक चला। "इसे विश्व-साहित्य की सबसे बड़ी भेंटवार्ता का गौरव प्राप्त है" (रस्तोगी, 1988: 300)। 'हिन्दी कहानियाँ और फैशन' हिन्दी इंटरव्यू साहित्य की एक महत्वपूर्ण कृति है। यह 1964 में प्रकाशित हुई। "इसमें उपेन्द्र नाथ अशक के सुरेश सिन्हा द्वारा लिए गये साक्षात्कार संकलित हैं" (असद, 1992: 14)। डॉ. रणवीर रांग्रा भी इस दशक के प्रमुख इंटरव्यू लेखक हैं, जिन्होंने 'सृजन की मनोभूमि' में हिन्दी के शीर्षस्थ साहित्यकारों के इक्कीस इंटरव्यू संकलित किये हैं। "इसमें लेखक ने पाठकों को साहित्यकारों के अवचेतन की अतल गहराइयों से परिचित कराने का स्तुत्य कार्य किया है" (नगेन्द्र, 1976: 719)। "श्री लक्ष्मीचंद्र जैन तथा शरद देवड़ा भी इस दशक के प्रयोगधर्मी इंटरव्यू लेखक रहे जिन्होंने क्रमशः 'भगवान महावीर: एक इंटरव्यू' तथा हिन्दी की चार नवोदित लेखिकाओं से एक रंगमंचीय काल्पनिक इंटरव्यू प्रस्तुत किया" (असद, 1992: 14)। इस प्रकार उन्होंने राजेन्द्र यादव द्वारा शुरू की गयी काल्पनिक इंटरव्यू की प्रथा को आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया। डॉ. बरसाने लाल चतुर्वेदी की 'महामति चाणक्य राजदूत बने' और 'कविवर पूछेन्द्र जी' जैसी काल्पनिक इंटरव्यू पुस्तकें व्यंग्यात्मक शैली में लिखी हैं। विष्णु प्रभाकर ने विश्व की प्रमुख हस्तियों से साक्षात्कार लिये। "गोपाल प्रसाद व्यास का इंटरव्यू संग्रह 'हलो-हलो' काल्पनिक एवं हास्य-व्यंग्य की रोचक साहित्यिक कृति है" (रस्तोगी, 1988: 301)।

### उत्कर्ष काल

आठवाँ दशक साक्षात्कार विधा में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। अभी तक उच्च स्तरीय और धारा विशेष में विशिष्ट स्थान पाने वाले ही भेंटकर्ता की नजर चढ़ते थे लेकिन अब साधारण और फालतू समझे जाने वाले भी निगाह में आने लगे। "जन-सामान्य को साक्षात्कार में स्थान दिलाने और देने में मनोहर श्याम जोशी, शैलेश मटियानी, विष्णु प्रभाकर, बटरोही आदि नाम कुछ विशेष रूप से लिए जा सकते हैं" (रस्तोगी, 1988: 301-302)। प्रमुख पत्रकार श्री अक्षय कुमार जैन की पुस्तक 'याद रही मुलाकातें' इस काल की प्रमुख कृति है जो 1971 में प्रकाशित हुई। इसमें अमेरिका टाइम के अध्यक्ष हेनरी लूसे, ब्रिटिश विदेश मंत्री लार्ड ह्यूम और ब्रिटेन के विरोधी दल के नेता ह्यू गेट स्केल से लिए गये इंटरव्यू बहुत लोकप्रिय हुए। "डॉ. धर्मवीर भारती, डॉ. शिवदान सिंह चौहान, श्रीकान्त वर्मा, मनोहर श्याम जोशी, वीरेन्द्र सक्सेना, रवीन्द्र नागर, हमीदुल्लाह, लक्ष्मीशंकर व्यास, डॉ. माजदा असद, मालती शंकर, सावित्री परमार, वीणा अग्रवाल, सुधा अग्रवाल आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं"

(असद, 1992: 14–15)। वस्तुतः साक्षात्कार विधा के इस उत्कर्ष का प्रमुखतम कारण रहे पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ जिसमें 'धर्मयुग', 'साप्ताहिक हिन्दुस्तान', 'कादम्बिनी', 'दिनमान', 'आजकल' आदि प्रमुख थीं। तमाम पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने साक्षात्कार के लिए कॉलम ही सुरक्षित कर छोड़े थे।

साक्षात्कार विधा के पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपने के संदर्भ में मनोहर श्याम जोशी का नाम महत्वपूर्ण है। उन्होंने 'साप्ताहिक हिन्दुस्तान' के सम्पादक के रूप में अनेक इंटरव्यू लिये। 'बातों बातों में' इस विधा को उनका अमूल्य उपहार है जो 1983 में प्रकाशित हुई। कमलकिशोर गोयनका की 'जिज्ञासाएँ मेरी: समाधान बच्चन के' पुस्तक 1985 में प्रकाशित हुई जिसमें हरिवंशराय बच्चन की भेंटवार्ताएँ संकलित हैं। "सन् 1987 में कैलाश कल्पित की पुस्तक 'साहित्यकारों के संग' प्रकाशित हुई जिसमें उन्होंने दो भाग कर पुरुष साहित्यकारों तथा महिला साहित्यकारों को संकलित किया है" (असद, 1992: 17)।

साक्षात्कार और फैशन, 'हम कहें आप कहो' तथा 'आमने-सामने'। इनके अतिरिक्त सन् 1988 में पद्मा सचदेव का संस्मरणात्मक साक्षात्कार 'दीवानखाना' प्रकाशित हुआ। "सन् 1990 में अमृता प्रीतम की पुस्तक 'सात सवाल' प्रकाशित हुई जिसमें उन्होंने साहित्य, कला, विज्ञान आदि क्षेत्रों के 22 विद्वानों से सात सवाल पूछे हैं। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति से अलग-अलग सवाल पूछे गये हैं" (असद, 1992: 17)। अमृतलाल नागर की भेंटवार्ताएँ 'अमृत-मंथन' शीर्षक से डॉ. शरद नागर ने संकलित की हैं जिसमें अमृतलाल नागर का व्यक्तित्व तथा कृतित्व संकलित है। कृष्ण बलदेव वैद के साक्षात्कार 'जवाब नहीं' शीर्षक से संकलित होकर 2002 में छपे हैं। इनमें वैद के तीखे, व्यंग्यात्मक तेवर ही नहीं वरन् उनका आक्रोश तथा वर्तमान भारतीय समाज की रूढ़ियों के प्रति छटपटाहट भी है। रंगमंच के कलाकार हिन्दी नाट्य विधा में विशिष्ट स्थान रखते हैं। जयदेव तनेजा ने विधा में सर्वाधिक पुस्तकों के योगदान द्वारा इसे समृद्ध करने का कार्य किया है उपेन्द्र नाथ अश्व ने। उनके साक्षात्कारों की नौ पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हो चुकी हैं— 'साक्षात्कार और विचार' (3 भागों में), 'गिरती दीवारें: दृष्टि-प्रतिदृष्टि', 'विवादों के घेरे में', 'कहानी के इर्द-गिर्द', 'हिन्दी कहानियाँ विभिन्न रंगकर्मियों के साक्षात्कार 'रंग-साक्षात्कार' शीर्षक से प्रकाशित किये हैं। यह पुस्तक 2001 में प्रकाशित हुई है। इनके अतिरिक्त किताबघर प्रकाशन, नई दिल्ली द्वारा 'मेरे साक्षात्कार' सीरीज प्रकाशित की गई है जिसमें रामविलास शर्मा, कमलेश्वर, भीष्म साहनी, निर्मल वर्मा, हिमांशु जोशी, नागार्जुन, त्रिलोचन, राजेन्द्र यादव, अशोक वाजपेयी, मैनेजर पाण्डेय, नेमिचंद्र जैन, अमृता प्रीतम, लीलाधर जगूड़ी, श्रीलाल शुक्ल, मोहन राकेश आदि के साक्षात्कार संकलित हैं।

हिन्दी साहित्य में इस विधा का जितना सदुपयोग हुआ या हो सकता था, वह न हुआ। इस अमूल्य विधा का उपयोग तमाम साहित्यकारों ने अपनी सफाइयाँ देने तथा अपने विरोधियों के विरुद्ध कुप्रचार करने में किया।

राजेन्द्र यादव, कमलेश्वर, मैनेजर पाण्डेय, नामवरसिंह आदि के साक्षात्कार इसका प्रमाण हैं। दूसरी ओर किसी साहित्यकार को 'घेरने' के लिए भी इस विधा का दुरुपयोग बहुतायत से किया गया। दूधनाथ सिंह, सतीश जमाली, रवीन्द्र कालिया आदि ने अलग-अलग साक्षात्कारों में प्रश्नों का ऐसा ही चक्रव्यूह बाँधा, किन्तु अशक जी अभिमन्यु नहीं बने। प्रश्नों में फँसने की जगह उन्होंने साक्षात्कार लेने वालों की अच्छी खबर ली। इस प्रकार ये साक्षात्कार पठनीय के साथ-साथ संग्रहणीय तो हो ही गये, साथ ही उल्लेखनीय भी। अशक जी की जीवटता तथा उपर्युक्त लेखकों की ईर्ष्या का खुला दस्तावेज हैं ये साक्षात्कार। इसके अलावा तमाम ऐसे साहित्यकार रहे जिन्हें साक्षात्कार क्षेत्र में अस्पृश्य समझा गया या फिर साक्षात्कार लिये भी गये तो मात्र रस्म-अदायगी के लिए जैसे- विद्यानिवास मिश्र, कृष्ण बलदेव वैद, प्रभाकर श्रोत्रिय, केदारनाथ सिंह आदि के साक्षात्कार। सम्भवतः इन्हीं कारणों से यह महत्वपूर्ण विधा अब टेलिविजन के न्यूज चैनलों पर होने वाली बेसिरपैर की 'लड्डुमार बहस' का रूप ले गयी है जो कि साक्षात्कार का रूप विकृत कर रही है। लम्बे समय से इस विधा में नयी पुस्तकें नाममात्र के लिए आयी हैं जो साहित्यकारों के सही विवेचन के लिए अपर्याप्त हैं।

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## Across Borders and Boundaries: Role of Graphic Narrative and Restor(y)ing Partition

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Partition has remained an area of constant engagement for scholars, artists, journalists and commentators manifesting their explorations through academic research, reportage and most importantly, creative encounters through art, literature and films. The graphic novel, which has emerged as a popular literary form, owes its origin to comic strips about daunting tasks performed by super heroes. *Maus* (1986 and 1991) by Art Spiegelman – is regarded as the first graphic novel. Spiegelman wrote about his father's oral history of persecution by the Nazis in a deeply personal present-day story of family relationships and tensions. Marjane Satrapi's memoir *Persepolis*, originally published in French, is an autobiographical account of her growing up in Tehran during the Islamic Revolution and the Iran-Iraq war. In the last two decades, graphic novels have increasingly been used to tell stories about real-life wars, revolutions, and political upheavals. *This Side, That Side* is a graphic anthology comprised of 28 short narratives of more than 40 contributors. The curator makes use of the 'Rashomon effect' to provide multiple perspectives of the iconic event that occurred in August 1947. The paper would look into the significance of the graphic anthology *This Side, That Side* in restor(y)ing the history of Partition.

**Keywords:** Graphic narrative, Partition stories

*Mujhe to laga mera ghar hai vo, par log batate hai ab Pakistan hai vo,  
Us ghar ki khidki se halki si dhoop aati thi,  
Jahan daadi sarso sukhaati thi,  
Batate hai vanhaa Namaz aur Gurbani ek hi aangan me padi jati thi  
Azaad ka to nai pata  
Sath rehne ki khushi zaroor manayi jati thi.  
Us aangan me fir se ek baar jaane ka arman hai  
Par batate hai ab vo Pakistan hai  
Kabhi kabhi azadi ke din ki khushi manane per vo udaas zaroor ho jati thi,  
Kehti thi, apno se bichhad ke bhi kabhi azadi hoti hai,  
Aaj jab baccho ko ithaas padaya jata hai  
To ik tarfa mahaul bataya jata hai,  
Unhe ye kaise batayen ki,  
Sarhad ke us paar humne apna bachpan bitaya hai,*

*Rishtey jeeye hai, Tyohar manaye hai, Talwaare to baad me uthi,  
Pahale hum ne sath me Lohri ke dhol bajaye hai.  
Ab to kabbaddi ke khel me bhi lakeere banane se darr lagta hai,  
Kanha ye sarhade na ban jaye,  
Rishtey na batt jaye,  
Insaniyat ko haraake, lakeere na jeet jayen.  
Aaj bhi sote waqt sochti hai,  
Kash ye sab ik sapne ki tarah beet jaye,  
Aur hum fir apne gharon ko laut jaye,  
Aakhir insaan hai hum, insaan hai vo,  
Par batate hai ab Pakistan hai vo.  
Kabhi Hindustan se puchhna kanha hai parivaar umhara,  
Vo bhi kahega,  
Ik judwa bhai hai mera,  
Mai Hindustan hu,  
Log batate hai ...ab Pakistan hai vo!"*

(Jasbir Kaur Thadani, 'Ab Pakistan Hai Vo', August 2013)

[I had thought it was my 'home', but people say it is called Pakistan now.  
It was there where the light gently peeped through my windows  
and grandmother gave her mustards to dry  
It was there where Namaz and Gurbani were recited in one breath,  
I don't know about independence, but we used to live together in bliss.  
It has been a long time since then.  
it was home  
I would like to return there where I have left my childhood  
I would like to go back to those familiar sights and sounds  
for it was where I had lived my life.  
Independence is celebrated but it makes me sad,  
what is independence without my own people?  
We have lived and loved there in the alleys where they have drawn the lines now  
the lines have cut across our lives....  
these days even a game of kabbadi scares me,  
what if the lines become real?  
Let this nightmare pass  
and let us all go home, home is where the heart is...  
we had been twin brothers once..  
they call me Hindustan now  
and they have named him Pakistan]

(Translated by the Author)

This poem by Jasbir Kaur Thadani recounts the plight of those hapless individuals who paid/are paying the emotional cost of partition for they lost what had been their “home.” They are still not able to convince themselves that now they have to acquire “permission” and provide legal proofs to the government that they are not harmful entities in order to enter into what had been formerly their own abode. As a result of the Partition between the two countries it has become necessary for individuals to justify the reason and acquire legal permits for their movement from this side to that of the “other.”

The word “Partition” conjures an array of emotions. It revolves around the memory of an ancestral landscape, a persistent allusion to the bygone days of glory, a sense of nostalgia, a description of the loss of familiar and filiative space and an allusion to the wrenching, melodramatic saga of banishment and separation. The act of remembering forms a kinship with the past, which one knows can never be repossessed or re-inhabited. The story of 1947, while one of the attainment of independence, is also a gendered narrative of displacement and dispossession, of large-scale and widespread communal violence, and of the realignment of family, community and national identities. What actually happened during Partition, and the logic in which Partition is rhetorically invoked and socially remembered, are tied to each other to produce what could be called Partition effects. Thus in order to understand these Partition effects, we need to know a lot more about Partition itself, and “at the same time one needs to interrogate and challenge the very boundaries of how we write these histories” (Zamindar, 2007: 238). Partition was a long process of dividing, categorizing, and regulating people, places, and institutions for bounding two distinct nations. It evokes a sense of having obtained something at the cost of something dear.

What does one mean by “home?” Does “home” lose its value when one gets disassociated from it? What constitutes the idea of “home” when one is forcibly torn away from one's roots and is unable to get back and has to rely only on memories to experience what it felt like to be once at “home?” What was “home” during the Partition of India? It remains a historical fact that two countries were formed by the geographical divide which resulted in the birth of two nations or two sides – “us” and “them.” The Independence marked a new beginning but came with a price. Partition has now reached a stage where it exists in our subconscious. We are still afraid to acknowledge its horrors after sixty years of Independence. The fact that it happened and claimed lives is something too strong for us to give it its due and when we fail to do that, we have art to remind us.



The violence that accompanied Partition was largely communal in nature, with Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities turning on each other. The violence also had a considerable gendered dimension, with many forced conversions, rapes and honour killings of women. The scale of the displacement was unprecedented, and Partition remains the largest cross-border mass migration in recorded history, affecting 12-14 million people. It is estimated that about one million people died and 750,000 were women raped and abducted. It has become a truism in Partition studies to refer to Partition as traumatic.

Graphic narratives are annals that tend to visualise the horror that was associated with the event. Art tends to reproduce and archive reality as it is. Curated by Vishwajyoti Ghosh, *This Side, That Side: Restorying Partition* is an anthology of graphic narratives of perhaps the greatest historical event to have occurred in South East Asia in the year 1947, which while one of the attainment of independence, is also a gendered narrative of displacement and dispossession, of large-scale and widespread communal violence, and of the realignment of family, community and national identities. The collection of stories in *This Side, That Side* is unique not in the sense that it is collected in the explicit and visual format, but perhaps because it aims to re-store memories in the form of lines and drawings, thereby representing Partition in black and white. The graphic narratives seek to exploit and experiment with the myriad possibilities of visual storytelling. The idea is to bring together raconteurs from diverse practices and professions and explore the possibilities on the drawing board from their particular perspectives. Contributors from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have helped to assimilate a melange of reflective, witty and contemporary accounts of how ordinary people negotiated with the Partition. Narratives of forty six individuals including journalists, graphic artists, translators and storytellers feature in this anthology. Vishwajyoti Ghosh, who curated the anthology remarked in an interview to the Hindustan Times on August 28, 2013:

The idea was to explore Partition and its effect on contemporary times through medium of comics and graphic narratives. Hence a visual perspective was critical. The book contains 28 narratives- poetry, songs, *dastans*, reportage- all rendered in different visual styles and forms. Many narratives were also translated from Hindi, Urdu, and Bengali into English.

The graphic narratives are presented from the point of view of various middle-aged people, who did not witness the 1947 Partition but grew up on it. The narratives reflect how ordinary people negotiated with the epochal moment of Partition which brought with it tremendous amount of loss, pain and despair.

The anthology attempts to look beyond what has already been written about

Partition since 1947, roping in both non-fiction and fiction. It was Arpita Das, publisher of Yoda Press who wanted to create a collage of graphical representation of Partition. She knew it could not be a single author initiative. Multiple stories had to be told; numerous perspectives had to be brought in. After all, these borders were man-made constructs and human efforts at re-writing history.

Scott Mc Cloud in his seminal work *Understanding Comics* goes on to outline the growth of graphic novels as a form of serious literary genre tracing its evolution from bright, comic strips about stories of “guys in tights” (Mc Cloud 2). The Partition Anthology of Vishwajyoti Ghosh makes use of comical figures resembling the style from comic books, and artists, writers, illustrators, film makers, theatre artists and every other storyteller across the subcontinent to describe the iconic event. The idea of bringing together a graphic anthology on a theme like Partition is meant to explore the engagement of the fourth generation in a genre that is of great interest to young readers across the world. For the contributors and the readers too it has thrown open a platform for a dialogue in a visual space. The narrators have sought to piece together the consequences of the Partition in an effort to come to terms with both the tangibility of the schism and life beyond, as well as the many related events that play themselves out in sectarian rhetoric all over the subcontinent. In their own way, many of them are seeking a space for dialogue across the subcontinent.

In an interview published in *The Express Tribune* on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014, Ghosh went on to observe how he was aware that the graphic novel was existent in its nascent form in the subcontinent.

People were surprised that a medium like a graphic novel would be used to address a serious issue like partition...it took a lot of convincing. The idea of the partition anthology was to explore the whole concept of Partition visually. It was not merely to focus only on what happened back then but also on how subsequent generations had come up to negotiate with it. While working on it, we realised this project was a great idea, not only because people from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh would write and draw together, but because they might be completely unaware of the other's existence! They'd have to draw from their own perspectives, stereotypes and perceptions. So, for instance, Pakistani writer Sonya Fatah's piece in the collection is drawn by an artist in Bangalore while Mahmood Farooqui's piece is drawn by a miniature artist in Lahore.

Ghosh goes on to share his experience of working with Bangladeshi contributors where the notion of partition was multidimensional. “For Bangladesh, it was not just about 1947 but also about 1971,” he added. He said this led to the inclusion of narratives from the events that unfolded in 1971. “The Partition is something we have all grown up with – if not from our own

families, then from literatures and reportage. But the idea behind the creation of the graphic novel was to explore private partitions. It was through the process of collecting narratives that we came to realize that memories are also partitioned.”

For over three generations now, the most definitive formative moment in modern South Asian history – Partition – has remained an area of constant engagement for scholars, artists, journalists and commentators manifesting their explorations through academic research, reportage and most importantly, creative encounters through art, literature and films. However, this cross-border engagement like cross-border migration has not ended with a generation or two. It is an ongoing exercise. The historians are still struggling with the facts and figures, trying to explore the socio-political imperatives, identifying the common voice, and attempting to make sense of the memories and images. At the same time, as we all know, no single narrative can comprehensively tell the story of Partition, nor can one hope to represent the entire gamut of responses that the memory, history and legacy of Partition evokes. There are twenty eight pieces in this collection – written and illustrated by over forty people. The images are of varied types. While some border on nostalgia and rely on sentimental accounts, others laugh with bitter anguish at the change that has come over the familiar landscapes of memory. The gutter or the space between the panels often acts as the visible line of divide separating friends across the two nations.

Homi Bhabha in his essay “DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation,” goes on to argue how there exists a tension between those who live the nation and those who write it. In this formulation Bhabha is pointing at the dichotomy that exists within the nation's telling – between those who declare what the nation should be, and those who produce the nation through performing a social community; the idea of “the nation” emerges between these competing narratives (1994: 292). As Gyanendra Pandey rightly points out, even the historical studies of Partition itself are not a history of the people who lived through it. Their experiences are not charted and the identities and fears that Partition created and reinforced are not considered (2001:194). Official and historical accounts of Partition see it as the unfortunate outcome of sectarian and separatist politics and as a tragic accompaniment to the promise of freedom. This is largely why memory studies and fictional engagements have become so important to discussions of Partition, as people try to glean and represent quotidian experience retrospectively.

The stories in the collection *This Side, That Side* look at every facet of Partition – whether it is the almost filmy rendition of the two lovers forced to part as portrayed in "An Afterlife", or the gritty saga of the survivors as documented in "Know Directions Home?" depicting how a tribe moved from Pakistan to India and made a home for itself. Along with the stories about Partition as we traditionally understand it—the sudden, slaughter-filled tearing apart of India in 1947 – there are other stories: about the creation of Bangladesh, about a desire to reunite with an old friend and the flow of refugees that preceded and followed it. There are stories about the bitter migrations from India to Pakistan once the killing had stopped. There are stories, too, about the alienation of minorities in every country that Partition left behind and about attempts to cut down on visa restrictions that keep reinforcing past partitions. In his "Curator's Note," Ghosh, refers to the "subcontinental Rashomon effect," a reference to the 1950 Akira Kurosawa film in which four individuals give mutually contradictory accounts of a crime. There are stories here about migrations from India to Pakistan, from Pakistan to India, from Pakistan to Bangladesh and from Bangladesh to India. There are stories about Kashmir. There are stories set in 1947, 1971, 1999 and 2047.

Of the two stories about the partition of Punjab, "I Too Have Seen Lahore!" does refer to the slaughter that accompanied it, but the focus is more on the good luck of the protagonist in escaping it. In the other, "90 Upper Mall," the migration of families across the border is reduced almost to a picnic with a series of unfortunate mishaps, with only a hint that it was taking place in an atmosphere of chaos and violence. Ashish Nandy remarks in his essay "The Partition Psychosis," "There is utopianism, or repeated references to life in undivided India as flawless, rosy in every respect, a utopia of nostalgia." Most respondents see nothing wrong with their life before Partition. It was the division of the country that started their problems. Historical research and evidence show that fault lines existed before Partition. Riots and arguments would break out between different communities but they were isolated events and in no way similar to the large scale chaotic violence that Partition brought along with it. Instead of testifying which versions of history are correct, Partition stories need to be understood as experiences, each unique to the story teller. How they recollect, how and what they choose not to remember depends on their individual process, and for me it is as important as any historical fact.

*This Side, That Side* draws the reader into the illustrations and creates an impact of a shared narrative. Considering it's now 66 years since Partition rent the nation into two, and 42 years since it split into three with the creation of East

Pakistan (now Bangladesh), the medium of graphics is also a good way to restore and retell the story and thereby look at the epoch, given how a picture is supposed to be worth a thousand words.

In the interview published in *The Hindustan Times*, Vishwajyoti Ghosh remarked, “The anthology *This Side, That Side* is an attempt to retell old stories in a new medium. In a way, it is an effort to come to terms with the agony and gruesomeness of 'it'. The anthology is an attempt to negotiate with memory, experience and curiosity by wondering what it is like to re-imagine the Partition” (Ghosh 2).

The anthology has contributions from an eclectic set of artistes from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh – musician Rabbi Shergill, dastangoi Mahmood Farooqui, artist Orijit Sen, writer Tabish Khair, artist Appupen, journalist Beena Sarwar and artist Bani Abidi.

The choice of black-and-white for the images should not be considered as a restriction, for the artists succeed in fully exploiting the shades of black, white and grey with remarkable effects. The volume is a path-breaking effort with its apt amalgamation of pictures, photos, captions, fonts and other elements, and it is finely matched with the vigour and vitality of the stories imagined by the various authors.

From rehabilitation encampment like the Geneva camp in Dhaka (“Inside Geneva Camp”) and Ranaghat in West Bengal (“The Taboo”), to how newsrooms document the acrimony beyond borders (“The News”), the anthology looks at how Partition has had a lasting effect on values and identities of people, besides documenting how violence plays out across generations. “Welcome to Geneva Camp,” for instance, derives from a previous multimedia project and features the photos of freelance photographer Maria M. Litwa: “It deals with another aspect of the macro-theme of Partition, namely the persecution of the Bihari ethnic minority following the war that brought the birth of Bangladesh in 1971” (Adami 181). “A Letter from India,” taken from “Dastaan-e-Taqseem-e-Hind,” translated from the original by Mahmood Farooqui and illustrated by Fariha Rehman, deals with an old man grappling with the loss of values. A letter arrives from India in which the writer beseeches his son to tell him what is happening in Pakistan, while also expressing shock at a friend's daughter who marries outside the family and “openly roams around in a motor car without a veil.” In “90 Upper Mall,” author Ahmad Rafay Alam and illustrator Matrand Khosla discover that the former's family now lives in the same bungalow in Lahore that the latter's

family had vacated during Partition. Only a few of the writers of the stories included in the anthology have experienced the Partition in the first-hand, except for a few instances such as “The Last Circus” (which documents the life of Dasharath Singh, who was born in a travelling circus in Lahore to parents originally from Manila, and now lives in Bangalore) and “I Too Have Seen Lahore” – by Salman Rashid and Mohit Suneja, where Sardar Darshan Singh's eyes light up at the mention of the name "Lahore". There are some brilliant accounts like Mehreen Murtaza's “The Bastards of Utopia,” in which the pain of bifurcation is shown through Siamese twins and becomes as complex as cutting up individuals. Others, like “An Old Fable” by Tabish Khair and Priya Kuriyan, follow the conventional stereotyped forms.

Written by Beena Swarwar and illustrated by Prasanna Dhandarphale, the story titled "Milne Do!" considers the difficulty not only in establishing contacts between India and Pakistan, but even in obtaining normal travel documents to go beyond the border. The text emphasises the significance of common roots in a long initial caption, which is worth quoting at length:

So here we are, two neighbours. Same people. We share a history and general culture. We love the same films. When we meet in a third country, we become best friends, burying our same differences. But in our own neck of the woods we could be aliens at opposite ends of the world, 'othering' the other side. The hawk eyes ensure the lack of interaction between the peoples. Not because the people don't want it but because the visas are difficult to get. But then, even with such difficulties come opportunities. (312)

Esterino Adami who reviewed the anthology in the Journal *Tolomeo* goes on to point out how Amit and Beena, the two journalists from India and from Pakistan respectively in the story “Milne Do!,” engage in a discussion about the cultural clichés that people mentally projected onto the 'other' in order to comprehend better the real contemporary world and overcome difference.

Many contributors of the volume are not known to the general western readership, but nonetheless they offer an incredible range of insights into what was a devastating period of contemporary South Asian history. The subtitle of the collection alludes to both the potential of using other textual resources for developing these narratives as well as to the importance of recovering memory, which otherwise would be subjected to obliteration. By making use of the comic language, the anthology probes into the different layers of society to discuss and reflect on the turns of history and the inhumanity of mankind. Partition is not merely a historical event. It is marked by personal memories, reminiscences and recollections and the anthology of graphic narratives. *This Side, That Side* reveal how borders and divides are usually man-made, arbitrary, visual and psychological markers that once created go on to change the lives of the people forever.

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## Cloud Computing: Reshaping the Indian Industry

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With the recent recession and constant pressure on IT to deliver more services at lesser cost, industry is in need for a new approach to handle IT problems. This is where cloud computing comes in. Cloud computing provides huge computing services to the business for improving organizational growth. It is a combination of computation, software, data access and also provides storage services. The cloud is easy to implement and delivers data from different servers located on geographically different locations unknown to the user. It eliminates the need for hardware by the user and offers flexibility in scalability.

This paper depicts the impact of cloud computing in India including the expansion and growth of cloud market in India and the way it has infiltrated almost every industry. It also lays emphasis on the type of cloud generally preferred by organizations to cater to their IT needs, focusing on the future aspects of cloud computing. Cloud computing has become an integral part of the industrial market and has given IT solutions to a number of problems that were earlier not dealt with. Also with the help of a number of surveys reported in existing works, customer satisfaction and market acceptance of this model has been depicted in the paper.

**Keywords:** Cloud computing, Cloud market in India, computing services, data access and storage

### Introduction

Cloud computing is a style of computing in which scalable and elastic IT-enabled capabilities are delivered as a service using Internet technologies (Mell and Grance, 2011). It is a model for enabling ubiquitous, convenient, on-demand network access to a shared pool of configurable computing resources (e.g., networks, servers, storage, applications, and services) that can be rapidly provisioned and released with minimal management effort or service provider interaction (Gartner Inc., 2012).

Cloud Computing is a paradigm shift that provides computing over the internet. A cloud computing service consists of highly optimized virtual data centers that provide hardware, software and information resources when needed. Organizations can simply connect to the cloud and use the available resources on a pay-per-use basis. This allows companies to avoid capital



expenditure on additional infrastructure resources and allows them to easily scale up or scale down as per requirement.

Kai Fu Lee (2008) stated six major properties of a cloud which are as follows:

1. User Centric: The data stored in the cloud is owned by the specific user. The user is also able to share his data with others.
2. Task Centric: The user should know what task is to be completed using the cloud service.
3. Powerful: The cloud computing model is highly scalable and reliable at the same time making it a powerful computing tool.
4. Accessible: Cloud computing allows users to access their data from multiple locations and eliminate the need for a single source of data.
5. Intelligent: Cloud computing often incorporates techniques such as data mining to retrieve data and is intelligent in approach.
6. Programmable: To improve the integrity of the data in the cloud, it needs to be replicated. If any computer in the cloud is crashed, programs redistribute crashed computer data to another computer in the cloud.

The major service models of cloud computing are: Infrastructure as a Service (IaaS), Software as a Service (SaaS) and Platform as a service (PaaS)

NIST (Mell and Grance, 2011) defines these as:

**Infrastructure as a Service (IaaS):** The cloud provides capability to users to use computing resources like storage, computing hardware and alike. Instead of buying resources, users have to pay for their usage. The users have the right to control the storage, operating systems, deployed applications and limited control of selected networking components.

**Software as a Service (SaaS):** The cloud provides software to the users. Users need not to install any application on their PCs to access the software services provided by the cloud. The minimum requirement for accessing all the cloud services is internet connection with a PC. The user can use the software utility but does not have rights to control or manage infrastructure of the cloud.

**Platform as a Service (PaaS):** The cloud provides platform to deploy user's applications and software and also offers the facility of application design. Deployed applications are accessed from anywhere by the cloud user. The space for user's applications is increased and decreased based on the usage.

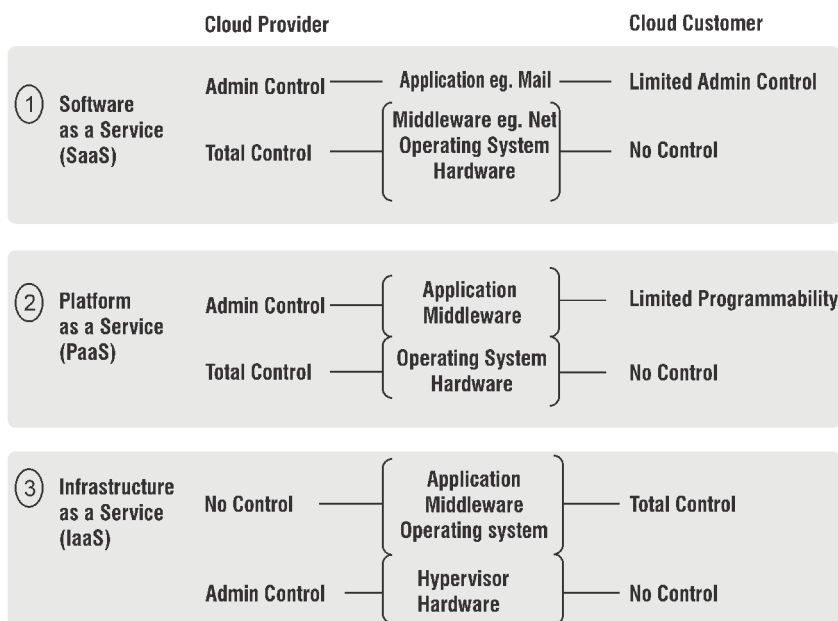


Figure 1: The NIST Cloud Service Model (Mell and Grance, 2011)

Cloud Computing has four major deployment models based on specific characteristics that support the users in particular ways. Zhang, Cheng and Boutaba (2010) define these deployment models as follows:

**Public clouds:** A cloud in which service providers offer their resources as services to the general public. Public clouds offer several key benefits to service providers including no initial capital investment on infrastructure and shifting of risks to infrastructure providers.

**Private clouds:** Private clouds are designed for exclusive use by a single organization. A private cloud may be built and managed by the organization or by external providers. A private cloud offers the highest degree of control over performance, reliability and security.

**Hybrid clouds:** A hybrid cloud is a combination of public and private cloud models that tries to address the limitations of each approach. In a hybrid cloud, part of the service infrastructure runs in private clouds while the remaining part runs in public clouds. Hybrid clouds offer more flexibility than both public and private clouds.

**Community clouds:** Community cloud infrastructure is shared by some organizations and supports a specific community that shares concerns (e.g. mission, security requirements, governments, education and compliance

considerations). It may either be managed by the organizations or a third party and may exist on premise or off-premise.

### **Breakup of Cloud Market in India**

The cloud computing market in India is developing at a major rate with local and international players announcing various collaborations. India's cloud market has substantially grown in the last few years and the current trend is unlikely to fade. According to Gartner Inc., the public cloud services market in India is forecast to grow 32.4 per cent this year and is expected to touch \$326.2 million. The firm also said that the worldwide public cloud services revenue is on pace to total \$111 billion in 2012. According to research firm, IDC (Press Trust of India, 2012), the Indian cloud computing market which was estimated at \$535 million in 2011, is likely to grow by more than 70 per cent in the current year.

It is well established that cloud computing has become an integral part of the industry in India which is evident from its growth. In a recent released study by research firm, Zinnov (Bhadada, 2012), the cloud breakup in the Indian market is given as:

Private Cloud: 78-80%

Public Cloud: 20-22% worth \$160M to \$192M in 2011

The current breakup of 80%-20% private-public market in India is anticipated to change following increase in the public cloud market in India (Shahid, 2012).

Although according to a number of surveys and research, it has been found that major IT CIO's are looking forward to a combination of the public and private cloud which is often referred to as a hybrid cloud. According to a report by the CIO Authority of India (CAI), 53% of CIO's in India believes that in the near future a hybrid cloud model would best manage their organization's IT needs (Garg 2010). While 28% were of the impression that a Private Cloud would be best suited, 14% rooted for a Public Cloud. It clearly indicates that the major CIO's of the country believe that a hybrid cloud model is the best option for their company's growing IT needs. The report also says that 54% of CIOs have evaluated Cloud Computing, out of which 32% have done an extensive evaluation.

Moreover 36% of the CIO community indicated that it already has plans to evaluate Cloud Computing in the near future.

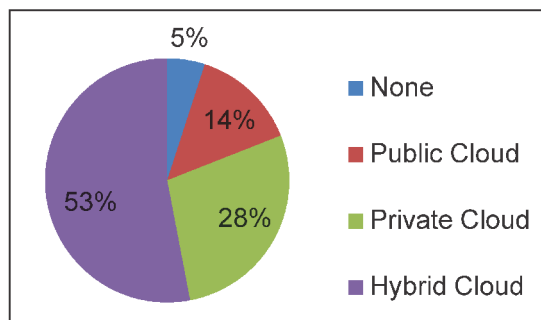


Figure 2: The Model most likely to be Accepted in Future

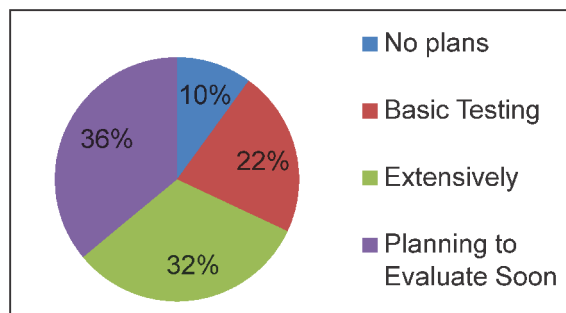


Figure 3: Plans to Evaluate Cloud Computing

One out of every four organizations are currently using Cloud Computing for (parts of) their IT operations.

### **Expansion of the Cloud Market**

Today, Cloud is the way forward to most of the problems in the IT sector. But the outreach of cloud is also substantially changing every day. In today's industry, IT is an integral part in any and every sector, be it finance, manufacturing, healthcare or retail. Cloud computing offers major IT solutions and has thus found its way in almost every industry.

The World Economic Forum in partnership with Accenture (2010) concluded that 54% of the respondents believed that media and telecom industries are most likely to be impacted by Cloud Computing falling short of just the IT industry, which 78% believe has immense scope in Cloud Computing. Moreover 40% and 33% respectively believe that education and healthcare has the most possibility to incorporate Cloud Computing. Chandrasekaran (2012) as CEO TCS states that the Cloud Computing is the up and coming technology in almost every industry and a number of industries are shifting their focus towards cloud for their IT needs. In the views of Rastogi (2011), Associate Consultant at Cognizant Business Consulting, Cloud Computing has great

potential to deliver massive cost savings to the slowly recovering trade finance industry.

As per a research paper published by Microsoft (2010), Cloud Computing brings to education a range of options not found in traditional IT models. In fact, the integration of software and assets one owns with software and services in the cloud provides new choices for balancing system management, cost and security while helping to improve services.

M. G. Avram, in 2014, highlighted the organization perspective of cloud computing. By the use of cloud technology, cost is benefitted for small industries with a lower IT barrier, which in return improve the scalability. The growth in cloud related investment in India should possibly reach \$1.9 billion by 2019 (*Economic Times*, 2014).

Due to the vast outreach of the IT industry and the necessity of the field of information technology in every industry, the cloud market has expanded substantially and now contributes to a variety of industries. India's Cloud market is yet to explore a number of possibilities and the future is really bright. However, in spite of various advantages, the key concern of organization is security, privacy and reliability.

## **Conclusion**

The IT industry is ever evolving and so is Cloud Computing. Cloud computing is an emerging technology that has already been established in the global market and is growing exponentially. From the research, it is inferred that the Cloud market has established itself in the Indian industry and is here to stay. The growth in the Cloud market is a testimony to the fact that the current model of cloud computing has been successful in the Indian market and has been accepted.

According to the present analysis, India is still in very early stages and is yet to fully comprehend the major benefits of cloud. For a country with a GDP of 1800 billion US dollars, a billion dollar market is only a minuscule part. But the country has the scope to benefit from the new technology. A major observation is that organizations already using cloud computing are quite satisfied with it and majority of the industries are planning to move to Cloud Computing. Also this trend is shifting towards a Hybrid Cloud and it seems to be the way forward. The Cloud has had an extremely good opening in the Indian market but its real impact is yet to be seen by the country as it enters newer fields of applications every day. Although the Cloud market has a good outreach in various industries like healthcare, education and finance, it is still not

extensively used in these fields. In the years to come, Cloud will certainly change the way the Indian industry functions and the country's best would be able to tap in all its benefits.

Despite all its advantages, Cloud Computing still has major concerns when it comes to security. When it comes to storage of private data, users are skeptical due to lack of control. Hence an IT model that does not solely rely on Cloud Computing but incorporates it as a major part of the IT strategy is suggested. Overall the future of cloud computing is very promising.

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**Encryption to Decryption: A Critique of Poile Sengupta's *Mangalam* and *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shakuni***

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Poile Sengupta, though an accomplished writer for children, writes plays mostly dealing with pressing social issues such as sexual abuse, violence, betrayal, oppression and suppression. Contributing to the post-Independence Indian English dramaturgy, her plays, mainly meant to be staged, have the proclivity to represent the female through certain dramatic strategies to give vent to patriarchal metaphysics and sexual difference and register the resistance. *Mangalam* (1993), deploying the play-within-a-play mode, unearths the power politics where actuality and fiction coalesce. Female psyche is suppressed there and is tormented with unbridled atrocities. Resistance is quashed but prognosticated by the valorous choric comments. These thematic concerns continue in her eighth play *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shakuni* (2001) to roil the equilibrium of the conscience of the society. The difference is that the characters are not immersed within their hapless condition but accentuate the yearning to redeem themselves. These two epical characters from two different epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* articulate the shameful treatment meted out to them, transcending the psychological and social barriers. The message is decoded here to break the impasse. Blatant vengeance must be exercised and the voice of the voiceless must be established. While the mystery regarding *Mangalam*, the oppression on women, the plight of the gendered subalterns and the resistance on the part of the female psyche remain encrypted in the former play, the latter play decrypts and deciphers the rage of the humiliated or the discoloured, the blending of modern violence with the old idea of revenge and the optimum consequence of injustice resulting in self-actualization and self-assertion. The therapeutic measures, coded and later decoded, mirror the drastic change and elevation of the psychological milieu, and are projected through the theatrical medium which is the necessary result of the feminist theatre of the 1970s that evolved out of the experimental theatre and the women's movement. The paper proposes to show these social disparities, the change and evolution, the encryption and decryption operating in multiple layers with reference to the two plays of Poile Sengupta mentioned before.

**Keywords:** oppression, suppression, patriarchy, measure, change, elevation.

Ambika Gopalakrishnan famously known as Poile Sengupta, is especially a writer for children though she has successfully ventured into the genre of drama. She is one of the foremost Indian English playwrights in whose plays

woman is the pivot around whom the dramatic action revolves. Hence the collection of six of her plays is named *Women Centre Stage: The Dramatist and the Play*. *Mangalam* (1993) and *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shakuni* (2001) are two representative plays from this collection where the juxtaposing depiction of violence and woman can be found. These two plays try to interpret the new meaning of the age-old issues which are socially pertinent. While *Mangalam* centres around the presentation of violence and oppression against woman, the latter play emphasizes the social hypocrisy, the politics of misrepresentation and the associated violence against man and woman perpetrated by the powerful in the society. The interplay of violence and perverted sexual desire depicted in these plays tend to draw scholarly attention. *Mangalam* presupposes and prognosticates revenge and retaliation which is the ultimate consequence of oppression and suppression. *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shakuni* decrypts those ideas and consequences but its negative approach to blast the whole world cannot be realized in reality. Yet, the seeds are sown in the human mind which is explicit in the latter play.

*Mangalam* is her first full-length play which won the award for the most socially pertinent theme in The Hindu-Madras Players Playscripts Competition in 1993. The play was published in *Body Blows*, a compilation of three plays by three Indian English women playwrights Manjula Padmanavan, Dina Mehta and Poile Sengupta. That she is a wordsmith is aptly evinced through her masterful use of words in her plays. Her playing with words is much in consonance with the theme of the play. The play, divided into two acts, tells the story of Mangalam though she is dead already. The story starts after her death. What, then is the significance of her death? Her death catalyzes the action in the play. Sengupta brings to life the torturous behaviour which Mangalam and many other women receive throughout their lives and different nuances of their sorrows and sufferings, such as being dominated by their husbands, patriarchy and the society.

The play is remarkable enough because of its feminist threads. It is a *mélange* of the registers of Tamil and Indian English. Though it is Sengupta's first play for adults, it is a mature one penned by an experienced writer. So, is the language of the play all the more important? No, the story demands similar attention too. The peaceful protest is suppressed in every fold of the story, and Revathy and Sumati are two lively representatives from Act I and II respectively. It is a feminist play, a play of deception and gender oppression, though the playwright herself seeks to avoid as a feminist writer. She says in an interview with Anita Singh, "I only see Sumati as a person who's touched by the



emerging woman” and “Vikram (Kannan in the first Act) is the new man, the hope for the coming generation.” She deftly handles the dialogue, and the structure of the play is attractive as well. It deploys the play-within-play method in Act I and Act II is a commentary upon Act I. The characters of the second part are the counterparts and reflections of the characters of the first part. Then, where lies the difference between the two Acts? The difference is in the setting, in the characterization, in the ending. And what remains the same? The answer is the patriarchal domination and lack of sympathy. The structure accentuates that reality is not far from imagination. The woman is not safe even within her own family, her own familial and familiar territory. She is the object of pleasure, of satisfying greed. She may be the daughter, the wife, the mother, but her position remains the same as the object of carnal gratification.

Act I in *Mangalam* develops around a Tamil family in a small town in Southern India of the 1960s while Act II centres round a modern cosmopolitan family, most likely in Chennai. Despite the age of political independence, suffrage and economical independence of women, the ill-feeling towards these gendered subalterns is common in the every stratum of society. The play deals with such a story of violence and hypocrisy which shocks us out of our illusions about the glorification of women as “devi.” The first part is associated with the tragedy of *Mangalam* while in the second part Thangam and her daughter, Sumati and son, Suresh are contemplating the play i.e. the Act I that they had had the previous night. Ironically, Sumati is the intended victim, not once but twice. The family changes, the socio-temporal dimension changes but the form of oppression remains unchanged. The modern family in the second Act suffers from adultery and sexual exploitation by someone close to the family. Sumati is abused, for the first time, by her fiancé and then by an uncle as she shrieks at the fag end of the play:

SUMATI: (Off) No! Uncle! No!...(Sumati rushes n through the garden door.) Appa! Appa!... (She breaks down sobbing as Vikram, Suresh and Radha come running in through the inner door.)(69)

Poile Sengupta uses in *Mangalam* several innovative techniques – chorus, play-within-play, same characters playing different roles – to emphasize the defence of women, the amalgamation of the unreal and the real. Shashi Deshpande comments in the preface of the book *Women Centre Stage*:

In *Mangalam*, Sengupta not only manages to convey, through the lilt and rhythms of the words, and through the syntax, the idea of Tamil being spoken, she also talks, or rather, makes her characters talk, of this very problem of language.

*Mangalam* deals with the issues of harassment and maltreatment within a family. The first Act consists of three scenes in which we see the rapid growth of dramatic situations and at the end the readers come to realize that the audience of the first Act becomes the dramatic *personae* of the second Act. Mangalam was a victim of rape in the first part, while Sumati, the audience of the play-within-play becomes a victim of molestation. The play underlines that the oppression against the woman cuts across ages. Actually, Poile Sengupta's plays are fraught with women's issues because she believes that drama is the perfect medium to serve the purpose to raise social consciousness.<sup>1</sup> Hence she chooses sexual abuse as the subject of her first adult play. The stage direction at the very beginning of the play forecasts the gloomy atmosphere overshadowing the play. How the woman is traditionally portrayed is suggested in Mangalam's sister, Thangam's words:

THANGAM: ... O! O! O! My poor motherless boy! My orphaned boy! What will you do? What will you all do? She was such a good mother! Such an excellent cook! O! O! O! (5)

She satirizes marriage bitterly saying that “It was more like a rope” (5) – a bond of death. In spite of that there is social compulsion on girls to be married.

The play encodes the defence of woman in a subverted way through Revathy, the daughter-in-law of Mangalam who often expresses her disgust. The play being a woman-centric text also decodes the position of woman in social, political or cultural domain. Her body is tortured, her mind is suppressed, her voice is subverted. The atrocity is showcased in order to enhance the social response. And drama among all forms of art, proves itself to be a powerful medium to substantiate the protest. The male-dominated society should show its hearty concern leaving off the crimes it perpetrates against the woman in the name of tradition and culture<sup>2</sup>. A promising playwright, Poile Sengupta uses the platform of drama more often than not as an anvil to the evils incinerating the society. The female voice-over is that utterance, that sharp tone accentuating the truth, and as a mouthpiece of the playwright makes choric comments at every turn. Each and every voice-over expresses perturbation about women. Among the five choric commentaries in the Act I, the last is of utmost significance.

VOICE-OVER: Because a woman has patience,  
                  she is not allowed to speak;  
                  others speak for her,  
                  and she never learns the words.  
Because a woman is strong,  
                  she is not to be protected;

others violate her,  
and she must pay for their trespass.  
Because a woman has breasts,  
she cannot be on her own;  
age turns her skin to parchment,  
and then she is left alone. (36)

In Act II Sumati sometimes takes the charge of commenting on the actions of the play. The chorus at the last emblazons the power of the woman and celebrates her endurance and tolerance.

VOICE-OVER: As for women, the gods said  
let them be strong rooted, like trees.  
for it is they who shall hold  
the ends of the world together.  
And there will be sport and play  
and soft voiced treachery  
and the music of deceit  
will call very strong.  
But the women will stay  
it is so decreed  
the women will stay  
like strong rooted trees;  
they will stay and hold  
the ends of the world together. (70)

Patriarchal ideology thus overpowers the potentiality of the woman, and male hegemony is empowered as a consequence. C. S. Lakshmi expresses this phenomenon in “And Kannagi Plucked Out a Breast” in the preface to *Body Blows*:

The violence in a woman's life often has no outward signs, like a gash on the body or a bullet in its crevices. It can seem bloodless, often. It can enter one's life as a newspaper item or the shattered or destroyed body of another woman. In whichever way it enters a woman's life, it remains a collective memory of experiences, where we are both participants and viewers. (xiii)

The second play in our discussion *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shakuni* is much wider in its range of expressing subjugation and suffocation felt not only by the woman but also by the subalterns. The cry of anguish of the oppressed is faithfully traced in this play. It is an ambitious play that includes characters from two different epics – the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Shoorpanakha, the demoness in the *Ramayana*, falls in love with Rama and is immediately refused and rejected by him. And from the *Mahabharata* the

character of Shakuni, the maternal uncle of the Kouravas is refigured.

The two dramatis personae are unnamed in this play, and are recognized as Man and Woman. The characters, discoloured as devils, are redressed in their modern attires are trying to wipe out the stains imputed upon them. The play shows sympathy for the traditional devils and gives them the opportunity to absolve themselves by creating and recreating the traditional myth. The two characters justify themselves and establish with proper information that they are not devils in the truest sense of the term but are stained in their representation in the epics. The two characters are travellers and they meet each other in an airport. Their flight is delayed, the situation is anew, the environment is refreshed altogether.

WOMAN: (Ignoring his remark.) Especially when there is not a vacant chair anywhere in sight. And the place is full of highly inflammable people waiting for delayed lights...indefinitely delayed flights.

Pause.

WOMAN: Do you know I've travelled at breakneck speed to get here ontime? Because I had no idea the flight was delayed? (247)

It is known that literature progresses through innovation and change, addition and alteration, and experimentation and adaptation. Similar is the case in this play. The playwright experiments with the ancient Indian epics in order to represent the themes of abuse and violence and crime which are of perennial importance in the context of Indian women and plays by Indian Women playwrights. Thus *Spake Shoorpanakha, So Said Shaukni* exemplifies that the theme of drama ranges from traditional myths to recent socially turbulent issues. Simone de Beauvoir cogently comments: "few myths have been more advantageous to the ruling caste than the myth of women: it justifies all privileges and even authorizes their abuse" (np).

The traditional myth threatens to dominate the representation of these two epical characters, Shoorpanakha and Shakuni. On the contrast, the play gives scope to them to humanize themselves. Now the question is, has the injustice meted out to them any basis or fixed ground? In course of their conversation they continue to be introduced to each other. Shoorpanakha is forthright in expressing her desire for Rama. She defends herself:

WOMAN: I was bleeding... all down my face... my chest...bleeding... Was it so wrong to tell a man 'I love you'? (262)

But the society no longer endures this and identifies her as a fallen woman because of having expressed her desire for man. Ironically, the society does not

wait but besmears her and immediately she is treated to a host of crimes:

WOMAN: You know what they did me... the two brothers... they laughed. Laughed at me. They teased me. Mocked me. The older one said, ask my brother... he might want you... the younger one said... I can't marry without my brother's consent... ask him... They tossed me this way and that, as if... as if I did not deserve any more respect. As if I was a ... broken plaything. (261)

The atrocity which Shakuni and Shoorpanakha faced is supported by the patriarchal mores and this enraged them to the extent that they decided to take great revenge. In the play Shakuni is ready to threaten the world with another bloodbath but is immediately dissuaded by Shoorpanakha. This metaphysics of taking revenge and not allow oneself to be suppressed and subverted is explicit and decoded in this play while it remains encoded in *Mangalam*.

Plays by Indian playwrights are a successful medium to portray the vicious attitudes towards women and the violence and hypocrisy encountered by them. While gender and sexual difference are the central concerns of *Mangalam*, *Thus Spake Shoorpanakha*, *So Said Shaukni* scathingly showcases ways in which the patriarchal order subverts and misrepresents the subalterns, and particularly, females. The new metaphysics of resistance or ideologies of self-appraisal and self-defence are sometimes encoded and sometimes decoded in these two plays.

#### Notes

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## Agri-Tourism: The Need of the Hour

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Agri-tourism, a “could be variant of Ecotourism”, is a relatively new branch of activity that is becoming increasingly popular in the developing countries in the recent time. Agri-tourism not only connects the visitor from the frenetic present with the traditional assets of communities but also brings socio-economic and environmental benefits. Despite India being the heartland of an array of distinctive endowments, agri-tourism is still in its budding stage. The current paper probes to explore the concept of agri-tourism and its benefits. It also throws light on the need for developing agri-tourism in India.

Keywords: Agri-tourism, review, benefits, rural economy, tourism

### Introduction

Agro-tourism has been a priority as a means of improving the livelihood of agriculturist developing countries. (Na Songkhla and Somboonsuke, 2012)

Agriculture is considered as the backbone of Indian economy. In fact, it is the mainstay of the economies of most developing countries. The agriculture and allied activities sector contribute to about 15 percent of India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but it also provides employment to around 50 percent of the population in India. India's food grain production has more than doubled over the decades to a record 264 million tonnes in 2014, but the same is not being capitalised to increase the revenue and profit margins of farmers. There is still a large dependency on rainfall and that is why, agriculture in India still considered as gamble of monsoons. Other climatic conditions, for good yield and post-harvest logistics, remain an area of concern. However, growth, urbanization, rising water costs, high land prices, competition for resources, increased market competition and other issues present in the agricultural-urban interface have changed local agriculture. Tourism may be viewed as a means for national development by increasing employment opportunities and options, earning foreign exchange, securing balance of payment advantages and infrastructural development. It may provide a key opportunity for economic development based on the natural, historical and cultural resources of the country.

Due to various reasons like increasing costs of cultivation, leading to higher indebtedness, falling income, inability to repay the debts, crop failures and

inability to face price rise with greater liberalisation of the agricultural sector have forced the farmers to take extreme steps like suicides in the recent years. In the times to come, Indian farmers will have to face more challenges. With falling oil prices, demand for cutting MSP will escalate in the coming days, as it has triggered the decline in the prices of sugar, edible oil and rubber internationally. According to a report by the World Travel and Tourism Council, the future of tourism is bright in India. India's projected tourism growth was the highest for any major economy. In 2014, the industry contributed Rs 7.64 trillion and 36.7 million jobs to the Indian economy. In 2015, the travel and tourism sector was estimated to contribute Rs 8.22 trillion or 7 percent of India's GDP and 37.4 million jobs, almost 9 percent of total employment. Still, the overall contribution of India's travel and tourism sector to the overall economy is still relatively low as it is 6.7 percent of GDP, against a global average of 9.8 percent. During 2014, the travel and tourism investments in the country accounted for Rs 2.11 trillion, or 6.2 percent of total investments. It is estimated to rise by 6.5 percent per annum over the next 10 years to Rs 4,337.8 billion in 2025 or 6.9 percent of the total. This sector has the potential to contribute 46 million jobs to the Indian economy by 2025. India is trying to raise the share of foreign travel arrivals to 1 percent of total global tourists over the next couple of years, from 0.64 percent. In 2014, foreign exchange earnings from tourist arrivals totalled \$19.657 billion, compared with \$18.445 billion in 2013.

### **Agri-tourism**

The word "Agri" (or Latin *ager*), has stemmed from the Greek word *agris* meaning field, with its agricultural connotations. Agri-tourism is a hybrid concept that merges elements of two complex industries, agriculture and travel/tourism to open up new profitable markets for farm products and services and provide travel experiences for a large regional market. In addition to conventional tourism, the tourism industry of the country could expand and benefit tremendously by also investing in ecological or nature-based tourism. Agri-tourism enterprises might include outdoor recreation (fishing, hunting, wildlife study, horseback or pony back riding), educational experiences (cannery tours, cooking classes or wine tasting), entertainment (harvesting festivals, camping), hospitality services (farm stays, guided tours, catering) and on-farm direct sales activities. Agri-tourism will help bridge the gap between urban and rural India and help tourists connect with rural life. It can be a tool for measuring the quality of life, the quantification of the standard of living of certain social groups. It can be viewed as an integrated system of

activities that takes place in rural areas contributing to regional rural development.

### **Definitions of Agri-tourism**

Agri-tourism refers to the act of visiting a working farm or any agricultural, horticultural or agribusiness operation for the purpose of enjoyment, education, or active involvement in the activities of the farm or operation. In other words, it may be defined as any business conducted by a farmer for the enjoyment or education of the public, to promote the products of the farm and to generate additional farm income.

### **Review of Literature**

Flanigan et al. (2014) stressed the need for a typology of agri-tourism that helps unearth the various types of agri-tourism products. They used three main determinants namely presence of a working farm, tourists's interaction with agriculture and their experience -staged or authentic. Five sub-markets were identified, namely, non-working farm indirect interaction agri-tourism (accommodation in ex-farm house property); non-working farm direct interaction agri-tourism (e.g. agricultural shows and farm museums); working farm indirect interaction agri-tourism (e.g. farm house accommodation); working farm direct 'staged' interaction agri-tourism (e.g. model farms) and working farm direct interaction authentic agri-tourism (e.g. participation in tasks on farms). Changing lifestyles and demographic dynamics are creating new opportunities for farmers to diversify and increase their income brackets because many urban residents are seeking experiences that are perceived to be green, pristine and rejuvenating (Tew and Barbieri, 2013).

Gil Arroyo et al. (2013) researched in USA among actors concerned with agri-tourism and showed that, the respondents urged that terms such as “agricultural-setting,” “entertainment,” “farm” and “education” should be included in a good definition of agri-tourism. Agri-tourism is defined as an alternative form of tourism, which involves tourists travelling to farm settings for the purposes of recreation or education, and thus bringing additional benefits to the farmer, environment and the local community.

Choo (2012) is of the opinion that agri-tourism research must focus on three areas namely: the demand-side perspectives, supply-side perspectives and impacts of agri-tourism. On the demand side, agri-tourism research can focus on the characteristics of agritourists, market size, their motivations, preferences, decision-making processes and buying behaviour. For the supply side of agri-tourism, the role of infrastructure, service and organisations (e.g.



transport, attractions, accommodation and intermediaries) that facilitate agri-tourism activities may be considered.

Okech et al. (2012) add that for tourism to be described as rural, it should mirror the characteristics that signify a rural area including small settlements, low population densities, agrarian-based economies and traditional societies.

Akpinar (2005) observed that agri-tourism promotion leads to fulfilling the expectations of tourists, “increase of knowledge and comprehension in environmental conservation and agricultural residents' quality of life.”

Catalino and Lizardo (2004) researched on “Agri-tourism in the Dominican Republic” and defined a typology of agritourists according to their preference levels, their behaviour in terms of Willingness to Pay (WTP), and factors that would discourage them from participating in agri-tourism activities. First is the “Authentic Agritourists”: these tourists do enjoy agri-tourism, but they are not overly enthusiastic, and they exhibit the greatest WTP to engage in agri-tourism activities. Second is the “Discreet Agritourists”: these tourists do not feel particularly attracted to agri-tourism, yet have a relatively high WTP for an agri-tourism activity. They place importance on factors such as distance, transport prices, and personal security. Third is the “Passionate Agritourists,” these tourists have a high preference for agri-tourism, yet are less willing to pay for agri-tourism activities. They assign an intermediate value to the factors that affect agri-tourism. Fourth, are the “Demanding Agritourists,” these tourists have the highest preference levels for agri-tourism, and exhibit a relatively low WTP.

Hall and Jenkins (1998) observed that agri-tourism is a part of rural tourism activities. It allowed visitors to gain the knowledge of agriculture and appreciate the unique rural landscapes.

### **Benefits of Agri-tourism**

Agri-tourism can have significant benefits for farmers and communities. Agricultural tourism has substantial economic impact on local economies. It provides opportunities for diversification and economic incentives for growers, promotes economic development and helps educate the public about the important contributions of agriculture to the country's economy and quality of life. Agri-tourism has a substantial economic impact on the economy of a developing country like India. It may result in opportunities to diversify their crops, enterprises, marketing methods and revenue sources. Agri-tourism may provide the economic incentives that growers need to keep their farms viable and to keep their land in agriculture. It may allow growers to be innovative and

to explore new crops and new marketing methods.

Agri-tourism may be adopted as a strategy to create alternative income opportunities for farming communities, to develop the alternative tourism sector and a tool for revitalizing the rural economy. It enables farming communities to diversify their farming operations and bring more economic activities to rural areas. Agri-tourism is a direct marketing activity, which provides additional opportunities to farmers in a competing and urbanizing economic environment. Agri-tourism can become a leading sector in employment creation, revenue generation, environmental sustainability and national cohesion. It requires minimal additional investment and may utilize the excess capacity of labour, capital, land, and natural resources. Excess capacity may allow farmers to increase the scope of activities. Promoting agri-tourism may be adopted as a revenue risk management strategy. Agri-tourism, like the other forms of alternative tourism, seeks quintessentially to enhance environmental sustainability and socio-economic well-being.

Agri-tourism may generate diversification opportunities for local farmers to increase revenues and enhance the viability of their operations. The emergence of agri-tourism has not only helped farmers to hedge their risks from normal farming activities and increase revenues, but also improve their lifestyles. It could take the form of a model where the farmers of a particular place unite to form a co-operative and help develop the place, or it may take the shape of a joint partnership by rural population where the land is owned by one person but developed by all the others, while the services of entertaining tourists can be done by yet another group of individuals. Agri-tourism benefits a number of families as they may act as tour guide, providing accommodation, selling agri-products and foodstuff to tourists

The county's agriculture has changed from the production of a few major commodities to a highly diversified, responsive industry that serves not only local needs but also national and international markets. Agri-tourism can ensure a year round activity. The year round visitor ship will sustain the interest of the residents towards agri-tourism in the community, and help in improving their socio-economic standards. Agri-tourism has a long lasting socio-cultural influence on host communities. It has a profound impact on the society. It creates a pure indigenous identity. Agri-tourism helps to flourish the culture of that particular country. It brings the urban people and rural people together. It may also help in reducing the gap between the rural and urban people; by providing economic incentives and reducing friction in the agricultural-urban interface, thus helping to preserve agricultural land and pristine rural climate.

Agri-tourism helps in countering global warming and the risk of hunger by increasing the number of drought resistant trees and the subsequent production of fruits, nuts and edible oils. It may help in providing growing space for medicinal plants. Thus, it may contribute to the stability of the green industry in any country.

Agri-tourism allows the tourist to know and feel the rhythm of rural life: contact with domestic animals, fresh food, colourful landscapes, the sounds of birds, nature and the non-polluted environment. Agri-tourism provides an opportunity to have association with a farm family, experiencing the customs of a farm family, hospitality, making contacts with neighbouring farmers. The visitors experience the rural lifestyle, understand the needs and daily tasks of farmers, experience the culture, customs, and traditions of the rural area.

Agri-tourism may be developed as a strategy for the conservation of agricultural resources and the allocation of economic and social benefits to the farming community. The income of farmers may increase due to agri-tourism. It helps them in covering losses incurred from traditional farming. Some farmers may provide tourists with additional activities such as rock climbing and jungle safari. Tourists may also be taken to the village river for a swim and local food processing centres. The idea is to promote rural tourism and attract visitors to come and see the countryside, handicrafts, taste traditional food, and enjoy folk music. Agri-tourism village may provide wedding packages for couples interested in getting married in a village atmosphere.

Agri-tourism is very appealing to a certain niche of the market, especially visitors who have love for the nature and want the information about the different agriculture programs. It may also increase the diversity of economic activity. For example, it may inspire and encourage many commercial banks to establish their branch in rural areas, as the rural economy starts flourishing. It may help to improve farm viability by increasing the commercial possibilities through both direct sales of crops and livestock products and other business accommodations by adding value to regional landscapes. Another key benefit of agri-tourism lies in its potential to provide markets for agri-products.

Agri-tourism helps the tourists in refreshing and renewing themselves by relaxing and participating in various activities. It helps the tourists in various exciting experiences. It helps them in enjoying a different life from their routine life by providing them a better climate, scenery, slower pace of life, clean air, quieter surroundings and some other things that are missing or deficient in their lives back home.

### **Need of Developing Agri-tourism**

Due to the growing global competition between tourism destinations, increasingly nation states are assessing their unique tourism resources to develop as attractions for sustainable competitive advantages. Agri-tourism is a form of niche tourism that is considered a growth industry in many parts of the world, including Australia, Canada, United States of America and Philippines.

These days rising input agricultural costs such as seeds and planting materials, fertilizer and labour chargers, etc. are gradually increasing the cost of production of agriculture produce and subsequently decrease the profit margins of farmers. Then, there is frustration due to irregular weather, volatile prices, fear of droughts, pests, and plant disease. Further, forces such as globalization, world trade agreement, agricultural policies in developed countries, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements are threatening small and medium scale farms in developing countries. As a result, there is apathy of the young generation of farmer families towards agriculture. Therefore, farmers are recognizing the need and desire to diversifying their farm products and services in order to supplement their agricultural incomes. Agri-tourism thus may become the catalyst to rejuvenate interests among the youth towards agriculture in our country.

Agri-tourism is an excellent means of supporting rural communities. Tourists bring rupees to local communities that keep rural communities alive and prosperous. The partnering of tourism and the green industry will help to create and strengthen rural economies. Agri-tourism is an opportunity to increase agricultural awareness among the public and to promote fresh farm products. It also provides opportunities to increase consumers' understanding of the environmental horticulture industry. The interaction of tourists with nursery, greenhouse activities and crops carries an educational aspect. A guided walking tour of a garden centre or nursery will help children learn the basics of how plants grow, and learn what a farmer's job comprise of. They will start to respect both farmers and farming. They will see the farm equipment, learn about cultivation, animal rearing and will understand the importance of preserving farmland as an open space for the future.

Urban population is increasing day by day. Today, urban children's world is restricted in the close doors of a school, home and centre around television, video game, computer, fast food and internet. Living in urban area, they may have not enjoyed the beauty of Mother Nature. Several urban Indians do not

have a single relative who live in remote villages. On the basis of a recent study conducted by Agri-tourism Development Corporation, it was found that 43 percent of urban population did not have any relative left in the village. 97 percent of urban population wants to experience the rustic beauty of village life. This gives an opportunity to develop tourism centre in the village based on agriculture activities. Due to today's busy life in urban life, families have little time to be alone together. They want to get away from the stress of home and work. They look the travel as an opportunity to renew relationships with the family members and with the people in the visiting locations. Therefore, agri-tourism activities hold huge tourism potential for the Indian as well foreign travellers.

Agri-tourism allows tourists to learn or practice a language, study various spheres of agriculture, to study life of farmers, explore village food, and explore farm culture. Some tourists, especially older travellers and urban dwellers, want a farm visit and stay to reawaken memories of the simple, rural lifestyle they had in the childhood. Agri-tourism helps them to enjoy sentimental journey.

Agri-tourism is a holiday concept of visiting a working farm or agri-business operations for the purpose of enjoyment, education or active involvement in the activities of the farm or operation. It has different definitions in different parts of the world, and sometimes refers specifically to farm stays, as in Italy. Elsewhere, it includes a wide variety of activities, including buying produce direct from a farm stand, navigating a corn maze, picking fruit, feeding animals or staying at a farm.

A number of tourists are bored with beach holidays or staying at the hill stations. Agriculture tourism promises to offer the unique experience of actually staying on a farm, enjoying the serenity of village life and the flavour of wholesome ethnic food. It may include bullock-cart ride, visit to guava orchards, sugarcane farms, visit to a sugar mill, watching jaggery making, observing (even trying out) milking of cows or making mud toys.

Agri-tourism offers to farmers and visitors a unique opportunity to contribute to development and conservation in rural landscapes. It may contribute to the social empowerment system, empowerment of women, strengthening and developing social skills, increase income levels and creation of jobs. It helps to address various economic problems through economic diversification and stabilization, employment creation, infrastructural improvements, protection, and improvement of both natural and built environment. Agri-tourism can be

adopted as an effective tool for environmental conservation and rural development.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, it may be remarked that there is a great nexus between agriculture and tourism. There is increasing diversification in agriculture, and rural landscapes offer great opportunities for tourism development, especially in developing countries where economic options are often limited. Agri-tourism needs a big push from the tourism ministry. People should be motivated to spend a few days in the lap of nature. There is a need to realize the importance of beautiful India's natural assets, land wonders and beauties in order to attract the tourists. The harvest matrix of the indigenous people, tradition, geological environment, century old local concepts, combination of technology among knowing tendencies of people and business are the most exciting passions in this sector. It has great potential for farmers seeking to generate additional revenue, capitalize underused assets, and educate the people who are not much aware about the agriculture. However, it is not a “magic bullet” and not all agri-tourism ventures have succeeded. A diverse offering of products and services, creative and unique marketing techniques, can help farmers succeed in the market driven economy.

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