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NEW HORIZONS

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Double-blind Peer Reviewed

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DAV College for Women
Chandigarh

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Mehr Chand Mahajan
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1

Visual Objects: Types, Forms and Status

Dr Rustam Singh
Independent Scholar

There are objects that are purely visual objects. However, most visual objects are not just visual objects. This paper talks about the visual aspect of those objects that can also have one or more non-visual aspects. It argues that there are man-made visual objects, but there are also forms of the visual in nature. The man-made visual objects are of two kinds: art forms, and non-art forms. Non-art forms of the visual objects are again of two types: forms that carry an intellectual and emotional content, and forms that do not carry such content. Further, there are visual objects that are sovereign and independent, but there are four types of visual objects that are *not* sovereign and independent. These are violated visual objects, appropriated visual objects, mediated visual objects and mediatized visual objects. The latter two visual objects are produced by humans and, as such, are not to be found in nature, but only in settings which are created by humans and are *human-dominated settings*. But visual objects in the first two categories – the violated and the appropriated visual objects – are also *damaged* visual objects. They are impinged upon or invaded or enslaved and are not fully in possession of their being. Part of their being, and as such their destiny, is in the possession of someone else. Visual objects in both these categories can be both living and nonliving visual objects. Finally, it is argued that when we no longer see objects in their sovereign state and can see them only in their violated, appropriated or damaged form, then, our own ability to see, and thus our being itself, too, has been damaged, if not violated.

Keywords: visual objects, sovereign visual objects, violated visual objects, appropriated visual objects, mediated visual objects, mediatised visual objects, damaged visual objects, damaged being

One should begin, perhaps, by saying that most visual objects are not just visual objects. Many of them can also be touched, heard, even smelled or tasted. We can touch a tree or an animal or, if we are allowed to do so, even a sculpture or an ordinary object. We hear the people speak in a film or a TV serial or even in a news presentation or discussion. We can smell both living and nonliving visual objects, such as a person or a freshly printed or old, rusty book. And we can taste fruit or bread, etc. Apart from all this, many visual objects − a painting, a photo, a cartoon − are normally accompanied by some text, such as a commentary, a title or a caption.

This does not mean, however, that there are no purely visual objects. I will mention only one example here, that of a photo in a newspaper that doesn't need a caption and

speaks for itself, such as the photo of a parched field in drought, or the photo of a crow drinking water from an open tap.[1] In the rest of this essay I will focus on the visual aspect of those objects that can also have one or more non-visual aspects.

There are man-made visual objects, but there are also forms of the visual in nature. Man-made visual objects can initially be divided into two kinds of forms: (1) art forms, and (2) non-art forms. Non-art forms of the visual objects can again be divided into two types: (1) forms that carry an intellectual and emotional content, and (2) forms that do not carry such content. For example, forms such as a cartoon, etc., do carry intellectual and emotional content. But forms such as a bulb, a table, a toilet seat, a bottle or a cap, etc., do not normally carry such content. It is only in exceptional circumstances that they do so. For example, when I feel possessive about a chair and believe that it is *my* chair; that chair, for me, carries an emotional content. Similarly, when a cap, for example the Ché Guevara-style of cap, becomes a symbol of an ideology and a political movement, it does carry intellectual and emotional content.

Art forms of the visual objects, such as a painting, a sculpture, a photo, a film, etc., carry intellectual, emotional as also aesthetic content. But one can also make another kind of division in the visual objects: (1) pictorial forms, and (2) non-pictorial forms. Here, a photo, a film, a TV serial and a video, etc., are examples of the pictorial forms; and a sculpture, a building, theatre, a dance performance and mime, etc., are examples of the non-pictorial forms. However, there can also be a third type of form in this division, ones that combine the pictorial and the non-pictorial elements. The example one can give here is that of an installation in which the central object is accompanied or surrounded by TV or computer screens showing moving images.

Now, visual means that which can be seen, which is seeable. So that when we say that a thing is visual, what we mean is that if we wish we can see it. But what do we mean when we say that we can see an object? Or what does seeing involve?

At first look, seeing involves three things: an object that is seen (and what I'm calling the 'object' here may also be a living being, human or nonhuman), a subject who sees, and seeing itself. But what is seeing? What happens when I say that I am seeing?

When I see an object my visual perception encounters the object, takes notice of it and tells me that there is an object there. But this is not all that happens. When I see, I do not just take notice of the object; I also figure out what object it is or what kind of object it is, what its shape and size are, how far or near it is, whether it is static or moving, whether it is dangerous or friendly, harmful or none of these things. If it is an object which is pleasurable to see, I immediately notice it. If it is an object which makes me

sad or arouses fear in me, that too I take note of. I also figure out whether after noticing the object I should stay where I am, go close to the object or go away from it or even run away. In other words, I am even able to figure out, at least to some extent, what action in the immediate future I should take.

The implication here is that seeing involves not just taking notice of an object but also understanding it or at least attempting to understand it, and it is not just our eyes that are active in this process but also our mind. (I should mention here that if we simply notice an object but do not or cannot understand it due to some reason, it would mean that 'seeing' has been obstructed or the process of seeing has not been completed and therefore seeing has not been fully accomplished.)

The above stated is reminiscent of the Hindi and Sanskrit word "*darshana*". "*Darshana*" means seeing but it is a kind of seeing that includes understanding, having an insight into things, the phenomena. "*Darshana*" means not just looking but also unveiling, that is, exposing and then understanding that which is not apparently visible. That is why this word is also used for a philosophical system or a philosophical vision, where the system or the vision is the result of seeing. And a philosopher is called a "*daarshnika*", that is, the one who sees, what in English is called a seer.[2]

This brings us to the second implication, which is that when we are seeing we are actively and fully involved in the process, with our entire being. This further means that there is no such thing as bare visuality where we only notice or passively look at an object.

Now, we have been talking so far of objects as if they were *sovereign and independent* and, as such, the source of all the information that we gather about them. But not all visual objects are sovereign and independent in this manner. Here, I'll talk about four types of objects which don't seem to be sovereign and independent.

The first are what I'll call *violated* visual objects. These are those nonhuman visual objects that have been impinged upon or encroached or invaded by humans. The visual that most readily comes to mind here is that of the trees which are decorated with electric lights or paper flags on various occasions and for various purposes. The second are what I'll call *appropriated* visual objects. These are those nonhuman visual objects which have been appropriated by humans. The examples are nonhuman animals which have been enslaved (such as buffaloes, cows, goats and sheep) or are being raised for slaughter (such as cows, goats and sheep again, or pigs and poultry). (Needless to say, I'm also including here those visual objects which are raised in factory farms for the meat industry.) Nonhuman animals and insects which have been captured and are kept alive for experimental purposes fall in the same category. Other examples are animals in zoos and birds in cages.[3]

The third and the fourth categories of the visual objects which are not sovereign and independent include those objects which are created and used as a medium. And I'm talking here of visual objects that are man-made, that are produced by humans. As such, they are not to be found in nature, but only in settings which are created by humans and can be called *human-dominated settings*. To make things clearer, I should say that these objects include all those art and non-art forms of the visual objects which are made by humans.

But there are some differences between the objects included in these two latter categories. In the third category, what I will call *mediated* visual objects, I will place those visual objects whose purpose is not mere entertainment. The examples here are art objects, such as a photo, a painting, a sculpture, certain kinds of films − what are called art or documentary films − and a theatre or dance performance. We can also include here cave paintings and objects known as craft such as items made from clay, wood and metals, etc. Cartoons making socio-political commentary, too, can be included here as examples. Finally, in the fourth category, what I will call *mediatized* visual objects, I will place those visual objects which are meant to provide pure entertainment. The examples here are popular kind of films, soap TV serials, reality TV and even delivery and analysis of news on TV channels when these are turned into a performance.

In the case of the visual objects in all these four categories there is not just a viewer and a visual object; rather, there is another entity residing somewhere behind the object but at the same time present within it, and when we see the object, this entity is not always explicitly visible: it is like a presence that we cannot see but is always there. In the case of the objects in the first two categories, namely the *violated* and the *appropriated* visual objects, the identity of this presence is quite clear: it consists of those humans who impinge upon or enslave the objects. In the case of the third and the fourth categories, namely the *mediated* and the *mediatized* visual objects, this presence is the person or the people who create a visual object or phenomenon and use it as a medium. And I need to add here that this person or these people need not necessarily be alive; it is possible that they created this object and are now long dead. Further, normally makers of these objects can be named; but I'm including here also the objects whose makers are unknown and hence cannot be named, they are anonymous.

However, in all such cases, the presence that we are talking about, that is, the entity behind the object and also within it, *becomes the dominant source from where the information flows* and reaches the viewer through the visual object.

Therefore, it seems to me that visual objects that belong to these four categories,

mentioned above, are not *complete* visual objects but are rather *incomplete* in the sense that in order to see them in their totality we need to be aware of this third entity which is behind them and also within them like a presence but is not explicitly visible.

And in the case of the visual objects in the first two categories– the *violated* and the *appropriated* visual objects – we need to add that, in addition to being incomplete, they are also *damaged* visual objects. They are impinged upon or invaded or enslaved and are not fully in possession of their being. Part of their being, and as such their destiny, is in the possession of someone else.

Here, I would like to introduce another element in this discussion: when we see an object in the manner in which seeing has been described above, it is as if the object begins to speak to us, and what it tells us and what we hear is a part of seeing, or, we can even say that it is part of its visuality. The object begins to tell us about itself, about what it is, and about its destiny or situation. For example, when we see a pig in a factory farm, in the small space where it is confined (and the same is true of all the other animals in the factory farms), it is as if without speaking in the human voice it tells us about the painful life it is forced live and that it will be sent to the slaughterhouse when it is fat enough and therefore doesn't have long to live. Animals which are targets of experiments in laboratories tell us that their life is perhaps even more painful than animals in the factory farms. A parrot in a cage, too, tells us a story, the essence of which is that it is exists for the entertainment or the emotional or rather sentimental tickling of the people who have enslaved it. An elephant on a crowded and noisy city road being made to participate in a religious festival tells us that it has been uprooted from its habitat and is being forced to live a life which is alien to it. A tree decorated with lights and other sundry stuff tells us that it is being forced to serve a purpose for which it was not made.

Mediated and *mediatized* forms of the visual objects, too, speak to us but in a somewhat different fashion. The voice of the *mediated* objects, when they speak to us, is quieter than the voice of the *violated* and *appropriated* visual objects. There is less tremor in it, if at all, and there is less pathos. However, the voice of the *mediatized* objects is the loudest, even when it sounds quiet, even when it sounds like a whisper. This is so because their aim is not really to talk to us but rather to shout us down or to shut us up. That is why the being of the *mediatized* visual objects is much coarser or cruder as compared to the being of almost all the other objects mentioned above.

Towards the end, I would like to come back to what I have called the *violated* and *appropriated* visual objects. The examples I gave of such objects earlier were all of them of living objects. This gives the impression that the *violated* forms of the visual

objects, as also those of the *appropriated* objects, can only be the living objects. But this need not necessarily be the case. Even the nonliving visual objects can be violated and appropriated. For example, a painting can be violated, a sculpture or a statue can be violated, and may stay in that condition at least for some time. However, in such cases we call it a violation because of the value we, the humans, place on them. But a graver violation is that in which the object is not a product of the humans and thus has a *sovereign* being, *independent* of the humans.

Among the living visual objects the examples of a *sovereign* being are a tree, a bird, an animal or an insect *in its natural habitat*. Among the nonliving visual objects the examples of a sovereign being are, let us say, a river, a mountain, a rock or a stone, *before* they have been violated or appropriated.

In other words, when dams are built on a river, when it is forced to change its course or when it is heavily polluted by man-made objects and chemicals, it is no longer sovereign. When trees and shrubs on a mountain are cleared away and it is loaded with man-made ugly objects, such as modern buildings, or when chunks of its body are blasted off to make holes through it or for mining purposes, it is no longer sovereign. When we sit on a rock and stare down into a valley, its sovereignty is not violated. When we use stones to build a small hut in their natural habitat, I don't think their sovereignty is violated. But when rocks and stones are cut into pieces and are taken hundreds or thousands of miles away to become part of a structure in an alien environment, they are no longer sovereign and have been violated and appropriated.

Finally, it is necessary to say that when we no longer see things or objects in their sovereign state and become used to seeing them only in their violated, appropriated or damaged form, it means that our visual perception, our own ability to see, too, has been damaged, if not violated. This damage to, or violation of our visual perception in turn means that our being itself has been damaged or violated. And henceforth we move around carrying a damaged or violated being, even if we may not be aware of this.

Notes

[1] We are saying this despite what W. J. T. Mitchell, in his paper “There Are No Visual Media”, had argued. According to him, there are only mixed media, therefore no purely visual media. Clearly, we don't agree with Mitchell.

[2] Monier Monier-Williams, in his *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, mentions, among others, the following meanings of the word 'darshana': seeing, observing, inspection, examination, experiencing, contemplating, apprehension, understanding, foreseeing, philosophical system, a vision, etc.

[3] Properly speaking, this kind of visual objects are not just objects; they are also, at least partly, subjects. However, in this paper we will continue to call them objects.

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2

The Trauma and Tragedy of Partition through the Eyes of a British Cartoonist: Reading Selected Cartoons by Leslie Illingworth

Ms Barnali Saha
PhD Research Scholar
University School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, New Delhi

Critical responses to Partition tend to study and appropriate its problematics mainly through a focus on its literary narratives and representations. Though significant in themselves, these studies – in ignoring representational narratives that fall outside the domain of the literary – fail in comprehending the extensiveness of the phenomena, resulting in an obvious lacuna within the critical genre of Partition studies. The present research paper seeks to address this critical-epistemological gap by problematizing the politics and poetics of cartoons on Partition as cultural representations/texts that visually documented/narrated the phenomenon. The paper discourses on a lesser addressed perspective – that of the British point of view through a study of selected political cartoons by Leslie Illingworth. These cartoons reflect the prejudices and sentiments of the British on India's Partition. From food shortage to Nehruvian politics, the Illingworth cartoons cover a range of heterogeneous subjects which share a lateral coalition with the Partition. The White Man's Burden is unmistakable in these cartoons as well as the diminutive racialization of Indian subjects and their nationalistic plans for themselves. Most importantly, the cartoons feature the British exculpating themselves from the violence of the Partition by squarely placing blame on the communal politics of India. The paper seeks to analyze the Illingworth cartoons through an eclectic understanding of orientalism and structuralism with a view to disrupt the dominant colonial account of Partition and to contribute the genre of Partition studies.

Keywords**:** Partition, colonialism, Indian independence, Illingworth, cartoons, history, politics

The Partition of India was a cataclysmic event that altered the socio-political topography of the Indian subcontinent. Coming at the heels of the grand narrative of India's glorious independence, the Partition of India became the problematic occasion, the echo of which still reverberates in contemporary conflicts. The freeing up of the territory was accompanied by a wave of communal violence so palpable in its neurotic dependency on religious politics that entire social arrangements were demolished for good. The popular militancy of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims created an acrimonious crisis of such proportions that the available statistics of the violent history is enough to send a wave of shock and silence. That the hitherto subjugated

British subjects could be charged with such libidinal veracity altered the perceptions of political leaders who had anticipated a conflict-free exchange of population. The words of British lieutenant L.G Nixon of the Gurkha Rifles, "…I had no idea that the feelings would be so dreadful and that so much killing would go on! I thought it would be like 'you're a Muslim, you are going to have Pakistan. You're a Hindu, you are going to have Hindustan or India' and that was that" (Nixon and Ghosh, 2008: 183) echo the common sentiment of the imperial regime. Apart from the fact that the Partition ushered in a tectonic shift in the history of the Indian subcontinent, it also led to socio-political complexities that still affect national ties between India and Pakistan and generate questions about communalism and the marginalization of minorities in the society. Along with scholars and historians who studied the socio-political aspects of the Partition of India, it "became a major thematic concern for creative writers" (Prakash, 2009: 2) artists and film makers as well who rendered the trauma and tragedy of the bloody and torturous period in all its complexity. In conjunction with numerous short stories, novels, and poems on Partition in myriad languages, photographs, films, testimonies, oral interviews, and memoirs have also added to the ever growing archive of cultural texts on the Partition of 1947. Just like these creative mediums, cartoons too have documented the trauma and tragedy of Partition.

Taking Partition as a point of reference, the paper reads cartoons as essential cultural texts that have documented the political debate and human history of the Partition with a unique packaging of caricature and topical socio-political content. By evaluating the iconographic elements in a series of cartoons on Partition by British cartoonist Leslie Illingworth, the paper first seeks to place cartoons as a representative creative form in the discourse on Partition, and secondly, it shows how Illingworth's cartoons from 1947 involve a caricature of colonial politics from the empire's point of view and a representation of the traumatic events of Partition as it affected the millions of people in unequivocal terms. The paper places Illingworth's published cartoons from 1947 as more than a "mere play of exaggeration" (Khanduri, 2014: 7) and reinforces their status as historical documentation of the trauma and tragedy of Partition from the quintessential British point of view.

A study of the history of cartooning suggests that from the early nineteenth century onwards, cartoons became popular as "critical modes of public communication and politics" (Khanduri 2) in imperial Britain and its colonies. In India *Punch* cartoons were read alongside local appropriations in "the indigenous versions of the *Punch* that thrived" (6) at the time like the *Hindi Punch, Gujrati Punch, Oudh Punch*, etc. Despite this popular admiration, critical responses to Partition in India have elided to study

cartoons as significant representational narratives that documented the violent history of the Partition. Addressing this lacuna, the paper reads the visual vocabulary of a selection of cartoons by the famous British cartoonist Leslie Illingworth published in the *Daily Mail* and in *Punch* in 1947 to understand how these cartoons use a mixture of image and thought, idea and ideology to reconstruct the trauma and tragedy of Partition. The basis of selection of the cartoons was their date of publication and the subject matter directly relating to the experience of Partition and associated political issues.

To develop the discussion, a cartoon by Leslie Illingworth published on 28th August 1947 titled 'Race Hatred' in the *Daily Mail*, UK is alluded to. Using the available cultural tropes from a cartoonist's lexicon, the illustration tries to convey the extraordinary magnitude of the communal violence in India and the dehumanized savagery of the warring groups.

Figure 1: 'Race Hatred' by Leslie Illingworth, Daily Mail [London], 28 Aug. 1947

The published cartoon shows a man, the eponymous "Race Hatred" of the title, brandishing a sword and grabbing hold of a woman marked "Minorities" who is trying to clutch at a document marked "Renunciation of British Sovereignty". The riot torn street in the background, the ferocity on the attacker's face, the helplessness of the woman and the representative of the empire conspicuous by his absence indicate India's reduction to a pre-colonial bestial state after the "Renunciation" of the "empire's civilizational mission" (Khanduri 3). The objects illustrated in the cartoon –the bowler hat, the file cabinet with opened drawers, the scimitar, the turban — are "veritable symbols" (Barthes, 1977: 22) as well. In his book *Image, Music, Text* Roland Barthes says that in the study of a photographic image the objects

photographed are “inducers of association of ideas” (22). Accordingly, a study of the objects illustrated in the cartoon shows that the bowler hat is a symbol of Britishness, the file cabinet with open drawers suggests that the occupant of the room has left in a hurry, the text on the document on the table too complement such a conclusion. The bare sword held by the man, evidently a Sikh with his turban and facial hair, signifies viciousness. Illingworth's investment in the religious markers of the Sikhs prescribed by their faith – the turban and the facial hair – suggests the relation between communal violence and the leitmotif of religion. The cartoon, therefore, is an affective catalogue of the British Empire's representation of Indian independence as puerile because an incipient “Renunciation of British Sovereignty” has led to crippling communal violence against minorities who have no way to save themselves except by depending on the British, and they have succumbed to the demand for national freedom. Freedom has untethered social cohesiveness and jettisoned sovereignty. The word *sovereignty* is important here and suggests India's dream of a “Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic” (The Constitution of India, 1950) was a far cry from reality. The crystallized scene of violence further represents the tradition of inflicting psycho-somatic violence on women (minority or otherwise) as part of Indian tradition. Finally, the absence of the white man from the scene embodies the lack of British involvement in a scene of violence. The representative of the Empire has relaxed his *white man's* (emphasis mine) burden and jettisoned his responsibility of constructing a civilized nation after witnessing the bestial violence in the background. The cartoon weaves an unenviable narrative of Indian independence. Exemplifying the Empire's critique of colonial politics, the cartoon exposes the violence, greed and lust of the natives by illustrating it in the physiognomy of the person marked “Race Hatred”. By doing this, Illingworth has represented the essence of his subject, he has located “the perfect deformity” (Gombrich and Kris, 1938: 319) in the Indian subject and has penetrated “the mere outward appearance to the inner being in all its littleness and ugliness” (319). The cartoon exculpates the British from any responsibility of communal violence and accuses the race hatred of the natives as the reason behind the unprecedented viciousness that accompanied Indian independence.

A deliberation of the history of British cartooning, especially an access to the *Punch* archives suggests an indelible presence of colonial India and its politics that “*Punch* regularly pictured” and “caricatured” (Khanduri 7). John Tenniel's series of *Cawnpore* cartoons produced during the months of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 represent the political unrest from the British point of view. Long before the Partition of India, the visual tropes of the tiger and the lion formulating the human experience of the political unrest are used in these cartoons to represent the British demonizing of the colonial tiger. One of the famous cartoons in this series is titled 'The British Lion's Vengeance

on the Bengal Tiger'. Published in *Punch* on 22nd August 1857, this cartoon illustrates the general feeling of vengeance that racked the British during the mutiny and shows a vicious lion pouncing upon a Bengal tiger, which is crouching upon a woman and her child, with the intention to hurt the quadruped.

Figure 2: John Tenniel, 'The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger.' Punch, August 22, 1857. London. Courtesy of the Punch Archive.

The cartoon by Tenniel is important in our discussion of Illingworth's cartoons for two reasons: first, to illustrate how important colonial politics was for British cartoonists and second, how the same pictorial trope of the tiger is later used by Illingworth to caricature Indian politics during the days of Partition.

Figure 3: Leslie Illingworth, 'The Rope Trick.' *Punch*. May, 1947. London. Courtesy of the Punch Archive

Illingworth's cartoon titled 'The Rope Trick' [Fig 3] incorporates the quintessentially orientalist representation of viewing India as a land of "Serpent Charmers" (Title of cartoon by John Doyle caricaturing British politics, 1832) jugglers, fakirs and rope-trick performers. This view of India essentially constructed by "Orientalist scholars" (Lamont and Bates, 2007: 308) represents "India as a land of eternal essences," and

presents “Hindu philosophy and rituals as evidence of a land where imagination was privileged over reality” (308). The oriental belief in the occult as a tradition in the *Far East* was a leitmotif in Victorian popular culture. This quote from the *Strand Magazine* testifies to that effect: “Ask the average man for what India is most celebrated, and chances are ten to one that he will ignore the glories of the Taj Mahal, the beneficence of British rule, even Mr Kipling, (sic) and will unhesitatingly reply in one word, 'Jugglers'” (*Strand Magazine*, 1899). With such orientalist iconography representing colonial India already present in popular culture, it is not surprising that Illingworth uses the trope of the rope trick as a reference to India's politics. Here we see British Raj shinning up a rope to escape a group of snarling tigers bent on feasting on it. In the absence of the prey, the beasts now seem to attack one another. In the background, the Taj Mahal, an iconic building of the Indian empire, stands as a silent witness to the political rigmarole bent on partitioning the country. With the British absent, the cartoon seems to suggest, the natives would fight among one another. The cartoon, therefore, adopts a grim disposition to the post-colonial future of the Indian subcontinent. In the midst of snarling beasts, the faceless British Raj is inconspicuous, suggesting once again a clash of ideology between the violently-bent natives and the representatives of the empire who refuse to participate in a scene of violence. Further, the picture can be read from a rather obtuse angle as well. The four tigers, two on each side, probably represent India and Pakistan and the rope then suggests the contingency of Partition that hung over them in May 1947. Both parties are bent on attacking the British who have magically vanished leaving behind a scene of violent political drama. Illingworth has subverted the “mysterious, duplicitous and dark” (*Strand Magazine*) image of the other to show a faceless British Raj performing the Oriental magic trick as evidence that in a land “where imagination was privileged over reality” (Lamont and Bates 308) and which is often “primitive and barbaric” (308) the best way to escape is to adopt their ways but never imbibe them.

Figure 4: Leslie Illingworth 'Free India' Daily Mail, May 20, 1947. London. Image Courtesy of Illingworth Cartoons on India Daily Mail UK 1942, 1946 – Cabinet Mission Plan.

In May 1947, the British cabinet acquiesced to Lord Mountbatten's proposal for the partition of India into a Hindu and a Muslim state respectively. With the contingency of the Partition in the vicinity, Illingworth published a cartoon titled 'Free India' to depict the ground reality of the tumultuous socio-political scenario of the time. The cartoon portrays a group of protesters all demanding that the British leave India. In the cartoon, the Gandhian demand for Swaraj or home rule for India mingles with the cry of the US sympathizer calling out British reign as "tyranny". In the background, however, are the victims of violent political riots who have been injured and have died because of the political unrest. The illustration of the scavenging vultures locating their food among the dead is a trope Illingworth used to invoke the brutal massacres following Jinnah's speech in August 1946 asking Muslims to take direct action in support of their demand for a separate Muslim state. The Great Calcutta Killings or the Direct Action Day Riots on 16th August 1946 were instances of one of most disturbing communal riots between Hindus and Muslims killings hundreds of thousands of people. As pictures of dead bodies littered in the streets were published, people realized the enormity of the communal problem in India that ultimately resulted in India's Partition the following year. Illingworth's use of the carrion birds in his cartoons suggests that he may have been inspired by one of the pictures, titled 'Carrion birds feast on victims of bloody religious riot in India' [Fig 5], taken by Life photographer Margaret Bourke-White after The Great Calcutta Killings. The photograph depicts large groups of carrion birds devouring the rotting flesh of corpses littering the streets after the communal riots.

Figure 5: 'Carrion birds feast on victims of bloody religious riot in India' (Calcutta, 1946)
Photo by Margaret Bourke-White. Retrieved from http://time.com/3879963/vultures-of-calcutta-the-gruesome-aftermath-of-indias-1946-hindu-muslim-riots/

Illingworth's invocation of the chilling image of dreadful riots by using the visual trope of the carrion bird suggests how in his view political leaders and protesters were oblivious to the real suffering of people who were ultimately the faceless victims of religious riots. Through his cartoon he provides a powerful critique of the bigotry of the politicians whose ambition and ideology eventually resulted in the outbreak of unprecedented violence therefore making the Partition of India one of the bloodiest instances of communal intolerance in the history of the world. Illingworth squarely inculpates these politicians (Gandhi in the picture and Jinnah who was the helmsman of the Direct Action Day riots) and their supporters for the despicable state of India. The disconsolate female figure in the picture with a child is supposedly the Indian subcontinent, *Bharat Mata*, who was the muse of the national movement for independence. The mother nation whose bounty and grace was eulogized by the poet Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in his poem 'Vande Mataram' (Hail, the Mother) has now genuflected to the political whims of her sons. Her stooping posture, holding her young close to her to avoid harm, the pain in her face signify the failed efforts of the Indian politicians to protect her. The narrative suggests the absence of a savior of spiritual purity to safeguard the Indian nation. In the riot-torn scene of communal intolerance, the British are conspicuous by their absence because political bigotry has driven them out of the Indian subcontinent and they can no longer save the weak and the poor even if they search for them. From the cartoon the reader receives the impression that Indian independence in the British eye was a travesty.

Another cartoon by Illingworth from 1947 also testifies to the cartoonist's subscription to the idea of Indian politicians being squarely responsible for the unparalleled magnitude of religious violence in India during Indian independence. This cartoon titled “Partition plan” published in June 4, 1947, is more obvious in inculpating the Indian politicians than his prior works. It shows the quintessential triad of Indian politics at the time – the Hindu Nehru with his unmistakable cap and jacket, the emaciated Jinnah in his well-cut western outfit, and the Sikh with his embodied religious markers, his facial hair and turban. Nehru and Jinnah are seen fanning the flames of a fire marked “Race Riots”. It is the British Lord Mountbatten who tries to extinguish the billowing fire of religious intolerance by dousing the flames with his “Partition Plan”. But the licking flames and the billowing smoke have become uncontrollable, thanks to the fanning of the flames by the eager politicians and Mountbatten's efforts to quench it with a trifling extinguisher is commendable but ludicrous. Before the clashing ideologies of the shrewd politicians, Mountbatten's exertions do not stand a chance. Nevertheless, Partition is the only solution suggesting itself in the midst of the billowing crisis of race riots.

Figure 6: Leslie Illingworth, 'Partition Plan.' *Daily Mail*. June 4, 1947. London.
Courtesy Illingworth Cartoons on India Daily Mail UK 1942, 1946 – Cabinet Mission Plan.

In the cartoon, Illingworth specially directs our attention to the pugnacious political rivalry between the Hindu Nehru and the Muslim Jinnah by stationing Nehru accompanied by the Sikh on one side and placing Jinnah as his polar opposite. Both parties strike a belligerent posture, their winnowing fans held as weapons to charge at each other with. Mountbatten, the peacemaker in this scene of massive political disturbance, is stationed in the middle proposing the solution of a Partition of the Indian subcontinent to which the British cabinet has agreed to stop the spread of the inferno. Text and image, pose and objects, all merge in this cartoon to complete the central signified: communal riots in India during the Partition was the result of rivalry between the major political figures whose clashing ideologies and egotism accentuated race riots and killed millions of innocent people who had no role to play in the country's developing future.

Illingworth's illustration of the tragedy of Partition through his cartoons explicitly structures the story of Indian independence through the popular lens of British culture. The iconography of the cartoons connotes a unique embellishment of historical facts which ultimately grants them a structural autonomy in the archive of Partition related documents. Based on Illingworth's series of illustrations on India's independence and the Partition of the country laced in race riots, the narrative that emerges predicts a dismal kakotopia for India's postcolonial independent future. Race riots, political bigotry, and dubious security of the minorities were three important elements most

potently portrayed by Illingworth. A cartoon published in 1947 titled 'Race and Religion' illustrates Illingworth's concern in unequivocal lines. This cartoon published in *Punch* depicts the reality of Punjab as a site of genocide and mass killing. An estimated 200,000-250,000 deaths (Khosla, cited in Das, 1995: 59) or, as Menon and Bhasin calculate, perhaps 500,000-1,000,000 (1998: 35) deaths occurred because of the Partition in 1947, and most of it occurred in the Punjab region. Added to this, were nearly 100,000 instances of rape and abduction, as Veena Das estimates (59), castration, arson and conversion. Illingworth, in his cartoon, captures the frenzied inter-communal violence by depicting a vicious boa constrictor labelled "Punjab Massacre" about to feast on a defenseless fawn labelled "Minority". The unprecedented scale of violence in Punjab was unambiguously the single central trope, the leitmotif of Indian independence and Partition that Illingworth subscribed to. The "Pregnant Moment" (Squire and Lifschitz, 2017: 460) Illingworth captures in his illustration depicts Punjab in a "state of perpetual warfare, 'red in tooth and claw,'" engaged in "a struggle in which only the fittest survive" (Keen, 1986: 134).The primary position allotted to the snake suggests powerful domination of the minority repressed in the coils of the snake representing the vicious majority population. In his cartoon, Illingworth offers us a moment when the religious majority's crushing and devouring of the helpless minority seems like a natural phenomenon. Therefore, by using the repertoire of animals, Illingworth provides a powerful critique of the violence in Punjab.

Figure 7: Leslie Illingworth, 'Race and Religion.' Punch. 1947. Courtesy of the Punch Archive

The connotation implicit in the cartoon makes available to the reader's imagination the idea that in the absence of inter-communal social contract aiding sustained existence and procreation, minorities in India after the Punjab massacre would be a fossilized memory of India's freedom from British rule.

A discussion of Illingworth's cartoons on the Partition of India depicting the real-time trauma and tragedy experienced by the people has shown how these cartoons display the traumatic event of the Partition of the country from a cartoonist's unique point of view. Though topical in nature, these cartoons form a site of lasting discourse of Partition historiography. The visual transcription of symbols and social figures that animate the cartoons interpret colonial politics as lacking potential. Moreover, by illustrating friction between major political figures, the cartoons construct the myth of idealized British sovereignty the jettisoning of which would spell doom for the colonies. By using the repertoire of animals and reptiles like tiger, snake, fawn, carrion bird from his cartoonist's lexicon, Illingworth has skillfully *othered* the colonial subjects and de-humanized them while narrativizing their traumatic history of Partition in his cartoons. What is most interesting in the cartoons is Illingworth's unflinching exculpation of the British from the violent colonial politics. In reality, however, the imperial regime decided to "divide and quit" (Prakash, 2009: 2) India leaving behind a scene of violent civil war and communal tension and doing nothing to save their "erstwhile subjects" from the "ignominy of rape, abduction, killings and worse" (Prakash 2). The cartoons, therefore, profess a monolithic point of view where the cartoonist subscribes to the blameless status of British regime in the context of India's Partition violence. By illustrating scenes of riot torn streets, birds of prey feasting on corpses and abused women and minorities, Illingworth has visually crystallized the traumatic history of Partition violence the memory of which still haunts the Indian subcontinent. Finally, a study of Illingworth's cartoons on Partition from the vantage point of the present century suggests the importance of cartoons as laden with a voice of their own and able to engage with serious trauma and tragedy despite their innate relation with humor and satire.

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3

Articulating the Politics of Postfeminism through Music: Madonna and her Transgression of Gender Constructs

Dr Prakriti Renjen
Assistant Professor
MCM DAV College for Women, Chandigarh

Popular music carries strong potential of excavating negotiatory spaces for resisting ideological apparatuses. The dissident voice of popular music disturbs the status quo of power relations and acts as a powerful antidote to the supremacy of the establishment. The 20th century witnessed the birth and rise of the iconic female pop artist, Madonna, who, through the subversive lyrics of her music, has undermined not only patriarchal power structures, but has also strived to re-work the contours of a monolithic and archaic feminist politics. Madonna has transformed the gender landscape of rigid binaries as her liberatory music does not associate itself with any gender alliances. Her music is rightfully postfeminist as it transcends the zones of patriarchy and feminism, sexual identity and pleasure and re-defines the meanings of all gendered constructs, morality and immorality, God and evil, the legitimate and illegitimate, exposing them to be culturally and historically contingent edifices. This paper is an attempt at tracing and understanding the postfeminist politics of Madonna's music through which she repeatedly demolishes our previous understandings of manhood and womanhood.

Keywords: Madonna, music, postfeminism, body, gender constructs, sexual identity, manhood, womanhood

Art in any form contains an unlimited creative potential for disrupting the status quo of the dominant discursive practices.[1] Within art, popular music has always been a formidable force for excavating unexplored, negotiatory spaces to approach discursive relations. The dissident voice of popular music unsettles the flow of power relations and proves to be a powerful antidote to the supremacy of the establishment. The popular music arena is a space that has always witnessed a strong female presence that engages in what may be termed as "music activism" – activism that works through music as an anti-establishment force to address disturbing inequalities and discriminations on the bases of gender, race and religion.

The 20th century witnessed the rise of such an iconic female pop artist who has re-written the rules of womanhood and gender identity. Madonna, through the subversive lyrics of her music has undermined not only the patriarchal power structures, but has also attempted to re-work the contours of a monolithic and archaic feminist politics.The cult status that has been accorded to Madonna and her music is a result of

her integrative brand of postfeminism wherein she does not merely occupy an oppositional stance, but creates an assimilatory space that is open to all human beings irrespective of gender, race or class. Instead of indulging in exclusionary politics as feminism has quite often tended towards, postfeminist pop artists like Madonna create multicultural, polymorphicand all-inclusive spaces which act as powerful heterotopias[2] in upsetting the prevalent discursive relations.

Though postfeminist thought springs from feminism, it "denotes the culmination of a number of debates within and outside feminism...that gives voice to marginalized, colonized and indigenous women who question the possibility of a universal feminist sisterhood" (Stephanie and Brabon, 2009: 27). Madonna's music, embodied and enacted, is rightfully postfeminist as it constantly re-assesses and re-defines what it means to be a man, woman or an open gendered being in our times. Her music deconstructs the existing meanings, attributes and roles of all genders that operate along strictly defined codes. As Stephanie and Brabon corroborate, "A critical as well as temporal distance is established between the 'new feminists' – who discard what they see as uptight, establishment feminism...in favour of ambiguity and difference" (14).

Within postfeminist thought, sexuality and desire are not things to be shirked from and closeted but embraced and celebrated. This celebration of one's sexuality and desire, how so ever ambiguous and complex they may be in worldly terms, is enacted, performed and celebrated defiantly in the public sphere by Madonna. Through her music, Madonna has transformed the landscape of fixed gender binaries and transcended the zones of patriarchy and feminism, sexual identity and pleasure. Camille Paglia writes in her path-breaking article on Madonna, "American feminism has a man problem.... They fear and despise the masculine." However, Madonna "...sees the beauty of masculinity.... She also admires the men who are actually like women: transsexuals and flamboyant drag queens" (1990, n.p.).

One significant tactic that Madonna adopts in her music in order to dismantle reigning gender codes is to create liberatory spaces within the networks of discursive relations that enables them to negotiate with the existing power relations. These spaces functioning as Foucauldian "heterotopias," emptied and cleansed of all semantic, syntactic and discursive certainties, become significant tactical points of infinite possibility and resistance. For instance, language has always inherently been marked by glaring gender polarities with an obvious bias against women. It is these linguistic biases towards women that the speaker wishes to purge herself of in her song 'Bedtime Story'[3] the lyrics of which suggest towards a decisive renunciation of language by the

speaker. More importantly, it is a wilful shedding off of a language shared with patriarchy. On a dramatic note, she proclaims it to be, “the last day . . . that [she's] using words”[sic]. Since words have been emptied of their meanings, they become mere graphic signs for the speaker infused with arbitrary signifieds.

She also urges her partner to shed away the baggage of language as words will never be able to explain absolutely all that they have learnt, experienced and felt. The stark insufficiency of language to understand and document the world is put forth by the speaker. The song is also a reminder of how postfeminist thought intersects with poststructuralist ideas about language being a phallocentric medium of expression, and the common ground between the two being celebrated as a space of power and freedom for the woman.

'Travelling' is another important metaphor that is used by the speaker in the song as symptomatic of a journey that is to be covered “to the arms of unconsciousness,” “leaving logic and reason” behind. The speaker understands logic and rationale to be the sentinels of the realm of patriarchy, while “unconsciousness” will be the space of womanhood which is not at war with the conscious, but exists on its own in complementarity with the conscious. Henceforth, she decides to function from her own ground of “unconsciousness” which may be understood as a heterotopic space that accommodates legions of sexualities.

Madonna's music does not endeavour to usher in a new world order of women heading the world, living in antipathy to men and to other genders, but to nurture and nourish the existing world order with respect, love, peace and humanity flowering amongst the various gendered beings. It has given voice to the aspirational freedom of millions of men, women and others who refuse to exist within hetero-normative gendered frames. Her music is a vehement revolt against a life lived with normative gendered identities. Madonna represents the voice of those marginalized sections of people who do not wish to be known through the traditional paradigms of their lifestyle choices, sexual preferences or fashion statements. She sings for a world in which a woman's choices in clothes, lifestyle or sexual preferences exist unfettered, which is precisely what postfeminism strives for: Postfeminism redefines “women's rights and equality...in terms of a liberal individualist politics that centres on lifestyle choices and personal consumer pleasures” (Stephanie and Brabon16).

Her music obfuscates the barricades between the legitimate and the illegitimate, the original and the parody, the masculine and the feminine to give birth to an entirely new generation of gender-liberated individuals. This generation is not in the least repentant about the myriad forms of its sexuality in its attitudes and preferences. It confronts and

embraces its fluid and free-flowing love for humanity which is not based upon sexual identities or preferences.

In 'Die Another Day',[4] the speaker wishes to “break the cycle” and “shake up the system” which have been the two most significant cornerstones of Madonna's postfeminist politics. “Break[ing] the cycle” and “shak[ing] up the system” is indicative of her doing things her way, re-defining the meanings of all gendered constructs, morality and immorality, God and evil, exposing them to be culturally and historically contingent edifices. She also takes a vow to “destroy [her] ego” which again evokes a woman who will not let her normatively constructed gendered identity to motivate her actions and behaviour towards the world. She makes it clear that she or her liberatory music do not associate with any gender alliances.

Having a noncommittal stance becomes all the more important owing to the inherent dangers of resistance. Madonna's politics is perched on tenterhooks as it acknowledges the probable fate of resistance which is to replace the power structure with its own might. If this happens, the order is toppled over for another one and the discursive relations continue to operate and control the operations of the new order as they did before. Dissidence of any sort also bears the risk of jeopardizing its own resistant character by becoming “as confining as what it pretends to combat” (Denfeld, 1995: 14). Feminist studies and related activism have suffered from this imminent threat. The battle for equality of gender bears within itself the hazard for ousting the patriarchal order and establishing its own supremacy. Feminists have always envisaged a liberative world order for themselves but their policies have unfortunately been as totalitarian as what they threaten to challenge.

It therefore becomes increasingly important that all forms of dissent or resistance must take into account the discursive relations at work as it is precisely these relations that must be addressed and subverted instead of overthrowing establishments. Postfeminism addresses the discursive relations of gender constructs instead of debunking patriarchy. Rather than engaging in a war with the male establishment, the postfeminists encourage pluralism in sexual identities and preferences and celebrate the power of women instead of lamenting the victimhood of women. It is with this pluralism in sexual identities that the lyrics of 'Like it or Not'[5] deconstruct gender constructs in more than one way. The speaker makes a radical statement against shackling women in typecasts of good or evil. She discards the binaries on which the structures of phallocentric thought have been erected. She is no longer dependent upon the system to acknowledge her and accord her with titles of being a 'Virgin Mary' or a 'Medusa'. Her goodness or wickedness will be reclaimed by herself alone and her thought and action will not be manacled by fetters of patriarchy or by the male gaze.

The lines, "...Can't have the Femme without the Fatale/ Please don't take offense" [sic], are strongly suggestive of inversion of the male gaze. The idea of a woman being a creature of mystery and danger has always been indoctrinated by patriarchy. However, instead of revolting against this ideological position, the speaker defends, affirms and celebrates the same prejudice which the male bastions have used to vilify women over the ages. The danger and mystery that is endemic to a woman's nature is exalted and revered. Madonna's music adopts a tactic of an inversion and parody of the ammunition used by patriarchy to disgrace women. The male gaze is inverted and sent to boomerang upon its source.

The idea of the sexual and lethal power that a femme fatale exercises over the man as being shameful and one that casts the woman in the light of an evil temptress is demolished by the singer. The connotation of this power hitherto seen as a source of the man's downfall witnesses a complete reversal in the song. The "fatale" becomes an integral and complementary part of womanhood and is revelled in by the speaker. Thus, "Madonna...challenges moral and sexual boundaries" in her music (Stephanie and Brabon 119).

Madonna's music strives to address the fundamental trouble with normative gender groupings, which is the "categorization of the body as sexual, as opposed to a source of giving and receiving pleasure in many forms, of which the sexual is only one. Thus, the binary opposition remains controlling even when heterosexuals are tolerant and accepting of homosexual lifestyles" (Farganis, 1993: 388).Concurrently, Madonna's music performs the function of de-throning the sexualized body and replacing it with one that is desirous of seeking and giving pleasure.[6] Her songs disrupt and substitute our society's obsessive focus and paranoia with sexualized bodies to a more tolerant environment where desire and pleasure are not exclusively confined to sexual preferences. As Paglia substantiates:

> She exposes the puritanism and suffocating ideology of American feminism, which is stuck in an adolescent whining mode. Madonna has taught young women to be fully female and sexual while still exercising total control over their lives. She shows girls how to be attractive, sensual, energetic, ambitious, aggressive and funny – all at the same time. (1990: n.p.)

Her music poses a challenge against all kinds of social and cultural conformism and a desire to ascribe to pre-defined morality. The music is created in a space that lies beyond the frontiers of the moral and immoral. It is a purely amoral space where humanity is in the least dependent upon the fixities of the accepted and unaccepted. Bergland endorses Madonna's unbigoted and liberal mindset:

> Since the beginning of her career, Madonna has been an outspoken advocate against the powers that be. She has taken on the establishment. She's always defended the underdog, whether it had to do with misogyny, homophobia, religious persecution, or racism. Madonna has always fought against the

animus of discrimination that keeps certain marginalized groups suppressed, and treated like second-class citizens. (2015: n.p.)

In 'Rebel Heart',[7] the speaker makes some hard-hitting confessions of having lived as a "masochist" and a "narcissist" in the past. She is aware of masochism as "the road less travelled by" and an excruciatingly torturous one that made her social survival a remote possibility, however, she confronts her past actions in the face and takes up all the ignominy upon herself instead of the usual feminist puritanical tendency of casting it off on patriarchy. Despite her outrageous lifestyle isolating her socially, she owns up for her past narcissism for which she claims, she was ridiculed and condemned. The phrases "outgrown my past" and "shed my skin" suggest that she has emerged out of her past, scathed but minus the baggage of her past life.

The new age woman does not regard man as her adversary whom she must fight in combat to gain an advantage for herself. It is rather her own demons that she feels the need to exorcize and reclaim her own life, past and present, and acknowledge her wrongdoings as her own responsibility and no one else's. She does not feel the need to enunciate a remorse for what she has been in the past, or what she will become in the future. She desires to "start again"without letting her choices or societal opinion deter her in any way. Madonna's screen persona, bold performances and songs all work towards annihilating essentialist standpoints in our society, especially when it comes to questions of race and gender. She makes an effort to upset the tyranny of all essentialist positions which thrive through labelling and classifications. Labelling of race and gender categories is satirized and parodied in her songs and videos as much as fixed identities. She is constantly recreating her identity. In fact, Schwichtenberg states:

In her flaunting of feminine characteristics and female body parts . . . Madonna lays bare 'the devices of femininity, thereby asserting that femininity is a device. Madonna takes simulation to its limit in a deconstructive maneuver that plays femininity off against itself – a meta femininity that reduces gender to the overplay of style. (1993: 135; qtd. in Stephanie and Brabon 119)[8]

Stephanie and Brabon further explain:

Madonna's postfeminist reworking of her identity – using femininity as a vehicle to empowerment in what could be described as a 'feminine masquerade' (Schwichtenberg) – provides a commentary on the artifice of gender. For example, her performance in the music video of 'Material Girl' shows how the gaze can be realigned through the use of the hyperfeminine. In 'Material Girl' Madonna replays the iconic femininity of Marilyn Monroe in order to deconstruct femininity through the act of appropriating Monroe's feminine look. (119)

Madonna, in order to evade being cast into repressive gender groups makes and unmakes, disassembles and re-assembles her identities through playing with a range of media images and identities. Her music constantly finds new ways of constructing identities that resist rigid definitions and are fluid and amorphous in nature."While

exposing femininity for what it is – a device – Madonna employs it as an excessive performance to parody gender in "a doubling back on femininity in a masculinity that is feminized." In this way, she encourages the viewer to "re-read her body as the intersection of converging differences" (Schwichtenberg 135).

In her song 'Messiah',[9] Madonna calls herself a "sorceress" and "the moon with no light of [her] own" while the male messiah is "the sun guarding [his] throne." Since she considers herself a "sorceress," she vows to do everything to give the messiah a "warm" and contented life, however, simultaneously she also proclaims that she would "cast a spell that he [will not be able to] undo" [sic].The song with a tone of self-parody hints at the dark and mystical nature of women that is again a male construct. When the woman, instead of battling against the stereotypes of being labelled an exotic and mystical creature, embraces it and uses it to her advantage, it becomes the strongest defence in her armour. She wears the mantle of a "sorceress" and inverts it to "cast a spell" on the messiah himself who will not be able to "undo" the spell. This inversion of the gaze initiated by phallocentric assumptions, and now turned inward on the woman herself becomes a creative postfeminist tool for creating dialogic spaces.

Furthermore, in 'Human Nature',[10] lines such as, "I'm not apologizing" and "You're the one with the problem" are suggestive of a shedding off of a baggage of feminine sincerity and eagerness to appease the patriarchal mindset and live up to its codes. The final spoken substitutions of the song display a confident postfeminist assertion of revelling in one's own womanhood rather than wanting to be equal to man – "I don't have to justify anything/ (I'm just like you)/ (Why should I be?)/ (Deal with it)" [sic].The line brings together two drastic though subtle shifts in thought, beginning with a feminist cry for equality, moving on to a postfeminist view of her existence and identity. The speaker places herself at par with her male counterpart and then transcends the forced equality of the two genders to a position of shaking herself free of all comparisons and contradictions. She ends on a brazen stance of going beyond all conflicts with the other gender and coming to terms with her own. It is an unapologetic embrace that she rewards herself with – an acceptance that is unfettered of all hatred and misgivings.

Likewise, in 'Nobody Knows Me',[11] the speaker urges men and women to take control of their lives, because until they don't, the insidious ideology of the system shall rule their minds, bodies and lives: "No one's telling you how to live your life/ But it's a setup until you're fed up" [sic]. The words 'fed up' translate to a sort of decisive moment of angst wherein the person finally decides to take over the reins of her own life in her hands. The lyrics of the song demonstrate that:

Madonna has a far profounder vision of sex than do the feminists. She sees both the animality and the artifice. Changing her costume style and hair colour virtually every month, Madonna embodies the eternal values of beauty and pleasure. Feminism says, 'No more masks.' Madonna says we are nothing but masks. Through her enormous impact on young women around the world, Madonna is the future of feminism. (Paglia n.p.)

Consequently, Madonna's music continues to demolish our previous understandings of manhood and womanhood. It has proven to be a provocative stimulus that has engendered critical debates about questions of women identity and celebrated the fluidity and pluralism of gender constructs and sexual identity in a postmodern world. There would hardly be any listener of Madonna's music, man or woman, who has not been inspired to re-approach his or her sexual identity and rewrite it in a new paradigm.

Notes

[1] This term refers to a historically and culturally specific set of rules for organizing and producing different forms of knowledge. It is not a matter of external determinations being imposed on people's thought, rather it is a matter of rules which, a bit like the grammar of a language, allow certain statements to be made. (See https://michel-foucault.com).

[2] "Heterotopia" is a word coined by Foucault to mean a space which lies outside everyday social and institutional spaces, for example trains, motels and cemeteries. In Foucault's words, "The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." For a detailed reading on Heterotopias, see, Foucault, M. (Spring, 1986) "Of Other Spaces" *Diacritics*,16, 22-27.

[3] "Today is the last day that I'm using words/ They've gone out, lost their meaning/ Don't function anymore…/ Traveling, leaving logic and reason/ Traveling, to the arms of unconsciousness" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/ for complete lyrics).

[4] "I'm gonna break the cycle/ I'm gonna shake up the system/ I'm gonna destroy my ego/ I'm gonna close my body now…/ I think I'll find another way/ There's so much more to know/ I guess I'll die another day/It's not my time to go" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/ for complete lyrics).

[5] "You can call me a sinner/ you can call me a saint/ Celebrate me for who I am/ Dislike me for what I ain't./ Put me upon a pedestal/ Or drag me down in the dirt/ Sticks and stones will break my bones/ But your names will never hurt./. . . Cleopatra had her way/ Matahari too/ Whether they were good or bad/ Is strictly up to you./ Life is a paradox and it doesn't make much sense/ Can't have the Femme without the Fatale/ Please don't take offense" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/for complete lyrics).

[6] "It is the agency of sex that we must break away from, if we aim . . . to counter the grips of power with the claims of bodies, pleasures and knowledges, in their multiplicity and their possibility of resistance. The rallying point for the counterattack against the deployment of sexuality ought not to be sex-desire, but bodies and pleasures." (Foucault, 1980: 157)

[7] "I lived my life like a masochist . . ./ . . . I took the road less travelled by/ And I barely made it out alive .

. ./ I've spent some time as a narcissist/ Hearing the other say: 'Look at you, look at you/ Trying to be so provocative . . ./ Outgrown my past and I've shed my skin/ Letting it go and I'll start again . . ./'" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/for complete lyrics).

[8] See Schwichtenberg, Cathy, 'Madonna's Postmodern Feminism: Bringing the Margins to the Center' in *The Madonna Connection: Representational Politics, Subcultural Identities, and Cultural Theory.* ed. Cathy Schwichtenberg. Oxford: Westview Press, 1993. 129-45.

[9] "I am the promise that you cannot keep/ I am the sorceress Down in the deep/ I am the moon with no light of my own/ You are the sun guarding your throne. I'll cast a spell that you can't undo/Til you wake up and you find that you love me too" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/for complete lyrics).

[10] "Express yourself, don't repress yourself . . . And I'm not sorry/ It's human nature . . ."

"You wouldn't let me say the words I longed to say/ . . . You tried to shove me back inside your narrow room/ And silence me with bitterness and lies./ Did I say something wrong?/ Oops, I didn't know I couldn't talk about sex . . . / Did I stay too long?/ Oops, I didn't know I couldn't speak my mind . . . ./"

"You punished me for telling you my fantasies/ I'm breakin' all the rules I didn't make . . . ./

You held me down and tried to make me break . . ./ Did I have a point of view?/ Oops, I didn't know I couldn't talk about you . . . ./" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/for complete lyrics).

[11] "I've had so many lives, Since I was a child/ And I realize, How many times I've died . . . . / No one's telling you how to live your life/ But it's a setup until you're fed up" [sic]. (See https://www.azlyrics.com/for complete lyrics).

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4

Epiphytic Lichen Flora of Garhwal Himalaya

Dr Amit Jakhal
Assistant Professor
PGGCG-11, Chandigarh

A tabulated account of 94 epiphytic corticolous lichen species from Garhwal Himalaya has been provided. Out of these, 63 species have been found to inhabit Gymnosperms and 70 species have been recorded to occur on Angiosperms, whereas 39 species have been found to occur in association with both angiosperms and gymnosperms. Ten species have been found to inhabit down/dead/decaying logs. Ecological observations regarding occurrence and distribution of epiphytic lichen flora in the study area have also been made.

Keywords**:** Corticolous lichens, diversity, Garhwal Himalaya.

Introduction

Lichens, the fascinating symbiotic association of algae (phycobiont) and fungi (mycobiont), have been explored by many Indian workers from time to time. Chopra (1934) published the first illustrated account *Lichens of the Himalayas* based on the collections made from Darjeeling, Sikkim and Kolkata. It was followed by Singh (1964) who described lichens from different parts of India. Awasthi (1991, 2007) published an account of microlichens and macrolichens of India, Nepal and Srilanka. Divakar and Upreti (2003, 2005) revised the *Parmeloid lichens of India.* Singh and Sinha (2010) published an annotated checklist of Indian lichens. Some of the significant contributions on lichen systematics of Central Himalayan forests, particularly Garhwal Himalaya include Awasthi and Joshi (1977, 1978), Awasthi and Singh (1978), Sharma and Sharma (1991), Sati and Usman (1992), Sati, Joshi and Tewari (1992a, b), Negi and Gadgil (1996a, b), Upreti and Negi (1998), Upreti and Chatterjee (1999, 2000), Negi (2000), Upreti and Divakar (2003, 2005), Upreti, Chatterjee and Diwakar (2004), Prasher and Jakhal (2008, 2009a, b), Prasher, Jakhal and Pusalkar (2008). Recently, Joshi *et al*. (2015, 2016) and Joshi, Falswal and Joshi (2017) provided an updated checklist of Indian lichens and described a new species of lichenicolous fungus *Epicladonia* from India.

The present studies provide an account of epiphyticmicro and macro-lichen species from Garhwal Himalaya based on collections made during the fungal forays conducted from January 2013 to December 2015.

Garhwal Himalaya – The Study Area

Garhwal (Uttarakhand, Central Himalaya) is a mountainous region with steep valleys that encompasses sub-tropical and temperate habitats, alpine meadows and snow-capped mountains. It comprises of six districts viz. Dehra Dun, Tehri, Pauri, Uttarkashi, Chamoli and Rudraprayag. The Garhwal Himalaya, located between 29^0 31' 5" and 31^0 26' 5" N latitude, and 77^0 33' 5" and 80^0 6' 0" E longitude, covers an area of 29,089 km^2 and is bordered by the Kumaon Hills in the East, Himachal Pradesh in the West, Indian plains in the South and Tibet in the North. The average annual rainfall ranges between 200 and 250 cm; three-fourth of it occurs in the rainy season (mid-June to mid-September). The mean monthly minimum and maximum temperature ranges between 2.0^0C (in January) to 15.0^0C (in July) and 4.0^0C (in January) to 28.0^0C (in May) respectively. There is gradual change in the composition of vegetation with reference to altitude, slope and humidity in the area. The Garhwal Himalayan forests are broadly classified into six categories, ranging from pure forests of *Pinus roxburghii, Quercus semecarpifolia, Quercus leucotrichophora, Quercus dilatata* to mixed forests of *Cupressus, Quercus and Pinus roxburghii*- broad-leaved species (Ram, Kumar and Bhatt, 2004). Mixed forests are accompanied by high herb and shrub diversity while pure forests are dominated by high tree diversity. There is rich forest floor vegetation coupled with large number of climbers and epiphytes including sizeable number of lichens, ferns and moss species. Lichens in particular represent a large percentage of the flora of the area.

Material and Methods

The present floristic studies are based on the lichen collections made during the excursions carried out from January 2013 to December 2015 in different localities of the study area between altitudinal ranges of 1000-3000 m, below 1000 m and above 3000 m. A total of 555 specimens were collected from all available substrates including bark and twigs of angiosperms (*Quercus leucotrichophora*, *Q. semecarpifolia*, *Rhododendron arboreum*, *R. campanulatum*, *Shorea robusta*, *Pyrus pashia*, *Grevillea robusta* etc.), gymnosperms (*Pinus roxburghii*, *Abies pindrow*, *Cedrus deodara*, *Thuja orientalis* etc.) and down/dead/decaying logs (along with various types of rocks, soil and mosses). All the lichen specimens were observed for their morphological and anatomical features. The taxa reported have been classified as per Zahlbruckner (1926). All the specimens have been deposited in Herbarium, Department of Botany, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India.

Observations

Taxonomic investigations of the total collected specimens reveal that 63 species have been found to inhabit Gymnosperms and 70 species have been recorded to occur on Angiosperms, whereas, 39 species have been found to occur in association with both angiosperms and gymnosperms. Down/ dead/ decaying logs were found to be inhabited by 10 species. It is pertinent to mention here that 5 microlichen species (viz. *Chrysothrix* sp., *Helminthocarpon* sp., *Lepraria* sp. 1., *Lepraria* sp. 2 and *Phaeographis* sp.) inhabiting trees remain unidentified and may reveal new records on further investigations. The consolidated list of epiphytic macro & microlichens, collected from the study area along with the substrata inhabited by them, has been provided in the tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: List of corticolous lichen species in Garhwal Himalaya

Sr.	Species	Gymnosperms			Angiosperms		
No.		Bark	Twigs	Exposed/ decaying roots	Bark	Twigs	Exposed/ decaying roots
MICROLICHENS							
1.	*Bacidia rufescens* (Mull. Arg.) Zahlbr.	+	-	-	-	-	-
2.	*Buellia atrofuscata* Vain.	+	-	-	-	-	-
3.	*Buellia punctata* (Hoffm.) Mass.	-	-	-	+	-	-
4.	*Caloplaca flavorubescens* (Huds.) Laundon	-	-	-	+	+	-
5.	*Chrysothrix chlorina* (Ach.) Laundon	+	-	-	+	-	-
6.	*Chrysothrix* sp.	-	-	-	+	-	-
7.	*Graphis scripta* (L.) Ach.	+	-	-	+	-	-
8.	*Graphis sikkimensis* Nagarkar and Patwardhan	+	+	-	+	-	-
9.	*Helminthocarpon* sp.	-	-	-	+	-	-
10.	*Lecanora carpinea* (L.) Vainio	-	-	-	+	-	-
11.	*Lecanora chlarotera* Nyl.	-	-	-	+	+	-
12.	*Lecanora fimbriatula* Stirton	-	-	-	+	-	-

13.	*Lecanora impudens* Degel.	+	-	-	-	-	-
14.	*Lecanora intumescens* (Rebent.) Rabenh.	-	-	-	+	-	-
15.	*Lecanora leprosa* Fee	-	-	-	+	+	-
16.	*Lecanora phaeocardia* Vain.	+	-	-	-	-	-
17.	*Lecanora rugosella* Zahlbr.	-	-	-	+	-	-
18.	*Lepraria* sp. 1	-	-	-	+	-	-
19.	*Lepraria* sp. 2	+	-	-	-	-	-
20.	*Leprocaulon arbuscula* (Nyl.) Nyl.	-	-	-	-	-	+
21.	*Pertusaria palidulla* Stirton	+	-	-	-	-	-
22.	*Pertusaria pertusa* (Weig.) Tuck.	+	+	-	+	-	-
23.	*Phaeographis divaricoides* Ras.	-	-	-	+	-	-
24.	*Phaeographis subdividens* (Leighton) Mull. Arg.	-	-	-	+	-	-
25.	*Phaeographis* sp.	-	-	-	+	-	-
MACROLICHENS							
26.	*Bulbothrix bulbochaeta* (Hale) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
27.	*Bulbothrix goebelii* (Zenker) Hale	-	-	-	-	+	-
28.	*Bulbothrix meizospora* (Nyl.) Hale	+	-	-	+	+	-
29.	*Bulbothrix setschwanensis* (Zahlbr.) Hale	-	-	-	+	-	+
30.	*Candelaria concolor* (Dicks.) Arnold.	+	+	-	+	+	-
31.	*Candelaria indica* (Hue) Vainio	+	-	-	-	-	-
32.	*Canoparmelia cinerascens* (Lynge) Elix & Hale	+	-	-	-	-	-
33.	*Canoparmelia texana* (Tuck.) Elix & Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
34.	*Cladonia coniocraea* (Floerke) Spreng.	+	-	-	+	-	-

35.	*Evernia divaricata* Nyl.	+	-	-	-	-	-
36.	*Everniastrum cirrhatum* (E. Fries) Hale ex Sipman	+	+	-	+	-	-
37.	*Flavoparmelia caperata* (L.) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
38.	*Flavopunctelia flaventior* (Stirton) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
39.	*Heterodermia albidiflava* (Kurok.) Awas.	+	-	-	+	-	-
40.	*Heterodermia angustiloba* (Mull. Arg.) Awas.	+	-	-	-	-	-
41.	*Heterodermia diademata* (Tayl.) Awas.	-	-	-	+	+	-
42.	*Heterodermia himalayensis* (Awas.) Awas.	+	-	-	-	+	-
43.	*Heterodermia leucomela* (L.) Poelt.	-	-	-	-	+	-
44.	*Heterodermia microphylla* (Kurok.) Skorepa	+	+	-	-	-	-
45.	*Heterodermia obscurata* (Nyl.) Trev.	+	-	-	+	-	-
46.	*Heterodermia pellucida* (Awas.) Awas.	+	-	-	-	-	-
47.	*Heterodermia podocarpa* (Bel.) Awas.	+	-	-	-	-	-
48.	*Heterodermia rubescens* (Ras.) Awas.	-	-	-	+	-	-
49.	*Heterodermia speciosa* (Wulf.) Trev.	+	-	-	-	-	-
50.	*Hyperphyscia syncolla* (Nyl.) K. Kalb	+	-	-	-	-	-
51.	*Hypotrachyna crenata* (Kurok.) Hale	-	+	-	-	-	-

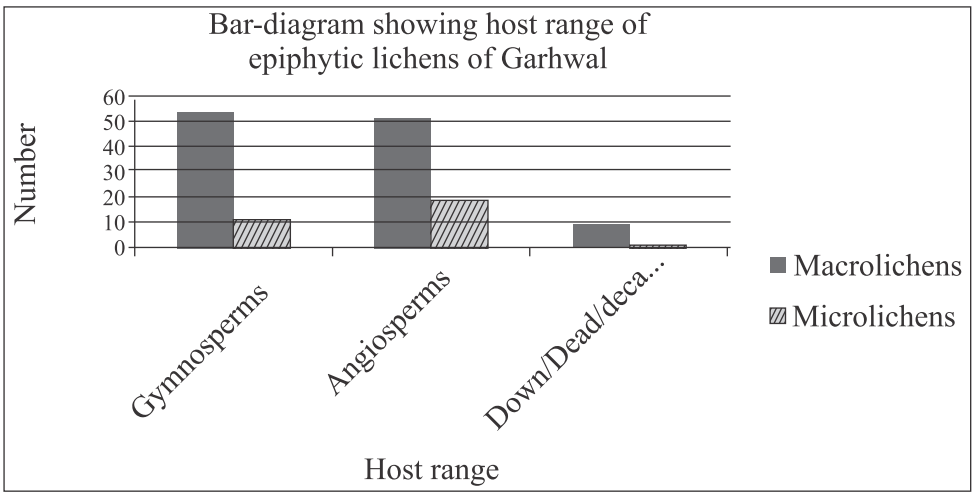
52.	*Leptogium austro-americanum* (Malme) Dodge	-	-	-	+	-	-
53.	*Myelochroa aurulenta* (Tuck.) Elix & Hale	+	+	-	-	+	-
54.	*Parmelia erumpens* Kurok.	-	+	-	+	-	-
55.	*Parmelia meiophora* Nyl.	+	-	-	+	-	-
56.	*Parmelia sulcata* Tayl.	+	-	-	+	-	-
57.	*Parmotrema austrosinense* (Zahlbr.) Hale	+	-	-	+	+	-
58.	*Parmotrema kamatii* Patw. & Prabhu	+	-	-	-	-	-
59.	*Parmotrema margaritatum* (Hue) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
60.	*Parmotrema melanothrix* (Mont.) Hale	+	-	-	+	+	-
61.	*Parmotrema mesotropum* (Mull. Arg.) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
62.	*Parmotrema praesorediosum* (Nyl.) Hale	+	-	-	+	+	-
63.	*Parmotrema stuppeum* (Tayl.) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
64.	*Parmotrema tinctorum* (Nyl.) Hale	+	-	-	+	-	-
65.	*Parmotrema zollingeri* (Hepp.) Hale	+	-	-	-	-	-
66.	*Peltigera canina* (L.) Willd.	+	-	-	-	-	-
67.	*Phaeophyscia hispidula* (Ach.) Moberg	+	-	-	+	-	-
68.	*Physcia aipolia* (Ehrh. in Humb.) Furnr.	-	+	-	+	-	-
69.	*Physcia clementei* (Sm.) Lynge	-	-	-	+	-	-
70.	*Physcia dilatata* Nyl.	+	+	-	+	+	-

71.	*Physcia semipinnata* (Gmelin) Moberg	-	-	-	+	-	-
72.	*Physcia tribacoides* Nyl.	+	-	-	-	-	-
73.	*Punctelia borreri* (Sm.) Krog	+	+	-	+	+	-
74.	*Punctelia neutralis* (Hale) Krog	-	+	-	+	-	-
75.	*Punctelia rudecta* (Ach.) Krog	+	+	-	-	-	-
76.	*Pyxine berteriana* (Fee) Imsh. var. *himalaica* Awas.	-	+	-	+	+	-
77.	*Pyxine coccifera* (Fee) Nyl.	-	-	-	+	-	-
78.	*Pyxine cocoes* (Sw.) Nyl.	+	-	-	+	-	-
79.	*Pyxine reticulata* (Vain.) Vain.	-	-	-	-	+	-
80.	*Pyxine sorediata* (Ach.) Mont.	+	-	-	-	-	-
81.	*Ramalina conduplicans* Vain.	-	-	-	+	-	-
82.	*Ramalina pollinaria* (Westr.) Ach.	-	-	-	-	+	-
83.	*Ramalina roesleri* (Hochst.) Hue	-	-	-	+	-	-
84.	*Ramalina sinensis* Jatta	+	-	-	+	+	-
85.	*Rimelia reticulata* (Taylor) Hale & Fletcher	+	-	-	+	-	-
86.	*Usnea baileyi* (Stirt.) Zahlbr.	-	-	-	+	-	-
87.	*Usnea dendritica* Stirt.	+	-	-	+	+	-
88.	*Usnea himalayana* Bab.	+	+	-	+	-	-
89.	*Usnea pangiana* Stirton	-	-	-	+	-	-
90.	*Usnea spinosula* Stirton	+	-	-	-	-	-
91.	*Usnea splendens* Stirton	+	+	-	+	+	-
92.	*Usnea thomsonii* Stirton	+	-	-	+	-	-
93.	*Xanthoparmelia mexicana* (Gyelin.) Hale	+	+	-	-	-	-
94.	*Xanthoria parietina* (L.) Fr.	-	-	-	+	-	-

Table 2: List of lichen species on down-logs/dead logs in Garhwal Himalaya

Sr. No.	Species
MICROLICHEN	
1.	*Lecanora fimbriatula* Stirton
MACROLICHENS	
2.	*Canoparmelia texana* (Tuck.) Elix & Hale
3.	*Cladonia coniocraea* (Floerke) Spreng.
4.	*Heterodermia angustiloba* (Mull. Arg.) Awas.
5.	*Heterodermia leucomela* (L.) Poelt.
6.	*Heterodermia rubescens* (Ras.) Awas.
7.	*Parmelia meiophora* Nyl.
8.	*Parmotrema hababianum* (Gyel.) Hale
9.	*Punctelia neutralis* (Hale) Krog
10.	*Pyxine sorediata* (Ach.) Mont.

Results and Discussion



As depicted in the bar-diagram, a total of 63 corticolous species, comprising of 53 macro and 10 microlichen species have been found to inhabit bark, twigs and exposed/decaying roots of gymnosperms. Similarly, 70 corticolous species including 51 macro and 19 microlichen species have been reported in association with bark,

twigs and exposed/decaying roots of angiosperms One microlichen species and 9 macro-lichen species have been found to inhabit down/dead/decaying logs.

On the basis of climate and altitudinal range, the study area can broadly be categorized into two ecological zones *i.e.* tropical/sub-tropical zone (below 1500 m) and temperate zone (above 1500 m). Tropical/sub-tropical zone is inhabited primarily by light-loving corticolous species belonging to genera *Graphis, Lecanora, Chrysothrix, Lepraria, Candelaria, Physcia, Phaeophyscia, Punctelia, Parmelia* and *Parmotrema*. These have been reported in association with the bark and twigs of *Pinus roxburghii*, *Abies pindrow*, *Cedrus deodara*, *Thuja orientalis*, *Quercus leucotrichophora*, *Q. semecarpifolia*, *Rhododendron arboreum*, *Shorea robusta* along with certain cultivated trees of *Prunus, Citrus, Ficus* and *Syzygium.* In the moist and shady places, foliose lichen genera *Leptogium, Peltigera, Dirinaria, Physcia, Heterodermia* are quite common. The lichen flora in temperate zone exhibit rich diversity and luxuriant growth. The lichens of this zone inhabit tree bark, rocksurface, soil, mosses,decaying wood, humus, etc. as their substrata. Tree species especially belonging to the genera *Quercus, Rhododendron, Alnus, Pinus, Cedrus, Prunus,* etc. and shrub species are the preferred substrate for the lichen flora of the temperate region. The common epiphytic foliose and fruticose genera of the temperate zone are *Bulbothrix, Canoparmelia, Everniastrum, Heterodermia, Hypotrachyna, Leptogium, Parmelia, Parmotrema, Phaeophyscia, Ramalina, Rimelia* and *Usnea.*

It is interesting to note that 38 species (4 microlichens *viz. Chrysothrix chlorina, Graphis scripta*, *G. sikkimensis*, *Pertusaria pertusa* and 34 macrolichens *viz. Bulbothrix meizospora*, *B. bulbochaeta*, *Candelaria concolor*, *Canoparmelia texana*, *Cladonia coniocraea*, *Everniastrum cirrhatum*, *Flavoparmelia caperata, Flavopunctelia flaventior*, *Heterodermia albidiflava*, *H. obscurata*, *H. himalayensis*, *Myelochroa aurulenta*, *Parmelia meiophora*, *P. sulcata*, *P. erumpens*, *Parmotrema austrosinense*, *P. tinctorum*, *P. praesorediosum*, *P. mesotropum*, *P. melanothrix*, *P. margaritatum*, *Phaeophyscia hispidula*, *Physcia aipolia*, *P. dilatata*, *Punctelia borreri*, *P. neutralis*, *Pyxine berterianavar. himalayensis*, *P. cocoes*, *Ramalina sinensis*, *Rimelia reticulata*, *Usnea himalayana*, *U. splendens*, *U. thomsonii*, *U. dendritica* have been found to inhabit both angiosperms and gymnosperms.

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5

Bhojki Priests of Jawalamukhi and their Relation with Britishers

Ms Pallavi Mishra
Assistant Professor
PGGCG-11, Chandigarh

The *Bhojki* priests are the hereditary priests of the temples of Kangra, Jawalamukhi, Naina Devi, and Baijnath. They are perhaps a unique feature of District Kangra. They claim to be Saraswata Brahmins, but they are certainly low in the social scale as compared to other Brahmins of the district. They are not found in any other part of the country and are peculiar to hill states. Their primary duty is to conduct daily prayers at the temple. This brings money to the priest and to the temple and helps in the economic growth of the area where the temple is situated. Hindu priests are known to perform services often referred to as *puja.* Priests are identified as *pundits* or *pujaris* among devotees. The priest enjoys a qualitatively different kind of relationship with his patron. In Kangra, the term *jajman* and *jajmani* are used in accordance with their religious etymology. A clan of any caste which is entitled to the services of a priest has a fixed relationship with the *Bhojki* priest and they are the *kul purohit* of various rulers. In India, various gods and goddesses are said to be associated with the founding of various kingdoms. Many stories and legends portray the kings' successful conquest and consequent rights of sovereignty over local people coming to them with the blessing of the deities. The Jawalamukhi temple is no exception. *Bhojkis* prayed to the Goddess for the well being of the king and his victory and conducted various rituals in this regard. In lieu of their prayers, they got legitimacy over the temple and its income. *Bhojkis* gained prominence and entire authority over the temple with the help of Katoch Rajas. Later they became family priests of various princely states. They had good relations with princely states who granted money for their personal use and for the upkeep of the temple. With the passage of time, their monopoly over the temple became so strong that the food which was to be distributed daily to the *fakirs* (beggars) found its way into the homes of the several *Bhojkis*. The temple was not looked after well and with each passing year, the condition of the temple deteriorated. The present paper throws light on the relation between the Britishers and *Bhojki* priests. The Britishers tried to intervene and give decision in respect to the administration of the temples. The paper also depicts the origin of *Bhojki* priests, their relation with kings, and how they became masters of the temple from being attendants. The scope of this paper is to explain the distinct priestly caste and their relations with various categories of rulers.

Keywords: Bhojki priests, British colonialism, caste politics and hierarchy

Introduction

The temple priest is called the *pujari* (one who performs *puja)* or the *purohit* and is addressed as *pundit*, out of respect for his learning. The priests are usually *Brahmins*

(by birth and/or qualities). They are expected to follow strict rules regarding inner and outer purity in order to retain the sanctity of the temple. Their primary duty is to conduct daily prayers at the temple to bring in money. This also helps in the economic growth of the area where the temple is situated. The priests at the Jawalamukhi temple are called *Bhojki* priests; they are the hereditary priests of the Jawalamukhi temple.

Origin of Bhojki priests

In the latter half of the nineteenth century in the Punjab hill states, low caste *chelas* were systematically replaced by the Brahmins when some of the shrines started gaining prominence for socio political reasons (Sharma, 2001: 100). The Brahminical dominance was also legitimized by appropriating the subcontinent linkages, as against the aboriginal, and therefore primitive, status of the untouchables. The Brahminical genealogists and genealogical centers, as at Haridwar, imparted a mythical descent to the high castes, tracing their historical ancestry from prominent places in the subcontinent (Sharma, 1995: 97). The high castes formulated a corpus of oral tradition of migration to firm this up. The Brahmins, thus, reportedly emigrated from Bengal, Deccan and *Prayaga;* the Rajputs from Ujjain, Malwa, Marwar and generally from the plains. The process of brahminical appropriation, however, has its origin in the political developments of the mid-eighteenth century (Singh, 1907: 268). In references to the *Bhojkis,* they claimed their origin from Orissa and claimed their traces can be found in *Bhavashiya Purana* (interview with priests at Jawalamukhi, Kangra District, 2006). They have also been called *chelas*. They gained prominence after the decline of the Hill chiefs and princely states.

It is difficult to mark out their origin. The Britishers have given an account about them and their characteristic. Ibbeston remarked in his book *Panjab Castes* about *Bhojkis* that *pujari* meant really nothing but an officiating priest at a temple or shrine and in majority of the cases would be a Brahmin or *faqir.* Nevertheless, the *pujaris* of the shrines in the Kangra and Shimla hills had grown into a mixed collection of Nais, Brahmins, Rajputs and Jogis, who all were intermarried (1993: 221). Colonel Jenkins of Kangra remarked about them that the *Bhojkis* were perhaps a unique feature of this district. They were attached to the great temple of Kangra and Jawalamukhi and were supported by its income. They claimed to be Saraswata Brahmins, but they were certainly low in the social scale as compared to other Brahmins. The other Brahmin would not eat *kachhi roti* with them; they appeared to occupy much the same position as the Kangra *puthras* (son) of Benaras and the probability is that they were mere *Jogis* who had obtained a reflected sanctity from the Goddess whose service they had entered. The word is evidently connected with the Sanskrit root *bhoj*--to feed, and is

taken from the nature of their duties. They intermarry among themselves and with a class of *Jogis* called *Bodha Pundits.* They are supposed to be very quarrelsome, litigious and profligate (*Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1904: 33).

It was stated by Barnes and Lyall that "the religious endowments granted in perpetuity are assigned entirely to the support of temples and shrines in the district. There are many other grants of a similar nature which were in the possession of the grantees, which government will eventually release in perpetuity. At present I have been obliged to enter them under the heading of 'Undecided Cases.' The famous shrines of Jawalamukhi, Kangra are entirely self-supporting. The offerings are valuable heir-loom to the attending priests, and under former governments used to yield handsome revenue to the state" (1878: 33).

Lrewit, the Commissioner and Superintendent of Jalandhar Division, (Barnes and Lyall, 1878: 33) mentioned that the temples at Kangra and Jawalamukhi were in the charge of the rapacious *Bhojkis*, who plundered the pilgrims (*Kangra District Gazetteer,* 1883-84: 67). Barnes remarked that he "did not meet this class in any other part of Hindustan; they were peculiar to these hill states. It is stated that the *Bhojkis* are not Brahmins, though they are the hereditary priests of the celebrated temples of Kangra, Jawalamukhi, Naina Devi, and Baijnath. They all wore sacred thread and intermarried among themselves. They were constantly involved in litigation" (*Kangra District Gazetteer,* 1904: 36).

It can be inferred that although the temple was in the hands of *Bhojki* priests, they were looked down upon in the society.

Relation between Rajas and the Bhojki Priests

The temple of the Jawalamukhi is an old and well-known temple and one of the major pilgrimage sites of India. According to Preston, "Religious and charitable institutions in the Indian sub-continent have been established, maintained and protected from early times by Hindu kings who regarded themselves to be specially charged with the divine duty" (1980: 27).

The *Rajas* (kings) had almost complete control over the internal affairs of the temples they supported. For centuries, large tracts of land were granted to the temples. With the cooperation of the Brahmins, the *Raja* was able to secure almost complete control over temple's income and property. The family gods and goddess of the ruling dynasty traditionally acted in the role of the guardian of the kingdom, defending the *Rajas* in their struggle against the enemies of the empire (Preston 27).

The rulers of Kangra - the Katochs looked after the temple of Jawalamukhi. Afterwards, the Sikhs started looking after the temple and then again the hill *Rajas* undertook the task. The ruler had profound influence on the temple and had to interfere in its management for the smooth running of the affairs of the temple. Earlier, the Katoch and later the Sikhs did interfere in the management of the temple (*Maufi of Mahant Bahadur Gir of Jawalamukhi Temple*, 1878).

It was noticed for the first time by Moorcroft, who travelled to the Jawalamukhi in 1826, that "whatever money is offered to the Goddess [Jawalamukhi], is the *Raja's* [Katoch rulers], and the Brahmins are…entitled only to the donation given to them, which they represent to be little enough, and wholly inadequate to the maintenance of several hundred persons" (Moorcroft, 1841:73).

He also pointed out that "Sansar Chand's [the Katoch ruler at that time] revenue had diminished because of the loss of so many of his estates. So, his patronage to Jawalamukhi declined to a great extent and so did his claims to the share of the actual receipt" (Moorcroft 72). The same account has been mentioned in the Gazetteer of 1883-84, which depicts that at one time the Katoch *Rajas* appeared to have appropriated the whole or the greater part of the income of the temple of Jawalamukhi (*Kangra District Gazetteer*, 1883-84: 256).

The decline of the Katoch rulers after the conquest of Kangra by Ranjit Singh in 1809, led to their influence in the temple diminishing and the place being taken by the Sikhs. The Sikh government always took a share of the offerings of the pilgrims and refunded them on the improvement of roads etc. and enacted certain rules that seemed a desirable way of adding to the comfort of the pilgrims and the visitors as per the letter (No 2259/1878) forwarded by A. Brandenth, then Commissioner, Jalandhar to Colonel Jenkins, then Deputy Commissioner Superintendent, Jalandhar.

Prior to the establishment of the British rule, the *Rajas* exercised interference in the management of the temple. They evolved an idea and appointed *Lali Bhojki* (one of the priests of *Bhojki* class) to take charge of the income and control the expenditure in accordance with the ancient custom. Thus the control of the temple was left in the hands of *Lali Bhojki*. It was pointed out (as per the letter, dated 1881, forwarded by Colonel Jenkins, then Deputy Commissioner, Jalandhar to Colonel W.G Davies, then Commissioner Superintendent, Jalandhar) that initially it appeared that *Lali Bhojki* performed his duties satisfactorily for some time, but subsequently certain complaints were made against him by the other priests. It was discovered that he had been misappropriating the surplus and he was consequently removed by the *Rajas,* who first allowed the collection of the receipt and then transferred the management of the

temple collectively to the attendants (rest of the priestly class). With the passage of time, the *Rajas* lost their control on the temple and the *Bhojkis* became strong and stopped bothering even for the *Rajas.*

Relation between the Britishers and the Bhojki

As soon as the Britishers occupied Punjab, Colonel Jenkins noticed and wrote a letter to Colonel W.G. Davies, the Commissioner, Jalandhar Division, that the administration of the temple had gone to the attendants and they defrayed the normal expenditure and distributed the balance among themselves. They were not even bothered to execute necessary repairs of the building. It was also noticed that one of the buildings collapsed in 1876, which caused great inconvenience to the visitors who used to find shelter in it. The *bhandar* (kitchen) door also had come off. It was further mentioned that the monthly stipend of Rs.2 to each temple attendant had been raised to Rs.18 per month by the *Rajas*, but they had neglected their respective duties. Thus the temple had suffered and its respect as a religious institution had come down in the eyes of the people (Letter, 1881).

The *Bhojkis* had become quite powerful and raised the customary fees considerably. Earlier, no fee was charged for tonsure of children but they started taking an *anna* per child. The pilgrims who used to come from upper India (United Province then and Uttar Pradesh now) were not allowed to enter the premises of the temple until they paid a fee of 5½ annas per person. The entire offering was then grossly misappropriated by the priests and the pilgrims were shabbily treated (Letter, 1881). Gradually they became powerful and whimsical.

The *Bhojkis* had such a strong monopoly over the temple that once, when they felt that the offering made by the *Raja* of Nabha was unbecoming of his stature, they threw it away on a dirty and unclean spot. Each passing day, the temple's condition deteriorated (Letter, 1881). The *bhog parshad* or food which was distributed daily to the *fakirs* (beggars) then found its way into the homes of the several *Bhojkis.* It was also found that the animals gifted by *Raja* of Patiala to the temple were not looked after (Letter, 1881).

On seeing the sad state of affairs of the temple, Colonel Jenkins suggested the formation of a committee comprising of 3 or 4 neighboring *Rajas* to oversee the affairs of the temple and that they should be entrusted authority to collect the fee and control the expenditure according to the old custom. He recommended a reasonable sum for the maintenance of the priests and the attendants as well as for the necessary repairs and renovation of the temple, thereby adding to the comfort of the worshippers and

pilgrims (Letter, 1881). In reply to this letter, Lrewit Lake, Commissioner and Superintendent, Jalandhar division, drew attention to a report of 1 September 1846 which stated "that the government could not interfere authoritatively in regulating the expenditure of offerings and that the interference of our officers in their affairs should be confined to the adjustment of such disputes as may from time to time arise among the *Bhojkis:* and as this principle has since been more than once affirmed and it cannot support the recommendations" (Letter, 1881/1591).

The British thereby confirmed the vesting of management of the temple in the hands of the *Bhojkis,* as was the prevalent practice.

Controversy over the administration of the temple

The Britishers left the management in the hands of *Bhojki* priests. However, in 1905, an earthquake struck the Kangra valley and the temple of Varjeshwari Devi was devastated. This led to the formation of the Kangra Temple Restoration Committee (*Kangra Restoration Committee,* 1905: 212*)***.** In the Year 1908, a temple committee was formed which managed the revenue of the temple as per the terms of a decree passed by the District Judge, Kangra on 10 December 1908 and the result was satisfactory (1905: 212).

On seeing the work of the temple committee of the Varjeshwari Devi in Kangra, a case related to the management of the temple of Jawalamukhi was also filed by Jeet Ram Darshni and Saraf Sood in the Court of Lala Sohan Lal Sahib (Tehsildar), Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra, against Amba Dutta S/o Devki Nand Chakarpani (another caste of *Bhojki)*, resident of Jawalamukhi, Tehsil Dehra. The plaintiff demanded that management should be in accordance with the Management Committee of the Varjeshwari Devi or as deemed by *Raja* of Nadaun (name not mentioned) or the arrangements should be made as per the procedure prevalent at Varjeshwari temple, Kangra. They demanded that the management should be carried out as per the judgment given by the District Collector, Dharmasala dated 04.12.1908 in respect of Varjeshwari Devi temple in Kangra, which led to the constitution of Sanatan Dharm Sabha for the management of the temple. They made a point that just as for the management of the Varjeshwari Temple, Kangra, respectable personnel and sensible people were deputed, similar arrangements should be made for the Jawalamukhi temple also so that the *yatris* (pilgrims) were at ease. They further demanded that the nominated committee members should not be aged; should belong to only one community; and the members should not have a criminal background. They should be administered under the Presidentship of the King of Nadaun and Magistrate and Collector, District Kangra, so that the functioning of the temple remained efficient.

The earthquake in Kangra which devastated the temple of Varjeshwari led to the constitution of a management committee. This also prompted the locals of Jawalamukhi to file a case against the existing committee and its caretaker i.e. *Bhojkis*. With this, the Britishers had to interfere in the administration of the temple.

A case pertaining to the management of the temple of Jawalamukhi was filed in respect of the expenditure list. The following questions were raised (*A copy of an application of Darshni and Saraf Sood, 1908)*:

1. The list/statement should be called from priests, contractor, *dharam granthies*, management committee and the sweet maker regarding the preparation of *bhog prasad* five times and its distribution likewise.

2. How much grain was received and issued to the temple and to what extent it was taken away home by *baridars* (it is derived from the word *bari* or turn. The *Bhojkis* act as *baridars*)?

3. They were also asked to submit the list of *pakwan* (cooked dressed food) prepared 5 times at 5 *aartis* and all details of its account and distribution.

4. Register of *sadavarta* (where grain was stored which was granted by Maharaja Patiala to be given to the needy) and register of expenditure register showing *patta* (right of contract) of the contractor and the material given to the contractor be also called for. These details were to be called for from the beginning to date.

5. They referred to the documents showing the judgment of Edward Leak, Assistant Commissioner in 1846, pertaining to the conditions of income/offering, expenditure/distribution etc, in respect of the temple of the Jawalamukhi and from the list of present income/expenditure distribution to be compared to reach a judicious opinion in this respect (*Law suit of Dharmathian*,1846).

They further queried/alleged that *(Copy of Lala Sohan Lal, Tehsildar, District Kangra, case report*, 1909):

1. On what condition the temple management was given to the *Bhojkis?* Was it on the application of the *Bhojkis* or was it otherwise?

2. The management committee which had been detailed was completely mismanaged. They further alleged that the property of the temple was in a deplorable condition and was under debt.

3. They (plaintiff) raised the question that Edward Leak stated in his judgment that

expenditure of the temple should be met from the income itself; and after deducting the expenditure of the temple, the rest of the income could be distributed amongst the *Bhojkis.* However, they alleged that income was not being spent on the temple but on themselves. On every occasion they were asked to spend on the repair of the temple or to meet any other expenditure, it was refused by them on the plea that there was no balance available to meet such expenditure.

4. The earlier practice whereby the *bhog prasad* was distributed amongst poor people and *fakirs* had been discontinued by the *Bhojkis*.

5. The *Bhojkis* were illegally and unlawfully managing the income and expenditure as per their sweet will.

6. It was further enquired how they had been managing the Lion gifted by the Maharaja of Patiala (which was mentioned in *maufi* of 1873 also).

The defendant (The *Bhojki* priests) stated in their defence (A *Copy of counter reply of the Management Committee, Temple Jawalamukhi*, 1909):

1. There was no doubt that income and alms given by the temple was not in accordance with Edward Leak's judgment. The Management Committee under the *Bhojkis*, however, pleaded that a lot of changes had surfaced by that time as compared to the past when orders were passed on the subject regarding income, expenditure and quantity. The ratio that was fixed at that time did not hold good because, by that time, the cost index had gone very high and the income had not increased in proportion to it. Therefore, the definite budgeting in respect of income and expenditure as per the list, as ordered earlier, needed to be reviewed.

2. Answering in respect to the maintenance of the lions, which were donated by Maharaja Patiala, the *Bhojkis* stated that the lion had died 15 years back in the Jawalamukhi temple. Moreover, the expenses were borne by the Maharaja himself. Approximately 15 years back, Maharaja Koti donated a bear to the temple and the expenses were borne by the Maharaja himself. The Managing Committee was not responsible for breeding the animals and their young ones.

3. In reference to the complaint made regarding the *bhog prasad* taken by the *pujaris,* a separate servant was assigned to take *bhog prasad* which was not mandatory as *puja* was being carried out by *baridars* themselves.

4. Under the other point, it was submitted that there was no other employee of the temple except one *dharmarthi* who was paid Rs. 15. The payment to *dharmarthi* was stopped on his death and, thus, it became the temple property.

5. They clarified that the *yatris* (pilgrims) were not levied any of the charges or asked to pay anything. No *yatri* had made any complaint also but, on the contrary, it was the city boys and girls who created problems and teased the *yatris*. Therefore, a *mulazim* (employee) had been detailed to keep the city miscreants in check. During the *mundan* ceremony (tonsure ceremony) the *yatris* donated an *anna* to the temple and paid 1 *anna* to the barber of their own sweet will. These customs were in vogue from good old days. *Baridars* were paid Rs. 2 daily by *yatris* as they were *Bhojki's jajman*. They were neither compelled nor put to any inconvenience for making any kind of donation. At the time of *havan,* only Rs. 1 and 4 *annas* were taken out and out of that 8 *annas* were given for offering sacrifices, 4 *annas* for path *dakshna* and 8 *annas* were meant for *dharmasala* and offerings etc., and nothing was separately taken. This was given by the *yatris* very happily. They spent a lot of money on *havan samagri* also. Generally, poor pilgrims did not go for *havan* and they offered 1 paisa prasad only.

6. According to the other point of the complaint, 5 times *bhog* of the same weight and kind was offered daily in the temple as moral duty, regardless of lesser income from the devotee. The *bhog* items were costing Rs. 5/- in good old days and now days, the same was costing more than Rs.12/- per day. The *bhog* was distributed amongst available *yatris*, saints and *fakirs* and the remaining, left with the *Bhojkis*.

7. They asserted that the *prabandhaks* had full right to slash *dharmartha.*

Further, in the court of Lala Sohan Lal Sahib, Tehsildar and Collector, Tehsil Dehra, District Kangra, they requested that the defendant be asked to reply in writing about the issues raised (*Copy of Lala Sohan Lal, Tehsildar case report*, 1909). In addition, they asked that:

1. Similar arrangements to be made at Jawalamukhi as were made at Varjeshwari Devi at Kangra by constituting a committee.

2. The expenditure on the temple was Rs.25/- (it is not mentioned whether it was annual or monthly) which should also include expenditure incurred on *dharamarthies* and the workers of the temple.

3. Mr. Edward Leak had stated in his judgment that all expenditure of the temple can be met from the income of the temple itself. Therefore, it was prayed that according to the application which was heard on 26.02.1909, the defender be asked to submit a reply on all the points thus raised.

They further requested to deliver the judgment, keeping in view the documents,

application and file etc. and wanted that a management committee should be appointed for the Jawalamukhi temple similar to the one the of Varjeshwari Devi.

In reply to questions raised by the other party regarding the maintenance of the temple and payment to the *dharmartha,* it was replied that the *prabandhak* (management) had the full right to cut *dharmartha* for the days when the *gurugrantha* (religious book) was not recited and lamps were not kindled. There were two *granthis i*n the temple; one *granthi* was kept open and the second *granthi* was opened for recitation during the fair only. Maharaja Patiala had appointed a *granthi* and consequently, exercised full right over him. The management was not responsible for him *(Copy of counter reply of Management Committee, Temple of the Jawalamukhi*,1909).

In reply to the question regarding the interference of the people other than the *Bhojkis* in the temple administration, they replied that since times immemorial, the temple had been administered by the *Bhojkis* themselves. For this a committee was formed by majority opinion popularly called *kasrat rai.* There was no other committee which had the sole power (1909).

The document does not reveal in whose favour the case went. The temple remained in the hands of the *Bhojkis,* perhaps after the case went in favour of the *Bhojkis,* and it stands testified by the record dealing with *maufi* register, in which a case regarding State versus Mandir Devi Jawalamukhi under the management of Chakarpani, son of Devraj *Bhojki* in the year 1914 is mentioned (*Copy of order of bandobast, Dehra, District Kangra,* 1914). Chakarpani was also one of the defender in the case filed in 1909 against the *Bhojkis.* In the above given account it was mentioned that the temple management was under Chakarpani. The other record dealing with the administration of the temple lands by the *panchayats* in hill states, did not mention the Jawalamukhi temple like the other temples in Himachal Pradesh which were under the control of the *panchayats* (This letter was forwarded by Deputy Commissioner of Kangra on 27-11-1945 to the Panchayat officer of Kullu pertaining to administration of temple lands etc by Panchayat). The Jawalamukhi temple probably remained independent. The other record which testifies that the temple was in the control of *Bhojkis* is an appreciation letter given by the *Raja* Hari Kishan Kaul of Kashmir who visited the temple in 1933 and was in high spirits to observe that the temple committee was working in accordance with the suggestions he gave in 1923. He avowed that marble flooring was done and marble was well placed on the walls and the welfare of the pilgrims was taken care of. He was happy to see that the *Bhojkis* were following the entire proposition made by him *(Letter written by Hari Krishan Kaul, Raja of Kashmir*, 1933). The temple continued to be in the hands of the *Bhojkis* and they evolved their own set of rules to run the administration *(Jaagrat Lahore*, 1947).

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6

लोकसाहित्य में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश (विशेष संदर्भ हिमाचली लोक साहित्य)

डॉ. गुरमीत सिंह
सहायक प्रवक्ता
हिन्दी विभाग, पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय, चण्डीगढ़

साहित्य और समाज का अटूट संबंध है। मनुष्य के प्रगतिशील जीवन का लक्षण साहित्य है। वही साहित्य श्रेष्ठ होता है जिससे जनमानस के भावों और विचारों को गति मिले। साहित्य का उद्देश्य मानव मूल्यों की स्थापना तथा संरक्षण होता है। साहित्य के माध्यम से ही समाज को समझा व परखा जा सकता है। सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक जीवन के वास्तविक रूप को समझने के लिए उस समाज के साहित्य का अध्ययन आवश्यक होता है परंतु उस समाज के मूलभूत रूप, वहाँ की संस्कृति, रीति–रिवाज, रहन–सहन, खान–पान, धारणाएँ, मान्यताएँ, प्रथाएँ, नियम–कानून, इतिहास आदि को गहराई से समझना हो तो उस समाज के लोकसाहित्य का अत्यधिक महत्त्व होता है। लोकसाहित्य में ही मानव जीवन और उसके सामुदायिक जीवन का समस्त लेखा–जोखा प्राप्त होता है।

मूल शब्दः लोकसाहित्य, संस्कृति, लोकगाथा, लोकगीत, लोककथा, लोकनाट्य, प्रकीर्ण साहित्य

लोकसाहित्य मानव संस्कृति का अभिन्न अंग है। लोक मानस की सहज और स्वाभाविक अभिव्यक्ति लोक साहित्य में मिलती है। यह साहित्य प्रायः अलिखित होता है और मौखिक रूप से पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी पहुँचाया जाता है। इसमें गीत, कथाएँ, मुहावरे और कहावतें आदि सम्मिलित होते हैं। लोकसाहित्य जनता का साहित्य है। यह उनके हृदय में उद्‌भूत होता है, वहीं पल्लवित होता है और जनता की सरलता, सहजता एवं स्वच्छंदता से मंडित रहता है। लोकसाहित्य का क्षेत्र अत्यंत विस्तृत, विशाल एवं व्यापक है। जनसामान्य की समस्त सुखात्मक एवं दुखात्मक संवेदनाएँ, कार्यकलाप लोक–साहित्य के अंतर्गत आते हैं। लोक साहित्य को पूर्ण रूप से समझने से पहले लोक शब्द के अर्थ को समझ लेना आवश्यक है।

लोकसाहित्य दो शब्दों से मिलकर बना है– लोक और साहित्य। लोक शब्द दो अर्थों में प्रचलित है– एक तो विश्व अथवा समाज और दूसरा जनसामान्य अथवा जनसाधारण।

साहित्य अथवा संस्कृति के एक विशिष्ट भेद की ओर इंगित करने वाले एक आधुनिक विशेषण के रूप में इस शब्द का अर्थ ग्राम्या या जनपदीय समझा जाता है। किंतु इस दृष्टि से केवल गाँव में ही नहीं वरन नगरों, जंगलों, पहाड़ों और टापुओं में बसा हुआ मानव समाज जो अपने परंपरा प्रथित रीति–रिवाजों और आदिम विश्वासों के प्रति आस्थाशील होने के कारण अशिक्षित एवं अल्पसभ्य कहा जाता है 'लोक' का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। (शर्मा, 1976: 3)

अतः हर व्यक्ति, हर जाति, हर समाज के अपने कुछ रीति–रिवाज, मान्यताएँ, प्रथाएँ होती है। लोक शब्द मानव समाज के इन समस्त विश्वासों का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।

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लोक' शब्द संस्कृत के 'लोकदर्शने' धातु से बना है। इसमें 'धञ' प्रत्यय लगने से ही 'लोक' शब्द निष्पन्न हुआ है। इस धातु का अर्थ है–देखना। इसका लट्लकार में अन्य पुरुष एकवचन का रूप लोकते हैं। अतः 'लोक' शब्द का मूल अर्थ हुआ– 'देखने वाला'। वह समस्त जनसमुदाय, जो इस कार्य को करता है, 'लोक' कहलाता है। (गुप्त, 1995: 1022)

लोक शब्द समस्त जनसमुदाय के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है जो समाज में रहते हुए हर सुख–दुःख, रीति–रिवाज, मूल्य, विश्वास आदि सभी का संरक्षण करता है।

लोक शब्द अँग्रेजी के विसा से बना है। ऐंग्लो सेक्शन का विकसित रूप है। और प्रयोग की दृष्टि से असंस्कृत और मूढ़ समाज या जाति का द्योतक है। यों तो आदिम जाति में वे सभी सदस्य फोक होते हैं जिनसे वह जाति बनी होती है पर यदि शब्द का व्यापक अर्थ लिया जाए तो इसका प्रयोग सभ्य राष्ट्र की समग्र जनता के लिए भी किया जा सकता है। (संतराम, 1975: 22)

लोक शब्द उन सभी मानव समाजों का चाहे वह आदिम समाज हो, चाहे ग्रामीण समाज हो, चाहे नागरिक समाज इन सबमें रहने वाला कोई भी मानव समूह हो सकता है। यह मानव समूह अपने रीति–रिवाजों, प्रथाओ, मान्यताओं, विश्वासों के प्रति आस्थाशील रहता है।

लोकसाहित्य

जब लोक अपनी आशा–निराशाएँ, सुख–दुःख, जीवन–मरण, लाभ–हानि आदि को साहित्य के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्ति देता है तो उसे लोकसाहित्य कहते हैं। लोकसाहित्य लोक का साहित्य है। लोक साहित्य उतना ही प्राचीन है जितना कि मानव। इस साहित्य में जनजीवन के समस्त क्रियाकलापों का समावेश होता है। साधारण शब्दों में कहें तो यह साहित्य जनसाधारण से संबंधित साहित्य है। लोकसाहित्य को विद्वानों ने कुछ इस तरह से स्पष्ट किया है– "लोकसाहित्य वह मौखिक अभिव्यक्ति है जो किसी एक व्यक्ति द्वारा नहीं रची जाती अपितु समस्त मानव समूह उसे अपना मानता है" (शर्मा, 1976: 3)।

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वह साहित्य उतना ही स्वभाविक था, जितना जंगल में खिलने वाला फूल, उतना ही स्वच्छंद था, जितनी आकाश में उड़ने वाली चिड़िया, उतना ही सरल तथा पवित्र था, जितना गंगा की निर्मल धारा, उस समय के साहित्य का जो अंश आज अवशिष्ट तथा सुरक्षित रह गया है, वही हमें लोक–साहित्य के रूप में उपलब्ध होता है। (गुप्त, 1995: 1027)

लोकसाहित्य लोक संस्कृति का अंग है। यदि साहित्य समाज का प्रतिबिम्ब है तो लोकसाहित्य सामाजिक संस्कृति का प्रतिबिम्ब है।

डॉ. सुरेश गौतम के अनुसारः

लोकसाहित्य तो जीवन का रत्नाकर है। ऐसा रत्नाकर जहाँ जीवन के सौंदर्य की मणियाँ तैरती हुई दृष्टिगोचर होती हैं। लोकसाहित्य की विश्वास सृष्टि में लोकमानस की प्राक् कल्पना, आनुष्ठानिक विचारणा, विश्व चेतना का सर्वात्मवादी दर्शन तथा पराप्राकृतिक शक्तियों के प्रति सहज आस्था अभिव्यंजित होती है। (गौतम, 2008: 8)

लोकसाहित्य दो शब्दों का मेल है लोक एवं साहित्य। लोक का साहित्य लोकसाहित्य है। जहाँ लोक होगा वहाँ उसकी संस्कृति और साहित्य होगा। विश्व में ऐसा कोई स्थान नहीं है जहाँ लोक हो और वहाँ उसकी संस्कृति न हो। मानव मन के उद्‌गार तथा सूक्ष्म अनुभूतियां सभी लोकसाहित्य के अंतर्गत आती हैं। इस साहित्य में लोकजीवन का यथार्थ चित्रण मिलता है। लोकसाहित्य हमारी सभ्यता का संरक्षक है।

लोकसाहित्य की विशेषताएँ

1. लोकसाहित्य जनसाधारण की भाषा में होता है। लोकसाहित्य की भाषा स्वतंत्र एवं जीवित लोकभाषा होती है।

2. लोकसाहित्य किसी एक व्यक्ति की रचना नहीं होती अपितु इसमें सम्पूर्ण समाज का योगदान होता है।

3. लोकसाहित्य अधिकतर मौखिक अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में होता है। यह लोकमानस की प्रवृत्ति कहा जाता है।

4. लोकसाहित्य मानव मन से जुड़ा होता है। इसके माध्यम से लोक मानव हृदय को अभिव्यक्ति मिलती है।

5. यह सरल, सहज एवं स्वयं में पूर्ण होता है।

6. लोकसाहित्य हमारी सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति का संरक्षक है।

डॉ श्रीराम शर्मा के अनुसार "लोकसाहित्य किसी प्रकार के नियमों के बंधनों से मुक्त विस्तृत परिधि वाली स्वच्छंद गति से प्रवाहमान एक धारा है " (शर्मा, 1976: 3)।

साहित्य का आधार लोकमंगल और लोकहित होता है। किसी भी युग का साहित्यकार इस सत्य से अनभिज्ञ नहीं रह सकता है।

लोकसाहित्य में जनस्वभाव के अंतर्गत आने वाली आदिकाल से लेकर अब तक की सम्पूर्ण प्रवृत्तियाँ समाई होती है। इस साहित्य में जनजीवन की समस्त भावनाएँ यथार्थ रूप में समाहित होती है। समूची संस्कृति के अध्ययन के लिए लोकसाहित्य का अध्ययन आवश्यक होता है। यह साहित्य मनुष्य एवं मनुष्यत्व का साक्षी होता है। इसमें जनजीवन का भूत, भविष्य, वर्तमान सभी कुछ संचित रहता है। किसी भी राष्ट्र की सांस्कृतिक मौलिकता का रसस्त्रोत लोकसाहित्य ही है। गौतम के अनुसार, ''किसी राष्ट्र की अंतर्भावना सिद्धांतमूलक जीवन पद्धति का परिचय प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं तो हमें इस लोकसंस्कृति का ज्ञान करना होगा। यह ज्ञान हमें मुख्य रूप से लोकसाहित्य द्वारा प्राप्त होता है (2008: 5)।

लोकसाहित्य के विविध रूप

लोकसाहित्य का क्षेत्र अधिक व्यापक माना गया है। इसमें व्यक्ति की विभिन्न अनुभूतियाँ, मान्यताएँ, परम्पराएँ, लोक विश्वास सभी सम्मिलित होते हैं। इसके माध्यम से संस्कृति की प्राचीनता, समृद्धि और श्रेष्ठता का सफलतापूर्ण निरूपण किया जा सकता है। लोकसाहित्य में जनता के गीत, कथाएँ, मुहावरें और कहावतें शामिल है। गौतम के अनुसार ''चाहे लोकगीत हों या लोककथाएँ हो अथवा लोकनाट्य, लोकसाहित्य का कोई भी रूप हो–सभी रूप विधाओं में लोकजीवन के रंग अपने पूरे निखार पर हम से सीधे संवाद करते हैं'' (2008: 6)।

इस प्रकार लोकसाहित्य के अंतर्गत निम्नलिखित बातें आती हैं:

1. लोकगाथा
2. लोकगीत
3. लोककथा
4. लोकनाट्य
5. प्रकीर्ण साहित्य

लोकगाथा: लोकसाहित्य में उपलब्ध गीत दो श्रेणियों में विभाजित हैं। यह है प्रगीति मुक्तक और प्रबंध काव्य। मुक्तक गीतों में कथानक का अभाव है और गीतात्मकता की प्रधानता रहती है। प्रबंधात्मक गीतों में कथावस्तु की प्रधानता होती है। प्रबंध काव्य को ही लोकगाथा कहा जाता है। लोकगाथा में रचियता अज्ञात, मूल पाठ का अभाव, स्थानियता का पुट, मौखिक परम्परा, उपेदशात्मक प्रवृत्ति, लम्बे कथात्मक की भूमिका और अलंकृत शैली की विद्यमानता आदि विशेषताएँ होती है।

लोकगीत: इस सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि में ऐसा कोई कोना नहीं है जहाँ गीत किसी न किसी रूप में विद्यमान न हों। जहाँ मानव है वहाँ गीत–संगीत है। जीवन का ऐसा कोई भी आयोजन नहीं है जहाँ गीत न हों। "गीत हमारे समूचे सांस्कृतिक जीवन की रीढ़ हैं" (गौतम, 2008: 54)। लोकगीत लोक में प्रचलित लोक द्वारा लोक के लिए लिखा जाता है। इनमें मानव हृदय की प्रकृत भावनाओं को लयात्मक ढंग से प्रस्तुत किया जाता है। गीत में सामूहिक प्रवृत्ति अधिक विद्यमान है। इनमें मानव सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति के विभिन्न चित्र अंकित होते हैं। ये मनोरंजन, शिक्षा तथा ज्ञानवर्धन का सरल माध्यम होते हैं।

लोककथा: किसी भी देश के लोक सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य को जानने–समझने के लिए लोक कथाएँ महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाती हैं। जब समस्त मानव समुदाय अपनी अनुभूतियों को कहानियों के माध्यम से कहता है तब वह लोककथा बनती है। लेखन कला के विकास के पूर्व ही मनुष्य ने अपनी वैचिन्यपूर्ण अनुभूतियों को कथा का रूप देना प्रारंभ कर दिया था और इन कहानियों के माध्यम से उसके जीवन की सर्वप्रथम अभिव्यक्ति हुई। लोककथाओं के बीज वेद, उपनिषद् और पुराणों में प्राप्त होने वाले आख्यानों में देखे जा सकते हैं।

लोकजीवन की समस्त उपलब्धियाँ और त्रासदियाँ इन कथाओं की गोद में क्रीड़ा करती हैं। जीवन के सम्पूर्णत्व को समेटे इन कथाओं में जनमानस का हर्ष–विषाद, आस्था–नैराश्य, कर्म–आलस्य, पर्व–उत्सव, ईर्ष्या–द्वेष, वेदनागर्भित सत्य, आनंदमूलक क्षण–सभी कुछ बूँद–बूँद भरा समुद्र–कलश है। (गौतम, 2008: 147)

लोकनाट्यः लोकनाटक बिना किसी शास्त्रीय बंधन के लोकमानस की सहज अभिव्यक्ति है जिसमें लोकपरम्पराओं का प्रदर्शन लोकमंच पर होता है। यह लोकमंच लोकमानसिक होता है जो गली–गलियारों में विद्यमान रहता है। लोकनाटक सर्वसाधारण के जीवन से संबधित है जो परम्परा से अपने–अपने क्षेत्र के जनसमुदाय के मनोरंजन का साधन रही है। लोकविश्वास, लोकधारणाएँ, और लोकसंस्कृति की अखंडता को लोकनाट्यों के माध्यम से देखा जा सकता है।

लोक नाटकों के मूल में धार्मिक अनुष्ठान–विश्वास, लोक में व्यापत कथानक रूढ़ियाँ, सहजात कलात्मक नृत्य, पर्व–त्योहारों के प्रति गहन आस्था, लोक–खेल, लोक वाद्य, चिकित्सा, रसात्मक लोक गान, सांगीतिक अभिनय, व्यक्तिगत समस्याएँ आदि तत्त्व लोक नाटकों के पूर्णत्व का विकास सामने लाते हैं। (गौतम, 2008: 194)

प्रकीर्ण साहित्यः लोकसाहित्य के इस वर्ग में स्फुट साहित्य आता है। इस साहित्य में लोकोक्तियां, मुहावरें, पहेलियाँ, पालने के गीत, खेत के गीत, लोरियां इत्यादि आते हैं। ये आकार में अत्यंत लघु होते हैं तथा लय की प्रधानता होती है। लोकोक्तियाँ लोक जीवन के अनुभव का सार है तो मुहावरे लोक की घटना या क्रिया–व्यापर के लक्षणों को ग्रहण करके बनते हैं। लोकोक्तियों को स्वनिर्मित नीतिशास्त्र कहा जाता है। कहावतों में भी लोकजीवन का सार है तथा इन्हें अनुभवशास्त्र भी कहा जाता है।

ग्रामीण जनता अपने दैनिक व्यवहार में सैंकड़ों मुहावरों, लोकोक्तियों, सूक्तियों और सुभाषितों का प्रयोग करती है। इन मुहावरों और कहावतों में चिर संचित अनुभूत ज्ञानराशि भरी पड़ी है। इनमें जीवन के सत्य बड़ी खूबी से प्रकट होते हैं। इनके अध्ययन से हमारी सामाजिक तथा प्रथाओं का चित्रण उपलब्ध होता है। (कश्यप, 1972: 64)

लोकसाहित्य के अंतर्गत इन सभी का समावेश होता है। इसमें गद्य साहित्य के नाम पर लोककथाएँ तथा लोकगाथाएँ है अथवा प्रकीर्ण साहित्य जिसमें मुहावरे, लोकोक्तियाँ सम्मिलित हैं और पद्य साहित्य के नाम पर लोकगीत हैं। ये सभी साधन जनमानस की नैतिक साधना के लिए अत्यंत उपयोगी है।

हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य

हिमाचल प्रदेश पश्चिम हिमालय में स्थित है। यह प्रदेश अपनी सांस्कृतिक, ऐतिहासिक, धार्मिक धरोहर के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। यहाँ की बर्फीली चोटियाँ, प्राचीन नदियाँ, लोकदेवता, लोकगीत, लोककथाएँ, लोकत्योहार, भुंडा, काहिका, महायज्ञ तथा अनेक धार्मिक मान्यताएँ यहाँ के प्राचीन सांस्कृतिक धरोहर एवं विरासत के जीवंत उदाहरण हैं। यह प्रदेश अपनी लोकसंस्कृति के लिए अधिक समृद्ध रहा है। यहाँ लोकसाहित्य एवं लोक संस्कृति ग्रामीण जीवन के अभिन्न अंग हैं। यहाँ के लोकजीवन में लोककथाओं का अथाह भंडार है। जिनका प्रयोग आज का जनसमुदाय साँस्कृतिक दृष्टि से कर रहा है। यहाँ के लोकसाहित्य में यहाँ की संस्कृति, इतिहास एवं सामाजिक

जीवन को पूर्णतः समझा जा सकता है तथा अतीत के पन्नों में झांका जा सकता है। इस प्रदेश की जलवायु, रहन–सहन, रीति–रिवाज, सामाजिक जीवन, प्रथाएं, जातियाँ, जनजातियां, वेश–भूषा, प्रमुख देवी–देवता, त्योहार एवं मेले आदि सभी का गहन अध्ययन यहाँ के लोकसाहित्य द्वारा ही किया जा सकता है।

हिमाचली भाषा में लोकसाहित्य, लोकगीतों, गाथाओं, लोकनाट्यों, लोकविश्वासों, पहेलियों, लोकोक्तियों और मुहावरों का अभूतपूर्व कोष है। (indiankanoon.org)

अतः हिमाचल प्रदेश के सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन की बहुरंगी झलकियाँ समग्र रूप में लोकसाहित्य में विद्यमान हैं। प्रत्यूष गुलेरी के अनुसार :

लोकसाहित्य असे हिमाचली लोके दें सामाजिक आस्था–विश्वासे, रीति–रिवाजा कनै संस्कृतियां जो दर्शांदा ऐ। मुख जवानी चली औणे कनै लोकगीता, लोककथा, झेहड़ेया लोकगाथा बगैरा च थोड़ा–थोड़ा फर्क तां सबनी भाषा दे लोकसाहित्य च जुग जुगा ते रैहंदा आया है। (2007: भूमिका)

अर्थात् हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में वहाँ की सामाजिक आस्था–विश्वास, रीति–रिवाज तथा संस्कृति के दर्शन होते हैं। युग–युग से मौखिक रूप से चले आ रहे लोकगीतों, लोककथाओं, लोककगाथाओं में सभी भाषाओं के लोकसाहित्य में थोड़ा बहुत अंतर रहता ही है।

हिमाचली लोकगाथाओं में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

परिवेश दो शब्दों के मेल से बना है– परि और वेश। परि का अर्थ है चारों ओर और वेश का अर्थ है घेरा, परिधि। इस प्रकार परिवेश का अर्थ है चारों ओर की घटनाएँ, वातावरण, रीति–रिवाज जो मनुष्य को प्रत्यक्ष अथवा परोक्ष रूप से प्रभावित करता है।

परिवेश कोई अमूर्त प्रत्यय नहीं है प्रत्युत उत्पादन के साधनों तथा उत्पादन से बने सामाजिक ढाँचे का नाम ही परिवेश है। इसके अंतर्गत किसी देश और काल की आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक परिस्थितियाँ आ जाती है। (भारद्वाज, 1984: 12)

किसी भी साहित्य का आधार तभी सुदृढ़ होता है जब वह अपने परिवेश के साथ आत्मीय रूप से जुड़ा होता है। साहित्य और परिवेश का एक अटूट रिश्ता है। समाज और परिवेश के सहचरत्व के बिना किसी भी प्रकार का सृजन संभव नहीं और लोकसाहित्य तो है ही समाज और परिवेश का साहित्य।

सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश वह है जिसमें मनुष्य जन्म लेता है, आँखे खोलता है, होश संभालता है। उसके चारो ओर जो विचारधाराएँ, विश्वास, नैतिक मूल्य, जीवन को देखने व समझने के दृष्टिकोण प्रचलित हैं, उसे विरासत से मिलते हैं। संस्कृति समाज रूपी विश्व की जड़ है। इसमें मूल्य, मानवता, चेतना, विचार, भावना, रिवाज, भाषा, ज्ञान, कला धर्म, जादू–टोना आदि के वे सभी

मूर्त–अमूर्त स्वरूप संस्कृति में शामिल है। लोकसाहित्य में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन के लगभग सभी पहलुओं को देखा व समझा जाता है।

हिमाचल प्रदेश के लोकसाहित्य में वहाँ के सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन के हर रूप को देखा जा सकता है। लोकगाथाएँ, लोककथाएँ, लोकगीत, लोकनाट्य एवं प्रकीर्ण साहित्य सभी में हिमाचली जनजीवन की विविध झलकियाँ देखने को मिलती है।

पहाड़ी सभ्यता, राहुल जी की राय में, पृथकता और विशिष्टता तथा समानता और एकता का अद्‌भुत मिश्रण है। इस संस्कृति की विचित्रता तो इसी में है कि यह कई प्रकार के तत्त्वों, कई धाराओं और प्रभावों के मिश्रण से बनी है। इसलिए यह आँचलिक भी है और साथ ही बहुआँचलिक संस्कृति भी। इसकी जड़ें तो अँचल में है जिसने इसे विशिष्टता प्रदान की लेकिन शाखा–प्रशाखाएँ कई अँचलों से जुड़कर इसे बहुआँचलिक चरित्र भी प्रदान करती है। (जोशी, 1995: 127)

हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में वहाँ के समाज, संस्कृति और सभ्यता की गरिमा को समझा व जाना जा सकता है।

हिमाचली लोकगाथाओं में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

लोकगाथाओं का लोकसाहित्य में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। देश अथवा प्रदेश के विलुप्त सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक तथ्यों को प्रकाश में ला सकते हैं। हिमाचल में मूल मानव समाज की झलक यहाँ की लोकगाथाओं में देखने को मिलती है। हिमाचल में विशेष अवसर, त्योहार और सामाजिक मेल–मिलाप के मौकों पर लोकगाथाओं को गाने की विशेष परम्परा है, जिससे लोकगाथाएँ मानव जीवन से एकदम घुल–मिल जाती है। इनमें धार्मिक, पौराणिक, ऐतिहासिक, वीरात्मक तथा प्रेमात्मक लोकगाथाओं को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है।

हिमाचल की देवगाथाओं में सहदेव की लोकगाथा, चिखडेश्वर की लोकगाथा, पण्डरामायण, विरशी की लोकगाथा, सीता हरण लोकगाथा, महासू देवता की लोकगाथा, शिव की लोकगाथा आदि वीरगाथाओं में वीर सूरत राम की लोकगाथा, भारत–चीन युद्ध की लोकगाथा, चौरणु वीर की लोकगाथा आदि प्रेमात्मक लोकगाथाओं में रूपु और माई की लोकगाथा, सीलीदार की लोकगाथा, तानु की लोकगाथा, राजा भरथरी की लोकगाथा आदि तथा ऐतिहासिक लोकगाथाओं में राजा जुब्बल भगत सिंह की गाथा, भलकू जमींदार की लोकगाथा, छौतरी की लोकगाथा, ठाकुर रामलाल की गाथा आदि हिमाचल की प्रसिद्ध लोकगाथाएँ हैं।

ठोडा उत्सव में लोकगाथा प्रस्तुत की जाती है जिसमें सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति से लेकर विष्णु, ब्रह्मा, महादेव के जन्म की गाथा तथा अन्य पौराणिक उपाख्यानों को आपस में गूँथ दिया गया है। सृष्टि के आरंभ का कुछ इस तरह से वर्णन है–

पहले नाओं नारायणों रा, जुणी धरती पुआणी।
जलथाली होई पिरथवी, देवी मनसा राखो जगड़ी।

माणु न होले कब न रीखी एकई नारायणो रा राजो होला
सिद्ध गुरू री झोड़ी फा, ढाई दारणा शेरो रा झैड़ा। (कश्यप, 1972: 131)

अर्थात् सबसे पहले नारायण का नाम है जिसने इस धरती को बनाया है। पहले सारी पृथ्वी जलमय थी और मनसा देवी को इसकी देखभाल के लिए रखा गया था। तब न तो कोई मनुष्य था न ही कोई ऋषि। केवल एक परमेश्वर का ही राज था। सिद्ध गुरू की झोली से ढाई दाने सरसों के गिरे, उन दानों को हमने घर के साथ के छोटे खेत में बीज दिया।

इस प्रकार इस लोकगाथा में ईश्वर की महत्ता समाज में दर्शाई गई है।

राजा भरथरी की कथा में राजा भरथरी और उनकी रानी पिंगला के जीवन का वर्णन है साथ ही उस समय के सामाजिक जीवन और संस्कृति का चित्रण है। संसार की निस्सारता का वर्णन कुछ इस तरह से रानी पिंगला के माध्यम से इस प्रकार किया गया है–

रानी पिंगला राजा को समझाते हुए कहती है:

काची बौणी काया कोठड़ी, झूठौ बौणो संसार
चौऊ दिने राजा जीउणों, छाढ़ी देणों घर बार
समझे शूणे राजा भरथरी। (कश्यप, 1972: 138)

अर्थात् यह संसार कच्ची कोठड़ी के समान है, संसार झूठा है। राजा यह संसार चार दिनों के लिए है एक दिन यह घरबार छोड़कर जाना पड़ेगा।

राजा भरथरी की इस लोकगाथा में यह भी दर्शाया गया है किस प्रकार यह संसार एक दूसरे के बिना अधूरा है। संतान के बिना माँ–बाप नहीं, धागे के बिना डोरी नहीं, दिन के बिना रात नहीं यह शरीर भी कागज की भाँति है।

गोद नहीं मेरे बालिका, महले नहीं मेरा राज
समझे शूणे राजा भरथरी, धागे बिना नहीं बाणा,
पुत्र बिना नहीं नार, भाईयां बिना नहीं जोड़िया
रेणा बिना नहीं ध्याड़। (कश्यप, 1972: 139)

देवकन्या भी इसी प्रकार की लोकगाथा है जिसमें देवकन्या और बसु के विवाह का वर्णन है। इस लोकगाथा को कुल्लु के लोग एक नृत्य–रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हैं। तासगी नाग की बसु द्वारा रक्षा और फिर बसु का देवकन्या के साथ विवाह यह सब सामाजिक सरोकारों को सिद्ध करता है। इसमें राजा कंस का भी वर्णन मिलता है जिसे लोककथाकारों ने अपने अनुसार ढ़ाला है। इसमें पति–पत्नी के आपसी विश्वास और हर हालत में साथ रहने की बात को बसु और देवकन्या के माध्यम से जनमानस के सम्मुख रखा है। बसु दु:खी होता है कि वह देवकन्या को किस प्रकार झोंपड़ी में रखेगा परंतु देवकन्या झोंपड़ी में भी उसके साथ प्रसन्न है:

शूणे शूणे बसु ओ ब्रामणा, काडी गई तेरे है मैली
आधे नाहुँ धीवरा का फिरी रे, शूणे शूणे बसु ओ ब्रामणा। (सिंह, 2010: 105)

इसी प्रकार एक विरशी लोकगाथा है जो वीरसती रैणी की है। रैणी अपने पति कायथ के साथ सती हो जाती है। उस समय सती प्रथा का होना और अँग्रेजों का सती प्रथा के खिलाफ होना यह सब इस लोकगाथा में है। साथ–साथ यह भी दर्शाया गया है सती प्रथा का लडकी के मायके वालों पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ता था। दुनिया के लिए रैणी का अपने पति के साथ सती हो जाने वाला दिन विरशी त्योहार के रूप में मनाया जाने लगा परंतु रैणी के मायके वालों के लिए तो यह दिन शोक का दिन था। रैणी के भाई के विरोध का वर्णन कुछ इस प्रकार हैः

भाई प्रताप भाए आशो प्रताप जुए तरारो
केजो हौलो खशियों से जीऊँदी जालौ। (सिंह, 2010ः 105)

अर्थात् भाई क्रोध से जल उठा जब उसने रैणी के सती होने की खबर सुनी। उसने अपनी तलवार निकालकर कहा कि ऐसा कौन सा राजपूत है जो उसकी बहन को जिंदा जलाना चाहता है।

रैमीमाईची वरेठु वरकलु रे सदा उजले छाडु। (सिंह, 2010ः 105)

अर्थात् अपने भाई की बातें सुनकर रैणी कहने लगी कि मुझे कोई जबरदस्ती नहीं जला रहा है, मैं तो अपने पति के साथ अपनी इच्छा से आत्मदाह करना चाहती हूँ ताकि अपने मायके वालों का नाम ऊँचा कर सकूँ।

महासती लोता की गाथा भी इसी प्रकार की है जिसमें लोता नामक एक सुंदर स्त्री का विवाह पटवारी भागचंद के साथ होता है। परंतु भरी जवानी में ही भागचंद की मृत्यु हो जाती है और लोता इस सदमें को सहन नहीं कर पाती और साथ में ही सती हो जाती है। यह कथा आज भी रोहडु और शिमला के क्षेत्रों में गाई जाती है। इस लोककथा की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि इसमें दहेज प्रथा का विरोध किया गया है। जब भागचंद लोता के घर रिश्ते की बात करने जाता है तो लोता के पिता दहेज की बात करते हैं परंतु भागचंद कहता हैः

पिता जीबीतैरे आए नेगटुआ खाए लु खाणौ
छियो देउ बदरी रे कन्यादाणौ
भागचंदकन्या तेरे निंदा पाई पापो रा पिंडा
बीशौ गाई चालशो आगले देंदा। (सिंह, 2010ः 239)

अर्थात् लोता के पिता ने भागचंद से कहा कि नेगियों के बेटे तू पहले खाना खा ले उसके बाद कन्यादान और लेनदेन की बात कर लेंगे। इस पर भागचंद कहता है कि मैं केवल आपकी लडकी चाहता हूँ यदि मैं दहेज लूंगा तो पाप का भागीदार बनूँगा। मैं तो बल्कि आपकी मदद करना चाहूँगा। अगर आप बीस रूपये लगाएँगे तो मैं आपको चालीस दूँगा क्योंकि आप अपने शरीर का टुकड़ा अपनी बेटी दे रहे हैं इसके अलावा अगर मैं कुछ लूँगा तो मुझे पाप लगेगा।

इस प्रकार ये लोकगाथाएँ हिमाचल के जनमानस का आधार है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इनमें ही इनके समाज और संस्कृति के सभी तत्त्व समाहित रहते हैं। देवगाथाओं पर तो हिमाचली मानव का अस्तित्व टिका हुआ है।

पहाड़ी लोगों के मानस की सरलता से लोकगाथाएँ भरी पड़ी है। यहाँ की नदियाँ, यहाँ के जीवन और यहाँ के श्वेत पर्वत लोगों के हृदय की पवित्रता की कहानी कहते हैं। धार्मिक सहिष्णुता, दया और एक–दूसरे का आदर यहाँ के लोगों के जीवन का अंग है। (www.divyahimachal.com)

हिमाचली लोककथाओं में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

कथाओं का जन्म मानव के साथ हुआ है। जब से मानव है तब से कहानी है। लोकमानस में कहानियों का बहुत महत्त्व होता है। वे विभिन्न प्रकार के ज्ञान को कहानियों के माध्यम से समझते हैं। कहानी में सरलता होती है जो जनमानस को भली–भाँति समझ में आ जाती है। पृथ्वी की आरंभिक अवस्था में ही आदि मानव ने कुछ लोककथाओं का निर्माण कर लिया था इन्हीं कथाओं के आधार पर संसार की अनेक कहानियाँ बनी। "भारतवर्ष में प्राचीन साहित्य में लोककथाओं के संकलन संसार भर में प्रचलित लोककथाओं का आधार माने जाते हैं" (शर्मा, 1976: 95)।

हिमाचल प्रदेश में वहाँ के समाज और संस्कृति से जुड़ी लोककथाओं का अथाह भंडार है। धार्मिक कथाएँ, पौराणिक कथाएँ, पाण्डवों की कथाएँ, महाभारत की कथाएँ, रामायण की कथाएँ, कुछ पशु–पक्षियों से संबंधित कथाएँ, कुछ नीति से संबंधित कथाएँ, कुछ शकुन–अपशकुन की कथाएँ। हिमाचल की लोककथाएँ वहाँ के जनमानस का आभूषण है। सामाजिक न्याय, सच्चाई का ईनाम, परम्पराएँ, रहन–सहन, रीति–रिवाज आदि सभी इन कथाओं का हिस्सा हैं। एक लोकगाथा में राजा विक्रमादित्य के चरित्र में न्यायप्रियता की भावना को दर्शाते हुए समाज में न्याय के महत्त्व को स्पष्ट किया गया है:

जेहड़ा राजा विक्रमदित्या साईं पुरूसार्थ करे
से ही राजा एस सिंहासना पर पैर धरे। (हाण्डा, 1988: 55)

अर्थात् वही राजा इस सिंहासन पर बैठ सकता है जिसमें राजा विक्रमादित्य के समान पुरूषार्थ हो।

पारम्परिक लोककथाओं में बीरबल की कथाएं बहुत प्रसिद्ध है।

स्थानीय लोकपरम्पराओं, विश्वासों और मान्यताओं के आधार पर भी यहाँ अनेक लोककथाओं का विकास हुआ। इस प्रकार की कथाएँ सामान्यतः घरों में ही सुनी सुनाई जाती हैं। (हाण्डा, 1988: 54)

समाज में अनेक भाग्यवादी कथाएँ भी पाई जाती है। हिमाचल के लोग भाग्य पर बहुत अधिक विश्वास करते हैं।

भूजौ नही जमदौ, सूंचो नांई मोना रा होंदो
जौ लिओ कोरमे, सौ नहीं किरदी जांदो। (कश्यप, 1972: 184)

अर्थात् भूना हुआ बीज उगता नहीं और मन की अभिलाषा पूर्ण नहीं होती पर जो भाग्य में लिखा है वह तो कहीं नहीं जाता।

इनकी लोककथाओं में भाग्य पर विश्वास बहुत अधिक पाया जाता है। ये मानते हैं कि जब सूर्य और

चंद्रमा पर ग्रहण लग सकता है तो मनुष्य तो क्या है। सब भाग्य का खेल है किसी का भी भाग्य पूर्ण नहीं होता।

शिव–पार्वती, रामायण, महाभारत के अनेक प्रसंगो के ऊपर भी लोककथाएँ भरी पड़ी हैं। इन कथाओं मे लोकरुचि के अनुसार अनेक प्रयोग एवं परिवर्तन हुए हैं। पात्रों के नामों में विविधता, नए पात्र, घटना क्रमों में फेरबदल, स्थानों के वर्णन में आँचलिकता स्वतः ही परिलक्षित हो जाती है।

काँगडा क्षेत्र में भागवत पुराण के अनेक लोक–सुलभ संस्करण लोककथाओं में परम्परित हुए हैं। इन कथाओं मे भी विषय–निर्वाह लोक–सुलभ आस्थाओं और मान्यताओं के आधार पर ही हुआ है। (हाण्डा, 1988: 56)

भूतप्रेतों की कथाएँ भी जनमानस के सामाजिक जीवन का हिस्सा होती हैं। पहाड़ी लोग भी इस का अपवाद नहीं हैं। भूत–प्रेत की कथाओं का यहाँ भरपूर प्रचलन है। पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में अनेक ऐसे स्थान हैं जो परम्परागत रूप से भूत–पिशाचो की कहानियों से जुड़े हुए हैं। इन कथाओं को और अधिक प्रभावशाली बनाने के लिए इनके साथ आस–पड़ोस के किसी खण्डहर, बीहड़ स्थल अथवा वृक्ष को जोड़ा जाता है।

इसके अतिरिक्त त्योहारों और उत्सवों को लेकर भी अनेक लोककथाओं का निर्माण किया गया है। त्योहार और मेले किसी भी समाज की चेतना के प्रतिबिम्ब होते हैं। लोहड़ी, शिवरात्रि, होली, वैशाखी, रक्षाबंधन, कृष्ण जन्माष्टमी, दशहरा, दीपावली आदि के अतिरिक्त अनेक स्थानीय त्योहार और मेले जैसे– जागरा, साजो, लवी मेला, मिंजर मेला, नलवाड़ी मेला, रिवालसर मेला, शांद(बकरीद), भुंड़ा महायज्ञ, काहिका, रेणुका मेला, शूलिनी मेला आदि सभी त्योहारों और मेलों से संबंधित लोककथाएं हिमाचल के लोकसाहित्य का आधार है। भुंड़ा त्योहार में तो बलि प्रथा की अनेक कथाएं सुनी–सुनाई जाती है। "निरमंड, रामपूर तथा रोहडू के क्षेत्रों में भुंडा के अवसर पर विध्यात्मक नर बलि का प्रचलन भी संभवतः किन्हीं आदिम मान्यताओं से प्रभावित रहा है " (हाण्डा, 1988: 60)।

इन लोककथाओं में समाज के मानस को सबसे अधिक झकझोरने वाली कथाएँ है नारी बलि से संबंधित कथाएँ। इस प्रथा के अंतर्गत बिलासपुर में रूपी राणी की बलि, चम्बा में सूई राणी की बलि, कांदणी राणी की बलि आदि मार्मिक कथाएँ हैं। राणी रुकमणी की कथा में रूकमणी के ससुर ने अपने राज्य में पानी की कमी और सूखे की समस्या के निवारण हेतु रूकमणी को जिंदा चिनवा दिया था। जिससे पूरे राज्य में खून की नदियाँ बह गई थी। चम्बा की 'सुकरात' भी इसी प्रकार की प्रसिद्ध लोककथा है।

सामान्यतः पहाड़ी लोककथाओं में मुख्य पात्र राजा–रानी, साहुकार–साहुकारिन, राजकुमार–राजकुमारी तथा ब्राह्मण आदि रहते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त संयुक्त परिवार से संबंधित अनेक लोककथाएँ हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में देखने को मिलती है। संयुक्त परिवार भारतीय संस्कृति की महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता रही है। कुल्लुई लोकसाहित्य में

तो बहुधा इसी प्रकार के परिवार का चित्रण हुआ है जहाँ दादा, माता–पिता, बेटा–बेटी, बहु आदि सभी है। इन लोककथाओं में सास–बहु के रिश्तों को लेकर बहुत लिखा गया है। बहु की करूण कहानी है तो सास के अत्याचारों का अनेक स्थलों पर वर्णन हुआ है। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि सास केवल बातों से ही प्रहार नहीं करती अपितु अगर वह उचित समझे तो बहू को विष खिलाकर मार तक डालती है। परंतु कई जगह सतयुग और कलयुग की तुलना करते हुए कुछ ऐसी कथाएँ भी मिलती हैं जहाँ वृद्ध होने पर सास बेचारी सारा घर का काम करती है और बहू सारा दिन बेकार बैठी रहती है:

सौती जुगा सौती जुगारी बारी
रीख पीशा थी फाफरो, ब्राग आणथौं बाकरी चारी।
कली जुगा कली जुगा री बारी
शाशू खाली खौटिया, बेशिया खा बुआरी। (कश्यप, 1972: 215)

अर्थात् सतयुग में तो रीछ फाफरा पीस लाता था और शेर बकरी चराने जाता था परंतु आज कलयुग में सास कमाकर खाती है और बहु बिना कमाए खाती है।

इसके अतिरिक्त ससुर, देवर, ननंद आदि सभी रिश्तों से जुड़ी लोककथाएँ मिलती है।

इस प्रकार हमारे सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन का सच्चा और स्वभाविक चित्रण लोककथाओं में भला–भाँति देखा जा सकता है।

पहाड़ी लोकजीवन में जिन वस्तुओं का अभाव रहा है, लोककथाओं के माध्यम से उन सभी अभिलाषित वस्तुओं को साकार और सजीव कल्पना उस अभाव को पूरा करने का प्रयास करती है। कल्पनाओं के इन तानों–बानों से ही पहाड़ी लोककथाओं का आकार विकसित हुआ है (हाण्डा, 1988: 50)।

हिमाचली लोकगीतों में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

हिमाचल में सबसे प्रसिद्ध हैं–लोकगीत। लोकगीत लोकजीवन की बहुरंगी झलकियाँ पूर्ण समग्रता के साथ प्रस्तुत करते हैं। घर आँगन से लेकर खेत–खलिहानों तक और जन्म से लेकर मरण तक के सभी कार्य इन लोकगीतों के माध्यम से प्रस्तुत किए जा सकते हैं। लोकगीत श्रमसाध्य पहाड़ी जीवन को सरल व रोमांचकारी बनाने में सहायक होते हैं। इस विधा ने उनके जीवन के हर पहलू को छुआ है। यहाँ की कठिन जीवन परिस्थितियों में जितनी आवश्यकता भोजन और पानी की है उतना ही महत्त्व और आवश्यकता लोकगीतों की है। यहाँ के लोगों में आपसी सहयोग की भावना को प्रस्तुत करता ये लोकगीत कुछ इस प्रकार है:

चानणी ओची री हुण धारा
ओ दाणे री खारी लगीरी दारा
मिली के पैन्हणा होर खाणा
ओ केसी जो पता नी केभे जाणा। (हाण्डा, 1988: 33)

अर्थात् चोटी पर प्रकाश या चाँदनी उभर आई है, अन्न के ढेर द्वार पर लग गए हैं, आओ सब मिलजुल कर पहनें खायें, क्या पता कब कौन इस संसार से चला जाए।

पहाड़ी लोकगीतों में प्रकृति हमेशा मनुष्य की सहचरी रही है। प्रकृति हमेशा उनके हर सुख–दुःख में सदा साथ रही है।

चाँदनी, धूप, बिजली, वर्षा, आँधी, बाढ़, सूरज, चंद्र, नदी, नाले, घाटियाँ और चोटियाँ आदि सभी के प्रतीयमान तत्त्व लोकगायकों की भावनाओं को अभिव्यक्त करने में सहायक रहें हैं। वस्तुतः पहाड़ी लोकमानस का प्रकृति से पूर्ण तादात्म्य रहा है। (हाण्डा, 1988: 34)

रतिभाव के गीतों में विरहावस्था में तड़पती एक स्त्री की दशा का वर्णन कुछ इस प्रकार किया गया है:

जली ये रीत पुराणी हो,
कंत मेरा झुरी रा परदेसा, असां तां रखणा मैलड़ा भेसा,
चिट्ठी न पत्री न कोई संदेसा, किंया ये जिंद निभाणी हो,
जली ये रीत पुराणी हो। (हाण्डा, 1988: 35)

अर्थात् यह रीत जल जाए। मेरा पति परदेस में है और मैं ऐसा ही मैला भेस रखुँगी क्योंकि मेरे पति की न तो कोई चिट्ठी आई है और न ही कोई संदेशा ही आया है। मैं किस प्रकार अपना ये जीवन बिताऊँगी।

हिमाचली लोकगीतों में जन्म, विवाह, फसलों की बुआई, कटाई, धान की फसल की रोपाई, त्योहार, मेले, खेल हर सुख, हर दुःख के, हर शकुन–अपशकुन के गीत हैं। विवाह के समय के हर रिवाज हर रस्म से जुड़े लोकगीतों की हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में भरमार है। कन्यादान के समय लड़की के मनोभावों को इस लोकगीत में कुछ इस प्रकार बताया गया है:

शंख बजाया कुलजै पुरोहितै, इंद्राला खबर शुनाई।
आजा तैंई बापुआ कन्या कुआंरी, आज हुई घौराई बाहरी
आमेंबी शोटे, बापुए शोटे, आज रामा मुठडुए तेरे। (कश्यप, 1972: 93)

अर्थात् कुल पुरोहित ने शंखध्वनि कर दी है और इंद्रालो ने आकर यह खबर सुना दी है। बापु अब आ जा और कन्यादान कर दे आज तेरी कुंआरी बेटी घर से बाहर हो रही है अर्थात् पराई हो रही है। माँ ने भी छोड़ दिया और बापु ने भी छोड़ दिया। हे राम जी अब मैं आपके हाथ में हूँ मतलब अब ईश्वर का ही सहारा है।

इसी तरह विदाई के गीत भी बड़े मार्मिक हैं:

धानौ बौए बेटीए देउड़ी दुआरे, आजौ छूटौ सौंगणी केरो साथा।
धानौ बौए बेटीए देउड़ी दुआरे, आजौ छूटौ बेटीय गुडी केरो साथा।
धानौ बौए बेटीए देउड़ी दुआरे, आजौ छूटौ बेटी का बाबू केरो घरा। (कश्यप, 1972: 95)

अर्थात् बेटी सुन, जाते जाते दरवाजे पर धान बो देना। आज से तुम्हारा अपनी सहेलियों से साथ छूटा, गुड़ियों का खेल तुमसे छूटा और प्यारे पिता का घर भी तुमसे छूट गया।

इसी के साथ–साथ त्योहार, पर्व, व्रत और देवी–देवताओं के गीत भी अपनी महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रखते

हैं। शिवरात्रि, जन्माष्टमी, रामायण प्रसंग, भेंटें, नृत्य गीत, फलालु, नाटी गीत, मेला गीत आदि हिमाचली जीवन एवं संस्कृति के प्रमाण हैं। जन्माष्टमी में कृष्ण–जन्म समय का गीत कुछ इस प्रकार है:

बोले रे मोहुआ, बेटेया दो दर्शणा लैई।
ऐसा बेटा कभी न जन्मा, बेटो जमो आपु भगवानों। (कश्यप, 1972: 100)

अर्थात् देवकी को जगाते हुए वसुदेव बोल रहें हैं कि उठकर बेटे के दर्शन कर लो ऐसा बेटा कहीं नहीं जन्मा। स्वयं भगवान हमारा बेटा बनकर आए हैं।

रामायण प्रसंग की कुछ पंक्तियाँ इस प्रकार है–

रामा गेणो चंद्रमों जोदया रे ठाए
गुरु गेणो वाशिष्टा लाखण भाए
सीता गेणो भारतज, राजा जनकारे जाए
राणी गेणें केउके जिए बांडे कराए। (कश्यप, 1972: 102)

अर्थात् अयोध्या में चंद्रमा जैसे राम हैं जिनके गुरु ऋषि वशिष्ट हैं और लक्ष्मण उनके भाई हैं। सीता उनकी पत्नी हैं जो राजा जनक की पुत्री हैं। एक रानी केकेई है जिसने सबको अलग–अलग कर दिया है।

इन लोकगीतों में कई जगह बुराईयों से बचने के उपदेश भी होते हैं। जैसे निम्नलिखित लोकगीत में बताया गया है कि हुक्का पीने से छाती पर दाग लग सकता है अर्थात् दिल की बीमारी हो सकती है अतः नशा नहीं करना चाहिए:

ओ रे पड़ा ओ मंडी शहरा लो
पोरे कुल्लू रा बागा, लोहड़ी पोरे कुल्लु रा बागा।
हुक्का नी पीणा मेरे भाईयो छाती लगदा दागा। (हाण्डा, 1988: 47)

हिमाचल की सुंदरता और रहन–सहन, खान–पान को लेकर भी अनेक गीत गाए जातो हैं जो सामाजिक जीवन का आधार हैं जैसे:

ओढ़ने जो पाटु, बछ्याणे जो सेले, ना छोड़े फटदे, ना हुंदे मैले।
छेलुआ–भेड़ुआ जो लेई किथी चलेया गदिया, ठंडा पहाड़ छाड़ी तेथी, सुका चंगर मेलेया।
ठंड़ी–ठंड़ी हवा ठंड़ा जे पाणी हो, बांका पहाड़ा दा बसणा ओ जिंदे।
सारे मुल्क हांड़ी फिरी देखी लये, क्या एस दिलारा दसणा ओ जिंदे। (हाण्डा, 1988: 47, 48)

अर्थात् हमारे पास ओढ़ने को पट्टु है और बिछाने को सेल है। ये न तो जल्दी फटते हैं और न ही मैले होते हैं। अरे गद्दी(पहाड़ी जनजाति) तू ठंडें पहाड़ों को छोड़कर अपने मेमनों और भेडों के साथ सूखे बंजरों की ओर क्यों जा रहा है। यहाँ की ठंड़ी–ठंड़ी हवा है, ठंड़ा–ठंड़ा पानी है। पहाडों में बसना तो सबसे सुखद और सुंदर है। सारा संसार घूम कर देख लिया अब और क्या इस दिल को देखना बाकी है।

हिमाचल के प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य का एक और गीत इस प्रकार हैः

ञीमा शेरना शेरा शेरी ठोङ्जम ञीमा, लऔलो केसी फायुल औलोङ् चौना शैर
कैसे हाङ् र ग्यलसा यालङ् चौना शैर (शर्मा, 1976ः 95)

इससे अभिप्राय है कि सूर्य पूर्व से उदय होने के बाद सबको प्रकाश देता है। गर्म भी है, नर्म भी है। धूप हमारी जन्मभूमि की चोटी पर चमकी। हाङ्गो की सबसे ऊँची चोटी पर धूप चमकी।

शकुन–अपशकुन के गीत भी हिमाचल में काफी प्रचलित हैं जैसेः

अरी भियाणीए, कोने कीए काहणी शुणी,
याणी बाली बे उमरे हुई मौता, चीड़ी डाला री रूणी। (हरनोट, 2004ः 116)

अर्थात् अरी भियाणी कानों में यह क्या कथा सुन ली, किसी नौजवान की मौत हो गई है, यह चिड़िया शाखा पर रो रही है।

इस प्रकार देखा जाए तो जीवन का हर पहलु इन लोकगीतों में देखा जा सकता है। जन्म, नामकरण, चूड़ाकर्म, उपनयन, विवाह, गाडर, नहलाने के गीत, वेदी गीत, कन्यादान के गीत, विदाई गीत, पौराणिक कथाओं के गीत, ऐतिहासिक राजाओं के गीत, प्रकृति के गीत, पहाड़ी संस्कृति, रहन–सहन, खानपान, वेश–भूषा के गीत, त्योहारों मेलों के गीत, मरण समय के गीत हर रीति–रस्म के गीत हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में मिलते हैं। जीवन का ऐसा कोई भी भाग नहीं होगा जहाँ लोकगीत नहीं होंगे। अतः लोकगीत हिमाचली जीवन और संस्कृति के आधार तत्त्व हैं।

हिमाचली प्रकीर्ण साहित्य में सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक परिवेश

लोकसाहित्य में प्रकीर्ण साहित्य की अपनी विशिष्ट भूमिका होती है। जब जनमानस अपनी अत्यंत निजी भावों तथा अभिव्यक्तियों को प्रकट करता है तो इसी साहित्य के माध्यम से करता है। हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में जनजीवन के सम्पूर्ण सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन का लेखा–जोखा इसी प्रकीर्ण साहित्य में मिलता है। इसके अंतर्गत कहावतें, पहेलियाँ, लोकोक्तियाँ तथा मुहावरें शामिल किए जाते हैं। पहाड़ी बोलियों मे कहावतों तथा लोकोक्तियों की प्रचुर मात्रा मिल जाती है। इस साहित्य में सामाजिक सत्य, लेन–देन, प्रवृत्तियाँ, शकुन–अपशकुन, हास्य, स्नेह, ज्ञानसूचक, रीति–रिवाज, संस्कृति आदि सभी से संबंधित प्रकीर्ण साहित्य मिलता है। मानव मस्तिष्क की भावधारा को समझने में पहेलियाँ भी अपनी विशेष भूमिका निभाती हैं।

सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन से संबंधित कुछ ऐसी वस्तुएँ जिनका दैनिक जीवन में महत्व है, से जुड़ी अनेक पहेलियाँ हैं। जैसेः

- आर भी झूलौ पार भी झूलौ
  माँझै कैमटू फूलौ। (मक्खन) (कश्यप, 1972ः 168)
- एकी भाई ए पेटो दी दांद (एक भाई के पेट में दाँत)। (कद्दू) (कश्यप, 1972ः 168)

- ठैन–ठैन रानियु सांतनि बाबू(ठक–ठक की आवाज करने वाला बनावटी बाबू)। (चिमटा) (शर्मा, 1976: 154)
- नारो–नारो नारशिम माशकोच(गिन–गिन कर भी गिरना कठिन)।(आकाश के तारे) (शर्मा, 1976: 154)

लोकोक्तियाँ लोकसाहित्य का अभिन्न अंग है। इनमें जनजीवन के समस्त पहलू समाहित हो जाते हैं।

ऊँची दूकान फीका पकवान कहावत का किन्नौरी रूप इस प्रकार है:

- मी जिगित्वु बातङ् तेग (आदमी छोटा बात बड़ी)। (शर्मा, 1976: 138)
- इम्या चोरसे, राया चोरसे (एक दिन का चोर, सौ दिन का चोर)। (शर्मा, 1976: 139)

अर्थात् जो एक बार चोरी का आदी बन जाता है वह हमेशा चोरी करने के लिए ललचाता रहता है।

- अफरो चीज ला कुने मर ना बोलदो (अपनी चीज को कोई बुरा नहीं कहता)। (शर्मा, 1976: 140)
- पेटिङ् ताङेस ज्वापरिङ् (पेट के लिए मौत के मूँह में)। (शर्मा, 1976: 140)

अर्थात् पेट की खातिर(रोजी–रोटी के लिए) बहुत से खतरे मोल लेने पड़ते हैं।

- स्याणे ओ बोल, आंबड़ेया स्वाद, पाछा लागो मीठो। (कश्यप, 1972: 170)

अर्थात् बुजुर्गों की कही बात और आंवले की मिठास का बाद में पता लगता है।

- छारा री मारी लात आऔ मुहालै। (कश्यप, 1972: 171)

अर्थात् राख में पैर मारने से वो मुँह पर ही उड़कर आती है या बुरे व्यक्ति को मुँह लगाने से हानि होती है।

- हांडे ओ छवा आणु शैई, बेशोओ छवा आणु चौई। (कश्यप, 1972: 173)

अर्थात् राह में चलते चलते रात हो जाए तो कोई बात नहीं बैठे–बैठे रात नहीं होनी चाहिए या मेहनत करनी चाहिए। जीवन में यूँ बैठकर जीवन व्यतीत नहीं करना चाहिए।

इन लोकोक्तियों के अतिरिक्त जनजीवन से जुड़े कुछ मुहावरें भी हिमाचली प्रकीर्ण साहित्य में देखे जा सकते हैं जैसे:

- पाचे पाणी (पत्ते पर पानी)
- देशे–देशे नाचाणो (अपमानित करना)
- दान्द पचोकणे (मुँह बनाना)
- शीले कोदरे साही चेकणो (बुरी तरह पीटना)
- गौड़ौ काटङू (गले का हार)
- थूके आरशू (थूक के आँसू)
- सीउं ध्याड़ी ओ परेशी (दिन में दीपक जलाना) (कश्यप, 1972: 184)

इस प्रकार प्रकीर्ण साहित्य लोकानुभूति का प्रतिबिम्ब कहा जा सकता है। इसमें जनजीवन से जुड़ी, हर छोटी–बड़ी आवश्यकता से जुड़ी हर चीज से संबंधित साहित्य मिलता है। इसलिए प्रकीर्ण साहित्य का भी लोकसाहित्य में अपना विशेष महत्व है।

निष्कर्ष रूप में कहा जा सकता है कि हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य चाहे लोकगाथा हो, लोककथा हो, लोकगीत हो या प्रकीर्ण साहित्य हो सबमें हिमाचली जनजीवन की सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक जीवन की बहुरंगी झलकियाँ देखने को मिलती है। लोक–साहित्य हिमाचली जीवन की आधारशिला कही जा सकती है। ग्राम्य जीवन, ग्राम्य संस्कृति, ग्राम्य रीति–रिवाज, ग्राम्य परिवेश आदि सभी की विस्तृत जानकारी इस साहित्य में मिलती है। अतः हिमाचली लोकसाहित्य में हिमाचली जीवन सत्य, सौंदर्य एवं परोपकार की भावनाओं को स्पष्ट रूप से जाना व समझा जा सकता है।

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7

ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ

ਡਾ. ਹਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ
ਸਹਾਇਕ ਪ੍ਰੋਫ਼ੈਸਰ
ਡੀ.ਏ.ਵੀ. ਕਾਲਜ, ਸੈਕਟਰ-10, ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ

ਹੈਜਮਨੀ (hegemony) ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੀ ਵਿਉਂਤਪਤੀ ਗ੍ਰੀਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ 'ਅਗਵਾਹੀ ਕਰਨ' (dominate) ਦੇ ਚਿਨ੍ਹਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਤ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦਾ ਦਾਰਸ਼ਨਿਕ ਪੱਧਰ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਲੈਨਿਨ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਇਟਲੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਰਕਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਕ ਅਨਾਤੋਨੀਉ ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ (1891-1937) ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਪੁਸਤਕ 'ਜੇਲ ਡਾਇਰੀਆਂ' (The Prison Notebooks) ਵਿਚ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਤੋਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ। ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿਭਿੰਨ ਦਾਨਸ਼ਵਰਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਵਿਭਿੰਨ ਕੋਣਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਨੂੰ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਸਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਜਾਰੀ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਿੰਤਕਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਸਮਕਾਲੀ ਖੋਜ-ਕਰਤਾ ਸੋਰੇਜ ਨੇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਦਾਰਸ਼ਨਿਕ ਆਧਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਮਤਾਧੀਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਸੰਬੰਧਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਨੂੰ ਆਧਾਰ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਹੈ (2002: 213)। ਉਹ ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਨੈਤਿਕ ਤੇ ਬੌਧਿਕ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਕੇ, ਅਗਵਾਹੀ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਹੈ। ਸੋਰੇਜ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਫੋਨਟਾਨਾ ਵੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੱਤ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ "ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਢਾਂਚੇ ਵਿਚ ਅਗਵਾਹੀ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲਾ ਗਰੁੱਪ ਅਲਪ-ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਦੀ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਤੇ ਇੱਛਾ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ/ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਹ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਆ ਲੋਕ-ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਕੇ, ਲੋਕ-ਵਿਸਵਾਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਵਿਵਸਥਾ ਦੀ ਸੋਧ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਗੂ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਯੋਜਨਾਬੱਧ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਚਾਰ-ਸਾਧਨਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਜੀਵਨ-ਜਾਚ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਵਿਹਾਰ ਤੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਿਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ" (1993: 512-30)।

ਮੂਲ ਸ਼ਬਦ: ਅਲਪ ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਦਮਨਕਾਰੀ ਸੰਰਚਨਾ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਉਪਕਰਣ, ਰਾਜ-ਸ਼ਕਤੀ

ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਇਕ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਗਤ ਸਮਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੋਸ਼ਕ-ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਵਿਦਿਅਕ, ਧਾਰਮਿਕ, ਸੰਚਾਰ ਤੇ ਕਲਾਤਮਿਕ ਆਦਿ ਸਾਧਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਪਰਾਧੀਨ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਕੇ, ਸਥਾਪਿਤ-ਸੱਤਾ ਦੇ ਸਥਾਈਪਨ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਉਹ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਿਕਾਸਮੂਲਕ ਭਵਿੱਖਮੁੱਖੀ-ਪਰਿਵਰਤਨ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਹਾਰਕ ਰੂਪ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਆਧਾਰ ਵਿਚਲੇ ਅੰਤਰ-ਵਿਰੋਧਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਲ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾਈ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ/ਸਾਧਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਦਬਾਅ (ਰੱਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ) ਦਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ/ਸਾਧਨਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਹਾਵਕੇਸ ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਹੈ,

> ਸਕੂਲ ਇਕ ਸਕਾਰਤਮਿਕ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ-ਦਾਇਕ ਕਾਰਜ ਵਜੋਂ ਤੇ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ ਇਕ ਦਮਨਕਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਨਕਾਰਾਤਮਿਕ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ-ਦਾਇਕ ਕਾਰਜ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਉਪਕਰਣ ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਵਾਸਤਵ ਵਿਚ (ਇਹ) ਬਹੁ-ਗਿਣਤੀ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਹੋਰਨਾ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਅਗਵਾਹੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਝੁਕਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖ਼ਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਗਵਾਹੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਹਨ, ਜੋ ਕਿ ਸ਼ਾਸਕ-ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਤੇ ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤਕ ਸਰਦਾਰੀ (hegemony) ਦਾ ਉਪਕਰਣ ਹੈ। (2007: 121)

ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨਾਲ ਨਿਕਟ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ ਦੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਨੂੰ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਦਾ ਲੁਇਸ

ਅਲਥੂਸਰ (Louis Althusser) ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਦਾ ਨਿਰਮਾਣ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੋਈ ਉਸਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਦੀ ਵਾਸਤਵਿਕਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਕਲਪਨਾ/ਭਰਮ ਦੇ ਰੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਲਪਨਾਤਮਿਕ/ਭ੍ਰਮਿਕ ਰੰਗ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਸੱਚ ਵਜੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੁਤੰਤਰਤਾ ਦੇ ਭਰਮ ਵਿਚ ਜਿਉਂਦਾ ਅਚੇਤ ਪੱਧਰ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਸਕ-ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸਾਂ ਅਧੀਨ ਹੀ ਵਿਚਰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਅਰਥਾਤ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ ਉਹ ਕਾਲਪਨਿਕ ਢੰਗ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਲੋਕ ਆਪਣੀ ਵਾਸਤਵਿਕ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਦਾ ਅਨੁਭਵ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹੋਏ, ਪਦਾਰਥਕ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਦੀ ਆਦਰਸ਼ਕ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧਤਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ (Hawkes, 2007:121)। ਅਲਥੂਸਰ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਸਕ-ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀਆਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਕਾਰਜਸ਼ੀਲ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਾਲਪਨਿਕ ਹੋਂਦ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਦਮਨਕਾਰੀ ਉਪਕਰਣਾਂ (repressive state apparatuses) ਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਉਪਕਰਣਾਂ (ideological state apparatuses) ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਚਰਚਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਪੀਟਰ ਬੈਰੀ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਹੈ,

> ਅਲਥੂਸਰ, ਰਾਜ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਤੇ ਰਾਜ ਨਿਯੰਤ੍ਰਣ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਇਕ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਅੰਤਰ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਰਾਜ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣ ਲਈ ਅਲਥੂਸਰ ਦਮਨਕਾਰੀ ਸੰਰਚਨਾ ਦੇ ਸੰਕੇਤਕ-ਪਦ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਤੋਂ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਭਾਵ ਬਾਹਰੀ ਸ਼ਕਤੀਆਂ (ਜਿਵੇਂ ਅਦਾਲਤਾਂ, ਜੇਲ੍ਹਾਂ, ਪੁਲਿਸ ਤੇ ਫੌਜ ਆਦਿ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ) ਤੋਂ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਰਾਜ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਸੂਖ਼ਮ (ਮਸਲਾ) ਹੈ ਜੋ ਦਿਖਾਵੇ ਦੀ ਸਰੁੱਖਿਆ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਨਾਗਰਿਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਅਲਥੂਸਰ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਸੰਰਚਨਾ ਜਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਉਪਕਰਣ ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਥੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ, ਸਕੂਲ, ਮੀਡੀਆ, ਚਰਚ, ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਕਲਾ (ਸਾਹਿਤ) ਆਦਿ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਗਰੁੱਪ ਹਨ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਾ (ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਿਹਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਮੂਹ) ਨੂੰ ਸੰਜੋਅ ਕੇ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਸਹਾਨਭੂਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਰਾਜ ਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪੱਧਰ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਅਸੀਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਵਾਸਤਵ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਸਾਰਾ ਕੁਝ ਸਾਡੇ ਤੇ ਥੋਸਿਆ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। (2007: 164)

ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਉਪਰੋਕਤ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਲਥੂਸਰ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਉਪਕਰਣ ਦੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਦੀ ਰੋਸ਼ਨੀ ਅਧੀਨ ਹੀ 'ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ' ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਤੇ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਅਧਿਐਨ-ਵਸਤੂ ਵਜੋਂ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਬਰ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਮਝਣ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ, ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਤੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੇ ਨਿਖੇੜਾਮੂਲਕ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਅਣਹੋਂਦ ਸੰਕਲਪਾਂ ਦੀ ਅਸਪੱਸ਼ਟਤਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਅਧਿਐਨ ਪ੍ਰਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਅਰਾਜਕਤਾ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਬਣ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਸੋ ਇਥੇ ਵਿਸਥਰਿਤ ਅਰਥਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ-ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ-ਆਰਥਿਕ ਵਿਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁ-ਗਿਣਤੀ ਤੇ ਅਲਪ-ਗਿਣਤੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਗਰੁੱਪਾਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਸਰੂਪ ਤੇ ਸੁਭਾਅ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੰਕਲਪ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸਟੀਕ ਪਰਿਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਾਈਲੀ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, "ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀ ਉਦੋਂ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਦੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਨੇਮਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਮਤਾਧੀਨ ਸਮੂਹ ਉਸ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਮਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਨਾਕਾਮੀ ਤੇ ਹੀਣਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਮੰਨ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ" (Wiley, 2000: 113)। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀ ਗ੍ਰਾਮਸ਼ੀ ਕਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਸਮੁੱਚਤਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਦੀ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਇੱਕ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ "ਜਲਵਾਯੂ" ਦੀ ਸਮੂਹਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ

ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਕੇਂਦਰੀ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਜਾਂ ਜ਼ਬਰ ਤੋਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨਤਾ ਕਾਰਨ, ਆਪਣੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਨਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਮਤਾਧੀਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਦੀ ਚੇਤਨਾ ਦਾ ਭਾਗ ਬਣਾ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਮਤਾਧੀਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਤੇ ਹੋਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਕੇ ਵੇਖਣ ਦਾ ਨਜ਼ਰੀਆਂ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਣ ਕਰ ਲੈਂਦੀ ਹੈ।

ਅਜਿਹਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਯੰਤਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੋਈ, ਮੀਡੀਆ, ਸਮਾਜਿਕ-ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜ-ਸੰਬੰਧਾਂ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਸੁਨਿਸਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਮਤਾਧੀਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਣੀ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਹੀਣਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਭਰਦੀ ਹੋਈ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਸਮੂਹ ਨੂੰ ਨਕਾਰਾਤਮਕ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਾਰਥਕ ਹੋਂਦ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਸਾਸ ਕਰਵਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਅਲਪ-ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਬਹੁ-ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਪਰਿਣਾਮ ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਅਲਪ-ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਅਲੋਪ ਹੋਣ ਨਾਲ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਗੋਚਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਉਦੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਦੋਂ ਅਲਪ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਸਮੂਹ ਬਹੁ-ਸੰਖਿਅਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਸਮੂਹ/ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਅਧੀਨਗੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਕੇ, ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਵਾਲੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਚਿਰਜੀਵੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਅਚੇਤ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਅਤੇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਤੇ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਝਣਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਾਮਰਾਜੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਿਹਿਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਪਾਸਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਵੀ ਵਿਸਥਾਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਸ਼ਾਸਕ ਵਰਗ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ/ਸੱਤਾ ਦੇ ਸਹਾਰੇ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਆਰੰਭ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਸ਼ਨੀ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਨੂੰ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਹਿੱਤ ਇਕ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਵਰਗ ਦੀ ਸਿਰਜਣਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਜੀਵਨ-ਜਾਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਸਾਹਿਤ, ਸਿੱਖਿਆ, ਸਦਾਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਤਕਨੀਕ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ-ਮਾਡਲ ਦੇ ਅਧਾਰ 'ਤੇ ਤਿਆਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੋਵੇ। ਅਜਿਹਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਲਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ-ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਵਿਵਸਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਉੱਚਤਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਚਨ ਨੂੰ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਗਿਆਨ, ਵਿਗਿਆਨ, ਤਕਨੀਕ, ਸਿੱਖਿਆ, ਸਾਹਿਤ, ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਮਨੋਰੰਜਨ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਇਕਮਾਤਰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਸੱਤਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਚਨ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਸਥਾਪਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ-ਮਿਥਿਹਾਸ, ਸਾਹਿਤ ਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਲੇਸ਼ਣ-ਮੁਲਾਂਕਣ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਆਪਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਨੁਕਤੇ ਤਲਾਸ਼ਦਾ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਨਾਂਤਰ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਰੋਧੀ-ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਜਨ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਭਾ ਲਹਿਰ ਵੱਲੋ ਵਿਕੋਲਿਤਰੇ ਯਤਨ ਆਰੰਭ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਆਪਣੇ ਸੁਭਾਅ, ਸਰੂਪ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤਕ ਆਧਾਰ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਜਨ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ-ਸਾਹਿਤ/ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਫੁਲਤ ਕਰਨ ਕਾਰਨ, ਬ੍ਰਤਾਨਵੀ-ਸਮਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਨੀਅਤ/ ਨੀਤੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਅਧੀਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਖੇਤਰ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਤੋੜਕੇ ਧਰਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਨ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਬਣਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤੱਕ ਸੀਮਿਤ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਹਾਸ਼ੀਆਗਤ ਧਰਾਤਲ 'ਤੇ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਲਹਿਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਨਾਂਤਰ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਆਮ ਪੰਜਾਬੀਆਂ, ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਗਤਾਂ, ਕਿਰਤੀਆਂ, ਕਿਸਾਨਾਂ, ਦਲਿਤਾਂ ਆਦਿ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਬਣਕੇ ਜਨ-ਸਧਾਰਨ ਦੇ ਸੰਚਾਰ ਦਾ ਮਾਧਿਅਮ ਬਣੀ, ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ/ਹਸਤੀ ਲਈ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਕਰਦੀ ਗਤੀਸ਼ੀਲ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਮਗਰੋਂ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਸੱਤਾ ਉੱਚ ਵਰਗ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੀ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਅਨੁਕੂਲਨ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨੂੰ ਖੇਤਰੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਸੱਤਾ ਸਾਮਰਾਜੀ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਉੱਚ-ਵਰਗ ਕੋਲ ਪਰਿਵਰਤਿਤ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਨ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣ ਸਰੂਪ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਉੱਚ-ਵਰਗ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਤੋਂ ਲਾਭ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਗਿਆਨ/ਵਿਗਿਆਨ ਉੱਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਕਬਜ਼ੇ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਉੱਚੀਆਂ ਪਦਵੀਆਂ/ਨੌਕਰੀਆਂ ਮੁੱਖ ਤੌਰ 'ਤੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ, ਬੋਲਣ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਝਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਰਹਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। (ਭੀਮ ਇੰਦਰ, 2012)

ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਹਾਸ਼ੀਆਗਤ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਪੈਰਾਡਾਈਮ ਪਰਿਵਰਤਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸੂਬੇ ਨਾਲ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਗੋਚਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਹਰੀ-ਕ੍ਰਾਂਤੀ ਦੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਲੋਕ-ਸਮੂਹ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਤਰ-ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਵੀ ਜੋੜਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਬਜ਼ਾਰਵਾਦ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ-ਵਿਕਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਤੱਕ ਸੀਮਿਤ ਕਰਦਾ, ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ/ਅੰਤਰ-ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਕੂਲ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਜਨ-ਸਧਾਰਨ ਦੇ ਅਵਚੇਤਨ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਰ ਗਹਿਰਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿੱਧ ਸਮੂਹ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਹੀ ਸਧਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਤੇ ਹੋਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜ ਕੇ ਦੇਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਥਿਤੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਰਜ਼ਾ ਚੁੱਕ ਕੇ ਪਾਰ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ, ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਪੀੜ੍ਹੀ ਲਈ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਦੇ ਆਹਰ ਵਿਚ ਲੱਗ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸੂਬੇ ਯੂਟੋਪੀਆਂ ਨਿਰੋਲ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਏਕਾਧਿਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵਾ ਬਣਕੇ ਉਜਾਗਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਤੋੜਨ ਵਿਚ ਅਸਫ਼ਲ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਗਤੀਸ਼ੀਲਤਾ ਨੱਬੇ ਦੇ ਦਹਾਕੇ ਵਿਚ ਉਦਾਰੀਕਰਨ, ਨਿੱਜੀਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਅਧੀਨ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਇਕਮਾਤਰ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਵੇਖੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਸਿਧਾਂਤਕ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ ਖੇਤਰੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਚੇਤਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੀਕਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਵੀ ਦਮ ਭਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਵਿਹਾਰਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਸਹਿਣ-ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਖੇਤਰੀਕਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਅੰਤਰ-ਵਿਰੋਧਾਂ ਤੱਕ ਹੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ।ਇਸ ਲਈ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਸਹਿਜ ਰਿਸ਼ਤਾ ਵੀ ਉਸ ਬਿੰਦੂ ਤੱਕ ਹੀ ਚੱਲਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਪਾਸਾਰ ਤੇ ਵਿਸਥਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਸਹਾਈ ਸਿੱਧ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਬਿੰਦੂ ਉੱਤੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਤਰ-ਵਿਰੋਧ ਅਤੇ ਤਣਾਉ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਬਿੰਦੂ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਰੁੱਟੀਆਂ, ਅਵਿਗਿਆਨਕ ਹੋਂਦ, ਸੰਕੀਰਨਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਅਗਿਆਨਤਾ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਵਚਨ ਆਰੰਭ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਜਿਥੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਆਪਣੀ ਹਾਸ਼ੀਆਗਤ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਆਮਈ ਰੁਖ਼ ਅਖ਼ਤਿਆਰ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਉਥੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ-ਵਿਆਪੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁਤਾ ਦੇ ਸਹਾਰੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ/ਯੋਜਨਾਵਾਂ ਰਾਹੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਜ਼ਮੀ ਬਣਾਕੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਪਰਿਣਾਮ ਸਰੂਪ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੀ ਪੌੜੀ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਕੇਂਦਰੀਕਰਨ (ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵੱਲ ਝੁਕਾਅ ਜਾਂ ਅਪਣਾਉਣਾ) ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤੀ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੇ ਵਰਤਮਾਨਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਕੇਂਦਰੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਿਰਤੀ (ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭੁਤਵ ਸਿਰਜਕੇ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ) ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀਵਾਦ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਨਾ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਗੋਚਰ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿਚ ਸਮੁੱਚੀਆਂ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵੀ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਵਾਦੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭੁਤਵ ਦੇ ਕਾਟੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਵਿਚਰ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਹਿੰਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁਤੱਵ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਖੇਤਰ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਨ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਇ ਧਰਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਕੇ ਦੇਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਨਿਹਿਤ ਹੈ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੰਦੂ-ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਵਾਦ ਦੇ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ

ਨੇਸ਼ਨ-ਸਟੇਟ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਰੁਜ਼ਗਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਮਿਆਰ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਬਣਾਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਤੁਤ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਹੀ ਹਰੀਸ਼ ਖਰੇ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਹੈ,

ਪ੍ਰਵਾਸ ਦੇ ਯੁੱਗ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਇਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੂੰ ਥੋਪਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਨਿਰਾਰਥਕ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਲੋਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਲੋੜਾਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਪਣਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਦੱਖਣੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਕਈ ਰਾਜਾਂ ਦੇ ਲੋਕ, ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਕਤ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਜ਼ਬਰੀ ਲਾਗੂ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਹੁਣ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਟਿਊਸ਼ਨਸ ਪੜਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਉਹ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਵਿਚ ਚੰਗੀ ਨੌਕਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰ ਸਕਣ।...ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਪਤੀ ਨੇ ਕੁਝ ਸੁਝਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਐੱਚ.ਆਰ.ਡੀ. ਦੁਆਰਾ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੀ.ਬੀ.ਐੱਸ.ਈ. ਵਿਚ ਦੱਸਵੀਂ ਪੱਧਰ ਤੇ ਲਾਜ਼ਮੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਈ ਜਾਣੀ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਸ਼ੋਸ਼ਲ ਮੀਡੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਧਿਆਨ ਖਿੱਚਿਆ ਹੈ''। ''ਇਸ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿਚ ਧਿਆਨਯੋਗ ਨੁਕਤਾ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਜਾਤੀ-ਖੇਤਰ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ, ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤਕ ਜਾਂ ਵਪਾਰੀ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਇੱਕ ਵੱਡੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਉਸਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਯੋਗ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਰਨ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇੱਥੇ ਇਹ ਸੱਚਾਈ ਵੀ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਣੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਭੂਗੋਲਿਕ ਖੇਤਰ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਜਾਤੀ ਖੇਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਮੌਲਿਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਸ਼ਖ਼ਸੀਅਤ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਣ ਪਾਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਜਾਤੀ ਖੇਤਰ ਦਾ ਮੌਲਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਰਜਨਾਤਮਕ ਚਿੰਤਨ ਉਸਦੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਮਾਧਿਅਮ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਸਾਕਾਰ ਹੋ ਪਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਉਪਨਿਵੇਸ਼ਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਰ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਬ੍ਰੀਟਿਸ਼ ਪ੍ਰਭੂਤਵ ਨਾਲ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਯੂਰੋਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਗਰ-ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਵਾਦ ਦਾ ਸੀ। ਇਸ ਚੇਤਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਕਿ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਇੱਕ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਤੇ ਵਿਗਿਆਨਿਕ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਪਛੜੇ ਹੋਏ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰੀਕਰਣ ਨੂੰ ਆਧੁਨਿਕਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ। (ਰਾਏ, 2012)

ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਸ੍ਰੇਸ਼ਟਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਆਧੁਨਿਕ ਸਭਿਅਤਾ ਦੇ ਸਰੋਤ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਲਾਜ਼ਮੀ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਦੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਕਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ-ਨਾਲ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਰੋਜ਼ਗਾਰ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੀ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਲਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਦਿਖਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਜ਼ਰੂਰਤ ਲਈ ਦੱਖਣੀ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਜੂਦ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਰੱਖਣ ਜਾਂ ਨਾ-ਰੱਖਣ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਮੁਖ਼ਾਤਿਬ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਆਈ ਹੈ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਵਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਤੇ ਕਸ਼ਮੀਰ ਹੀ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਰਾਜ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਵਿਭਿੰਨਤਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਬਣੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਉੱਤਰੀ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਅੰਤਰਗਤ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੇ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਧੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਅਧੀਨ ਵਿਚਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਰੋਧ ਸਿਰਜਨ(*) ਦੀ ਬਜਾਇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਆਰਥਿਕ ਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਤੇ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਆਗਣ ਅਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਸਵੀਕਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਗੁਜ਼ਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਦੀ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਦੀ ਦੋਹਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਦਾ ਸਾਹਮਣਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਨਵ-ਉਦਾਰੀਕਰਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਲਾਲਸਾਵਾਂ ਜਗਾਉ ਤੇ ਭੜਕਾਉ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਨਕਾਰਾਤਮਕ ਅਰਥਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਵੀਕਾਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀ ਯੂ.ਐੱਨ.ਓ. ਨੂੰ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਦੀਆਂ ਤੇਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਅਲੋਪ ਹੁੰਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਸੁਮਾਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਪਿਆ ਹੈ।

ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਥੇ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀਕਲ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਕੇਵਲ ਸ਼ਾਸਕ ਵਰਗ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੀਤੀਆਂ/ਨੀਅਤ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀ ਹੈ ਜਾਂ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਹੋਰ ਕਾਰਨ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀ ਨਿਭਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਨਾਲ ਨਜਿੱਠਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਜੋ ਨੁਕਤਾ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਫ਼ਰਾਂਸੀਸੀ,

ਜਰਮਨ ਆਦਿ ਯੂਰਪੀਅਨ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਵਾਲੇ ਖੇਤਰ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਰੱਖਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਹਸਤੀ ਤੇ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਕਰ ਸਕੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਦਾ ਉੱਤਰ ਨਿਰਵਿਵਾਦ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਨਿਰੂਪਣ ਦੀ ਸਮਰੱਥਾ ਵਿਚ ਨਿਹਿਤ ਹੈ। ਫ਼ਰਾਸੀਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਜਰਮਨ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਪੱਧਰ ਦੇ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਚਿੰਤਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਧਾਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਪਾਦਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਨੇ ਸਵੀਕਾਰਿਆ ਹੈ। ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਅਜਿਹੀ ਘਟਨਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਵਾਪਰ ਸਕੀ। ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਸ਼ੀਆਗਤ, ਵਿਸ਼ਵੀਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਸਿੱਧੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਅਧੀਨ ਵਿਚਰ ਰਹੇ ਅਤੇ ਹੀਣਭਾਵਨਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਮੌਲਿਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ, ਮਿਥਿਹਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਚਿੰਤਨ ਪਰੰਪਰਾ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਅੰਤਰ-ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਮਰੱਥ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਨਿਰੂਪਣ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਨਿਰਲੇਪ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਗਿਆਨਮੂਲਕ ਆਧਾਰ ਦੀ ਅਣਹੋਂਦ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਪਛਾਣ ਤੇ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਧਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕੀ, ਜਿਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਸਮੂਹ ਵਧੇਰੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੇ ਪੂਰਵਵਾਦੀ ਮਾਡਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਣ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ, ਉਥੋਂ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਭੁੱਤਾ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣ ਦੇ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਤਾਰਕਿਕ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਕੱਟੜਤਾ ਦੀ ਸੰਗਿਆ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਇਹ ਧਿਆਨਦੇਣ ਯੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਨਸਲ ਦੀ ਅਮੀਰ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਪਰੰਪਰਾ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਉਂਦੇ ਰੱਖਣਾ, ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਦੀ ਵੱਖਰੀ ਪਛਾਣ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਅਤੇ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਸਮਾਜਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਵੰਨ-ਸੁਵੰਨਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਾਈ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਮੂਲਵਾਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਤਕ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਕ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਮਨੁੱਖਤਾ ਦੀ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਹੈ। ਦੂਸਰਾ ਜਿਸ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਨੇ ਸਦੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਭਾਵਾਂ, ਜਜ਼ਬਿਆਂ, ਤਜ਼ਰਬਿਆਂ, ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਅਤੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਗਿਆਨ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਭਾਲਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਕਸਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਮੂਲਵਾਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ। (ਸਿੰਘ, 2009:20)

ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਦੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਬਾਰੇ ਚਿੰਤਨ ਅਤੇ ਯਤਨ ਕਿਸੇ ਭਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਸਥਿਤੀ (ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਈ ਪੱਧਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਧਰਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੋੜ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ) ਦੀ ਕੱਟੜਤਾ ਤੇ ਸੰਕੀਰਨਤਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਤੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਮਹੱਤਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਬਹੁ-ਕੇਂਦਰਿਤਤਾ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੀਕਾਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਤੇ ਪਾਸਾਰ ਲਈ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਇੱਛਾ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨੂੰ ਰੁਜ਼ਗਾਰ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਬਣਾਉਣਾ, ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਪੱਧਰੀ ਚਿੰਤਨ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਵਿਚ ਉਲਥਾਇਆ ਜਾਣਾ, ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਤਕਨੀਕੀ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨੂੰ ਗਿਆਨ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਜੋਂ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਹੀ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਰਤੀ ਖੇਤਰੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਤੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਰੋਧੀ ਹੈਜਮਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਜਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ।

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(*) ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਜੀਵਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਸਥਾਪਤੀ-ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਸਥਾਪਤੀ ਦੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਰੋਧ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਜਨ-ਜੀਵਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਖਾਸ ਲੋਕਧਾਰਾਈ ਮੁਹਾਵਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਰਾਜ-ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀ ਖਿਲਾਫ਼ ''ਜੇ ਮੈਂ ਜਾਣਾਂ ਮੰਗੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਭਰ ਭਰ ਦਿਆਂ ਪਿਆਲੇ, ਆਬ ਆਬ ਕਰ ਮੋਇਓ ਬਚੜਾ, ਫ਼ਾਰਸੀਆਂ ਘਰ ਗਾਲ਼ੇ'' ਅਤੇ ਅਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਰੋਧ ਵਿਚ ''ਏ ਬੀ ਸੀ ਕਿਥੇ ਗਈ ਸੀ, ਚਾਰ ਕੋਠੇ ਟੱਪਕੇ ਕੜਾਹ ਖਾਣ ਗਈ ਸੀ'' ਵਰਗੇ ਵਲਵਲਿਆ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਜਿਆ ਸੀ।

8

Locating Invisibility: Rereading *Invisible Man* through Stuart Hall

Ms Gurleen Kaur Babra
Research Scholar
Department of English and Cultural Studies
Panjab University, Chandigarh

Identity, like gender, power, and racial discourses, is also socially constructed. Even though it originates naturally, it is seen to undergo a manufacturing to uphold itself. The present paper shall seek to study how Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) captures the 1930s Afro-American search for identity. Though it is the unnamed narrator, who grapples against various power blocks, it is essential to note that the powerful Black president, the White trustees, and the Brotherhood too, fight the same battle in a different way altogether. What is unique about the invisible man's identity is his ceaseless struggle throughout the novel, only to be rendered *invisible* in the end. This, however, helps us interrogate if his fight is against the system, the power holders, or his own race that he identifies with. The text at hand shall be 'reread' using Stuart Hall's concept of identity, who asserts that identity is not what we are, but rather what we become. This idea of "becoming rather than being" (1996) is central to Hall's question of identity. The power forces and the exclusion of the 'Other' helps construct or deconstruct (in case of the narrator) one's identity. One must at the same time, relocate the identity of the narrator through that of Wells' Griffin (*The Invisible Man*) to find if their quest for identities intersect and involve similar struggles or not. If identity is about becoming and "constructs us as subjects," then is our true selfhood not an interpellation itself? These are some questions this paper intends to answer through the development of identity in the narrator in Ellison's work.

Keywords: Hall, invisibility, identity, power, becoming, being, self, subject

The main premise of the Critical Race Theory that began in the United States of America in the 1980s, was the fact that racism is endemic to American society. This theory originated as a response to Neo-Marxist Critical Legal studies of the 1970s. They believed that most of the legal cases in the US were filed on a certain kind of racist behaviour, and so it became necessary to rename it as Critical Race Theory. The theory has its base in Legal Jurisprudence and is today studied as a part of literary theory that seeks to question the issues of identity, power, and suppression associated with racial relations. We must understand that, "'[r]eading' race and ethnicity means, therefore, to read literary and cultural texts for the social roles, prejudices, resistance, collaboration and political significance of a racial or ethnic identity" (Nayar, 2010: 218).

In this context, the search for identity as a concept holds extreme importance for studying the African-American subaltern. The primary racial question is based on a quest for one's identity, amongst other sensitive issues in critical race studies. For this purpose, I seek to undertake the study of Ralph Ellison's 1952 work, *Invisible Man*. To trace the identity crisis which the unnamed narrator undergoes throughout the novel, it is also crucial to compare him with Griffin's identity by associating it with the White canonical work, namely *The Invisible Man* by H.G. Wells. Through this comparison, I intend to study the narrator's question of identity through Stuart Hall's 1996 essay, 'Who Needs 'Identity'?' which explains 'Identity' as a fragmented social construction created by the superior power block.

Yet, before engaging in the analysis of Ellison's text, one must bear in mind the significance of the process of textual inquiry or comparison itself. In terms of analyzing a literary text, which is cultural at the same time, Catherine Belsey in her essay, 'Textual Analysis as a Research Method' emphasizes:

> [t]extual analysis is indispensable to research in cultural criticism, where cultural criticism includes English, cultural history and cultural studies, as well as any other discipline that focuses on texts, or seeks to understand the inscription of culture in its artefacts. (2005:157)

This is to say, to do justice to a literary text, or help the text realize itself fully, one must unravel it one at a time. It must be done through close reading by holding fast one single thread. A single thread implies a single theory that one wishes to apply. Such a reader, for Barthes is "[s]imply that *someone* who holds together in a single field all the traces by which the written text is constituted" (1977: 148).The agency and the power that Barthes gifts the reader can be explained as one of the parameters through which Belsey looks at *Tarquin and Lucretia*, a painting by Titian. Relating to the chosen theory, Belsey in the seventh part engages in a cultural and political historical analysis. She questions the presence of the "enigmatic observer." His presence in the image, she argues, acts as a threat to Lucretia's honour and thereby she submits (2005: 169). The assigning of the corner-most position, pushing him to the margin and using this Black slave as a tool strips him of all his identity. He holds none. Through this context, I hereby seek to interrogate the identity of the Afro-American who is pitifully rendered invisible in the text.

The invisibility that the narrator possesses is in fact, the invisibility of the eye of all the people who cross him, who refuse to recognize or acknowledge his presence because of his black skin, or more blatantly, his race. In fact, he himself is utterly conscious of being overlooked by others, and admits that he is an "invisible man" (Ellison, 1952:7). The reader is a little startled when the protagonist confesses his identity on the very first page of the prologue:

I am invisible, understand simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodies heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination-indeed, everything and anything except me. Nor is my invisibility exactly a matter of bio-chemical accident to my epidermis. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their *inner* eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical upon reality. [Emphasis added] (7)

It is, perhaps, this invisibility that is the consequence of the lack of knowledge regarding one's identity. The narrator, who in the beginning of the novel is a naive young man, with aspirations to do well for himself in life, is deeply shattered when the president, Dr. Bledsoe expels him from college on showing the white trustee, Mr.Norton the dregs and slums of Black life, and more importantly for taking him to the Golden Day, a local tavern. It can be said that the unnamed narrator is a coloured Jude Fawley, who keeps running around not because of his destiny but surprisingly because people of his own race refuse to help him at all. The lofty ambition set by the protagonist for himself wavers and finally collapses when he finds that his identity as a college student has been ridiculously snatched by him, and he heads out to find a new one.

All the people who meet him through his journey invoke a certain sense of selfhood in him. George Mayberry puts it clearly:

On the road to invisibility, our pilgrim encounters the Southern small businessman, the Uncle Tom educator, the Northern do-gooder, the Negro military racist, the Harlem messiah with a sideline in numbers, the socio-scientific, highly organized Brothers whose Sisters most frequently discussed the dialectic in the boudoir, a journey that would have left Bunyan's Christian without care or hope for redemption. Ellison's solution, with a little aid from Dostoevsky and Kafka, is ingenious and original – perhaps a little too much so of both. (2013: n. p.)

The narrator's racial battle is against individuals and groups from various colours and classes. In fact, women who have the authority to use and harass him for raping them too hold power in the text. It is through these individuals, who are 'important,' that we know the narrator is 'not'. Through this dichotomy he tries to fill gaps and get hold of his own identity.

Invisible Man gives us a feel of a Black experience, “pungent speeches” of “West Indian,” “fearful nonchalance of zoot-suitor, outbursts and conflicts of “Black nationalist” (Scott, 1979: 295). Scott further emphasizes on the element of “grotesquery in the novel's account of a dreary little backwater of a remote Southern Negro college [which] has in it a certain kind of empirically absolute rightness” (295).

Aristotle gives an existential aspect to the law of identity. It is explained as a distinction between a man who exists and a man who does not exist. The difference

between an existent and a non-existent man lies in what they each signify. For Aristotle, “a name signifies something, and that it signifies one thing. Hence, that man exists, will not signify the same thing as that man does not exist....” (Aristotle, 1801: 93). For Socrates to 'Know Thyself' is to understand where one stands as an individual and introspect his selfhood.

The narrator's unquenchable thirst for knowing himself is politicized. He tries to differentiate himself from the others who he believes will enlighten him by telling him who he really is. He will get his identity which he has longed for all the while. Before attaining that, he is also conscious that his personal identity is first connected to his past, to his grandfather.

Hall seeks to interrogate the origin of identity having “a historical past with which they continue to correspond” (1996: 4). He further asserts:

> [i]dentities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. (4)

Thus, the narrator throughout undergoes the dilemma of 'becoming' someone, and an ongoing anxiety of what he might become always haunts him. However, it is only through rubbing shoulders with reality that he understands that things are not what they seem to be. One must ask how this certain consciousness tolerate oneself to the influential Blacks of the time grew in the narrator. A need to associate, assimilate and to seek acceptance from people like Dr Bledsoe is nothing but a social construct that makes such men glorious and greater than God. It is precisely by identifying with them that the narrator would gain some kind of identity. It is also crucial to remember that identity itself is constructed through society and power. It is the same identity that is echoed in one of the first doctrines of feminism by De Beauvoir when she writes, “One is not born a woman but becomes one” (1984: 267). One must however, remember that the Feminist, Marxist or Racial theories seek to counter the question of construction that has been endorsed in society from time immemorial. We must pause to understand that the theory at hand is not born in isolation, rather it is built upon other theories:

> Critical race theory builds on the insights of two previous moments, critical legal studies and radical feminism, to both of which it owes a large debt...from critical legal studies, the group borrowed the idea of legal indeterminacy- the idea that not every legal case has one correct outcome. The group also built of feminism's insights into the relationship between power and the construction of social roles. (Delagdo and Stefancic, 2012: 3-4)

In fact, one of the first proponents of race theory, W.E.B. Du Bois, spoke against the socially constructed portrayal of Blacks as wretched and thus “disputed the view that the blacks were biologically inferior,” and argued that “there is no *scientific* basis for

such a belief and that such a belief was more *social* than scientific" (qtd. in Nayar, 2010: 219). Judith Butler holds the constructionist view of gender as performance, where there is an incessant need to keep repeating social roles and duties which themselves are manufactured. For Hall too, the unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure. Hall echoes Homi Bhabha's opinion, from the essay, "The Other Question" that, "the 'unities' which identities proclaim are, in fact, constructed within the play of power and exclusion" and are "naturalized" (1996: 5). In this context, we may say the idea of identity that is constructed, may relate to one's nation, race or class. We must ask at this point that if identity is about becoming and constructs us as individuals, then is our true selfhood not an interpellation in itself?

The narrator from the very onset of the novel is seen forming his selfhood. This however takes a pivotal turn after he ends up at the hospital as a consequence of a duel with Lucius Brockway, his colleague in the boiler room in the paint factory. He introduces himself to a patient and narrates:

I wanted freedom, not destruction. It was exhausting, for no matter what the scheme I conceived, there was one constant flaw- myself. There was no getting around it. I could no more escape than I could think of my identity. Perhaps, I thought, the two things are involved with each other. When I discover who I am, I'll be free. (198)

Freedom and identity are interrelated for the narrator, who finds himself standing alone against the system. The seven letters of recommendation that Dr Bledsoe gives him are part of his new identity. Little does he know that these are the same letters which will ironically stop him from successfully completing college. Surfacially, it might seem that it is only the narrator who undergoes an identity crisis. However, a closer reading implies that all the characters, from Dr Bledsoe, Mr. Norton, Brother Jack and Mary Rambo, Lucius Brockway to Emerson's son are at turning points of their identities. DrBledsoe confesses to the narrator just before expelling him that he holds authority even more on the Whites than on Blacks. He remarks, "But I've made my place in it and I'll have every Negro in the country hanging on tree limbs by morning if it means staying where I am" (120). Dr Bledsoe's identity is created by putting down others who can destabilize his place, and so his selfhood is created through the binary of the Other. It is in this sense that Hall asserts that identity "emerge[s] within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity" (4). This explains his strategic attainment of his own place and existence, in spite of being a Black. "I had to be strong and purposeful to go where I am. I had to wait and plan and lick around...Yes, I had to act the nigger!" (120). About one of his manoeuvres he says, "to please a white man is to tell him a lie!" (110).

Mr Norton, on the contrary, finds it difficult to endure when the so-called doctor shows him the mirror, a picture of how Blacks look at the identity of Whites. “To some, you are the great white father, to others the lyncher of souls, but for all, you are confusion come even into the Golden Day” (80). He adds, “To you he is a mark on the score-card of your achievement, a thing and not a man; a child, or even less – a black amorphous thing. And you, for all your power, are not a man to him, but a God, a force” (81-82). The man's sarcastic comments leave Mr Norton flushed and he complains to Dr Bledsoe. His inability to endure all that has been said to him is the reason that the narrator is further expelled.

Brother Jack is also a reflection of Bledsoe, who constructs his identity in a way that others believe whatever he is doing is for the better good of the people. In fact, his organization, Brotherhood is controlled by Whites like him, and is indifferent to the interest of Harlem Blacks. He is ready to construct the narrator's identity from scratch and takes him into the Brotherhood as a valedictorian. Manufacturing is at play when he introduces him to Emma. She remarks, “But don't you think he should be a little blacker?” (245). All they need is someone who looks like, speaks or feels like a common Harlem resident, so that their organization could be a success and could work on its own hidden motives, and challenge Ras the exhorter's power.

It is but Jack who gives the narrator a sense of belongingness, “*This is your new identity*....This is your new name” [Emphasis added] (250-51). All that Jack tries to do is to appeal to the sympathy of his Harlem audience, “Too many have been dispossessed of their heritage, and we have banded together in brotherhood so as to do something about it” (246). For Hall, it is the sharing of history and ancestry held in common that creates “oneness” or “cultural belongingness underlying all the superficial differences” (3-4). This same idea of shared belongingness is experienced by the narrator when he stays at Mary Rambo's house, and also the time when the old man offers him yams to eat, that throws him into a deep reminiscence about his old days and calls yams his “birthright”, and says, “I yam what I am!” (215).

The identity of Lucius Brockway and Emerson's son can be studied as role playing, since they who act as humble servants to those in power. Brockway is more of a sycophant, who can stoop to any level to maintain his own selfhood, and he is responsible for sending the narrator to the hospital by playing cheap tricks. Emerson's unnamed son holds some likeness to the narrator, who lacks power and is extremely helpless. However, unlike him, the narrator has no godfather-like person who can give him an employment even if that is immensely choking and difficult.

Thus, we see that the narrator is rendered invisible by all these men, who have pushed him to the margin, and poked fun at his identity that was in fact nothing at all. This

quest for finding himself began in college, and kept getting shattered again and again. "You're nobody, son. You don't exist – can't you see that?" states Bledsoe (120). At the time of proving himself worthy of a job, the narrator insists that, "I'll prove my identity" (152). The young Emerson shows the narrator the mirror when he states:

> With us it's still Jim and Huck Finn....There is so much you could do here where there is more freedom. You won't find what you're looking for when you return anyway; because so much is involved that you can't possibly know....But I do know this world you're trying to contact- all its virtues and all its unspeakable- Ha, yes, unspeakable. I'm afraid my father considers *me* one of the unspeakable...I'm Huckleberry, you see.... (154)

The narrator listens to this with the same amazement with which he had heard Dr Bledsoe call him a "nigger." As time changes, he realizes that in order to survive he needs to wear a veil – one that is forced onto him by the Brotherhood as people begin to recognize him. "And yet I am what they think I am" (306). This culmination of his selfhood and constructed identity is what Hall explains as:

> [T]he meeting point, the point of *suture*, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. (5-6)

In a 1982 interview to Herbert Mitgang, in *The New York Times*, 30 years after the publication of the novel, Ellison remembers, "Once the book was done, it was suggested that the title would be confused with H.G. Wells's old novel, 'The Invisible Man,' but I fought to keep my title because that's what the book was about" (1982: n.p.). One can point out that the lack of an article in the title is intentional and perhaps represents the Harlem 'Everyman,' who may have found himself in similar situations as the narrator. It is the untold tale of a million others like him who, as the novel indicates, have suffered not only at the hands of the Whites, but sadly, the elite Blacks too.

One must, at the same time, relocate the identity of the narrator through that of Wells' Griffin in *The Invisible Man* and hear the echo of Dr Bledsoe's betrayal in Thomas Marvel's treachery of Griffin. In their earnest attempt to avenge the wrongs done to them, both the protagonists arouse sympathy and chisel their selfhood. Their running away from certain individuals to seek who they really are becomes part of their own fate and they realize on the road. In this process one is shot, and the other sent to hospital. Both the men disguise themselves by wearing sunglasses, hat and an overcoat to portray a different identity, to portray something that they are not, or in Griffin's case, to hide his invisibility. For Ellison's narrator, the invisibility follows later. They are pushed to further margins because society has failed to embrace them.

After the narrator is regarded an influential person in the Brotherhood, he becomes

detached and tries to compare and analyze his own selfhood through a third perspective. He ponders:

On the way to work one late spring morning I counted fifty greetings from people I didn't know, becoming aware that there were two of me; the old self that slept a few hours a night and dreamed sometimes of my grandfather and Bledsoe and Blockway and Mary...and the new public self that spoke for the Brotherhood and was becoming so much more important than the other that I seemed to run a foot race against myself. (307)

This differentiating of the new self from the old one is only possible when he is able to identify himself, as Hall puts it, through "points of identification and attachment" (5) with the new man that the Brotherhood has made out of him. The narrator can also identify on the basis of his "capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render 'outside,' abjected" the old identity of the naive college student (5). Thereby, the present selfhood that he holds is "contradictory" to the old one as it is "made up of partial fragments" focusing on varied individual identities (Grossberg, 1996: 91).

After the narrator's sorrowful tale is over, the analepsis comes to an end. The narrative comes a full circle in the Epilogue when he concludes with what he had begun with: "I'm an invisible man and it placed me in a hole – or showed me the hole I was in" (461). He believes that his way of rebelling against society is calling or making himself invisible. It is through wisdom and experiences that he can finally look at the sham of identity that is constructed, endorsed and celebrated in the civilization he is part of. "You go along for years knowing something is wrong, then suddenly you discover that you're as transparent as air" (463).

It is also interesting to note that in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published, and exactly a century later in 1952, *Invisible Man* yet again found its way in American literature. Blacks were struggling for their identity then as slaves, and in the 1930s too, during Harlem Renaissance, the situation was no better.

In addition to the identity crisis that the narrator goes through, what he suffers in the mid-twentieth century is still part of life in the modern United States. The difference is that the bias and prejudices against Afro-Americans have taken a covert form. One cannot proclaim that racism or fractured identities no longer exist, but they have taken the form of 'microaggressions'. There are everyday insults inflicted on Afro-Americans, or on people of colour generally on the basis of their race or gender. Derald Wing Sue expounds this as:

Microaggressions are the brief and commonplace daily, verbal, behavioural, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group. (2010: 5)

It is these microaggressions that thrive on racial relations in the American society. In this context, US President Barack Obama in his farewell address in Chicago in 2017 calls race relations a threat to American democracy. He asserts, "Race remains a potent and often divisive force in our society" (2017: n.p.). It is the play of power in racial relations that was strongly active in the 1930s in Harlem and the same 'remains' powerful in contemporary American society. What has evolved over time is the recognition and acknowledgment of the identity of Afro-Americans and other men of colour. They do not render men *invisible* per se; however, petty microaggressions take place every now and then.

Until the identity of such individuals is completely embraced by the Whites, the souls of Ellison's narrator and the like cannot 'entirely rest' in peace.

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9

Multiagent based Solution for Smart Cities: Essentials and Challenges

Dr Himani Mittal
Assistant Professor
GGDSD College, Chandigarh

Making cities smart is a dream of many developing nations. Several efforts are in action to implement this vision. The concept of Smart cities is a vision of making urban life better. Several research papers have discussed the applications based on multiagents that help in making the functioning of the city smart. There are autonomous, goal oriented and proactive solutions for Resource Allocation, Electricity Management, Supply Chain Management, Traffic Management, E-commerce, Disaster Management, GPS enabled Maps Kiosks, Smart Banking and Smart Governance. This paper is designed to review these solutions. The architecture for agent based applications is discussed consisting of three types of agents – database agents, task agents and interface agents. The foremost challenges in implementing agent based architecture are also listed and it is concluded that agents can help in realizing the smart city dream.

Keywords: smart cities, multiagents, database agents, task agents, interface agents

Introduction

The past decades saw not only the rapid development of cities and a boom in urban population, but also the rise of many urban issues, such as traffic congestion, energy shortage, and pollution. The situation is continuing and as predicted by the United Nations, the world's urban population will add another 2.5 billion by 2050, an increase of 66% over today's total population. While the pressure on resources is unprecedented, increasing volume and diversity of data are at the same time being generated and collected with the help of new technologies. This calls for the integration of advanced information and computational technologies to develop intelligent solutions for urban issues (An, Jennings and Li, 2017).

Smart city has multiple perspectives. While one cadre of research community defines smart city as technology-enabled governance, the other calls it urban development and knowledge economy. All the definitions of smart city converge to one point – "Make Urban Life better" by managing everything from traffic to transportation facilities like Airport, railway and bus network, power, water and LPG management, telephone networks, WiFi hot-spots, easy and friendly governance, better medical facilities etc. (Goodspeed, 2015; Albino, Berardi and Dangelico, 2015).

To cope with complex ICT applications of smart city, computers have to act more as "individuals" or agents, rather than just as machines. With the advent of agent technology, researchers try to solve complex, realistic and large scale problems. According to Woolridge and Jennings (1994a, b), agent can be defined as a software entity that acts on behalf of another entity (e.g., person, another agent) for realization of predetermined goals. It makes decisions autonomously. Agent is goal-oriented, reacts to external events, proactive and has social ability. Agents can be mobile or static. Mobile agents have the ability to migrate from one machine to another. An example of an agent is an Auto Pilot. The Auto Pilot drives to the destination (goal) as given by the passenger. The Auto Pilot autonomously and proactively decides the route, interacts with other vehicles and environment. It is reactive to change in weather.

Distributed Artificial Intelligence (DAI) is the study, construction, and application of Multi-Agent systems, that is, systems in which several interacting, intelligent agents pursue some set of goals or perform some set of tasks. In real world, many humans may work together to solve a problem. Similarly, the multi-agent system (Sycara and Zeng, 1996) involves multiple agents that interact with each other for realization of predefined goals. On MAS (Multi-agent System) platform, several independent agents interact with each other. It is a modern application development paradigm. The multi-agent system has changed the way the applications are designed.

Facilities in Smart City

The facilities in smart city can be provided with the help of Multiagent systems. Multi-agent systems are employed mainly in those domains where knowledge is distributed in nature and collaboration is required to solve the given problem. Such an environment exists in almost every field. So, a large number of researchers are developing domain specific Multi-agent systems. Some of the applications of MAS helpful in developing smart city are:

- Resource Allocation for Electricity Management

  The resource allocation problem has limited resources shared by multiple consumers and decision is required who uses the resource next. In Blaauwbroek, Member, Nguyen, and Konsman's work (2015), decentralized resource allocation and load scheduling system for electricity management is proposed using MAS.

- Supply Chain Management

  Supply chain (SC) optimization involves making decisions for proper organization, planning and design of production, storage locations and

transportation of supply chains which are vital for retaining the competitive edge of companies in a global economy. In Nikolopoulou and Ierapetritou's work (2012), an integrated planning and scheduling optimization model of supply chain was developed. The MAS consists of three agents – Supplier Agent, Production Site Agent and Market Agent. Supplier Agent is used to generate raw materials, store them, and deliver them to production sites. If the order quantity is more than the resources available with Supplier agent, it backorders and the customer has to wait. Production site agent models the production process. The market agent orders products from the production sites according to a predefined demand.

- Traffic Management

  A MAS for Traffic management is discussed by Sandhu, Jain, Gaurav and Sriman in their 2015 work. It proposes an intelligent traffic system that times the traffic light according to real-time scenarios using agents at each traffic signal light. Intelligent traffic system smoothens the flow of traffic and reduces or completely removes unnecessary delays. The architecture for the traffic system consists of a number of independent agents (one for each lane being handled). Each agent incorporates a density checker to calculate the number of vehicles used along its assigned lanes. Each agent also runs the algorithm that is responsible for timing the traffic lights based on the input densities for its respective lane. The traffic light timing algorithm computes what color signal is to be shown by a traffic light for what duration of time.

- E-commerce

  The use of agents in buying and selling over internet is discussed by Maes, Guttman, and Moukas (1999). Agents can act as buying agents in purchases that are repetitive (such as supplies) or predictable (such as habits). They can help the buyer with product identification and search. They can act as auction bots i.e., from seller's side. In the 2015 study of Vaidyanathan and Aggarwal, the usefulness of shopping agents for small businesses from seller point of view is emphasized. They point out through auction/bidding system that e-commerce can be seller-centric as well.

- Disaster Management

  In Disaster management, MAS are used to deal with disasters to prevent loss of life and property. In Ramchurn et al. (2016), an Agent-based disaster management system is proposed for preventing life loss in event of fire. There is a planning agent that collaborates with humans and plans evacuation of people from place of fire.

- GPS-enabled Maps Kiosks

  Tourists and visitors to a city will be greatly benefitted by GPS enabled kiosks on roadside that can show the route to desired location and even give a printout of map to the users.

- Smart Banking

  ATM machines can be agent driven machines with self-diagnosing capability and enabling repair in event of failure so that the user has lesser trouble. All the infrastructure under smart city can be made self-diagnosing keeping in view the costs involved and benefits derived (Gao et.al., 2015).

- Smart Governance

  The provision of agents that work on 24X7 windows of government and handle routine decision making can reduce the back-log of files, thus enabling smooth and efficient working of government offices.

Multiagent-based Solution for Smart City

A possible architecture of a Multiagent System is shown in Figure 1. The Multiagent system has several task agents that perform different operations. These Task agents can perform intelligent tasks such as learning and knowledge processing. There is an Interface agent that interacts and receives requests from users; and a Database agent that performs all database operations. Several such architectures can be placed for each application domain. This architecture can be implemented for realization of Agent based smart city. For each domain the task agent can be designed to perform the decision making. This task agent then interacts with the interface agent and data base agents. The services of these task agents can be made available over the web with the help of Web Services Integrated Gateways (Greenwood, 2005), where the agents work in the backend and web pages (using interface agents) can be used to interact with agents, file applications, etc. Such architecture can be used to design a comprehensive solution for Smart City where there are a group of database and service agents, and task agents for each specialized job that needs to be done.

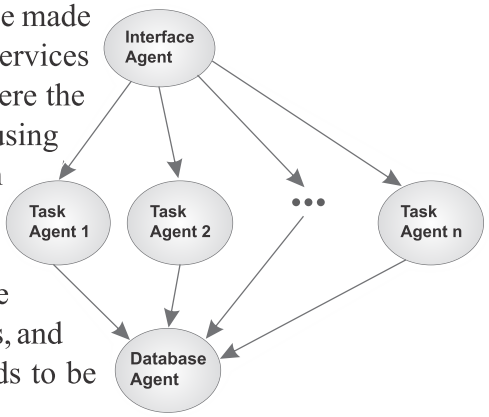

Figure 1. Architecture of Multiagent System

Challenges in Implementation

The multiagent-based applications for smart cities discussed earlier require a lot of planning and efforts. The architecture discussed in the previous section needs to be implemented for each application. This implementation requires a paradigm shift from OOPS-based applications to agent based applications. Agents like OOPSare not indispensable as technology. However just like all the applications designed using OOPS can also be designed in procedural way,similarly all the agent-based solutions can be achieved with OOPS. The question that arises then isabout the need for agent-based solutions. The most affective answer here is that the agents are autonomous, goal-oriented and proactive. It makes the software self-driven without human intervention. All the applications discussed in the second section require decision making and agents can do the decision making after collecting the real time inputs from the environment. There are softwares that are making use of agents like the latest version of Microsoft windows implements an agent based structure. The movement of agents across platforms and agent communication with external agents needs to be implemented. All the mobile OS are also slowly moving towards the agent based implementation. The implementation of smart cities using agent technology is not a distant dreamanymore.

Conclusion

Multiagent Systems involve several cooperating agents that realize a common goal. The architecture of a multiagent system includes task agent, interface agent and database agent. Such architecture can be used to design a comprehensive solution for SMART City where there are a group of database and service agents, and task agents for each specialized job that needs to be done. It can help to streamline the efforts by undertaking several projects based on agents and by adoptinghardware capable of parallel running systems to deliver high end performance. The research already done in the area of multiagents can be deployed for making the cities smart and give way to friendly and hassle free urban life.

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10

Rights of Prostitutes in India: A Legal Vacuum

Dr Amita Sharma
Assistant Professor
Army Institute of Law, Mohali
and
Ms Gauri Sharma
Lawyer
Punjab and Haryana High Court

In the contemporary era of propaganda for women empowerment, it is pertinent to talk about the rights of women who are most ignored and marginalized by the society: the prostitutes, who continue to face identity crisis in a state of lack of legal empowerment. The paper aims to bring to light the current legal scenario in India for prostitutes, and the lacunae in laws with reference to their status in comparison to other countries, while discussing the impact of vacuum in laws upon them. The paper also recommends changes that could possibly benefit the women involved in this profession.

Keywords: prostitution, Indian law, trafficking, sex worker

Introduction

The following is an excerpt from the debates in the Constituent Assembly of India in 1949 (Austin, 1999: 25-26). The Constituent Assembly was constituted for drafting the Constitution of India and it discussed the issue of 'prostitution' at length:

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Mr. President, Sir, I feel that the gravity of the situation has not been realized…My Friend Shri Deshmukh spoke in the vein that probably it [prostitution] can be abolished or abrogated altogether. I do not agree with him on that point. Prostitution is a very old institution – as old as the hills and it cannot be abolished. The roots of this institution lie deep in our human nature. The only thing that we can do is to regulate it.

Shri R .K. Sidhva: Mr. President, I was rather surprised at the attitude of Shri Brajeshwar Prasad. He said this institution is centuries old and it cannot be abolished. Prostitution in India is a disgrace and shame to us and it is regrettable that Shri Brajeshwar Prasad should advocate its continuance …It is a disgrace and shame to society that this kind of thing should be allowed to continue.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: If you abolish, the whole thing will go underground (Constituent Assembly Debates, 1949).

Seventy years after Independence of India, women who are into this centuries-old institution of trading sex for material consideration do not have legal recognition. The government has often turned a blind eye towards these women. At the global level too, there are several countries where this profession dates back to as old as the human

memory, making it one of the oldest professions in the world. Amidst divided opinions and support groups propagating either legalization, or prohibition or toleration, as the case may be, there are a few countries where prostitution has been legalized, subject to certain regulations. While some have completely legalized, there still remain certain countries where it is criminalized, such as in India. Criminalization of prostitution hereby is being referred to in the context where brothels are considered illegal and the women working in brothels are said to be working in contravention of law. Therefore, in case of violation of their rights, they cannot resort to any legal remedy. However, if any woman is taking money for any sexual act in private, she cannot be penalized.

The Indian law is designed in such a manner that prostitution is not legal and all other activities surrounding it are criminalized. Prostitution in our country suffers from identity crisis of a kind where it is flourishing as one of the most profitable industry in a parallel-unaccounted economy of illegal activities. Sex workers in India have been subject to discrimination and disempowering laws due to the morality quotient attached to their profession. Recently, Union Minister for Women and Child Development, Maneka Gandhi stated in the Rajya Sabha about the conservationist intention of the government which was not inclined to legalize the sex trade (National Bureau, 2015). The attitude of the government does not raise brows since sex workers have been accustomed to this kind of discrimination since the inception of governing state.

In order to understand why prostitutes need to be provided with minimum rights, which ensure their freedom and equality in the society, that has discriminated against them and pushed them to an extent where all they can do is whine about their fate and conditions they are subjected to, it is pertinent to understand why prostitutes suffer more now than they ever did in India.

History

While tracing back the profession to an era where it was not a stigma to be soliciting sexual services, one can refer to some Indian scriptures, according to which prostitution goes back to the times of Indra, the God of rains, who had Apsaras in his court who can be equated with prostitutes in modern times. Vedas specifically mention two: Urvasi and Menka. Furthermore, from the times of Guptas till the reign of Aurangzeb, prostitutes were common. They would dance and entertain in the royal courts and were even taken along to battlefields to boost the confidence of the warriors and provide them sexual services. *Arthshashtra* by Kautilya mentions about the minimum wages of the sex workers and other important aspects of buying and selling sex along with payment of taxes to be made by them. The sculptures in the historical

caves of Ajanta and Ellora have not hidden the stories of sex of those times and the temples of Khajuraho depict various sex positions through the statutes (Kumar, 2016).

A glimpse of history raises a question in mind as to whether our ancestors were more modern and receptive than we proclaim our cells to be even after venturing almost two decades into the 21st century. Sex workers were once respected and treated with dignity, and sex was considered to be a pleasurable indulgence unlike today where even the government has expressed its intentions of not legalizing prostitution.

Amidst all these circumstances, it can be observed that there is a complete vacuum in the existing laws since they do nothing to protect the prostitutes in India. The only law relating remotely to the offence of trafficking young minor girls and women for procurement is *Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act 1956.* This law only punishes the brothel owners, pimps and clients who indulge in sex trade in a public place, as well as landlords who allow for a brothel to carry out its activities.

There are certain causes that force a woman to enter the industry; money being a major one. It is either a community tradition of prostitution or families selling their daughters for money to pimps. Some are trafficked from nearby countries such as Nepal and Bangladesh in the name of marriage and employment, while few others just fall into the vicious circle of poverty-debt-prostitution.

Immoral Trafficking Prevention Law

India became a signatory to the UN International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of Women, New York, 1950 (Government of India, 2008). This led to theenactment of the *Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956* . Though the Act had a tolerant approach toward prostitution, yet it clearly indicated the lawmakers' grudging acceptance of prostitution as a necessary social evil. But the changing scenario in society and various debates across the world led to certain amendments in the Act, the latest one being the Amendment of 1986 whereby the title of the Act was amended to *Immoral Traffic in Persons Prevention Act, 1986*. This change was cosmetic in nature whereby the minor changes were made in the title and scope of the Act. For instance: (a) the drive to "suppress" traffic has been replaced by the need to "prevent" it (b) the words "Women and Girls" have been replaced by the term "Persons," recognizing that individuals of both sexes, as well as eunuchs, are trafficked for prostitution (Goyal and Ramanujam, 2015: 12). Nonetheless, the substantial aspect of the Act, i.e. the criminalized view still remains. While the act of prostitution per se is not criminal, every other act associated with prostitution is criminal. To be specific, it prohibits and punishes a person maintaining

a brothel and living off the earnings of a prostitute or allowing the premises to be used as a brothel. Procuring or inducing and detaining a woman for prostitution are criminal activities as well.

The fact is that commercial prostitution is taking place in India prevalently, whether it has been legalized or not. The prime destinations for both Indian and foreign female trafficking victims include Kolkata, Mumbai, Delhi, Gujarat, Hyderabad and along the India-Nepal border. Nepali women and girls are increasingly subjected to sex trafficking in Assam and other cities such as Nagpur and Pune. Some corrupt law enforcement officers protect suspected traffickers and brothel owners from law enforcement, take bribes from sex trafficking establishments and sexual services from victims and tip off sex and labour traffickers to impede rescue efforts (Department of State, 2018).

Impact of Vacuum in Law on Prostitutes

Under present conditions the main issue is that prostitutes cannot approach the legal system for any kind of abuse they suffer. For instance, in case a prostitute is raped, it is difficult for her to file a complaint in police station because when the antecedents of her case relating to an illegal profession come up during investigation, she could be the one to face prosecution for such activity, if proven. The problem with this kind of legislation is that we are turning a blind eye towards various crimes related to the sex industry whereby immoral trafficking is just a part of procuring women and young children for the business. Other problems of inadequate wages, inhuman working conditions, sexual abuse, illegitimate children due to unprotected sex and refusal to use birth control tools by the clients leading to sexually-transmitted diseases are also prevalent. This profession has existed and will continue to exist for several reasons such as poverty, age-old community tradition, trafficking and forcing into the profession and the demand for sex in society. Some countries have understood the nature of risk this profession involves and as part of welfare state they have legalized prostitution, allowing prostitutes to have legal rights and get themselves regular medical check-ups along with registering them to ensure that they are not abused or harassed for the nature of work they are involved in. However, there still are certain countries, such as India, where the government has outrightly criminalized the business. There are lacunae in the current laws which push prostitutes to a status where they are victimized by both the society and the judicial system.

It is pertinent to note that not all prostitutes are forced into the profession; there are few who willingly chose the profession simply for the money that can be earned in less hours without any minimum skills as pre-requisite for the nature of work. Poverty and

desire to provide better living for the family and themselves are other reasons. But their options are severely limited in case they want to move out of the profession, mainly due to the stigma attached to it. The vicious cycle of clients luring them again and again with more money that they cannot refuse, makes it difficult for them to leave (Singh, 2014; Bhalla, 2017).

Adding to this is the problem faced by their children who are branded illegitimate, and are unaware of their biological fathers or shrugged off by them. These children face problems in leading a normal life as educational institutions aren't quite willing to accept them. They also face trouble finding employment, whereby they are left with no option but to enter the same profession, either as a prostitute or a pimp.

The government and policy makers for decades have failed to understand that by criminalizing this profession we cannot end it. It is a profession that has existed for centuries and survived the test of changing societies and times. Currently, due to its criminalized status there is a lot of economic exploitation of prostitutes. They are underpaid as there aren't any minimum wages they are entitled to, and cannot fight against the discrimination they face.

Another trend that is rampant is that of selling women as domestic help, in addition to trading them off as domestic prostitutes or sex slaves, for as cheap as Rs. 4000. This is currently prevalent in western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and certain parts of Bengal and Assam (Masoodi, 2014). The main cause for this sale and purchase of young girls across states is a drastically low sex ratio in states such as Haryana (which is 879:1000); and poverty so severe that parents are willing to sell their daughters for as low as Rs. 4000 for one and Rs. 12000 for two (Raza, 2014). These women are called Paro or Molki and are never accepted as equal to the wives by the locals. They are exploited to an extent that they not only provide sexual services but also work as labour in the fields while they are provided stay at the home of the man who purchases them (Raza, 2014).

The trade does not end there. These men sometimes sell them again for a better price. Sometimes they are kicked out for no reason, without any money or support system leaving them in the middle of nowhere, with illegitimate children sometimes. This means they are not just financially vulnerable but also lack easy access to legal system for fighting for their rights. The children of sex workers are also not immune to this vulnerability as they are not able to attain education that can make them independent. The biggest problem with this profession is that one can enter it by choice for once but cannot leave; there is no exit from sex industry. Once a prostitute, always a prostitute.

Therefore, it is important for the society to realise that the need of the times is to accept prostitution and sex trade as any other activity in the economy and empower women involved in this business, because if society and laws do not empower them, there is no other way they can improve their conditions.

The Government of India does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking though it is making significant efforts to do so. For the first time, the National Crime Record Bureau's "Crime in India" report included data on trafficking investigations, prosecutions, and convictions (Vahini, 2013). The data detailed the vigorous efforts to combat human trafficking but reflected a relatively low number of incidents of law enforcement as compared to the scale of trafficking in India and a low conviction rate overall. Moreover, the scope of law enforcement action on forced labour and the range of sentences applied to convicted traffickers remain unclear because the data is not comprehensive.

The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) revised its strategy guiding Anti-Human Trafficking Units (AHTUs), to ensure more effective identification and investigation of trafficking cases and coordination with other agencies to refer victims to rehabilitation services. Several state governments created or re-activated AHTUs, although the majority of districts remained without AHTUs. The government investigated and prosecuted some cases of official complicity, although comprehensive data was unavailable and official complicity remained widespread. The government continued to fund shelter and rehabilitation services for women and children throughout India and issued additional directives to states to find and rescue missing children, some of whom may have been trafficking victims. However, overall victim protection remains inadequate and inconsistent, and sometimes the victims are penalized for crimes committed as a result of being subjected to human trafficking. The government revised, but did not repeal, its policy restricting travel abroad of some Indians identified as trafficking victims by a foreign government and of their family members.

Conclusion

Concluding the research on the laws prevailing in the country on the subject of trafficking and prostitution, it can be evidently stated that the terms 'flesh trade' and 'sex trade are being misconstrued as synonyms. Therefore there is only one legislation *Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act 1956* that is in place to remotely deal with these

issues. The demeaning status given to people involved in sex trade, on the grounds of immorality, is a development of recent times, wherein society refuses to accept it as a profession despite being more educated than ever before. It is essential to take note of the argument that by decriminalizing prostitution we will be encouraging flesh trade because pimps, brothel owners and all other middlemen can justify their act on these grounds, leading to increase in forced prostitution. Though the concerns are genuine and bonafide, these arguments are not rational enough to oppose the arguments in favour of decriminalizing prostitution. If prostitution is legalized with certain regulations such as fixing a minimum age of registration as a prostitute or sex worker, it can help streamline the sex trade which currently is operating illegally in an underground manner, thus creating a parallel economy where prostitutes are at the suffering end. Also, it is as of now benefitting the nearby small countries such as Thailand where the capital city of Bangkok is hub for cheap and affordable sex workers. It does not, therefore, come as a surprise that the country's tourism has flourished due to support provided to sex trade in the country (Department of State, 2016). Even the Supreme Court through Justice Dalveer Bhandari and Justice A. K. Patnaik, in a Public Interest Litigation filed by an NGO 'Bachpan Bachao', has stated that in case prostitution cannot be curbed the government should consider legalizing it (PTI, 2009).

The biggest problem that will come up due to legalizing prostitution as proclaimed by the abolitionists is that it will legalize activities of people involved in the sex trade without empowering prostitutes per se and their situation will still remain the same. The government and society need to accept prostitution and sex trade as a part of their society. We cannot turn a blind eye towards prostitutes, demean and discourage them just because they are considered a stigma to our society. Any person involved in any other illegal activity can for once possibly leave that business through reformation and try to lead a better life, but this option is not available to prostitutes and others involved in sex trade. Therefore, the vacuum in the laws for prostitutes to protect their fundamental right to life with dignity under Article 21 needs to be erased and prostitution needs to be legalized (*Constitution of India* 11).

Recommendations

- It is recommended for the government to come up with appropriate laws to bring prostitutes under the labour laws whereby they will have right to form unions and have better representation of their opinions and rights in a more organized manner,

ensuring that there is no discrimination and harassment of any kind that they can be subjected to.

- Ethical theory of Utilitarianism proposed by Bentham states that whether a policy or action has benefitted people should be measured by the outcome of that policy. Keeping this in mind, the government should come up with laws to benefit prostitutes and provide an exit policy (Online Guide to Ethics and Moral Philosophy, no date) whereby they can leave this profession if they choose to.

- Furthermore, the ethical theory of beneficence should be considered which states that an act or omission should ensure that there is a positive impact on the community due to the same. Currently, by turning a blind eye towards the prostitutes, sweeping their cries under the carpet and not addressing the issue in appropriate manner, the government is catering to the society which considers the oldest profession as immoral and a stigma to the society without being aware that such an act is causing immense harm to sex workers in the country. The 'Beneficence' principle of ethical theory professes acts that benefit others and 'Non-Malfeasance' principle professes that an act should ensure that no needless harm is caused. A conjoint reading of these two implies that acts should promote well-being of others without causing harm to another. These basic principles, if kept in mind while making policy, can help improve status of sex workers and fill the vacuum of laws in place for them (Non-Malfeasance and Beneficence, no date).

- The self-proclaimed enlightened intellectuals of our society who stand as guards to our traditions, norms and morality should take recourse to the Vedas, historical scriptures and historical documents such as *Arthashastra* where the status of prostitutes has been pertinently mentioned. These historical texts will reveal that prostitutes were treated better then and will thus make them aware of how regressive we are becoming as a society, despite being more educated than we have been ever before.

- In the absence of appropriate laws to empower prostitutes socially, legally and economically, ensuring they are protected from any kind of economic and legal harassment they suffer in later years of their life when clients stop coming, it is pertinent to mention that those are the times when the real hardship starts for them and their family whereby they have no option but to either bring their daughters into this profession or end up in other menial jobs which barely help them make both ends meet. Therefore, certain policies should be implemented keeping in mind the economic vulnerability that prostitutes are prone to, due to the nature of work involved in sex trade.

Short Note

Utilitarian theory propagated by Jeremy Bentham proposes that in case any state action is to be taken, for instance, any policy has to be formulated, then, the outcome it may have on those to whom it will apply should be considered. In case it causes some injustice or harm or loss to few but gain to many others then such action is justified but if it causes more harm than good then it should not be implemented. It is estimated that there are more than 2 million female sex workers in India which is not a small number considering the population of the country (BBC News, 2008). Presently, prostitution has not been declared illegal if done privately but activities of pimps, brothel owners other middlemen involved in the sex trade is illegal. The issue with the legislations that criminalize this is that it is causing more harm than good to the society. The government has failed to understand that the nature of the business is such that it cannot be curbed or swept away from the country. Criminalizing activities related to it has only worsened the situation furthermore by victimizing the prostitutes who have no recourse of any kind in case of any violation of their human rights which is quite common in the sex trade industry. The government, in order to cater to the sentiments of abolitionists – the so called self-proclaimed radicals of the society who consider themselves to be the preservers of the traditions, norms, culture and moral ethics of the society but are just ill-informed members of a society which accepted prostitution as a respectable profession centuries ago, has not been able to decriminalize prostitution. Therefore, as per the ethical theory of utilitarianism the government needs to recognize the changing societal norms and discrimination to which the sex workers have been subjected and decriminalize prostitution ensuring equal protection of laws under Article 14 of the Constitution of India (*Constitution of India* 9).

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Note on Contributors

Dr Amita Sharma is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Army Institute of Law, Mohali. With an experience of 20 years in the teaching profession, she has worked extensively in issues related to the elderly and women.

Dr Amit Jakhal is Assistant Professor (Botany) at Post Graduate Government College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh. With a teaching experience spanning eleven years, his area of research specialization is lichen and fungal taxonomy.

Ms Barnali Saha is Senior Research Scholar on Partition literature at the University School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, New Delhi. Two of her short stories have been included in *A Rainbow Feast: New Asian Short Stories*, Marshall Cavendish, Singapore and *Twenty-Two: New Asian Short Stories*, Silverfish Books, Kuala Lumpur.

Ms Gauri Sharma is a lawyer at Punjab and Haryana High Court. She has graduated from Army Institute of Law, Mohali and has also been to Oxford and Cambridge University, England for courses in the laws.

Ms Gurleen Kaur Babra is Research scholar at the Department of English and Cultural Studies, Panjab University. Her research areas include Post Colonial Literature and Cultural Studies. She is presently working on her M.Phil dissertation on Foucauldian Biopolitics.

Dr Gurmeet Singh is Assistant Professor at the Department of Hindi, Panjab University and is presently also the Chairperson of the Department. With extensive experience in teaching and journalism, he has received Best Book Award from Chandigarh Sahitya Academy in 2017, and State Award from Haryana Sahitya Academy for Literary Journalism in 2008. An author of two books, he has also published in research journals, authored a weekly column in *Dainik Tribune* for five years and has been a panellist and political analyst on more than 100 TV shows.

Dr Harjeet Singh is Assistant Professor (Punjabi) at D.A.V. College, Sector 10, Chandigarh. His area of interest is language politics and power structures vis-à-vis Punjabi language.

Dr Himani Mittal is Assistant Professor at PG Department of IT at GGDSD College, Chandigarh. She has industrial experience of two years and has been teaching for nine years. Her areas of research interest are Artificial Intelligence, Educational Computing and Natural language processing.

Dr Pallavi Mishra is Assistant Professor at Post Graduate Government College for Girls, Sector 11, Chandigarh. With ten years' experience in teaching, her area of research is Temple Economy in Himachal Pradesh with special emphasis on Jawalamukhi. She has presented papers at national and international seminars and has published six papers.

Dr Prakriti Renjen is Assistant Professor (English) at Mehr Chand Mahajan DAV College for Women, Chandigarh. Her doctoral dissertation is on the fiction of Orhan Pamuk and her area of specialization is Literary and Cultural Theory.

Dr Rustam Singh is an independent scholar who has held various research and editorial positions including Assistant Editor of *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, Research Associate at Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, Fellow at Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, Founding Editor of *Hindi: Language, Discourse, Writing*, New Delhi/Wardha, Visiting Scholar at Centre for Philosophy, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and Senior Fellow and Senior Editor at Eklavya, Bhopal. He is the author of *'Weeping' and Other Essays on Being and Writing* (2011), *Violence and Marxism: Marx to Mao* (2015) and *A Story of Political Ideas for Young Readers, Volume 1: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli* (2010). He has published five collections of poems in Hindi. His poems have been translated into English, Telugu, Marathi, Malayalam, Panjabi, Swedish, Norwegian and Estonian.

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