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Editorial

Indian culture is diverse and comprises various customs, ideas, social attributes, and beliefs. India contains different cultures and communities that differ prominently in their traditions, food habits, languages, and traditions. It is an amalgamation of different traditions and customs and how different communities present and organize themselves in terms of morality and etiquette. Our most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India.

In recent decades the sustainable conservation of cultural heritage has become a crucial global challenge. In this context, the trend towards large scale urbanization raises questions as to how new development can take place which respects and maintains the intrinsic values and unique qualities which have been handed down from previous generations, particularly within urban areas.

The Indian culture varies like its vast geography. People speak in different languages, dress differently, follow different religions, eat different food but are of the same temperament. So whether it is a joyous occasion or a moment of grief, people participate whole-heartedly, feeling the happiness or pain. A festival or a celebration is never constrained to a family or a home. The whole community or neighbourhood is involved in bringing liveliness to an occasion. Likewise, an Indian wedding is a celebration of union, not only of the bride and groom, but also of two families, maybe cultures or religion too. Similarly, in times of sorrow, neighbours and friends play an important part in easing out the grief.

As Swamy Vivekananda said "If anyone dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and culture, I pity him from the bottom of my heart and point out that upon the banner of every religion and culture will soon be written in spite of resistance,

“Help and not Fight; Assimilation and not Destruction; Harmony and Peace and not Dissension”

This symbolises what India brings to the world, its living intangible heritage which is its global civilizational heritage. This heritage would help to maintain a cultural and civilizational dialogue between peoples and societies and cultures. This in its turn would be a powerful lever for renewing the international community's strategy towards development and peace.

Through a history of changing settlements and political power, India's living cultural heritage was shaped by centuries of adaptation, re-creation and co-existence. The intangible cultural heritage of India finds expression in the ideas, practices, beliefs and values shared by communities across long stretches of time, and form part of the collective memory of the nation. India's physical, ethnic and linguistic variety is as staggering as its cultural pluralism, which exists in a framework of interconnectedness. In some instances, its cultural heritage is expressed as pan-Indian traditions not confined to a particular locality, genre or category, but as multiple forms, levels and versions inter-linked yet independent from one another. Underlying the diversity of India's heritage is the continuity of its civilization from the earliest times to the present and of the later additions by different influences.

The present issue carries ten well researched articles by reputed and experienced scholars who brought wealth of information and profound knowledge into their articles, dealing with varied dimensions of Indian culture and heritage, hindu way of life and solutions it presents for survival during hard times. Indian diaspora as cultural ambassadors and their contribution in building sustainable relationships is in two articles is refreshing and welcome step.

Prof. G.Gopal Reddy

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Rajadharma as Good Governance in Ancient India: Examining Indian Sanskrit Literature

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The concept of good governance is not new, rather it as old as human civilization. Democracy is so far the best available means of political governance in the contemporary world. We have been made to understand that as of now there seems to be no alternative form of governance to democracy. Some of us may have unrefutably strong arguments against the prevalent myth of government 'of the people, by the people and for the people' and some may also produce an unending list of socio-economic (and yes, political also) problems apparently created by the democratic insistence of governance. Even then, the fact remains that throughout the world, there is abundant love for democracy, a well manifested want of democracy, people cherish democracy, there have been strong demands for democracy and crave for democracy nations with autocratic regimes. All the other constructs and concepts of social sciences in general and political science in particular, which have gathered worldwide respect, such as liberty,

equality, justice, rule of law, etc. naturally come along with democracy as a package. The institutionalization of democratic norms has, therefore, been gaining greater significance in each political community caring for democratic way of government. Indian Society has, since time immemorial, been widely acquainted with democratic nature of governance. While some of us may put forward strong arguments against this thesis but there are number of examples in ancient Indian texts to establish the firm bases of democratic and representative profile of governance in Indian Society. In any case, it has also to be highlighted that it is only because of our traditional sense of belongingness with democracy that the present form of Indian democracy has gained so much attachment in the minds of the general populace. We have been witnessing that the pace of institutionalization of democratic governance has also been very fast in India as compared to other modern nations gaining freedom from the clutches of the colonial powers largely during at the same period after IInd World War. The overwhelmingly vast and large Indian Constitution, the free print, electronic and social media, the tremendously proactive and exceedingly independent judiciary, the well-integrated federal system, the constitutionally prescribed division and distribution of powers, the ever-growing decentralization processes, free and fair regular elections, universal adult franchise, overarching constitutional supremacy, robust internal mechanisms of debate and dialogue, vigilant and watchful electorate, etc. are some of the major sources of strength of Indian democracy to a great extent. By virtue of being the largest democracy, India possesses a unique distinction in regard of democratic traditions. But unfortunately, we have long been made to understand and believe through our colonized education that the genesis, development and history of democracy could best be understood only in the context and perspective of western tradition of political development beginning with the Greeks. Our academic, political, intellectual and institutional tribes have been blindly consenting to the misleading assumptions that the concepts of democratic values and ideals, personal

liberty, equality and justice have essentially emanated from the western World and these concepts were simply alien, non-existent and irrelevant in the non-western cultures. These assumptions require a sincere academic re-examination. Therefore, there is an urgent need to have objective examination of the theoretical edifice of the evolution democracy and the study and research of the historical traditions of democracy and its value systems in Indian ancient texts.

The major terms and concepts central to the framework of present investigation have been governance, good governance and Rajadharma. In the course of present research paper, besides providing an analytical perspective and linkage between the dependent and independent variables of this study, we have, to some extent, also tried to concentrate on finding the real meaning, nature and scope of the terms and concepts which are not only basic to the nature of this work but also constitute the basis of the present study under research project. We have attempted to locate the boundaries of these major terms and concepts in a simple and short manner.

The term governance has, now a days, become a fashionable one both in political as well as academic areas. In broader sense, it appears to denote and mean administration. We may begin with understanding the fact that however modern it may appear but theoretically the concept of governance is an age-old concept. We find the idea and concept of governance to be as old as human civilization. Simple definition of governance suggests “the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)”. Like the other concepts of social sciences, we have witnessed that there is an absence of agreed or settled definition of ‘governance’ but the term has largely been understood as a process. It must be underlined that the concept of ‘governance’ simply exceeds the academic boundaries of the term ‘government’ in contemporary terminology. Scholars of the discipline of political science have been conditioned to visualize the term government in such a structured format which may or may not involve the citizens at all and yet it

functions as an institution which manifests state and its activities in different areas of human life and the existence of which has been accepted to be seemingly necessary for the orderly existence of any society even in ancient times. Dictionary meaning of the governance seems synonymous with government inasmuch 'as act or process of governing, specifically authoritative direction and control. The other definitions identify governance as an "act or manner of governing" and the office or function of governing.

In strict theoretical sense, it is accepted that the concept of governance is not at all something confined only to political governance but it necessarily includes a vast variety of types and forms of governance, in different fields such as, international governance, national governance, state or provincial governance or local governance. Academic and administrative dimensions of human activity have widely acknowledged that governance is all about the processes and structures steering the working of an organization and the modes being applied to attain the stated and defined goals. To some extent governance is 'authoritative allocation of values', to use the phrase to David Easton, through decision-making by use of power and authority. In such a situation we may define governance as a process of decision-making. Governance must focus on the actors involved making decisions and the structures engaged in the process of decision-making for a meaningful and effective implementation of those decisions. Both formal and informal the nature and profile of actors and structures that are central to the process of governance could be, identified such as NGOs, religious leaders, financial institutions, etc. These institutions and organizations in some cases form and constitute the legitimacy and the edifice of the 'civil society'. It must be highlighted that as a matter of fact, in some countries, however, the uncivil portions of the society, like mafias, crime syndicates, etc. also have been exerting considerable influence over decision-making and thus, have been, thereby, affecting the major processes and structures of governance.

Broadly speaking, we understand the concept of 'government' denoting a set of mechanisms or institutions

which ensure enforcement of order and wield control through the primary roles of legislation, execution, and adjudication. It must underline that the concept of 'governance' encompasses markets, hierarchies and networks also. This leads us to comprehend the wider connotation and cautions use of the term 'governance' resulting in a situation where it is quite possible that the distinction between the state and the 'civil society' is significantly blurred. This would result in a dominant modern view of civil society determining the principles of interaction among the people and the government, which would include the processes of empowerment and linkages also. Therefore, we understand the term governance in the form increasing ability of people to gain increased control over development.

Two words 'government' and 'governance' appear quite similar and many a times used interchangeably. There is a common confusion about the difference between these two terms of 'governance' and 'government'. Mostly people are unable to distinguish between the two and therefore, it seems prudent that we draw simple lines of distinction by further explaining these two words in some detail. Government has been understood as a group of people supposed to rule or run the administration of a country. To say it little differently, A government is the body of representatives that governs and controls the state at a through which the power of the state is employed. Government may assume various forms and types. It could be unitary or federal, autocratic, or democratic, presidential, or parliamentary, etc. Most of the contemporary governments are either apparently democratic in nature or tend to appear democratic.

A government is generally considered good or bad according to its ability and direction of working for the welfare of the people. Normally, it is considered that a democratic government is more capable of providing good governance with greater chances of remaining in power and retaining it for some considerable period. In this continuation, we may find that the term governance essentially refers to the act of governing or ruling. Governance is identified through the set

of rules and laws framed by the government that are meant to be implemented through the formal and informal structures of execution. In this backdrop, it may be argued that governance as an idea could be identified and traced in any organization of any size, be it a single cell or an organism or all of humanity. For profit or non-profit, governance may function in variety of ways, and for people, or for itself. The ultimate aim of governance must be ensuring good results by way of following a set pattern of rules.

We may attempt to further clarify the broad difference between the terms 'government' and 'governance' by using an example of a business run by a group of people. The provisions of rules and regulations supposedly followed in order to successfully run the said business are often termed management, which involves knowledge of the experience the owners while working together with the employees in the direction of meeting the fixed targets. Similarly, the government is a body of elected or nominated representatives headed by one individual, who efficiently and diligently makes use of established rules and principles to run the affairs of the country effectively in favour of the people of the nation through governance.

Good Governance is dependent mainly on the excellence of human beings engaged in government and the enlightened citizenry. That is why it has been repeatedly said that human rather than capital is the key to development. Recently, we have witnessed that considerable attention of academic quarters has centered around the problem of realizing good governance. As a matter of fact, 'good governance' has received currency along with other contemporary key terms such as decentralization, democratization, globalization, etc. both in developed as well as developing parts of the world. An apparent and strongly visible shift of focus from traditional concepts of government, administration, and politics to the concept of good governance and its attributes can be easily noticed. It has been very strongly argued in different circles that underdeveloped and developing countries are unable to achieve the goals of economic growth or alleviation of poverty

without 'good governance'. The central elements or constitutes of good governance have received increased prominence largely because of the existence of mal-governance and failure in delivery of the fruits of development to a wider section of political community by successive governments. The tenets of good governance in realizing sustainability in development and meet the challenges of rapid growth have been incorporated into the mainstreams of our all-round social and political development by a variety of local, national, and global organization. The study of institutions that were relegated to the footnotes of history are back in reckoning and issues of good governance have occupied important space with new generated interest. Both in developed and developing, countries, there has been a shift of focus from traditional concept of government to the concept of good governance.

The plans for welfare, development and overall progress of the state can be materialized only when the governance is conducive and covers all those matters and decisions which are right, just, fair and which serve the interest of people. Ancient Indian Sanskrit literature has always considered the issue of good governance to be of prime importance in context of Rajadharma. Rajadharma is immaculately wide and comprehensive term inclusive of Dharma, Artha and Kama (Trivarga). Through Rajadharma one can control the world and keep the people under the restraints of maryada. Brihaspathi says that whatever Dharma is there on the earth that is all because of the king. Both material and spiritual progress of society largely depends upon the right conduct of the king.

The present paper proposes to examine and explain the nature and structure of good governance and the concept of Rajadharma, as narrated by Sanskrit poets like Kalidas, Bhavabuti, Bharavi, Bhasa, Vishakhadatta, etc. in their monumental classics, with perspectives that can be linked to the contemporary relevance of their works. While analyzing and overviewing the classic works of these poets in the context of Rajadharma, this research work humbly endeavours to study the contributions of these eminent Sanskrit scholars in

the context of exploring new meanings to the contemporary concept of good governance.

Ever since the inception of the state, the inevitability of its existence and the all-encompassing nature of its activity were evidently accepted by all human beings. Despite the omnipotence given to Dharma, the requirement of state machinery was emphatically recognized by our forefathers in their writings, sometimes with an added emphasis on the form of governance and sometimes as an eternal value. The concept of the Dharma was then tied up with the notions of Rajadharma, Dandaniti, Arthashastra, etc. which have largely been described by most of the commentators as statecraft. The meaning, nature and scope of Rajadharma was essentially broader and higher than the narrow idea of statecraft, as we now often take them to mean.

Now some political scientists have at least started considering this bulk of literature on statecraft in ancient India as of having considerable significance in the understanding and comprehension of the socio-economic conditions of the ancient Indian political community. This literature lays much emphasis on the obligatory functions of the personnel associated with statecraft towards the populace. This duty-bound nature of the state machinery and men was reinforced regularly by moral and ethical prescription provided by the ordains of Dharma for each and every segment of the socio-political community at individual and collective levels.

In its present form the term 'Good Governance' was used, for the first time in 1989, by the World Bank. It came into vogue mainly after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. in 1991 when the world became uni-polar. In 1992 the Bank's document 'Governance and Development' said, "Good Governance is central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. The World Bank has identified several parameters of good governance which have assumed significance for the developed and developing countries. These are: regular elections, political and bureaucratic accountability, democratic government, independent judiciary, transparency,

freedom of information and expression, efficiency and effectiveness and co-operation between the government and the civil society organizations.

The significance of the study lies in the fact that it fills an important research gap that is found around research on ancient Indian political system. It documents, analyzes and compares the idea of Rajadharma in writings of some of the prominent scholars of Indian Sanskrit literature. It also compares these findings with concepts in other works of the period. It highlights the contemporary relevance of the ancient Indian concepts and principles of good governance. The present study also finds its relevance in the light of the fact that the inherent idea of public good, the apparent content of welfare state, the potential nature of strict state authority, the overwhelming presence of state sovereignty, the evident supremacy of the willing subordination of the people, the specified demarcation of fictional responsibilities of different personnel, the vigilant hierarchical supervision, the minute observation of various occupations, and the state in ancient India in general was more and more a well-organized welfare mechanism aiming to achieve overall happiness and well-being of the populace through properly carved out structures of Public Administration. This is where the present study hopefully creates an academic platform for further serious and scientific studies of different treatises of ancient India and pave the way of more rigorous research attempts in this largely neglected area.

There has been a considerable revival (however upward) in the research interest and scholarship on concepts and theories of politics and governance of ancient India in academic quarters past few decades. During this period a paradigm shift in research in the field of ancient Indian studies has been witnessed. Exploring and analysing the precepts found in ancient Indian literature within the framework of contemporary contexts have been paid increased attention. Indications of the modern intellectual relevance for contemporary governance of the knowledge of political and

public administration in our ancient past have emerged out of academic pursuits and research during the past few decades.

India, a land of vast diversities, and an invaluable history of glorious ancient empires with efficient public administration, has, perhaps, more than any other region in the world, within its contradicting realities, an extensive and rich literature as a storehouse of knowledge on the theories of politics and governance. The literature of ancient India has been extensively documented and researched by social scientists and analysts, but it is often without any possible linkages to modern contexts and relevance. It must be interesting to note that the ancient Indian concept of Rajadharma entails the essential centrality of the welfare of all the beings residing in the Kingdom. It is the foremost as well as the utmost duty of the ruler to ensure the materialistic, moral, and spiritual welfare of everyone in the state, which would definitely lead to the achievement of overwhelming harmony, sustainable happiness and prosperity. This has to be ensured by the functioning of the king by way of assigning appropriate rights, duties and legal authority to the other organs of the state as well as through procuring required assistance of liberated intellectuals. These liberated knowledgeable public intellectuals were often termed as Rishis, Munis or Kulapatis (Kulagurus or Vice Chancellors in contemporary terminology) in Sanskrit literature. These were the torch-bearers, not only of the ancient Indian knowledge system but were also the propagators of Dharma through providing wide-spread moral assistance to people at large as well as the kings by indicating their respective Dharma. This prescribed Dharma was to be followed by everyone in its truest terms by optimum efforts. The realization, knowledge, and observance of one's own Dharma, therefore, were the necessary pre-conditions of achieving the overall welfare of the population, which, obviously, involves truest observance of his Dharma by the king. This multi-level observance of Dharma is the gateway of the mundane pleasure, called Sukham. The strict Dharmic adherence to the Artha is the root of Dharma. This Artha can be protected only through a Rajya (State in modern political

science terminology). The Rajya has to be deeply benevolent and, therefore, the possession of the seat of power and authority must not vitiate the minds of the rulers and must not deviate from their own Dharma. And this benevolence would be achieved only when the rulers have sufficient inner control over their senses. They have been expected to be the rulers of their senses also. And, one, who has achieved victory over one's own senses, is to be associated with all the material and spiritual accomplishments. This sequencing done by Kautilya has since long been the guiding force of the writers of ancient India on political governance. We may find strong indications of these stages of good governance in Mahabharata also at scattered places but Kautilya was able to delineate the trajectory in a more systematic matter.

Many of the ancient Indian philosophers have dwelt upon the relationship between knowledge and Rajadharma also. To them, valid knowledge is Vidya, which has to be examined in terms of epistemology, theory and practicability. This Vidya must be a permanent goal of everyone including the king. This Vidya generates inner strength, stimulates mental effort, paves the way for self- upliftment, restricts the deviations, delimits the transgressing tendencies, inculcates responsiveness in behaviour, leads to self-realization, provides suitability, and endeavours in the direction of fulfillment of Dharma of everyone. The authoritative allocation of values as propounded by Chicago School political scientist David Easton in mid-20th Century has epistemological roots in ancient Indian Sankhya philosophy. This ancient Indian Sankhya Darshan talks of establishing a visible functional relationship between knowledge, will power, and mental effort and physical effort, which in its cumulative form is called Savishayak Padartha Jnan Ichcha Kriti Prayatna in Nayaya Vaisheshika Darshan. This unique construct of Savishayaka Padartha could be considered as a universal model of knowledge and its appropriate implementation for achieving development in all spheres of life and after. The king is expected to possess and attain knowledge of the amount of Vidya, the extent of will power, the length of mental effort and the capacity of physical

effort of his people and thereby, demarcate the limits of Purushartha Chatushtaya of all of them. In such a situation, it is the king who has to ascertain and acquire valid knowledge through the methodology of listening, thinking and grasping, theoretically termed as Shravana, Manana and Nididhyasana. Through the sustained efforts for the attainment of this knowledge, the king is morally in a position to indicate, authenticate and regulate the particular Dharma of particular being. And this authority of allocating and demarcating the specific Dharma of particular being in the state is achieved by the king not by any authority but through performing his own Dharma. This fundamental idea is the basis of the legitimacy of the authority of the king. Therefore, Rajadharma, according to ancient Indian seers is not an authority but a unique individual property that has to be acquired by the king through sustained efforts in the direction of achieving good and welfare of the people and observance and adherence to his own Dharma. This only is the gateway of good governance which has traditionally been termed as Sukham.

Purushartha Chaturshaya has been a quite frequently used term in ancient Indian Sanskrit literature on every aspect of human life. This could well be understood as the final goal of any living creature. Human beings have to take into account this each and every minute of their existence. This composition of Dharma, Artha, Karma, and Moksha is called Purushartha Chatushtaya, which literally means combination of four goals of humans. The sequencing of these four is prescribed, systematic and logically arranged. Nevertheless, the Dharma forms the basis while Moksha is the ultimate aim. Therefore, it could be understood as four layered way to liberation which essentially finds its base in Dharma in all spheres of human activity. It is only as per Dharma that the Artha has to be desired. It is through the strict adherence to Artha with Dharma that would ensure achievement of Karma. And, finally through engagement in Artha and Karma based on Dharma, the ultimate salvation has to be achievement. In this way, Purushartha Chatushtaya essentially involves Dharma in each category while all of them are closely connected and

complimentary. This fundamental understanding of the Purushasrha Chatushtaya is elementary requirement for performance of Rajadharma by the king.

Discourses in political theory and thought have great dependence upon the usage of the terms in literature on politics through gleaning the language, context, influence, conceptualization, generalizations, theory-building or applicability. Understanding the heritage language literature in general and Indian Sanskrit literature of yesteryears in particular, may require additional caution of perspective and contextual approaches. This would also entail the ideational knowledge of the typically framed terms with varied imputations of definition and meaning such as Dharma. Many a times, commentators on India's past have been tempted to make use of the English (apparent) translations of the word Dharma as religion. But any serious scholar of ancient Indian texts would summarily dismiss the idea of the term religion to be replaced by Dharma because of the narrower boundaries of the term 'religion' as compared to the term 'Dharma' which would essentially encompass much more than that. While religion denotes a set or community of a particular faith or belief or praying fraternity, the term Dharma may mean righteousness, appropriate conduct, duty, law, social responsibility and so on. It is a way of life, the path to completeness, and the first step of Purushartha Chatushtaya. It is the principle that could be upheld or sustained; that should be followed; that would be necessary to adopt; that has to be accepted; that one needs to immersed into; that is specific to one's character and profile; that must be identified with one's being; and that would lead everyone to eternity. In this sense, Dharma entails one's whole life in entirety. Dharma is the only identity of one's existence. The self-assigned Dharma of the individual may essentially be separate from the other individuals. Even otherwise, one's Dharma as a teacher, for example, is different from his Dharma while conducting himself as a father, or different as a brother, different as a son, different as a husband, as a human being, as a citizen, as a professional, as a neighbour, as a soldier, as a shopkeeper, as a

customer and so on. Therefore, one has to maintain appropriate balance between one's separate social and cultural responsibilities and that is the true observance of and adherence to Dharma.

It would definitely be interesting to comprehend the term 'Rajadharma' in this background. Rajadharma, therefore, cannot be equated with politics or even statecraft. The specific meaning and the genesis of the term Rajadharma has to be understood in appropriate perspective of ancient Indian thinking of social and political Dharma. The discourse of political philosophy in ancient India gives added emphasis to Rajadharma.

We have witnessed abundant literature on Republics in ancient India. Studies on ancient Indian political systems have lately acknowledged these Republics with two types of recognitions- one, A set of commentators have termed them post-tribal, post-vedic temporary administrative systems of early India. Two, the other set of scholars gone into studying them on the basis of their geographical expansions. Both of these sets of analysts have had a pre-conceived notion of these Republics as guilds, tribal administrative arrangements, warrior rulership, etc. We wish to underline the fact that serious, unbiased and objective research attempts to study the philosophical bases and public acceptance of these ancient Indian Republics would necessarily pave the way for greater understanding of the Indian tradition of building structures and institutions with increased public participation and involvement in larger decision-making even in the times indicated as thousands of years before Christ. These attempts would also re-structure and re-frame the whole framework of the research and study of the discipline of political science to a substantial extent.

Statecraft in ancient India was also known by different terms such as Rajadharma, Dandaneeti, Neetishashtra, Arthashashtra, etc. In initial period of its existence, it was termed as Rajadharma but we find substantial literature with indications of the term Dandaneeti in the some treatises, which speak of Rajadharma. The following works on the statecraft

formulated a term Arthashashtra, which is said to be having a long tradition of textbooks on the science of governance. In later period, we have also come across works on statecraft under the category of Neetishashtra, Rajneetishashtra, Rajyaneetishashtra and Rajneetiratnakar. The description of different dimensions of Rajadharma has found considerable space in ancient Indian works on Dharmasutra, epics, Smriti works and Neeti treatises. In the context of etymology, the term Rajadharma emanates from two terms- Rajan and Dharma. The composition of these two terms culminates into a different and unique noun, which could be used as verb also in specific contexts. The Sanskrit root of Rajya creates the noun Rajan, which means pleasing the population or welfare of the subjects. The other component of this term 'Dharma' has its roots in Dhri, which depicts sustaining or upholding something. Ancient Indian political thinking has used the term Rajan, generally symbolizing the king. This term has also been used in Purushasukta of Rigveda for identifying a group of warriors. Kautilya has also at some places used the term 'Rajan' for Kshatriyas.

This is in this very context and sufficiently interesting to note that the works of ancient Indian literature considered to be full of romantic ideas and themes and primarily dwelling upon love stories only contain explicit and specific contents and components of political and administrative working and thinking that they seem to be inseparable testimony to the enormously enriched thinking tradition of ancient India. It is an established fact that the Sanskrit literature is the most ancient as well as the richest in the world. There is a large number of treatises that have been produced in Sanskrit from times immemorial, and which has been covering diverse fields of knowledge. We have analyzed the contents of some of such important treatises of Sanskrit literature in substantial detail with a perspective of locating the tenets of Rajadharma and governance therein. The works covered by us include Malavikagnimitram, Vikramorvashiyam, Abhijnanashakuntalam, and Raghuvansham of Kalidasa, Kiraturjunyam of Bharavi, Shishupalvadha of Magha, Mudra

Raksha of Vishakhadatta, Mrichchakatikam of Shudraka, Uttararamacharita of Bhavabhuti, and Dutavakyam, Dutaghatolkacha, Avimarka, Abhisheka, Balcharita, Swapnavasavadatta, Pancharatra, Urubhangam, Pratijnayaugandharyanam, Pratimanatakam, Karnabhara, Charudatta and Madhyamavyayoga of Bhasa.

Understanding the social obligation of the ruler is the basic idea of ancient India concept of Rajadharma. We have been made to understand that modern ideas of political science do not find any noteworthy appearance in Indian tradition of thinking which had been overwhelmed by amazingly deep insights on metaphysics, autonomy, surgery, medicine and many other fields. The strong structure of creation of this inferiority in our mind sets has long been influential in inculcating the unabated appreciation of any theory or construct emanating from the West and essentially, disrupting, rejecting and disregarding any theoretical framework germinated in ancient Indian history. This pathetic academic *hara kiri* has been substantially strengthened by sustained efforts of a powerful section of so-called modern Indian academia which has, over the years, with the tacit support of political establishments, further cemented this intellectual apathy and indifference toward ancient Indian ideas. Much of this has been done in the garb of modernism, liberalism, and so on. Apparent efforts to underline the Indian socio-political reasoning of the structures, institutions and procedures of governance by way of terming them pre-historic myths, or primordial arrangements, or tribal practices, etc. have assisted in widespread dissemination of the canard of traditional Indian ignorance of political systems or ideated structures.

Interestingly, the period before and during Indian national movement has witnessed the upsurge of a huge amount of literature directed towards dispelling this canard. Max Muller (1823-1900) has been credited with drawing the attention of the world to the existence of a great Indian tradition of literary and cultural thinking based on variety of ancient Indian manuscripts collected and collated by him. Sir William Jones and Lady Jones, through the Asiatic Society prepared a list of

collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. Many other notable Western writers have been credited with bringing out the abundant and rich Sanskrit literary treasure before the Western world before the national movement. During the days of Indian Independence Movement, we find a galaxy of Indian scholars, working in the universities of West and establishing the academic credentials of ancient India through their exceptional knowledge of Sanskrit combined with their equally good command over English language. Interestingly, this is the time when R Shama Shastry, in Mysore, discovered the manuscript of hitherto unavailable yet oft-quoted text of Asthashastra of Kautilya which he got published with the help of Maharaja of Mysore I 1908. This discovery transformed the debate on political systems and public administration tremendously and compelled the academic fraternity throughout the world to acknowledge and evaluate the path-breaking contribution of this quintessential treatise in influencing the discourse on statecraft to a considerable extent. During this period only, T. Ganapati Shastry of Travancore discovered thirteen plays of great Sanskrit poet Bhasa in 1912. These plays were published by the Maharaja of Travancore. This is the time when we find the English translations of the works of Kalidasa, specially Abhijnanshakuntalam, Meghadoot, etc. were able to mesmerize the Western intellectual class with its sheer brilliance and extraordinary charm. This is the period when we see one of the greatest Indologists, K.P. Jayaswal penning his monumental and powerful research work suitably entitled as Hindu Polity. During these years only, we find the likes of D.R. Bhandarkar, Narendranath Law, Narayan Chandra Bandhopadhyaya, U.N. Ghoshal, B. K. Sarkar, R.K. Mookherjee, P.N. Banerjee, V.R.R. Dikshitar, R.C. Majumdar, Beni Prasad, H.N. Sinha, K. M. Panikkar, etc. making all round academic efforts through their intellectually sound and properly arranged argumentative works on different dimensions of ancient Indian polity. There was an inherent attempt in these academic exercises to refute the British assertion of Indian ignorance of models of governance and thereby resulting in a 'white men's burden'. The unbelievable

thoroughness and unimagined width of the canvas of the coverage of these works were sufficient to create intellectual and mental tremors on the adopted superiority and therefore, all round efforts were made to find faults with their 'date', 'time', 'period'. 'authenticity', 'actual authorship', etc. and concomitantly these academic attempts by Indian writers on ancient India were belittled by terming them 'nationalistic writings' in a sarcasm. Unfortunately, the post-independence progeny of these stalwarts of ancient Indian polity readily embraced the term 'nationalistic' as the prefix to this significantly illuminating literature on ancient India. Thus, the academic substance and intellectual relevance of these writings were deliberately lowered. In post-Independence era, we witness the emergence of an influential group of ideologically committed scholars on ancient India, most of whom, unfortunately, did not have any grounding in Sanskrit language and almost all of whom, were working tirelessly to establish the idea of class-struggle in each and every aspect of ancient Indian society. This group proliferated with considerable political and legal assistance and institutional support through academic institutions of higher learning and research. This powerful section of Indian academia has dominated the narrative for decades through its linkages and networks and have been greatly successful in insulating the young Indian with their political orientations in academic understandings. This scenario has resulted in complete absence of impartial, objective, and unbiased analysis of any ancient Indian perspective in social sciences in India.

Of late, we have witnessed an upsurge in attempts to deviate from this guided path and with an urge to adopt an alternate way. In post-Independence period, we find studies on political dimensions of Kautilya with apprehensions of his unacceptable comparison and equivalence in cunningness with Machiavelli which is not only academically mischievous but also scheming with the time interval of around one thousand five hundred years between the two. We also find discussions on political ideas in Ramayana and Mahabharata but with greatly apologetic gesture about their date, actual

authors and so on. Even then the number of research attempts, unaffected by the injection of class-struggle, has witnessed a noticeable increase. Yet there are, unimaginably, number of opportunities to explore the rich wealth of ancient Indian works in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Apabharansha and other regional languages with affluent traditional heritage like Tamil. In this research endeavour, we have not attempted to peep into this area. Research question of the present work has been initially oriented towards exploring the ancient Indian Sanskrit literature with a demarcated perspective of underlining and highlighting the political contents having visible manifestations of administration and governance. For this purpose, we have earmarked a good number of Sanskrit plays and poems by some of the greatest Sanskrit poets. The coverage of these literary works has ranged from Bhasa through Kalidasa and Magha alongwith Bharavi, Bhavabhuti upto Shudraka, Vishakhadatta and Bhattanarayana. In all, 23 ancient Indian Sanskrit works have been thoroughly examined and analyzed with a perspective of political science.

The theoretical edifice of the present work has the fundamental idea of Rajadharma as the basic premise. Therefore, the idea of Rajadharma (which sometimes has been dealt as Dandaneeti or some other term in different ancient texts) as propounded by ancient Indian writers in various Sanskrit texts has formed the basis of our argument. The basic tenets of Rajadharma have been discussed in substantial detail with incorporations or praxis of kingship in ancient India in Vedic and post-Vedic literature. Our discussion has also included different arguments prevalent in academic scenario of contemporary India which have paved our way for exploring this specific area of research. We have also attempted, to delineate the academic trajectory of understanding ancient India with a perspective of political understanding. We have appended extensively Sanskrit shlokas and text portions with English translation to hinders the argument at many places of the present study. Besides highlighting indicative texts from Vedic also post-Vedic literature on political arrangements and institutional structures, we have largely depended on

Mahabharata for our theoretical framework construction our Rajadharma in ancient India. In the meantime, similar words like Dandaneeti, etc. have also been discussed in this regard. Because of the existence of many note-worthy works on Kautilya and Manu, we have not concentrated on either of them.

During the preparation of the research endeavor, we had formulated and proposed certain assumptions (hypothesis) simply based on our attained understanding of the available literature on various aspects of ancient Indian society and its extensive and exhaustive review to ascertain the research gaps. This has resulted in underscoring our research question and identifying the objectives of present research. We had initially proposed to explain the nature and structure of good governance and the concept of Rajadharma as narrated by classical Sanskrit poets with a perspective of tracing the linkages of this to the contemporary relevance. In our attempt to study the contributions of these eminent Sanskrit poets to the ancient Indian literature of Rajadharma, in view of the contemporary concept of good governance, we analyzed and overviewed the classic works of Bhasa, Kalidasa, Magha, Vishakhadutta, Shudrak, Bharavi, Bhavabhuti, Bhattanarayana.

In this background, the identified objectives of the present study were:- (i) To study the concept of Rajadharma in ancient Sanskrit literature; (ii) To underline the contours of Rajadharma in ancient Sanskrit literature; (iii) To delineate the points of conflux and convergence in the writings of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Vishakhadatta, Bharavi, Dandini and Kalhan; (iv) To examine the rudiments of Rajadharma in ancient literature; and (v) To study the relevance of good governance in contemporary world. With these stated objectives, we started the present study.

We have proceeded to examine these Sanskrit texts with our formulation of hypothesis. Our assumptions (hypothesis) for the present work were as follows:- (i) The idea of good governance is present in Indian Sanskrit literature in the broader concept of Rajadharma; (ii) Ancient Indian Sanskrit

literature has emphasized and underlined the sensitivity of the state towards the populace; (iii) Rajadharma is directly related to the modern concept of good governance; (iv) Ancient Sanskrit literature provides detailed accounts of contours of Rajadharma; (v) Sanskrit literature has outlined the functional and administrative boundaries of statecraft in ancient India; and (vi) There is sufficient contemporary relevance of many of the elements of ancient concept of Rajadharma.

With these theoretical generalizations as our hypothesis, we have proceeded and provided a brief introduction of the issues involved in the present study with some details of methodological dimensions and a brief outline of the contemporary concept of good governance with a view of provide a general understanding and the theoretical background of our discussion. Then, a discussion on the origin, growth and development of the ancient Indian concept of Rajadharma with added emphasizes on kingship. The work borrows from the Vedas, Smritis, Dharmasutras, Arthashastra tradition and the epics (Ramayana and Mahabharata). We have attempted to examine and analyze different dimensions of kingship in ancient India through gaining an understanding of Vedic and post-Vedic tradition of Danda Neeti and Rajadharma with a minute and extensive analysis of selected Sanskrit texts in a sequence of contents or relevance. Most of the analysis has revolved around the discussion of political content of an amazing variety prevalent in these twenty-three Sanskrit works. We have not classified the works on the basis of any political science sections, but we have touched upon almost every possible dimension of political element present in these Sanskrit texts. Besides underlining the nature, profile, functions, duties, coronation, rights, powers, authority, limitations of kingship, we have also highlighted the responsiveness, accountability, sensitivity, and dutifulness of the rulers in ancient India. The processes and structures related to the functioning of the Parishada (Council of Ministers) as found in various deliberations in these texts, have also been underlined. The personnel of the kingdom, officers and the functionaries involved in the execution to the orders,

merchants, police, law enforcement authorities, law and order administration functionaries, fishermen, musicians, teachers, students, sages, etc. appearing in different role and scenes of these plays and poems have also been identified. The aspects of public policy and day-to-day governance, as depicted in these Sanskrit classics, have also been highlighted.

Our detailed examination of these ancient Indian Sanskrit plays and poems leads us to conclude that we have greatly achieved our objectives of research. We have been immensely successful in verifying our hypothesis and establishing the veracity of our academic claims. The study of these Sanskrit literary works has also transformed our understanding of them as encompassing social and political elements to a substantial extent despite clearly being works of poetry. The versatility of Kalidasa and the intellectual circumference of Bhasa, combined with literary caliber of Bharavi, the literary intensity and sheer excellence of Magha and Bhavabhuti have been clubbed with the clarity and focus of Vishakhadatta and the tenderness of Shudraka and Bhattanarayana- all culminating into a tremendously enriching experience of sailing through the mesmerizing ideas of poetry of love, compassion and empathy with ingrained essentials of political chivalry, valour and maverick. The profundity of the political astuteness of Chanakya in Mudrarakshasa can be juxtaposed with politico-administrative acumen of Dushyanta of Kalidasa. Extraordinary professional and personal traits of Raghu could be properly understood in the light of overarching adherence to Dharma by Yudhishthira in Shishupalvadha of Magha. The kingly diplomatic moves of Duryodhana in Kiratajuniyam of Bharavi could be analyzed in perspective of magnanimity of Rama in Pratimanatakam of Bhasa. The valour of Bhima in Dutaghatokacham of Bhasa finds academic parallels in Agnimitra of Malavikagnitram of Kalidasa. The peculiarity of Rama in Uttararamacharita of Bhavabhuti could be equated to none of these other characters in plays and poets. Many more equations and similarities and dis-similarities could be forwarded and established. But this literary appreciation and character-specific description must have shaped our analytical

edifice to some extent. Our admission of this possibility should not at all be construed as any lack of efforts to rule out the elements of subjectivity or bias. But, we have, on the hand, been, admittedly, more careful in advancing our comprehension of the Sanskrit texts with specified goal and aim of ascertaining political contents in these works.

Primary concern of our study in this research work has, therefore, been the identification and analysis of elements of Rajadharma indicating towards the existence of the characteristics of contemporary idea of good governance in ancient India. We have found that these Sanskrit literary works by these great poets of India have unwittingly touched upon various aspects of governance in their works. The incidences of greater involvement of the members of Parishada in decision making processes, established and designated structures of personnel administration, instances of salary and honorarium distribution, provisions of training and learning through Gurukul or personalized teachers for the princess, existence of numerous officials with specified roles, depiction of the ceremonies of coronation, strategies of war, diplomacy, espionage, discussion of laws of inheritance, different models of policy formulation, defined boundaries of the authority of the king, preventive checks on improbable autocracy, channels of public opinion, well-depicted responsiveness and accountability of the people in power to the general public, special care and attention to the people with deprivation, social hierarchy of the learned and the knowledgeable, the over-reaching public respect to the beholders of truth, accessibility of the rulers, variety of seats of working, uniformity of certain prescribed rules, overwhelming importance attached to public welfare, commonly uniting aspect of protection of people as Dharma of the rulers, and the essential ingredient of Yogakshema in all these works, are some of the political and administrative dimensions of ancient polity which strongly verify our proposed hypothesis of Rajadharma of ancient India having shaped the concept of good governance in modern times. We must, also, highlight here that looking at the present political scenario, the

contemporary relevance of these aspects of Rajadharma needs to be strongly emphasized.

We sincerely hope that our present research attempt would pave the way for on increased understanding of ancient Indian concept of Rajadharma imbibed in these Sanskrit poems and will also lead the future researchers to further examine, analyze and understand various other functional dimensions of these 'kingly democracies.' We wish that such research attempts would definitely help all of us in finding better solutions to our existing contemporary socio-political problems largely emanating from our working outcomes of 'democratic anarchies'. More and more researches in ancient Indian Sanskrit works are also required to attain a better outlook of Indian problems with Indian perspectives with Indian socio-cultural settings in mind. The debate on these findings would lead us to more focused debate and sustained discourse on ancient Indian Sanskrit tradition of intellectual wealth and academic richness.

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Heritage and Identity in India: Issues and Perspectives

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Heritage is inheritance. It may be categorized as cultural and natural. Cultural heritage is divided into tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible cultural heritage comprises of: movable cultural heritage (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), immovable cultural heritage (monuments, archaeological sites, and so on) and underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities) while intangible cultural heritage includes oral traditions, performing arts and rituals (World Heritage Convention, 1972). In India a structure is considered as heritage building if it has some architectural value and not less than 100 years of age (AMASR Act 2010). Likewise, natural heritage is part of natural sites with cultural aspects such as cultural landscapes, physical, biological, or geological formations (World Heritage Convention, 1972). The present paper will deal with tangible immovable cultural heritage with special reference to the issue of identity.

Identity is the distinctive characteristic of an individual or a group, they are known for and many times asserted by them. Often identity is the reason for cohesion or discord. We also find multiple claimants of one identity, some claiming themselves as genuine and others fake. In most of the cases identity is rooted in history and heritage.

The issue of identity is closely related to history. History is the record of the past and one of the major sources of identity formation. It is also equally important issue of identity that who is writing the history. The historian's perception and approach is reflected in his writing. While writing on Indian history, the British (colonial) historians Macaulay and Smith have profusely denigrated the identity of the native Indians to the utmost inferior level justifying the imperial ambition of the British for the perpetuation of their rule in the colony. While portraying the natives as niggers, these historians tried to prove that everything great and best have their genesis in the West or Europe in general and Britain in particular. Smith, in his magnum opus 'The Early History of India' has devoted some 100 pages in describing the conquests of Alexander the Great in India, although he fought against only two kings and overcame the resistance of a few tribes in his victory march in a small fraction of North-Western India. On the contrary, he has devoted only 20 to 30 pages while describing about the greatest of Indian empires like Mauryas and Guptas. Most importantly, Alexander has only one invasion and a couple of conquest to his credit while Mauryas and Guptas had along with conquests, massive contributions in the field of administration, economy, art, architecture, literature etc. Likewise, while writing the history of the Mauryas, when Smith came across the beautiful art and architecture, he simply says that the same was borrowed from Greece art and architecture. There are also western historians and Indologists who have propounded the theories of 'Asiatic Mode of Production' (Dunn: 1982) and 'Oriental Despotism' (Wittfogel: 1957). Through these theories, they have tried to portray, Asia in general and India in particular, had the evil systems of dictatorial administration imposed upon the

landless people. Here, as earlier mentioned above, it is pertinent to ask, who were the historians writing the history of a particular civilization or culture. The historians belong to the colonial masters. They have to rule the natives for their economic exploitation. If they will glorify the natives' history, their imperial ambitions to rule the colony perpetually will be at stake as the glorious history will give the native a sense of cohesive identity and a sense of pride to challenge the colonial masters.

Another important aspect related to identity is the issue of material manifestation of history which we call material culture or built heritage. Here, an individual or a group or a region or a nation is identified through its built heritage. There are many instances where a powerful and rich individual built a religious or secular building with outstanding architecture and naturally the individual has established his identity through that building which we call heritage with the passage of time. The same is also applicable to the most famous built heritage of India like Taj Mahal, Red Fort, Jagannath Temple at Puri, Odisha, Ajanta and Ellora cave architecture and paintings, Bhimbetka rock paintings, to name a few. Although the kings and other powerful and rich persons who built these structures are identified by these structures, another identity is that the region or the country in which they are situated are also identified by these heritage buildings. While an individual or a nation is identified through its built heritage, there is another rightful claimant to this identification also. Those claimants are the faceless and nameless (nobody remembers their faces nor their names) skilled and unskilled workers and labourers who have sacrificed their everything to build the heritage structures.

There are also issues of contestation and syncretisation vis-à-vis heritage and identity. India is a land of classical civilization. It is witnessed in the Indus-Saraswati civilization. In the course of its history, through successive phases of Islamic invasions, migrations, and permanent settlement of the invaders and migrants, India became a mosaic of multiple faiths and cultures. There are many instances of the early Islamic invasions in India and subsequent Islamic rule ,

during which hundreds of Hindu places of worship in the form of temples were destroyed and mosques built in its place sometimes using the razed materials and sometimes with the new materials (Dhai din ka jhonpra, Ajmer, Rajasthan, Quwwat ul Islam mosque, Delhi, Babri Masjid, Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh and Bhojsala Temple, Dhar, Madhya Pradesh). We have also instances of juxtaposition of historic religious structures of different faiths at a particular site (Gyan Vapi Mosque, Banaras, Uttar Pradesh and Krishna Janmbhumi, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh). In all these cases, the heritage has been contested between two faiths and the contestation is due to the assertion of their identities. Many times, the contestation has led to the law and order problem with the risk of being transformed into widespread riots resulting in the loss of lives and properties in a large scale. Depending on the nature and importance of the heritage site, the nature and number of stakeholders and the nuances of power politics, the fate of the contested site is decided albeit many times not conclusively but as a stop gap management.

As cited above, there are two types of contestations. One, so far as early Islamic invasions are concerned, there were Hindu temples destroyed and mosques built in the same site with the spoils of the destroyed temple and the best examples are Dhai din ka Jhonpra at Ajmer in Rajasthan, Quwwat ul Islam mosque



Quwwat Ul Islam Mosque, Delhi

in Delhi and later Bhojsala Temple at Dhar in Madhya Pradesh. Although some hardcore Hindus resent this fact and many times try to make some hue and cry but this contestation did not create a major problem till date because the sites are not associated with popular Hindu gods like Lord Rama, Krishna or Shiva.



Dhai Din Ka Jhonpra, Ajmer

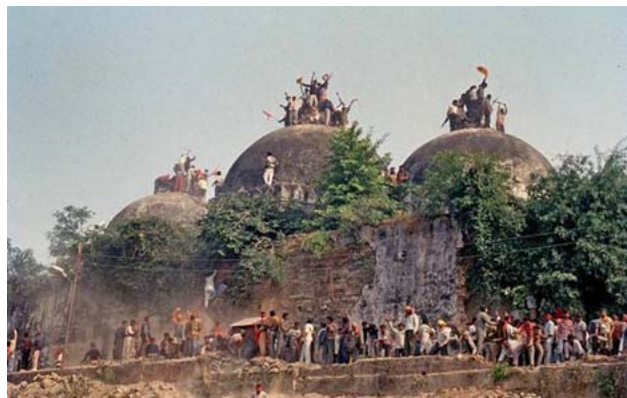
However, in case of Bhojasala, there are some flare ups between the Hindus and Muslims and the authorities have managed to pacify both the communities by assigning separate times for their worship in the site (Ruchika Sharma, 'Madhya Pradesh's Ayodhya: How the British Manufactured the Myth of Bhojshals, The Scroll.in, February 11, 2016).



Bhojshala, Dhar, Madhya Pradesh

While the contested heritage cited above has not made so much impact in terms of law and order, Babri Masjid at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh evoked sharp reactions from the contested parties with drastic impacts. Since almost last 500 years, the site was contested by Hindus because they are identified with Lord Ram whose birth place was there and there was temple(s) in the contested site which was destroyed by Mir Baqi, the general of Mughal invader Babur and a mosque was built in its place. Since then the disputed site has been called Ram Janmbhumi–Babri Masjid site. Thousands of Hindus sacrificed their lives only for the identity through their heritage. While the matter was sub-judice, in December 6, 1992, the mosque was destroyed by a frenzied mob and the demand for the construction of Ram Temple gained momentum. Finally, in November 9, 2019, the Supreme Court gave its verdict on the matter and handed over the site to the Hindus.

Two other contested sites in Uttar Pradesh—Gyan Vapi Mosque at Banaras and Krishna Janmbhumi at Mathura—has also every potential to spiral into unrest and turmoil in the quest for faith-based identity through heritage. Although the disputes in all these cases are associated with heritage and identity, it is also drawn into the electoral power politics of India making it more vicious with the loss of lives and properties. There are also stray cases where built heritage has been contested with the state government as a party to the issue (Jain & Swain: 2018).



Babri Masjid

Contrary to the issue of contestation is the syncretisation. Syncretisation means a positive blending of various philosophies in harmony with each other. In the context of heritage and identity in India, we have several references of syncretic heritage. One of the best examples of the syncretisation is the Phool walon ki sair festival at Mehrauli in Delhi. The festival is celebrated by both Hindus and Muslims with a grand procession from Chandni Chowk to Mehrauli offering pankhas at the Dargah of Qutb ud din Bakhtiyar Kaki and chadar at Yogmaya temple (Swain: 2018, 152-154). Likewise, Ajmer Sharif in Rajasthan is another example of the syncretic culture where both the Hindus and Muslims pray. The best thing about this syncretic heritage is that the identities of the participating communities are not diluted by the process of syncretisation.

Now, there are two strands with regards to the issue of heritage and identity. One is contestation and another is syncretisation. The former is antithetical to the latter. While contestation breeds contempt and hatred resulting in strife and loss of lives and property, syncretisation brings about harmony and mutual goodwill. Most noteworthy aspect is that contestation happens in case of built heritage while syncretisation takes place in intangible heritage. Mutual dialogue is the best way to sort out the issue of contestation. When dialogue fails, the judiciary may be approached for a solution as in case of Ram Janmbhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. Although the case has been settled through judiciary, but the best solution to contested heritage is through dialogue by which communal harmony and mutual good will would be prevailed amongst the contested parties.

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Built Heritage Contents in Print Media: A Study of Selected Newspaper

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Introduction

Considering the ever-growing field of tourism with a major focus on heritage tourism in general and built heritage, it is imperative that the value of heritage resources must be disseminated to the masses. Therefore, one of the major objectives of heritage management is the public awareness about heritage. There are many stakeholders including government and non-government organizations, local communities and media working in the said field to achieve that objective. Although there are various types of mass media with electronic media in the lead, print media, especially the newspapers' readership is expanding fast even in the digital age (Indian Readership Survey, 2019). Heritage and media being vast subjects, the present study will focus on the built heritage of Delhi and print media i.e. newspapers, more specifically the highest circulated two English and two Hindi newspapers published from Delhi. According to the Indian Readership Survey, 2017, The Hindustan Times and The Times

of India are the highest circulated English dailies whereas Dainik Jagaran and Hindustan are the highest circulated Hindi dailies of Delhi (IRS: 2017). Also, the above-mentioned newspapers of only one month i.e. January 2018 have been taken for the present research.

There are many issues of representation of built heritage in the print media. The issues are mostly perspective based. The perspectives depend upon the ideology of the media house, need of the community, part of an agenda, economic necessity, clash of interests of the concerned stakeholders etc. But, despite all perspectives, the bottom line is public is made aware of about the heritage related issues. With these various representations of heritage in media in the backdrop, one can surmise that there are different discourses that various newspapers propounded. Whether they are agenda setting in nature or representational in nature is contingent on the reader. The present study will explore through newspaper content analysis about all these nuances cited above. The study will deal with the exact content of the newspapers, the density of the heritage news in Delhi, frequency of their occurrence, the salience of the reporting based on the pages in which the heritage news appear, the imageries they projected and the depth of their contents.

Methods and Tools used in the Content Analysis of Heritage News in Print Media

Media content analysis has emerged as a useful tool to analyse the nature of the content and encrypted meaning these contents carry. 'Analyzing Newspaper Content A How-To Guide' by Stacy Lynch & Limor Peer (2005), 'Media Analysis Technique' by Arthur Asa Berger (2011) and 'Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology' by Klaus Krippendorff (2004) provide a ready reckoner for doing a content analysis. These guidebooks deal with the issues such as time at disposal for doing media content analysis, the period for which the content analysis will be done, using readership institute tools such as story analysis form, structure, Listings and Content Promotion Analysis Worksheets, Reviewing and Interpreting data.

The present work covers two English and two Hindi dailies that are published from Delhi. They are namely: *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, *Hindustan* and *Dainik Jagaran*. The study analyses the heritage news over a period of one-month i.e. from January 1, 2018 to 31 January, 2018. These four newspapers were selected as they are the highest circulating English and Hindi dailies in the capital city of Delhi as per the Indian Newspaper Survey 2017. In the first stage, number of stories published in the selected newspapers on the selected dates have been identified. Subsequently, calculation of space given for heritage stories and the nature of stories have been tabulated. Interpretation of data is largely based on the placement and frequency of stories occupied in selected newspapers.

No. and Frequency of Built Heritage Stories in Surveyed Newspapers

As the table 1 shows, there are 59 stories which are published in the four newspapers chosen for content analysis. Out of these 59 stories, *Dainik Jagaran*, a Hindi daily published the maximum number of stories on the built heritage of Delhi whereas the English Daily *Hindustan Times* published 32 stories. On the other hand, the Hindi daily *Hindustan*, published from the same newspaper house as that of the *Hindustan Times*, carried only five stories. Major English Daily *Times of India* published only 12 stories. On an average, these four dailies carried three heritage stories dailies.

Table 1. No. of News Items on Built Heritage Published in Four Largest Circulating Dailies of Delhi

Newspapers	Hindi/English	No of news-items published in the month of January 2018
Hindustan Times	English	22
Times of India	English	8
Hindustan (Hindi)	Hindi	5
Dainik Jagaran	Hindi	24
Total	4	59

Page-wise Distribution of News Published in the Surveyed Newspapers: Issue of Primacy and Recency and Issue of Salience of News

Table 2 presents the page-wise frequency distribution of news stories which are published in the English newspaper Hindustan Times. Psychologists emphasize on the primacy and recency effects of human behaviour (Sousa, David A: 2000), which means that we tend to see the first and last page immediately. While this may be true, it is important to bear in mind that newspaper have pre-decided the format of the news items. For example, sports stories are reported on the penultimate and last page only. The Editorial page is in the middle of the newspaper. Nevertheless, the importance a newspaper editor attaches to heritage news is reflected in the frequency of the heritage news reporting as well as on the pages on which they appear. Seven heritage stories appear on page 1 of the Hindustan Times whereas once heritage issue appeared in the editorial page of the newspaper. On the other hand, 14 stories appeared in different pages of the Metro supplements of *the Hindustan Times*.

Table 2. Page-wise Distribution of Heritage News Published in *Hindustan Times*

Hindustan Times (Cardinal no. on the left represents the page no of the newspaper)	Frequency	Percent
14 Editorial	1	6.3
4 Metro	3	15.6
4 Metro Spotlight Cities of Delhi	1	3.1
5 metro	3	15.6
6 Metro Spotlight Cities of Delhi	5	15.6
7 Metro	1	6.3
8 Metro Spotlight Cities of Delhi	1	3.1
Page 1 plus Obverse/Ends in Page 8 Metro	1	3.1
Page 1 plus Reverse	6	31.3
Total	22	100.0

Times of India published 12 stories, news in the period of study, which is in the month of January 2018. These 8 stories appeared in the following pages of the newspaper. None of the news-stories appeared either on the editorial or the first page of the newspaper. Table 3 represents the page-wise distribution of heritage stories in the *Times of India*.

Table 3. Page-wise Distribution of Heritage News Published in *Times of India*

Times of India (Cardinal no. on the left represents the page no of the newspaper)	Frequency	Percent
2 Times City	3	33.3
4 Times City	2	16.7
6 Times City	1	16.7
7 Times City	1	16.7
8 Times City	1	16.7
Total	8	100.0

On the other hand, the Hindi Daily *Dainik Jagaran* published maximum no of stories in the month of January 2018 on various pages of the main dailies and its supplement. Issues of heritage appeared once in the editorial page of the news daily while Page no 6 of the Daily Jagaran carried four times the issues of heritage. One can notice that heritage news is reported in more frequently in various pages and section of this Hindi newspaper daily.

**Table 4 Page-wise Distribution of Heritage News Published in
*Dainik Jagran***

<i>Dainik Jagran</i> (Cardinal no. on the left re presents the page no of the newspaper)	Frequency
1 of City Jagran	1
1 of Jagran City,Dakshin Delhi	2
10 Editorial Page	1
2 Delhi Jagran	2
2 of Delhi/Dakshin Delhi	1
20 Saptrang	2
3 Delhi Jagran	1
4 Delhi Jagran	3
4 of Jagran City Dakshin Delhi Sabrang Page	1
5 Delhi Jagran	1
6 Delhi Jagran	4
6 of City Jagran	1
9 Opp. Editorial Page	1
9 Rashtriya Jagran	1
Reverse of Ad. Cover Page Delhi Jagran	2
Total	24

Nature of Contents in the Newspapers

The newspaper covered different aspects of heritage in their news stories, feature stories and special stories. Hindustan Times for example carried a special series on the Seven Cities of the Delhi. Dainik Jagran, more than the other newspapers, raises the issue of encroachment of the heritage building. Issue of built heritage encroachment by local communities or disappearance of the protected or unprotected monuments, appear very frequently on the pages of the newspapers.

Table 5. Nature of Contents in the Newspapers

Issues	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan Dainik Jagran		
Cultural	1	1	0	6	8
Performance	4.5%	12.5%	0.0%	25.0%	13.56
Encroachment	0	0	0	1	1
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	1.69
Conservation	5	2	0	6	13
	22.7%	25.0%	0.0%	25.0%	22.03
Intach News	0	1	0	1	2
	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	4.2%	3.39
Intangible	0	0	0	4	4
Heritage	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	6.78
Aesthetics	14	0	2	10	26
	63.6%	0.0%	40.0%	41.7%	44.07
Law\Legal	3	3	0	0	6
	13.6%	37.5%	0.0%	0.0%	10.17
Museum	2	1	1	2	6
Showcase\ Exhibition\ Display	9.1%	12.5%	20.0%	8.3%	10.17
History	8	1	3	2	14
	36.4%	12.5%	60.0%	8.3%	23.73
Total	22	8	5	24	59

Analysis of the nature of the stories reveal that 44 % of the stories that appeared in the four newspaper, was devoted to the issue of aesthetics of the monuments which are being compromised as a result of various factors. One can cite the example of the height of the *gombuz* of the police Memorial which destroyed the aesthetics of the Raisina hill and Rashtrapati Bhawan as the height of the tower of the Gombuz obstructed a clear view of the Rasthrapati Bhawan. Intangible heritage, especially of legends, myths and other oral traditions which are abound in the Old Delhi area are reported in four news stories. On the other hand, Hindustan Times carried a feature story series with regards to the seven capitals of Delhi, such as on Qila Rai Pithora, Sikri, Tughlaqabad, etc. Such comprehensive feature story, categorized in the present

content analysis under the rubric of History, has in fact gone beyond the historical aspects and touched upon the intangible heritage and present state of conservation and preservation. Aga Khan Foundation and INTACH, two of the non-governmental organisations have been active in developing a long-term plan for the development of Humayun tomb and Nizamuudin area and documentation of the lesser known monuments of Delhi respectively and this has been reported by many newspapers. Other issues that have been covered by the newspaper included issues of encroachment, various laws about protection of monuments and conflict between developmental goals of the State and conservation and protection laws. News reports regarding the exhibition and other outreach programmes constituted 10 % of the total news.

Source Quoted in the Newspapers

Table 5 discussed various heritage related issues raised by newspaper during the study period of the content analysis. However, the credibility of the news reports also hinges on the sources that have been cited in the news reports. Newspapers have cited eyewitness account to the officials of the ASI as well as the provisions of the laws such as Ancient monument Protection Act to the Delhi Waqf Board are in charge of many Islamic religious monuments. Official such A. M Dimri, Director of ASI, R. Nanda, who is the Director of Humyun's Tomb conservation programme of Aga Khan Foundation, Historians such as Nayanjyot Nahri, R. V smith have been quoted in various newspaper as part of the making of feature story, news story or news reports.

Table 6. Sources Cited by the Newspapers

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	HT	Newspapers			Total
		TOI	Hindustan	Dainik Jagran	
Sources Not cited	3	0	0	1	4

Table contd.....

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	HT	Newspapers			Total
		TOI	Hindustan Dainik Jagran		
Delhi Waqf Board; Sahi Imam Syed Ahmed Bukhari; Tariq Bukhari, Gen.Sc Jama Masjid Advisory Council)	1	0	0	0	1
(ASI	0	1	1	5	1
RV Smith Historian	0	0	0	1	1
AMASR Rules, 2017	0	1	0	0	1
Adam Burakowski	1	0	0	0	
Polish Envoy	1				
Amit Saurashtri Director, Rail Museum	1 1	0	0	0	
CEO, AKTC	1	0	0	0	1
Ratish Nanda Delhi Dy CM, Historian JMI, Heritage Activist	1	0	0	0	1
Eye witness account of Reporter Nemis Hemant	0	0	0	1	1
Lok Sabha Mayor North Del Official, North Corporation	1 1	0	0	0	1 1
Rana Safvi Author Karamvir Singh ASI Official	1	0	0	0	1
Rly. Officials	1	0	0	0	1
Site public	1	0	0	0	1
Abhishek Jain, Owner, Traditional Jalebi Shop in Jalebi wali Gali, Chandnichowk	0	0	0	1	1

Table contd.....

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	HT	Newspapers			Total
		TOI	Hindustan	Dainik Jagran	
Abhishek Jain, Owner, Traditional Jalebi Shop in Jalebi wali Gali; Sudhir Sobti, Tourist	0	0	0	1	1
ASI/AKTC Havels India Ltd Author U P	0	1	0	0	1
Arora Ex-JNU Prof, Greek Chair	0	0	0	1	1
Committee report headed by ex-rail min. Dinesh Trivedi	0	0	0	1	1
Delhi govt. officials INTACH,	1	0	0	0	1
Farid Ahmed Nizami, Organiser Urs Festival Hazrat Nizamuddin	0	0	0	2	2
Farid Ahmed Nizami, Organiser Urs Festival Hazrat Nizamuddin; Fakir Baba from Bareilly	0	0	0	1	1
Farid Ahmed Nizami, Organiser Urs Festival, Dargah Nizamuddin	1	0	0	1	1
Farid Ahmed Nizami, Organiser Vasant Festival, Dargah Nizamuddin	1	0	1	0	1
Field Report Futuhah-i-Firoz- shahi, Autobiog- raphy by Firoz	0	0	1	0	1

Table contd.....

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan Dainik Jagran		
Shah Tughlaq Asif Khan Dehalvi, Heritage Walk Leader Anand Vivek Taneja, Author; Rana Safvi, Heritage Blogger	1	0	0	0	1
Hardip Puri Min. of State Urban Housing (Central Govt.) & DUAC	0	0	0	1	1
Heritage Activists. Swapna Liddle: Convenor, INTACH Delhi Chapter	0	1	0	0	1
Kamaljit Sahrawat, C councillor SDMC	0	0	0	1	1
Kasif Ali Nizami, Head, Nizamuddin Dargah	0	1	0	0	1
Kuldip Singh, Chief Engineer, DDA, North Divn.	0	0	0	1	1
Lawmakers of A AP & BJP, Officials of Waqf Board	1	0	0	0	1
Nayanjot Lahiri, Historian; Madhavi Menon, Prof. Ashoka University; William Dalry-mple, Author; Sachin Bansal, India City Walks	1	0	0	0	1
NDMC Official	0	0	1	0	1
NMA; Official Min. of Culture	0	1	0	0	1

Table contd.....

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan Dainik Jagran		
NMA; Residents of nearby monuments, Hauz Khas, South Ex.	0	1	0	0	1
Percival Spear, Historian; Sadia Dehalvi, Author; Ibn Batuta, Moroccan T raveller; Ziauddin Barani, Chronic ler of Tuhglaqs	1	0	0	0	1
PSN Rao Chairperson, DUAC	1	0	0	1	
RV Smith, Historian	0	0	0	1	1
RV Smith, Historian Ajay Kumar, Project Director, INTACH Delhi Chapter	0	0	0	1	1
Rajen Gohain Min. of State for Rly; Ashwani Lohani, Chairman, Rly. Board; Bishwes Chaubey, Chief Manager, Northern Rly.; R. N. Singh, Manager Delhi Divn. of Rly. Shama Mitra Chinoy, Prof. Hist. DU Stephen Blake, Author N arayani Gupta, Historian; Swapna Liddle, Convener, INTACH; Mir Taqi	0	0	1	0	1

Table contd.....

Sources Quoted in the News Sources	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan Dainik Jagran		
Mir, Poet; Asif Khan Dehalvi, Heritage Walk Leader	1	0	0	0	1
Site locals	1	0	0	0	1
Sohail Hashmi, Writer & Heritage Walk Leader;	1	0	0	0	1
Farhat Nasreen, Prof. Jamia Milia; Swapna Liddle, Convener, INTACH Surendranath Abdhut, Mahant of Kalkaji Temple Urban Housing Min. Central Govt.; PSN Rao, Chairman DUAC	0	0	0	1	1
Yusuf Khan Nizami Author of Book on Turkman Gate	0	0	1	0	1
Rajen Gohen, Min. of State for R ailways; Ashwini Lohani, Rly. Board Chairman	0	0	0	1	1
M Athar Ali Historian, AMU; Catherine Asher, Historian, Minnesota; Sunil Kumar, Historian, DU	1	0	0	0	1
Total	22	8	5	24	59

Pictures in the News Stories

Equally important which enhances the effectiveness of the news story is the issue of pictures which accompanied the news story. As has been said as a truism 'a picture is worth of

thousand words', picture provides a photographic reality to the news or feature story and lends authenticity to the news. An image fulfils multiple functions. An image in a media will grab the reader's attention better than a block of text. This may grab the attention of the reader to read the article that accompanies the image. Images also tell a story: a picture is better at communicating a story than the written word. Images can convey a message quickly. In this age of fast-paced life, people often skim through news without stopping to read the full article. Further with web edition of the major newspaper images can be easily shared by other people through social media channels.

The content analysis of the four newspaper reveal that the Hindustan Times used in its seven-part series on Delhi as many as 3 pictures in a story. Dainik Jagaran also contained many photographs in its news and feature stories. However, both the newspaper contained one story each which went without any picture. Table 7 presents the data on the distribution of accompanied pictures in different heritage related stories carried by the four newspapers.

Table 7. Pictures Accompanying the News Story

No. of Accompanying Picture	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan	Dainik Jagran	
0	1 4.5%	0 0.0%	1 20.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.4%
1	4 18.2%	5 62.5%	4 80.0%	16 66.7%	29 49.2%
2	10 45.5%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	4 16.7%	16 27.1%
3	6 27.3%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	3 12.5%	10 16.9%
4	1 4.5%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 1.7%
5	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 4.2%	1 1.7%
Total	22 100.0%	8 100.0%	5 100.0%	24 100.0%	59 100.0%

Regarding the pallet of the picture it can be noted that many newspapers today carry only colour photographs in order to grab the attention of the readers and Table 8 merely reinforces this reality today. As many as 57 out of 59 stories carried colour photographs.

Table 8. Pallet of Pictures

	HT	Paper			Total
		TOI	Hindustan	Dainik Jagran	
Pallet of picture1	21	8	4	24	57
Colour	95.5%	100.0%	80.0%	100.0%	96.6%
Black\white	1	0	1	0	2
	4.5%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	3.4%
Total	22	8	5	24	59
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Tone of the News-story: favorable, critical or laudatory

The question of the character of news stories contains within it the evaluative or judgmental dimension of the news stories and this aspect of the news carries within it the message of the author. The authorial intent is best analysed when one explores the character of the news. Table 9 presents the tone of the news. 59.3 % stories are laudatory in tones highlighting the value of the heritage and conservation and preservation efforts of the various agencies while 10.2 % stories are critical of the way the built heritage have been treated by various important stakeholders.

Findings

While documenting the details of the heritage contents in all the four newspapers, it was found that now a days, although heritage is not a special beat in journalism, still newspapers give more space and frequencies to heritage stories. The stories are accompanied with two to three colour photographs. Sometimes, the papers cover the stories when the built heritage are under encroachment or threat of

Table 9. Evaluative Dimension of News Stories

	Newspapers				Total
	HT	TOI	Hindustan	Dainik Jagran	
Laudatory	13 59.1%	2 25.0%	4 80.0%	16 64%	35 59.3%
Favourable	2 9.1%	1 12.5%	0 0.0%	1 4.2%	4 6.8%
Neutral	3 13.6%	3 37.5%	1 20.0%	6 25.0%	13 22.0%
Critical	3 13.6%	2 25.0%	0 0.0%	1 4.2%	6 10.2%
Critical Look at Colonialism and Mutiny of 1857	1 4.5%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 1.7%
Total	22 100.0%	8 100.0%	5 100.0%	24 100.0%	59 100.0%

extinction. Most of the heritage stories are informative, especially about their histories, conservation, preservation and restoration measures, futuristic plans and proposals etc. In spite of that, heritage stories in the newspapers have never accorded a mainstream status ever with a hard news. Heritage stories are invariably short. Most of the stories were found in the city page of the newspapers. No newspaper has a regular column or feature on heritage issues. Even Dainik Jagran which has maximum heritage stories under 'sabrang' title, caters more to the intangible heritage than tangible (built) heritage (see Table 5 above). The photographs, although in colour, are of low quality due to the low quality of the paper. Low quality photographs evoke less interest in readers to go through the associated stories. Investigative stories on heritage were not pursued further. Most importantly, the contents show that no letters written by the readers to the editors of the newspapers as a feedback on heritage stories. Perspective wise, most of the stories are laudatory in nature.

Conclusion

Globalisation has further heightened the issue of identity. Local communities, nation-state want to highlight its identity from the shared past of which heritage structure is the most visible symbol at present. Equally important is the economic benefit from heritage tourism and built heritage are the tourist sites which attracts both domestic and international tourists. Media in general and print media in particular can play a catalyst role by making public aware about the value of the built heritage by which the heritage sites could attract more tourists. Associated with it is the economic benefit of the local communities of the heritage sites and employment generation in hotel and transport industries who will cater to the heritage tourists. Since media has a major role to play, heritage issues has emerged as a major issue now in the newspapers. Moreover, globalisation, inscribing major structure as a UNESCO site has provided opportunities for earning revenue for the state, trader and local communities. Therefore, commercialisation may help the various stakeholders of the monuments. However, there are real issues of conflict between developmental pursuit and heritage conservation, but the media can play a constructive in not only highlighting such a conflict but also can play an active role of mutual beneficial integrated sustainable developmental plan that recognised and developed heritage zone as part of the developmental plan. Media is going to play a greater role in educating people about heritage value of built structure, their commercial value as well priceless value for the nation-state and its citizen.

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Complexity in Testimonial Knowledge: Epistemic Vs Religious Approach

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The epistemological notion of testimony understood as the statements of others are the primary source of knowledge. However, though testimonial knowledge fundamentally depends on the statements of others that never underestimate the importance of the primary witness. Besides, it depends on the expert knowledge of those whose testimony we accept. Sometimes it is dependent upon presentation of hearsay. In this context Hardwig says: "Granted, I can check on a given expert and perhaps obtain a ranking of various experts – by relying on other experts."¹In our day to day life we are very much dependent upon the chains of authority which 'appealing to such a hierarchy of experts'²behind this formula it is easily understood that it is not a process of acquiring knowledge or regaining knowledge but it definitely refined our knowing process which is possible only testimonial knowledge.

In our day to day life, the importance of hearsay in the knowledge acquiring process is an inevitable part of the knowledge acquiring process. It is an inevitable part of the

knowledge acquiring process because to lead a social life we have to accept and share with others which reflect our social relation through dependence. There is a cultural, social, and traditional bond to respect others and share others with a hope that what we share with others, we share the true information or speaks with the authentic which can be used by anybody, anywhere without any doubt about its content.

It reflects in several forms such as opinion, information, observation etc.³ Firstly, hearsay is the opinion of someone who has received the information from somebody else. In this case, any information about certain fact transfers in the form of a secondary source whose knowledge is also borrowed from others in the form of hearsay sometimes it goes in an unending way and at last it converted to an authoritative knowledge like any scriptural knowledge such as Vedic knowledge which is considered as *apauruseya* or impersonal. Secondly, it is based on a report of somebody who himself has not observed the fact but who accepts the report of another who has direct knowledge of facts. This type of hearsay somehow reduces to perceptual knowledge and generally it is taken into granted that in case of any doubt, anybody can verify the fact in his or her convenience if he or she needs to be verifying subject to the areas of expertise.

The chain of the 'hearsay testimony' can be presented in two ways. Firstly, every member of the chain has the power or ability to check the event and secondly, some of the member of the chain do not testify the event but rely only on the third party. In this way the chain can extend to the first testifier who has himself has first-hand observation.

In addition to the above, we have many other forms of testimony that we find in ordinary life. Some of these are documentary testimony, institutional testimony, oblique testimony etc. Historians and philosophers of history consider some documents, which refer to registries of birth and death, private diaries, newspaper reports etc. These documents constitute documentary testimony. In the case of a newspaper report, however, its status as documentary testimony is disputable. Some of us do not treat newspaper as a testifier. Sometimes we do not treat them as testifier

primarily because we take them as the report by the journalists and it does not produce the original speech of a speaker. There is a clear-cut distinction between original speaker's speech and newspaper writer's report. If the newspaper describes the original speaker's speech faithfully, there will be no need for further confirmation. The media reports are accepted as documentary testimony because they can be relied on as the authentic source of information, provided they are reports based on authentic journalism.

From the above, it looks like the media and newspapers come under the natural testimony. However, this is not so. When the natural testimony is disputed it requires the 'documentary testimony'. For example, certificates of date of birth, age, marriage, etc., are natural testimonies. Documentary testimony is a secondary testimony because it can always be disputed unlike the natural testimony.

There is another type of testimony, which is called the 'institutional testimony'. Reporting someone's view or a fact as an authority sometimes is assigned to institutions. People have confidence upon that institution. It is so, because the institution or authority testifies all the facts often all possible examination before bringing out the testimony. H. H. Price⁴ gives the examples of this testimony such as road signs, maps, the measurement markings on rulers, designation markers on buses and trains etc. These testimonies are attributed to the Government or to any institution, which has authority to issue such testimonials. Coady calls these the 'orientation information'.⁵ We naturally accept these in our daily life only as guides in course of our acting, rather than as testimonies in the accepted source of the term. We can never question that information because we have the strength of implicit trust upon them. We cannot make any distinction between consulting a map and asking an experienced citizen for directions or placing ourselves in the hands of a professional tourist guide. These institutional testimonies are accepted as a matter of social and conventional agreement.

Another kind of testimony is called as "oblique testimony". It is a testimony based on indirect or oblique information, e.g., the date of birth in our case. Coady point out that "we

could believe or know some proposition based on what is implied or involved in some testimony rather than itself attested.”⁶Oblique testimony is acceptable, despite of the difficulties pointed out above, because it is based on the information given by trustworthy persons like parents and relatives.

There is no doubt that much of our knowledge is handed down to us from various sources. We believe and perhaps even know many things from these sources, because of the authority that is, involved in them. This authority may be a person, text, or document. Sometimes we can know many things from our own experience. For example, we know from our personal experience like ‘what it feels like to have a headache’. However, in such cases, we have to depend upon our sense organs. So, it is, in other words, called ‘self-testimony’ which is different from the ‘other-testimony’. Whether knowledge is picked up from someone else or acquired more directly, we decide it by passing tests and by adopting a critical approach. By this, we could take as much responsibility for our beliefs as is reasonable and, in keeping with this, we carefully assess the testimony of others whenever possible.

In assessing the testimony of others, we have to raise the question of acceptance and rejection of the information received. For this, we have to look into the conditions under which we have received the information. Generally, so far as testimonial knowledge is concerned, it requires a genuine way of knowing something that is true rather than false. In this process, each of us faces the task of carefully assessing the barrage of information confronting us every day; we accept only that which is true while rejecting the rest. Thus the process of testimonial knowledge is remarkably complex.

If we see the other aspects of testimony i.e. religious or spiritual, generally that concerns with supra-sensible entities. The scriptural testimony differs from other testimony i.e., natural, formal, and extended testimony. These are very much concerned with the empirical world when scriptural testimony is telling something, which is beyond empirical knowledge. Mainly scriptural testimony is provided by a sacred

book like *Veda, Bible, and Koran*, etc. It defines religious knowledge rather than empirical knowledge.

In the Indian philosophical tradition especially in Nyâya, Mimâmsâ, and Advaita Vedanta, scriptural testimony is derived from the *Veda*. According to all the three schools, scriptural testimony gives knowledge of a unique sort-knowledge, which is generally not obtainable by any other *pramâdas*. Especially it is obtained by *âsis* and *Seers* who are “men of genius, rather than of talent. ‘Talent’ knows itself; it knows how and why it has reached a given theory; it is not so with genius, which is ignorant of the how and the why.”⁷ John Hicks says that in case of revelation God selects or chooses the recipient and therefore an element of grace is involved in revelation.⁸

From the Western perspective, scriptural testimony has been taken as revelational knowledge. According to Hicks “revelation may be defined as the communication of some truth by God to a rational creature through means which are beyond the ordinary course of nature.”⁹ Revelation is considered as a process, which reveals certain truths. Revealed truth is generally about the realm of the non-empirical objects. It is a case of non-propositional knowledge which is accepted as true. In the Indian context, however, revelation is identified with the *Sruti (Veda)*.¹⁰ According to the Indian thinkers, *Vedic* knowledge is supreme and cannot be challenged by any empirical knowledge.

There are certain criteria of revelation. Based on Mimâmsâ sutra, Hiriyanna mentioned that there are three criteria of scriptural testimony. They are consistency, novelty and intelligibility.¹¹ Jayanta Bhatta accepts other conditions of revealed truths. Those are celebrity, popularity, universality, objectivity, and credibility.¹² There is also a relation between truth and scriptural testimony (*Veda*). According to this view, the *Vedas* authored by God, and God being omniscient, cannot author what is defective or false. Therefore, the Vedic statements are necessarily true.¹³

Since scriptural testimony consists of religious statements, now the question arises: can we justify these religious statements in terms of experience though such experiences

are non-sensuous in character. Some traditional philosophers have argued that religious statements are on par with scientific knowledge. Just as scientific statements are based on empirical experience, so are religious statements based on religious experiences which are non-empirical in character. Thus, religious or scriptural testimony has a firm foundation in religious experience.

The Vedic Indian philosophical tradition recognizes the scriptural testimony as the most important source of knowledge. The Vedic testimony is the most important source of knowledge about the transcendent world of God, Soul, etc. From this point of view, the Vedic language reveals truths about the super-sensuous world which is beyond the scope of empirical knowledge. These statements called the creedal statements by Richard Swinburne¹⁴

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11. See, Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Bombay, 1973, p.180-81.
12. *Ibid.*, (M.S. 1.1.5)
13. See, Bhattachary, J.B., *Nyâyamañjari*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1978, p. 562.
14. *Ibid.* p. 158.
15. Swinburne, Richard., *The Coherence of Theism*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1977, pp. 3-6.

Surviving the Hard Times: A Hindu Way

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INTRODUCTION

One's normative life-style is generally shaped and decided by the religio-philosophical system that one believes in. Most of us inherit our beliefs and belief-systems from our parents and environs and a large number of people live with them peacefully without ever questioning them. In some cases, people are not allowed to question their belief-systems; any questioning, aberration, contrary opinion or behaviour is dealt with severely and various sorts of punishments are inflicted by (administrative) machinery controlled by individuals and social and religious groups (particularly with a strong soteriological background) under various practices, conventions and rules. Those who acquire their beliefs from secondary sources (say from some books) keep on changing their life-style according to their newly acquired knowledge. In the process a chasm is created between the life styles of those who conform to their inherited beliefs and those who acquire them. Many a time a power struggle between these two groups too starts taking a shape. This is how societies

across the world have emerged over a period of time. Medical systems too are the by-products of the behaviour of a societal organization and do not remain untouched by their surroundings. Therefore, for a historian of medical sciences it is imperative to look into various belief-systems. Owing to the limitation of time and space I intend to ruminate on the matrix of Hinduism and the Ayurvedic health system in India both of which have their base in the Upanishadic wisdom. During the contingent situation of the pandemic, KOVID-19, which has paralysed the entire world, alternatives are being sought everywhere to find counter - strategies to meet the crisis. India can certainly offer a model to reorient the disoriented world. The basic inquiries in a Health System are: a) identifying an illness b) identifying the cause of illness? c) identifying the ways to remove the causes and d) identifying the ways to bring an ailing body to its normal state. I propose to ruminate over them especially the last three issues in the light of discussions in the canonical Hindu texts and Ayurveda.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPER AND THE CASE OF EUROPEANIZED INDIA

Like in other fields of “modern knowledge” Medical Science too came into existence and progressed during the Age of Enlightenment (1685-1815) in Europe. Indians, on the Arabian Sea side, were formally introduced to European medical education at the start of Colégio Médico de Goa (currently Goa Medical College) in 1691 by the Portuguese colonisers. The Introduction on the side of the Bay of Bengal was done by opening Ecole de Medicine de Pondicherry (currently JIPMER) in 1823 by the French colonisers. To train native youths in European system the British East India Company established Medical College Bengal (currently Medical College and Hospital), Kolkata on 28th January 1835, Madras Medical College, Chennai on 2nd February 1835, The Grant Government Medical College, Mumbai on 1st Nov 1845 and Thomson School (currently S N Medical College), Agra in 1854 for the practice of British military doctors. Later Auxiliary Royapuram Medical School, Chennai (1877), King Edward Medical School, Indore (1878), King George’s Medical

College, Lucknow (1911) and Stanley Medical School, Chennai (1917) came into existence. Only one institution in the US and none in Europe was open for females before Madras Medical College started admitting them in 1885. The first dental college of India, Calcutta Dental College (now Dr. R. Ahmed Dental College and Hospital, Kolkata) was started in 1920. Later a few more colleges like Dental and Optical College/ Punjab Dental College, Lahore (1923), American Dental College, Karachi (1926), Andhra Dental College and Hospital, Bezawada (1928, shifted to Madras in 1933 as American Dental College and Hospital), City Dental College and Hospital, Calcutta (1932), Bai Yamunabai L. Nair Hospital Dental College, Bombay (1933), De Montmorency Dental College and Hospital, Lahore (1933) and many more appeared on the scene. These dates have been indicated to prove that the modern medicine in India and elsewhere is just about 300-year-old. This is a very small period compared to the history of the oldest living Indian civilization. This period is also known as the period of European Colonization, large scale introduction of Christianity in India to convert Indians to Christian fold, trivialize Indian wisdom, and introduction of a heavily galvanised licence regime to destroy indigenous knowledge systems to be replaced by those in Europe¹.

The matrix of religion and disease/medicine becomes all the more complicated in a country like India as compared to the West which I have discussed elsewhere. It is so because India lives and marches forward with an inheritance/baggage of an at least 5000-year-old civilization. *The Constitution of India* enjoins upon the Indian citizens to have a sense of scientific temper. It is enshrined as a fundamental duty² under Article 51 A(h): “It shall be the duty of every citizen of India- To develop scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform.” (*Constitution of India*: 25) Despite being very fond of the term ‘scientific temper’ Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, did not get the term mentioned in the Constitution when it was being drafted. However, the term was inserted at the recommendation of Swaran Singh Committee when the leftists were riding the back of Congress, the ruling party, and the opposition in the

country had been put behind the bars. The insinuation to the leftist and liberal thinkers is very clear here. At the time of independence there were four major religious groups in this country: the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Christians. The Hindus and the Sikhs have the same philosophical tenets and the Christians and the Muslims have only minor differences in their religious practices as both of them have the same roots. So it is worthwhile to ask as to which group of the population was the target of the amendment by way of the above mentioned insertion in the Constitution. The Hindus call themselves scientific in attitude as they keep on updating themselves and are not averse to change (see *infra*) on the other hand Muslims openly defy any reform as is clear from the following definition³ of a Muslim in the *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan*:

“260(3)(a): Muslim means a person who believes in the unity and oneness of Almighty Allah, in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him), the last of the prophets, and **does not believe in, or recognize as a prophet or religious reformer, any person** who claimed or claims to be a prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Muhammad (peace be upon him);” (emphasis added, 155)

It may be pertinent to note here that the Marxists/Communists are very fond of the term “scientific”. Marxism is described as a “scientific philosophy” by the communists. The Marxists pride themselves as practitioners of “scientific socialism” based on dialectical materialism. They approach a society concretely, as a subject for objective research, and analyze human history as one would a colossal laboratory record. Despite this there is no other constitution in the world which mentions the term “scientific temper” as a fundamental duty or as a guiding principle in it. Jawaharlal Nehru was also the President of the Association of Scientific Workers of India (ASWI), which had also been registered as a Trade Union in 1946. Being a scientist and having a scientific temper are two different issues. The Society for Scientific Temper, the Society for Reason, the Centre for Rational Inquiry, the Federation of Indian Rationalist Associations, the Maharashtra Andhashraddha Nirmoolan Samiti (MANS, the

Committee to Eradicate Superstition in Maharashtra) and the like. The issue becomes complicated when foreign players also join hands. For example, the Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture of the Trinity College patronises associations like Indian Rationalist Association, and Federation of Indian Rationalist Associations. Their main work is to debunk religious activities as superstitions. Surprisingly, only the Hindu community in India is their target and one rarely find them attacking other communities and their “superstitions”. In this respect they are myopic in their vision and approach and are politically close to the Indian left groups. No wonder this makes the Hindus more vulnerable and also more apprehensive. All this has been narrated to indicate the origin of the Europeanised and educated Indians’ dismissive and debunking attitude of not only the Hindu culture and ethics but also Ayurveda. The English system of education is no less to blame. Macaulay in his “Minutes on Education” (1835) had come down heavily on the Indian knowledge in Indian languages. He wanted to replace it with the European knowledge systems. His main argument in imposing English as the medium of instruction was to introduce [European] scientific vocabulary and temperament. Our education system has not only been developed on the legacy of Macaulay but it has also been promoting the legacy to the detriment of Indian knowledge systems.

HINDU: DEFINITION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Indian Constitution does not define of the term “Hindu”. However, there are five references to indicate the limits of the term “Hindu” regarding the applicability of law. One reference is there in the *Constitution of India* where it is “construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion” (25.2.b. Explanation II). The other is there regarding the applicability of The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (Clause 2.1.a, b, c), Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 (Clause 2.1.a, b, c), Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 (Clause 3.1.a, b, c) and Hindu Succession Act, 1956 (Clause 2.1.a, b, c) to all Hindus “in any of its forms or developments, including a Virashaiva, a Lingayat or a follower

of the Brahmo, Prarthana or Arya Samaj, ... Buddhist, Jaina or Sikh ... any other person domiciled in the territories to which this Act extends who is not a Muslim, Christian, Parsi or Jew by religion... ." (*Constitution of India*: 13) The Supreme Court of India has repeatedly observed: "When we think of the Hindu religion, we find it difficult, if not impossible, to define Hindu religion or even adequately describe it. ... It may broadly be described as a way of life and nothing more." (1966 AIR 1119, 1976 (Sup) SCR 478, 1995 AIR 2089, 1996 AIR 1113) The related corollary, therefore, is to identify the parameters to the way of life.

The best description of a Hindu's way of life is: "a constant engagement to shed one's ignorance and pettiness"⁴ (*Sabdakalpadruma*: 537). As the word "Hindu" is largely considered to be an exonym and an umbrella term, the Hindus prefer the term *Sanatana Dharma* ("the eternal way") to describe their way of life. It defies all the narrow traditional features of any religion or creed. The faith has survived, developed and prospered in the Indian subcontinent despite several waves of threats, slaughters, deprivations, insults, torments and oppressions in its history of several thousand years.

What binds all the denominations (like Shaivism, Shaktism, Smartism Vaishnavism, Saurism and others) of Hindus and different sects of Indian origin (like Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism Arya Samaj, Mahima Dharma, Prarthana Samaj and others) together is the acceptance and belief in the following three doctrines: the doctrines of i) action (*Karma*) ii) rebirth (*punarjanm*) and iii) liberation (*Moksha*). To my mind these are also the necessary and sufficient conditions to call and identify a Hindu. There are three parameters to decide the worthiness of an act (*Karma*). The first one has been suggested by Gandhi very succinctly as: "a relentless pursuit after truth" (Gandhi: 1). Secondly, the Hindus believe that every human being is indebted to five sources for his/her survival. Therefore, s/he should contribute to one's fulfilling the aspirations expressed in terms of five ethical and spiritual debts (*Shatpath Brahmana*: 1.7.2.1-6) that a person should strive to repay in one's life-time. So, each action of a person should be directed towards an effort to repay at least one of the following five debts:

indebtedness to the sages⁵, indebtedness to the ancestors⁶, indebtedness to the deities⁷, indebtedness to humanity⁸ and indebtedness to the objects of nature like plants and animals⁹. The third parameter to judge the value and validity of an action is that it should be performed for the fulfilment of at least one of the four proper goals/aims¹⁰ of life: righteousness/ moral values¹¹, prosperity/ economic values¹², passion/ love/ psychological values¹³ and happiness/ spiritual value¹⁴. All these four values are independent as well as interdependent. Other characteristics like (non)acceptance of the all-pervasive Supreme Being who is both immanent and transcendent, (non)acceptance of the Vedas as a *Pramana* (means of valid authority) in religious and philosophic matters, (non)allegiance to a particular tenet or philosophic concept, (non)practice of multifarious rituals, (non)acceptance of great world rhythm, vast period of creation, maintenance and dissolution that follow each other in endless succession (four *Yugas* viz. *Satyuga*, *Treta*, *Dwapar* and *Kaliyuga* followed by *Pralya*) are just the examples of different stages of realization by different sages and spiritual leaders in their quest of truth. Even the evolution of *Chaturashrama*¹⁵ (four- age-based Monastery System) and *Chaturvarna*¹⁶ (four order/ class system) is to put the principle of Karma in its proper place effectively. Similarly, different kinds of rituals, surrender to God, sticking to *chaturashrama* and *chaturvarna*, *japa* (prayers) to different deities, and having qualities like satisfaction (*santosh*), tolerance, annihilation of ego, love of life, flexibility, humility, austerity, charity, rationalism etc are just different types of *karmas* for different occasions and purposes in consonance with the parameters specified above.

The belief “oneness of all”— “I am the only one, there is none other”¹⁷, a non-anthropocentric concept in *Sanatan Dharma*, is popularly known as the principle of non-dualism¹⁸. Therefore, the Hindus tend to worship both the formless (*nirakar*) and tangible (*sakar*) Brahma¹⁹. In Abrahamic religions the fall of Adam and Eve took place because of their exploration of knowledge (Genesis 2:17, 3:2-7, Romans 5:12). In contrast to this, the knowledge itself is

Brahma for the Hindus: “Knowledge is Brahma”²⁰ (*Aitareya Upanishad* 3.3); “Brahma is truth, knowledge and eternity personified”²¹ (*Taittiriya Upanishad* 2.1.1). Debates²² challenging the religious texts/ persons and questioning an authority in order to understand truth are the essential characteristics of Hinduism; the Hindu wisdom has developed through this tradition. The knowledge that leads to Self-realisation is *Para Vidya*. All other kinds of knowledge are classified as *Apara Vidya*. The Hindus do not disregard the physical body as unimportant/trivial for they hold that it is an important tool to make a human entity capable of thinking and doing both of which are crucial instruments in the search for the eternal truth. The Hindus believe that the entire creation is a blend of the subtle and the gross and the essence of any object of creation can be identified. The Hindus believe that the search for worldly knowledge helps one during one’s lifetime but the search for the subtle *Atma* leads to the knowledge that transforms one’s life even in the next births.

THE HEALTH SCIENCE OF THE HINDUS: AYURVEDA

The Hindus consider a human being to be as (un)important creature and part of the entire Consciousness as any other creature is and therefore, they do not give him any special place in the Hindu Cosmology/ world view. Despite this they developed a science dealing with the ways to cure the body of physical and mental diseases and physical deformities by administering medicines and performing operations²³ because the Hindus attach the same value to a living human body as a scientist attaches to his equipments. The study/ science of human body and its relation with the entire cosmology is popularly known as Ayurveda²⁴. The word Ayurveda²⁵ literally means “the text/science that bestows knowledge about life is known as Ayurveda.” The word Ayurveda consists of two morphemes viz. *ayu* and *veda*. According to Maharishi Charaka (ca. 300 BCE) the conjunction of body (Shareera), sense organs (*Indriya*), mind (*Satva*) and soul (*Atma*) is called life (*Ayu*) (*Charaka Samhita, sutrasthan, 1:42*)²⁶; the word ‘Veda’ means knowledge. The encyclopaedic *Charaka Samhita* defines Ayurveda as:

something that bestows the knowledge about life (*ayu*) is ayurveda (*Charaka Samhita, Sutrasthan, 30:23*)²⁷. At another place it is defined as the treatise which describes *Hita ayu* (favourable to life), *Ahit ayu* (adverse to life), *Sukh ayu* (healthy life) and *dukh ayu* (diseased life-state) (*Charaka Samhita, Sutrasthan, 1:41*)²⁸. Ayurveda consists of the following eight branches of knowledge: General Medicine (*Kayachikitsa*), Diseases of eye, ear, nose and throat (*Shalakyā*), Surgery (*Shalyatantra*), Toxicology (*Agadatantra/Visha Chikitsa*), Paranormal Science / Psychotherapy (*Bhoot vidya*), Obstetrics, Gynecology & Pediatrics (*Kaumarbhritya*), Rejuvenation/ Anti-ageing treatment (*Rasayana*) and Reproductive sciences or sexual vitality (*Vajikaran*) (*Charaka Samhita, Sutrasthan, 30: 28*)²⁹ Charka's principles, diagnoses, and cures retain their potency and truth even after a couple of millennia. *Charaka Samhita* contains many remarks in the fields of human anatomy, embryology, physiology, pharmacology, blood circulation and diseases like diabetes, tuberculosis, heart disease, etc which are held in reverence even today. The book also describes medicinal qualities and functions of more than one million herbal plants. He has emphasized the outcome of diet and activity on mind and body. He has proved the correlation of spirituality and physical health and has contributed greatly to the diagnostic and curative sciences. The objective in remaining healthy is to be able to achieve the four major goals (*Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha*) in one's life. Health is told to be the necessary prerequisite for achieving all the four goals³⁰.

Ayurveda classifies diseases into three categories on the basis of their source viz. physical, mental and environmental³¹. For example, boils, physical cuts, fractures, intestinal ailments and cough are physical ailments; diseases like Narcissistic personality disorder, claustrophobia and high blood pressure are psychosomatic as they have their source in mind; and epidemics like Plague, Yellow fever, Meningitis, or a pandemic like KOVID-19 or diseases caused by famine or flood are environmental as they have their genesis in the environment. Accordingly, their treatments have also been suggested. For example, an operation or administering

medicines is good for the first type, chanting of certain mantras has been suggested for the second type and general cleanliness and social control have been suggested for the third type.

The modern medical system, in the typical occidental approach of looking for outside/ external forces, considers bacteria and virus responsible for most of the diseases and therefore insists on destroying them. On the other hand, Ayurveda, in the typical oriental manner, looks inside to locate the source of a disease within the body. In the Indian/Oriental approach the enemy may keep on dwelling outside if the inside is protected enough. Therefore, Ayurveda instead of concentrating on killing a bacteria/ virus tries to consolidate the inner strength. So in Ayurveda it is not a constant struggle between good and bad forces but there is an effort to balance for a peaceful coexistence. The Greek Hippocratic medicine talks of the four humours (viz. black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood) but Ayurveda mentions only three viz. *vata*, *pitta* and *kapha*. Like the ancient Greeks, Ayurveda considers a balance in three humours responsible for health. All the humours have to stay in balance and the doshas need to be pacified. The following table briefly summarises the effects of these humours on a human body:

Principle	Bhoota Composition	Characteristic	Responsible for	Example
Vata (Air principle)	Vayu, Akash	Prana	The movement of each and every atom provides space for all movements to occur; and mobilizes the function of the nervous system	the act of respiration, peristaltic movements in the intestine, excretion of waste from our body, movement of nerve impulses in the nerves, initiation to do any work, etc
Pitta (Fire principle)	Agni, Jal/Apas	Tejas	any transformation taking place in our body; the temperature changes in our body; and uses bile to direct digestion	digestion, metabolism, breaking of large food particles into smaller ones for absorption in our body, etc
Kapha (Water principle)	Prithvi, Jal/Apas	Ojas	energy storage, the formation of new structures, protection in our body and bonding between molecules in our body to form larger molecules; relates the mucous, lubrication and the carrier of nutrients into the arterial system	immunity, synovial fluid in joints, mucous lining protecting the digestive tract, adipose tissue storing fat, the stability of the body and mind, etc

In Ayurveda three words viz. *buddhi* or intellect, *ahamkara* or ego, and *manas* or psyche conceptualize the mind. Each of these works together with separate functions. According to ayurvedic theory, mental nature is more subtle

than physical nature. Sometimes the body and mind are different types, one compensating for the other, such as a *vata* mind in a *kapha* body. The categories of mental faculties are linked to *triguna* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) theory. These *gunas* are responsible for the sensitivity of the mind, its capacity to perceive truth and to act accordingly.

In order to prevent a disease Ayurveda adopts a threefold approach: monitor *Swasthavrita* by following a *dinacharya* (daily routine) and *Ritucharya* (seasonal routine), monitor *Sadvrita* by following religious rituals and good social practices, and taking some herbal concoctions. For curing a disease, it recommends, cleansing the body's of toxins (*Sanshodhan*), pacifying the deranged or agitated bodily humours (*Sanshaman*), monitoring personal (*mental and bodily*) acts, and social conduct (*sadvrita*), following a regimen of diet (*Pathyahara*), and using medicines (*Rasayana*).

AYURVEDA AND EPIDEMICS

In Ayurveda the term *janapadodhvansa* is a generic term for natural and man-made calamities. There is a full chapter devoted to this issue under the title "*Janapadodhvasaniya Vimana*" in *Charaka Samhita* (*Vimana Sthana*, Chapter 3). It deals with the causes of the environmental calamities (goes beyond epidemics), leading to annihilation of communities along with their remedial measures. An epidemic affects all those individuals who irrespective of their individualistic characteristics in constitution (humour and skeleton), dietary habits, physical strength, vitality, habits, psychic make up and age are not able to sustain the stress caused by the environmental factors and therefore are affected by this phenomenon. In *Ashtangasangraha*, the concept of *janapadodhvansa* has been described under the chapter entitled *Viruddhanna Vijnaniyam* (*Ashtang Sangraha Sutra Sthan* chapter 9). Sushruta refers to the concept of *janapadodhvansa* while discussing *ritucharya* (seasonal regimen) under the title "Maraka" (*Sushruta Samhita Sutra Sthan* 6:17). He uses different terms for them like, *Aagantuj* (exogenous disease), *Kalbalpravrutta* (ecological disease),

Adhidaivik (Natural/ Seasonal) and *Aadhibhotik* (caused by environmental stresses). These diseases may be

1. due to abnormal and normal season (*Kalakrut-Vyapann rutukrit* and *Avyapann rutukrit*)
2. caused by supernatural agencies like lightning and thunder and by evil spirits (*Daivalapravrut-Vidyut-asanikrut* and *Pisachakrut*)
3. infectious and idiopathic Functional - timely and untimely (*Samsargaj* and *Akasmik Swabhavavalakrut-Kalakrut* and *Akalkrut*)

According to Mahrishi Charaka contamination in any one or more of the following four environmental factors in progressive order on the basis of their indispensability - air (*vayu*), water (*udaka*), land (*desh*), and season (*kala*) - results in an outbreak of an epidemic. Charaka writes that it is easier to correct the vitiation of *vayu*, *udaka* and *desh*, than of *udaka*, *desh* and *kala*. (*Charaka Samhita, Vimana Sthana*, 3: 10-11) Charaka tells the following causes of the vitiation of the above factors: the sinful acts (*Adharma*) committed during an individual's present life and the past lives, intellectual errors (*prajnaparadha*), non-performing or shirking from one's religious duties and the curses by the elders, the wise, the nobility, the sages and the preceptors. Large scale deaths also come from violence perpetrated attacks on or by the enemies; the root causes of this sort of violence are excessive greed (*lobha*), anger (*krodha*), attachment (*moha*), and disregarding the weak.

Charaka further says that the life span of all living beings depends on the proper coordination of two factors, namely, *daiva* (divine/pre-determined) and *purushakara* (human effort). *Daiva* means one's own deeds in the previous life while *purushakara* stands for one's actions in this life. Therefore, the one who follows a wholesome regimen and who has collected and processed proper medicaments (before the calamities) is likely to survive the hard times. Besides, Charaka suggests the following do's and don'ts:

Do's: Truthfulness, compassion for living beings, charity, sacrifices, worshipping God, observance of right conduct, tranquillity,

prophylactic protection of oneself and seeking one's own good, residing in a wholesome country, practicing celibacy (*brahmacharya*), rendering service to the celibates, discussing religious scriptures, constantly associating with the righteous, the well disposed and with those who are approved of by the elders—all this with a view to protecting life has been termed 'medicine' to those who are not destined to die in that critical time. (*Charaka Samhita, Vimana Sthana*, 3: 12-18)

“One should abstain from excessive, negative and perverted use of time, actions, and senses. It is important to control emotions, not suppress natural urges (to pass bodily wastes), and avoid over-exertion. One should resort to the right and gradual habituation (and not a rapid or quick adoption) to behaviour and dietetic articles which are antagonistic to the prevailing region, season and one's own constitution.” One should suppress the urges that need to be controlled (*Charaka Samhita, Vimana Sthana*, 3: 36, 38)

Don'ts: “One should not have excessive (of one's own digestive power or *agni*) and irregular meals, an irregular posture of the body, an excessive indulgence in sex and an evil or wicked company; one should not suppress the manifested natural urges and should not avoid proper treatment and medicines if afflicted with an injury, a poison, wind and fire, a disease or with evil spirits (germs)” (*Charaka Samhita, Vimana Sthana*, 3: 37-38)

The therapeutic modalities are incorporated in the disease prevention protocol in *Ashtanga Hridayam*. (*Ashtang Hridayam, Sutra Sthana chapter 4*) Maharishi Charaka suggests that in order to meet the exigency of epidemics herbs possessing good quality of taste (*rasa*), potency (*veerya*), metabolism of diet and drugs (*vipaka*), and specific attribute (*prabhava*) should be collected in advance. Besides he has suggested three kinds of depletion (*Apatarpana*) [viz., reducing therapy (*lamghana*), reducing therapy along with therapies for digestion of *ama dosha* (*lamghana pachana*) and elimination of vitiated doshas from the body (*doshavasechana*)] and five elimination therapies [viz., emesis, purgation, enema- *niruha* and *anuvāsana* types and *errhines*] followed by rejuvenation treatment (*rasayana chikitsa*) with medicinal herbs collected before the onset of epidemics.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above discussion that Hindu medical knowledge is based on the principles like “engaging oneself in the welfare of all”³² and “May all be free from illness”³³ and is highly rooted in Indian/Hindu culture and philosophy. There is enough scope for developing individual life-style on the basis of experimentation in it. It pays attention to physical, moral, social well-being and spiritual health (irrespective of faith) and thus it is a holistic approach to health. This approach is not only philosophical in its base but also simple enough to be practised by a layman besides being cost-effective and sustainable. It is a welfare programme for all with almost zero-cost. This approach empowers an individual and reduces dependence on the government and other outer agencies. It does not promote regimentation but is eclectic and empowers individuals by encouraging them to manage their physical and spiritual selves by maintaining a healthy social and environmental relationship. It does not contribute to unnecessary medicalisation, reduces dependence on screening technologies to detect abnormalities and it leaves no scope for a nexus of medical technologists, drug industry and professional organisations. On the debit side its economic principles/outcomes do not contribute significantly to the increase in GDP as a large number of its elements are available in nature at no cost. Naturally, the experts/lobbies that measure growth only in terms of consumption, government expenditure, investment and net imports and exports besides exploitation/devastation of nature do not support it and keep on spreading canards³⁴ against it in the name of science without understanding its philosophy and practice. While scientific approach (observation, hypothesis, testing of hypothesis, modification of hypothesis to arrive at a rule) is welcome, fanaticism in the name of science is neither appreciable nor acceptable. Denying and decrying the time-tested traditional knowledge because suitable technology does not exist at the moment to measure certain claims and to arrive at results to suit somebody’s agenda is not scientificism but a sort of scientific fanaticism. The fault lies not with the time-tested knowledge but with negative attitude

which needs to be discouraged and improved to become positive. In the light of the above discussion it can safely be concluded that the Hindu ways of life and Ayurveda are eclectic systems that empower and gratify all. Ayurveda is affordable by all besides being sustainable and environment friendly. It should be adopted by all not only during the crisis-torn period of KOVID-19 without any hitch and inhibitions but should also be continued as a part of the life-style later.

NOTES

- 1 For details kindly see Lala Lajpat Rai's "Europeanization and the Ancient Culture of India", Sunderlal's *Bharat Mein Angrezi Raj* (Hindi) and Dharampal's *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century*.
- 2 The duties were not a part of the original form of the Constitution and were inserted later vide Forty-second Amendment Act, 1976, which came into force with effect from 3rd January 1977.
- 3 I have resorted to the Constitution of Pakistan because Indian Constitution does not define the term "Muslim". Also, Pakistan being a part of India before the partition in 1947 largely echoes the religious sentiments of the Indian Muslims as well. A personal interaction with some Indian Muslim friends indicates that they are inclined to accept this definition.
- 4 हीनं दुष्यति इति हिन्दू " *hinam dushyati iti hindu*
- 5 *rishi rin* ऋषि ऋण
- 6 *pitra rin* पितृ ऋण
- 7 *deva rin &* देव ऋण
- 8 *manushya rin* . मनुष्य ऋण
- 9 *bhuta rin* - भूत ऋण
- 10 *purucârtha* पुरुषार्थ
- 11 *Dharma* धर्म
- 12 *Artha* अर्थ
- 13 *Kama* काम
- 14 *Moksha* मोक्ष
- 15 *Chaturashrama: Brahmacharya, Grahasthya, Vanaprastha and Sannyasa*, चतुराश्रमः ब्रह्मचर्य, गार्हस्थ्य, वानप्रस्थ और सन्यास
- 16 *Chaturvarna: Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra*, चतुर्वर्ण, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य और शूद्र
- 17 *Ekoham dwitiyo nasti* एकोहं, द्वितीयो नास्ति
- 18 *Advaitvad* अद्वैतवाद
- 19 *nirakar and sakar Brahma* निराकार, और साकार ब्रह्म
- 20 *Prajnanam brahma* प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म

- 21 *satyam jnanam anantam brahma yo veda nihitam* सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं
ब्रह्म! यो वेद निहितं
- 22 *Shastrarth* शास्त्रार्थ
- 23 **Surgical science, known as *Salya-tantra*, was quite well developed in India. Sushruta is widely regarded as the father of Indian surgery. His work *Sushruta Samhita* is known for all aspects of general medicine, anatomical knowledge and the principles of surgery including fracture management and eye surgery. Sushruta has described surgery under eight heads: *Chedya* (excision), *Lekhya* (scarification), *Vedhya* (puncturing), *Esya* (exploration), *Ahrya* (extraction), *Vsraya* (evacuation), and *Sivya* (suturing). It lists over 300 surgical procedures and 120 surgical instruments in addition to the 1,120 diseases, injuries, conditions, and their treatments. His methods of Rhinoplasty, inoculation against small pox etc were practised in India even as late as the 18th Century AD, as mentioned by Dharampal in his book entitled *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century*. The technique for Rhinoplasty as suggested by Sushruta has recently been used successfully to perform operations. (<https://www.patrika.com/science-tech-news/delhi-doctors-made-artificial-nose-using-3000-year-old-ayurvedic-sushrut-surgery-technique-1324077/>)**
- 24 Ayurveda is also regarded as *Panchama Veda* (5th Veda) and a sub-veda (or *Upaveda*) of *Atharva Veda*. It deals with the knowledge of the union of the body, the sense organs, the mind and the soul. So when an elderly person blesses the younger one with long life using words like *dirghâyucî bhava* ('दीर्घायुषी भव!') he wishes him a long life in union with all the above factors.
- 25 आयुर्वेदयति बोध्यति इति आयुर्वेद *ayurvedyati bodhyati iti ayurvedah;*
आयुषो वेदः आयुर्वेद *ayusho vedah ayurvedah*
- 26 शरीरेन्द्रिय सत्त्वात्मसंयोगो धारि जीवितम् नित्यगश्चानुबन्धश्चै पर्यायैरायुरुच्यते *Sharirendriya satvatmasamyogo dhari jeevitam /nitygashchanu-bandhshch paryayaer ayu ruchchayte (Charaka Samhita, sutrasthan, 1:42)*
- 27 तदायुर्वेदयतीत्यायुर्वेदः कथमिति चेत्? उच्यते स्वलक्षणः सुखासुखतो हिताहिततः। प्रमाणा प्रमाणतश्च यतश्चायुष्याण्यनायुष्याणि। च द्रव्यगुणकर्माणि वैदयत्यतोप्यायुर्वेद। तत्रायुष्याण्यनायुष्याणि द्रव्यगुणकर्मणि केवलेनोपदेक्ष्यन्ते तन्त्रेण *Tadayurvedayatityayurvedah; kathamiti chet ? uchyate-svalakshanatah sukhasukhato hitahitatah pramana pramanatashcha, yatashchayuchyanyanayushyani cha dravyagunakarmani vedayatatyopyayurvedah | Tatranyushyan-yanyayuchyani cha dravyagunakarmani kevalenopadekshyante tantrena (Charaka Samhita, sutrastan, 30: 23)*
- 28 हिताहितं सुखं दुःखमायुस्तस्य हितहितम् मानं च तच्च यत्रोक्तमायुर्वेदः स उच्यते *Hitahitam sukham dukhamayustasya hithitam. Manam cha tachcha yatraoktamayurvedah sa uchiyatee (Charaka Samhita, sutrasthan, 1:41)*

- 29 A similar list appears in *Ashtanga Hridayam*: “*Kaaya baala graha urdhvaanga shalya damshttra jara vrshan Ashtau angaani tasyaahuh chikitsa yeshu samsthitaah.*” (*Ashtanga Hridayam*)
- 30 धर्मार्थकाममोक्षणामारोग्यं मूलमुलमं *dharmarthakama-mokshanamarogyam mulam uttamam* (*Charaka Samhita, sutrasthan, 1:15*) आयु मामयमानेन धर्मार्थसुक्षाधानम। आयुर्वेदो पदेशेषु विधेय परमादर *kaamayamaanen dharmarthsukhsadhnam I ayurvedopadesheshu vidheyh paramadrh II* (*Ashtang Hridayam, 1.2*)
- 31 दैहिक, दैविक, भौतिक ताप *daihik, daivik and bhautik tapa*
- 32 सर्वभूतहितेरता: *sarva-bhoot-hite ratah*” (*Bhagavadgita 5.25*)
- 33 सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः। सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः। सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु। मा कश्चित् दुःख भगभवेत् *Sarve bhavantu sukhinah. Sarve santu niramayyah. Sarve bhadranni pashyant. Maacaschit duhkha bhaag bhavet*” May all be prosperous and happy/ May all be free from illness/ May all see what is spiritually uplifting/ May no one suffer” (*a prayer for bestowing peace (shantipath) based on BrihadâraGyaka Upanishad 1.4.14*)
- 34 For example, one may have a look at the following article in the *New York Times* and other places: “Some People Turn to Herbal Medicine for Virus Without Proof” by Aniruddha Ghosal and Yanan Wang, April 17, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/04/16/health/ap-as-med-virus-outbreak-alternative-medicines.html?searchResultPosition=7> and <https://apnews.com/880772ff2005128941df553c6863c726>

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Expressing Life in Textiles: A Study of Culture and Fashion in Odisha

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Introduction

From a historical context, India is known for handloom textiles and it produces a wider variety of products by integrating the rich cultural heritage which is admired by the globe due to its reflection on attire. This sector provides livelihood to the people and stops rural-urban migration. It also contributes 14% to industrial production, 4% to India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and constitutes 13% of the country's export earnings as per the recent statistics and accounts for 95 percent of world demand for handwoven fabric (Annual Report, MOT, 2016-17 & Behera, S 2017). This sector plays a vital role in the export market attracting foreign consumers along with significant levels of environmental and social impact (Maximilian Martin, 2013 and Muthu, 2014). Liberalization and globalization came to India through economic reform and is gradually transforming our culture and self-image. The broader objective was transforming social change and economic development according to C. Rangarajan cited in (Naidu, 2006). Looking at the scenario, the Government of India adopted policies of globalization, liberalization, and market economy due to the serious

economic crisis that enveloped the country by the middle of 1991 (Panday, T Manisha, 2011). As the textile and apparel industry in general being the second most important sector for the Indian economy was given priority looking at the emerging regimes. As the handloom sector had to face severe challenges with competitors specifically to the power loom sector after liberalization and globalization of the economy. The handloom sector will be survived if they have resources and capability according to Kurian cited in (Naidu, 2006) However, considering the strength of the handloom sector, the government had taken precautionary measures and introduced many schemes at the beginning to make this sector stable and sustainable. It appears that despite the higher output from decentralized power looms, the number of persons in India engaged in weaving handloom cloth remains significantly high (Bagchee, Aruna, 2018 & Ministry of Textile Report, 2016-17). Although the handloom sector has significant levels of environmental and social impact, and it has not yet developed an overall vision to achieve sustainability up to the mark (Maximilian Martin, 2013 and Muthu, 2014). It has become now the buzzword for sustainability and there is a huge scope for this sector. Social transformation is constantly evolving because of the economic reforms and cultural movement which have affected the lifestyle of the Indian urban middle class. Broadly, globalization provides a useful means to develop technologies necessary for the production of goods and services that improve our well-being with varied options to choose from and also provide a platform for showcasing valuable indigenous products benefitting both the producers and consumers (Panday, T Manisha, 2011). As the handloom sector is a rural-based economy in which a single master weaver generates employment around 70 to 80 percent weavers from that cluster (Bhagavtala, 2010). Looking at the contribution which absorbs both skilled and unskilled people in the cluster, the government of India has deployed dedicated organisation handloom export promotion council, government bodies, and other stakeholders for the promotion and marketing of handloom products including using

different marketing platforms (IIHF) to showcase in buyer and sellers meet for the export market. Further, to make the cluster products well established at the international market, India Handloom Brand was launched by the government of India in the year 2015 in which the quality, design, and supply chain part were given priority. Most important, the reputed cluster products have positioned their quality and design identity in the export market as an advantage with zero defect and zero effect with a sustainable approach and these clusters have also availed design identity after getting registered through geographical indication under IPR than the other supplier of traditional fabrics. The study by (Meheta, R. N. 1961), on Bandha (tie and dye on yarn of Orissa) 'are now world-famous due to their quality, craftsmanship, and design characteristics. It also appears that Odisha ikat ranks one of the finest among the ikat producing states in India. Although there is a decline in handloom weaving in India overall according to the fourth Handloom census in 2019, there is an opportunity for this sector, in fact, supported by the pandemic virus, government tagline Atmanirvarsil (Self-reliant), and demand for sustainability. The present market is the consumer market as information related to product and market is available at fingertips. Therefore, consumers have varied choices and international competition has brought down prices of many goods while increasing the quality of services and availability. Some studies argue that the present generation may not be the consumer for the handloom-based apparel sari, kurta-pajama, etc. In fact, India is a beautiful country with diversified cultures and each state has different festival activities, cultural celebrations, taste, and dressing sense which reflect on our attire. For instance, special occasions and festivities, Bengalis and people from eastern belts of India are still fond of ethnic dresses and saris, similarly, other states like Rajasthan and Gujarat also follow their traditional wear, it shows that we are culturally bonded and remain forever. Interestingly, the taste of our attire has changed due to globalization and cultural exposure, so there is a demand for ethnic and "glocal" dresses. Our society has become more fashionable and

consumers are spending time and putting money to make their appearance as well as physical fitness. Therefore, the attachment towards ethnic garment is associated with their personality, activity, and cultural events in the country. Henceforth, instead of being a threat to sociocultural identities, globalization has become a means for the construction of new identities and hence it has unintentionally resulted in pluralization. In the present context and challenges before us to recognize and respect plurality and multiplicity as a better model of globalized social life (Biswajit Ghosh, 2014). In Odisha, there are more than 12 cultural festivals, different handloom clusters in Odisha develop the garments and clothing as per the cultural symbol and identity and these clusters are not only maintaining but also reviving the culture through fashion. While understanding the sector and its contribution to our culture, livelihood, and economy, the study aims to discuss the textile life of weavers in handloom clusters in India in general with brief and specifically, four major handloom clusters such as Nuapatna, Gopalpur, and Barpali of Odisha as part of the study. Further, it attempts to discuss the impact of globalization, privatization, and marketization in the handloom sector and how far the level equity, as well as the livelihood development, is attained in these handloom clusters in the macro sense. The study here attempts to touch up each aspect with a brief note.

In the national context, there are 35 large clusters located in 19 states in India (Handloom Commissioner website). As per the third handloom census report, there are a total of 23.77 lakh looms in the country, of which approximately 87% were being operated in the rural areas. Further, 43.31 lakh persons engaged in weaving and allied activities, and 84% of them belong to rural areas. Most important, the majority of weavers approximately 70 percent are women. Northeast is leading the states in terms of the dominance of clusters across India accounting for 65.2 percent. This sector creates direct as well as indirect employment for more than 3 million weaver households and the majority of them operate in rural areas (EXIM, India, 2018).

The study has taken three clusters which makes the state Odisha be proud of the world map and occupied a distinct place for its artistic crafts with traditional garments and that we drape over the body in various styles and give different appealing looks. The Barpali cluster is known for its cotton-based products with the Ikat technique. It deals with different types fabrics such as cotton, silk, tussar, wool, acrylic and uses traditional single and double Ikat fabrics. Sambalpuri, Bastralaya is the local marketing agency deals with the products from this cluster besides other traders. This government cooperative has 36 production centre and 42 retail outlets. Out of total retail outlets, 40 number of outlets operate in various in Odisha only and two outlets are operating in Navi Mumbai and Kolkata. This cluster is engaged with the online markets, Amazon, Ajio, and Aditya Birla fashion Ltd. It produces sarees and other dress material and clothing and the cost of saris price ranges minimum Rs.500 and Maximum 50,000. The average time consumed for producing for cotton saris 2 days and 15 days for a silk saree. It produces Sambalpuri saree uses the textile with a traditional handwoven ikat wherein the warp and the weft are tie-dyed before weaving saree and other contemporary apparel. The same timing is consumed by the other clusters. The majority of the sold items in this cluster are saree 70% cotton, followed by 20% silk, 5% Tussar, and 2% wool. The total number of employees are working in different clusters in Odisha is 252 and the total number of weavers are working in production centers is 6139. Nuapatna cluster is unique in the entire hand-woven craft and its weaving typical ikat, tie-dyed cotton, and silk fabrics spanning over a few centuries. The primary product of this cluster is Khandua sarees are woven with mulberry silk yarn and combination with cotton or tussar yarn (Tarai, 2018). Gopalpur cluster is famous for producing Tussar fabrics, this cluster uses very unique features of 'Peduncle' of the silkworm's cocoon to create yarn and make home textile products, sarees, bed sheets, dress linings, and shawls, etc. This cluster also creates 'Ahimsa Silk' made from Ghicha yarn which showcases the efficient craftsmanship of the weavers of the cluster as it is one of the

most demanded products of the cluster by many retailers. These clusters produce a wide variety of saris, clothing, and dress materials. It appears that these clusters occupy a distinct place in the handloom map of the state. Studies suggest that there is a growing awareness of handloom products among customers. Due to globalisation and liberalisation of the economy, many international brands and NGOs are investing capital, providing training, design, and procuring apparels directly from the clusters. Due to technological advancement, the presence of social media, well connectivity of transport and roads, so both domestic and international brands have been able to easily access the clusters. They have been able to understand the products and techniques, sharing knowledge, providing training and techniques to weavers. As a result, weaver's awareness of the market has gradually increased, however, the development of the textile life of weavers is yet to be prosperous. Looking at the strength of the clusters in terms of production of dynamic features of product lines, and demand towards sustainable handloom products, there are mushrooming of private entrepreneurs, start-up handloom brands, designers, private bodies, and government stakeholders who are involved with the clusters and attempts are made to change the livelihood weavers' life in textile (Tarai, 2020).

Review of Literature:

Looking at the objectives of the study, relevant and selective studies have been reviewed to get a perspective for developing a suitable strategy for suggestion and implementation for the future course of action. This sector has become important for some countries and they are dependent on it as it provides the livelihood to many rural communities in India (Tarai, 2020). Recently this sector has become important for the government of India and has given priority using as a tagline of Self-reliant. Historically, India used to contribute 22.6% of world income (Madison, 2006), which is almost equal to Europe Before the rule of the British Raj (1700 A.D.) and this sector was important during that

time. The study reveals that Indian handloom employed at least 1 out of six persons as per a census in 1977 (Chatterjee 2015). Despite this, Indian weavers are appeared one of the marginalized communities as per socioeconomic indicators like income, health, and education is concerned (Gupta, 2011). This was supported by a study (Tripathy, 2009) in Odisha context and highlighted the problems such as illiteracy, inadequate finance facilities, cost and quality control, procurement of raw material, and fluctuation in raw material price. The need for a suitable business strategy was felt in procurement operations, product planning, and also promotional activities (Goswami & Jain, 2014), and further improvement in the supply chain aspect in alignment with the weaver producer was emphasized by (Mohapatra, Santosh, et al. 2019). Despite the increase in demand for artisan skills and products, the Indian weavers have been dismissed (Chatterjee, 2015). The present study finds that globalization brought Indian craft export in a commendable status and linked the sector in the international fashion value chain (Jena & Tarai, 2014). So, many Indian companies carved a niche for the handloom sector including business models of successful companies like FabIndia, Go-coop and Anokhi, Ajio, Flipkart, Amazon along with international brands like Mud jeans, Patagonia, and Honest by procuring handloom products (Tarai, 2020 & Panwar, 2016). In spite of the attractiveness of the industry, livelihood development and upliftment of socio-economic conditions among the weavers were not improved due to the complete dependence of cooperatives run by the government and emporiums of the state while lagging in promotional schemes and basic support of infrastructure (Das, Sandhya, 2015). The lack of development could be attributed to their fault or the social stigma or practitioners or government types of machinery that are involved. It is also found that socio-economic indicators of weavers in the clusters are having challenges and the clusters itself requires to be revamped so that the status of weavers may be developed (planning commission of Odisha, 2014). According to the author, for the production

of Khandua sari in the Nuapatna cluster, the weavers procure raw materials for the making of cotton and pure silk sari from West Bengal as it is good quality and local level it does not have (Mohanty, Bijay, 2003, and Director of Textile). According to a study by (Rath, Navaneeta, and Panda, Sasmita, 2017), 53% of weavers in Nuapatna are above the B.P.L mark. The average income of the weavers except masters are having Rs. 3500 per month. The weavers are not getting cent percent NREGA and PMO accidental benefits. The majority of the weaver's houses do not have basic amenities such as toilet results (Rath, Navaneeta and Panda, Sasmita, 2017). Understanding the literature findings in various contexts, it has been observed that there has been a constant consumption of fashionable apparel is attributed due to economic development and growth, changing of fast lifestyle, and course globalization of socio-cultural movements. Despite their issues in terms of lacked efficient infrastructure for production including financial, logistical and marketing essentials leading to an unattractive work environment and source of income, they do not want to leave their textile life occupation. With this fact, the possibility of changing the lifestyle of textile weavers with increasing income is attributed due to its very nature of sustainable production and community-based system, digital age, and government priority. As the sector has a significant contribution to our national economy in the past and will continue to contribute and have earned a reputation at the international level. If the existing issues can be solved and the necessary supports provided constantly, it is expected that the textile life of weavers and their socio-economic condition can be achievable in the coming time.

Aim of the Study and Research design

The following key questions were used to understand their views;

What are the factors becoming the obstacle to the development of the livelihood of weavers?

Whether globalisation has become good or bad for the cluster?

Whether ethnic couture stores have brought any development of clusters?

How weavers behave towards occupation and its surrounding?

What are the customer opinions towards handloom products?

Do the weavers happy with the government versus private outlets?

In this study, the above questionnaires have been used to understand the various aspects related to cluster issues from these three clusters such as Barpali, Nuapatna, and Gopalpur. Explorative research using some qualitative techniques has been used to elicit information from the weavers as primary sources. Various published reports of the government of Odisha and India, journal articles, newspaper articles and cluster study reports of NIFT, Bhubaneswar have been used for understanding the insights. Various start-up handloom brands associated with clusters and the number of handloom cooperative stores and corporate stores are summarized discussed. Various stakeholders such as Cluster executives, NGOs, national awardees, retailers, entrepreneurs, designers and government bodies, etc., have been consulted and their opinions have been used in the study. The research techniques that have been used such as focus group discussions. The reasons for focus group discussion has been used considering their literate background, convenience, and motivational technique to extract views and opinion from the weavers along with the recording of artisans' views and photographs of products that are documented in detail. The group discussion held with the local designers, the weavers and the master weavers and their views are incorporated and discussed subsequently.

Findings from the focus group and Discussion

While in the field visits, the following set of respondents were involved in focus group discussions such as master

weavers and weavers and their views about various work and issues are discussed in detail. Based on their finding, the study has suggested recommendations.

Discussions with master weavers: One group of master weavers believe that they have strong knowledge of Tie and Dye, due to a lack of working capital and networking, facing difficulty to run the profession. They expressed that they are working with many private retailers in Odisha and outside apart from Cooperative outlets. Some of them wanted to be an entrepreneur if they get government support and financial benefits under the scheme of MSME. According to master weavers, the attitude of weavers towards professionalism is a mediocre level as a result it affects the product quality. Further, they want to have an independent identity as they do not get recognition from state procurement suppliers and private retailers. According to them, globalisation was initially affected business, however, later helped them to cater the product to different markets with new features. The said that they are producing both ethnic and contemporary apparel for different markets.

Discussions with weavers: A focused group discussion was conducted with the weavers with respect to various issues that engagement. The major points from the discussion are presented. They are still dependent on private lenders despite the availability of government schemes and due to cumbersome procedures, it becomes difficult to get a loan from the bank. Poor education leads to weak knowledge on costing and exploited by the middleman. Cooperative mode of production has been responsible for the exploitation of their members as suggested some weavers leads to affect cluster growth. The existing weaving working structure is creating health issues and suggested alternative mechanisms that can protect their health. They expressed that due to lack of finance for the procurement of raw materials, colour to dye and threads, it becomes difficult to focus on work and discourage them. Weavers from the Barpali cluster expressed that lack of a bigger hall, it becomes difficult to use all processing machines and do their work and store their

products and the same issues are existing in other clusters. Besides, due to the lack of wrap –waft machines and power and it has become a challenge to increase more production. Income from this occupation is not sufficient to meet their daily requirements as a result, they become de-motivation and explore alternative work. Due to economically weak and less profit from the business, it becomes to avail rebate from the Mudra scheme. Due to obsolete looms and financially weak, it affects their efficiency and delay in production activity and upgradation. They also opined that lack of insufficient availability of yarn and adequate raw materials at a reasonable price with good quality for weaving and making finished products has become a challenge for them. The product range has increased into three folds for the last five years due to the emergence of many ethnic handloom brands.

Discussion with weavers and master weavers on livelihood improvement:

They expressed that income and lifestyle have increased obviously for the last 10 years due to the open market and liberalisation of the economy, but their growth has not changed as proportionate to growth in another sector. The also said that due to government investment on machinery i.e., such as jacquard machines, printing machine, and private players' investment are attributed to their increase in income in recent time as it has become easy for them to focusing on new diversifying new design, and meeting the consumers need. The average income of weavers per month approximately Rs 8000 to 10000. The average income of master weavers is 30,000/- per month and it has increased for the last five years due to demand. They expressed that due to investment by Tata company in the local level, and e-commerce vendors like Amazon, e-bay, FabIndia, Anokhi whop, and Ajio, are procuring the products directly and weavers are involved with these companies resulting increase in income and development of cluster seems to prosperous

in future. These companies have created a niche market and are fully dependant on the handloom sector.

Customer opinion towards handloom products

New age customers have shown preference to buy products of weavers from private retailers than government-run cooperative retail outlets as attributed better than in terms of the quality, variety availability and new designs and exclusiveness provided by private retailers along with that with proper information and storyline of the products (Tarai, 2020).

Weavers opinion towards Government retail outlets

They expressed that their private retailers are doing better than government cooperative outlets. Some weavers expressed that they are not happy with government outlets due to payment delay, and sometimes, they get the undue value of the products. According to master weavers and national awardees, they sell their products to big private retailers and exclusive handloom brands located various parts in the country where they get better profit margins. The exclusive handloom brands such as Anita Dongra-AND, Rangriti(Viva), Bunkari. The Label Life, FabIndia, Karigari, and Indiloom, etc. are directly procuring products from the clusters and they have been engaged with these brands. Besides, private retailers place the order through the mail along with design supports and advance payment and procure the order from the cluster directly zero risks for weavers. According to them, weak marketing strategy, poor merchandising and service are the hurdles that hamper the sale of handloom products in slow government-run outlets while private retail outlets offer customer-friendly pricing and better merchandising that makes better business fast and better. According to the government retail and cooperative perspective, sometimes, they get poor merchandise from weavers as their outlets get affected with a bad image. It is observed that private retailers spend a lot of investment store development and branding, ambiance,

visual merchandising and assortment planning that attracts both customers and weavers. As the weavers get better margins from the private players is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Market Position of Handloom Stores in Odisha

Stores	Boyanika	Radhika	Priyadarshini	Sambalpuri Bastralay	Meher's
Design and quality Training	Govt.	In-house designers.	In-house designers	Govt and production centre.	In-house designers
Profit margin (%) from sales	15 - 16	15-30	25-30	15 - 16	25-30
% of sales of High-end value apparels	20	60	85	70	85
STP	Medium	Medium	High end	High end	High end

Source: Mohapatra, et al 2019 and authors upgradation of store.

After understanding the various issues and strength from the discussion, the study proposes a strategy which might be useful for solving the issues associated in their production activities.

It is expected that the clusters perhaps may become stronger, creates opportunity and enhances improvement in livelihood.

Figure 1. Strategy for Improvement of Clusters

Strategy	Focus
Setting up locally procurement Fabric Hub and Training center & Community Development centre in each cluster	This may cater to the faster availability of yarn and raw materials at a reasonable price with good quality both weaving and making finished products in a hassle-free. Also, reduce the lead time in supply chain activity and fulfill the market requirement by attending training regularly. More CDC facilities in modernization form in cluster society may encourage weavers to access easily, develop new designs, and spend more time in looms. Providing measurement machines further in CDC to check the quality of fabric & product etc.

Introduction of Digitisation products and the use of social media platforms	Provide wider audience & connectivity, understanding competitive strategy, staying connected with consumers and potential consumers, understanding consumer preference. This process may lead to helpful to weaver's community as well as better business.
Cluster Identity through Self-Reliant (Atmanirbharsil) Importance to Pull Supply Chain strategy instead of Push strategy in the cluster	Mutual Understanding, make independent Cluster and market Independently The cluster currently operates on push supply chain format where products are first produced by the weavers and then they try to sell them to retailers due to which many products remain unsold. This needs to be changed to pull strategy of the supply chain where design and material requirements placed by the retailers as per consumer demand needs will be produced by the weavers. This decline the textile wastage as well as save the time, energy, and materials that the weavers put into production.

Source: Tarai, 2020

Suggestions and Conclusion

Handloom in recent times has become more popular among consumers in India. The paper has studied three major clusters of Odisha Barpali, Nuapatna and Gopalpur which produce good quality kinds of stuff with a wider variety cater to national and international markets and contribute significantly to the Indian economy as a craft. Despite their positive aspects, the weavers' livelihood and their handloom journey are yet to be established and brought to the mainstream of the economy, despite many interventions by the government. The study identifies various issues through observations and expressed by the weavers. Therefore, a suitable strategy is suggested to policymakers for further action. The paper suggests to weavers to learn new designs with product diversification as many international and

national brands are venturing into the handloom cluster. They must enhance the production process using technological supports, advanced looms, and other new mechanisms so that a large number of products can be produced with a cost-effective way to meet the consumer's demand. Most importantly, motivational training is important for them which can change their behaviour and professional attitude. Considering the findings, the study may conclude that weavers could have a better livelihood in textile occupation in the future if they can change the outlook of their work, educate themselves and self-reliant approach which might help their future generations and the possibility of growth, entrepreneurship, and development in the society as well.

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Exploring Rajasthani Folklore through a Comprehensive Study of Proverbs

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Brevity is the soul of wit – says Francis Bacon, the 16th century English Essayist. This statement bears its justification and signification more in the constructional compactness and proficient prudence at the heart of every Proverb. Proverbs carry universal wisdom emanating from daily experiences of common living. The truth deriving from the lifelong knowledge is put up in a proverb that stands as the general legitimacy. The Study of proverbs in any language gives a clear picture of the traditional and cultural background of moral wisdom of the region. Proverbs – the tiniest carrier of the traditional knowledge, majorly documented through oral tradition – carry a contextual reference and further build a conceptual logical theory. Bacon rightly says, “The genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered through its proverbs”. Genius is the intellectual property of a nation, wit is the promptly given appropriate and metaphoric response to the situation and Spirit is the heart and soul of the traditional and socio-cultural behavior of people of the region. The study

of a proverb is interesting, captivating, invigorating, and explorative. The proverbs bear testimony to the history and geography of the land and so they are rich with meaningful background stories of the cultural heritage and the traditional way of living.

Proverbs: Tiny in Texture, Lavish in Life

The small, conducive, and comprehensive lines in literature with the richness of historical, mythological or folkloric contexts concerning the present-day times are as brightly nourishing and enriching the oral literature as the rays of the Sun to the world under the sky. Proverbs, although bear a specific contextual reference to a particular region, have a unique quality of generality that is beyond any border of class, caste, or creed. They bear universal applicability. In the book *Proverbs: A Handbook*, Wolfgang Mieder, the famous paremiologist writes:

The wisdom of proverbs has guided people in their social interactions for thousands of years throughout the world. Proverbs contain everyday experiences and common observations in succinct and formulaic language, making them easy to remember and ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric in oral or written communication. This has been the case during preliterate times, and there are no signs that proverbs have outlived their usefulness in modern technological societies either. (Introduction: xi)

An online thesis on Shodhganga says

Proverbs are common sayings, based upon collective and long-matured experience, knowledge and wisdom, uttered often abruptly or as a matter of habit, in a briefly-set terminology, in full sentences or small idiomatic phrases, not necessarily grammatically correct, but quite clearly understandable to the people in the exact context and spirit, as tit-bits, hints, rhymes, verse-couplets, often as practices and formulae touching various aspects and about different situations of routine life and behavior” (Arya 1984:79).

India is a multilingual country. Every state in India has a different language, religion, traditions and culture, and folklore. Proverbs, the most prevalent and underscored device of folk art, have the power to uncover the aspects of regional

lifestyle, food, fashion, and furnishing habits. The span of proverbs ranges from the depiction of culture embedded in the life associated with ocean waters, coastal vegetation or sea-wealth (*when the sea is calm, every ship has a good captain* – Swedish Proverb, *when the sea turned into honey, the beggar lost the spoon*- Bulgarian Proverb) to the regions that have a scarcity of water (*no water no life, no blue no green*). These proverbs show an integrated connection of common life with symbolic reference to the ocean and teach lessons to value water as the true wealth respectively. In both situations, proverbs are immersed in the depth of general truth. Thus, a multitude of proverbs across cultures and countries has rich varieties of variegated knowledge packed truisms that apply to the local as well as global commonalities.

The nuggets of the rhetorical and intellectual proverbs present the stories from the history or mythology of a particular land. These contextually potent proverbs serve as terse and easily memorizable maxims for the moral conduct of everyday life. The life histories of the mythological heroes keep inspiring us for greater awareness of the acceptance of the lesson discerned out of their lives. Proverbs are not only rhetorical devices for ornamentation of language, but they also bear the plausible and reasonable understanding of inducting the present in the light of the established truth discerning from past experiences. Proverbs like *the early bird catch the worm, early to rise and early to bed, action speaks louder than words, the pen is mightier than the sword, Big fish eat little fish, first come first served, good fences make good neighbours*, etc. are the carriers of flora and fauna of the culture. Multitudes of proverbs collected from across the world cultures, values, and thoughts occupy a ubiquitous position and help enrich the linguistic expressions. Proverbs have their regional backgrounds from art, music, communication manners, culture, history, mythology, religion, society, geography, and polity.

Proverbs with reference to Mythology:

Proverbs, basically serve the purpose to present an allegory or metaphor from the discipline other than that of

the present talk, discussion, debate or argument and thus show the ubiquity of the general truth hidden in it. The Indian world of proverbs is also rich with potential and referential contexts. The Indian epic poems Mahabharata and Ramayana have always been inspiring and morally influencing literary texts that have given a plethora of proverbial statements that find their corollaries in the present time contexts. One such proverbial statement from Valmiki Ramayana is:

न पित्र्यनुवर्तन्ते मातृकं द्विपदा इति
ख्यातो लोकप्रवादोयम भरते न अन्यया कृतः

It is translated as

It is in exceptional cases that a son does not follow a mother but (follows) his father. This famous exceptional case is of Prince Bharat who did not listen to his mother Kekayi's entreaties (to get coronated at the place of Rama) but followed his father King Dasharath who was against Rama's banishment.

Some such quote is found in Rajasthani language as

माँ पर पूत पिता पर घोड़ो
घणा नही तो थोड़ा थोड़ा

The contextual reference is about the behavioral pattern and feature that normally kids or pets observe and imbibe from their parents or masters respectively, this inheritance gradually frames the nature of the young ones. The present proverb carries an exceptional case. The most famous proverbial statement compares a daughter's and sons' behaviour with that of a mother's and father's respectively. But here is presented an exception best exemplified through the character of Prince Bharat who did not agree to his mother Kekayi (who wanted him to be coronated at the place of Prince Rama). Though sons are close to their mothers, Prince Bharat is an exception who follows his father and not the mother. It is also an exceptional case that Prince Bharat leads a life of a hermit thereafter. In the Rajasthani proverb quoted above, the example of exceptional love and care is set. It says that by keeping parity in treating a child and a pet,

even an animal develops an emotional connection. Where a pet is treated with sensibility, it will follow the master so much so that it will start emulating the styles and mannerisms of his master.

A proverbial statement from Mahabharata says,

सर्वो हि मन्यते लोक आत्मानं बुद्धिमत्तरम

In the world everyone considers him/herself superior in intellect.

A Rajasthani parallel is found as

It means, the world may be wise but I am wiser.

अक्कल दुनिया में डयोढ़ है

एक अपने आप में

आधी दिखे दुनिया में

A similar proverb is found in the Italian culture as “For an honest person, half his wit is enough, the whole is too little for a knave”. These proverbs are about over confidence.

Proverbs concerning Bravery

The Rajputs are also known as *Kshatriyas* according to the Varna system as identified in the Indian Vedic Philosophy. Thus, the Land of Rajputs, Rajasthan, has witnessed a remarkable presence of many brave kings and queens among which the name of Maharana Pratap from Chittorgadh occupies an incredible position. We also come across multiple stories of the Maharana, his friend, and martyr Jhala Maan Singh and the horse named Chetak – Maharana’s loyal companion. The trio occupies a reverential mention in the Indian war-history of the mid 15th Century. It is not only the history but also the vast collection of the regional folklore that celebrates Rajputi bravery and thus bears testimony to the cultural and traditional heritage of the glorious past of Rajasthan.

Shyam Narayan Pandey’s classic epic Haldighati narrates the bravery of Maharana Pratap, his minister Jhala Mann Singh and Chetak, Maharana’s horse with exceptional qualities of strength and dedication to his master. The

poem *Haldighati* has inspired a classic poem in the Rajasthani language on the same theme by the poet Kanhaiyalal Sethia. In Rajasthan, the poem is popular as “Hare Ghaas ki Roti” – “A Bread of Green Grass”. The poem is so popular in the region of Mewar, a city in Rajasthan, that the lines are quoted whenever people talk about the bravery of Maharana Pratap. One of the most celebrated proverbial statements is about Maharana Pratap who promises about his devotion towards the nation in these words:

ॐ रजपूतण रो जायो राजपूती कर्ज चुकवूला
तो शीश पड़े पण पाघ नहीं मेवाड़ी आण बचावुला

(hun rajputan ro jayo rajputi karj chukavula/ O shish pade pan pagh nahi mevadi aan bachavula)

Here, the word *ik?k* (turban) stands for the ancestral pride and the speaker promises to protect the pride by sacrificing nothing less than his head i.e life. The martyrdom of a soldier is heroically sung in the folksongs of Rajasthan. Many monuments are established where the freedom fighters lost their lives in the battlefields. One more proverbial statement for bravery runs thus:

छो दो मेला नित भरे पूजे दो दो ठोर
सर कटियो जिन ठोर पर घड़ झुक्यो जिण ठोर

(Do do mela nit bhare pooje do do thor sar katiyo jin thor par dhad jhukyo jin thor)

This proverbial statement is about offering respectful salutes at two monumental stones – one where the head and the other where the body fell of a soldier. It speaks about the valor of the soldier whose body continues fighting even after being beheaded.

Proverbs are small in construction and rich in content. They possess rhythmic tone, strategic, and central placement in any story and give significant meaning to the story. Its ubiquitous presence in the routine life and language proves how rooted the speaker is to the culture, history, geography, and polity of the land. It is more interesting to note that most of the proverbs are anonymous.

Proverbs with Reference to Local Wisdom

It is interesting to know that the Indian historical and geographical past is varied and rich. India has 29 states and 7 union territories. Every state forms a distinct society with a unique history, culture, and language. Language is an integral part of any tradition, culture, and society and it is also a strong link for human development and survival. According to the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India, there are 22 scheduled languages with constitutional status and 100 non-scheduled languages spoken all around the country. Also, around 6000 dialects in local languages are being used in India. This linguistic multiplicity adds to the beauty of the nation. The ancient Indian languages Pali and Sanskrit and all the Indian regional languages find their roots in these languages. The present-day Rajasthani language is the transformation of the Gurjar language, as it is believed by K.M.Munshi.

It was Gurjari or the Apabhramsa of Gurjar Desh that was spoken in this area . . . Gurjari Apabhramsa was spoken in the Gujarat-Rajasthan area. With time, Gurjari Apabhramsa gave birth to Gujarati and Rajasthani around the eleventh century A. D. Thereafter, Rajasthani started separating from Gujarati in the fifteenth century and finally developed independently having its literary form known as Dingal.

Rajasthan is located in the north-western side of India. The state that is close to the Tropic of Cancer is surrounded by the wide Great Indian Desert. This geographical character is seen in the Rajasthani proverbs too. One of the central subjects found in the Rajasthani proverbs is the animal Camel, as it is the 'ship of the desert' and a vehicle for the people who are desert traders. There are proverbs like

अक्कल बिना उभाणा फिरे (Akkal bina unt ubhana phire)

It means: A dumb head person will walk by the side of a camel without realizing that he can ride a camel as well.

ऊंट के मुँह में जीरा (unt ke muh me jeera)

It means: Cumin Seeds are not enough for an animal like camel. A strong built person needs to have sufficient food.

ऊंट चडया ने कुत्तो काटे (Unt chadya ne kutto khay)

It means: The situation is worse for a camel rider if he is bitten by a dog.

खोया ऊंट घड़ा में ढूँढें Khoya uut ghada me dhondhe

(How can a lost camel be found from a pot. A person who has lost anything valuable will madly look for it).

Such proverbs are commonly used in Rajasthan with befitting applicability. Such proverbs concisely express traditional bits of knowledge. It is more surprising to note that the number of such proverbs is much higher than the one documented in Dictionaries of proverbs. The Avadhi (the language of Ayodhya, the city in Uttar Pradesh, India) statement like:

खग जाने खग ही की भाषा (Only a bird understands a bird's language)

is found in Rajasthani as

कागला री बोली कोयल नी जाने kagla ri boli koyal ni jane

(Cuckoo does not know crow's language *despite the similarity of their colours*).

These proverbs mean that a person understands the language of his clan and culture only. Despite the general similarities among birds, every species is different from the other.

There is a train of proverbs on the basic nature of a person. A Sanskrit proverbial statement vkeza fNRok dqBksjs.k fuEca ifjpsrq d% aamram chchitva kutharen nimbam paricharetu ka (One can not get a lemon by cutting a (raw) mango into two halves). A replica of this found in Rajasthani as,

नीम न मीठी होय सींचो गुड़ और घीव से Neem na meethi hoy sincho gud aur gheev se

(A Neem leaf can never be sweeten even if it is nourished with ghee and jiggery).

One more proverbial statement in the same thread is

लेह तणि तलवार न लागे जीभ तणि तलवार जिसी Loh tani talwar
na lage jeebh tani talwar jisi

(A verbal sword is much sharper and harsher than an iron sword).

These proverbs are about the basic nature of a person that is never changed in any situations.

There is a bunch of Rajasthani proverbs that delivers general wisdom about food habits, behavioral patterns, and the importance of honesty for work life. Proverbs like [kkos iw.kq thos nwuw Khave poonoo jeeve doonoo advices to eat a little less to live a long and healthy life. This proverb bears scientific truth about the digestive system. It says that over-eating may affect one's health.

खीर खिचडी मंदी आँच Kheer khichdi mandi aanch

(Kheer - Pudding and Khichadi – a cooked spicy mixture of various food grains – are better cooked on low flame, the natural essence will be burnt out if cooked on high flame.)

This proverb draws our attention to the Soft Skills of communication and behavior. It draws an analogy between the method of cooking khichadi and pudding (soft and consistent) and dealing with people who are emotional and soft-hearted. Pudding and khichadi, if cooked on a high flame, will lose its real essence, fragrance and taste. So is the case with soft-hearted people who should be treated politely so that their natural tendency of the good heart remains intact.

खेत बडा घर सांकडा Khet bada ghar sankada

(A farmer is rich with big farms and small houses) A small house will take less of a farmer's attention and so he will be able to look after his vocation – farming more diligently and dedicatedly.

Thus, the Rajasthani language is replete with thousands of such proverbial expressions that are strong carriers and propagators of the cultural demography of the land. Proverbs

are concise and simple in verbal construction but deep in meaning. Appropriate use of the proverb draws parallel by comparing two objects/habits/natures/standards etc. They convey general thought through metaphoric expressions. The applicability of proverb knows no boundaries of laypeople or scholars. The metaphors or allegories used to express the parallelism between two concepts, ideas, facts, mores, and attitudes that convey some instructional or advisory suggestion or guidance. The contextual meaning, most of the time, turns out to be the universal truth and that gives it eternity.

These proverbs integrate phrasal elements from the vernacular languages of Rajasthan. Together they frame a collage of concepts and comparisons that signify the local wisdom and the time-tested knowledge from history, geography, and society of the state. It is within the compact frame that a proverb gives a contextual reference to the situation. The richness of proverbs in terms of metaphors is very fascinating from a linguistic and cultural point of view. They are intellectually tailored to accurately present an idea or a concept.

Conclusion

Rajasthani proverbs are rich with powers of imagination and truth. People of Rajasthan have preserved this treasure of the proverbs replete with ancient wisdom. This is highly exemplified in the routine language that has ample and adequate use of proverbs suitable to the situation. Its ubiquitous presence shows the reverence for and relevance of the ancient wisdom in today's life. Proverbs are represented through the memory of the past. This proves how oral tradition has contributed to preserving the age-old knowledge of wisdom. There may be an opposite opinion about the absence of absolute truth from the proverbs but, as it has been said by Emerson in his essay *Nature*, "To a sound judgment the most abstract truth is the most practical". Proverbs bear testimony to the local culture, climate, ambiance, human nature, history, and geography of the region. They may not bear universal appeal but their

contextual clarity embedded in the figurative expression is so valuable that it judiciously gives instructions, suggestions, or guidance.

With this study, it is apparent that proverbs are a mirror image of a particular society and culture. It is within the boundaries of a tiny construct that a seemingly ambiguous but contextually interesting with a strong reference either to classical, historical, mythological, or contemporary times, a linguistic as well as referential beauty is explored. Proverbs have the power to verbally pierce into the soul of the meaning and penetrate to the depth of the core of the matter and thus pan out a meaning that is exploratory and candid.

In a nutshell, the proof of the pudding is in eating. So, use this powerful device of a proverb, “extend your feet beyond your [simple language] blanket” and prepare yourself “to go far than fast” on the path of playing with a proverbial tongue.

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Indo-Fijian Diaspora and Relations of Indo-Fijians to Indian People

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Indo-Fijians are the family of Indians who migrated as Indenture labourers during British rule and their descendants facing some difficulty related to the emotional connection with India and Indians in the modern era. According to a High-level committee report in 2003 Indo-Fijians are part of an Indian Diaspora of over 20 million people spread across all corners of the globe. Nowadays, many Indentured migrated and settled Indians have no longer retained links with India and have grown gradually aloof from their homeland and its culture. Very few Indenture migrants are still connected to Motherland. But when we talk about free migration, they still connect themselves as Indians from their heart.

A study on second migration from Fiji shows how descendants of Indo-Fijian have a little connection to India because they have memories of Fiji, they feel more connected with Fiji rather than India so they have moved away from

their inherited homeland. As a result, we see a reflection of the dilemma and loss of emotional connection and cultural changes. The reason for losing their identity as Indians was perhaps having little idea about their background and birthplace of their forefathers; they have lost the basic idea to trace themselves concerning other Indians. Whenever the native Indian encounters twice migrants, considering how many changes in cultures and languages have occurred; then it becomes evident how a native Indian is connected to his India and how the twice migrants are connected. The social and cultural distance has now proved to be very great with a common ethnicity. The Identity of Indo-Fijian has changed or re-shaped because of indenture during the colonial period. Their generation has chosen a developed country like Australia and it becomes their new destination where they can live permanently, but they will emotionally connect with Fiji and remember India as their ancestral home.

The Ancestral History of Indo-Fijian

The arrival of Indians in Fiji happened as a result of the system of indentured migration from India when plantation colonies had undergone the shortage of local labor following the abolition of slavery. In 1874 Fiji was one of the British ruled countries, Sir Arthur Gordon became Fiji's first. The government came with the idea of Indenture slavery to grow sugar plantation. Indians were the first choice for Gordon. Many Indians were recruited in Indian for Indenture labour under the British government and also provided free passage to Fiji. Indians agreed to work under government protection as indentured farming labourers for the next five years and were also allowed a free coming back passage after working and spending another five years in the colony. Gordon commented on hiring Indians,

I choose India for a cheap and reliable source of labour. On 15 May 1879, the Leonidas landed in Fiji bringing the first shipload of 463 labourers from India (Gillion.K.L. 212).

According to Gillion, it was this provision that changed the composition of Fiji's population and laid the foundation for

a permanent Indian presence in the country. Of the 60,553 registered indentured workers who arrived in Fiji between 1879 and 1916 (Gillion.K.L. 214). The dream of a better life was broken when Indians realised in Fiji that they were badly trapped; the living condition was as bad as hell. They were living and working under dreadful conditions. All this had an impact on their social and cultural lives. The only thing they wanted to save was their culture and religion so they worked very hard to preserve and to retain Indian cultures.

Britisher's Politics made a huge gap in the relationship between indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian. Indigenous Fiji always had the fear that their land and freedom may get shattered. As Sutherland remarks,

...the census of 1946 enumerated for the first time more Indo-Fijians than indigenous Fijians and also pointed to their higher population growth rate (Shuterland 62).

1970 Fiji got independence and 1977 Indian led opposition won House seats but indigenous Fijians had not accepted Indo-Fijian leadership. In 1987 and again in 2000 Indo-Fijians were largely dropped out from political power. Racism has been one of the most important actions for indigenous Fijians.

Hindi in Fiji

Indenture labourers brought Awadhi language in Fiji and today it is the official language of this country. Hindi was accepted as a national language in 1997. It is also called Fijian Hindi or Fijian Hindustani. Hindi is not pure Hindi. It is Bhojpuri and Awadhi- one of the languages in the Indian subcontinent.

When Indians in Fiji found a communication gap in Fiji, they blended several words from Fiji and English and made Fiji Hindi. Changes are interestingly evident, for example, they use Sa (स) instead of Sha (श); similarly, V (व) become B (ब), etc. Example of English words adopted in Fijian Hindi are माकेट(मार्केट, Market), बेग (बैग, Beg), गरास (ग्रास, Grass), सादी (शादी Marriage), नई (नहीं – No). अबी (अभी–Now). (Verma and Verma 46)

The first generation of Indians living in Fiji adopted this language colloquially, calling it 'Fiji Baat'. This was the result

of the hard work of Indians who made Hindi in Fiji is as part of the National language. Hindi is used everywhere - ranging from schools to occasions of marriage, worship, gathering, etc. Hindi is taught as a subject in all the external examinations conducted by the Education Department. Any person can use the Hindi language in government work, court, and parliament too. Posters and publicity material of election meetings are also considered incomplete without the use of the Hindi language.

The concoction of Indo-Fijian culture

The negative result of staying longer in Fiji was losing the rope of true identity, The culture that Indians had brought with them from India had changed a lot after coming to Fiji. Indians in Fiji eradicated the occupational discrimination inherent in various castes and the caste system. They used to eat together and work together, irrespective of their caste. Apart from the caste system that the Indians had, fundamental changes took place in language, cultural and religious practices and identities. The classic example of major change that has taken place in the language is the changing of Hindi to Fiji-Hindi and now the languages have become the identity of Fiji Indians. With time, there were many major changes in language and culture and due to those big changes, when they started to realize that their culture and existence are now in danger, they accepted the change. Since then they are called Indo-Fijians instead of Indians. Much Indo-Fijian organisation in had started new campaigns to save Indian culture in Fiji. Now we are witness of their success and they have successfully retained these cultures, started establishing cultural and religious associations, and connecting and strengthening India and Indians. When Indians settled in Fiji became independent and Indians were insisting on saving their culture, there was no way to help families and communities to maintain their cultural and religious identity. Several voluntary associations were set up for religious and cultural revival so that Indianness could be saved.

Brij V Lal shared his experiences about building Temple and school that would teach Indian culture, Theatre artists enact characters based on the holy book during festivals like Diwali and Holi (Lal).

The Holy text Ramayana was one of the favorites because the theme is exile, suffering, struggle with what they related themselves. Indo-Fijians merged new elements of Fijian cultures into their life. Kava is a traditional and ritual drink of Fiji but now it's a common drink for all including Indo-Fijian who accepted it. Recently, Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi visited Fiji and the leader of the native Fijian community offered him Kava. It is also known as Yaqona, served in a coconut shell cup with an "intoxicating" Fijian drink. Kava or Yaqona is a traditional non-alcoholic drink. Many Fijian names are also accepted by Indo-Fijian. Names like Flora and Fauna are very common between both. (The Indian Sun)

We see major changes in the culture and daily life of Indo-Fijians as compared to India, though the common experiences of Indo-Fijians during and after the life of indentured slaves have led to the emergence of a surrounding Indo-Fijian identity regardless of the religious, linguistic and cultural differences among them. The new generations are witness of big changes, they lost the touch and still losing connection with India and Indians which became the main reason for many Indo-Fijian for never returning to Indian and choosing other developed countries

The Indians settled in Fiji are primarily detached from the feeling of being Indians and indirectly from the memories of their elders. All these people are connected with their incomplete feelings and memories of India. Fiji born Indian origin residents supported the idea of moving to another country for rehabilitation instead of going back to India. They considered themselves estranged Indians and moved to other countries, mainly Australia. When the Indo-Fijians met Indians in another country outside Fiji, they realized how much they had lost, but after meeting the Indians, a lot of things changed. They got a chance to reconnect with a sense of belonging and repair the broken link. This perhaps brought a complete feeling of being Indian. Today both Indo-Fijians

and Indians celebrate Diwali, Holi, and other religious festivals together in the same temple without any discrimination.

After a lot of effort, India gained independence from British rule in 1947. After independence, the Indians who were taken as Indenture labourers to different countries by the British were contacted by the Prime Ministers and a commissioner was sent to different countries so that the inhabited Indians would be linked with Hindustan. Fiji got independence from English rule in 1970 and then it also came in independent contact with India. Later the post of the commissioner was upgraded as High Commissioner. These relationships were taken forward when Fiji's chief minister Ratu Mara visited India in 1971 and then the process of strengthening relations started in 1981 when the first female Prime Minister of India Mrs. Indira Gandhi went to Fiji. Recently, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Fiji to make relations strong.

Whenever, Indo-Fijians talk about their ancestors, who were taken as indenture labourers to Fiji, the knowledge new generation possess is incomplete or half baked. When the new generation Indo-Fijian is asked how it came, they tell how the native Indians were deceived and how they have tortured in Fiji as well as the stories of saving their existence and their culture. Whenever an Indo-Fijian wished to find their family root they visited Fiji's National Archives in Suva where they had kept signed papers by the laborers and preserved the Fiji arrival card, From these papers, they came to know which part of India they were residents of, and many people came to India as well to meet their relatives. Not only did they get to know about the history of their own families but also what problems they went through.

Many Indentured Indians settled in Fiji and the new generation has almost forgotten their roots and has no idea about Indian families. Only a few people could meet their original family. Among those who were lucky was Satendra Nandan who came to India in search of his loved ones and did not have a good experience of coming to India, He mentioned that he was being repeatedly asked about his caste but he shared his experience of coming to India in *India-*

Australasia: An Indo-Fijian Perspective. "India and Australasia: History, Culture, and Society" he shared his view on Indian visit was always kin to see all those places mentioned in religious text. He traveled all corners of India. He went to the village where his ancestors belonged. He did not find any relatives though he belongs to Madras in Tamil Nadu. He further added that the most irritating question he faced in India was a curious inquiry by some Indians about his caste. (Nandan)

As a result of blended culture, Indo-Fijian had almost forgotten their roots, Some Hindu organizations started a tour to India; this would help Indo-Fijian to understand the culture and to visit the unique temples of India. This small step started a series to connect directly Indians to Indo-Fijians.

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Making of Gandhi as a National Leader: Contribution of South Africa

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Introduction

Gandhi was born on 2nd October 1869 in a staunch religious Modh Bania family in Porbandar which is known as Kathiawar, it is situated in Saurashtra. It is also known as Sorath bhoomi, the land of heroes, in Gujarat.

He is recognized as a spiritual, political, social reformer, nationalist and man of universe who had outlined the innovative ideology to the world. He voyaged to London as a Diaspora student that was his first transoceanic experience.

Reasons and conditions of dispersal of Gandhi to England and then to South Africa

Gandhi left from his native to England. Gandhi broke barriers of homeland. It was not an easy task in those days for him to go abroad because it was considered a taboo to cross the sea. This was disbelief of staunch and traditional Modh Bania caste. Gandhi overruled it.

Gandhi had lived in England for the period of three years as a diaspora student. Gandhi formed new vision and notion of living life in the expatriate land. He built up his different personality as a student in England. He provided a new example to the Diaspora students that one could remain away from non-vegetarian food and wine in England. His main assets were his honesty, spirit of sacrifice and innate love for his country.

Relation of Gandhi with the host land and homeland

Primary concern of Gandhi as a student in London and on his return to India was to make money. He was unsuccessful as a barrister. He could earn only car only 300 rupees per month as a writer of petition and memoranda, a profession in which he became expert later. Frustrated, he accepted an offer of employment from a friend of his brother in South Africa. He was appointed as a legal advisor of Sheth Abdullah who was a rich businessman man living in Durban, Sheth Abdullah lacked knowledge of English. Gandhi was offered the first-class fare, and only £105 and local expenses for the year. He was put up as a boarder in Pretoria therefore when he got a proposal as a legal advisor, he grabbed the opportunity as it was promising for better prospects for his career as a lawyer. He was 23-year old barrister the who had sailed Bombay on April 3 by the ship named Safari with the hope of finding opportunities in a new land.

Gandhi had found employment, first as an employee of a merchant and later as an advocate in Durban and attorney in Johannesburg -Gandhi found a vocation because of his spirit of service.

Gandhi realized the dangerous condition of the small Indian community, the experience of extreme racism amongst Indians, and the repeated betrayals of promises by the authorities in South Africa and Britain did not lead him to despondency or to a lack of faith in humanity (Gandhi M.)

Colonizers attitude towards slave country

“ A general belief seems to prevail in the Colony that the Indians are little better, if at all, than savages of the Natives

of Africa,” wrote Gandhi- but that he would “show at once that the Indians were, and are, in no way inferior to their Anglo- Saxon brethren”. (Scroll.in, 2020)

Indians – the indentured labours were called coolies by the Europeans. A coolie meant a porter. The expression was used so extensively that they themselves began to address themselves as coolies. Even the Indian lawyers and traders were called coolie lawyer and coolie trader. They were used as deliberate contempt.

The European planters of Natal wanted only slaves. They could not afford to have labourers who after serving their term, would be free to compete with them. No doubt the indentured labourers had gone to Natal, as they had not been very successful in agriculture or other permits in India, but it is not to be supposed that they had no knowledge of agriculture or that they did not understand the value of land. They found that if they grew only vegetables in Natal, they could earn good income. Many, therefore, on the termination of their indentures, began to pursue some trade or other on a small scale. The European planters did not realise this new development and felt a threat for their monopoly. A movement against these time-expired labourers was started. It is surprising to learn, that while on the one hand the European demanded more and more labourers and easily took in as many of them as went from India, on the other hand they started an agitation to harass ex indentured labourers in a variety of ways. (Gandhi M. , Satyagraha in South Africa, 1928) They didn't give the opportunity to Indians to settle and earn. On the contrary, they sent back the indentured so that fresh labourers could be brought in Natal with the new clause included in their contracts. They advocated the imposition of heavy annual capitation tax at the end of five years. They wanted to make it impossible for Indian indentures to live as free men in Natal in any circumstances. (Gandhi M. , Satyagraha in South Africa, 1928, p. 25) As Natal was still Crown Colony, the Colonial Office was fully responsible for its government. Natal therefore could not protest injustice and eventually conferred on Natal 1893

The officials proposed the imposition of an annual poll-tax of twenty-five pounds, or three hundred and seventy-five rupees, on each Indian who had been freed from indenture. It was evident that no Indian labourer could pay such an exorbitant tax and live in Natal as a free man. Lord Elgin, the Governor-General of India, considered that the amount was excessive, and ultimately, he accepted an annual poll-tax of three pounds. This was equivalent to nearly six months' earnings on the indenture scale. The tax was levied, not only on the labourer himself, but also upon his wife, his daughter aged thirteen years or upwards, and his sons aged sixteen years or upwards. There was hardly any labourer who had not a wife and a couple of children. Thus, as general rule, every labourer was required to pay an annual tax of twelve pounds. It is impossible to describe the hardships that this tax entailed.

Apartheid behaviour

Gandhi was quickly exposed to the racial discrimination practiced in South Africa. In a Durban court he was asked by the European magistrate to take off his turban; he refused and left the courtroom. A few days later, while traveling to Pretoria, he was unceremoniously thrown out of a first-class railway compartment and left shivering and brooding at the rail station in Pietermaritzburg. In the further course of that journey, he was beaten up by the white driver of a stagecoach because he would not travel on the footboard to make room for a European passenger, and finally he was barred from hotels reserved "for Europeans only." Those embarrassments were the every-day part of Indian dealers and workers in Natal, who had figured out how to take them with a similar abdication with which they stashed their pitiful income. What was new was not Gandhi's experience but his reaction. He had so far not been conspicuous for self-assertion or aggressiveness. But something happened to him as he smarted under the insults heaped upon him. In retrospect the journey from Durban to Pretoria struck him as one of the most-creative experiences of his life; it was his moment of truth. Henceforth he would not accept injustice

as part of the natural or unnatural order in South Africa; he would defend his dignity as an Indian and as a man. (Nanda)

In 1894, The Bar Association in Natal rejected Gandhi just because he wasn't white. Gandhi was almost killed in 1897 while returning from India. He and 600 other Indians were feared of plague germs and were forcibly quarantined in Durban. Local newspapers labelled it as "Asiatic invasion," stoking large numbers of hostile working-class Europeans to mobilize onshore, while the passengers awaited clearance for three weeks. Gandhi survived thanks to the quick thinking and artful use of a parasol by the police superintendent's wife. (King, 2019)

He applied for admission as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal. The Natal Law Society opposed just because of a rule that a coloured barrister should not be placed on a roll.

Many such incidents occurred which speak volumes about the apartheid behaviour of the British. The Europeans throughout Africa agitated against on the grounds of their way of life. They considered Indians closed fist and dirty. (Gandhi M. , Satyagraha in South africa)

Historian Maureen Swan portrays the typical working week of most Indian laborers who toiled on the sugar plantations as six nine-hour days. During crushing and planting seasons, however, these laborers faced 17- or 18-hour days, producing "abnormally high disease and death rates." Indentured Indians also suffered privations and immigration restrictions and could not venture more than two miles beyond their place of work without written permission. Indians were commonly forbidden to own land in Natal, while ownership was more permissible for native-born peoples. (King, 2019)

Gandhi's individual discontentment with prevailing political arrangements.

Two bills were passed in the following two years restricting the freedom of Indians severely. The Immigration Law Amendment Bill stated that any Indian had to return to India at the end of a five-year indenture period or had to be re-

indentured for a further two years. If he refused an amount of £3 annual tax had to be paid. The bill came into law in 1895. A Franchise Amendment Bill was introduced in 1894. It was designed to limit the franchise to Indians who had the vote. Although there were only 300 of them, in comparison to 10 000 white voters, the Bill caused outrage among Indian leadership. They decided to contest the measure by any means available to them. Having completed his work in Pretoria, Gandhi returned to Durban and prepared to sail home. At a farewell dinner, in April 1894, given in his honour someone showed him a news item in the Natal Mercury that the Natal Government proposed to introduce a bill to disfranchise Indians. Gandhi immediately understood the ominous implications of this bill which, as he said, "is the first nail into our coffin" and advised his compatriots to resist it by concerned action. But they pleaded their helplessness without him and begged him to stay on for another month. He agreed little realizing that this one month would grow into twenty years. Within a month the mammoth petition with ten thousand signatures was sent to Lord Ripon and a thousand copies printed for distribution. Even The Times admitted the justice of the Indian claim and for the first time the people in India came to know of the oppressive lot of their compatriots in South Africa. (South African History Online, n.d.)

By 1896 Gandhi had established himself as a political leader in South Africa. In this year, he undertook a journey to India to launch a protest campaign on behalf of Indians in South Africa. It took the form of letters written to newspapers, interviews with leading nationalist leaders and a number of public meetings. His mission caused great uproar in India and consternation among British authorities in England and Natal. Gandhi embarrassed the British Government enough to cause it to block the Franchise Bill in an unprecedented move, which resulted in anti-Indian feelings in Natal reaching dangerous new levels. While in India, an urgent telegram from the Indian community in Natal obliged him to cut short his stay. (Power, 1969)

He was sentenced to jail for organising the non-violent movement in 1908 but after meeting with General Smuts who

was a British Commonwealth Statesman, he was released. In 1913, he fought against the override of non-Christian marriages.

Major dissent events organised by Gandhi in South Africa.

While in Pretoria, Gandhi studied the conditions in which his fellow South Asians in South Africa lived and tried to educate them on their rights and duties, but he had no intention of staying on in South Africa. In June 1894, when his year contract was about to get over, he was back in Durban, ready to sail for India. At a farewell party given in his honour, he happened to glance through the *Natal Mercury* and learned that the Natal Legislative Assembly was considering a bill to deprive Indians of the right to vote. "This is the first nail in our coffin," Gandhi told his hosts. They professed their inability to oppose the bill, and indeed their ignorance of the politics of the colony, and begged him to take up the fight on their behalf. (Britanica)

Gandhi formed the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 in a response to the atrocities conducted by British on the Indian community, which marked the birth of the first permanent political organisation to strive to maintain and protect the rights of Indians in South Africa. This organisation led non-violent protests against the oppressive treatment of the white people towards the native Africans and Indians.

During the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, Gandhi gathered around 1,100 Indians and organised the Indian Ambulance Corps for the British but the ethnic discrimination and torture continued on Indians. (Today)

Gandhi got encouragement from John Ruskin's book *Unto this last* and decided to set up Phoenix farm near Durban where Gandhi trained Indians Satyagraha. Therefore, we can call Phoenix farm as the mother of Satyagraha but it was Tolstoy farm which shaped this weapon of protest.

In September 1906, Gandhi composed the primary Satyagraha crusade to challenge the Transvaal Asiatic mandate that was comprised against the neighborhood Indians. Once more, in June 1907, he held Satyagraha against the Black Act. In 1908, he was condemned to prison for sorting

out the peaceful developments. Be that as it may, after his gathering with General Smuts, a British Commonwealth legislator, he was delivered. Be that as it may, he was later assaulted for this and was again condemned to prison against which he composed Satyagraha once more. In 1909, he was condemned to a three-month prison term in Volkshurst and Pretoria. After his delivery, Gandhi went to England to look for the help of the Indian people group there. He composed another tranquil opposition crusade in Transvaal against the abuse that Indian minors were experiencing. He drove around 2,000 Indians over the Transvaal fringe. (Ashe, 1968, p. 73).

On 25 June 1894, at the living arrangement of Sheth Abdulla, a gathering of Indians was held and it was set out to offer resistance to the Franchise Bill. Here Gandhi laid out his game plan to restrict this bill. Gandhi assumed a noticeable job in the arranged crusade. As a gifted letter-essayist and fastidious organizer, he was doled out the undertaking of accumulating all petitions, orchestrating gatherings with legislators and tending to letters to papers. He likewise battled in India and made an, at first, fruitful intrigue to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Ripon. (South African History Online, n.d.)

Acceptance of Gandhi as a leader.

By 1896 Gandhi had established himself as a political leader in South Africa. He undertook a journey to India to launch a protest campaign on behalf of Indians in South Africa. It took the form of letters written to newspapers, interviews with leading nationalist leaders and a number of public meetings. His mission caused great uproar in India and consternation among British authorities in England and Natal. (Anver, 2019)

The struggle in South Africa lasted for more than seven years. Under Gandhi's leadership, the small Indian minority kept up its resistance against heavy odds. Hundreds of Indians chose to sacrifice their livelihood and liberty rather than submit to laws repugnant to their conscience and self-respect. In the final phase of the movement in 1913, hundreds of Indians, including women, went to jail, and thousands of

Indian workers who had struck work in the mines bravely faced imprisonment, flogging, and even shooting. It was a terrible ordeal for the Indians, but it was also the worst possible advertisement for the South African government, which, under pressure from the governments of Britain and India, accepted a compromise negotiated by Gandhi on the one hand and the South African statesman Gen. Jan Christian Smuts on the other.

Once, during his not-infrequent stays in jail, Gandhi had prepared a pair of sandals for Smuts, who recalled that there was no hatred and personal ill-feeling between them, and when the fight was over “there was the atmosphere in which a decent peace could be concluded.” (Britanica)

By the time Gandhi left to return to India, he was a far different man than he was upon arrival in South Africa 20 years earlier. He not only paced a fight against apartheid but also arrived back to India possessing a nonviolent technique for achieving justice, which he believed was ethical, practical and effective- Satyagraha And with this departure, a world leader was about to take birth. (King, 2019)

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The Distinctiveness and Socio-Cultural Magnitudes of Gujarati-American Diaspora Community

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The relocation of human beings within as well as beyond the national boundaries has a very extensive history. Humans have always voyaged and migrated from one place to another place for numerous reasons. This global phenomenon of migration has started since the beginning of times and is still continued. Populaces who are dispersed around the world, far from their motherlands constitute Diasporas. Consequently, in the present-day perspective, the term is used for individuals who are displaced from the lands of origin. Migrated People or people who are presently living in another country can be also known as Diaspora. In brief the meaning of it is a movement of people from one place to another place beyond the boundaries of a home country (Cohen, 1996, pp. 507-520).

Diaspora is a heterogeneous societal phenomenon that has multidimensional facets and one of the considerable

things for government, social scientists, policy framers of international migrations, and Non-Governmental Organizations. Migration to the host countries and their social, economic, and political inclusion attracts the attention of the government's different domains (Craig, 2015, p. 17). Moreover, the diaspora has a prodigious demeanour upon the financial affairs, construction of the communal frames, culture, and plays a very noteworthy part in socio-economic enlargement as well as socio-cultural modifications. Diaspora is such a community of migrated people that have a very substantial as well as a very special connection between their home land, and host land. The nostalgia for cultural aspects, and assimilation with the host land is also a significant specification of diaspora communities. In contemporary times the Diaspora communities have subjoined new aspects and perspectives to the current scenario of culture of a nation, its political views, and systems, and international relations as well.

It is very interesting to observe that how Indian Diaspora communities keep and maintain Indian values, live in a variety of embodiments within the different groups staying in foreign lands irrespective of their languages, cultures, locations, religions, etc. In the process of migration beyond the borders of home lands, we find both visitor diaspora and settler diaspora (Sahoo, p. 36). It is worth to note that how different communities especially such as Gujaratis, Parsis, Marwaris, Sindhis, and Punjabis spread their cultural ties in the foreign land. Since Indus valley days Lothal, Dholavira, and Golab Dharo have been the centres of migration. Gujarat is known for its rich cultural heritage. Gujaratis have been enthusiast immigrants. They carried their rich cultural traditions in far and wide lands. With them the rich cultural motifs of Gujarat is also travelled.

The great Gujarati poet Narmad has celebrated the unique and distinctive features of Gujarat, in his representative poem *Jai Garvi Gujarat*. Gujarat state has a unique geography, rich culture and heritage, societal values, delicious food, colourful festivals, historical places, and lifestyle and for its distinctiveness, which have always

attracted everyone. Gujarat state has a multi-religious culture. The people of Gujarati culture are very friendly and welcoming by their nature. In India there are so many religions that are followed and worshiped. Similar to other states of India, Gujarat too is inhabited by the followers of various religions, and castes (Pandya, p. 61). Gujaratis spread ethical and moral values, culture and beliefs throughout the world. Gujarat state has been observing this unique combination of cultural values for so many periods. This specifically sanctions the cause for cultural diversity in the Gujarat state with unity.

The migration of people of Gujarat since centuries is not new. Gujarati community is spread across the world in countries like the USA, UK, Kenya, Canada, Australia, Oman, Portugal, New Zealand, South Africa, etc. Universally people of Gujarat constitute nearby 33% of the Indian Diaspora. In the 19th century particularly the willingness of Gujarati for going overseas especially to the United States of America has increased noticeably. When they travel and migrate to other countries, they hold their cultural values with them and spread it through the society of the host countries. This phenomenon brings optimistic consequences amongst the emigrants as well as to the host countries in terms of cultural and societal values, economic openings, and political perspectives, and so on.

Gujarati diaspora community staying in the USA, represents its uniqueness of being Indian especially being Gujarati through their specific language, traditions, and way of practicing rituals, festivals, and in so many other ways as well. We also observe the comprehensive adoption of Gujarati values in their daily life, behaviour, instructive, and professional domains of influence of their life. Gujaratis have been successfully gain higher education and employment as they are in grid in deep Gujarati values.

The celebration of diverse festivals is very much prominent in Gujarat. It is such a State where we can note more than 3000 small and big fairs as well as festivals celebrated and relished every year. Among them, the chief festival is Navaratri, which is the most cheerful and important

festival of nine-day celebration preceding the Dussera festival. Individuals form a circle and dance in a circular way around the *Garba* (a vessel filled with water) accompanied by a singer and musician. Another renowned festival is Makkar Sankranti which is celebrated on the 14th January each year when the Sun arrives at the tropic of cancer. People fly the colourful kite and entire sky is filled with the colourful kites and balloons. The International Kites Festival is also celebrated in Gujarat where international tourists come and fly the kite and enjoy local sweets like chikkis, ladoos, sugarcane, and many others. In America also this festival is celebrated with bliss. All the festivals are enjoyed in Gujarat with the same enthusiasm. Apart from these festivals like Holi, Dhuleti, Mahadev Fair, Rathyatra, Eid, Ramzan, Diwali, are also prominent. The fairs and festivals are celebrated in a way that fascinates tourist from around the globe, it is also a huge cultural display where people coming from different culture and countries can learn a lot about culture, morals, civilizations, values, and philosophies of the people of Gujarat state (Vyas, p. 27).

The cuisine of Gujarat is pleasingly enjoyable and very delicious with healthy ingredients. A traditional Gujarati thali is a vegetarian dish that is served in almost each city of Gujarat. Primarily, Gujarati thali comprises roti, pulses, green vegetables, fruits, milk, ghee, buttermilk, pickle, yogurt, etc. Apart from its various unique historic places, language and literature, its tradition and societal values are to be considered. All the above-discussed aspects have spread in various countries of the world with the migration of the people of Gujarat especially in the United States of America. In Gujarat, the chief occupations are farming, business, Industries, milk production and processing, manufacture of petrochemicals and fertilizers, etc.

The American dream is one of the most desired factors in the people of Gujarat. Gujarati community staying in the U.S. represent skills of doing business with ease and with high profit. In America, Gujaratis are performing quite well in various sectors. One movie *Kevi Rite Jais* was also released addressing the thought of the American dream among the Gujarati.

USA is essentially a multicultural society. The social and cultural elements of the Gujarati diaspora construct a bridge for a socio-cultural exchange between Gujarat and America. All such social and cultural distinctions generate specific bonds, strong relationship, and very pleasant connections that serve as the way to companionships and profound social connection (Alexander, 1996, p. 207). Gujarati community in America has been practicing the culture, traditions, rituals, language, and many societal aspects. They also present the entrepreneurship understandings as a Gujaratis. All these aspects have been widely accepted by American society. Moreover Gujarat is considered as a unique centre of social and traditional multiplicity. The social and cultural indications of the culture of Gujarat can be perceived in America. In the nineteenth century, the Gujarati culture and its values were not much shared in America but from the twentieth century, it has increased considerably (Shastri, p. 2015). It has become quite popular in the America mainly due the attributes such as entrepreneurship skills, non-violence, yoga, dance, religious practices, celebrations of festivals, language and dialect, attire, food, folk music, etc. Furthermore national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, and Narendra Modi -the present P.M. of India are also from Gujarat.

The people of Gujarat who have relocated to America and have exchanged the cultural and social elements of America and a generated the new and distinctive community, 'Gujarati- American Community'. They are considered the foremost carriers of Gujarati culture in the United States of America. Considering their involvement as a transporter of cultural and social aspects it can be seen that they practice all the rituals and festivals with larger vigour and enjoyment in the host country. In addition, Gujarati-American community also gathers to rejoice sacred rituals and various commemorations such as Kite Festival, Holi-Dhuleti, Diwali, Navratri, Janmashtmi and Indian National festival also such as Independence Day. The assemblage on the festivals to celebrate, visits to the house of family and friends, and get together frequently, visit temples, etc. are some of the characteristics of the collective socio-cultural life of the

Gujarati-American community in the USA. All these aspects represent their attachment to their home, native country, and family and also shows their socio-cultural magnitudes in the United State of America.

The cultural and social amalgamation in America can be observed with the uniqueness presented and spread by the Gujarati community. In addition, many of the Gujarati Diaspora has also welcomed and followed the rituals and cultural elements of America in their daily social life. The influence of the American approach of living also observed in the lifestyle and rituals of Gujaratis. In a gradual manner, the elements of Gujaratiness can also be traced in the American culture and social life as well in their various approaches, behaviours, performing rituals, festivals, wedding, domestic features, relationships, caste and religious belief, the tradition of living with the whole family together, even death ceremony and many more.

It is really interesting to note that in Gujarat people follow the multi-culture and practice various religious ceremonies according to their castes, but when they relocated to America the dominance of nation-wide distinctiveness is supreme instead of provincial distinctiveness. In addition, Gujarati-American diaspora community attends a social call or be present at and rejoice the various commemorations of many other religious convictions within the Indian diaspora community group as well as of American culture too, which is not easily observed in their motherland of origin. The Gujarati-American community is considered exchangers as well as contributors in America.

In the United States of America, Gujarati community has established themselves chiefly in places like New York, New Jersey, Los Angeles, Sane Jose, Washington, Dallas, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Many Gujaratis have made their distinguished mark by their devotion and contribution to the various spheres in America. People of Gujarat who are migrated to the USA are the major carriers of cultural and traditional essence of Gujarat. Apart from cultural values the moral and ethical of Gujarat are also highlighted in the American culture as well. In the USA there are many temples

where Indian people visits, festivals are welcomed by the people of America. These are such factors which are cultural connects points of Gujarat and America.

For many reasons discussed above, Gujarat is considered as a most delighted state in India. It is a shining diamond of the West and a very important part of India. The culture of Gujarat is a flawless intermingling of civilizations, ethnicities, principles with rejuvenation which is visibly reproduced in a foreign land by Gujaratis in a seamless manner (Bhakta, pp. 61-76). Considering these presented factors certainly Gujarat has cultural distinctness and the migrated Gujaratis represent Gujaratiness in the USA in the astonishing manner they also keeping and maintaining such values of life in host countries by generations in a great way.

Gujarati diaspora, which is one of the subgroups of the Indian diaspora, sustained as very much different community of Gujarat specifically as a state it considered as a melting pot of distinctive cultures, religious notions and, lifestyle. People of Gujarat have been offering a plethora of things in terms of socio-cultural, professional and, economic growth to the United States of America. In addition in the United States of America, there are many places where the major influence of the Gujarati community is seen such as India Square, which is also famous as a “Little India and Little Gujarat”. In the Journal Square also near to the New Jersey the celebrations of Gujarati festivals like Navratri are well-known and the various places of worship of specifically Gujarati- Indians are located in New Jersey. The community of Gujarati-American diaspora keeping that unique spirit of Gujaratiness very much lives in the American multi-cultural society for many decades. The unique social and cultural values of the Gujarati diaspora have amalgamated across the United States of America in an effective manner.

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Diaspora and Cultural Heritage: A Study of Indians in Kenya

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Introduction

Movement from one territory to another is a fundamental feature of human being. Anthropology documents nomadism as a stage preceding human settlement as communities. Even after their evolution as communities, throughout the civilization human beings have been experiencing temporary, seasonal, or permanent migration from their original habitat either voluntarily or forced. Migration of people is closely related to a variety of socio-economic, demographic, and political factors. History of human civilization is full of such migration, however, in modern history major waves of migrations originated in the colonial period. In post colonial era and especially since the beginning of 1990s the process of liberalization, privatization and globalization is giving further boost to the movement of people across the globe. Last few decades have seen tremendous growth in international migration.

International Organization for Migration estimates that the total number of international migrants in the world stood at 272 million in 2019 and they constitute about 3.5 per cent

of the world population. It is noteworthy that the estimated number and proportion of international migrants already surpasses some projections made for the year 2050, which were in the order of 2.6 per cent or 230 million. Currently, India is the largest country of origin of international migrants with the 17.5 million of its citizens living abroad.¹ Further, millions of the migrants have obtained citizenship of their current resident states and do not fall into category of migrants. Moreover, in the past people from Asia and Africa were forcefully transported in the form of slave, indentured labours, government servants and soldiers in different locations by the colonial powers; descendants of those also do not qualify as migrants. However, those are aware of their land of origin and maintaining distinct cultural practices and even sometime nostalgic to motherland. All such people form diasporic community and together their number is much more than estimated by the International Organization for Migration.

As this study takes a broader perspective of Diaspora, it begins with conceptual understanding of the term before defining cultural identity and cultural heritage. Subsequently, it provides a historical background of Indians in Kenya and examines the aspects of preservation of cultural heritage-tangible and intangible. Intangible elements are studied with seven parameters- Religion, Festivals, Languages, Traditional Knowledge, Food Pattern, Mass Media, Sports.

Concept of Diaspora

Etymologically, the term 'Diaspora' is derived from the Greek word *diasperien*. *Dia* means "across" and *-sperien* "to sow or scatter seeds" and originally referred to the dispersal and settlement of Jews outside of Palestine following the Babylonian exile.² The term is well-linked with Zionist movement, which sought refuge in the return to Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state and invocations of homeland and return have become key components in the Diasporic imagination along with memories of the original dispersal. This is also marked by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) of the year 1989 edition that traces the etymology of

the word, “Diaspora,” back to its Greek root and to its appearance in the Old Testament. As such it references God’s intentions for the people of Israel to be “dispersed” across the world. The OED entry in this case starts with Judaic history, mentioning only two types of dispersals: the “Jews living dispersed among the Gentiles after the Captivity” and the Jewish Christians residing outside Palestine.

However, in the later phase of 20th century a broader perspective of Diaspora emerged and now it is not confined merely to the Jews migration. Now, the term is used for migration of any particular community to the other place. In a further edition (2000) of the Shorter OED, a modified definition of Diaspora appeared. While still insisting on capitalization of the first letter, “Diaspora” now also refers to “the movement of people from any nation or group away from their own country.”³ In his editorial preface to the first issue of *Diaspora*, Khachig Tololian writes, “the term (Diaspora) that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community.”⁴ Encyclopedia of Diasporas gives a very broad and liberal definition of Diaspora, “a people dispersed by whatever cause to more than one location. The people dispersed to different lands may harbour thoughts of return, may not fully assimilate to their host countries, and may maintain relationship with other communities in the Diaspora.”⁵

The Diaspora debate over the past decade has experienced two extreme positions- One being that the term and concept refers to the specific migration of Jews, which occurred under very unique historical circumstances; while the other is that of a more universal application to all cases of migration and settlement beyond the borders of native nation-states, irrespective of the migration circumstances.⁶ However, growing acceptance of the ‘Diaspora concept’ with its universal application is related to the increasing relevance of representations of ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ in international politics. These identities have been recognized in various

ways. Nationality of origin is among them is of prime importance. The term Jewish Diaspora, Chinese Diaspora, Italian Diaspora, Greek Diaspora, Japanese Diaspora, South Korean Diaspora, Lebanese Diaspora, Filipino Diaspora, Polish Diaspora etc. are well known in international politics.

While substantial number of ethnic Indians living abroad and India has distinction of having second largest diasporic group in the world, the term Indian Diaspora is relatively a newly coined concept. There have been academic studies on them under the broad headings of Indians abroad, people of Indian Origin, or overseas Indians. There has been active people to people contacts and Indians living abroad remained connected with motherland largely due to religious, socio-cultural affinity and family linkages but there was little governmental attention on them. However, with the increasing pace of liberalization, privatization, and globalization in post 1980s they became an important tool in Indian foreign policy. In the late 1990s a High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora was appointed by then Atal Bihari Vajpayee government to suggest ways and means for active engagement of India with Indian Diaspora. In the twenty-first century the Indian Diaspora has emerged not only a vital subject in academic discourse but also an important segment in policy formulation and implementation.

Cultural Identity and Cultural Heritage

Cultural Identity: The term cultural identity is derived from two distinct concepts i.e. culture and identity. It would be appropriate to discuss both while analyzing the concept of 'cultural identity'.

Culture: As a phenomenon culture is a set of wide range of matters which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and habits acquired by man as a member of society. A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn notes that,

“Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of the human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts, the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and

especially their attached values; culture system may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action...culture is not behaviour nor the investigation of behaviour in all its concrete completeness. Part of culture consists in norms for standards of behaviour. Still another part consists in ideologies justifying or rationalizing certain selected ways of behaviour. Finally every culture includes broad general principles of selectivity and ordering ('highest common factors') in terms of which patterns of and for and about behaviour in very varied areas of culture content are reducible to parsimonious generalization."⁷

Identity: The concept of identity can be best understood by seeking answer to the questions, who I am and with what do I identify with? While seeking answer to the above questions, generally three points are raised. First, what do I (we) do for living. Second, from which group, community or religion I (we) come from. Third, what is the commitment and relation that I (we) have with other groups. In fact, identity has three elements viz., competence, community and commitment. By competence we mean the ability to do a job in a manner which is accorded social recognition or accepted by other groups of the society. The community element of identity refers to the particular ethnic as well as the general national character. Commitment implies the acceptance of the responsibility towards others through the instruments of marriage, partnership and other forms of mutual commitments.

Therefore, '**cultural identity**' is feeling of identity of a group or an individual as far as he or she is influenced by her belonging to the particular culture. Stuart Hall theorizes two ways of reflecting on cultural identity: first, identity understood as a collective, shared history among individuals affiliated by race or ethnicity that is considered to be fixed or stable; and second, identity understood as unstable, metamorphic, and even contradictory- an identity marked by multiple points of similarities as well as differences.⁸ The concept of cultural identity has gain popularity only during the past few decades. The concept is used to describe wide range of efforts which take place in increasing numbers of individuals; groups; immigrants' refugee; ethnic and religious

minorities etc. within the state. These groups seek recognition and autonomy within the state or independent of it. For this purpose, these groups wage struggle against oppression and discrimination by the dominant groups of the society.

The political, legal, and constitutional provisions can play an important role in determining the cultural identity. Generally, the groups which suffer tend to get organized based on race, religion, nationality, ethnically, gender etc. and try to assert self respect. There has been spurt in identity movements in recent years on account of oppression, marginalization, fragmentation and assimilation, lack of self respect and self esteem, alienation, trans-generational poverty, unemployment, destruction of communities of numerous groups, races, classes, immigrants, refugee etc. across the globe.

Cultural Heritage: Cultural heritage is described as preservation of physical objects and indescribable characteristics of a society that is inherited from past generations. Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, 1972 adopted by UNESCO defines cultural heritage as:

“Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (Article-1).”⁹ Thus, cultural heritage includes tangible as well as intangible facets of culture. In case of diasporic communities those are closely associated with the concept of cultural identity.

Various aspects of cultural heritage of Indian Diaspora in Kenya are discussed in the subsequent sections of this article. Let us have a brief scrutiny of settlement pattern of Indian communities in Kenya.

History of Indian Settlement in Kenya

The Coast of East Africa was known to the Indians since ages. '*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*', a Greek guide for sailors compiled about A.D. 100, bears witness to the existence of a close-knit network of Indian ocean trade and the role of the Indian seaman and merchant along the East Coast of Africa.¹⁰ Throughout the history, migration to East African coast for trade purposes was an un-disrupted phenomenon for people living in North West Coastal region of India. Prof. Mangat, writes about such trade linkages, "Indian merchants supplied cloth, beads and simple manufacturers in exchange for ivory, gold, gum copal, incense, and after the fourteenth century, slaves."¹¹ Since, movement of *dhows* (Gujarati term for sailing ships) were dependent on monsoon winds they had to stay in East African coast for several month. This led to temporary settlement of Indians in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu in Kenya and other coastal region of East Africa. At this point it is noteworthy that presence of Indians was not limited to coastal region, they also ventured inner-land. Cynthia Salvadori gives detail account of this settlement, she writes-

"When Vasco da Gama sailed into Mombasa in 1498 he noted the presence of 'four vessels belong to Christians from India', and it was a Badala Muslim pilot from Cutch whom da Gama encountered in Malindi who showed the pioneer Portuguese navigator the way to India. A Dutch traveller noted '*Mesticos*' (i.e. Goans) along with 'Portingales' in Mombasa in the 1580's. A Badala captain is recorded to have settled there in 1705; another Cutchi Muslim pilot was noted as being in the employ of the Sultan of Mombasa in the early 19th century. In the records of the brief British Protectorate that captain Owen declared over Mombasa there are numerous references to the 'sizeable community of Indians (e.g. Muslims and Banyans)' then in the town".¹²

However, migration and settlement of Indians in Kenya and other parts of Eastern and Southern Africa is certainly linked with the expansion of British colonialism in both regions. In 1841 British established consulate in Zanzibar, in 1872 they introduced a regular steamer service between Bombay and Zanzibar and a British Indian Post Office at Zanzibar. In 1873, Bombay High Court acquired appellate jurisdiction over British Indian subjects in Zanzibar. In the same year the control of Political relations with Zanzibar and of Consular appointment it was transferred from the Bombay government to the government of India. All above development facilitated trade linkages and so free migration and settlement. By the 1887, population of Indian settlers in East Africa reached 6345 and Business communities of India like Khojas, Bohras, Sindhis, Memans, Parsis etc emerged richest and the most influential businessmen in the region.¹³

Later, Indians migrated as 'indentured labours' for the construction of 'Uganda Railway'. And thereafter, to grab opportunities materialized in government services, crafts, commerce and wholesale and retail trade. Their number had increased, both by a free flow of immigrants attracted to Kenya by prospects of economic betterment, and by natural growth estimated at two to three percent per annum. By 1948 Kenya had a population about 97,000 Indians.¹⁴ This trend was continued till the independence of the country. Rattansi and Abdullah estimate that during 1848-1963 Asian population in East Africa increased by 4.2 per cent per annum and in 1963 the Asian population in Kenya was placed at 180000.¹⁵ But, after the independence of Kenya large number of PIO's has migrated further to American and European countries. Therefore, population of PIO's in Kenya declined sharply and High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora noted total number of Diasporic community 102500 in 2001.¹⁶ According to recent estimates of Ministry of External Affairs (Government of India) total strength of Indian Diaspora in Kenya is 80,000 out of them 20,000 are those who still holds Indian passport and 60,000 belongs to PIO category. In terms of Diasporic strength Kenya is ranked 4th in the continent after South Africa, Mauritius, and Reunion.¹⁷

Cultural Heritage of Indians in Kenya

The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora makes a general comment about Indian Diaspora world wide, 'Members of the Indian Diaspora are deeply conscious of their rich cultural heritage. They are aware that they are the inheritors of the traditions of the world's oldest civilization. Being part of such a rich legacy they are naturally keen to maintain their cultural identity. Deep commitment to their cultural identity has manifested itself in many ways and in every component of the Indian Diaspora. There is probably no other Diaspora in the world, which has such an extraordinary diversity. It is as diverse as the ethnic, linguistic and religious groups in India itself. The original members of the Diaspora, therefore, carried with them the rich traditions of harmonizing different customs, practices, values and beliefs.'¹⁸

Above observations appropriately corresponds for Indians in Kenya. People from India migrated to this part of the world in different phases and under different capacities and those are a tiny minority in the total population of the country. Despite that they have contributed to every spectrum of life in the host nation. Those were the torch bearers in the political awakening of Kenya and participated in national movement enthusiastically. Gujarati traders were the forerunners in retail trading activities of the country and those are still known as *dukawallah* by local people. Today they are most affluent community of Kenya and occupy major stake in the economy of the country. From hi-tech manufacturing industries to traditional restaurants, from renowned hospitals to famous educational institutions, from popular games to leading think-tanks -everywhere contributions of Indian Diaspora are visible which, is an obvious result of skill, dedication, and hard work. It is noteworthy that Indians have shared their economic prosperity for the socio-economic welfare of their land of destiny. Today those are not only the largest employment provider to local people but also providing opportunities of

education and skill enhancement through various educational institutions. Apart from that number of charity and philanthropic activities undertaken by Indians are benefiting downtrodden sections of local society.¹⁹

However, Indians in Kenya have been subject to racial hatred and faced many difficulties in post-independence period. Known as '*Wahindi*' they were the soft targets of policies of Africanization initiated in the period of Jomo Kenyatta. A failed coup attempt in 1982 became traumatic for Indians as their shops were looted, smashed and some of them were physically assaulted. There were cases of sexual assaults and many women committed suicide.²⁰ There has been tendency to brand ethnic Indians as aliens, looters, cheaters, middleman and so on by local people and politicians. On the other hand, Indian community considered an integral part of Kenyan society and demanded for status of indigenous people of Kenya. After a long struggle, this demand was fulfilled in 2017 and Asians officially got recognized as 44th tribe of Kenya.²¹

Regardless of several difficulties, Indian community in Kenya has beautifully maintained its cultural heritage. Foster argues that the Indian minority remains highly distinctive in cultural terms. Difficulties placed in the way of full integration have contributed to reassertion of culture, though it has always been carefully preserved. The majority of Indians in Kenya is Hindus. A distinctive feature of Hindu culture is that of caste; and especially among Gujarati's the caste hierarchy is highly complex.²² Retention of cultural heritage by Indians in Kenya are magnificently explained by Kul Bhusan,

"...In Nairobi alone there are more than ten temples, six Gurudwaras and an equal numbers of Mosques. On the streets of most East African towns, Indian ladies lend a graceful touch with their colourful saris and other Indian fashions. In fact, most of the latest Indian fashions in saris and clothing are bought in local shops that have never a dearth of female clientele. And these are not enough. Indian foodstuffs were planted and they grew well here and sold in the green vegetable markets. Indian utensils and condiments and most other items of daily needs are available

in a plentiful supply. And after an Indian meal at one of the many curry houses, the connoisseur may visit the “*Paan*” (betel) shop. To keep with the current events and trends in India, there are specialised bookshops-selling only Indian magazines that take only a few jet hours to reach Nairobi. Every Sunday the Indian newspapers for that day are available in Nairobi by lunchtime. A Gujarati weekly is published locally and another printed from Bombay has a special East African edition. In the 70’s the voice of Kenya radio broadcasted 60 hours of Hindustani programmes every week. A great variety of music-classical, folk, film, popular was presented along with news and magazine programmes in Punjabi and Gujarati languages.”²³

In nutshell, there is widespread cultural heritage of Indians in Kenya. It can be seen in both forms- tangible and intangible.

Tangible Cultural Heritage

Majority of Indians are concentrated in the urban areas of Kenya and more than half of their population resides in Nairobi. Some of them are in other cities - Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret. Few Indians are inhabited in small towns and rural areas such as Thika, Kitale, Kericho, Nyeri, Nanyuki, Machakos, Kisii, Meru, Kakamega, Gilgil, Fort Hall, Malindi, Embu, Lamu, Isiolo etc. In their century’s old presence in different parts of the country those have built places of worship, social halls, schools and libraries to cater to their socio-cultural life. Indian community in Kenya is as diverse as India which has resulted in formation of different socio-cultural organizations. These all are the component of tangible cultural heritage of India in Kenya.

Places of Worship: Religion is the most important determinant of the life of Indian community. Wherever, Indians have migrated those have carried its religious practices and built places of worship. As Indians in Kenya belongs to different religious groups those have built temple, mosque, gurudwara, church and so on as per their religious faiths. Kenya has more than one hundred temples, two dozen gurudwara, many Jain temples, mosques, and churches with Indian architect and even Parsi fire-temple.

Community Organizations: Being minority community in the host society, Indians have established various community organizations to preserve their cultural ethos. Some of the notable community organizations are- Lohana Mahajan Mandal, Patel Brotherhood, Surat District Association, Ramgarhia Sikh Sabha, Singh Sabha, E.A. Rajput League, Singh Sabha, Cutchi Gujarati Union, Tamil Sangham, Goan club, Ismaili Khoja Association etc.

Educational Institutions: To promote Indian cultural values in the younger generations various educational institutions are established by Indian community organizations. These institutions not only cater needs of ethnic Indians but also provides quality education to the children of indigenous population. Arya Samaj has established schools in various parts of Kenya. They also operate girls school to promote gender equality in education. Aga Khan academy is providing quality education in affordable rates since decades. Indians were the major contributors in the establishment of Nairobi University. Recently, some Indians have opened convent schools and institutes of higher learnings.

Philanthropic Centres: Indian community in Kenya has been truly committed to transfer its prosperity and skills for the benefit of the larger segment of the society and nation. Those have established hospitals, training centres, and infrastructure related projects. Guru Nanak Ramgarhia Sikh hospital is one of the most popular destination for treatment of diseases in Nairobi. Asian Foundation is consistently working for poverty alleviation and employment generation in Kenya since 1988.

Intangible Cultural Heritage

One of the notable features of Indians in Kenya is preservation of intangible cultural heritage which is present in their day to day life. In this section we will list out those under seven sub-themes- Religion, Languages, Traditional Knowledge, Festivals, Food Pattern, Mass Media, Sports.

Religion: Cultural heritage of Indians in Kenya is probably most strong in terms of religion. Indian Diaspora in Kenya is a multi-religious society. There are followers of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Christian, Parsi, Buddhist religion. Existing sects and sub-sects among Hindus (Arya Samaji, Sanatan Dharmi, Vaishnav, Shaiv etc.), Muslims (apart from Shia-Sunni sects there are Ismailis, Ithnaseris, Bohras and Ahmadiya sects), Sikhs (Namdhari and Ramgarhia), Jains (Swetambers and Digambers) are ample examples to describe diversity of beliefs among them. Culture in the context of Indian Diaspora is virtually synonymous with religion.²⁴ Indians with few exceptions clung to their religious identity throughout their long residence in Kenya. They celebrates there religious festivals, social functions and ceremonies as per customs and traditions of the religion which they belongs. Any religious gathering is attended by huge number of people and usually it is not restricted to only people of same religious group. Rather people of other religious group and even indigenous people can attend and participate in those functions. So, it is not surprising to find people religiously belong to Muslim community found in the function of Arya Samaj or a Hindu visiting Gurdwara and offering prayer as other Sikhs.

Language: It is often said that 'unity in diversity' is soul of India. Indian Diaspora in Kenya truly set example of above statement. There is diversity in terms of place of migration as well as language they speak. Regionally they belongs to mainly present Gujarat, Punjab and Goa states of India, though there are significant population of people from Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh etc. in lingual terms they are people who speak Gujarati, Punjabi, Hindi, Konkani etc. languages. To understand cultural identity language is considered one important segment. In a survey conducted by author two questions were asked to know preservation of cultural identity and heritage from this perspective.²⁵ First question was knowledge of Hindi as it is national language of India and second question was other Indian language as many of Indian Diaspora's homeland is non-Hindi speaking place in India. 95 per cent people replied

to first query and out of those 21.1 per cent considered Hindi as their mother tongue, 35.8 per cent were fluent in Hindi, 28.4 per cent had good knowledge and 13.7 per cent people had little understanding of Hindi language while rest 1.1 per cent stated that they don't have knowledge of Hindi language. Researcher observed during the interaction with Indian Diaspora in Kenya that Hindi is a lingua-franca among them for mutual interaction. They prefer to speak their mother tongue but if people of two linguistic groups interact with each other they speak in Hindi instead of speaking in English or Kiswahili.

In the same survey, another question was asked about knowledge of other Indian languages. Total 92 per cent people responded to this query and out of them 64.1 per cent considered that mother tongue, 8.7 per cent were fluent in other Indian languages, 14.1 per cent stated good knowledge, 10.9 per cent little understanding while rest 2.2 per cent said other Indian languages are not known to them. Further analysis indicates that in total responses 32 per cent of the respondent considered Punjabi as their mother tongue, 19 per cent to Gujarati, 3 per cent to Malayalam, 2 per cent each to Marathi and Urdu and 1 per cent each to Tamil and Konkani languages. Apart from their mother tongue, 6 per cent of them are fluent in Gujarati, 3 per cent in Punjabi and 1 per cent each in Kannada and Urdu languages. 4 per cent of them stated of having good knowledge of Gujarati, 2 per cent of Punjabi and 1 per cent of Konkani language. 2 per cent of the respondents informed of having little understanding of Punjabi and 1 per cent of Urdu language.

Traditional Knowledge: Indians in Kenya represents various socio-cultural backgrounds and is as diverse as India. They are inheritor of various traditional knowledge such as classical dance, religious and cultural literature, medicinal practices, Yoga etc. For Indians in Kenya, the interest in their rich cultural heritage is kept alive with annual contests in classical music, instrument playing like the sitar, classical and folk dancing contents which are always keenly competed, compositely judged by experts and are always well attended. The Yoga icon Baba Ramdev, well known quawali

singer Shakila Banu Bhopali and numerous 'music troupes', 'theatre group' etc. has visited here and their programmes have been well attended.²⁶ Interestingly, many indigenous Africans have also developed their interest in traditional cultural ethos. It would be appropriate to quote AR Pathak, he writes,

“...A disc of one Swahili song '*Malaika Nakupenda Malaika*', (Oh, fairy like my beloved, I love you very much) sung by Lata Mangeshkar in Swahili has become tremendously popular. Some African musicians have made a pleasant musical blending of Indian film tunes and native African music. A few enterprising ethnic Indian ladies have started classes in Indian classical dances like '*Bharatnatyam*', '*Kuchipudi*' and others where apart from ethnic Indian a few African ladies also have shown keen interest in learning this Indian art form.²⁷

Festivals: Celebration of festival is a very important way of identity retention. This is a universal phenomenon of mankind to celebrate festivals, nature of festivals and way to celebrate them varies from one social group to another. Festivals can be broadly categorized in two groups- national and socio-cultural. As celebration of national festival is a way to know interest of the people in retaining identity of their homeland in the survey a question was asked to know whether Indian Diaspora celebrate biggest national festival i.e. independence day of India celebrated across India and abroad among Indian communities. Total 94 per cent of the respondent replied to this question and out of those replies received 25.5 percent stated that they celebrate this festival regularly, 17 per cent often, 29.8 per cent said rarely and rest 27.7 per cent said that they never celebrate independence day of India.

To assess retention of cultural and socio-religious Identity of Indian Diaspora second question was asked under this set about celebration of other cultural festivals of India. Total 91 per cent of the respondent given information to this query and out of those responses 61.5 per cent said that they celebrate those festivals regularly, 17.6 per cent said often,

and 13.2 per cent rarely while only 7.7 per cent stated that they never celebrate such festivals.

Remarkably, their festival celebrations were very much linked with their respective religions like Hindu informed that they celebrate Diwali, Holi etc., Muslim celebrate Eid, Sikh Vaisakhi, Guru Nanak Jayanti, Parsi's Nowroj etc. People often celebrate those festivals in groups and meet in religious people and normally common food served on those occasions and everybody enjoys that. Even many respondents claimed that they celebrate those festivals even in much bigger way than India.

Indian Diaspora celebrates festivals not only as a ritual but also highlights their socio-cultural importance and reasons to celebrate them. As date of Indian cultural festivals are based on their own calendars which does not fall same as Gregorian calendar PIO's publishes their own calendars which gives detailed information about date of festivals in Gregorian calendar. Nyanza Petroleum Dealers Limited, a PIO owned company publishes its annual calendar focused on any one aspect of Hindu culture.²⁸ Cynthia Salvadori notes about presence of such calendars,

“In Kenya one can find all sorts of complex calendars in all types of scripts huge upon Asian walls. Very few of the young Asians can read them, let alone understand them. To remedy this lamentable ignorance, an enterprising Hindu in Nairobi began publishing (in 1983) a 'Five-in-One Vishvahindu Calendar'. This quadrilingual compilation coordinates the lunar calendar with the Gregorian calendar and not only notes most of the Hindu holy days and many of those of the Jains but also marks the more important ones of the Sikhs, a few of the Zoroastrians, and several of the Muslims and Christians- plus the Kenyan national holidays as well. Thanks to this pantheistic publication, the more datable details of Asian cultures in Kenya are down in black, red and white, and can be read by any Kenyan, for one of the four languages used is English.”²⁹

Food Pattern: The cultural heritage of Indians in Kenya is also reflected in their food pattern. Despite of having their presence in the places where food habits are quite different from those of India, they have been able to maintain those

same as Indians. Chapatti and rice remains their staple food and kitchens of every household among Diasporic community is full of spices, utensils, and other required material which completely looks like kitchen of any house in India.³⁰ Indian food stuffs are fairly available in Kenyan markets. Even in small cities like Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret etc. restaurants are serving Indian dishes. There are shops of Indian sweets, *chaat-papdi*, *chole-bhature*, *masala-dosa* etc. and not only Indians but also several indigenous people enjoys these delicious dishes every day.

Mass Media: Use of mass media as a tool to understand issues of cultural identity retention is of growing importance. Due to technological advancement most of the Indian TV channels are available in Kenya. Indian movies are available in the theatres of Kenya and even many of them released simultaneously there. There are two '*drive-in cinema hall*' in Nairobi, Mr. Suresh Kapila, an architect by profession informed during personal interview that every weekend they show Hindi movies and those are watched by large number of people of Indian Diasporic communities.³¹ Other cinema hall too shows Indian movies and especially *Bollywood* movies because this is very profitable business for them. Even some theatre in Nairobi and Kampala have regular shows of *Bollywood* movies. Various Hindi movies have been super hits in recent past Raza Hindustani, Dil Wale Dulhania Le Jawyenge, Swades etc. were among super hits in the local theatre. In recent past many *Bollywood* actors/actress have visited in these countries. There are live programmes by top Indian artists who keep touring Kenya regularly. Starting with Jyotika Ray, the Indians in Kenya have had the pleasure of listening to Talat Mahmod, C.H. Atma, Mphamed Rafi, C. Ramchandra, Mukesh and Kishore Kumar. Almost all the leading film actors have been to Kenya and elsewhere in East Africa.³² Recently Salman Khan's show in Nairobi was a major hit. Now, as Indian TV channels are available through cable network PIO's watch those news channels as well as entertainment channels. Even small news which might not attract much attention in back India sometime becomes a

major issue for discussion among Diasporic community. TV serials are also very popular and actors and actresses of those serials are well known to them. Even, Indian print media has its reach to even small places of Kenya and with the growing popularity of internet all major daily newspaper of India are just one click away anywhere in the world.

Sports: Tremendous contribution of ethnic Indians in sports to their country of adoption is a result of their regular practice, dedication and hard work. In the colonial period people of Indian origin established several institutions and clubs to facilitate sports activities for themselves as due to colonial policies of segregation it was not possible for them to mix up with either European or indigenous teams. In the forefront of athletic activities were the Goans who formed the Portuguese Cricket Club in Nairobi in 1899 and later Goan Institute and Gymkhana in various places of Kenya. Other PIO's who approached sports were Sikhs who formed Khalsa Union, Sikh Union. 'Over the years PIO's population grew and the initial spirit of cooperation fragmented into community associations. Every community hall had its own facilities for indoor games and most of the PIO communities formed their own sports clubs, or had sports oriented youth wings, or at least fielded a team or two for some specific sport. But competition kept the spirit of cooperation alive. In the 1950's and 60's the major clubs opened their doors and changed their names to prove it; the Goan Institutes became the Nairobi and Mombasa institutes, the Patel Club became the Premier Club, the Sikh Unions turned into Simba Unions. Many of the smaller clubs and youth wings have taken to hosting annual sports meetings. It has been said that the Kenya Cricket Association did as much for interracial relations as it did for cricket. The same can now be said of virtually all sports and games.

Nevertheless, sports facilities provided by various sports clubs of ethnic Indians across Kenya play an important role in the skill enhancement of PIO's children and pave the way to become a sport star. Few Indian communities organize annual sport events and all sport stars belonging to Diasporic community are being awarded by respective community

organizations. The Oshwal Youth Council-ad hoc committee has been organising “Oshwal Sports Festival” every year since 1982.³³ The Sikh Supreme Council regularly organizes the Annual Vaisakhi Hockey Tournament and encourages and supports the Kenya Hockey Union and the Simba Union Club to hold other tournaments regularly. The Council has constructed Astroturf Hockey pavilion with shade and compatible seats for spectators at the premises of its headquarter. The Council honours all the Sikhs who represents Kenya in Hockey, Cricket, Motor sports, Golf, Shooting, swimming, and other sports.³⁴

Conclusion

Diasporic communities are one of the important components of academic discourse in our generation. These communities carry socio-cultural heritage of motherland to host societies and practice it to maintain their distinguish identity. This is evident from the study of Indians in Kenya. Despite of the fact that some of them have migrated generations ago they have beautifully preserved their cultural heritage-tangible and intangible. In this context it would be appropriate to conclude with the words of Rasna Warah,

“My grandmother was a living symbol of the stubborn durability of Indian culture and habits. Indians in Kenya, unlike their counterparts in Britain or the West Indies, have remained fairly insulated against the culture of the country of their adoption. Most people of Indian origin in Kenya speak their mother tongue, follow their religious rituals, eat Indian food and have some vision of what their ancestral country is like even if they have never been there...”³⁵

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Life across the Dark Waters: Saga of Indian Indentureship in the Caribbean

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Introduction

Migration is an inseparable and inevitable part of human civilisation and history. From the time immemorial to the present-day era of human history we have witnessed the migration of people, animals, plants etc. from one place to another. However, all the migrations are not the same. Migration differs in terms of its kind, magnitude and form. In spite of many hurdles and taboos Indians have crossed their national boundaries to land in different countries of the world as traders, religious preachers, labourers, professionals etc. By the dint of their determination, hard work and struggling nature Indians have succeeded in their mission and have achieved a great niche for themselves as well as have created a fair name for India wherever they have gone. Indian migration to the Caribbean was made under the diabolic system of Indentureship, which was in true sense a new system of slavery (Tinker 1993). In spite of their indenture inheritance, Indians, by their sheer hard work and struggles have climbed the ladder of success. In some of the countries

they have succeeded in occupying the highest political position. Indians have in fact contributed to all the walks of Caribbean life and society.

As has been mentioned above, the migration of Indians to different parts of the world is a very regular phenomenon, and has been happening from a very ancient period. Some scholars have divided the history of Indian diaspora into three phases such as pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial, and some other scholars label these phases as old and new diaspora. The pre-colonial phase or the ancient phase in Indian diaspora history witnessed the voluntary migration of Indians to different parts of the world as traders, religious preachers and Romani or Roma migration. It is quite an established fact derived from different historical accounts that India in the ancient period of its history had tremendous success in its maritime trading activities. India's maritime trade with Sri Lanka, Burma, Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, Cambodia, Arabia, Persia, China, Africa etc. is quite well-known. Some scholars argue that during the period of 5th to 7th centuries Indians were quite dominant in mercantile trade. N. Jayaram (1998: 5) argues that India's trade with East Africa led to a permanent Indian settlement there. In a footnote, McNeill (1963: 210) observes that "there is some reason to think that a colony of Indian merchants lived permanently in Memphis, Egypt from about 500 BC". Tinker (1977: 2-3) opines that in the nineteenth century when "European explorer like Burton first ventured into the interior [in Africa] they were guided on their way by Indian merchants". Undoubtedly, Indian merchants were greatly benefitted by the maritime trade as well as popularised Indian commodities in different parts of the world.

In the ancient period Indians were not only the masters of the maritime trade but also Indian religious preachers were sent far and wide into different corners of the world to preach Buddhism and Hinduism. During this period Buddhist *Bhikkus* were sent by different Indian kings to several parts of the world to preach Buddhism. During the period of Gupta dynasty many number of Hindu religious scholars were sent to different corners of the world to spread the teachings and

messages of Hinduism. Several elements of Hindu religion, rituals, mythology and culture can be traced in many South-East Asian countries. These religious preachers had to pass through very difficult times in spreading the essences of Hinduism and Buddhism.

During the medieval period, many numbers of Roma or gypsy people especially from the bordering parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat and some parts in UP were moving to different countries in Asia, Europe and Africa. Mostly these people were nomadic, and they had no purpose of settling down permanently in a particular place. In many countries they are facing serious problems now. Even in some countries they are stateless people.

During the period of British colonialism Indian labours were taken to different plantation colonies of the Europeans to work in their plantation estates. During this period we mostly mark four or five kinds of migrants crossing the national boundary of India. Most of them were forced by the colonial dispensation to take the terrible decision of leaving the country. Many numbers of Indians mostly from southern part of India were transported as slaves by the French and Dutch colonials to Mauritius and some of their other colonies. Under the *Kangani* and *Maistry* system of labour migration many numbers of people from south India especially from Madras Presidency were carried as labourers to work in the rubber, sugar, cocoa etc. plantations in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Malaya (Malaysia) and Burma (Myanmar). Indentureship was another inhuman system of labour transportation initiated by the European colonials to transport labourers (through a legal contract) mostly from UP, Bihar, Bengal, Odisha, Jharkhand and some from south and other parts of India to work in the plantation estates in the Caribbean, Fiji, Mauritius etc. During this period also many numbers of Indian traders especially from Punjab and Gujarat went as free passage emigrants to different countries of the world where there was the concentration of Indian population. After the independence of India mostly highly qualified professionals have gone to the rich and industrially developed

countries for better economic and career prospects. Also many numbers of skilled and semi-skilled Indian labours have gone to work in the Gulf countries. In the present era also mostly the emigration of the highly qualified and skilled professionals including the software professionals, doctors, scientists, academicians etc. to the developed countries of the world is continuing.

Indentureship: The Neo-Slavery

Though in the ancient and medieval period India had witnessed the migration of its population to different parts of the world as religious preachers, traders, slaves etc. but during the period of European colonialism in India in the mid part of the 19th century there was the major systematic emigration of its population mostly as labourers to different European colonies scattered in different corners of the globe. The European colonials' imperial design of expanding its commercial project turned some of their colonies as mere plantation estates to grow cocoa, sugar, rubber and some other commercial crops. To satiate the labour requirement for running the plantation estates labours were transported from different corners of the world. It is under these circumstances that labours from India as well as Asia were taken to different parts of the world. There are estimates that over one and a half million Indians went overseas to earn a living in the 19th and early part of the 20th century – Burma, Malaya, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific islands (Singh 2005: 2).

The transportation of Indians to the Caribbean took place under the diabolic system of indentureship. Indians arrived in the Caribbean as indentured labourers to fill the labour shortage arising after the abolition of (African) slavery in 1830s. Slavery was abolished by the British government in 1833. The abolition of slavery created a huge shortage of labour in the plantation estates. The plantation estates were run by the slave labour which was free and abundant. After the abolition of slavery the freed slaves demanded a huge hike in their wages, and the European colonial planters who

were enjoying the luxury of the free labour of the slaves out rightly rejected the demands of the freed slaves. Also some of the freed slaves thought that if they continue to work in the plantation estates as labourers even with a big hike in the wages, they will once again enslave themselves by doing so. So, they denied stepping into the plantation estates once again. So, to cater to the immediate need of the shortage of labour force the colonial planters transported some labourers from Europe but they could not survive the hard labour required for the plantation estates. Also they could not survive the hot and humid climate of the Caribbean. Then the eye was set on the Asian continent especially on China, and some hawkers mostly from the port city of Hong Kong were recruited as labourers, but they also could not survive the plantation work as they had no experience of such kinds of work. So, many of them chose to do retail business and other such kinds of work. Then the European colonials including the Britishers looked upon India. India had a vast population and millions of whom were languishing in poverty, destitute and unemployment. Through negotiations, under the system of indentureship many numbers of Indians were recruited as indentured labourers to fill the labour shortage of the plantation estates in the Caribbean. The Indian indentured labourers were very hard working people and had the experiences in agricultural work. The arrival of Indians in the Caribbean not only brought a tremendous change in the economy of the region but also brought about a change in the demography, cultural geography, socio-cultural strata etc. of the region.

Indentureship was basically an agreement/contract signed by the emigrant labourer, who gave his consent to sell his labour to the master for a particular amount of wage. Mostly the contract was for five years and after the completion of five years the labourer was free to come back to India or renew the contract. The indentured labourer was entitled for a subsidized passage to India after the completion of ten years of indentureship. The agreement was governed by an immigration ordinance. Before being recruited as indentured labourers it was required that the doctor had to

testify that he or she is medically fit and free of communicable diseases. They had also to appear before the magistrate and testify that they have understood the different aspects of the agreement as well as the legality of the agreement. Unless and until they were testified by the doctor and magistrate that he/she was a fit subject to be employed he/she was not allowed to be recruited. Once the prospective indentured labourer was found as a fit subject to be recruited he/she was issued an emigration certificate by the emigration officer making him/her eligible to go the country of his/her destination.

Though the issuance of these kinds of certificates and the legal provisions incorporated in the agreement pretended to provide the indentured labourers a human treatment, but in all practical purposes, as Hugh Tinker observes, indentureship was a new system of slavery (Tinker 1993). Sometimes the magistrates and the doctors were bribed to provide fitness certificates to the prospective indentured labourers to make them eligible to be recruited. Whole of the system was based on fraud, lies and deceit. Like slavery, under indentureship labourers were denied a human self.

The question that can be raised here is, what led this system to be continued. Both the push and pull factors were responsible for the continuance of the system. Economic, social, political etc. factors pushed the indentured labourers to take this harsh decision of leaving their motherland and go to a different country to work as labourer. India at that time had a huge under-fed population. Millions of people in India were languishing in poverty and destitute. Unemployment was also at the peak. The policies of the British Government of India were primarily responsible for that. The focus of the British Government was on the cultivation of the commercial crops, and if the crop failed the farmer had to suffer terribly. And this also led to the shortage of essential food grains. The introduction of land holding systems like, Zamindari and Ryatwari system led to the destituteness of the poor farmers through the levying of high taxes on them. There was no concern of the British

Government or of the Zamindars for the poor tenants. Even if the crop failed due to some natural mishaps they had to pay the same amount of taxes to the landlord. The transportation of the raw materials by the Britishers from India and the importation and selling of finished products to Indians and severe restrictions on Indian domestic industries led a severe blow to the cottage industries in India. The economic policies of the British Government gave a serious blow to the rural economy of India. The collapse of the rural economy in India created a huge number of under-fed, unemployed and destitute populations who were ready to take the difficult decision of leaving the country.

India also at that time was suffering from the social evils like, caste practices, untouchability, child marriage etc. Some of the people suffering from these kinds of evils found indentureship as an escape route from the prevalent social evils. Those who had participated in the Sepoy Mutiny (1857) which is considered as the first Indian war of independence were hounded by the British police. To escape the gallows many of those people under secret names enrolled themselves as indentured labourers. So, the economic, social, political etc. factors pushed these people to take the very harsh decision of crossing the dark waters of the sea to work as indentured labourer in the so distant plantation estates.

At the other end, there were some other factors of attraction those pulled many of these people to indenture themselves. The wages that the indentured labourers were promised was much higher than that they were getting here in India. They were told that their monthly earning there will be more than their annual earning here. The climate in the Caribbean, Fiji and some of the African countries where they were going as indentured labourers was much or less similar to the climate they were accustomed to in India. In the plantation estates the nature of work was similar to agricultural work they were used to in India. In case of Caribbean countries, the climate was quite similar that of eastern India from where most of the indentured labourers were taken to Caribbean. Most parts of India were under the British rule and the citizens were referred as British citizen of

India. The Caribbean countries where they were going were also under British rule. So, politically there was not much change in the status of the indentured labourers in the Caribbean. Since India and the Caribbean countries (to those countries where Indians were going as indentured labourers) were under the British rule the negotiations for the recruitment and transport of indentured labourers were carried out without much hurdles.

As has been mentioned above, the system of indentureship was based on fraud and lies. To attract people to be recruited as indentured labourers, the local recruiters called as *Arkatias* narrated false stories about the places. The village barbers, postmen etc. who had access to every households used to work as agents of the *Arkatias* and they used to get their share of money per recruit of indentured labourer. They used to narrate false stories about the place. For example, they used to call Trinidad as *Chinidad* (land of sugar). They were told that this land is full of sugar and they were free to take as much as sugar they like. At that time sugar was such an expensive item, and the poor man or woman from the village got persuaded by this. Similarly, Suriname was called as Sri Ram Desh (land of Lord Ram). The Hindu man or woman was told that he/she was going to the land of his/her Lord. And they were also not told about the exact distance of the destination land from India. They were told for example that Trinidad was just beyond Calcutta and from Calcutta it would take one or two days of time. But in reality it took about two months of time. And also the sea voyage was turbulent. Many people perished in between the sea voyage. Also they were told about the high wages that they will get. These people swayed by the deceptive tongues of the *Arkatias* and their agents indentured themselves to work in the plantation estates as indentured labourers.

After being recruited as indentured labourers and passing through chaotic days in the depot, they boarded the ship to be transported to their destination countries. The ship journey was another horror story replicating the middle passage. In the ship human beings were kept along with the

cattle. The food provided to them was not hygienic. There was also the spread of epidemics like, cholera which killed many numbers of people. Richmond as the surgeon of the ship *Hesperus* (which was carrying indentured labourers from Calcutta to Guyana) in his diary provides a horrible account of the spread of the cholera in the ship. Parents watched their children die in front of them. Richmond was very much upset that as a surgeon he could not save all the people dying from cholera. With much effort the cholera outbreak was controlled (Dabydeen 2008). Many people also could not bear the pain and anguish of leaving their near and dear ones, and they committed suicide by jumping into the sea. Richmond also narrates such incident in his diary (Dabydeen 2008). The ship journey had also to pass through storms in the sea and the indentured labourers had to suffer from many sea borne diseases.

After passing the horrendous ship passage, the indentured labourers landed in their destination countries or plantation estates, and it seemed as if dreadful days were following them. Life in the plantation estates was terrible. The desertion laws of the colonial plantation owners made their life no less than of the slaves. They were put in the barracks labelled as 'coolie lines' which comprised of thirty or forty rooms back to back. These same barracks once housed the African slaves. Each family was allotted a single room, and three or four bachelors had to share one room. The room usually measured 10ft by 7ft. The wall of the room did not touch the roof. So, there was no privacy. There was also no place for cooking. They used the open space outside their room for cooking. There was also no toilet and bathroom. The open field was used for toilet purposes.

They had to live an isolated life; any kind of contact with the outside world beyond their own plantation estates was not permitted. Only on certain Sundays with the permission of the plantation managers they were allowed to visit their friends from outside plantation estates. The plantation manager used to assign them certain tasks each morning, and they had to complete the task by that day. If they failed to

complete the assigned task, in certain plantation estates there was the system of double cut where their two days' wage was not paid, and an extra day was added to their total period of indentureship. In some other plantation estates there was the system of deferred payment where their payment was deferred for two to three months. They had to work from sunrise to sunset. During the period of harvest they had to work for fourteen to eighteen hours per day. Even if somebody was sick there was no respite. The colonial planters were trying to extract the flesh from the bones of the indentured labourers so that they can have all sorts of luxury in Europe.

For the women indentured labourers life was horrible. They had to take care of the babies, prepare food for their husbands and work in the plantation estates. They had also to protect themselves from the diabolic eyes and advances from the plantation managers, overseers and also from their fellow indentured labourers. The shortage of women in the plantation estates created a horrible situation in the plantation countries. Initially there were about 13-14 women per 100 men in every shipload of indentured labourers, and this disproportionate in sex ratio gave rise to high scale immoral and illicit affairs. There were also lot many disturbances and violence due to this sex ratio disproportion. To address this shortage of women the British government also went to the farthest immoral extent of shipping the brothel houses of Calcutta and some other cities to Caribbean and other countries. In 1857 the ratio improved to 35 women to 100 men, rising progressively to the high level of 50 to 100 in 1860 (Mangru 1987: 211). Non-recognition of Indian marriages solemnised as per the Hindu or Muslim rituals, and later on making registration of marriages as a costly affair, aggravated the situation.

Women also became an issue of contention, apprehension and anxiety among the Indian indentured labourers and the European plantation managers. The illicit sexual relations between Gerad Van Nooten, Deputy Manager of Plantation Non Pareli, West Coast Demerara, and an Indian woman Jamni, seemed the principal cause of the riots there in 1897

when five Indians were killed, including the woman's husband Jungli, and fifty nine seriously wounded (Mangru 1987: 215-216). The disproportion in sex ratio not only created such kinds of violent acts but also suspiciousness and distrustfulness marked the husband-wife relationship which took violent turns of wife beatings and murders. Mangru brings the official statistics those showed 23 murders of Indian women by their husbands in the period 1859-1864, 11 between 1865-1870, 36 between 1884-1895 and 17 between 1901-1907. There were also 35 cases of cutting and wounding of Indian wives with the hoe and cutlass between 1886-1890 (Mangru 1987: 217). So, the shortage of women in the plantation estates brought the morality down to the lowest level.

Though the indentured labourers were made to dream of a very comfortable life with economic richness in the distant plantation countries, but for all practical purposes they were no less than slaves. Their dream was shattered by the new world realities. The sufferings, misery and pathos of the indentured labourers can be captured from the following letter written by an indentured labourer namely Raghunath recruited from some place from the then United Province (and the date and his host country is not mentioned in the letter) to his brother (*Bhaiya*).

Bhaiya,

This letter is sent to Bhaiya by Raghunath who greets him by touching his feet. Know this,

Bhaiya, that I have got the job of girmitiya. It is wretched and miserable. There is little chance of my return. Our plight is worse than that of animals; our dream has turned sour. Work, work and still more work, there's no respite, it's almost killing. Moreover, we get beaten as well by the masters. I intend to escape ... therefore, have no hope of my return. In case I survive, we'll then perhaps meet; otherwise don't entertain any hope of meeting. I am sending this letter through the shipman.

Yours
Raghunath
(Kumar and Tiwari 2013)

The family members of the indentured labourers had also the same kind of feeling and pining for them. After receiving the letter from Raghunath the whole family members including his wife were engrossed in agony and torment.

The indentured labourers were not the ones passing through all kinds of drudgeries in the plantation estates, their family members back home were also languishing in melancholy. A man namely Jaipal from Basti district in United Province was indentured to Jamaica in the Caribbean in 1912. After a gap of very long period he was able to trace his son Ayodha Dass in Calcutta. Ayodha Dass was born some months after Jaipal's departure to Jamaica. The communication between the father and the son continued. Jaipal was also very eager to know about his wife, his family members and the whole of his village. Ayodha Dass requested his father to return to his native land and pine to see him:

*Whenever your letter comes I wish I had wings
And could fly away to see you.
Your destitute sister has no one end
I am looking after her
She has gone blind crying for you.
She now lives only with the hope of
Seeing her brother's face.
And my mother after receiving your first letter
Cried for ten days and died. (Samaroo 1987).*

This communication between the father and son bears ample testimony to the kind of emotional loss and brooding of the indentured labourers and their family members for each other. Indentureship not only fractured the physique of the indentured labourers but also ruptured their psyche, emotions and family relationships. Satendra Nandan, a famous Indo-Fijian poet in the following lines from his poem *Lines Across Black Waters* tells the harsh realities of the promised land of the indentured labour:

*An empty line of twenty-four rooms:
Eight feet by twelve feet.
Once it housed native workers
Eight died: Others fled
Who would live among the dead?
Homeless I had come in search of paradise
This house of hell was now all mine. (Sharma 2012).*

Abolition of Indentureship

This system of indentureship which was so cruel to humanity had to end. From the very beginning of the indentureship, many voices were raised against the system. Indian intellectuals and patriots had criticised this system which denied human self to the indentured labourers, and it was based on treachery and deceit. It had gone against all the moral standards. The limited number of stories coming from the western press on the Indian indentured lives and the horrible accounts narrated by the returnee indentured labourers bore testimony to the horrendousness of the system. But the voices of these people were not loud enough to reach the ears of the Britishers. Sometimes, any opposition to the system could have landed them in different kinds of troubles in the British dominion. The abolitionists who fought for the abolition of African slavery were almost silent on this new system of slavery. The abolitionists might have thought that with the abolition of slavery their mission was over, and they had very little or no concern for the indentured labourers. The system was so profitable to the Europeans especially the European aristocracy that they wanted for the continuation of the system. However, it can't be denied that there were some kind hearted people in Europe and other plantation countries who had some concerns over the system. But their voice was very low and minimal. The indentured labourers' voice against the system could have landed them in unimaginable consequences.

Finally the louder voice came from the Indian nationalists. By the first decade of the 20th century abolition of indentureship had become a part of India's national struggle. On 4 March 1912 Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the great Indian

nationalist, brought a resolution to prohibit all forms of indentured recruitment in India, and while introducing his resolution Gokhale called the indentured system “a monstrous system, iniquitous in itself, based on fraud and maintained by force” (Singh 2005: 43). Though the resolution was defeated due to the presence of more number of official British members (and Indians were non-official members), but it showed a strong sense of resentment by the non-official Indian members. And all over India a strong sentiment against the continuation of the system was raised.

The arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in India from South Africa on January 9, 1915 gave a tremendous boost to the freedom struggle of India as well as the struggle against the abolition of the system of indentureship. Gandhiji had a first-hand experience of the realities of lives of the ‘coolie’ labourers in South Africa. He had also fought for the cause of these deprived Indian labourers in South Africa. In his writings and speeches he criticised the system calling it as a very immoral system and a stigma on our nation, and he called for an immediate ban on the system. He also threatened to start satyagraha and to picket all the ships carrying indentured labourers. C.F. Andrews’ effort in the abolition of indentureship was quite pioneering. In South Africa Andrews had met Gandhiji and had developed friendship with him. He had also an understanding of the miserable conditions of ‘coolie’ labourers in South Africa. On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi C.F. Andrews was sent to Fiji. On the basis of his staying and interviews with the indentured labourers and the planters, he published the report titled, “Indian Labour in Fiji: An Independent Inquiry”. The report provided an appalling account of the miserable living conditions of the Indian indentured labourers in Fiji which added to the conviction of the nationalists to demand for the abolition of the system.

The formation of the Indian Coolie Protection Society and Anti-Indentured Emigration League of Bengal in India and Working Men’s Association in Trinidad and People’s Association in British Guiana and other associations of such nature fought for the abolition of indentureship. Indian

Coolie Protection Society and Anti-Indentured Emigration League of Bengal circulated pamphlets and other kinds of writings making people aware of the evils of the indentureship. They generated public opinion for the ban of the system. A typical pamphlet circulated in Muzaffarpur, Bihar making people aware of the drudgeries of indentureship and persuading them not to go as indentured labourer is cited by Ashutosh Kumar (2013):

*ESCAPE FROM DECEIVERS.
ESCAPE FROM THE DEPOT PEOPLE
BEWARE! BEWARE! BEWARE!
It is not service. It is woe.
Don't fall in to their snare. They will ruin you.
You will weep your life along.
Instead of rupees, rubbish will fall (on you).
They are taking you across the sea!
To Mauritius, to Demerara, to Fiji, to Jamaica, to Trinidad, to Honduras.
They are not islands; they are hell.
Do not go by mistake. By exciting your greed for money they will destroy your caste. There you will have to break stones. On board ship people only get one seer¹⁰ of water in twenty four hours. At stations, on pilgrimages, in dharmshalas, in the bazaar they will ask you if you want employment. They have no employment to give. They will take you to Calcutta where by contact. They will sell you into the hands of sahibs.
These men are given money to deceive people. They delude them with sweet words and sweetmeat.
Fall not into their snare.
Do not listen to their words. These men are to be found everywhere.
Proclaim this loudly in all villages.
The petitioner Purushottam Das, Vaishnav, Muzaffarpur [Let anyone who wishes, ask for this notice free of charge.]
Every literate brother is prayed to read this to his illiterate brethren and sisters. It will be as meritorious as a yajna.
Narayan Press, Muzaffarpur, no. 68, 6-6-15, 20,000 copies printed.*

Due to the pressures and fights from the Indian nationalists and the civil society organisations the British government of India had to bring an end to the system. The government in 1917 declared that indentureship had come to an end, but indentureship in reality came to an end in the year 1920.

Indians in the Social, Cultural, Political and Economic Spheres of the Caribbean

Between 1845 and 1917 about 500,000 Indians were brought to the Caribbean (with about 143,939 to Trinidad) (Rampersad, 1998: 1). As per the data given by Vertovec (1992) under the system of indentureship during the period between 1838 to 1917 some 5,51,000 indentured Indians were brought to the Caribbean island countries and various other colonies on the northern coast of South American continent. And these indentured labourers were dispersed in different plantation estates as per the requirement in those estates. The following table provides the figure of dispersion of indentured labourers in different countries from 1838 to 1917.

Name of the Country	Total Number of Indentured Labourers
British Guiana	238909
Trinidad	143939
Guadeloupe	42326
Jamaica	37027
Surinam	34404
Martinique	25404
French Guiana	8500
Grenada	3200
Belize	3000
St.Vincent	2472
St.Kitts	337
St.Croix	300

(Source: (Vertovec 1992). The data has been put in the tabular form by the author.

Sheila Rampersad claims that “migration to the Caribbean took place mainly from northern India; 90 per cent migrated from the Gangetic Plane, the former United Provinces, Central Provinces and Oudh, Orissa and Bihar, a few were from Bengal, the North West Provinces, and the South.” Roughly 15 per cent of the immigrants were Muslims, a small number were Christians, mainly from the South; among the Hindus 40 per cent were from the artisan and agricultural castes like the Kurmi and the Ahir, more than 40 per cent were from the chamar or “untouchable” castes and

about 18 per cent from the upper castes like Brahmans and Kshatriya (Rampersad, 1998: 1-2). The following table provides the recent figure of overseas Indian population in the Caribbean.

Country	PIOs	NRI	Total	Percentage of Indians in the Total Population
Trinidad and Tobago	5,00,000	600	5,00,600	39.04%
Guyana	3,95,250	100	3,95,350	51.01%
Suriname	1,53,306	150	1,53,456	35%
Jamaica	60,000	1,500	61,500	2.36%

(Source: Government of India (GOI) (2000))

As has been mentioned above indentureship was initially for a period of five years and after the completion of five years the indentured labourers had the choice to return to India or renew their contract. After the completion of ten years of indentureship they were entitled for a subsidised passage to come back to India. Though Indians continually talked of coming back to India, when the time and opportunity came many of them stayed back being familiarised with the familiar temporariness of the place. For the purpose of creating an indigenous labour force, the colonial government started selling crown lands with a subsidised price. And the indentured labourers after the completion of their indentureship bought these lands with savings made out of their indentureship. They developed themselves as farmers and grew many kinds of crops most of which they had learnt in India. It gave them a great feeling of owning land and cultivating their own land. Gradually Indians became the backbone of the agriculture in some of the Caribbean countries like, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Suriname.

From here the proper settlement process of the Indians as a community started. During the harsh period of

indentureship, evening assembly of people, singing of bhajans, performing of kirtans, organisation of satsangs, participating in different local sports, playing cards etc. provided them a kind of sustenance. After the settlement of the Indians as a community, religious and cultural activities were organised in a more systematic manner. They tried to reorient their culture and religion on the basis of their carried religious and cultural practices from India. Both the Hindus and Muslims organised their religious practices according to their own ways. The arrival of Hindu religious scholars and spiritual leaders from India provided the Hindus a strong foundation in reorienting religion and culture. Similarly, the arrival of Muslim religious scholars from India, Arabia and some other countries helped the Muslims reorienting their religion. To stand against all odds in such a volatile world which was much unfavourable to the Indians, and also to fight against the hostile forces, the Indians formed a pan Indian identity moving beyond their religious and socio-cultural boundaries. There were some contradictions among the Indians, but they tried to address those contradictions by themselves without harming the pan Indian identity. In a way Indians created a mini India.

In the gradual process Indians contributed to the societal pluralism of the Caribbean. The existence of people of Indian, African, Chinese, European etc. origin and their frequent interaction at different socio-cultural spheres gave rise to syncretic norms. Goat meat curry, dal pudi, mango etc. are hot favourites in the Caribbean. People across different ethnicities and races like the Indian items. Chutney music has elements of Indian songs and music. Indians have immensely contributed to the socio-cultural pluralism of the Caribbean.

Initially Indians were mostly farmers contributing to the food basket in some of the countries of the Caribbean but they themselves were languishing in poverty. Most of them were illiterates and staying in the countryside which was lacking any kinds of basic facilities. Their contribution to the economy was also not recognised. Indians gradually realised that it is only through education attainment that they can climb up the economic and social ladder. Though they were

illiterates, they developed the conviction of sending their children to schools and colleges to attain education. By the 1950s and 60s Indian students performed better than the students from other ethnic and racial groups. Indian students started winning and receiving various fellowships to go to Britain and other countries to continue their higher studies. The famous Indian origin Nobel Laureate writer from Trinidad and Tobago, V.S. Naipaul had received the fellowship to study in England. Some students were also sent to India by their parents to attain education in various Indian universities. Some of them also went to western universities to have good quality education. The attainment of education gave Indians new respectability. Attainment of education made the Indians compete for the white collared jobs. Today in many of the Caribbean countries Indians have excelled in civil services, medical sciences, engineering etc. Shivnarine Chandrapaul, Ramnaresh Sarwan etc. have immensely contributed to the Caribbean cricket. Indians have also excelled in other sports activities.

Indians have also contributed immensely to the political spheres of the Caribbean especially Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Suriname. Recently elected Indian origin Suriname President Chan Santokhi took oath as president by his Hindu traditions. Stalwart visionary leaders like, Cheddi Jagan, Basdeo Pandey, Kamla Persad-Bissessar, Bharrat Jagdeo etc. have made tremendous contributions to their respective countries. Writers like, V.S. Naipaul, Seepersad Naipaul, Shiva Naipaul, Samuel Selvon, David Dabydeen, Neil Bissoondath etc. have achieved much name and fame. V.S. Naipaul has won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2001. In all the spheres of the Caribbean society ranging from politics, economics, socio-cultural spheres, medical science, engineering, science and technology, art and entertainment etc. Indians have left their mark and proved their excellence.

Conclusion

As a mark of the commemoration and celebration of the enduring spirit, exuberance, determination and resilience of the Indian indentured labourers the Government of India has built the Kolkata Memorial to pay tribute to them. The

Memorial is located along the Hoogley River at Kidderpore Depot in Kolkata, and it was inaugurated on January 11, 2011.

Kolkata Memorial, a tribute to the Indian Indentured Labourers, Kolkata Port Trust

(Source:<https://rangandatta.wordpress.com/2017/03/15/indentured-indian-labourers-memorial-and-kolkata-port-trust-clock-tower/>)

The English Inscription of the Kolkata Memorial reads:
From Here They Set Forth

This memorial commemorates the thousands of indentured Indian laborers who sailed from Kolkata Port between 1834 and 1920 to lands far away, seeking better livelihood for themselves and their families.



*This is a celebration of their
pioneering spirit, endurance
determination and resilience.*

*They made significant
contributions to their adopted
countries, yet cherished and
passed on the spirit of Indianness
– culture, values and tradition – to
their descendants.*

We salute them!

*Jai Hind
January 11, 2011
Kolkata*

Undoubtedly, Indians had to struggle a lot to survive in the hostile ship journey in the turbulent waters, live in the devil world of the plantation barracks and estates and establish themselves in the chaotic world. But with their strong determination and hard work Indians won over all odds and have been excelling in all the spheres of Caribbean life and society. The success story of the indentured labourers and also other overseas Indians located in different parts of the world can be captured in the following lines of the famous Indo-Mauritian poet, Vishwamitra Ganga Ashutosh:

*No Gold did they find
Underneath any stone they
Touched and turned
yet
Every stone they touched
Into solid gold they turned*

(Government of India (GOI) 2000: vi)

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Benefits of Health Communication Strategies as Perceived by the Front- line Health Workers in Tribal District of Gujarat, India

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ABSTRACT

Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs), ASHA Facilitators and Female Health Workers (FHWs) perform their duties as Frontline Health workers besides other support structure under Community Process-a component of National Health Mission (NHM)¹.

The present research is an attempt to study benefits of Health Communication Strategies as perceived by the Frontline Health workers. Data were collected through survey of Accredited Social

Health Activists (ASHAs) and Focus Group Discussions with ASHAs, ASHA Facilitators (AFs) and Female Health Workers (FHWs) belonging to all six blocks of Chotaudepur-a tribal district of Gujarat state, India. Normal distribution and parametric statistical tests were applied to analyse survey data of 326 ASHAs and content analysis method was adopted to transcribe data of 12 FGDs.

The research concluded that, the Frontline Health workers have realised the benefits of Health Communication Strategies and their use in different set up for promotion of NHM benefits and achieving goals of behavioural changes through community processes. There should be enough and need based provision for Health communication Strategies derived from scientific research findings. NHM officers, policy planners, media planners and development practitioners should take note of the present findings as benchmark to understand Front line health workers' perception towards Health Communication Strategies.

Key words: Front line Health Workers, National Health Mission, Perceived benefits of Health Communication Strategies, tribal district- Chhotaudepur

Introduction

Health Communication and National Health Mission (NHM) in India

Health Communication is an integral component of National Health Mission. In present research Health Communization Strategies is operationally defined as combination of Health Communication tools-techniques (interpersonal, mid and mass media) broadly known/ mentioned as IEC and Health Information Technology system (TeCHO mobile, e-mamta, SATCOM etc.) broadly known/ mentioned as ICT used and mentioned under NHM for the purpose of creating awareness, promoting, motivating, escorting, mobilising community people for availing health services, bringing desirable behavioural change, capacity building and strengthening health machinery and Health Management Information System across all stakeholders.

The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare has designed a strategic framework for targeted IEC activities using 360-

degree communication approach. All possible means of media including mass media, mid-media and inter-personal activities are used to disseminate information about various health schemes. The year-long IEC/Communication Plan has month-wise focus on health days and health themes. While some activities were taken up to coincide with 'Health Days', others were week and month-long plans for focussed multi-media campaigns on schemes of the Ministry. These centre around topics such as Ayushman Bharat, Immunization, TB management, Anaemia Mukht Bharat, Integrated Diarrhoea Control Fortnight (IDCF), Breastfeeding Week, Tobacco Control, etc. Seasonal ailments such as Dengue, H1N1 etc., are dealt with through targeted campaigns.

All the IEC activities have had a print media component as well as comprehensive AV spots through TV and Radio Plans. Social Media and Outdoor Media activities substantially supplement the IEC efforts. The Media Plan was monitored at the highest level to ensure due implementation, mid-course correction, and possible change in the focus to suit the needs. The Ministry created wide awareness regarding the Ayushman Bharat programme, especially Health & Wellness Centres and new AIIMS sanctioned & made operational as part of PMSSY and the hosting of a global health event – the Partners' Forum 2018 - through print, outdoor and social media. This was complemented through media outreach, Op-Eds by Hon. Health Ministers, Q&A in select newspapers of Hon'ble Ministers and Secretary (HFW) and featured articles (Chapter-17, IEC, Annual Report 2018-19).

The State IEC team is responsible for overseeing the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of IEC activities, Special Campaigns, Health Education in emergency, monitoring of activities and capacity building of staff at the districts and block levels, and front-line health service providers in communication.

Integration of the IEC activities would improve overall coordination, more cost effective and timely utilization of funds, avoid duplication of resources, and strengthen planning, implementation and feedback. IEC activities are

especially implemented through District IEC Officers in all 33 districts with special focus in tribal districts in Gujarat.

Health Communication and Frontline Health Workers under National Health Mission (NHM) in India

From district to grassroot level a system of health communication activities is established. Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs), ASHA Facilitators and Female Health Workers (FHWs) perform their duties as Frontline Health workers besides other support structure under Community Process-a component of National Health Mission (NHM).

The objective of present research was to study the benefits of Health Communication Strategies as perceived by the Frontline Health Workers i.e. ASHAs, ASHA Facilitators (AFs) and Female Health Workers (FHWs).

Materials and Methods

Two Focus Group Discussions in each Six blocks (*taluka*) of Chhotaudepur - a tribal District of Gujarat state, India using the Theme guides. Data were analysed through content analysis method. Data collection was done during January to April 2019, in Gujarati and then responses were transcribed in English.

Result

Responses of the selected ASHAs

According to the ASHAs, Health Communication Strategies like posters, presentations and charts with pictures were effective especially for the women who were not educated. Variety of charts and posters made their task easy to explain. They expressed significance of graphic media by saying,

'Pictures facilitate in easy explanation and foster understanding.'

Regarding mother and child care, nutrition, maintaining schedule for regular ANC and PNC, importance of

institutional delivery etc. Media having graphics or pictures help beneficiaries to identify with symptoms and danger signs associated with anaemia, leprosy, TB etc.

The ASHAs mentioned that the register, Mamta card, ASHA diary and medicine kit helped to organize details regarding pregnancy, HB, weight and nutritional supplement for mothers. Mamta card was used most frequently. (as it was handy too). During Mamta day; posters, Mamta card and samples (contraceptive) were used by them for health education and spread awareness among mothers, their mothers-in-laws regarding vaccination, nutrition and reproductive health care.

ASHA shared about providing information regarding various Government schemes to the people through flip book. They also observed the difference in women in terms of approaching ASHAs for health-related issues, this was attributed to the spread of information on Mamta day and during Home visits.

'Poor families in Village, have started taking benefits of Chiranjivi Yojana and Janani Suraksha Yojana. They get monetary and free health benefits which make their life better.'

One ASHA shared that they prefer posters, street plays, presentations and puppet shows to reach out to large number of people for creating awareness.

Almost all the ASHAs mentioned the benefits of mobile phones not only for emergency contact but also to remain in contact with their family members while accompanying patient and mother during delivery. They consult ANM and Doctor for early diagnosis of symptoms during their home visit. Moreover, Mobile phones helped them to inform about any outbreak of disease and information on birth-death in village.

Responses of the selected ASHA Facilitators

One AF shared, 'the usual interactions and conversations along with Mamta card to guide mothers, which has lot of pictures is found to be effective.' The card has entire schedule of ANC-PNC visit, importance of institutional delivery, danger

signs and symptoms associated by the mother and baby, supplementary feeding, growth chart of baby, vaccination schedule etc.

The flip books, small posters, small banners related to health care found to be beneficial while explaining symptoms, the treatment procedures, during their visits to villages. Display of posters and banners at public places help in creating awareness amongst people. AFs and ASHAs organize Sanjivni Samiti (VHSNC), to gather people to inform them about messages from PHC on weekly bases and spread information through pamphlets and two-way communication.

According to one AF,

'posters and small cards are the most beneficial, for counselling, to easily explain treatment and follow-up procedures.'

AFs shared that they have cards for leprosy which has information about certain vaccinations, which they show during explanation. One AF stated that posters were also helpful to explain benefits available under various schemes and to get free of cost treatment at hospitals.

Responses of the selected Female Health Workers

FHWs identified that presentations and videos shown from TeCHO-mobile makes it easy for the people to understand the importance of health care. The videos from TeCHO mobile (given to FHW) were shown to ANC and PNC mothers, patients suffering from TB, leprosy, cancer etc. and encouraged them for check-up and start with the proper treatment. It was shared,

'using videos over posters and banners made a difference as people watch and listen to the content rather than only seeing it. This makes it easier for them to remember the content that was shown to them since it involves two activities.'

Videos aroused a curiosity and create interest in the mind of the mother regarding what will come next and all and so they sit and watch otherwise they leave in between.

Regarding TeCHO mobile FHW shared that it had made their work easier than before, in terms of data entry of survey, finding family ID, information of child or mother can be accessed from the mobile. Also, TeCHO-mobile provided information regarding Health and other aspects through pictures, that is useful during meeting or awareness program to make it easier for people to understand- as stated by majority of the FHWs.

One FHW observed that most of the people were uneducated so pictures made the task of explaining easier than lecture method, as it has information regarding TB, malnutrition, leprosy and so on.

AF acts as a mediator between the ASHA and the FHW, they are connected through phone. They contact one another for some problem or for work. According to some of them (FHWs), their workload of doing manual entry in total eight registers has decreased. They were able to do their work on time, that includes field work visit schedule, its details could be filled and submitted. They shared that they enjoyed using TeCHO-mobile and their enthusiasm for work has increased due to TeCHO-mobile, earlier they wondered why this was given and how it would help, but now they feel that it has made their work easier as earlier they had to go to PHC, and network was required to fill in details about the ANC and PNC. Now they can complete their work at anytime, anywhere even after coming home, they can make the entries.

E-Mamta portal was launched by government to manage health data and information across the state. The FHWs are supposed to provide data to the operator at PHC to be uploaded. In recent days after the launch of TeCHO mobile the same is managed by the FHWs themselves in parallel. Application on smart phone facilitates FHWs and ease out their work of real time data entry and report generation. One FHW shared,

'online and offline entry can be done through TeCHO mobile that reaches to server where the data is saved and number of entries gets noted in the report generated.'

According to another FHW,

'phone contacts are useful for coordinated work, for village meeting and Mamta day, to circulate the schedule beforehand.'

Monthly reports of PHC activities like vaccination of children and others activities were done, progress is written about details like weight of child, place and time of birth, regarding vaccination.

Since, they have realised and acknowledged the potential benefits of TeCHO mobile at their professional work front as well as for providing health education to beneficiaries, therefore majority of them strongly recommended to transfer everything on single platform and reduce the time of transition to optimise use of human and technology resources for health care of community people.

They have observed that in any emergency people contact ASHA and AF as they have phone to connect and exchange information.

Health Communication Strategies were used by FHWs while spreading awareness regarding the fact that sex determination of child is dependent on father. According to FHW,

'loud speakers are beneficial for polio and Mamta day, and videos while home visits, also small posters and flip book are of help for explanation by giving examples.'

Moreover, they thought that radio and SATCOM programmes were impactful where health related information was broadcasted on every Tuesday and Saturday in their PHCs respectively.

Discussion

It can be derived from the FGDs data that the ASHAs perceived the benefits of Health Communication Strategies, although they are limited and scarce. Probable reason could be that they have comparatively high exposure to various types of media used for Health communication purposes during their capacity building programmes.

There exists significant difference with respect to the block they belong to and their occupational skills. The ASHAs

belonging to Bodeli and Sankheda had expressed the benefits significantly high. It may be attributed to provision in their block, occupational skills and use of Health Communication Strategies in their respective blocks.

Seo and Matsaganis (2013)³ found that IPC (Inter Personal Communication) is directly linked to health-enhancing behaviours, also mediates the influence of individual's multichannel media environment.

The ASHAs' responses suggest that, Health Communication Strategies play facilitative role while self-introduction and getting recognition among community people besides awareness generation, promotion of health benefits and bringing behavioural changes.

Haq and Hafeez (2009)⁴ found that media campaigns were successful in building the image of Health Workers as credible sources of health information. End of evaluation report of Health BCC project in Cambodia (2011)⁵ documented that BCC forums were extremely important to discuss and spread awareness at community level. VHSC meetings and VNHD provides the same scope for BCC activities. The Mobile Phones have high potential to deliver effective medical services could be greatly enhanced, beyond basic communication support and education to CHWs-especially ASHAs, by use of advanced applications for monitoring disease, gathering medical data and accessing medical databases.

In present research data revealed that, the ASHAs foresee that mobile phones especially smart phones are highly beneficial for being in contact with all stakeholders, help in diagnosis in remote area and assist in record keeping/ event tracking. These can be supported by Chib, A., Cheong, Y., Lee, L., Cheryl, N., Tan, C. & Kameshwari, VLV. (2012)⁶ as they noted evident benefits of mobile phone connectivity, even when extended to remote rural regions.

Ghosh and Saha (2013)⁷ for Health Communication Campaign found that exposure to the intervention had a positive, significant net effect in increasing the level of

awareness in identifying the signs and symptoms correctly for the general illnesses and reproductive ailments.

UNICEF (2013)⁸, Community Care of Mothers and Newborns (CCMN) package found that training modules were effective. Increased in desirable health and nutrition practices was attributed to increase in home contact and information or advice provided by Community Volunteers.

All the researches mentioned above, largely reflect the benefits of IEC/ IPC/ ICT materials and Health Communication Strategies promoting health enhancing behaviour and health information. The findings related to benefits of Health Communication Strategies in the present investigation also revealed that majority of the respondents i.e. ASHAs, ASHA Facilitators and Female Health Workers have expressed that Health Communication Strategies were extremely beneficial for health communication.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Frontline Health workers have realised the benefits of Health Communication Strategies and their use in different set up for promotion of NHM benefits and achieving goals of behavioural changes through community processes. There should be enough and need based provision for Health communication Strategies derived from scientific research findings. NHM officers, policy planners, media planners and development practitioners should take note of the present findings as benchmark to understand Front line health workers' perception towards Health Communication Strategies.

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Book Review: *The India Way*

Title: *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*

Author: S. Jaishankar

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Reviewed by: Dr. Neerja A. Gupta

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The title selected by S. Jaishankar *The India Way* is in tunes with *The Third Way* authored by veteran thinker and practitioner Shri Dattopant Thengadi ji which gives a view on Swadesi Economics.

Jaishankar, however coins the title establishing a parallel metaphor, to emphasize upon India's role in global politics just like *The Third Way*, it does not propagate India to be in isolation – on similar lines the international politics too does not allow India to remain isolated, non-conformist or non-committal. It's not accidental to recall this book because it's a homonym as well as a parallel to the theories presented in '*The Third Way*'.

The present parallel is between India of today and situations and characters of Mahabharata, the great epic. The scholars of Mahabharata may not endorse entirely the context of the references presented by Jaishankar, but drawing metaphoric and simile-based meanings from the epic has surely attracted the strategists.

Questions may be asked as why Jaishankar positioned Pandavas, Krishna, Kunti in cliché style and why no mention of Draupadi, Bhishma, Vidura is made. As far as scholars of Mahabharata understand both types of strategic policies – political and domestic came from Bhishma and Vidura respectively.

Major characters discussed all along with scholarship concentration is that of Arjuna – the invincible Prince. Beginning with his dilemma to fight at the battlefield of Kurukshetra, Jaishankar drew conscience of India, which thinks and rethinks about its positioning in the world affair. Now as well as in the past, Krishna, remains the key strategist – but has not been much discussed and is referred to mainly two context – as a precursor of Gita and as slayer of Jarasandh. The mention of Jarasandh – though very important – brings to light India's patience in dealing with its neighbour and finally responding as Uri and Balakot. Krishna as a precursor of Gita is not put in action by Jaishankar. However, Krishna's adopting somenon-judicial means at Jaydrathvadh has begged a mention.

Interestingly what got place from Mahabharata in Jaishankar's positioning of India are Arjuna, questions of ethics, power and victims' image, saga of choices and prices to be paid as costs.

Apparently it's clear that India is paralleled with Pandavas. The positioning of India is set as that of Pandavas. In testing the patience, standing for Dharma, non-attack policy, remaining silent and suffering instead of being a slayer and Ponder upon Dharma – have been equated with projection of Pandavas in Mahabharata. Though in a very cursory and superficial manner. The author couldn't dare to delve deep into the layered meanings and he restricted himself to the surface on to the popular perception of hundreds of stories

and characters of Mahabharata is very visible, and rightly so. To equate with political strategic positioning and geopolitics in context of the world, it's not necessary to go into the symbolic meanings of the epic.

Without delving into the subjective analysis, let's stick to the levels of meanings Jaishankar has drawn out of Mahabharata.

The most attractive image drawn from Mahabharata is that of being the center of sympathy. Just like Pandavas who bore all injustice by the hands of Kauravas, faced attacks on life, conspiracies, burnt alive attempt in lakshagrih and rigged game to bring defamation. Similarly, India has become an image of being victimized at the hands of anti-national and anti-fraternity forces. This image has come to an advantage for India in positioning as a country victimized, and practicing tolerance and forgiveness. Thus, rising to the call of Dharma.

Another attempt to parallel India's foreign policy of non-alignment is mirrored via two characters: one overrated Rukmi and one under-rated Balarama – both placed at fringe. Balarama was closer to Duryodhana though Jaishankar treats him as a trainer to both Kauravas and Pandavas. His escape from battlefield in the name of non-alliance and return to mourn defeat of Kauravas remained unanswered by Jaishankar – but definitely questions India's role as multi-polar society in a competitive world where everything is placed in the context of cost and power.

Rukmion the other hand lost participation as none considered him worthy to share the glory of victory if happens. The king maker image as rejected by India in past history is well reflected. But another mention of Shalya being immensely important as Jaishankar sees it as a work of treachery to Karna. That's the realm one should go deep into the parallels of Mahabharata and Indian strategic positioning of the day.

As far as Bhagwad Gita is concerned Jaishankar doesn't speak much except Krishna invokes sense of duty in Arjuna, which is again has a cursory reference.

What attracts, startles and astonishes is Jaishankar's question of morality, deviation from Dharma to achieve

victory and Pandavas adopting Adharmik means to justify this Dharmik stand. This positioning is placed to compensate that unethical behaviour Kauravas have adopted and its equally right for Pandavas to deviate from ethics in certain time if the larger aim is to remain at the side of Dharma.

India's stand taken to be the side of Dharma – in this deep game of ethics and power is been drawn from Mahabharata as many lessons can be learnt from the iconic epic. Internal delegations of power and trust, international strategy of taking stand, understanding at the right time the need and not camouflaging under the garb of non-alignment are the master contentions that Jaishankar draws mirror image of Mahabharata to reflected soul of India.

Susheel Kumar Sharma's *Unwinding Self: A Collection of Poems*. Cuttack: Vishvanatha Kaviraj Institute. 2020, ISBN: 978-81-943450-3-9, Paperback, pp. viii + 152, Price: ₹250, US \$15, €20.

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Unwinding Self is the third poetry collection of Susheel Kumar Sharma, a creative and critical writer of a great distinction. His earlier collections, *From the Core Within* and *The Door is Half Open*, contained poems of the romancing with poetry in his youthful days. The American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow uses a refrain from Lapland song in his "My Lost Youth : "A boy's will is the wind's will, / And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts. However, *Unwinding Self* contains the poems of Sharma's maturity and ripeness. Like Sharma's second collection, *The Door is Half Open*, this one also has three sections: Poetry, Glossary and

Afterwords. There are forty two poems in the book, a detailed glossary of the words and phrases in the Indian culture to help the reader in reading the poems and interpret them in the specific context and the reviews from seven trained critics from across the globe, some of whom are also the creative writers. The poems in this collection demonstrate the poetic talents and genius of the poet in a big way. All the critics have hailed the collection as highly successful, though a few blemishes have also been pointed out by some. For example, Patricia Prime writes: "Sharma is not always as successful as he has sometimes an over-careful, over-methodical approach to his descriptions which, over the course of the collection, tends to result in sameness, suggesting a few of the poems could usefully have been discarded. He might better transfer much of his carefulness to a self-editing approach and, consequently, rid himself of some of the more commonplace phraseology which seeps into the collection. (p. 138) However, a good poem is a record of pleasure and pain in a "globalectical imagination to use a phrase of Ngig) wa Thiong'o. Thiong'o explains the term thus:

... the globalectical approach is ... a method of both organizing and reading literatures: any text can lead the reader from the "here of one's existence to the "there of other people's existence and back. ... A globalectical imagination assumes that any center is the center of the world. Each specific text can be read as a mirror of the world. A globalectical imagination allows us to crack open a word, gesture, encounter, any text — it enables a simultaneous engagement with the particularity of the Blakean grain of sand and the universality in the notion of the world. (Ngig) wa Thiong'o, "A Globalectical Imagination , *World Literature Today*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (May/June 2013), pp. 40-42)

Though the poet, Susheel Sharma, lives in Prayagraj and is familiar with the local lore and with well known literary personalities of the town, in his poetic collection he has collected gems from different shores. He tries to embrace Prayagraj but his temptations and aspirations often drift spiritually; he unwinds his own self through forty-two poems in the book which becomes a record of his aspirations, wanderings and overcoming temptations. Though it is a poetry book it can be used by the general readers, students and

researchers to study the upshot of many interesting factors like the moment, the race, the milieu, personal experiences of the poet near Akshya Vat, Ganga and Yamuna, Anand Bhawan etc. The poems in the collection survey the ocean of darkness, death and decay though the ocean of light and love flows underneath the area of darkness. They are well made out to please the Marxist critics, the professors of English and other academicians. There is an immense influence of Gandhism, Marxism, Hinduism, Integral humanism (*Ekatm Manavvad*) and Advaitvad on Sharma and it can be traced easily in the poems as well. Like a scientist he examines the moment, the race and the milieu, autobiographical, academic, political, mythical, national and international truths, poems, stories of the present and past (see for example, "Ram Setu", "Stories from the *Mahabharat*", "Rechristening the City", "Kabir's Chadar", "Akshya Tritya", "Durga Puja 2013", "The World in Words 2015", "Wearing the Scarlet Letter A", "The Kerala Flood 2018" and "A Family by the Road"). The poetic flavour is distinct from prosaic flavour. Each word, each sentence plays a poetic and social role to produce a special significance. The conscious art learnt by Sharma from the Russian artists makes literariness more important to him than the dictatorship of the proletariat. Susheel Sharma uses the idiom of the normal language in this book and turns common place and ordinary experiences into special. This results in freshness of human experiences. Sharma is able to understand and convey human and historical consciousness by an employment of special use of language as suggested by Roman Jakobson. Firq Gorakhpuri's following lines come to my mind: "यही मक्सद – इश्क का है, ज़िन्दगी ज़िन्दगी को पहचाने।" (To understand and recognise life is purpose of heavenly love). The idea has differently been put by Emerson in the following lines:

Far or forgot to me is near;
Shadow and sunlight are the same;
The vanished gods to me appear;
And one to me are shame and fame. ("Brahma")

Susheel's poetry is difficult to understand in the first go. One has to work hard to discover the music of ideas, unities and

disunities and experience shifts and gaps of different kinds. Attempts to analyse his poems pose difficulties because one's attempts lead to the explosion of the language into multiplicities of meaning. One cannot forget the role of fissures, gaps, repressed feelings, Freudian suppressions and Jungian expressions in uncovering the hidden meaning. Similarities and dissimilarities dance together. The world is too much with Sharma and the poet minces no words to express his dissatisfaction with the world. He gives expression to the deep agonies of the world. A poet has to intervene because the ruler does not pay attention to the anguish of the people. Let me take a closer look at some of the poems in the collection.

There are fifteen snapshots in the first poem, *Snapshots*, which may be taken to be 15 different poems. The poem comes true to its title. It is full of images, symbols, meanings and tumultuous reverberations and interpretations. A snapshot is usually an informal photograph (taken quickly, typically with a small hand-held camera). Metaphorically speaking it is a short account of the photographic information that gives the readers an idea of a description. The poet chooses to showcase snapshots like a Jaguar does. Here is a snapshot in just 15 syllables, 58 characters (just compare it with the character limit for a message on different social media: Twitter: 280, Instagram caption: 2200, a single SMS message: 160 and Whatsapp status: 700 characters), 9 words (5 monosyllabic words, 2 disyllabic words and 2 tri-syllabic words) 4 lines and two sentences:

My email cribbed.
Laid, Layed
Overload, overlayers
Crash, crushed. (p.1)

What could be more synoptic than this! And what a fluctuating visual treat – one feels like standing on the sea-shore and enjoying the waves with loads of shining meaningful bubbles! Of course, one needs to be familiar with the vocabulary of the computer world to appreciate this snapshot. This snapshot unwinds the persona's self and his busy world of the files and fills, males and mails, emails and females, temptations and

revulsions, acceptance and rejection, failures and successes, elusive and permanent, crushes and smashes, real and transient moments. However, the poet has clubbed them into one. They make different kaleidoscopic scenes for different readers.

Though Sharma is a very refined, articulate and conscious poet and he hides more things than he displays, his love for Varanasi does not remain hidden in the following snapshot:

I am Uma.
I am Vishnu.
I am Varanasi.
Where is Bhagiratha? (p. 3)

The above snapshot has 47 characters, 19 syllables, 12 words (8 monosyllabic words which could be reduced to four on using contractions, 2 disyllabic words, 1 tri-syllabic word and 1 quadrisyllabic word), 4 lines and four sentences. What could be more synoptic, impressionistic, and compressed than this which contains entire mythology, lore and history of Hindu gods and goddesses, and indicates the religious and cultural significance of Varanasi! An oblique reference to environmental concerns and planning is also there. The poet also hints that cleaning of the Ganges is a godly act but it is very difficult to be achieved without human involvement. A slant look at feminism is also there. In another snapshot Sharma writes:

The sky is dark with clouds.
The drums are being beaten.
The rains have disappeared.
The banks are tossing papers. (p. 2)

This is a very apt poetic description of the Indian economy and the Indian political scene when demonetization was announced by the Modi government in November 2016. Currency notes had been turned into the valueless pieces of paper just in a stroke. Different political parties were out to prove their point and outdo the others like the drum beaters do in their loudness. The sky was flooded with dark clouds when Lord Krishna was to be born. It was also raining heavily. Rains are considered to bring good luck but nothing good is

not in sight as people work at cross purposes. So the clouds are there but there is no silver lining.

One cannot afford to be Wordsworthian in an era fraught with moral, economic, political and technological corruption. Sharma makes use of his experiences at various geographical locations he is familiar with and the subjects and books he has studied passionately in drawing and connecting various images drawn from various fields. Here are two snapshots:

Green house reduction;
Human displacements,
Withered livelihood;
Civilization marches ahead. (pp. 2-3)

A knock at my door!
Love in mind creates designs.
Where is the key?
A bird defies gravitation. (p. 3)

In both of them a connection between science and nature has been established. How environment is being threatened by various human activities in the name of development and creating a civilization which considers only human lives to be important is highlighted in these lines. The poet condemns this anthropocentric attitude prevalent in the modern civilization. One can notice a blend of social, economic, political, cultural, multi-lingual and multi-cultural aspects, tones, tunes and waves of life where the doctrines of formalistic and idealistic principles have been fused. Life experienced and life portrayed and dramatized are blended together to create a unique experimental design.

In 1923 Hemingway conceived the iceberg theory or the theory of omission as a writing technique: "How to get the most from the least, how to prune language and avoid waste motion, how to multiply intensities, and how to tell nothing but the truth in a way that allowed for telling more than the truth. The writing style of the iceberg theory suggests that a story's narrative and nuanced complexities, complete with symbolism, operate under the surface of the story itself. Sharma uses this theory in rewriting the stories in a capsule form in his last poem, "Stories from Mahabharata . Sharma

has learnt to write poetry from Hemingway and he leaves no stone unturned to defamiliarise (to use the term given by the Russian formalist Viktor Shklovsky) the familiar stories in the *Mahabharata* in his poem. Here are a few examples:

III

Janmejaya decides to live.
Lord Vishnu rests on Sheshnag.
The *yajña* cannot annihilate cobras. (p.84)

IX

The dog can't bark anymore.
The tutor shows loyalty.
A bhil's son loses his thumb. (p.85)

XI

The braid is flowing.
The conch is blowing.
Horses are whinnying. (p.85)

These poems are able to highlight sorrows of the participants, depict their wounds and underline the question of *dharma* which is the core of the *Mahabharata*. In their form and structure these stories are comparable to the ones in the first poem, "Snapshots". Every poem conveys its immense meaning because of three types of *sphota*: *varna sphota*, *pada sphota* and *vakya sphota*.

Keats says, "Heard melodies are sweet but those unheard are sweeter." Sharma is a poet of unheard melodies. Like a magician he chooses to showcase the snapshots of life. All of his poems may be read as his attempt to find a balance between movement and stasis. A fusion of poetry, philosophy and global imagination can be felt on every page of the book. Susheel tries to illumine whatever is dark in the global man. The poems raise and support the beggars and the destitute. The constant references to the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and mythological characters hint that *dharmic* struggle is on and that the answers to certain questions are not very easy to make. Sharma has been reading Milton, Dante, Nirala, Pant, Prasad, Mahadevi from time to time. No wonder, Susheel's book often reminds the reader of the Hindi, Sanskrit and English poets. The poet runs from one civilization to another civilization in order to understand his own self which in fact is a happy combination

of many selves. Many of the poems in the collection, therefore, also have a didactic edge. We must recognize the larger meanings of tradition often employed by the poet to find his poetic idiom and suit his poetic purpose. It is a book of poems of the poet's insistence, persistence, existence, resistance, illumination and radiance. The poet gives a loud voice to the cries of millions of suppressed Hindu community along with those of the marginalised, beggars, slaves, destitute, prostitutes, deprived and despised in this book. Like a good blender he blends all the local, national and global tones and tunes; different experiences are blended together. I have no doubt that this book will fulfil the personal goals of the poet and strengthen the politics of culture, the organization of Hindu imagination as a Global Imagination for the modification of our impure sentiments.

The principle *Vidya parishram adhama* totally applies in his case. The poet, the critic, the reviewer, the cultural hero, the social activist, the student, the researcher and the supervisor often work in unison to attain literariness and the art of defamiliarization. This is a glorious book of Hindu ethos and Indian culture. A good book of poems must aim at a *kavya rachna* which combines the desire for name and fame, lofty goals of *Purushartha chatushtay*, civilizing sense and destruction of evil and folly of our age. This great book of poems rightly fulfils Arnold's definition of culture: "Culture is the propagation of the best that is known and thought in the world. I like this book not for its ornamentation but the historical interpretation of life and literature in its social, economic and political aspects. Sharma breaks the idiom of normal language in this book and turns commonplace and ordinary experiences into special. As a matter of fact Indian poetry in English has largely been derivative of British and American poetry. There has been a void of the original poets in the field because of the absence of those who write about Indian sentiments in Indian English. As a matter of fact there is hardly any Indian creative writer who could dare to admit like Raja Rao did: "We cannot write like the English. We should not. (Preface to *Kanthapura*); none of them is ready to accept that his/ her language is Indian

English and not British or American English. The sense of pride that made Americans' declare breaking away from British English is missing in India as a large number of the Indian litterateurs are still colonial in their mind-set and practice. On the other hand linguists in the US, particularly Braj B Kachru and his team of scholars, struggled hard to prove the identity of Indian English as a distinct and powerful International variety of English. Kachru's efforts bore fruits and the International platforms like Google and Microsoft gave recognition to Indian English in their language tools. Amongst the contemporary Indian poets Susheel Sharma is a unique voice as he dares to challenge the hegemony of British/American English by suitably Indianising the idiom of English for his purpose. This results in freshness of human experience. Susheel Sharma, thus, understands human and historical consciousness by employing the special use of language as suggested by Roman Jakobson. If one wishes to enjoy *Unwinding Self* one must remember the following words of Jakobson: "The purpose of art is to impart the sensation of things as they are perceived and not as they are known. The purpose of the book is to discover the traditions, contacts, contemporaries and wide and deep human experiences.

To sum up, I have attempted to analyse Susheel Sharma's book as a work of art, its internal and external structure while exploring the events and connections with Prayagraj. The literary and cultural atmosphere is very important to Susheel as a poet and as a critic. I have shown Sharma's elaborate and painful wit. He is an Eliotic poet to a certain extent employing wit and irony to break the language and old poetic styles and practices. The influence of Russian formalism and T S Eliot is immense on him. He has produced this book with a difference. In this book he writes in a poetic language to achieve the effects of *Rasas* and *Dhavani*. I have tried to assess this work in the light of Russian Formalism and unlock his poetic language in the light of Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, Jules Michlet, Ernest Renan and Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve.