

Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)

Volume XXXIX

Nos. 1 & 2

April-Oct. 2012

ISSN: 0970-5260

Editor-in-Chief
B.S. Ghuman

Editor
Rajesh Gill



PANJAB UNIVERSITY CHANDIGARH

Patron: Vice-Chancellor, Professor Arun Kumar Grover

Advisory Board:

Prof. M.M.Puri, Former Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University

Prof. G.K.Chadha, President, South Asian University, New Delhi.

Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat, Chairman ICSSR, New Delhi.

Prof. Romila Thapar, Professor Emeritus of History, Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, JNU, New Delhi.

Prof. Roger Wettenhall, Professor Emeritus in Public Administration and Visiting Professor, ANZSOG Institute for Governance, University of Canberra ACT, Australia.

Prof. Paul Giles, Oxford University, UK.

Prof. (Emeritus) Gurdev Singh Gosal, Dept. of Geography, Panjab University

Prof. (Emeritus) Dharmender Goel, Department of Philosophy, Panjab University

Prof. (Emeritus). H.S.Shergill, Department of Economics, Panjab University

Dr. Pramod, Director, Institute for Development and Communication (IDC), Chandigarh.

Prof. Makarand R. Paranjape, Professor, Department of English, School of SLLCS, JNU, New Delhi -110067.

Prof. P.Vinod, Dean Central University, Hyderabad.

Prof. R.K.Mishra, Director, Institute of Public Enterprise, O U Campus, Hyderabad.

Prof. M.P.Bhardwaj, 744, Sector 12, Panchkula.

Prof. S.L.Sharma, 739, Sector 2, Panchkula.

Editorial Board

B.S.Ghuman (Editor-in-Chief), Professor, Department of Public Administration

Rajesh Gill (Editor), Professor, Department of Sociology

Members :

Prof. Vikram Kumar, Department of Sanskrit

Prof. Ashutosh Kumar, Department of Political Science

Prof. Surinder Singh, Department of History

Prof. (Ms) Meena Sehgal, Department of Psychology

Prof. (Ms) Smita Bhutani, Department of Geography

Dr. (Ms) Mohanmeet Khosla, School of Communication Studies

Shri Jatinder Moudgil (Technical Production Advisor), Manager Panjab University Press

Office Staff

Gurbachan Singh

Office

Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)

Department of Public Administration, Arts Block-III

Panjab University, Chandigarh -160014

Web: *purja.puchd.ac.in*

Copyright 2012: Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)

It is hereby asserted that all the rights with respect to the material published in this journal are vested in the publisher. Therefore, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system or translated, in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Inquiries regarding reproduction in any manner, in whole or part, in English or any other language may be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief, *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*.

However, the Editor-in-Chief takes no personal responsibility for the opinions or views expressed in the articles published in this Journal.

PURJA is a liberal journal and often publishes opinions and views of the writers that are not strictly in consonance with those of its editorial policies.

Panjab University
Research Journal (Arts)

Volume XXXIX

Nos. 1 & 2

April-October 2012

Emblem

Editor-in-Chief
B.S.Ghuman

Editor
Rajesh Gill

Panjab Univesity
Chandigarh (India)

Contents

	Article	Author	Page
1.	Leisure in Indian Tradition: Looking Beyond the West	S.L.Sharma	1-12
2.	Globalisation and Growth of Farmers' Indebtedness in Punjab	H.S.Shergill	13-24.
3.	To Understand Obviousness	Vladlen V. Kravchenko	25-34
4.	Superstition and Syncretism: Setbacks to Authentic Christian Practice in Africa	Dominic Umoh	35-50
5.	Generation to Generation: Perennial Dread and Despair in Chinua Achebe's <i>Beware Soul Brother and Olu Oguibe's A Gathering Fear</i>	Sunny Awhefeada	51-66
6.	Electoral Politics of Haryana: Enumerating the Basic Characteristics	Sunil Devi	67-82
7.	Determinants of and Decision Making Process among Single-Child Families	Bindu Dogra	83-96
8.	Burnout and Work Engagement among College Teachers	Savneet	97-112
9.	Significance of Freedom from the Known in J. Krishnamurti's Philosophy	Anamika Girdhar	113-118
10.	India's Energy Security Dilemma : Challenges and Opportunities in the Neighbourhood	Sanjeev Kumar	119-140
11.	दलित साहित्य में बौद्ध दर्शन की भूमिका	Vijay Vidyarathi	141-150
12.	Book Review (Social Movements II: Concerns of Equity and Security)	Yumlembam Khogen Singh	151-153

Leisure in Indian Tradition: Looking Beyond the West

S.L. Sharma*

Abstract

The paper seeks to advance a case for broad-basing the existing paradigm of leisure studies which has long been dominated by the Western perspective. To this end, it presents a case study of leisure in Indian tradition and brings out its implications for developing a more comprehensive and nuanced perspective. Conceding that India has had no formal tradition of leisure discourse, it maintains that there are some things about the tradition of leisure in India which “open new windows through which to view leisure”. These include the Vedic notion of purusharthas, including the category of kama, which provides a clue to the philosophical foundations of leisure; the notion of ananda [bliss] which warrants rethinking the received concept of leisure as a pleasure-seeking pursuit; and the ages-old tradition of meditative and contemplative leisure in India, signifying explorations into inner self, which calls for looking beyond the prevailing stress in the West on the study of travel and tourism into the outer world. Above all, some of the defining features of Indian culture, including its inclination towards spirituality, transcendence and synthesis, have implications for revisiting the fallacious dichotomy of work and leisure.

The field of leisure studies has long been dominated by the Western perspective. This perspective views leisure as typically a Western phenomenon and seems to imply that non-Western societies have had no tradition of leisure nor any conception of it. The protagonists of this perspective contend, “Leisure is not a term that can be applied to societies of the archaic period. Nor was leisure, in the modern sense, to be found in the agrarian societies of recorded history” [Dumazedier1967:248]. They view the phenomenon of ‘modern leisure’ as product of industrial civilisation [de Grazia1962; Dumazedier1967]. In the words of Dumazedier, “...leisure has certain traits that are characteristic only of the civilisation born from the industrial revolution” [1967:298]. Textbooks on leisure are also full of similar observations, as is clear from the following statement of Murphy: “Three out of these [four] texts viewed leisure as stemming primarily from industrial revolution” [1981: IX]. A number of other leisure scholars, however, traced the origins of leisure philosophy to the writings of Aristotle in the city-state of Athens in ancient Greece [Goodley and Godbey 1988; Cross 1990; Kaus 1990; Arnold 1991]. In either case, the Western scholarship locates the origins of leisure and its philosophy in the West.

*Former Dean, Faculty of Arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh

Having prevailed for long, the Western viewpoint has come under serious interrogation in recent years. Even in earlier literature one comes across certain moderating notes that acknowledge the practice of leisure in some non-Western cultures. Huizinga, for instance, in his work published in 1955, makes a passing reference to the evidence of play in non-Western cultures of ancient China and India. Similarly, Csikszentmichalyi in 1975 cites evidence of the practice of zen yoga and some other forms of meditation in Eastern cultures which he finds akin to the ancient Greek philosophical notion of leisure. In much the same way, in 1975 again, Kaplan perceives a close affinity between the Eastern and the Greek human ideals of leisure. Accordingly, he observes, "The conceptualization of leisure as an end hashistorical roots in both East and West" [Kaplan 1975:21]. However, such notes have remained largely marginal to the mainstream domineering Western view.

More recently, some scholars have advanced systematic evidence of leisure from the non-Western societies to further contest the claims of the Western perspective. Based on the empirical studies of leisure patterns of some Indian tribes, Bhattacharya [2003] and Singh [2007], among others, have called into question the contention about the origins of leisure in industrial societies and its non existence in pre-industrial societies. Likewise, Raychaudhary and Samdahl [2005] have contested the assumption of the Greek origins of the philosophy of leisure and argued that Aristotle's notion of *Schole* [leisure] itself is influenced by the Indian Vedic vision of leisure. Similarly, citing significant evidence of leisure philosophy in the Taoist thought, Hultsman [1995] states: "At the least, it appears evident that there are opportunities to expand our dialogues about concepts of leisure by turning to sources other than those traditional Western texts we have typically used as foundations for our discussions. Perhaps by considering Taoism and other Eastern philosophies, we can, in the future, open new windows through which to view leisure" [P.98].

Carrying forward the trend of looking beyond the West to expand the frontiers of leisure studies, the present paper provides a case study of the Indian tradition of leisure. The study shows that India has had a tradition of leisure as well as of leisure philosophy, as vigorous and vibrant as the West, and that it is marked by certain cultural distinctions. The paper brings out its implications for moderating the claims of the Western perspective. The purpose is not to claim 'me first' for India for the origins of leisure or its concept or its philosophy. Instead, it is to 'expand our dialogues about the concepts of leisure' so as to help develop a more comprehensive and balanced perspective. To this end, the paper is organized into three parts. Part one provides a brief note on the concept of leisure in order to facilitate the account of leisure patterns in India. Part two offers an historical sketch of leisure in India through the ages. Part three brings out the implications of leisure in India to provide for a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of leisure.

Concept of leisure

A discerning look at the existing leisure literature reveals three conceptions of leisure: a) as a lifestyle, b) as free time, and c) as a state of mind. These have emerged in that order. The first conception dates back to the times of Aristotle in ancient Greece. Aristotle envisaged leisure as an ideal state of being and a lofty goal to be achieved. In his view, leisure connotes a cultivated lifestyle marked by refined qualities of body and mind, free from the drudgery of labour. This conception gains in meaning in the light of the then

prevailing background of slavery. In this usage, leisure signifies an attribute of elite class vis-à-vis the labour class.

Another conception of leisure is cast in terms of 'free time'. Having had its traces in ancient Rome, this usage of leisure got formally articulated with the rise of formal organisations in the wake of industrial revolution. The category of time got formally dichotomized between work and off-work time. As a result, the term leisure acquired a formal connotation as 'free time'. While questions have been raised about the fuzzyness of the distinction between work and off-work time as well as about the use patterns of the latter, this conception remains one of the most common kind.

Recent years have witnessed rise of a new conception of leisure. It is now defined as a state of mind, a disposition signifying 'disinterested' pursuit of leisure. It is a 'disinterested' pursuit in the Aristotelian sense of the term which excludes considerations of economic and social gain. It is essentially a pleasure-seeking pursuit in that it seeks to meet the needs for 'rest, entertainment and self-transcendence', in the words of Dumazedier [1968].

In my view, leisure represents a combine of three elements: free time, favourite delight and a joy-seeking state of mind. Leisure contains an attribute of free time as free time is necessary for it. But it is not just about free time. For, leisure as free time isn't always fun. It may be a boring experience to many. It is, therefore, not what you have but what you make of it. Similarly, leisure also involves an attribute of certain kinds of activities that are usually associated with pleasure-seeking such as relaxation, recreation and amusement. However, it is not just about the kind of activity. For, the same activity may be drudgery for some and pleasure for others, depending upon their bent of mind. Take, for instance, reading a fiction. It may be drudgery if one is doing it for purposes of examination. It may be leisure if one is reading it as a hobby or pastime. It thus refers to one's favourite delight. Above all, leisure signifies a joy-seeking state of mind. In essence, then, leisure is not so much a case of free time as of 'me time'. It is not so much about a particular activity as about an activity that one seeks to do for no other reason except that one enjoys doing it. In the ultimate analysis, leisure is a state of mind seeking pleasure, fun, contentment or bliss just for its own sake.

Leisure in India Through the Ages

India has had a rich tradition of leisure through the ages: ancient, medieval and modern. Authentic evidence of it can be cited from various sources, including the archeological, indological, philosophical, historical, literary, ethnographic and sociological. For example, the archeological excavations of Indus valley civilisation provide significant evidence of it in the precious find of a bronze statue of a dancing girl. Similarly, we also have the big find of the *great bath* in Mohan Judado which is believed to be a community centre for relaxation and recreation. Further, the ancient Vedic literature is replete with revealing indological evidence of leisure, both sensuous and contemplative. It also provides evidence of leisure philosophy as much. For the medieval period, the history books are full of accounts of leisure as a lifestyle of royalties and aristocracies. In much the same way, philosophical and literary sources offer ample evidence of contemplative and expressive leisure and its creative manifestations. Likewise, ethnographic studies advance solid

evidence of leisure patterns of tribal communities. Above all, sociological studies focus on the leisure patterns of modern urban communities, including the changing profile of leisure in contemporary times.

Ancient Age [3000BC – 10th Century AD]

There are numerous hymns and verses in the Vedas, particularly the Rigveda, that provide evidence of the popularity of leisure activities. There are references to the game of *pasa* [dice], hunting excursions, chariot-race, horse-race, music and dance, apart from contemplative leisure. During the early Vedic period dancing was associated with hunting excursions as much as with celebration of joyous and festive occasions. Unlike the Indus valley period when indoor games were more popular, the Vedic period provides evidence of popularity of outdoor games.

More importantly, the Vedic period witnessed rise of what may be called Indian philosophy of leisure. It is enshrined in the Vedic philosophy of *Purusarthas*. *Purusarthas* represent ultimate goals of human life. These are envisaged to be four: *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, *moksa*. *Dharma* signifies normative order; *artha* stands for wealth; *kama* for desires; and *moksa* for liberation from bondage. According to some commentators, by the Epic period *kama* indeed came to mean pleasure. In postulating *kama* as one of the four principal goals of life, the philosophy of *purusarthas* underscores the prime importance of leisure for human life. It thus provides a theory of philosophical foundations of leisure. The goals of *kama* and *artha* have to be achieved within the framework of *dharma* [the moral order] with the goal of *moksha* as an end-in-view. There has come up a great deal of debate on the point whether relationship amongst the four goals is hierarchical or interactional. But that is not of primary importance for the present purposes. What matters here is the fundamental importance accorded to *kama* as a major goal of life. For, that is what is germane to the idea of leisure.

The philosophy of leisure in ancient India acquired a reflective dimension in the *Upnishads* which represent discourses on the Vedas. In the *upnishads*, there developed the concept of *sat-chit-ananda* meaning pure spiritual bliss. The notion of *ananda*, i.e., bliss is central to the Indian vision of leisure. There is a subtle difference between pleasure and bliss. While pleasure refers to sensuous enjoyment, bliss connotes sublime joy that transcends sensuous confines. One of the important means to attain *ananda* is the art of *yoga*. The theory and practice of *yoga* is propounded by *Patanjali* in his *Yoga Sutra* which appeared in the second century AD. *Yoga* signifies holistic harmony of body, mind and soul for attaining a state of bliss. For all practical purposes, *yoga* is a form of meditative leisure. Patronised by hermits and seers earlier, *yoga* has now become a common man's delight.

Besides patronising meditative leisure, ancient India also provided for celebration of sensuous leisure. This is evident from Vatsyayan's classic text *Kamasutra* – a treatise on the art and aesthetics of love and sex. There is no agreement on the exact date of its composition. However, in the light of the references that it entails scholars consider fourth century AD as a probable time of its appearance. Incidentally there sprang up six other works on the art of sex and love, but Vatsyayan's *Kamasutra* is regarded as the authentic of them all. The book comprises seven parts running into 36 chapters. It begins by commending *kama* as a fundamental human craving and provides an instructive account of the science

and art of love making. It tells about the various kinds of women and their psychologies, their manners and morals, the art of seduction, the various facets of sexual union, including kissing, embracing, foreplay, postures, and as many as 64 forms of sexual union.

Kamasutra also provides authentic evidence of the tradition of leisure as lifestyle of the elites. Providing a vivid account of the leisure life of *nagarik* [men of town, elite], it observes: [his 'morning is spent in amusements, the afternoon with friends, cock-fighting or teaching parrots to talk, and in the evening there is singing'. In addition to the above leaf from the daily life of an elite, *Vatsyayan* further commends the following as usual diversions and amusement for him: celebrating festivals, holding musical concerts and keeping company of public women or courtesans. The institution of public women was an important institution of early Hindu society. She used to possess education and intellect superior to that of the women of the household. Such women were especially trained for association with man. All this provide telling evidence of the practice of leisure in the day-to-day life of the elites.

The royalties of the latter part of ancient period, i.e., from the age of Buddha to that of Harsa, patronised the sports of hunting and the game of dice as their favourite delights. Harsa, for example, was known as a fawn-eyed hunter and Candrapida as a veteran hunter. Hunting expeditions used to be organized with all palatial comforts and luxuries. Wild boars, lions, carabao, yolks and deer were the favourites preys of hunting parties. Little wonder that Kautilya commends hunting as one of the royal sports. The game of dice, another royal delight, is as old as *Mahabharat*. Its popularity in the sixth century AD is evident from the classic works of Bana Bhatta – *Kadambari* and *Harsacharita*. Bana Bhatta refers to a town called *Sthaneshwara* which was known as a gambling hub. *chaturang* [Chess] was another popular game which is believed to have appeared in the seventh century AD.

Like the kings and aristocrats, commoners had their leisure activities too. Wrestling, acrobatic, archery, animal fights, cart-race, horse-race, swimming, water sports and swinging were some of the popular pastimes of the commoners. Drinking, music, magic, fairs, folktales, painting, etc. were some other merriments of the common man. The popularity of painting can be gauged from the fact that Bana Bhatta refers to a city known for its *Citrasalas* [Picture galleries]. Pilgrimage was as well an important leisure activity of this period.

Ancient period is also known for the development of artistic and aesthetic leisure. Dwivedi provides a perceptive account of the development of various art forms and their cultural philosophies. Dance, according to him, was the first and the earliest art form that developed in ancient India. Reflecting on the philosophy of dance, he projects it as a case of transcendence of human consciousness and emotions beyond the confines of the body. It symbolises expression of joy or bliss that human body cannot hold. For the same reason, it was spontaneous and effortless in its earlier manifestation. Little wonder that it is a common leisure activity found in abundance among the tribals as well. Like dance, drama [theatrical performance], according to dwivedi, has also had a long history in India. It attained an advanced stage in the ancient era itself, which is evident from Bharat Muni's famous classic *Natya shastra*. Similarly, music also had an amazing development during this period which is apparent from the lyrical recitation of Vedic verses as well as development of the divine music and its classical forms. According to Dwivedi even other art forms including painting

and sculpture are also indicative of the expressive craving of human consciousness beyond the confines of human body. They are viewed in Vedic literature as a manifestation of self-transcendence.

Medieval period [11th – 17th Century AD]

History books are replete with accounts of leisure life of the royalties of medieval period. It is clear from historical accounts that the royalties of early medieval era were known for their love for activistic leisure, including hunting and adventurous sports like *polo* [a game played with stick and ball riding over horse]. Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibek and Sultan Sikanadar Lodi were known for their love for polo. In fact, so fond of polo was Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak that he died of having fallen from horse back while playing polo. Hunting and hawking were the other great delights of royalties and aristocracies. A number of sultans, including Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, Razia Sultan, Balbun, Ala-ud-din Khilzi, Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq and Feroz Shah Tughlaq took keen interest in hunting excursions. It may be noted here that Razia was the only female sultan known for her distinction as a great hunter. So important was hunting as a sport that according to Aamir Khusrau, the sultans used to appoint *Amir-i-Shikar* [Tiger of the Hunt or Chief of Hunting portfolio]. The position of *Amir-i-Shikar* was so coveted that the emperor would entrust this charge only to his / her close confidant. One of the reasons for the fall of the rule of Razia Sultan [1236-40AD] was her historic folly of appointing a *hubshi* [black African] as *Amir-i-Shikar*. This led to rebellion against her resulting in the overthrow of her rule. A graphic account of hunting excursion is provided by Amir Khusrau in his book *Ijaz-i-Khusrav*. Apart from the royal pomp and show of the hunting party, Khusrau mentions about separate sites of hunting called *Shikaristaan* and *Shikargah*, the former a site for hunting birds and the latter for hunting wild animals. Other outdoor games included archery, horse-race, dholphari [rural hockey], geru and wrestling contests.

Among the indoor games of royalty chess occupied the pride of the place. According to Amir Khusrau the game of chess originated in India and was the greatest delight of the Muslim rulers. *Chausser / Chaupat* [Ludo] was another popular indoor game of the medieval period. In the palaces of emperor Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, the *Chaupat* board is inbuilt into the floor adjacent to the palace called *Panchamahel* [Five storied palace]. *Gamarbazi* [Game of hazard], *nard*, *girahbazi* and *kabutarbazi* [pigeon flying] were some of the other favourite games of the royal families.

Another distinctive feature of the leisure life of the Mughal rulers was the maintenance of *harems* [palatial quarters of women and courtesans]. Known for their colourful life, several Mughal rulers were polygynous and had the royal privilege of having large number of wives and concubines. Jahangir, for example, had in his *harem* as many as hundred wives, more than 300 concubines and more than 1000 courtesans. The size of *harem* used to be a measure of the royal status of the ruler: the larger the number of women in *harem* the higher the status. In addition, the Mughals were also fond of places of relaxation, including *hamams* [Great baths] and gardens. Babar was the first Mughal ruler who promoted garden culture here. No wonder that all historical monument of the Mughal period are surrounded by gardens.

Yet another feature of the leisure life of the Mughals was their patronage to aesthetic and artistic leisure. They were known for their personal interest in and patronage to music, dance and painting. Akbar, for example, gave patronage to Tansen who was the greatest singer of his times. Akbar himself was a great dancer and he specialized in performing *Kathak* – a classical dance form. As for painting, Emperor Jahangir earned distinction as a great painter.

Not a preserve of royalties, common men had their leisure life too. Their leisure activity included indoor games like *ganjeefa* [Playing Cards] and *Chaupar* [Ludo]; outdoor games like *hawking*, *wrestling*, *animal fights* and *kite-flying*; pastimes like *folktales*, *story telling* and *puppet shows*; amusements like *festivals and fairs*; entertainment like *gymnastics*, *acrobatics*, *juggling*, and *magic shows*; and the performing arts like music and dance including *folk songs* and *folk dances*. Pilgrimage [religious tourism] was yet another occasional leisure time activity of the people in this period.

Modern Era [18th Century AD Onwards]

With the advent of the British rule here, the Indian leisure scenario got exposed to Western games, music and dance. Accordingly, *volleyball*, *football*, *hockey*, *cricket* and *badminton* made their appearance on Indian play grounds. Western music and dance also became popular in elite circles. All this notwithstanding, the traditional games, music and dance did not lose their popularity altogether. It is only after the surge of pop culture, thanks to expansion of mass media, that the traditional patterns of leisure have begun to decline. A notable change in the texture of Indian leisure came about with the recent advances in information cum communication technology [ICT]. Reporting about some of these changes, a study on the “*India Leisure and Entertainments Trends 2008*” cites TV viewing as the most favourite pastime of as many as 75 percent respondents. Film music is reported as another favourite leisure time activity. Cell phones have emerged as a popular source not only of entertainment but also socializing. Add to them, the new age net-based leisure activities including chatting, gaming, romancing, etc.. The study also reveals the popularity of religious activities like visit to temples and engaging in prayer and worship which is evident from 60 percent respondents reporting to have done so in the past one year. Travel and tourism, physical fitness, reading and shopping are also reported to be catching the fancy of the respondents. Most important of all, the study reveals that respondents indulged in leisure activities not only on weekends but through out the week and are shelling out more for entertainment [Sachdeva, 2008].

While the above reported trends of leisure provide good account of leisure in the urban setting, they need to be complemented with the leisure patterns obtaining in the countryside. The leisure patterns of rural folks include traditional games such as *Kabaddi*, *Kho-Kho*, *Gulli danda* and *Wrestling contests*; folk songs, *folk dances*, *folktales* and *folk theatre*, including *nautanki* and *Ramleela*; *visiting friends*, *socialising*, *gossiping*:

participation in *bhajans* and *Keertans* [devotional songs] and pilgrimage. The folk forms of leisure have come under severe strain of the modern means of leisure like TV and films. Nevertheless, they are still popular among the rural folks though with diminishing interest.

The leisure pursuits of high class elites differ significantly from those of the common man. They patronise games like golf and lawn tennis, have their exclusive clubs and prefer foreign and exotic tourism. In fact, some of them own their private islands and yachts as a mark of their superior status. It is all very special for them. In short, their leisure life is marked by three distinctive features: privacy, exclusivity and superiority. These features are the markers of their distinction not only from the commoners but also among themselves. While the leisure life of elites in the past had an element of majestic touch and show off for the public, today's elites privilege privacy in that they favour private space, private luxury [including private planes and yachts] and private entertainment. Earlier, it used to be exclusive in the sense of being out of bounds of the common man, but now it has become exclusive in the sense of making it extra-ordinary. Earlier, it used to smack of superiority over the leisure patterns of common man, but now it's a case of competing for superiority over the members of their own class.

The character and complexion of leisure in modern India has changed in some significant ways. One, it has undergone a technology-inspired shift whereby it has acquired an electronic character. In technical parlance, therefore, a significant portion of modern leisure is aptly characterised as virtual leisure. Two, tourism has emerged as a significant leisure activity with ever more people opting for it. Three, leisure has moved from community place to market place, its contours being shaped largely by entertainment industry. Four, a way of life earlier, leisure has now become a mark of emerging lifestyle of the new middleclass.

Implications for Leisure Theory

It is abundantly clear from the above that tradition of leisure in India is as old as 5000 years and that it has certain culture-specific characteristics. It is premised upon a philosophical foundation in that it envisages *kama* [pleasure pursuit] as one of the fundamental goals of life. Further, it is known more for its meditative and contemplative character than for sensuous and erotic. It has also had a splendid component of aesthetic, expressive and artistic leisure. Its contours have begun to change today from traditional to modern with the rise of pop culture, virtual leisure and new-found love for tourism.

It will be in order at this point to bring out the implications of the Indian tradition for the existing theory of leisure. Since the existing theory is largely based on Western experience, it is necessary to outline some of the broad features of the Western paradigm.

West, for sure, is not a homogenous region, nor it is devoid of internal diversities. Yet, it shares a common core of ideas and activities that set it apart from the rest of the world. The tradition of leisure in the West is fairly old and developed which is evident from the formal discourse about it in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Plato viewed idle society as ideal society as it provides for attainment of highest stage of evolved mind. Like Plato, Aristotle too commends leisure as a resource for the advancement of art, literature and culture. In the same vein, Bertrand Russell highlights the virtues of leisure in his perceptive essay '*In Praise of Idleness*'. The discourse is also marked by some critical reflections on leisure. Marx, for example, deplores leisure on account of it being a product of exploitation of slaves and labour class by the leisure class. Similarly, Veblen indicts leisure class for its pompous and wasteful lifestyle.

Along with the tradition of discourse on leisure, West has also had a great tradition of leisure activities. The archaeological excavations in various parts of Europe have recovered grand stadia signifying enormous popularity of games and sports. Similarly, artistic and expressive leisure has as well blossomed a great deal in the West. But the most distinctive feature of leisure in the West has been the tradition of tourism and camping. Grand tour is the historic mark of it. It all happened during 1600 - 1850 AD when some educated young men of elite background from England, Netherlands, Germany and Scandinavia took to border crossings to explore the world 'out there'. These young men brought back with them pictures of the places, people, cultures and later on of the palaces, monuments, universities, etc. They were fascinated by the splendor of nature, sea beaches and other romantic sites. Eventually these explorations turned into opportunities of discovering their own identity and distinction vis-à-vis the exotic others. That is how tourism in all its diverse forms developed as an outstanding feature of leisure in the West.

The tradition of separation of work and leisure is another distinctive mark of the Western paradigm of leisure. It began with the development of two parallel traditions – *Vita activa* and *Vita contemplativa*. The tradition of *Vita activa* developed in ancient Rome and it accorded priority to work while *Vita contemplativa* developed in ancient Greece and it valued enlightenment. This age-old dichotomy between work and leisure got reinforced into the dichotomy of work time and free time following the rise of formal organisations in the course of industrialisation. In effect, leisure got formally conceptualised as free time and it came to be called modern leisure by Dumazedier.

The above is a highly selective and synoptic view of the Western scenario of leisure. But it does provide a broad idea of the salient features of the Western paradigm that dominates the existing theory of leisure. Given its long tradition of formal discourse about leisure in the West, it is understandable that the leisure theory reflects the Western bias. No quarrel with that. However, there are certain things about the traditions of leisure in other cultures,

in the present case Indian culture, from the study of which leisure theory can gain in comprehensiveness. Here are a few such features of the Indian tradition of leisure. One such feature is the theory of *purusarthas*, especially the concept of *kama* [desire for pleasure], that provides for philosophical foundations of leisure. While India has had no tradition of a formal discourse about leisure, it certainly has had a great philosophy of *purusarthas* which is of seminal significance for understanding the prime importance of leisure in human life. Its further elaboration in *kamasutra* and later in other works of literature and arts, including painting and sculpture, is indicative of a splendid tradition of sensuous as well as contemplative leisure. It has had a contemplative dimension in terms of its aesthetic orientation. The notion of aesthetics elevates it to a higher plane. Aesthetics is a graded construct. According to Longinus, it encompasses five vertical stages, i.e, charming, pretty, beautiful, grand and sublime. While the Western tradition stays put at the idea of beauty 'as a thing of joy forever', the Indian tradition goes beyond beauty and regards the sublime joy as its highest stage.

The concept of *anandaa* [bliss] is another element of the Indian tradition that has crucial importance for enlarging the concept of leisure. Leisure is not just about pleasure as postulated in the Western tradition. It is also about *anandaa*, a state of bliss, which is a higher order experience. Bliss signifies a state of sublime joy. It differs from pleasure in three significant respects. One, unlike pleasure, which is dichotomous, bliss is non-dichotomous. Pleasure is dichotomous because it is premised upon the dichotomy of subject and object. Subject derives pleasure from the object. Once the object is lost that leads to pain. Therefore, pleasure is dialectically related to pain. Bliss is non-dichotomous in that in it the dichotomy of the subject and object gets dissolved. In other words, the subject attains a higher plane of consciousness where both the subject and the object get merged into each other. Two, pleasure is transitory; it is a fleeting experience. Bliss, on the other hand is perpetual. Three, pleasure denotes a sensuous experience while bliss signifies sublime joy, an ultimate joy. As such, it calls for rethinking the concept of leisure to incorporate within it the notion of *ananda*. A third feature of the Indian tradition is its practice of meditative leisure. Meditative leisure is about inward journey into the realm of consciousness. *Yoga* is a classic form of it. There have developed various forms of *yoga* but all of them aim at attaining bliss by means of inward voyage through disciplining breathing and achieving concentration, along with some other exercises. Unlike the Western tradition of leisure which has grown on tourism as a mode of exploring the outer world, the Indian tradition of leisure has cultivated meditative leisure as an art of exploring the world within.

Fusion of leisure and work into each other is another feature of Indian leisure that warrants rethinking the leisure theory. Its present premise of sharp segregation between leisure and work is an untenable preposition in the light of the Indian experience. This is

further reinforced by the emerging trend of fun engineering [provision of recreation] at the workplace by some of the leading formal organisations so as to intersperse work and leisure with each other for their employees. Thus the dichotomy of the leisure and work seems to be fallacious, as leisure just not a temporal but an experiential phenomenon.

Finally, it is necessary to situate the Indian tradition of leisure in the broad context of Indian culture in order to grasp its full import for the existing theory of leisure. Indian culture is known for its three defining traits: spirituality, transcendence and harmony. Spirituality is about belief in the self and connectivity with oneself as well as with the cosmic self. Transcendence is about looking beyond the existing confines of the body and the mind. Harmony is about interdependence and resolving the dichotomies, the differences and the contradictions. In a word, it is about looking for synthesis. It is these cardinal principles that account for the earlier delineated distinctive features of the Indian tradition of leisure.

From all accounts it is clear that there are some categorical differences between the Indian and the Western traditions of leisure. While the Western tradition is oriented more towards exploring the universe, the Indian tradition cares more for exploring the self within. Since the existing theory of leisure is based largely on the Western experience, it may gain in generalizability by incorporating some of the insights yielded by the present study.

References

- Arnold, S. 1991. 'The dilemma of meaning'. In T.E. Godbole and P.A. Witt (Eds) *Recreation and Leisure: Issues in an Era of Change* (3rd edn), Venture, State College, PA, pp. 5-20
- Bhattacharya, Kumkum. 2003. Aspects of Leisure Among Tribes. www.krepublishers.com . 02 – Journal
- Cross, G. 1990. *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*. Venture. State College. PA.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1975. *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. Jossey-Bass. San Francisco.
- de Grazia, S. 1962 *of Time, Work, and Culture*. Twentieth Century Fund. New York.
- Dumazedier, J. 1967. *Toward a Society of Leisure*. The Free Press. New York.
- Dwivedi, Mukund. *Hazari Prasad Dwivedi Granthavali*. Raj Kamal Publication
- Goodale, T and Godbey, G. 1988. *The Evolution of Leisure*. Venture, State College. PA.
- Huizinga, J. 1955 *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. The Beacon Press. Boston

- Hultsman, John. 2004. *Playful Pursuits: Games from Asia to the West*. Humanities.July-August.
- Kaplan, M. 1975. *Leisure: Theory and Policy*. John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Kraus, R. 1990. *Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society* (4th ed). Scott. Foresman. Glenview. IL.
- Murphy, J. 1981. *Concepts of Leisure* (2nd edn). Prentice-Hall. Englewood Cliffs. NJ.
- Raychaudhuri, Uttiyo and Diane, M. Samdahl. 2005 'Leisure Embodied : Examining the Meaning of Leisure from Greek and Vedic Perspectives. In Tom Delamere, Carleigh Randall, David Robinson (eds). *Abstracts of Papers Presented at XIth Canadian Congress on Leisure Research*.
- Sachdeva, Sujata Dutta. 2008. 'Indians shelling out more for entertainment'. *The Times of India*. May 1, Chandigarh.
- Singh, Sagar. 2007. 'Conceptualising Leisure, Recreation and Tourism from an Anthropological Perspective'. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 32
-

Globalisation and Growth of Farmers' Indebtedness in Punjab

H.S.Shergill*

Abstract

The slow increase in minimum support prices of wheat and paddy and slashing of farm input subsidies under the liberalization and globalization programme eroded the profitability of wheat and rice cultivation in Punjab. The stagnation of yield rates of these two grains and fall in water table that almost coincided with liberalization and globalization era made their cultivation quite unprofitable. This negative turn in economics of wheat and rice cultivation coincided with repeated failure of cotton crop due to American boll-weevil attack. These unfavorable developments increased the debt burden on Punjab peasantry substantially in the post W.T.O. era. Between 1997 to 2008 total farm debt more than doubled in real terms (i.e. at constant prices), and the outstanding loans amount quadrupled in real terms. The annual interest charge on farm debt now eats up almost one-third of the revenue surplus generated by Punjab agriculture. The increased debt burden has pushed about 17 percent of Punjab farmers in a virtual debt trap in the sense that they are not in a position to pay even the annual interest charge on their loans out of current farm income. They have to sell some land, sooner or latter, to extricate themselves from the debt trap.

The drastic shift in policy environment triggered by liberalization and globalization of Indian economy since 1991 impacted Punjab agriculture quite severely owing to its highly commercialized and specialized production structure and intense market involvement. The developments on pricing and marketing side generated by the paradigm shift made wheat and rice cultivation in the State unprofitable. During the same period cotton farmers of the State also suffered considerable losses due to repeated attacks of American boll-weevil. The deficit in farm economy caused by these negative developments resulted in considerable increase in farm debt since the mid nineteen nineties. The main objective of this paper is to picture the extent of change in the quantum, composition and burden of farm debt in Punjab since the paradigm shift to liberalization and globalization. Although the shift to liberalization of the economy started in 1991, but its full impact started manifesting only after India joined W.T.O. in 1995 and became fully integrated in the world economy. The policy changes and other economic events that impacted Punjab

*Emeritus Professor of Economics, Panjab University and Director (Research), Institute for Development and Communication, Chandigarh.

Thanks are due to Pramod Kumar, Director, IDC, Chandigarh for providng the research facilities to carry out this study and Varinder for collection and processing of the data used here.

agriculture during the last about one and a half decade are summarized in section one to describe the economic scenario in which farm debt grew in the State. The empirical basis of farm debt estimates used to capture the change in the quantum, composition and burden of farm debt during this period is described in section two. In section three, the growth in the magnitude of farm debt since the mid 1990's is discussed and the change in the composition of farm debt is described in section four. The growth in the burden of farm debt is evaluated in section five and the incidence of debt trap in section six. The supply side changes in farm credit market are described in section seven and the salient feature of change in farm debt situation over this decade are encapsulated in the last section.

I. PUNJAB AGRICULTURE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

The economic reforms introduced since 1991 and joining of W.T.O. in 1995 drastically changed the policy environment in which Punjab's modern commercialized wheat and rice farming has been operating for almost three decades. The cosy regime of guaranteed minimum support prices and assured purchase of entire marketed surplus of these two grains experienced serious strain as the state started withdrawing from the economic sphere under the paradigm shift in favour of the market economy. As a result minimum support prices of wheat and paddy grew at a slow pace during the 1997 to 2001 period, and were virtually frozen between 2002 to 2005. The farm input subsidies were slashed to make the farmers pay market prices for these inputs. Even the complete scrapping of the minimum support prices system and dismantling of Food Corporation of India was recommended by some zealots of globalization. These negative developments on the marketing side coincided with some adverse trends on the production side. The yield of wheat and paddy started stagnating and the fall in water table made existing water pumping technology non-functional. As a result Punjab farmers had to invest huge amount in the upgradation of tubewell technology by installing submersible pumps. The stagnation of yield rates, over-capitalisation of farm operations, rising prices of farm inputs, and fall in water table combined to push up the cost of production of wheat and paddy, the main commercial crops of the state. These developments on the supply side combined with the virtual freezing of minimum support prices manifested in eroding the profitability of wheat and rice cultivation in the State. The economics of wheat and rice production in Punjab looked so unfavourable in the initial years of the present decade that many farm experts started doubting the sustainability of current levels of production of these two grains in the State. To tackle the emerging agrarian crisis, a major scheme to shift 10 lakh hectares of area from wheat and paddy to other crops was prepared by Punjab Government and submitted to the Central Government for approval and funding. Alongwith the worsening economics of wheat and paddy cultivation, the cotton production in the state also suffered a severe shock from the continuous failure of the cotton crop for a number of years during this period due to American Boll-Weevil attack. The farm situation in the state looked very grim indeed in the middle years of the current decade.

Luckily, then the economic wheel turned and food prices in the world market soared, and the danger of food shortage emerging in the country looked real. Government had to import huge quantity of wheat at high prices to build the buffer stocks. This sudden

development on the food front forced the Central Government to reverse the farm policy course, and a major jack up in minimum support prices of wheat and paddy was made in 2007 and that positive change in wheat/paddy pricing policy is continuing since then. The handsome increase in minimum support prices of wheat and paddy since 2007, has restored the profitability of wheat and rice cultivation in the State to some extent. The cotton economy has also improved considerably in recent years owing to the introduction of Bt Cotton and the consequent rise and stability of cotton yield. But the substantive problems of stagnant yield rates of wheat and paddy, falling water table and over-capitalisation of farm operations being unresolved, the question mark on the long run sustainability of wheat and rice specialization of Punjab farms has not completely disappeared. This is the economic scenario in which farm debt situation in Punjab evolved since the introduction of economic reforms and globalization of the economy.

II. EMPIRICAL BASIS OF FARM DEBT ESTIMATES

The change in the farm debt situation in the state is pictured on the basis of farm debt estimates for two points of time, 1997 and 2008. The farm debt estimate for 1997 almost coincides with the period when the impact of globalization on Punjab agriculture started manifesting after the joining of W.T.O. in 1995. So the comparison of farm debt situations in 1997 and 2008 pictures adequately the growth in indebtedness of Punjab peasantry in the era of globalization. For record and reference the empirical basis of these two farm debt estimates is briefly described. The information on farm debt situation in 2008 is based on a primary survey of 300 farms carried out by the author in June-August, 2008. The information pertains to the agricultural year 2007-08 and gives the farm debt estimate as in June-August, 2008. The sample was stratified both region wise as well as farm size wise and 300 farms were selected randomly from 30 villages of the state. The results of this farm debt survey were published in the form of a research monograph by Institute for Development and Communication, Chandigarh in January, 2010 (6). The information on farm debt situation in 1997 is based on a primary survey of 260 farms carried out by the author in December, 1997 under a research project sponsored by the Punjab Government (4). This information pertains to the full year covered by Rabi and Kharif Crops harvested in 1997. The sample design and methodology used in the two primary surveys was almost the same; the only major difference being in the size of two samples. The farm debt estimates of these surveys are broadly comparable and have been largely accepted by economists researching on and interested in Punjab agriculture. These two estimates are used to capture the nature and extent of growth in farm debt in Punjab during the globalization period. The exact time gap between these two farm debt surveys is about 10.5 years, and in computing the growth rates and ratios that exact period of 10.5 years is used. However, for ease of expression and presentation this period is referred as a decade in the text of this paper.

III. GROWTH OF FARM DEBT OVER 1997-2008

In the post W.T.O. era farm debt in Punjab grew at a quite fast rate, more than doubling between 1997 and 2008. The information on the quantum of farm debt in Punjab

in 1997 and 2008 is presented in table one. At current prices the amount of farm debt grew at the annual rate of 17.28 percent; the 2008 amount (Rs.30394.12 crore) being more than five times the 1997 amount (Rs.5700.91 crore). At constant prices, the amount of farm debt more than doubled in this decade: growing at the annual rate of 8.81 percent. The per farm household debt grew at a still faster rate of 18.36 percent per year (at current prices), and at 9.83 percent per year at constant prices. The faster growth of per farm household debt, compared to total farm debt, was caused by the fall in the number of farm households in the state over this period. On the same lines debt per operated acre also more than doubled (at constant prices), and became more than five times at current prices. The information presented in table one leaves little doubt about total farm debt, debt per farm household, and debt per operated acre more than doubling in real terms (i.e. constant prices) in the decade following the joining of W.T.O. and global integration of the Indian economy.

Table-1**Growth of Farm Debt in Punjab Over 1997-2008**

Aspect of Farm Debt	Amount`		2008 as multiple of 1997	Growth Rate Percent per year)
	1997	2008		
Total farm debt at current prices (Rs. Crore)	5700.91	30394.12	5.33	17.28
Total farm debt at constant prices (Rs.Crore)	5700.91	13829.32	2.43	8.81
Debt per farm household at current prices (Rs.lakh)	0.52	3.05	5.86	18.36
Debt per farm household at constant prices (Rs.lakh)	0.52	1.39	2.67	9.83
Debt per operated acre at current prices (Rupees)	5721	28708	5.02	16.60
Debt per operated acre at constant prices (Rupees)	5721	13062	2.28	8.18

- Notes:** 1. Source of Farm Debt Estimates: H.S. Shergill (1997, 2008)
2. Weighted Index of prices of 21 agricultural commodities grown in Punjab is used to estimate debt at constant prices. Source of Price Index: Statistical Abstract of Punjab, various issues.

IV. CHANGE IN COMPOSITION OF FARM DEBT

During this post W.T.O. period not only the quantum of farm debt increased at a fast rate, even the composition of farm debt also under went considerable change. The composition of farm debt is captured into two ways i.e. (i) by the proportion of outstanding debt, short-term recurring crop loans and mortgage debt in total farm debt; and (ii) by the share of marginal/small farms and medium/big farms in total farm debt. The growth of outstanding debt, short-term farm loans and mortgage debt over the reference period is shown by information presented in table two. It may be seen that out of these three components of farm debt, outstanding debt grew at the highest rate; 23.03 percent per year at current prices and 14.13 percent per year at constant prices. The debt equivalent of short-term loans grew at a relatively slower rate; at 12.74 percent per year at current prices and at 4.59 percent per year at constant prices. Since most of the outstanding debt amount is the unpaid portion of long/medium term loans, the obvious inference is that long term/medium term loans grew faster than short-term loans during this period. Surprisingly, the amount of mortgage debt actually declined over these ten years; at the rate of 4.94 percent per year at current prices, and at the rate of 13.09 percent per year at constant prices. It seems the practice of raising loans by mortgaging out land is disappearing in the Punjab rural side. Owing to the variation in the growth rate of these three components of farm debt, their share in total farm debt also changed considerably. The share of outstanding debt in total farm debt increased from 38.16 percent in 1997 to 63.05 percent in 2008. On the other hand, share of debt equivalent of short-term loans declined from 54.72 percent in 1997 to only 36.14 percent in 2008. The share of mortgage debt has become negligible (just 0.81 percent in 2008), though in 1997 it accounted for 7.12 percent of total farm debt.

Table-2

Growth of Farm Debt Components and Change in Farm Debt Composition

Farm Debt Component	Amount		2008 as multiple of 1997	Growth Rate (Percent per year)
	1997	2008		
Outstanding debt at current prices (Rs. crore)	2175.26 (38.16)	19165.11 (63.05)	8.81	23.03
Outstanding debt at constant prices (Rs. crore)	2175.26	8720.13	4.01	14.13
Mortgage debt at current prices (Rs. crore)	406.02 (7.12)	245.05 (0.81)	0.60	(-) 4.94
Mortgage debt at constant prices (Rs. crore)	406.02	111.50	0.28	(-)13.09
Debt equivalent of short-term loans at current prices (Rs. crore)	3119.33 (54.72)	10983.96 (36.14)	3.52	12.74

Debt equivalent of short-term loans at constant prices (Rs. crore)	3119.33	4997.36	1.60	4.59
---	---------	---------	------	------

Notes: 1. For source of information see legend under table 1.

2. Figures in brackets indicate percent share of debt component in total farm debt.

The share of marginal/small farms and medium/big farms in total farm debt has also undergone considerable change over this period because the two grew at different rates (table 3). The debt of marginal/small farms group grew at a slower rate than the debt of medium/big farms. The marginal/small farms debt grew at the slow rate of 2.48 percent per year at constant prices and at 10.46 percent per year at current prices. In contrast the debt of medium/big farms grew at the rate of 9.97 percent per year at constant prices and at 18.53 percent per year at current prices. The reasons for this big difference in the growth rate of marginal/small farms debt and medium/big farms debt are not fully clear, but three plausible explanations may be advanced. One is that some sort of saturation point seems to have been reached in the demand for loans by marginal/small farms stratum; they are already financing most of their farm input purchases and domestic expenditure by borrowed money. The second is that a limit of sorts may have been also reached so far as their borrowing capacity is concerned; because of their poor asset base. The third is that medium/big farms are on the way of becoming fully mechanized and consequently have been borrowing at a fast rate to purchase Tractors and other farm machines. On account of the different rates of growth of debt of marginal/small and medium/big farms, their respective share in total farm debt has also changed. The share of marginal/small farms stratum in total farm debt has declined by 9.98 percent points; from 21.57 percent in 1997 to 11.59 percent in 2008. There is a corresponding rise in the share of medium/big farms group in total farm debt from 78.43 percent in 1997 to 88.41 percent in 2008. Despite this decline in the share of marginal/small farms in total debt, their debt share in 2008 (11.59%) was much higher than their share in the total operated area of the state (7.56 percent). It means in per acre terms marginal/small farms debt is considerably higher than medium/big farms debt per acre.

Table-3

Growth in Debt Position of Farm Size Groups and Change in Their Share in Total Debt

Farm Size Category wise Debt (Rs. Crore)	1997 (As in December 1997)	2008(As in June- August 2008)	2008 Amount as multiple of 1997 amount	Growth Rate (Percent per year)
Debt of marginal and small farms at current prices	1229.58	3495.26	2.84	10.46
Debt of marginal and small farms at constant prices	1229.58	1590.34	1.29	2.48

Debt of medium and big farms at current prices	4471.33	26653.81	5.96	18.53
Debt of medium and big farms at constant prices	4471.33	12127.48	2.71	9.97
Marginal and small farms share in total farm debt (Percent)	21.57	11.59	(Percent points)-9.98	(Percent change)46.27
Medium and big farms share in total farm debt (Percent)	78.43	88.41	9.98	12.73

- Notes:** 1. Source of Farm Debt Estimates: H.S. Shergill (1997, 2008)
2. Farm debt amount for 2008 does not include mortgage debt because it could not be apportioned between the two farm size classes owing to small number of sample observations.

V. GROWTH OF DEBT BURDEN

The increase in the absolute amount of farm debt per se does not convey much information on the increase or decrease of burden of debt on the farm sector. Only in comparison with farmer's income and value of assets does the farm debt amount reveals the direction and extent of change in the burden of debt on the peasantry. The burden of farm debt on the farm sector can be estimated in a number of ways that are alternatives as well as complements of each other. The indicators of debt burden used in this study are detailed in table 4, and can be divided into two categories. In the first set (serial number 3 to 5) the amount of farm debt is compared with value of assets and income of Punjab farmers, and in the second set (serial numbers 6 to 9) the annual interest charge on farm debt is compared with different indicators of repaying capacity of the farmers. It may be noted that between 1997 and 2008 farm debt as proportion of Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) originating in agriculture increased by 16.26 percent points; from 67.60 percent in 1997 to 83.86 percent in 2008. In simple percent terms this is an increase of 24.55 percent in this proportion. Farm debt as proportion of the value of Machinery owned by farmers rose from 15.04 percent to 52.88 percent i.e. by 37.84 percent points over these 10 years. Similarly, farm debt as a proportion of the total value of land owned by farmers rose by 0.70 percent points (from 3.31 percent to 4.01 percent) over this period, despite the steep rise in farm land prices in the state in recent years. So in terms of each of these three indicators debt burden on Punjab farm sector has increased substantially during the post W.T.O. period.

The comparison of annual interest charge on farm debt with repaying capacity of the farm sector (serial number 6 to 9, table 4) also reveals considerable increase in debt burden on the Punjab farm sector over this period. The annual interest charge on farm debt increased from 10.96 percent of NSDP (Agriculture) in 1997 to 14.44 percent in 2008; an increase of 3.48 in percent points, and 31.75 percent in standard percent terms. Similarly, annual interest charge on debt as proportion of annual rental surplus of farm land increased from 21.48 percent in 1997 to 33.15 percent in 2008; an increase of 54.33 percent in this proportion in 10 years following the W.T.O. membership. So, in whatever way one compares

the conclusion is almost the same; that interest burden of farm debt on Punjab farmers has gone up substantially over the 1997-2008 period.

Table- 4

Change in Burden of Farm Debt Over 1997-2008

Sr. No.	Indicators of Debt Burden	Value of Indicator in		Change in indicator (2008 value as multiple of 1997 value)
		1997	2008	
1.	Debt per farm household at constant prices (Rs. lakh)	0.52	1.39	2.67
2.	Debt per operated acre at constant prices (Rupees)	5721	13062	2.68
3.	Debt as percent of NSDP originating in agriculture	67.60	83.86	16.26*
4.	Debt as percent of value of machinery and tubewells owned by farmers	15.04	52.88	37.84*
5.	Debt as percent of value of farm land owned by farmers	3.31	4.01	0.70*
6.	Annual interest charge of farm debt at constant prices (Rs. crore)	1102.78	2512.33	2.28
7.	Annual interest charge of farm debt as percent of NSDP originating in agriculture	10.96	14.44	3.48*
8.	Annual interest charge of farm debt per operated acre at constant prices (Rupees)	1074	2263	2.11
9.	Annual interest charge of farm debt as percent of cash rent per acre	21.48	33.15	11.67*

Notes:

1. Source of Farm Debt Estimates: H.S. Shergill (1997, 2008)
2. Price per acre of farm land prevailing in sample villages is used to compute the value of farm land owned by farmers.
3. Cash rent per acre prevailing in the sample villages is used for figures reported in row 9.
4. *indicates change in terms of percent points.

VI. FROM DEBT BURDEN TO DEBT TRAP

The substantial increase in burden of farm debt indicated by comparison of 1997 and 2008 debt pictures (table 4) does not reveal the full story of the severity of debt burden on Punjab peasantry. A more detailed disaggregated (according to debt burden) analysis of 2008 debt survey data (table 5) showed considerable variation in debt burden among the sample farms. The severity of debt burden on a farm family was assessed by comparing the annual interest charge on its debt amount with the annual rental surplus of its owned land. The average cash rent per acre prevailing in the sample villages was used as a rough and ready measure of surplus revenue generated from farming after meeting material costs of production, wages of hired labour and imputed wages of family labour. It may be mentioned that owned land, rather than operated area, is the relevant factor for this purpose. The cash rent of leased in area goes to the leasing out household, and if the farmer has leased out some of his owned area than he gets the cash rent for it. So the total cash rent equivalent of the owned area gives a fairly good estimate of the surplus revenue generated by a farmer after meeting the material costs of production, wages of hired labour and imputed wages of family labour. The rental surplus thus defined is the notional maximum amount a farmer can spare to meet the annual interest charge on his loan. In fact, in most cases, this maximum amount cannot be spared (or saved) because in that case family consumption expenditure has to be kept down at the level of imputed wages of family labour; a very difficult, if not an impossible feat. If the annual interest charge on the loan amount is more than the rental surplus of the owned area, then some of the interest will remain unpaid and get added to the principal amount even if the indebted farmer pays the entire rental surplus to the credit provider. In such a case the loan amount will go on inflating over time, and the chance of the loan being paid back out of savings from current farm income will be almost nil. Such a farmer cannot extricate himself from debt without selling some land. Such farmers are virtually in debt trap out of which they cannot get out without selling some of their owned land. This is the definition of debt trap used to identify the debt trapped farmers.

Table-5
Distribution of Farms By Debt Burden

Debt Amount Per Owned Acre (Rupees)	Number of Farms		Mean Owned Area (Acres)	Amount of Debt Per Farm (Rs. lakh)	Amount of Debt Per Owned Acre (Rupees)
	Number	Proportion			
80 thousand & Above	51	17.00	4.69	5.99	127709
60 to 80 thousand	32	10.67	8.04	5.73	71228
40 to 60 thousand	60	20.00	7.60	3.85	50651
20 to 40 thousand	74	24.67	9.24	2.71	29311
Upto 20 thousand	72	24.00	10.97	1.18	10778
Nil	11	3.67	9.27	-	-
All Farms	300	100.00	8.42	4.37	51858

Source: H.S. Shergill: Growth of Farm Debt in Punjab: 1997 to 2008, IDC, Chandigarh, January 2010

To identify the debt trapped farmers the benchmark loan amount per owned acre was estimated on the basis of average cash rent per acre prevailing in the sample villages and the rate of interest usually charged by Commission Agents and Money Lenders in these villages. It worked out to Rs.80 thousand per owned acre. So all those farmers who owe Rs.80 thousand or more per owned acre were deemed to be in debt trap. The distribution of farms by debt amount per owned acre given in table 5 reveals that 17 percent of sample farmers were in debt trap in this sense, and another 10.67 percent were on the doors of debt trap because their debt amount per owned acre was between Rs.60 to Rs.80 thousand. The debt burden on these 27.67 percent farmers is very severe indeed. On the average a debt trapped farmer owes a total amount of Rs.5.99 lakh; which comes to Rs.1.28 lakh per acre of his owned land. Most of the debt trapped farms (92.13 percent of all debt trapped farms) belong to marginal, small and medium farm size categories (table 6). Out of these three farm size classes, the marginal and small farms are more seriously involved; almost 40 percent of marginal and 31 percent of small farms being in debt trap. These debt trapped farms cannot extricate themselves from indebtedness through their own efforts; howsoever hard they work and tighten their belts. They have to, sooner or latter, sell some of their owned land to liquidate their debt, unless some debt relief measure is provided by the state to extricate them from the debt trap.

Table-6**Farms in Debt Trap: Farm Size Wise Distribution****(Debt Per Owned Acre Rs.80 Thousand and Above)**

Farm Size Class	Number of Sample Farms	Number of Farms in Debt Trap	Percent of Farms of Size Class in Debt Trap	Share of Size Class in Debt Trapped Farms of State (Percent)	Debt Amount Per Farm (Rs. lakh)	Debt Amount Per Owned Acre (Rs. lakh)
Marginal upto 2.5	38	15	39.47	29.41	2.70	2.21
Small 2.5 to 5.0	51	16	31.37	31.37	4.82	1.35
Medium 5.0 to 10.0	100	16	16.00	31.37	7.56	1.16
Big 10.0 to 25.0	80	4	5.00	7.84	16.77	1.12
Large 25.0 & Above	31	-	-	-	-	-
All Farms	300	51	17.00	100.00	4.37	1.28

Source: H.S. Shergill, Growth of Farm Debt in Punjab: 1997 To 2008, IDC, Chandigarh, January, 2010.

VII. CHANGE IN SUPPLY SIDE OF FARM DEBT

The liberalization and privatization of the economy impacted the farm credit market through many different channels. The interest rate and other credit subsidies to the farm sector were reduced, and the public sector credit agencies (Commercial Banks and Cooperative Credit Institutions) were asked to gradually shift to provision of farm credit on a cost effective and competitive basis. The two public sector credit agencies, Commercial Banks and Cooperative Credit Institutions, responded differently to this change in policy regime. The Commercial Banks responded by introducing new farm credit products and aggressive but farmer friendly marketing practices. The Cooperative Credit Institutions, on the other, languished as the government started reducing its patronage and support and competition in the farm credit market increased. The change in the share of main credit agencies in farm debt in Punjab over the 1997-2008 period is pictured by information displayed in table 7. In absolute terms all the three main credit agencies owned in 2008 a much bigger amount of farm debt based assets compared to 1997. But their share in farm debt has undergone visible change in the course of these ten years. The most conspicuous change is in the share of Cooperative Credit Institutions; their share in farm debt declined from 27.14 percent in 1997 to 18.91 percent in 2008. This change indicates a fall of 8.23 percent points, and of 30.32 percent in standard percent change terms in their share of farm debt. The share of Commission Agents and Money Lenders in farm debt also declined, but only marginally by 2.96 percent points or 6.32 percent in standard percent terms. The Commercial Banks, on the other hand, have increased their share in farm debt substantially; by 12.36 percent points or by 63.65 percent in standard percent terms. However, despite of the big increase in the share of Commercial Banks in farm debt, Commission Agents and Money Lenders still remain (in 2008) the largest single farm credit agency in terms of amount of farm debt and share in total farm debt. The new liberlised economic environment and the policy changes accompanying it, seems to have hit the Cooperative Credit Agencies quite hard and these institutions find it difficult to withstand the intense competition in farm credit market both from Commercial Banks as well as Commission Agents. The Commercial Banks, however, has shown considerable resilience in adapting to change in policy regime and have been successful in increasing their share in farm debt.

Table-7

Change in Share of Main Credit Agencies in Farm Debt Over 1997-2008

(Amount in Rs. Crore at Current Prices)

Credit Agency		1997	2008	Change Over 1997-2008 Amount: 2008 as Multiple of 1997 Share: Change in Percent Points
Commission Agents & Money Lenders	Amount	2640.52	13179.09	4.99
	Share (%)	46.32	43.36	(-) 2.96
Commercial Banks	Amount	1106.95	9659.81	8.73
	Share (%)	19.42	31.78	12.36

Cooperative Credit Institutions	Amount	1547.42	5748.85	3.72
	Share (%)	27.14	18.91	(-) 8.23
Others	Amount	406.02	1806.37	4.45
	Share (%)	7.12	5.95	(-) 1.17
All	Amount	5700.91	30394.12	5.33
	Share (%)	100.00	100.00	-

Source: H.S. Shergill (1997 and 2008)

CONCLUSIONS

The paradigm shift to liberalization and globalization impacted wheat and rice farming in Punjab very severely owing to its highly commercialized and specialized character. The unfavourable turn in economics of wheat and rice production and continuous failure of cotton crop for many years resulted in increased indebtedness of Punjab peasantry. In the post W.T.O. period (1997 to 2008) total farm debt in the state more than doubled in real terms; and outstanding loan amount quadrupled in real terms over the same period. The annual interest charge on farm debt now eats up almost one-third of the entire rental surplus generated by Punjab agriculture. The increased burden of debt has pushed about 17 percent of state farmers into a virtual debt trap in the sense that they are not in a position to pay even the annual interest charge on their loans out of current farm income. Sooner or later, they have to sell some of their farm land to extricate themselves from the debt trap.

References

1. Govt. of India (2005) : Indebtedness of Farm Households, NSSO, New Delhi
2. Govt. of India (2007) : Report of the Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness, Ministry of Finance, New Delhi
3. Govt. of Punjab (2002): Report of the Expert Committee on Agricultural Production Pattern Adjustment Programme in Punjab, Chandigarh
4. Shergill, H.S. (1998) : Rural Credit and Indebtedness in Punjab, Institute For Development and Communication, Chandigarh
5. Shergill, H.S. (2007) : "Sustainability of Wheat and Rice Production in Punjab: A Re-Examination" Economic and Political Weekly, December 29th
6. Shergill, H.S. (2010) : Growth of Farm Debt in Punjab: 1997 To 2008, Institute for Development and Communication, Chandigarh
7. Singh Sukhpal, Manjeet Kaur : Flow of Funds To Farmers and Indebtedness in and H.S. Kingra (2007) Punjab, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana

To Understand Obviousness

Vladlen V. Kravchenko*

Abstract

The Paper is devoted to the problem of discovering and description of the essence of development (evolution) of outward things. On the basis of analysis of typical examples (from the daily routine and social life of a man, on the examples of “inanimate” and “living” nature) the generalized description of the way of evolution has been shown, conclusion as to directivity of development of nature and society has been made, the essence of this “motion-development” has been revealed, description of the model of development (evolution) has been given. For investigation of the mentioned question philosophical categories “content-form” are mainly used. The presented model (formulation) reflects the essence of process (of development, of evolution) in the form of a process itself: movement, evolution of content comes true through a chain (a sequence) of changing forms in the direction of finding of the pithiest form for its (content’s) expression. In limiting case (in utmost “transition”) it means “evolution of content” in the direction of comprehension and expression of the “content-itself-in-evolution”. The given description of essence of evolution is identical to formulation of principle of “self-motion”, “self-evolution”.

Whether it hasn’t ever arisen up for you, gentle reader, a desire to understand - what happens with you, what moves by you when, say, preparing for tomorrow undertakings you collect your thoughts and think over your steps, think over your behavior, line up a storyline (plotline), try to foresee scenario of development of tomorrow events? How is it possible to describe this preparation process most fully and exactly?

We dare suppose, that in such moments you are moved by nothing else than aspiration (tendency) of “the I” (your “the Ego”), of your “inner content (pithiness)” in order to find appropriate (most acceptable for tomorrow) form of expression of your pithy aspirations, which (namely form) would be afterwards realized as the plan or clear sequence of operations in your head or on paper. At that, you are actually eager that your thoughts would be implemented, your aim would be attained and your pithy intentions (contemplations, expectations) would gain a previously planned form in reality. But even if you don’t mean to participate in substantial events and merely have an idea, for instance, to go shopping – you are still engaged in exactly that, what has been just spoken about, i.e. you “activate”, induce your “covering form (shell)” to undertake actions “in pursuit of” your inner (conceivable) aspirations in order to put this “activity” into renewed “shape”, that is “to clothe” these mental aspirations in a new “form”, corresponding to them.

Sr. Research Engineer & Program Manager (Retd), Scientific Research Institute of Aviation Technology, Ukraine.

Every day, each moment millions of people are busy at the same – consciously or unconsciously they are engaged (involved) in a process of pursuit, they (with their “forms”) participate in chase of their “content” (running away from them) in a hope, in aspiration to clothe this “content” in the proper new “form”, befitting to the current (or perspective) moment. And independently of that these people (mechanically, physically, psychophysically) move in various directions, exercise various actions (lying, sitting, standing, while running etc.), accomplish different acts, – the essence (the core) of their aspiration, motion, existence is “taming” of their indefatigable, restless, “pithy the I” by investing, dressing him up in accordingly new and more “suitable” “form” for this new “content”.

Entered by Aristotle and improved by Hegel categorical apparatus ideally befits (suits) for description of similar “human” procedures.

This apparatus, from which in this case we may need mainly concepts “content” and “form”, gives us an idea, in particular, that boundary line for “content–form” concepts is extraordinarily (extremely) movable and very illusive: being or appearing there and then as a completely shallow (vapid, insipid) “form”, here and now it seems already to be a “form more rich in content” (“more pithy form”), which continuing (proceeding) to move and develop, more and more “reminds” the actually headily “developing content”. Regarding usage of concepts “content–form” for description of corresponding “human” processes it is possible to see, that in the course of their motion the “content” changes the “forms” of the development (i.e. it evolves, it “morphs”), “outgrowing” them so headily, that the impression is, that it is steadily late “to get a form” and at times continues its motion as “naked”, “unshaped”, “unformed proper-content”.

In actual fact, as creators of categories specify on that, – it’s an illusion, since “content” can not show up and exist out of “form”, can not move otherwise, than “through (via) a form”. Merely “forms” become different – more flexible, more “movable”, more “pithy” and more “elusive” for consciousness... Not entering into contradiction with this statement and using the mode (method, technique) of limiting (utmost, eventual) transition which is applied by mathematicians when searching for limits, it is still possible in our opinion, to see and discover that direction and that limit to which the described motion of “content” aspires (trends):

An “eventual point”, “ultimate goal”, “destination” and also “the sense” of motion of “content” is comprehension (uptake, absorption) by it of “proper-itself-in-motion”.

As it’s seen from formulation above, such a limit can be determined formally, but undoubtedly in principle, it is not achievable (attainable) really.

Further, we will try to show (demonstrate) that in foundation of all:

- A). Human (including social) motions, aspirations (tendencies), motives – i.e. motions, changes at the level of “human and social nature”;
- B). Motions, transformations (of kinds and forms) at the level of “wildlife”, “alive nature”;
- C). Changes, motions, transformations at the level of “inanimate matter (nature)” –

in fact, the uniform process of motion of “content” through a row, chain, line, sequence of improving “forms”, moving (travelling) in the direction of search, finding and expression of “content” with more and more perfect (optimal) “form” lies. And this process can be eventually “in limiting (utmost) transition” described by the next categorical (conceptual) model:

A motion (evolution) of the “content” comes true in the direction of comprehension, absorption, expression of the “content-in-motion” (“content-in-evolution”).

We’ll designate (denote) this model (formulation) by a symbol “@” for ease of further reference.

1. As interpreting proof of correctness of this position (definition) in regard to the level of “human and social nature” (level A) we’ll take for example development of events, coming true literally on our eyes.

The way of communication and exchange with information between people at the first half of 18-th century and earlier was limited to communication vis-a-vis and by epistolary genre, which was grounded mainly on a mechanical method of delivery of these information (knowledge, data). Pithy (rich in content) resource of humanity (as well as level of civilization with its material culture) has been described at that time by the volume of information and knowledge, which has been forming and becoming property of some associations of people maximum with a speed of horse run between post-houses. According to this, intensity (rate) of changes of the form of civilization at those times was extremely low (food, clothes, footwear, dwellings, tools and method of production at that level were scanty, primitive and unchanging actually during the protracted enough periods). Invention of method of data transferring by means of electric wire communication, and afterwards, by means of electromagnetic waves (appearance of telephone, radio-telegraph, and, then, television) at first accompanied and afterwards assisted the industrial boom of the past century (rate of information streams transmission cardinally changed form of existence of civilization). And, finally, informative explosion of the end of the last century - beginning of the present century, continually introduces amendments, substantially modifying human being and thinking within extraordinarily short intervals of time. Now it is possible to

suppose only – which a jump in community development is prepared to mankind by “virtual space” of the Internet with its computer technologies.

You can argue that a man is provided with “consciousness” (“thinking”) that allows him to accumulate and transfer knowledge, to draw up plans, prognoses, anticipate the future and change the forms of his existence in accordance with these prognoses and that is why, you will say, all the above stated is obvious. In other words, it’s easily enough to see correctness (truth) and practicability of formulation “@” at the level of “human and social nature”, but which attitude toward the described model of moving of “pithy information” have levels B and C?

2. How to see analogical (identical) type and character of process, for example, at the level of inanimate “wildlife” (“alive nature”)? We shall look through the most widespread and obvious examples of “content-form” motion and transformations at the level B. Shellfishes with their shells of spiral kind are perhaps the most evident standards (specimens) of “content-form” transformations in the course of motion and development (evolution) of “pithy constituent” at the level of “living nature”.

Mirror (reflection) symmetry of alive creatures also personifies by itself nothing else than “content-form” interaction of two parts, two opposite constituents of the whole organism during all life cycle of individual (it concerns insects, reptiles, fishes, birds, animals et cetera). The “mirror-reflected” parts of organism of individual execute (exercise) through the process of life both “especially form(al)” or “more pithy” functions alternately.

Co-operation of individual’s mirror halves accompanies a growth and pubescence of “content” (i.e. accumulation of its capacity) up to the moment of transmission of this accumulated volume (bulk) in a “convolute”, “compressed” mode to the breed (posterity, new generation). Further, “content-form” transformations accompany the process of connubium, impregnation of egg, origin of new phase of “pithy unit” and continuation of its further motion in the same direction, but on new stage. More vividly (clearly) this process is presented by the well-known examples of metamorphosis of insects (butterfly - egg - caterpillar - pupa - butterfly).

It is possible to reveal, trace and describe regarding the entire animal world (including a man) the “content-form” transformations in the most generalized (common) view: interaction of “content-form” as relations of (between) “male-female”, connubium, impregnation of ovule and birth of new “pithy link” as posterity. Thus, reproduction of new individual is continuation of “content-form” relations on the next similar coil (level). Meanwhile, eating (and assimilation) of living “forms” by one another in process of life cycle of individual and enriching (“feeding”) by that a “processing content” also make the core of “content-form” transformations at this level.

At that, development of each more shallow fragment (component part) of this process, in turn, can be examined from positions of relations of similar parts (for instance, “content-form” co-operation of spiral branches over the life cycle of molecule of DNA). Analogical character of transformations within the frames of vegetable world may be demonstrated by a cyclic motion in a chain of “plant-fruit-seed-a new plant-” or by external view and internal structure of trees, leaves, fruits (that is illustrated by Fig.1).

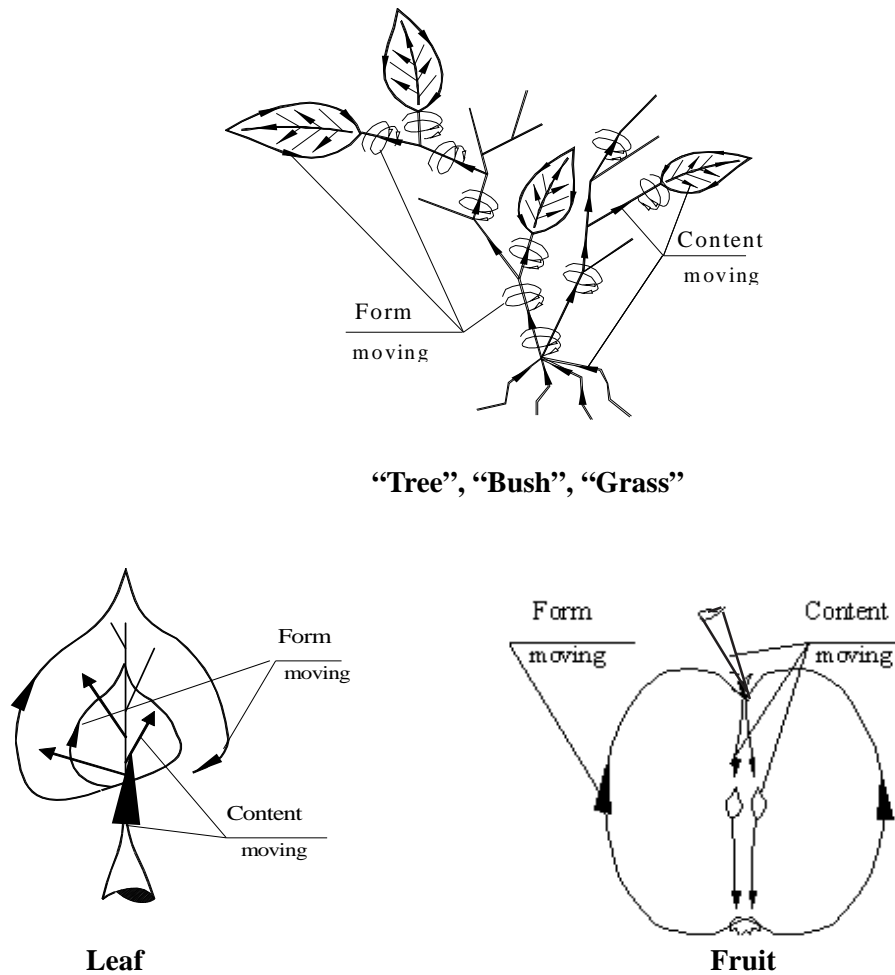


Fig.1

3. It is still more difficult to see the similar transformations at the level C of “inanimate matter (nature)”, since periods of such transformations (coils) stretch, at times, not merely on centuries, but on millions and milliards of years.

It is known that nonuniform sun heating of different areas of earth surface causes moving of the air masses (winds, hurricanes, tornado et cetera). Even, if other different reasons of changes (fallouts, earthquakes, consequences of thunderstorm phenomena et cetera) are not taken into account, then displacement of the air masses anyway changes a surface relief (form of land surface). It affects on the change of surface heating terms, which, in turn, have an influence on intensity of heating of air and make alterations in character of moving of the masses of this air. The last, again, affects surface relief and causes change of picture (diagram) of surface heating. In such a way by means of accumulation of certain local changes (even excepting effects of tectonic and volcanic nature) different areas with various climatic zones can appear on the earth surface. The modified land form (relief) starts at once newly to absorb sunbeams and newly assimilate their power (energy) content. It is expressed in the change of heat emission, and, consequently, in changing degree and intensity of heating of air above a surface. The last circumstance, in turn, causes the change (relatively to previous) of character of motion of the masses of air above the same surface and, accordingly, calls the new changes of surface relief (form). Thus, the new form of surface, as though, follows changing of heat-power-content of air environment. Many times repeated changes within a long period of time eventually lead to radical “pithy” transformations, – that is to the avalanche-type following of “form” towards changes, what implies (means) at last a qualitative leap and passing (transfer) to the new cardinally changed “form” with the new volume of the accumulated “content”. As a result it can be a perfect destruction of prior “form” and replacement of it for a new one or such “form” modification that facilitates even more intensive following of “form” towards further changes.

Now we’ll complicate prior example. Interaction of surfaces of different water bodies (rivers, lakes, seas, oceans, etc.) with the heated air and sunny radiation conduces to evaporation of superficial layers of water mirrors, which rising above earth are cooling down by atmosphere and form the clouds of aquatic steam. While further lifting and cooling water vapours condense and condensing moisture returns eventually on earth as fallouts (rains, showers, hail, snow). This circumstance causes change of outlines of banks (coasts), areas of water surfaces, depth of reservoirs, speed and volumes of soil transfer by water, appearance of new water bodies, and, consequently, a change of terms, character and intensity of the subsequent stage of water evaporation. Alternation (to say more precisely, “parallel-serial” action) of the modes of water evaporation and fallouts leads at times to the substantial changes of relief (forms) of the earth surface areas and changing of climatic zones. Thus, “form” constantly, as though, pulls up to “content” of occurring changes. Even not accounting influence of tectonic-volcanic “activity” and any other space influences (except the action of solar radiation), it is possible to see that above described “content-form” interaction is expressed in substantial modifications of “forms” (change of local surface areas and displacement of climatic zones) following “pithy layers” (heating - vapouring up - falling out).

Now we shall add one more co-factor to the examined process. It is known that formation of clouds is sometimes accompanied by their polarization (i.e. by an accumulation in the cloud of electric charges of one sign). As a result of approach and collision (contact)

of the polar charged clouds with one another or with earth the powerful electric discharges (lightnings) take place (occur), which cause at times huge changes in an environment and induce to appearance of new forms. Also it can happen under reason of change of surface relief due to fires, and also because of formation of new quality chemical compounds of elements (from composition of the earth's crust, water, air, etc.) under effect of high temperature in the local place of electric discharge. Arisen compounds of elements, absorbing new "pithy" changes in themselves, assist accumulations of further "content" in new qualitative "forms". Quite possible, just the same electric discharges led, in scientists' opinion, to conditioning for the origin of prototypes of forms more "movable", more flexible and adjusted to absorption and accumulation of further changes, i.e. "proto alive" forms, and afterwards, protoplasm. A "form" here persistently follows the "pithy changes" of surrounding space, bringing in, in turn, its contribution to the volume of "pithy accumulations", caused by this motion. In the end, it can result in drastic alterations of "pithy character" such as cataclysms and saltatory origin of cardinal new "forms". At that, not only the outlines (relief) of previous forms of locality and climatic terms could change, but also compounds of elements with the changed and extraordinary chemical compositions could appear. And they in turn could result in the origin of new more "flexible and movable" (that is more "pithy") structures and forms.

[We should notice that stated in this clause examples are examined by us under assumption (stipulation) of lack of any elements of "wildlife". Availability of "alive forms" undoubtedly would accelerate the investigated "content-form" transitions, what takes place in reality at present evolution stage].

All natural cyclic phenomena (for example, changing of seasons: spring-summer-autumn-winter-) – are nothing else than spiral-shaped ascent of "content" by the renewed "forms", i.e. exposing of such a movement in the direction of absorption and comprehension of "changing content" by the "changing content" itself.

Interaction of electric charges and phenomenon of electromagnetic nature also conceal evolution of "content-form" relations inside.

To similar type of transitions, evidently, it is necessary to take still unstudied enough successive (serial) interlinkage (interengagement) of "elements" (fire-earth-water-air-) and "types of interactions" (gravitational-electromagnetic-strong-weak-).

And, finally, let us try now to recreate by strength (tension) of imagination the most fundamental coil of evolution, the most "overall" coil of spiral, which we still can only imagine to ourselves.

From a moment of Big Bang as some “singularity”, some “pro-origin” – that is, from a conditional beginning which we yet can only afford to think of, motion of the mentioned above “activity” (“content”) comes via next “intermediate forms”: nebula, galaxies, star-planetary systems, separate planets at last. Form-building (forming) of these objects proceeds until now. Starry sky is in fact a “longitudinal-transversal-depth” section or cut of “forms-tracks” of parallel-serial motion of “content”. A crowd of worlds, hanging above us, is intermediate “layers-stages-levels-forms” through which the “pithy activity” has been passing (transferring). At that, conditionally-eventual link of this “pithy activity” in the person of us (humanity) also is just “intermediate form” of realization of this “activity” which after the stages-phases of “non-alive” forms, described above, got yet through the stages of forms more “movable” – “alive-biological” – and further, – “alive-thinking-animated”. Today we can clearly find and feel ourselves in a role of “pithy molluscan shellfish” being in the “shell” of this comprehensively (uniformly) “receding form” - Universe. We, as the “richest in content link” (“most pithy form”) from those forms currently known to us for certain, try to grasp, get to know, fill with “content” that “chainlet” of “forms”, which were “passed” by us up till now since the times of Big Bang. Actually, we as a new “pithy origin”, trying to “lock” this coil, do “twist” it again, but yet at a new level. At that, in equal degree we have no reasons to assert either that pithy motion finished by us (by humanity, and that we, humanity, are a crown of the whole evolution) or that motion of “activity” had not taken place before time of the so-called Big Bang.

* * *

The described “activity” is inherent to all levels without exception; it is “through” and “universal”. And the name of this “through activity” is model “@”.

“Pithy in content” accumulations promote the change of “intensity” of “content” tendency to return back “to-it-own-itself-at-new-level” or in other words, the change of “curvature” of spiral coil of evolution. One level of evolution differs from the other one mainly by the values of these two parameters (intensity and curvature).

Independently of that we become aware of it or not – as people, a dog wants it or not - as animal, an ant aims at it – as insect, a river, ocean, mountain, planet Earth, the Milky Way or visible (conceivable) by us Universe “know” about it or not – all the enumerated is involved in movement (process) described by the above-mentioned formulation “@”. Any infinitely complex systems, phenomena, processes can be decomposed (disassembled) on constituents and universal “content-form” transformations of the described orientation, which can be distinguished and seen there.

Each system or element represents the result-derivation of process of dialectical interaction of two origins, i.e. of two sides-constituents of the same (of one integer).

A man is a “spiral”, a dog is a “spiral”, an ant is a “spiral”, Galaxy is a “spiral” and Universe is a “spiral”. More precisely, each of the mentioned “elements” (stages) of evolution is the chain of “content-form” transformations, essence of which is “grasped” and represented by formulation “@”.

And, finally, the core of the expounded process of evolution (as well as “conceptual” formulation itself) can be visually (approximately) represented by the image of three-dimensional hollow spiral, as it is illustrated by Fig.2.

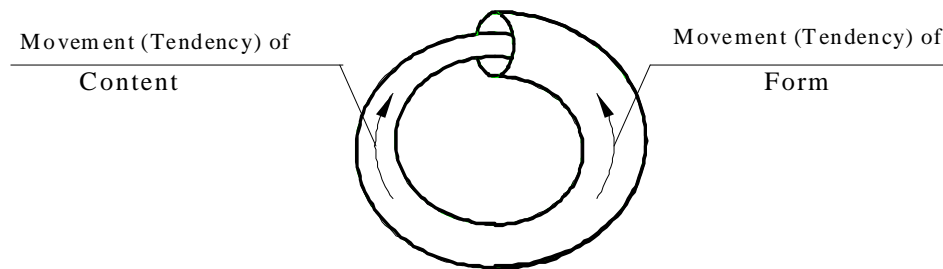


Fig.2

The “mechanism” of development (both directed “vectorial” motion and nondirectional “scalar” change) can be described as “absorption by its-own-itself” and “revival of its-own-itself-altered”, as “snowballing”, as “out-of-its-own-itself-making”. Formulation “@” is in fact description of the principle of “self-motion”, of “self-evolution”. Thus, for understanding of essence of evolution and development of whatever anything the necessity of search of “prime cause” (“original chaos”, “the beginning”) and external incentive force comes to naught (drops out, falls away). That’s why there is no need in seeking out the figure of Creator or Demiurge as a reason of “prime impulse” and “curator”

of subsequent changes. Realization of this circumstance is in particular the key to resolution (settlement) and removal of religious contradictions which, as we already can see now, in increasingly frequency become a stumbling-stone on the way of more close co-operation of people. Another look at ourselves and surroundings can be useful and needed for finding a new impulse of development.

Undoubtedly, the expounded conception requires verification and confirmation by more numbers of examples and interpretations, than we presented here. But since then a penetrating man will be able to discover and search for similar examples without our assistance.

Superstition and Syncretism: Setbacks to Authentic Christian Practice in Africa

Dominic Umoh*

Abstract

A typical Sub-Saharan African is often described by foreigners as ‘incurably religious’. There is some truth in that description. However this same recognized tendency is responsible for credulity prevalent in the continent, manifested through superstitious beliefs and the various forms of attending syncretism. Both superstition and syncretism have jointly infected authentic religious commitment to Christianity or Islam in Africa. This paper undertakes to expose and address the various nuances of such superstitious beliefs and syncretism. It will trace the origin and evolution of such tendencies, highlighting how such constitute a problem to legitimate Christian commitment and practice. Our methodology is critically explorative and expository.

Introduction

A glance at some of the most common superstitious beliefs and practices from around the world reveals that while some people follow them meticulously and religiously, others dismiss them as sheer irrationality and hence deplorable. However, one thing remains certain: there is no culture without its impending superstitions and no amount of sermonizing or education has been able to relief those who are well entrenched in them from the contagious pangs of these eroded religious beliefs. It is exactly this that Abhijit Naik (2010) has poignantly affirmed.

Over a period of time, superstitions have rooted themselves firmly in our society, so much so that it is virtually impossible for the person to ignore them. They have made a place for themselves in all the walks of life, including politics and sports. Politicians resorting to the astrological predictions is not at all rare. On the other hand, examples of superstitions in sports include cricketers carrying a colored handkerchief in their pocket, or soccer players putting their right foot first when they enter the field. Such superstitious practices are found all over the world. And some people just can’t seem to survive without them..

It has been observed however, that whenever and wherever there are superstitions, such are bound to intermarry with other ‘orthodox’ creeds thereby resulting in syncretism.

*Department of Religious and Cultural Studies University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

That is how both superstitions and syncretism become inextricably associated and are always found together, as we will see in awhile.

What is Superstition?

Superstition has full meaning and significance within the religious setting. This is because it is within such a context that it constitutes a deviation, a derailment or a contamination of the official system of belief recognized and upheld as authentic by that particular religion. For superstition to occur there must be at least two separate religious contexts or better still two distinct creedal systems: the one, the officially accepted; recognized as authentic and the other the setting from which it is exported before being espoused. The superstitious belief is a stranger, an intruder, not recognized and therefore unwelcomed by the generality of its new context. For this reason, superstitions are never superstitious for those upholding them and within the context where they hold sway. Put otherwise, superstition is only superstitious for those who do not believe in them, those who do not accept them. It is within a different creedal system that superstitions constitute an aberration, because they do not augur well with the whole set-up of the new context. It must be mentioned here that superstitious beliefs are only espoused by some members of the new religious context to which they are introduced and never by all. This disparity is what stands superstition out, as out of place. That is why superstition is considered a pollution within its new creedal setting. It does this by introducing some strange and obnoxious doctrines and beliefs that are contrary to some officially held doctrinal and dogmatic strata of that religion.

Superstition can then be conceived as the belief that particular events happen in a way that cannot be explained by reason or science. "Basically, superstitions are the beliefs which are not at all backed by science, and far from rationality." Abhijit Naik (2010). This point is important, because religion itself as we know must be reasonable. Hence superstition towing the line of unreasonableness is sometimes described as an attitude of 'jumping where there are no huddles'. Superstitious believers obviously would prefer mysterious or semi magical explanations to scientific ones, even in cases where the latter are the most obvious and the most plausible. The superstitious fulfills this attitude sometimes assigned to deism: "*Credo quia absurdum*" - "I believe because it is absurd." This means that the only reason persuading one to embrace a particular creed is because the said creed is far from being clear and meaningful. It is absurd; meaning that it is opaque to reason. In a sense, the superstitious gives in not because of conviction, but because he has no choice since the issue is beyond the explanatory aptitude of reason. As Umoh observes, this involves trusting the truth of something simply because it cannot be rationally or empirically supported.

This type of evaluation (superstitious) augurs badly with religious faith. For as the saying goes, "only a believer can see a black thread in the dark." For people who buy such opinion, faith is darkness while knowledge is light. Implied in this statement is that there is not an iota of rationality when it comes to issues of religious belief. Faith, therefore according to this frame of mind, would imply a coronation of the illogical – the absurd; the defeat of the intellect, leading to the embrace of the absurd as the only alternative: Credo quia absurdum est. (2008: 107).

Throwing more light on the above adage, “*credo quia absurdum est*,” would expose the precarious situation of the superstitious. For him, reason has to be relegated to the background in its act of intellection because it is powerless before the immense mystery surrounding the divine-human relationship in the world and so can no longer pursue its quest. As a result, reason must shy away; it must surrender to faith, the principle of intellectual failure, for reason would not want to meddle with the ‘absurd’ – the intellectually unclear. Whenever and wherever a particular ‘faith’ fits the above description, the religious theory called fideism or credulity is inevitable. This is because following R. Smart “fideism is a view that our knowledge of religious reality is not, cannot be and ought not to be based upon rational or natural evidence, but solely on faith.” (170). According to Karl Rahner et al superstition is an irrational cult of God appearing in a pattern unworthy of God, expressing confidence in formulae and rites which attempt to force God’s assistance in order to predict the future. As such, it is a semi-religious veneration of real or imaginary powers in the place of God. (458). Most often, superstitions constitute a form of degeneration of religion. It involves practices of dubious value and dubious authenticity, by means of which practitioners may make their living. It may involve the manufacture and sales of various items claimed to possess infused spiritual powers. But in reality it is a misplaced or confused value. That is why, as Naik (2010) states below, it is only accepted by the credulous or the gullible.

Basically, these beliefs and practices are illogical assumptions based on one particular incident, and followed by the gullible. For instance a cricketer who casually carried a red handkerchief in his pocket and played a magnificent innings that day is bound to believe that the good luck was brought upon him by this very handkerchief, and therefore carry it in his pocket every time he goes out to bat.

Ancient Romans identified superstition with all forms of exaggerated or extravagant religion. Christian theology recognizes in it, the fact of attaching a religious significance to what should not or in fact does not merit such a regard. It then warns that Christians should beware because superstition leads to a veritable degeneration of piety which may appear externally the most correct Bouyer (610). A superstitious person considers the world as shrouded in unexplainable or impenetrable mysteries. For instance in African worldview, it is believed that ghosts and spirits share the universe with humans and therefore keep tormenting them at will with unexplainable though irksome experiences. Most events, even those with possible ordinary rational explanations with no mysterious nuances, are attributed to spiritual demonic forces or ghosts. If someone slums and dies of heart attack he would be said to have been knocked off by a ghost, even if medical findings from autopsy proves the contrary. If the roof of a building caves in, an enemy would take the blame instead of the architect. That was exactly the issue I raised in my paper: “Death is not Natural: the African Story,” critically exploring and deploring the wrong attitude of Africans towards death. According to the African viewpoint, people do not die; they are killed. (Umoh, 2012:1-13)

Superstition is an archaic manner of viewing the universe and of interpreting its occurrences. It is pre-scientific, unscientific and anti-scientific in character. This is because the world of strict and universal laws discovered by science since its inception in the

seventeenth century has no place for the capricious interference of the supernatural in natural events. The world portrayed by science is no longer the haunting-pitch of alien spirits, but a system of components operating in accordance with ineluctable laws of mechanics. It is no longer a vision of the planet governed and controlled by ghosts and spirits; instead it is a universe governed by scientific laws accessible to and controllable by the scientific community. And that is the world we religious men and women find ourselves today. Hence a superstitious believer today is eager, anxious and fearful of occult forces believed to be constantly menacing the universe. That is why superstitious believers are immersed in a religion of fear and inauthentic faith.

Superstitions in theory and Practice

Abhijit Naik (2010) has made reference to a certain superstitious practice that I believe exists in all cultures. Every time you sneeze, someone around you utters ‘God bless’ or ‘*gesundheit*’ in German, meaning ‘good health’ or as among the Annangs south-south of Nigeria: “Nwaña Nsa oh!” meaning ‘may God forbid’ death. This common incident, irrespective of which region one finds oneself started in the 16th century in Europe, wherein it was believed the person throws the evil spirits within his body out whenever he sneezes. “Most of these superstitious beliefs are backed by some illogical knowledge, and spread by gullible people,” says Naik.

The Al Jazeera television network had an emission showing a documentary of extremely brutal acts, believed to be an outcome of superstitious belief in Tanzania. A certain Dr. Leonard Kubi was shown occupied with the rescue of seriously mutilated albinos, whose body parts, mostly arms, were chopped off and sold to witch doctors for superstitious rituals. According to a popular and longstanding superstitious belief in the region, body parts of young albinos are used by witch doctors for rituals meant to bring prosperity and good fortune. That led to a frantic hunt for albinos for parts; in fact but for the quick intervention of the government, albinos were fast becoming endangered species. An arrested witch doctor equally confessed that about half the population of prophets and pastors in the area consulted him to obtain powers for their various church ministries. From this, one can see how superstitious beliefs flow very naturally into syncretism. Al Jazeera, 1st September, 2012.

There are stories of people scavenging for used menstrual sanitary pads in Nigeria for ritual purposes. This is another event resulting from superstitious belief in the efficaciousness of menses in traditional rituals. The fact reported here below by Henry Umahi in one of the Nigerian dailies says it all.

Are you a woman, who disposes her menstrual pads in the garbage bin? You could be a victim of ritualists scavenging for such things. Investigations have revealed that ritualists are on the prowl looking for women’s sanitary pads. A female student in girls’ special science school in the South East told our reporter that scavengers of sanitary pads were caught in the hostel dumpsite while gathering sanitary pads.

According to her, two ladies were caught with a bag of used menstrual pads at the hostel dumpsite. (5)

Among the Annangs of southern Nigeria, traditional herbalists and doctors well talented in their trade must demand items for sacrifice in addition to medical bills. Such could be live animals - goat, tortoise, or fowl. For them this would constitute a seal of authentication of their talents. Their practice is therefore more of physical healing achieved through spiritual means than Western medicine. That is why all traditional doctors in the region were equally priests. This is also an indication that traditional medicine is not scientific but cultic. Such a tendency is a return to the total mix-up prevalent in the past when every type of knowledge was either religion or nothing. But as we know, Greek philosophy had already dealt a fatal blow to that tendency of dumping all forms of knowledge together, by assigning different departments to different bodies of wisdom.

In the same region of Annangland, one wishing to be enlisted as a member of a hunting expedition group has to be ceremonially and ritually initiated. Though apparently not a religious group, hunters must offer sacrifices in order to get protected against the spirits of their slaughtered booties. They have their norms and regulations which are cultic in nature and therefore known only to initiated members. One of such norms is that no hunter should be called by name during any their game as such would reveal the true identity of the individual. Such would expose the lives of colleagues to danger as the spirits of slaughtered animals can haunt those whose true identities are known. This is an offshoot of the traditional belief among the Annangs, highlighted by Umoh (2009:71) contending that one's entire personal identity and destiny are contained in one's name. Anyone who knows my name has me at his beck; he can do anything he wants with my person, for my name is my personhood. The background to the above hunting norm is also the belief among the Annangs that animals have souls or constitute habitats as it were, for man's second soul called the 'bush soul'. Therefore before entering the bush for their expedition, hunters must line up at the edge of the road for a brief prayer, each carrying a handful of sand. Then at a signal they would intone this incantation together: "All you evil forces in the bush, we command you: quit the bush as we enter and re-enter as soon as we depart." At the end of this short ritual, they would all throw the sand into the bush in unison before penetrating into the dark green vegetations of the tropics. Here one can see an ordinary hunting hobby blended with religion and fear – evidence that superstition always gives rise to syncretism.

In other parts of Nigeria, there is a practice similar to that of cricketers carrying coloured handkerchief in their pocket. It concerns a superstitious belief prevalent also in many other parts of Africa, concerning palm fronds. Palm fronds are believed to ward off evils and to keep evil spirits at bay. Umoh, quoting Wvenagha has this to say:

In this respect, they (palm fronds) have protective powers. Hence whoever or whatever is transporting corpses, which are believed to attract all sorts of spirit, had to be protected with yellow palms. This practice still lingers on today in most

parts of Nigeria as vehicles carrying human remains are protected with palm fronds. This is also meant to signify the sacredness of death. (2007:8).

Recently, there was a row at an airport between some relatives and the crew members of a certain airline transporting the remains of their dear one to Nigeria from abroad. The family, not being contented with attaching palm fronds to the coffin, attempted to attach some to the wings of the aircraft transporting the remains in order to protect the plane against ghosts and other evil forces in mid air. This would ensure the plane against being brought down by malevolent spirits attracted by the corpse. This was really pure syncretism; the peak of a crash of two cultures: the scientific and the traditional, pre-scientific and superstitious cultures. The above in effect shows that the superstitious is really a rotten apple in the religious barrel.

Syncretism

L. Bouyer (614) derives ‘syncretism’ from the Greek etymology *synkratein*, meaning «pouring together». It is like pouring one type of liquid into another; for instance water into wine, and thereby obtaining a totally different substance which is neither purely water nor purely unadulterated or undiluted wine. From this etymological meaning, syncretism designated “a system or rather a tendency of Hellenistic thought which tended to mix and to confuse most diversified cults”. It is “a fusion of rituals and doctrines”. The concept finds place in almost all modern religions as syncretism is a “blending,” a tampering, a mixing together, and a “bringing together of conflicting ideologies into a unity of thought and/or into a cooperating, harmonious social relationship.” Angeles (286).

The word syncretism is used to refer to the practice of harmonizing two or more distinct sets of beliefs to create an entirely new one. Syncretism normally refers to merging beliefs of two or more religious systems in order to come up with a new one, which sometimes demonstrates the traits of the systems involved. This may also include the fusion of two contradictory schools of thought. From the sociological point of view, syncretism is necessary for the smooth functioning of a society with different backgrounds, as its absence can disturb the balance of such a society. The fact that this concept can bring together two contradictory thoughts may sound confusing and rightly so. However, that is a fact.

Syncretism is predominant when it comes to religions and cultures. As far as religion is concerned, it is a well-known fact that most of the modern religions evolved from various ancient beliefs; hence the tendency to carry-over and blend with the former creedal milieu. From the religious perspective then, it is in this blending that is found the adulterating character of syncretism. This makes syncretism an inauthentic tenet gotten by combining bits of various creeds, ideologies and views – even contradictory ones – resulting in a formulation of a doctrine that is completely new and sometimes unidentifiable with any of its original stuffs. Such an espousing is far beyond the scope and in fact a deviation from the target of enculturation, which for African Christians involves embracing the Christian message in an African manner. (Umoh 2012:5)

The scenario quoted here below by Ejizu from Albert K. Obiefuna about the Igbos of Nigeria, converted to Catholicism, can conveniently be applied to most sub-Saharan African converts. According to Obiefuna, there is no gainsaying the giant strides made by Christianity in Africa. But most of these Christians are indulged in beliefs which are tainted with superstitions and syncretism.

Thousands come to our churches. Our cathedrals and chapels are filled to capacity every Sunday and during important celebrations like harvest and bazaars. A lot of people also make huge donations for the upkeep of the church. Still many also avail themselves of the Sacraments.... But often, there are reports that practicing Christians are equally idol worshippers. They swear on idols, erect hidden shrines in their homes. They hide fetishes in their shades in the market stalls and in their workshops. "Catechists, Seminarians on apostolic work in the towns and villages are stunned at the degree of idol worship and superstitious practices that still exist among a people that are mostly baptized Catholics."

In turn, Ehusani has also this all-important contribution to make, namely that Christian faith in Africa has suffered a terrible ambivalence in the hand of syncretism. This is because the external religious observances of Christians do not match the disparate deeply rooted traditional beliefs of typical Africans.

Majority of African Christians live ambivalent spiritual lives; with an exterior allegiance to the God of Jesus Christ, but with an interior and perhaps a more profound allegiance to the God of their forbears who has refused to give way to the new God. There is a wide gap, a split, or is it a dislocation, of many Africans recently converted to Christianity, and this phenomenon cries out for attention. So soon after the "implanting" of Christianity in Africa, and just as the foreign missionaries are arriving home and congratulating themselves on the success of their proselytizing missions, "the love of many has gone cold." (159).

Ejizu in his turn decries this degradation in Christian values among Africans resulting from syncretism. He observes that at every retreat, Catholics (Christians) bring out from their homes fetishes and charms of all types. According to him, idol worship, superstitious practices, fear of witchcraft, charms, and all sorts of vain observances are realities prevalent among our Catholics. This in effect attests beyond doubt to the fact that the indigenous religions remain very much the living faith of many African converts. They are mixed with newly embraced faiths. As a former missionary to West Africa, Lee Hegeman affirms, only one out of ten self-named Christians in this region practices true Christianity. Syncretism is therefore well imbedded in Africa. Hence Umoh (2012a) affirms: "Our religious inclination in this country is very syncretistic." (90).

Some people call it syncretism, but it may be more like dual religious allegiance, where Christianity is practiced in the daytime and occult [practice] is done at night. Many of the pastors will preach from the pulpit that this type of thing is

wrong, but secretly take part in it at night. There is the mentality, especially in African Initiated Churches, where the prosperity gospel is preached, that you do what you've got to do to get ahead. You rely on the powers available to you. You are hopeful that Christ will help, but when he can't come through on Sunday, you may take out a different insurance policy at night."

frjody.com/tag/superstition

This new type of 'insurance policy' amounting to syncretism is very rampant nowadays and very much behind the story below. Not long ago, Aloysius Attah, reported that a self-proclaimed prophet in Nsukka Local Government Area of Enugu State, Nigeria was pulling the crowd to his newly founded church. His immense achievements were attributed to superstition and syncretism. He held vigils practically every night and people overcrowded his centre because of "mind-blowing testimonies" from those who had visited him previously. To attract new followers and to keep old ones, the prophet had to blend rites, rituals and symbols from several sources: many the mainline churches, sects and traditional religions. He used some religious items that his neophytes were familiar with in their former respective churches: such as oils, incense, crucifix, and of course the bible. He adapted his prayers, and rituals to suit as many participants as possible in his arena.

Things assumed a dangerous dimension when the prophet allegedly applied some Catholic doctrines in his prayers apparently to attract more people. He began his prayers with the sign of the cross, while the rosary was also said in every gathering. However, the style of his vision brought confusion among people, enthroning rancour, and mutual suspicion. People began to see their brothers as the source of their problems, while some who visited the prophet insisted that the names of their enemies should be revealed to them. Ik-Priests-Forum@yahoogroups.com (2011).

From the above, syncretism cannot but be evident and I am persuaded to agree with Nnamani (2003) that "All the separatist churches – even the African sections of the mission churches – are syncretistic. All their Christian ideas are edited by the religious ideas they bring with them from their cultural upbringing." (94). This observation carries with the following by J. Omoregbe that African religion is still very much a living religion blended with Christianity and Islam by a vast majority on the continent and thereby giving vent to syncretism:

Even among those Africans who have been converted to Christianity or Islam, very many have not really abandoned their indigenous religion completely. In times of difficulties or dire need they go back to their roots – to their indigenous religion. Indeed, very many African Christians and Muslims have continued with the practice of their indigenous religion along with Christianity or Islam as the case may be, which means that their "conversion" from African indigenous Religion to Christianity or Islam was never total. (63)

In this light Umoh insists: “I can confidently affirm that the African type of Christianity is a thorough syncretism, because ideas indiscriminately taken from several sources are forced together and thereby producing strange doctrines, dogmas, philosophies or religion, which are neither traditionally African nor African Christianity.” Umoh (2012:14). Ejizu is right in the explanation below:

The reason for the above is not at all far-fetched. As we all are aware, religious conversion is such a complex and fluid issue. This is particularly true in Africa; with the persistence of vital beliefs among many converts to Christianity and the tremendous resilience and adaptability of their indigenous religions, it is extremely difficult to be categorical about the state of religious conversion of the majority of Africans. The astonishing stories of phenomenal achievements of the missionary religions and of heroic lives of faith by numerous converts to Christianity or Islam ought to be taken together with the constant complaints against shallowness of faith, nominal membership, syncretistic practices among a large segment of the population of new converts. www.afrikaworld.net/afre/conversion.htm

The impact of Western civilization in this regard is not overwhelming, because it has not succeeded to produce pure and authentic African Christians or Muslims totally liberated from the various forms of superstitious beliefs they bring with them into their new faith.

When one sees an African professor of nuclear physics standing naked at a road junction in the midnight and pulling off the head of a living chicken while making some incantations to the evil spirits or when one considers the number of Christians seeking exorcism from numerous healers in modern African communities, one would not need to be told again that science has not succeeded in dealing a fatal blow to the belief in demons. (Nnamani: 88)

In another development I still remember vividly a serious scandal that broke up some years ago in a small village of Inen, in the southern part of Nigeria. It concerned this same phenomenon, syncretism. Much to the surprise of all villagers, an apparently very faithful Christian was caught in the very act of fetching sand from a fresh grave of a young man. The sand was for a ritual currently termed “assignment” in some religious quarters. Various unusual, controversial and often unchristian “assignments” are prescribed to members by some modern charismatic movements not only within the new African initiated churches, but even in some mainline churches. Fetching the red earth from new graves for certain rituals among members of the group is just one of such. The main controversy in the above case was that traditionally anyone found roaming about a new grave was a suspect; his presence there was to celebrate the death of the victim and such was held responsible for the demise. Traditionally, this was a very serious matter for villagers. The cause of the scandal in the above particular case was the fact that the person involved was a practicing

Christian. That 'assignment' is a very clear case of superstition and syncretism, a confused doctrine cross-pollinating two totally different realms of doctrinal beliefs.

African Initiated Churches and Pentecostalism

Syncretism can be regarded as a religious prostitution. It has found a fertile ground with the current new religious movements and Pentecostals in African Initiated churches. With such movements syncretism is spreading like wild fire throughout the continent. Having detached themselves from the mainline churches, these modern sects have been turned into private businesses by their founders and pastors. With the proliferation, the founders have to cope with challenges, competitions and struggle for customers in the religious world market. They are therefore obliged to advertise their goods befittingly, attempt to outwit other competitors by attracting and keeping as many clients as possible. They scramble for members by all means; that is by preaching only what they would want to hear. Concerning this last, the most often referred to is miracles in connection with wealth, health, power, material well being, including success in marriage, long life, prosperity, breaking of age-long curses and family woes, destruction of one's enemies, especially witches. These days, no mention is ever made of heaven and hell. Heaven is either materially here or nowhere.

The proliferation of new religious movements, sects and independent churches in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular is a fact that cannot escape the notice of any newcomer to the continent. In Nigeria for example, everywhere is converted to a makeshift place of worship.

In the little town of Abak in Akwa Ibom State, for example, there are several hundreds of them (sects). Although the population of the area is not more than 6000 inhabitants yet the town could rightly be referred to as the seed bed or harbinger of all types of erratic religious movements. Literally, all the classrooms in primary schools, open spaces in the filing stations, some lockup stores, public buildings, bus stops, mechanic shades, drinking parlours and, in some cases, even parlours or rooms of private houses, etc have been turned into churches, especially on Sundays. Udoette, (36)

The peculiar way in which these New Religious Movements contribute to superstition and syncretism is fascinating. Motivating factors resulting in the proliferation of New Religious Movements and subsequently in the increase in syncretism are multifarious. However, the one that concerns our paper most is the failure by missionaries of the orthodox mainstream churches to meet the spiritual needs of Africans within their cultural context and ambient. The early Christian missionaries never took African cosmology and world view into consideration while evangelizing. Here I totally agree with Kofi Appiah-Kubi (1991:148) that the impact of Christian faith in Africa should be received with mixed feelings. This is because on the one hand Christianity has opened up the continent to the rest of the world in terms of Western education and civilization. But on the other, the

innovation was brought into the continent with no regard for the African world view and custom. Innovators considered Africa a *tabula rasa* - a blank slate – on which just anything could be documented. The outcome was disastrous: poor quality of Christian discipleship and widespread crises of commitment among peoples. Further consequences reveal that the innovators hatched out half-baked Christians who are neither truly the foreign Christians according to their predetermined scheme nor totally their former African pagans, as they were usually called. This last says it all about the agony of the black African continent. It is “the agony of constantly being described by visitors in our land as being an incurably religious people and yet as pagans.” Kofi Appiah Kubi, (167). Hence there is need for proper enculturation, poignantly described here by Udoette as:

...a serious search on the part of Africans to accept Christianity and at the same time maintain their identity as Africans... the need to attain to spiritual fulfillment without having to become white men....an attempt to strip Christianity of its foreign cloak and make it meaningful and fulfilling to African in their socio-cultural milieu. This means that Africans are not at home with any kind of Christianity that does not come to grip with African life and problems. Udoette (38)

It is in attempting to make for this necessity that the mushroom churches, as they are sometimes called, go beyond the search for cultural identity or enculturation to adulterate the very essence of the Christian message by embellishing it with superstitious and syncretistic doctrines. This is done in a bit to attract clients. It must be borne in mind that most of the founders of these movements broke off from the mainstream Christian churches to establish their own. They deserted for several reasons. At times it was due to some disagreement in matters of doctrines, leadership or finance. This last, the economic reason, seems to constitute the main reason for the endless proliferation of nascent Christian churches in Africa. This is because most of the New Religious Movements have been established for purely economic reasons. This is implied in this remark by Udoette: “Many Nigerians have come to see religion as a means of making profit and getting rich quickly. Attendant upon this development is the wide range of deceits and falsehood that self-made and self-acclaimed pastors sell out to the religiously scrupulous Nigerians.” (38). Precisely this is what Obiora means in the lines below:

Along the line of the soul-winning mission cum supremacy struggle, the issues have gone beyond the urge to spread pure faith. Political and socio-economic considerations have all too frequently been the major reasons for the churches proliferation that have received religious colouration in order to bring them to the fore. They do these, because, they believe their last hope is in religion, not in hope of salvation, heaven or hell, but the hope of acquiring material wealth by capitalising on the ‘crass ignorance’ of the people. Obiora (1).

These new era preachers adopt many strategies and tactics to outwit their rivals. They excite, attract and draw their clientele mainly from among the youth and the middle-aged, both employed and unemployed; for the unemployed to help them secure employment

in Jesus' name and for the employed to enable them to find promotion in Jesus' mighty name – all these in materialistic terms. This is syncretism tainting the message of the gospel with materialism. The founders/leaders are usually charismatic individuals, literate, and often loud and flamboyant in their life-style. They adopt very modern methods of preaching employing electronic gadgets and modern music. Their overall bearing in life is generally Western-oriented. Some of them employ all kinds of modern means of promotional advertisement to propagate their message.

With all these, the corruption of the message of Christianity cannot but be obvious; giving way to newly formulated superstitious doctrines to compliment whatever is retained of the original teachings of the mother mainline churches from where they emerged. Or as F. Obiora questions: "Why the multi-fission of churches? Are these churches not bringing out elements that are not in consonance and accordance with the orthodox ones? What new teachings have these new churches?"(7). They certainly make sure they deviate from some teachings of the mainline churches, especially those doctrines that were found burdensome to accept and what their neophytes would really want to hear. No preacher of these nascent churches preaches eternal life.

Materialistic Salvation

One of the negative contributions of the current new religious movements to syncretism and superstition is the purely materialistic gospel preached by their men and women of God. Turning their churches which are already personal property, assets or estates, into commercial entities, founders do their utmost best to advertize their enterprises and goods in the most attractive and flamboyant fashion that today's world would want to hear. It is in this way that the authentic Christian message is lost sight of, jeopardized, diluted, polluted and blended with things that have absolutely nothing to do with the Christian vocation. As we know, syncretism is a misappropriation, and therefore an adulteration and a dilution of the dogmas, doctrines, decrees, tenets and the creedal system of a particular religion on modifying them for one's personal motives. In this sense the materialistic salvation and prosperity gospel in vogue today constitute a sharp and remarkable departure from the authenticity of the original creed of the mainline churches.

The above departure from the message of salvation characterizes the evangelization strategies of modern religious movements and nascent churches. Currently there is uproar about one of the multi-millionaire Nigerian pastors, Mr Oyedepo, dubbed "The Pastorpreneur" who is a popular preacher of the 'prosperity gospel'. He is not the only Nigerian pastor owning more than two private jets, but of late his prosperity gospel has fast become scandalous. Between 2007 and 2010 he received £794,000 or 73 per cent of the charitable donations paid out by the British Winners' Chapel. This was despite claims in Africa that he is enriching himself at the expense of his devotees." He has a fleet of not less than four expensive aircrafts and his congregants are handed payment slips at every gathering requesting payments by cheque, cash or debit card when they enter London's Winners' Chapel. George Arbuthnott, *Daily Mail*, Wednesday, Oct 24 2012.

The reporter (above) saw a payment slip being given to every person entering the church encouraging them to donate money by cheque or cash or to fill in a form with their debit card details. The slip said tithes should be paid separately using a 'Kingdom Investment Booklet' and the reporter was informed that payments could also be made by phone. A pastor told the worshippers: 'You shall be financially promoted after this service in Jesus' name if you are ready to honour the Lord therefore with all your givings, tithes, your offerings, your kingdom investment, your sacrifices. Congregants were told to fill in their slips and hold them above their heads while the donations were blessed.

The above is, to say the least, the height of syncretism, mixing up the message of the Christian gospel with material wealth and twisting the Christian message to favour personal material gains. This turning of God's kingdom into a money - gamble venture has become superstitious, especially when judged against the background of authentic Christian message still languishing within the orthodox Christian milieus. The *Sunday Mail* also reports of a video footage of Mr Oyedepo striking a woman across the face and condemning her to hell after she had confessed of being a 'witch for Jesus'. This event is believed to have happened in the Winners' Chapel Super church in Nigeria. In May 2012, the pastor was sued for £800,000 over the alleged assault. This is the type of shepherds we have today and condemned by Cardinal Anthony Okogie of Lagos Archdiocese, for placing materialism over and above the Christian message. Among Mr Oyedepo's fleet of aircrafts are said to be a Gulfstream 1 and Gulfstream 4 private jets. It is also claimed that he and his wife, Faith, travel in expensive Jeeps, flanked by convoys of siren-blaring vehicles. He is the senior pastor of Faith Tabernacle: a 50,000-seat auditorium in Lagos Nigeria, reputed to be the largest church in the world, and runs a publishing company that distributes books carrying his message across the world. His other business interests span manufacturing, petrol stations, bakeries, water purification factories, recruitment, a university, restaurants, supermarkets and real estate. The latest addition is a commercial airline named Dominion Airlines.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2220833/Laughing-private-jet—93m-pastor-accused-exploiting-British-worshippers.html#ixzz2AEP4eI9P>

Apart from Pastor Oyedepo, there are some other multi-millionaire pastors preoccupied with the personal wealth gospels in Nigeria. "Many other Nigerian pastors are similarly building multi-million dollar empires from their churches. Today, pastors fly around in private jets, drive fancy cars like Daimlers, Porsches and BMWs, don Rolexes and Patek Phillipes, and own breathtaking mansions all over the world."

"Nigeria's Five Richest Pastors" <http://news2.onlinenigeria.com>

Concluding Evaluation

A brief tour of our topic has been accomplished. We have come to grip with the various nuances of superstition and syncretism and their menace to authentic Christian

practice in Africa. We have touched on their origin in traditional beliefs and in the mainline churches. We have equally met the contributions made by the New Religious Movement towards superstition and syncretism, especially as regards their materialistic gospel. All these and a lot more have constituted a terrible baton in the wheels of authentic Christian practice.

The magnitude of the success of this devastation lies with the socio-economic backwardness of most Africans. These vulnerable creatures become exploited in the very process of searching for the miracles of better material wellbeing and improved living conditions. As well observed by M. Bassey in Ukpong (2008): “This movement (Pentecostalism) especially, in the Nigerian context, is shown to have appealed to people’s sense of insecurity, anguish and fear caused by crisis of values and identity in contemporary society and the concomitant ruthless struggle for survival.” (vii). The setup is so confusing that everybody, both the exploiters and the exploited have lost sight of the true message of the gospel. In today’s churches, nobody thinks or talks about heaven. The entire Christian message today is on material success and security. The gospel message has become entirely mundane. But alas the spiritual was the core of the message of Christ to his early followers and Christians today were to follow suit. Apart from poverty, most Africans are exploited, led astray and become gullible due to ignorance. They appear unwilling to be enlightened about basic facts of life. As Rudolf Okonkwo has correctly decried:

The tragedy of Africa is that it reached the information age without first passing through the industrial age. In matters temporal, Africa got to the modern age without passing through the Enlightenment. That is why some people believe that a child was born holding a mini-Koran in its hand, or that a child came out of the womb holding a cross in its hand. Why mini-Koran? Why a cross? Why something we already know? Why does this kind of phenomenon only happen in societies that wallow in superstition? If it is a message from God, as some believe, why won't God use the opportunity to send a definitive manual of life?
ikforum@yahoogroups.com

Thus materialistic salvation preached by new religious movements and the whole spectrum of superstitious beliefs/syncretism highlighted above, violate this text of the book of Deuteronomy about the integrity of God’s word: “Listen Israel: *Add nothing to the commandment and decree that I give you; add nothing, subtract nothing.*” (Deut. 4:1-2; 6-8). The unalloyed message of Christianity has completely lost its purity directly or indirectly to superstition and syncretism. This is because “every word of God proves true; he is a shield to those who take refuge in him. *Do not add to his words, or else he will rebuke you, and you will be found a liar.*” (Prov. 30:5-9). Preachers misappropriate, thwart and distort the essential message of Christianity adapting it for their own material profit. The big question is: where do we go from here?

Works cited and Endnotes

- Abhijit Naik (2010) <http://www.buzzle.com/articles/superstitious-beliefs.html>
- Angeles P. 1981 *Dictionary of Philosophy* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books).
- Appiah-Kubi 1991 "Faith, Science and Technology: An African Perspective" in *African Dilemma: A Cry for Life*, Kubi K. et al Eds. Papers presented at Ecumenical Association Third World Theologians (Eatwot) 148 (148-157).
- Arbuthnott G. (2012) "Laughing on his private jet - the £93m pastor accused of exploiting British worshippers" Daily Mail, Wednesday, 24 October 2012.
- Attah A. 2012 "Unholy War: Prophet threatens to bomb catechist Ik-Priests-Forum@yahoogroups.com
- Bouyer L. (1963) *Dictionnaire Théologique* (Tournai: Desclée)
- Bouyer L. (1963) *Dictionnaire Théologique* (Tournai: Desclée).
- Ducat P. and J. Montenot Ed. (2004) *Philosophie, Le Manuel* (Paris: Ellipes Édition marketing S. A.)
- Ehusani G. (1991) "Christian Commitment: "The African Dilemma" *African Dilemma: A Cry for Life*, Kubi K. et al Eds. A collection of papers presented at Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (Eatwot) 159-166.
- Ejizu, C. I. (2012) "Conversion" In African Traditional Religions [www. afrikaworld. net/ afre/ conversion.htm](http://www.afrikaworld.net/afre/conversion.htm)
- Ejizu, C.I. (1984) "Continuity and Discontinuity in African Traditional Religion, The Case of the Igbo of Nigeria", *Cahier Des Religions Africaines*, (Vol. 8, No. 36, 1984), pp. 197-214.
- Lewis H. D. (1959) *Our Experience of God* (London: Allen & Unwin).
- Naik A. (2010) www.buzzle.com/articles/syncretism-examples.html
- Nnamani, A. (2002) 'Demonology and African experience' in *Nacaths Journal of African Theology* vol. 12.
- Obiora F. (1998) *The Divine Deceit* (Enugu: Optimal International).
- Okonkwo R. (2012) "My Religion is better than yours" ikforum@yahoo.com .
- Omogbe, J. (2009) *Comparative Religions, Christianity and other World Religions in Dialogue* (Lagos: Joja Press Ltd.)

- Rahner K. et al (1970) *Petit Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris: Edition du Seuil)
- Smart, R. (1959) *Reason and Faith* (London: SMC Press).
- Udoette, D. (2002) "New religious Movements in Nigeria: Challenges to the Church in the New Millennium" *The Search*, vol. 1, No. 1, 36-37 (35-48).
- Ukpong, D. (2008) *Nigerian Pentecostalism: Case, diagnosis and prescription* (Uyo: Fruities' Publications).
- Umahi H. 2012 "Ritualists feast on Used Sanitary Pads" *Saturday Sun*, December 15 2012.
- Umoh D. (2007) *Traditional Symbols enriching Christian Symbolism: the Yellow Palm of Palm Sunday* (Abuja: Madol Publishers).
- Umoh D.(2008) "Philosophical Truth versus Religious Faith: a Phenomenological Critique" *WAJOPS West African Journal of Philosophical Studies*, vol. 11, 105-128.
- Umoh D. (2009) *A Philosopher looks at Annang Personality* (Enugu: Snaaps Publishers).
- Umoh D. (2012) "Death is not Natural: The African Story" *Journal of Religion & Society*, The Kripke Center Vol. 2012. 1-13.
- Umoh D. 2012(a) *A Philosopher looks at Science, Religion and Secularism* (Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press).
-

Generation to Generation: Perennial Dread and Despair in Chinua Achebe's *Beware, Soul Brother* and Olu Oguibe's *A Gathering Fear*.

Sunny Awhefeada*

Abstract

*This paper explores the motifs of dread and despair in the poetry of two Nigerian writers of different generations. It argues that both poets write against the backdrop of an endless context of chaos and disorder occasioned by the caprices of history. The consequences of the frightening historical condition occasioned by military rule which both poets engage are manifested in negative connotations which coalesce into dread and despair. The older poet is Chinua Achebe, while the younger one is Olu Oguibe. Achebe's *Beware, Soul Brother* and Oguibe's *A Gathering Fear* are examined in this discourse as works of different generational alignments, but beholden to the same historical temperament. What both works foreground is the entrenched and unending condition of national disillusionment which is sustained by perennial chaos.*

A recurring motif in the evaluation of Nigerian literature is the writer's recurring disillusionment with the nation's fractured experience. This is so because the milieu from which the writer's imagination derives validation is fraught with experiences which inhere in the tragic since the circumstances of history appear to have been unkind to Nigeria. This is reflected in the gravitas encountered in the nation's literature. Nigeria's literary history can be negotiated in three broad phases which are the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence. Each of the phases throws up inadequacies that ought to have been remedied in the course of time. However, instead of being ameliorated the disruptions continue to deepen and create complex and often multiple national maladies. It is therefore plausible for Chinua Achebe (1975) to say that "the creative writer in independent Nigeria found himself with a new, terrifying problem on his hands" (82).

The Nigerian writer's consciousness, like that of his other African counterparts, is troubled and informed by complex and unending national maladies. This realization enabled Ngugi wa Thiong'O (1989) to declare that "[t]he present predicaments of Africa are often not a matter of personal choice: they arise from an historical situation"(xii). This condition of perpetual national chaos manifests in anger, despair and dread which constitute significant metaphors across phases and generations of Nigerian writings. If the writings mirroring the pre-colonial epoch throw up vistas of communal, individual as well as existential predicaments, those of the colonial encounter foreground the tragic clash which ensued as a result of the imperial onslaught which colonialism turned out to be. However, more excruciating is the post-independence era which was mistakenly envisaged as presaging

*Department of English and Literary Studies, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria

relief for the people's fractured consciousness. Rather than privilege respite for the embattled masses, independence inflamed the pains already inflicted by the imperative of colonialism.

The twin phenomena from which much of the motifs of Nigerian literature derive their watershed are military rule and the Nigerian Civil War that lasted for thirty months. Both incidents are interwoven as they constitute the dismal fallouts of the collapse of civil and moral authority which eventually undermined civil rule as documented in Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*. The era of martial rule which this novel inaugurates fast tracked a chain of cataclysmic events which J.P Clark's play *Ozidi* allegorizes. A significant index of military rule in Nigeria was the civil war which is the *leit motif* of Clark's *The Casualties*. It is also given substantial ventilation in Christopher Okigbo's *Labyrinths*. Both phenomena; military rule and civil war, constitute the most engaged strains in the stream of Nigerian literature.

This discourse locates Achebe's war time collection of poetry *Beware, Soul Brother* and Olu Oguibe's *A Gathering Fear* as works provoked by the maladies of military dictatorship. Achebe remains a significant writer of the first generation in the same way Oguibe can be said to be a representative if not pioneering voice of the third generation of writers in Nigeria. The time span between the inauguration of both generations is some three decades. While Achebe's earliest literary outing was around Nigeria's independence, 1958 to early 1960s, Oguibe's poetry announced its grim presence between 1988 and 1992. It is noteworthy to mention that both Achebe and Oguibe are Igbo, the ethnic group that was the most physically and psychologically bruised by military rule and the civil war. Both writers are also associated with Nigeria's first post-independence university located at Nsukka. Like many other Nigerian writers, Achebe and Oguibe also took the path that led into exile.

There is no doubt that Achebe and Oguibe belong to different generations, but they are bound by a historical continuum defined by perennial tragic dislocations. Both writers dedicated their creative energies to the compelling issues of the day – the civil war and the malaise of military rule. Hence both poetry collections reflect the prevailing issues of the era that engendered them. Julie Agbasiere (2000) justifies this tendency as follows:

The writers should be more concerned with contemporary socio-political issues and problems which are pressing and require immediate attention. Preventing the present day societies from collapsing is more important than digging up African's past glories. (72).

As earlier hinted, Achebe's *Beware, Soul Brother*, henceforth *Beware...*, derives from the gory thirty month civil war, and it was for a very long time his only volume of poetry until 2004 when he published *Collected Poems*. In *Beware*, Achebe navigates the many bloody incidents occasioned by the war. The sense of loss, death, destitution, hunger and grief all contribute to the collection's threnodic tone. Oguibe's *A Gathering Fear*, henceforth, *A Gathering...*, is also rendered in a threnodic voice that has known the strains of war in all its bloody and destructive ramifications. Both collections are dedicated to

women who are the major victims of the kind of crises poeticized in the many of the poems. Achebe's is to his mother, while Oguibe's is to Amam and her brother, Joshua.

Beware... begins quite symbolically with the poem aptly titled "The First Shot". The brief poem which memorializes the commencement of the war reads thus:

That lone rifle-shot anonymous
in the dark striding chest-high
through a nervous suburb at the break
of our season of thunders will yet
steep its flight and lodge
more firmly than the greater noises
ahead in the forehead of memory. (*Beware*.....7)

The quoted lines capture the beginning of armed hostilities. The first shot that was fired in the war remains anonymous in the annals, but then it is significant as it presages a "season of thunders" which is the massive destruction that the war turned out to be. The allusion to "thunder" draws attention to Christopher Okigbo's deployment of the same metaphor in his poems in "Paths of Thunder" where he envisioned the tornadoes that the civil war engendered. In the third line, "nervous suburb" anticipates the physical and psychological shock caused by the gun shot. Bernth Lindfors (2007) puts the general situation in focus thus:

Themes of madness, terror and social dislocation
served to underscore the fragility of human
civilizations, particularly when subjected to the
kind of irreversible devastation wrought by
calculated brutality (26).

More of such would follow to heighten the fear of the victims. In *A Gathering...* the opening poem is not about war, but the brutalization it depicts is no less frightening than that of a war situation. Some of the lines below portray the bloody act vividly:

So, they sought him out
And whipped him raw
And hounded him
Into the woods
...

They clobbered him
 And clobbered him
 Till he was one with the sand
 They wiped the blood from their hands
 And mopped the sweat from their brows
 And built a monument from their clubs
 Over the spot. (*A Gathering*....., 9-10)

The poem foregrounds the merciless elimination of a symbol of conscience, and probably a redemptive element. Beyond this, is the possible interpretation of it being tantamount to the dimming of hope. The enormity of the bloody act versified in the stanzas quoted above compels even the reader to feel some vicarious repulsion. The effort put into the destruction of the victim demonstrates the destructive gusto that characterizes post-independence Nigeria. Violence has been one of Nigeria's undoing be it in time of war or peace. It is at times not clear whether the nation is perpetually at war or not.

The bloody deed recounted in the poem engenders a soothing retributive act. The last three stanzas encapsulate the haunting punishment for the doers of the deed:

The voice sprouted again and
 Crawled into their skulls and began to howl,
 His voice walked ahead and came behind
 And rocked the earth like a storm.
 They did not return
 The voice survives.... (*A Gathering*....10)

The voice survives like an undying abstraction to torment the conspirators cum killers. The pervasiveness of the torment is overwhelming. Such is the power of conscience or the spirit of good deeds which will always triumph over evil. This belief rests on a universal template that good will always outlast evil.

In "Refugee Mother and Child," Achebe presents the most vulnerable victims of conflict; women and children. The poem opens with an allusion to the Madonna figure thus:

No Madonna and child could touch
 that picture of a mother's tenderness

for a son she soon would have to forget (*Beware....8*)

The impression in the foregoing lines is that of a great affection between a mother and her child. But soon, the mother “would have to forget” her son because of the consequences of war which Achebe couches as follows:

The air was heavy with odours

With washed-out ribs and dried-up

Bottoms struggling in laboured

Steps behind blown empty bellies.... (*Beware.... 8*)

The depiction of hunger, disease and imminent death evokes a sense of an ever present foreboding occasioned by war. The grim reality of the situation is pronounced in the emaciated children with flatulent stomach and dry flat buttocks. The dread and existential sentence which war privileges is further reflected below:

..... she held
a ghost smile between her teeth
and in her eyes the ghost of a mother's
pride as she combined the rust coloured
hair left on his skull and then....
singing in her eyes –began carefully
to part it... In another life this
act of no consequence before his
breakfast and school; now she
did it like putting flowers
on a tiny grave (*Beware..., 8*)

Depicted in the above is the gory tragedy of war on the domestic front. The doting mother in all tenderness takes her time to make up her dying son. The unfortunate strain in this poem is that the event which should have been part of preparation for school in saner time and clime turns out to be preparation for the hunting presence of “ghost” as death becomes a common decimal. Achebe's deployment of imagery presents the child's deplorable condition as that of disease which was occasioned by lack of good nutrition in war time.

A more dreadful tone is encountered in Oguibe's “I am bound to this land by blood”, where the two opening lines say: “I am bound to this land by blood/that's why my vision is

blurred” (11). The circumstance leading to this grim declaration is linked to the war schematized in Achebe’s collection. Oguibe was born three years before the war, and like Achebe, he is Igbo who were the major victims of the war. Thus one encounters how the psychological effect of the war runs in Oguibe’s consciousness more than that of his contemporaries from other parts of Nigeria. The poem reels off more echoes of pains:

I have cried so often with broken men
 And peered into a million faces blank
 Faces without bodies, bodies without faces
 The owners of nothing breakers of stone
 The owners who are owned I have know them all (*A Gathering*)

The unfortunate situation turns the persona into the figure of a “weeping Jeremiah”. He goes on to introduce a proletariat angle to the poem by re-creating the suffering of the victims which has made them become “ghosts” people without identifiable human features like faces and bodies. The paradox of the last line in the stanza quoted above points at a people under socio-economic thralldom and grossly exploited by inhuman masters. The unrelenting echoes of pain underscore the magnitude of the pitiable condition:

I have heard the wailing of a million
 I have stood in the crowd where men
 Mixed their sweat and wiped blood
 From their brows cursing silently

 I bear the mark of the masses on my brow (*A Gathering....11*)

The proletariat slant is further reinforced in the lines above. The suffering and hardship lead to “wailing”, and even drawing blood as sweat is not commensurate to the degree of inhuman experience the masses are subjected to. The point here is that violence and blood become recurring sights not just in war, but even in supposed peace time. More evidence of this are presented as follows:

And if I sing not of roses and rivers
 It’s because I see rivers of blood
 I look through the holler of the crowd
 And I see blood on the ground

I see blood on the rock slabs
I look over the mangrove swamp
And I walk through fields of groundnut
And I see nothing but blood
I see blood in the face of the farmer
On the palm of the school child
I see blood on the statue
Of the Immaculate Mother (*A Gathering....12*)

The presence of blood is pervasive, and it reminds one of the submission by the late Afro-Beat musician Fela Anikulakpo-Kuti that the regular trademark of military rule in Nigeria was "sorrow, tears and blood". It is the prevalence of violence that has made blood a ubiquitous phenomenon. Hence it becomes a fit, though sad, motif for poetry. Therefore, instead of poeticizing roses and rivers, the poet foregrounds the gory condition which spilt blood on the ground, on rock slabs, in groundnut fields and in the mangrove. The pervasiveness captures the different geographical description of the various regions that make up Nigeria. Quite pathetically too, is the "blood on the statue/Of the Immaculate Mother", an allusion to the mother of Jesus Christ. This is spiritual desecration which underscores the boundlessness of the carnage ravaging the land.

In "Christmas in Biafra (1969)" Achebe mirrors the din and tragedy of war in the expectant ambience of the Christmas season. Instead of bliss and peace one encounters:

This sunken-eyed moment wobbling
down the rocky steepness on broken
bones slowly fearfully to hideous
concourse of gathering sorrows in the valley
would yet become in another year a lost
Christmas irretrievable in the heights
Its exploding inferno..... (*Beware....9*)

The dominant imagery in the above lines is that of disorder, confusion, sadness and destruction which run antithetical to the defining mood of Christmas. Also vivid in the lines is the picture of an emaciated fellow with sunken eyes, wobbling to join a group overwhelmed by sorrow in the valley. For this group, the moment of Christmas with its

festivity and joy is lost to the inferno triggered off by the war. But elsewhere without the blazing fury of the war people enjoy the period of Christmas. The poet recounts this thus:

..... To death-cells
 of that moment came faraway sounds of other
 men's carols floating on crackling waves
 mocking us. With regret? Hope? Longing? (*Beware...9*)

The consciousness of the celebration of Christmas elsewhere evokes different emotions in the victims of the war. These emotions range from regret, hope and longing. In spite of this, some of those trapped in the war zone attempt to create a scene akin to that of Christmas as follows:

Beyond the hospital gate
 the good nuns had set up a manger
 of palms to house a fine plaster cast scene at Bethlehem.
 The Holy family was central, serene, the child
 Jesus plump wise-looking and rose-checked; one
 Of the magic in keeping with legend
 a black Othello in sumptuous robes. Other
 figures of men and angels stood
 at well appointed distances from
 the heart of the divine miracle
 and the usual animals gazed on
 in holy wonder.... (*Beware....9*)

The nuns' attempt is a parody of the aura of Christmas. But the painful reality of the attempt is the seeming beauty which contrasts sharply with the ugliness of war. The soothing representations in the above lines such as "the good nuns", "fine plaster cast", "Holy family", "Jesus plump wise-looking and rose-cheeked", "men and angels", etc, heighten the contrast between the ideals of Christmas and the reality of the war as recorded below:

poorer than the poor worshippers

before her who had paid their homage
.....She only
crossed herself and prayed open-eyed. Her
infant son, flat like a dead lizard
on her shoulder his arms and legs
cauterized by famine was a miracle
of its own kind. Large sunken eyes
stricken past boredom to a flat
unrecognizing glairiness moped faraway
motionless across her should....(*Beware...10*)

These lines capture the enormity of the destruction, especially human devaluation through suffering caused by war. The victims are pauperized, yet they cling on to spirituality from which they derive a sense of hope. In this poem, attention is paid to the victim's son "flat like a dead lizard" as a result of famine. The pity-inducing imagery of the son reduced to a living dead moping, unrecognizing and motionless on the mother's shoulder contrasts those of the preceding stanza created by the aura of Jesus Christ.

In Oguibe's "The Triumphant Entry", a long poem in sequences anchored on a title that is a biblical allusion, one encounters various manifestations of dread and despair. The persona admits:

I hear the sound of bayonet
Through the marrow of the womb
The king has not come on the back of a mule
.....
The king has come in dazzle of butts
.....
The king has come with a split-tooth grin
The king comes ridding on the bones of
men.(A Gathering.....14)

Oguibe recreates the violence prone phenomenon of military rule. The emergence of a military ruler is usually through violence which he also uses to sustain himself in power. This was the vogue in the 1980s and 1990s in Nigeria when one military strong man after the other seized or attempted to seize the reins of power. The dominance of violence during military dictatorship is further accentuated in the second sequence thus; “blessed is the mortar/and the councils of war”. This recalls the Christian beatitudes. However, while the beatitudes seek to create an ideal realm, Oguibe’s poem opens up a terrifying spectrum of the uses to which violence is put. Other echoes of martial engagement are found in the third sequence in varying degrees as the poet continues his mimicry of the beatitudes. Hear him:

Bless the bleeding child
 And his broken father

 Bless the fleeing and the fled
 The prisoner and his stain

 Blessed is the poet and his gun
 The splinters of his bins
 Blessed are his woes (*A Gathering....16*)

In Oguibe’s collection, as in Achebe’s, there is pervasive brutality in which even “the child” is not exempted. There is confusion, pain and disorder existing in a context of violence defined by its bloodiness. In all this, there are people trying to flee from the war zone as well as those entrapped as prisoners. The last stanza strikes a familiar note regarding the poet tuned soldier, Christopher Okigbo who died while fighting during the Nigerian civil war.

The destructive propensity of war is limitless as it is manifested in various ways. This is reflected in Achebe’s “Air Raid” rendered below:

It comes so quickly
 the bird of death
 from evil forests of Soviet technology
 A man crossing the road
 to greet a friend
 is much too slow

His friend cut in halves
has other worries now
than a friendly handshake
at noon. (*Beware....11*)

The second stanza depicts how ubiquitous the destruction of human life is in war time. The simple and friendly encounter of a handshake with a friend ends up in death as one of the friends gets killed by a jet bomber. The metaphor "bird of death" refers to the deadly jet bomber while the succeeding line tells of its country of production which is the then Soviet Union now defunct. The covert implication of this poem can be interpreted to mean that death is pervasive in war; not only at the war front or battle field, but even in the perceived safety of the home far from the hurly-burly of war.

In continuing his depiction of the tragic subjugation inherent in the era of military dictatorship Oguibe in the poem "who would listen to the Poet" writes of the trauma the dictator unleashes on the people:

He raises his hands
and the people prostrate
He brings down his hand
and their cries fill the earth (*A Gathering21*)

Every action of the dictator causes the people distress. The people's prostration is a mark of their inhuman subjugation which has confined them to servitude. Their cries which fill the earth emanate from the untold suffering and hardship imposed by the ruler. More vistas of his repressive tendencies are below:

Kabiyesi!
Guardian of the House
Swathing savage in green felt cap
Strong one whose face is mild like a child's
Yet his heart is hard like a stonewall
The jackal that laughed his way into the flock (*A Gathering....21*)

The reference to Kabiyesi which is the equivalent of an absolute monarch in Yoruba traditional political system situates the dictator in the perspective of a despot. The symbol "green felt cap" depicts him as a military ruler. Other markers of his draconian stance include expressions such as "savage", "strong one", "stone wall", etc. He is also referred to

as “The Jackal”, a wild animal that feeds on decaying flesh. This negativism underscores how loathsome the ruler’s preoccupations are. Also the psychological affliction visited on the people through terror are highlighted in the following lines:

Fear and terror clear your path
We watch from afar
Great leader of men
Who dares defy your cordon of dogs? (*A Gathering22*)

The people stand in trepidation of the ruler who dominates them through fear and terror. In holding fast to power, the dictator surrounds himself with soldiers whom the poet refers to as dogs.

In the third sequence of the poem, the persona recounts an incident that took place during the Nigerian civil war. In the first stanza, his reference to *Iyalode* finds a parallel in Nigeria’s first lady in the late 1980s. The second stanza recounting the war event reads:

I remember that day how
In a village by the River
Men were rounded up like roosters
And slaughtered in the square.....
Her own father was among them (*A Gathering23*)

The event took place in Okpanam, a town in Delta State situated near the River Niger. The federal soldiers deceived the indigenes of Okpanam that the war had ended, so the people came out in great numbers upon which the men were all shot at and killed. That incident happened in 1969 during the heat of the war. The father of the first lady described as *Iyalode* was one of those killed in that massacre.

The fourth sequence of the poem further heightens the depravity of the ruler. Some of the relevant stanzas are reproduced below:

There is hunger in the land
Cries of anguish fill the House
Atunda is poised behind the Rock
.....
Amidst the howls of anger

The king and his men feast
And who can save the drunk?..
...
The dazzle of power
Blinds the warlords
For who dares defy
The radiance of the king?
Who dares raise a finger
Against the giants? (*A Gathering...26*).

There is profound foreboding in the land owing to hunger, anguish and the chaos that is imminent. Nevertheless, the ruler remains insensitive and continues his drunken revelry with his cohorts. The insensitivity inherent in those who abuse political power whom the poet describes as "Warlords" plays out to the fullest.

In spite of the war's cataclysmic proportion, Achebe carries out an introspection which configures a future after the conflict. In "Beware, Soul Brother", the poem from which the collection derives its title, the poet cautions:

..... Take care
Brother of this hard patrimony on which
you will walk again when the song
Is finished and dancers disperse;
remember also your children
for they in their time will want
a place for their feet when
they come of age and the dance
of the future is born
for them. (*Beware....20*)

The Nigerian civil war was an internecine conflict between dissenting sides that were once one nation. Achebe's visionary thrust sees a future when both sides will be one

again. He also alludes to the need for a consideration of the children of the future. Certainly the war will not be forever, hence the need to spare a thought for the future.

Oguibe in “A Gathering Fear” the collection’s title poem envisages a grave end for the polity. His grim vision derives from the unending socio-political chaos. The significant features of this ominous ending will be manifested in cycles the way the elemental forces operate. Hear the persona’s severe voice:

I have known this harshness
Threatening the very breath of earth
These clouds now hurrying back
Heralding the clap of thunder. (*A Gathering....31*)

The tendency towards chaos and destruction is not new to the persona. It has become a perennial phenomenon. What is insinuated in the stanza is the magnitude of the impending disaster which is of a frightening proportion. But, then as noted earlier the destructive crisis is not new. It happened during the civil war as recreated in Achebe’s *Beware...* Oguibe, like many of his contemporaries, bears the psychological scars of the war. The persona in the poem intones:

We have walked this path before
Memory lies ahead wriggling in her pain
The nightmare has only begun
And my fear returns to me (*A Gathering 31*)

In the foregoing lines are the graphic memorials ensuing from the carnage that the Nigerian civil war turned out to be. The privileging of the war memorials is necessary, as Ogaga Okuyade (2008) puts it to “allow us to understand and to perceive the devastating blow of the war,” (130). The loss of human lives, exile, widowhood, desolate towns and villages, among other vistas of that bloody experience remain the hallmark of the war. Hence the persona’s cautionary stance as follows:

Let him watch these seasons
Let him tread softly
Into this dance
Of masquerade. (*A Gathering ...32*)

The caution is a preventive step that should stem the drift to anomy and prevent the gory incidents which manifested during the civil war. This preventive caution is what many African writers have proposed. Ngugi wa Thiong’O (1981) remarks that:

The writer responded to the decay by appealing to the
conscience of the new class. If only they would listen!
If only they would see the error of their ways! He pleaded,
lamented, threatened, painted the picture of disaster
ahead, talked of the fire next time”.

Thus far, this exploration has been on the recurring motifs of dread and despair occasioned by a hostile ambience. The mood of fear is inspired by the grimness of military rule which held Nigeria by the jugular for years. Part of its consequences was the Nigerian civil war of 1967 – 1970. The war traumatized the populace no end and its echoes still instill a considerable level of dread in the popular consciousness. After the war, successive military administrations especially in the 1980s and 1990s unleashed a reign of terror on the populace. All the indices of draconian engagements were let loose on a hapless nation. Thus, there were moments when it seemed that the nation was perpetually in crises. This engendered the notion of perennial dread and despair. While Achebe's *Beware...* springs from the throes of the war which J.O.J. Nwachukwu – Agbada (1993) says “is still very fresh in everybody's mind” (86), Oguibe's *A Gathering....* derives from the aura of fear induced by the drift into anarchy and at the same time drawing insights from reverberations of the civil war. Both poets, Achebe and Oguibe, belong to different generations, but their poetry is anchored on the same defining sign post of post-colonial Nigeria which is disillusionment.

Works Cited

- Achebe, C. *A Man of the People*. London: Heinemann, 1966.
- *Beware, Soul Brother*. London: Heinemann, 1972.
- *Morning Yet on Creation Day*. London: Heinemann, 1975.
- *Collected Poems*. New York: Anchor, 2004.
- Agbasiere, J. “African Literature and Social Commitment”, *Major Themes in African Literature*. (eds.) D.U. Opata and A.O. Ohaegbu. Nsukka: AP Express Publishers, 2000.
- Clark, J. P. *Casualties*. London: Longman, 1970.
- Lindfors, B. “Politics, Culture and Literary Forms”, *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*. [eds.] T. Olaniyan and A. Quayson. Malden (USA): Blackwell, 2007.
- Ngugi, w. *Writers in Politics*. London: Heinemann, 1981.
- *Decolonizing the Mind*. London : James Currey, 1989.

Nwachukwu-Agbada, J.O.J. "The Eighties and the Return of Oral Cadence in Nigerian Poetry".
Eds. D. Reimenschneider and F. Schulzenger. *African Literature in the Eighties*. Amsterdam:
Radopi, 1993.

Oguibe, O. *A Gathering Fear*. Lagos: Kraft Book, 1992.

Okigbo, C. *Labyrinths*. Ibadan: Heinemann, 1986.

Okuyade, O. "Of the Versification of Pain". *African Literature Today* No. 26. 2008.

Electoral Politics of Haryana: Enumerating the Basic Characteristics

Sunil Devi*

Abstract

This paper is about the electoral politics of Haryana. The politics of the state, which is located in the proximity of national capital, appears to be constituted by peculiar characteristic features like any other state. During four decades of its electoral history the state has not been able to develop the attributes of a coherent party system one can associate with. It seems that it is not the ideology which is important for the political alignments but the personality cult along with caste cleavage, rural-urban divide that plays a major role. The state has not experienced a stable party system apart from the lack of a coherent party system. The paper is a modest attempt to draw attention to the basic characteristics of Haryana electoral politics.

Introduction

Haryana was carved out on the linguistic basis after bifurcation of Punjab state on 1st November 1966 under the State Reorganization Act of 1956. The Hindi-speaking eastern region of Punjab state was declared as Haryana Prant and Punjabi speaking western portion remained as Punjab. Chandigarh was declared as Union Territory and served as the capital of both the states¹.

Social Demography

Majority population of the state is rural and the society is caste-ridden. The state population consists of two categories namely the Agricultural and Non-agricultural divide. The agriculturalists caste constitutes the largest group in Haryana society, as it comprises about 55 percent of its total population. Jats are the largest caste in this segment. They constitute more than 20 percent of the population of the state. Other major castes in this group are: Ahirs 5 percent, Gujjars 3 percent, and Rajputs 4 percent (according to Census 2001). Of the non-agriculturist cases, Punjabis are also in a considerable strength. They constitute 7 percent of total population and are too perceived as a caste group of the non-agriculturist castes. Besides, the state has about 4.6 percent Muslim and 5.8 percent Sikh population.² The total Sikh population in the state is largely concentrated in areas contiguous

*JRF(UGC), Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh

to Punjab. Besides, more than two-thirds of Muslim population is concentrated in a single pocket in southern Haryana called Mewat. Some Muslim presence is also in Chhachharuli in Yamunanagar and Panipat.³ The scheduled castes constituted 19.03 per cent of the total population in Haryana in as per 2001 census. 37 castes come under the category of SC in Haryana and chamars are the most numerous, Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi and Khatiks are the other constituent groups in the category.

· **Political Geography and Regional Division of the State**

The state has five Rajya Sabha seats, 10 Parliamentary and 90 Assembly constituencies. Out of which 2 Parliamentary and 17 Assembly constituencies are reserved for Scheduled castes.⁴ Haryana has 21 districts and four administrative regions, although the complete compartmentalization is not possible. Four administrative regions are as following:

- Rohtak
- Ambala
- Hisar
- Gurgaon

1. **Rohtak Region - Jat Belt:-** This region or division consists of Rohtak, Sonapat, Panipat, Karnal and Jhajjar (Jatland) districts. Jats families of Sir Chhotu Ram and Chaudhary Ranbir Singh Hooda are dominant in this administrative region.

2. **Ambala Region i.e. Urban Region:-** This region or division consists of Ambala, Kurukshetra, Panchkula, Yamunanagar and Kaithal districts. The second belt or administrative region consists of the advanced areas along with grand trunk road (GT road) from Ambala to Faridabad, parts of Karnal. In terms of caste configuration it consists of Banias, Brahmins, Rors, Ahirs, Sikhs and refugees from Panjab (Pakistan).⁵

3. **Hisar Region:-** This region or division consists of Hisar, Bhiwani, Fatehabad, Jind and Sirsa districts. The third belt or administrative region known as Mewat in which 62 percent of population is composed of Muslims. The Muslim dominated constituencies are located in Faridabad and Gurgaon districts. Late Chaudhary Devi Lal's family dominated Sirsa area while Hisar remains under the influence of Bhajan Lal and Mani Ram Godara and their families dominated the region. Besides Mewat area being dominated by Meo families of Tayyab Hussain and Khurshid Ahmed.

4. **Gurgaon Region:-** The regions or divisions consist of Faridabad, Palwal, Gurgaon, Mewat, Mahendergarh and Rewari districts. The fourth belt or administrative region is known as Ahirwal dominated by Ahirs or Yadavas are a middle level agricultural caste, which dominates in the Ahirwal region. The belt comprises Rewari, Mahendergarh and parts of Gurgaon districts⁶. Rao Birender Singh was the dominant leader o this region.

In almost all the states, there are historically constituted social, cultural, economic and political reigns on the sociological basis. It is the administrative regions that have emerged as electoral regions in Haryana as their own right, closely identifiable with a particular community leader and his family rather than with a party. As we would see, all these clusters /Zones/electoral belts /administrative regions differs from each other in one way or another in terms of electoral politics, although the complete compartmentalization is not possible.

Electoral Politics in Haryana and Major Determinant Factors

There are certain peculiar characteristic features of Haryana electoral politics which distinguish it from the other North Indian states. These features includes lack of coherent and stable party system, weak support base of BJP in Haryana, adhocism in state party system or lack of stable opposition to Congress, lack of strong regional identity, lack of contiguous and meaningful electoral regions, lack of assertion of weaker sections of the society, dominance of middle class peasantry in the post-Mandal era and concept of Panchayati candidates. .⁷

During four decades of its electoral history, the state has not developed the attributes of a coherent party system one can associates with due to personalized base of party politics. In Haryana, be it the electorate or the politicians, it seems that none of them are committed to a particular party as Haryana was a part of Punjab and political parties of Punjab lacked strong base in Haryana. Electorates in Haryana are like gladiators, they lack a developed political culture in terms of their political choices and affiliations to different political parties. They have two set of choices separate for national and state. The state has not experienced a stable party competition and a long term stable alignment of voters to their particular parties despite the high rate of electoral participation. Politicians in Haryana look for gains and it seems that nearness to the seat of power matters for them more than anything else. Besides, before 1980s no political party has strong social base in Haryana. So, both voters and politicians kept on changing their affiliations. Role of caste and kinship ties along with rural and urban cleavages are the deciding factors for the electoral behavior of people in Haryana.

Congress has been a weak force in the region since pre-independence period. Although Congress came in power in the state earlier and came later on too but it has never enjoyed the preponderance as it did in other states during pre-1967 period. If one came out to find a reason according to Prem Chaudhary it's due to legacy of Sir Chhotu Ram's Unionist party, which had a pro-British outlook kept the Haryana alienated from mainstream political culture and resulted in lacking of a strong ideological basis. This is against this backdrop that in Haryana, people keep changing the political loyalties and affiliations in every election. Since it's not peculiar to Haryana as people especially Jats are changing their political alignments in Rajasthan and Punjab too.

Apart from the lack of a coherent party system, anti-incumbency factor has been very strong in politics of Haryana. Congress is the only party which has formed consecutive governments twice. In words of Pratap Bhanu Mehta, anti-incumbency factor can be explained in two contexts, first people expect a lot from the government and secondly they expect very less and can easily afford the cost of changing leadership time and again⁸.

Since for the people of Haryana identity politics matter much than political party. (This can also be explained in terms of negative vote in the sense that people are not left with another option but to choose one).

Since, for the people of Haryana identity politics matters more than political party. It seems that It's not the ideology which is important for their political alignments but the personality cult along with caste cleavage, rural urban divide etc. Besides, Haryana politics has given new magnitude to the politics of factionalism as considered the cradle of politics of Aya Ram -Gaya Ram In politics despite its being universal phenomena. Apart from lack of a coherent party system; anti-incumbency factor has been very strong in politics of Haryana. There are certain defining features of Haryana electoral politics. The Significance of personality cult along with social cleavages based on caste and kinship. For voters in Haryana caste and personality matters a lot while deciding its electoral choice.

Factionalism

The politics of defection has always remained a defining feature of electoral politics in Haryana. Although, it is a universal phenomena in Indian politics, but Haryana politics has given new magnitude to the politics of factionalism, and the state is widely considered as the cradle of politics of Aya Ram Gaya Ram. ⁹After the reorganization of the state in 1966, the then Congress President of Punjab Bhagwat Dayal Sharma was made its Chief Minister. Soon after the first assembly elections of state held in March 1967, B.D Sharma became the Chief Minister. While selecting the Council of Ministers, although, Congress high command tried to provide fair representation to almost all dominant castes but their leaders like Chaudhary Devi Lal (a Jat), Rao Birender Singh (an Ahir) and Chand Ram (a Scheduled Caste) were neglected. So, they defected from Congress and formed United Front. Their defection led to the fall of 13 days old B.D. Sharma headed Congress government and Rao Birender Singh became the Chief Minister from the United Front. Rao Birender Singh also has to submit his resignation twice in the eight months rule. During November 1967 defections and counter-defections took place almost everyday.¹⁰

Rao Birender Singh (Haryana Vishal Party leader) led government also developed cracks very soon when Devi Lal led faction defected from the government and joined B.D. Sharma led group in the effort to ensure the downfall of Rao's government, as he dropped Devi Lal's main supporters Chand Ram and Mani Ram Godhara from his Cabinet. Politics of defections ultimately led to the imposition of President Rule on 22nd November 1967 as a result of dismissal of Rao's government.¹¹

The game of defection was not over. It was there to stay. During mid-term assembly elections of 1968, Congress again won the elections. But that time Congress high command appointed a relatively new Jat leader Bansi Lal as the new Chief Minister. B.D. Sharma along with his 15 supporters defected from Bansi Lal's government, which forced him to form a large size Cabinet.¹² Besides, in 1977, when Janata party won with a landslide majority, the Chief Minister Devi Lal was asked twice to seek the vote of confidence.¹³ Above all, during 1980 Haryana state politics set new paradigms to defection phenomenon of electoral politics due to overnight defection of Bhajan Lal led Janata party government to Congress party in 1980.

Even during February 2005 and 2009 Assembly polls factionalism was on the forefront especially in Congress. Every district was having its own Chief Ministerial candidate. After 2009 assembly polls five of HJC MLAs defected to Congress unconditionally and helped it to form government on its own¹⁴. The politics of Aya Ram and Gaya Ram was initially seen as corrupt practice and mere electoral opportunism for gaining office. In the opinion of the defectors, this was in fact not mere opportunism, but the course of electoral politics taking its natural shape in Haryana politics. And there seemed nothing wrong in it, if everybody wanted its share in political cake in terms of representation especially in Haryana.¹⁵

Caste factor

Caste cleavage is a dominant factor in the politics of Haryana, which is comparable with Bihar.¹⁶ Caste configurations have always played a key role in dictating and defining Haryana politics. Right from ticket distribution to casting of crew for canvassing to allocation of portfolios, caste patterns have defined the designs of political masters. Within caste cleavage, there are Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Divide and Jat versus non Jat divide which is part and parcel of a broader process known as electoral politics process. Even within agriculturist castes, Jats are the most dominant caste, both in social and political arena.

The significance of caste as a determinant factor in the electoral choice makes it imperative for parties to assess caste patterns before deciding a candidate. Aware of the factor caste groups drive a hard bargain.¹⁷ Then there are sub-caste khaps who wield a lot of influence among the Jats and voting patterns hence have a bearing on electoral decisions.

Not surprising, there are a sizeable number of assembly seats that see a particular community getting tickets in elections after elections. For instance, in 73 general category assembly constituencies in the state, the Jats usually have been candidates for all the parties in the fray for 25 to 35 constituency including Pai, Naultha, Kiloi, Meham, Badli, Naggal, Bahadurgarh, Kilana, Badhra, Rohat, Julana, Narwana, Uchhana kalan, Dadri, Tosham, Loharu, Bhattu Kalan, Ghirai, Dharba Kalan, and Rori. Ahir candidates have been preferred in Jatusana, Rewari, Ateli, Salhawas and Mahendergarh constituencies. Meo candidates have been put up from Nuh, Ferozpur Jhirka, Taouru and Hathin. The Ror candidates have been contesting from Nilokheri and Pundri, the Gujjars from Mewla Maharajpur and Samalakha and at times from Narnaul and Sohna as well.

The Rajput candidates have been contesting from Gharaunda and at times from Rajaund constituencies, whereas, the Brahmin candidates have been contesting from Yamunanagar and Bhiwani. The urban constituencies of Jind, Rohtak, Panipat, Sirsa, Karnal, Sonipat Gurgaon and Hansi are normally reserved for Punjabis and Banias. Results buttress the rationale behind caste based distribution of tickets, though there have been exceptions when a minority candidate has scraped through due to division in dominant caste votes or of coming together of sundry minorities.¹⁸ There was a time when Jats constituting one fourth of the state's population in the state exploited the number to emerge as a powerful political entity which they continue to be but not solely on the basis of numbers. Haryanavi society, which is highly divided also have certain other divisions too, which defines the politics of the state.¹⁹

1. Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Cleavages

In agrarian socio - economic environment of Punjab and Haryana, the socio - political and cultural trends were and continued to be determined by land owning classes commonly known as Zamindars. The word Zamindar in Punjab and Haryana implies for any land owner i.e. it implies for all the land holders, whether big or small. The British administration have provided constitutional basis for this usage and enlarge the scope of the definition in 1900 by the enactment of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act which created statutory casteism by designating certain castes as Agricultural tribes. As a result, the word Zamindar also came to stand for a member of any statutory caste. In the region, these zamindars comprised of the Jats, Rajputs, Pathans, Sayyeds, Gujjars, Ahirs, Bilochs, Rors, Moghals, Malis, Togas, Sainis, Chauhans, Arains, Gaud Brahmins and Qureshis.²⁰

The Agricultural and Non-agricultural divide is mainly seen as a contribution or legacy of Sir Chhotu Ram and his Unionist Party, which mobilized peasantry. Initially, peasant castes (especially the Jats) have been led by The Sir Chhotu Ram. After reorganization of State, these peasant classes initially had supported the Congress because they lack a viable alternative than Congress. By the emergence of Lok Dal during 80's and its leader Chaudhary Devi Lal in context of protest against Rajiv- Longowal Accord ²¹ through Haryana Sangarsh Smiti in the name of Nyaya Yudh , the peasant class got an alternative and start supporting it which led to the decline of Congress. In Haryana, almost every caste has its own set pattern of voting behaviour and political affiliations. A good example can be the slogan "Jat Ke Beti Jat Ko and Jat Ka Vote Jat Ko" signifies that a voter in Haryana is a first member of a particular class than anything else.²²

Dominance of middle class peasantry is a distinct feature of politics of Haryana. Peasant castes have always been dominant in the state because they constitute majority population. Caste configuration always has played an important role in politics of India. Before 1967 there were upper caste who dominants the political scene. After 1967 there were middle level castes but during the decade of 1990s and onwards it's the turn of lower castes which have assumed the central role and now, it is common scenario in politics of India both at national level as well as state level. But when one talks about the politics of Haryana, caste configuration here represents a different kind of compilation. In the state there are no sharp lines between upper caste and lower middle castes.

It has been observed that the dominance of agriculturist castes elites in power structure of the state since its inception and even before could be attributed to their economic power, numerical strength, demographic distribution, political awareness and social status in rural caste hierarchy. Consequently, their dominant position in village social power structure has bestowed them with the capacity to exert influence upon the decision-making process to promote their own interests.

2. Jat and Non Jat Cleavage

Jats are the most dominant caste in the state, although are scattered throughout the state but their main concentration is in the districts of Hisar, Rohtak and Kaithal, the area referred as Jatland. Jats are politically dominant and their dominance is very firm which

was established mainly due to the ownership of land. The concept of Dominant caste described by M.N. Srinivas suits well to the Jats of Haryana in the given context, as they are numerically and economically stronger than any other caste and also live up to another criterion of the dominance i.e. position in the social hierarchy as they do not correspond to a low ritual status.²³

So, the dominance of Jat factor can be explained in their numerical strength, as they constitute 20 percent of total population and also being the largest owner of the agricultural land. This caste has provided the state with maximum number of the Chief Ministers and MLA's. Along with their numerical strength and land ownership they are the biggest beneficiaries of the Green Revolution and implementation of the land reforms. It was in this backdrop that middle class peasantry rejected to accept the Brahmanical superiority and project and perceive themselves as superior to every caste in the village hierarchy. Due to the weak position of Brahmins and the subsequent lesser influence of brahmanical Hinduism the peasant castes came to dominate the social life of the region. The remark in 1901 census that "there is no caste above Jat"²⁴ retains its significance in the perception and in reality, even today in the people's lives.

The peasant castes have an allegiance to jats except Rajputs who followed different social ethos in social and economic relationships. Apart from numerical predominance jats also held the bulk of agricultural land as proprietors. A combination of factors like landownership, relative prosperity and the extensive political mobilization in the pre-independence period helped the peasantry in general and jats in particular in emerging as the part of ruling elite. The word jat to be used interchangeably as Zamindar in common parlance which is again a very wide category consisting different peasant castes Jat along with Rors, Ahirs, Gujjars and other peasant castes which have a status equality (roti-beti ka rista)²⁵ in the sense that they eat and smoke collectively, have shaped a distinct dominant peasant culture. The acceptance of this culture as popular culture accorded it a dominant position. Thus, multiplicity of factors has operated in favor of Jats which have accorded them advantageous position vis-à-vis other social groups/castes.

The politics of state is never characterized with upper caste dominance of Brahmins and Rajputs. And whatever status the Brahmins enjoyed earlier went down further with the spread of Arya Samaj Movement among Jats during 1920s, which took away from Brahminical roots. Agriculturalist castes have adopted the strategy of entering different political parties in general and Congress in particular, which have enabled them to gain dominance in power structure. It has been further observed that these castes during pre-reorganization period have been satisfied with one or two seats in Punjab government/cabinet have started struggling to attain the number one position in every sphere especially after the formation of state. Infact, the political game of 'Aya Ram-Gaya Ram' along with drama of defections and counter-defections can be explained in the light of this struggle of caste forces to occupy maximum share of political power. Electoral politics in Haryana has remained centered around the slogans of Agricultural versus Non-Agricultural and Jats versus non-Jats. While the Jats can take pride in stalwarts like Sir Chhotu Ram, Ch. Devi

Lal, Bansi Lal and of course Bhupinder Singh Hooda is there. Only non-Jat who stands up to their stature was the three time Chief Minister Bhajan Lal.

Haryanavi society, which is highly divided also have certain other divisions, which defines the politics of the state. Strong emergence of Bhajan Lal (a Bishnoi), provide Haryana with Jat versus Non Jat divide. The Congress high command decision regarding the appointment of its Chief Ministerial candidate during the 2005 assembly elections, was the ample proof of the fact that how deterministic role Jats played in the politics of *Jatland*. As Congress do not want to loose its newly acquired support basis from its traditional and bastion (Peasants)

Table1:1

Chief Ministers of Haryana (Caste wise view)

Name	Party	Tenure	Caste
B.D.Sharma	INC	1.11.1966 - 23.3. 1967	BRAHMIN
RaoBirender Singh	VHP	24.3.1967- 20.11.1967	AHIR
Bansi Lal	INC	22.5.1968-30.11.1975	JAT
Banarsi Das Gupta	INC	1.12.1975-30.4.1977	BANIA
Devi Lal	JP	22.6.1977-28.6.1979	JAT
Bhajan Lal	JP	29.6.1979-5.7.1985	BISHNOI
Bansi Lal	INC	5.7.1985-19.6.1987	JAT
Devi Lal	LOK DAL	17.7.1987-2.12.1989	JAT
O.P. Chautala	JD	2.12.1989-22.5.1990	JAT
B.D.Gupta	JD	22.5.1990-12.7.1990	BANIA
O.P. Chautala	JD	12.7.1990-17.7.1990	JAT
Bhajan Lal	INC	23.7.1991-9.5.1996	BISHNOI
Bansi Lal	HVP	11.5.1996-23.7.1999	JAT
O.P. Chautala	INLD	24.7.1999-5.3.2005	JAT
B.S.Hooda	INC	5.3.2005- onwards	JAT

Source: Vivek Yadav, (2003), 'Haryana: Social Coalitions, Political Strategies, *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, January-June, p.149.

During 4 decades of electoral politics, out of 17 Chief Ministers, the state has witnessed since its inception, 13 have been a Jats. Besides, non-Jat Chief Ministers of the state hardly have completed their term, Bhajan Lal being a significant exception who remained the Chief Minister for 11 years, despite coming from a small community of Bishnois, primarily confined to some pockets in Hisar, Fatehabad and Sirsa. Bhajan Lal was successful in cashing on an anti-Jat sentiments and rallying non-Jats around him. No surprise then that he and his family have won from Adampur segment repeatedly despite Jats being the dominant caste in Hisar. Besides, after Bansi Lal, B.S. Hooda is the only Chief Minister holding the office for two consecutive terms. Besides, the famous Lal era of Haryana politics has finally come to an end with the death of Bhajan Lal the last leader of the trio i.e. Devi Lal, Bansi Lal and Bhajan Lal. At present B.S. Hooda and O.P. Chautala are the major Jat leaders representing two main parties of the state.

Absence of Mandalization or Ambedkarization

Scholars are of the view that the assertion of dormant identities, which has been a defining feature of Indian politics during the decade of 1990's, is one of the aspect which distinguishes the politics of Haryana especially when compared with its neighbouring states namely Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as it has been absent in the state. Despite the sizeable population of scheduled castes i.e. 19.75, according to Census 1991, they are not dominant in the state, especially when compared with the peasant middle castes. The proportion of SC 's in Jhajjar district is about 17.77 per cent. A large majority of them i.e. 82.29 per cent lived in rural areas.²⁶

Fewer Dalits in Haryana have owned land. As compared to the national average of 28.17 per cent only 11.86 per cent of them were registered as cultivators in 1981. By 1991, this figure further came down to 8.07 percent.²⁷ Understandably, even those who own land are owners of small and marginal holdings. A large majority of them are landless and work as agricultural labourers. Invariably, they are also indebted to their upper caste employer farmers. Though, older structures of dependency, such as the *jajmani* system, have declined, but their dependence on the locally dominant castes still has not seen any radical change.²⁸

Notwithstanding the overall marginal status of the Dalits population in Haryana, there have been some important changes. The reservation policy has helped some of them to move into secure jobs. At the village level also, their representation in Panchayati Raj Institutions as a result of 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (1992) has given them a sense of importance. Using these new opportunities, some of them have been able to move out of the villages. However, unlike neighbouring Punjab or Uttar Pradesh, Dalits of Haryana do not have any history of social mobility or political assertion during the pre-independence period. The area around Jhajjar was particularly under-developed until the separate state of Haryana was formed in 1966. There were few opportunities of employment outside the villages.

Reformist movements like the Arya Samaj too did virtually nothing for them. Unlike in Punjab where the Arya Samajis opened schools for Dalit children, the Arya Samaj movement in Haryana almost completely remained a Jat affair. Most of those, who espoused the cause of Arya Samaj in the area, were among the Jat peasantry, who had an experience of working with the Indian army or could get some education/employment outside the villages.

For long Schedule Castes (SC) has been considered the vote-bank of congress but the elite of SC's has been persuaded by other political parties too. They are sharply divided and demographically dispersed. Although, their numerical strength is large enough to exercise considerable political clout and can influence the decision making at various occasions in the political process. However, due to certain socio-economic forces they are not able to do the same. Socially and politically they are marginalized and are prone to exploitation and discrimination, from so called upper castes especially the middle class peasantry. Even though state of things have changed over the last four or five decades and it was not easy to take dalit voters for granted, rural life in most pockets of Haryana continues to be visibly Jat dominated. Ethnic identities are more complex in the state due to stratified nature of caste system with its castes and sub-castes.

BSP does not make very much presence in politics of the state and haven't been able to mobilize and protect the interests of Dalits. It lacks strong leadership in the Haryana, which is very important for proper mobilization of these castes. Even though things have changed over the last four or five decades and it was not easy to take Dalit voters for granted, rural life in most pockets of rural Haryana continues to be visibly Jat dominated.

Though Dalit politics continues to be rather weak in the region the BSP has hardly been able to make its presence felt in the state politics. The BSP currently has one MLA (Deputy Speaker) in the state assembly and also had one MLA in the last assembly too. Besides, in 1998 it was able to get one of its candidates elected to Parliament as well. However, the party has been able to perform well only in those constituencies where Jat domination is comparatively weak. And, it seems that BSP is more interested in its electoral gains rather than providing a qualitative change to their lives.²⁹ BSP needs to opt for a more rigorous approach. The backward castes here as elsewhere are landless, oppressed and target of attack by the privileged sections of society, along with machinery of state. In a way one can say that the state of Haryana has not experienced what Yogendra Yadav calls the second democratic upsurge or the impact of Mandal commission on the politics.

The power politics in Haryana has been dominated by certain families. Those who came to dominate the political space in Haryana were mostly the ones who became prominent at the time of advent of Arya Samaj movement in Haryana and had participated in freedom movement. Although the families of Bansi Lal and Bhajan Lal are the exception as they came into prominence only after the formation of the state.³⁰ The central factor responsible for the rise of these families to political prominence is the caste as all of them except Bhajan Lal belong to Jat community. Besides, all of them came from rural background except Bhagwat Dyal Sharma. Jat hegemony hardly left any space for the upper castes to play any significant role in state politics.³¹

There arise an important question, why could not even a single family of SC's or BC's, the second largest community of the state after Jats, attain the status of a noted family of Haryana, provided there being senior leaders from these communities and some of them being the contemporaries of these Lal's too. None of the Dalit leaders could make it to top position of the Chief Minister, even though,

they had long political careers, had been the members of both the state Assembly and Parliament and also became cabinet ministers both in the centre and in the state.³²

Besides, these senior politicians, there are other politicians from the community who could not even attain the status of strong Dalit leaders. Except Ch. Dalbir Singh, whose next generation is in politics, none other single leader could gain prominence in the politics of the state.³³ These leaders have the credentials of elite education and long political experience. However, they also reached at the top position in party organization but for a short while. But none of them had been in position to seize top position in the state or dominate state politics.³⁴

• **Low Electoral Participation of Women**

As far as the participation of women in Haryana politics is concerned, they play a very limited role in the political arena. All the political parties favored the cause of women in politics but as voters and not as contestants. The participation of women in Assembly elections has increased in a significant way over the years, in spite of the reluctance of political parties to allot them party ticket due to perceived notion of lack of “winnability” of female candidates.³⁵

Only few women from politically influential families and those having linkages with influential political leaders at the national and state level could manage to get party tickets.³⁶ Therefore, a significant number of women contest election as independent candidates. The number of female as independent candidates kept on increasing continuously.

The role of women in other activities such as canvassing, addressing public meetings have also been very marginal. More interestingly the pre-condition for women to get registered as voters in considered marriage in most of the families. It is strange that after getting married suddenly the male members of family realized the she also needs the representation in political terms (the voting right) but before marriage there was no need for that even if she was more than 18 years already.³⁷

The share of women in Haryana Assembly during 1968-1996 has been from 4.44 per cent to 8.64 per cent. The data on assembly elections show that there has been considerable rise in the number of contestant's for the legislative assembly, right from 1967. Besides, the participation of women in voting has registered a marked increase. But still they continued to vote in accordance with the direction given by the male heads of their families due to lack of their political articulation and economic subordination in Haryana's male dominated society. Further political parties have begun to highlight the female problems in their election manifestoes and in election campaigns because they have come recognize the need to woo female voters.

Haryanvi women are least politicized and mobilized in substantial terms. However, it is hoped that in the due course of time the changes in the socio-political structure of society will take place and more and more women will compete with men to find a space for themselves in political arena. Emancipatory efforts on the part of government can not be effective and adequate unless and until women themselves become more conscious and aware of their rights and entitlements. Education can play a vital role in bringing desirable

qualitative changes among them and make them well equipped in terms of knowledge and capacity.

Rural-Urban Cleavage

It is difficult to divide the entire state into geographically contiguous and politically meaningful regions. So, while using the constituency level caste break-up of population, scholars of electoral politics have divided the state into four electoral regions. These regions have been used by the scholars to analyze the patterns of voting behaviour.

These regions are:

1. Rural –Jat
2. Rural-South
3. Rural-North
4. Urban

The Rural-Jat region comprises about 35 assembly constituencies with high concentration of Jats. Even though Jats being the most dominant caste of the state, scattered throughout the entire region, but, their large number is found in the districts of Bhiwani, Jind, Sonipat, Rohtak, Jhajjar and Hisar. The area is popularly known as Jatland. Apart from this so-called Jatland, several tehsils and villages are being dominated by this caste throughout the state. It was traditionally considered an anti-Congress bastion but the situation is no more same.³⁸ Congress has done well in the state before 1977 than in 1991, again in Lok Sabha polls of 2004, assembly polls of February 2005 and Lok Sabha polls of 2009 too. These majorities of Congress, however, can be explained either as a result of anti incumbency, due to misrule of a particular government or the absence of viable alternative and also in terms of the Congress state leadership largely coming from the rural Jat community of the state. During pre-independence period Jats have been led by Unionist Party of Sir Chhotu Ram and afterwards by Lok Dal under the leadership of Ch. Devi Lal. This belt is very much conscious in terms of political participation and has provided leadership to the state since pre-independence days.³⁹

The second region or Rural South comprises of 15 assembly constituencies has a concentration of Ahirs and Meos with some constituencies with the significant number of

other castes like Gujjars. The region popularly known as Ahirwal is dominated by Ahirs or Yadavs are a middle level agricultural caste, which dominates in the Ahirwal region.

The belt comprises Rewari, Mahendergarh and parts of Gurgaon districts. The Ahirs are the main landowning caste along with being the dominant caste of the region, though recently been declared as a backward caste. The Ahirs of the state have the equal social status as enjoyed by Jats, Gujjars, Meos or the Muslims. The Meo dominated constituencies are located in Faridabad and Gurgaon districts. The region known as Mewat, in which 62 percent of population is composed of Muslims, touches the boundaries of neighboring states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Their voting choice is determined mainly by their internal factional ailments. Since electoral preferences are prone to change.

The Rural-North or the third region consists of 23 assembly constituencies and has a relatively higher concentration of scheduled caste population. In some constituencies there is significant number of Sikhs. Besides, there are castes like Rajputs, Rors which are also influential in the region. Rors is a peasant caste.

The fourth administrative region or Urban region consists of the advanced areas along with Grand Trunk Road from Ambala to Faridabad, parts of Karnal. In terms of caste configuration or social demography consists of Baniyas, Brahmins, Rors, Ahirs, Sikhs and refugees from Panjab (Pakistan). It is traditionally a pro Congress bastion.

In a way, all these regions differ from each other in one way or another. In terms of rural-urban cleavage, the state have regional patterns of voting for instance, Congress draws important support from both rural and urban areas but it always draw more support from urban areas as compared to rural areas as its urban vote is always higher by three percent from its rural vote. INLD's case is different as along with its noteworthy presence in both urban and rural Haryana, it draws more support from rural areas.⁴⁰ As far as BJP is concerned it has its base mainly in urban areas and draws its support from upper castes. Although, in Haryana there is lack of strong sense of party identification but amongst the available political outfits INLD or Lok Dal is considered pro-rural, pro-Jat and pro-poor party and Jats are considered are its main supporters. Since the recent trends are somewhat different that people especially Jats are changing their alignments- INLD always gets more support from rural areas. Jat identity reigns supreme in the state. Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) is essentially a regional political formation of the landowning Jats of Haryana and

supported by them. So, the Congress from the urban area and BJP are considered mainly upper caste and pro-urban party.

Conclusion

To sum up, it could be aptly said that factionalism, low level of political identification in terms of alignment both on the part of politicians and electorates, caste cleavage in terms of agriculture-non-agricultural cleavage, jat –non jat cleavage, apart from regional pattern of voting in terms of rural and urban cleavage are the factors which have shaped the polity of the state since 1967. Besides, absence of substantial political assertion of dalits and low level of political efficacy among female, are the other defining features of Haryana politics. Although things regarding core support base and followings of the political parties have changed a lot over the years. Since, it is important to note that in Lok Sabha polls of 2004 and 2009 along with February 2005 assembly, Congress has drawn its support across cutting the boundaries of caste cleavage, rural - urban and agricultural and non – agricultural divisions and not only from the non jats and upper castes from urban areas. Similarly, INLD is no more able to keep its rural jat support base intact. As politics is about continuities and discontinuities and nothing is permanent.

End Notes

1. Apart from the territorial question i.e. issue of Chandigarh, the issue of sharing of water between Punjab and Haryana emerged as issue of great importance which has refused to go away.
2. Surinder S. Jodhka & Murli Dhar, 'Cow, Caste and Communal Politics: Dalit Killings in Jhajjar', *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 18-24, 2003, Vol. 38, No.3, p. 174.
3. Surinder S. Jodhka and Murli Dhar, op. cit., p.175.
4. The new delimitation rules, applied in the Indian General Elections 2009 for the first time, have created a new constituency in Haryana in the form of Gurgaon. The old constituency of Mahendergarh has now been merged with Bhiwani and named as Bhiwani-Mahendergarh parliamentary constituency, so, the total number of parliamentary constituencies i.e. ten, remained unchanged.
5. Bhupendra Yadav, (1996) 'Haryana: Three Contenders', *Frontline*, April 19, p. 42.
6. *ibid.*
7. Ashutosh Kumar, (2010), 'Assembly Elections 2009 in Haryana: Exploring the Verdict', *Economic*

and Political Weekly', volume xlv, number-1, January 2.

8. Bhanu Pratap Mehta, "Constraints on Electoral Mobilization", December 18, 2004, *Economic and Political Weekly* . P. 5384.
9. Vivek Yadav, (2003) '*Electoral Politics in Haryana in the 1990s: Dominance of the Middle Peasantry*', paper presented and dedicated in the memory of Late Professor Pradeep Kumar, Seminar held in Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh, p. 2.
10. Chaman Lal, Jhamb, (2004), *Chief Ministers of Haryana* , Arun Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 68.
11. Ibid. p. 43.
12. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
13. J.R.Siwach, 'Haryana Social Dynamics and Politics of Defections', in Iqbal Narain (1976) (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, New Delhi, p. 421.
14. Four HJC lawmakers join Congress in Haryana (Roundup), http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/politics/four-hjc-lawmakers-join-Congress-in-haryana-roundup_100272383.html, Last accessed on November 9th, 2009.
15. Vivek Yadav, loc.cit.
16. Shiv Lal, (1972), 'Casteism in Politics' in *Elections since Independence* , The Election Archives, New Delhi, p. 92.
17. Hitender Rao, 'Jat, non-Jat, can't caste it aside', *HindustanTimes*, January 12, 2005
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Prem Chaudhary, (1994), *Veiled Women: Shifting Equations In Haryana, 1880-1990*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 36.
21. N. S. Gahlot, (1988), *Trends in Indian Politics*, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, p. 86.
22. P. S. Verma, 'Profile of the Legislative Elite in Haryana', in T.R. Sharma(1986) (ed.), *State Politics in India: New Challenges of Politics in Indian States*, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 199.
23. Prem Choudhary, op.cit., p.41.
24. Ibid., p .44.
25. Ibid p.46

26. SS Jodhka and Murli Dhar, op.cit., p.176.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Ranbir Singh, 'Anatomy of Atrocities on Dalits in Haryana', Mainstream, Vol. XLVI, No. 373, September, 2008.
 29. T. K. Rajalakshmi, 'Oppressed and Marginalized', Frontline, May 24, 2005, p. 25.
 30. Dahia, op. cit., p. 249.
 31. Ibid.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Ibid.
 34. Ibid., p. 250.
 35. Hitender Rao, 'But Where are Women, Hindustan Times, January 17,2005.
 36. P.D. Sharma & Ramesh Kumar, "Legislators in an Indian State of study of Social Characteristics", Asian Survey, Vol. XXXII, No.11, November 1992, pp. 1004 -1005.
 37. Eklavya Atray, Jat Girls cannot vote till marriage, www.dnaindia.com/report.asp?newsid=1253649, Last accessed on May 7, 2009.
 38. Bhupendera Yadav, "Haryana: Three Contenders", Frontline, April 19, 1996, p.42.
 39. Yadav, Vivek, 'Haryana: Social Coalitions, Political Strategies and the Culture of State Power, Journal of Indian School of Political Economy, Vol. XV, No.1 and 2, January-June,2003.p.147.
 40. Vivek Yadav, (2003) '*Electoral Politics in Haryana in the 1990s: Dominance of the Middle Peasantry*', paper presented and dedicated in the memory of Late Professor Pradeep Kumar, Seminar held in Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh, p. 15.
-

Determinants of and Decision -Making Process Among Single-Child Families

Bindu Dogra*

Abstract

The face of an average family has changed over the last few decades. Currently the picture of a typical family is varied. The large families of century ago are rare today, birth rate is declining and single-child families are coming up in large number. A few decades back, for majority of people one child norm appeared to be too radical and if at all there were some cases of single-child families, these emerged out of the physical incapacity of the couples or some marital problems. Thus it was completely involuntary. But the last few decades have witnessed a growing preference for single-child families especially in urban areas. Emergence of such a trend is definitely influencing the definition of family, structure of household and kinship network at large. The present study, examines the determinants and types of single-child families i.e. voluntary and involuntary. Along with this, an attempt has been made to understand the decision making process and social pressure involved in the emergence of voluntary single-child families. The results disclose that out of diverse factors that determine the size of single-child family, financial reason emerged as the most significant one. The findings also indicate a close relationship between marital power structure and decision making on fertility behaviours. The present study should be seen as presenting a glimpse of the Indian demographic change in which some sections of the society have become pioneers by limiting their family size to an extreme end and thus enabling others to follow their lead.

A couple or a single parent having only one biological child in lifetime is a single-child family. Earlier, one-child norm was too radical and emerged completely due to involuntary reasons like infertility or marital problems. But present-day couples are voluntarily opting for single-child family due to diverse reasons, like socio-economic development, new ideologies and attitudes. The last decade and a half has witnessed a growing preference for single-child families.

Such families are becoming increasingly popular in developed countries. Single-child family is the fastest growing family in the U.S and in most parts of the Western Europe, (Jefferies, 2001) According to the Office for National Statistic United Kingdom (2013), in 1996 there were 3.1 million only-child families, rising to 3.7 million in 2012. The patterns of fertility in different countries also indicate that intention to have one child

*Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, MCM DAV College, Chandigarh.

is becoming more common among women in developed countries like France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovenia (Grigoriadis, 2004; Office for National Statistics, 2000; Pearce et al., 1999). In India, despite rapid population growth, there are a few regions that have been showing a sharp decline in fertility rate since 1980s. According to 2011 Census of India, the below replacement total fertility rate has been attained by states like, Andhra Pradesh (1.9), Delhi (1.9), Himachal Pradesh (1.9), Karnataka (2.0), Kerala (1.7), Maharashtra (1.9), Punjab (1.9), Tamil Nadu (1.7) and West Bengal (1.9). The possibility is that in another 10-12 years with current fertility rates, India will achieve the replacement level fertility rate of 2.1. It is believed that this fertility decline may result in the emergence of single-child families at large in India. Although in Indian context, no national level data are available about one-child families, yet a few studies indicate the emergence of this trend (Amiteshwar & Kaur, 2006; Kusumlata, 1987; Rao & Somsyajulu, 1999, Sharma & Sharma, 2010). Emergence of such a trend will definitely influence the social structure of our society.

CAUSES OF SINGLE-CHILD FAMILY

Single-child families are rising in the urban areas, especially among the educated upper and middle sections of the society. Existence of single-child family has been related with involuntary and voluntary reasons. Involuntary reasons are allied with the rising infertility-rate among urban couples due to diverse reasons like work-related stress, long working hours, fast pace of urban life, obesity, increase in sexually transmitted diseases, poor nutrition and environmental pollution. On the other hand, a large number of couples are acquiring this family size voluntarily due to diverse socio-economic reasons like job insecurity, high child-rearing price, inflation, career commitment, lack of support system, instability of family institution, for the enhancement of living standard and sex preference etc.

In India, the increase in the number of single-child families is an upcoming trend. Through present study, an effort has been made to highlight an unexplored area of concern for demographers, family sociologists and policy makers.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sociologists and psychologists have developed different theoretical frame-works for viewing single-child family. Each of these perspectives brings together a particular cluster of inter-related ideas and concepts about this family. However, only those frameworks that have been used to examine single-child family in the present study are highlighted here. In the study undertaken, a combination of exchange theory and power theory has been employed as discussed below:

Power Theory

Power in marriage has been defined and measured in various ways. The first and most common definition of power is the ability of one person to get another to do what she

or he wants even in the face of resistance. It is the potential ability of one partner to influence the behaviour of the other. 'Power, in marriage refers to the way in which husbands and wives actually deal with each other. Power to make decisions in the family may be influenced by the prescribed pattern of authority in the society like ours. In the patriarchal system, husbands derive a measure of assertiveness from the social norms and the wives a corresponding measure of deference. But there are variations among couples with respect to the power they wield in family decision- making which suggests that there must be some other 'source' of marital power besides the prescribed authority pattern. Blood & Wolfe (1960), have suggested that power in the marriage results from the contribution of resources by an individual. These can be in the form of education, income, and occupational status. The spouse who contributes the most will have the greater decision making power. On similar lines fertility related decision-making is also intensely influenced by this power patterns.

Social Exchange Theory

The assumptions of this theory are that individuals are rational and their behaviour reflects decisions based on a balance of costs and rewards. Exchange theorist (Nye, 1979; Thabaut & Kelley, 1959) assume that fertility is the result of rational decisions reflecting the comparison level of alternatives or the balance of perceived costs and rewards of child-bearing compared to alternate activities. It suggests that people look at child-bearing as a series of consecutive choices as a process where couples make a decision to have the first child, and depending on that experience and subsequent changes in their circumstances, they decide whether to have another child or not. Thus, previous child rearing also affects the likelihood as to one will have another child or not.

The exchange model with cost and reward concept has been used to study the determinants of this family size. Like, gainfully employed couples evaluate the cost of child-bearing in term of 'time' spent on child rearing and if the cost is high they do not go in for the second child. Similarly, education decreases the rewards of children by offering women more alternative interest outside the family. Women's labor force participation can also increase the cost of child-bearing and encourages her to limit the family size to only one child.

OBJECTIVES

In the present study, an attempt has been made to understand the determinants of single-child families in the light of exchange perspective. Along with this, class point of view has been used to study the types of single child families i.e. voluntary and involuntary. An attempt has also been made to understand the decision making process and social pressure involved in the emergence of voluntary single child families with the help of Power theory.

METHODOLOGY

The research design for the present study was exploratory. The term 'Single-Child Family' has been operationalized for the present study. It comprises families having a conjugating couple, with only one biological child who has reached the age of 10 years or more. The present study was conducted at Chandigarh. The unit of analysis was the couple having single-child (mother and father). For the purpose of selecting the cases, snow balling technique was used. The sample comprised 105 single-child couples. A quota sample was drawn, information from 35 single-child couples from three classes, each i.e. upper, middle and lower-class was collected. Initially class was determined on the basis of their living arrangements. Later on, classes were rearranged on the basis of education, occupation, and income of the mothers and fathers, to demarcate their social-class. The redistributed sample according to social-class came to be 31 single-child couples from lower-class, 41 from middle-class and 33 from the upper-class. An interview schedule was the main tool used for the collection of data. For the analysis of data, chi square test was applied. For the present study, a combination of exchange theory and power theory was used.

RESULTS

The concept of social class is indispensable for understanding the single-child family as the review of the literature indicates that small family norm, with one or two children, is more prevalent in the urban upper and middle-classes all over the world. Researchers like Narayana (1998), Rajaretnam & Deshpande (1994), have studied relationship between class background and the family size. It is stated that small family size is more popular among the upper and the middle classes. Bavel (2006), maintains that family size limitation is one of the strategies that are employed by the parents to invest more resources in fewer offspring in order to help them achieve a better position in the social-class hierarchy. Thus, it is assumed that the structure of the family is sometimes created by the forces external to it, that is, it's positioning in the social structure. Therefore, analysis of types of single-child families in terms of social-class is significant and appropriate.

Types of Single Child-Families

A few researchers have shown that people with higher income and higher occupational background have low fertility or small family size (Haines, 1992, Skirbekk, 2008). In the upper social class, increasing consumption aspirations and wealthier reference groups imply higher opportunity costs of childbearing and reduced fertility. Haines (1992) reports that fertility decline has been led by the middle and upper-classes. These classes have apparently acted as leaders in modifying the most basic human activity that is reproduction. While recognizing this trend, Bavel (2006), also argues that attaining status rather than maintaining status has motivated the middle-class to limit their fertility. He reports that those who reduce their fertility most, have the strongest chances of increasing their class status. Moreover, a few researchers like Narayana (1998), Rajaretnam & Deshpande (1994), have established negative relationship between small family size and lower-class.

Keeping such views in mind, the social-class background of the couples with reference to their single-child family type was studied. In the present study, social-class has been collectively formulated for mothers and fathers and they are treated as couples.

Table 1.1: Distribution showing association between types of single-child family and social-class of respondents

Class	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Voluntary	23 69.7%	31 75.6%	6 19.4%	60 57.1%
Involuntary	10 30.3%	10 24.4%	25 80.6%	45 42.9%
Total	33 100.0%	41 100.0%	31 100.0%	105 100.0%

Couples $\chi^2 = 25.90$, df-2, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

In the present study, 60 couples opted for single-child family voluntarily and 45 reported that they acquired this family size involuntarily. The results in Table 1.1 display that a considerable proportion of the couples belonging to the upper and middle-class had opted for single-child family voluntarily i.e. 69.7 per cent and 75.6 per cent, respectively. Inversely, the number of voluntary cases among the lower-class couples was only 19.4 per cent and the remaining 80 per cent had acquired single-child family involuntarily.

Such findings indicate that voluntary single-child family is more prevalent among couples hailing from the upper and the middle-class. In the lower-class, single-child family has emerged involuntarily. The results are quite similar to the findings of Bavel (2006) and Skirbekk (2008). It can be suggested that in the present study, emergence of the voluntary single-child family among middle-class couples reflects their increasing consumption aspirations, high cost of child bearing and wealthier reference group which motivates them to limit their family size. Moreover, equally high number of voluntary cases among the upper-class respondents can also be attributed to individualistic aspirations over familial obligations. Analysis of the data shows chi-square value 25.90 at df-2. It was found to be highly significant. It reflects significant association between the social-class and the types of single-child family.

Determinants of Single-Child Family

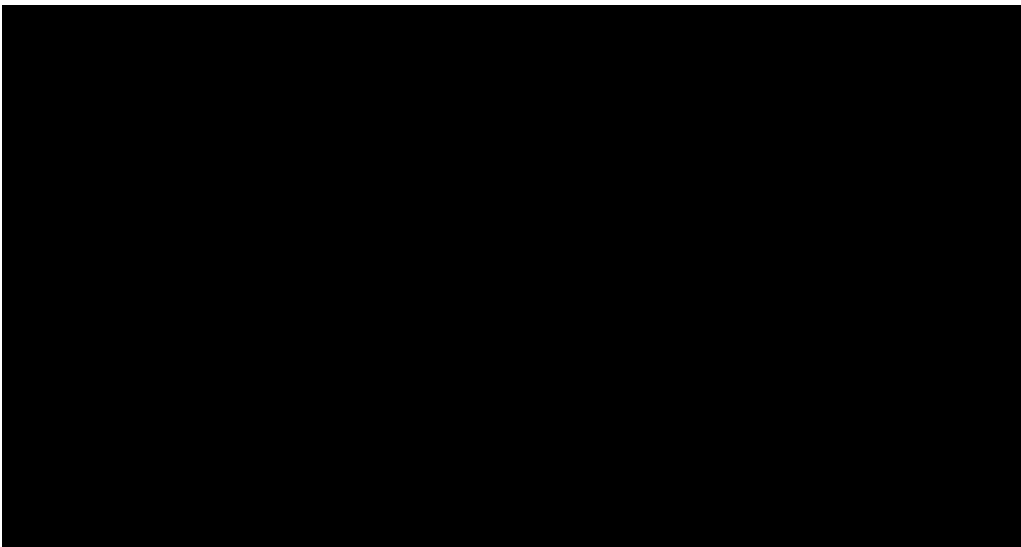
The assumption of social-exchange perspective is that, the individuals are rational and their behaviour reflects decisions based on a rational balance of costs and rewards. Exchange theorist (Nye, 1979; Thabaut & Kelley, 1959) have assumed that fertility is the result of rational decisions, reflecting the comparison level of alternatives or the balance of observed costs and rewards of childbearing compared to alternate activities. It suggests that people look at child bearing as a series of consecutive choices. Bulatao & Ronald (1983) have

postulated that there are direct economic costs and benefits of having children. The demand for children is affected by few principal factors like, the costs with regard to time, income, wealth, preferences and norms. With modernization, the costs (economic and time) of children increase, the benefits decrease and preferences and norms change. Money is used for the purchase of consumer goods of existing child rather than for having and raising more children. It is very much likely that under these circumstances couples make a decision to have the first child and depending on that experience or due to subsequent changes in their circumstances, they decide not to have another child. Additionally, women's labor force participation has also found to be negatively associated with child bearing. (Lightbourne et al., 1982; Sweet,1982). When women compare choices for investment and reward, they may see career and child bearing as alternatives. The career provides economically and psychologically rewarding alternative to child bearing.

According to Davis (1985), one child is the cheapest option for those wishing to experience parenthood. He advocates that parents of one child are able to put maximum input into bringing up their child and the child does not have to compete for parental time with any siblings.

In the present study, respondents mentioned various determinants like satisfaction with one child, ill health of the father or mother, economic reasons, long and skewed working hours, presence of male child, lack of support system and married later in life etc for having single-child family.

Figure 1.2 Determinants of single-child family



Note- multiple choices were given to the respondents.

The data contained in figure 1.2 show that out of different determinants, economic reason has emerged as the most significant one, both among mothers and fathers. There

were 56.2 per cent of the mothers and 60 per cent of the fathers who mentioned economic reason as the main determinant for limiting their family size. Those respondents, who were facing the issue of infertility, also mentioned that due to expensive infertility treatment they had opted for single-child family involuntarily. In the present study, there were 31 single-child families who belonged to the lower-class and 25 had acquired this family size involuntarily.

The second most important factor for limiting their family size was the satisfaction with one child as 43.8 per cent of the mothers and 48.6 per cent of the fathers mentioned it. According to Lesthaeghe (1995), changing values among the educated and urban dwellers are basically responsible for this.

Getting married late has emerged as the third major reason among 39 per cent mothers and 31.4 per cent fathers, as a determinant for limiting their family size. Similar observation was reported by Karen (1984). Health problem was another reason, mentioned by 35.2 per cent of the mothers and 19 per cent of the fathers. There were 29.5 per cent of the mothers and 21.9 per cent of the fathers who reported long and skewed working hours, as the cause for limiting their family size. Lack of support system was also reported by 27.6 per cent of the mothers and 24.7 per cent of the fathers as a determinant of single-child family. It is important to note that the presence of male child, as a determinant, was reported only by 21 per cent of the mothers and 18.1 per cent of the fathers. In the present study, the sex ratio favors the male child. A majority of voluntary single-child families with male child, hailed from the upper and middle-class. Despite this, only few respondents had cited presence of male child, as a reason for arresting their family size. Educated people can manipulate the responses according to the society's preference. They provide socially desirable statements. The findings imply that in the present study, economic reasons and satisfaction with one child, have emerged as predominant factors that determine the reasons for the existence of single-child family.

DECISION MAKING PROCESS REGARDING SINGLE-CHILD FAMILY

Emergence of the single-child family is directly related with the decision-making process regarding the fertility of a couple, which can take place at different phases or may change over time, (Morgan, 1982). Virtually in every decision-making activity within a family, the concept of power is involved. Power in conjugal relations may be defined as the potential ability of one partner to influence the behaviour of the other. It is manifested in the ability of any one partner to make decisions affecting the family as whole (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Power to make decisions in the family may be influenced by the prescribed pattern of authority in the society like in the patriarchal system of ours, where husbands derive a measure of assertiveness from the social norms and the wives a corresponding measure of deference. But there are variation among couples with respect to the power they wield in family decision making which suggests that there must be some other 'source' of marital power besides the prescribed authority pattern.

In this regard, Blood & Wolfe (1960) have argued that power between husbands and wives is based on the relative resources that each contributes to the family, like income, occupational prestige, and educational attainment etc. Greater the individual's resources in

these three areas, the greater are his /her perceived power within the family. Moreover, plenty of empirical evidence is available which suggests a close relationship between marital power structure and fertility decision-making both in terms of family size and contraceptive acceptance (Cadwell et al.,1988; Dodoo, 1993). An effort has been made to comprehend the decision-making process of couples having single-child through power theory.

Main Decision Maker

Patriarchal nature of social system and specific political, socio-economic contexts give men more power as compared to women, in fertility decisions. Moreover, Caldwell et al. (1988) have observed that in India, women are not in a position to make unilateral decisions about their reproductive priorities. The desire of the husband and his kinsmen are dominant in predicting the couple's behaviour when the number of living children is small, while the female's desire becomes dominant as the number of children increases. An attempt was made to know as to who took the decision to acquire single-child family and association with social class. The responses were classified into three categories fathers, mothers and both (which includes mutual decision taken by both fathers and mothers).

Table1.3: Distribution showing association between main decision maker and social class

Decision maker	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
N.A	10 30.3%	10 30.3%	10 24.4%	10 24.4%	25 80.6%	25 80.6%
Fathers	8 24.2%	7 21.2%	12 29.3%	11 26.8%	3 9.7%	2 6.5%
Mothers	2 6.1%	3 9.1%	3 7.3%	3 7.3%	1 3.2%	1 3.2%
Both	13 39.4%	13 39.4%	16 39.0%	17 41.5%	2 6.5%	3 9.7%
Total	33 100.0%	33 100.0%	41 100.0%	41 100.0%	31 100.0%	31 100.0%

Note: N.A. - Not Applicable

Mother respondents $\chi^2 = 26.477$, df- 6, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Father respondents $\chi^2 = 26.285$, df- 6, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Since there were 45 involuntary single-child families in the present study, therefore, their responses have been put in 'not applicable' category. There were 60 couples in the sample who reported that they had taken this decision voluntarily. Among them, a majority of those who reported a mutual decision in favour of one child, belonged to the upper and the middle-class backgrounds. This can be related with the high level of education prevalent among the respondents hailing from these classes. There were a notable proportion of cases where the decision was taken by the fathers only. However, in negligible cases, the decision in favour of single-child family was taken by the mothers. It is important to mention that there is a variation in the responses of fathers and mothers in all the classes. The chi-square value for the mothers was 26.477 at df-6 and for father it was 26.285 at df-2. Both the values were found to be highly significant at 1 per cent level of confidence. Thus, statistical analysis suggests a highly significant association between the main decision maker and their class background.

In our society, there are hidden power mechanisms that favour men and give them more power to take unilateral fertility decisions. However, in the present sample considerable numbers of mutual decisions among voluntary single-child families, indicate a shift in the power structure of the traditional husband and wife relationship. Now this relationship is moving towards equalitarian terms and educated urban women are actively participating in fertility related decisions.

Time When Decision Was Taken

According to Udry (1983), single-child family can emerge through different ways. Like, some couples will have a preference for a particular number of children before they start childbearing, others will make decisions consecutively as their family grows, some will revise their intentions over time in response to the experience of parenthood or other circumstances and yet others will have indecisive intentions over the entire reproductive life course. Therefore, not only who takes the decision but when the decision is taken, is equally important. The time when couple decides in favour of single-child family or decides not to have the second child is very crucial for determining the type of single-child family. The responses in this regard were classified into three main categories. First category is 'immediately after marriage' second category is 'after the birth of first child' and third category is 'after the child attained 5 years of age'.

Table 1.4: Distribution showing association between timing of decision in favour of the single-child family and social class

Timing of decision	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
N.A	10	10	10	10	25	25
	30.3%	30.3%	24.3%	24.3%	80.6%	80.6%

Immediately after marriage	5 15.2%	7 21.2%	7 17.2% ²	9 22.0%	1 3.2%	2 6.5%
After the birth of first child	3 9.1%	5 15.2%	9 22.0%	13 31.7%	3 9.7%	1 3.2%
After the child attained 5 years of age.	15 45.4%	11 33.3%	15 36.5%	9 22.0%	2 6.5%	3 9.7%
Total	33 100.0%	33 100.0%	41 100.0%	41 100.0%	31 100.0%	31 100.0%

Note: N.A. - Not Applicable

Mother respondents $\chi^2 = 29.410$, df- 6, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Father respondents $\chi^2 = 29.971$, df- 6, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Those respondents, who acquired single-child family involuntarily, have been included in 'not applicable' category. Table 1.4 reflects that in all the three classes, a majority of the respondents decided in favour of single-child when their first child attained the age of five years and above. They had decided in favour of this family size after experiencing parenthood for some time. Such findings reflect that they have decided in favour of one child after examining the costs and rewards of child bearing and rearing with alternate activities. Only a few respondents admitted that they decided in favour of single-child family at the very initial stage of planning their family. Among them, the representation of the fathers was slightly higher as compared to the mothers in all the three classes. The findings exhibit that fathers in comparison to mothers had clear intentions to acquire this family size even before they had experienced parenthood. Among those who decided in favour of single-child family immediately after the birth of their child, the representation of middle-class mothers and fathers was highest i.e. 22 per cent and 31.7 per cent, respectively, followed by the upper-class respondents and least in the lower-class. The findings substantiate with the results of Udry (1983). The chi-square value for mother respondents was 29.410 at df-6 and for father respondents it was 29.971 at df-6. Both the values were found to be highly significant at 1 per cent level of confidence. These findings re-confirm that there is a clear and strong association between the timing of decision in favour of the single-child family and the class background of the respondents

Social Pressures

A few studies acknowledge the relevance of social interactions or social networks on fertility behaviour. Kohler (2000) has analysed how communication pattern in social

network influences the fertility-rate. He argues that social network provides material resources, exerts social pressure and provides various forms of social support to the couples which result in high fertility-rate. Greif (2002), on the other hand, has observed that economic development decreases the effect of social pressure on fertility-decisions. Therefore, fertility-rate is influenced not only by individual preference but also by the social pressure which varies according to the socio-cultural condition of the society. In cultures that value family and children, single-child family is not considered an appropriate family size. The social pressure to achieve ideal family size and composition is immense, especially on the woman to be accepted and integrated into the marital family. In this regard, an attempt has been made to understand the relationship between social pressures that couples felt for having single-children, and social class.

Table 1.5: Distribution showing association between social pressure and social class

Social pressure	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Yes	24 72.7%	22 66.7%	33 80.5%	28 68.3%	31 100.0%	31 100.00%
No	9 27.3%	11 33.3%	8 19.5%	13 31.7%	0	0
Total	33 100.0%	33 100.0%	41 100.0%	41 100.0%	31 100.0%	31 100.0%

Mother respondents $\chi^2 = 9.309$, df- 2, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Father respondents $\chi^2 = 13.060$, df- 2, $P < 0.01$ highly significant.

Table 1.5 shows that more mothers in comparison to fathers reported that they were being pressurized on this issue. It may be due to the fact that fertility is more often associated with women than men. As a result, mothers faced more social pressure in this regard. Class-wise analysis has revealed that a considerable proportion of the respondents from upper and middle-class experienced social pressure to alter their existing family size. The social pressure was more visible on mothers than fathers in these two classes. They were repeatedly advised by their social network that single-child family is not an ideal family size. Only 27.3 per cent of the mothers and 33.3 per cent of the fathers from the upper-class reported that they did not feel any social pressure in this regard. Similar response was given by 19.5 per cent of the mothers and 31.7 per cent of the fathers belonging to the middle-class. However, in the lower-class all the mothers and the fathers reported that they were under constant pressure by their significant others, regarding their family size. Chi-square value for both mothers and fathers was found to be highly significant at 1 per cent

level of confidence. The data suggest that a significant association exists between the social pressure felt by the couples regarding single-child family, and their class background

Conclusion

The results disclose that out of diverse factors that determine the size of single-child family, financial reason emerged as the most significant factor. Economic reason was reported by a majority of the mothers and fathers hailing from the middle-class background, which compelled them to opt for single-child family voluntarily. It can be best explained in terms of exchange perspective. The couples in the middle-class family value the presence of child and they want to provide the best of the facilities to the child but not at the cost of their own comfort and happiness. Comparison of perceived costs and rewards of child bearing with costs and rewards of individual freedom and a desire to move up in the social ladder force these couples to opt for single-child families voluntarily. A considerable proportion of the lower-class couples had acquired single-child family involuntarily due to infertility and poor health. For a couple belonging to the lower-class, expensive infertility treatment is beyond reach. Thus, economic constraints compel them not to go in for expensive infertility treatment and remain single-child family.

It is important to mention that the presence of a male child as a reason for having single-child family was not admitted by the respondents, as a significant determinant in the present study. People have a tendency to give socially desirable answers in order to save them from social stigma.

A little more than half of the respondents, who had opted for single-child family voluntary, proclaimed that it was a mutual decision. Such findings indicate that despite being in a patriarchal society, mothers are actively participating and using their reproductive rights. Educational and economic status of these mothers is mainly responsible for their equalitarian status. These findings support the power theory which indicates a close relationship between marital power structure and fertility decision making. However, a majority of the single-child parents decided in favour of single-child family after experiencing and examining the costs and rewards involved in the caring and rearing of the first child. These findings support the exchange theory which assumes that fertility decisions are rational in nature. It involves evaluation of the available alternatives through a balance of costs and rewards. Social pressure was evident on single-child parents in all the three classes. But as compared to the mothers, lesser number of fathers recounted social pressure to alter their present family size.

The present study should be seen as presenting a glimpse of the Indian demographic change in which some sections of the society have become pioneers by limiting their family size to an extreme end and thus enabling others to follow their lead. This study can help the couples and the policy makers in maximizing the options, enhancing the advantages and controlling the disadvantages of the single-child family.

References:

Amiteshwar, and Kaur, P. (2006). *Marriage and Family-In Diverse and Changing Scenario*. New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publication.

- Bavel, V. J. (2006). The Effect of Fertility Limitation on Intergenerational Social Mobility: The Quality-Quantity Trade-Off during the Demographic Transition. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, Vol. 38, No. 4 pp. 553-569. Available at <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=445876&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0021932005026994>
- Blood, O. R., and Wolfe, D. (1960). *Husbands and Wives, the Dynamics of Married Living*. New York. The Free Press.
- Bulatao, R. A., and Ronald, L. (1983). Overview of Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries. pp. 757-787. In *Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries*. Vol. II, New York, Academic Press.
- Caldwell, J. C., Reddy, P. H., and Caldwell, P. (1988). *The Causes of Demographic Change: Experimental Research in South India*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Census of India, (2011) available at <http://censusindia.gov.in/2011-Documents/Houselisting%20English.pdf>.
- Davis-Friedmann, D. (1985). *China's One-Child Family Policy*, New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Dodoo, F. N., (1993). A Couple Analysis of Micro-Level Supply/Demand Factors in Fertility Regulation, *Population Research and Policy Review*, Vol.12, No.2, pp. 93-101.
- Greif, A. (2002). Institutions and Impersonal Exchange: From Communal to Individual Responsibility, *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, Vol.158, pp. 168-204. Available at [http://ideas.repec.org/a/mhr/jinste/urnsici0932-4569\(200203\)1581_168iaiefc_2.0.tx_2-a.html](http://ideas.repec.org/a/mhr/jinste/urnsici0932-4569(200203)1581_168iaiefc_2.0.tx_2-a.html)
- Grigoriadis, V. (2004). The Onlies, published in New York: News and Features, May 21. Available at <http://nymag.com/nymetro/urban/family/features/10290/>
- Guilmoto, C. Z., and Irudaya, R. S. (2002). District Level Estimates of Fertility from India's 2001 Census. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37 No. 7, pp. 665-672.
- Haines, M. R. (1992). The European Experience of Declining Fertility, 1850-1970. The Quiet Revolution. In, J. R. Gillis, A. T. Louise and D Levine (Eds.) *Studies in Social Discontinuity*, pp. 193-226. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Blackwell.
- Jefferies, J. (2001). Reluctance to Embrace the One-Child Family in Britain? Paper prepared for EURESCO conference 'The Second Demographic Transition in Europe', Bad Herrenalb, Germany. Available at www.demogr.mpp.de/Papers/workshops/0623paper05.pdf
- Karen, (1984). Only Child. (Online) Available at www.kidsource.com/kidsource/content2/only.child.html
- Kohler, H. P. (2000). Social Interactions and Fluctuations in Birth Rates. *Population Studies*, Vol. 54, pp. 223-237.
- Kusumlata, (1987). The Single Child Family: A Socio-Demographic Study. (Unpublished M.phil dissertation) Department of Sociology, Panjab University, Chandigarh.
- Lesthaeghe, R., and Meekers, D. (1986). Value Change and the Dimension of Familism in the European Community, *European Journal of Population* Vol. 2, pp 225-268.

- Lightbourne, R. Singh, S., and Green, C. (1982). The World Fertility Survey: Charting Global Child Bearing, *Population Bulletin*, Vol.37, pp. 3-52.
- Morgan, S. P. (1982). Parity-Specific Fertility Intentions and Uncertainty: The United States, 1970 To 1976. *Demography*, Vol. 19, pp. 351-334.
- Narayana, G. (1998). *Targets for Family Planning in India: An Analysis of Policy Change, Consequences, and Alternative Choices*. The Policy Project, New Delhi, Futures Group International.
- Nye, F. I. (1979). Is Choice and Exchange Theory the Key? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 40, No.2, pp. 219-233.
- Office for National Statistics. (2000). Birth Statistics 1999, England and Wales. Series FM1 no. 28. London: The Stationery Office. In , J. Jefferies (2001). Reluctance to Embrace the One-Child Family in Britain? Available at www.demogr.mpp.de/Papers/workshops/010623_paper05.pdf
- Pearce, D., Cantisoni, G., and Laihonon, A. (1999). Changes in Fertility and Family Sizes in Europe. *Population Trends*, Vol. 95, pp. 33-40. Available at <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/10368845>
- Rajaretnam, T., and Deshpande, R. V. (1994). Factors Inhibiting the Use of Reversible Contraceptive Methods in Rural South India. *Studies in Family Planning*, Vol. 25, No. 2. pp. 111–21. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2138088>
- Rao, A. P., and Somsyajulu, U. V. (1999). Factors Responsible for Family Planning Acceptance with Single Child: Findings from a Study in Karnataka. *Demography India*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp 65 -73.
- Sharma, B., and Sharma, S. (2010), Emotional Profile and Need for Achievement of the Only Child of Working and Non -Working Mothers. *Indian Journal of Social Science Researches*, Vol. 7, No.1 March, pp 77-82. Available at <http://ijssr.110mb.com/ijssr-march-10/11-bharti.pdf>
- Skirbekk, V. (2008). Fertility Trends by Social Status, *Demographic Research*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 145–180.
- Sweet, J. (1982). Work and Fertility in Fox G.L. (Eds.). *The Childbearing Decision: Fertility Attitudes and Behaviour*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publication.
- Thabaut, J. W., and Kelley, H. H. (1959). *The Social Psychology of Groups*. New York, John Wiley.
- The Office for National Statistic United Kingdom (2013) available at <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/hub/index.html>
- Udry, J. R. (1983). Do Couples Make Fertility Plans One Birth at a Time? *Demography*, Vol. 20, pp. 117-128.
-

Burnout and Work Engagement among College Teachers

Savneet*

Abstract

Teacher quality is vital to student achievement. Do teachers make a difference in student's learning? There are many answers to this question. It has been examined by educationists, psychologists, scientists, policy makers, and parents. The impact of teachers is not only confined to the classrooms-it occurs in various settings in life. Keeping this in mind this research paper has been planned. This study was conducted on 250 college teachers from the tri city comprising Chandigarh, Panchkula and SAS Nagar. Data were collected from an equal number of males and females. This paper also aims to identify strategies to prevent Burnout and promote Work Engagement both at the personal and organizational levels. Results of the study indicate that there are no gender differences on these two important variables of work life and there exists a negative relationship between Burnout and Work Engagement among college teachers. Depersonalization does not have any relation with Work Engagement and its dimensions.

Teaching is a profession for a passionate person who must be prepared to overcome a multitude of challenges in order to encourage a high level of learning among students. Teaching indeed is a stressful profession; teachers are showing symptoms of burnout, which is directly or indirectly affecting their teaching performance. As is often perceived that teachers are not satisfied with their jobs. Research has proved that the majority of teachers are not necessarily anxious, stressed, unmotivated, or burnt-out (Farber, 1984). The vast majority of teachers are content and enthusiastic and find their work rewarding and satisfying. To understand all these contradictions the present study aimed to explore the relationship of Burnout and Work Engagement.

Good teachers are those who are skilful in developing understanding of the world in which an individual lives, insightful with respect to the ways and means of stimulating intellectual appetites, and capable of patience, understanding, nourishingsincere feelings for others pavingf the way for an enlightened and productive society.

* Assistant Professor, (Psychology), GGSCW, Sector-26, Chandigarh

BURNOUT

Burnout is described as a state of depletion of a person's resources and energy resulting in apathetic and impassive behaviour towards others, having dysfunctional repercussions on the individual and adverse effects on organizations.

Freudenberger (1977), described Burnout as physical and Emotional Exhaustion resulting from excessive demands on energy, strength or resources. He said that when frustration, tension or anxiety persist or increase, stress develops into a syndrome labeled as Burnout. He also noted that sometimes burnt-out people do not see themselves as cynical and depressed. They find fault with everything and everyone around them, complaining about the organization and reacting critically to whatever is suggested by others.

The manifestation of Burnout is characterized by three components, Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization and Feeling of Reduced Personal Accomplishment on the job (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

I. Emotional Exhaustion

Emotional Exhaustion is a state caused by excessive psychological and emotional demands, feelings of depression, helplessness, hopelessness and thoughts about suicide.

II. Depersonalization

Depersonalization refers to treating people like objects and is often reflected in the use of object labels rather than personal names, when referring to clients. Depersonalization is characterized by the development of negative attitude towards one self, towards work and towards life.

III. Reduced Personal Accomplishment

The demotivating effects of the feeling of inefficacy are evident from research on learned helplessness, which show that people in situation, where efforts repeatedly fail to produce positive results. These people developed symptoms of stress and depression, when they no longer believed that their actions can and make a difference, they quit trying.

TEACHER BURNOUT

Though teaching is called as labor of love until now, the realities of classroom life have made teaching a stressful profession. As a consequence, many teachers are

finding that their feelings about themselves, their students and their profession as more negative than they were initially. These teachers are susceptible to developing chronic feelings of emotional exhaustion and fatigue, negative attitudes towards their students and a reduced personal accomplishment in the job. It is rather frightening to think that many teachers are wasting themselves, spending their lifetimes in doing something which has no meaning for them, which gives them no sense of satisfaction and personal worth. In psychological terms such type of teachers are called burnt out teachers.

Teacher Burnout has an additional impact on the society, in that the teacher's state of mental health has a direct influence on the educational process. How the teacher instructs has more relevance than what is taught. A teacher who is low on morale, high on frustration and is detached from the students obviously is not able to be effective in the classroom. Burnout is not a trivial problem but an important barometer of a major social dysfunction in the work place.

Clouse and Whitekar (1981) pointed out three stages of teacher burnout:

Stage 1- Loss of Enthusiasm

Most teachers enter the profession with a sincere desire to help the students. Their energy levels may be high, ideals strong, value systems decent, sense of motivation high and they nurse an inner hope that something positive can be done about the students. However, when their expectations are not met, their enthusiasm falters.

Stage 2- Frustration

Frustration is one of the earliest signs of burnout. Lowered teacher morale at this point increases the frustration and burnout level.

Stage 3- Alienation

Alienation of a professional from the work environment may be viewed as a response or result of powerlessness, frustration and loss of meaning in one's work. Alienation is associated with detachment, withdrawal and isolation within the work environment. A teacher at this stage may view students as impersonal objects, may not be available when the students need help or even refuse to help them. Thus, a teacher who is undergoing Burnout would perceive a lack of enthusiasm, lowered sense of morale and high levels of frustration, a sense of detachment and would withdraw from work.

An early study of teacher burnout (Gold, 1985) reported that burnt-out teachers had described themselves as "empty, alienated, wasted, let down and even used-up". The Gold study described Burnout itself as "the end product of stress".

According to Farber (1991), Burnout is the result of a long period of stress. Stress comes from the perception of a teacher that the resources available to deal with the stress are not adequate. Teacher Burnout may be caused by various factors like excessive work, lack of administrative support, inadequate salaries, disciplinary problems, lack of student interest, overcrowded classrooms, difficulty in advancement, conflict in job perceptions and public criticism of teachers and their work.

For many teachers career development is often accompanied by a progressive sense of inconsequentiality (Farber, 1991). Many teachers in late to mid-careers become disenchanted or marginalize themselves from learning, no longer holding the good for their pupils as a high priority. For many teachers low self-esteem and shame (not achieving desired results) are directly correlated with less variety of teaching approaches and thus less connection with the students' learning needs.

When the stressors (demands from the job) outweigh the resources available to deal with the demands then the teachers experience Burnout. Teachers must face a classroom full of students every day, negotiate potentially stressful interactions with parents, administrators, counselors, and other teachers, contend with relatively low pay and shrinking school budgets, and ensure students meet increasingly strict standards of accountability (Klusmann et al., 2008).

WORK ENGAGEMENT

Positive psychology studies human strengths and optimal functioning, instead of the traditional four Ds: Disease, Damage, Disorder, and Disability, which is the switch from Job Burnout to Work Engagement (Maslach et al., 2001).

Everyday connotations of Engagement refer to involvement, commitment, passion, enthusiasm, absorption, focused effort, and energy. In a similar vein, the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2009) describes Engagement as "emotional involvement or commitment" and as "the state of being in gear".

Work Engagement has been picked up by various and quite different theoretical frameworks in literature, notably Burnout and time. Some of the research defined 'Engagement' as the theoretical antithesis of Burnout (Halbesleben, 2003; Montgomery et al., 2003). Burnout has become an important aspect for workers worldwide. Burnout and its supposed corollary Engagement have been found to act as mediators in most of the relationships between workplace variables.

Work Engagement thrives in settings that demonstrate strong connections between corporate and individual values. Although Work Engagement is a personal experience of individual employees, it does not occur in isolation. Xanthopoulou et al. (2009) in their diary study revealed that daily job resources generate positive emotions that, in turn, have a positive impact on employees' personal resources.

The first scholar who conceptualized engagement at work was Kahn (1990), who described it as the, “harnessing of organization members” selves to their work roles: in engagement, people employ and express themselves physically, cognitively, emotionally and mentally during role performances”. In other words, engaged employees put a lot of effort into their work because they identify with it.

Work engagement includes behavioural-energetic(vigor), an emotional (dedication), and a cognitive(absorption) component. **Vigour** reflects the readiness to devote effort in one’s work, an exhibition of high levels of energy while working and the tendency to remain resolute in the face of task difficulty or failure.

Dedication refers to a strong identification with one’s work and encompasses feelings of enthusiasm, inspiration, pride, and challenge.

Absorption is characterized by being completely immersed in one’s work, in a manner that time appears to pass rapidly and one finds it difficult to disengage oneself from work.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to provide insight into how aspects of college teachers’ work can lead to negative psychological outcomes such as burnout and psychological distress as well as positive outcomes such as work engagement.

Burnout and Work Engagement are multi-factorial concepts composed of factors within the individual and specific factors in the work place. Burnout is the negative end of the continuum whereas organizational commitment, work engagement and job satisfaction are the positive aspects of work management.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of the present study were:

- 1) To study the degree of prevalence of Burnout and Work Engagement among college teachers.
- 2) To study gender differences in Burnout, Work Engagement among college teachers.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the review of literature the following hypotheses were proposed:

- 1) Burnout and its dimensions are expected to be negatively related to Work Engagement and its dimensions.
- 2) Gender differences were expected in Burnout, Work Engagement and their dimensions.

METHOD

DESIGN

The present study was designed to study the relationship of Burnout and Work Engagement among college teachers.

For this purpose, 250 college teachers (125 males and 125 females) in the age range of 35-45 years were taken. Male and female groups of teachers were compared on Maslach Burnout Inventory, Work Engagement Scale.

For measuring Burnout and its dimensions viz. Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and Reduced Personal Accomplishment Maslach Burnout inventory devised by Maslach et al. (1996) was used.

Work Engagement and its dimensions viz Vigor, Dedication and Absorption were assessed by using Work Engagement Scale by Schaufeli et al. (2002).

SAMPLE

The subjects comprised of 250 college teachers selected randomly. Equal number of male and female teachers of Arts and Science stream were selected from colleges of tri-city within the age range of 35-45 years.

Inclusion criteria:

- All the teachers were regular teachers who had a minimum of five years of teaching experience.
- These teachers belonged to middle and upper middle classes.
- No co morbidity or any mental disorder was found among these college teachers.

TESTS AND TOOLS

The following standardized tests and tools were used:

1. Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach et al., 1996).
2. Work Engagement Scale (Schaufeli et al., 2002).

General information schedule was also administered to gather information about the demographic variables viz age, sex, educational qualifications, marital status, number of children, hobbies, belief in God, stressors and ways to deal with them etc.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF TESTS

1) Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach et al., 1996)

This test was developed by Maslach to measure Burnout which is a psychological syndrome of Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization and Reduced Personal Accomplishment. There are 22 items, which are divided into three sub-scales of Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization and Reduced Personal Accomplishment. The items were answered in terms of the frequency with which the respondent experienced these feelings on Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (0) to Strongly Agree (5).

Emotional Exhaustion pertains to the feelings when an individual loses his/her emotional forces and is no longer able to maintain emotional relations with others.

The second dimension of Burnout is Depersonalization. This parameter of attrition pertains to non sentimental and rude responses to visitors and co-workers. Individual's suffering from attrition syndrome has negative and reproachful feelings and outlook towards others.

Reduced Personal Accomplishment refers to individual's negative understanding of their vocational efforts, and the feeling that there is no progress in the work and their work efforts do not yield positive results.

The reliability co-efficient by Cronbach's co-efficient alpha was .90 for Emotional Exhaustion, .79 for Depersonalization and .71 for Reduced Personal Accomplishment.

Work Engagement Scale (Schaufeli et al.,2002)

Teacher's Work Engagement in this research was measured using the Work Engagement scale developed by Schaufeli et al. (2002). This measure is a three factor scale consisting of 17 items aiming to measure the three dimensions of Work Engagement: Vigor (6 items), Dedication (5 items) and Absorption (6 items). All the items were anchored in a seven point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (Never) to 6 (Always). Vigor is characterized by high levels of energy and mental resilience while working, the willingness to invest effort in one's work and persistence in the face of difficulty. Dedication is one's sense of significance, enthusiasm, inspiration, pride and challenge. Absorption refers to the state in which one is highly concentrated and happily engrossed in his/her work so that he/she feels time passes quickly and it is difficult to detach from work.

The reliability and the factorial validity of the scale are good (Schaufeli et al., 2002 and Bakker, 2002). Cronbach's alpha values varied between .75 and .90.

PROCEDURE

All the respondents were selected randomly and contacted personally. They were requested to volunteer for testing the questionnaire schedule. The respondents were then given the questionnaires in a booklet form and were requested to respond to them truthfully, according to given instructions. They were assured that information obtained would be kept confidential and the results would be used for research purpose only.

The testing of questionnaire was started by firstly asking the participants to fill in the general information schedule and then requested to respond to the tests one after the other until all tests and all questions had been responded to. The testing of questionnaire was conducted personally in 3-4 sittings. All the respondents were given instructions to each questionnaire as specified in the respective manual, as follows.

SCORING AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Scoring for all the given tests was done as per the instructions provided in the scoring manuals of the tests. The scores were then subjected to various statistical treatments and analysis. Descriptive Statistics, t-tests, Correlations and were carried out to analyze the data as per the objectives of the study.

RESULTS

Means and Standard Deviations for the three groups: male teachers, female teachers and the Total Sample of Teachers were calculated.

t-ratios

Table-1

Means, Standard Deviations and t-ratios Comparing Male and Female Teachers

S. No.	Names of the variables	Male Teachers (n=125)		Female Teachers (n=125)		t-ratios
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
1.	Emotional Exhaustion	12.34	5.68	12.03	5.05.	44
2.	Depersonalization	5.93	2.85	5.34	2.84	1.62
3	Reduced Personal Accomplishment	10.49	5.04	9.69	3.21	1.49
4	Burnout	28.75	8.81	27.06	8.24	1.56
5	Vigor	24.38	5.28	23.91	5.79	.67
6	Dedication	23.90	5.17	24.22	5.84	.44
7	Absorption	25.14	6.21	24.65	6.21	.63
8	Work Engagement	73.29	14.75	72.78	15.87	.26

t-ratios were calculated to find out the significance of differences comparing male and female teachers. The comparison revealed no t-ratios to be significant, meaning that no significant differences existed between males and females on Burnout and its dimensions as well as on Work Engagement and its dimensions.

Schaufeli et al. (2006) reported that relationships between Work Engagement and gender were weak but equivocal. In the Australian, Canadian, and French samples,

no gender differences were observed. On the other hand, in the Belgian, German, Finnish, and Norwegian samples, males scored slightly higher on the three engagement dimensions than females.

The analysis and maintenance of the mental health of female teachers in colleges in China was done by Zhang and Miao (2006). They found that teachers, when grouped on the basis of gender, showed no significant difference in their burnout tendencies. Both male and female teachers were at equal risk and once burned out they did not show any marked difference in their state.

Basikin (2007) found no significant differences in Work Engagement between male and female teachers. While female teachers felt secure with the low income and enjoyed their teaching position due to their limited financial necessity, provided additional financial support to the family, male teachers had to find other jobs to provide for the family. The responsibility to do the duty of the other job(s) took a certain amount of time, effort and energy of male teachers from the teaching profession. Male teachers, therefore, were potentially less engaged in their teaching work. Data on the engagement of junior secondary school English teachers, however, tell a different story. There was no significant contribution of gender on the differences in Work Engagement among the teachers.

Correlational Analysis

Correlational analysis was done to study the relationship of Burnout and its dimensions viz. Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization and Reduced Personal Accomplishment; Work Engagement and its dimensions viz. Vigor, Dedication and Absorption.

Tables 2 to 4 show the inter-correlations matrices for all the three groups.

The results of inter-correlation indicate that Total Burnout emerged to have significant negative relation with all the dimensions of Work engagement among the total sample, male and female teachers.

Results of inter-correlation also indicate that Emotional Exhaustion emerged to have significant negative relation with all the dimensions of Work engagement among the total sample and male teachers.

The results further revealed that Depersonalization was found to be significantly and negatively related to Vigor among the total sample and males. It was found to be negatively related with Work Engagement among the total sample of teachers and with Absorption among males.

For Reduced Personal Accomplishment there emerged significant negative relation with all the dimensions of Work Engagement among the total sample and female teachers. For male teachers it was found to be significantly related to Absorption and Work Engagement.

Table-2**Inter-correlation Matrix for the Total Sample (n=250)**

S. No.	Names of the Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Emotional Exhaustion	-	0.33	0.07	0.77	-0.18	-0.21	-0.15	-0.21
2	Depersonalization		-	0.18	0.63	-0.14	-0.1	-0.12	-0.14
3	Reduced Personal Accomplishment			-	0.60	-0.23	-0.22	-0.18	-0.24
4	Burnout				-	-0.28	-0.27	-0.22	-0.30
5	Vigor					-	0.66	0.61	0.85
6	Dedication						-	0.65	0.87
7	Absorption							-	0.87
8	Work Engagement								-

Value of correlation significant at .05 level =.13

Value of correlation significant at .01 level =.17

Table-3**Inter-correlation Matrix for Male Teachers (n=125)**

S. No.	Names of the Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Emotional Exhaustion	-	0.26	-0	0.72	-0.27	-0.28	-0.23	-0.29
2	Depersonalization		-	0.12	0.56	-0.17	-0.07	-0.17	-0.16
3	Reduced Personal Accomplishment			-	0.60	-0.16	-0.14	-0.17	-0.17
4	Burnout				-	-0.32	-0.28	-0.30	-0.34
5	Vigor					-	0.68	0.65	0.86
6	Dedication						-	0.68	0.87
7	Absorption							-	0.89
8	Work Engagement								-

Value of correlation significant at .05 level =.17

Value of correlation significant at .01 level =.22

Table-4
Inter-correlation Matrix for Female Teachers (n=125)

S. No.	Names of the Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Emotional Exhaustion	-	0.41	0.21	0.83	-0.1	-0.14	-0.05	-0.12
2	Depersonalization		-	0.28	0.71	-0.13	-0.11	-0.06	-0.13
3	Reduced Personal Accomplishment			-	0.62	-0.37	-0.36	-0.22	-0.38
4	Burnout				-	-0.25	-0.27	-0.14	-0.27
5	Vigor					-	0.64	0.56	0.84
6	Dedication						-	0.64	0.88
7	Absorption							-	0.84
8	Work Engagement								-

Value of correlation significant at .05 level =.17

Value of correlation significant at .01 level =.22

The results of the present study are in line with the previous studies done in this field.

According to Allinder, (1994) highly engaged teachers tended to exhibit greater levels of planning and organization and greater enthusiasm for teaching. Teachers with high personal efficacy and high teaching efficacy increased end-of-year goals more often for their students and teachers with high personal efficacy significantly affected greater growth among their students.

Goddard et al. (2001) opined that teachers high on efficacy were more engaged in their work and developed a trusting relationship with parents and students. These relationships included feelings of benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty, and openness in general, effective teachers trusted that their students possessed an openness to learn and the capability to succeed. Similar to teachers with a high sense of efficacy, teachers who trusted students and parents were more likely to set high but achievable expectations for their students.

Bakker et al., (2007) in their study on Finnish teachers found that job resources act as buffers and diminish the negative relationship between pupil misbehavior and work Engagement. in addition, they found that job resources particularly influence Work Engagement when teachers are confronted with high levels of pupil conduct.

Lath (2010) conducted a study on 100 teachers to study the causes of Occupational Stress. It was found that role insufficiency and role ambiguity were the main reasons for stress. Teachers also faced high amounts of stress during teaching and handling students. The results of the study also revealed that private school teachers were more prone to stress as compared to teachers of government schools.

According to Philipp and Schu"pbach (2010) a great number of teachers found teaching fulfilling and were dedicated to it, but others felt emotionally exhausted, indicated that the interaction with pupils to be emotionally demanding. Emotional labor was shown to play an important role for the health of teachers. In a full two-wave longitudinal study over the period of 1 year, the effect of emotional labor on emotional exhaustion and dedication of 102 teachers was investigated. Teachers who were able to influence their emotions to feel the emotion appropriate in a situation (so called deep acting) felt significantly less emotionally exhausted after one year. From this result, deep acting characterized as health-beneficial. Once teachers felt emotionally exhausted, they used more surface acting. More dedicated teachers did neither engage more in deep acting nor in surface acting. This indicated that those teachers who were dedicated to teaching seemed less likely to act.

Demerouti et al. (2012) opined that when employees experienced flow at work, they were more vigorous (and less exhausted) at the end of the day when they detached from work in the evening compared with days when they failed to detach. The study tracked 83 participants who completed daily surveys over four consecutive days. Results of multi level analyses indicated that some characteristics of flow, such as absorption and enjoyment, were significantly associated with energy after work. Recovery at work and detachment from work moderated the relationship between flow (specifically the enjoyment component) and after work energy.

If teachers are stressed or burnt out, the aforementioned qualities will be affected and the students in particular and the society in general will be deprived of those characteristics that are required for a successful and bright future. The educational institutions must continuously monitor the factors which may have adverse effect on the effectiveness of teachers and take remedial actions to improve learning (Nazeem and Nazir, 2008).

Overall, the findings suggest two ways to address effectiveness among college teachers: reducing job demands associated with burnout and increasing of job resources associated with work engagement. A dual focus on reducing burnout and increasing engagement appears likely to have the strongest impact on reducing psychological distress.

Implications for research and practice

While work factors explained more than half the variance in burnout and work engagement, future research could investigate a wider range of variables including individual differences such as personality. As we know from practice, it can happen that teachers who

get up tired in the morning, feel exhausted and have to find courage and strength to go to their work and even wonder why they chose for this work, somehow regain their energy and dedication during the day and hence remain engaged. By including both positive and negative outcomes this study has provided a more complete picture of the relationships between work characteristics and mental health. Building a sense of positive challenge at work could involve ensuring that work is meaningful.

References

- Allinder, R. M. (1994). The relationship between efficacy and the instructional practices of special education teachers and consultants. *Teacher Education and Special Education*, 17 (2), 86-95.
- Bakker, A., Demerouti, E. and Schaufeli, W. B. (2002). Validation of Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey: an internet study. *Anxiety, Stress and Coping*, 15, 245-260.
- Basikin (2007). Vigor, dedication and absorption: Work engagement among secondary school English teachers in Indonesia. *Paper presented at the annual AARE Conference, 25th-29th November 2007, Fremantle, Perth, Western Australia.*
- Christensen, K. B. (2002). The Copenhagen burnout inventory: A new tool for the assessment of burnout. *Work and Stress*, 19, 192-207.
- Cordes, C., & Dougherty, T. W. (1993). A review and an integration of research on job burnout. *Academy of Management Review*, 18, 621-656.
- Demerouti, E., Bakker, A. B., Sonnentag, S. and Fullagar, C. J. (2012). Work related flow and energy at work and at home: A study on the role of daily recovery. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 33, 276-295.
- Farber, B. A. (2000). Treatment strategies for different types of teacher burnout. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 56, 675-689.
- Freudenberger, H. J. (1977). Staff burnout. *Journal of Social Issues*, 30 (1), 159-165.
- Halbesleben, J. R. B. and Buckley, M. R. (2004). Attribution and burnout: Explicating the role of individual factors in the outcomes of burnout. *Presented at the 2nd Florida State University International Symposium on Attribution Theory.*
- Kahn, W.A. (1992). To be fully there: Psychological presence at work. *Human Relations*, 45, 321-349

- Klusmann, U., Kunter, M., Trautwein, U. Lu"dtke, O. and Baumert. J. (2008). Teachers' occupational well-being and quality of instruction: The important role of self-regulatory patterns. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 100 (3), 702–715.
- Lath, S. K. (2010). A study of occupational stress among teachers. *International Journal of Educational Administration*, 2 (2), 421-432.
- Maslach, C. and Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Occupational Behaviour*, 2 (2), 99-113.
- Maslach, C., Jackson, S. E. and Leiter, M. (1996). *Maslach Burnout Inventory manual* (3rd Ed.) Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Maslach, C., Schaufeli, W. B. and Leiter, M. P. (2001). Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 397-422.
- Mearns, J. and Cain, J. E. (2003). Relationships between teachers, occupational stress and their burnout and distress: roles of coping and negative mood regulation expectancies. *Anxiety, Stress and Coping*, 16, 71-82.
- Montgomery, A., Mostert, K. and Jackson, L. (2005). Burnout and health of primary school educators in the North-west Province. *South African Journal of Education*, 25, 155-173.
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (2010). *Working in the educational sector 2009 (Nota Werken in het onderwijs 2009)*. The Hague: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (2011). *Working in the educational sector 2010 (Nota werken in het onderwijs 2011)*. The Hague: Ministry of Education, Culture and Science.
- Nazeem, S. M., and Nazir, N. A. (2008). A study of job burnout among university teachers. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 20 (1), 51-64.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2005). *Teachers matter: Developing and retaining effective teachers*. Paris: OECD.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2009). *Creating Effective Teaching and Learning Environments: First Results from Talis*. Paris: OECD.
- Philipp, A., Sch u"pbach, H. and Ludwigs, A. (2010). Longitudinal effects of emotional labour on emotional exhaustion and dedication of teachers . *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*. 15, 4, 494–504.

- Pines, A. M. and Zaidman, N. (2003). Gender, culture and social support: A male-female, Israeli Jewish- Arab comparison. *Sex Roles*, 49, 571-577.
- Schaufeli, W. B., Salanova, M., Gonzalez-Roma and Bakker, A. B. (2002). The measurement of engagement and burnout: a two sample confirmatory analytic approach. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 3, 71-92.
- Schaufeli, W. B, Bakker, A. B. and Salanova, M. (2006). The measurement of work engagement with a short questionnaire: a cross-national study. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 66 (4), 701-716.
- Xanthopoulou, D., Bakker,A.B., Demerouti,E., and Schaufeli, W.B.(2009). Work engagement and financial returns: A diary study on role of job and personal resources. *Journal of Organizational and Occupational Psychology*,82,183-200
- Zhang Y-L., Cao, B-H. and Miao, D-M. (2006). Analysis and maintenance of mental health of female teachers in colleges of China. *US-China Education Review*, 3 (8), 48-52.
-

Significance of Freedom From the Known in J. Krishnamurti's Philosophy

Anamika Girdhar*

Jiddu Krishnamurti is one of the modern Indian thinkers who brought philosophy from closets and libraries to make it live among people through his talks, interviews, books and question-answer sessions. It is a philosophy of freedom, as most philosophy is, but differing in being a philosophy of freedom from the known, the static. He is one of the modern anti-intellectualists as Henri Bergson is but is more radical than the creative evolutionist, more revolutionary than the existentialists. He feels that today mankind is technologically very advanced; it has reached the moon and is still moving further. Science and technology have created a world of comforts. But human beings, who have achieved extraordinary technological advancement, have remained psychologically, inwardly the same, more or less, for the last forty thousand years. This is the problem which J. Krishnamurti wants us to ponder over. We have changed our outer world but why have we not brought about a radical change in our own psychological realm? Have we never cared for it or are our methods faulty?

J. Krishnamurti has a very precise answer to this problem. His whole philosophy is concerned about making mankind happy. But this happiness is not of the utilitarian kind nor it is individualistic, but it is the happiness that comes when we have achieved total freedom – freedom from the known. It is the state of love for all, without any attachment.

J. Krishnamurti says that we have never cared to look inwardly. We generally try to change the outward realm of things to solve our problems. Moreover, we try to take the help of someone else such as a guru, a teacher or a philosopher to solve our problems, whereas the real solutions lie in looking inwardly and solving our problems ourselves without any other person's help. There is no trodden path. He says that truth is a pathless land. One has to change himself/herself inwardly, so that one can have a holistic view of life. This appears contradictory. On the one hand, he says that everyone has to search his/her way on its own; on the other hand he suggests the way. But this contradiction is resolved when we realize that inward change cannot be brought about by theory only. One has to live with the experience of inwardness. Krishnamurti again and again warns his audience not to follow him blindly. Krishnamurti is only giving a method, but when one starts following it, when one acts on it, it will be a new way, his/her own way. Each person's experience is different, at the same time it is universal also because we all are human beings. Krishnamurti's method and philosophy is threefold. Firstly, the focus of J. Krishnamurti's method is the inner self of man. The inner self of man is the centre of Krishnamurti's thought. According to him it is vital that we understand ourselves completely but in enquiring into ourselves we are not to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. Human being throughout the world are caught up in the same daily problems as we are, so in enquiring into ourselves we are not being in the least neurotic because there is no difference between the individual and the collective.¹ A person is not isolated from the society. He

*Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

says, “I must become aware of the total field of my own self, which is the consciousness of the individual and the society. It is only then, when the mind goes beyond this individual and social consciousness that I can become a light to myself that never goes out.”² Secondly, one does not have to change oneself by reforming one’s ways, but just by observing the working of its own mind without passing any judgment, just by living the experience without praise or blame. He calls it choice less awareness. This means that in order to understand oneself one has to observe oneself, see what is actually taking place inside oneself. But this does not mean to sit in a corner and meditating about oneself in isolation. “I can observe myself only in relationship because all life is relationship”.³ According to Krishnamurti, we all exist in relationship to people, things and ideas, and in studying our relationship to outer world, things and people as well as to inward things, we begin to understand ourselves. Every other form of understanding is merely an abstraction. And we cannot understand ourselves in abstraction. A person is not an abstract entity; therefore one has to study oneself in actuality — as one *is*, not as one wishes to be. It means we should look without condemning or justify. It also means that the mind has become quiet, i.e. it is no longer chattering, indulging in an idle talk, as Heidegger would say, it is capable of observing, what Krishnamurti calls ‘what is’, ontologically speaking. Thirdly, one has to see a problem in a holistic manner, and not fragmentarily. This is also very important. In order to have to have a holistic view, one has to observe a thing without any bias or prejudice. Most of us, Krishnamurti finds, live in narrow limits and at times, feel good to be rigid, hard and complex. This breeds violence, as others are equally dogmatic in their beliefs, opinions and persuasions. That is how the world has become so chaotic, so violent, and so callous. Our prejudices do not allow us to look impartially at the facts of our conditioning - the narrowing of our consciousness. The more the conditioning, the more fragmented it becomes, wasting its vitality in friction. Krishnamurti asks whether it is possible to be totally aware of the whole field of consciousness and not merely a part, a fragment, of it. His answer is: if you are able to be aware of the totality, then you are functioning all the time with total attention. There is then no friction. What he means to say is that total consciousness is global; it is not petty little mind concerned with its little problems. In his idealist strain, Krishnamurti envision, as he says: “In the greater, the lesser disappears. In the greater humanity, the little human problems are solved.”⁴ Krishnamurti’s vision is thus global. He wishes to achieve oneness — globally, and thus to remove divisions in the world.

Thus the three aspects are inter-connected. In order to have a holistic view, one has to observe a thing without any prejudice. This prejudice less vision can be achieved only when one has changed himself/herself inwardly. If we are divided inwardly, we cannot have a holistic view about the outer world. Moreover, when our inner self is changed, there is no need to change the outer world. It will change automatically because all of us have created the values. When we forcibly try to change the inner or the outer, that is violence in J. Krishnamurti’s terms. We just have to observe the working of our inner self, without passing judgments that will change it for the better and totally. J. Krishnamurti again and again emphasizes that the root of all problems is the inner self. So the method is Socratic in a way - ‘know thy self’.

In the words of J. Krishnamurti “the world is you and you are the world”.⁵ Man has created this outer world, the society, the morals, the political system. When we have created this world which is corrupt, inefficient, cruel, jealous etc., then in order to change it, we have to start with ourselves, and not to try to reform it with the alteration of the systems of

the world, not by looking for a new leader, a new system, a new philosophy, a new guru, but by looking at ourselves as we are.⁶

For this we need to observe our own inner self without prejudice. Prejudices are the result of all the accumulated knowledge we have gained since our childhood. This knowledge is the result of the whole tradition of mankind. It takes the form of religion, political system, science, philosophy, literature etc. We form images, ideas and thoughts by it. These images are like coloured glasses on our eyes, which colour everything we see. These images and ideas condition our personality. We start thinking in our particular way, but this is limited in its scope and vision, because it is based on knowledge which is limited. Why is knowledge limited? Knowledge is limited because it is static whereas life is an ongoing process, it is always changing. Knowledge is the accumulative result of experience. One scientist discovers something, another scientist adds to it or subtracts from it. So there is a gradual accumulation of knowledge. That is why human thought, which is born of knowledge, is also not total or complete. Knowledge can never be complete about anything. So knowledge is always limited. It is old, whereas life is new everyday. Thought which is based on limited knowledge is static and cannot flow with life. Moreover, thought is fragmentary and creates duality — what is and what is not or what is and what ought to be - this duality dissipates the energy which is necessary for observation in a holistic way.

So Krishnamurti suggests that we should first get rid of all past and static knowledge, ideologies, images, thoughts, theories etc., and look at our inner self afresh without any prejudice only then can we see “what is”, says J. Krishnamurti.

How to observe? This is a very important aspect of Krishnamurti's philosophy. It is an art of observation, not a science of observation. It is to be learnt and practiced to be understood. It is not a theory. In fact, it is the most difficult activity. When we look at a thing, at once our mind puts a category on it:

The moment you look at a tree, the moment you use the word tree, you are not looking. The word, the remembrance prevents you from looking... The moment you use the word which you have used a thousand times before, that very word is the factor of time. Therefore, you have already brought about a division.⁷

When we ordinarily look at anything, we get experience and experience is accumulated in the form of memories. Memories form knowledge. Thus a vicious circle goes on. So whenever we will look next time, this knowledge will cast its shadow on the object being observed and we will not be able to know the object as ‘it is’, but only what we think about it. So learning the art of “looking” is very important. It is to become “a mind that does not demand experience” and it is totally different. As Krishnamurti says, “do not accumulate, but just listen, just observe without all the memories.” This is the way to make the observer who creates violence, disappear. This is not an inaction, but action itself.

Krishnamurti has given the example of a Chinese painter, who in order to paint a tree, observed it for years, until he became the tree itself. The observer and the observed became one. The observer disappeared totally.

This is the state which Krishnamurti wants us to achieve. In his discussions, he calls this a state of total freedom or freedom from the known. This is total revolution. Such a mind is quiet.

Many philosophers have discussed the nature of freedom, but Krishnamurti is very radical. Freedom is not to be free from one thing or another. It is freedom from all knowledge, all thoughts, and all images. If we are free from one thing or another, then this is not a total freedom. If we became free from nationalism because we have started believing in internationalism, this freedom is a reactionary freedom. Krishnamurti says, "It is a reaction which will lead to then another reaction which will bring about conformity, another form of domination. In this way, you can have a chain of reactions and accept each reaction as freedom. But it is not freedom; it is merely a continuity of a modified past which the mind clings to."⁸

Freedom is a state of mind, not freedom from something, but a sense of freedom, a freedom to doubt and question everything. This freedom is so intense, active and vigorous, says Krishnamurti, that it throws away every form of dependence, slavery, conformity and acceptance. Such freedom implies being completely alone, without dependence on something. This freedom implies that our mind is alone.

"To be alone" is a state of mind. It is not isolation or cutting off oneself, asserts Krishnamurti. It is to die to the past. One is alone when one does not belong to any family, any nation, or any culture. This does not mean that you put on the clothes of a *Sanyasi* and go to jungle. To be alone means to be psychologically independent of circumstances in which you live. A man who is completely alone in this way is innocent and it is this innocence that frees mind from sorrow:

Such a person is not only innocent but young, alive at whatever age and only such a mind can see what is truth and that which is not measurable by word. ⁹

It is to live with what you are, without any justification or condemnation. Just live with yourself as you actually are.

This freedom is also not a matter of time. Krishnamurti insists that it is to live in present. However, this freedom does not come gradually. It happens in a moment. It means that if one goes on thinking that he will be free tomorrow or a day after; he is not going to be free. It happens at an instant or never. But one should not even be aware of it. If one is conscious of this freedom and say, "I am free," and then he is not free. It should be natural and effortless. Total freedom lies beyond the field of consciousness. Total freedom is freedom from all prejudices and fears; death being one of the greatest fears.

J. Krishnamurti has given a long discussion on death. This is very interesting to see that we also find such discussion in Martin Heidegger also, but Krishnamurti's exposition of death, unlike that in Heidegger is not meant to make us authentic but to make us alive. Both the knowledge of the past and the fear of death make us live half-heartedly, not fully, in fear and dread, sapped of energy and passion. In this respect, Krishnamurti is closer to Bergson than Heidegger. But in Bergson, it is the sense of the process of time, *duree* that

puts us back in the flux, in vitality, not death both physically and psychologically. Krishnamurti's attempt to bring the role of dying to oneself – to the things, is like will-less state of Schopenhauer. According to Krishnamurti, death is a fear, of course the greatest fear, as long as we try to escape it. In order to free ourselves from it, we have to face it, bring it closer, of course psychologically. It is very easy as well as equally very difficult. To live means to have desires. Krishnamurti says, "If you have died to one of your pleasures, the smallest and the greatest, naturally without any enforcement or argument, then you will know what it means to die."¹⁰

In other words, to die is to have a mind that is completely empty to itself, empty of its daily longings, pleasures and agonies.¹¹

Death is nothing but to be empty of desires, of past knowledge - then there is freedom.

This freedom is the starting point of a new life, which is full of energy. This freedom, this emptiness expands one's personality. This turns an individual into a human being. Individual is a local entity, but human being is a universal being. He belongs to everyone.

Proper relationship can prosper only by gaining freedom from the known. The known is like a cage. It restricts our vision. When we are free, when we are not seeking our personal security, when we are free from the known, the desires, then only one can have a meaningful relationship with others. The flower of love can flourish only here and now. Love does not divide neither there is any expectation nor any sense of duty or responsibility. In other words, love is possible when the sense of 'me' is gone, when, "you are not seeking, not waiting, not pursuing, there is no centre at all, then there is love,"¹²

We can understand all this theoretically, but J. Krishnamurti wants us to live it, to *look* it, no merely repeat his words. For this we need to look clearly inwardly. We need passion and total energy. This cannot happen by argument or persuasions. It comes when it comes and you cannot bring it about, as Wittgenstein puts it. Seeing is acting as J. Krishnamurti says. One may go on reading J. Krishnamurti's books for years and may never gain this freedom. Someone may read one book and gain freedom. It may be the case that somebody has never read Krishnamurti and still has gained freedom from the known.

After explaining Krishnamurti's views now I take up the general criticism that is leveled against him. Many people feel that how can complex social problems be solved just by changing our self? Social problems are the result of our narrow perspectives, our greed, our selfishness, our fears and our insecurities. Take the example of corruption. We all feel that corruption is bad and want a society which is corruption free but when the time comes to make an effort to remove it, we want some kind of system to control it, but a system does not work automatically, it is we who run a system and if we are corrupt then the system will fail howsoever perfect it may be. The movement started by Anna Hazare to bring a strong Lokpal Bill is good as it aroused the feelings of the people of India for a corruption free society but mere feeling without inner change is not enough. Corruption is present at all the levels of society, so each person will have to make an effort on his/her own level and this effort has a meaning only when there is an inner change—when the person raises above his/her petty greed and fears and becomes a human being—a universal being. Such a person will have more capacity, more drive, greater intensity and vitality to

work for a corruption-free society. Anna Hazare's movement or any other such movement will have only momentary effect. No system or authority can remove problems. Human beings have to change themselves by observing their own minds to make outer change. Similarly the problem of gender inequality can be solved in this way. The main reason of gender inequality is that since early times women being weak physically due to repeated child birth were, considered to be weak mentally also. Now this bias being wide spread is thought to be a reality - a metaphysical reality. We do not want to see beyond this bias. Women have proved themselves by doing all kinds of jobs but still men do not now want to accept gender equality for varied reasons, one being the fear that if women get equal status, they (women) will dominate men. Here also we need to look at the situation without our prejudices and fears but our mindset do not let us see. If women can work as efficiently as men, then they must be treated as equals. If we are able to form such a society then it will be good not only for women but for men also. We all have families and in a family, there are both males and females—brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, husband, wife, father, mother. If there is inequality in the society then it will hurt our sisters and daughters also. We do feel concerned when something bad happen to our daughters and sisters but when it happens to other women outside our family, we are not disturbed or just pay lip service without realizing that it can happen to our sisters or daughters also. If all women are safe only then our family members are safe. But our bias and fear do not let us see clearly that society is also like a big family and we all live in a zigzag of relationships. If we are free from our greed, lust and fear, only then we can see clearly that gender equality is essential for a happy society.

Notes and References:

1. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*. Hampshire: Krishnamurti Foundation Trust Ltd., 1969; p.20
 2. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*.p.20
 3. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*. p.21
 4. Krishnamurti, J., *Mind Without Measure*. Hampshire: Krishnamurti Foundation Trust Ltd., 1983; p.74.
 5. Krishnamurti, J., *Mind without Measure*, p. 8.
 6. Krishnamurti, J., *Mind without Measure*, pp. 8-9.
 7. Krishnamurti, J., *Mind without Measure*, p.142
 8. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*. p.89
 9. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*. p.92
 10. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*.p.104
 11. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*. p.104
 12. Krishnamurti, J., *Freedom from the Known*, p.118
-

India's Energy Security Dilemma: Challenges and Opportunities in the Neighbourhood

Sanjeev Kumar*

Abstract

Efficient and unwavering supply of energy is indispensable to the economic growth of India. Lack of energy will not only threaten the sustenance of economic growth of the country but will also pose a severe challenge to national security. Since energy security is considered to be the sine qua non of national defence, for any state, developed or developing, rising or declining, energy is essential to survive. However, the core of India's energy policy is security, but it doesn't have an explicitly stated, discernible, comprehensive and cohesive national security strategy on energy. There are certain principles and priorities to follow when it comes to address its energy security concerns. For the purpose to highlight the fundamental characteristics of India's energy policy and its weaknesses, this paper looks into various policy documents and argues for a holistic and long-term energy security strategy for the country while keeping in mind the regional geopolitical realities. To achieve this end, the paper further advocates for regional cooperation among neighboring states for long term gains, energy security and development.

Introduction

After independence, the power sector of India has achieved significant progress. In 1947, the country had a power generating capacity of 1,362 megawatt.¹ The availability of electricity was only limited to a few urban centres. A large number of people living in the rural areas had no access to electricity. Yet, over the period of sixty six years, the installed capacity of power plants has been increased to 2, 23,344 megawatt in March 2013.² Of the country's total installed generation capacity coal/lignite has the largest share of about 1, 30,221 megawatt, hydro 39,491 megawatt, gas 20,110 megawatt, and diesel 12, 00 megawatt. The rest 32,322 megawatt is being contributed by nuclear, wind, biomass, waste-to-electricity plants etc.³ Accordingly, per capita consumption of electricity in the country has increased from 16.3 kilowatt hour (kWh) in 1947 to over 917.2 kWh in March 2013.⁴ As per the Central Electricity Authority report (2013) the power sector has recorded an increase of 14 per cent in 2012. But still the country's energy deficit (during the peak hour) in the year 2012-13 is over 12, 159 megawatt.⁵

Moreover, being a home to over 1.21 billion people that amounts to 17.5 per cent of global population (Census, 2011) and rapidly growing economy that has widen the gap between demand and supply, India's quest for energy can be implicitly put in this context -

*Research Associate , Institute for Development and Communication, Chandigarh

India is unable to meet the two-fold energy challenge. On the one hand, people anticipate that the economic growth of the country will provide them better quality of life - freedom from poverty, hunger, illiteracy, malnutrition and preventable diseases etc., while the growing economy calls for efficient and reliable energy supply. Both indicators: a) the installed energy generation capacity and b) the capacity utilization which are the key factors of evaluation of the country's state of preparedness further show that India is facing a huge challenge to meet its ever-expanding energy requirements.

However, keeping this in view, the Government of India unfolded *India Hydrocarbon Vision-2025* in 2000. This document lays down the framework to guide the country's policies pertaining to the hydrocarbons sector for the next 25 years. According to *India Hydrocarbon Vision-2025*, the Indian economy will increasingly rely on oil and gas imports in the future; therefore India needs to have a robust and enduring energy import policy. It further supports to ensure the regular flow of energy and gas at a sustainable price because a supply disruption of high magnitude or price escalation will pose a threat to the national economy.

Review of Literature

Hydro-carbons make up about 42 per cent of India's commercial energy consumption. It is projected that India's oil dependency will climb up to 80 per cent by 2025 from the present 70 per cent and that of gas to 91 per cent from the present 53 per cent (Chaturvedi, 2004). India has registered a rapid rise in its energy demand, after it accelerated the market based development in 1991. Energy is a concern for all countries in today's world, and the extent to which India's energy reliance on energy producing and transit countries has grown, it has become an imperative to look at the country's energy policy from the security perspective as it entails the danger of exposing India to greater geopolitical risks.

Fluctuating world market prices of crude oil, gas, and the escalating fight for energy can't be seen as an act of isolation. It involves a variety of risks for energy importing countries at both fronts, national as well as international (e.g. when an energy importing country has to depend on the exporting countries, the loss of independence is more or less a sign of energy becoming a national security issue). However, from the traditionalists' standpoint the concern for the security of a nation is as old as the concept of nation-state itself. For traditionalists, national security means the protection of people and territorial integrity of the country. "A state is secure to the extent that it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war" (Lippman, 1943:51). But in the present times, such a view is, indeed, too narrow and inadequate to address the complexities of international politics which is eclipsed by the energy matrix. National security is, undeniably, a holistic concept whereas energy security is an important feature of it, which implies ensuring uninterrupted supply of energy to support economic and commercial activities. But energy security can't be confined only to safeguarding the production and distribution of various energy sources. Girish Luthra in his work "*Conceptualizing Energy Security for the Indian Ocean*" argues, "energy security itself implies safeguarding interests that are influenced, directly or

indirectly, by considerations based on different types of energy sources. It is generally understood to be linked to the development process, ensuring sustainability over long-term. Essentially, it comprises elements of national security, economic security and environmental security. Unlike some other forms of security, it is more “vulnerability based” rather than “threat based”. It also implies making strategic choices in political, economic, social, military and environmental realms, and comprises elements of both collective as well as national security” (Luthra, 2005: 19-20). So, to say that the access to markets for energy suppliers and access to energy sources for importing countries is another vital aspect of the energy security is apt.

However, energy security has been defined in different ways by different scholars. For Clawson, energy security is ‘a continuous access of energy sources to consumers at reasonable prices’ (Clawson, 1995). Mason echoed the same views by saying, “energy security essentially implies ensuring uninterrupted supplies of energy at reasonable prices to support the economic and commercial activities necessary for the sustained growth of the country” (Willrich, 1975:67). In reality, there are three issues involved in the context of access to energy resources which almost every energy deficient country shares with all others. First of all, a state’s supply of imported energy must be adequate in volume so that its national security is not jeopardized. Second, the supply of imported energy must be continuous - without interruptions or occasional shortfalls that can have serious implications economic and political. And third, imported energy must be available at reasonable prices. Former President of India APJ Abdul Kalam defines energy security as ‘ensuring that our country can supply lifetime energy to all its citizens, at affordable costs at all times’ (The Hindu, 2005).

The import of oil and gas has its own implications for the balance of payment for energy importing countries. Being a balance of payment deficit country - any energy importing nation will remain vulnerable to the oil price factor. For that matter, in India’s case, in the early seventies when the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) asserted its intention to increase the oil prices significantly, India supported OPEC in the name of Third World solidarity. As a cost of solidarity with OPEC, India had to pay heavily for its oil imports. In the same way, during the Iran-Iraq war, the adverse consequences were felt in the rise of current account deficit from 0.2 per cent in 1979-80 to 1.5 per cent in 1981-82. The net value of the import of oil for India during the Gulf War 1991 rose by 50 per cent (Muni and Pant 2005:17-18). Evidently, any abnormal rise in oil prices is bound to have an adverse impact on balance of payment; thereby the element of affordability is an important characteristic of energy security.

For countries, who are craving to increase their energy security; the strategic options available mainly depend on that country’s energy assets - in the form of natural resources, technology, capital and overall industrial base. Singh argues, “basically, an energy importing country could enhance its energy security in five major ways: by creating a domestic atmosphere like deregulation and liberalization suitable to attract foreign investments; by establishing strategic petroleum reserves; by fuel substitution; by strengthening its guaranteed foreign supplies through oil diplomacy which includes acquisition of equity oil abroad; and diversification of oil supplies and promoting gas pipelines through regional cooperation” (Singh, 2010:52).

Divergence in the degree of energy insecurity believed by energy importing countries somehow depends on the availability of natural resources. Energy importers need to depend on energy-rich countries for their security. Both emerging and great powers, in a similar way seek to secure energy resources by bringing them into their strategic folds. However, the energy rich countries enjoy an edge over the others (energy importers) because of the competitive nature of demand and supply. Likewise, the countries that are central for transit - between energy producing and the importing countries have also power to manipulate. Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) and Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipelines are the pressing examples of critical role that transit countries can play.

However, both energy producing and transit countries may appear more powerful in the international arena, but the reality is far more complex than it appears. Energy exporting countries need a stable demand while energy importing countries need secure supply but energy security is more than just managing the demand and supply dynamic between nations. Energy security has to be addressed simultaneously at multiple levels i.e. at domestic level having strong regulations for efficient use of energy and a framework to allow greater foreign and private sector participation.

Rationale of the Study

In the present energy security scenario, one may argue that policy works in favour of both the energy suppliers and the importing countries because the later are primarily concerned with the security of their energy supplies and view foreign energy supplies vulnerable to interruption; therefore it is a supply and demand issue. But the focus on energy security needs to include issues: high demand for energy sources that further lead to rapid increase in prices and volatility in the oil market, threat of terrorism and instability in the oil exporting countries; because these are the key concerns of national security and no country, which relies heavily on energy import (e.g. India can ignore them).

In India, the issue of energy security got a boost in 2006, when the Planning Commission formulated the *Integrated Energy Policy* to lay down a broad framework for energy policy in the country. However, the *IEP, 2006* examines the issues from the perspective of energy requirements and supply. Other energy policy documents: *India Hydrocarbon Vision-2025*, a document prepared by the Government of India in 2000, visualizes India's oil and gas sector to be a globally competitive industry and seeks to assure energy self-sufficiency through increased indigenous production and investment in equity in oil ventures abroad. This document is concerned, in essence, with the oil security of the country. The *National Action Plan on Climate Change, 2008* is a national document, compiling action taken by India for addressing the challenges of climate change. It identifies a number of measures to simultaneously advance India's development and climate change related objectives of adaptation and mitigation. The *National Biofuel Policy, 2008*, is prepared by the Ministry of New & Renewable Energy. The policy aims at mainstreaming of biofuels and bringing about accelerated development and promotion and use of biofuels to substitute petrol and diesel for transport. In view of the subsidies to fossil fuels and distortions in energy pricing, a level playing field for accelerated development and utilization of biofuels is the shove of this policy. The *Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, 2010* is a policy document prepared by the Ministry of New & Renewable Energy, Government

of India. The objective of the mission is to establish India as a global leader in solar energy by creating conducive conditions for its large scale diffusion across the country as quickly as possible.

All the above said documents prepared by different institutions/ministries put focus on energy crises and outline plans accordingly, but except *IEP, 2006* that makes a major contribution to the energy policy discussions and makes proposals at both macro and micro level to meet the country's energy needs and goals, other policy documents don't attempt to address the issue of country's energy security i.e. availability, affordability, efficiency, which is necessary for the growth of the country's economy. Since all the policy documents in India are prepared by different institutions/ministries; therefore it is necessary to understand various complexities of these documents in an organized way. Comparative analysis of policy documents is given in (Table 1).

Table 1

India: Comparative Analysis of Energy Policy Documents, 2000-2010

Year	Document	Institutuions/ Organisations	Objectives	Existing Gaps
2000	India Hydrocarbon Vision- 2025.	Government of India.	To make India's oil and gas sector, a globally competitive industry; and seeks to assure energy self-sufficiency through increased indigenous production and investment in equity in oil ventures abroad.	Lacks an integrated approach to country's energy security only confined to oil and gas supply.
2006	Integrated Energy Policy, 2006.	Planning Commission . of India	To have broad framework for the energy policy of the country with a vision of reliably meeting the demand for energy services of all sectors at internationally competitive prices.	a) Lacks in providing strategic planning for each energy sector. b) Little discussion on the roles of different stakeholders and mechanisms of coordination among them.

				c) Though, the only policy document that speaks on integrated energy; but is inadequate in terms of comprehensiveness - which is required for an energy security policy.
2008	National Action Plan on Climate Change, 2008.	Government of India, Prime Minister's Council on Climate Change.	a) Protecting the poor and vulnerable sections of society through inclusive and sustainable development strategy. b) Achieving national growth objectives through a qualitative change in direction that enhances ecological sustainability.	However, NPACC is a basket of eight missions, but viewed inefficient to deal with the current energy requirements of the country. It lacks unanimity about the energy security from national security and defense perspective.
2008	National Biofuel Policy, 2008.	Ministry of New & Renewable Energy, Government of India.	To bring accelerated development, promotion and use of biofuels to substitute petrol and diesel for transport. To ensure that a minimum level of biofuels become readily available in the market to the demand at any given time.	Focused only to provide substitute to the fossil fuel. It lacks unanimity in its plans for energy security of the country.
2010	Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, 2010.	Ministry of New & Renewable Energy, Government of India.	To establish India as a global leader in solar energy.	JNNSM is primarily concerned about promotion of ecologically sustainable growth. It does not speak about energy security challenges that the country is facing now.

Compiled by author using various information sources i.e. institutions, ministries and government of India website.

Methodology and Data

A review of policy documents: i.e. a) *India Hydrocarbon Vision - 2025*; b) *Integrated Energy Policy, 2006*; c) *National Action Plan on Climate Change, 2008*; d) *National Biofuel Policy, 2008*; and, e) *Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, 2010*, has been done. Since all of these are institutional-oriented policy documents; therefore it is apparent that the knowledge from many perspectives and activities has been organized at multiple levels and there are chances of policy situation overlaps with one another. Hence for the purpose of analysis of policy documents; the existing policy framework and established policy situations/existing arrangements (that are particular to the demands of a particular time, place or people) in various institutions/ministries has been examined in a systematic way (i.e. decoding energy security policy, institutional analysis, analysis of various energy policy documents; and analysis of role of energy in India's foreign policy and regional cooperation).

For quantitative analysis, data have been taken from various annual reports (which are in public domain) prepared by the Ministry of Power, the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Planning Commission, World Energy Outlook, International Energy Agency including other government agencies e.g. Central Electricity Authority etc. Data on households using traditional biomass fuel for cooking purposes has also been used from the (Census, 2011) to support the argument about energy crisis. For analysis of South Asian regional cooperation potential in the energy sector quantitative data (which is available in the public domain) from *South Asian Initiative for Energy Report, 2008* has been used.

Decoding India's Energy Security Policy

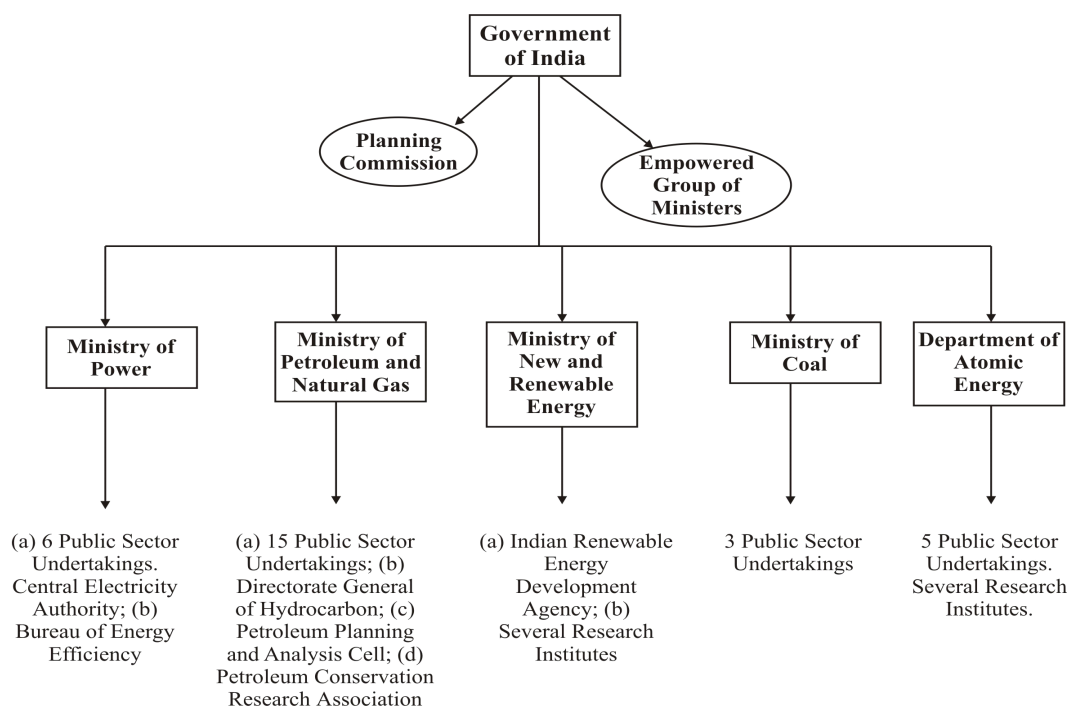
Over the past few years, energy security has gained a pivotal role in India's domestic politics as well as foreign affairs. It has, virtually, taken centre stage in the government policy making. However, to understand India's energy policy, one needs to visit its three main objectives: Energy Access, Energy Security and Mitigation of Climate Change in the light of present state of affairs. Over one quarter of India's population still lack access to electricity, country's increasing dependence on imported energy - especially oil and gas - makes it vulnerable to manipulation and geopolitical risks. The paradox of committing to the issue of climate change; while have to accelerate the economic development and industrialization of the country needs further examination whether policy objectives and concepts detailed in the vision and strategy documents i.e. a) *India Hydrocarbon Vision - 2025*; b) *Integrated Energy Policy, 2006*; c) *National Action Plan on Climate Change, 2008*; d) *National Biofuel Policy, 2008*; and, e) *Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, 2010*, are based on reasonable motivations or not. Yet, before looking into the overall energy scenario or the niceties of all above said documents for the purpose of evaluating their effectiveness, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of energy policy making institutional framework of the country.

a) Institutional analysis

The Central Government in India's federal setup controls planning and policy related to fossil fuels (i.e. coal, natural gas and petroleum). The Planning Commission is responsible

for planning for power, energy, energy policy and rural energy. However, the role and relevance of the Planning Commission is increasingly being questioned: Does India still needs a top-down, centralized policy planning? (Bagchi, 2007). Empowered Group of Ministers (EGoM), a collective decision-making mechanism with permanent members, is responsible to bring the issue into the policy discussion and expedite the decision-making process. Policy-making and implementation in the energy sector is divided among five ministries. The Ministry of Power is responsible for power; the Ministry of Coal is responsible for policies on exploration and development of coal reserves; and the Ministry of New & Renewable Energy takes care of national programmes to increase renewable energy (i.e. wind, solar and small hydro power etc.). Likewise, the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas supervises all aspects of the oil and natural gas sector (e.g. exploration, production, marketing and import/export). The Department of Atomic Energy is responsible for all aspects of India's nuclear policy. Details of various other public sector undertakings, agencies, bureaus, research associations/institutes that work under these ministries have been explained in (Figure 1).

Figure 1
Institutional Structure of India's Energy Policy



Source: *International Energy Agency, 2012*. "Understanding Energy Challenges of India", pp.18-21. [Online] available at: www.iea.org/publications/.../publication/India_study_FINAL_WEB.pdf. Accessed on 29 April, 2013.

There is, however, a strong criticism from many quarters of the energy sector against having five different ministries, who are bent on protecting their narrow turf instead of acting in compliance with national energy objectives.⁶ In addition to the above said ministries: the Ministry of External Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, the Ministry of Rural Development and the Ministry of Science and Technology also play a vital role in India's energy policy.

To keep pace with the changing international political scenario, the Ministry of External Affairs created a separate energy security division in 2007. This division serves as a nodal point in the ministry for energy security; and also co-ordinate with the concerned ministries and supports their international engagements all the way through proper diplomatic interventions. The Ministry of Finance decides on the budget allocation for five-year plans, which determine the directions of country's energy policy. The Ministry of Environment and Forest plays critical role in the development of infrastructure while taking into account the environment impact of projects; be it hydroelectric projects, coal mining in forested zones or other infrastructure development projects. It also approves and administers Clean Development Mechanism projects in the country. The Ministry of Rural Development is responsible for: a) improving social conditions in rural areas b) management of land resources and c) management of drinking water and sanitation in the country. The Ministry plays vital role in managing issues like Resettlement & Rehabilitation, compensation for displaced families, which often occurs in those areas where energy and infrastructure development projects are being executed. The Ministry of Science and Technology deals with national R&D policy and investment for innovation and distribution of energy technologies. In addition, the state governments have their own say in implementing the energy policy in their respective states. Because the central government has limited influence on energy policy at state level and parliament can't legislate over certain aspects of this sector in the states; therefore the state governments have their own energy departments to manage the energy issues and market conditions in their respective states.

b) Analysis of energy policy documents

In-depth study of various energy policy documents i.e. a) *India Hydrocarbon Vision -2025*; b) *Integrated Energy Policy, 2006*; c) *National Action Plan on Climate Change, 2008*; d) *National Biofuel Policy, 2008*; and, e) *Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission, 2010*, prepared by different ministries put forward an idea about the basic outline of the country's energy plan and its evolving and expanding priorities - which this paper briefly explains:

- a. A multi-faceted attention to the energy sector has put focus on reforms in the regulatory system; inclusion of greater efficiencies in the whole value chain from mining and exploration to transmission, distribution and pricing. Policy changes to make way for greater private sector participation;

deregulation of energy sector in particular two areas - power and natural gas.

- b. The key force behind all policy pronouncements and government actions on energy security issue is to provide energy access to the people of the country. As per the (Census, 2011) there are over 8, 07, 95,373 households without electricity in the country. Of the total number of households 12, 08, 34,388 that use firewood for cooking purposes in the country, over 62.5 per cent live in the rural areas and over 20 per cent in the urban areas. In terms of percentage of the households that use crop residue for cooking: over 12.3 per cent are in rural areas, while 1.4 percent are in urban areas. Cow dung cake is being used by 10.9 per cent households in the rural areas and over 1.7 per cent in the urban areas. The breakup of households that use coal/lignite/charcoal for cooking stands over 0.8 per cent in the rural areas and 2.9 per cent in the urban areas. Only 0.7 per cent households in the rural areas use kerosene for cooking as compare to 7.5 per cent of urban households. Only 11.4 per cent households in the rural areas have access to LPG/PNG.⁷ However, these figures may substantiate the enormity of energy poverty from the economic perspective but the social and environmental cost of such energy poverty is huge (e.g. the use of traditional fuel for cooking adds burden to women and especially girls, who need to gather fuels for cooking instead of attending schools, indoor air pollution increases the risk of acute infection of the lower respiratory tract, asthma, cataracts, tuberculosis, lung cancer, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and cardiovascular health risks).⁸ Amid energy paucity people in villages can't pump clean water regularly, they can't benefit from IT developments, and for most of their problems (i.e. health care, education and skill development) energy poverty of the country is directly or indirectly responsible. However, accurate statistics for energy poverty's impact on social and environmental aspects are hard to come by, but Planning Commission's Report, 2006, suggests that the use of traditional fuel costs over Rs. 300 billion to the Indian exchequer.⁹ To say that there is a close relationship between energy use and the gross national product of the country is just an extension of what the energy policy documents enunciate: *The broad vision behind the energy policy is to reliably meet the demand for energy services of all sectors at competitive prices. Further, lifeline energy needs of all households must be met even if that entails directed subsidies to vulnerable households. The demand must be met through safe, clean and convenient forms of energy at least in a technically efficient, economically viable and environmentally sustainable manner (Planning Commission, 2006).*
- c. The Integrated Energy Policy (IEP, 2006) is the first comprehensive energy policy that oversees all energy sectors. It has linked the sustainable development that covers all sources of energy and addresses all aspects of energy use, and supply including – the energy security, access, availability, affordability, pricing, efficiency with all environment concerns.

Another major salient feature of the IEP is its focus on ensuring the transition to market economy where private companies compete on a fair footing with public companies. The IEP also stresses transparent and targeted subsidies and proper energy pricing to send the right signal to producers and consumers. The targets set by the IEP run to Financial Year 2031/32 serve a benchmark for various government policies. In addition to various salient features and commendable aspects, the IEP is not immune to criticism. There are certain areas (i.e. strategic planning for each energy sector, R&D and road map for achieving both short term and long term goals), are lacking attention. The issue of precedence, to policies such as renewable energy or to the smaller subset of technologies, which might actually be more productive, is lacking. There seems clear assessment of the financial, human, technical and institutional resources, which are required to finance the cost of growing energy infrastructure, has not been made. However, a little amount of attention in the IEP has been paid to the role played by different stakeholders i.e. private and public sector companies in energy sector. Poor distribution of energy goods and services, which is one of the major troublesome areas, has yet not been identified as a target area that requires immediate attention. Though, major investments are required in the distribution area, but if the situation remains like this, then it is unlikely to yield adequate returns. Yet, the IEP talks about environment safety, but it fails to mention specific policy recommendations/guidelines to deal with the issue. Finally, the IEP suggests that India can become energy independent by 2050. But, this optimism seems to be based on the development of nuclear facilities that can use the country's vast thorium reserves in future. And, since it is possible that the policy planners may see nuclear energy as a silver bullet, but without maintaining proper balance in distributing resources to various energy sectors, it may lead to financial crisis and impede the growth of energy sector.

- d. The inference one can draw from various energy vision/mission documents such as the Hydro Carbon Vision 2025, is: 'self reliance and energy independence', the primary objectives of Indian energy strategies. Most of the efforts of Indian energy enterprise seem concentrated on assuring energy security by achieving self reliance through increased indigenous production (and investment in equity oil abroad). As a result, the New Exploration Policy (NELP) under which exploration in India (through the inclusion of the private sector) has increased from 11 per cent to 40 per cent. Indian basin, which has over 32 per cent sedimentary area unexplored, has gained much attention of both private and public sector companies. And since the NELP is there to promote private players in the area of Exploration and Production (E&P), companies like the Reliance Energy Ltd., has made huge investments along with other companies. The NELP has created a level playing field to new participating companies (Chliha, 2006).

- e. Another major plank of India's energy policy is diversification of the country's energy basket. The National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC) outlines the policies and programs to address the issue of environment mitigation through developing solar energy for power generation, by enhancing energy efficiency, by means of launching national mission on sustainable habitat, through national water mission, via national mission for sustaining the Himalayan ecosystem, by promoting national mission for 'green India' and 'sustainable agriculture'. In addition, the NAPCC has to achieve two energy related missions which are under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Solar Mission (JNNSM) and the National Mission for Enhanced Energy Efficiency (NMEEE). The JNNSM is a supply-side effort aiming to considerably increase the share of solar energy in the total energy mix. Meanwhile, the NMEEE, implemented by the Bureau of Energy Efficiency, is based on demand-side management. Other missions and policies i.e. Biofuel policy, the Solar Mission and the Nuclear Programme seek to implement what the IEP mentions for all intents and purposes: *...Mee [ting] this vision [providing energy security to all] requires that India pursues all available fuel options and forms of energy, both conventional and non-conventional. Further, India must seek to expand its energy resource base and seek new and emerging energy sources (Planning Commission, 2006).*

Both Solar Mission and Nuclear programmes are expected to push for technologies that India can use on the basis of its resource bequest (ample sunlight and thorium supplies). India plans to target the deployment of 20,000 megawatt of nuclear energy by 2020.¹⁰ Natural gas is also being promoted for India's energy security, especially as a bridge fuel toward shifting to more sustainable energy choices.

Role of Energy in India's Foreign Policy

It is a truism to say that energy plays a critical role in India's almost all bilateral, regional or international dealings. The IEP, 2008 indicates an increasing energy import dependency of India for all fuel types to meet its energy requirements. According to British Petroleum Statistical Review of World Energy (June 2013), India's Oil consumption was 171.7 million tonnes of oil equivalent (mtoe) in 2012, that amounts 5.0 per cent share of the total. Consumption of Natural Gas stands over 49.1 mtoe, about 1.6 per cent of the global. For the same year, India's share of global Coal consumption was about 8 per cent, 298.3 mtoe. Nuclear Energy Consumption was 7.5 mtoe, which stands about 1.3 per cent share of the total. Hydroelectricity consumption was 26.2 mtoe about 3.1 per cent of the global. In 2012, an increase of 18.4 per cent over the year of 2011 was recorded in Renewable Energy consumption 10.9 mtoe, which stands over 4.6 per cent of the global Renewable Energy consumption.¹¹ India's energy consumption growth in the past ten years has been explained in (Table 2).

Table 2

India: Energy Consumption, 2002-2012 (million tonnes of oil equivalent)

Commodity	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Change in 2012 over 2011 (%)	2012 share of the total (%)
Oil	113.2	116.5	119.5	121.9	128.3	138.1	144.7	152.6	155.4	163.0	171.6	5.0	4.2
Natural Gas	24.8	26.6	28.7	32.1	33.5	36.1	37.2	45.9	55.7	55.0	49.1	-11.0	1.6
Coal	151.8	156.8	172.3	184.4	195.4	210.3	230.4	251.5	262.7	270.6	298.3	9.9	8.0
Nuclear Energy	4.4	4.1	3.8	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.4	3.8	5.2	7.3	7.5	2.6	1.3
Hydro- electricity	15.5	15.7	19.0	22.0	25.4	27.7	26.0	24.0	25.0	29.8	26.2	-12.3	3.1
Renewable Energy	1.0	1.2	1.9	2.3	3.3	4.0	4.8	6.3	7.6	9.2	10.9	18.4	4.6

Source: Table compiled by author, quantitative data has been taken from BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2013. [Online] available at: http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/Statistical-Review-2012/statistical_review_of_world_energy_2012.pdf. Accessed on 16 September 2013.

Given the fact that India's energy demand is increasing multiple times and its domestic availability of energy resources is limited; thus it is foreseeable that country's energy security will remain primary focus of India's foreign policy. However, to understand how the Indian policy makers perceive the rising dependence on imported energy and exposure to geopolitical risks, one needs to go into the details of variations of import sources.

a) Energy import scenario

The crude oil purchase plan for 2012-13 shows that India's reliance on the Persian Gulf: Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, UAE, Qatar, Oman and Yemen stands over 79 per cent of the total crude oil import.¹² In the coal sector share of key exporting countries is: Indonesia 49 per cent, Australia 28 per cent, South Africa 17 per cent, the United States 3 per cent, New Zealand 1 per cent and others 2 per cent. Besides, being an importer of coking coal for years, India has also become a big market for thermal coal. According to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry data; coal suppliers: Mozambique got about 229.1 per cent increase in 2013 over the last year followed by USA 221.1 per cent, Venezuela 139.1 per cent, and Indonesia over 14.9 per cent. The leading Natural Gas suppliers: Qatar,

Table 3
India's Energy Partners (Current and Potential)

Africa		Asia		Europe		Oceania		North America		South America	
C.S*.	P.S*.	C.S.	P.S.	C.S.	P.S.	C.S.	P.S.	C.S.	P.S.	C.S.	P.S.
Oil & Natural Gas											
Nigeria	Algeria	Saudi Arabia	Azerbaijan	Russia	Russia	—	Australia	USA	—	Brazil	Brazil
Equatorial	Libya	Iran	Iran	UK						Mexico	Colombia
Guinea											
Angola	Nigeria	Iraq	Iraq							Venezuela	Cuba
Congo	Sudan	UAE	Kazakhstan							Ecuador	Venezuela
Gabon	Mozambique	Kuwait	Myanmar								
Cameroon	Egypt	Yemen	Syria								
Sudan	Nigeria	Kazakhstan	Vietnam								
Libya	Gabon	Oman	East Timor								
Egypt		Malaysia	Indonesia								
Algeria		Qatar	Yemen								
Nigeria			Oman								
Coal											
Mozambique	Zimbabwe	Indonesia	Kazakhstan	—	—	Australia	—	USA	—	Venezuela	—
South	Botswana										
Africa											
Uranium/Nuclear Energy											
—	Namibia	—	Mongolia	Russia	Ukraine	—	Australia	—	Canada	—	Brazil
	South		Kazakhstan	—	UK				USA		
	Africa										
	Mozambique		Tajikistan								
	Niger		Japan								
			Uzbekistan								
	Malawi		South Korea								
Hydropower											
—	—	Nepal	Myanmar								
—	—	Bhutan	Sri Lanka								

*C.S refers to Current Supplier and P.S. to Potential Supplier both have been categorized on the basis of their current supply and potential (based on the exploration of oil & gas fields underway with Indian oil companies' collaboration).

Source: Table drawn by author, data on current and potential energy suppliers has been compiled from the *Export Import Data Bank, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2012-13*, and *Report of the Working Group on Petroleum & Natural Gas Sector for the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017)*. [Online] available at: <http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/Default.asp>. And <http://petroleum.nic.in/wgreport.pdf>. Accessed on 12 September 2013.

Saudi Arabia, and Malaysia recorded an increase of 38.1 per cent, 20.6 per cent and 19.4 per cent for the same period of time.¹³ And moreover, the dependency of India on uranium import for developing nuclear energy has further made it an attractive market for uranium suppliers both current and potential given in Table 3.

However, diversification efforts, that have been initiated by the Indian Government after the Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Gas has consistently asking for alternative plan for energy import from other regions, are at the heart of India's energy diplomacy and are proving fruitful as it is getting about 15.69 per cent of oil from Africa, 6.8 per cent from Latin America, 0.038 per cent from South-East Asia and 0.013 per cent from Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Singh, 2010: vi). The increasing dependence on imported energy sources (especially oil, natural gas and coal) has moreover forced the Indian government to define its energy security comprehensively than emphasizing only on electricity shortage and unsatisfied energy demands. India's energy policy defines its energy security: First, it asserts that energy is a lifeline to all citizens. Second, it is anxious about the sudden increases in global energy prices as they undermine the availability of energy to its people and exacerbate the national financial burden. Third, it perceives that possible abrupt supply disruption needs immediate attention and it should diversify supply or fuel and acquire overseas assets (IEP, 2008).

b) Diversification efforts and self reliance

Besides diversification strategy of the Indian Government energy independence/self reliance is another frequently occurring theme in the energy policy dialogue in India, though it is a useful concept to understand India's approach to energy security (Madan, 2006). As above mentioned diversification of supply or fuels (e.g. uranium and nuclear energy) is a part of India's energy security policy, which has led India to have civil nuclear agreements with the United States, France, Russia, Namibia, Mongolia and Kazakhstan. In addition to energy imports, technology collaborations have also been felt equally necessary for India to achieve greater energy self sufficiency goals in near future. As a matter of fact, India has joined the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) to forge ties with other member countries at multilateral level for accelerating development and deployment of renewable energy technologies (Hindu Business Line, 29 January, 2009).

India's external energy strategy has also incorporated the identification of alternative routes, both overland as well as undersea, and the swap arrangements that would avoid routes considered otherwise unsafe. To bring energy through diverse and safe routes, call for India to play a bigger role in the maritime security of the Indian Ocean. Thus far, the Indian Navy has been involved in a 'sea-lane sanitizing role' with countries (i.e. Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia). The Quadrilateral Naval exercises that took place in the Bay of Bengal in September 2007, with the United States, Australia, Japan and Singapore were a collaborative exercise focused to enhance maritime security in the Indian Ocean. Security analyst C. Raja Mohan argues that India should work within a free but regulated Indian

Ocean region instead of striving for a narrow and exclusivist interpretation of maritime security (Mohan, 2010).

The growing competition between India and China in Africa, West Asia and Central Asia has been well discussed and taken into consideration by Indian policy makers. Though, the observation of rivalry between India and China is grounded in the projections made by the international energy agency, which suggests that both countries will account for over 43 per cent of the global increase in oil demand between 2005 and 2030 (IEA, 2010). For India, equity investments in overseas oil and gas fields are other crucial areas where China has already made a noteworthy success. Considering that its rival's influence is growing in the energy ring - the Indian establishment has, however, cherished participation of various like-minded countries in a range of energy related institutional frameworks (e.g. India, Brazil, South-Africa (IBSA), Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). India's involvement in International Energy Forum (IEF) has further provided a platform to expand its interaction with IEA and the Energy Charter Treaty.

Regional Focus and the Right of Way for India

Geography is an influential factor, and India geographically is situated at the meeting point of West and North, and East and Southeast of Asia. Because of this geo-centrality of India in Asia, India's cultural, political and economic relations with other countries of Asia have always been friendly and share a long history. In the present scenario, taking exception to the inter-state conflicts and troubled political relations in the region, India has both a huge energy market, being one of the fastest growing economies of the world, and as a regional power, capacity to meet the challenges head-on and take advantage of the opportunities in its neighborhood. In principal, India's energy security depends to a great extent on diversifying its energy partners and making certain that its reliable energy import routes are safe and secure. The Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipelines are not only about accessing energy resources of Central Asia but also about accessing that energy in a relatively trouble free manner. Hitherto, India's energy market is fossil-fuel centric and West Asia has huge reserves, so its regional predominance will definitely remain at the heart of India's energy diplomacy.

India's energy demand has been doubled from 319 mtoe in 1990 to 669 mtoe in 2009. However, India's per-capita energy consumption is 0.58 (mtoe/capita), compared to the world's average of 1.8, the Organization for Economic Co-operation (OECD) of 4.28, China of 1.7 and Africa of 0.67 in 2009.¹⁴ The New Policy Scenario (NPS) of *World Energy Outlook, 2011* projects that India's demand will grow quickly and reach 1,464 mtoe in 2035 and its share in world's energy demand will increase from 5.5 per cent in 2009 to 8.6 per cent in 2035. Indeed, the growth will come from all fuels, but it is expected that the coal will have the largest demand almost triple times from 280 mtoe in 2009 to 618 mtoe in 2035. Increase in demand for oil is projected from 159 mtoe to 356 mtoe and for natural gas it is 49 mtoe to 154 mtoe. Nuclear demand will reach 48 mtoe in 2035 and the renewable energy demand will grow from 2 mtoe to 36 mtoe by 2035.¹⁵ It is projected that India's huge energy demand increase will be based mainly on hydrocarbons. Therefore, a concerted focus on managing India's dependence on West Asia short term to medium term while continuing to press for greater diversification is required.

However, in pursuance of the objective of a dynamic and constructive engagement with Asian countries, and obviously the world at large, India has streamlined and redefined its priorities. India has the advantage of regional and sub regional groupings. Being a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (as a full dialogue partner), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation Initiative and Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC), India has strong strategic influence. However, it is quite understood that much of India's commitment with Asia will depend upon its own capabilities and economic growth.

For maintaining its rapid economic growth, India needs to diversify its dependence for energy from the Persian Gulf to other regions. India's neighborhood offers an opportunity to diversify its energy dependence on outside sources. Countries like Bangladesh, Myanmar and Vietnam are attractive destinations for India, because the international competition for sourcing energy is not intense yet. In future, however, China and India may compete for energy sources in the region but there is enough scope for India because of its economic potential and geographic position. Given the huge energy market potential, India can be counted upon as a long term and stable customer of the expanding energy resources in these countries. Moreover, India's energy cooperation, economic resilience and technical capabilities can also offer additional benefits to the developing economies in the region.

For energy cooperation, India has to deal with the emerging strategic equations in Asia. The Middle East (which holds the key to India's energy import) contains over 807.7 thousand million barrels of proven oil reserves, representing about 48.4 per cent of the world's oil reserves, and 2,842.9 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of natural gas reserves - 43 per cent of the world total (BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2013). At present, the most crucial factor for 'Indo-Persian Gulf Relations' and especially with Iran is Pakistan (Singh, 2010:152-159). Being a transit country for energy supply between India and Iran, Pakistan has a vital role to play. However, a stable energy cooperation relationship with Iran is also an essential element in India's energy cooperation with Central Asia.

As Pakistan has a key role to play in India-Iran energy cooperation, the same position it holds vis-à-vis India's interests in Bangladesh. The issue of gas export to India, which is trapped in Bangladesh's emotive and irrational domestic political divide, is one of such examples. So far, the issue of India-Myanmar energy cooperation is concerned just as Pakistan is a factor to be taken into account before moving ahead, the same position Bangladesh holds. From the economic perspective, a Trans India-Bangladesh-Myanmar pipeline makes more sense than India-Myanmar to carry gas and possibly oil in future. The reserves of gas available in Myanmar are more attractive for India and the stable energy market of India is equally important for Myanmar. Therefore, both countries want to resolve the Bangladesh factor (Muni and Pant 2005:288-289). At present, the real stumbling block to India's energy security, especially at the foreign policy level, is the immediate neighborhood. And, as India is trying to bring energy from all over the places, it becomes imperative to take into consideration the ground level security threats and the larger geopolitical ramifications of energy partnership.

India's energy security largely depends on a stable region that is conducive not only to establish energy links within the subcontinent but also beyond - the land locked Central Asia. However, the countries in the subcontinent share a common culture and heritage and have much to gain by building synergies in the energy sector. According to the Regional Report, *South Asian Initiative for Energy, 2008* demand for energy in South Asia has become more intense.

Table 4

Forecast of Commercial Energy Demand by 2020 in South Asian Countries

(Units are in million kilowatt hours and million tons of oil equivalent)

Category	Unit	Afghanistan	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Maldives	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Electricity	mkWhs	3,877	72,791	6,876	1,755,685	1,571	8,076	2,51,039	23,867
Oil	mtoe	3.483	11.6	0.62	246.9	1.661	1.61	30.94	7.82
Gas	mtoe	0.92	44.03	0.0	101.88	0.0	0.0	72.75	0.0
Coal	mtoe	0.0	0.9	0.11	447.6	0.0	0.78	13.9	7.0

Source: Regional Report, South Asian Initiative for Energy, 2008. [Online] available at: [www http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACL799.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACL799.pdf). Accessed on 26 April 2013.

To meet the growing demand of energy and prevent severe energy crises in the days to come, all the neighboring countries need to build synergies in the energy sector. Installation of cross-border power grids may go far in tapping the hydropower and natural gas potential of some of the immediate neighbors of India (i.e. Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Pakistan, Nepal, Maldives, Afghanistan and Bhutan). In the energy sector, the role of India is definitive and can bring fruitful results for the entire region. India - Nepal and India - Bhutan cooperation in hydroelectricity is an effective model that can be impersonated at regional level.

At present the bilateral exchange of power at the borders between India and Nepal is around 50 megawatt. It is expected to go up to 400 megawatt by 2017 and 15,000 megawatt by 2027.¹⁶ The profit from the export of energy and cooperation between both the countries is mutually beneficial. The case of India - Bhutan is another example of power trade in the region. The revenue earned through the export of surplus electricity to India is helping the Bhutan's economy. Since many of the north eastern states in India are electricity deficit thus there are plenty of possibilities that energy trade between the two countries will grow further.¹⁷

Considering the fact of demand and supply estimates of energy, as explained earlier, it is indeed clear that India needs to take up the issue of energy cooperation in South Asia both for its own benefit and for the purpose of regional integration. The concept of South Asian power grid linking Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka has the estimated potential to install over 1,00,000 MW in the region.¹⁸ However, there are many problems

(e.g. cross-border trading, markets, technology and finances) in the way to achieve the desired goal, but this is not the only maiden vision to have a regional grid. There are functional grids in Scandinavian countries connecting Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland; the other connects South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe. Hence, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) may possibly promote such grid models and create energy ring because Nepal and Bhutan also have enormous hydrocarbon potential while Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have substantial coal reserves.¹⁹ And once this energy ring is established, it will open ways for SAARC countries to establish easy energy trade connections with Central and West Asia.

Conclusions

In the past, India's energy policy has witnessed many shifts amid positive and negative events. Its first and foremost goal is to provide access to energy to a quarter of its population that lacks access to electricity. Second goal, is to meet the energy requirement of its rapidly growing economy and; the third is the mitigation of climate change. Fulfilling these policy objectives is not an easy task as comparative analysis of policy documents suggests - they can stand in conflict with one another. Hence, to carry out the energy policy objectives, this paper suggests that India essentially needs to have a cohesive and long term national energy security strategy that should have: a) clear regional focus and priorities; b) appropriate risk assessment of its energy security constraints i.e. regional instability, inter-state conflicts, defense preparedness and domestic instability; c) a comprehensive agenda of developing mutual beneficial stakes with its neighbors and energy exporting countries beyond energy sector d) correct assessment of its own strengths and weak links with regard to China factor in its energy security plan at both regional and external fronts where China has outpaced India in acquiring equity for oil and gas; e) clear understanding of its domestic regulatory framework to assure energy self-sufficiency and security concerns; and, f) an integrated action and planning to achieve its energy security goals.

This paper convincingly asserts that having a clearly enunciated national energy security strategy, which in the present scenario is partly spelt out in various policy pronouncements, regulatory decisions and diplomatic initiatives; if gleaned successfully and pieced together, will essentially; boost India's energy security in a holistic and sustained manner. The filling of existing gaps in the energy policy framework and ironing out the overlaps between various ministries and departments will certainly improve the decision making process and ensure a reliable and adequate supply of energy, which is, of course, one of the prerequisite for India's economic development.

References

- Bagchi, Amaresh (2007). "Role of Planning and the Planning Commission in the New Indian Economy; Case for a Review", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 44 (Nov. 3-9, 2007), pp. 92-100.
- Banerjee, Bani P. (2005). *Handbook of Energy and the Environment in India*. New Delhi, Oxford University Press.
- Bhasin, Niti (2008). *Foreign Investment in India 1947 to 2007-2008*. New Delhi, New Century Publications, pp. 187-189.

- British Petroleum Statistical Review of World Energy*, (2013). [Online] available at: http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/Statistical-Review-2012/statistical_review_of_world_energy_2012.pdf. Accessed on 16 September 2013.
- Census of India (2011). “*Provisional Population Totals Paper 1 of 2011 India, series 1*”. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India. [Online] available at: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/prov_results_paper1_india.html. Accessed on 11 September 2013.
- Chaturvedi, B.K. (2004). “Domestic Resourcing of Energy, Gulf and Future of Global Energy”, *Paper presented at the Seminar on India's Energy Security and the Gulf*, JNU, New Delhi, 19-20, February, 2004.
- Chliha, Surjit (2006). “Changing Face of New Exploration and Licensing Policy”, *Paper presented in International Oil and Gas Conference*, 22-25 March, New Delhi, 2006.
- Clawson, Patrick L. (1995). *Energy and National Security in 21st Century*, Washington D.C. National Defence University Press.
- Friedman, Thomas L. (2009). *Hot, Flat, & Crowded: Why the World Needs A Green Revolution – and How Can Renew Our Global Future*. New York, Penguin Books.
- India Hydrocarbon Vision-2025*, (2000). Planning Commission, New Delhi, Government of India. [Online] available at: http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genrep/pl_vsn2020.pdf . Accessed 2 May, 2013.
- Kalam, A.P.J. (2005). President Abdul Kalam's I-Day address New Delhi, 15 August, *The Hindu*. [Online] available at: www.hindu.com/thehindu/nic/presidentday.htm. Accessed 29 April, 2013.
- Lippman, Walter (1943). *U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co: 51, p. 51.
- Luthra, Girish (2005). Conceptualizing Energy Security for the Indian Ocean. In: Dennis Rumley and Sanjay Chaturvedi, ed. 2005. *Security and the Indian Ocean Region*. New Delhi. South Asian Publisher Pvt. Ltd. Chapter 2.
- Madan, Tanvi (2006). *The Brookings Foreign Policy Studies Energy Security Series: India*, Washington, D.C.
- Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas, (2011-12). “*Imports and Prices of Crude Oil*”. Indian Petroleum & Natural Gas Statistics. GoI, New Delhi.
- Mohan, Raja (2010), “India and the Changing Geopolitics of the Indian Ocean”. *Eminent Persons Lecture Series*, 19 July, organized by the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi.
- Muni, S.D. and Pant, Girijesh (2005), *India's Search For Energy Security: Prospects for Cooperation with Extended Neighborhood*, New Delhi, Rupa and Co.
- Planning Commission 2006*, “Report on Integrated Energy Policy, 2006”, New Delhi, Government of India. [Online] available at http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/11th/11_v3/11v3_ch10.pdf. Accessed 30 April, 2013.

- Rashid, Ahmed (2002). *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*. New Delhi, Orient Longman Private Ltd.
- Sharma, Devika (2010). "Energy in India's National Security Strategy", *Paper for the IDSA Workshop on National Security Strategy, 20-23 December 2010*.
- Singh, Bhupendra Kumar (2010). *India's Energy Security: The Changing Dynamics*. New Delhi, Pentagon Energy Press.
- The Financial Express*, (12 April, 2013). "India's Impending Energy Crisis". [Online] available at: <http://www.financialexpress.com/news/india-s-impending-energy-crisis/892871>. Accessed 30 April, 2013.
- The Hindu Business Line*, (29 January, 2009). "India to join IRENA", [Online] available at: www.thehindubusinessline.com/2009/01/30/stories/2009013051531000.htm. Accessed 30 April, 2013.
- Willrich, Mason (1975). *Energy and World Politics*. New York, Free Press.
- World Energy Outlook*, (2011), "Understanding Energy Challenges of India". [Online] available at: <http://www.worldenergyoutlook.org/publications/weo-2011/>. Accessed 1 May, 2013.

End Notes

1. Central Electricity Authority Report (31.7.2013). "Growth of Electricity Sector in India from 1947-2013". Ministry of Power, GoI, New Delhi. P.1. Table No 1. [Online] available at: <http://www.cea.nic.in/reports/planning/dmlf/growth.pdf>. Accessed on 11 September 2013.
2. Ibid. p. 8.
3. Loc.cit.
4. Ibid. p. 7.
5. Ibid. p.65. Table No. 9.
6. Mehta, Vikram S. (06 February, 2012). "Integrated Energy Policy: Creating a New Energy System". The Financial Express.
7. Census of India (2011). "Tables on Houses, Household Amenities and Assets". Series 1, pp Xiviii and 367. Published by Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.
8. WHO, 2006 "Fuel for Life: Household Energy and Health". PP.9-10. [Online] available at: www.who.int/indoorair/publications/fuelforlife.pdf. Accessed on 29 April, 2013.
9. Planning Commission Report, 2006. "Eleventh Five Year Plan", pp. 346-348. [Online] available at : http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/11th/11_v3/11v3_ch10.pdf. Accessed on 30 April 2013.

10. India Vision 2020, Planning Commission, New Delhi, Government of India, 2000. pp.69-78.[Online] available at: http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/genrep/pl_vsn2020.pdf. Accessed on 30 April, 2013.
 11. British Petroleum Statistical Review of World Energy, (2013). [Online] available at: http://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/pdf/Statistical-Review-2012/statistical_review_of_world_energy_2012.pdf. Accessed on 16 September 2013.
 12. Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas, (2013). "Imports and Prices of Crude Oil". Indian Petroleum & Natural Gas Statistics. GoI, New Delhi. [Online] available at: http://mospi.nic.in/mospi_new/upload/Energy_Statistics_2013.pdf. Accessed on 16 September, 2013.
 13. Export Import Data Bank, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2012-13.Commerce and Industry Ministry Government of India. [Online] available at: <http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/Default.asp>. Accessed on 12 September 2013.
 14. International Energy Agency, 2012."Understanding Energy Challenges of India". P.24. [Online] available at: www.iea.org/publications/.../publication/India_study_FINAL_WEB.pdf. Accessed on 29 April 2013.
 15. Ibid.PP.24-29.
 16. Srivastav, Leena and Mishra, Neha (2007). "Promoting Regional Energy Co-operation in South Asia"Energy Policy. Vol. 35:6. PP. 3360-3368.
 17. Tripathi, Dhanjay (2012). "Energy Security: The Functional Area of Regional Cooperation for South Asia". [Online] available at http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/publictn/eurasia_border_review/Vol32/tripathi.pdf . Accessed on 2nd May 2013.
 18. Ibid.
 19. Ibid.
-

दलित साहित्य में बौद्ध दर्शन की भूमिका

विजय विद्यार्थी*

दलित चेतना के दार्शनिक और वैचारिक आधार का आदिश्रोत गौतम बुद्ध ही रहे हैं। बुद्ध भारतीय इतिहास के संभवतः प्रथम युग पुरुष रहे हैं, जिन्होंने वर्णव्यवस्था के औचित्य को चुनौती दी और युगों-युगों तक दलित मुक्ति का मार्ग अवलोकित किया। बुद्ध के पश्चात् सिद्धों नाथों और फिर भक्ति काल के सन्तों में वर्णव्यवस्था की पीड़ा का गहरा अहसास मिलता है। बौद्ध धर्म अनित्य और अनात्मवादी है। वह ईश्वर, आत्मा-परमात्मा की सत्ता को स्वीकार नहीं करता। बौद्ध दर्शन का सर्वाधिक बल मानव कल्याण पर है। ज्ञान, शील, समाधि के सिद्धान्त पर आधारित बौद्ध दर्शन विवेक और प्रज्ञा की बात करता है। बौद्ध दर्शन के प्रगतिशील और वैज्ञानिक विचारों से दलित साहित्य प्रभावित है। बौद्ध दर्शन मध्यम मार्गी है। बौद्ध दर्शन तार्किक दर्शन है। रहल सांकृत्यायन का मानना है कि बुद्ध जहाँ एक ओर अत्यन्त भोगमय जीवन के विरुद्ध थे, वहीं दूसरी ओर वह शरीर सुखाने को भी मूर्खता समझते थे। कर्मकाण्ड, भक्ति की अपेक्षा उनका झुकाव ज्ञान और बुद्धिवाद की ओर ज्यादा था।

बुद्ध दया के सागर थे, करुणा के महार्णव, परोपकार की प्रतिमूर्ति और त्याग के विग्रहवान स्वरूप। नौ सौ निन्यानवे नरों का नृशंस संहार करने वाले दस्यु सरदार अंगुलिमाल की ललकार पर भी जिस श्रमण के चरण थमे नहीं, उसी श्रमण के चरण एक वृद्ध, रुग्ण भिक्षु की दुर्गन्धमयी काया की शुश्रूषा के लिए रुक पड़े। तथागत ने अपने हाथों से उसे नहलाकर स्वच्छ बनाते हुए यह उपदेश दिया, 'इस संसार में तथागत का आगमन दीनों को मित्र बनाने के लिए, अरक्षितों की सहायता के लिए, कायिक कष्टों से पीड़ित पुरुषों की शुश्रूषा के लिए, अन्धों को दृष्टि देने के लिए, भ्रमियों को प्रबुद्ध करने के लिए, अनाथों एवं बूढ़ों के अधिकारों को समर्थ देने के लिए हुआ है और वे स्वयं ऐसा करके दूसरे के लिए दृष्टांत प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं।'²

तथागत सामाजिक समता के पक्षधर थे। बुद्ध ने अपने संघ में सभी को बेरोक-टोक प्रवेश दिया। बौद्ध दर्शन एक विश्वदृष्टिकोण है। बौद्ध दर्शन का एक वैज्ञानिक आधार है। विश्व में जितने भी धर्म हैं, उनकी उत्पत्ति के मूल में भिन्न-भिन्न नामों से सृष्टिकर्त्ता ईश्वर विद्यमान हैं। चाहे ईसाई धर्म हो या चाहे इस्लाम धर्म या फिर हिन्दू धर्म हो, ये सभी धर्म ईश्वर पर आधारित हैं। इनका प्रारम्भ अलौकिक है, किन्तु बौद्ध धर्म के मूल में किसी भी सृष्टिकर्त्ता ईश्वर का अस्तित्व नहीं है। जीवों के दुःख के प्रति करुणा ने ही सिद्धार्थ गौतम को राजप्रसाद से निकाल कर राजा से रंक बनाया। यही कारण है कि धर्म का मूल प्राणि मात्र के लिए मैत्री या करुणा है, धम्म का मूल सर्वथा नवीन और यथार्थवादी है। ईश्वर भ्रम का आधार दुःखमयी जीवन, भाग्य, कर्मों का आदृश्यफल और काल्पनिक शक्ति है, इसे कोई बदल नहीं सकता। बौद्ध धर्म का आधार समानता, स्वतन्त्रता, न्याय और भ्रातृत्व है। मनुष्य परिस्थितियों के अनुसार नियमोपनियमों में परिवर्तन कर सकता है। बुद्ध वचन हैं, 'मैं जो कहता हूँ उस पर इसलिए भरोसा मत करना कि मैं कहता हूँ, बल्कि उस पर सोचना, विचारना और अपने अनुभव की कसौटी पर कसना, अगर सही लगे तो सही अन्यथा मत मानना। मेरे कहने से क्या होगा।' बुद्ध के अन्तिम वचन, 'अत्त दीपो भव' अर्थात् अपना दीपक, खुद बनना और तुम्हारी रोशनी से तुम्हें जो दिखाई पड़ेगा उसे स्वीकारना। बौद्ध दर्शन सिखाता है कि कोई किसी का गुरु नहीं होता, कोई किसी को नहीं सिखाता, न आत्मा-परमात्मा और भगवान है। जो कुछ भी बौद्ध और ज्ञान होता है, वह सब अपने अनुभव, अपने विवेक व बुद्धि से होता है। बौद्ध दर्शन बुद्धि और तर्क पर आधारित है। बौद्ध दर्शन मिथ्याचारों का खण्डन करता है, जातिवाद, वर्णवाद, नस्ल और रंग भेद का विरोध करता है। यहां पर मुद्राराक्षस के शब्दों को उद्धृत करना समीचीन रहेगा, 'जातिवादी वर्णव्यवस्था का सबसे तीखा तार्किक विरोध बुद्ध ने किया था। सम्भवतः यही वजह है कि आज भारत के सर्वोत्तर समाज में सबसे गहरा आदर बौद्ध धर्म को ही दिया जाता है।

*Research Scholar, Department of Hindi, Panjab University, Chandigarh

निस्संदेह बौद्ध विचारकों ने इस देश को विश्व स्तरीय दार्शनिक और वैज्ञानिक चिन्तन दिया और समाज को अंधविश्वासों से बाहर लाकर तार्किक बौद्धिक संस्कृति का विकास किया था। दलित आन्दोलन की यही बुनियादी ताकत रही है।’

दीपक कुमार राय का मानना है, ‘बुद्ध का आविर्भाव भारतीय इतिहास की एक बड़ी परिघटना है। उनकी शिक्षाएं क्रांतिकारी कही जाएंगी। उन्होंने समाज को आमूल-चूल बदला। बुद्ध के बाद चीजे वैसी नहीं रह गई थीं जैसी बुद्ध के पहले थीं। बुद्ध ने परिवर्तन की मानसिकता बनाई। सामाजिक नियमनों से लेकर आर्थिक प्रबंधन तक सारे संबंध नए-नए निकषों पर कसे जा रहे थे। धर्म और अर्थ का दबाव समाज को नए आकारों में ढाल रहा था। परम्परागत ढाँचा टूट रहा था और जो नया बन रहा था उसे नएपन के नाम पर ‘कुछ भी’ स्वीकार्य नहीं था। बुद्धकालीन समाज चीजों की पूरी-पूरी जांच-पड़ताल कर रहा था, हित और अहित में स्वीकार या नकार रहा था।’

चन्द्रिका प्रसाद शर्मा ने लिखा है, ‘बौद्ध धर्म में जाति का कोई अभिप्राय नहीं है। यह आरम्भ से ही सर्वधर्मयुक्त है। यहां समानता है, समता है, एकरूपता है।’ बकौल एल०आर० बाली, ‘बुद्ध धम्म के दर्शन, उसकी सामाजिक समता, बंधुत्व की भावनाओं, स्वतन्त्र चिंतन करने की आजादी और वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण की प्रशंसा संसार के हजारों बुद्धिजीवियों ने की है।’ एम०एम० विलियमज़ का मानना है, बौद्ध धम्म क्या है? फिर उन्होंने स्वयं ही इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुए संक्षिप्त किन्तु सार रूप में कहा है कि यदि इसका जवाब एक शब्द में देना हो तो कहा जा सकता है कि बौद्ध धम्म मानवतावादी है। वस्तुतः बौद्ध धम्म का केन्द्र बिन्दु, इसका कार्यक्षेत्र मानव रहा है।’

तथागत की कामयाबी यही रही कि उन्होंने समाज के परम्परागत ढाँचे को बदलने की संभावनाएं जागृत कर दीं। बुद्ध से पूर्व जो व्यवस्था थी अब वह एक साजिश और षड़यंत्र लगने लगी। दलितों की बहुत बड़ी आबादी असलियत को जानने लगी। बुद्ध ने बिना किसी भेदभाव के मानवमात्र के लिए सम्मान एवं समता के सिद्धान्तों का परिपोषण किया। बुद्ध ने वर्गभेद के स्वरूप को हिला कर रख दिया। मानवता की भलाई के लिए चार आर्य सत्तों, त्रिशरण गमन, पंचशील, अष्टांगिक मार्ग अर्थात् शील, समाधि, प्रज्ञा का प्रतिपादन किया और ‘बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय’ का सिद्धान्त परिवर्तित किया। समता, समानता, बन्धुत्व, अखण्डता, अहिंसा और प्रेम बौद्ध दर्शन के सिद्धान्त हैं। बौद्ध दर्शन आत्मिक अनुभव का परिणाम है।

बुद्ध का दर्शन एक विश्व दृष्टिकोण है और उनकी शिक्षाओं और विचारों से ही धार्मिक मतवाद उत्पन्न हुआ जिसे बौद्ध धम्म कहा जाता है। लेकिन बुद्ध के पटिच्च समुत्पाद सिद्धान्त ने दार्शनिक चिन्तन और निष्कर्षों को जन्म दिया है जो बुद्ध के धर्मदर्शन का प्रमुख वैज्ञानिक आधार बनते हैं। कार्य-कारणता के सिद्धान्त का अर्थ है बिना कारण के कोई कार्य नहीं होता। इसमें द्वंदात्मक भौतिकवाद के प्रथम बीज मौजूद हैं। बुद्ध के अनित्यवाद और अनात्मवाद जैसे सिद्धान्तों ने वैज्ञानिक दार्शनिक चिन्तन के विकास का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया जिसने हिन्दू के धर्म दर्शन के भाग्यवाद, कर्मवाद, पुनर्जन्म, परलोक, आत्मा और ईश्वर आदि को नकार दिया क्योंकि इनका कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। बुद्ध के दार्शनिक चिन्तन ने वर्णव्यवस्था पर सीधा प्रहार करके जाति प्रथा की नींव खोद डाली और जातिगत भेदभाव और छुआ छूत के स्थान पर मैत्री, करुणा, समता, स्वतन्त्रता, समानता, नैतिकता और मानवता को अपना सिद्धान्त बनाया।

अगर दलितों को किसी धर्म-दर्शन की जरूरत है तो बुद्ध के धम्म-दर्शन से उत्तम कोई और धर्म नहीं हो सकता। बौद्ध-धम्म एक पारम्परिक धर्म नहीं है। जिसमें धार्मिक-पाखण्ड और कर्मकाण्ड तथा अध्यात्मवाद पर जोर दिया जाता हो बल्कि वह वैज्ञानिक-चिन्तन पर आधारित सिद्धान्त है। धम्म का अर्थ सिद्धान्त है जो करुणा, मैत्री, प्रज्ञा, समता और स्वतन्त्रता पर आधारित है। जैसा कि डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने कहा था कि सभी कसौटियों पर खरा उतरने

वाला एकमात्र धर्म बौद्ध धम्म ही है। वह ऐसा धर्म है जिसे विश्व ग्रहण कर सकता है तथा पुराने संसार से भिन्न इस नये विश्व को पुराने संसार की अपेक्षा धर्म की कहीं अधिक जरूरत है, तो यह केवल बुद्ध का ही धम्म हो सकता है। इसलिए उन्होंने अन्य धर्मों की अपेक्षा बौद्ध धम्म को मुख्यता तीन कारणों से पसन्द किया था। एक, बौद्ध धम्म भारत का है, दूसरा, बौद्ध धम्म का आवश्यक सिद्धान्त सामाजिक समानता है जिसे वे चाहते हैं और तीसरा बौद्ध-धम्म एक तार्किक धर्म है जिसमें अन्ध विश्वास के लिए कोई जगह नहीं।⁴

सुप्रसिद्ध दलित लेखक ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने हिन्दू और बौद्ध धर्म की तुलना करते हुए कहा है, 'मैं हिन्दू भी तो नहीं हूँ। यदि हिंदू होता तो हिन्दू मुझसे इतनी घृणा, इतना भेदभाव क्यों करते? बात-बात पर जातीय-बोध की हीनता से मुझे क्यों भरते? मन में यह भी आता था कि अच्छा इन्सान बनने के लिए जरूरी क्यों है कि वह हिन्दू ही हो। हिन्दू की क्रूरता बचपन से देखी है, सहन की है। जातीय श्रेष्ठता-भाव अभिमान बनकर कमजोर को ही क्यों मारता है? क्यों दलितों के प्रति हिन्दू इतना निर्मम और क्रूर है? बुद्ध के मानवीय स्वतन्त्रता के विचार ने मुझे प्रभावित किया था। परिवर्तित समष्टि में कुछ भी अपरिवर्तनीय नहीं है। मानव ही सर्वोपरि है। करुणा और प्रज्ञा व्यक्ति को उच्चता की ओर ले जाती है।'⁵

डॉ० अम्बेडकर की दृष्टि में धर्म कुछ नैतिक सिद्धान्तों का नाम है। उनका मत था कि 'वह धर्म, जो अपने ही अनुयायियों में पारस्परिक भेदभाव उत्पन्न करता है, पक्षपातपूर्ण है और वह धर्म, जो अपने करोड़ों, अनुयायियों को कुत्तों तथा अपराधियों से बदतर मानकर उन पर असहनीय अयोग्यताएं आरोपित करता है, वह कोई धर्म नहीं है। धर्म में इस प्रकार की अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवस्था के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है। धर्म और दासता परस्पर विरोधात्मक है।' दुर्भाग्यवश, हिन्दू धर्म ऐसा ही धर्म है और इसीलिए डॉ० अम्बेडकर हिन्दू धर्म और हिन्दू संस्कृति के कटु आलोचक थे। उन्होंने उसके स्थान पर न केवल बौद्ध धर्म ग्रहण किया था, बल्कि दलितों को सामाजिक समानता और नैतिक उत्थान के लिए बौद्ध धर्म के अन्तर्गत एकताबद्ध होने का आह्वान किया था।⁶

दलित अवधारणा के सन्दर्भ में सुभाष चन्द्र का कहना है, 'दलित शब्द का प्रयोग महान क्रान्तिकारी चिन्तक ज्योतिबा फुले ने किया तथा बाद में डॉ० भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने इस शब्द का बहुत प्रयोग किया। डॉ० अम्बेडकर ने अस्पृश्य, आदिवासी और जरायम पेशा जातियों को शामिल किया। अस्पृश्य जातियों को हीन माना जाता था, इनके भौतिक स्पर्श से बचा जाता था। गाँव के सार्वजनिक तालाब-कुओं का पानी तथा मन्दिर आदि में प्रवेश निषिद्ध था।'⁷

दलित साहित्य आत्मिक पीड़ाओं की अभिव्यक्ति का एक ऐसा आंदोलन है, जिसे अब रोका नहीं जा सकता क्योंकि हमारा इतिहास एकपक्षीय और अधूरा जो लिखा गया है। भारतीय समाज का एक बड़ा जनसमूह हाशिये पर क्यों धकेला गया? क्या परम्परागत कार्यों से जुड़े रहने से? क्या शिक्षा के अभाव से? क्या जातिगत वर्णव्यवस्था की मानसिकता से या फिर अम्बेडकरवादी विचारधारा को ग्रहण न करने से? इन सभी प्रश्नों का उत्तर आप और हमको देना है।⁸ 'दलित विमर्श' उत्तर आधुनिक विमर्श है। क्योंकि हाशिए का सत्य भी एक पूर्ण सत्य है और महत्वपूर्ण भी। यह विखण्डन का सूत्र है। दलित चेतना उत्तर-आधुनिक अवधारणा है। दलित विमर्श की अब तक की चिन्तन यात्रा में दो मुद्दे सर्वाधिक विवादास्पद रहे हैं। एक दलित किसे माना जाए और दूसरा दलित साहित्य का लेखक कौन? भोलानाथ तिवारी ने दलित का अर्थ माना है, कुचला हुआ, मर्दित, मसला हुआ, रौंदा हुआ, पस्तहिम्मत, हतोत्साहित, अछूत, जनजाति, डिस्प्रेस्ट क्लास। हरदेव बाहरी ने भी दलित का अर्थ कुचला हुआ, दबाया हुआ, नष्ट किया हुआ माना है।⁹

जयप्रकाश कर्दम का मानना है, 'दलित एक व्यापक समुदाय है जो हिन्दुओं में भी है, सिखों, मुसलमानों और ईसाईयों में भी है। वह हर जगह असमानता, अलगाव और शोषण का शिकार है। यह बात अलग है कि भिन्न-भिन्न

धर्मों में उसके शोषण की डिग्रियाँ अलग-अलग हैं।¹⁴ श्यौराज सिंह बेचैन का मानना है, 'दलित वह है जिसे भारतीय संविधान ने अनुसूचित जाति का दर्जा दिया है।'¹⁵

दलित शब्द का अर्थ कोई जाति विशेष नहीं है और न ही दलित हरिजन का पर्याय है। बल्कि दलित शब्द का एक व्यापक अर्थ है और दलित शब्द समष्टिगत ग्राह्य क्षमता रखता है। वैसे संस्कृत भाषा के इस 'दलित' शब्द का अर्थ प्राचीन साहित्य से लेकर आधुनिक साहित्य तक एक जैसा नहीं रहा है। आज जो अर्थ 'दलित' का है, वह पहले नहीं था। इस शब्द के बदलते अर्थों का जो वृत्तान्त किशोर कुणाल ने अपनी पुस्तक 'दलित देवोभव' की प्रस्तावना में दिया है, उसे यहां देखना अप्रासंगिक न होगा। संस्कृत का दलित शब्द 'दल' धातु में 'क्त' प्रत्यय जुड़ने से बना है। आधुनिक भारतीय साहित्य के सन्दर्भ में दलित वह है जिसका दारुण दलन, दोहन एवं शोषण होता रहा है तथा समाज में जो वंचित, उपेक्षित एवं प्रताड़ित रहा है। दुर्भाग्य जिसका पर्याय, दास्य जिसका व्यवसाय और दारिद्र्य जिसका अमिट अध्याय रहा है, वह दलित है। अभाव जिसका भाग्य, अन्याय जिसका साक्ष्य और विलाप जिसका काव्य रहा है, वह दलित है। सन्त-साहित्य में भक्तों के लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द बहुधा प्रयुक्त हुआ है और चूँकि इन सन्तों में बहुत से दलित थे, अतः कहीं-कहीं उनके लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द का भी प्रयोग किया गया है। दलित और वंचित अपेक्षाकृत नूतन शब्द हैं, जो आजकल अधिक व्यवहृत हो रहे हैं। कुछ काल पहले से एक शासनादेश द्वारा दलितों के लिए हरिजन शब्द के प्रयोग पर प्रतिबन्ध है और इसके लिए पर्याप्त औचित्य भी है।¹⁶

दलित साहित्य को परिभाषित करते हुए कँवल भारती ने लिखा है, 'दलित साहित्य से अभिप्राय उस साहित्य से है, जिसमें दलितों ने स्वयं अपनी पीड़ा को रूपायित किया है। अपने जीवन संघर्ष में दलितों ने जिस यथार्थ को भोगा है। दलित साहित्य उन्हीं के द्वारा उसी की अभिव्यक्ति है।'¹⁷ डॉ० धर्मवीर दलित साहित्य की परिभाषा देते हुए कहते हैं, 'दलित साहित्य वह है जिसे दलित लेखक लिखता है। वह श्रेष्ठ और कम श्रेष्ठ लिख सकता है। लेकिन शर्त यह है कि गैर-दलित लेखक कौसा भी दलित साहित्य नहीं लिख सकता। दलित साहित्य के मूल्यांकन की मनाही नहीं है। समीक्षक यह निर्णय दे सकता है कि कौन सी रचना दलित साहित्य की श्रेष्ठ रचना है, लेकिन उसे यह अनुमति नहीं दी जा सकती कि वह किसी गैर-दलित लेखक की रचना को दलित साहित्य की रचना मान ले।'¹⁸

प्रेम कुमार मणि का मानना है, 'दलितों के लिए, दलितों द्वारा लिखा जा रहा है साहित्य, दलित साहित्य है। यह विलास का नहीं आवश्यकता का साहित्य है। सम्पूर्ण विज्ञान इसकी दृष्टि है और पीड़ित मानवता इसका ईष्ट है।'¹⁹ दलित साहित्य दलितों द्वारा दलितों के लिए लिखा साहित्य होना चाहिए। जिसमें केवल दलितों के बारे में बात की है वही दलित साहित्य है। सुशीला टाकभौर दलित साहित्य की परिभाषा देती हुई कहती है, 'दलित साहित्य में अपेक्षा, अपमान, पीड़ा की अभिव्यक्ति है, साथ ही आजादी के बाद की पीढ़ी की वाणी इसमें मुखरित हुई है।'²⁰ दलित चिंतक दयानन्द बटोही दलित साहित्य को मानवतावाद की अभिव्यक्ति बताते हुए इसे दुःख और पीड़ा का साहित्य बताते हैं। उनका मत है, 'दलित साहित्य मानववाद की अभिव्यक्ति से जुड़ा है। दलित साहित्य की रीढ़ है, दर्द, पीड़ा, सन्ताप, यातना, जुल्म, अपमान और उसकी बाधाएं प्रकाशन की कमी।'²¹

दलित साहित्य दलितों के कड़वे अनुभवों का परिणाम है। दलित साहित्य में साहित्यकार वर्ण-व्यवस्था में गेये हुए दुःख को सच के आधार पर दबे आक्रोश के साथ उगलता है। वह अपने पर हुए सामाजिक, धार्मिक और आर्थिक अपमानों और अत्याचारों को समाज के सामने पेश नहीं करता, बल्कि वह उन्हें उनके मूल कड़वेपन में ही रोसता है। दलित साहित्य की शुरुआत एक विशेष प्रकार की सामाजिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक, वैचारिक चिन्ता में हुई। दलित साहित्य निरुद्देश्य साहित्य नहीं है। न दलित साहित्य मनोरंजनवादी, अवसरवादी, व्यवस्थावादी

कलावादी साहित्य है। दलित साहित्य अम्बेडकर दर्शन से उपजी चेतना का परिणाम है। दलित साहित्य का लक्ष्य दलित समाज को स्वाभिमान, स्वावलम्बन एवं अस्मिता के लिए कृतसंकल्प होकर जूझने का सन्देश है। दलित साहित्य सृजन के पीछे दलित चेतना की मुख्य भूमिका भूमिका रही है। दलित चेतना दलित अहम को जगाती है। दलित अपनी अस्मिता की तलाश दलित चेतना के कारण ही करता है। दलित चेतना के कारण दलितों को फुले और अम्बेडकर के साहित्य से स्वाभिमान से जीने की प्रेरणा मिली और उन्हें अपने दलित होने के मूलभूत कारणों का एहसास हुआ। दलित साहित्यकारों ने दलित समाज को जगाया और सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए निरन्तर प्रयास कर रहे हैं।

सच्चिदानंद सिन्हा लिखते हैं, 'आजादी हासिल करने के बाद भारत ने भी खुद को आधुनिक बनाने की कोशिश की। अधिकांश दलों ने धर्मनिरपेक्षता और लोकतंत्र को अपना आदर्श बनाया जिसमें बाद में समाजवाद को भी जोड़ा गया। पर वास्तविकता में हमें एकदम अलग प्रवृत्ति दिखाई देती है। जिस जातिवाद को सदा के लिए विदा होना था। उसे असल में सिर्फ परदे की ओट में छिपा दिया गया था और अब राजनीतिक हलके में यह सबसे बड़े पहलवान के रूप में विराजमान है।

राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन जातिवादी भावना को काफी समय तक दबाए रखने में सफल रहा, पर अब चुनावी राजनीति हो या सामाजिक जीवन के टकराव, दोनों ही में जातिवाद ने उत्तर भारत को भी अपनी पूरी जकड़न में ले लिया है। पश्चिम और दक्षिण में जिस तरह से मराठों, रेड्डियों, वोक्कालिगों और गौड़ाओं का प्रभुत्व है, उत्तर में यादवों, जाटों और कुर्मियों ने भी वैसी ही स्थिति बनाने की कोशिश की है और इस बीच अगर अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों ने अपने लिए कोई जगह बनाने की कोशिश की है तो उन पर चारों ओर से मार पड़ रही है। बिहार में बेहतर मजदूरी की माँग या अन्य मामलों में सम्मान जनक या बराबरी के व्यवहार की उपेक्षा करने के मामले, उनको मारने, उनकी बस्तियाँ जलाने की घटनाएँ आम हैं।²²

कैवल भारती का कहना है, 'दलित विमर्श जिस सिद्धान्त को विकसित करता है, वह भारत के लोगों के बारे में सामाजिक और आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से अध्ययन करने के संबंध में है। आम तौर पर भारत की आबादी का वर्गीकरण भाषाई या धार्मिक आधार पर ही किया जाता है। इस वर्गीकरण से यह तो पता चलता है कि भारत में इतने हिन्दू, इतने मुसलमान, इतने ईसाई और इतने सिक्ख आदि रहते हैं। या यह पता चलता है कि भारत में इतने लोग मराठी, इतने तमिल, इतने बांग्ला और इतने लोग गुजराती बोलते हैं पर इसमें विभिन्न जन आंदोलनों का पता नहीं चलता। दुर्भाग्य से समाजशास्त्रियों ने किसी अन्य दृष्टिकोण को अपने अध्ययन का आधार नहीं बनाया। लेकिन डॉ॰ अम्बेडकर ने पहली बार इस ओर ध्यान दिया। वे पहले समाजशास्त्री हैं, जिन्होंने भारत की आबादी के अध्ययन में इस दृष्टिकोण को अपनाया।'²³

दलितों को मानवीय, सवैधानिक व प्राकृतिक अधिकारों से वंचित करके दूसरे वर्गों पर आश्रित करके उनकी मेहनत का शोषण किया गया। समाज में सबसे मुश्किल, कष्टदायक तथा गन्दे काम इन्हीं से करवाए गए। सेवा के समस्त कार्य बेगार में करने का भार भी इन्हीं पर था और बदले में मिली घृणा, अपमान व अलगाव। जाति व्यवस्था का समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों पर अलग-अलग व कई मामलों में परस्पर विपरीत प्रभाव पड़े हैं, किसी के लिए यह विशेषाधिकार प्राप्त करने का जरिया रही है, तो किसी के लिए तमाम प्राकृतिक, मानवीय व वैधानिक अधिकार छिने जाने की व्यवस्था। जाति व्यवस्था के समर्थकों ने श्रम-विभाजन का वैज्ञानिक आधार बताकर इसे उचित ठहराने की कोशिश की, लेकिन यह श्रम का विभाजन नहीं, बल्कि श्रमिकों का विभाजन करती है। जाति-व्यवस्था ने जो श्रम-विभाजन किया है उसका आधार वैज्ञानिक इसलिए नहीं है कि जाति में व्यवसाय चुनने का आधार योग्यता,

वरीयता या वैयक्तिक भावना नहीं है बल्कि पूर्व नियति है। इसमें किसी व्यक्ति को व्यवसाय चुनने और छोड़ने की आजादी नहीं है। श्रम में बराबरी नहीं, बल्कि श्रम की उच्च व निम्न श्रेणियाँ बनाती है।

जाति-व्यवस्था के समर्थक वर्ण और जाति-व्यवस्था को अलग-अलग कह कर तथा दबी जुबान में जाति को गलत तथा वर्ण को उचित ठहराते हैं, जो परोक्ष ढंग से जाति-व्यवस्था की विचारधारा को वैधता देना ही है। जाति-व्यवस्था व वर्ण व्यवस्था का केन्द्रीय विचार असमानता का है, जो श्रम में असमानता को मान्यता प्रदान करती है। वर्ण-व्यवस्था के चारों वर्णों में समानता नहीं है, बल्कि क्रमिक सोपान है। इस क्रमिक सोपान में एक वर्ण को दूसरे से अधिक अधिकार प्राप्त हैं। वर्ण-व्यवस्था प्रदत्त अधिकार इतने भेदभावपूर्ण व अवैज्ञानिक हैं कि चौथे वर्ण को ज्ञान, संपत्ति, सत्ता के अधिकारों से वंचित किया गया है और समाज का अधिकांश काम इसके जिम्मे ही आया। असल में वर्ण-व्यवस्था की सुसंगत दिखाई देने वाली विचारधारा ही जाति व्यवस्था की जननी है।²⁴

भरत झुनझुनवाला ने भी माना है कि कमजोर वर्गों के साथ भेदभाव किया जाता है। उनका मत है, 'हर समाज में कमजोर वर्गों के साथ भेदभाव जाति व्यवस्था के माध्यम से किया जाता रहा है। प्रचलित रूप में यह व्यवस्था भारतीय समाज के ऊपर एक कलंक है।'²⁵ ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि ने दलित साहित्य को दलित-जीवन की असहनीय पीड़ाओं की अभिव्यक्ति मानते हुए कहा है कि दलित जीवन की पीड़ाएं असहनीय और अनुभव दग्ध हैं। ऐसे अनुभव जो साहित्यिक अभिव्यक्तियों में स्थान नहीं पा सके। एक ऐसी समाज-व्यवस्था में हमने साँसे ली हैं, जो बेहद क्रूर और अमानवीय है। दलितों के प्रति अंशवेदनशील भी। साहित्य में नर्क की सिर्फ कल्पना है। हमारे लिए बरसात के दिन किसी नारकीय जीवन से कम न थे। हमने इसे साकार रूप में जीते-जी भोगा है। ग्राम्य जीवन की यह दारुण व्यथा हिन्दी के महाकवियों को छू भी नहीं सकी। कितनी बीभत्स सच्चाई है यह।²⁶

कँवल भारती का कहना है, 'धर्म के नाम पर जिस समाज को कठोर यातनाएं सहनी पड़ी हों, मानवीय अधिकारों से वंचित रहकर 'अन्त्यज' का बहिष्कृत जीवन जीना पड़ा हो, अपना धन धान्य सब कुछ छिनवा कर गाढ़े परिश्रम के बावजूद अधपेट भोजन कर, अधनंगा रहकर आर्थिक परतंत्रता में रहना पड़ा हो और जिसको विद्या से अलग रखकर सदा-सर्वदा घृणित पेशे करते रहने के लिए बाध्य किया गया हो, उस समाज का विद्रोही होना और शिक्षार्जन के बाद क्रान्ति-सृष्टा हो जाना पूरी तरह स्वाभाविक है, परन्तु उस समाज का साहित्य यदि आज भी धर्म से सम्पृक्त है और धर्म का समर्थन करता है, तो यह सतही नहीं, अपितु गम्भीर विषय है और इसे उसकी ऐतिहासिकता में समझने की आवश्यकता है।'²⁷

दलित साहित्य वास्तव में यथार्थवादी दलित चेतना का साहित्य है। दलितों द्वारा भोगी गयी उपेक्षा, अपमान, तिरस्कार और पीड़ा की अभिव्यक्ति है। जब दलितों को लगा कि उनकी दशा और दिशा को मुख्यधारा में स्थान नहीं मिल रहा है और उनके साथ सामाजिक अन्याय के साथ-साथ साहित्यिक अन्याय भी हो रहा है तब उन्होंने अपने पक्षपातपूर्ण व्यवहार को देखकर मुख्यधारा से हटकर दलित साहित्य सृजन किया।

दलित साहित्य लेखन के लिए लेखक का दलित होना जरूरी है क्योंकि गैर दलित लेखक के पास संवेदना, सहानुभूति, कल्पना तो जरूर है, मगर आत्मानुभव, दलित जीवन की चुनौतियाँ,

दलित वर्ग की पीड़ा और तिरस्कार का सामना उन्होंने नहीं किया है। इसलिए दलित साहित्य सहानुभूति का नहीं बल्कि स्वानुभूति का साहित्य है। आत्मपीड़ाओं की अभिव्यक्ति है दलित साहित्य। इसलिए दलित वर्ग की लड़ाई सहानुभूति के लिए नहीं बल्कि स्वाभिमान और सामाजिक न्याय के लिए है। दलित संघर्ष अस्मिता और अधिकार के लिए है। साहित्य में दलित रचनाकारों का पहला बड़ा कारगर हस्तक्षेप मराठी भाषा में हुआ। अम्बेडकर प्रेरित दलित पैथर आन्दोलन ने मराठी कविता और कथासाहित्य में सहसा एक चकाचौंध पैदा कर दी थी जिसकी अनुगूँज साठ और सत्तर के दशक में हिन्दी में भी सुनाई दी। पहले हिन्दी में दलित लेखकों और चिन्तकों द्वारा दलित चेतना और संघर्ष को लेकर वैचारिक, ऐतिहासिक और सामाजिक लेखन हुआ। हिन्दी दलित लेखन का यह एक महत्वपूर्ण दौर माना जायेगा। इसके बाद रचनात्मक लेखन का दौर शुरू हुआ। हिन्दी में रचनात्मक लेखन का इतिहास ज्यादा लम्बा नहीं है। बीसवीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में दलित लेखक हिन्दी में सामने आए पर उनकी उपस्थिति न कविता में दर्ज हुई न कथा रचना में पर इसी बीसवीं सदी के अंतिम दो दशकों में दलित प्रश्न एक केन्द्रीय मुद्दे के रूप में सामने आया।⁷⁹

बकौल ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि, 'आज दलित साहित्य चर्चा के केन्द्र में है। वैसे तो दलित साहित्य के अनेक विद्वान दलित साहित्य का इतिहास बहुत पुराना मानते हैं। सिद्ध कवियों, भक्त कवियों की रचनाओं में दलित चेतना के सूत्र बीज रूप में मानते हैं। 'सरस्वती' में प्रकाशित हीरा डोम की कविता को भी कई विद्वान पहली हिन्दी दलित कविता मानते हैं। अछूतानंद के आन्दोलन और उनकी रचनाओं में सामाजिक उत्पीड़न को स्पष्ट देखा जा सकता है। आजादी के बाद भी अनेक दलित कवि हुए हैं, जिन पर गाँधीवाद का प्रभाव ज्यादा है। उनमें हरित जी विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। माताप्रसाद, मंशा राम विद्रोही आदि ने बहुतायत में दलित लेखन किया है।

लेकिन दलित साहित्य की प्रेरणा जब अम्बेडकर दर्शन को स्वीकार कर लेती है तो कुछ तथ्य स्वयं ही विश्लेषित हो जाते हैं। सातवें दशक में शिक्षित होकर कार्यक्षेत्र में उतरे दलित लेखकों की जद्दोजहद और संघर्ष ने हिन्दी दलित साहित्य की जो भूमि तैयार की उसका नोटिस गैर-दलितों ने काफी विलम्ब से लिया जबकि दलित पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में यह गूँज पहले ही अपने पैर जमा चुकी थी।⁸⁰ दलित साहित्य शोषित, पीड़ित समाज की वेदना की अभिव्यक्ति है। दलित अनुभवों का दस्तावेज ही दलित साहित्य है। जातिवादी वर्णव्यवस्था के पीड़ित दलित सदियों तक संताप भोगते रहे। बौद्ध दर्शन में इस जातिवादी वर्णव्यवस्था का विरोध देखने को मिलता है।

कैवल भारती लिखते हैं, 'चूँकि डॉ॰ अम्बेडकर ने बौद्ध धर्म को ग्रहण किया था और चूँकि बौद्ध जीवन-दर्शन ने सामाजिक समानता के क्षेत्र में दलितों का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया था, इसलिये दलित साहित्य की प्रतिबद्धता बुद्ध और उनके धर्म के प्रति है ज़रूर और एक प्रकार से बुद्ध की विचारधारा ने समूचे भारतीय साहित्य को ही नयी दिशा दी है, परन्तु यहाँ यह भी भली भाँति समझ लेना आवश्यक होगा कि दलित साहित्यकार की यह प्रतिबद्धता बेमानी नहीं है, वरन् उसका एक अर्थ है, उसकी एक ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि है।'⁸⁰

बौद्ध दर्शन सत्य, अहिंसा, न्याय, स्वतन्त्रता, भ्रातृत्व, एकता, अखण्डता, बन्धुत्व और समता तथा समानता पर आधारित है। बौद्ध दर्शन की मान्यता है कि आदमी दुःख, दुर्गति एवं गरीबी में जी रहा है। यह संसार दुःख से भरा है। संसार से दुःख को दूर कैसे किया जा सकता है, केवल

यही धर्म का प्रयोजन है। दुःख के अस्तित्व की पहचान और उसको दूर करने के मार्ग को दिखाना ही बौद्ध दर्शन की आधारशिला है। बौद्ध दर्शन बताता है कि भूख सबसे बड़ा रोग है, 'संस्वारा परमा दुःखवा'। बुद्धमत है -

नत्थि रागसमो अग्नि, नत्थि दोस समोकलि,

नत्थि मोहसमं जालं, नात्थि तण्हासमा नदी।'

अर्थात् राग (लालसा) के समान आग नहीं है, द्वेष के समान ग्राह (मगरमच्छ) नहीं, मोह के समान जाल नहीं, तृष्णा के समान नदी नहीं। वर्गभेद मोह का एक स्वरूप है, इसके समान कोई जाल नहीं है, राग, घृणा और वर्गभेद आदि मनुष्य द्वारा उत्पन्न किये गये हैं। जिनसे संघर्ष होता है अतः बुद्ध ने इनका समाधान पंचशील त्रिशरण गमन, अष्टांगिक मार्ग द्वारा बताया। बौद्ध दर्शन से प्रभावित होकर बाबा साहेब डॉ॰ भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने 14 अक्टूबर 1956 को नागपुर में लाखों अनुयायियों के साथ बुद्ध धर्म की शरण ली। ऐसा बाबा साहेब ने बौद्ध दर्शन की प्रासंगिकता को समझते हुए किया। इतिहास की यह सबसे बड़ी परिघटना है। भारत में बौद्ध धर्म को इससे नयी संजीवनी मिली। बाबा साहेब के धर्मांतरण के कारण दलितों ने हिन्दू धर्म त्याग दिया। हिन्दू देवी-देवताओं को नकारा। ग्रामीण हीन पेशे छोड़ दिए। इस उथल-पुथल से दलितों को सत्त्व मिल गया। 'हम बौद्ध हो गये हैं इसलिए हिंदू धर्म द्वारा हम पर लादे गए हीन काम अब हम नहीं करेंगे' ऐसी नई चेतना पूरे दलित समाज में जागृत हो गयी। इसी धार्मिक परिवर्तन के युग में दलित चेतना का विकास हुआ। दलित साहित्य ने जड़ जमाई। बौद्ध विचार और अम्बेडकर विचार आपस में ऐकमएक हो गये। शरण कुमार लिम्बाले का मत है, 'धर्मांतरण से दलित समाज की मानसिकता में क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन हुआ। धर्मांतरण की ऐतिहासिक घटना नए मुक्ति संग्राम का प्रारम्भ थी। बौद्ध धर्म के कारण दलितों को एक नया सांस्कृतिक आयाम मिल गया। इसका दलित साहित्य के विकास पर पोषाक प्रभाव हुआ। बौद्ध धर्म में जाति व्यवस्था को कोई स्थान नहीं है। बौद्ध धर्म समता का समर्थन करने वाला और विषमता नकारने वाला धर्म है। बुद्ध ने जाति प्रथा को नकारा और संघ में सभी को प्रवेश दिया। इसलिए बाबा साहब ने बौद्ध धर्म स्वीकार किया।'³¹

बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर के धर्मांतरण से पहले ही दलित साहित्य प्रकाशित हो रहा था। दलित लेखकों ने अप्पा साहेब रणपिसे की पहल से 1949 में 'दलित साहित्य सेवक संघ' नाम की संस्था स्थापित की। 1950 में जिसका नाम बदल कर 'दलित साहित्य संघ' कर दिया। आगे चलकर 11 मार्च, 1961 में इस संस्था का नाम परिवर्तित होकर, 'महाराष्ट्र बौद्ध साहित्य परिषद्' रखा गया। बाबा साहेब के धर्मांतरण के बाद 2 मार्च 1958 को दलित लेखकों का पहला साहित्य सम्मेलन संपन्न हुआ।

2 मार्च, 1958 से 11 मार्च 1961 के बीच की अवधि में दलित साहित्य की चर्चा का प्रारम्भ हुआ। इसी काल में साम्यवादी लेखकों का 'प्रगतिशील साहित्य' और 'लघु पत्रिकाओं' में नवलेखकों का साहित्य प्रकाशित हो रहा था। दलित लेखक प्रगतिशील साहित्य और लघु पत्रिका साहित्यिक आंदोलन के साथ थे। दलित लेखक कहीं बौद्ध साहित्यिक धारा से विमुख न हो जाएं, इस चिंता से दलित लेखकों के एक गुट ने 'बौद्ध साहित्य का समर्थन' शुरू किया।

बाबा साहेब अंबेडकर ने मानवतावाद को सर्वोच्च स्थान दिया। अंबेडकर प्रेरित दलित साहित्य ने मनुष्य को केन्द्र माना है। मनुष्य की स्वतन्त्रता की घोषणा की है। मानव की मुक्ति को प्रोत्साहित करने वाला, मनुष्य को महान माननेवाला, वंश, वर्ण और जाति श्रेष्ठत्व का कठोर विरोध करने वाला साहित्य ही दलित साहित्य होता है। मनुष्यता दलित साहित्य का धर्म है। इसलिए इस संसार में मनुष्य की अपेक्षा और कोई भी काल्पनिक या सांसारिक वस्तु महान नहीं है। जो संस्कृति, समाज या साहित्य मनुष्य को लघु बनाए, उसके विरुद्ध दलित साहित्य विद्रोह करता है। यह विद्रोह अंबेडकरी विचार प्रणाली का अविभाज्य अंग है। दलित साहित्य की समीक्षा अंबेडकर विचार से करनी होगी क्योंकि अंबेडकर विचार ही इस साहित्य की प्रेरणा है।” और अंबेडकर विचार बौद्ध दर्शन से प्रभावित हैं। संभवतः बुद्ध प्रथम भारतीय थे जिन्होंने जाति धर्म को तोड़ कर सभी को अपने संघ में निर्बाध प्रवेश दिया। उनके जीवन काल में ही सारिपुत्र, मोद्गल्यायन, महाकाश्यप, महाकात्यायन, पौष्करसाति सदृश अनेक विद्वान् ब्राह्मण उनके शिष्य बन चुके थे। क्षत्रिय राजाओं में कोसल-नरेश प्रसेनचित् एवं मगध-सम्राट बिम्बिसार उनके उपासक थे। वैश्यों में अनाथपिण्डक जैसे महाश्रेष्ठी उनके शिष्य थे। साथ ही साथ शूद्रों को भी संघ में प्रवेश दिया जिनमें उपाली नाई, सुनीत भंगी, सोपक एवं सुप्पिया चाण्डाल, सुमंगल हलवाहा और चन्ना दास, धनिय कप्पट-कूर इत्यादि प्रमुख थे।

बुद्ध ने तीन शिक्षाएं दी, सामाजिक समानता की, वर्णव्यवस्था के उन्मूलन की और अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त की। दलित साहित्य बौद्ध दर्शन से प्रभावित है। दलित साहित्य सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए और आत्म-अस्मिता के लिए एक जन आंदोलन है। ‘दलित’ शब्द जातिवाचक नहीं बल्कि ‘दलित’ विशेषण सम्यक् क्रांति का प्रतीक है। इसका प्रयोग कल के ‘शोषित’ और आज के ‘संघर्षशील’ के अर्थ में किया जा रहा है। ‘बुद्धं शरणम् गच्छामि’ से प्रभावित होकर दलित समाज शिक्षित हो रहा है। ‘संघम् शरणम् गच्छामि’ से प्रेरणा लेकर दलित समाज संगठित हो रहा है और ‘धम्मं शरणम् गच्छामि’ से सबक सीख कर दलित समाज संघर्ष की राह पर है। संघर्ष चाहे राजनैतिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक या वैचारिक क्यों न हो दलित समाज प्रयासरत है।

‘अत्त दीपो भव’ दलित समाज के लिए एक मूलमन्त्र है और पंचशील, अष्टांगिक मार्ग तथा चार आर्य सत्त्यों की अनुगूँज दलित साहित्य में सुनने को मिलती है। दलित साहित्य में बौद्ध दर्शन की अहम भूमिका है। प्रज्ञा, शील के अतिरिक्त दलित साहित्य में ‘बहुजन हिताय, बहुजन सुखाय’ की भावना भी है। दलित समाज का पथ प्रदर्शक दलित साहित्य है और उसमें बौद्ध दर्शन के ‘अप्प दीपो भव’ के सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन होता है। साथ ही साथ संगठन और संघर्ष का सिद्धान्त भी बौद्ध दर्शन की देन है। बौद्ध दर्शन के परिणाम से दलित समाज कर्मकाण्ड, मूर्तिपूजा और ईश्वर तथा आत्मा के आवागमन में भी विश्वास नहीं रखता है। आज दलित साहित्य बौद्ध दर्शन से प्रभावित है और दलित साहित्य में बौद्ध धर्म की खासी भूमिका है। कुल मिलाकर देखा जाए तो दलित साहित्य बौद्ध साहित्य की तर्ज पर सृजित हो रहा है।

सन्दर्भ

1. राहुल सांकृत्यायन, बौद्ध दर्शन, किताब महल इलाहाबाद, 2010, पृष्ठ 25
2. किशोर कुणाल, दलित-देवो भव, प्रकाशन विभाग भारत सरकार नई दिल्ली, 2005, पृष्ठ 557
3. मुद्राराक्षस, नयी सदी की पहचान : श्रेष्ठ दलित कहानियाँ, लोकभारती प्रकाशन इलाहाबाद, 2004, पृष्ठ 6
4. दीपक कुमार राय, उद्धृत, जयप्रकाश कर्दम, दलित साहित्य वार्षिकी, अकादमिक प्रतिभा दिल्ली, 2008, पृष्ठ 67
5. चन्द्रिका प्रसाद शर्मा, गौतम बुद्ध, परमेश्वरी प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2005, पृष्ठ 29
6. एल.आर. बाली, बुद्ध धम्म सार और विकास, भीम पत्रिका प्रकाशन जालन्धर, पृष्ठ 3
7. एम.एम. विलियमज़, उद्धृत, बी.आर. सांपला, बौद्ध धम्म ही आशाजनक धम्म, धम्मकीर्ति प्रकाशन जालन्धर, 1994, प्रकाशकीय
8. तेज सिंह, दलित समाज और संस्कृति, आधार प्रकाशन पंचकूला, 2007, पृष्ठ 174
9. ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि, जूठन, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 1999, पृष्ठ 54, 121
10. कँवल भारती, दलित साहित्य की अवधारणा, बोधिसत्त्व प्रकाशन रामपुर उ.प्र., 2006, पृष्ठ 89
11. सुभाष चन्द्र, दलित मुक्ति आन्दोलन, आधार प्रकाशन पंचकूला, 2010, पृष्ठ 15
12. हरकिशन संतोषी, दलितों के दलित, सस्ता साहित्य मण्डल प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2009, पृष्ठ 6
13. अवधेश नारायण मिश्र, उत्तर संस्कृति, दलित विमर्श और निराला, किशोर विद्या निकेतन वाराणसी, 2005, पृष्ठ 24, 25
14. जय प्रकाश कर्दम, उद्धृत, राजकिशोर, दलित राजनीति की समस्याएं, वाणी प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 2006, पृष्ठ 82
15. श्यौराज सिंह बेचैन, उद्धृत, ओम प्रकाश वाल्मीकि, दलित साहित्य का सौंदर्य शास्त्र, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2001, पृष्ठ 13
16. किशोर कुणाल, दलित-देवो भव, प्रकाशन विभाग , भारत सरकार दिल्ली, 2005 पृष्ठ 7-9
17. कँवल भारती, दलित साहित्य की अवधारणा, बोधिसत्त्व प्रकाशन रामपुर उ.प्र., 2006, पृष्ठ 15
18. डॉ. धर्मवीर, दलित चिन्तन का विकास, वाणी प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 2008, पृष्ठ 21
19. प्रेम कुमार मणि, उद्धृत, पुरुषोत्तम सत्यप्रेमी, हिन्दी दलित साहित्य रचना और विचार, आतिश प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 1997, पृष्ठ 27
20. सुशीला टाकभौर, उद्धृत, साक्षान्त मस्के, परम्परागत वर्णव्यवस्था और दलित साहित्य, वाणी प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2009, पृष्ठ 22
21. दयानन्द बटोही, उद्धृत, श्यौराज सिंह बेचैन, दलित दखल, आकाश पब्लिशर्स एण्ड डिस्ट्रीब्यूटर्स गाजियाबाद, 2007 पृष्ठ 63
22. सच्चिदानन्द सिन्हा, जाति व्यवस्था, राजकमल प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2006, पृष्ठ 14
23. कँवल भारती, दलित विमर्श की भूमिका, इतिहास बोध प्रकाशन इलाहाबाद, 2007, पृष्ठ 20
24. सुभाष चन्द्र, दलित मुक्ति आन्दोलन, आधार प्रकाशन पंचकूला, 2010, पृष्ठ 16, 17
25. भरत झुनझुनवाला, वर्ण व्यवस्था, श्री नटराज प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2008, पृष्ठ 13
26. ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि, जूठन, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 1999, पृष्ठ 7, 35
27. कँवल भारती, दलित साहित्य की अवधारणा, बोधिसत्त्व प्रकाशन रामपुर उ.प्र., 2006, पृष्ठ 88
28. मुद्राराक्षस, नयी सदी की पहचान : श्रेष्ठ दलित कहानियाँ, लोकभारती इलाहाबाद, 2004, पृष्ठ 6
29. ओमप्रकाश वाल्मीकि, दलित साहित्य का सौंदर्य शास्त्र, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन दिल्ली, 2001, पृष्ठ 16, 17
30. कँवल भारती, दलित साहित्य की अवधारणा, बोधिसत्त्व प्रकाशन रामपुर उ.प्र. 2006, पृष्ठ 90
31. शरण कुमार लिंबाले, दलित साहित्य का सौंदर्य शास्त्र, वाणी प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 2005, पृष्ठ 51
32. शरण कुमार लिंबाले, दलित साहित्य का सौंदर्य शास्त्र, वाणी प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली, 2005, पृष्ठ 52, 59

Yumlembam Khogen Singh*

Author: T.K. Oommen (ed.)

Title : Social Movements II: Concerns of Equity and Security.

Publisher: New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010

Pages: xii + 352

Price: Rs. 795 (hb).

ISBN 13: 978-019-806328-5

In the book under review, T.K. Oommen attempts to bring together some essays and a few case studies on collective mobilizations anchored on the issues of equity and security. Consisting of fifteen Chapters which are divided into three parts, the book has been designed to cover a broad range of movements like (i) peasant and labour movements, (ii) women's and students' movements, and (iii) ecological and environmental movements. Most of the Chapters make a substantive contribution towards understanding a particular movement while some Chapters provide a historical overview of some selected social movements in India. In addition to the comprehensive general introduction and three sectional introductions, editor himself has contributed three Chapters. General introduction is an excellent piece of work which makes a critical survey of relevant literature on social movements by analyzing its history, emerging debates, theoretical and methodological issues, and the corresponding empirical situations. While the general introduction provides an extensive understanding of social movements, each sectional introduction provides proper contexts to analyse movements discussed within that section. Being a seasoned scholar in this field, Oommen differentiates sociological approach to the study of social movements from other approaches. Unlike the historical approach which focuses on life cycle, career, and motivations of movement; psychological approach which highlights the psychic personality traits as sparks for social movements; and anthropology which deals with system stability, regeneration or maintenance as goal of the movement; sociology is mainly concerned with the analysis of change and conflict, development of ideology, functions, and the conditions under which a group opted for social movement.

In the first part of the book, some collective mobilisations of agrarian and industrial classes are analyzed and it is argued that the peasant and labour movements in India were compelled by the unpleasant social currents of that period. Peasants and workers were feeling deprived; therefore, organized themselves and collectively demanded their share of equity. In Chapter one, Kathleen Gough gives a brief summary of the socio-political and economic conditions of late eighteenth century till early 1970s which ignited the agrarian revolts in India. Based on his survey of peasant uprisings in past 200 years or so, Gough highlights capability of the peasants for co-operating in their struggle across class, caste, religious, and linguistic boundaries and he doubted on the alleged caste system as a serious

*Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, Panjab University, Chandigarh

impediment for peasant uprisings. In the second Chapter, Partha Mukherji explains how institutionalized and exploitative socio-economic relationships embedded in agrarian structure of the Naxalbari region led to genesis of the Naxalbari Peasant Movement. His qualitative analysis of the social structure and agrarian social system in Naxalbari and Khoribari regions provides the historical context out of which the movement evolved and his study reveals the socio-economic contradictions which provided the basis for social mobilizations. Mukherji however, skips the analysis of the wider waves of Naxalbari movement which currently is quite active in different pockets of India in its new incarnations. T.K. Oommen in Chapter 3, critically analyses the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement. He makes a substantive analysis of the Telengana peasant crisis of 1948-50 as background of the movement's emergence, role of Vinoba Bhave's charismatic leadership, movement's quest to solve the problem of landlessness through non-violent means, 'Sarvodaya ideology' of the movement, and internal contradictions which led to movement's demise. Farmers' post-green revolution problems (1970 -1990s) in general and agitations demanding remunerative prices for farm produce in Maharashtra in particular is discussed as a "New Farmers' movement" by D.N. Dhanagare in Chapter 4. His analysis shows that the main cause of such movement was unsatisfactory agricultural profitability with corresponding pace of agricultural productivity. In Chapter 5, S.M. Pandey provides a synoptic review of the growth and characteristics of Indian labour movement in all its three stages, and he also identifies some of the factors responsible for them. Chapter 6 by Debashish Bhattacharjee traces the changing system of Indian industrial relation, dividing the transformation into two evolutionary phases; first, the era of State dominated pluralism in the industrial relation arena (1950s-1970s) and second, the period of internal and external liberalization (1980s-2000). In Chapter 7, Supriya Roy Chowdhury captures the plight of women workers in the unorganized sector through a case study of women in the garment industry in Bangalore.

Women's and students' movements in India are separately dealt with in the second part of the book. In this section, Chapter 8 by Indu Agnihotri and Vina Majumdar locates women within the complex Indian socio-political structures, and traces how women responded to violence, fundamentalism, communalism, and other sweeping changes in socio-political as well as economic policies (1970s-1990s). In Chapter 9, Rajni Palriwala analyses the action strategies of the women spearheaded Anti-Dowry Movement in Delhi (1980-85). Her study reflects how the anti-dowry collective actions created new social and political spaces for women. Chapter 10 by Martha Alter Chen analyses how SEWA (Self-Employed Women's Association) pushes for structural changes in informal economy by combining two strategies, union style and campaign mode. Drawing inspiration from the Gandhian vision and values, SEWA successfully organized and strategized development services for women in informal economy, then gradually establish national and global networks of sister institutions and thus, became a movement. As a case of seeking inter-generational equity, Philip G. Altbach traces transformation of student activism from colonial to post-colonial India in Chapter 11 and in Chapter 12, T.K. Oommen gives a political analysis of the productive and coercive powers of youth/students which they often exerts through mobilisations and protests.

Third section deals with ecological and environmental movements in India. This section shows that ecological/environmental movements strives to provide security to future generation thereby pursuing intergenerational equity. In Chapter 13; through her analysis of

the Chipko movement, Vandana Shiva points out that grass-roots ecological struggle in local fronts can have global implications as they are linked with the global issues of peace and justice. Chapter 14 by Ranjit Dwivedi critically studies a campaign march known as 'Yatra' which is being organized by conglomerate of NGOs, conservation groups, grass-root organisations and environmentalists. 'Yatra' critically assess the official/governmental conservation policies and practices; then, it initiates dialogue and evolve new strategies of conservation. Lastly in Chapter 15; while looking for a viable policy option for sustainable development, T.K. Oommen raises some theoretical and practical questions on displacement issues. He first identifies the trajectories of protest movements against development project induced displacements; then, gives policy suggestions after analyzing the Narmada Bachao Andolan. He endorses technology pluralism to mitigate displacement and other allied problems caused by dam construction and rapid industrialization.

While introducing the issue of security, the editor identifies violent physical acts of organized non-state-actors as the main concern for rising security issue in India, but there is hardly in study of such kind in this volume. Even though the title pledges to discuss various dimensions of security like military, political, economic, socio-cultural, and environment; there is not a single study on collective mobilisations against ramifications of adverse military presence in this volume. While talking about the security issue generated by violent-non-state actors, the editor has asserted that there is no concerted effort from civil society to combat this; thus no manifestation of social movement against non-state actors. Such a claim calls for further scrutiny as we can see some collective actions against terrorists/ insurgent groups in some parts of India. Although out of the fifteen Chapters, only two are being published for the first time; the book under review strategically has dealt the various contentious issues of equality and security, endorsing the editor's argument that ontological equality which promised equality of opportunity is useless if equality of condition doesn't prevail. However, it is also palpably true that even equality of condition cannot assure promised equality. It is being argued that inequality becomes legitimate or tends to be accepted as legitimate if it is the outcome of hard work or merit, obviously after providing equality of opportunity and condition to all. So, all the Chapters in this book ascertain that the motivational force behind most of the contemporary social movements in India is equity rather than equality. The book under review corroborates that a measure like affirmative action to ensure equity will correspondingly entail the exclusion of those in advantaged/creamy layer from the purview of certain policies sometimes creating discontents among collectivities experiencing upward mobility as well as downward mobility. As rightly argued by the editor, the contentious issue of equity is not only confined to a single collectivity, but it is a concern for collectivities like class, gender, tribe, and age groups, etc.

FORM - IV

(SEE RULE 8)

1. Registration No. : ISSN 0970-5260
2. Place of Publication : Panjab University, Chandigarh (India)
3. Periodicity of its Publication : Biannual
4. Publisher & Editor-in-Chief's Name : B.S.Ghuman
Nationality : Indian
Address : Professor, Department of Public Administration, Panjab University, Chandigarh
5. Printer's Name : Jatinder Moudgil
Nationality : Indian
Address : Manager, Panjab University Press
6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspapers and partners of share holders holding more than one per cent of the total capital : Panjab University, Chandigarh

I, **B.S.Ghuman**, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(B.S.Ghuman)
Signature of Publisher

Certificate

To

The Editor-in-Chief
Panjab University Research Journal(Arts)
Panjab University,
Chandigarh-160014.

Sub Assignment of Copyright

Sir,

I/We, _____, do hereby authorise you to publish
the article entitled , ‘ _____ in
the Panjab University. Research Journal (Arts).

I/We further state that :

- 1) The article is my/our original contribution. It does not infringe on the rights of others and does not contain any libelous or unlawful statements.
- 2) Wherever required I/We have taken permission and acknowledged the source.
- 3) The work has been submitted only to the *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, *Panjab University , Chandigarh* and that it has not been previously published or submitted elsewhere for publication.

I/We hereby authorise you to edit, alter, modify and make changes in the article to make it suitable for publication.

I/We hereby assign you all the copyrights relating to the said article to the *Panjab University Research Journal(Arts)*, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Signature: _____

Name : _____

Signature: _____

Name : _____

To

Dear Sir/Madam,

The new PURJA team seeks your cooperation in improving the academic standards as also the aesthetics of the *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*. At the first instance, we would appreciate if your prestigious institution subscribes the *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*. To that effect a formal notice from the Editor is appended herewith. Kindly circulate the same in the faculty. The new subscription rates are as follows :

- i) Annual Subscription of the Journal : Rs. **500/- per year** (or **\$ 80 US or £ 40**)
- ii) The selling price of the single copy of the current or back issue of the Journal : Rs. 300/-

We hope that you would inspire your colleagues to submit their research papers to PURJA for publication.

Please feel free to seek any clarification if required from the Editor-in-Chief/Editor.

With regards,

Yours truly,

Prof. B.S.Ghuman
Editor-in-Chief
Department of Public Administration
Panjab University
Chandigarh

Professor Rajesh Gill
Editor

Panjab University Research Journal (Arts) earlier known as Panjab University Research Bulletin (Arts), PURJA is the mother journal of Panjab University, Chandigarh (India). Started in early 1950s, it is a bi-annual *refereed* journal of international repute and publishes research papers/articles/reviews/survey papers duly assessed and reviewed by a panel of experts. It is devoted to the publication of original research papers/articles/reviews of a very high standard in various disciplines of humanities, languages and arts. One of the objectives of this journal is to create a forum for the dissemination and exchange of ideas among the scholars within the country and outside. Though the journal primarily focuses on theoretical issues of wide contemporary relevance, it also announces special issues drawing attention toward well-defined thematic areas in humanities, languages and arts in general. The journal seeks to propagate and stimulate philosophical, critical and interpretative dialogue across the national and international frontiers. For this reason, we look forward to receiving contributions from scholars working in diverse areas covered broadly under the disciplines of humanities, languages and arts.

***Guidelines for submission of Research Papers for publication in
Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)***

1. The research paper should embody the results of original research and give ample evidence of scholarship, which should be creative, independent in character and fundamental in nature.
2. The research paper should be neatly typed, double spaced with broad margin on sunlit bond paper and submitted in duplicate along with one soft copy and an **abstract** of the paper in about 100-150 words.
3. All notes and references should come at the end of the paper.
4. The research paper should preferably be between 3000 to 5000 words.
5. The format should be in accordance with the latest MLA Handbook. Sample entry for works cited :
Books: Das, Gurcharan, *The Difficulty of Being Good: On the Sublime Art of Dharma*, New Delhi, Penguin, 2009
Articles: Jameson, Frederic "Postmodernism." *New Left Review* 7.2 (July 1989); 6-14
6. **Graphs, Tables and Charts** in MS Office(Word /Excel format-**Black and White**) or equivalent format are preferred. Fonts for special text/characters also be provided.
7. A short biographical sketch in duplicate should accompany the paper.
8. The author must give an undertaking that the paper has not been published wholly or partly, in any other journal, and that it has not been submitted to any other journal for consideration or publication.
9. All articles submitted for publication shall be used subject to the positive reports from neutral and objective experts in relevant fields of specialization. Only in case of rejection shall the reports of the experts be made available to the contributors. Research papers not found suitable shall not be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. With regard to

the acceptance or rejection of the research papers, the decision of the editorial board shall be final and binding. In this regard, the editorial board shall not entertain any correspondence from the contributors.

10. Copyright of the articles published in this journal rests solely with the ***Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)***.
11. Ten reprints of each article and one copy of the issue in which it is published shall be sent free of cost to each contributor. Additional copies of the journal shall be supplied at the usual rates, plus the necessary postal charges.
12. Annual subscription is offered at a flat rate of Rs. 500/- (£ 40 or \$ 80 US). However, a single copy of the current issue or back issues may be obtained for Rs. 200/-. All these rates are exclusive of the postal charges.
13. Subscriptions may be sent only in form of a Bank Draft drawn in favour of the Registrar, Panjab University, Chandigarh. No other form of transaction is acceptable.
14. The contributors may send all their articles / reviews/research papers directly to: Prof. B.S.Ghuman, Editor-in-Chief, Panjab University Research Journal (Arts), Department of Public Administration Arts Block -III, Panjab University, Chandigarh 160014 (India). They may also be e-mailed to purjaeditor@gmail.com

