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Contents

New Age Media and Diplomacy

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Abstract

The distinction between 'new' and 'old' media is still a complicated task for it is a continuous and evolving process. The development and finessing of technology is smooth at times and sometimes abrupt. It is easy to identify the abrupt changes and latch on to the newer form of tech and thereby media. Diplomacy is an intricate art of effective communication between two nations. Small misinformation or an error in communication can have a cascading effect and result into an international issue. In the digital era, the practice of diplomacy has transformed. Diplomats use the internet and social media to manage information between countries, known as digital diplomacy. Diplomats, foreign ministries, and political figures can now control this information directly through digital media. This paper shall discuss the role of media in diplomacy especially how new age media is creating more space for instant interaction between two countries or world leaders. This will also explore the challenges of New Age media and its impact on the emerging dynamics of Diplomacy.

Keywords: New and Old Media, Diplomacy, Digital era, New age Media

Introduction

Media, broadly speaking refers to any mode or outlet of communication that is either used to store or broadcast information in various behaviours. The word media itself is a plural form of medium meaning a tool or a carrier. Predominant visuals of media that we find around us are newspapers, televisions, radio, both physical and online forms of magazines, newspapers and internet. Even items like billboards, posters, pamphlets can be called as media. In a conventional sense, chief function of media is to relay or broadcast information. A key component of media is its link with technology. It is only via technology that newer forms of media have evolved.

> *"More than armies, more than diplomacy, more than the best intentions of democratic nations, the communications revolution will be the greatest force for the advancement of human freedom the world has ever seen"*
>
> *Ronald Reagan[1]*

This leads to a distinct and a very visible characteristic of media: 'constant evolution'. As a matter of fact, media's evolution is so constant and ever present that what was considered to be a *"New media"* at one point is rendered obsolete or ancient later. Hence the use of the term *New Age media* or simply *New Media* is quite usual these days. The term conventional media is often used to refer to any form of media not kept under the purview of new media.

With the advent of internet, came a huge disruption to all conventional forms of communication and broadcasting. It is primarily the internet that led to the development of new media. Flew& Smith (2018) explain new media as that form of media which heavily uses digital technology to create and disseminate content.

To define *new media*, Flew & Smith (2014) use "3 C's" that is;

i.   Computing and information technology,

ii.   Communication networks and

iii.   Content.

The authors go on to point the phenomenon of *convergence* in the world of digital media. *Convergence* in fact describes the current form of media very aptly since media's existence as a singular entity is not a possibility anymore. The 3 C's; computing, communication and media content combine to form a

convergent media. Convergence according to the authors could refer to multiple things. It often means that traditional tangible or physical mode of communication like the newspaper or television is no longer singularly used.

With the advent of internet and hence digital media, communication relies on multiple and all possible modes of transfer of content. An *interlinking* of the above three C's is the go-to method of content dissemination. Another facet of convergence is the concept of overlapping. This refers to the meeting and mutual exchange of spaces between the products or services of a given media. A contemporary example could be the over-the-top media streaming services both audio ones like Spotify and others like Zee, Disney+ Hotstar, Netflix, Amazon Prime, Hulu, Mubi etc. availability of the same content on multiple devices and interoperability. This aspect of convergence also leads to varied usage and outcomes of the devices as well.Digital media therefore allows the user a multi-faceted approach to the technology and a unique experience.

Mark Prensky (2001) used the term *digital natives*, for people born after 1980s for whom life without some popular items of new media like the mobile phones, internet etc, is impossible to comprehend. This explains the omnipresence of internet-based media or digital media.

New Age Media

The distinction between 'new' and 'old' media is still a complicated task for it is a continuous and evolving process. The development and finessing of technology is smooth at times and sometimes abrupt. It is easy to identify the abrupt changes and latch on to the newer form of tech and thereby media. But more often than not, we find new technology seeping into the current form of media and then eventually replacing them. It is imperative that one identifies this ecotone patch. Having a good grasp on this transition may put one ahead of the competition and give an early user benefit. For instance, use of twitter, a classic example of new, digital media, by the political class in India was truly championed by the Narendra Modi Election campaign of 2014. This

early bird move and identification of technology transition in media resulted in a deeper connect and engagement with the public.

A rather easy and simplified approach to identify old media from new is that old media is mainly an analogue, one way process, mostly broadcasting and disseminating content. For instance, the old school newspaper, print media, magazines, pamphlets, letters, fax, television broadcasts etc. New media on the other hand has digitization, interactivity and hyper textuality (Flew & Smith, 2018) as its basic features. Podcasts, social media like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram etc. and online news portals which serves at a global level at the same time caters to a domestic audience. It affects a nation's outreach approach and sometimes governments are obligated to respond to some media reports affecting the diplomatic relationship between two countries.

Diplomacy and Media

Diplomacy is an intricate art of effective communication between two nations. Small misinformation or an error in communication can have a cascading effect and result into an international issue. Scholars of international relations and politics are generally interested in identifying how evolution in media has affected diplomacy throughout the time.

As discussed earlier, technology, especially the advent of internet is key in determining new media. Hence, communication technologies affect diplomatic practices at varied levels (Archetti, 2012). It is used by the diplomatic community or the state to pursue their public outreach goals or any other close ended communication channels. The art of functional diplomacy has itself evolved and adapted well to growth in communication technology in the last century.

Since the 1960's, especially during the cold war, the real use of this technology was banked by the diplomatic world (Riley, 2014). The 1960's saw the development of US government sponsored Advanced Research Projects Administration Network (ARPANET) which is the basis of the

present-day internet. The entire decade witnessed a spurt in internet and computing technology development. Another historic instance of the use of media in altering world affairs is the breaking up of the USSR. Along with *perestroika,* meaning reconstruction, Gorbachev introduced the concept of *glasnost,* which means openness. It opened an array of discussions and debates in the media world of the time about the Soviet system (Rodgers, 2021). There was a certain level of transparency and flow of information within Soviet borders about what the world had to say about them. International correspondents along with Soviet ones started writing about the system (Zassoursky, 2004).

Although, news media had to play a significant part in the story, media with cultural influence like foreign movies, music and plays brought to notice amongst the common crowd the things they had been missing in the Soviet system.

Diplomacy during the times of cold war was largely done in secret amongst leaders within closed doors. Even when the state desired to disseminate their strategic vision to convince and gather public approval, it would be an announcement by the popular leader or the representative. This, as expected would be a one-way, top-down communication channel.

Communication was clearly restricted by the media technology of the time. But it is also the time when media outlets would creatively use the structure to align with the foreign policy of the state. For instance, the communism containment policies of American presidents throughout the cold war period were well communicated to the domestic as well as international audience. Media would put forward largely sympathetic narrative (Riley, 2014) to the domestic or the limited international audience. This was an efficient use of media for public diplomacy and gaining trust of the public at large. This helped the USA not just in alliance formations but to gain a global acceptance at the time and present itself as a strong contender to the bipolar world.

Diplomacy has come a long way since the cold war times. So has communication technology which we call as new media now, a caveat that every contemporary media of the time is the new media of the time. Last decade has witnessed a stark rise in the popularity of social media. Indian Diplomatic missions across the world have heavy burden to carry the weight of the foreign policy of the nation. Twitter is the new weapon of choice for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. New media brings forth an easy and quick mode of information sharing. This mode is quick as one can see an immediate response by the public to any given message passed on by the state. Messages can be catered to the desired audience in their preferred language or medium. Diplomats having a chat at the country's local radio podcast are great ways to catch the nerves of the country.

A quick glance at the social media of diplomatic missions of India to other countries can give us an idea of how updated and crisp their individual twitter accounts are. This brings us to an important point, due to the advent of new media, it is incumbent that the diplomatic world has to be quick to react and on top of situation every time. It is an added pressure but extreme visibility which is a characteristic of new media brings this obligation. Every event has to be posted, every activity to be documented.

This is not new, but the speed with which this information is expected to be disseminated to the public by the public itself is rather demanding. India's former External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj popularised the use of twitter diplomacy, or 'twiplomacy' where people could keep their grievances and that would be sorted out with immediate effect (Rao, 2017). This led to a perception in the international community that India takes her citizens and their interests throughout the world very seriously. Use of Twitter and other social media as forms of diplomacy was something popularised by the Obama administration as 'diplomacy 2.0' (Harris, 2013). The 2008 US Presidential elections effectively used the web 2.0 that is, all forms of social media: Twitter, Facebook, YouTube etc. So popular was the Obama campaign's use of social media that it had caught the eye of a young global audience and not

just the internet crowd of the west (Aaker & Chang, 2009). This success has led to continued use of social media by the political class to forma connect with the citizens of the nation.

Diplomacy in Globalized Media

Internet connects the world, due to internet and digital media, the audience who is the designated receiver of the content is not only restricted to international but to a global perimeter. Hence, when any nation puts out a message for its own domestic audience, the message is delivered to a larger, global audience and vice versa. And therein lies the issue with the present all-encompassing broadcasting feature of the new media. Due to differences in cultural and political values what is correct for one may be absolutely wrong for another. When a government delivers a message to its people, the domestic audience or the citizens of the nation is the designated target audience of the information. The message is crafted in a manner suitable for this audience and has its own cultural, historical, political messages and undertones. Problem arises when someone from outside who is alien to such cultural, historical and political influence decodes the message from their understanding. It could be interpreted incorrectly, giving a different meaning entirely. Miscommunication is something that diplomacy cannot afford. This could lead to grave consequences and breaking of bilateral ties, even threats of aggression. Similarly, a message constructed for an international audience could prove disastrous for the home crowd.

This is not a new impediment to the world of foreign affairs and diplomats but clearly the issue has accelerated in the last decade due to the emergence of new media. The 'instant-ness' of new media gives nations less time to react and clarify their country's stance on any given issue. Political disasters indeed happen overnight and have to be tackled with precision and intricacy but in an even lesser time. But bureaucracy does take time. It can possibly not evolve at the speed and in the way new media has. Several bureaucratic procedures and processes of foreign, diplomatic affairs take time. Diplomatic decisions cannot be taken in haste since its repercussions are extreme.

Diplomacy works day and night and it needs instant reflection on any global issues. Bureaucracy has to execute its decisionsand cope up with the lightning speed of new media.

New media has resulted in public getting closer to diplomats and other people in charge. Regular media updates by a diplomatic representative do lead to a kind of association of the public to the system. This closeness and association however, also burdens the very institutions.

Challenges

In this present age, any form of media has the potential to be global media and possess an irrefutable power to build consensus and image of the home nation. Hence, it is even more important that a media specially demarcated as a national media bears a bigger responsibility, especially on foreign soil. This is not a novel idea but an age-old ethics of journalism. Media ethics plays an important role in establishing and more significantly, preserving interstate relations.

News media outlets owe a bigger share of accountability, since the medium has direct interaction with the local populace. The 2015 Nepal earthquake saw one of the biggest rescue operations from the Indian side called Operation Maitri (TBI Team, 2015). India was one of the biggest donors, offered monetary and non- monetary benefits to the trauma-stricken country. Sadly, what caught the limelight were the ill-behaved news media personnel who would barge into the personal lives of the earthquake victims and frequently pester the local populace. This case of media harassment was also reported in international media and tarnished India's image as a benevolent aid provider in the region.

Sensationalism is another aspect of media ethics, both in social media and conventional news media outlets. Different platform of Social media are now another source of news dissemination. But most of the ratings are dependent on clicks and bites. This has led to the phenomenon of news bite clippings.

News is sensationalised and news-bites taken out of context are highlighted to get more views and grab eyes.

A new development is the advanced use of algorithms and artificial intelligence in the functioning of social media. This is particularly in the area where user indulgence is required. In the last few years, especially from the Trump administration days, followed by the COVID-19 debacle, Twitter has been in trouble. Its authenticity and algorithm functions have constantly been questioned. Elon Musk's takeover of the company amidst the free speech debate has led even the Twitter loyalists to question the genuineness of the twitter trends. Despite the controversy, its popularity is still strong especially within the circles of the national governments and other non-state actors in diplomacy (Chen, 2022).

Conclusion

Print media is the most traditional form of media and is still a relevant medium of content sharing. Despite losing a considerable reader base, print media has not lost its authenticity approval. Foreign desks of these news houses usually have International Relations (IR) trained journalists. An advantage of such training is that media personnel understand the discreetness of information. Even the articulation and drafting of such sensitive news information requires diplomatic skills. It is a widely accepted fact now that news media journalism has a dearth of such specialised personnel who are trained in the language of diplomacy. It is the need of the hour that the culture of IR training is resumed and accountability is established in case of foreign reportage.

Entertainment Media is a form of media that is visible and most effective form of public diplomacy. It connects audience of one nation to another and is a great conduit to utilise a country's soft power. For instance, daily Indian soaps are quite popular in Pakistan and also in central Asian countries. Cultural and social familiarity makes this media form an effective tool for diplomacy and a base to build good relations. But certain international

incidents might affect this media environment. For instance, entertainment channel Zee Zindagi which gained popularity in around 2014, had shows from countries like Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt etc. The channel had collaborations of artists from both India and Pakistan (Press Trust of India, 2014). It was hailed as a great attempt at relationship building between the two nations. The shows had gained quite popularity amongst the Indian crowd and the collaboration was much anticipated, but after the Uri attack, the channel had to stop the broadcast of Pakistani shows amidst a strong furore against Pakistan (PTI, 2016).

When it comes to International relations, wrong communication or ill worded media information has graver repercussions as compared to the same in a domestic setup. This is owing to the presence of multiple nations within the international arena and a sense of anarchy involved in global politics.

More than what media we use, it is important, rather how effectively we use it. It could either be an old school, pen and paper form of analog media or a careful mix of new and old media. The pivot is to intermix and find a suitable medium for proficient passage of information. At times it has to be subtle and discreet, owing to the nature of the diplomatic job. And at other time it has to be exposed, wide reaching, out in the open, direct communication. A skilful diplomat would not eliminate the option of using media, popular at an older period of time, for the focus is more on the correct usage of the medium to communicate the required content to the right audience.

Notes

1. 1989 Churchill lecture, The Triumph of Freedom, by US President, Ronald Reagan at the Guildhall in London.
   LBC/IRN, "Ronald Reagan speech at Guildhall in London".
   http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0007100432001

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Kwame Nkrumah's Political and Social Thought and the Decolonization of Ghana: Independence and Aftermath

NARESH KUMAR

Abstract

This paper traces the history of decolonization of Ghana and the political and ideological role played by its topmost leader, Kwame Nkrumah. Attempt has been made to analyze the political and social thought of Nkrumah regarding colonialism, capitalism, socialism, nationalism, political and economic independence. Moreover, a study has been made of concepts like Pan-Africanism, 'neo-colonialism' and cultural imperialism which were very crucial for postcolonial Ghana and its development. Using the debate among historians on the legacy of Nkrumah on the decolonization of African continent, both his successes and failures have been dealt with. Apart from the struggle against colonial exploitation, the challenges before Ghana after independence from British rule have also been analyzed.

Keywords: *decolonization, Pan-Africanism, neo-colonialism, Nkrumahism, Ghana*

Introduction

The decolonization of Ghana, which culminated in its independence from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957, stands as a pivotal chapter in the history of national liberation movements of the world. The journey to freedom was marked by complex socio-political processes, intellectual ferment, and the unyielding spirit of the Ghanaian people. British colonial rule in the territory, that would become Ghana began in earnest during the late 19th century. By 1902, the British had formally annexed the Ashanti Empire and incorporated the Northern Territories into the Gold Coast colony. The British administration was characterized by the exploitation of resources

and the imposition of Western educational, legal, and political systems, which led to the gradual but significant alienation of the indigenous population from their traditional ways of life.

Ghana was initially colonized by the Portuguese in the 15th century, followed by the Dutch, and later the British who established firm control by the early 20th century. British colonization brought significant changes to Ghanaian society, including economic exploitation through the export of resources such as gold, cocoa, and later, timber, which fueled the industrialization of Europe but ruined Ghana. The introduction of cash crops like cocoa transformed the agricultural practices of Ghana as it entrenched economic dependence on colonial powers. Early resistance against British colonialism manifested through various forms, including local revolts such as the Ashanti wars (1874, 1896, and 1900), where the Ashanti people fiercely defended their sovereignty. However, these uprisings were largely suppressed by the technologically superior British forces.

The seeds of organized nationalist movements were sown in the early 20th century, particularly after World War I. Educated elites, many of whom were products of missionary schools, began to articulate the aspirations for self-determination. The formation of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in 1897 marked a significant step, as it aimed to protect the lands and rights of indigenous peoples against colonial policies like the Lands Bill of 1897, which sought to expropriate land for the colonial administration.

Kwame Nkrumah and Rise of Nationalism in Ghana

The interwar period saw the rise of more organized nationalist movement in Ghana. One of the most notable organizations was the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), founded in 1947 by educated Africans including J.B. Danquah, George Paa Grant, and others. The UGCC sought self-governance through constitutional reforms and was pivotal in laying the groundwork for

the broader nationalist struggle. Kwame Nkrumah, who would become the central figure in Ghana's independence movement, joined the UGCC in 1947. Nkrumah, educated in the United States and influenced by Pan-Africanist leaders like Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois, brought a radical vision and organizational acumen to the nationalist cause. However, differences in approach soon emerged, leading to a split. Nkrumah believed in a more immediate and radical approach to independence compared to the UGCC's gradualism. Consequently, in 1949, he formed the Convention People's Party (CPP), which advocated for "Self-Government Now" and mobilized mass support through its dynamic rhetoric and grassroots organizing. The CPP's activities quickly gained traction among the urban working class, rural farmers, and the youth, making it a formidable force in the struggle for independence. The 1948 Accra Riots were a turning point in the nationalist struggle. Triggered by the shooting of ex-servicemen protesting for better post-war conditions, the riots spread across the Gold Coast, leading to widespread unrest. The colonial government arrested Nkrumah and other UGCC leaders, accusing them of inciting the violence. This crackdown backfired, as it heightened anti-colonial sentiments and catapulted Nkrumah and the CPP to national prominence.

The colonial administration, recognizing the growing demand for self-governance, initiated a series of constitutional reforms. The Coussey Committee, established in 1949, recommended a new constitution which granted more representation to Africans in the legislative council but fell short of full self-governance. Nkrumah, dissatisfied with the slow pace of reforms, intensified the CPP's campaign, leading to the 1950 Positive Action Campaign—a series of nonviolent protests, strikes, and civil disobedience aimed at forcing the British to concede to full self-governance. The British response to the Positive Action Campaign was to arrest Nkrumah and other CPP leaders, sentencing them to prison. However, the CPP continued to

operate effectively under the leadership of figures like Komla Agbeli
Gbedemah and Kojo Botsio. In the 1951 legislative elections, held under the
new constitution, the CPP won a landslide victory, securing 34 of the 38
elected seats. Nkrumah, though imprisoned, was elected and subsequently
released to become the Leader of Government Business, marking a
significant step towards self-rule. Further constitutional reforms in 1954 and
1956 increased the legislative council's African representation and paved the
way for full self-governance. In the 1956 general election, the CPP again won
a decisive victory, leading to negotiations with the British government. On
March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast became the independent nation of Ghana, with
Nkrumah as its first Prime Minister and later President.

Ghana's independence was a beacon of hope for other African nations under
colonial rule. Nkrumah's government embarked on an ambitious program of
modernization and development, aiming to transform Ghana into a modern
state. Major projects included the construction of the Akosombo Dam, which
provided hydroelectric power, and the establishment of various state-owned
enterprises to drive industrialization. However, the post-decolonization
period was fraught with challenges because of the long shadow of
colonialism. Nkrumah's government faced significant opposition from
various quarters, including traditional chiefs, opposition parties, and sections
of the military. Economic difficulties, exacerbated by declining cocoa prices
(a major export), led to increasing discontent. Nkrumah's increasingly
autocratic tendencies, including the enactment of the Preventive Detention
Act (1958), which allowed for the detention of political opponents without
trial, further alienated many Ghanaians. In 1966, Nkrumah's government was
overthrown in a military coup while he was on a state visit to China and North
Vietnam. The National Liberation Council (NLC), which took power,
accused Nkrumah of mismanagement and corruption. The NLC initiated
economic changes and sought to reverse many of Nkrumah's economic

policies, but political instability continued to plague Ghana in the ensuing decades, with a series of military and civilian governments.

Political and Social Thought of Nkrumah

Nkrumah's ideas are a subject of debate amongst historians. While some scholars laud his unwavering commitment to African unity and independence, others criticize his authoritarian tendencies and failed economic policies. Nkrumah's life is a story of big successes and ultimate failure but his writings and speeches continue to inspire contemporary movements for social justice and national liberation. The historiography surrounding Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana's decolonization has also evolved significantly over time, reflecting changing perspectives and scholarly debates. Early interpretations often portrayed Nkrumah as a hero of African liberation, emphasizing his role in achieving independence and promoting Pan-African unity. However, critiques emerged regarding Nkrumah's authoritarian tendencies, economic policies, and the legacy of one-party rule under the CPP. Recent historiography has sought to provide a more nuanced understanding of Nkrumah's ideology. Scholars like Angela Howard and Ama Biney have examined Nkrumah's impact on Ghanaian society, highlighting both achievements in infrastructure development and failures such as political repression and economic mismanagement. Dietmar Rothermund's work has contributed to understanding Nkrumah's ideas within the broader context of African nationalism and socialism and their implications for post-colonial economic development. According to him, Kwame Nkrumah's leadership and writings were instrumental in Ghana's decolonization and continue to resonate in African political thought. His advocacy for Pan-Africanism and African socialism left a lasting legacy on the continent's quest for unity and development. Nevertheless, there are ongoing debates about Nkrumah's achievements, decline, and the complexities of post-colonial (or neo-colonial) Africa among the historians.

Nkrumah's social and political ideas were deeply influenced by his education and experiences, blending African traditions with nationalist and socialist ideologies. He was born in Nkroful, in the British colony of the Gold Coast. His early education was rooted in Catholic mission schools, where he was exposed to Western ideas and Christian teachings. He later attended Achimota School, a prestigious institution that emphasized both academic excellence and practical skills. It was here that Nkrumah began to develop an interest in politics and society. Nkrumah's intellectual journey continued in the United States, where he attended Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania. In the US, he was deeply influenced by the writings of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, and other African American intellectuals. Garvey's ideas on Black nationalism and the unity of African people had a profound impact on Nkrumah, shaping his vision for a united Africa. Additionally, Nkrumah's exposure to Marxist literature during this period provided him with a framework for understanding and critiquing colonialism and capitalism.

Nkrumah's commitment to Pan-Africanism was a central aspect of his political philosophy. Pan-Africanism is the belief in the unity and solidarity of African people worldwide, advocating for their political and economic liberation. Nkrumah saw Pan-Africanism as essential for the continent's progress and independence. He argued that the division of Africa into small, weak states was a direct result of colonialism and that only through unity could African nations achieve true independence and development. He envisioned a United States of Africa, a federated continent that would pool its resources, defend its sovereignty, and promote the welfare of its people. Nkrumah famously stated, "Africa must unite," emphasizing that the continent's strength lay in its unity and collective action.

Nkrumah played a key role in the formation of several Pan-African institutions. In 1945, he co-organized the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, which brought together African leaders and intellectuals to discuss strategies for independence and unity. This congress marked a turning point in the Pan-African movement, as it called for immediate and direct action against colonial rule. In 1963, Nkrumah was instrumental in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which aimed to promote solidarity among African states, coordinate efforts for development, and defend the sovereignty of member countries. Although the OAU had limited success in achieving its ambitious goals, it laid the groundwork for future cooperation and unity on the continent.

Nkrumah's political ideology was heavily influenced by socialism. He believed that socialism was the most suitable economic system for Africa, as it emphasized collective ownership, poverty eradication, and the equitable distribution of resources. Nkrumah's brand of socialism, often referred to as "Nkrumahism," sought to blend traditional African ideas with modern socialist principles. He was a vocal critic of capitalism, which he saw as inherently exploitative and incompatible with African values. He argued that capitalism had led to the underdevelopment of Africa by siphoning off its resources and wealth to benefit colonial powers. In his view, capitalism perpetuated inequality and hindered the continent's progress. He wrote extensively on this subject, notably in his book "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism," where he detailed how former colonial powers continued to control African economies through indirect means.

Nkrumah believed that political independence was meaningless without economic independence. He argued that African nations needed to control their own resources and develop self-sufficient economies. To this end, Nkrumah pursued policies aimed at industrialization and economic diversification. He sought to reduce Ghana's dependence on cocoa exports by

investing in infrastructure and manufacturing. One of Nkrumah's most ambitious projects was the construction of the Akosombo Dam, which aimed to provide hydroelectric power to support industrial development. Despite facing criticism and financial challenges, the dam was completed in 1965 and remains a significant part of Ghana's infrastructure. Nkrumah also placed a strong emphasis on education as a means of achieving social and economic development. He believed that an educated populace was essential for nation-building and the successful implementation of modernizing policies. Under his leadership, Ghana invested heavily in education, expanding access to primary and secondary schooling and establishing institutions of higher learning, such as the University of Ghana.

Despite the achievement of political independence, Nkrumah warned against the dangers of neo-colonialism, a term he coined to describe the continued economic and political influence of former colonial powers in newly independent states. He argued that neo-colonialism was more insidious than traditional colonialism because it allowed external powers to control African nations through economic means, such as foreign aid, trade agreements, and multinational corporations. Nkrumah's analysis of neo-colonialism emphasized the need for African countries to unite and develop their economies independently of former colonial powers. He believed that only through economic self-sufficiency and regional cooperation could Africa truly free itself from external domination.

Nkrumah's cultural policies were part of a broader ideological struggle against what he termed "cultural imperialism." He believed that achieving cultural liberation was essential for the psychological and social emancipation of African people. This perspective was reflected in his writings, including "Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization" (1964), where he outlined his philosophy of African

humanism and the synthesis of indigenous African traditions with progressive social thought.

Kwame Nkrumah's ideas and policies had a profound impact on Ghana and the broader African continent. His legacy is a complex one, marked by both significant achievements but also notable shortcomings.

Failures of Nkrumah

Many of the state-owned enterprises established under Nkrumah's regime were inefficient and unproductive. The focus on heavy industry, such as steel and aluminium, was often misguided, as Ghana lacked the necessary resources and expertise to sustain these industries. Additionally, the emphasis on rapid industrialization led to substantial financial mismanagement and corruption within these enterprises. In his quest for industrialization, Nkrumah neglected the agricultural sector, which was the backbone of Ghana's economy. Cocoa, Ghana's primary export, faced declining productivity due to inadequate investment and support. This neglect led to a decrease in export revenues, exacerbating the country's economic problems. Furthermore, Nkrumah's policy of collectivizing agriculture through state farms and cooperatives failed to improve productivity. These initiatives were poorly implemented and met with resistance from farmers, who were accustomed to traditional farming practices and sceptical of government intervention. Nkrumah's ambitious development projects were financed through extensive borrowing, leading to a significant increase in Ghana's national debt. By the mid-1960s, the country's external debt had reached unsustainable levels, straining the economy and undermining the government's financial stability.

Nkrumah's regime was marked by the suppression of political opposition and civil liberties. The government employed a range of repressive measures, including arbitrary arrests, detention without trial, and the use of state

security forces to intimidate and silence critics. Prominent opposition figures, such as J.B. Danquah and Kofi Abrefa Busia, were harassed, imprisoned, or forced into exile. While Nkrumah's charisma and vision inspired many, the elevation of his persona above the democratic process undermined institutional checks and balances. Biney points out that the emphasis on loyalty to Nkrumah over competence and accountability contributed to the inefficiencies and corruption within the government.

Conclusion

Nkrumah's political strategies and foreign policy initiatives were aimed at promoting Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism. However, these efforts often faced significant obstacles and yielded mixed results. Despite his efforts, the goal of a united Africa faced numerous challenges. Many African leaders were wary of Nkrumah's vision, fearing that it would undermine their sovereignty and lead to Ghanaian dominance. The OAU, while symbolically significant, struggled to achieve its ambitious goals and often lacked the cohesion and resources needed for effective action. Also, while these efforts were driven by noble ideals, they often strained Ghana's resources and created diplomatic tensions. Nkrumah's support for revolutionary movements of other countries sometimes alienated neighbouring nations and contributed to diplomatic crises. Additionally, his focus on external issues diverted attention and resources from pressing domestic issues.

The cumulative impact of Nkrumah's economic mismanagement, authoritarian governance, and controversial political strategies ultimately led to his downfall. In February 1966, while Nkrumah was on a state visit to North Vietnam and China, a military coup d'état orchestrated by the National Liberation Council (NLC) overthrew his government. The coup was supported by segments of the military, police, and civil service, reflecting widespread discontent with Nkrumah's rule.

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India and ASEAN: Assessing Trade Specialisation in Manufactured Goods through Revealed Comparative Advantage Approach

NIKHAT KHALID

Abstract

India and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) have been longstanding partners in trade and economic cooperation. As two of the fastest-growing regions in the world, their economic engagement has continued to evolve and deepen over the years. Trade specialisation is a key trade policy issue that helps a nation to determine its advantageous areas for export expansion. The present research empirically assesses specialization in trade through the revealed comparative advantage (RCA) approach. Using Balassa's RCA index, the present study assesses nature of RCA for India and ASEAN countries, and their similarities and differences in RCA. The study specifically analyses RCA in different technology categories of manufactured goods, which include resource based, low technology, medium technology and high technology manufactures. The study reveals that India has immense trade potential with ASEAN countries. The empirical analysis, conducted country-wise, finds that India's trade specialization nuances with each of the select ASEAN country are different, and India's trade strategy for each country must vary in order to achieve optimum gains from this trade engagement. India's trade policies must aim to intensively export its advantageous commodities to ASEAN partner countries in order to improve its balance of trade with ASEAN. This will lead to accomplish pertinent macro implications on the economy, such as improving terms of trade, inflow of valuable foreign exchange, trade multiplier effect, and an overall upliftment of the economy.

Keywords: Trade Specialisation, Revealed Comparative Advantage, Manufactures, ASEAN, India

JEL Classification: F13, F14, F15, F53

Introduction

Universally acknowledged as formidable and strongly emerging trading regions, India and ASEAN comprise one of the most trade intensive entities in Asia and the world. Since 1992, economic relations between India and ASEAN, especially in the areas of trade and investment, have significantly improved. After the end of Cold War, there was strategic shift and rethinking in India's foreign policy. Prior to 1992, India's major economic partner consisted of the Soviet Union, and other Eastern Bloc countries. India's perspective of the world changed with the post-Cold War evolving international realities. During the Cold War, Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam were non-aligned countries. India did not have close ties or trade relations with Southeast Asian countries and had better trade partnership with the West and with the Socialist Block after 1971. Some of the countries of Southeast Asia like Philippines and Thailand were members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and had more trade orientation with the West and the US. End of Cold War and disintegration of Soviet Union left Southeast Asia open to China's growing influences. Going back, as Deng Xiaoping ascended to power in 1979, China had begun to cultivate the region to extensively foster its trade and economic relations with the countries of Southeast Asia. Alive to the fast changes taking place, to counter China and to build close bridges with the tiger economies of East and Southeast Asia, India formulated its Look East Policy. Enacted during the government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1991, the policy has continued to enjoy support from all the successive governments. India built this relationship with the countries of Southeast Asia initially by becoming part of ASEAN networks, and further engaging them through the initiatives such as the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), established in June 1997 and The Mekong–Ganga Cooperation (MGC) established in November 2000. The purpose of these initiatives was

to enhance trade and economic cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia. To make this policy a success, India shed its hitherto followed protectionist economic policy and took to economic liberalization, integrating to world economy and striving for higher levels of trade with other regional markets. To inculcate this relationship, India's involvement with ASEAN grew rapidly from a sectoral dialogue partnership in 1992 to a full dialogue partnership in December 1995. India further elevated its relations with ASEAN-India Summit held in 2002 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Since then, the ASEAN-India Summit has been held every year, last held virtually on October 28, 2021.

Apart from the aforementioned measures, India also became a dialogue partner and member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1996 and initiated negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2003. These discussions culminated into a bilateral deal concluded in 2009 which took effect in 2010. India-ASEAN Free Trade pact in services and investments was concluded in 2014 and came into effect in 2015. This pact has the potential to reduce India's trade deficit with the region as also impart a strong impulse to bilateral exchanges. To further integrate, India also became part of the proposed ASEAN-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which, when concluded and implemented, will cover almost 40 per cent of the world's population, 33 per cent of global GDP and 40 per cent of world trade. Though, due to certain reservations, India decided to opt out of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement during a summit in Bangkok, held on November 4, 2019, trade with ASEAN countries is on a forward move. All these years, India has consciously given importance to develop relationship with the Southeast Asian region. India's Look East Policy has registered impressive gains for nearly 30 years after its inception. To bolster the 'Look East' policy, in 2014, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi renamed it as the 'Act East' policy to give a new thrust to intensify economic, strategic and diplomatic relations with countries of Southeast Asia.

After 1992, the volume of trade between ASEAN and India has gradually accelerated. As noted in graph 1, the India-ASEAN bilateral trade was US$ 2.9 billion in 1993 which increased to US$ 12.1 billion in 2003 at an annual rate of 11.2% total two-way trade increased by 8.4% from US$73.63 billion in 2017 to about US$79.83 billion in 2018. In terms of growth rate, between 1992 and 2020, trade between India and ASEAN has grown at a compound average growth rate (CAGR) of about 11.9%. It is also noted that ever since 1996, India has had a trade deficit with ASEAN, and the deficit has been growing with time. India's trade deficit with ASEAN was first noted in 1996, when India had a US$ 0.1 billion trade deficit with ASEAN, after which it has been increasing ever since, surging to a US$ 27.2 billion trade deficit in the year 2023.

Graph 1: Trends in Indian exports to and imports from ASEAN countries 1992-2023
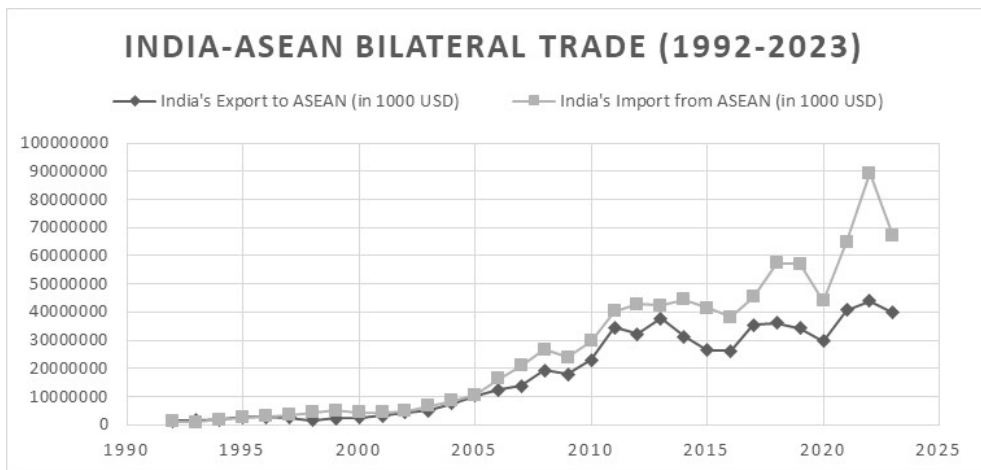
Source: UN Comtrade Database extracted through WITS software

Trade Specialisation in Manufactures through Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA)

Trade specialization refers to the sectors and or commodities that are advantageous for a country to export. Trade specialization is often measured

through 'revealed comparative advantage'. The concept of revealed comparative advantage was put forward by Ricardo (1817) who proposed what is known as the 'Theory of Comparative Advantage', which emphasized on comparative advantage in cost of production as the primary the driver of international trade. The theory has come to be known as a universally accepted law in economics. Measuring trade specialization is considered as a crucial tool for countries to assess and identify the industries or products in which their country has a comparative advantage and focus resources and exports on these areas. This can lead to increased efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness in the global market, which can ultimately result in economic growth and market expansion. For these reasons, measuring comparative advantages is considered as a key issue for trade policy (Costinot et al., 2015).

In the context of India and ASEAN, there exists a huge potential of trade which remains untapped. The trade potential estimates depicted in figure 1 indicate that in terms of volume of trade potential with ASEAN countries is as follows: Vietnam is $9.3 bn., Indonesia is $ 6.2 bn., Malaysia is $ 5.6 bn., Thailand is $ 4.8 bn., Singapore is $ 4.1 bn., Philippines is $ 2.5 bn., Myanmar is $ 744 mn., Cambodia is $ 439 mn., Brunei is $ 80 mn. and Lao PDR is $ 57 mn. In addition to this huge untapped export potential, the economies of ASEAN have a robust growth and a remarkable emerging market. Given the glaring trade deficit between India and ASEAN, it would be highly beneficial for India to understand where its comparative advantage and the comparative advantage of ASEAN lies. As ASEAN countries are at varied levels of development, the present study undertakes a country-wise analysis. India's trade with ASEAN primarily consists of five ASEAN countries, namely Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Thailand, which as of 2020 form 91.36% of India's exports to ASEAN and 97.07% of India's imports from ASEAN. Other ASEAN countries of Brunei, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar and Philippines form a trivial percent of trade.

In terms of the composition of India's trade with ASEAN countries, trade in manufactured goods accounts for 70% of India's export to ASEAN; and 88% of India's imports from ASEAN, hence forming the most significant part of India-ASEAN bilateral trade. Evidence has shown that trade in manufactured goods leads to more gains in trade. It also leads to higher economic growth, and technological progress (Radelet, 1999). Exporting technologically advanced manufactured goods is also proven to impact growth positively and significantly (Kilavuz and Topcu, 2012).

Figure 1: India's Trade Potential with ASEAN Countries (in US$)

Source: Author's collation from https://exportpotential.intracen.org/en/markets/gap-chart?fromMarker=i&exporter=699&whatMarker=a&what=a&toMarker=j
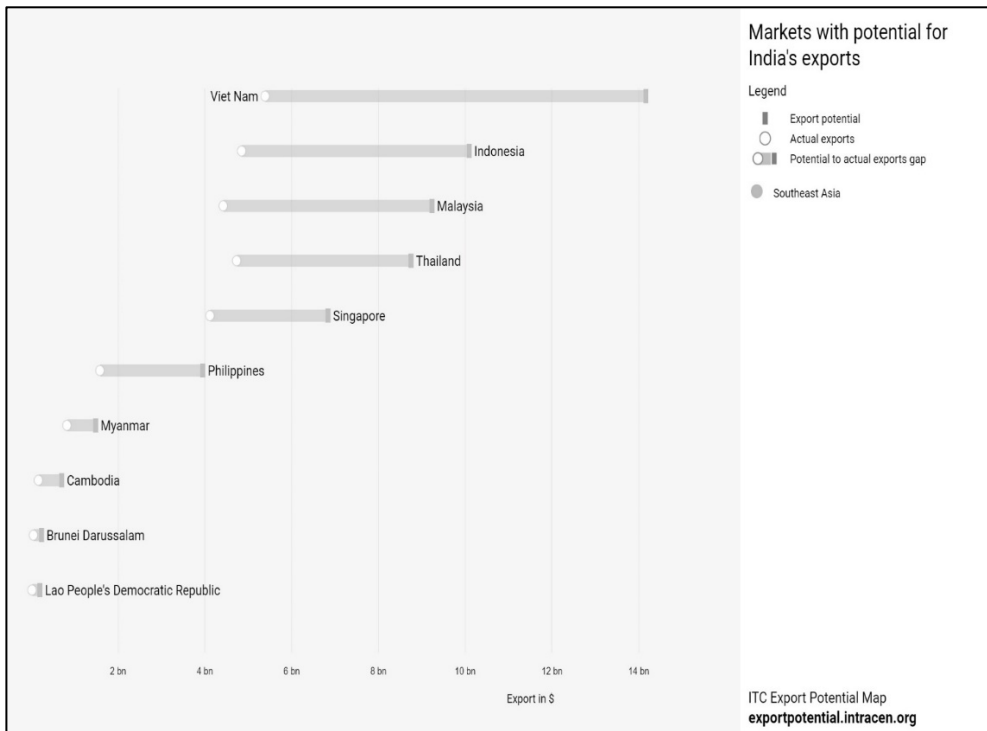
Review of Literature

A sound survey of literature forms a strong theoretical basis for research. The present section firstly provides insights on the concept of comparative

advantage, after which various aspects of India-ASEAN trade relations are reviewed. The lacuna in existing literature is thereby determined, and the research gaps presented.

Ricardo (1817) proposed what is known as the 'Theory of Comparative Advantage', which came to be accepted as a universal law of economics. The theory demonstrated that both countries, given their efficiency level in production of two commodities, can increase their overall consumption by engaging in free trade. The theory emphasized how comparative advantage in cost of production was primary the driver of international trade. Subsequent studies developing upon Ricardian model include Heckscher (1919) and Ohlin (1933) which emphasized differences in factors of production and resource endowment as factors leading to international trade. Haberler (1936) explained international trade through the concept of alternate production/opportunity cost.

The concept of empirically determining a country's advantageous and 'strong' commodities based on trade flows was established by Liesner (1958). This method of determining the advantageous commodities was popularized by Balassa (1965, 1989) and the Balassa Index is the most popularly used index to determine Revealed Comparative Advantage. Hinloopen & Marrewijk (2001) state that a country's weak and strong sectors measured by the revealed comparative advantage are determined through the Balassa index widely.

Empirical literature on India-ASEAN trade relations reveals that India marked a strategic shift in its perspective towards Southeast Asia as part of its post-Cold War foreign policy, leading to new orientations in India's foreign policy towards Southeast Asian countries Khalid (2011). Post these policy reorientations, trade and economic relationship between India and ASEAN partners have intensified and expanding rapidly (Zhang, 2006). On a similar note, Asher and Palit (2008) state that India and Southeast Asia's economic engagement has substantially expanded since the early 1990s. Jha (2017) while examining the relationship between India and ASEAN inferred that ties between the two have historically been harmonious and mutually

beneficial. Saini (2021) examined India-ASEAN trade through the revealed comparative advantage approach, and suggested that an enormous trade potential existed between India and ASEAN. Sharma and Kathuria (2022) analysed India-ASEAN trade flows and found that there existed opportunities in bilateral trade between India and ASEAN. The empirical analysis revealed that the trade relation between India and ASEAN would continue to be mutually beneficial. Banik and Kim (2020) examined the trend and identified potential areas of India-ASEAN trade. The authors used the comparative advantage approach and found that certain major exported commodities by India are not advantageous, while a number of advantageous commodities were not being exported.

From the select review of literature, certain research gaps can be deciphered. Studies conducted previously have examined the general nature of India-ASEAN trade ties. Studies that have used revealed comparative advantage as a methodology in examining India-ASEAN trade ties have also examined RCA for ASEAN overall, and for all general commodity categories. The present research is more specific and comprehensive in its nature. It will contribute to the existing body of knowledge by examining the specialisation in exports of India and its top five trading partners in ASEAN countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam through the Revealed Comparative Advantage approach during the period 1992 to 2020. In addition, based on the fact that manufactured goods constitute the most traded category of goods, the present research will examine RCA through the lens of manufactured goods in terms of technology categories of manufactured goods i.e., resource-based manufactures, low technology manufactures, medium technology manufactures and high technology manufactures.

Data and Methodology

Data Sources and Classification

The study uses Standard International Trade Classification (SITC), which is a product classification of traded commodities by the United Nations. As the

present study is focused upon analysis of trade in manufactured goods, the SITC classification allows for international trade comparisons of commodities and manufactured goods and technological composition.

As the present study is concerned with trade specifically in manufacturers, the comprehensive classification devised by Sanjaya Lall (2000) in his seminal research "*The Technological Structure and Performance of Developing Country Manufactured Exports, 1985-1998*" has been adopted. The devised classification, based on the production processes involved in manufacturing of commodities, classifies manufactured exports into four broad categories, namely, resource-based manufactures (RB), low technology manufactures (LT), medium technology manufactures (MT), and high technology manufactures (HT). The initial classification devised by Lall (2000) created the classification based on SITC 3-digit level data at revision 2. The classification gained eminence due to its comprehensive nature which encompassed a wide range of variables considered in its creation, ranging from production processes, resource endowments, factor proportions, and complexity in technology. The classification was adopted by the UNCTAD and upgraded to SITC 3-digit data.

Table 1
Detailed Description of Technological Composition of Exports

Classification	Broad Description	Embodied Technology Categories (Sub-Classifications)
Resource based manufactures	Resource based manufacturers are such products whose production requires simple and labour intensive techniques. Certain resource based manufactures also require capital intensive and skill intensive techniques such as petroleum refining, and their production arises from natural resource availability.	i. Agro/forest based products ii. Other resource based products

Low technology manufactures	Low technology manufactures use in their production stable and well diffused technologies. Production technologies of these primarily requires capital equipment and simple skill sets by labour.	i. Textile/fashion cluster ii. Other low technology
Medium technology manufactures	Medium technology manufactures use skill and scale intensive technology and are significant for industrial activity. They use fairly complex technology, moderate level of R&D, and advanced skill needs for production.	i. Automotive products ii. Medium technology process industries iii. Medium technology engineering industries
High technology manufactures	High technology manufactures use in their production advanced technology, which uses high research and development expenditure. Technology used in their production is fast changing, uses sophisticated technology and infrastructure, highly advances skill sets.	i. Electronics and electrical products ii. Other high technology

Source: Author's collation using Lall (2000)

Revealed Comparative Advantage

Based on Ricardo's Principle of Comparative Advantage (Cost), the Revealed Comparative index measures the relative advantage or disadvantage a country has in a certain product category based on trade flows. Liesner (1958) contributed to the empirical literature of the RCA, wherein he proposed a modest form of the index:

$$RCA = {X_{ij}} \Big/ {X_{nj}}$$

Where X represents volume of exports, i represents a country, j represents a commodity/commodities, and n represents a set of countries

The index was researched upon comprehensively by Balassa (1965); Balassa (1989), who suggested that comparative advantage is "revealed" by observed

trade patterns, and in line with the theory, one needs pre-trade relative prices which are not observable. Hence, deducing comparative advantage of a country in a particular commodity from observed data of trade flows is named as "revealed" comparative advantage (RCA). The index derived by Balassa (1965), which is widely used in trade analysis measures about a country's comparative advantage. The Balassa index tries to identify whether a country has a "revealed" comparative advantage rather than to determine the underlying sources of comparative advantage. A country has a revealed comparative advantage in those products for which its market share of world exports is above its average share of world exports.

The most widely adopted and used in our analysis is the Balassa RCA index (Balassa, 1965). It is computed as follows:

$$RCAic = \frac{X_{ic}/X_{iw}}{X_{cw}/X_w}$$

Where *RCAic* is the revealed comparative advantage index of commodity group c for country i, and $0 < RCAic < \infty$ *and xic* is the value of exports of commodity group c by country i, *Xiw* the value of total exports by country i, *xcw* the value of world exports of commodity group c, and *Xw* is the value of total world exports.

A country *i* is said to have a revealed comparative advantage if the *RCAic* value exceeds unity. On the contrary, if *RCAic* is less than unity, country i has comparative disadvantage.

Results and Discussion

Comparative advantage has been assessed at SITC-3 disaggregate level, for all embodied technology categories among manufactured goods, which includes resource based-agro and resource based-other categories within the resource based manufactures category, low technology-textile, garments, footwear and low technology-others within the low technology manufactures category, medium technology-automative, medium technology-engineering

and medium technology-process within the medium technology manufactures category and high technology-electronic and high technology-other within high technology manufactures category. Analysis has been carried out for India and all partner countries in the study, i.e., Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The RCA analysis will assist in comprehensively understanding the areas and products wherein the export advantages for each nation lies, the overlapping and potential products which can potentially be traded bilaterally.

The analysis is presented country-wise, and category-wise. The latest available data at the time of analysis, i.e., of 2020 data, has been used in the analysis. At the aggregate level, total technology wise commodities in each category having RCA>1 has been presented country-wise through compendiums created to provide an overview. Additionally, a change in RCA has been depicted for each country analysed. It will help to provide an overview on where the revealed comparative advantages of India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam lie in various embodied technology level categories of manufactures good exports. This analysis is vital in understanding the areas in trade wherein the countries specialise, and in which areas can expansion in trade take place.

India's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

An overview of India's RCA has been described in Table 2. It is noted from the analysis that as of 2020, India has a significant comparative advantage in resource-based manufactures, wherein an RCA>1 is found in 28 out of 67 commodities in this category. This highlights that in the resource-based manufactures category, India has a comparative advantage in about 41.7% of the resource-based commodities. Within the resource-based commodities, a greater number of advantageous commodities lie in the resource-based others category (15), while a lesser number (13) lies in the resource based agro category. In the low technology manufactures category, India has many

commodities present with RCA>1. India's comparative advantage in low technology manufactures lies in 25 out of 44 commodities, i.e., 56.8% of the total commodities. Within the low technology manufactures category, the maximum goods having RCA>1 lie in the textile, garments, and footwear category, wherein India has comparative advantage in 16 out of 20 categories, i.e., 80% of the commodities in this category. While moving in the upward direction of technology to medium technology manufactures, India has a comparative advantage in 19 out of 69 commodities in the category. Within the medium technology category, the highest number of advantageous commodities lie in the medium technology process category, wherein RCA>1 is present in 11 commodities, followed by the medium technology engineering category, while 1 advantageous commodity lies in the medium technology automative category. In the category of high technology manufactures, India has RCA>1 in 5 out of 19 commodities, i.e., 26.3% of commodities, of which 3 advantageous commodities lie in electronic and electrical commodities, and 2 advantageous commodities lie in the high technology others category.

India's change in RCA is noted in Graph 3. It can be deduced that the most increase in the number of advantageous categories has taken place in medium technology manufactures, from just 5 advantageous commodities in 1992 to 19 in 2020. This signifies that India is moving up in the ladder of technology in terms of manufactured goods exported and is a testament of increase in India's productive capacities. Resource based manufactures have also noted an increase in the number of advantageous commodities, increasing from 17 to 28. In the case of low technology manufactures, and high technology manufactures, there has not been much increase in the advantageous commodities.

Table 2
India's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	17	16	22	22	22	27	28
RB Agro/Forest Based	36	5	6	9	6	7	12	13
RB Others	31	12	10	13	16	15	15	15
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	21	26	29	27	24	28	25
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	14	17	17	17	17	17	16
LT Other products	24	7	9	12	10	7	11	9
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	5	7	9	27	12	16	19
MT Automative	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
MT Process	28	3	6	7	7	8	10	11
MT Engineering	36	0	0	1	19	3	5	7
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	1	2	4	2	1	1	5
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	0	0	1	1	0	0	3
HT Other	8	1	2	3	1	1	1	2

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 3: Change in India's RCA in Technology Terms
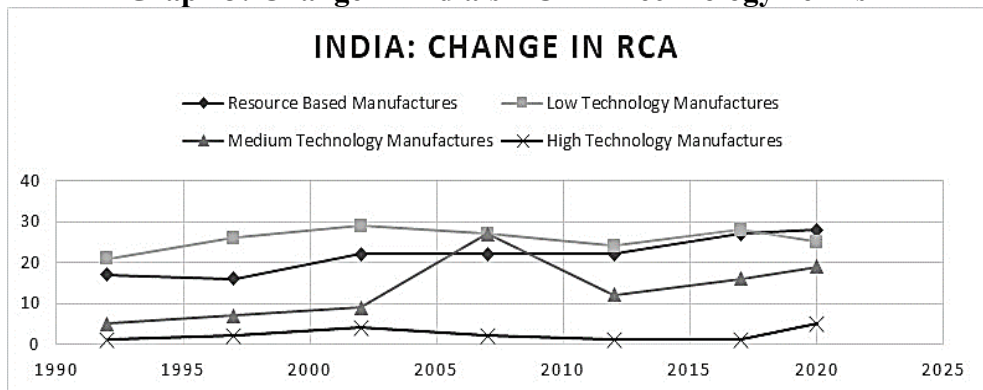
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Indonesia's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

Indonesia's RCA overview details have been described in Table 3. The analysis shows that as of 2020, Indonesia has the highest RCA by number of commodities in resource-based manufactures, i.e., 30 commodities, which comprise of 18 commodities from agro/forest-based goods category and 12 from other resource-based commodities. Indonesia has 14 advantageous commodities each from low technology manufactures and medium technology manufactures. From low technology manufactures, 8 advantageous commodities are from textile, garment, and footwears category, while 6 advantageous commodities are from other low technology commodities. For medium technology manufactures, Indonesia primarily has advantage in medium technology process commodities, i.e., 11 of the 14 commodities having RCA>1 in medium technology category lie in process itself. Indonesia has comparative advantage in only 3 medium technology engineering commodities, out of 36; and in 1 medium technology automative commodity. It is noted that Indonesia has comparative advantage in only 1 out of the 19 commodities in high technology manufactures, indicating that high technology manufactures are not the country's forte.

Analysing Indonesia's change in RCA from 1992 depicted in Graph 4, it is noted that Indonesia's RCA has increased consistently since 1992 in resource-based manufactures. In the high technology manufactures category, there has been negligible change since 1992 in the number of advantageous commodities, and the count has been the lowest among all categories since 1992. The count of commodities having RCA>1 has increased for medium technology manufactures from 3 in 1992 to 14 in 2020. Low technology manufactures ranked one in terms of Indonesia's advantageous commodities in 1992 and there has been a slight decrease in number of advantageous commodities for this category from 17 in 1992 to 14 in 2020.

Table 3
Indonesia's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	13	12	23	21	26	29	30
RB Agro/Forest Based	36	8	8	14	13	17	17	18
RB Others	31	5	4	9	8	9	12	12
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	17	12	18	13	10	10	14
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	12	8	11	9	8	8	8
LT Other products	24	5	4	7	4	2	2	6
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	3	4	11	12	8	13	14
MT Automative	5	0	0	1	0	1	1	1
MT Process	28	2	4	9	8	7	10	11
MT Engineering	36	1	2	2	4	2	3	3
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	0	1	3	0	2	1	1
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	0	0	3	0	2	1	1
HT Other	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 4: Change in Indonesia's RCA in Technology Terms
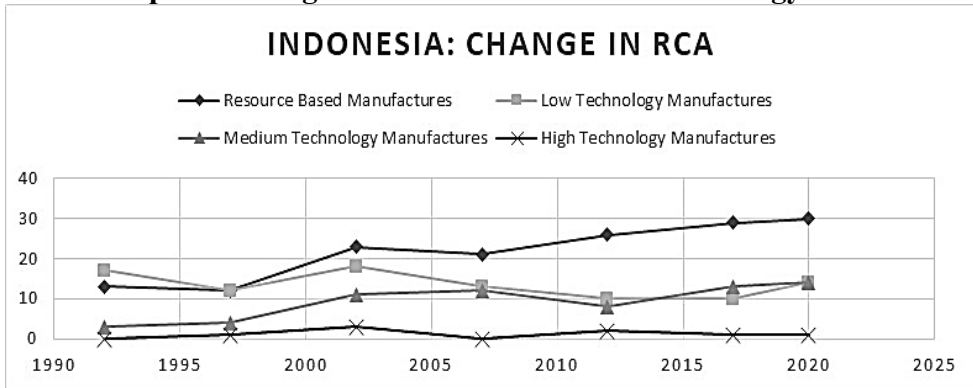
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Malaysia's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

Malaysia's RCA overview details have been described in Table 4. The analysis elucidates that as of 2020, Malaysia has the highest RCA by number in medium technology manufactures, i.e., 15 commodity categories, which are comprised of 10 commodities from medium technology process and commodities from medium technology engineering. Malaysia does not have comparative advantage in any commodity category from medium technology automative. The second highest RCA by absolute number of commodities lies in resource-based manufactures, wherein Malaysia has comparative advantage in 14 out of a total of 67 commodities in this category. Of these, agro/forest based goods make up 10 and resource based other goods make up 4. It is noted that Malaysia does not have significant number of advantageous commodities in low technology manufactures, wherein only 6 commodities are found to have RCA>1 out of 44. In high-technology manufactures, 8 commodity categories are found to have an RCA>1, comprised of 5 from high technology electronic and electrical category and 3 from high technology others category.

Malaysia's change in RCA from 1992 depicted in Graph 5. It is found that when compared with 1992, resource-based manufactures and medium technology manufactures categories have noted an increase in the number of

commodities having an RCA>1. For medium technology manufactures, advantageous commodities have increased consistently, from 7 in 1997 to 17 in 2017, however in 2020, the number is 15. High technology manufactures have remained in a similar ballpark. Low technology manufactures have noted a decline from 9 to 6 advantageous commodities from 1992 to 2020.

Table 4

Malaysia's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	11	9	10	9	17	16	14
RB Agro/Forest Based	36	10	9	9	9	14	14	10
RB Others	31	1	0	1	0	3	2	4
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	9	5	6	8	9	7	6
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	5	3	3	2	2	3	3
LT Other products	24	4	2	3	6	7	4	3
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	7	7	9	11	15	17	15
MT Automative	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MT Process	28	2	3	6	7	9	11	10
MT Engineering	36	5	4	3	4	6	6	5
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	7	8	5	8	9	9	8
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	6	7	4	6	7	6	5
HT Other	8	1	1	1	2	2	3	3

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 5: Change in Malaysia's RCA in Technology Terms
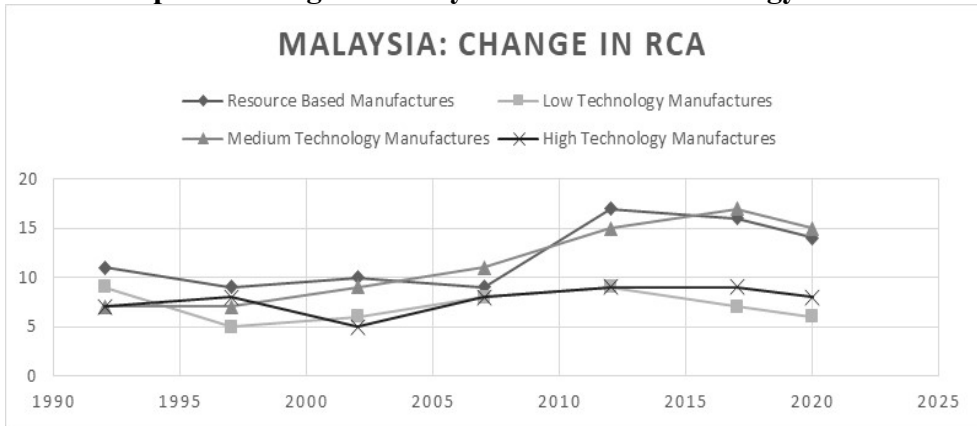
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Singapore's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

Singapore's RCA overview details have been described in Table 5. The findings indicate that as of 2020, by number, Singapore has highest advantageous commodities in medium technology manufactures, wherein it has 19 advantageous commodities, comprised of 10 from medium technology process and 9 from medium technology engineering. Singapore has 12 advantageous commodities in resource based and low technology manufactures category. For high technology manufactures, Singapore has 4 advantageous commodities comprised of 2 from high technology electronic and electrical and 2 from high technology other.

Singapore's change in RCA from 1992 onwards has been depicted in Graph 6, and some critical trends are noted. Singapore had a strong foothold in high technology manufactures since 1992, wherein Singapore had RCA>1 in 10 high technology commodities, which remained similar up to 2017, when the number was 7, after which it has declined to 4 in 2020. This can be attributed due to covid related fluctuation in trade volumes. Medium technology manufactures have noted an increase in the number of commodities having comparative advantage, from 14 in 1992 to 19 in 2020. Another critical trend noted is that for low technology manufactures, which was never Singapore's advantageous area, however, from 2017 to 2020, there is a jump seen in the

number of commodities having RCA>1, from 2 to 12. This also appears to be a fluctuation to be attributed to covid related fluctuations in trade, and the entrepot nature of Singapore. In the resource-based manufactures category, a slight increase is noted, from 9 advantageous commodities in 1992 to 12 in 2020.

Table 5

Singapore's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	9	8	8	8	12	14	12
RB Agro/Forest Based	36	5	4	0	1	5	6	5
RB Others	31	4	4	8	7	7	8	7
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	5	3	2	3	3	2	12
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	3	0	0	0	0	0	9
LT Other products	24	2	3	2	3	3	2	3
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	14	11	18	16	17	18	19
MT Automative	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
MT Process	28	3	4	9	8	9	10	10
MT Engineering	36	10	7	9	8	8	8	9
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	10	11	10	10	8	9	4
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	9	9	8	8	6	7	2
HT Other	8	1	2	2	2	2	2	2

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 6: Change in Singapore's RCA in Technology Terms
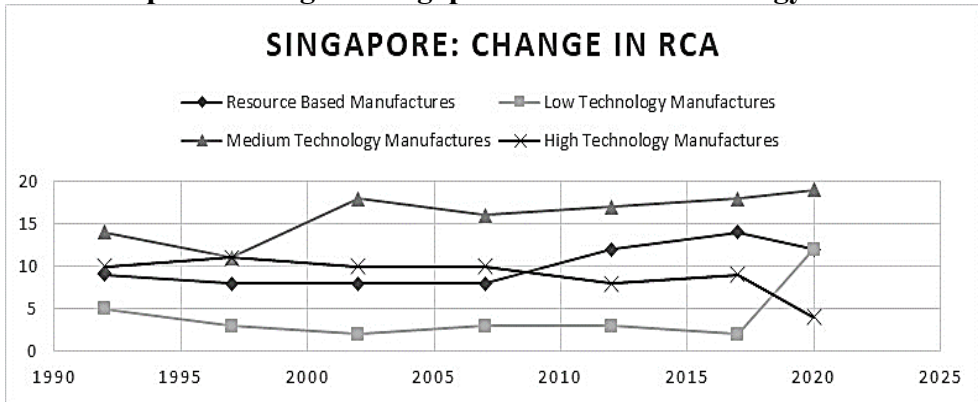
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Thailand's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

Thailand's RCA overview details have been described in Table 6. The results indicate that in terms of total number of commodities in 2020, Thailand has highest RCA in medium technology manufactures, wherein there are 28 advantageous commodity categories from a total 69 commodities in the category. These are comprised of 13 commodities from medium technology engineering, 12 from medium technology process and 3 from the medium technology automative. Resource based manufactures also have a significant 25 commodities having RCA>1, comprised largely in agro/forest based (18). For resource base commodities, 11 commodities have an RCA>1, and lastly high technology manufactures having 6 commodities with an RCA>1.

Thailand's change in RCA from 1992 onwards has been depicted in Graph 7. It is found that medium technology manufactures have witnessed a consistent rise in commodities having RCA>1, from 11 commodities in 1992 to 28 commodities in 2020. For resource-based manufactures, it has remained at a similar level in terms of number of commodities having RCA>1. Low technology manufactures having RCA>1 have witnessed a decline, from 21 in 1992 to 11 in 2020. The number of commodities having RCA>1 in high technology manufactures have also remained similar through the period of study.

Table 6
Thailand's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	21	15	19	22	24	24	25
RB Agro/ Forest Based	36	17	12	11	14	16	16	18
RB Others	31	4	3	8	8	8	8	7
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	21	21	23	19	16	15	11
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	14	14	14	10	7	6	4
LT Other products	24	7	7	9	9	9	9	7
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	11	16	22	23	26	29	28
MT Automative	5	0	1	2	2	3	4	3
MT Process	28	3	6	10	11	14	13	12
MT Engineering	36	8	9	10	10	9	12	13
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	7	8	10	8	8	8	6
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	5	7	9	7	7	6	4
HT Other	8	2	1	1	1	1	2	2

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 7: Change in Thailand's RCA in Technology Terms
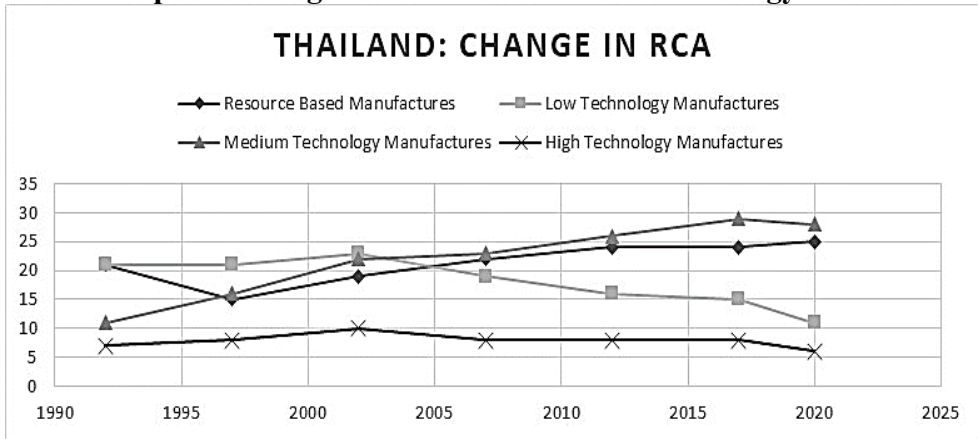
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Vietnam's RCA from 1992 to 2020 in Technology Terms

Vietnam's RCA overview details have been described in Table 7. Results indicate that as of 2020, Vietnam's highest comparative advantage in terms of number of commodities lies in low technology manufactures, wherein it has 25 advantageous commodities. This is comprised of 16 commodities from the textile, garment, and footwear category and 9 commodities from other low technology manufactures category. On the second number are resource-based manufactures, wherein Vietnam has an RCA>1 in 11 out of 67 commodities, followed by medium technology manufactures, wherein RCA>1 is noted in 9 commodities. Vietnam is also found to have significant comparative advantage in high technology electronic and electrical commodities, wherein 7 commodities out of 11 in this group have RCA>1.

Vietnam's change in RCA from 1992 onwards has been presented in Graph 8. It is evident that Vietnam's comparative advantage has noted an increase across all categories of manufactures, indicating that Vietnam has become a manufacturing intensive nation. The highest increase in comparative advantage is noted in low technology manufactures, from 13 in 1997 to 25 in 2020. In resource-based manufactures, the number has increased from 6 in 1992 to 11 in 2020. In medium technology manufactures category, the

increase is from 2 in 1992 to 9 in 2020. In high technology manufactures, Vietnam did not have any commodity having RCA>1 in 1992, while it has RCA>1 in 8 high technology manufactures in 2020.

Table 7

Vietnam's RCA in Technology Terms

Description	Total commodities in Category	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2020
Resource Based Manufactures (RB)	67	NA	9	10	13	17	13	11
RB Agro/Forest Based	36	NA	7	7	9	13	10	8
RB Others	31	NA	2	3	4	4	3	3
Low Technology Manufactures (LT)	44	NA	13	15	21	22	21	25
LT Textile, garment and footwear	20	NA	12	12	14	14	16	16
LT Other products	24	NA	1	3	7	8	5	9
Medium Technology Manufactures (MT)	69	NA	2	2	7	10	7	9
MT Automative	5	NA	0	1	1	1	1	1
MT Process	28	NA	1	0	2	4	1	2
MT Engineering	36	NA	1	1	4	5	5	6
High Technology Manufactures (HT)	19	NA	0	0	3	5	7	8
HT Electronic and Electrical	11	NA	0	0	2	4	5	7
HT Other	8	NA	0	0	1	1	2	1

Source: Author's own calculations

Graph 8: Change in Vietnam's RCA in Technology Terms
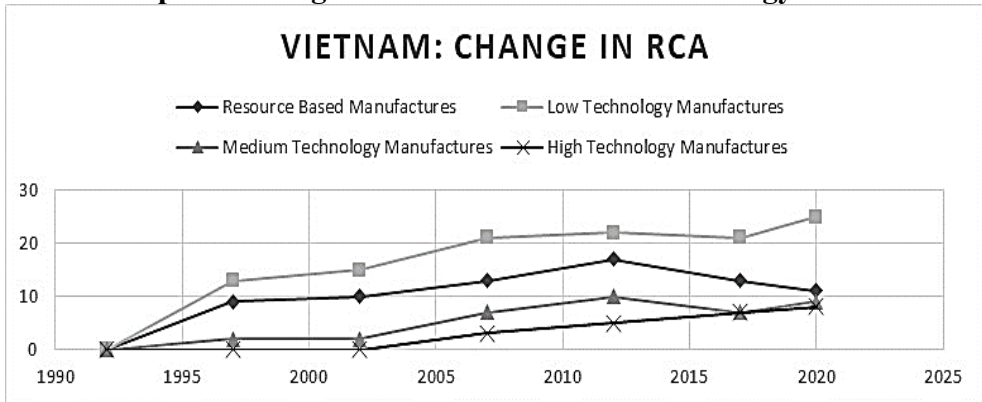
Source: Author's own calculations
*Y-axis represents number of commodities

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The empirical analysis and discussion carried out in the present research brings us to draw certain conclusions and inferences. It has been found that India has specialization in a diverse range of manufactures, including resource based, low technology and medium technology manufactures, while high technology manufactures are not India's forte, India has a specialization in certain high technology commodities as well. Mapping trade specialization synergies of India-Indonesia reveal that India can substantially increase its exports to Indonesia in areas of low, medium and high technology manufactures, as India has substantially higher number of advantageous commodities than Indonesia in these categories of manufactures. With Malaysia, based on trade specialisation, India's exports can be substantially increased in resource based, low and medium technology manufactures. Based on RCA indices of Singapore, it can be deduced that India would be better placed in exporting resource based and low technology manufactures to Singapore due to the significantly higher number of advantageous commodities that India has compared to Singapore in these technology categories of manufactures. With Thailand, India can increase its exports in resource based agro/forest-based manufactures and low technology textile,

garment, footwear-based manufactures. With Vietnam, India can increase its exports in the resource based and medium technology manufactures.

The analysis reveals several key policy implications for India's trade strategy with ASEAN countries. India should adopt country-specific trade strategies based on its unique trade specialization with each nation. For instance, India should focus on low, medium, and high-tech goods with Indonesia, resource-based and low-tech goods with Singapore, and agro-based and textile products with Thailand and Vietnam. While India's specialization in high-tech sectors is limited, there is potential in certain areas, suggesting a need for increased investment in R&D and innovation to strengthen its high-tech capabilities. India should also diversify its export portfolio across various sectors to mitigate risks and increase its presence in ASEAN markets. Addressing the trade deficit with ASEAN is crucial and can be achieved by improving export competitiveness, reducing non-tariff barriers, and strengthening regional economic integration. Collaborations in capacity building and technology transfer with ASEAN countries, particularly in advanced manufacturing, will further boost India's competitiveness.

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Re-imagining Global Climate Change Governance: A Journey from Deadlock to Engagement

K. C. RATHA

Abstract

Global climate governance is more critical than ever before because we live in a world where humans shape everything. Numerous risks and threats exist that, by their very nature, transcend borders. In many places of the world, devastating forest fires, melting ice caps, and extreme weather events have already intensified, demonstrating that climate is already changing. As a result, climate governance - or the effective management of the global climate system – is extremely important. On the other hand, constructing successful global collective systems to manage the impacts on the climate system present unique challenges. The current global climate governance architecture, which is currently disjointed, must change if major climate action is to be implemented and accelerated. Nation states are unquestionably the best organisations to handle lowering emissions to the global commons. But both governmental and non-governmental actors must be alert and involved in order to combat climate change, just as they do in democracy.

Keywords: Global climate change, Governance, Nation States, Effective Management, Risk

Introduction

Climate change is one of the most serious international policy issues the world has confronted in the twenty-first century. Climate change has been a primary concern within the broader framework of global environmental governance during the past four centuries. The reorganisation of power among global players and at multiple levels of decision-making has long been an integral part of this area, which has long featured as 'pluralization of authority outside the nation state' (Coen et al, 2021). Scholarly engagement

with a globalising climate governance arena represents a rapidly rising cross-disciplinary convergence across a wide range of social, technical, and geophysical fields. Climate change governance, on the other hand, can be defined as "any purposeful procedures and policies established and executed by states or other authorities with the goal of leading social systems toward preventing, mitigating, or adapting to climate change threats" (Coen et al,2021). The coordinates for this Element's mapping exercise are premised on an emphasis on "all purposeful methods and procedures," as well as "states or other authorities' implementation prerogatives." The UNFCCC-centered (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) multilateral system is itself an international regime, defined as "principles, norms, standards, and decision-making procedures around which participants' expectations in a particular area of international relations converge" It is, however, part of a larger climate change regime complex that covers a number of formal and informal arrangements that function within this issue area, culminating in a loosely coupled regulatory system that is only partially organised hierarchically.

Understanding climate change as a regime complex also assumes immense significance because it recognises that international institutions are situated within larger institutional frameworks. The challenges of climate change extend far beyond environmental governance, which can be defined as "action oriented toward a variety of causes, such as conservation and environmental protection, spatial and land use planning, sustainable natural resource management, and human health protection". One of the basic challenges of the existing framework of global environmental governance has been identified as fragmentation. Academics and practitioners alike have been debating the potential repercussions of fragmentation of the global climate governance architecture. The responsibility for environmental issues is extensively dispersed among various authority structures as a result of fragmentation, resulting in inefficient policy coordination. There are far too many organisations engaged in environmental governance in far too many

places, with often conflicting mandates. Climate governance also faces divergent perspectives on its global public goods elements, which bear significant distributive and normative implications.

After centuries of rising greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, the average global temperature has increased by 1.1°C compared to pre-industrial levels. The decade of the 2010s was the hottest on record. German watch reports that catastrophic weather events have caused 500,000 fatalities and incurred losses of US$3.5 trillion in the past two decades. In recent years, extensive heatwaves in Asia and Europe, as well as wildfires in Australia and North America, have wreaked havoc. Natural disasters, such as tropical hurricanes and monsoon rains, are becoming more common as a result of climate change. Sea-level rise is putting entire populations and the economy at risk in low-lying regions and small island states. Forced migration and food insecurity in developing nations are being made worse by climate change. States vowed to keep the rise in the world's average temperature "well below 2°C" and, if possible, 1.5°C, when the Paris Agreement was signed in 2015. According to the UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme), in order to reach this objective, emissions must decrease by a quarter to less than half of current levels during the course of the following ten years. But, the combined pledges of the nations to reduce emissions fall short. Even if they are adopted, they will cause global temperatures to rise by more than 3°C, causing irreparable harm to ecosystems and people alike (Luomi, 2020).

Ushering in a Multilateral System

The Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment did not address climate change, but seven years later, at the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) World Climate Conference, scientists identified the burning of fossil fuels, deforestation, and changes in land use as the main causes of rising atmospheric carbon dioxide levels and, consequently, climatic changes. According to their forecast, global-scale effects would become apparent by the end of the 20th century. They argued for international

cooperation, including support to developing countries in better comprehending the issue.

This appeal for a worldwide response was well-founded. Climate change is a "global commons problem" since the atmosphere has no borders. Identifying who is accountable for GHG emissions across time and across countries, on the other hand, has proven difficult. Indeed, the majority of international climate change policy has centred on this fundamental subject for decades. The narrative of global climate change governance has two recurring elements. One difficulty is understanding how to distinguish between the responsibilities of different countries in addressing to the situation. The other goal is to create a dynamic system that is evidence based and invites significant participation from big polluters while guaranteeing that everyone is included.

Transition from a Convention to a Protocol: Guiding Principles and Sharing of Responsibilities

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) founded the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1998. Its goal is to give periodical scholarly evaluation of the present state of knowledge concerning climate change to policymakers. In 1990, it issued its First Assessment Report, which laid the scientific groundwork for UNFCCC deliberations, which were sought by the UN General Assembly in Resolution 45/212 later that year. As stated by the UNFCCC, "stabilisation of GHG concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that avoids adverse anthropogenic interaction with the climate system." (Article 2). Because there are no legally enforceable targets for reducing GHG emissions, as well as purposefully confusing wording, aided its passage in 1992 and coming into force in 1994. Nonetheless, Annex I parties (forty developed countries and economies in transition) were compelled under the treaty to minimise their GHG emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. Industrialized countries also promised to lend a cooperative hand to

developing countries financially and in other ways so as to help them combat climate change. The UNFCCC was founded on the notion of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (CBDR). It recognises that all states bear responsibility for addressing climate change, but that these obligations are not evenly distributed. Countries might agree that "developed countries should lead," but they could not agree on whether this was on account of historical responsibility, superior skills, or a combination of the two. The UNFCCC also allowed for the adoption of a legally binding protocol. The first Conference of the Parties meeting in 1995 marked the beginning of the process. The Kyoto Protocol, which established a time-bound, quantitative cap on the emissions of wealthier countries, was adopted two years later. Developed nations were required to reduce their emissions by an average of 5.2 percent below 1990 levels during the protocol's first commitment period (2008–2012). (Luomi, 2020).

The convention's implementation took more than seven years since 55 countries, or 55 percent of Annex I countries' total GHG emissions, had to ratify it before it could go into effect. A comprehensive legislation that included three new "flexibility mechanisms" for trading and offsetting emissions had to be developed by governments in the meantime. The so-called Marrakesh Accords were approved in 2001. On the other side, the United States, which has historically been the greatest emitter in the world and a significant contributor to the formulation of the protocol, has withdrawn from the pact. President George W. Bush voiced concern that since they were not obligated to reduce their emissions, developing nations like China would have an unfair economic advantage.

The Kyoto Protocol is a "top-down" mitigation plan that calls for industrialised nations to consent to a strict cap on emissions that will be distributed among them. Rich countries accounted for three-quarters of historical cumulative emissions, but only half of global annual GHG emissions by the early 2000s, while emerging country emissions were

expanding twice as fast. Due to developing countries' objections, Kyoto, on the other hand, omitted even voluntary undertakings by non-Annex I parties.

Long term Collaborative Engagement and the New Era of Pledge-and-Review

The world became increasingly aware of the necessity for developed nations to reduce their emissions while wealthy nations stepped up their ambitions as the 2000s went on. Across the planet, climate change's harmful repercussions have already begun to manifest. "Glacier shrinkage, permafrost thawing, later freezing and earlier breaking of ice on rivers and lakes, decreases in some plant and animal populations, and earlier flowering of trees, insect emergence, and bird egg-laying," according to the IPCC's Third Assessment Report from 2001. A year later, at the eighth Conference of Parties (COP) in New Delhi, the Ministerial Declaration stated that "climate change may harm future well-being, ecosystems, and economic progress in all nations," but the majority of the damage would be done to least developed countries (LDCs) and small island developing countries (SIDCs). "Future partnership possibilities that represented the entire range of interests" must be devised by the regime. The list included supporting mitigation and adaptation activities with money, technology, and capacity-building as well as adaptation to the damaging effects of climate change in underdeveloped nations. The UNFCCC had already started talking about adaptation and support, as well as establishing the Adaptation Fund, which would be supported by a percentage of Kyoto offsetting income. Non-Annex I countries, on the other hand, saw legally binding quantitative emission reduction objectives as an obstacle to development (Luomi, 2020).

The subject of what would happen when the first Kyoto commitment period expired in 2012 drew attention even before the Kyoto Protocol went into effect. The Kyoto Protocol's second commitment period and long-term cooperative action under the UNFCCC, which might include the United States and other nations who had not ratified the treaty, were the two main

topics of discussion in the Bali Action Plan, which was adopted by the parties in 2007. Without exception, mitigation, adaptation, technology, and financing were all listed as thematic "building blocks" in the Bali Action Plan. It also included the first explicit mention of "loss and damage" related to climate change consequences, which is especially crucial for small island states.

Adaptive methods and global emission reductions are no longer sufficient to control or prevent climate change. Slow-onset phenomena, such as sea level rise, or large weather events, such as hurricanes, might set them off. During the negotiations, the subject of whether some poor countries may "upgrade" to more enforceable duties was a hot topic. Instead of referring to the Annexes, the Bali Action Plan used the words "developed" and "developing" for the first time. Various factors, such as countries' increasing capacities or economic progress, which may be assessed by gross domestic product (GDP) or emissions per capita, were suggested as ways to redefine distinction.

Many developing countries, especially the wealthier ones, were sceptical of the policy, citing historical obligation as a reason. Others were concerned that Annex I countries would back out of past commitments. The 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, when the new accord was to be adopted, had high expectations. "Warming of the climate system is evident," according to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and continued emissions will heighten "the possibility of catastrophic, acute, and long-term repercussions for people and ecosystems." By the commencement of the conference, the parties had reached no consensus, making it difficult to manage the complex agenda in an open and transparent manner.

Behind closed doors, high-level leaders from major economies and coalitions, including heads of state, achieved an accord. When the agreement was submitted to the plenary, however, a number of developing countries that felt left out of the process voted against its formal approval. As a result, the Copenhagen Accord was just "noted" during the meeting. The agreement

includes two appendices allowing Annex I and non-Annex I parties to include their quantified economy-wide emission reduction targets for 2020 and nationally relevant mitigation activities, respectively, based on a "pledge and review" approach. There was no legal force to the agreement, no long-term global emissions objective, and no mechanism to verify that country promises added up to sufficiently ambitious global emissions reductions. To allow for a stronger outcome, countries' views of distinctiveness and positions on mitigation and funding were still too far apart and overshadowed by the 2008 financial crisis.

The 2010 UN Climate Change Conference in Cancun, Mexico, restored "confidence in the multilateral climate change process" a year later. The Green Climate Fund was established by the parties to channel a portion of the USD 100 billion finance goal. It also codified the Technology Mechanism to promote developing-country climate action. Countries began a fresh round of discussions in 2011 with the goal of developing a new protocol or agreement by 2015 that would apply to all parties. While negotiations continued, the Doha Amendment in 2012 agreed on a second commitment period for the Kyoto Protocol (2013–2020). Negotiations heated up in the run-up to the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference, but governments struggled to differentiate themselves. Rich countries and a growing number of developing countries endorsed the recognition of "current socioeconomic realities," whereas many other developing countries wanted to uphold equity and CBDR objectives, as well as the developed countries' leadership position.

The official statement by the world's two largest GHG emitters, the United States and China, of a joint commitment to achieve an ambitious 2015 agreement founded on the assumption of "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" (CBDR-RC) "in light of different national circumstances" was a big milestone. This phrase, which might appear in Article 2 of the Paris Agreement, recognises that "as countries' specific situations evolve, so will their common but varied duties". To put it another way, while socioeconomic advancement enhances people's lives, it

also has a tendency to raise emissions. As a result, each country's contribution to the problem grows, as does their ability to intervene more strongly. (Luomi, 2020)

The 2015 Paris Climate Accord is the first multinational climate change agreement to include legally obligatory emission reduction objectives for all countries. It keeps developed countries in charge of finance (Article 9) and forces them to set absolute reduction targets for the entire economy. It does, however, oblige poor countries to adopt mitigation measures and pushes them to work toward broader economic goals (Article 4). The lack of references to the Annex system in the agreement also indicates a more nuanced approach to difference. The agreement is based on a contribution structure formed at the national level from the bottom up. This is backed up by a top-down Global Stocktake that considers equity and science when evaluating collective mitigation, adaptation, and support efforts.

The 1.5°C and 2°C temperature limitations are used as scientific anchors in the agreement, along with two long-term global objectives: a quicker peak in global GHG emissions and net-zero emissions by the end of the century. Every five years, each party must present an NDC (Nationally Determined Contributions) with a mitigation contribution, and each subsequent NDC must be more ambitious. The content of the NDC, on the other hand, is up to the countries' choice. While a top-down accord with rigid hard law promises would be impossible to achieve, countries used self-differentiation in their NDCs and "naming and shaming" to secure compliance. The Paris Agreement's long-term viability hinges on the pledges that big emitters make and implement over the next decade.

Toward a Crucial Decade-Major Takeaways

Less than a year after it was signed, the Paris Agreement went into effect. 188 nations and the European Union will have ratified the agreement by 2020. However, US President Donald Trump announced in 2017 that he will withdraw from the agreement as soon as possible. The COVID-19 outbreak

put a spanner in the works, halting international multilateral diplomacy and requiring the suspension of all UNFCCC negotiations in 2020. China said in September 2020 that it will significantly enhance its ambitious goal of becoming carbon neutral by the year 2060. In November 2020, Joe Biden promised to immediately re-join the Paris Accord. More, though, will be needed. According to Climate Action Tracker, the 1.5 degree Celsius limit would be "within striking distance" if the US, China, the EU, Japan, and South Korea—which together account for half of global GHG emissions—achieve their net zero emissions objectives. Nonetheless, far more ambition and effort are required, and the judgement is still out on whether the epidemic will expedite or stall the renewable energy transition, which is vital to the Paris Agreement's success. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has progressed significantly in terms of significance, complexity, and involvement.

Simultaneously, non-state and subnational players, such as businesses, cities, governments, trade unions, and human rights and gender campaigners, have been increasingly involved as science has developed and people throughout the world have witnessed the mounting detrimental effects of climate change. In 2015, the Paris Agreement recognised the efforts of non-party stakeholders and established a process—the Marrakech Partnership for Global Climate Action - to gather their actions under one roof. On the other hand, civil society organisations are dissatisfied, claiming that the intergovernmental process moves too slow to achieve decisions that safeguard the most vulnerable. This dissatisfaction began to pour onto Copenhagen's streets, but nowhere was it more visible than during the 2019 World Cup (Luomi, 2020).

Chile COP25 & Glasgow COP26

The regulations for carbon markets under the Paris Agreement were not approved by the conference despite a year of intense mobilisation by the movement for the future. António Guterres, the UN Secretary-General, claims that civil society organisations have not advanced much. It is a

significant accomplishment that governments have chosen to include the CBDR idea in a deal that covers both rich and developing nations. After arguing for years that only wealthy nations needed to reduce their GHG emissions, developing countries have changed their minds and now hold a more active position on the idea. Competence in diplomacy and a focus on goals relevant to emerging nations, such as flexibility, resources, technology, and capacity building, made this possible. The UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement have also had trouble enlisting the major polluters in a way that holds them accountable and gives smaller nations a voice at the table. The past of the UNFCCC provides us with an important lesson for future collaboration: the most important objective is not necessarily coming to an agreement. Developing tools that can adapt to shifting research and socioeconomic levels throughout time, as well as making sure that responsibility for action is divided equally both within and across generations, with no one being left behind, appear to be the main issues. Although multilateralism is the best antidote to anarchy, unless large polluters cooperate, it may not be sufficient to prevent a worldwide environmental catastrophe.

Global leaders from more than 200 nations came to an agreement at the Glasgow climate talks that preserves the goal of keeping global warming to 1.5 degrees alive but left a lot of work to be done in the coming years. The Paris Agreement's shortcomings were filled by the Conference of the Parties (COP) of the United Nations. The so-called Paris Rulebook was approved, and some of the Agreement's key tenets—mitigation, adaptation, and implementation methods—made minor advancements. For the first time, loss and damage were mentioned in the political agreement. The language on phasing out fossil fuels was softened to "the phase-down of unabated coal power and wasteful fossil fuel subsidies" to account for the concerns of some developing countries. Developed countries have failed to meet their financial promises made in Paris, and the world is still on track to warm by 2.4 degrees Celsius (Roesch et al, 2021).

After the negotiations, a review of the current dynamics and institutions of global climate governance will be necessary. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Accord remain crucial global frameworks. Yet, despite having a diverse range of organisations, institutions, governments, and non-state actors operating at various levels, the climate governance landscape falls short of expectations. Adhoc programmes and practises, many of which are based on loose "coalitions of the willing," have inadequate or non-existent accountability structures, and their influence is at best technical and at worst superficial.

What is Lacking?

Despite decades of labour and rising conviction on the science, technology, and policy answers, the effort to address climate change is not up to the mark. One of the main factors hindering the development of local, national, and global governance appropriate to the issue is the sophisticated and well-funded network of organisations that oppose climate action. These organisations are linked to the fossil fuel industry and other "vested" interests, but they go far beyond them. The tactics of those who oppose climate action have drastically altered in recent years, with substantially less denial of the scientific reality of human-caused climate change and far more delay strategies and discourses.

The lack of global cooperation is another governance concern. Taking on this problem will necessitate the involvement of many different actors. The world is on the verge of catastrophic climate change and possible ecological collapse unless the course is not reversed quickly and dramatically. Some have described the current situation as a survival crisis for humanity. Surprisingly, regardless of the fact that solutions exist to mitigate the very worst effects of the climate disaster, they are not fully adopted or executed at a rate or scale that matches the problem's magnitude and urgency. In short, the existing collective system of climate governance, whether in the form of global institutions, laws, policies, operations, and norms, is grossly

insufficient for debating, adopting, and implementing known solutions at a rate and competence level proportionate with our current and exacerbating climate catastrophe. Catastrophic climate change is linked to a rise in global average temperature of more than 3°C, a scenario that is not unthinkable given current trends, according to the IPCC assessment from 2021. However, scientists agree that if global warming is kept to a maximum of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, the worst and most dramatic effects of global warming might be avoided (Global Challenges Foundation, 2021).

Climate financing is the cornerstone of climate discussions and is crucial for fostering momentum and trust between wealthy and developing nations. The Paris Accord required wealthier countries to take the lead in giving money to countries that are susceptible to climate change. Climate-vulnerable nations frequently lack direct access to funding and must go through time-consuming application and approval procedures that take resources away from implementation and lead to destructive dependence cycles. Rather than strengthening the receiving country's institutional capacity, many wealthy countries finance developing countries through bilateral channels, employing their citizens and foreign experts. Moreover, while global programmes like the Green Climate Fund are supposed to give developing country-based organisations direct access to funds, only two of the fifteen new projects do so.

Many African countries, such as Nigeria, have high NDCs and are eager to act, but they lack the expertise and experience to execute the climate agenda. In order to assist climate action in subnational states and local communities, civil society organisations and international climate funds may provide guidance and link national ministries. The Paris Agreement goal of $100 billion in yearly mobilisation for developing countries by 2020 has not yet been achieved, despite many governments increasing their climate finance promises at COP26 (Roesch et al, 2021).

The Climate Governance Commission has identified three major climate action gaps that are blocking solutions from being adopted at the speed and

scale necessary to keep global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius. Although technological, economic, and social solutions exist, they are not being applied at a rate or scale that matches the extent of the problem. For example, the Exponential Roadmap Initiative has discovered 36 technologically feasible and market-ready solutions that might be scaled up to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions by 50% by 2030, as well as approaches to meet the temperature rise limitation benchmark. Policies to support the effective implementation of technological and other solutions, such as carbon pricing and the abolition of fossil fuel subsidies, do exist, but they are not being executed at the rate and scale required, nor are they being scaled up and disseminated globally enough to allow for the necessary climate action. Also required are policies that support exponential climate action that may be scaled up significantly and distributed globally. On a global scale, governance structures that can reliably and effectively encourage the implementation of exponential climate policies and the accomplishment of collective climate targets are currently lacking (Global Challenges Foundation, 2021). Now that nearly all states and an increasing number of non-state actors have pledged to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions, the challenge is to ensure the integrity of these pledges (Stevenson,2020). At the most general level, there is a lot of disputes over the costs and advantages of reducing GHG emissions among countries. There are additional difficulties to successful governance that arise from country characteristics such as economic situations and political institutions, which make some countries more unwilling to collaborate than others (Bernaur & Schaffer, 2010).

There is considerable disagreement over the costs and benefits of GHG mitigation. We discuss these two problems in this section.

The following section (section 5) sheds light on additional challenges to effective governance that emanate from country characteristics, such as differences in economic conditions and

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Perceptions at the National and Regional Levels

In order to better address climate change, national governments are starting to adapt their systems. Many nations have stopped leaving the creation of climate policies solely up to their environment ministries. Others have established climate councils made up of experts to advise on policy options. Cabinets and heads of state and government are also becoming much more involved in the creation of climate policies. High-level leadership, on the other hand, isn't a solution, and the COVID-19 outbreak has proven to be a serious worldwide impediment to climate action. Countries are increasingly faced with the challenge of prioritising economic growth over environmental conservation, as well as short-term profits over long-term rewards. Even in nations with climate-friendly legal frameworks, like Norway, the epidemic has forced a shift in emphasis away from economically viable strategies that are also environmentally benign, such stimulus packages with subsidies and bailouts for the fossil fuel industry. Moreover, political changes at the national level can significantly change climate ambition, as has been witnessed in the United States (US), Brazil, Mexico, and Australia. If climate action becomes a larger priority for the majority of people and domestic constituencies, it will be more challenging for political leaders to drastically alter climate policies.

The nations and alliances leading the way on climate action include the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Independent Alliance of Latin America and the Caribbean (AILAC), and Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), whose members face the greatest immediate existential dangers from climate change. On various instances, AOSIS has worked with the Least Developed Countries Group on climate change. AOSIS and the LDC Group's increased collaboration and alliances may put more pressure on developed and emerging countries.

A once-in-a-lifetime opportunity has arisen with the return of a US administration committed to climate action, as well as increasing ambition from the European Union. The Biden administration is found to pursue a "whole of government strategy" by prioritising climate change across all government departments on a national level. The European Union has also proposed the EU's first European Climate Law, which would formalise the EU's long-term climate neutrality route. This is an illustration of how climate action may be safeguarded from electoral cycles while also fostering both domestic stability and global trust (Roesch et al, 2021).

Changing Dynamics of the Climate Governance

The bulk of global choices are made voluntarily, and they are implemented in good faith. The slow-moving reputation of multilateral organisations puts the quick, audacious, and concerted action needed to combat climate change in jeopardy. Sometimes diplomats and foreign civil servants operate in isolation, but the climate catastrophe requires a multifaceted strategy that links distinct social, environmental, and economic operations. Although though they are closely related to the climate catastrophe, other issues, people, and sectors are only seldom included in the "climate bubble," including energy, biodiversity, sustainable development, and food security.

Non-state actors are recognised as key partners in the implementation of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on paper. It is challenging for young people, scientists, and driven corporate leaders to enter

these areas and influence outcomes, however, as global decision-making processes continue to take place behind closed doors. These recurring patterns are starting to alter. The UN Secretary-General is promoting the inclusion of youth, civil society, and other important stakeholders in climate forums through his Youth Advisory Group on Climate Change. The Climate Ambition Alliance, a multi-actor organisation, also offers a new model for more inclusive climate governance. Such activities must be institutionalised, and the gap between youth and activists on the streets and climate negotiations must be bridged by establishing new and innovative policy forums in which youth, indigenous peoples, and other marginalised groups can have a stronger voice.

Nation states are the appropriate agencies in charge of reducing emissions to the global commons. Nonetheless, Mr. Trump's obstinacy demonstrates that a change in political leadership might lead to any signatory withdrawing from an international pact. Global agreements are frequently precarious, requiring support and pressure from a variety of actors within and across countries, including states, territories, and provinces within a country, cities, policy think tanks, scientists, philanthropists, local communities, civil society organisations, investors, transnational groups, and multinational industries. 350 number of organisations and other climate protection advocacy groups in Europe and internationally, for example, have made significant success on a number of fronts. Sub-national entities with a powerful influence include states in large parts of the United States that have committed to reducing GHG(Green House Gas) emissions, philanthropies that are supporting improvements in efficiencies and innovations in the climate and energy sector, and cities like New York and Seattle that are committed to building a low-carbon future. Consequently, whether Mr. Trump or a Democrat is in the White House, the work of these individuals is critical. Climate change, like democracy, necessitates vigilance and participation from both government and non-government players (Byravan, 2017).

Few, however, have proposed revising the UNFCCC, the world's only international climate negotiation platform. Despite the numerous attempts, few are dedicated to assisting developing countries with delivery, capacity building, and funding. Furthermore, there is a lack of coordination across the programmes; some seem to duplicate efforts, and the vast majority lack the accountability mechanisms required to assess if they are being successfully implemented on the ground. Although the UNFCCC has made progress in persuading ministries from other sectors to join, progress can be stifled by its complexity and reliance on agreement. More critically, the UNFCCC fails to address or make decisions about some of the key issues that would pave the way for a future free of carbon emissions, like trade agreements and the general alignment of the world's financial systems with environmental objectives.

The UNFCCC must be protected and respected as the only worldwide forum on climate change, but it appears that some modifications are needed to make it a more active global platform. A consultation process regarding potential reforms must be started by the secretary-general. The dynamics of the UNFCCC, in contrast, are unlikely to alter unless other UN processes, including the process for creating the Sustainable Development Goals, also become more open and inclusive. The current climate governance system may not be enough to achieve global warming goals of 2 degrees Celsius and 1.5 degrees, but it could foster cooperation, creativity, and innovation. The climate finance system could accelerate progress in challenging ways.

The Way Out

Despite significant advancements made since the 2015 Paris Accord, the majority of the essential policies needed to curb climate change and prevent catastrophic global warming have not yet been implemented. The fragmented global climate governance architecture must change if genuine climate action is to be accelerated and implemented. In terms of policy commitments, there have also been significant advancements throughout time, but execution still

lags far behind what is necessary. Even well-intentioned lawmakers find it challenging to put climate-friendly legislation into practise. The fundamental adjustments needed will have an impact on all energy and transportation networks, construction, as well as industrial and food production. Action may be met with opposition, which may lead political rivals to propose a simpler option, increasing the likelihood that the policy will be reversed. In essence, societies as a whole become short-term losers as a result of climate change policies that actually put nations on the path to net zero, while long-term benefits accrue. The industries that extract fossil fuels and produce electricity suffer the greatest losses. The cost of producing clean energy has dropped significantly in recent years to the point where it is now less expensive than adding more dirty energy, which reduces the risk of too many stakeholders experiencing significantly higher prices. This is one reason for confidence in technology and finance. For several businesses in various countries, the potential advantages of gaining market share and luring investors by "becoming green" have substantially increased. Large expenditures in green energy and switching to more environmentally friendly transportation are anticipated to create new sources of revenue and jobs, and as prices fall, more people are enthusiastically supporting these efforts.

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action. The wealthy can be targeted first by governments. Levying higher taxes on large, high-emitting vehicles and homes as well as offering incentives to reduce emissions — for fairness' sake and to promote the creation of emission-reduction services and products. Finally, in the midst of international economic competition, convincing domestic electorates to embrace climate-friendly policies may be one of the most challenging jobs. A different option is the Carbon Boarder Adjustment Tax that the EU has proposed, which would compel trading partners to cut emissions as well. Supporting the shift to lower energy intensity across industries will be crucial to maintain job growth. One compelling argument that many voters may support is the concept of energy independence. A greater degree of energy independence may be possible for more nations than they currently have as generating and storing technology advances. Nonetheless, the issue is still tricky. The political economy of climate change has started to shift in favour of more aggressive action. These elements must be taken into account as part of the overall strategy for success in both rich and developing countries as the shift from pronouncements to action becomes more critical (Fritz, 2021).

The process of formulating a long-term plan can aid in the formation of consensus by bringing together all levels of government and all segments of society to discuss long-term objectives and possible routes to achieve them. To formalise the commitment, the results of this approach can be written into law. Governments can use long-term strategies to guide their sectoral plans, national development plans, and five-year NDC updates in deciding where to focus their efforts. Typically, long-term strategies are translated into short-term sector-level benchmarks for 2025 or 2030, such as the proportion of renewable energy used in power generation, the model share of public transit and soft transportation modes, the quantity of high-efficiency buildings constructed, or the level of a carbon tax. The relevant ministry or organisation, such as the ministry of energy or the ministry of transportation, can then achieve these sectoral goals, ensuring uniformity and cooperation between governmental entities (Olowo-Okere & Bronkhorst, 2021).

Based on substantial analytical and operational work in a range of areas, the World Bank is aiding countries in formulating and implementing these plans. When major consumer markets transition to zero-carbon economies, risks include a loss of market access and export profits; opportunities include jobs in green growth industries, lower energy import costs, and cleaner air and water supplies. Adaptation is a primary goal for many governments and long-term efforts. If nations merely concentrate on short- or medium-term objectives, decarbonization will become more expensive, sluggish, and challenging. Long-term climate plans are crucial now because they lay the groundwork for climate-smart development and aid customers in switching to a more sustainable low-carbon positive trend for the benefit of both present and future generations (Olowo-Okere & Bronkhorst, 2021).

The importance of climate engineering in global climate governance must be highlighted. "Air capture," or technology that remove CO_2 from the atmosphere directly, is a new feature that may be preferred. These technologies do not exist yet, even as pilot projects, and developing and implementing them will be expensive, but they provide two advantages. For starters, they can be segregated from energy systems. The second benefit is that they can be executed as a single, large-scale project. "Geoengineering" is another method that will grow increasingly appealing. This strategy can mitigate the warming induced by higher concentrations by reducing the amount of solar energy that reaches the Earth. It is possible to perform it as a single project, similar to how industrial "air capture" is done. Certain geoengineering options, however, are less expensive than "air capture." They can also have a near-instantaneous climate influence. As a result, it is more likely that geoengineering will be used in times to follow (Barrett, 2009).

Apart from the aforementioned debate on climate global governance, relational dynamics play an important role that should not be overlooked. The term "relational dynamics" refers to the phenomena that emerge as a result of interactions between different agents. Identity, justice, trust, conflict, cooperation, and influence, for example, are influenced by how different actors interact with, react to, consider, and engage with one another. Conflict,

collaboration, trade, competition, and accommodation are only a few of the social dynamics that make up global climate governance. Of these, trust reveals itself most obviously in cooperation. While frequent types of cooperation in today's climate governance include harmony and basic coordination, "deep collaboration" forms of cooperation, which are essential for effective climate governance, are unusual. Deep collaboration takes place when numerous participants decide to act or modify their behaviour to further collective interests at the price of individual interests. By seeing deep collaboration as a function of trust and its results as reflections of discrete, continuing manifestations of trust, paying attention to trust dynamics in many kinds of interactions may help the evolution of global climate governance (Kimberly et al, 2021).

Climate change can only be properly addressed if all are steeped in societal transformation and social values that are awakened to deal with existential concerns in a constructive manner. To solve this, three main research themes need to be cynosure of attention in decades to follow (Schroeder & Kobayashi, 2021). To begin, a focused engagement with learning through governance is advocated with a view to respond to the existential crises by learning more systematically through trial and error and experimentation. Second, paying more attention to developments in the traditional and soft domains, such as changes in worldviews, belief systems, and values that emerge from new climate venues and platforms. It is critical that these lessons are used to change the attitude away from vested interests and the current harmful economic development paradigm toward a focus on shared goods for humanity that prioritises human and planetary wellness. Third, in order to more authentically deal with the challenges and existential dilemma of climate change, engaging with climate justice and caring and expressing this in climate governance is also recommended for. Climate change governance calls for the creation of specific organisations, groups, and policies, as well as the integration of climate change into government operations as a matter of course.

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Unveiling Patriarchal Structure of Khaps through Gender Lens

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Abstract

The present research paper examines the patriarchal ideologies in Khap belt of Haryana. Khap Panchayats are traditional community councils composed of male elders. It has been criticized for maintaining patriarchal values and propagating practices such as honour killings and caste discrimination. The paper also argues that efforts to address gender inequality in rural areas must include addressing the role of khap panchayats in perpetuating patriarchal values and practices. The analysis is based on extensive personal interviews with the Pradhan, secretaries of Khap, Police Officials, Social Activist, Academicians, Judges and Member of NGOs. Findings of the present study revealed that patriarchal reflection were very strong and rigid in villages were Khaps were active.

Key Words: *Khap, Women, Girls, Dress Code, Diktats, Honour, Patriarchy, Ideology.*

Introduction

Haryana is a patriarchal state which is evident from data related to sex ratio and child sex ratio of Haryana. It is one of the northern state of India, which was carved out of Punjab on 1st November 1966. The patriarchal roots of the Haryana can also be seen from the working of the *khaps* panchayat in the state. *Khap* as an age-old institution has been in existence for ages. Records at Headquarters of *Khap*, Muzzafanagar highlights that it was King Harshvardhana who gave recognition to these informal bodies in 6th Century B.C. Hence at that point of time it became a semi-formal authority wielding institution, accepted by all members. In present times, *Khap* Panchayats are found active, particularly in the states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Haryana (Singh, 2015). These are generally found to be active in areas where Jaat community is in majority. According to Sangwan (1986), *khaps* signify

an age old system of governance at various levels, namely *Tholla, Pana, Village, Gawand, Tappa*, Khap and Sarv Khap (Figure 1). Historically, the institution of *Khap* Panchayat was primarily known as a decentralized system of social administration in the north-western states, i.e. Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. A study by Yadav (2009) states that *khaps* wielded much more power than statutory panchayats. Similarly, Gill (2012) argued that social norms and values wield much greater power in the life of an individual in *Khap* belt as compared to law especially in Haryana and Rajasthan, this is the reasons *khaps* continue to rule the roost.

Figure 1: Hierarchical Structure of Khap Panchayats
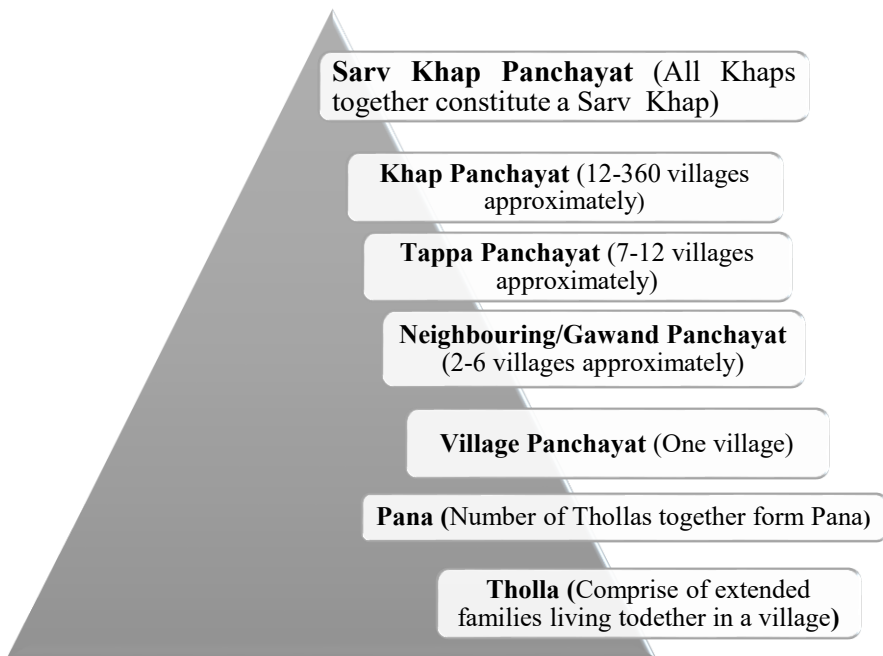
Source: Pradhan and Members of Dahiya, Meham, Bawal, Malik Khap

Evolution and Historical presentation of Khaps

The word 'Khap' has its roots in the Sanskrit language. It is a derivative of 'Kashtrap' meaning 'domain'. It is an institution, wielding control over a particular area where it has supremacy or sovereignty (Ibid, 2010). It is derived from the word 'Khep' (Sharma, 2011). It exists either in the name of

the clan or *gotra*, which dominates that region or by the name of a particular geographical area. The first type of Khap Panchayat comprises a single caste and single *gotra*; the Dahiya Khap, the Hooda Khap, the Malik Khap also known as Gathwala Khap. The second type of Khap Panchayat comprises of a single caste with multi-*gotra* i.e. Meham Chaubasi in Rohtak District and the third type of Khap Panchayat comprises of multi-caste with multi-*gotra* i.e. Bawal Khap of Bense *Chaurasi* which includes 84 villages in Rewari District. A Khap Panchayat has been described as a clan council by an anthropologist on the basis of his doctoral study in the school of Oriental African Studies, London (Pradhan, 1966). It has been defined as a multi village Panchayat (Sangwan, 1986). Prem Chaudhary, a social historian from Delhi University, denotes it as caste council or caste Panchayat (Chowdhry, 2004).. In other words, it can be inferred that these are forms of traditional Panchayats.

Khap is an informal institution, exercising control over a particular area where it has supremacy (Singh, 2010). In past, there had always been a '*Head Man*'[1] or *Pradhan*, in a village who, along with other influential members of the clan, collectively took the decisions and responsibility for regulating the day to day life of the villagers. They also together performed the duties of safety and security of the larger community, issue related to brotherhood and peace of the village. In order to exercise control, these adopted certain social norms, values and principles to be followed religiously by all. Since ancient times, all the members belonged mainly to the dominant castes[2] (Srinivas, 1955) having control over large land holdings. Ever since their inception, these Panchayats have remained powerful institutions and collectively remained very strong and even fought against internal and external threats ferociously. *Khaps* also fought against kings and emperors very bravely and hence were considered as martial races. Jaats have always been one of the martial clans of North India (Tyagi, 2009). First bunch of foreign invaders had taken the route via the northern belt of India and Jaats were one of the Martial clans who faced these foreign invaders with their great repressive

force. The British were aware of the fact that Khaps were strong and hence tactfully adopted 'divide and rule policy' to weaken this institution, i.e. appointed Nambardars, Chaukidars, local Headmen. Empowered them with the authority to exercise command, control over the village and also gave them monetary support in lieu of rendered services (Sangwan, 1986). The British to weaken Khaps, also established a parallel government, namely Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) at grass roots level (Beniwal, 2010). Later after independence, Statutory Panchayats were established in 1952. These became official administrative bodies elected by villagers themselves (Sangwan, 1986). Elected village Panchayats were given constitutional status by 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992.

Khap members enjoyed social, economic and political power in community. They held supremacy over other castes residing in the village. Their decisions were binding on the villagers, widely accepted and also religiously followed by all. These were administrative, adjudicative and executive bodies which had police and military powers in ancient times (Singh, 2010).

Khaps in Post-Independence Era After independence, however, with the establishment of constitutional bodies like police, judiciary, elected Panchayats, courts, etc., the authority of the Khap Panchayats was weakened. Khaps role has changed from a comprehensive institution controlling all community affairs to just social and political functions with no official/constitutional support. The gradual decline in their authority has led to frustration among the members of the Khaps. These new developments, along with the process of globalization and modernization, have thrown a challenge to the traditional authority enjoyed earlier by these Panchayats. In order to keep hold on to its authority, these Panchayats of late have started giving diktats on various social issues in the name of preservation of culture, honour and tradition.

After independence, all the resolutions made by Khap Panchayats have revolved mostly around social issues, e.g., limiting the wedding expenditure (Sanghwan, 2008), ban on the use and playing of DJ music, ban on marriage

functions at night and ban on the exchange of dowry, etc. Since the last one decade, these have notoriously been active, involved in nullifying inter-caste, same-gotra and same-village marriages. Khaps, after independence, particularly since last 2-3 decades, in order to keep their existence alive, started interfering at family level.

In India, a family is the most important social institution that has survived through the ages. Most of the families in India, adhere to patriarchal ideology, which meant patrilineal rule of descent, patrilocal residence and these endorse traditional gender role preferences. In the present study, the researcher found that families too adhered to patriarchal ideology backed by village community. Social Norms and Community Sentiments play a major role in Khap Villages. Women have for ages been considered as custodians of honour, while men are supposed to be regulators of honour (Chowdhary 2006). Khaps are based upon this patriarchal mind-set. In recent times, the younger generations have opposed the Khaps. Khaps diktats have primarily been targeting women and young girls. Khaps, gained enormous attention in the media because of diktats issued on honour related crimes and also resistance faced by them. Media, in its all three forms, has provided support to bring the functioning of khaps in the fore front.

Research Objectives:

1. To understand Khaps Structure from Gender Perspective

2. To throw light on patriarchal reflections in Khaps.

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in the state of Haryana, where khaps were active. Fieldwork was conducted in 40 villages of Khap belt.

Area of Research

In view of the nature of research issues, the study was conducted in the area comprising the Khap belt of Haryana. Khaps are very strong in a few districts

of Haryana namely Kaithal, Jind, Karnal, Rohtak, Sonipat, Bhiwani, Jhajjar and Rewari. According to Sharma (2011), there are 70 Khap Panchayats at present spread over 11 districts. There are three types of khaps in Haryana and one from each type was selected purposively. Hence, executing the method of purposive sampling method, Dahiya Khap, Meham Chaubasi Khap and Bawal Khap, representing each of the three categories, were selected. It is therefore meaningful to examine these three kinds of Khaps operative in Haryana.

Respondents

Data have been obtained from the following categories of respondents:

1. Members of the three selected Khaps;

2. Community members irrespective caste, Age and gender;

3. Police officials working in the local area;

4. Judges dealing with the cases of honour killings;

5. Social Activists;

6. Academicians and Researchers

In the absence of a sampling frame and subject to the availability of respondents mentioned above, the method of theoretical sampling was used for collecting data. Using qualitative methods of research, and specifically theoretical sampling, the researcher went on collecting data from above mentioned categories of respondents till the point of saturation.

Techniques of data collection

In view of the qualitative nature of the research issues, data were obtained by using techniques such as personal interviews, with the help of interview guides specially constructed for different categories of respondents, observation, narratives, and focus group discussions.

Section II

Khaps Structure from Gender Perspective

Khap Panchayat is a male dominated institution with strong patriarchal ideology (Chowdhry, 2006 & Chaudhry, 2014). Roots of the ideology can be seen from the control of the khap on various decision related to the private social affairs of family and women. Women are never been the active member of the khap but khaps are actively taking the decision related to women's without consulting them.

Patriarchal ideology is being followed in the khap belt of Haryana. Historical evidence shows that women were never ever a part of Khap Panchayats. Though Khaps have been dealing with issues of women, yet the need for including women in decision making or consulting women was never felt. It was only in 2010, that a woman was included in the structure of Sarv Khap Panchayat, mainly due to the pressure built up by the media and civil society. It has been now realized that it was just a face saving tactic. Even in a period of more than one decade, only one woman has been included in the Satrol Khap, i.e. up-to 22nd April 2014. It is openly acknowledged that although a large number of cases, taken up by Khaps, concerned women, yet women were never consulted. Women since times immemorial have been kept in veil and hence their inclusion in the public domain was never allowed by the male dominated institution. Women have become educated, societies have changed, civilization and modernization are evolving at a fast pace, women are walking shoulder to shoulder and are becoming bread earners. These old orthodox ideology holders are regularly being criticized. Hence, in order to survive and on facing criticism by the civil society, the Sarv Khap Panchayat of Haryana, decided to constitute a '*Women's Wing of Sarv Khap Panchayat*' on April 13th, 2010.

Table 1

Women in the Structure of Khap Panchayat

Level of Khap	Men	Women
Tholla	Yes	No
Pana	Yes	No
Village	Yes	No
Gawand	Yes	No
Tappa	Yes	No
Khap	Yes	No
Sarv Khap	Yes	Yes* [2010]
Satrol Khap	Yes	Yes** [2014]

Source: Field Work in Haryana

*One Woman in 2010

**One Woman 2014

Table 1, clearly shows that women's participation was nil at different levels of Khap Panchayat. After interacting with the local community members irrespective of caste, class age and gender, it was observed that the mind-set of men has yet not accepted the possibility of women sharing the dias with men.

Table 2

Composition in selected Khaps

Level of Khap	Dahiya Khap		Meham Chaubasi Khap		Bawal Chaurasi*	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Tholla	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Pana	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Village	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Gawand	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Tappa	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Khap	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No

Source: Group Discussion with Pradhans of selected three Khaps in Haryana

*Bawal Chaurasi was one of the Tappa of Jhadsa Gurgawan Khap

Table 1.1 highlights the absence of women in the selected Khaps of Haryana. It clearly indicates complete dominance and hegemnoy of men in composition of Khaps in Haryana. There was no authority, power or recognition of women in any decision making. It was observed that women were only to be seen (in meager percentage) and not heard. It was also observed that even young male respondents maintained that women were not to hold any position in Khap Panchayats. When inquired from the local people in the village and asked '*Can a woman ever become a Pradhan of Khap Panchayat*?' all members, including women responded that women could never be Pradhans of Khap Panchayat in Haryana and all of them said that within Haryana, a woman can never ever enter Khap Panchayats. The researcher further tried to find out if she can become a member of Khap Panchayat? One of the male respondents from Bawal Khap replied that *there are some unwritten rules which stop women from entering Chaupals. A woman is not even allowed to go for meetings of Khap Panchayats. While passing a Chaupal a woman always covers her face with the veil.*

During fieldwork, it was found that respondents of all age groups rejected the idea of including women in the structure of Khap Panchayats. Looking at the Haryanvi society and after giving weightage to the mindset of local public, it looks impossible that women can ever become a Pradhans of Khap Panchayat, as revealed by the majority of young male respondents. When women are not even allowed within the premises of Khap Panchayat, how could one expect the community members to ever accept women as Sarpanches and Panches in the villages of Khap belt? How will they accept elected women Sarpanches in their villages? A male respondent listed the reasons why a woman could not become a Pradhan or member of Khap Panchayat. He said that "*Turban is a prerogative only of elderly men of the dominant gotra. It seemed that turban is meant only for respectable, elderly, influential men of the community. The community members believed that only men can be rational and logical, while women in Haryanvi society are*

expected to perform the household chores only. Women are meant to remain within four walls of the house. It is the culture of society of Haryana that the male members earn livelihood for the family and female members are homemakers. He also argued that the *leadership, public positions and decision making are meant only for men in Khap belt of Haryana.*

Section III

Khap: A reflection of Patriarchal Ideology

In order to study Khaps and their ideology, it was crucial to collect opinions of Khap members along with other community members. Therefore, researcher during fieldwork interviewed members of khap and community, including judiciary, police, academicians and social activists etc., The responses of various sections of the community towards khaps and their working, son preference, female foeticide, age at marriages, girls education, dress code for girls, usage of social networking sites and mobile phones, picture of an ideal girl/women and mobility or visit to nearest market have been studied and included in this research paper.

During fieldwork a senior police personnel shared his experience and narrated: *"Khap is a social body which is there to regulate the life of the villagers. Khaps is putting social control over the villagers. Khaps are not bad if we exclude the tribal nature from it. Lately, it has been working on issues like reducing wedding expenditures, curbing female foeticide and encouraging girls' education. Educated people are becoming part of Khap Panchayats and hence Khaps are getting more recognition. But still these institutions find it difficult to control the younger generation"*. During an interview, police personnel shared that Khap mind-set (thinking along the caste lines) pervades everywhere and can be observed even in the police department. Even people working in the police department felt '*Hamaari chhori kaise bhaag sake hai'*.

In Manoj and Babli honour killing case, the head constable a day before murder, was sitting with the perpetrator of the crime and helped in the

execution of the murder. That is why Babli's family members knew about their whereabouts and the police men got down from the bus at Pipli bus stand and her family members came and took both of them away. Now it is ironical that head constable instead of protecting the couple went ahead to safeguard community's honour, pride and prestige. He too felt that the couple has brought dishonor and shame to the family, community and even to their bhaichara. Manoj's sister, who is a constable in Haryana police was threatened in full public view and even got slapped by the male relatives of Babli. She is provided police protection even up to this time. The head constable further stated that directly or indirectly police department too was protecting Khaps so that they are not punished for their wrongdoings. It was also narrated that seniors and subordinates try to pressurize the concerned officer during the trial. Khaps are all pervasive. Society practically comes prior to the individual. Finding is substantiated by a renowned sociologist **Emile Durkhiem who says that society comes prior to the individual.**

During fieldwork, an attempt was also made to interview academicians from the Khap belt of Haryana. During an interview a middle aged male academician narrated: *These Panchayats are quasi-judicial bodies and termed it as empty signifier[3]. Further, he stated that the notion of honour and dignity which they talk is non-existent. In today's times honour means which takes you forward, but these Panchayats use it to remain backwards, feudal, ancient and regressive that tends to take back to the times of Pan Indian Culture. Even the Government Machinery is controlled by people who have feudal mind-set, who still are not ready to accept the human values. An Individual is not allowed to be free to express his opinion. These people think that through social control they are creating a good society. The respondent told that our state machinery has been for Khaps and narrated that one of the academicians turned politician once said, "in Khaps ki sanctity to rahi hai" and these are entities of our society"*

During an interview, Judges from High Court and other respondents accepted that these Khaps have an effective strength even today, leading to huge

support and muscle power. It was stated by them that numerical strength and control over resources rested with the members of Khap Panchayats. This was the major reason why these Panchayats had been getting support within the community.

During an interview a woman judicial officer was asked "what was her experience when she gave Manoj and Babli verdict? To this she replied: *"The very first reaction was from my own counterparts (male colleagues), immediately after I passed this verdict. The male judicial officers were shocked with her judgment and told her that: 'Teri Apni Beti Agar aisa karegi to tum kya karti'. (If your daughter would have done this, what would you do)? She narrated that she was shocked at her* **male colleagues who too endorse the same thought process as** *members of the Khap Panchayats".*

Researcher further asked, "Why is there only one or two judgments passed in such type of cases and what happens to the other cases? Why justice is not provided to all other cases?" Her reply was that *(**Koi bhi uthta nahi hai unke against**)* No one has ever raised voice against the Khaps and moreover **judicial officers too have the same ideology (***Judicial Officers ki apni perception hi aisi hai).* In most of the cases, judicial officers too have their own limitations. It is seen that during the proceedings of a case the whole of the village is completely transformed and becomes hostile *(Poora Gaon badal Jata hai).*

She narrated her own experience in another case of honour killing where a boy was killed and the entire village became hostile during legal proceedings. In most of the cases if the marriage takes place, such a marriage is declared null and void. The couple is killed in order to teach a lesson to other boys and girls.

In Manoj-Babli case the role of Manoj's sister and mother was very commendable. Both of them till the end remained strong and resisted men of their community, i.e. Khap members.

During the proceedings, they were approached by these Khap members to withdraw the case, but it was only because of both of them that evidences were collected and on the basis of those evidences judgment was passed. It was not only the family members of Manoj who were threatened by the community members rather during that period even the Judicial Officer was not spared. She also received threat from Khaps since they had stronghold in their areas. She admitted that she was not aware about the phenomenon of honour killing till the time of conviction. Till then honour killing was not mentioned. Additional Session Judge clarified that for her it was just one of the murder cases and she passed judgment by looking at the evidence only. She claimed that definitely Khaps are like a parallel government. But she voiced her views that they have no right to kill and they could give an opinion, but should not take law in their hand. She further added "Why do we need Khaps in 21st Century when constitution of India is there?" She even narrated when the verdict was announced the prosecution was very angry and questioned his audaciously? *'Bhai Yeh tune kya kara diya'* (What have you done?)

It was for the first time that the perpetrators got punishment otherwise they would roam freely here and there. This verdict shocked these men. They were so confident and full of arrogance and self-righteousness that during proceedings one of the perpetrators even slapped Manoj's sister in front of the whole gathering. She further told that in most of the cases and particularly in this case the youngest criminal who planned the killing was 26 years old.

It clearly highlights Khaps ideology is not only limited to elderly male members, but young boys are also influenced by the ideology. The influence of khap ideology was seen on the youngsters as well. She told that actually the youngsters get more actively involved in the killing of young boys and girls in the study area. After this verdict, she faced a lot of criticism.

Women in Khaps

Only a few respondents were aware that recently women have been included in Khap Panchayats. But they too admitted that these women have no role, they are there just for the face saving tactics adopted by the Khap Panchayats. These women never present their independent views as these are all male dominated Khap Panchayats. Their own family members do not let them voice anything contrary to the views of male dominated Khap Panchayats. It was observed that in the structure of Khap Panchayats of Haryana, male domination is so deep rooted that any structural change is very difficult.

It was also found though women were invariably against all these restrictions imposed on them, yet they were found helpless in this regard. Any woman who dared to step out alone was targeted by the community members who would pass lewd remarks on her character. It was difficult to decide how women/girls should cope up with this primitive, backward ideology of the inhabitants. It was observed during interaction with them that women were considered as a commodity to be protected. Women do not have equal status, with men, with no freedom of speech or movement. The constitutional rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution were found to be casualty in the villages within Khap belt of Haryana.

Son Preference, Female Foeticide and Honour attached to Women

Reflection of Patriarchal ideology was also observed in the perception of community members irrespective of caste, class, gender and age. Women have been neglected in every phase of life, from the time of birth till the old age, mainly due to patriarchal ideology followed by Khap members. Preference for a son is so strong that parents kill their daughters in the womb (female foeticide). During a group discussion a woman respondent said, a son is the one to provide support for old age and carries the family lineage forward. The girls leave their family and go to their in- laws home. Following comments highlight the strong preference for a son and reasons why daughters are considered a liability in study area.

Another woman respondent said: 'son only lifts the funeral pyre and looks after the parents in old age. The son gives support to the parents in old age.' Preference for son was found to be very strong irrespective of caste, class and gender. An attempt was also made to gain the perceptions of community regarding the birth of a girl child. A male respondent said: *"ladki hone se mooh ko tala lag jata hai"* (At the birth of a girl child the family is rendered speechless).

The respondents revealed that the birth of the girl child was not appreciated by the family as well as community members. Apart from this, the majority of respondents also said that if first child was a girl then second child should not be a girl. The notion of honour is attached to the daughter/women. The fear of molestation, eve-teasing, abuse/harassment and dowry has forced people not to have a girl child in their family. A strong idea of family and community honour therefore results in the female foeticide. There is always a fear in a parent's mind about the safety of their daughters. The majority of the respondents narrated their fear and said, *"Ji izzat se sabse jyada darr lagta hai, kahin kuch galat na ho jaye' (*The biggest fear is the honour of the family and all fear the occurrence of untoward incident).

Interaction with various respondents of both the genders, Pradhan and other members of Khap and community members revealed that the girl is considered as a responsibility and the birth of girl child entails lot of burden on parents. Her safety, education, dowry remains their responsibility even after getting her married. Even when women are victims of rape, elopement and marriage issues, the society still holds them responsible. Restrictions and punishments are too imposed to curb women's freedom. Restrictions are imposed on their dress, movement, use of mobile phones, visits to markets and so on. The parents of the girl child usually live in fear of any untoward incident not acceptable to society, which ultimately leads to female foeticide, leading to a skewed child sex ratio. These observations substantiate that the girl child in India is treated right from her birth as an additional burden, an extra mouth to feed, a liability and another man's property (Jena 2008).

Various Restrictions imposed on Women

Respondents expressed their fear over sending their daughters to schools at distant area and were anxious and concern about the safety of their daughters. The parents of girls are perpetually worried in terms of losing 'izzat' because of daughters and hence they don't want them. Hence the preference to a male child and female foeticide or killing of female in the womb is opted for that needs to be addressed at the national level.

The decision of Khap Panchayat to ban girls from wearing jeans has been endorsed by the heads of village councils. They too believed that the ban was necessary for preventing young couples from eloping. One of the Khap members revealed that *'We believe that a woman should be covered from head to toe in loose fitting clothes that should not attract the male eye. Our idea of beauty is a woman whose hands alone are visible. Even her eyes should preferably be under a veil'*

The members opined that wearing of jeans by school/college going girls was the 'root cause' of rising incidents of eve teasing. A Khap of 12 villages banned the wearing of jeans by students. The Panchayat also slapped a blanket ban on playing DJ sound system in the villages. It was observed in the villages of rural Haryana that there were strict restrictions on dress code for the women and girls. Haryanvi Salwaar and Kameez for girls was considered as the best dress code as revealed by the most of the respondents and even Khap members.

A common precaution adopted by community members to keep their daughters away from interaction with the boys was not to give mobile phones to them. It is believed that the girl might talk to boys and may elope with one of them. A Common phrase used by the villagers: *'Chhori bhaj jawe ya bigad jawe, Na rakhan dewe chhori nu phone'* (The girl secretly elopes or gets spoilt, don't let daughters keep phones otherwise they keep the phone in a secret place and talk to boys). It is believed that a woman brings disgrace to her family even if she interacts with the boys.

A woman cannot even laugh freely in villages of Haryana. Even laughing of any girl/woman is considered as a gesture to attract male attention. Girls are expected to keep their head covered and down while going to school or elsewhere.

Conclusion

Findings revealed that women were kept under watch all the time by parents, villagers, society and by the members of community. How to behave, how to dress, what to possess, how much to study, at what age to get married and what all places to visit and the whole lot of restrictions were imposed on women folk of the villages. Unwritten social norms were found, which the girls have to abide by in Khap belt. There was a ban on girls' visits to the market. They can either go with their mother, father or brother. Since the cases of elopement, inter-caste marriages, runaway marriages were on an increase, parents had put more restrictions on girls.

Women have not been allowed to raise voice against Khap Panchayats' primitive, traditional and orthodox norms, which needed change as per the requirements of time. Even in constitutionally elected Panchayats women are elected and included because of the reservation, the husbands all the time actually perform these roles.

A critical review of these documents reveals that some of the functions have continued even after independence while others have undergone change with time. After independence, major functions of Khaps were taken over by the constitutional bodies like Police, Judiciary and elected village Panchayats. Khap Panchayats came into existence for regulating and resolving problems arising out of collective living in a group/clan/village or a group of villages. During ancient period only people who were respected as elderly and wise performed the task of maintaining the discipline among all the inhabitants. Later, these Khap Panchayats also performed the role of the army to meet external threats and to counter the aggressions. In the process these adopted very strict norms and an ideology which kept the villagers bound together as

a very strong social group. This was accepted, honoured, respected and was the need of that hour. Now the transformation in society has taken place due to modernization and industrialization. All the functions that Khap Panchayat was performing earlier have now been taken over by elected Panchayats, Police and other legal bodies. Almost all administrative services have been taken over by the State. The authority and supremacy that members of Khap Panchayat were enjoying earlier are now getting diluted due to the above factors hence the conflict. For retaining the authority among the villagers, Khap Panchayats are issuing diktats and *fatwas* on social issues which are illegal and unconstitutional, but are widely accepted by the rural inhabitants, due to the fear of Khap Panchayats which are active at local level. So the only function Khap Panchayat is mainly performing today, is resolving social issues like marriage, elopement, etc. at the village level. But the ground reality is that Khap Panchayats still continues to be dominant and the community accepts their decisions today with their conviction, even though their harsh punishments, diktats and support to notorious honour killings are a violation of constitutional human rights.

In a country like India that has witnessed a change in the status of women since centuries, the discrimination and inhuman treatment against women through khaps is a question on the development of the country. For a better society which relies on the fundamental values of gender equity, the stringent and orthodox nature of khaps needs to be changed. Family is the basic social institution to nurture the future generation with gender neutral value system.

Notes

1. Headman-a dominant, respected, elderly, influential man on whom the clan looks upon for resolving any disputes, issues and the one who takes decisions for welfare of that clan.
2. *A caste may be said to be 'dominant' when it preponderates numerically over other castes and wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchies is not too low'*
3. By empty signifier the respondent meant they do not have any content and they just use the past issues in order to survive in the present times.

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Localizing the Impact of Partition on Dhat Region of Sindh: A Case Study of Mithrio (Kelan)

JETHU BHARTI, RAJNI SAHOTA

Abstract

The partition of India is one of the unforgettable catastrophes of the twentieth century. The detriments of partition of India were not only restrained with political divisions but also disturbed the socio-cultural and religious fabric across the Indian Subcontinent, the worst of which was faced by border areas. Dhat a cultural subzone in Sindh is one of those regions which got severely impacted by the long-term impacts of the partition, while the scholars have captured Punjab and Bengal, Dhat remained totally away from the academic attention. The region as immediate consequences found it on the Pakistan side, while during the Indo-Pak wars of 1965 and 1971 witnessed its largest refugee influx. The present paper aims to highlight the localized impact of partition on Dhat region and an attempt to get an insight into its dynamics with a case study of Mithrio (Kelan) village, specifically concerning post-1971 migration. The documentation of the experience of the refugees, residing mainly in the Barmer district of Rajasthan, also provides a valuable addition to understanding the narrative.

Key Words: *Dhat, Mithrio, Partition of India, Rajasthan, Sindh.*

Introduction

The partition of India had significantly impacted the regions and communities of the Indian subcontinent. The hastily and haphazardly drawn Radcliffe line had over-nightly divided the places and people between two separate nations by an international border, leading to the lives of inhabitants in midstream of traumas. Its detriments were not only restrained by the formation of 'two nations' but also disturbed the socio-religious fabric of the regions, followed by enormous incidences of violence and displacement of more than 16.5 million people. (Bhardwaj, 2009) As the works of scholars like Vazira

Zamindar (2007) and Joya Chatterjee (2011) argue that the impacts of partition were not restricted to 1947 but continued to reverberate for a long time and its print can be traced even today. Partition, as observed by Antara Datta created two kinds of borders: an 'effective' with a political and bureaucratic separation and another an 'affective' in terms of dissections on the socio-cultural and emotional links. (Datta, 2012: 10-12)

The areas along the borders of Sindh and Rajasthan also did not remain out of the impacts of partition; despite being under distinct political authorities, the region across the border had a long history of shared culture, space, and customs. The cultural sub-zone of Dhat in Sindh reflects close linkage with the Marwar region of Rajasthan, the ties can be mapped in context to share geography, history, political spectrums and culture between both the regions. Partition of India marked Dhat with an international border and disturbed its peaceful co-existence with the region on Indian side. It could be seen as an intensified influx of large numbers of refugees across the border long after 1947. In the case of Sindh-Rajasthan border, while the idea of 'effective' had mirrored in the immediate consequences, the notion of 'affective' trickled down with time and became true after the India-Pakistan war of 1971. The war caused which caused the largest wave of about one lakh refugees' migration from Dhat towards Rajasthan. (Ghosh, 2016: 43)

Scholarly attention on 'Dhat' as a region which suffered have yet to be documented by academia. In this context, the present paper attempts to tap Dhat region and the impacts of partition on it. It seeks to understand materialisation of the idea of 'affective' border in the region after 1971. Additionally, this paper also documents the experiences of the refugees from Mithrio (Kelan) village of Dhat, settled in Barmer district of Rajasthan. In this context, extensive fieldwork was conducted to capture the experiences and understand these refugees' narratives.

Conceptual Framework

The historiography of the independence and partition of India has garnered substantial attention from the scholars. It has been one of the most studied themes in South Asian history. The academia attempted to understand almost every plinth and plight of the partition. In the early decades, the focus of these scholarships was constrained mainly to finding the causes, where tapping the political developments, the process of transfer of power, and role of various elements in the same were the key themes of exploration. The writings were majorly in the form of biographies, autobiographies, memoirs or political accounts of the Individuals. The strategic role played by the communal elements and attitude of the British colonial state structure in containing the situation, and the 'high politics' of the time were the main themes. (Roy, 1990: 385)

The shift from 'what' to 'whom to blame' was indicated by the writings of Ayesha Jalal (1985) and Anita Inder Singh (1987), when role of individuals and organizations like the Muslim League and Congress in culminating the partition was inspected. The violence, exodus, and massacres have also garnered considerable attention amid these scholarships. The academia took a turn with Gyanendra Pandey's attempt to retrace the meaning of partition and violence for the people who experienced it. (2001) Further, the women-centric traumas and experiences were documented by scholars like Urwashi Butalia (2000), Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin (1998).

In this context, the regional dynamics have also engrossed some attention as the focus on Punjab is reflected in the works of Istihaq Ahmed, Ian Talbot, and others. On the other side, scholars like Joya Chatterjee, Haimanti Roy, Monika Mandal, and William van Schendel have attempted to highlight it in the context of the Bengal-centric narratives. The impacts and experiences on the Sindh-Rajasthan border find no place in partition related studies generally, however some recently few scholars like Rita Kothari, Farhana Ibrahim, Sarah Ansari, Nandita Bhavnani have made an attempt to study

partition from Sindh's perspective. In this context, Kothari (2009) tries to tap the experiences of Sindhi refugees who have migrated to India after the partition. Additionally, Bhavnani (2014) finds material ambitions as one of the prime motivations behind the incidences of communal violence, discrimination, and tensions in Sindh. On the other side, Ansari (2005) highlights the lasting impact of the influx of *muhajirs* on the demographic transformation and the role of state policies on the social and political spectrum of Sindh, especially Karachi city, in post-partition.

The scenario following the 1971 Indo-Pak war and later waves of refugee influx have also grabbed substantial attention in recent works. The writings on one side are focused on the dynamics of war, political chronology, and individual memoirs such as works of K P Candeth, K K Nanda, and others, along with specified writings on the Western and Eastern front, including some specific battles. On the other side, the works of scholars like Antara Datta, Anam Zakaria, Uditi Sen, and others attempt to provide a humane dimension of Bengal migration by focusing on refugees' issues and challenges faced by them in post-1971, Antara Datta finds it as a turning point for the region. (Datta, 2012)

The overview of the existing historical literature reflects that temporal focus of the studies is mainly confined to the violence-centric incidences of partition, while the spatial focus is limited to specific regions such as Punjab and Bengal where actual geographical division took place and partition is more significant in terms of population displacement. In these partition-related studies, the experiences and responses of Rajasthan hardly find any place. The impact of partition on the western border between the Sindh and Rajasthan border is absent from academia. Even the focus of studies related to Sindh is on certain communities and mercantile centres, thus leaving the locale dynamics particularly the experiences of Dhat region untapped. The studies on the 1971 war also lack in attention on the exact effect of war on Sindh-Rajasthan border.

Dhat Region and the Impacts of Partition

Dhat is a cultural subzone in the southeast part of Sindh province, situated along Rajasthan in the east. In terms of administrative boundaries, Dhat is extended across Tharparkar and Umarkot districts of Sindh. The region is geographically a part of the Thar desert, also known as the 'Marusthali', extended majorly across Rajasthan. The region, due to its arid climate and desert physiography, comprises large sand dunes, also called *Dhuli Dhat*. The people of Dhat are commonly called Dhati, and their linguistic dialect is known as Dhatki.

In recent political terminologies, the use of the term 'Dhat' is gradually disappearing, but it is still prominent in terms of cultural understanding. The region is popularly called as '*Dhara Surangi Dhat*', means the 'colourful land of Dhat' for its cultural epitome. (Gadhveer, 2013, p.11) The political linkages and social interactions with Sindh on the one side and Rajasthan on the other have immensely developed the socio-cultural fabric of Dhat. It also shares historical relations of '*roti*' and '*beti*' (the relations in terms of shared food habits and inter-regional shared marital relations) with Rajasthan and particularly with the adjoining region, culturally called Marwar. The region also reflects shared sacred spaces with following of prime deities including Baba Ramdevji, Pabuji, Gogaji, Pir Pithoro, and Hinglaj Mata across communities in Dhat and Marwar.

Historically, Dhat has remained under the control of various ruling authorities and has been a major political part of Sindh. The foundation of Dhat was said to have been laid by Sodho ji Parmar with the annexation of Ratokot; since then, his descendants have governed the region with the title of 'Rana' and capital at Umarkot, also known as Amarkot. Since the advent of Britisher, it remained under colonial control as an administrative division of Sindh until 1947. After the partition of India, this region with the majority of the Hindu

population with cultural indent to Rajasthan went to newly carved Pakistan. The then Rana of Umerkot Arjun Sindh, decided to join Pakistan and stated that '*pehla aaun Sindhi aahin, pache aaun Hindu aahin*' which means 'I am first a Sindh than a Hindu', and the people in the region chose to follow their local patron. (Desai, 2017)

In the context of the violence and migration in the immediate response to partition, Dhat did not face much disturbance while in socio-cultural context the impacts were much more significant. The partition has transformed the region as a borderland between the two separate nations; it has not only divided the Thar desert but also created several challenges for the society. In this context, Megha Ram Gadhveer states that during the partition of India, about 70 percent of Dhat went to Pakistan and the remaining 30 percent stayed with India. According to him, in the present scenario in the east-west Dhat had expansion from Umerkot in Sindh to the hills of Chauhtan in Barmer, and in the north to south it is expanded from Satta Sundara village in Jaisalmer to Sedwa in Barmer district and up to Sati Dehra in Pakistan. (Gadhveer, 2013: 48) The partition has divided several twin villages, such as Detani and Gogasar on two opposite sides of the border. The town named Gadra City went to Pakistan while the railway station of the same named Gadra Road remained with India.

The partition has created social and cultural disturbance to the shared ethos of the region with Marwar. The cross-cultural links in terms of language, customs, daily practices and folk universe also got distanced due to the partition. The shared cultural and sacred spaces got shattered by the border.

The partition also resulted in continuous displacement of people across the border. The movement was primarily from Dhat towards India, but in comparison to other areas the number of incidences of migration were less in this region. The permeability of border and socio-cultural relations with the

Indian side kept status quo in the region until 1965. The India-Pakistan war of 1965 for the first-time sowed seeds of tension and fear in the region, leading to migration of about ten thousand people across the border. (Sikand, 2010; Ghosh, 2016) The strain widened further after the 1971 Indo-Pak war as it had widely brought the region under conflict zone. As Pakistan opened the war from western front causing the battle of Longewala, the region got direct involvement in the war and seen some of the crucial strategic battles. In the aftermath of the war about one lakh people have migrated from Dhat towards Rajasthan and Gujarat. (Bhati, 2013; Ghosh, 2016) The migration towards India could still be witnessed in the region. The challenges and atrocities in Pakistan force many of them to leave their home towards the new places. The news reports in various local and national newspapers, several writings state the continuous migration of the refugees from Sindh, particularly from Dhat towards Rajasthan. (Singh, 2020; Gill, 2021)

Case Study of Mithrio (Kelan) Village in Post-Partition

Mithrio is a village in Chachro tehsil of Tharparkar district in Sindh. It is about 40 kilometers (8 *gau*) from the international border between India and Pakistan. The location and cultural identity of the village make it a part of the Dhat. As a part of the Great Indian Desert known as Thar, the living, livelihood and culture of echoes substantial closeness to the adjacent areas on the Rajasthan side. The village is further divided into three sub-localities, based on the majority caste living in the particular vicinity: Mithrio (Kelan), with the leading population of Kelan Sodha Rajput, along with Mithrio (Charan), and Mithrio (Suthar), with the majority of Charan and Suthar communities respectively. According to the 2017 census, Mithrio (Charan) have become the *tapa* (village council) in Chachro tehsil, consisting of the nearby small villages, with inhabiting 5616 households and population of 38981 people. (Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2020: 56) (Map 1)

Map 1: Location of the Mithrio village in Tharparkar district of the Sindh.
(Source: Tharparkar Drought Report, 2014)

The village found itself on the side of Pakistan after the partition. In the immediate phase of partition, the village faced negligible impacts in terms of violence or refugees' influx. The Indo-Pak war of 1965 for the first time brought the region under purview of the war and brought tensions among the villagers, followed by various challenges. The war of 1971 was a turning point in this context, during the war in response to Pakistani attack on Western border 10 Para Commando of the Indian army, in its special operation 'Chachro raid,' entered about 80 kilometres inside Pakistan up to Chachro tehsil headquarter and captured large territory including Mithrio village. The occupancy remained for about a year until returned on 22 December 1972, following the Shimla agreement of July 1972. This has not only created tension in the region but also resulted in migration of about one lakh people living in the occupied region of Dhat to migrate toward India, including the residents of Mithrio village.

In this context, to get an insight into this migration, this paper also taps the experiences of refugees from Mithrio (Kelan) village. For the said objective, an extensive field survey was conducted in the months of October-November 2023 across Barmer district, where the refugees from Mithrio (Kelan) village reside. The fieldwork contains not just the experiences of migration but also memories of their ancestral home.

Experiences of the Refugees

Mithrio (Kelan) was predominantly a Hindu majority village with about 45 households and an approximate population of 500. The Kelan Sodha Rajput held the highest number of households among them, while the other communities in the village were Swami, Suthar, Rana Rajput, Bheel, Manganiyar, and Muslim Kumhars. (Chart 1)

After the 1971 war, all members of Sodha Rajput, Swami, Suthar, and Rana Rajput families migrated to India, while among Bheel and Manganiyar, few families migrated while most remained in Pakistan; on the other side, Muslim Kumhar families opted to stay within Pakistan. (Table 1) The majority of these refugees are settled in villages near the border area, particularly in Chauhtan and Shiv tehsil, while recently, many of them have shifted towards Barmer or other nearby towns.
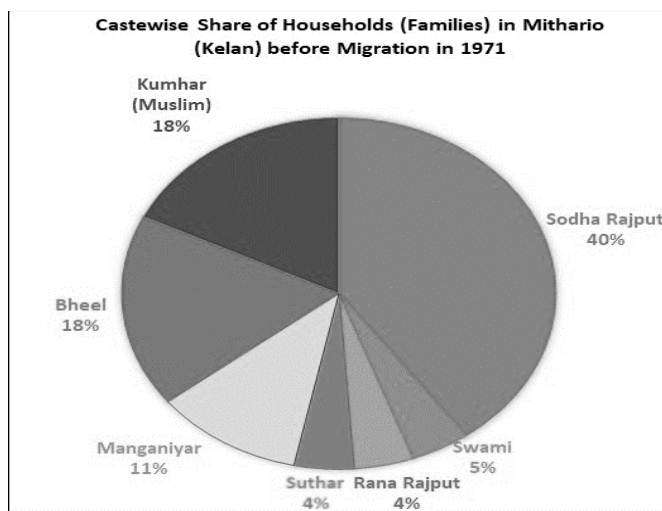

Chart-1

Table-1

Caste	No. of families migrated to India	No. of families stayed
Sodha Rajput	18	0
Swami	2	0
Rawna Rajput	2	0
Suthar	2	0
Manganiyar	1	4
Bheel	2	6
Kumhar (Muslims)	0	8
Total	27	18

(Source: Chart and table are prepared based on the information collected from the refugees.)

The memories of the native place are evidently visible among these people. In remembrance of Dhat, Heera Devi, now residing in Barmer, says "o *mulak hato to thaoko, kade kade raat ro sutode sapno me e ganoye aave*" (That place was really good, even sometimes I feel that place in my dreams while sleeping). Kesar Singh, now in his late 90s, when remembering it says, "*Dhat to Dhat hati*" (Dhat was Dhat) with his eyes full of tears. In this context Akhe Singh adds "*Dhat re ki batan karon, jita bakhan karo uta kam h*" (I am short of words to describe Dhat). Shambhu Dan states that going to a new place was a tough decision, but it was a compulsion. The cultural traits of their native place are also clearly visible in their customs, practices, and lifestyle among these people. Many of them, like Ashok Bharti, Akhe Singh, and others, not only remember the region but also share oral narratives of the same to their new generations.

The period between 1965 to 1971 was crucial, in which people made the intension to migrate towards India. As Indra Singh, then Patel (village headman) of Mithrio (Kelan) says between those six year "*betha uth hata, pan jee ith paryo to*" (we were living there but our hearts were here in India). He adds that between the period of 5-6 years, people prepared themselves for the migration, in his words, "*mankho man me ee janyo hato po ke hame e apno ghar ko h, apno ghar Hindustan h*" (people got believed that now this

izzat (honour) and the future of the family was the main reason for migration. Ganga Singh adds the cross-border matrimonial relations as a reason; he says that as marriage within the same gotra is prohibited, they had abundant number of marital relations across the border, which has also played a pivotal role in migration. Hathe Singh finds that the *bhajad* (war) of 1971 was the incident that forced them to flee to India at the earliest.

The remembrance of the day of migration makes many of them emotional as they say, *'oo din aaj e aankho re samo h kaloke din jaido*" (that day is still in front of our eyes, as it was yesterday). As sharing the hard days of migration, Heera Devi says "holding a one-year-old boy in hand, we left our houses with our soul only, and left the farm with full of grains*,*" she added, "even I said my husband to open 3-4 *kansara* (grains stores), so that someone like us could have it." Remembering the day of migration, Inder Singh says, "I was about 28 years old at the time of migration. It was a sunny day of the December winter when we migrated in an immediate hurry, even leaving tea on *chulha* (stove) while it was still being prepared." He adds that for the village migration was like "*ek muthi me bharayodi bajri fagaye bikheri howe jane*" (as if someone had scattered a handful of millet).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it could be said that an insight into the history and experiences of the Sindh-Rajasthan border provides a distinct narrative of the impacts of partition and migration. It has not only impacted the politico-administrative boundaries of Dhat but also had significant implications on the lives of people and the socio-cultural fabric of the region. The region is transformed into a borderland, where people still find their hearts sliced on both sides of the border. The war of 1965 and particularly the 1971 was a turning point for Dhat, which had not only seeded *taishab* (conflict) in the region but also built ground for migration. The factors, including fluidity in cross-border movement along with cultural affinity and matrimonial relations, played a crucial role in the violation of the 'effective' border. The fear of the future in

terms of communal clashes has made them opt for *zameer* (conscience) instead of z*ameen* (land). The paper attempts to capture as well as highlight the need to refocus the partition and migration narratives. In the context of the long-term impacts of the partition, there is a need to expand the horizon beyond the restrained attention and widen the approach to inculcate its localized impacts on regions like Dhat. There are many more such localities and cultural zones that need to be brought into focus in the context of partition studies.

Acknowledgment

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Nursing as a Feminine Profession: A Study of Career Choice and Regret

AMRITA, REENA RANI CHAUDHARY

Abstract

Nursing has been one of the feminine professions where women are employed in large numbers. This overwhelming presence further induces more young women to take up nursing as their career. The worldwide shortage of nurses combined with a fast-ageing population in the developed countries demands for an increased supply of nurses. The developing countries such as India and Philippines have emerged as major suppliers of nurses. In other words, with increasing international mobility, the possibility of settling in developed countries has emerged as the major reason for choosing nursing. The present study seeks to examine the forces behind the choice of nursing among nurses working in private hospitals in S.A.S. Nagar district of Punjab (India). It also attempts to examine the role of family in their career decision, along with the regret in choosing nursing. The study concludes that a majority of the nurse respondents chose nursing as their first choice of career.

Keywords: *Nursing, Choice, Regret, Career, Women.*

Introduction

Choosing a career is believed to be a thorough and well thought–out process, which means that there are a number of factors which are at play while deciding career. These factors vary with respect to socio-economic background of every individual (Shahzad et al., 2014). Such decision can be an individual one or it may involve various participants such as family, friends or teachers (Jirwe & Rudman, 2012).

Nursing has been an important and distinct career choice among young women in India. Being a female majority profession, families also encouraged their daughters to join it as 'safe option' where they do not have

to deal with large number of male colleagues. With increasing overseas opportunities, it has gained even more popularity. The very fact that the women are increasingly choosing nursing merely to move overseas and set up their families there indicates that nursing is more of a life strategy and not merely a source of livelihood (Nair, 2012). Nursing is one of the careers which require high levels of commitment and dedication. It is because the very basis of nurses' work demands compassion and service-orientation from its practitioners.

In Indian context, there is a connection between colonial links of nursing and caste system in India which has been responsible for lower status of this profession (Nair & Healey, 2006). Ever since its genesis as a profession in India, nursing has been popular among young girls belonging to families from lower castes who were poor. The reason was free education in nursing schools and stipends provided to the students by which they could support their families financially. Also, assured job availability after completing their education helped them to earn decent amount to help their families further. In this way, economic reasons have been one of the important factors in choosing nursing as a career. This factor is still relevant in present times and therefore, the girl students whose parents cannot afford high fees of medical schools prefer to send their daughters for nursing training (Gill, 2016).

The image of nursing as a feminine profession has also played a key role in promoting it as a popular career. It is the women majority in this profession that further encouraged entry of more women aspirants (Mohan, 1985; Abraham, 2004; Johnson et al., 2014).

Present Scenario

The perceptions of the nursing are now changing and increasingly, it is being viewed as a means to serve humanity, gateway to overseas opportunities, source of good income and learning (Bhutani et al., 2013). Even globally nursing has been an established and remunerating profession. But at the same time, nursing shortages in various developed countries has been a common

phenomenon since long. This perpetual mismatch in demand and supply of nursing workforce has fuelled a global supply chain of nursing migration. This skilled migration to developed countries as a result of globalization of nursing has helped to uplift the status of nursing in India (Percot & Rajan, 2007; Garner et al., 2014). The foreign opportunities have certainly helped nursing to emerge as a popular choice among girls in Punjab. Its popularity as a career choice has increased tremendously over the years particularly in Punjab (Bhutani et al., 2013). The very fact that the training capacity of nurses (measured by population served per institution) is second highest in the state of Punjab reveals this popularity very clearly (Walton-Roberts, 2016). It is also worth mentioning that nursing has never been a traditional choice for women in Punjab. It has emerged as a newer choice among girls in Punjab as majority of the nurses do not have any family history of association with this profession (Walton-Roberts, 2015).

Literature Review

Abraham (2004) argued that the presence of 'womanly' qualities in women urged them to join this profession. The natural traits of women namely submission, sacrificial and their maternal instincts made them ideal for this noble profession of caring, charity and compassion. Financial independence, job-security and encouragement by families had been the major deciding factors in choosing the nursing as a profession. Although the economic independence and enhanced opportunities might have upgraded their status within the society but the 'stigma' attached to the profession had definitely blurred their enhanced status.

Nair and Healey (2006) examined a number of reasons which had been playing decisive role in choice of nursing which included poor economic background, failure to crack medical entrance examinations, ignorance about other career options and lack of knowledge about work environment for nurses.

Johnson et al. (2014) pointed that caste was no longer the major factor in determining the choice of nursing as a career. It had been decided by class and other related considerations because relatively lower investment in this profession yielded higher benefits in form of salary, surety of getting employment post-training and increased prospects of overseas migration.

Walton-Roberts (2015) noted that the education was viewed as a facilitator of social and geographical mobility in case of nursing. The most crucial factor motivating young women to choose nursing as their career and seek employment overseas was encouragement by their families. The influence of family had been so pronounced that even after migration they were actively involved in day-to-day decision-making of their daughters. Other factors which played role in making migration decision were: higher remuneration abroad, better professional status and opportunity to visit another country.

Liaw et al. (2016) concluded that own interest of nurses to help and care for others combined with earlier caring exposures were main factors which influence choice of young aspirants. Other factors which were taken into consideration were easy availability of jobs, job stability and salary. The study also identified some hindering factors in making career choice decision which included misconception about the nursing work and absence of any social recognition.

Nair and Rajan (2017) observed that the perception of the nursing having 'employability' had been one of the reasons for its popularity. Nursing aspirants perceived nursing as an opportunity to go abroad where there had been a shortage of nursing personnel. Nurses moved abroad because of lower wages and their consequent inability to pay back their education loans along with poor conditions of work in India.

Maor and Cojocaru (2018) argued that families played a central role in making career decision in nursing. It was also concluded that nursing was a second choice. Some external motives such as variations in employment and

salary and internal motives such as self-fulfilment and altruism were also taken into consideration.

Dyrbye et al. (2020) concluded that career choice regret among nurses is quite common. Burnout emerged as a factor having the strongest link with career choice regret among various factors studied. Unplanned working, overtime, higher academic qualification related to nursing were found as independent predictors of career choice regret.

Mckenna et al. (2023) noted that decision to choose nursing as a career was described as "calling" by many nurses. Influence of family was also considered as very significant in this study. A desire to impact the lives of others was described as the main motivation for selecting nursing. According to the study, nurses wanted to make a difference in others' lives by serving others and caring for the sick.

Objectives

The objectives for the present study include:

a. To understand the choice of nursing among nurses and role of family encouragement in it.

b. To examine the career choice regret among nurses.

Research Methodology

For the present research, the descriptive research design was used. The S.A.S. Nagar District of the state of Punjab was the locale of the study. The NABH Accredited private hospitals in the district of S.A.S. Nagar constituted the universe of the study. As per Accreditation Register maintained by NABH (National Accreditation Board for Hospitals & Healthcare Providers), there were nine NABH Accredited private hospitals in the district spread across the S.A.S. Nagar, Dera Bassi and Sohana in the year 2019. Proportionate stratified random sampling was used in sample selection. From each hospital, 15% of the total strength of nurses was taken as sample. Therefore, a sample

of 325 nurses working in the private hospitals of S.A.S. Nagar district was taken.

Results

The profession of nursing has always been female dominated. But at the same time, nursing is a second choice profession for majority of the aspirants (Hemsley-Brown & Foskett, 1999; Beck, 2000; Mooney et al., 2008). Second choice profession, in this case, means that aspirants choose it after they were unable to join their choice in the first instance.   It is important to understand if nursing has been their first choice of career or they chose it just because they failed to pursue their 'dream' career. For most of the aspirants, nursing is still something which they will not choose in the first instance.

Table 1
Distribution of respondents by nursing as a choice

Nursing as a career choice	Frequency	Percentage
Nursing as second choice	134	41.2
Nursing as first choice	191	58.8
Total	325	100.0

The data depicted in the table reveals that majority, that is, 58.8 percent of the total respondents did not wish to join any other occupation. In other words, nursing was the first choice of career for them. On the other hand, the rest 41.2 percent had other careers as their first choice, that is to say, they chose nursing as a backup or as a second option. Such respondents could not pursue their first choice of career because they failed to secure a good rank in NEET or other medical entrance tests. Therefore, contrary to the studies which state nursing as a second choice profession (Hemsley-Brown & Foskett, 1999; Beck, 2000; Mooney et al., 2008), majority of the respondents chose nursing as their first choice. It is, however, notable that the proportion of nurse respondents who considered nursing as second option was also significant.

Reasons for choosing nursing

The career in nursing is accepted by society as it provides job security and mobility (Mooney et al., 2008). There are varied factors at play for individuals while choosing nursing which needs to be analysed. Johnson et al. (2014) argued that international migration possibilities have made nursing more attractive as a career option. Studies by Patidar et al. (2011) and Poreddi et al. (2012) found that own interest was the major reason for choosing nursing.

Table 2
Distribution of respondents by reasons for choosing nursing

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Own interest	129	39.7
Family wish	89	27.4
Foreign opportunities	58	17.8
Scope	20	6.2
Influence of friends	16	4.9
Next best option after MBBS	9	2.8
Others	4	1.2
Total	325	100.0

The data shows that 39.7 percent of the respondents chose nursing because they developed interest in this career. They found this career interesting because they liked medical line and wanted to work in nursing profession. They also found this profession as a means to serve people who need care. There were 27.4 percent of the respondents who selected nursing because it was wish of their family or their family members were in the same career. Family members of such respondents thought medical line was rewarding and prestigious for girls. 17.8 percent of them chose nursing because of foreign opportunities associated with it. Such respondents wished to move and settle abroad because they believed nursing had more scope in foreign countries. 6.2 percent of the respondents selected nursing because of its wide

scope and opportunities it provided in terms of job guarantee, government job possibilities, etc. These respondents viewed their promising growth in this profession as an important consideration in taking career decision. 4.9 percent chose nursing because their friends were doing the same. 2.8 percent of the nurse respondents could not pursue MBBS so they chose nursing as they believed it was the second best option after medicine. When these respondents could not crack tough medical entrance tests examinations, they generally opted for nursing to stay in the medical line. 1.2 percent of the respondents gave 'Others' reasons to join nursing such as no knowledge of other career options, nearby location of nursing training institute and their wish to experience hostel life.

This findings of the research resonates with the findings by Patidar et al. (2011) and Poreddi et al. (2012) who also noted self-motivation or own interest behind choosing nursing as a career.

Encouragement from family for choosing nursing

The role of family or parental influence is important in choosing any career (Beggs et al., 2008). Therefore, it is imperative to study the motives behind families of the respondents encouraging them in choosing nursing. Abraham (2004) found that the popularity of nursing in Kerala had been attributed to active involvement of families in encouraging their daughters to accept 'salaried job'.

Table 3

Distribution of respondents by encouragement from family for choosing nursing

Family encouragement	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	299	92.0
No	26	8.0
Total	325	100.0

Table 3 shows number of respondents who got encouragement from family to join nursing as a career. Most of the respondents, that is, 92 percent got

encouragement from their family to choose nursing. 8 percent of them did not receive any encouragement from their family because their families believed professions other than nursing are better for girls.

Since an overwhelming majority got family encouragement, it is equally important to look into motivating factors behind families encouraging their women members to take up nursing as career.

Table 4

Distribution of respondents by reasons for family encouragement in choosing nursing

Reasons	Frequency	Percentage
Foreign opportunities	73	24.4
Status of profession	21	7.0
Support daughter's decision	25	8.4
Feminine image of nursing	60	20.1
Government job	31	10.4
Career scope	43	14.4
Service to humanity	29	9.7
Myths/craze of nursing	17	5.7
Total	299	100.0

*26 respondents did not get any encouragement from family members

The above table shows reasons for encouragement to respondents from their families to choose nursing as a career. The data shows that 24.4 percent of the respondents who got encouragement from their families believed that their families encouraged them because they liked the foreign opportunities associated with the profession. Families of 20.1 percent encouraged them because nursing was a good option for girls as it was believed that in this female dominated profession, women get to work under safer work environment. Thus, 'feminine job' image of the nursing attracts even more women into it. The families of another 14.4 percent encouraged their daughters because of good career scope and wider job availability. They were of the view that there was high demand of nurses in job market because of

scarcity of nurses. Families of 10.4 percent nurse respondents believed that nursing ensures chances of government job. Getting a government job was considered very prestigious in the society and availability of government jobs in this sector had been an important motivation for families of respondents. 9.7 percent of the respondents told their families encouraged them to join nursing because it provides them with an opportunity to serve humanity. Taking care of poor and needy was considered as a virtue by them. 8.4 percent nurses reported that their families supported their decision because they trusted them. Nurses told that their families thought that they were well informed and educated enough to take their own decisions. 7.0 percent got encouragement because of the respect and status of the profession. For such nurse respondents, their families believed that nurses are respected because they serve the society by saving lives and eradicating illnesses. The families of 5.7 percent of the respondents suggested their girls to join nursing because of the "craze" of the nursing. Since every other young girl was opting for nursing in Punjab, they got influenced into joining this craze.

Regret for choosing nursing

Simply put, regret is the emotion people feel when they think that the outcome would have been better if they had acted or decided differently. In this study, regret was operationalised as situation that did not work out as the healthcare professionals hoped with respect to their career choice. Career choice regret is related to burnout among nurses (Dyrbye et al., 2020). Therefore, it is equally important to assess the prevalence of regret in choosing nursing as a career.

Table 5
Distribution of respondents by regret for choosing nursing

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	234	72.0
No	91	28.0
Total	325	100.0

The data in the table reveals that an overwhelming majority of the respondents, that is, 72 percent regretted their choice of career. They told that while they chose nursing as their career they had no idea about working as a nurse. They faced many challenges while working after their education. 28 percent did not regret their decision. They reported that they loved their work very much and face problems related to it as part of their duty.

It is also important to look for reasons for prevalence of feeling of regret among respondents since a large majority reported regret for taking up this choice of career. Moreover, career choice regret is also linked to lower work satisfaction and ultimately, higher attrition (Wrzesniewski et al., 2006).

Table 6

Distribution of respondents by reasons for regret for choosing nursing

Reasons for regret	Frequency	Percentage
Poor work recognition	24	10.3
Tedious job	102	43.6
Night shifts	38	16.2
Poor remuneration	70	29.9
Total	234	100.0

*91 respondents did not report regret in choosing nursing

As the table reveals that 43.6 percent of the respondents regretted their decision because of the tedious work required for their job, they felt that nursing is a physically and mentally demanding job which is why it appeared tough to them. They were very excited about their choice in the beginning but later on with practical experience, they gradually started regretting it. 29.9 percent reported poor remuneration as the reason for their regret. According to them, nurses are paid poorly and they are not entitled to any increments or bonuses in private sector. 16.2 percent of the respondents regretted their choice of career because of the frequent night duties which are physically tiring and have long duration. Although night duties were just part of their work, yet poor management by supervisors made them very exhausting. 10.3

percent of them felt poor work recognition was the main reason for their regret. They realised that the work of nurses were not appreciated by anyone in the hospital. Sometimes, even their crucial role was overlooked.

Discussion

As a choice of career, nursing has been one of the most popular options for young women. The medicine has always been an important choice for most of the Indian students because of the prestige attached to it. However, being an expensive option to pursue, many students choose nursing as an alternative. But with time, this career option has emerged as a means to move and settle abroad so much so that India has emerged as one of the top suppliers of nurses to the developed nations. The results revealed that nursing was adopted by the respondents as their first choice of career. It shows that nursing is no more a secondary option for young women. Also nursing as a career was chosen when the option of choosing physician as a career was not possible for a significant number of nurses because of financial or other related reasons such as failure to score well in the competitive examinations and lack of seats in the medical colleges in the preferred institutes. Therefore, it can be inferred that nurses are increasingly choosing nursing as their first choice of career.

Among the reasons for choosing nursing, own interest of the respondents was found to be most dominant followed by wishes of their families to select nursing. In present times, young women actively take interest in making decision regarding their career which is evident in the findings of this study too. However, the involvement of family in career-decision was also prominent. Young aspirants are independently making their decisions as more information related to career opportunities is available to them.

Further, nurses got encouragement from their families in choosing their career primarily because of various opportunities offered by nursing career to settle abroad. Nursing is being chosen as a life strategy whereby nurses move to developed countries and further, facilitate overseas migration of their

siblings and parents after them. This trend follows the female-led migration pattern which is prevalent in Punjab as opposed to male-led migration where only men migrated and settled abroad. Also, families considered nursing as a good option because of its feminine image. It is also an interesting finding as the feminine image of the profession is still relevant in explaining the popularity of nursing.

Moreover, nurses regretted their choice because of tedious nature of the job. They regretted their career choice later on when they faced practical situations under work environment of hospitals.

Conclusion

Nursing, being a female-dominated profession, has been a popular career choice among young women. Therefore, on the basis of the research findings, it can be concluded that nursing has emerged as the first choice of career choice among women. Women are increasingly choosing nursing out of their innate interest, though family encouragement also plays pivotal role. The feminine image of nursing is highlighted in career choice as it is an important aspect to consider. Career choice regret is also reported among nurses because of the demanding nature of the nursing duties. Nursing is an important profession because of round-the-clock presence of nurses in healthcare institutions. It is important that it stays relevant for aspirants in order to maintain the large workforce of nurses. Career choice decisions are made keeping in view the remuneration, safe work environment and scope for growth for aspirants. While nursing offers adequate opportunities on these aspects, efforts should be made to improve working conditions and remuneration it offers in order to make it more promising career.

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"Until the lions produce their own historians, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter": Achebe's Use of 'New English' To Suit Postcolonial African Atmosphere

PRADIP MONDAL

Abstract

Instead of writing in the standard English, the language of the colonizers of Nigeria, Achebe's stated aim was to create a "new English"/African-English. He integrated Igbo words and phrases, proverbs, folktales, and other elements of traditional storytelling into the narrative fabric in order to preserve African oral traditions and to subvert the colonialist language and culture. Achebe uses unique linguistic and literary techniques to convey a sense of the indigenous Igbo culture through his novels. In strong opposition to Wa' Thiongo's stance, Achebe supports the use of English language in Africa by domesticating English on African soil to suit his own manifold purposes.

Using Frantz Fanon's ideas on language as a colonizing tool, this paper is going to address how Achebe uses his own version of English to affect/improve the culture of his Igbo community. At the same time, the present paper will try to show how, through his new version of English, Achebe sends the British colonizers a strong message of defiance.

Key Words: *'new English'; proverbs; colonizing; indigenous; Igbo*

Introduction: Language is the mode of communication through which a message of a person/group is understood by the addressee. It is one of the most powerful media through which customs and traditions are transmitted from one generation to the next. African literature was/is being written both in the African tongues as well as in colonial languages like English and French. There have been raging debates in Africa around 1960s whether the writers of African should compose their fictional and non-fictional works

only in African languages or should they be permitted to use foreign languages like English. Some writers including Kenyan novelist-cum-critic Ngugi wa Thiong'O believe that true indigenous experiences and sensibilities including the rituals and rites can only be faithfully described in the indigenous African languages. But writers like Chinua Achebe are of the different viewpoints. This group is of the belief that such experiences can also find true expression through the colonizer's language, viz, English.

Literature Review: Achebe faced a huge challenge in transitioning from oral to written literature while using English. Achebe himself acknowledges the diversity of African languages and the impact of colonialism while discussing the difficulties in identifying "African literature" and situating English language in African writing (Achebe 1965). Ultimately, Achebe developed strategies to "Africanize" the English language and incorporate African oral traditions into his written works (Baazizi 2015). There have been several advantages too of using English to describe Africa's ethnic ethos and environments. Achebe adapted English to reflect local idioms, proverbs, and cultural references. This localization allows the language to resonate with African experiences and identities, making it a vehicle for authentic expression (Andindilile 2011). This language question was first put forward by Obi Wali (a Nigerian minority rights activist and senator) in his essay "Dead End of African Literature" (1997). In this essay, Wali posits that "… until these writers and their Western midwives accept the fact that any true African literature must be written in African languages, they would be merely pursuing a dead end, which can lead to sterility, uncreativity, and frustration." ("Write 'n' Fight" n. p.). Thiong'O suggests in his path-breaking study *Decolonising the Mind* (1986), "language carries culture, and culture carries particularly through orator and literature, the entire body of values by which we came to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (Thiong'O 15-16). Thiong'O avers, "Language and literature were two vehicles which helped the colonizers draw the colonized further away from their own culture and give them their new identity" (Thiong'O 11).

But down the years, writers like Chimamanda Adichie having fondly embraced English language, write in English with no sense of hesitation and betrayal to their mother tongues. They did not face any kind of protest for doing so as Achebe faced during his writing career. Even years after decolonization, the impact of English as a "metaphysical empire" remains tangible in Africa. Gradually, English percolated through the African literary imagination. The bone of contention arose regarding adoption of English language by African writers. All are familiar with the Indian poet Kamala Das's famous statement in her poem "An Introduction": "The language I speak/Becomes mine" (Das 5). Taking it further, we can assert that for Achebe, the language he writes in, becomes his. Kenyan novelist and critic Mukoma wa Ngugi (the son of Ngugi wa Thiong'O) is the latest addition into this continuing debate. Ngugi points out in his book *The Rise of the African Novel* (2018), "African languages are not invoked to discuss philosophy or the stuff of high culture; they are used to express idioms, proverbs, folktales, and songs" (Ngugi 66).

In *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), Ashcroft et al. place their argument that "one of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language. The imperial education system installs a 'standard' version of the metropolitan language as the norm, and marginalizes all 'variants' as impurities" (Ashcroft 7). The adoption of 'twisted' English turns out to be the novel way to express the true identity of the colonized. The postcolonial writers intentionally used English to signal their detachment from their colonizers, thereby coming close to the ideas of "abrogation" and "appropriation" (Ashcroft 37-8). Achebe tries to capture the African flavor through his version of English. By praising the African manners, mores, and methods of narration, the African writers can be "authentically African in English" (Dasenbrock 316). This is what Achebe tries to do.

In "The Politics and Politicians of Language in African Literature" (1989), Achebe defends writing in English which is a foreign language for him. Achebe twists the title of Thiong'O's book, *Decolonising the Mind: The*

Politics of Language in African Literature (1986) for his essay. Though Thiong'O earlier wrote in English, he gave up writing in English. He was of the opinion that to remove Africa's European colonizers from their psyche, African writers must express themselves in any of the African languages. In the essay "The African Writer and the English Language" (1964), later reprinted in his book, *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (1975) Achebe advocates an approach in which an African writer can use both his/her native language and the colonizer's language: "I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings" (Achebe 84). He argues in the essay "English and the African Writer" (1965) that the writers of Africa, in "fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience" (Achebe 29), would be able to subtly reject the linguistic dominance of Queen's English in African continent.

Theoretical Perspective: Frantz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) deeply influenced African and African-American social movements. Fanon ignites countless debates on race, language, and representation etc. In Chapter One ("The Negro and Language"), Fanon posits that in the psyche of the colonized people a sense of an inferiority complex makes an entry as they helplessly experience the burial of their local cultural ethos and on the flip side the rising influence of the language and logic of the colonizers. Using Fanon's ideas on language as a colonizing tool, this paper is going to address how Achebe uses his own version of English to affect/improve the culture of his Igbo community.

Discussion and Analysis: In the previous literature available on Achebe's use of 'new' English, I found lack of discussion on the comparison between Achebe's use of proverbs and their equivalents in British English. This paper also attempts to show how Achebe captures the flavor of African culture through his use of proverbs. In this paper, an attempt has also been made to study how Achebe uses his own *nativized* version of English or

'new' English in his African trilogy, viz, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), *Arrow of God* (1964), and *No Longer at Ease* (1960). The trilogy narrates the events of a single Nigerian clan over three generations from the inception of colonialism to the breakdown of indigenous Igbo culture.

Achebe faces an insurmountable challenge to recreate native sensibility in English while retaining the flavor of African culture. He takes resort to multifarious linguistic features of African languages in this trilogy. Borrowing words/expressions from a lexicon is an accepted fact for the literature written in a second/acquired language. One hopes to take a notice of that as much in African literature written in English as well in the Indian literature in English or in literature of any other nation where English is not the first language. Achebe borrows words/expressions from Igbo and Yoruba. The use of these borrowed words in the novels is intended to highlight the difference between the African novels written in English and European novels written in English.

In 2020, twenty-nine Nigerian words/expressions [i.e., *agric* (agricultural), *bukateria* (a roadside restaurant, selling cooked food at low prices), *chop-chop* (bribery and corruption in public life), *ember months* (the last four months of a year, clubbed together as a period of high activity), *next tomorrow* (The day after tomorrow), *okada* (a motorcycle which someone can hire as a bike taxi), *barbing salon* (A barber's shop)] were added into the latest version of Oxford English Dictionary. This became a necessity because in the post-1960s scenario, the noted Nigerian writers like Chinua Achebe, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie started using Nigerian English in their works, thereby making it wide, acceptable, and influential. Now-a-days, millions of Nigerians use English in their daily mode of communication. Regarding this, Adichie describes her stance of English language: "My English-speaking is rooted in a Nigerian experience and not in a British or American or Australian one. I have taken ownership of English" (Azodo and Adichie 2).

In his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon observes, "To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture" (Fanon 25). Language creates a

sense of cultural cohesiveness, connecting them into a collective consciousness. The same thing happens with Nigerian language in Africa. The opportunity and pride to express one's emotions in one's native language is surely one of the basic human rights. But there are certain situations when a colonized nation had to face various injustices regarding the use of native tongue because of the colonizers' ploy and therefore that native language was forgotten gradually. Because of the deep impact of colonization, everything (from dress to demeanour, language to legal system, culture to customs) in the colonized countries were treated as uncivilized, while the culture and the language of the colonizers were thought to be of superior quality. With the adoption of the colonizers' language, viz, English, the colonized *black* Africans were trying to become *white* (i.e. civilized) Europeans. The black people had the general proclivity to consider their own culture inferior. Thereby, by embracing the colonizers' language, however, they were learning how to be civilized as per the accepted parameters of Eurocentric civilization.

Achebe, along with other African writers like Thiong'O, was convoked to "A Conference of African Writers in English Expression". In his speech titled "The African Writer and the English Language" (1966), he justifies his turn to English language: "Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me, there is no other choice. I have been given the language and I intend to use it" (Achebe 7). In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), Fanon opines that, "The more the colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis, the more he will have escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become" (Fanon 2-3).

In order to reproduce African oral tradition, Achebe begins to nativize his English starting with *Things Fall Apart* (1958). Keeping in mind his country's postcolonial status and wider western readership, he makes use of Igbo and Yoruba words/expressions and provides the English

translations/transliterations of those terms/expressions. The threads of Igbo/Yoruba vocabulary are woven into the fabric of the text almost seamlessly. Unique speech patterns and rhythms of indigenous language are used at dramatic junctures of the novel to authentically capture moments of rising tension, e. g., the sound of the drums at night (*go-di-di-go-go-di*). In the narrative fabric of *Arrow of God*, Achebe adeptly weaves various African idiolects with their aptness. He puts different versions of English in the mouths of his characters, as per their specific dispositions. Igbo and Yoruba words (in *italics*) that he uses in his novels, are intended to show the basic difference between an English novel written in English and a Nigerian novel written in English: e. g., 'Leave me *Ojare*', says Clara (Achebe 16). The term '*Ojare*' is taken from Yoruban vocabulary; it means 'rude'.

Despite all these, Achebe faces a problem to adequately re/present the African culture and tradition through his use of English. Indeed, one of Achebe's basic tasks behind writing *Things Fall Apart* is to depict the cultural chasm between the Igbo community and the colonizers. In the novel, the Igbo community argues that the white men have no right to call Igbo customs uncivilized when any urge is not shown by them to gain slightest knowledge about the Igbo language. The colonizers can understand the Igbo culture only when they genuinely attempt to learn Igbo language and decipher their terminologies. Achebe solves this problem by inserting words/expressions of the Igbo language in *Things Fall Apart*. By inserting Igbo terms/expressions into an English novel dealing with his own culture, Achebe goes an extra mile to bridge the cultural gap between the colonized nation and the colonizing nation. Such Igbo terms as *chi* cannot be easily translated, but Achebe uses those to buttress his thematic structure of the novel. In this way, he also helps the western reader identify with the complex speech patterns of this native language.

In *Things Fall Apart*, pidgin (an amalgamation of two disparate languages, used by two groups, to communicate with each other) is used. Unfortunately,

most of the time, pidgin is used in master-servant communication. Here, pidgin English is also used by the messenger of court and the District Commissioner. Achebe makes use of a handful of Pidgin words/expressions — *tie-tie* (to tie); *kotma* (a coarse form of a messenger of court); and *Yes, sah* (yes,   sir).   Pidgin,   thus, serves as a mode of communication between the British and the natives as we find in this novel.

In *Arrow of God,* for easy communication with Mr. Winterbottom, pidgin English is used by his domestic servants. The messengers of court use pidgin English to please the local officers but it is somewhat funny when a side-by-side comparison is made with the white man's modest English. As colonizers, the British showed no qualms to spread Pidgin English in their new colonies to have an easy communication with the natives in order to control them psychologically. Besides the illiterate village folks, the clan also comprises semi-literate natives who have picked up some crumbs of English for their closeness to European masters. We find examples of pidgin English in Unachukwu's conversation with Mr. Wright,   like: "'Pardin,'"   "'Yessah,'" "'Dat man wan axe master queshon'"(Achebe 102). The misspelt words are deliberately put in his mouth to underscore his desperate attempt to speak in English.

In *No Longer at Ease*, pidgin is used by Achebe in a much more nuanced way: both literate and illiterate characters use pidgin. Here, we find a situation when in a hospital Obi is searching for his fiancé, Clara, who came to the hospital for her abortion post her break-up with Obi. Obi informs the attendant that he is not a patient and that he needs to see the doctor. The attendant replies, "What kin' appointment you get with doctor when you no be patient?" ("What kind of appointment do you have with the doctor when you're not a patient?"). The lady attendant's use of pidgin English

undervalues Obi's use of refined Nigerian English and strikes a chord between the lady attendant and the patients present there during the exchange of words. In order to exert an added impact on the other patients, she continues speaking in pidgin that has the functionality of authority and collectivism.

Achebe also incorporates traditional Igbo proverbs and folktales in *Things Fall Apart* to present an African voice with veracity. To provide a feel of authenticity for oral Igbo culture would be nearly a difficult task without inserting the proverbs into his novel to play a major function in the novel. Though the source of these proverbs and folktales is Africa, the Western reader can very well grasp their meanings. These proverbs are totally similar in spirit to European idioms and maxims. In *Arrow of God* (1964) too, Achebe makes use of many proverbs to drive his point home. "The world is like a mask dancing. If you want to see it well you do not stand in one place" (Achebe 46). This proverb emphasizes the importance of toil. It means that one cannot achieve anything significant in life without hard work. This proverb is a clarion call against laziness. Achebe notes in his book *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (2012), in his commentary on the proverb, "The Igbo believe that art, religion, everything, the whole of life are embodied in the art of the masquerade. It is dynamic. It is not allowed to remain stationary" (Achebe 59).

Achebe writes, "Among the Ibo the art of conversation is regarded very highly, and proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten" (Achebe 4). In the mine of proverbs, he discovers "a powerful resource of complicated repertoires from which he has drawn repeatedly to nourish his characters and oil their experiences and relationships, depicting their multifacetedness and celebrating their humanity" (Nyamnjoh 130). Not only are proverbs universal in expressing emotions and experiences, they are also universal in expressing mobility of humanbeings, ideas, and language across different geographical locations. The important thing about the proverbs is that they constantly open

themselves up to improvisations and creative innovations across cultural communities.

Some African Proverbs Used in *Things Fall Apart:*

Sr. No.	African Proverbs	Meanings	English Equivalents
1	"A toad does not run in the daytime for nothing" (Achebe 19).	Strange things always come with a cause.	"There is no smoke without fire".
2	"Let the kite perch and let the eagle perch too. If one says no to the other, let his wings break" (Achebe 18).	Even with slight differences people should learn to co-exist peacefully.	"Live and let live".
3	"Eneke the bird says that since men have learned to shoot without missing, he has learned to fly without perching" (Achebe 20).	Difficult situations make one efficient.	"Drastic circumstances call for drastic measures."
4	"If a child washed his hands, he could eat with kings" (Achebe 8).	Cleanliness should be our first priority.	"Cleanliness is next to godliness".
5	"You can tell a ripe corn by its look". (Achebe 20)	If something is good, its goodness can be visible to all.	"By counting the teeth you can tell the age of a horse".

Some African Proverbs Used in *Arrow of God:*

Sr. No.	African Proverbs	Meanings	English Equivalents
1	"Do you blame a vulture for perching over a carcass?" (Achebe 9)	A hungry man can eat anything he finds.	"A beggar cannot be a chooser".
2	"When two brothers fight to death, a stranger inherits their father's estate" (Achebe 220).	A stranger looks for an opportunity in a quarrelling family.	"When two people fight, it's always the third person who gets the benefit".
3	"The man who brings ant-infested faggots into his hut should not grumble when lizards begin to pay him a visit" (Achebe 79).	Your reward is the sum total of your good or bad work.	"You reap what you sow."
4	"A man must dance to the dance prevalent in his time" (Achebe 189).	One must adapt to the current circumstances.	"Be like a Roman while in Rome".
5	"The inquisitive monkey gets a bullet in the forehead" (Achebe 44).	Too much curiosity is not good.	"Curiosity killed the cat".

Some African Proverbs Used in *No Longer At Ease:*

Sr. No.	African Proverbs	Meanings	English Equivalents
1	"If you want to eat a toad you should look for a fat and juicy one" (Achebe 4).	If you want to take a prize, think of taking a huge one.	"Think big."
2	"If you pay homage to the man on top, others will pay homage to you when it is your turn to be on top" (Achebe 16).	If you want to get flattered, start flattering the man of a superior position.	"Applause is the beginning of abuse."
3	"When there is a big tree, small ones climb on its back to reach the sun" (Achebe 74).	People always find opportunity to move forward.	"Never miss an opportunity to relieve yourself."
4	"A man does not challenge his *chi* to a wrestling match" (Achebe 30).	Man should not challenge God.	"Pride goeth before a fall."
5	"If one finger brings oil, it soils the others" (Achebe 68).	All the family members have to suffer because of the guilt of a single family member.	"The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children."

In *No Longer at Ease* (1960), similes are used as per the pulse of the novel: "…as a collector fixes his insect with formalin" (Achebe 1). We find

use of Yoruba words in sentences like this: 'And I can tell you that a man does not challenge his *Chi* to a wrestling match', said Joseph (Achebe 37). The Igbo word '*Chi'* means 'personal God' (close enough to *Isht Devta* of India). Obi's father Issac Okonkwo says to Obi, "We are Christians…But that is no reason to marry an *Osu*" (Achebe 120). The term '*Osu'* means an outcast. In this novel, Obi as well as Christopher use English to prove their superiority over others. Obi's command as a master is underscored through English language when he communes with his domestic help, Sebastian:

'The fridge must be switched off at seven o'clock in the evening and on again at twelve   noon. Do you understand?'

'Yes, sir. But meat no go spoil so?' (Achebe 100).

In *Arrow of God*, Ezeulu, the priest, is one of the main characters depicted immaculately with the help of proverbs. His psyche is concretized through an immaculate choice of proverbs. As an individual, Ezeulu thinks about the cohesiveness and solidarity among his people. The pivotal proverb that supports this notion is: "A man, who brings ant-infested faggots should not complain if he is visited by lizards." (Achebe 21). This proverb is uttered at a crucial juncture when Ezeulu, the hero asks Ugoye, his wife, about the whereabouts of their son, Oduche, after the episode of the python getting locked in his box by Oduche. Ezeulu's stance against discord between two factions in his village is also pinpointed in the proverb "When two brothers fight a stranger reaps their harvest" (Achebe 162). The sense of fraternity has to go along with a sense of faith: "No man speaks a lie to his son" (Achebe 191). This proverb is used in reference to his son Oduche. The proverb on "the ant-infested faggots" is directed towards Oduche, calling up an image of familial responsibility, which is intense in Ezeulu but absent in Oduche. This is further unveiled in the oft-repeated maxim: "When an adult is in the house the she-goat is not left to suffer the pains of parturation on its tether" (Achebe 21)

In *No Longer at Ease*, Obi is vacillated between European cultures and Igbo values. He is suspended between two worlds that cannot be bridged. In an exceptional case, we find a laxity in the moral content of the proverbs when Obi is not blamed for bribery—something he ever detested and dreaded: "If you want to eat a toad you should look for a fat and juicy one" (Achebe 6). Corruption is also encouraged by his pal: "If you pay homage to the man on top, others will pay homage to you when it is your turn to be on top" (Achebe 21). Machiavellian opportunism in the time of flux goes hand-in-hand with corruption. It is revealed in the adage: "When there is a big tree, small ones climb on its back to reach the sun" (Achebe 96). Furthermore, the sea-change that was taking place all over Africa is shown in the proverb "the great tree chooses where to grow" (Achebe 6). This is mouthed by the elder named Odogwu, after he philosophically observes: "Greatness is now in the things of the white man. And so we too have changed our tune" (Achebe 62). In the changed scenario, traditional value systems and modern ones co-exist. Thus, when Joseph forbids Obi to marry an '*osu*', the ancestors' voice is recalled: "If one finger brings oil it soils the others" (Achebe 75). In the meeting of the corrupt members of the Umuofia Progressive Union (U. P. U.), we come to hear a declaration: "He who has people is richer than he who has money" (Achebe 72). Fraternity is still insinuated, though ironically, by Obi: "If all snakes lived together in one place, who would approach them?" (Achebe 61).

In his book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon posits that the colonized think that they get elevated above his savage status in equal proportion to the ingraining of the colonizers' cultural ethos. Fanon describes the mindset of the colonized to take up the place of the colonizer one day: "The gaze that the colonized subject casts at the colonist's sector is a look of lust, a look of envy…And it's true there is not one colonized subject who at least once a day does not dream of taking the place of the colonist" (Fanon 5). In an attempt to redress the issues of psychological shortcomings, the native people try to appear as white as possible, by embracing the Western value systems, religion, language etc, and by sidelining (if not, altogether

throwing away) their own indigenous culture. Fanon refers to this phenomenon 'wearing white masks over black skins' resulting in a dualism, and experiencing a sort of schizophrenia. Further, the sense of instability and inferiority in the psyche of the colonized people brings forth violence, through which they attempt to assert their position.

Fanon propounds the idea of a national culture and literature, thereby giving birth to a national consciousness. He attempts to plead for a pan-African cause, as the blacks have to rewrite their own histories. Fanon believes that to uphold such a hoary culture of one's nation, one must go back to the African myths, societal mores, and cultural practices. Achebe cannot get to his desired destination just by harking back to the pre-colonial African age. He thinks that cultural practices of the African society have been irrevocably altered by the sweeping force of colonization. Achebe consciously takes a wise decision to write in his own version of English, unlike other African writers like Thiong'O who call for a rejection of the colonizers' languages like English and French. Achebe wants to show to the British colonizers that Africans can also write about their culture and history in good English, as he puts in his book of essays *Home and Exile* (2000), "Until the lions produce their own historians, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter" (Achebe 73).

Conclusion: Indigenous cultural identities can be re-imagined and expressed in Achebe's English while connecting with a larger, global audience. Apart from a practical necessity, formulating a *lingua franca* or a link language was also a political propulsion for Achebe post Nigerian Independence in 1960. He also wishes to give a free artistic rein of expression to the clash of civilizations that he tries to address in his novels. Achebe maintains the integrity of the English language while infusing Nigerian traits into it. Achebe advocates the use of English in a way that is both accessible to typical Anglophone readers and effectively transmits African messages. In the vein of Fanon, we can say that Achebe perhaps attempts to metaphorically transform the Nigerians into white and civilized Europeans (according to

Eurocentric perspectives) by adopting the language of their colonizers, English.

Achebe's English does not represent a complete departure from the Anglophone literary tradition. Rather, it illustrates how English can change to represent African experiences through a continuum that combines regional traits and cultural components. Achebe's translation of Igbo proverbs into English does not demean any of the languages, rather it enriches both, and tries to prove that a true quality of a influential l0anguage lies in its eagerness to absorb the new terms/idioms/proverbs that come with an conscious/accidental/historical encounter with an alien language.

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Divine Legitimation and Sectarianism: A Study of Samudragupta's Coins

STAVAMAGNA CHAKRABORTY

Abstract

Power matures into authority through legitimation. Historically, legitimation has been used by the monarchical houses in their strive to access authority. A king needs to prove his worth in some way or the other, and thus, takes major political strategies to meet the demands. It could be a direct brag of physical and tactical power through territorial conquests or a manipulative step through the involvement of religious belief as a staunch force. Indian monarchical houses were decisive enough to use both tactics, however, the nuances of divine legitimation through the impactful interplay of religion and political ambition have attracted considerable scholarly attention. This paper intends to look into the tactical use of religion by the warrior king, Samudragupta as a legitimation strategy projected in his diverse designed coins. It would also focus on how the idea of religious intervention in political processes differs in time, how the trend is taken into consideration finally rendering the king to be 'worthy' as per the notions of a particular time.

Keywords- divine legitimation, religion, assimilation and amalgamation, Samudragupta, coins.

Power matures into authority through legitimation. The process encompasses innumerable amounts of direct or indirect takes, a significant one being the strategy of divine legitimation. The word 'strategy' here, might appear harsh. Is it justified to hint that the powerholders themselves didn't truly have a soft corner towards the divine entity? Now, if looked thoroughly into the Indian historical nuances it would appear that a process of divine legitimation has been in the political culture since the Vedic period itself when we see the act of 'yajna' or divine sacrifice followed by the gift-giving ritual or 'dana'. The

whole ritual was meant to be an act of pleasing or pacifying the gods for a prosperous future to which the ruler or the Rajanya himself was devoted, but simultaneously it provided the conductor with a certain acceptance in contemporary society as a responsible well-wisher- a father figure. For instance, in the Uttara Kanda of Ramayana, we see a would-be king Rama performing an Ashvamedha sacrifice before gaining the throne. Similarly, Yudhisthira of Mahabharata held both the Rajasuya and the Ashvamedha yajna before finally becoming the ruler. Although based on literary sources, the political philosophy behind these practices appears clear- to provide the ruler with a divinely generated worth to be accepted as a state's absolute ordained. Later, coming to archaeo-literally sourced rulers, in India, Ashoka used the honorific Pali title of 'Devanampiya' indicating the 'Beloved of Gods'- the epithet again coming with a certain sense of divine acceptance, finally culminating into the socially accepted 'pedestal' of the ruler. But he was accompanied by the Sri Lankan ruler 'Devanampiya' Tissa of Anuradhapura (307-267BCE or 247-207BCE) indicating the value of the title as the political marker of divine worth and hence authority. This monarchical authentication through divine intervention has been an integral part of the ancient Indian political history continuing till the Mughals, moving through the Post-Mauryas, the Guptas, the Post-Guptas, and even the Afghans.

The legitimation as a political process was tied up with its stellar component- the dissemination. A ruler couldn't just conduct a ritual or hold a title by himself to prove his might. He equally needed to make the commoners believe in his claimed notion through a constant process of representation through diverse media. The simplistic process of legitimation through rituals could be a Vedic system when no idea of an empire was material, which later did continue but ceased to be the sole of its kind. The coming of age of the monarchies necessitated a dissemination process among the empire to ensure and strengthen the ruler's pedestal in the whole of his territories- the idea of the ruler being the divinely furnished one should be the truth of the whole empire. Thus, iconography became an important segment of this spreading process providing visual gratification for the divinely sanctioned position of

the ruler among his countrymen. This process utilized a whole set of artistic media, including the politico-economic entity- the coins.

A plausible question that can arise at this point would be that, did Samudragupta really intend to divinely legitimize himself, or he just followed an erstwhile numismatic tradition? In the case of Samudragupta, it is known that he followed some later Kushana coins to base his gold coins on, for instance, the cornucopia in Ardoksho/Sri-Lakshmi's hand. However, the changes that he brought about in the numismatic iconography, prove his conscience as the king of a land, and that he didn't merely follow a former numismatic tradition. Even before him, coins played a significant role in proving the king's divine right, especially due to its disseminative power. Seleucus I Nicator, the great Greek general, placed a horned horse on his coin to combine Iranian, Babylonian, and Macedonian-Greek traditions, legitimizing him as the divinely rightful ruler. Scholar Robert S. Wojcikowski, has also rightly shown, "…*Seleucus not only used existing templates but also modified them, imbuing them with new meanings*" indicating that, even if an existing proforma of meaningful iconography prevailed, moderations attach newer meanings to them, depending on the then socio-cultural inclinations. Similarly, the Kushanas had also used their deities (Mithra, Ardoksho, Oesho, etc.) and titles like '*Sarvaloga Ishwara Mahisarasa*' (Lord of the World, Lord of the Earth- Vima Kadphises) in coins to assert their divine right to rule. In this regard, when Samudragupta's numismatic iconography comes, it cannot be treated as a mere fruitless one, but with crucial manipulative power. The meticulous changes through Indianisation as well as the addition of newer deities following the Puranic religious process, a parallel historical development, keeps him at the center of the Guptas as the mighty, divinely ordained.

The iconographic additions in the coins as a process of dissemination of the sacred authentication of the ruler reached new heights in the Gupta era, especially under the warrior king, Samudragupta, whose conquests still engaged considerable scholarship. Deemed one of the greatest kings in the

history of Ancient India, Samudragupta's numismatic contributions with seven major categories are apt to understand how numismatic iconography proceeded to add to people's notion of their king as 'mighty and divinely gratified'. Samudragupta's newer conquests surged this dissemination flow to greater levels in the Indian subcontinent. His North Indian campaigns included Padmavati, Vidisha, Mathura ruled by Nagasena and Ganapati Naga, Ahichhatra and Bankura by Achyuta and Chandravarman, as well as untraceable rulers like Rudradeva, Matila, Nagdatta, Nandin and Balavarman coupled with several tributary and feudatory territories who were indirectly entitled to the ruler by obeisance including the 'atavi rajyas' or the forest kingdoms. The South Indian campaigns included the capture of several chiefdoms including the then Kosala, Pisthapur, Vengi, and Devarashtra (Visakhapatnam) to name a few. The dissemination of coins gained ground through the political conquests of the mighty ruler, which could be better understood through the pacifying attitude of the Saka satraps after a major contentious relation shared between the two powers. In this regard Prof R.C. Majumdar in his work '*The Classical Age'* has put up *"They sought to win the favour of the great emperor by personal attendance in his court, offering daughters in marriage and asking permission for the use of imperial coins or soliciting of their territories.*" It is therefore through this politico-economic process of movement of imperial coins in the newly conquered territories of Samudragupta, that he established himself as 'parakramah' as well as 'Vikramah' as per Indu Prakash Pandey (Pandey 1988; 93-95).

The dissemination of political legitimacy through coins must also be viewed from the vantage point of internal or domestic exchanges. Domestic exchanges, in a space of religious transformation (here, the Puranic process) would be a crucial way to understand how Samudragupta upheld his divine legitimation. Scholar Sanjeev Kumar in his work '*Treasures of the Gupta Empire*' has opined, "*The primary centres of trade, along the primary trade routes and religious centres, tend to be the natural, primary find spots for the coins.*" This statement truly suggests how the coins disseminated across the trade routes ranging from the north to the centre and to the west of the Indian

subcontinent. In ancient texts like *Padmaprabhritakam* and *Ubhayabhisarika*, it is clearly mentioned that the markets of Ujjain and Pataliputra in the Gupta era, were filled with horses, elephants, chariots and soldiers, and all kinds of good, and that the markets were filled with sellers and buyers doing brisk trade showing the exchange process as a massive economic system. Around these trade points, we have major religious centres as well where the coins must have travelled either through the pilgrims or even the minimalistic market sphere that such religious centres used to hold- adding to it that the iconographic coins can't be treated just as mere economic tokens. Moti Chandra's pioneering work '*Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*' also mention profoundly about the Gupta trade networks and how the coin hoards found at places like Bayana locate the interplay of economic exchange as well as religious exchange as a part of a complex historical phenomenon. It needs to be understood that when travellers and caravans traverse, it's not just an economic transaction that occurs, but exchange of ideas including religious ones must have been a significant process in itself.

Another way of dissemination process that could have worked during the reign of Samudragupta was the existence of royal mints at three major parts of the subcontinent- the Kannauj-Kasi region, the Bayana/Kota region and the Vidish-Ujjain region. These mints would have been major disseminating points of Samudragupta's iconographic coins. The location that these mint stations were in, also suggests their proximity to the trade routes, leading to easy access by the trading communities- a major point to understand the spread of divine legitimation. Apart from this, gold coins could also have been struck by mobile mints, traveling with the Gupta military in battle arenas, out of the war booty. This in turn could be a way of both politically as well as economically working out the dissemination of divine legitimation of the mighty ruler, Samudragupta. Scholar Sanjeev Kumar has categorically mentioned, "*The wide variation in designs and gold purity found across the coins of the same type and variety (i.e., Samudragupta Javelin Type, Chandragupta II Archer Type, and Kumāragupta-I Horseman Type) could be a result of such mobile mint(s) employing local craftsmen from a local,*

captured mint, who were copying the designs created at the royal mint, or possibly as a function of economic stress." Here, although he is mentioning about the disparity in the coin types, we can't deny the significance of these mobile mints in the dissemination of Gupta iconographic gold coins. And such process, even if involved non-perfect coin varieties would eventually spread the Puranic idea that the coins carried, finally legitimising Samudragupta as a divinely ordained ruler.

Moving on, a question that hovers is how a king used a fluid institution-religion in ancient India as a mode of legitimation. Especially in the Gupta period, where religion has shown itself to be one of the most consistent areas of transformation through the major processes of assimilation and amalgamation, how could a king use religion as a staunch force to support his gratification procedure? So, Samudragupta's numismatic contributions include six major types of gold coins- Standard or Sceptre type, archer-type, battle-axe type, lyrist-type, tiger-slayer type, and Ashvamedha type. The most important aspect of the legitimation process visible through Samudragupta's coins would be the presence of the Garuda emblem on his standard or sceptre-type coins as well as Archer-type coins. The British numismatist John Allan proclaimed the name of this coin as 'Standard type' after the vertical entity on the king's left hand. Later, Ellen M. Raven contested this view by projecting that Indian rulers never have had a system of holding their standards and it must be a sceptre - the veritable symbol of supreme political authority. Now, how and why did Samudragupta use 'Garuda' as his emblem on the coins? Today, the idea of Garuda brings the accompanied picture of Vishnu into our thoughts. However, scholar Ellen M. Raven has done significant work in projecting how the idea of Garuda being associated with Vishnu was a later phenomenon during the period of Puranic Hinduism, which alters our understanding of Samudragupta's role as a usurping ruler. Even scholars like Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty and Kanad Sinha have shown the legitimization strategy chosen by Samudragupta by the appropriation of 'garuda' as a symbol of divine sanction. Initially, as the archaeological and numismatic evidence suggests Garuda was associated

with Vasudeva-Krsna, the tutelary Vrsni pastoral hero. Later, it is the Mahabharata where for the first time, Garuda has a deal with Vishnu to be used as an emblem in the 'dhvaja' or flag. Now, it should be remembered that since the Mahabharata compilation entitles a time of almost 800 years (4th c. BCE- 4th c.CE), this story would have been an interpolation during the growth of the Puranic Hindu tradition characterized by the assimilation and amalgamation processes. It is also the same period when the idea of Vasudeva-Krsna, Sankarshan-Balarama, and tantric Narayana gets associated with the Vedic Vishnu under the Bhagavatism sectarian belief. Thus, Krsna and his symbol, Garuda's deal with Vishnu is an eventual development. Wendy Doniger explains this phenomenon as part of a larger process - "*Images of animals are very old indeed in India, as we saw in the Indus Valley, but they may have become newly attractive in the Gupta period because they need to produce a visual representation of icons and emblems to distinguish different gods under sectarianism.*" Samudragupta was an ambitious ruler in this phase of religious transformation and hence, for him, sticking to the continuing religious trend was extremely important for gaining legitimacy. Moreover, suppose we stick to the Puranic dating of Wendy Doniger. In that case, it is the Harisvamsa (450CE), the Matsya (250-500CE), the Markandeya (250-550CE), and the Kurma(550-850CE) which come as some of the earliest compiled ones. Here as well, the significant position of Vishnu and his sect- the Vaishnavas and the Bhagavatas is visible as a plausible reason behind the attachment of Samudragupta and even the later Gupta rulers- Chandragupta-II, Kumaragupta, etc. to Vishnu and his consort, Sri-Lakshmi while Garuda came up as a symbolic emblem. Scholar Kanad Sinha in his co-edited work, '*State, Power, and Legitimacy: The Gupta Kingdom*' has proclaimed- "*The Gupta kings had adopted a new political philosophy to acquire legitimacy, in which both religion and art played a crucial role. Puranic Vaishnavism, initially known as Bhagavatism, had almost attained the status of state religion under the Guptas, especially from the time of Chandragupta-II*". Against the idea of S. R. Goyal that Samudragupta was the pioneer of Bhagavatism, scholars like Kanad Sinha

have cited the Allahabad Pillar Inscription which showed that Nagas were the biggest adversaries of the Guptas in their political expansion in North India. Therefore, Garuda, the mythical destroyer of the Nagas could be an automatic symbolic choice. Moreover, in the case of Samudragupta, a sectarian initiative is comparatively less than Chandragupta-II who had taken titles like '*parambhagavata*' as a reverence to the Bhagavata sect. Finally, Ellen M. Raven has provided his interpretations behind, a warrior king like Samudragupta's decision to use religion consciously as a legitimation parameter- firstly the king's role as a protector comes up aligned with the Mahabharata's assertion- "*The king is really…endowed with Vishnu and his greatness on earth*". Moreover, Garuda's immortality was a quality, no Gupta emperor could boast showing their strive for eternal rule as a legitimizing parameter. Thus, the Vaishnava association of Garuda, lands as an important mark of Samudragupta's rise and establishment of authority through contemporary religion.

Now, tracing political legitimacy through religion, we will be talking about the Samudragupta coins in three major classifications based on their reverses. In some types, we have the appearance of a throned/ lotus-throned female goddess with a cornucopia on the left hand and a noose on the right. Most of his coin types- the standard or the scepter type, the archer type, the battle-axe type, and the lyrist type contain this peculiar two-handed deity at the reverse. The Ashvamedha coins and the Tiger-slayer coins on the other hand, contain two different types of female figures interpreted diversely by different scholars like Pratapaditya Pal, Arundhati Banerjee, and Om Prakash Singh.

The earliest classification would be the coins with the seated female goddess in the reverse. Her appearance and contents are more or less similar and frequent in the different coin varieties. In this form, the touch of Indianisation as a major segment of the then political process has been evident. Scholars like A.S. Altekar have put up that she is an Indianised version of Ardoksho or Ardoxo, an Iranian deity of prosperity who initially used to appear in the late Kushana type of coins. She has been associated with Sri-Lakshmi, the

consort of Vishnu- the tutelary deity of the Guptas in different ways, especially through the inclusion of lotus as a symbolic element. Even scholars like Richard Foltz in his work '*Religions of the Silk Road*' have depicted how through the process of travel of beliefs such associations were historically prudent. The assertions also include a version by Ellen M. Raven, that Samudragupta, initially after the Kushana rule didn't alter much of the designs and motifs to acquire a true succession of the Kushanas, a leading power in the Post-Mauryan era. However, the Indianisation process still holds importance in the motif of the throned goddess since elements of change do appear in some rudimentary manner especially the appearance of a lotus throne in place of an ordinary one as A.S. Altekar has put up. Also, in the Battle-axe type coin or 'Kirataparasa' the legs of the female figure rest on a lotus adding to the gradual Indianisation process. Even Arundhati Banerji in her observations on the deity's costumes has expressed- "*The female deity represented in the Gupta gold coins shows wearing a sari, an upper garment, a necklace, a circular pearl ornament round the forehead, armlets and bangles*" depicting the process of Indianisation or a gradual transformation of a non-Indian deity into an Indian one. The process being a gradual one could be understood when the persistence of the cornucopia is seen to be evident in the standard or scepter type, lyrist type, battle-axe type, and archer type coins of Samudragupta. This filtering involved in the transformation process by the Gupta mint makers has been addressed by A.S. Altekar as "*It is clear that Gupta mint-makers were trying to nationalize the foreign type as much as the numismatic conservatism would permit*", indicating that the Indian conventional idea was seeped in and was not directly imposed upon the previous Kushana prototypical coins. Now, if looked closely, Ardoksho as an Iranian deity like Lakshmi's association with lotus has been connected to the flower cornucopia, but the noose or cloth, on the other hand, could be a later addition, since even in the late Kushana coins as projected by scholars like Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya, the deity doesn't hold anything like a noose or piece of cloth. It could be that Samudragupta's '*parakramah*' or political vigor appearing in his coins has been symbolically represented through the

marker of a noose- a sign of control and imperial identity. It is this political as well as imperial representation of the tutelary goddess Sri-Lakshmi that the figure has been identified as Rajyalakshmi or Jayalakshmi (one of the Ashtalakshmi series), who acted to legitimize Samudragupta as a powerful, vigorous, and warrior ruler, known for the victorious conquests.

Next in line is the most talked about Ashvamedha coin of Samudragupta. Scholars like A.S. Altekar, D.K. Ganguly, and Pratapaditya Pal have done applaudable work on this majestic coin. Ashvamedha is known as a Vedic sacrificial ritual conducted as an opportunity to legitimize, oneself as a true powerful father figure in a given territory. The ritual involved territorial expansion as well as the 'dana' performances, evoking a sense of paternalism coupled with the kingly might to rule and protect the countrymen. S.R. Goyal in his inclination to prove the Brahminical origin of the Guptas, therefore, interprets these expansive activities as the revival of Brahminism under the Guptas, especially Samudragupta. This act also signifies Samudragupta's attempts to ritualistically prove himself as the mighty, imperial ruler which brings us to the major debate on whether the Guptas had a Brahminical origin or not. Altekar and K.P. Jayaswal do not agree with Goyal's idea and attempt to associate the Gupta origin with the Vaishyas and Dharana Gotra Jats respectively. Whatever it may be, it should be remembered that the period was of the flexible smarta tradition rather than the rigid, Brahminical Srauta tradition which does provide some kind of chance to perform an Ashvamedha even if the rulers were not of a Brahman or a Kshatriya origin. Altekar's attitude, therefore, shows how the Guptas tried to follow the 'yajna' rituals in every way possible tracing it to the Taittiriya Brahman- a way to legitimize the rule through the Vedic ritualistic traditions in a literal sense. It is here that Altekar's interpretation of the female figure on the reverse of the coin deems it to be Dattadevi, the prime wife of Samudragupta in the process of conducting the formalities with the horse- "*crowned queen Dattadevi standing to the left on a pearl-bordered circular mat dressed in a sari and bodice, earrings, necklace, armlets, and anklets on her person; she holds a chowrie over her right shoulder in her right hand, and a towel in her left*

hand, hanging by her side. In her front is an ornamented 'suchi' bound with fillet". But Pratapaditya Pal is of a different opinion. He contends the idea of the female figure as a mortal being because the figure stands on a lotus indicating her to be 'kulalakshmi'- the tutelary Gupta family deity. He also contradicts Altekar's opinion of the chowrie as a wreath of victory indicating the vigorous campaigns of Samudragupta, envisaging him as a mighty, brave warrior king. Hence, Samudragupta's numismatic designs were greatly symbolic and planned towards an imperial goal.

The third category is the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta's coins to which not much scholarship has been devoted till now. The legend here stands to be 'Vyaghraparakramah', a title that lines Samudragupta with a new character parameter. The reverse of this coin has a female deity standing on an elephant-headed fish with a full-blown lotus on her left hand and an empty right hand. It is difficult to figure out if it is the Indian River Goddess Ganga. Moreover, just the 'Makara' or the elephant-headed fish does indicate her to be the personified sacred river. In Puranic Hinduism, we do find Ganga at certain points to be associated with Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu, and it could be plausible that this was the major reason behind the inclusion of Ganga in place of Sri Lakshmi. But V.A. Smith did pose his doubt firstly bringing up another possibility of the figure not being Ganga but Rati, the consort of Kama, who also has a similar 'vahana'. Moreover, scholar Arundhati Banerjee has stated that the association of Ganga with Lakshmi was later developed. Hence, the question remains: Why did Samudragupta use this deity with the 'makara' in his coin when all others have been associated with Sri-Lakshmi or 'Kulalakshmi'- the Gupta tutelary deity? Is Ganga or Rati being associated with Vishnu and Lakshmi then in the religious pantheon of the Gupta period? Here, the processual nature of religion has to be gazed upon about the textual productions of the adjacent time. A prominent scholar of South Asian religious history, David Kinsley, has picked up some explanations to the question related to Ganga from the early historical texts like the Kurma Purana, Brahmavaivarta Purana,

Mahabhagavata Purana, and the Brhaddharma Purana in his book '*Hindu Goddesses: Visions of the Divine Feminine in the Hindu Religious Tradition*'-

Other accounts of the Ganges' descent feature Vishnu and sometimes Krsna. After assuming his dwarf avatara to trick the demon Bali, Vishnu strides across the cosmos to appropriate it for the gods. On his third stride, his foot strikes the vault of heaven and breaks it. The Ganges River pours through the hole and eventually finds its way to earth. Falling on Mount Meru, the cosmic axis, the Ganges divides into four parts, and as it flows onto the four world continents it purifies the world in every direction. In some versions of the myth the god Brahma, who is said to hold the heavenly Ganges in his water pot, pours the Ganges on Visnu's foot when it stretches into the heavenly sphere. In still other versions of the myth Visnu becomes liquified when he hears a particularly sublime song sung in his praise, and in this form, he enters Brahma's water pot, which contains the Ganges, and thus sacralizes her.

The above excerpt depicts that the sacrality of the Ganges comes from her close affinity with the Hindu Holy Trinity- Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. And, whereas, some texts especially Shiva Purana tend to treat Ganga as the consort of Shiva (Janhavi, as she is named), her connection with Vishnu is also visible, which poses the ground for the association of Ganga with the Vaishnava pantheon, on vogue under the Guptas. Another caution that needs to be taken into consideration, is that although these texts were not exactly compiled during the Gupta period, the idea of association of Ganga with Vishnu, relating her as an outgrowth of Vishnu's being was already socio-culturally present as an ontological truth. Thus, the iconographic representation of Ganga in the 'Vyaghraparakramah' coin of Samudragupta, also could hail the Vaishnava inclination of the mighty political power of the Early Historic period.

Another question remains: Can V.A. Smith's assertion of the figure plausibly being Rati be completely ignored? If we look at the iconography, it would be visible that the figure has a lotus in the left hand, rather than Rati's

conventional weapon- bow- arrow, or sword. Moreover, although we have accounts of Kama's association with Vishnu-Krsna as depicted in the Puranas (Matsya, Linga, Padma, and the Bhagavata) the representation of Rati in the form of samba's maid or wife, Mayavati (Garuda Purana) or Mayadevi (Vishnu Purana) do not plausibly connect her to Makara as a 'vahana', even if Kama sometimes has been symbolized through it. Therefore, it is plausible that the figure in Samudragupta's numismatic iconography is the sacred River Ganga. Be that as it may, it can be ensured that the role of the Puranic religion as a legitimation strategy was as much a part of Samudragupta's political career as was his territorial expansion campaigns.

Against this backdrop, it can be asserted that it was this early historical tradition of involving faith in the political arena that the early medieval upsurge of temple construction was perceived. The Gupta period under Samudragupta was followed by later rulers who increasingly aligned their political process of establishing authority with the mobilization of popular beliefs especially the Puranic trends culminating in the systematization of the process. This alignment as a parallel process has also been duly projected by Kanad Sinha- "*the rise of the Gupta kings and the growth of Puranic sects are parallel processes. It seems that they were connected*". Samudragupta was exemplary in his innovative manner to gradually transform or '*Puranicize*' the non-Indian deity as well as establishing his rule through this phase of religious transition. The intricate integration of the political as well as the religious Indian arena hence, is visible as part of a greater historical evolutionary process later descending into the early medieval legitimization strategy adding a newer version to the existing Indian political philosophy.

NOTES

1. It is in the Mahabharata where Garuda fights with the gods to bring 'Amrit' to Earth as per the demand of his snake brothers. On his way, Vishnu requests Garuda to take him on his back to the Earth, and in lieu, Garuda says that he always wants to be 'above' Vishnu, to which he agrees. It is hence, the idea of Garuda dhvaja came in representing Garuda

as a symbol of the preserver Vishnu, a depiction of the assimilation process of religion to be precise.

2. Bhagavatism, a new Smarta religious tradition was one of the earliest of its kind to activate the assimilative power of religion. By the beginning of the Christian era, Vishnu already had been associated with diverse non-brahminical deities including Vasudeva-Krsna, a pastoral deity, Sankarshan-Balarama, an agricultural deity, and even Narayana, a tribal god to be precise. Thus, Vedic Vishnu was slowly becoming the all-pervasive in the Hindu pantheon, bringing many more unknown figures, into the hierarchical Brahminical religious fold. Although based on Smarta traditions, the Puranic religion couldn't completely detach from the Brahminical belief system mostly due to the socially supreme priestly composers, as well as the political power play that the early historic period witnessed.

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