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*Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*

Department of Public Administration, Arts Block-III

Panjab University, Chandigarh - 160014

**Web:** *purja.puchd.ac.in* **and Email:** *purja@pu.ac.in*

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# **International Migration from Punjab and Challenges for Governance**

**Shuchi Kapuria**

Institute for Development & Communication  
Chandigarh

## **Abstract**

*Punjab is one of the pioneer sources of international migrants from India. It is also a state that has experienced high rates of growth, especially in the agriculture sector. However, despite its economic performance, the state, especially its rural areas, continue to be a significant source of migrant workers to traditional as well as new immigration countries. After initial growth, the State has also slipped behind several other states on some of the indicators like per capita income and its agriculture sector growth has also slowed down. The present paper argues that it is the inability of the State to convert its initial agriculture led growth into diversifying the economy, creating opportunities for productive employment or improve skills of its rural youth that motivates them to migrate in search of green pastures, even engaging in risky option of migrating illegally. The paper further argues that challenges that the process of international migration poses for the migrants and their families have to be dealt with at two different levels. First, by improving skills, education and employment opportunities for the youth locally. Second, at the government level, by ensuring protection of their basic rights as labour and as migrants, providing requisite information about the process of migration, and to enable them to make informed choices about migration.*

## **Introduction**

Punjab is one of the few states in the country that has historically contributed to the pool of international migrants and continues to do so. According to some estimates there are about 5 million Punjabis overseas (Walton-Roberts, 2004). Despite selective immigration laws and policies and stringent border controls put in place by several developed countries, international migration from rural Punjab continues on a significant scale, often in the form of illegal migration. International migration started with recruitment to the British Army that opened avenues for migration to several other colonies of the British Empire, where Punjabis were posted to maintain law and order. Soon, voluntary migrations started. Among the

destinations of early migrants were British colonies in the Far East, New Zealand, Australia, U.K., Canada, USA and Africa, especially East Africa<sup>1</sup>. In 1970s countries of the Middle East appeared as significant region of destination for migrant workers from India and Punjab too contributed to the pool of migrants. More recently, migration to countries of continental Europe has come into focus, especially countries of south Europe that have undergone a transformation from countries of origin of migrants to countries of destination (Jacobsen and Myrvold, 2011).

Until recently, Punjab was one of the best performing states in the country in terms of per capita income (highest among all major states in 1992-93). The state is rural in nature, with 63 percent of the total population still residing in rural areas and about 36 percent of the workers employed in agriculture (Census, 2011). State's agriculture sector experienced high rates of growth after the introduction of green revolution, driving up state's GDP. The sector grew at 5.7 per cent per annum during 1971-72 to 1985-86, while corresponding figure for India was 2.31 percent (Gulati et. al, 2017).

Soon, agriculture sector started to lose its sheen. Its growth rate fell to 3 per cent during 1986-87 to 2004-05 and further to 1.61 per cent during 2005-06 to 2014-15 (Gulati et. al, 2017). The 1980s, also brought to the fore negative impact of agricultural growth on soil and water table, increasing cost of cultivation, accumulating debt and suicides by farmers and agriculture labour. Agriculture sector's contribution to gross state domestic product, which was about 44 percent during the 1970s, declined to 39 percent during the 1990s, further declined to 31 percent in 2004-05 and to 23 percent in 2010-11. In per capita income terms, the state slipped to fifth position in 2004-05 and eleventh in 2013-14 (at 2004-05 prices)<sup>2</sup>.

In the absence of official data on numbers and nature of migration<sup>3</sup> it is difficult to state with certainty if the intensity of migration has increased

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<sup>1</sup> For studies on early migrants from the region to different countries see Tatla (1995); Metcalf (2007), McLeod (1986), Kessinger (1974), Helweg (1979&1986), Ballard (1983), Tatla (1999), Johnston (1990), Judge (1993), Singh (1994), Leonard (1992) and Bhachu (1985).

<sup>2</sup> CSO, State-wise SDP and Per capita income, [www.mospi.gov.in](http://www.mospi.gov.in)

<sup>3</sup> It is only those with ECR passport and migrating for work to 17 ECR countries that require emigration clearance and get registered officially as emigrants. All migrants to Europe and North America and countries other than these 17 countries left out of official counts on emigrants.

over the period, but it is certain that migration has continued over the years, facilitated by establishment of networks and mushrooming of agents and sub-agents. It is surprising to find that a region that has performed well on several economic indicators like per capita income, agricultural growth, poverty reduction, is also the region from where large numbers migrate in search of greener pastures. It is therefore pertinent to delve into the reasons that push a large number of youth out of their country to look for opportunities in foreign countries.

This paper is an attempt to answer what drives migration from the region and what are the challenges that the process poses for migrants, their household/ community and for the policy makers? the questions by examining the impact of the growth process of the state on certain sections of the economy. Aggregate data on sectoral and income growth does not reveal too much about the impact of the growth process on, for example small farmers, or landless households in the rural areas. This would require first, looking into the characteristics of these migrants, and their households or communities and then examining the motivations for migration to foreign labour markets and its challenges.

### **Selection of Study Villages**

Official data on international migration is limited and only migration to 17 countries<sup>4</sup>, comprising of Gulf countries and a few other countries, by unskilled or low-skilled workers for work gets recorded officially. Because of the limited use of the official data for a study of this nature, primary data is used. This paper is, therefore based on primary data collected from two villages of Doaba region – one village each from Hoshiarpur and Jalandhar districts in 2009-10. At the time of the survey, the Punjab comprised of 21 districts divided into three regions namely, Majha, Doab and Malwa. Doab region comprising of the districts of Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar and Nawanshahr (now SAS Nagar) dominates the stream of international migration from Punjab, which has been established by various case-studies, mentioned above. On the basis of existent literature Doab region was selected for conducting primary survey. Further, based on data collected by Economic and Statistical Office of the

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<sup>4</sup> These 17 countries are Afghanistan, Bahrain, Iraq, Indonesia, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Libiya, Lebanon, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, UAE and Yemen (<https://www.mea.gov.in/emigration-abroad-for-emp.htm>).



Government of Punjab for the year 2002-03, on the number of migrant families in rural Punjab, blocks with high intensity of international migration were selected. Thus, block Mahilpur in District Hoshiarpur and block Phillaur of District Jalandhar were selected for survey.

### **About Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur**

Doab region of the state, comprising of the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Nawanshahr and Kapurthala are densely populated with, Jalandhar being the third most populous district and Hoshiarpur being the seventh most populous district, with density of population of 836 per sq. km and 469 per sq. Km respectively (Census, 2011). Doab region also has the highest concentration of Scheduled castes in the state. While the proportion of SC population to total population of the state is approx. 32 per cent (Census, 2011), in Jalandhar district the proportion is about 39 per cent and in Hoshiarpur 35 per cent of the population is SC. Further, about 50 per cent of the rural population in Jalandhar and about 37 percent of the rural population in Hoshiarpur are SC. In fact, blocks Phillaur in Jalandhar and Mahilpur in Hoshiarpur are categorised as blocks where more than 40 per cent of the population is SC (53 per cent and 44 per cent of the total population, respectively).

### **Basic characteristics of the households**

A total of 275 households were interviewed from the selected village in Hoshiarpur and 226 households from the village in Jalandhar. A number of houses were found locked due to migration of the entire family and in some cases households refused to participate in the survey. Hence, such households were not included in the survey and the analysis that follows. In the surveyed villages about 43 percent of the households belonged to SC social group and 10 percent to OBC (Table 1). Of the total households about 46 percent were migrant households, having at least one member who was residing in a foreign country at the time of the survey. Likewise about 5 percent of the households were return migrant households i.e., households where at least one member has returned from a foreign country after having lived there for at least one year and no member of the household was living in a foreign country at the time of the survey. It is also evident from Table 2 that incidence of migration was high across social groups 50 percent in case of Others (Jats, Rajputs, & Brahmins) social group and 42 percent in case of SC households with incidence being 45 percent for OBC. Literature on international migration from Punjab has

brought out quite clearly that international migration, which started during colonial time, was dominated by landowning castes of rural Punjab, mostly *Jat Sikhs*<sup>5</sup> and to a lesser extent by other castes from Doab region.

**Table:1 Number of households in the surveyed villages by social group**

Social group	Hoshiarpur	Jalandhar	Total	%
SC	120	94	214	42.71
OBC	28	24	52	10.38
Others	127	108	235	46.91
Total	275	226	501	100

**Table: 2 Incidence of migration among households by Social Groups**

		Social Groups			
		Others	OBC	SC	Total
<b>Total Households</b>		226	58	217	501
Migrant		113	26	90	229
Non-migrant		102	28	117	247
Return migrant		11	4	10	25
<b>Percentage of total households in each social group</b>					
Migration Status of the Household	Migrant	50.00	44.83	41.47	45.71
	Non-migrant	45.13	48.28	53.92	49.30
	Return migrant	4.87	6.90	4.61	4.99

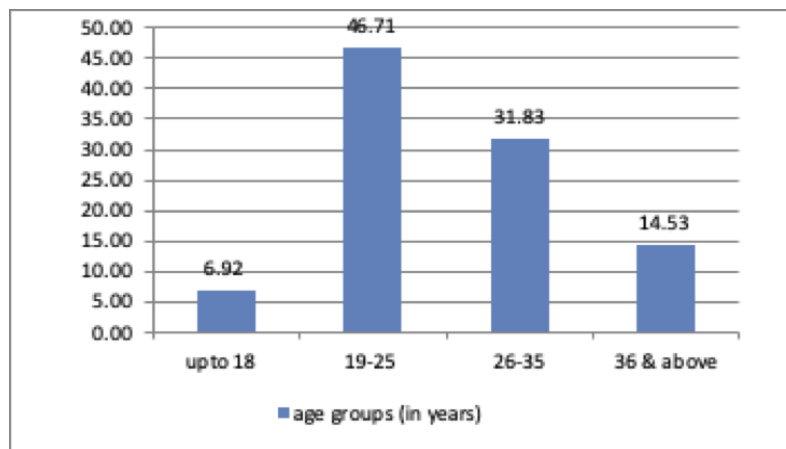
In population terms about 11 percent of the total population of the two villages was migrants. The migration is dominated by male members of the household, accounting for about 95 percent of the total migrants. About 47 percent migrants were between 19 to 25 years. There were households from which more than one member had migrated abroad. Intensity of migration was the highest amongst Others social group, followed by OBC households, and SC. The proportion of return migrants from each social group was small i.e., between 1 to 2 percent. To a large extent return migrants were those who had migrated to the Gulf countries for work and were either too old to work now, or had taken ill during

<sup>5</sup> Sikhs are the largest religious community in the state with about 63 per cent of the State's population being Sikh, and their share in the rural population is even higher at 72 per cent. During colonial period also Sikhs dominated the region that roughly coincides with present day Punjab (Macmunn, 1933).

working abroad. A couple of return migrants were deported and/or returned voluntarily due to family reasons.

**Table: 3 Migration status of the members of the households**

	Others	OBC	SC	Total
<b>Numbers</b>				
Non-Migrant	923	242	1095	2260
Migrant	154	28	111	293
Return migrant	18	4	17	39
All	1095	274	1223	2592
<b>Percentage</b>				
Non-Migrant	84.29	88.32	89.53	87.19
Migrant	14.06	10.22	9.08	11.30
Return migrant	1.64	1.46	1.39	1.50
All	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00



**Figure 1: Percentage distribution of migrants by age at the time of migration**

The destination countries of international migrants from these two villages were quite varied. A large percentage had migrated to the oil-exporting Gulf countries (35 percent). According to official estimates, migration from Punjab to the Gulf countries is not as significant as that from Kerala, Tamil Nadu or Andhra Pradesh, or even Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, which have recently started to participate in significant numbers (GoI, 2015). On the other hand, survey results show that among traditional countries of immigration 15 percent of the migrants had migrated to UK, 15 percent to

North America (Canada & USA combined) and 4 percent to Australia and New Zealand. About 30 percent of the migrants were in different countries of mainland Europe, predominantly in Greece and Italy.

**Table: 4 Distribution of Migrants across Destination Countries by Social groups**

	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>	<b>All</b>
Australia	5.84	0	0.90	3.41
New Zealand	1.95	0	0.00	1.02
Canada	14.29	3.57	0.90	8.19
USA	9.09	0.00	4.50	6.48
UK	18.18	10.71	12.61	15.36
Greece	19.48	3.57	13.51	15.70
Italy	9.74	0.00	14.41	10.58
Spain	1.95	0.00	0.00	1.02
Gulf	14.94	78.57	50.45	34.47
Malaysia	0.65	3.57	0.00	0.68
Germany	1.95	0	0.00	1.02
Belgium	1.95	0	0.90	1.37
Portugal	0.00	0	0.90	0.34
Denmark	0.00	0	0.90	0.34

It is also noteworthy that countries of destination differ among social groups. For instance more than 50 percent of SC migrants and more than 78 percent of OBC migrants are in the Gulf countries, while the proportion for migrants from landowning caste groups is only 15 percent. Similarly, a higher proportion of migrants from Others social group have migrated to the traditional immigration countries like Australia, Canada, USA and UK. These differences are relevant when we consider that wages are higher in the developed countries of the West, also due to stronger currency; and as would be discussed later in the paper, these countries also provide opportunity for permanent settlement and immigration, unlike the Gulf countries.

### **Explaining Migration**

Given the high incidence of international migration across social groups, it is pertinent to understand the reasons for migration. Various push and pull

factors have been identified in the literature on migration and various studies have shown the dominance of one over the other in explaining international migration. This paper argues that individual's or household's decision to migrate is taken under the structural conditions in the economy. Reviewing case-studies by different authors to understand international migration from rural Punjab, a common explanation that emerges for initiation of migration is the uneconomical land size with the households due to subdivision of land holdings (due to a customary practice in Punjab to divide land among siblings on death of their father). Other related reasons include receding water-level in Doab region that added to the problem of uneconomic land holdings, especially for small landowners (Darling, 1977; McLeod, 1986). Moreover, central districts of the state were densely populated. Therefore, aspiration to increase landholdings through wealth earned abroad motivated households to send member/s abroad. Other than military service, alternative means of livelihood were limited and emigration became attractive (Helweg, 1979).

Accumulation of debt was another factor that led to international migration. Expansion of irrigation system and railway network during the last quarter of the nineteenth century enabled farmers to shift production from domestic to export crops and provided them large cash incomes. With rising income farmers indulged in conspicuous consumption which led to accumulation of debts (Darling, 1977). On the other hand, capability of the farmer households to bear the cost of migration increased. Emigration provided an opportunity to indebted households to pay-off their debts (Johnston, 1999). Kessinger (1974) acknowledges that the principal reason for emigration (to the canal colonies as well as to Australia) was 'the acquisition of wealth to purchase land and construct brick houses in Vilayatpur'. Helweg (1979) too states that many well-to-do families either sent family members to work in foreign labour markets or married them abroad, to maintain their relative position in the society.

Status competition worked in several ways for example, household's ability to meet expenses involved in marrying their daughters into a household with equal or higher status was considered to add to the 'perceived status', thus motivating households to send members abroad (McLeod, 1986; Ballard, 1983). Writing about early migrants to North America, Johnston (1999) points out that experiences of the early migrants abroad provided them a certain status when they returned and that acted as an incentive for others to migrate. Travel agents also enticed villagers to

migrate and networks helped in the migration of family and friends (Helweg, 1979). Shipping companies actively advertised and recruited workers from India and Punjab. To facilitate emigration to Britain from village Jandiali in Doab, Cooperative Bank granted loans to young men to finance their travel (Helweg, 1979).

Judge (1994), on the other hand, lays more importance on the pull factors rather than push factors to explain migration to Canada, in the more recent years. He contends that though like earlier migrations middle peasantry continue to dominate, since the 1970s many among rural migrants were well educated and were pulled by the economic opportunities in Canada. For others, emigration not only provided access to financial resources it also provided qualitative change to the migrants. Lower caste members from the community saw the opportunity to emigrate as a chance for social mobility. Social stigma faced by the lower castes in Punjab did not exist in the West even in the immigrant community and that was an additional incentive to migrate (Helweg, 1979).

The above account of motivations for migration support the proposition that households as rational decision making unit, were driven by their desire to increase their relative position in the village-community through purchase of land and construction of modern houses. International migration was also used as a strategy to diversify income sources for households expecting adverse impact on their economic and the social position. What is missed out by these accounts, however, is the focus on structural factors that were responsible for driving out people from the region. Indebtedness of farmers, small land holdings, absence of alternative opportunities of employment, need to insure household against adverse economic condition and pull of the opportunities in developed countries were the result of the development process adopted at that time. Investments in infrastructure like roads, transport, railways, canal irrigation and shift towards food-grain and cash crop production, resulted in migration through income effect but also through the negative impact of these developments on the livelihood of artisans, small and medium land holding farmers and agricultural labour<sup>6</sup>. Many artisans and small farmers joined the ranks of agriculture labour while others sought military service and were posted to other colonies of the British Empire.

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<sup>6</sup> This was the result of the burden of water charges and land revenue, de-industrialisation of the traditional industries. For details see Mukherjee (1980).

## Structural Reasons

The nature of development in the state, post-independence, explains the continuation of the process of migration. After initial growth in the agriculture sector, rates of growth have declined. Increased mechanisation and irrigation, and use of fertilisers and pesticides have raised the cost of farming as well as adversely affected the soil, water and environment have also become visible. Debts of the farmers, especially small farmers are increasing and role of informal lender is increasing. Growth in real farm household income slowed down significantly in the 1990s (Joshi, 2004). Land reforms have met with limited success, especially in ensuring land ownership to the Scheduled castes.

Studies have shown that small farmers are giving up self-cultivation and joining the ranks of agricultural or industrial labour due to non-viability of farming. Additionally, mechanisation has led to declining capacity to absorb labour in agriculture since the late 1980s. Punjab agriculture is increasingly dependent on seasonal migrants from other regions to carry out various agricultural operations (Singh, 2009). The cultivators that are freed from agriculture find it difficult to gain employment in other sectors that could provide adequate security and means of livelihood (Gill, 1988). Industrial sector in the state has suffered from several bottlenecks like, absence of mineral resource base, geographical/ locational factors like distance from ports and from the centres of trade and commerce, and sensitive international border, problems associated with the licensing policy and pricing policy of the central government (Singh, 1997). Moreover, 90.9 per cent of the workforce in Punjab is engaged in low-wage unorganized sector (Singh, 2010). Studies have also pointed out a decline in the organised manufacturing sector employment and an increase in unorganised manufacturing sector employment, post-liberalisation (Aggarwal, 2004). Moreover, expenditures of the state on social services that include education, health, family welfare, housing, labour, welfare of the Scheduled Castes, and food and nutrition has declined in the past 25 years. Thus, state has been withdrawing from its welfare function and has shown little concern in creating long-term assets for development (Sood, 2010).

Doab region has small size of landholdings, which when combined with increasing cost of cultivation, mechanisation and lack of other employment opportunities; and the aspirations of youth to shift away from agriculture

and move towards better paying jobs, motivates youth to take up migration, even in a clandestine way<sup>7</sup>. This section looks at how the above-mentioned scenario at the state level translates into reality in the surveyed villages.

### Small Size of land holdings

The surveyed villages show dominance of small landholdings. Moreover, differentials among caste groups in land ownership is quite stark with about 87 percent of the SC households and 91 percent of OBC households owning no land, while only about 11 percent of Others being landless. Small size of the land-ownership is evident from the fact that about 52 percent of the households from Others social group, which mainly constitutes of *Jats* and *Rajputs*, own up to 1 hectare of land (Table 5).

**Table: 5 Category-wise distribution of land owned by households across social groups**

Land (in hectares)	Others	OBC	SC	Others	OBC	SC
	Numbers			Percentage		
landless	24	53	188	10.62	91.38	86.64
up to 0.40	51	4	21	22.57	6.90	9.68
0.41- 1.00	66	1	7	29.20	1.72	3.23
1.01-2.00	52	0	1	23.01	0.00	0.46
2.01-4.00	26	0	0	11.50	0.00	0.00
above 4.00	7	0	0	3.10	0.00	0.00
total	226	58	217	100.00	100.00	100.00

### Agrarian distress, dependence on agriculture and lack of alternative employment opportunities

Other than agriculture, landless labour and small farmers have limited employment opportunities. Manufacturing sector jobs are limited in the state as well as in the region. About 43 percent of the SC population of the villages, above the age of 15 years were casual labour, working mostly in the construction sector or as truck cleaners/helpers, bus conductors and a few in an cycle-axel manufacturing unit nearby. Only a few SC workers,

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<sup>7</sup> According to one estimate, every year more than 20,000 youths from Punjab attempt illegal migration (UNODC, 2009)



generally female members of the household, worked as seasonal agriculture labour. While the reason could be socio-religious, as pointed out by Jodhka (2002), but it is also economic in nature. Most of the agricultural operations have become mechanized. Land-owners of a reasonable size of land prefer mechanized harvesting of crops and prefer migrant labour from other states like UP or Bihar, than employing local workers. Local labour complains of low wages and seasonal nature of work as reasons for not working in the agriculture sector.

For those from Others social group, self employment largely means own-cultivation. Some of them also run small businesses like *karyana* shop, stationery shop, chemist shop, or tailoring shop. For OBC and SC self employment basically means running petty business from their own dwellings, running a tea stall or small repair shops.

**Table : 6 Employment status of the residents of the villages above 15 years**

		Others	OBC	SC
Workers				
	Self employed	42.33	23.38	16.71
	Regular employed	10.23	9.09	7.43
	Casual Labour	8.24	25.97	43.24
Non workers		39.2	41.56	32.62
	Total population	100.00	100.00	100.00

### **Aspirations for better paying regular jobs**

Youth aspires for regular, preferably government sector jobs, with better salaries. While this option is limited, their ability to find such jobs is also limited by their limited educational qualifications and skill-sets. Though a large percentage of villagers had completed secondary or senior secondary level of formal education, only a few had tertiary level of education or specialization. Given their aspirations for regular/ government jobs, these skills are inadequate to fetch them a job of their liking. Moreover, they also do not have any formal vocational training. It is so even with migrants. On the other, migration appears attractive, even when it involves high cost, because of the higher wages and harder foreign currencies. Given that foreign labour markets are becoming more and more selective in terms of skills and qualifications, these migrants find it hard to migrate on their own and therefore engage Agents to help them migrate.

**Table : 7 Educational qualifications of the residents of the villages, above 15years of age**

	<b>Male</b>					
	<b>Numbers</b>			<b>Percentage</b>		
	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>
No schooling	60	3	74	17.05	3.90	19.73
Primary	35	8	49	9.94	10.39	13.07
Middle	64	18	80	18.18	23.38	21.33
Secondary and Senior Secondary	169	37	155	48.01	48.05	41.33
Graduation and above	24	11	17	6.82	14.29	4.53
Total	352	77	375	100.00	100.00	100.00
	<b>Female</b>					
	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>
No schooling	88	19	131	22.11	17.92	30.32
Primary	63	21	71	15.83	19.81	16.44
Middle	45	13	60	11.31	12.26	13.89
Secondary and Senior Secondary	173	48	148	43.47	45.28	34.26
Graduation and above	29	5	22	7.29	4.72	5.09
Total	398	106	432	100.00	100.00	100.00

**Table:8 Education status of the migrants at the time of migration**

Education status of migrants at the time of migration by social group			
	<b>Others</b>	<b>OBC</b>	<b>SC</b>
No schooling	3.90	3.57	2.70
Primary	11.04	7.14	10.81
Middle	16.23	21.43	18.02
Secondary and Senior Secondary	55.19	67.86	59.46
Graduation and above	13.64	0.00	9.01
	100.00	100.00	100.00

It appears, therefore, that the reasons have more or less remained the same over the years. Structural factors have created conditions where aspirations of the youth have not been met by concomitant conditions in the economy. Globalisation has created demand for highly skilled and professional migrants which reflects in the selective immigration policies of the developed countries, but it does not discourage the less skilled labour force to migrate. The less skilled increasingly use illegal channels to migrate to foreign labour markets. Networks facilitate international migration through providing information and minimising risks involved in entering a foreign labour market. Strength of these networks is different for differentially placed socio-economic groups and this affects the quantum and direction of migration. This is an important reason for the observed differences in the direction of migration between Others social group and SC and OBC social groups.

### **Challenges of International migration**

From the above analysis it is clear that there are several issues of concern related to the pattern of migration from rural areas. These are discussed under two broad heads, namely those concerning Gulf Migration and secondly, those related to illegal/irregular migration to new destination countries.

### **Gulf Migration**

Most of the Gulf countries, depend heavily on migrant workers. For example, immigrants constitute 87 per cent of the population of Qatar, 70 percent of the population of UAE and 69 percent of the population of Kuwait (UN, 2009). This has been an outcome of demand for workers on the one hand and limited supply of domestic workers, due to skill shortages and labour market segmentation. Countries like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and other neighbouring countries provided unskilled workers while skilled labour migrated from Europe (Cohen, 2006). Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu are among significant states of emigration to the Gulf countries. Bihar and U.P. were not significant source regions but have gained significance in the last few years. Proportion of emigrants originating from Punjab has been low, ranging between 3-8 percent but there has been a steady stream of migrants from the state. Over the years both skilled and low skilled migrations from India have increased, while rural Punjab supplies low-skilled migrants.

International migration to the Gulf poses several challenges, especially for the low- skilled workers. Problems faced by low-skilled workers in these countries include harsh working and living conditions, lower wages than offered in the work-contract, non-payment or delayed payment of wages, etc. These problems mainly arise because of poor laws relating to migrant workers and their implementation. Further, these countries do not provide citizenship rights to their migrant workers, unlike many immigration countries of the west. Kafala system is the sponsorship system in the Gulf countries to employ migrant workers. The system requires that there should be a local sponsor who would monitor the entry, stay and exit of migrant workers. This system is known to be exploitative, since any dispute with the local sponsor who is also the employer, over wages, work or living conditions can lead to the sponsor to withdraw the sponsorship (Singh and Rajan, 2016). Many employers or sponsors take away the passports of the migrant workers and exploit them, and there is no legal recourse for the workers.

Another challenge that international migration to the countries of the Gulf poses is in terms of increasing tendency in these countries to employ local labour, i.e., nationalisation of labour market. Saudization of labour market, has been adopted in Saudi Arabia as a solution to its increasing local youth population. Nitaqat is a system through which the government has, since 2011, fixed different percentages of local workers to be employed in different activities (Singh and Rajan, 2016).

Therefore, these legislations pose challenge to the continuation of migration of unskilled workers and migration as a strategy for improving their economic and social conditions in the community. It also appears that over the years, even the Gulf countries are moving towards restrictive and selective policies with respect to migrant workers.

### **Illegal migration**

Illegal Migration to countries of the west also poses challenges, amongst which is the high cost of migration leading to indebtedness of the households. To finance migration it was informed that households had to mortgage or sell assets like land, jewellery, and house. In case of Dalit households with little or no asset to sell or mortgage, households had borrowed from relatives or friends, which they claim was without interest payment; or had to borrow from informal channels at high interest rate.

Illegal migration also involves risk to life and well-being of the migrant. There were instances, where return migrants themselves narrated stories of their travel and of co-travellers from other villages of Punjab, states and even other countries, about their mis-treatment at the hands of agents and smugglers, and the risks involved in travelling through clandestine ways. What is equally disturbing is the impact it has on the household and especially youth. Long periods of separation from the family, due to illegal/irregular status in the destination countries result in loneliness of the migrant, and alcohol and drug-abuse among young children in the family. It was reported by several elderly members of the community that in the absence of male member, females have limited control over their children. On the other hand, precarious position of the migrant in the destination labour market often leads to their absorption in the informal jobs, with lower wages. Employers exploit their illegal status and migrants constantly live under the fear of deportation. In instances where migrants were deported in the study villages, families in the native village had to bear the cost of deportation.

### **Challenges for Governance**

International migration from rural Punjab on a significant scale started in the late-nineteenth century and still continues, though the nature and direction has changed over the period. It appears, though that the reasons for migration to foreign labour market have not changed much, despite its growth experience of the early decades since independence. Despite agricultural sector growth, its inability to diversify to create jobs in manufacturing and services sector for its rural youth, inability to meet the aspirations of the youth for better jobs, its declining social sector expenditures that support the marginalised sections especially small peasantry and landless scheduled castes reflect that the problem is more structural but the solutions sought are individual.

Improving education and skill sets of the youth, meeting aspirations for employment, mainstreaming marginalised through support for social sector schemes, breaking the nexus of agents and smugglers that entice youth to migrate illegally, ensuring safe work environment in destination countries and incentivising legal migration through Government to Government cooperation in skills recognition, promoting programmes for temporary migration and assessment of labour market needs of the destination countries are some of the areas where efforts are required of the policy

makers. Finally, it should be realised that international migration as a channel of improving economic position of the household has its limitations and cannot replace the initiatives required to meet the aspirations of youth locally.

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# **Climate change is not Gender Neutral: A case study of India and China**

**Sachna**

Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Sri Guru Gobind Singh College  
Chandigarh

## **Abstract**

*India and China are quite vulnerable to multiple threats from climate change because of their high populations, tropical geography with large coastlines, monsoon dependent agriculture, and agriculture dependent population and economy. So India and China have become interesting case studies, as they face the development dilemma most acutely. Despite of the fact that women and men are differently affected by climate change as women are more vulnerable, they lack real economic, political and legal clout and are hence left with little options to cope with climate change. But still women have time and again proved that despite existing structural and sociocultural barriers, they can be powerful agents of change and can make significant contributions to sustainable development. For the global community especially countries like India and China as climatic changes can undo the years of development they have achieved, to achieve post-2015 development agenda, it becomes imperative that gender equality, climate justice and women's empowerment continue to be main drivers of collective action towards human development. This study is an attempt to tabulate the frameworks of vulnerabilities of women to climate change in general and focusing on India and China in particular based on the latest literature and published data.*

## **Keywords**

Climate change, India, China, Women, vulnerability, climate justice.

## **Introduction**

If the twentieth century was defined by fears of war and the struggle to get supremacy over other nations, the 21st century has been marked by the

fear of climate changes and the struggle for the control of energy resources.

The threat of climate change has been highlighted in the five reports of the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) that has been released since its formation in 1988. IPCC's Fourth Assessment report warned about the fact that the "Warming of the climate system is unequivocal", a point further reiterated by the observations relating to increase in the global average of the air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and the rising sea levels on a global average" (IPCC, 2007:1.1). IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) predicts global temperatures will rise between 2 and 4 degrees Celsius by the end of the century. All countries and every person from any social level will be affected by the changes that are likely to be "severe, pervasive and irreversible. The levels of three key greenhouse gases — carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane (CH<sub>4</sub>) and nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O) —have been the highest ever compared to the past 800,000 years" (IPCC, 2013a:8).

IPCC clearly states that in India and China, climate change as an individual problem does not get much attention, but the impact and implications of climate changes due to development does get attention. The two countries have been using sustainable development as the basis of evaluation in their climate responses. They recognize the need to address climate changes, but not at the cost of sustainable development. The IPCC has also tried to substantiate the critical and crucial relationship of sustainable development and climate change in its latest assessment report of 2014 (IPCC, 2014a). It says that response to climate change should be consistent with the developmental goals rather than competing with it, which is something new and beneficial for both India and China.

The reason for the two countries for not having pressed hard for strong actions on climate change is that they are wary of the fact that it may put unwanted restrictions on them and thus create a hurdle in their development process. But continuing on the path of development needs more and more energy resources and majority of India and China's energy needs are fulfilled by fossil fuels (UNDP, 2015b).

IPCC report pointed out that "Differences in vulnerability and exposure arise from non-climatic factors and from multidimensional inequalities often produced by uneven development processes (very high confidence).

These differences shape differential risks from climate change. People who are socially, economically, culturally, politically, institutionally, or otherwise marginalized are especially vulnerable to climate change and also to some adaptation and mitigation responses (medium evidence, high agreement). This heightened vulnerability is rarely due to a single cause. Rather, it is the product of intersecting social processes that result in inequalities in socioeconomic status and income, as well as in exposure. Such social processes include, for example, discrimination on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity, age, and (dis)ability.” (IPCC, 2014)

This is clearly reflected in case of countries like India and China due to cultural requirements which is more tilted towards men exposing women to the dangers of climate change in various ways which is explained in detail in next section.

Therefore, in the cases of India and China it has become important to understand the concept of ‘climate justice-environment-women empowerment’ interface. Because continuously walking on the path of excessive usage of fossil fuels will eventually hurt the development of India and China and thus increasing the drudgery for women as well. The whole efforts of past few decades will be negated because of careless approach towards climate change. The next section deals with the question of the threats of climate changes to women in general and in case of India and China in particular. This is necessary for India and China to deal with the climate change in a planned and gender balanced way so that they can take positions accordingly in negotiations over climate change.

### **Gender dimensions of Climate change: A case of India and China**

Climate changes no doubt pose a great risk for the mankind today. How the society perceives risks and its related impacts depends to a great extent on the various goals and values being *endorsed by that society (IPCC, 2014a)*. The values, goals the world in general and India and China in particular endorse are more tilted towards men. So we can say as the doomsday clock of climate change has started ticking people all over the world have started feeling the heat of those impacts as clearly visible in the environmental changes, such as fluctuations in crop cycles. Women, who already struggle under the burden of unequal power relations, become doubly vulnerable to climate impacts than men. The climate change has

become another stressor in the lives of women and girls and it is further increasing existing gender inequalities.

Due to the vulnerable position that women occupy in most societies, they are more prone to various kinds of disasters specially the climate-induced disasters like floods and droughts. There are multiple reasons for this, such as their economic dependence, the kind of activities assigned to them (household chores and the subsistence agriculture) and the morality-governing modesty of women in many cultures. Thus, their own responsibilities, the expectations of their cultures and 'the moral burden' expose them to the vagaries of nature, particularly at the time of natural disasters like floods, droughts and storm surges. The situation becomes more intense when they are forced out of their homes due to droughts and floods. This forced migration is another cause, which further exposes these women many problems. So, while it is true that climate changes affect all human beings, but these effects are not the same on men as they are on women. Thus none of these effects are equal (Nagel, 2012).

As the Brundtland Commission observed "Poor people are most vulnerable to climate changes due to their limited adaptive capacities to changing environment. Among the rural poor, rural women and girls are the ones most immediately affected. Climate change impacts are not gender neutral" (WCED, 1987: 47).

In India, women in rural areas have the responsibility of providing water and collecting wood to prepare food for their family. These are their prime responsibilities. This culturally designated role further widens the already existing gap between men and women. In water scarce regions, getting water from far off places, carrying it all the way back on their heads, followed by collecting woods to keep fires at home alight for food becomes an imposed responsibility for women. This has led to an unwanted situation of high drop outs rate among girls as they are needed at home to help their mothers in the day to day household chores (Uppal, 2011).

The Human Development Report of 2007-08 has shown that Indian women who were born during the occurrence of floods in the 1970's had 19% less chances of attending primary school. Besides this, climate change has aggravated the health crisis in areas where health infrastructure is very poor or almost non-existent (UNDP, 2007). According to one

report by World Food Programme, by 2050, the world will see an increase of 10-20 % in the number of people who are at a higher risk of hunger. Of these, most will be residents of developing countries and a big majority of them will be women and children (WFP, 2015).

These problems exist in China too. During the Wenchuan earthquake in 2008, it was observed that compared to men, more women died in the disaster. Many reasons were given for this but with little or no supporting evidence. For instance, it has been suggested that women were at home so took them more time to run out, or that the women had to rescue children and elderly first, thus making their survival tough. Lastly it was suggested that women tried to dress up according to Chinese traditions, before running out, which took a lot of time. The Chinese have recently started paying attention to this aspect of gender in the context of climate changes (Bohang, 2014).

There is lot of difference in the ability of men and women to survive natural disasters, and in China men are more willing to learn about disaster prevention than women. The difference also exists in accessing relevant information regarding disaster prevention. Further the burden of household work also prevents women from attending disaster-prevention lectures. Moreover their being less educated makes the understanding of these lectures for women even tougher. Even at the time of relief and rehabilitation work, gender differences are not taken into account and this exposes them to other sort of vulnerabilities (Bohang, 2014).

For example, while providing shelter after the earthquake in Wenchuan, nobody cared to provide women with separate rooms; especially pregnant women, breastfeeding women and menstruating women, who needed specific rooms to maintain their privacy. Even the basic necessity of providing separate toilets for women was not taken care of. Then while distributing relief material, women were not able to get enough milk for their babies. Men are the predominant decision-makers regarding post disaster reconstruction and other developmental activities, and are prone to ignoring the needs of women. In one instance money was provided to a village and it was left to the villagers to decide as to how they wanted to use it. Men were in favour construction of roads, and women were in favour of setting up public toilets, as they did not have access to toilets while working in the farm. But finally roads were constructed, as there were more men in the decision taking committee (Bohang, 2014).

The other important point is women play a very leading role in coping with the adverse impacts of climate change especially in the mountaneous regions of India and China where climate change impacts are expected to disrupt the weather and impact the agriculture in a very drastic way. But the saddest part is their contribution in this regard is being ignored by excluding them from the policy making process which can make or break their lives in a very significant way.

A study conducted by researchers from the World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF), the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICMOD) and the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences strengthens the fact that the inclusion of gender perspective in the climate change policy making and discourse but at the same time it warns that lack of inclusion may significantly undermine the efforts being at the climate change adaptation front. “Women in the region have important responsibilities as managers of natural and household resources and are therefore well positioned to contribute to adaptation strategies. But they are more vulnerable than men to climate change as they face more social, economic, and political barriers limiting their adaptive capacity,” says Su Yufang, ICRAF China’s Deputy Director and the lead author of the study (Valencia and Koningstein, 2017)

Another important finding from the same study was that men and women use contrasting approaches when they have to face the problems of water shortages and their consequences on agriculture. Most of the men either reportedly preferred to wait for the rain and other percentage opted to transfer water to crops. But on the contrary women percentage opting for second option was much higher than the males. Besides this, the women actively involved themselves in finding some innovative solutions like decreasing the cultivated area or adjusting the timing of planting. There were significant difference in their approach with regard to dealing with draught conditions too like women were more inclined towards shifting to forestry and animal husbandry after successive low yields (ibid)

Another irritating finding was that because of the physical strength and skills men used to be appointed as managers for maintenance of water tank and water pipes and other infrastructure by the village committee but later on it was realized that women have an active role to play in the water allocation and resolving the conflicts related to that so women were finally bring into mainstream policy making and since then a practice of

appointing women as managers was started. Women were able to solve problems related to water through negotiations rather than physical conflicts (ibid)

So the important question is why climate change and other natural disasters affect women in a different and severe way? One reason often cited for this differentiation is that men and women have been assigned different roles, and because of this and other social and physical reasons, women face more discrimination and that too in various forms. This, to a great extent, impacts the ability of women to adapt too. Due to climate change, large-scale migration is expected, especially from inundated areas, which may again burden women with extra hardships. As the migration of men is larger in number than women, so the females who are left behind have to take charge of the family by putting extra efforts and often they are still the poorest. So, it can be assumed that as climate change is likely to intensify natural disasters, more and more women will be impacted if proper measures are not undertaken on time. Women suffer more during natural or man made disasters due to their “restricted mobility, inability to swim or run, pressures from family, household responsibilities and less exposure to training and information such as early warning signals” (Narain.et.al; 2009:49).

### **Need to revisit national priorities on gender: The way forward**

It's hard fact that, women often have the capability, but not the real confidence to come forward. The Society still expects women to be mothers and housewives first, putting pressure on them to make choice between workplace and the home. The only way is to fostering their capabilities and presence in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics which will ultimately boost their confidence. As Bacon said, knowledge is power. But if knowledge is held or created by one type of person, how can power be balanced? The creation of knowledge must go beyond gender, race, skin colour, age and other differences.

Like the 2015 Paris Agreement also addressed the issue of gender equality and women's empowerment, and its provisions calls the member states to adopt gender-balanced approaches. Further, many Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs) submitted to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as part of the

implementation regime of the Paris Agreement reflect gender priorities in their pledges for climate action.

As India and China are making progress in every field, the effects of climate change are also becoming more tangible. In this regard national and provincial governments of these countries have started formulating and implementing new policies and governance mechanisms for climate change mitigation and adaptation, but worst part is none of these policies address gender issues.

The case for increased importance to be given to gender perspectives becomes critical in the context of agricultural production becoming increasingly feminized and women taking on various non-traditional roles.

Based on the above analysis, following recommendations can be made:

- Vulnerability varies according to the gender should be considered.
- It should also be kept in mind that women's traditional knowledge and practical experience is very vast as compared to men so it should be given its due value.
- So women should be provided proper information with regard to climate change and technologies to improve their adaptive capacity.
- Besides this women's participation in the planning and construction of some basic facilities like drinking water and irrigation facilities should be ensured so that it should meet the women's needs.
- Efforts should be made to strengthen all women community-based water management bodies and women's organizations.

In the end it can be said that the lack of information and less or no engagement with gender issues could result in unfit adaptation responses which may not be able to address the different priorities and needs of rural women successfully, further pushing them away. It may deny the nation, the opportunity to benefit from women's active contribution to climate change mitigation and adaptation.

So we can say that, in the context of climate change, gender issues do exist but these have not attracted as much attention as they deserve.



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# **Caste in Urban Context: A Sociological Study of the Walled City of Amritsar**

**Jasdeep Kaur**

ICSSR Research Fellow

Department of Sociology

Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar

## **Abstract**

*This paper focuses on analysing the relationship between urban space and caste in the walled city of Amritsar. The social segregation of urban space which is also known as residential segregation is to be studied with its complex inequalities. The main reason for studying caste in urban context is that it has always been seen as a reality of village India. People often have a notion that caste does not play an effective role in cities and towns and its rigidity is more apparent in rural areas. This paper aims to present information collected from the respondents of the walled city of Amritsar through interviews. An attempt has been made to see how the urban space is being utilised by the people in their social world, which is formed on the basis of caste and community. The study will also analyse the effect of caste on the urban neighbourhood of the walled city of Amritsar.*

Amritsar city is one of the important commercial, cultural and transportation centre of Punjab, but its crucial importance is its being the headquarters of the Sikh faith. The bazaars and lanes (*gallis*) of the city, which we see in present time, have evolved from the times of the Sikh Gurus. The walled city of Amritsar is divided into different *katras*/*mohallas* (neighbourhoods), bazaars and *gallis* which largely correspond with the graded social divisions based on caste and community. Kirpal Singh (1988:39), while tracing the evolution of Amritsar city, reveals that various racial and caste elements were responsible for its growth. This paper attempts to analyse the relationship between urban space and caste in the walled city of Amritsar. The social segregation of urban space which is also known as residential segregation is to be studied with its complex connections with social differences and social inequalities. The main reason for studying caste in urban context is that it has always been seen as a reality of village India. People often have a notion that caste does not

play an effective role in cities and towns and its rigidity is more apparent in rural areas. An attempt has been made to see how the urban space is being utilised by the people in their social world, which is formed on the basis of caste and community. The study will analyse the effect of caste on the urban neighbourhood of the walled city of Amritsar.

The universe of the study is neighbourhoods of the walled city of Amritsar and is based on the empirical survey of the respondents of the mohallas. Out of 12 wards of the walled city, 5 were chosen randomly in which some localities were found bearing the name of certain castes. The numbers of these five wards were: 37, 41, 43, 44, and 45. The total sample size was 310, out of which 62 families from each locality (wardwise) were selected through simple random sampling. The head of the household was preferred for the interview. In case of non-availability of the head, other members of the household were interviewed.

### **Conceptualising City as Social Space in Connection with Caste**

Caste is defined as a small and named group of persons characterised by endogamy, hereditary membership and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system (Betellie, 1996:46). The word caste has its connotations in Indian context. Indian caste is derived from birth alone. In order to understand Indian caste system in particular, we need to look into three broader perspectives given by Ghurye, Srinivas and Dumont.

The first perspective was given by Ghurye, a prominent Indian sociologist. According to him, there are six major features of caste, namely segmental division of society, hierarchy, concept of purity and pollution, restrictions on marriage, civil and religious disabilities and privileges among different sections and lack of unrestricted choice of occupation. As it was practised in Indian society, each exemplified through numerous instances from a wide regional base. Out of these six, while first, fifth and sixth demonstrate aspects of material communal life, the other three pertain to caste as a whole (Ghurye, 1932).

M.N Srinivas has followed the structural-functional approach which relies on the fieldwork tradition for understanding the social reality so that it can be understood as a contextual or field view perspective of social phenomena. He views caste as a segmentary system comprising of

hierarchy, occupational differentiation, caste panchayat and assemblies, restrictions on food and the concept of pollution (Nagla, 2008).

Thirdly, Dumont, a French anthropologist and structuralist, defines caste as a set of relationships of economic, political and kinship systems validated by certain values which are mostly religious in nature. For him, caste is not a social stratification but a system of hierarchy based on inequality. He contends that hierarchy emerges from a consensus of values and ideas and is important for social life. According to him, caste groups are distinguished from and connected to one another firstly through separation of matters of marriage and contact, secondly through division of labour, traditions and professions and thirdly by forming hierarchical ranking groups as relatively superior or inferior to one another. This last aspect of hierarchy is the most important and is manifested in the separation between pure and impure. He also distinguished between western ideas of hierarchy as progressive subordination and Indian theories of hierarchy. Rather than hierarchy resting upon western ideas of linear power and authority, Dumont connects Indian hierarchy to religious values, the four varnas and the relationship to the whole (Dumont, 1980).

All the above discussed views on caste are deeply embedded in the Indian society. Difference between caste system and casteism is also important to understand which are responsible for impeding and facilitating certain basic changes in the system. The caste system of India is marked by political and economic asymmetry and cultural plurality whereas casteism is the system of ideas and principles that justify the system. As a system of justificatory ideas, casteism is embedded in the mind and the world view of the people and may persist longer than the changes in the caste system through education, occupation and social ecology (Judge and Bal, 2008:49).

Now when it comes to conceptualising urban space, firstly one needs to understand both the terms separately. The term *urban* means an area where 75 per cent of the population is engaged in non-agricultural activities and the growth of that area depends upon industry, trade or administration whereas the term *space* is defined as an area with specific dimensions, having a specific physical form which encompasses a certain group of people who meet and interact everyday within different settings under different circumstances, in addition to engaging in all sorts of social activities. Thus, a space serves as a stage for our public lives. These types

of spaces usually serve cities by giving them self-identity and true character, as they thrive to bring people together improving the public realm. They are often referred as civic spaces because community is involved in it where people run into each other, different cultures intermingle and interaction occurs between multiple society sectors. While elaborating the concept of space, David Harvey gave his idea about space which is an extension to Lefebvre's ideology where he viewed space as more than just an absolute structure. He categorised space into three types- firstly, *absolute* which referred to the physical and built structures surrounding space. For Example, walls, bridges, streets, and buildings. Secondly, *relative* which is defined by as the circulation and flow of energy, meaning the idea of people having accessibility and free movement within space and finally *relational* space which is concerned with the social relations and interactions taking place within the boundaries of a specific setting (Abdelghani, 2014:5-6). The idea that space is interdependent with social relationships is not new. This notion has been present in sociology since the inception of the urban ecology theories of the Chicago school. The sociologists out there viewed communities as social formations that were bound by or coterminous with their physical space. Here, communities were viewed as cumulative result of individual behaviour (Shuffield, 2002:8).

Cunningham (2013: 7) referred to Georg Simmel's idea about space where he emphasised on the fact that how the external spaces we inhabit influence our internal experience. He espoused a dialectical process in which people both construct the socialised space in which they operate and are influenced by this space internally. Kumar (2017:1032-1034), in his article, has articulated the terms urban spaces and social spaces in which urban space reflects the sense of unity, extravert nature which reflects the urban space in terms of bazaars, streets and various other public realms, whereas social spaces within a city are the places where local people gather, converse and rub shoulders creating the intangible vibe attitude of the city which will be remembered for long. In a city social space is considered as a realm in which the cultural life of the society is enacted. In short "Social space is the spatial arrangements reflecting the patterns and regularities of various social groups, their hierarchies and roles" (Patel and Deb, 2006: 56).

## Previous Studies

There are some studies which correlates social ecology with urban space which helps in understanding the formation of Indian cities. Through these studies, it has been found that caste plays a vital role in turning urban space into social space. For instance, (Sharma 2003) in his article showed a perfect linkage between the utility of urban space and human social world. In his study, he found out that space is not merely a geographical entity but it is an important variable which is responsible for forming social divisions in the society based on caste and community. While analysing Chanderi, he found out that the spatial divisions of a city are not viewed by people as simply the territorial units but it attaches cultural marks with their identity. He has shared Dipankar Gupta's analysis of space and culture and agreed with his viewpoint that the cultures can't function in isolation, they need to be expressed in various forms of existential settings. They presume a space as No Space No Cultural Enactment. Both Sharma and Gupta perceive space as both geographical/physical as well as cultural/social phenomenon. He claimed the urban life of Chanderi as a cultural phenomenon on the basis of his empirical findings which shows that Chanderi's eighty six mohallas were inhabited by thirty five castes and communities. The relationship drawn between caste (community) and space(mohallas) has been elaborated in an effective manner by taking into account the economic activities, occupation groups of the people residing in different mohallas.

In another study on residential segregation in India's seven largest cities, it was found that in each of the seven cities, the degree of residential segregation by caste was substantially greater than the degree of residential segregation by gender and socio-economic status of the each city. This shows that caste is still a real axis of urban residential segregation in contemporary urban India. Caste has always been in scene since historical times and shaped the organisation of residential space initially at the village level and now it appears to continue to do the same in contemporary urban India as well (Vithayathil and Singh, 2012).

Judge and Bal (2008) in their article tries to depict the empirical realities of the condition of Dalits under the influence of caste system. They have found that for Dalits, caste system functions both ways, firstly in oppressing them with discrimination, exclusion and untouchability and secondly, it situates them in the system as a collective identity. They want

to end all kinds of discrimination and oppression but not caste system as a whole. It shows that caste system is so deeply internalised in the minds of the masses that it has become a natural phenomenon for them and people are functioning according to it.

In another article on studying the pattern of socio-spatial differentiation and segmentation of the metropolitan area of Delhi, it was found that the socio re-composition of the historical core of the city that is Old Delhi, results from the better off sections of the population moving out of the central zone of the city in search of new buildings, more modern and comfortable housing conditions, while the low income groups stay back on the same site because of lack of alternative viable options and remain in deteriorating housing stock (Dupont, 2004).

Moreover, the social organization of physical space has become one of the most important dimensions of understanding change in the society and the social ecology of the urban areas acquires importance because of the general understanding that cities are the modern centres where caste distinctions do not operate in the market situation. (Judge and Bal, 2008).

Thus, the idea is to see the prevalence of caste and its impact on the social life of the people in the walled city of Amritsar which is seen to be the hub of all traditional and cultural activities and which is rapidly changing and growing due to modernisation.

### **Socio-economic Profile of the Respondents**

The empirical data collected through a survey conducted by the researcher on people of different castes residing in the walled city of Amritsar revealed that majority of the respondents were in the age group (54-63) years and the average age of the respondent was 54.5 years. Then, majority (80 per cent) of them were married and lived in joint families. A large proportion of the respondents belonged to the traditional business castes (Aroras, Khatri, Mahajans, Baniyas) i.e. 44.52 per cent and belong to Hindu religion (70.96 per cent). The household head of the families attained education up to matriculation (28.10 per cent) in majority whereas only (20.32 per cent) were found illiterate. A larger proportion of the respondents i.e. 94.20 per cent were the natives only who were living in the city from the last 30-40 years. Regarding the economic profile of the respondents, 93.28 per cent had their own houses and 41.17 per cent of them have access to scooters for commuting purpose. Only 7.92 per cent

of the respondents own cars, this is due to the fact that there are congested streets in the mohallas where people face the problem of parking now. The caste profile and education status of the respondents has been mentioned below.

**Table 1: Caste Profile of the respondents**

Caste	Number	Percentage
Brahmin	34	10.97
Arora/Khatri/Baniya/Mahajan	138	44.52
Jat	3	0.97
Kamboh	12	3.88
Ramgarhia	3	0.97
Suniara	8	2.59
Bhatra	12	3.88
Kashyap Rajput	13	4.19
Chimba	4	1.29
Kumhar	1	0.32
Dhobi	15	4.83
Megh	1	0.32
Ravidasia	10	3.22
Balmiki	50	16.12
Mazhabi	6	1.93
<b>Total</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>100</b>

While analysing Table 1, it was found that majority of the respondents i.e 44.52 per cent were from the traditional business castes of Amritsar comprising of Aroras, Khatri, Baniyas and Mahajans followed by Brahmins constituting 10.97 per cent of the total sample taken. All other castes falling in the Other Backward Class category were in very less proportion whereas Balmikis constituting 16.12 per cent had their population strength in their locality which was basically on the periphery of the walled city.

So, it was observed that in the traditional setup of the walled city, there are separate residential spaces for high caste and low caste people. The traditional business castes as that of Aroras, Khatri, Baniyas and Mahajans dominates here because the trade of the city is being handled by these castes whereas Balmikis who are schedule caste and are sweepers by occupation are found on the periphery where they have formed their own residential locality where all the residents are Balmikis only. No higher



caste respondent was found residing there. This clearly shows the segregation of people on the basis of caste. Higher caste people do not mingle with low caste people because they find these people inferior and rough to handle. Srinivas(1991:90) also found that in the smaller towns and cities, segregation is recognised to occur on the basis of caste.

**Table 2: Educational Status of the respondents**

<b>EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS</b>							
<b>CASTE</b>	<b>Illiterate</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>Matric</b>	<b>Higher Secondary</b>	<b>Graduation</b>	<b>Above graduation</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>General</b>	16 (9.19)	42 (24.13)	54 (31.03)	36 (20.68)	21 (12.06)	5 (2.87)	174 (56.12)
<b>OBCs</b>	16 (23.52)	21 (30.88)	22 (32.35)	3 (4.41)	4 (5.88)	2 (2.94)	68 (21.94)
<b>SCs</b>	31 (45.58)	19 (27.94)	11 (16.17)	5 (7.35)	1 (1.47)	1 (1.47)	68 (21.94)
<b>Total</b>	63 (20.33)	82 (26.46)	87 (28.06)	44 (14.19)	26 (8.38)	8 (2.58)	310 (100.00)

While analysing the Table 2, it was found that majority of the respondents from all caste groups were not highly educated. Among higher caste groups importance of getting formal education can be seen. Importance of getting education is only confined in enhancing their marital resume or for getting govt jobs but not used for changing their orthodox perspective about caste. Among the other backward classes, major proportion of the respondents attained their education till matric level and among the scheduled castes, no such emphasis on getting education was seen. Majority of the respondents from this category attained their education till primary level and left their studies after that because of their low economic status as well as due to lack of awareness about the importance of getting education. It was found that the lower caste category people do not want to invest much in getting themselves educated. They blame government for not providing free education to their children and employment to the adults. Although they feel the urge to uplift themselves socially and economically but remain casual and resist themselves from working hard for that.

## Field Observations

**Table 3: Number of lanes with number of castes**

Number of lanes with only one caste	1
Number of lanes with two castes	1
Number of lanes with less than five castes	21
Number of lanes with less than ten castes	10
Number of lanes with mixed castes	10

Amritsar city has been chosen for the research. This city has urbanised a lot with time but the real essence of its rich culture can only be found in its core that is in the walled city which is old and traditional. The walled city of Amritsar is divided into 12 wards out of which 5 wards were chosen randomly by using simple random sampling technique. Each ward comprises of residential localities where people of different caste group resides. Each locality was divided into number of gallis(lanes). One important function of the lanes is that it a space occupied by the its residents where they can sit in the evening and share their day to day experiences and even vent out their problems. It was found that neighbours bond so well in these lanes which ultimately helps in enhancing their social relations. Table 3 shows the division of lanes with the number of caste groups residing there. It was found that there was only one lane named Harijan Colony where only the Balmiki population resides. No person of other other caste resides there. In that same locality named as B.R Ambedkar Colony there was one lane named Noori Mohalla where Mazabis and small proportion of Balmikis reside. The condition of this lane was deplorable. People can be seen sitting idle playing cards or simply gossiping. They complained of not getting any employment by the government. Then if they move out of this locality on the opposite side of the road, there were different mohallas where people of higher and other backward classes reside. There were 21 such lanes where caste groups like Aroras, Khattris, Baniyas, Mahajans and other backward classes such as Ramgarhias, Kamboh, Chimbe resides. Ten lanes were such which were having less than ten castes and lastly ten lanes were such with mixed caste groups comprising of both high caste and other backward classes.

It can be analysed from the above table that the caste which is considered to be the lowest in the social hierarchy has the minimum proportion when it comes to the allotment of residential spacing. They are being segregated

and reside on the periphery of the walled city whereas the major share of the urban space is being occupied by the higher castes which are also the traditional business castes of Amritsar. A clear cut demarcation between the high and the low caste can be seen which shows that segregation in residential spacing is done in proportionately. Caste as a force of segregation is seen in the residential patterning of the city.

**Table 4: Number of lanes/localities named after caste**

Hargobindpura Mohalla	Kamboha Di Gali
Chowk Lakshmansar	Baniya Di Gali
Khazana Gate Area	Dhobiya Wali Gali No. 1,2,3,4,5,6

Table 4 shows that there were few neighbourhoods (mohallas) in which lanes were found bearing the name of the particular castes. For instance, in Hargobindpura Mohalla, there was a lane named Kamboha Di Gali where all the residents belong to Kamboh caste only. Similar observation was seen in Chowk Lakshmansar where there was a lane named Baniya Di Gali with all the residents belonging to Baniya caste only followed by Khazana Gate area where there were total six lanes adjoining each other named as Dhobiya Wali Gali no.1,2,3,4,5,6. Surprisingly, here people of mixed castes were found. These lanes are named as Dhobiya Wali Gali because in previous times people of Kanojia caste which is a subcaste of Dhobi used to reside here but with the passage of time, due to occupational decline, their caste rank also declined and they moved out and then the trading castes like that of Aroras, Khatri, Mahajans, Baniyas started living there with few proportion of people of Dhobi and Ravidasia caste residing at the end of each lane. From the above table, the staunchness and strong hold of caste in the residential clustering of the city can be found.

### **Empirical Findings-Urban Neighbourhood and Caste**

The word mohalla can be translated as neighbourhood. Mohalla is more or less consistently refers to a bounded and named area of any city. It is more than a defined geographical space, it is also a social space. A variable number of mohallas are included in each ward, or administrative division of the city. The wards are numbered but have no names and their boundaries are arbitrarily drawn for administrative convenience. The mohallas, unlike the ward, is a locality to which its residents feel a sense of belonging, and although social activity is not restricted to within its

boundaries, residents share a sense of common identity and pursue common social interests (Vatuk, 1972). One important characteristic of the mohallas is the presence of We Feeling among the residents. The scale of the mohalla is small and compact which enhances the social relations with social interactions and ultimately leading to social security (Singh, 2011:72). In order to study the residential segregation in the mohallas in connection with caste, respondents with different castes were asked to give their views on caste. Table 1 shows the perception about caste by respondents of different caste group

**Table 5: Respondents views on caste**

Views on Caste						
CASTE	Mark of identity	Needed to know to get children married or to get govt. jobs	Class matters more than caste	Effective more in villages	Useless thing	Total
General	166 (88.77)	9 (4.81)	1 (0.53)	2 (1.06)	9 (4.81)	187 (53.13)
Other backward castes	66 (86.84)	8 (10.52)	-	-	2 (2.63)	76 (21.59)
Scheduled castes	66 (74.15)	13 (14.60)	2 (2.24)	1 (1.12)	7 (7.86)	89 (25.28)
Total	298* (84.66)	30 (8.53)	3 (0.85)	3 (0.85)	18 (5.11)	352* (100.00)

\*multiple responses

While analysing the Table 5, it was found that people from all caste groups find caste as a mark of identity. More rigidity was found among the traditional business castes i.e. Khatri, Aroras, Baniyas, Mahajans and even among the Balmikis too who are considered lower in the social hierarchy. But both these high and low castes have given their own justifications in considering caste as a mark of identity. For higher castes, caste is more or less a matter of pride which they use while forming marriage alliances particularly whereas for Balmikis, getting known through their caste works both as a blessing and a curse. Blessing in terms of getting benefitted by the government due to their reservation rights and curse in terms of being socially considered low in status by the high caste no matter how economically they flourish. There were respondents who gave multiple reasons for supporting their belief in caste system but caste

as the inseparable part of their identity remained the prime focus. So, the data shows that caste still plays a vital role in people's social life. Though caste is not seen physically on the surface but it does functions in cities passively. In rural space, caste is manifested in clear and direct ways but in cities, its applicability is found in complicated ways. Moreover, this trend has been seen that now caste is being used as per the convenience of the people. Caste is being manipulatively used by the people serving their various purposes.

Then in order to get the clarity on people's perspective on caste, the respondents were asked if they believe in high and low caste.

**Table 6: Respondents belief in high/low caste**

<b>BELIEVE IN HIGH/LOW CASTE</b>			
<b>CASTE</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>General</b>	137 (78.73)	37 (21.26)	174 (56.12)
<b>Other backward castes</b>	59 (86.76)	9 (13.23)	68 (21.94)
<b>Scheduled castes</b>	67 (98.52)	1 (1.47)	68 (21.94)
<b>Total</b>	263 (84.83)	47 (15.17)	310 (100.00)

While analysing Table 6, it was found that majority of the respondents from all caste groups were affirmative in their views that there is a hierarchy of castes. The general caste respondents comprising of Brahmins and traditional business castes i.e Aroras, Khattris, Baniyas and Mahajans, a major proportion of them staunchly believe in this segregation and admit that one has to function according to their caste status because this is going on like this from generations. Even the Scheduled caste respondents also believed in this differentiation because for them, caste system works as a shield to protect them from the atrocities and unfair behaviour of the high caste who consider them inferior. They are being treated as inferior due to the fact that they occupy the bottom position in the caste hierarchy as a result of which they have the least occupational prestige in towns. No matter what high caste people say but scheduled caste people still face discrimination. If we talk of the views of the Other Backward Classes, they find this division of castes as an inseparable part of their lives because

people are following this system from a very long period of time and are habitual with its functioning.

**Table 7: Neighbourhood caste status of the respondents**

NEIGHBOURHOOD CASTE STATUS									
CASTE	All same	Two same one higher	Two same one lower	One same two higher	One same two lower	One same one higher one lower	Two lower one higher	Two higher one lower	Total
<b>General</b>	36 (20.68)	52 (29.88)	13 (7.47)	36 (20.68)	3 (1.72)	15 (8.62)	5 (2.87)	14 (8.04)	174 (56.12)
<b>Other backward castes</b>	11 (16.17)	13 (19.11)	2 (2.94)	21 (30.88)	2 (2.94)	7 (10.29)	2 (2.94)	10 (14.70)	68 (21.94)
<b>Scheduled castes</b>	51 (75)	5 (7.35)	2 (2.94)	2 (2.94)	-	3 (4.41)	1 (1.47)	4 (5.88)	68 (21.94)
<b>Total</b>	98 (31.62)	70 (22.58)	17 (5.48)	59 (19.03)	5 (1.62)	25 (8.06)	8 (2.58)	28 (9.03)	310 (100.00)

Next, in order to understand the social organisation of the urban physical space with regard to different caste groups of the city, caste background of the neighbours was seen. Table 7 shows the caste background of the immediate three neighbours (left, right and on the front side) adjoining their houses.

While analysing Table 7, it was found that in the locality of the higher caste people, they were having neighbours of the same or higher caste only whereas in the locality of the Balmikis, the whole neighbourhood comprise of the people with the same caste status as that of the respondents. This shows their solidarity as well as strong social ties within their own caste group. The term *ghetto* was used for such localities as that of Balmikis where low income level and socio-cultural/racial distinctions are found from the dominant population of the community (Judge and Bal, 2008). Few caste groups, such as Jat, Kamboh, Ramgarhia, Suniare, Bhatre, Rajput, Chimbe, Kumhar, Megh, Mazabi, have their neighbours both from higher and lower castes. More rigidity was found either in the trading castes communities, Brahmins or in the Balmikis, whereas all other caste were having mixed neighbourhood. Nowadays, class matters more than caste when it comes to buying of the residential spaces. Ones having more money can buy land anywhere in any locality.

### **Social Functions of Urban Neighbourhood**

The mohallas studied which fall under the above mentioned wards have shown to function in many respects as a social community for their residents. People out here are living from quite a long period of time since after partition period. The social organisation of the neighbourhood is segregated by sex. For instance, when it comes to celebrating the various religious events like that of *jagratas*, *kirtandarbar* or arranging langars in the mohalla, men carry out these responsibilities by gathering funds for arranging these events whereas women are more occupied in forming and maintaining alliance with their neighbours. Women know their neighbours and frequently interact with them, while men on the other hand are likely to have closer relationships with work colleagues and friends outside the mohalla. For women the neighbourhood is a source of entertainment in the form of gossip and a medium of maintaining their social ties with their neighbours which help them in the time of crisis.

Status differences within the generally middle class group in these neighbourhoods are also important in determining social networks. An important criterion for establishing status is caste, with a broad distinction made between high and low castes. The high caste people here are economically stable as compared to the low caste people. Vatuk (1972) also shows a similar trend among the mohalla residents of Ganeshnagar inside the Meerut city where mohalla residents are little concerned in their everyday interaction with minor status differences between castes, although these are important during the arrangement of marriages. Then, the residential space of low caste people was found at the end of each galli(lane). For instance, there was a small lane called kucha in one mohalla of high caste people where people bearing the sub caste (Kanojia) of dhobis were found. They wash and press the clothes of the people of higher caste. They do not have much interaction with the people of higher caste except providing service to them. Because high caste people with big and petty business predominates in these mohallas, their social networks are usually localized within the mohalla. Those of low caste and with low socio-economic status usually have their ceremonial attendance and social interaction with the people of their own caste group who are inside the lane or with the relatives who live in mohalla which is predominated by the people of their caste group. The segregation by caste and socio-economic status is related to the traditional concepts of the client-servant relationship.

## Conclusion

The findings of the empirical study point out the complicated nature of caste in the cities. It was found that caste is not visible on the surface. It is not that simple like in villages where there are clear cut demarcations. In cities, it is practised in layers and is in a much more complex form. The urban educated people project themselves as refined human beings who reject the practice of caste system by considering all human beings as equal, but that is not the case. Through formal education, little difference can be seen regarding their notion of caste system in their outlook but their mindset regarding its functioning is still the same, because the traditional concept of caste still operates in the mind as a result of their socialisation. In mohallas it was found that caste is passive when it comes to participating in social welfare works or operating in business affairs, but it is actively practised when it comes to dealing with personal affairs like that of forming marriage alliances. Moreover, Amritsar city which was earlier seen as a blend of both social and economic space because all the general business areas and wholesale trade areas were located inside the city in the form of bazaars (commercial markets) and as social space where people of different castes were found forming their residential clusters on the basis of their respective castes. But with the passage of time, the structure of the city is undergoing some change. It has also been observed that now people are not living inside the city primarily due to their solidarity which was the earlier trend. They are living inside the narrow lanes and congested mohallas because of economic issues as well. The land prices are very much high outside the city which all the people cannot afford so they cannot move to spacious areas.

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# **The Prevalence of Religious Pluralism and Inter-Faith Dialogue in India: An Empirical Comparison of Hindus and Muslims of Bhopal**

**Rahul Verma**

Research Scholar

Department of Sociology

Guru Nanak Dev University

Amritsar

## **Abstract**

*This paper outlines the empirical analysis of the prevalence of Religious Pluralism and Inter-Faith Dialogue in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh (henceforth M.P.). The two numerically dominant faiths of Bhopal, i.e. Hindus and Muslims are taken into account. An Interview Schedule was prepared appertaining to their stance on the occurrence of the aforesaid notions in Bhopal. Furthermore, their responses also represent their views towards other religious faiths. After data collection, Simple Random Sampling procedure on the recorded schedules was implemented which generated a sample size of 136 each. The classified empirical analysis broadly shows a positive inclination towards pluralism and dialogue between Hindus and Muslims. Thus, upholding a pluralistic outlook amongst the respondents.*

## **Keywords**

Religious Pluralism, Inter-Faith Dialogue, Syncretism, Coexistence, Secularism, Post-Colonialism

## **Introduction**

India is one of the multicultural cores in the world. Both indigenous and foreign religions and cultures have established themselves and successfully flourished throughout time immemorial. As a result, there has been a rise in the number of adherents and the permeation of diverse belief systems in the Indian socio-cultural structure. Sen (1993, pp. 39) points out that,

“While we are indeed not unique in being diverse, there is something quite extraordinary in the extent of diversity in India. I don't believe that any of the contrasts in the other countries I mentioned begins to compare with the

tremendous wealth of diversities—indeed diverse diversities—that we happen to have in India.”

The post-independence period of the Indian history further augments the religious diversity of the country. The Indian Constitution (being comprehensively inspired by the British, French, American and other Constitutions) had to be strategically devised and enacted to encompass the diverse religious, cultural, linguistic, socio-economic and ethnic demography. Apropos to religious identity of the India, Roover (2002, pp. 4048) argues that, “When India became independent, it was obvious to most leaders of the Indian National Congress that it had to become a secular state, because they considered this to be the only form of government that would secure the peaceful co-existence of Hindus and Muslims.” However, it was only in the 1970s when the word *Secular* was incorporated in the preamble of the Indian Constitution. On Secularism, Vohra (2011) states that “Modern India chose to be secular. Its secularism does not mean absence of religion, or irreligiousness; rather, it means multi-religiousness. It implies ‘profusion of religions, none of which is privileged by the state and all of which are open to participation by everybody’.” This clearly shows that the pillar of secularism believes in having an unbiased, fair and impartial outlook towards all religious institutions that permeate within its framework. It neither supports nor rejects the idea of religion, thus, embracing a neutral approach towards it.

The post-independence era has witnessed its fair share of inter-religious animosity, particularly between Hindus and Muslims. The India-Pakistan Partition of 1947, had ascertained not only a geographical polarisation between the two communities but, an emotionally charged one also. The successive decades fortified religious and ideological rivalry between the two religious communities. From loud and unsettling prime time news debates to large-scale (though infrequent) pogroms and riots. Having said that, it would also be terribly unfair to assume that only disharmony exists within the two religious faiths in India. The two religious faiths together inhabit some of the oldest and prominent cities in India, such as New Delhi, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Lucknow, etc. and undoubtedly exhibit high degrees of cooperation and congruence. Bhopal, the capital of M.P., is another city in India which comprises numerical dominance enjoyed by both religious faiths owing to the centuries of religious tradition which has intertwined exceptionally.

The city is divided into two sections, Old and New Bhopal. Old Bhopal, has predominantly Islamic influence. In colonial times, Bhopal was ruled by Nawabs & Begums, who left an arousing cultural, structural and demographical legacy behind. This can be witnessed in the architectural sublimity of Mosques and surrounding residential areas. New Bhopal, on the other hand, is a planned extension of the city proposed and furthered in the 1980s. Hinduism is chiefly practised here as its followers and places of worship can be easily spotted in this area.

### **Pluralism & Dialogue**

Every religion has a unique set of ideas and viewpoints which open a path to spirituality and enlightenment for the believer. “Pluralistic has a pleasant aura of humility around it, and it is often held up as a positive alternative to the perceived arrogance of those who claim that their belief, and their belief alone, is true” [Birkett, 2006, pp. 606 (cf. Ross, 2012, pp. 114)]. This characteristic of Religious Pluralism, in general, is often connoted as synonymous with diversity or tolerance, i.e., co-existence of two or more religions in the society. However, under the Danish Pluralism Project (launched in 2002) Ahlin, et al. (2012, pp. 405) distinguish “...between diversity and pluralism, with religious diversity defined as the existence of different religions within a society and religious pluralism as a situation where patterns of engagement, interaction, and relationship between religious groups emerge.” Banchoff (2008, pp. 5) elaborates, “Religious Pluralism is the interaction of religious actors with one another and with the society and the state around concrete cultural, social, economic and political agendas.” Likewise, Sagi (1999, pp. 94) states, “Inter-religious pluralism claims that every religion is intrinsically and unconditionally valuable.” Hans Küng [(1988, pp. 194) (cf. Ferrer, 2009, pp. 139)] “famously said, there can be no world peace without peace among religions” “to which one may add that, there might not be complete peace among religions without ending the competition among religions”. Madan (2006) comments on the pluralistic attribute of Hinduism by pointing out that,

“Hinduism as inherently plural and uses the concept of “pluralism” to depict its traditions and values. The argument of pluralism obviously draws from the American tradition. In the US, religious pluralism is a loosely defined term concerning peaceful relations between different religions. Pluralism acknowledges the diversity of interests and considers it imperative that members of society accommodate their differences by engaging in good-faith negotiation. It is connected with the hope that this process of

dialogue will lead to a re-definition of conflict in terms of a realisation of a common good that is best for all members of society” (cf. Patel, 2007, pp. 1091).

Religious communities tend to understand each other’s sentiments and chances of criticisms are minimised, maintaining a harmonious co-existence. Pluralism perspective of Murphy (2003, pp. 37) envisages six commitments to religious pluralism which involve:

- a. “The presumption of good faith on the part of one's opponents;
- b. Acceptance that having strong beliefs (whether political or religious) does not disqualify one from making a rational contribution;
- c. A genuine effort to understand the other side's case;
- d. To the extent possible, willingness to use language and categories that can be shared by other groups, and openness to that of other groups;
- e. Caution about identifying the common good with the good for one's own group, and
- f. Acceptance that the common good (as understood by one's own group) may not be fully attainable in a given instance.”

Religious pluralism, not only reveals co-existence of religious communities but also helps in initiating a dialogue among them, which fruitfully results in a peaceful and stable atmosphere; thus, accepting, integrating and generating similar vox populi. A sense of trust, curiosity and mutual understanding arises as inter-religious dialogue takes place. Sikand (2010, pp. 57) states that

“Most people in India, writes Yusuf Islahi (1999, pp. 26), are strongly wedded to their religion, and so inter-religious dialogue is an indispensable necessity for the country. A lack of proper understanding of the religious beliefs and practices of various communities has led to grave misunderstandings and prejudices and to ‘the building of high walls between communities’, issues which urgently require to be addressed, ‘Umri (1997, pp 6-8) writes. By building close links with people of other faiths and by showing a willingness to learn about their religions, Muslims will also be able to communicate to them the truth of Islam, and convince them that the Quran is the ‘guide for all peoples’ and that the Prophet Muhammad is the ‘mercy for all the worlds’.” Ibid (2010, pp. 57), further points out that, “Dialogue entails a willingness on the part of the dialoguing partners to listen to what others believe and have to say, and, if need be, express a readiness to go so far as to modify their own views and beliefs as a result of the encounter.”

The study borrows philosophical elements for this particular enquiry but strives to keep it under a sociological lens. Vermeer & Van der Ven (2004,

pp. 39-43) have delineated four types of approaches which deem essential in the comprehension of a dialogue. These are:

1. **Exclusivism/Monism:** “Believers with this attitude regard their own religion as essentially true and therefore all others as false or heretical [(Vermeer & Van der Ven, 2004, pp. 39) (cf. Abdool et. al 2007, pp. 549)]. They prefer not to conduct a dialogue with “non-believers”, unless the dialogue can take place on their terms. The conviction that one’s faith is the only true religion can lead to intolerance, says Shermer” [(2004, pp. 233) (cf. Abdool et. al, 2007, pp. 549)].
2. **Inclusivism:** “...other religious traditions are considered much more positively as products of divine revelation or as legitimate paths to salvation. This is mainly done by interpreting other faiths in terms of one’s own faith and by claiming that other faiths either originate from one’s own faith or reach fulfilment in one’s own faith” (Vermeer & Van der Ven 2004, pp. 39).
3. **Pluralism:** “The emphasis is on what is shared by the different religions rather than on what distinguishes or separates them from other religions. It is therefore impossible for anyone religion to claim superiority or absolute truth. All religions are equal and each in its own way a legitimate response to the experience of the real” (Abdool et. al, 2007, pp. 550-551).
4. **Dialogical Pluralism:** “...view of different religions as co-ordinative by stressing the need for an interreligious dialogue for the mutual enrichment of different religious traditions” Vroom [(2001, pp. 18-19 (cf. Vermeer & Van der Ven 2004, pp. 43)]. “This approach is probably the best foundation for conducting the proposed inter-religious dialogue, especially for persons who have been fully educated in the tenets of their own religion” (Abdool et. al 2007, pp. 551).

## Methodology

This paper, in its essence, tries to identify the prevalence of Pluralism and Dialogue occurring throughout the followers of Hinduism and Islam. These socio-cultural notions tend in achieving this goal in the most noteworthy manner. Consequently, the research objectives in this paper require:

1. To determine the currently prevailing religious pluralism in Bhopal, M.P.
2. To determine the currently prevailing inter-religious dialogue in Bhopal, M.P.
3. To compare the garnered data of the two religious communities.

Questions pertaining to the aforementioned concepts were devised, keeping in mind, the availability of literature and probable outcome of the responses. As a result, the schedule comprised of both open & closed-ended questions. The data was garnered in the course of 5 months, from March 2016 to July 2016. A total of 502 Interview Schedules were produced and serially numbered for sampling the respondents and coding their responses.

Adoption of the Simple Random Sampling method (separately on Hindu and Muslim respondents) generated a sample size of 136 each, in order, to generate randomness and probability. Inferences drawn from data analysis of 136 Hindus and 136 Muslim respondents shall assist in outlining their views (objectives 1 & 2) and construct a comparative analysis (objective 3).

Respondents of both religious communities were highly co-operative in easing an arduous task of data collection. They were also assured of privacy and discretion with regard to their details. It is also important to note that, their views also span across other religious faiths.

### **Reading Scriptures of Other Faiths**

The core of religious syncretism incorporates the aspect of being unprejudiced towards other religious communities and groups. Likewise, respondents were enquired whether they have read or would read the holy scriptures of other religions. The operational definitions of coded responses are as follows:

- **Have Read** – Respondents have read holy scriptures of at least one religion, irrespective of its completion.
- **Would Read** – Respondents are eager to read holy scripture(s) of other religion(s). The mere acceptance of reading other religious scriptures also contributes to pluralism & dialogue.
- **Perhaps** – Respondents showed a slight disinterest in reading other holy scriptures. They reported that if situation and means establish, they may read.
- **Not at all** – Respondents, classified under this category, showed complete disinterest in reading holy scriptures of other religions.

The garnered data based on the aforesaid categories classifies the information [See Table – 1].



The data indicates that most of the respondents in both cases exhibit an unprejudiced outlook towards reading religious scriptures of other religions. Nearly 34 per cent Hindus and 43 per cent Muslims have, at some point or currently, read holy scriptures of other religions. If *Would Read* category also signifies their interest in other holy scriptures; syncretism, in this regard, has an optimistic stance in Bhopal, M.P.

Hindus surpass Muslim respondents under the *Not at all* category. However, in both cases, respondents offered largely similar responses. They expressed a lack of interest in reading other holy scriptures. Furthermore, they also reported that their focus and fascination lie with their respective religions only.

Likewise, the *Perhaps* category encompasses respondents who reported time and circumstantial constraints as an obstruction. It is unclear if they would ever attempt to read other holy scriptures.

### Entering Places of Worship of Other Faiths

Every religion entails a place of worship for its followers to offer prayers and perform rituals. Entering places of worship of other religions also caters to a reciprocity between two or more religious faiths. However, it does not necessarily mean that this practice should be habitual. The tabulated information determines whether they have entered or would like to enter a place of worship belonging to other religious faiths [See Table – 2]. The categories are as under:

- **Have Entered** – Respondents have entered a place of worship of at least one religion, irrespective whether they offered prayers or performed rituals.
- **Would Enter** – Respondents are eager to enter a place of worship of other religion(s). The mere acceptance of entering a place of worship also contributes to pluralism & dialogue.
- **Perhaps** – Respondents showed a slight disinterest in entering other place(s) of worship. They reported that if situation and means establish, they may enter.
- **Not at all** – Respondents, classified under this category, showed complete disinterest in entering the place(s) of worship of other religions.

Respondents of both religious communities who *Have Entered* places of worship of other religious faiths possess prominent frequencies. However, in comparison to reading holy scriptures of other faiths, entering places of worship is, perhaps, a simpler and accessible pursuit. Nevertheless, it

denotes and supplements to higher levels of pluralism & dialogue. Some respondents from both communities reported that they also indulge themselves in organising religious events for other faiths.

### **Discussion on Religious Beliefs/Practices**

Discussing religious practices and beliefs is an affirmative and a literal manner of an ongoing inter-religious dialogue. Taking interest to know about various practices and norms associated with other religions shows a positive inclination towards a peaceful co-existence. Tillich (1963, pp. 62) (cf. Wolf 2012, pp. 40) identifies some characteristic features of inter-religious dialogue.

“In a penetrating analysis of the encounter between Buddhism and Christianity, he lists a series of preconditions for meaningful dialogue between the two religions.

1. The first presupposition is that each of the partners be genuinely interested in the other's religious conviction as a revelatory experience.
2. The second presupposition is that each of the partners is able to provide a convincing representation of his religious faith.
3. The third presupposition is the discovery of a common ground which ‘makes both dialogue and conflicts possible’.
4. And fourth, an openness of both sides ‘to criticisms directed against their own religious basis’.”

This question tries to answer how frequently respondents take initiatives in respectfully understanding the beliefs and practices of other faiths in their social circle. The frequency of discussions on the beliefs and practices of other religious faiths, and the operational definitions of scaled responses utilised are as follows [See Table – 3]:

- 1) **Regularly:** Respondents habitually discuss or enquire of each other's religion and religious practices. This includes a frequent and inquisitive exchange of information, both during spontaneous encounters as well as on special occasions.
- 2) **Occasionally:** The discussions are limited to some special occasions only. It is in these occasions the respondents feel the urge to know and understand the religious background, sentiments and practices associated with the respective occasion. It may be a ceremony or any religious ritual.
- 3) **Rarely:** Respondents infrequently discuss aspects of religion in their conversations. They limit discussion to a very specific theme in its concise form. They also possess unfamiliarity regarding their respective religion, to be able to satisfy others' query.

- 4) **Never:** The respondents never feel the need to learn about other religious faiths. Perhaps, they are already familiar or possess an unconcerned outlook towards beliefs and practices of other faiths.

It is evident from the recorded data that Muslim respondents engage in religious discussions more than their Hindu counterparts. However, higher number of respondents of both religious communities *Occasionally* discuss religious beliefs and practices. As this category, mainly pertains to significant religious occasions, it is not unusual to enquire and learn about the ongoing rituals & practices. It should be noted that this classification primarily relates to positive and constructive attempts which take place between individuals of two or more religious faiths.

Inter-Religious Dialogue instils a sense of curiosity and familiarity between individuals of various faiths to gain insight regarding the historical significance and belief systems. Respondents also stated that they tend to abide by the belief system of other faiths whenever it is necessary. For instance, cloaking one's head before entering a Gurudwaras or Mosques, leaving footwear outside a Hindu or Jain Temple, certainly not wishing Christians 'Happy Good Friday', etc.

The belief system comprises, but is not limited to, daily practices or joyous occasions only. It also encompasses moments of sorrow during which sacred rituals differ across religious faiths. A pluralistic social system helps the adherents of different faiths to recognise each other's belief system and adapt accordingly.

### **Charity for Other Religions**

Religious syncretism also engulfs the principle of charity to other religious faiths. Donating to one's own religion is quite reasonable to comprehend, however, indulging in charity for other religions is an interesting analysis to be investigated under this segment. Therefore, respondents of both religious communities were enquired whether they indulge themselves in charitable deeds for other religious faiths.

However, it should be noted that, the question mainly pertains to donations granted to other Religious Institutions. The information does not include charity bestowed on humanitarian or philanthropy grounds (e.g. Alms to the impoverished or Donations to non-religious organisations). During the interviews, respondents were clarified of this distinction.

The question was structured in a multiple-response format, to extract the information regarding the type of religious charity they offer. The three types of religious charity analysed in this research are, Monetarily, Donation of Goods and Rendering Services. The tabulated classification outlines the frequencies of respondents, both who indulge in religious charity and those who refrain [See Table – 4]. Moreover, illustration of preferences as a type of religious charity is also mapped [See Figure – 1].

The tabulated information reveals that more Muslim respondents indulge in religious charity for other faiths than their counterparts. In this regard, Hindu respondents are slightly less pluralistic, perhaps, their commitment towards their own faith restricts them to indulge into charitable deeds for other faiths. Similar argument can be drawn for 59 Muslim respondents who ignore donating to other faiths.

They reported that their affinity lies for their respective faiths and would only offer charity to the same. However, as the aforesaid statement suggests, respondents who offer charity to other faiths, display a higher sense of pluralism and understanding.

The analysis further outlines the preference in the types of charity offered by respondents. Figure – 1 displays the data pertaining to the individuals of both religious communities who offer charities.

Most of the 77 Muslims and 52 Hindu respondents who offer charity to other faiths, choose *Monetary* means to do so. It can be deduced that monetary charity is, by far, the simplest alternative of offering donations. Hence, it occupies a larger share of frequencies. Most of them also reported that they need not enter a place of worship to donate monetarily. Adherents and/or pilgrims of other faiths themselves approach for collection of funds to organise events or sermons.

*Rendering Services* and *Donating Goods* are least preferred categories of responses. It can be rightly justified as being preferential to one's own religion.

### **Adopting Teachings of Other Religions**

The pluralism aspect of this investigation leads to the adoption and/or acceptance of teachings and/or moral values of other faiths. This analysis corresponds to Descriptive pluralism, identified by Murphy (2003, pp. 34)

where he believes that it,

“involves respect for those of different beliefs and values and, by extension, a limited respect for those beliefs and values because they are held by persons. It also entails openness to the idea that one's own culture is defective on certain points and could benefit from other cultures.”

Respondents were clarified that this question pertains to only teachings, should they find such admirable, and does not deal with proselytisation of religion [See Table – 5].

Majority of the respondents of both religious faiths showed an interest in adopting moral teachings of other religious faiths. Couple of examples which they brought forth were the principle of Ahimsa (Buddhism), Volunteer Work (Sikhism), etc. The frequencies in this category include few respondents from both religious communities who identified themselves as Non-religious.

Muslim Respondents showed a relaxed outlook towards adopting some beliefs of other faiths, in contrast to Hindus. The *Perhaps* category in the table points out this detail. Although respondents of both faiths seemed uncertain whether they would adopt other teachings, they did acknowledge that, by and large, all religious teachings relate each other.

Lastly, some respondents did not feel comfortable in adopting teachings of other faiths. They reported that they feel content with what their religion offers and would not seek teachings of other faiths. Hindu respondents are nearly 10 per cent higher, as opposed to Muslim respondents, under this category.

### **Religious Scriptures in Curriculums**

Children in an educational institution have diverse religious backgrounds. However, educational institutes considered for this data exclude religious institutes such as Madrassas and like, where the religious backgrounds are uniform. Respondents were asked their opinions on the inclusion of religious scriptures in the curriculum [See Table – 6 (a) & 6 (b)].

Nearly 62 per cent Hindus and 80 per cent Muslim respondents opined in favour of inclusion of religious scriptures in the curriculum. Their responses were further dissected into two categories. Majority of the respondents mentioned that *All Scriptures* should be included and equally

instructed. The second category of the respondents suggested that scriptural content (of all faiths) should be condensed to include *Moral Values Only*. The inclusion of all religious scriptures, either comprehensive or condensed, shows the pluralistic outlook of the respondents.

36 Hindus and 16 Muslim respondents had an unfavourable stance towards the inclusion of religious scriptures in the curriculum. They pointed out that the process of socialisation instilled through family suffices religious and moral belief system, and the curriculum should be left untampered.

Lastly, two codified responses were sub-categorised under *Other Responses*, namely, *Selected Ones* and *Choice of Students*. The former regarded their respective religious scriptures to be included, and the latter opined that the students should decide whichever scripture they are keen on studying, if they are inclined to.

### **Opinions on God(s)/Truth in Other Faiths**

One of the important features of a multi-religious social structure is the formation of opinions regarding other faiths, their beliefs and practices and the notion of God(s) or Absolute Truth. The question in the schedule was in an open-ended format to assist the respondents in responding elaborately. The responses were then coded and classified [See Table – 7].

In comparison to Hindus, Muslim respondents have given slightly mixed responses. However, most number of frequencies (in both cases) view that God(s)/Truth is a singular premise and is common to all faiths. Nevertheless, path to salvation/approach is faith-specific. They also mentioned that religious faiths are “branches of the same tree” but differ in their norms, beliefs and rituals.

Some respondents of both faiths reported that all religions are different and mutually exclusive (*All Faiths Are Different* category). They believe that religious scriptures substantiate their stance as the beginnings, historical legacies and practices diverge tremendously.

Only two Hindu respondents believe that *God(s)/Truth is Different, Approach is Same*, as opposed to 30 Muslims. The latter elaborated by stating that practices such as Fasting and Offering Services are mostly common to all faiths. Lastly, the *Other Responses* category shared some assorted opinions. They identified religion to be a personal affair,

affirming their respective faith and/or God(s) to be superior, or simply acknowledging their unfamiliarity on the subject.

### **Views on Inter-Religious Marriages**

In their most superficial forms, Religious Pluralism and Inter-Religious Dialogue, both processes strive to administer a peaceful co-existence between two or more religious faiths. Once these processes permeate in the social system, they influence other social institutions concurrently. Marriage is one such institution which is overwhelmingly influenced by Inter-Religious Dialogue. Inter-Faith marriages are a classic example relating to the confluence of two religious communities.

Therefore, respondents were enquired about their views and opinions on the occurrences of Inter-faith marriages in the social system, as well as, within their family (should such a situation envisage). The garnered data is classified in a cross-table format which displays the opinions of the respondents regarding Inter-religious marriages occurring in the society and within their family [See Tables – 8 (a) & 8 (b)]. The applied response categories and their operational definitions are as follows:

- 1) **Not Acceptable:** Respondents are highly unfavourable regarding Inter-Religious Marriages occurring in the social system. Likewise, they may also not favour if it happens within their family.
- 2) **Acceptable:** Respondents possess a favourable outlook regarding Inter-Religious Marriages occurring in the social system. Likewise, they may also favour if it happens within their family.
- 3) **Depends:** Respondents are uncertain of their stance. They may or may not favour Inter-Faith Marriages.

Moreover, to test the relation between the two variables (Society & Within Family), chi-square test is employed. A conjecture can be formed, surmising a link between outlook towards Inter-Faith Marriages in the society and within the family. Null hypothesis states that, both variables are independent ( $H_0 = 0$ ). Alternate hypothesis deems an association between the two variables ( $H_1 \neq 0$ ).

At 5 per cent Level of Significance the calculated chi-square value, 113.74, is greater than the table value of 9.49 (Degrees of Freedom = 4). Thus, it rejects the Null hypothesis upholding the conjecture to be true, i.e.

the outlook towards Inter-Religious Marriages both occurring in the society and within the family are related.

Similarly, in the case of Muslim respondents, application of chi-square will be examined. Null hypothesis states that, both variables are independent ( $H_0 = 0$ ). Alternate hypothesis deems, an association between the two variables ( $H_1 \neq 0$ ).

At 5 per cent Level of Significance the calculated chi-square value, 87.72, is greater than the table value of 9.49 (Degrees of Freedom = 4). Thus, it rejects the Null hypothesis upholding the conjecture to be true, i.e. the outlook towards Inter-Religious Marriages both occurring in the society and within the family are interrelated.

Views of both Hindus and Muslim respondents regarding the occurrences of Inter-Faith Marriages in the society corresponds to their stance if it happens in their family. As the structure of the question was open-ended, respondents gave diverse reasons reflecting their favourability. Respondents who gave a *favourable/acceptable* response stated that Inter-Faith marriages would further lead to integration between two religious faiths. This will be accompanied with stronger understanding and mutual acceptance between the respective families and religions. They also reported that there is a change in trend, and that, personal choice and their child's happiness matter the most. However, the entire process should be consensual and both families and religions should not object against the union.

Those who opined unfavourably and do not accept Inter-Faith Marriages indicated that it would lead to cultural and religious disputes in the family. This will be due to contrasting lifestyles, religious rituals and upbringing. Furthermore, they asserted that, such a practise would be considered an act of rebellion against the family. The established norms of the society would be disrupted. They also reported that the next generation of the married Inter-Faith couple would suffer, as they would not be able to adapt to the religious practices of one particular faith. Some respondents signified intense condemnation and an aggressive stance if Inter-Faith Marriages occur in their families. They advocated that they would boycott the family members who indulges in this practice. They would also disassociate themselves in every possible way from the ongoing ceremony and future events.



The *Depends* category involves mixed responses as it largely comprises uncertainty. Some respondents of both faiths laid down their religion preferences, with whom they would permit their children to marry, should a situation unfold. Although not the focus of this study, but some respondents showed more inclination towards Inter-Caste Marriages. Respondents also favoured Inter-Religious Marriages, but desired that the newly-wed bride adopt and practice their respective faith. Some presented a contrary response, as they suggested that they would favour provided proselytisation does not transpire. Lastly, respondents under this category showed inclination towards Inter-Faith Marriages only if they occur in relatives. They would not share the same opinion if it occurs within their immediate family.

After examining the data, it is clear that Inter-Faith Marriages in Bhopal have been fundamentally identified as a social sanction. Respondents either entirely discourage the notion, or put forth their alterations and demands. Nevertheless, the percentages and frequencies obtained from the sample display an absence of skewness. In other words, the garnered data shows variegated standpoints and does not absolutely negate or accept the notion of Inter-Faith Marriages.

### **Impact of Communalism on Co-existence**

A religiously pluralistic society also incorporates its share of social problems. Communalism is one of the most discourses elements which creates a hindrance against the likes of Religious Pluralism and Inter-Religious Dialogue. It corrodes the very framework of a pluralistic society and caters in generating violence and hatred between two or more religious faiths. As a result, individuals resort to various means of assertions, such as, vandalism, physical harm, pogroms, pillage, etc.

As the period of this research focuses on post-colonialism in its analysis, the first incident of religious backlash occurred during the 1947 Partition of India and Pakistan. It is since then, India has witnessed a series of religiously fuelled and violent episodes of Communalism in various locations. The most infamous episode is the 1992 Babri Masjid/Ayodhya Ramjanmbhoomi dispute. The effect of its radius spread across many Indian cities and states. Bhopal was one such city which got engulfed in the entire hysteria.

For the purpose of this investigation, respondents were questioned regarding the impact of communalism in their social sphere (in this case, with members of other faiths). The question was in an open-ended format, so they could narrate their accounts, should they consider it [See Table – 9].

An overwhelming majority of both Hindu and Muslim respondents stated that communalism does not have any impact over their personal or professional sphere. They indicated that they are well-integrated with each other as well as with other religious faiths. They also reported that communal events (wherever they occur) are excessively publicised and artificially inflated to create animosity amongst various religious communities. Their co-existence in Bhopal or in India is not hindered by communalism and its proponents.

Respondents of both religious communities who indicated that their existence is hindered by communalism held each other liable for its escalation. They presented their sides of arguments critically and expressed contempt. However, in terms of frequencies under the *Yes* category, Hindu respondents are slightly more than Muslims.

Those included in the *Depends* category, were uncertain under the current circumstances and reported that the situation may or may not escalate. They posited that both Hindus and Muslims are volatile and sensitive and that, there may be future religious disputes. They also reported that largely communalism does not hinder their co-existence with other faiths, but, if disputes are left unresolved, they might.

## **Findings & Conclusion**

As a concluding remark, I would like to put forth two distinct reasons outlining the importance of Pluralism in the words of Amartya Sen. “First, tolerance of heterogeneity is central to democracy. Second, practice of pluralism produces a culturally rich society. Our pluralist heritage is, thus, socially enriching as well as politically crucial” Sen (1993, pp. 45).

The city of Bhopal, M.P. is observing religious pluralism and inter-religious dialogue rather congenially. A polarisation, yet a cultural and religious poise, can be witnessed here. Their responses towards each other as well as other faiths elucidates their tolerance, willingness and curiosity. Interestingly, their disagreements and its reasons on some issues are also

similar. In comparison, Muslims seem to take slightly more interest in reading scriptures of other faiths. Both faiths show positive inclinations in entering places of worship of other faiths. Muslim respondents indulge more in religious discussions with individuals of other faiths. They have also shown to surpass Hindus in terms of monetary and service oriented charities. More Hindus exhibit willingness to adopt teachings of other faiths. Respondents of both faiths have shown similar approaches towards Inter-Religious Marriages occurring in the society as well as within their family. They also believe that communalism has not tarnished their co-existence in Bhopal, and seems to uphold their harmony.

The research has attempted to accomplish its objectives. However, it is an imperative to also expand such analysis to encompass other factors which would further assist in expounding these notions and their prevalence.

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## Tables & Figures

<b>TABLE – 1: READING SCRIPTURES OF OTHER FAITHS</b>				
<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>Frequency in Hindus</b>	<b>% of Hindus</b>	<b>Frequency in Muslims</b>	<b>% OF MUSLIMS</b>
<b>HAVE READ</b>	46	33.82	59	<b>43.38</b>
<b>WOULD READ</b>	39	28.68	40	<b>29.41</b>
<b>PERHAPS</b>	3	2.21	11	<b>8.09</b>
<b>NOT AT ALL</b>	48	35.29	26	<b>19.12</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source** – Computed from Field Work.

<b>TABLE – 2: ENTERING HOLY PLACES OF OTHER FAITHS</b>				
<b>RESPONSES</b>	Frequency in Hindus	% of Hindus	Frequency in Muslims	% OF MUSLIMS
<b>HAVE ENTERED</b>	125	91.91	121	<b>88.97</b>
<b>WOULD ENTER</b>	3	2.21	7	<b>5.15</b>
<b>PERHAPS</b>	1	0.74	2	<b>1.47</b>
<b>NOT AT ALL</b>	7	5.14	6	<b>4.41</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source – Computed from Field Work.

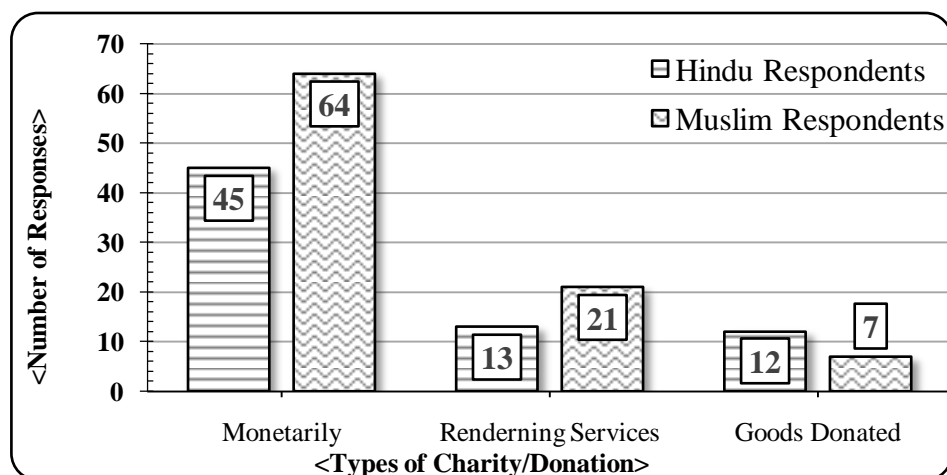
<b>TABLE – 3: DISCUSSIONS ON RELIGIOUS BELIEFS/PRACTICES</b>				
<b>RESPONSES</b>	Frequency in Hindus	% of Hindus	Frequency in Muslims	% OF MUSLIMS
<b>REGULARLY</b>	22	16.18	39	<b>28.68</b>
<b>OCCASIONALLY</b>	46	33.82	58	<b>42.65</b>
<b>RARELY</b>	19	13.97	23	<b>16.91</b>
<b>NEVER</b>	49	36.03	16	<b>11.76</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source – Computed from Field Work

<b>TABLE – 4: CHARITY FOR OTHER RELIGIONS</b>				
<b>RESPONSES</b>	Frequency in Hindus	% of Hindus	Frequency in Muslims	% OF MUSLIMS
<b>YES</b>	52	38.24	77	<b>56.62</b>
<b>NO</b>	84	61.76	59	<b>43.38</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: Computed from Field Work

Figure – 1: Types of Charity for Other Religions



**Source:** Computed from Field Work

<i>TABLE – 5: ADOPTING TEACHINGS OF OTHER RELIGIONS</i>				
<i>RESPONSES</i>	<b>Frequency in Hindus</b>	<b>% of Hindus</b>	<b>Frequency in Muslims</b>	<b>% OF MUSLIMS</b>
<b>YES</b>	89	65.44	74	<b>54.41</b>
<b>PERHAPS</b>	17	12.50	43	<b>31.62</b>
<b>NO</b>	30	22.06	19	<b>13.97</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source** – Computed from Field Work.

<i>Table – 6 (a): Religious Scriptures in Curriculum (Hindu Respondents)</i>			
<b>Responses</b>	<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequencies</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>a. Yes</b>	All Scriptures	67	62.50
	Moral Values Only	18	
	<b>Total (a)</b>	<b>85</b>	
<b>b. No</b>	Not at All	36	26.47
	<b>Total (b)</b>	<b>36</b>	
<b>c. Other Responses</b>	Selected Ones	14	11.03
	Choice Of Students	1	
	<b>Total (c)</b>	<b>15</b>	
	<b>TOTAL (a + b + c)</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source** – Computed from Field Work.

<i>Table – 6 (b): Religious Scriptures in Curriculum (Muslim Respondents)</i>			
<b>Responses</b>	<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequencies</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>a. Yes</b>	All Scriptures	85	80.15
	Moral Values Only	24	
	<b>Total (a)</b>	<b>109</b>	
<b>b. No</b>	Not at All	16	11.76
	<b>Total (b)</b>	<b>16</b>	
<b>c. Other Responses</b>	Selected Ones	6	8.09
	Choice Of Students	5	
	<b>Total (c)</b>	<b>11</b>	
	<b>TOTAL (a + b + c)</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source** – Computed from Field Work.

<b>TABLE – 7: OPINIONS ON GOD(S)/TRUTH IN OTHER FAITHS</b>				
<b>RESPONSES</b>	<b>Frequency in Hindus</b>	<b>% of Hindus</b>	<b>Frequency in Muslims</b>	<b>% OF MUSLIMS</b>
<b><i>GOD(S)/TRUTH IS ONE, APPROACH IS DIFFERENT</i></b>	107	78.68	65	<b><i>47.79</i></b>
<b><i>ALL FAITHS ARE DIFFERENT</i></b>	20	14.71	38	<b><i>27.94</i></b>
<b><i>GOD(S)/TRUTH IS DIFFERENT, APPROACH IS SAME</i></b>	2	1.47	30	<b><i>22.06</i></b>
<b><i>OTHER RESPONSES</i></b>	7	5.14	3	<b><i>2.21</i></b>
<b><i>TOTAL</i></b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<b><i>100.00</i></b>

**Source:** Computed from Field Work

<b>Table – 8 (a): Views on Inter-Religious Marriages (Hindu Respondents)</b>					
<b>Society</b> <b>Within Family</b>	Not Acceptable	Acceptable	Depends	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>%</b>
Not Acceptable	53	4	2	<b>59</b>	43.38
Acceptable	3	49	5	<b>57</b>	41.91
Depends	11	1	8	<b>20</b>	14.71
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	49.26	39.71	11.03	<b>100.00</b>	

**Source:** Computed from Field Work

<b>Table – 8 (b): Views on Inter-Religious Marriages (Muslim Respondents)</b>					
<b>Society</b> <b>Within Family</b>	Not Acceptable	Acceptable	Depends	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>%</b>
Not Acceptable	62	1	3	<b>66</b>	48.53
Acceptable	1	21	19	<b>41</b>	30.15
Depends	16	8	5	<b>29</b>	21.32
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	58.09	22.06	19.85	<b>100.00</b>	

**Source:** Computed from Field Work

<i>TABLE – 9: IMPACT OF COMMUNALISM ON CO-EXISTENCE</i>				
<i>RESPONSES</i>	<b>Frequency in Hindus</b>	<b>% of Hindus</b>	<b>Frequency in Muslims</b>	<b>% OF MUSLIMS</b>
<i><b>NO</b></i>	123	90.44	131	<b><i>96.32</i></b>
<i><b>YES</b></i>	8	5.88	2	<b><i>1.47</i></b>
<i><b>DEPENDS</b></i>	5	3.68	3	<b><i>2.21</i></b>
<i><b>TOTAL</b></i>	<b>136</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>136</b>	<i>100.00</i>

**Source:** Computed from Field Work



# **Abysmally Low Representation of Women to Punjab Legislative Assembly (1967 - 2017)**

**Kamla**

Assistant Professor

USOL, Department of Political Science

Panjab University, Chandigarh

## **Abstract**

*The Legislative Assembly or Vidhan Sabha is the sole chamber of Punjab legislature. By virtue of very low representation of women to the legislative assembly, the democratic processes and political institutions can't be said to be fully representative of the will and consent of all the electors. The state has 117 assembly seats but the number of women legislators has never touched double digit mark in the electoral history of Punjab except in the 2012 election. India's Constitution guarantees political equality and equal rights to participate in political activities without gender bias. In the context of women, it is primarily to empower them so that they become equal citizens in a real sense of the term. Their weak representation has given rise to narrative known as "incremental perspective". As per this perspective gender equality is a phased phenomenon. Political participation does not mean merely exercising of political rights like franchise. It is also about involvement of women in a wide range of political activities such as membership of political parties and most importantly their involvement in the decision making bodies of the State. India ranks 108<sup>th</sup> out of 144 countries in World Economic Forum's 2017 Gender Gap Index Report. In fact, India slipped 21 places from last year's index rank. The gender gap trend indicates continuing democratic deficit of women in decision making and leadership positions. Elections have become a ritual of democracy. Politicos have failed to make democracy distributive and justice oriented. They use the popular screen to make their politics appear pro-people. To provide content to this, serious issues are reduced to doles rather than the rights of the electorate. The paper analyses issues, reasons and remedies concerning the low representation of women to Punjab Legislative Assembly.*

## **Introduction**

History of India abounds in rich contributions made by eminent women leaders from time to time in different fields of human activity. Their

courageous deeds and notable accomplishments have been well recognized. After attaining independence in 1947, India had a huge task of social reconstruction, economic development and political awakening to be able to ensure equality and justice to all its citizens. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had said in his independence speech that “Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny. When the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance”. But Indian women’s tryst with destiny is still elusive. Though the country has made a lot of progress in different fields of human activity, the improvement in the position of women is only peripheral.

### **About the Problem of Study & Research Methodology**

Constitutionally, India is a democratic republic, implying that the supreme power lies with the people and their elected representatives. The *Vidhan Sabha* is the popular chamber of a state legislative body, as its members are directly elected representatives of the voting population of the state. It is the lower house in the states with bicameral legislatures or the sole house in states with unicameral legislatures. The State of Punjab has a unicameral legislature because the upper house i.e *Vidhan Parishad* was abolished in 1970. The qualifications for a person to become a member of a state legislative body are found in Article 173 of the Constitution. Article 173 of the Constitution of India or any law made by parliament, in the matters of these qualifications, are gender neutral. But the actual working of the constitution manifests skewed political representation of women, not only in the state legislative bodies but in the national legislature as well. Nearly half of country’s population, that the females make-up, get only 10-15% share in the representation to different state and central legislative entities.

Over the successive elections to state legislatures and *Lok Sabha* since independence, the position of women representation to these bodies has remained more or less unchanged despite matching level of female participation as voters.<sup>8</sup> Articles 325 and 326 of the Constitution, guarantee political equality, equal right to participate in political activity and right to vote respectively. While the latter has been accessed and

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.unescap.org.hk/set.women/reports> [Accessed on 30/11/2014]

enjoyed by large number of women, the right to equal participation is still a distant dream<sup>9</sup>. The registration of women as candidates in elections and their actual representation in legislative bodies has remained meager. Promise of equality to all the citizen in the Constitution has remained only a 'paper promise' and women continue to be denied their equal civil, economic, social and political rights in many spheres. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the increase in voting percentage does reflect the 'representation of opinion' but the significant aspect of women's political participation is to convert the 'representation of opinion' to 'representation of persons'. He further says, 'any scheme of franchise and constituency that fails to bring this about fails to create a 'Popular Government'.<sup>10</sup> In a speech to the Constituent Assembly, he famously described democracy as 'top-dressing' on Indian soil. Customs, traditions, social practices and religious laws were all heavily loaded against the idea that all citizens should have equal rights. When Ambedkar said this, he had the practice of caste discrimination largely in his mind. But his remarks apply equally to discrimination against women<sup>11</sup> in political arena.

The political parties do not tire of making pompous statements about women empowerment and ameliorating their status in society. But when the election time comes, they do not consider women for distribution of tickets. They promise to make the women's representation in their manifestoes. Perhaps they are apt at forgetting after getting their votes. Parties want the support of women for winning elections but don't want to share the political power with them. Same thing happened when the time came for sharing political power with the women after independence of country in 1947. The patriarchal approach is best crystallized in the comments of an old women freedom fighter- Savitri, whose husband Ram Kishan became Chief Minister of Punjab (His tenure was from 7<sup>th</sup> July 1964 to 5 July 1966). She said, "*jaloosan wich nahre lagaan layi sadi lor*

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<sup>9</sup> Shantha, Mohan, Baseline Report on Women and Political Participation in India, Coordinated by International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific, Kualalampur, Malayasia, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Lal, David, Abhiruchi Ojha & Nidhia Sadana Sabharwal "Women's Political Participation in 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha: Continuity, Contestation or Change?" *Women's Link* (July – September 2014). pp. 5-6. [<http://www.isidelhi.org.in/wl/article/wl-2003.pdf> - accessed on 21/11/2014]

<sup>11</sup> Guha, Ramachandra, "Parliament & Patriarchy." *The Hindu*. December 31, 2012.

*si. Jadon rajnitik takat wandan da waqt aya ta sanu kiha giya, tusi ta ghar dian ranian ho, iss kichar wich hath gande karan di ki lor hai?"* (We were considered useful for raising slogans as volunteers in nationalist agitations. But when the time came for sharing the political power, our husbands, who were active in politics, told us "you are the queens of domestic realm, why you spoil your hands in dirty politics?)"<sup>12</sup>

Since win ability is apparently the only criteria for political parties, it is not surprising that they tend to field far fewer women than men as candidates."<sup>13</sup> The challenge however goes beyond ensuring the election of larger numbers of women into the legislatures. Patriarchy, subordination of women, and the deep-rooted perception that the public domain is reserved for men and that the social contract is about the relationship between men and government and not citizens and government, come together to exclude women—withstanding rights guaranteed in law and the political rhetoric of good governance and participatory democracy.<sup>14</sup> While gender or sex is considered an important variable in determining the composition of legislative leadership<sup>15</sup>, the social norms of the society consider politics as an unworthy profession for women.<sup>16</sup> Patriarchy transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged.<sup>17</sup>

The numerical inadequacy of women in lower house of the Indian Parliament can be gauged from the fact that percentage of women parliamentarian has never touched the double digit mark since independence except in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> *Lok Sabha*. In 15<sup>th</sup> *Lok Sabha*, election

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<sup>12</sup> Mohan, Kamlesh, *Towards Gender History*, Delhi, Akbar Books, 2006, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> Sarangi, Sudipta & Chandan K Jha, "Gender Bias in Indian Politics" *The Business Line*. April 22, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Women in Parliament: Beyond Number, Sweden: International IDEA, 2005, p 15  
[[http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/parlamenta/descargas/BIBLIOGRAFIA/Ballington\\_2005\\_IDEA.pdf](http://www.parlamento.gub.uy/parlamenta/descargas/BIBLIOGRAFIA/Ballington_2005_IDEA.pdf)- Accessed on 01/12/2014]

<sup>15</sup> Gupta, A.K., *Emerging Pattern of Political Leadership: A case Study of Punjab*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications. 1991, P.68.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, P. 69

<sup>17</sup> Bari, Farzana, *Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges*, 2005  
[<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/enabling-environment2005/docs/EGM-WPD-EE-2005-EP.12%20%20draft%20F.pdf> - accessed 01/12/2014]

to which were held in 2009, percentage of women members of parliament (MPs) was 10.99 (number 58).<sup>18</sup> The percentage of women MPs in current *Lok Sabha* (for which elections were held in 2014) at 11.2 (number 62), is the highest since independence.<sup>19</sup> The number of women in provincial legislatures also mirrors the national trend with minor regional variations. In Punjab, women are almost invisible in decision-making bodies and consequently many issues are left unattended. An analysis of the political participation of women as legislators highlights their subordination.<sup>20</sup>

Brar, Manpreet Kaur, opined after study of women participation as voters, candidates and representatives in five state assemblies of Goa, Manipur, Punjab, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh that “women have been accepted as voters but not as the policy formulators. Gender discrimination rules the scene even in the state legislatures, where women constitute a very small percentage vis-à-vis men. The number of women candidates contesting for the State Legislative Assemblies has been extremely discouraging.”<sup>21</sup> According to the study conducted by Indian Institute of Dalit Studies and International Development Research Centre in 2012 on the participation of Dalit women in Indian politics, women’s entry into politics is restricted due to several gendered social, cultural and domestic constraints. Patriarchy plays negative role by restricting women’s political activity. The gendered perception of politics, increased use of violence in politics, role of family, perceived low-winnability of women candidates and resultant reluctance of political parties are some of the factors listed by the study affecting political representation of women to legislatures. Despite large membership of women in political parties, participation in mass mobilizations and other activities; they are not promoted in leadership positions in the party and least considered for tickets in elections.<sup>22</sup>

The present research study is restricted to the analysis of low level of representation of women in Punjab *Vidhan Sabha*. The period covered by

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<sup>18</sup> Electoral Statistics Pocket Book 2014 issued by Election Commission of India

<sup>19</sup> 61 Women in this Lok Sabha, Highest Ever, *The Times of India*, May 17, 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Punjab Human Development Report 2004, P. 133.

<sup>21</sup> Brar, Manpreet Kaur, “Political Participation and Representation of Women in State Assemblies” *International Journal of Behavioral Social and Movement Sciences*, Vol. 2 Issue 4, (November 2013), p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> Lal, David, Abhiruchi Ojha & Nidhia Sadana Sabharwal. *Op. Cit.* P. 9.

study is from re-organisation of the Punjab state in 1966 to 2017. Since then, general elections to the Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* have been held 12 times i.e. In 1967, 1969, 1972, 1977, 1980, 1985, 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017. Data for the study has been taken, primarily from the statistical reports issued by the Election Commission of India on these general elections. The author has also examined the available literature on the subject matter of study, in the form of books, journal articles, magazines, newspaper reports, editorials etc. These sources have been appropriately acknowledged in the form of endnotes & references. The phenomenon under-study being rooted in the socio-cultural milieu combining dynamically with economic and political imperatives, inductive method of study has been resorted to, with a certain degree of deductive reasoning.

### **Examination of the Problem of Study**

Punjab was the first state to co-opt women members in local bodies. The Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, provided for co-opting of two women members if there were no elected women present.<sup>23</sup> But known for its feudal mindset, Punjab has always been “unfair” to the fair sex while sharing the political power. It is interesting to observe from **Table 1** below that during 1967-2002 percentage of voters exercising their franchise to total eligible voters, declined for both male and female segments. The voting percentage for men declined from 73.5 in 1967 to 65.9 in 2002. The female voting percentage declined from 68.5 in 1967 to 64.3 in 2002. Beginning with Punjab State general election of 2007, the voting percentage of female voters of the state has started surpassing the male voting percentage. This has happened first time in the electoral history of the state. It is heartening to note that the trend has got strengthened during 2012 & 2017 assembly elections. But, the problem of representation of women remains where it is. That is, would the women continue to remain as ‘electors’ and not as ‘decision makers’ in politics?

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<sup>23</sup> Punjab Human Development Report, 2004. P. 135.

**Table:1: Women Participation as Voters in Punjab Vidhan Sabha Elections (1967 -2017)**

Year of Election	Total Voters			Total voted			Percentage of voted to voters		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Gender Gap
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10(8-9)
1967	3406064	2904999	6311063	2502570	1989796	4492366	73.5	68.5	5.00
1969	3604917	3087194	6692111	2687280	2148855	4836135	74.5	69.6	4.90
1972	3890545	3354118	7244663	2737347	2235027	4972374	70.4	66.6	3.80
1977	4749246	4015734	8764980	3173609	2555815	5729424	66.8	63.6	3.20
1980	5329479	4527749	9857228	3498104	2843445	6341549	65.6	62.8	2.80
1985	5879025	4849800	10728825	4009724	3235557	7245281	68.2	66.7	1.50
1992	7115404	6056447	13171851	1830098	1307817	3137915	25.7	21.6	4.10
1997	8042108	7183287	15225395	5590390	4873478	10463868	69.5	67.8	1.70
2002	8346752	7469417	15816169	5502462	4800619	10303081	65.9	64.3	1.60
2007	8692092	8083650	16775742	6550225	6100419	12650644	75.4	75.5	- 0.10
2012	9381415	8383335	17764750	7278468	6614316	13892784	77.6	78.9	-1.30
2017	10621894	9407337	20029231 <sup>✱</sup>	8059769	7328107	15387876 <sup>✶</sup>	75.88	77.90	-2.02

✱ Excludes 415 voters belonging to third gender.

✶ Excludes 98 voters belonging to third gender

**Source:** Statistical Reports on Punjab General Elections issued by Election Commission of India.

In the year 1992 there was a sharp decline in the percentage participation of voters in the elections than the previous elections. It was due to boycott of elections by the Akalis and also due to threats of violence by the militants.

**Table 2** below indicates, *interalia*, percentage of women candidates to total candidates in the fray in the Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* general elections since 1967 vis-a-vis their male counterparts. The number of women legislators elected to the Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* in successive elections is equally shocking. In 1969 elections, no women candidate could win election, and *Vidhan Sabha* was purely a male bastion. Both number and percentage of women legislators in Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* have never touched the double digit mark except in 2012 assembly general elections. 'Even in 1960, when the strength of the House was 154, it had only nine

women legislators’.<sup>24</sup> Though the percentage of women contestants is increasing, the rate of increase is extremely nugatory. As per 2012 elections, the number and percentage of women legislators are only to the tune of 14 and 11.97 respectively. Only six women could win assembly election in 2017.

**Table 2: Women Representation as Candidates & Elected Representatives vis-a vis Men in Punjab Vidhan Sabha Elections**

Year of Election	Number of Contestants				Elected			Percentage of Elected		Success Rate	
	Male	Female	Total	% of female candidates	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
1967	594	8	602	1.33	102	2	104	98.08	1.92	17.17	25.00
1969	463	8	471	1.70	104	0	104	100.00	0.00	22.46	0.00
1972	454	12	466	2.58	98	6	104	94.23	5.77	21.59	50.00
1977	664	18	682	2.64	114	3	117	97.44	2.56	17.17	16.67
1980	703	19	722	2.63	111	6	117	94.87	5.13	15.79	31.58
1985	824	33	857	3.85	113	4	117	96.58	3.42	13.71	12.12
1992	557	22	579	3.80	111	6	117	94.87	5.13	19.93	27.27
1997	641	52	693	7.50	110	7	117	94.02	5.98	17.16	13.46
2002	852	71	923	7.69	109	8	117	93.16	6.84	12.79	11.27
2007	999	56	1055	5.31	109	7	116	93.97	6.03	10.91	12.50
2012	985	93	1078	8.63	103	14	117	88.03	11.97	10.46	15.05
2017	1063	81	1145 <sup>⊕</sup>	7.07	111	06	117	94.87	5.13	7.41	10.44

Source: Statistical Reports on Punjab General Elections issued by Election Commission of India.

The returning of as many as 14 women MLAs in 2012 may be treated as an aberration, a one off event attributable to dynamic interplay of various factors relevant at the time of election. It may however, partly, be due to the highest number (93) of women candidates in electoral fray, in 2012, out of which 6 each of Congress and SAD and 2 of AAP won. It was also only in 2012 elections, that the SAD (party which formed the government in alliance with BJP) and the Congress (Main opposition party) were having the matching number of women legislators at 6 each.

<sup>24</sup> Dhaliwal, Amrita, Women Power: Too Token a Presence, *Tribune*. March 10, 2007.

<sup>⊕</sup> Includes a candidate belonging to third gender (Mumtaz from Bhuchio Mandi Constituency)



**Table 3: Party-wise women contestants in Punjab General Elections from 1967 to 2017**

Political Party	Con/ won/ FD	Year of Election to Punjab Vidhan Sabha												
		1967	1969	1972	1977	1980	1985	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	Total 1967 to 2017
INC	CON	3	3	6	4	6	15	6	9	12	10	11	11	96
	Won	2	0	5	0	4	3	4	1	5	4	6	3	37
	FD	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	7
SAD	CON	0	0	1	3	3	2	3	6	5	5	10	5	43
	Won	0	0	1	3	2	1	0	4	3	2	6	0	22
	FD	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
IND	CON	3	4	5	11	8	12	8	20	19	22	45	32	189
	Won	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	FD	3	4	5	10	8	10	8	20	18	22	44	31	183
BSP	CON							2	5	16	6	6	3	38
	Won							0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	FD							1	5	16	6	6	2	36
BJS#/ BJP	CON	2					3	2	2	1	1	3	2	16
	Won	0					0	1	2	0	1	2	0	6
	FD	2					2	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
AAP	CON												9	9
	Won												3	3
	FD												0	0
OTH	CON	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	10	18	12	18	19	82
	Won	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	FD	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	18	12	18	19	78
Total	CON	8	8	12	18	19	33	22	52	71	56	93	81	392
	Won	2	0	6	3	6	4	6	7	8	7	14	6	63
	FD	5	5	5	11	8	13	12	39	52	41	69	52	260

Source: Statistical Reports on Punjab General Elections issued by Election Commission of India.

# Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) merged with several other parties and formed Janata Party in 1977. But after split in Janta Party in 1980, it was re-formed as Bharatiya Janata Party.

**Abbreviations:** CON - Number of contestants, FD - Number of candidates whose Security Deposit was forfeited. INC: Indian National Congress, SAD: Shiromani Akali Dal, IND: Independents, AAP: Aam Aadmi Party, BSP: Bahujan Samaj Party, BJS: Bharatiya Jana Sangh, BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party, OTH: Others

Women's success rate statistics belies the generally held beliefs and social reality. Success rate of women contestants is found to be superior to men. Out of 12 elections, women success rate is better than men in 7. The

success-rate statistics also stare at the ‘low-winnability notion’ attributed to women candidates by the politicians. The political class consider women as novice, politically. They attribute the better success rate of women candidates to the their decision of sponsoring only ‘women of substance’ already well known in public domain. Empirical examples of such candidatures can be Mrs Rajinder Kaur Bhattal (former Chief Minister of Punjab), Dr Parkash Kaur who is credited with pushing through Punjabi as the state language, Ms Sarla Prashar, who was elected to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha from Nangal in 1967, 1972 and again in 1980. She also remained president of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee. Smt Luxmi Kanta Chawla and Vimla Dang who were leaders in their own right.

Politicians are after all politicians. They will do and say whatever suits them. However, the question that can be posed to them is, whether such a “special dispensation” for scrutiny of nominations is not desired in case of male contestants? If they say it is desired in both the cases, then how they justify the lower success-rate of male candidates than their female counterparts? And if their answer happens to be ‘otherwise’ - which unfortunately is empirical reality - then how they justify the ‘gender bias’ of their decisions? Perhaps the answer lies in degeneration of Indian polity to the abysmal levels where money & muscle power, more than anything else, rule the roost.

Analysis of party-wise women contestant’s data given in Table 3 read with election-wise number of male & female contestant’s data of successive Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* elections in Table 4, makes the gender-bias crystal clear, in political nomination of candidates for fighting elections, affecting the fortunes of the fair sex. The rise in the number of women contestants is attributable mainly to the rising number of independent women candidates. Since 1967 to 2017, 189 independent women candidates have tested their destiny in the political waters of Punjab electoral politics. So far, the success has eluded all of them. With a few exceptions, they have not been able, even to manage the refund of their security deposits<sup>£</sup>.

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<sup>£</sup> As per Section 34 (1) (b) of the Representation of Peoples Act, 1951, a general candidate for contesting an Assembly election will have to make a security deposit of Rs. 10,000/-. A candidate belonging to Scheduled Caste / Tribe will have to make a security deposit of Rs. 5,000/-. A defeated candidate who fails to secure more than

**Table 4: Gender wise number of contestants**

Year of Election	Number of Contestants			Year of Election	Number of Contestants		
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
<b>1967</b>	594	8	602	<b>1992</b>	557	22	579
<b>1969</b>	463	8	471	<b>1997</b>	641	52	693
<b>1972</b>	454	12	466	<b>2002</b>	852	71	923
<b>1977</b>	664	18	682	<b>2007</b>	999	56	1055
<b>1980</b>	703	19	722	<b>2012</b>	985	93	1078
<b>1985</b>	824	33	857	<b>2017</b>	1063	81	1145 <sup>⊕</sup>

The political marginalisation is further accentuated in case of dalit women candidates. Hence, Bahujan Samaj Party, a party supposedly of dalit hinterland, has a similar electoral pathology of its women candidates. The political base of BSP in Punjab is said to be the Scheduled Castes constituting nearly 32 percent of its populace. Despite this strong demographic niche-hold, none of the 38 women candidates, fielded by BSP since its electoral debut in 1992, has succeeded in tasting success. As many as 36 candidates lost their security deposits and only two candidates could save themselves from this ignominy. Independent women candidates have never won any seat. The plight of ‘other’ women candidates i.e. candidates fielded by the unrecognised or insignificant political outfits, is no different. Out of total of 82 ‘other’ women candidates since 1967 to 2017, Smt. Vimla Dang, a veteran of Communist Party of India, was the lone successful women candidates from Amritsar West seat in 1992. She played an extraordinary role in building the women’s and workers’ movement in Punjab. She was conferred *Padma Shri* award in 1992 for her outstanding social work. As many as 78 candidates of ‘other’ category, lost security deposit. BJS also lost the security deposit for both the assembly seats contested by its women candidates in 1967 elections. Thereafter, it remained inactive in electoral politics and in 1977, it amalgamated with other parties to form Janta Party. But with the 1980 split in Janta Party, BJS was re-born in its new avatar as BJP. BJP plunged its 3 women candidates in the Punjab electoral arena in 1985 *sans* any success. BJP’s women candidates started tasting victory since 1992. Out of 11 attempts by the BJP women candidates in elections of 1992, 1997,

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one sixth of the valid votes polled in the constituency will lose his security deposit. [[http://eci.nic.in/eci\\_main1/Contesting.aspx](http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/Contesting.aspx) - accessed on 28/11/2014].

<sup>⊕</sup> Includes a candidate belonging to third gender (Mumtaj from Bhuchio Mandi Constituency)

2002, 2007, 2012 & 2017, 6 were successful. As many as three successes, however, were represented by Smt. Laxmikanta Chawla, who won in 1992, 1997 and 2007 elections, all from Amritsar Central seat. In 2002, she was unsuccessful. Other three successful women candidates of BJP are Roop Rani from Dinanagar (SC = Scheduled Caste) in 1997, Seema Kumari from Bhoa (SC) and Navjot Sidhu in 2012 from Amritsar East. BJP's electoral prospects in Punjab improved after it leveraged its alliance with SAD to keep the Congress at a bay. However, BJP has also not evidenced any leverage in fielding more number of women candidates.

**Table 5: Election-wise BJP candidates**

<b>Election year</b>	<b>Who contested?</b>	<b>Who won?</b>
1985	Laxmi Kanta Chawla, Harsimarjit Kaur and Nirmal Pandove	None
1992	Laxmi Kanta Chawla and Nirmal Pandove	Laxmi Kanta Chawla
1997	Laxmi Kanta Chawla and Roop Rani	Laxmi Kanta Chawla
2002	Laxmi Kanta Chawla	None
2007	Laxmi Kanta Chawla	Laxmi Kanta Chawla
2012	Seema Kumari, Navjot Sidhu, Vijay Laxmi	Seema Kumari, Navjot Sidhu,
2017	Seema Kumari, Sukhjot Kaur	None
Source: Statistical Reports on Punjab General Elections		

BJP has reposed confidence only in 7 women candidates since its electoral experience in Punjab politics since 1985. Laxmi Kanta Chawla was given ticket five times and won thrice. In fact, she was the only successful women MLA of BJP from 1985 to 2007. She was the lone women candidate of BJP in 2002, but lost.

A cursory glance at Table 3 above indicates that SAD (led by Parkash Singh Badal) has remained extremely conservative in awarding election tickets to women candidates. General election of 1967 and 1969 witnessed eight women contestants each. No women candidate was fielded by SAD for these elections. Congress however gave tickets to 3 candidates each. Only 2 candidates were successful in 1967 whereas 1969 Punjab Assembly was entirely a males-domain! In 1972, SAD preferred a lone women candidate. In none of the assembly election up to 1992, the number of SAD women candidates, exceeded three. Though the 'SAD number'

started growing modestly with 1997 election, prevalence of 'selective conservatism' against the fair sex has remained fairly consistent. Congress is however relatively less conservative in fielding women candidates. During the period under study, Congress gave 96 tickets to women candidates, out of which 37 were won. Whereas, the corresponding figures for SAD are only 43 and 22 respectively.

It is not out of place to point out that the fortunes of women candidates of SAD and Congress have oscillated with the fortunes of the party they belong to. With an exception of 2012 elections, Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), the two main political parties have of the state swapped political power in the successive elections. It was only in 2012, in the electoral history of Punjab, that SAD as a defending champion retained the crown of political power for another term in alliance with Bharatiya Janata Party.

In 1967, Congress party which formed the government had two successful women candidates out of the three contestants. In 1969, when SAD formed the Government, all the three women candidates of congress lost election. This see-saw in victory prospects of women candidates is broadly evident through the electoral history of Punjab *Vidhan Sabha* during the period under study. It has however some notable exceptions which can be explained. In 1985, SAD formed the government but Congress was having 3 successful women candidates against only one of SAD. This was because congress fielded 15 women candidates, the highest ever by any party, against only 2 women candidates by SAD. Again in 2007 election, when SAD formed the government, congress had 4 successful women candidates against 2 of SAD. The reason for the exception was same i.e Congress fielded 10 candidates out of which 4 won, whereas SAD fielded only 5 candidates, out of which won. The trend however seems to have lost track. In 2012 election, SAD formed the government, but both SAD and congress happens to have same number of women MLAs, at six each. The number of contestants was also not at a much variance. SAD fielded 10 candidates and congress 11. The trend however started loosening in 2007 itself when the congress (loosing party) was having double the number of successful women candidates than SAD, which formed the government.

There had been some women in Punjab politics, belonging to the SAD and Congress, the two main political parties of Punjab, who played long

political innings and were repeat candidates for assembly elections. Smt. Sarla Parashar got Congress ticket for five consecutive times beginning with 1967 to 1980. She won thrice and lost twice when SAD formed government in 1969 and 1977. Congress had other women candidates also in its kitty who were repeat players. Congress repeatedly fielded two *Muslim* women candidates from Malerkotla seat. It awarded assembly ticket to Sajida Begum for three consecutive terms i.e for 1972, 1977 & 1980. She won twice but lost in 1977, when SAD formed the government. Malerkotla constituency has never returned a non-*Muslim* candidate to the *Vidhan Sabha*. Razia Sultana also got congress ticket for Malerkotla seat for four consecutive terms i.e. for 2002, 2007, 2012 & 2017. She won thrice but lost in 2012 to another *Muslim* women - F. Nesara Khatoon (Farzana Alam) - fielded by SAD. Smt. Laxmi Kanta Chawla was BJP candidate for five consecutive terms and was victorious thrice.

SAD also has examples of women candidates fielded repeatedly. Satwant Kaur, who was fielded 5 times, got defeated only once. Bibi Jagir Kaur, a prominent SAD women candidate, failed only once out of the four terms she was given ticket. Another SAD Candidate, Upinderjit Kaur was successful thrice out of the five terms.

### **Women Ministers and Chief Ministers of Punjab**

Exigency of political circumstances, resulted in elevation of Rajinder Kaur Bhattal to Chief Ministership for a brief spell in 1996 (from 21 November 1996 to 11 February 1997) after resignation by the then chief minister Harcharan Singh Brar. Laxmi Kanta Chawla, a BJP MLA, was a cabinet minister in Punjab government headed by SAD. She was a college lecturer before becoming the minister. She was elected to state legislative assembly from Amritsar in 2007. She was also the National Vice President of the Bharatiya Janata Party. She had health portfolio earlier and later social welfare portfolio in 2010. Razia Sultana was a cabinet minister in the Congress government. She represents Malerkotla in the Punjab Legislative Assembly and has been elected three times in the Punjab Assembly, in 2002, 2007 and 2017. Upinderjit Kaur was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1997 on a Akali Dal ticket from Sultanpur for first time. She was made a cabinet minister in the Prakash Singh Badal government and given portfolio of Technical Education and Industrial Training, Cultural Affairs and Tourism, Housing and Urban Development. She was re-elected from Sultanpur in 2002 and 2007. She

was again made cabinet minister in 2007 and was minister of Education, Civil Aviation, Vigilance and Justice. In October 2010, she was made minister of finance after the removal of Manpreet Singh Badal. She is the first woman finance minister of a state government in the independent India. She has remained member of various Vidhan Sabha Committees, such as Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee, Public Undertakings Committee, House Committee. In 2012 Punjab elections she was the oldest candidate among woman at the age of 72. Navjot Kaur Sidhu was elected to assembly in 2012 from Amritsar East as a candidate of Bharatiya Janata Party.

### Women Reservation Bill

Empowerment implies giving power to the people, irrespective of gender.<sup>25</sup> The Constitution not only grants equality to women, but also empower State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> amendments to the Constitution of India has provided for reservation of seats for women in Panchayats and municipalities, laying a strong foundation for their participation in public decision making. The participation of women in the governance of local self-government bodies, also becomes a hinterland for their ascendancy to state and central legislatures. The ambitious Women's Reservation Bill, which sought to provide for 33 per cent reservation for women in the lower house of Parliament and state assemblies for 15 years, lapsed<sup>§</sup> in previous Lok Sabha on its dissolution in February 2014, despite Sonia Gandhi being UPA Chairperson, Meira Kumar being the Speaker and Sushma Swaraj being the Leader of the Opposition in *Lok Sabha*. The bill, was pending in the Lok Sabha since 2010 and was listed in the last session of the last *Lok Sabha*. The 18-year journey of the Women's Reservation Bill was marked by high drama and hit roadblocks in each of its outings in Parliament before the historic measure cleared the first legislative hurdle in March 2010 when the *Rajya Sabha* passed it amid high drama as marshals

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<sup>25</sup> Chaturvedi Arun, Women Empowerment: Political Empowerment at Grassroot Level in Rajasthan Context. Bharadwaj, Prem R (ed). *Gender Discrimination: The Politics of Women Empowerment*. New Delhi, Anamika Publishers & Distributors, 2005, P. 208

<sup>§</sup> As per law, any bill pending in *Lok Sabha* lapses with the dissolution of the House. Bills pending in *Rajya Sabha* are put in the 'live register' and remain pending.

were used. The battle for greater representation to women in *Lok Sabha* and state assemblies was routinely punctuated by frayed tempers and war of words which sometimes got physical, as different governments since 1996 tried to get the Women's Reservation Bill passed in Parliament without success. The Bill also lapsed each time the House was dissolved and was re-introduced by the governments of the day.<sup>26</sup> A legally mandated quota may, indeed, not even be necessary if political parties are willing to adopt a 'voluntary' quota for women. Until then, we can only urge voters to shun gender bias when voting for candidates in their constituencies.<sup>27</sup> Political awareness through education is one of the major components in the empowerment of women.<sup>28</sup> So, what is required today is to bring an awakening among them by providing ample opportunities for education and awareness about their rights.<sup>29</sup>

## Conclusion

Notwithstanding several constitutional provisions regarding gender equality, the space available to women within Indian political system is barely considerable and they are grossly under-represented in the legislatures, both at the national and state levels. There is no single reason why there are fewer women at the state level in Indian politics. Primarily, political parties are reluctant to give tickets and there is also a lack of interest on the part of women as well. The lack of interest is mostly due to the dirty nature of politics. This is in direct contrast to the participation one sees at the panchayat level. There is evidence to suggest that more women in the legislature can lead to better governance, and no harm can come from increased participation of women in both the voting and decision-making process. Interestingly, while both the BJP and the Congress manifestos commit to one-third reservation for women, both in Parliament and State Assemblies, neither party is fielding anywhere close to that many female candidates in the current elections! The Enhanced role of the women folk in the body politic is needed to cure the system, of various ills

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<sup>26</sup> Women's Bill - An Idea whose Time is yet to Come in LS, New Delhi, *The Hindu*, February 21, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Sarangi, Sudipta & Chandan K Jha. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>28</sup> Tiwari, Subash, Political Awareness among Indian Women (<http://balaji.com>-accessed on 05/12/2012)

<sup>29</sup> Singh, Nargisbir, A Comprehensive Legislation is Required. Chandigarh: *The Tribune*. June 19, 1998.



from which it is suffering right now. Whether it is the 'push factor' of political parties or 'pull factor' of the patriarchal family forces, continued celibacy of the women from the active political arena is not good for the moral health of the society in general.

The women by nature are tender but have firmer determination. They are not easily carried away by the corrupt forces. Indian woman is full of power and vision. No one can matter her when challenged. So their participation in the political arena is must to cleanse the system from criminalization, muscle power, corruption and other evils, it suffers from today. Legislative and debating competence of women is no less than the men. Complex issues confronting the society at large need a more balanced attention of the law makers and this objective cannot be achieved unless highly skewed gender bias in women representation is arrested. Ills of democracy can be cured only by a better democracy. History will truly be made when diverse women, shaped by multiple experiences of discrimination and exclusion, will become equal partners in the task of building India's Political future."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> John, Mary E. The Politics of Quotas and the Women Reservation Bill in India. P. 193 [www.cwds.ac.in/Politics%20of%20quotas%20and%20WRB-MJ-Ch.8.pdf - accessed on 13/11/2014]

# **Water Pricing and Participatory Irrigation Management under Integrated Watershed Development Project in Jammu and Kashmir, India: Experiences and Lessons Learnt**

**Ishita Singh**

Assistant Professor

Department of Economics

Post Graduate Government College

Sector 11, Chandigarh

**Mohamad Aslam**

Ph. D Researcher, Department of Evening Studies

Panjab University, Chandigarh

## **Abstract**

*India's water crisis is caused by the mismanagement of water resources, and the solution does not lie merely in supply-side augmentations. The exclusively supply-side solutions tend to either impinge on demands by others, or cause serious damage to nature. The demand-side management is, therefore, slowly becoming a new paradigm for water governance. Most state governments in India encourage the formation of water user associations (WUAs) and eventually want to transfer irrigation management to irrigators. Integrated Watershed Development Project (IWDP), Hills-II, Jammu and Kashmir, India decision on participatory irrigation management (PIM) is a step in this direction. WUAs are expected to serve as channels for feedback and feed-forward information to improve the performance and services provided by operation and maintenance (O&M) irrigation personnel. The initiatives of IWDP, Hills-II should be seen as the first steps towards operationalizing water pricing and attaining sustainable irrigation water resource management. With this backdrop, an attempt has been made to review the relevant literature on water pricing and PIM, to analyze the process and impact of evolving PIM under IWDP, Hills-II, users' responses to water pricing and reasons for low cost recovery, and to suggest policy recommendations to recover project costs and collect water charges from users.*

## **Introduction**

Water is scarce and needs to be treated as an economic good. Allocation of water as a pure economic good is more complicated than other goods and services. Water is mainly public good in nature. There are externalities associated with it. Linkages between water, poverty and food security

brings the equity dimension into allocation of water. As such, irrigation water is largely under public administration confronting inefficiency, poor planning and enforcement, and treated as a social good causing financial burden on the state and un-sustainability of the irrigation water system. Irrigation infrastructure in developing countries is poorly maintained and confronting leakages and technical losses. Financial compulsions force price reforms, which are always politically infeasible and avoided with the excuses of lack of willingness and ability to pay. It is 'willingness to charge' rather than 'willingness to pay' that is blocking price reforms in irrigation water sector.

India has embarked upon Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM), under which the management of some of the systems is being turned over to the Water Users'

Associations (WUAs). The conservation of land and groundwater resources through rainwater harvesting is another area where market failure as well as government failure has been glaring. As a solution to this, Participatory Watershed Development (PWD) is being evolved and practiced in many countries, including India, for the protection and sustainable use of land and water resources. The users' associations reflect definite institutional arrangements in which rewards and sanctions were clearly defined in order for the systems to work. Therefore, a solution that has been tried in various places is to transfer the responsibility for the operation and maintenance (O&M) of the canal systems below certain point to the local farmers. At present, most state governments in India encourage the formation of WUAs and eventually want to transfer irrigation management to irrigators. Integrated Watershed Development Project (IWDP), Hills-II, Jammu and Kashmir decision on PIM is a step in this direction. WUAs are expected to serve as channels for feedback and feed-forward information to improve the performance and services provided by O&M irrigation personnel. The initiatives of IWDP, Hills-II should be seen as the first steps towards operationalizing water pricing and attaining sustainable irrigation water resource management. With this backdrop, an attempt has been made to review the relevant literature on water pricing and PIM, to analyze the process and impact of evolving PIM under IWDP, Hills-II, users' responses to water pricing and reasons for low cost recovery, and to suggest policy recommendations to recover project costs and collect water charges from users.

## II. Data and Methodology

IWDP, Hills-II, Jammu and Kashmir covers two sub-watersheds in *Shivaliks*, viz. Ramnagar and Akhnoor and two sub-watersheds in *Karewas*, viz. Rajwar and Rambiyara. The present study has been confined to two sub-watersheds of Akhnoor (Jammu district) and Ramnagar (Udhampur district). While Ramnagar is in the inner *Shivaliks*, Akhnoor is on its outer part. Ramnagar sub-watershed is the catchment area of Ramnagarwali *Khad* (ephemeral) in the middle catchment of river Tawi. It has an area of 32,630 Ha. and is subdivided into 39 micro-watersheds. Akhnoor sub-watershed with an area of 42350 Ha. is subdivided into 37 micro-watersheds. It covers about a dozen rivulets (*nallahs*) and a large number of small *nallahs* originating from *Kalidhar* ridge and draining into Chenab river on the western portion of *Kalidhar* ridge, drains join Manawar Tawi which in turn also meets the Chenab river. In terms of physiographic features, there may not be 100 per cent similarity between the selected sub-watersheds but, certainly, in term of accessibility, natural resource endowment, infrastructure development and general index of socio-economic awareness, two sub-watersheds are comparable.

The primary data has been collected using well-structured and pre-tested questionnaires, participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques and group meetings. Whenever possible and required, secondary data sources have also been utilized. Three WUAs each have randomly been selected from the sub-watersheds of Akhnoor and Ramnagar. Therefore, a total of six WUAs have been selected with the consultation of project functionaries at sub-watershed level. The sample size has been restricted to 90 members of the WUAs, and 780 households selected under IWDP (Hills-II) in the selected sub-watersheds. A total of 46 and 44 WUAs' members have been selected respectively from Ramnagar and Akhnoor sub-watersheds. For the collection of primary data and information on impact of PIM, three micro-watersheds/villages each from the two sub-watersheds of Akhnoor and Ramnagar, where a maximum number of people are known to have benefited from each project intervention have been selected. In the non-beneficiary category, three sample villages each have been selected on random basis, each 20-25 km away from the sampled micro-watersheds/villages (*i.e.*, project area). Therefore, a total of six WUAs (three each from selected sub-watersheds) and twelve villages (six each from 'project' and 'non-project' area) have been selected for collection of primary data and information. In Ramnagar sub-watershed, 185, 119 and

72 households have been selected from project area with WUAs, project area without WUAs, and non-project area, and in Akhnoor sub-watershed, 158, 72 and 174 households have been selected from project area with WUAs, project area without WUAs, and non-project area respectively. The stratified sampling technique has been used to select villages (where WUAs have been created, as well as 'project' and 'non-project' villages). During the stratification, care has been taken to include both "forested watersheds' villages and agricultural watersheds' villages" in order to make a comparative study. For the collection of primary data related to PIM, a purposive sample of approximately 20% of household level respondents in 'project' and 'non-project' area has been selected. The team strategy has been used to collect data and information. The content analysis technique has been used to analyze the data and information qualitatively and quantitatively (using descriptive statistics).

### **III. Water Pricing and PIM: Evidence from Literature**

The 'water pricing debate' is intense in the developing world (Facon 2002). Water pricing has been contentious issues in public irrigation projects. Water charges are below the cost of operation and maintenance (O&M) of irrigation projects (Ahmad 2002, Easter 1993, Svendsen et al. 1997). This creates serious problems for sustainable irrigation water management. Several developing countries have poor performance in collecting water fees (Easter 1993). Water pricing is often proposed as efficient and effective measure in demand management (Brooks 1998). It results in revenue sufficiency, economic efficiency, equity and fairness, income redistribution, and resource conservation and should include public acceptability, political acceptability, simplicity and transparency, net revenue stability and ease of implementation (Bolland and Whittington 2000). This will help recover the cost of providing water delivery service, provide an incentive for efficient use of scarce water resources, and act as a benefit tax on those receiving water services to provide potential resources for further investment to the benefit of others in society (Perry 2001). The current pricing mechanisms are volumetric pricing (water use measured and charged), non-volumetric pricing (use of flat rates, per acre rates, crop-wise rates), and market based pricing (based on demand and supply) (Johansson 2000). Volumetric pricing is a simple device for conserving water supplies (Griffin and Perry 1985). For example, volumetric water pricing reduces water wastage and generates revenue for sustainable irrigation management (Briscoe 1996, Rosegrant 1997, Kumar

and Singh 2001). Water pricing is a desirable way to allocate water efficiently (Johansson 2000, Dinar and Subramanian 1997). However, externalities in water use due to water recycling may render pricing less effective in reducing water use than foreseen by planners (Seckler 1996). Rather enforceable and transparent allocation rules may be more effective to curtail water demand (Ray 2001, Molle 2001).

Markets can be formal or informal (Shah 1993; Saleth 1996). Formal water markets require tradable property rights (Saleth 1998). Water rights help improves productivity and resource conservation (Burns and Meinzen-Dick 2005). In the absence of well-defined water rights, economic measures may lead to higher water use rather than conservation of water (Ahmad 2000). It is unjust to expect the farmers to bear the full burden (Sampath 1983, 1992, Rhodes and Sampath 1988). Irrigation water demand is inelastic below a threshold price, and elastic beyond (Varela-Ortega et al. 1998, OECD 1999). Therefore, considerable price increases are needed to reduce irrigation water demand. However, politics may prevent such price increases.

Theoretically, marginal cost pricing is the most efficient (Munasinghe 1990, Reddy 1996, Boland and Whittington 2000). Water is under priced in most of the countries, neither reflecting its scarcity value nor allocated efficiently (Tsur and Dinar 1997). Water pricing on cost basis is essential for financial resource generation and efficient usage of water. Users tend to pay more than the actual cost of water under a flat rate pricing mechanism (Reddy 1998). Therefore, the willingness to charge is the main obstacle. Under the PIM, pricing on a cost basis may not lead to sustainability of the water systems in terms of efficiency and financial viability. For example, in India recovery rates are very low and declining (CWC 2004) and average recovery is less than 5% in most of the states (Deshpande and Narayanmoorthy 2006). It is unlikely that higher water rates would lead to better recovery (Reddy 2003) due to absence of devolution of powers to WUAs, in terms of assessment and fee collection etc.

Water pricing have been kept low and fail to improve the irrigation water systems, technically or institutionally. The prices do not even cover the O&M costs of irrigation water (Deshpande and Narayanamoorthy 2001). GoI (1972) has suggested that the water rate should relate to the benefits accruing to the farmers rather than the costs incurred by the department.

Farmers are willing to pay substantially higher prices for improved water supplies (Reddy 1998), higher resource generation, efficient usage of water and low wastage. Water saving technologies is important in irrigation water demand management and to tackle the scarcity conditions. Use of sprinkler and drip irrigation techniques are spreading to a diversity of crops, besides horticultural crops (Kumar et al. 2004) and used even on water-intensive crops like sugarcane (Narayanamoorthy 2006), where the economic viability seems to hold good. Social returns are far in excess of private returns accruing to drip investors (Dhawan 2000) and need strong extension support for better adoption rates (Narayanamoorthy 2006). Besides, clear water rights are expected to result in efficient use of water (Iyer 2003).

WUAs have turned into mere political entities and majority of contractors have become WUA presidents. These have become money-making ventures (Reddy 2003). Sustainability of benefits is uncertain due to lack of efficient institutional structures. Equity in water management and distribution is not addressed (Reddy and Reddy 2005).

Regular elections are one way of keeping them alive (Reddy 2006). PIM has created a divide between the large and small farmers, and the landless and causing much misery (Das 2006). However, effective rationing of power supply has become a powerful tool for groundwater demand management (Shah and Verma 2008). New institutional arrangements have fallen prey to the 'elite capture' (Reddy and Reddy 2005). Inequity in water distribution has led to rebellion and abandoning of the reform (Sainath 2006). Overall, the performance of reforms is not satisfactory (Pitman 2002). The fault, however, does not lie in the policies per se (Vaidyanathan 2003). O&M of irrigation systems through WUAa is expected to bring in efficient and equal distribution of water resources, but were found to be difficult to replicate. Inequity in water distribution is the main cause of conflicts. Water pricing should take the equity concerns into account using discriminatory pricing policies.

#### **IV. PIM under IWDP (HILLS-II)**

In the watershed areas of Jammu and Kashmir, the irrigation system consists of medium and small water harvesting structures and distribution channels constructed along the slopes of hills (locally known as *khuls*). Over the period, due to neglect and mismanagement, their utilities in

irrigating crops have declined remarkably. IWDP (Hills-II) has started the process of modernization and repair of the existing water harvesting structures and gravity based irrigation water distribution channels. Besides, treatment of the catchment areas has also been initiated to check erosion, restore the vegetative cover in the upper reaches, and remove impediments to the free flow of water into the water harvesting structures. Together, in course of time, these measures are also expected to increase the proportion of rainfall that is harnessed for local irrigation. User groups have been involved in repair, maintenance and improvement of the physical structures, as well as water management on cost-sharing basis mainly in the form of voluntary free labour. The project has introduced significant institutional reforms to revive and strengthens community institutions to make them more effective and flexible. It has played a vital role in clearly defining the relative rights and obligation for users' communities, which are part of a larger integrated system as well as the rights of user communities with those outside. The attention has also been given to the basis on which entitlements can be changed, and putting in place an institutional mechanism for enforcing regulations. The project has recognized that better use of available infrastructure with user participation is probably more cost effective than creating new systems. As a result, improvement of the existing physical structures received high priority than the construction of new structures. For this, the project has allocated substantial resources.

#### **a. Formation of WUA**

WUA is the basic foundation of the irrigation reform process under the IWDP (Hills-II). The process of formation of a WUA was relatively simple. The election process to form the WUAs was highly democratic and fair and was conducted in a participatory manner. Initially, WUAs have been formed in those areas where physical infrastructure for irrigation already existed in the form of water harvesting structures and small canal outlets in upper hill slopes fed by rains, which were in need of repairs and maintenance. The participatory development staff along with village *panchayat* had identified the user-farmers. The elections were held for the formation of WUAs, with active support of the *panchayat* and project functionaries. On the specified date, elections were conducted. Each voter casts his vote. The candidates securing the maximum numbers of votes were declared elected. In some cases, the elections may be unanimous. The consensus candidate was then declared elected. The tenure of the WUA is



for a period of one year. When a vacancy arises due to death or resignation of a WUA president or a member, the vacancy is filled up following the similar process. Each WUA has a separate bank account. The president and a member are the signatories to the bank account.

#### **b. Operation of irrigation system**

To begin with, the entire reform process has been repair and renovation oriented. The majority of the works have been done through WUAs along with *panchayats*. WUAs have executed the works in a fair and impartial manner, with proper records of all financial transactions maintained, and contracts given in a fair and just procedure. In general, the cost of the works done by WUAs is 25% lower than those carried out by the contractors. Most of the works are done at the estimated rate. A part of the sanctioned amount was paid in advance and remaining on the completion of the works. But in majority of the cases, even after the completion of the works, the balance amount was not paid. Whatever funds were released go directly to the WUA account. The project officials have no role in handling the funds. Proximity to the process of technical and financial estimates, funds disbursements, works execution by the local farmers, have all brought more transparency in WUA functioning. Contractors were almost out of the picture. The project authorities have given clear instructions that there will be no new structures, or alteration of original designs. So, the major emphasis is on restoring the original designs. The repairs and strengthening of structures, adding of missing structures, desilting the structures, installation of water regulation structures wherever damaged or not installed earlier, and strengthening the distribution channels and bunds are some of the major works carried out by the WUAs. In the process of users identifying and executing the works in case of drainage system, a lot of attention has been paid on users' needs like cattle pathways, bathing steps for women, removal of encroachments and clearing shrubs and silt for smooth flow of water till the tail-reach. Likewise in the case of water-harvesting structures, in addition to the above-mentioned works, the major focus was on repairing and strengthening the existing infrastructures, raising and strengthening bunds to original designs, and improving the water-harvesting structures through voluntary labour contribution. In some cases, the president of WUAs has been trapped in difficulties owing to lack of proper manpower and material planning, which resulted in severe losses to them.

### **c. Allocation rules**

The physical facilities are maintained in good working condition and regulate access to facilities provided by it. One of the crucial factors on which the authority and credibility of the WUA depends is its ability to ensure that equitable distribution of the benefits takes place and any free rider is penalized. Towards this end several rules have been formulated. One's share of water is determined by the land acreage. This ensures an equitable distribution of the common resources and the prevention of the free riding. In addition, members also patrol together in order to avoid any breaching of the channel. The penalties are imposed to ensure rules enforcement and to prove WUAs authority and impartiality. Irrigated water is used essentially for paddy cultivation. The extent of area to be cultivated as well as the timing of the start of irrigation in a particular season is generally decided by the users' association as a whole in the light of available water supply and rainfall at the beginning of the season. As the entire service area cannot be irrigated, the system is confronted with the problem of rationing supplies. The mechanisms have been evolved to ensure equitable sharing of the shortfall in supplies among all users. Acreage rationing is used as the water rationing system. In times of shortage, besides acreage rationing, the water allocation is regulated even more strictly. It is ensured that all users share the reduction in both area and water supply in more or less the same proportion. As paddy is relatively water intensive crop grown in the project area, a system of rotational use of water is adopted even in a normal year to permit all users to grow the crop. The collective decisions are being taken at the beginning of the season regarding which land and how much is to be cultivated, which implies certain coordination in the timing of operations.

### **d. Maintenance of irrigation system**

The purpose of 'maintenance' is to ensure that physical facilities function smoothly and at the level of performance for which they were designed. If the maintenance is inefficient, the volume of water made available to the fields get reduced, which hampers the level of output in relation to the potential of the system. The quality of the maintenance affects the interests of both the organizations and the users. The strength of this common interest is stronger in PIM, as the users have made a substantial

contribution to the cost of developing it. The common interest of user organizations is also strong, where the neglect of maintenance leads to heavy loss in productivity. WUAs have established conventions regarding the timing of repairs, division of work, responsibility of members and the obligations of users. The custom and social pressure facilitates the smooth working of the arrangements. However, they do not work entirely on the strength of mutual interest reinforced by custom. There is provision of sanction (ranging from fines to loss of water rights) against non-compliance, for which WUA has the authority to enforce the sanction to ensure compliance. However, not even a single case has been reported of sanction against non-compliance. The large landowners have dominated the WUA functioning, as they cultivate a large proportion of land and benefits relatively more from the irrigation system. Thus, the land tenure system has very closely influenced the management of local water control systems.

#### **e. Benefits and costs**

The potential beneficiaries were mobilized on issue related to fair sharing of the benefits and costs. It was emphasized that users' participation will result in cost-effectiveness in repairs and maintenance and efficient management once it is commissioned. Since a part of the cost of resource development and operation mainly in the form of labour contribution is to be borne by the potential beneficiaries, they have keen interest in minimizing the costs, ensuring a fair balancing of competitive interests and providing economical and efficient services. There was provision of equitable distribution of water based on the size of land holdings in the area of their operation and this has been adhered to in actual practice also. However, there was an unscrupulous distribution here and there, and conflicts occur among the users and members of users' association over the way allocations are managed and over attempts to violate the allocations. In such situations, the executive committees of the WUA mediate disputes among its members. Disputes that cannot be resolved at WUA level are referred to village *panchayat*. The conflicts, which cannot be resolved by the WUA as well as *panchayat*, are referred to project officials. It does not however follow that the latter will always intervene decisively.

#### **f. Transparency and accountability**

Transparency is one of the key principles of PIM. In order to strengthen confidence over the functioning of the users' organizations, the activities undertaken by them have to be informed to all the water users in the area of their operation. PRA exercises reveal that farmers have been informed in advance by the WUAs about the various activities to be undertaken. The management committees of the WUAs were disseminating information on various activities undertaken for efficient management of the irrigation systems in the area of their operation. The dissemination of information was through general body meetings on regular intervals. The steps have been undertaken to prioritize the repair works so that the available funds should be utilized precisely. Keeping in view the limited amount of funds available at their disposal, the prioritization of the work was also considered necessary by the majority of the users. The quality of the work by WUAs was comparatively better than the quality of the work done by the contractors prior to the new system of PIM. The conveyance losses in the distribution channels have been minimized, which facilitated in distribution of water up to the tail end area. With PIM, the project functionaries were playing the role of facilitators and made accountable and responsible to the farmers' organizations. On the other hand, the executives of the WUAs were also accountable to their members. The provision of re-election of the WUAs at regular interval has also ensured the downward accountability in the reform process.

#### **V. Impact of PIM**

There are perceptible economic gains to the farmers after the initiation of PIM. Land values have increased in both forested as well as agricultural sub-watersheds in the range of 10-15%. Irrigated land value is marginally more in agricultural sub-watersheds due to field drainage provided by the WUAs, which also arrested the waterlogged conditions in the area of operation of the WUAs. The formation and operationalization of the WUAs have resulted in an increase in area under cultivation and ensure timely sowing of crops and receipt of water at the tail end. New acreage has been added to irrigate lands due to better coverage and maintenance. As a result, irrigated area has increased mainly in tail-reaches. With better maintenance of the irrigation system, the availability of water for various

crops has increased, which resulted in increased productivity in terms of rice, pulses, vegetables and orchards. The level of income derived from various crops has increased significantly as compared to the income levels prior to the formation of WUAs. The rate of increase in income has been reported to be comparatively higher in rice and vegetables than other crops. The area of operation of WUAs was under the rice-growing belt, and the farmers reported that the cropping pattern may conveniently be shifted to some extent to commercial crops like vegetables and pulses, which may assure higher returns in future.

#### **(a). Reduction in rainwater loss and sediment yield**

The micro-level watershed planning was carried out using the sweeping transect and emphasis has been given on soil erosion control on hill slopes and gullies, regulation of water flow system in the watershed drainage, and rearrangement of farmlands. The diversion channels were made along all the hills and hillocks to guide the high velocity runoff from these sites on a safe and controlled way, so that the runoff with soil loads should not enter the arable land and cause further degradation. The adverse climatic factors of the *Shivaliks* necessitated the adoption of micro catchment techniques for run-off harvesting and conservation practices as done in similar areas elsewhere. The usefulness and scope of rainwater harvesting and conservation practices in improving tree growth in arid zones have been amply demonstrated. The staggered trenches ensured higher survival rate of planted seedlings in the experimental plots. The contour trenches also helped in moisture retention but most of sub-watershed of Akhnoor being an undulated terrain without sufficient slopes – the contour interval had to be very wide. The effect of regeneration of vegetation, along with soil and water conservation measures on hill-slopes and wastelands was substantial. In *Shivaliks*, the run-off soil loss on barren hills was 23.70 tons per hectare in the baseline period, which fell to 9.65 tons per hectare after treatment. In *Karewas*, it declined to 4.80 tons per hectare from 8.24 tons per hectare in baseline period. The progressive reduction in soil loss and sediment yield as a result of quick recovery of vegetation on hill-slopes and lands adjoining the foothills has resulted in a greatly improving surface and ground water regime of the selected sub-watersheds.

## (b). Status of water resources and irrigation

**Table 1: Status of water resources and irrigation (per village)**

	Project area with WUA		Project area without WUA		Non-project area	
Item	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS
Surface water supply						
Natural water points (Bowlies) (Nos.)	6.8	4.3	5.2	3.4	3.6	2.6
Gravity based water points (Nos.)	5	2	2	1	1	0
Ground water supply						
Hand pumps (Nos.)	2	3	0	1	0	1
Water harvesting structures (Nos.)	3.5	2.9	2	1.8	1.2	0.7
Irrigation						
Irrigation channel (Nos.)	2.8	1.7	1.8	1.2	1	0.8
Gross irrigated land (Ha.)	98	67	48	64	69	44
Net irrigated land (Ha.)	68	36	34	37	27	18
Irrigation intensity (%)	144.11	186.11	141.17	172.97	255.56	244.44

Note: Irrigation intensity = Gross irrigated area / Net irrigated area x 100

The table 1 gives the data on surface and ground water resources across the sampled sub-watersheds. Both the average number of water points (*bowlies*) as well as gravity based water points per village was comparatively more in project area with WUA than without WUA and non-project area. In the project area with WUA, there were 6.8 and 5 natural water points and gravity based water points respectively in forested watershed and 4.3 and 2 respectively in agricultural watershed. In non-project area, the average number of natural and gravity based water points were comparatively very low and stood respectively at 1.6 and 1 in forested watershed, and 2.6 natural water points in agricultural watershed, whereas there was no gravity based water points in agricultural watershed.

This clearly reflects the benefits of PIM through which the project has implemented the repairs of water resources points and installed new water points, mainly gravity based water resources. In the forested watershed,

the difference between project area with WUA and non-project area in average number of natural water points and gravity based water points was as high as 3.2 and 4 respectively. The average number of hand pumps per village was also reportedly high in project area with WUA than project area without WUA and non-project area.

**Table 2: Difference in status of water resources and irrigation (per village)**

	Project area with WUA -		Project area with WUA		Project area without WUA -	
	Project area without WUA		Non-project area		Non-project area	
Item	Forested WS	Agri. WS	Forested WS	Agri. WS	Forested WS	Agri. WS
Surface water supply						
Natural water points (Bowlies (Nos.))	1.6	0.9	3.2	1.7	1.6	0.8
Gravity based water points (Nos.)	3	1	4	2	1	1
Ground water supply						
Hand pumps (Nos.)	2	2	2	2	0	0
Water harvesting structures (Nos.)	1.5	1.1	2.3	2.2	0.8	1.1
Irrigation						
Irrigation channel (Nos.)	1	0.5	1.8	0.9	0.8	0.4
Gross irrigated land (Ha.)	50	3	29	23	-21	-20
Net irrigated land (Ha.)	34	-1	41	36	7	19
Irrigation intensity (%)	2.94	13.14	-111.45	-58.33	-114.39	-71.47

A mere perusal of the table 1 makes it clear that the number of water harvesting structures were more in project area with WUA than project area without WUA and non-project area. Similar is the case with the length of irrigation channel. However, significant differentials were noticed across project area with WUA and without WUA as well as non-project area (mentioned in table 2). The number of water harvesting

structures as well as length of irrigation channel was significantly higher in project area than non-project area. In the project area with WUA, the average number of water harvesting structures per village was 3.5 and 2.9 respectively in forested and agricultural watersheds, whereas, it was 2 and 1.8 respectively in project area without WUA. In non-project area, the average number of water harvesting structures was 1.2 and 0.7 respectively in forested and agricultural watersheds. The quality of water harvesting structures were also reportedly better in project area with WUA than non-project area, due to participatory repairs and renovation activities as well as maintenance initiated by the project. Similarly, the average length of irrigation channel in the project area with WUA was 2.8 km and 1.7 km per village respectively in forested and agricultural watershed, whereas, it was 1.8 km and 1.0 km respectively in project area without WUA. In the non-project area, the average length of irrigation channel was comparatively low and it was just 1.0 km and 0.8 km per village respectively in forested and agricultural watersheds. As a result of increased water potential in the selected sub-watersheds, the area under irrigated cropping increased significantly.

Since changes in irrigated area depend on numerous factors, many of which could not be measured in the current study, the findings here must be treated cautiously. The data presented in table 1 reveals that the changes in gross and net irrigated area in project area with WUA and without WUA, and non-project area. The irrigation intensity in forested and agricultural sub-watersheds in project area with WUA was 144.11% and 186.11% respectively. In project area without WUA, it was 141.17% and 172.97%, whereas in non-project area, it was 255.66% and 244.44% respectively in forested and agricultural sub-watersheds. The data shows the marked differences in irrigation intensity across the sample area. The difference in irrigation intensity was 2.94% and 13.14% respectively in forested and agricultural sub-watersheds of project area with WUA and without WUA (mentioned in table 2).

### **(c). Change in crop intensity and crop productivity**

As a result of improved soil moisture regime, increased irrigation resources and high use of fertilizer (including cow-dung), the cropping intensity has improved in the project area compared to non-project area, which clearly reveals significant variations across the selected sub-watersheds (mentioned in table 3). There were considerable differences in



cropping intensity in project area with WUA and non-project area, which can be attributed to the project interventions in the field of agriculture through rainfed crop demonstration, propagation of the use of modern inputs through extension agents of the project. The difference in cropping intensity was reportedly negative across the project area with WUA and without WUA as well as non-project area. For instance, it was minus 58.26% and minus 46.27% respectively between project area with WUA and non-project area (mentioned in table 4).

It is very difficult to isolate the impact of various inputs used on crop yields. Due to creation of forest closures, an increase in the vegetation has taken place. The over all soil-moisture regimes have also improved after project intervention. The project has repaired the traditional irrigation water distribution channels (khuls), consequently the irrigation water availability and flow has improved. Keeping the influence of these factors aside, the data presented in table 4 shows differential levels of yields of various crops such as maize, paddy, pulses and wheat across the selected sub-watersheds, largely due to increased use of non-seed inputs. Average crop yield per hectare has been comparatively more in project area with WUA than project area without WUA, and further the yield per hectare has been comparatively higher in project area without WUA than non-project area. The productivity of selected crops is comparatively higher in agricultural sub-watersheds than forested sub-watersheds. However, a significant variation in crop yield is reported across the project and non-project area.

**Table 3: Crop intensity and crop yields**

Item	Project area with WUA		Project area without WUA		Non-project area	
	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS
Gross cropped area (Ha.)	163	74	73	107	113	68
Net sown area (Ha.)	158	68	57	93	70	42
Crop intensity (%)	103.16	115.63	128.07	146.58	161.42	161.9
Non-seed inputs and crop yields						
Maize (Q/Ha)	96	9.9	8.2	8.5	7.5	7.6
Paddy (Q/Ha)	5.2	6.2	4.5	8.5	4.4	4.5
Pulses (Q/Ha)	2.64	2.8	2.3	2.4	2	0.3
Wheat (Q/Ha)	8.96	9.9	8.2	8.4	7.6	7.8

	Project area with WUA		Project area without WUA		Non-project area	
Item	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS
Seed inputs and crop yields						
Maize						
Local (Q/Ha)	13.13	14.2	12.6	13.7	10.3	11.2
Hybrid (Q/Ha)	15.6	15.8	14.9	14.1	11.7	11.9
Difference (Q/Ha)	2.3	1.6	2.3	0.4	1.4	0.7
Paddy						
Local (Q/Ha)	10.8	11.2	9.4	10.3	9	9.2
Hybrid (Q/Ha)	12.3	13.1	11.4	11.7	10.1	10.7
Difference (Q/Ha)	1.5	1.9	2	1.4	1.1	1.5
Wheat						
Local (Q/Ha)	18.4	19.7	16.9	17.4	16.1	16.7
Hybrid (Q/Ha)	21.3	21.8	20.4	21.1	17.3	17.9
Difference (Q/Ha)	2.9	2.1	3.5	3.7	1.2	1.2

Note: Crop intensity = Gross cropped area / Net area sown x 100

**Table 4: Difference in crop intensity and crop yields**

	Project area with WUA -		Project area with WUA -		Project area without WUA	
	Project area without WUA		Non-project area		Non-project area	
Item	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS	Forested WS	Agrl. WS
Gross cropped area (Ha.)	90	-33	50	6	-40	39
Net sown area Ha.)	101	-25	88	26	-20	51
Crop intensity (%)	-24.91	-30.95	-58.26	-46.27	-33.35	-15.32
Non-seed inputs and crop yields						
Maize (Q/Ha.)	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.2	0.7	0.8
Paddy (Q/Ha.)	0.7	1.6	0.8	1.7	0.1	0.1
Pulses (Q/Ha.)	0.34	0.4	0.64	0.5	0.3	0.1
Wheat (Q/Ha.)	0.76	1.5	1.36	2.1	0.6	0.6
Seed inputs and Crop yields						
Maize						
Local (Q/Ha.)	0.7	0.5	3	3	2.3	2.5
Hybrid (Q/Ha.)	0.7	1.7	3.9	3.9	3.2	2.2
Difference (Q/Ha.)	0	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.9	-0.3
Paddy						
Local (Q/Ha.)	1.4	0.9	1.8	2	0.4	1.1

Hybrid (Q/Ha.)	0.9	1.4	2.2	2.4	1.3	1
Difference (Q/Ha.)	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.9	-0.1
Wheat						
Local (Q/Ha.)	1.5	2.3	2.3	3	0.8	0.7
Hybrid (Q/Ha.)	0.9	0.7	4	3.9	3.1	3.2
Difference (Q/Ha.)	-0.6	1.6	1.7	0.9	2.3	2.5

The yield difference in the project area with WUA and without WUA was low compared with project area with WUA and non-project area in forested as well as agricultural sub-watersheds. The yield difference between project area with WUA and non-project area was 2.1 quintals, 0.8 quintal, 0.64 quintal and 1.36 quintal per hectare respectively for maize, paddy, pulses, and wheat in forested watershed. Whereas, in agricultural watershed, yield differences between project area with WUA and non-project area was markedly high and stood at 2.2 quintals, 1.7 quintals, 0.5 quintal, and 2.1 quintals respectively for maize, paddy, pulses, and wheat. However, such differentials were not so marked in project area without WUA and non-project area. The yield differences were 0.8 quintal, 0.1 quintal, 0.1 quintal and 0.6 quintal respectively for maize, paddy, pulses and wheat in agricultural watershed, and more or less the same is true for forested watershed (as mentioned in table 4).

The data presented in table 4 further substantiate the yield differentials across the selected sub-watersheds. As can be noticed elsewhere too, there are significant differences in yield of local and hybrid varieties of crops in forested as well as agricultural sub-watersheds. For instance, yield difference in local and hybrid maize is 2.3 quintal per hectare in forested sub-watershed in project area with WUA and without WUA. Thus, one can infer that new institutional arrangements have no impact on the yield of local and hybrid variety. The yield difference is 1.2 quintal per hectare in agricultural sub-watershed in project area with WUA and without WUA. A significant differential in yield is noticed between project area with WUA and non-project area, as well as project area without WUA and non-project area. More or less the same applied to other crops with minor differences across the forested and agricultural sub-watersheds. On the whole, the average crop yield per hectare has significantly improved after the project area.

Besides above, the repairs and maintenance works have generated much needed wage employment for the poor labourers and small and marginal farmers. The undertaking of the construction works by the members of

WUAs along with *panchayats* has resulted into cost-effectiveness to the tune of about 10-15%. PIM have also empowered the farming communities in self-organization and equipped them with the supervision and management skills. The farmers' participation in various stages of the reform process has created a sense of ownership of the assets created. They have played a greater role in the choice of prioritizing and executing the work themselves through the own organizations. Above all, the institutional changes facilitated the closer interaction of the project functionaries and local stakeholders and unified the diverse groups around the water.

## **VI. Users Responses to Increased Water Pricing**

With increase in water pricing, 22% of the user demands less water and leaves land fallow, 18% applies less water to the crop accepting some yield loss, 36% switches to less water demanding crops and 43% invests in more efficient irrigation techniques. If water charges will rise further, water intensive crops are no longer optimal and farmers switch to other crops and invest in more efficient water application techniques. Educated farmers perceive that water use efficiency in agriculture is low and that water savings through improvements in efficiency can be significant. In case of 36% of farmers, the irrigation efficiency is low, implying high irrigation water wastage.

In order to increase water use efficiencies, farmers preferred to switch to more water efficient mode of operation of their irrigation technology. With water rationing, irrigation water use has been reduced significantly without reducing agricultural income. Therefore, with restricted water supply by nearly one-fourth, farmers profit will not be affected significantly. Besides, increased water extraction costs and crop prices have no significant impact on the efficiency of water use. Due to the inelastic demand for irrigation water, reliance on price mechanisms to conserve water had limited impact.

However, if there is high increase in water cost, capital investments in more efficient irrigation technology cause significant profit loss to farmers. Due to increased pumping costs, an increase in water price will result in relatively modest reductions in per hectare water use.

Water pricing has been found less effective where water is relatively abundant and the price is relatively low. Water quantity reduction policies were found to be more effective than water price policies. In flood

irrigation schemes where water application techniques have been relatively inefficient, the response to increasing water charges was much higher than in the modern systems with drip systems. Therefore, the irrigation techniques have a major effect on its response to water pricing. The higher the technical proficiency, the less responsive the farmer is to the water pricing. The adoption of irrigation technologies does not depend significantly on water price level, but on structural factors, agronomic conditions and financial constraints. The use of technology may be driven by water price at some locations, land quality and crop type. With high water costs, the use of drip irrigation technologies has increased significantly. The land quality and environmental considerations have also an important role in technology choice. Higher water costs have encouraged farmers to reduce irrigation water demand and also lead to higher efficiency. Water price should be based on consumptive use instead of water deliveries. Water use efficiency is low in agriculture. The return flows from 'inefficient' users were being reused by downstream farmers by recapturing drainage flows or pumping excess seepage. Pricing induces upstream farmers to use water more efficiently and, thus, create less return flows.

## **VII. Reasons for Low Cost Recovery**

The water fee collection rates are low due to no linkage between fees collected and funds allocated to an irrigation project, lack of farmer participation in project planning and management, poor communication and lack of transparency between farmers and irrigation management, and poor water delivery service. Area based water charges are very low and fee collections were managed jointly by the government and the WUAs. Water charges covers nearly one-fifth of the O&M and the cost-recovery rates have been between one-fourth and one-third. The responsibility for fee collection has been shifted to WUAs. The transfer was too quick, with too little time and effort invested in clarifying water users' rights and responsibilities. There has been no link between fees and funds allocated for O&M. There were penalties for default payments, but neither user participation nor incentives for service providers to collect fees.

Water prices are too low and services are not related to water charges. No water meters are used, and the volume of water used is calculated from an assumed discharge rate. There are no incentives for service providers to collect fees. User penalties are not effectively enforced for non-payment.

Revenue from water charges is pooled with other taxes and goes to local treasury. There is no clear link between fee payment and service provided. Communication between farmers and irrigation officials is poor. There is no clear responsibility for O&M. O&M fees are area-crop-based. Capital cost recovery is very low.

Water user participation has been encouraged by establishing WUAs. The irrigation system management has been handed over to farmers to improve performance. It has helped increase high cost recovery and significant improvement in productivity. The cost-recovery system is indirect by transferring management to user organizations that have full responsibility for O&M below the head of the distributional canals. Besides, improved irrigation service and more transparent decision-making have helped increase cost recovery using new participatory institutions. New institutional arrangements include system of user charges for irrigation water and determination of cost. Users will pay water charges if irrigation delivery service and O&M has been improved. Incentives are also needed to encourage better service delivery and raise farmers' willingness to pay.

### **VIII. Improving Cost Recovery and Reducing Water Use**

Water pricing must covers the appropriate costs. Effective water management help achieve high collection rates. Appropriate costs must be determined through users' consultation and irrigation agencies. Appropriate fee is influenced by the type of irrigation system and ability to measure and monitor water use. When volume of water delivered cannot be measured, water charges are usually based on area irrigated. Sometimes area-based charges are adjusted for crops grown and season of the year. Even if the appropriate water charge is determined, achieving high collection rates is more difficult. Therefore, financial autonomy should be given for collecting funds. Besides, revenues from water charges must be used for improved O&M services. Shifting irrigation project management to a financially autonomous organization like a local WUA will create a financial incentive for improving irrigation services. Better services will give farmers an incentive to pay their fees as well as an increased ability to pay with higher farm incomes. Financial autonomy to WUA will improve irrigation water management and return revenue to the project. WUA will no longer receive subsidies and have to collect water fees from users to recover their O&M costs. It will create incentives to achieve high fee collection rates. There is need to enforce penalties against payment defaulters.

Water pricing can be either volumetric or area-technology based. The price increase will be even more effective if combined with other policy interventions such as taking back subsidies that encourage lavish water use or use of appropriate water-saving technology. When water users are not responsive to water price changes, a quota can be effective in reducing water consumption by creating a high shadow price. The implementation costs of quota systems can be high because the quantity of water that goes to each farm must be controlled. Another way of reducing water use per hectare is to provide assurance that water will be delivered on time and in the amount demanded. If this is done, farmers will not have an incentive to store water on their field by over irrigating. Farmers have an adequate and timely water supply, resulting in reduced water use per hectare. Public education campaigns should be used to make farmers aware of water scarcity and convince them to use water as an economic good, especially in places where people traditionally view water as a free good and a basic right. Public education programmes combined with price increases have been effective. Incentives through financial autonomy in fee collection can be used to induce service providers to reduce conveyance loss. The service providers will try to reduce water losses so that they have more water to sell. When water cannot be metered effectively, crop-based water fees can be taken to help reduce overuse of irrigation water.

## **IX. Lessons Learnt**

The institutional reforms in irrigation water management initiated under IWDP (Hills-II) were both bold and innovative. WUAs have taken up the maintenance activity with the financial support provided by the project. Due to physical improvements in the irrigation system, water availability has improved. It addresses key issues pertaining to irrigation management: institutional structure, incentives, accountability, transparency, and sustainability. Institutional changes are still in progress. In future, linkages need to be established which will make WUAs independent of project support. There is need to redefine the role of irrigation agency, which calls for suitable institutional restructuring. Ultimately, WUAs will need to be financially self-sustainable. Sustainability of WUAs essentially depends on their capacity to operate and manage the system on their own. Financial sustainability has an important role in sustainability of WUAs. In past, in

other parts of the country where WUAs were formed, many became defunct due to financial bankruptcy. WUA will have to be financially self-sufficient to perform their duties on sustainable basis and to make the reform process a success.

A transparent consultation process allowing farmers to participate in decision-making improves their willingness to pay water charges is an important stepping stone toward increasing their authority. In order to ensure high cost-recovery, farmers should ensure that the fees collected are used for O&M of the irrigation water system for which financially autonomous WUA should collect and keep most of the fees for use in “their” system. Government should provide farmers and WUAs with training and technical assistance for widening farmers’ responsibilities and authority over water management. There is need to reduce and prevent corruption in water distribution by establishing an active WUA to improve service quality by developing checks and control mechanisms to prevent the same bad habits as the former irrigation officials.

The irrigation water supply agency (WSA) needs to be made financially autonomous for cost recovery and pricing using incentives (providing high-quality and timely water service) and penalties (stopping water delivery to defaulters, charging a higher rate for late payment, making farmers pay water charges before receiving any water) to encourage farmers to pay their water charges. WSA also have a financial stake in providing their personnel with a positive incentive to deliver water on time, and in the right amount, as well as a penalty if they do not. WSA needs to consult directly with farmers during developing the water delivery schedule for the next irrigation season to increase its effectiveness. The schedule should be widely publicized along with water charges to be realized from farmers. WSA will also have a strong incentive to invest in improved infrastructure to improve their control over water use to provide better services.

Water charges have to be equitable, administratively simple, and easily understood by users and collecting agency. There is need to involve all relevant stakeholders in identifying the full range of services and benefits produced and allocating costs among all beneficiaries. Information on the



costs of services and benefits from the project and how costs are allocated among beneficiaries should be provided to all users. Besides, users' ability and willingness to pay should also be assessed. Water pricing and other mechanisms should be used to reduce water use per hectare. When water metering is not possible, area-crop and area-technology based water charges should be designed to strengthen farmers' incentive to shift to crops that need less water, or to shift to water-saving technologies, or both. Water markets should be encouraged as a means of improving water allocation and conservation. Water markets helps moving water to higher valued uses and this makes both buyers and sellers better off. Public awareness, education, and training programmes should be used in water-scarce areas to make farmers fully aware of the economic value of water. Users need to understand the importance of conserving water. Farmers will also need training and technical assistance to switch to better irrigation cropping practices and technologies.

Another weak link has been the issue of accountability. Mechanisms to ensure accountability must continue to be evolved. The roles and responsibilities of all the agencies concerned must be further defined. There is need to transfer all the operation and maintenance function to the WUAs in near future. Likewise, transparency is critical if the organizations are to progress further. To a large extent, transactions are captured in the accounting system. There is need to put in place simple and standardized procedures for accounting and finance. There is need to ensure replicability of the successes achieved. In the tasks of O&M of the PIM, emphasis should be paid on getting rid of the middlemen and contractors. Users' participation should be ensured for identifying, and executing the essential works for repair and maintenance. The role of the project functionaries or line department needs to be curtailed. At the same time, there is needed to form federations of WUAs, for which continued support and training are required. The sustainability of the farmers' organization also calls for involvement of non-government organizations (NGOs) and training institutes in upgrading the skill and capacity building. There is urgent need to forge suitable linkages with reputed local NGOs, training institutes and line departments to equip the farmers' organization in various aspects of PIM. No doubt, adequate groundwork and the required

environment are created, there is need to give a closer look to the weaknesses and remedy them. More importantly, a regular monitoring mechanism has to be put in operation to initiate corrective measures as and when needed.

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## **Literary Reading of Legal Judgments**

**Chanchal Narang**

Associate Professor of English  
University Institute of Legal Studies  
Panjab University, Chandigarh

**Nidhi Sharma**

3<sup>rd</sup> Semester, B.A.-LLB (Hons.) English (Majors)  
University Institute of Legal Studies  
Panjab University, Chandigarh

### **Abstract**

*The domain of law rests on the legacy of rich judgments, which the eminent jurists have left as their footprints in the bygone times. Not all the judgments attract careful scrutiny of legal practitioners and students of law. Only those judgments stand apart which either display the progressive mind, or balanced vision of the erudite writer or which contribute to the discipline of law through the magic created by virtue of the writer's style and command of language. The present paper is the outcome of the emotional cord, which the juridical writer could strike with the reader through his/her writing, the intention of which was reaching out to the sensibility of people at large. As an English teacher teaching students of law for the past one and a half decade, I have realized that if the students of law are unable to feel the importance of every nuance of language, then they can neither appreciate, nor study language properly which is the most important tool in their hands. This paper is the result of the input of an English teacher and the response of a law student, who not only understood and internalized but also responded to the role of literary language in the discipline of law.*

### **Keywords**

Law and Literature, Literary Judgment, Action Research.

### **Literary Reading of Legal Judgments**

Judgment writing is the most crucial part of justice delivery system. On one hand, it marks the culmination of a particular legal case and on the other hand, it paves the way for the future judgments by serving as a legal precedent. The future cases are expected to refer to the past ones for

guidance and direction. However, in the process of judgment writing, the judicial officer is perpetually struck in a dilemma as to whether s/he should express himself in a language which is clear and free from ambiguity and obscurity or choose the literary language which has the potential to transcend the present case and contribute to the discipline of Law by its suggestiveness and felicity of expression. This dilemma can be resolved only by taking a careful course wherein the felicity of expression has not been achieved at the cost of clarity and simplicity of language as clarity in judgments is an important facet of dispensation of justice. In this regard, Former Chief Justice of India, Justice S.K. Das wrote,

*"It has been recognized that judicial pronouncements must be judicial in nature and should not normally depart sobriety, moderation and reserve."*<sup>1</sup>

In this backdrop, through the present paper, an effort has been made to establish how in the hands of a skillful and learned judicial practitioner, the legal judgment could remain permanently etched in the chronicles of time. Lord Denning, a famous English jurist has categorically remarked in the Family Story;

*"Judges do not speak, as do actors, to please. They do not speak, as do advocates, to persuade. They do not speak, as do historians, to recount the past. They speak to give judgment. And in their judgments you will find passages which are worthy to rank with the greatest literature which England holds. John Buchan at one time desired to make an anthology of them." "It would..." he said, "... put most professional stylists to shame."*<sup>2</sup>

The society often conceives judges and the entire judicial fraternity as monotonous people sitting on top of a pedestal, who are cold and don't have emotions.<sup>3</sup> So to create that sense of compassion and to bring it closer to humanity, literature finds its way into the courtrooms. Perhaps judges often resort to allusions while writing judgments. Quoting Lord Denning from the Family Story again,

*"When great issues have been at stake, the judgments marked by eloquence, wisdom and authority have laid the foundations of freedom in our land."*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 1964 A.I.R. 703

<sup>2</sup> Denning, Alfred Thompson Denning, Baron, *The Family Story*, Butterworths, Boston, London, 1981 ,p.216

<sup>3</sup> <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/urdu-shayari-and-bob-dylan-in-courtrooms-when-judges-turn-philosophical-5075420/> , visited on 26/10/18 at 8 p.m.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid 44.

In this regard, Lord Denning has made a beautiful comparison in the roles of a man and a woman in his book ‘Due Process of Law’<sup>5</sup>,

*“A woman feels as keenly, thinks as clearly, as a man. She in her sphere does work as useful as a man does in his. She has as much right to her freedom- to develop her personality to the full – as man. When she marries, she does not become the husband’s servant but his equal partner. If his work is more important in the work of the community, hers is more important in life of the family. Neither can do without the other. Neither is above the other or under the other. They are equal.”*

How does one encapsulate the individual and collective wisdom of men as worthy as Judges of various courts? In dispensing justice, they state the mundane and the profound, and thus this compilation is an effort to collect those pearls and weave them in a thread to make a beautiful necklace. These gems of sublime thought and felicitous expression embody the aspirations and values of our developing law and deserve to be treasured.<sup>6</sup> For the scope of this paper, ten judgments have been shortlisted which display an amalgamation of literature and law.

### 1. **Maru Ram v Union of India**<sup>7</sup>

Literary flavor can be tasted in the judgment of Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer; when he started the judgment with the following words,

“ A procession of ‘life convicts’ well over two thousand strong, with more joining the march even as the arguments were on, has vicariously mobbed this court, through the learned counsel, carrying constitutional missiles in hand and demanding liberty beyond the bars. “ Their despair is best expressed in the bitter lines of Oscar Wilde,

*“I know not whether laws be right  
Or whether laws be wrong,  
All that we know who lie in gaol,  
Is that the wall is strong;  
And each day is like a year,  
A year whose days are long.”*

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, himself a detainee once in the Cannanore Central Jail in 1948, was well acquainted with the horrible prison

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<sup>5</sup> Denning, Alfred Thompson Denning, Baron, *Due Process Of Law*, OUP Oxford, U.S.A., 1<sup>st</sup> edn, 1980

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.ebc.co.in/comman.php?vid=27>, visited on 26/10/2018 at 10 p.m.

<sup>7</sup> 1980 A.I.R. 2147



conditions and those 30 days of insufferable incarceration had burnt him with acid fury. Subsequently as a minister, he did his best to amend the outrageous prison conditions. And therefore, he's called the '*Father of Prison Jurisprudence in India*'. In the present case, lines lent from Oscar Wilde's '*The Ballad of Reading Gaol : (1854-1900)*' aided him in his expression of the misery and suffering of prison life.

## 2. Kerala High Court<sup>8</sup>

The High Court of Kerala quoted an appropriate reference to Rajnikantha-starrer 'Mannan' as an ode to motherhood. In the present case, the woman and her husband had been divorced and the child's custody was granted to the mother by an earlier decision. The father of the child being employed in Saudi Arabia, the paternal grandparents used to visit him now and then as was agreed. However, the paternal grandparents during their usual visit on 27.1.2018 took away the child never to hand back. Subsequently, The mother filed a habeas corpus petition. The Kerala High Court ruling in favor of the mother held that the mother being the natural guardian of a minor, she is entitled to the custody of her five and half year old son. Justice Chitambaresh, on behalf of a division bench comprising justice Satish Ninan began the judgment with the lyrics of the song from the Tamil Movie 'Mannan'<sup>9</sup>:

*"Amma endrazhaikatha uyir illaye,  
Ammavai vanangatha uyir illaye."  
(There is no life form which does not call for its mother,  
There is no life form which does not respect its mother.)*

Towards the end of the judgment, he further elaborated by referring to a quote by Cardinal Mermillod:

*"A mother is she who can take the place of all others,  
but whose place no one else can take"*

The surfacing of tinge of literature, invariably lends humaneness to judgments and also throws light on the fact that judges are not automatons laying down the law mechanically, but that they too are human beings having emotions.

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<sup>8</sup> Wp (Crl).No.42 of 2018 & wp(c).No.4068 of 2018.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.livelaw.in/justice-chitambaresh-quotes-song-rajnikants-movie-mannan-allowing-habeas-corpus-plea-mother/> , visited on 27/10/2018 at 6 p.m.

### 3. Gopol Dass Thr. Brother Anand Vir vs. Union of India & Anr.<sup>10</sup>

This is that one instance when Literature almost saved a life!

Justice Markandey Katju who has been known as the ‘Liberal Lion of The Bench’ was known for quoting Mirza Ghalib couplets, snippets of Urdu and Persian Poetry apart from Sanskrit aphorisms and Hindi Kahavat (popular sayings) in many of his judgments. He is that one judge who compiled a lot of native wisdom in his approach to justice.<sup>11</sup>

The facts of the case were that Gopol Dass was an Indian government employ who was arrested in July 1984 by the Pakistan Border Security Force when he crossed the Indo-Pak border and ventured into Pakistan. He was accused of being a spy and tried under the Pakistan Official Secrets Act, by a Pakistan Field General Court Martial and awarded life sentence in 1986. When the writ petition filed by his brother Anand vir came up before Justice Katju’s bench, Gopol Das had spent 27 years in Pakistani Jails.

Realizing that Indian Supreme Court could not give any directions to Pakistan authorities because they had no jurisdiction over them, The Supreme Court bench appealed to the government through their judgment. Justice Katju began the judgment with a sher (couplet) from the well known poem, ‘Gulon mein rang bhare baad-e- naubahaar chale’ by the revered Urdu poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz :

*“ Qafas Udas Hai Yaaron,  
Saba se kuch to kaho,  
Kaheen toh beher ae khuda,  
Aj Zikr-e-yaar chale. “  
(The cage is sad , O friends,  
say something to the breeze,  
For God’s sake,  
somewhere there should be a discussion about the beloved today.”*

In order to throw light on the aspect of mercy he also quoted Portia’s famous speech on mercy in Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice:

*“The quality of mercy is not strain’d;  
It droppeth as gentle rain from heaven,  
Upon the place beneath.  
It is twice blest: It blesseth him that gives  
And him that takes.  
It is an attribute to God himself;*

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<sup>10</sup> Writ pet. (Crim) No. 16 of 2008)

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.legallyindia.com/supreme-court/the-circus-has-left-town-any-given-katju-day-court-witnessed-20110926-2355>, visited on 26/10/18 at 10 p.m.

*And earthly power doth then show likest God's,  
When mercy seasons justice.* <sup>12</sup>

These allusions to literature had such a powerful impact on the Pakistani authorities that they declared that they would honor the appeal made by the Indian Supreme Court. Unprecedented as it was, never before in world Judicial history was such an appeal made by any court, and never was it so honored.<sup>13</sup> Such is the power of literature.

#### **4. Mehboob Batcha &Ors. vs State Rep. by Supdt. of Police.**<sup>14</sup>

In this case, The police officials wrongfully confined one Nandagopal in police custody in Police Station Annamalai Nagar on suspicion of theft from 30.5.1992 till 2.6.1992, beat him to death with lathis, and also gang raped his wife Padmini in a barbaric manner. Even the witnesses and several other persons were confined and beaten with lathis.

The Supreme Court in this landmark case of custodial violence, decided by Justice Katju and Justice Gyan Sudha Misra held that Policemen must learn how to behave as public servants in a democratic country, and not as oppressors of the people. Justice Katju began the judgment by quoting a sher (couplet) by Urdu poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz,

*“Bane Hain ahal-e-hawas,  
Muddai bhi munsif bhi,  
Kise vakeel karein  
Kisse munsifi chahein?”  
(when selfish people are both petitioners and judges,  
Whom should I make my lawyer?  
From whom should I seek justice?)*

If the ones who are meant to protect are the ones who do harm, where will the society head towards! This sher by the Urdu poet helped Justice Katju appropriately describe the dilemma of the court in deciding such serious matters.

#### **5. Aruna Ramchandra Shanbaug V Union of India**<sup>15</sup>

The petitioner Aruna Ramachandra Shanbaug was a staff Nurse working in King Edward Memorial Hospital, Parel, Mumbai. On the evening of 27th

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<sup>12</sup> Shakespeare William, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Scene I

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/power-urdu-poetry-my-sc-judgments-markandey-katju>, visited on 27/10/18, at 8p.m.

<sup>14</sup> *Criminal appeal no. 1511 of 200*

<sup>15</sup> AIR 2011 SC 1290.

November, 1973 she was attacked by a sweeper in the hospital who wrapped a dog chain around her neck and yanked her back with it. He tried to rape her but finding that she was menstruating, he sodomized her. To immobilize her during this act he twisted the chain around her neck. The next day, a cleaner found her in an unconscious condition lying on the floor with blood all over. Due to strangulation by the dog chain, the supply of oxygen to the brain had stopped and the brain got damaged. Since 36 years, she had been surviving on mashed food and could not move her hands or legs. It was argued that there was no possibility of any improvement in the condition and that she was entirely dependent on KEM Hospital, Mumbai. Prayer of the petitioner was to direct the Respondents to stop feeding Aruna and let her die in peace. Justice Markandey Katju, while starting this historic judgment on euthanasia (mercy killing) quoted a verse from Ghalib:

*"Marte hain aarzoo mein marne ki  
Maut aati hai par nahin aati.."  
(One dies longing for death  
But death, despite being around, is elusive).*

The opening lines, beautifully wrapped up in literary flavor, went on like :

*"This court in this case, is facing the same issue, and we feel like a ship in an unchartered sea, seeking some guidance by the light thrown by legislations and judicial pronouncements of foreign countries and submissions of counsels before us.."*

What a distinct way to substantiate on such a grave issue as mercy killing! Eventually, Aruna Shanbaug was denied euthanasia as the court opined that the matter was not fit for the same. If at any time in the future, the staff of KEM hospital or the management felt a need for the same, they could approach the High Court under the procedure prescribed.

## **6. Deepak Bajaj v State of Maharashtra<sup>16</sup>**

In this case, there was a preventive detention order against the petitioner who challenged it at the pre execution stage. The government counsel contended that unless the petitioner surrenders and is in jail, he cannot challenge a preventive detention order. Justice Katju disagreed with the order and stated,

*"If a person can show that a detention order is clearly illegal, why should he be compelled to go to jail? If he is sent to jail but later released, his reputation in society may nevertheless be irreparably tarnished. A person's reputation is a valuable asset for*

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<sup>16</sup> (2008) 16 SCC 14

*him and is a part and parcel of the right to life guaranteed by Article 21 of the Constitution.”*

Justice Katju, quoted the 34<sup>th</sup> Sloka from the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter of Srimad Bhagavad Gita in which Lord Krishna said,

*“For a self-respecting man,  
Death is preferable to dishonor.”*

Hon’ble Mr Justice couldn’t have substantiated on the point of reputation in a better way than by alluding to the wisdom of the Bhagavad Gita.

### **7. In the Court of Additional Sessions Judge, New Delhi.<sup>17</sup>**

Expressing concern over misuse of penal provisions for dowry harassment, a Delhi court told women that it is better to get out of a sour marriage instead of becoming vengeful. The court's concern was expressed during a ruling by Additional Sessions Judge Kamini Lau, upholding the acquittal of a man and his three family members of the charges of harassing his wife. He cited a Supreme Court verdict that termed it as "legal terrorism".<sup>18</sup> The court also noted that women victims having matrimonial discord generally roped in the whole family as accused just to settle personal scores even though there is no evidence against them. He counseled the woman to get out of sour and discordant marital relations rather than being vengeful, by quoting Sahir Ludhianvi,

*“Taaruf rog ho jaye to usko bhoolna behtar,  
Taalluk bojh ban jaaye toh usko todna achcha;  
Who afsana jise anjaam tak laana na ho mumkin;  
Use ek khoobsoorat mod dekar chhodna achcha. “  
(It is better to forget one’s particular identity if it becomes diseased  
and to break one’s relation if it becomes a burden.  
The story which cannot be concluded properly,  
should be abandoned at an honorable stage.)*

“Not all relationships are successful. In fact, most relationships which appear to succeed are only based upon compromises. Let go the past which is painful since attaching yourself to it will only give pain and miseries and help none,”

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<sup>17</sup> Criminal Appeal No. 4/2011

<sup>18</sup> <http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/court-raises-concern-over-false-dowry-cases/857523/>, visited on 25/10/2018 at 6 p.m.

A beautiful message on letting go, it shows that even the judges are not immune from the magic of literature.

### 8. Court room exchange in the Court of Justice T.S. Thakur

Lawyers and managing partner of a law firm, Amicus Juris, Saif Mahmood spoke to indianexpress.com and gave an instance of an exchange in the courtroom of Justice T.S. Thakur, the then judge of Delhi High Court, and Najim Waziri, then a lawyer. After the conclusion of the matter, Justice Thakur had given the longest date and was rising for lunch. However, Waziri needed a shorter date in the matter. Justice Thakur had almost left the courtroom when Waziri recited a line of Ghalib:

*“Kaun jeeta hai teri zulf ke sar hone tak?”*  
(I’m not going to wait that long for you to respond.)

Thakur Sir was leaving and he came back to his seat and sat down, he said,

*“Pehla misra parhiye zara.”*  
(Read the first line of the couplet please).

And Waziri recited:

*“Aah ko chaahiye Ik Umr Asar Hone Tak.”*  
(It takes a long time for the wishes of a lover  
To be acknowledged by the beloved.)

Justice Thakur was so impressed that he gave Waziri a date in the next week itself.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, by invoking verses from eminent poets and other classical texts, Judges like Justice Markandey Katju and many others have provided an additional thought provoking dimension to their humanistic judicial pronouncements.<sup>20</sup>

### Conclusion

To conclude, it can be stated that by using literary allusions, the legal judgments become immortal and are instrumental in leaving an indelible

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<sup>19</sup> <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/urdu-shayari-and-bob-dylan-in-courtrooms-when-judges-turn-philosophical-5075420/> , visited on 26/10/2018 at 10 p.m.

<sup>20</sup> <http://amankiasha.com/the-turbulence-of-a-transitional-time/> , visited on 26/10/18, at 9 p.m.

imprint on the minds of law students. Also, without having a sermonizing style, they manage to make a way to the mind of the reader and are helpful in understanding the pain which the victim has undergone. It is this literary expression, which portrays the judicial writer as a refined human being who is capable of empathizing with the sufferer, and is able to alleviate his pain by putting a comforting balm of justice on his wounds. But just like there are two sides to every coin, the negative perspective of resorting to a superfluous use of literature also needs deliberation. Judicial writers sometimes fail to understand that judgments are meant for the masses and not for scholars of English literature. If the allusion to literature is superfluous, or overblown, it might seem like its sole objective was self-aggrandizement of the erudite writer. A befitting example of such a judgment is that of *Subramanian Swamy v Union Of India*<sup>21</sup>, which was characterized by catastrophic syntax and overblown vocabulary, riddled with adjectives. In the words of Justice K.T. Thomas, Judges must therefore, exercise greater judicial restraint<sup>22</sup> on resorting to elaborate use of language which may be incomprehensible to the parties and the public at large. Then alone, can they act as the real vehicles of Justice.

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<sup>21</sup> (2016) 7 SCC 221

<sup>22</sup> A.I.R. 1997 SC 1157

# **Decline of the Aesthetic in Literature: The Case of Tehmina Durrani's *Blasphemy***

**Gulam Ali Rahmani**

Research Scholar

Department of English, Central University of Jammu

Rahya Suchani, Bagla, Samba

Jammu

J&K, India

## **Abstract**

*Aesthetic is known to be an integral part of literature. What imagination or reality is to literary creation, aesthetic is to literary pleasure. Unlike literary criticism which implies judgement based on reality and social mores, aesthetic implies perception of beauty based on imagination (Santayana 2012:13). Aesthetic, says Immanuel Kant, implies a "disinterested" contemplation of an object that "pleases for its own sake", without reference to reality or to the "external" ends of utility or morality (Abrams 2006:3). It is, however, generally seen in the present scenario that aesthetic is being overlooked due to incessant extraction of moralistic and realistic aspect off the text and thereby aesthetic essence is being pushed to the margin. This paper seeks to underline that the political, social, cultural, and religious approach of Modern and Post-Modern literary criticism is accountable for the decline of aesthetic in literature. While dealing with aesthetic, it shall take cue from various writers with particular focus on Tehmina Durrani's *Blasphemy* so as to reassert the lost ground of aesthetic in the field of literature. This paper is an attempt to assert that aesthetic aspect of literature should find its due place in literary pieces and it should be allowed to continue to give the much sought after 'aesthetic pleasure' which is one of the functions of literature. The paper considers Pakistani novelist Tehmina Durrani's novel *Blasphemy* and explores the aesthetic aspects of the novel. In order to form the theoretical base, the paper goes on to bring in the ideas of Theophile Gautier, Walter Pater, Charles Baudelaire, Immanuel Kant, Edgar Allan Poe and others.*

## **Key Words**

Literature, Aesthetic pleasure, Disinterested, Literary Criticism, Modern, Post-Modern, contemplation.



## I

### Introduction to the author

Tehmina Durrani hails from Pakistan, who is known to the world due to her indomitable interest in literature. She made her presence felt in the field of literature with her debut novel titled *My Feudal Lord* (1991). Followed by her debut novel, she wrote *A Mirror to the Blind* (1996) and *Blasphemy* (1998) which brought her unshakeable fame in the world of literature. In 2013 she wrote yet another fiction titled *Happy Things in Sorrow Times* which led her to reach the culmination of her achievement. The works of Durrani have been variously interpreted in terms of society, culture, religion, feminism, and so on, but her rootedness in sublimity still remains to be an uncharted territory. While aesthetic elements can profusely be found in her other works, but *Blasphemy* emerges out to be the pinnacle of her aesthetic sublimation.

### Defining Aestheticism

Aesthetic in art and literature has been the preoccupation of writers, philosophers and aesthetes since long back. It made its presence felt in Europe in the hands of Theophile Gautier for the first time in response to strict moral and scientific thinking of the age (Middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century). It (Aesthetic) proclaims that a work of art is self-sufficient and need serve no other purpose than its own ends (Cuddon 1999:11). Edgar Allan Poe, one of the great aesthetes of all time, accords lofty position to aesthetic in literature and claims that a poem is written for its own sake and therefore it ends in itself, "Poem written solely for the poem's sake" (Poe 1875:202). Predilection for the aesthetic and its meaning- enhancing aspect continues to receive a welcome gesture from writers across the world. However, there seem to have developed a growing tendency of negligence in the current times towards aesthetic dimension of literary pieces. Such state of affair is perhaps the outcome of unprecedented outpouring of literary theories by the turn of the twentieth century.

To further elaborate, it can be argued that Aesthetic is the theory of perception or perceptibility which includes in its sphere all pleasure and pains. The slogan of this movement "Art for art sake" professes that art should not have any moral purpose and it should end in itself. Its ultimate aim is the contemplation of beauty and it also seeks to instill this in every physical medium of the world. In short, it claims to be a literary

philosophy and guide for everyday life. Walter Pater in England is the main aesthete who advocates shunning of the religious dogmas in preference to beauty in art. He proposes that life should be lived "as a work of art" (Shaffer 1995:78) and man's primary purpose is to experience pleasure. This pleasure, says Walter Pater, can be experienced through art: "For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass and simply for those moments' sake" (Iser 2011:30). The substance of art lies in the pleasure readers derive from it. This pleasure in literary language is called aesthetic pleasure and can never be attained in absence of beauty; hence aesthetic is inseparable from beauty and the experience of beauty in aesthetics is the most important principle. Thus, one can conclude that beauty is the expression of the ideal. It is not an object of knowledge because its perception can't be separated from its very existence. Therefore, it has no existence apart from perception.

Aestheticism encourages an artistic life style and seeks to make people turn away from morality, dogmatism, social restrictions and so on which in turn provide aesthetic pleasure. Walter Pater too in his essay "Conclusion" to the renaissance volume claims the service of aesthetic philosophy towards human spirit is "to rouse, startle a life of constant and eager observation through artistic creation and way of life" (Comfort 2008:98). While talking about the core concept of aestheticism, Walter Pater says, "Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the very brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening" (Mao 2010:66). He emphasizes on the fact that failing to appreciate and recognize vital moments in one's life leads to a wasted life. Here his use of "short day of frost and sun" refers to the fragile and brief lives of human beings, and "sleep before evening" refers to neglect the precious moments in an already short life.

## II

### **Aesthetic dimensions of the novel-*Blasphemy***

Tehmina Durrani pours out her aesthetic contour in her novel *Blasphemy* through the protagonist Heer who is chained to the so called moral and social structures of the society by the antagonist Pir Sain. Being a dedicated aesthete, Heer defies all the restrictions and follows the footsteps

of Walter Pater reclaiming that life should be lived “as a work of art” (Shaffer 1995:78). Having engrossed in Pater’s philosophy, she takes refuge in the artistic way of life where she writes and reads imaginary letters to her supposed lover Ranjha. In writing letters she assumes the role of Ranjha and writes the reply on behalf of her lover (Ranjha).

*My beloved Heer,*

*The dawn that tipped away the night died and spread away the darkness of your life over the reminder of mine. I fumbled like a blind man to find out more about you. A madness swallowed me and I was submerged in it for days. When I fought my way out I burned like I saw you burn. There was no way to help you. None that allowed me to reach you.*

*How could I approach another man’s wife? How could I step behind a woman’s veil, where a husband is permitted all and I nothing? I could not see you the way he offered. I could not humiliate you again.*

*Your Ranjha  
(Blasphemy 219)*

Taking refuge in imaginary world, she executes the philosophy of aestheticism, since Charles Baudelaire considers imagination to be one of the most important parts of aestheticism which creates the aesthetic essence (Habib 2014:495). This act leads her to the undefiled world of imagination where there is no restriction and hypocrisy. In the realm of imagination devoid of restrictions and hypocrisy she finds herself united with her lover: “A madness swallowed me and I was submerged in it for days” (*Blasphemy* 219). Furthermore, one could see Immanuel Kant’s idea of the pleasure being executed by the protagonist when he (Immanuel Kant) claims that pleasure is derived through the ‘free play’ of imagination (Gulyga 2012:167). In short this artistic way of writing imaginary letters leads her to the metaphysical world where she gets unbridled pleasure. Here the protagonist shuts her eyes to whatever was ugly and unpleasant in order to enjoy life to its utmost through the beauty of artistic creation.

Author’s preoccupation with imagination (imagination is an integral part of aestheticism) strengthens the aesthetic dimension of *Blasphemy* yet again. Tehmina Durrani produced her novel *Blasphemy* through what Immanuel Kant calls ‘free play’ of imagination. The entire novel is narrated through the fictional characters. She never tried to provide any factual evidence, instead she lets her imagination comes out in a spate which consequently led to the creation of *Blasphemy*. In fact, she is not

concerned with the presentation of reality rather she is playing with her imagination only. She does not provide the exact location or milieu where the novel is set. She even goes on to create fictional characters like Pir Sain, Amma Sain, Heer, and Ranjha to assert that she should not be misunderstood as a novelist of social realism. Author's emphasis on imagination time and again implies that she is a hard-core aesthete. Charles Baudelaire's stance regarding aestheticism proves her (Author) to be a faithful aesthete since he (Baudelaire) states: "Imagination is the queen of truth," and that "it plays a powerful role even in morality. . . the strongest weapon in our battle with the ideal is a fine imagination with a vast store of observations at its disposal" (Habib 2014:495). Durrani's transcendence into the world of imagination implies that she doesn't care about the physical world but she does care about the metaphysical world. This way of defying the norms of the society, religion, and culture, and seeking refuge in the creation of artistic work based on the faculty of imagination is the pinnacle of aesthetic experience; since she agreed with Walter Pater's idea that life should be lived "as a work of art" (Shaffer 1995: 78).

The theme of melancholy is also instrumental in giving rise to aesthetic emotion in the readers. Melancholy plays an important role in shaping the aesthetic response of the readers towards a piece of literary work. Emily Brady in "Melancholy as an Aesthetic Emotion" claims "Melancholy invites aesthetic considerations to come into play not only in well-defined aesthetic contexts but also in everyday situations that give reason for melancholy to arise" (Brady 2003:2). Although, the novel comprises plenty of melancholic instances but the very first instance with which it begins and which sets the tone and theme of melancholy of the entire novel is of utmost importance, "'Your great father is dead. We have been abandon, orphaned,' and the door flew open" (*Blasphemy* 12)., and this melancholic tone and the theme of the novel continues to dominate the entire novel till the very end. Melancholy is inseparably related to aesthetic emotion and it gives rise to aesthetic pleasure in the readers. On the other hand, melancholy is often equated with mental illness, sadness and depression. The clinical tradition of melancholy began with Aristotle and continued in the works of Sigmund Freud and Julia Kristeva. Freud identified melancholy with dejection. Although, Freud and others are right in the clinical attribution to the word but they overlooked the difference between the clinical definition of the word melancholy and the broader

emotion based use of the term (Brady 2003:4-5). They simply did not touch upon the reflective nature of melancholy, “Melancholy’s reflective feature lies in the fact that its objects are often indirectly experienced through memories, thoughts or imaginings related to an absent object” (Brady 2003:3). Therefore, Emily Brady remarks: “It is the special character of melancholy, and that which differentiates it from sadness, sorrow, despair, and depression, which distinguishes it as an aesthetic emotion” (Brady 2003:2). This reflective nature of melancholy is executed by the protagonist time and again. In the novel *Blasphemy* the protagonist undergoes many hardships, mental and physical torture again and again and this leaves her in a state of melancholy:

“Ordered to lie flat on my stomach, I obeyed instantly. Two maids held my outstretched arms above my head and another two grasped my ankles. A lighting swing made the *khajji* whip hiss and swish. It was always regulated by his energy, never by how much I could endure. Fabric slashed, the flesh beneath tore, and I swallowed the pain through my pursed lips.” (*Blasphemy* 81-82)

What strikes the readers positive about the protagonist is that she never became hopeless, dejected, and depressed. The protagonist does find herself in the midst of depression and melancholy but this state of melancholy gives her the opportunity of self-reflection and contemplation. Seizing the opportunity she goes back to past and caresses the platonic relation with Ranjha who once loved her. There she finds herself jubilant and becomes one with him. This instance of her longing is much stronger here: “I longed for those three nights when I could have met my Ranjha....” (*Blasphemy* 216) Heer’s contemplation and self-reflection, brought about by depression and melancholy, is so much wide ranging and forceful that it breaks all the shackles and finally takes her to an eternal place of peace called “heaven” (*Blasphemy* 227). So much so, it even gives her the opportunity to get united with Ranjha, as Heer herself claims, “Stunned, I walked back to Ranjha, waiting behind the steering wheel of his car” (*Blasphemy* 229).

### III

#### **Digressional approach to *blasphemy***

A question of paramount importance arises in this context as to why so much emphasis is laid on the aesthetic attribute of art if it is a part of art. The reason of this emphasis is that the aesthetic essence of a literary work

of art is vanishing day by day in the wake of modern literary theory and criticism. The aesthetic inquiry into the literary texts earlier used to be at the centre but now it has been pushed to the periphery. The shift of aesthetic inquiry from the centre to the periphery is due to the digressional approach of literary criticism and theory to art. Earlier the task of literary criticism was to help in understanding and enhancing the aesthetic aspects of literature. Even modern critics like T. S. Eliot much emphasized in his essay "The Function of Criticism" on this role of literary criticism: 'to promote the understanding and enjoyment of literature' (Kapoor 2004:29). Now the job of theory and criticism is far away from enhancing the aesthetic understanding and enjoyment of literature. Instead theories and criticism are used to give political, social, cultural, moral meaning to the works of art.

The novel, *Blasphemy*, under study also suffers from this divertive approach of theory and criticism. Right from the very beginning of its (*Blasphemy*) publication it has been seen through various theoretical perspectives and approaches except Aesthetic. Among those didactic, feministic, and fact finding approaches are dominant.

### **Didactic approach to *blasphemy***

The didactic group of critics like Dr. Shamenaz Bano and Asif Iftikhar claim that the purpose of the novel is to give moral lesson to the readers. Bringing in the issue of morality, they claim that the central issue of the novel is the moral degradation of Muslims societies in the hand of pseudo-Muslims. Bano says: "Durrani is the first woman in the Islamic world who has openly shown the misuse of religion by some Muslim clergy. She has shown that how people twist religious sayings for their benefit" (Bano 2013:1). Asif Iftikhar goes even further to Shamenaz Bano when he claims that '*Blasphemy* seems at prima facie to be an attack on Islam. Far away from attacking Islam, the author extols Islam and exposes the hypocrisy of Pseudo-Muslims. The citation of this moral degradation of Muslim societies is intended to intensify the true Islamic teachings so that the Muslims could be brought on the true Islamic path (Iftikhar 2016).

### **Feministic approach to *blasphemy***

There is yet another stream which follows the feministic approach to judge the vitality of the novel. Ranu Ostwal Gaud and Sandeep Rani are of the view that Tehmina Durrani has depicted the protagonist Heer as a victim

of socio-religious customs and traditions based on the patriarchal norms. Through the characterisation of Heer, Durrani has provided an insight into the life of women subjugated under the conservative, rigid socio-religious rules, mores, and conventions of the society. As Sandeep Rani says 'In *Blasphemy* through the narrative of her protagonist, Heer exposes the devilish character of a holy man Pir Sain who uses religion to subjugate women in the haveli' (Rani 2015:80) Ranu Ostwal Gaud considers the novel as a voice to those women who suffered the miseries but never questioned, therefore she had to say: "It is the story of women's struggle claiming their inherent rights in a society, torn by the compelled religious traits and extremism" (Gaud 2012:3)

### **Factual approach to blasphemy**

Tehmina Durrani's *Blasphemy* is the sole output of imagination wherein the setting, the story and above all the characters are fictional. Through her fictional and imaginary approach, she wants to communicate to readers that the text meant to impart aesthetic pleasure. She also implies that the novel has its end within its own territory, and therefore it does not intend to provide any fact nor does it provide any message either to feminism or to didacticism. Yet, Overpowered by the classical theory of "imitation," Geeta Chhabra claims that Durrani narrates the story of a young girl trapped in the cruellest cage of distorted religious beliefs. She goes even further insisting that the novel is set in south Pakistan (Chhabra 2016). Durrani repeatedly asserts that it is all about imagination and therefore it is meant to lead the reader to the world of metaphysics, but her assertion has been blown away by critics like Chhabra which consequently restricts the novel to physical world only. These series of digressive approaches to the novel really trivialized its value and was forced to be treated as an imitation of reality only, which consequently lead to the marginalization of aesthetic emotions.

### **Conclusion**

Thus, it becomes evident that various critics tried to look at the novel from various angles but the aesthetic aspects remained wanting and ignored. These critics turned a deaf ear to Walter Pater's call to "see the object as in itself it really is" (Habib 2014:496) and embarked on to give other colours to the text instead of aesthetic colour. Dyed in the spirit of classicism, most of the critics concluded that the author is "imitating" nature, and therefore

she must be dealing with social, religious, cultural, and woman's issues. Contrary to what critics understood, the author sought to draw readers' attention again and again towards the aesthetic implications by putting emphasis on imagination, melancholy, fictionalisation and beautiful way of artistic creation in the novel, but her messages were not picked in positive spirit. The critics appeared to be what Charles Baudelaire calls "cold and mathematical criticism which . . . deliberately divest itself of every kind of temperament" (Habib 2014:493). Therefore, the novel-*Blasphemy* (1998), suffered a great injustice at the hands of Modern and Post-Modern critics due to their digressional approach to it. Despite being subjected to digressional approach, the novel is a brilliant creation of Tehmina Durrani which draws the readers' attention to its aesthetic beauty, sense, and perception.

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# Globalization, Glocalization and Socio-Cultural Change

**Rani Mehta**

Associate Professor

Department of Sociology

Panjab University, Chandigarh

## Abstract

*Globalization has been understood as one of the most important phenomenon of the contemporary world. For some, globalization is a historical phenomenon while others attribute it as one of the great narratives well – known from the history which has galvanized the world by promoting liberalization, privatization and market economy. Due to affluence of knowledge, satellite and telecommunication network, fax and video technology, people have started conceiving the world as a global village. However, globalization cannot be separated from localization as a combination of both has been employed to describe a product or service that is developed and distributed globally. Roland Robertson, a British/American Sociologist was the first to have coined the term 'Glocalization' in 1995. He used this term in Japan which has its origin from Japanese word Dochakuka, implying adapting farming techniques to suit one's local conditions. However, the marketing experts were using the term to indicate that the products of Japan should be localized. In other words, they should be suited to local tastes though they are global in application. Robertson emphasized that the underlying causes of global processes can always be found in concrete localities. that is why, glocalization is often interpreted as "Think Globally and Act Locally". Thus, the sociological concepts of globalization in general and glocalization in particular are of immense value in understanding the dynamic social transformation of especially developing nations including India.*

The main objective of this paper is to identify the term globalization and its impact on changing the social structure of the developing countries especially India. Most of the studies on globalization have treated it as an independent variable emphasizing on changes in the social and economic life of people. The need of the hour is to operationalize the concept of globalization and supplement it with the term glocalization, being

suggested by the sociologist (Roland Robertson). The main aim of the paper is focused on this research problem which is being faced by countries having varied structure and the diversities therein to explain the phenomena of globalization in its totality. This is the major and specific research problem which needs a plausible solution, the like of one is glocalization linking globalization with localization. Basically, it is a documentary research based on the review of literature and secondary source material. The thrust of the research question is to unfold the different aspects of globalization facing difficulty in its fullest form as it was envisaged as the leveler of all societies. Notwithstanding the ordeal of globalization, there are some nations who have evolved suitable local elements in the major thrust of globalization such as privatization, marketization and deregulation of rules. This is illustrated by examples drawn from some of the developing nations where localization has been used to explain the full acceptance of concept of globalization. An attempt will be made here to focus on glocalization, a concept which is close to highlighting the concept of globalization.

### **Concepts of Globalization and Glocalization**

Globalization is the latest mantra which is being introduced by the developed nations to integrate the economies of the third world nations and to capture the most important phenomenon of the contemporary world, socio-politically and economically. It is rightly pointed out by Roy(2006) that the term globalization has been largely monopolized by economists and taken on a core of negative meaning in India which includes liberalization, unequal export / import regulation and free trade of commodities under the terms of G-8, which the developed world imposed on the underdeveloped nations. In fact, globalization has the connotation of ex – colonial powers now imposing their goods and services and advanced technology through various channels on the rest of the world. In fact, globalization is a new form of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization imperialism (This term has been used by Roy(2006) to imply economic dominance by the developed nations and there is an interconnection of these for developing nations through exploitation, oppression and alienation) through Multi –National corporate economic powers without the use of military force. It is here that Arundhati Roy (2005) sums up the crux of the issue of Multi-National Corporation powers. According to Forbes Magazine, in 2004 the wealth of the world's 587 billionaires was 1.9 trillion which is more than the

combined GDP of the world's 135 poorest countries. This shows contrasting and skewed distribution of resources and MNCs are the main contributors towards it.

For Arzi (1991) and Claus (1991), Globalization is a historical phenomenon while others attribute it as one of the greatest well – known narratives from history which has galvanized the world by promoting liberalization, privatization and the market economy. As a democratic process, globalization has made movement towards economic growth, social progress and political participation. It is believed by scholars such as Sadik (1991) that this may be a better substitute for modernization to homogenize the different nations globally. Some of the factors that promoted globalization process were colonization, international trade, migration, military interventions and information revolution and due to all these influences, people have started conceiving the world as a global village (Mehta, 1999). Economists such as Soros (1998) focus mostly on causes and consequences of globalization whereas sociologists highlight its social sources and impacts (Soros, 1998). By and large, this process attempts to unify various cultures and world wide spread of western values. It is highlighted by Sykora (2000) as a dominant trend which may change the organization of the society at the world level. From the economic point of view, it is a process of change from the national to the global scale of integration of production, exchange and food consumption which according to Sykora (2000) was made possible by the technological information revolution and the other associated phenomena of global character which resulted in a quick time-space compression.

Information, revolution and other associated phenomena of global character have resulted in a quick time-space compression. The concept of time-space compression highlights movement and communication in space, widening of social contacts in space and human perception of such changes (Suchacek, 2011; Giddens, 1990). Globalization has implications for the developing nations in terms of cultural, economic, social and political aspects of the way of life of people. Culturally speaking, we find that due to globalization all household goods and artifacts are now being manufactured by mass industrial process whereas the local produced goods are no longer observed in the households. This cultural input from outside through the globalization process has motivated people to adjust to the new gadgets, equipments and other household items in an adaptive manner and they seem to be not in congruence with the locally produced products.

This has resulted in the non availability of jobs in the local market and many of the persons in traditional occupations have shifted to modern occupations. For example, leather manufacturers have shifted to shoe making business and showing promise in it. Even the traditions, values, ethos, norms have been torn and shorn due to impact of globalization at the family household level and many new conflicting values are emerging as a reality. This has alarmed the post – modernists who have clamoured for revival of the traditional values more conducive to the living of the present day people (Arzipe,1992). Alternatively, they suggest that a new institutional framework be evolved and this should take into account the emerging realities including contradictions for conducive social life especially in the villages. Politically, no doubt globalization has penetrated into our village social life and there is a new era of leadership crisis and nationalism of the sort to overcome secularization and protectionism which is not suitable for a plural society like ours. No doubt, globalization has caused political consciousness among all the different sections of the society like class, caste, OBC, BC, SCs, STs, that is, it has given rise to resurgence of ethnic politics based on parochialism(Arzipe,1992).

Economically speaking, there is a wide disparity between the haves and have not (Mehta,2010). How do we bring equality in a democracy like ours is the biggest dilemma. Either we have two to three tier of economic gains for redistribution of resources or a third distribution may also be considered viable in a society which is large or we have participatory democracy in which people are involved in what they want to produce for a fair distribution (Coleman,1991). We are already unequal in our living conditions and attempts to get rid of ethnic politics, fundamentalism, political manipulations to win a brownie point over the opposition need to be curbed down. The Ginni Coefficient of relationships depicting inequality (Inequality is measured by the Gini Coefficient ranging from zero for total equality to 1 for total inequality. According to the consumption survey of the National Sample Survey Organization, there was a modest Gini increase from 0.3 in 1983 to 0.36 in 2011-12) is already almost negative for us and we need to introduce institutions which promote social cohesion and social solidarity rather than divisive forces like insurgency, violence, arson, looting etc. (Aiyar, 2017). For a conducive social life, the most dangerous part of social erosion is the taking away of the right to own land and to cultivate it which is seen as one of the important human right to usher in equality.

According to Suchacek (2008), globalization alone may not be responsible for the deprived social life of the people but there are some local issues as well which cannot be side tracked . It may be worth mentioning here that most of the actors who are absent from the processes are also concentrated in global cities such as executives, professionals, managers and urban underclass leading to increasing social and economic polarization. At the same time, the majority of the underclass is located in non -metropolitan areas, regions and localities and the faith of such territories are increasingly affected by the global influence and at the same time by typical distant actors, influencing from foreign lands (Suchacek,2008). Such kind of intense external control of provincial territories is one of the important symptomatic features of modern epoch due to the fact that this control is performed both at economic and administrative-political terms (Suchacek, 2008). The nation state was considered as a natural scale through which sub-national, international processes and phenomena were understood. However, with the gradual fading of the nation state due to marketization, the phenomenon of Glocalization emerged. It should be comprehended as a process which involves numerous economic, institutional and socio-cultural connotations. It may be underlined that particular manifestations of global processes can be observed in concrete localities and the presumed duality between the global and local is not correct (Suchachek, 2008).

According to Suchachek (2011), globalization comprises of two processes, globalization and localization. Whereas localization refers to human beings, individual subjects, organizations, communities or localities, globalization includes the planetary processes that is why the underline causes of global processes can always be found in concrete localities. Thus, Glocalization is often interpreted as “Think globally and Act locally” which appears to be a proper strategy for the future sustainable development of the whole planet. The term expresses the human capability to overcome, at least mentally, the various territorial scales. From economic point of view, it is estimated that the speculative foreign exchange market grew from a modest 15 million US dollar in 1970 to well over 2 trillion in 1990s (Swyngedouw, 1996) and it is always better to allocate these immense flows of money in an appropriate way and place. However, globalization cannot be separated from localization as a combination of both has been applied to describe a product or service that is developed and distributed globally. But it is also to be considered to

include the users, consumers in a local market including conformity to local laws, customs or consumer preferences. These are effectively referred as localized and will be of much greater interest to the end user. For example, Yahoo is a company that practices glocalization. It is marketing a portal that is viewed world- wide and offers different versions of its website to different users. It provides content and language variations in some 25 countries including China, Russia and Canada as well as customizes content to appeal to individuals in those locations (Shamsuddoha, 2008). Moreover, Roland Robertson, a British/ American sociologist was the first to have coined the term 'Glocalization' in 1995, while studying the Japanese society about which he was well –versed. He used the term glocalization in Japan which has its origin from Japanese word "DochaKuka" (deriving from Dochaku meaning "living on one's own land"), implying adapting farming techniques to suit one's local conditions. However, the marketing experts were using the term to indicate that the products of Japan should be localized. In other words, they should be suited to local tastes and interests though the products are global in application. In the business world, idea was adopted to refer to global localization. Historically speaking, the terms 'glocal' and 'glocalization' became significant elements of business jargon in the 1980s but their origin was in fact in Japan which is a country where relationship between the particular and the universal has historically received a lot of attention (Miyoshi and Harootunian, 1989). In the words of The Oxford Dictionary of New words (1991), glocalization has now become 'one of the main marketing buzzwords of the beginning of the nineties'. The essence of glocalization in business sense is highly related to micro marketing, that is, the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global basis to differentiated local and particular markets. To a large extent, micro marketing or in other words, glocalization, involves the construction of increasingly differentiated consumers and the creation of consumer traditions which can be a significant basis of cultural capital formation (Bourdieu, 1984). For example, the increasing presence of 'ethnic' supermarkets globally is not so much for the sake of difference but for the desire of familiar and these can also be seen as bases for cultural capital formation. Thus, the idea of glocalization conveys the interpenetration of what we refer as the global and the local, that is, the universal and the particular.

### **Inter-Linkages between globalization and glocalization**

Robertson(1995) has suggested that globalization and glocalization should be seen as inter- dependent phenomena. Further, he considers that the problem of globality should be expressed as twin processes of macro localization and micro globalization. In other words, it means expanding the boundaries locally and to make the local ideas, practices and institutions global in temporal and special dimensions. For example, the rise of world –wide religious or ethnic revivalists movements are examples of macro localization. On the other hand, micro globalization involves incorporating certain global processes into the local setting such as some feminist or ecological movements or marketing strategies which emerge in a local context and later are spread far beyond that locality into larger special arena like print industry or computer industry. However, this view is somewhat different from that of Giddens (2000) who conceptualizes the relationship between global and local because globalization to him is the reason for survival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world. In this view, local is the provider of the response to the forces that are global but it is generally argued that local itself is constituted globally. However, in several contemporary situations, the globalizing trends are seen in tension with local identities and cultures. In case of tension between, for example, the universal and the particular, it can be either seen as dynamic, that is, a progressive source of overall change or as a mode which maintains an existing global system in its present form.

As the knowledge of the world has increased, it has brought into focus, the cultural differences, divergence and multilinearity as better descriptions of global modernity. In the absence of any globalized social science to study divergent cultures and societies, mostly these have been analyzed through indigenized social sciences but to claim scientific status the social sciences cannot overlook the universality and universal knowledge. It is in this context that Robertson refers social sciences to be context –sensitive and not context dependent. That is why he conceptualizes globalization in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as the interpenetration of universalization of particularization and particularization of universalism ( Robertson, 1992). It may be further added that the global assumptions point out that no serious effort in fighting poverty and achieving sustainable development can ultimately succeed if an adequate degree of stability is not attained at all levels from local to global and this can be achieved through local actors especially the youth who play a crucial role in bringing development and peace. Thus,



glocalization consists of a double movement, on the one hand bringing the benefits of globalization to local levels, on the other hand supporting and empowering local realities so that they can contribute to the global decision making process.

To illustrate the process of glocalization some narratives pertaining to island nations such as Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia have been highlighted. Cebu city, a highly urbanized city in the island province of Cebu in Central Visayas, Philippines, has tried to show the quality of IT graduates to meet foreign and local documents. Here, globalization is manifested in the key areas of business, export, trade, governance and trans- border diplomacy. There have been some positive results of globalization, that is, decentralization of power, improved governance, economic efficiency and expanded communications. However, there are several negative outcomes which include persistent poverty and increasing inequality. The digital divide between the “information rich” and “information poor” whether it be on a local level has widened. In this regard, local initiatives in Cebu started by the private sector and civil society groups address some of the side effects by providing technology and skills to the disadvantaged groups such as those in ‘Barangays’ within the city and outside the metropolitan area. Government can also work with the private sector to provide safety nets for these disadvantaged groups. There are enabling factors that can maximize global opportunities. It is here that leadership of the local chief executive and the work of the civil society organizations pushes forward the Cebu development. Besides, the role of information is another factor that enables to use, process and analysedata on source inputsto the locality which is of vital importance. More specifically speaking, information technology has the potential to introduce change from grassroots to the local government. Further, education is significant which meets global labour demands and finally a mind set is required that is global in orientation but grounded on local initiatives. (Roldon,2010).

To add to this experience which is dominated by appropriate science and technology policies is the effectiveness of glocalization as a conscious development strategy. Though this may not be a perfect strategy and there maybe lapses from time to time but it has overall shown that cultural fusion can be an asset if properly harnessed for the objective of attaining socio-economic growth without creating gross inequality and social dislocation .The sociological concepts of globalization in general and

glocalization in particular can be of great value in understanding the dynamic social transformation in South East Asia especially in Singapore and Malaysia. No doubt, one can follow the “methodological nationalism” which every country or society should be examined of its own context through the devices of its own home grown methodology. But such an approach may lead to intellectual closure for closing dialogue and understanding between societies. In the globalized world, such discourses are of very limited value. Yet it is important to take these local contexts as well as variables and not to fall into the trap of blind imitations or aping of western ideas and concepts. However, for that to happen, what is required is a set of globally valid concepts that will help us examine processes of social transformation which are inexplicably connected to global transformation (Shamsuddoha, 2008).

### **Concluding remarks**

To conclude, it may be easily maintained that the compression of the world, that is, globalization, has dominantly involved the creation and incorporation of locality and its processes which themselves largely shape the compression of the world as a whole. Thus, preference can be given to replace the concept of globalization with the concept of glocalization as the latter has an advantage of making a concern with space as important as the focus upon temporal issues. Therefore, the simultaneous opposing trends of homogenization and heterogenization can be complementary and interpenetrative in nature although they can also certainly collide in some concrete situations.

Since the late eighteenth century, the nation –state gained relevance and it was to a large extent responsible for the production of diversity and hybridization. There has been a general tendency for nation states to adopt ideas and practices from other societies. Although the idea of the nation state is ‘global’ yet since the late nineteenth century, the nation states have been engaged in selective learning from other societies, incorporating a mixture of ‘alien’ ideas (Westney,1987). However, the phenomenon of cultural nationalism has also emerged especially in countries such as Japan. Yoshino(1992) highlights that ‘nihonjinron’ which means the discourse on and of Japanese uniqueness, has been a common practice in the nation. Also many other modern nations have been promoting their own unique differences worldwide especially after the globalizing influences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus, there

are many studies which have focused on the process of nationalism, ethnicity and identity. All require differentiation from the other. There has been during the post cold-war era, a reaction to globalization which has threatened the world with a monoculture as there is resurfacing of smaller identities which ensure that they do not lose their identities. This fear of global monoculture is not just at the international level but also local cultures fear losing their individual identities and demands for recognition. Culturalism has become the basis of recent clashes between ethnic communities which have been observed at different levels between existing nations, transnationally and by migrant communities in the new host countries. It is further observed that early theories which emphasized that capitalism would create individualism and negate tribalness have proved wrong. This is amply demonstrated by resurgence of ethnicity. Ethnicity points to the importance of communities that has not been broken down by economic interest. Community or locality continues to remain the hub of human identity which global connections have only expanded and modified. The feeling of belonging to 'us' remains relevant in the human context and in global context that has emerged as the basis of new political movements. This theoretical input appears to be very relevant as new political movements need to be observed and examined as the basis of new political formation in the years to come (D'Souza, 2006).

In short, no doubt, globalization is an overriding factor in modernizing the Indian society but for emergence of new social and political movements based on caste, religion, language, region and other smaller groups, glocalization cannot be put aside and globalization as well as glocalization are complimentary to each other for social and cultural change.

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