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Expanding the Empire in North-West Frontier: Diplomacy, Treaties, Battles and Annexation of Punjab

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explore and highlight the British Empire's manoeuvres from establishing diplomatic relations to annexation of Punjab in realpolitik of defending and expanding the empire to secure the natural frontier of Indian Sub-continent- North West Frontier of Punjab (1800-1849 C.E).After firmly establishing themselves at three port cities, the British expanded inwards from these centres to encash the political instability in the Indian Sub-continent. This expansion brought them to left bank of River Yamuna, south-eastern borders of Punjab. But for their further expansion, they had to tackle Sikh rulers of Punjab who had emerged as regional power centres through diplomacy and force. Moreover, the paper argues that the British annexed Punjab under the geostrategic garb of countering Russia's ambitious and expansive foothold towards the British controlled South Asian territories. This incorporation of Punjab territories was a conspicuous and contradictory deviation from their earlier policy.

Key words: North-West Frontier, Cis-Sutlej States, treaty of Amritsar, treaty of Lahore, Chillianwala

Introduction

Punjab being incorporated to the British Indian Empire, which was considered to be a jewel of the British crown, is a part of the eventful saga of establishing the British Empire over the Indian subcontinent. The British came to India as traders in the first decade of 17th century under the banner of East India Company[1] and established themselves at three principal port cities- Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. They started to expand their rule inwards from these centres and not only eliminated the fellow European competitors but also subdued the native rulers and eventually created a British Indian Empire on the Indian subcontinent (Rawlinson 19). However, all these victories brought with them the spectre of colonial anxieties and imperial vulnerabilities that often translated into defensive and offensive policies. They had to continuously "reassure and assuage" their sense of insecurities (Condos 11). The biggest source of anxiety for the British was the defence of North-West Frontier of Punjab (also referred as natural and scientific frontier in the British narratives) through which the British could visualise a potential invasion of their empire in the Indian subcontinent.

In the early 19th century, the British had apprehensions that French and Russian rulers in collaboration with Persian and Afghan Kings could invade the British India. Punjab, along with Sindh, was one of the remaining regions left in proximity to latter external powers on western and north-western

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[1]   East India Company was ruling the Indian Sub-continent before 1858. Later, it was brought under the direct rule of Crown.

frontier to be incorporated into the British Indian Empire. Punjab, though landlocked region, had a geo-strategic, geo-economic, and geo-political implications on the security of sub-continent. It had few passes that connects the South Asia to Central Asia such as Khyber, Gomal, Tochi, Peiwar, Kurram, etc. Generally through these passes traders of Punjab and sub-continent moved their merchandise into Afghanistan, Persia and so on. However, these passes were also become a source of invasion for Greek, Persian, Afghan and Central Asian rulers. So, Punjab was an important region for the British like previous imperial rulers of India, being a gateway of offence from arid Central Asian region through the north-western passes like Khyber Pass.

Securing the Empire at Sutlej: Diplomacy in Action and Treaty of Amritsar

British manoeuvres in the North Western Frontier area amplified with the Tipu Sultan machinations to persuade Zaman Shah and Napoleon to attack the British India. The threat from Tipu Sultan vanquished with his demise in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War whereas of Zaman Shah with his dethronement in 1801 (Lyall 194). Being alarmed by these intrigues, the British began to focus on the happenings around the North-West frontier region and vied to establish political relations with regional rulers to safeguard themselves from any possible attacks. British opened up diplomatic missions with the Persian court and succeeded in getting an assurance regarding the security of its western border from any potential Franco-Persian invasion (Bilgrami 19-20). They sent Munshi Yusaf Ali Khan to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh toestablishinitial contact between the Lahore Kingdom and the British (Chhabra 79) (Singh 12). With all these diplomatic counter-manoeuvres, the British successfully secured their Indian Empire far away from their dominions and extended their sphere of influence too.

In mainland India, the British continued their expansion and reached at left bank of river Yamuna by annexing territories of native rulers. Nawab of Awadh lost his major chunk of territories through acceptance of subsidiary alliance in 1801. Maratha Chiefs like Peshwa, Bhonsle, and Scindia too surrendered territories in aftermath of their defeat in the Second Anglo-Maratha war (1802-1805) and accepted this alliance. During this war in 1805, a Maratha ruler Jaswant Rao Holkar crossed Sutlej to seek Maharaja Ranjit Singh help against the British but latter refused to oblige him (Naravane 17 &232). On the other hand, Ranjit Singh signed a treaty of friendship with British in 1806 and convinced Jaswant Rao Holkar to leave Amritsar and suggested to secure a treaty with the East India Company. This event of the Second Anglo-Maratha war consolidated the friendly relations between them. British in return promised that the English would never attempt to seize Ranjit Singh's possessions and property (Chhabra 80-81) (Thorburn 4-5). The treaty proved advantageous for Ranjit Singh as it freed him from any prospect of the British interference in Punjab and secured their friendship too. He consolidated his position in Punjab, and expeditions were even sent to the territories between Yamuna and Sutlej commonly known as Cis-Sutlej states[2]. British ignored Ranjit Singh advances and interferences into these states for the initial two years (Thorburn 5) (Edwardes 496).

This state of affairs, however, didn't last longer and Franco-phobia again swiped the British hierarchy which re-emerged with the treaty of Tilsit signed in July 1807 between France and Russia. Lord

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[2]   Cis-Sutlej states were mostly Sikh principalities (Nine States) that became important in the early 19th century. They were established in tumultuous times after the collapse of Mughal authority in Punjab and the withdrawal of the Afghan chief Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1761. They were called Cis- (Latin: "On This Side") Sutlej by the British because they were on the British or southern side of the Sutlej River. See https://www.britannica.com/place/Cis-Sutlej-states

Minto sent his envoys to the kingdoms on and beyond the north-western border of British India to create effective barrier against the French inroads in the form of inner and outer layers of states- the inner layer contained Punjab and Sindh and the outer layer Kabul and Persia (Bakshi 23-24). As seen in the British narratives, Punjab occupied a crucial role in the scheme of defence as mapped out by the British in case of Russian and French adventures on to the British India. It was seen as a state forming an inner layer of defence against a possible threat across the northwest frontier.Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent to Punjab to formalise a defensive alliance against the French design and to check Ranjit Singh's aggressive plans towards the Cis-Sutlej states (Chhabra 86). British military strategists began to look at Sutlej as a better frontier than Yamuna apart from responding to appeal for help from the Cis-Sutlej states (Singh 13).[3]In 1806 and 1807,Ranjit Singh leads military expeditions across Sutlej in support of some chiefs and occupied Ludhiana. In reaction to it group of rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and few other chiefs seek British protection (Mazumdar, 1963, p. 236).

Ranjit Singh and his advisors considered all these British concerns as outlandish, but tried to derive leverage out of it by demanding recognition of his sovereignty over Cis-Sutlej states in return for alliance. Metcalfe informed him that he had no authority about this but would refer the demand to higher authorities (Thorburn 6). Ranjit Singh was shrewd enough to understand the British desire to have alliance with him was primarily the necessity of British due to their hostilities with Napoleon (Bakshi 27). He annexed the Cis-Sutlej territories of Faridkot and Ambala, extracted tribute from Malerkotla and Thanesar, and exchanged turbans with the Raja of Patiala while Metcalfe was still present in his court (Majumdar 236) (Thorburn 7). The fate acted in favour of the British, the danger of Napoleon disappeared with his involvement in dealing with Spanish insurrections and making preparations for Russian campaign, which resulted in postponement of the British idea of establishing close alliance with Punjab, Afghanistan and Sindh by Lord Minto. However, the British developed friendly relations with Russia, Persia, and Turkey (Lyall 228).

Lord Minto adopted a stern attitude towards Maharaja Ranjit Singh particularly for his interventions in Cis-sutlej area. He advised Ranjit Singh to hand over all the possessions in Cis-Sutlej territories annexed by him since 1806 to their earlier rulers. Consequently, the infuriated Maharaja ended the negotiations with the British. Adding to the growing tensions between them, Lord Minto dispatched troops under Lt. Col. David Ochterlony to establish a post at Ludhiana and declared protectorate over Cis-Sutlej states with an objective of coercing Ranjit Singh for the negotiations (Bakshi 29-31) (Singh 14). As a counter strategy, Ranjit Singh took a retaliatory aggressive posture by assembling his troops on the banks of Sutlej near Phillaur- a town opposite to Ludhiana (Bakshi 31). However, later he changed his mind and concluded the treaty of Amritsar on April 25, 1809 and relinquished his claim on the left bank of Sutlej except territories of 45 parganas in the south of Sutlej, which was held by him before 1806 (Singh 15) (Majumdar 237). The main effect of this treaty on Ranjit Singh was that his eastward expansion in Cis-Sutlej region was virtually blocked as the British government took the Cis-Sutlej states under its protection and paramountcy by making river Sutlej as the border between them. However, Ranjit Singh was given a 'carte blanche' to expand his empire on the right side of river by the British (Singh *Some Aspects of State* 295). The positive outcome of this treaty for the British was the conversion of Punjab as a buffer between British India and the territories beyond

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[3]   After the defeat of Marathas in Second Anglo-Maratha War, the British considered that sphere of influence over cis-Sutlej states was nominally passed to them from Scindia, who secured it in 1785. "In reality neither Sindhia nor the British had any claim over them. The chronic quarrels among these States, which enabled Sindhia to establish his influence, also helped Ranjit Singh to do the same." (Majumdar 236).

the north-western frontier of India. This treaty also struck a severe blow onto Ranjit Singh's desire to sovereign of all the Sikh states in Punjab and Cis-Sutlej states (Bakshi 35).

Interplay of Loyalty, Realpolitik and Death of Maharaja

Even though Maharaja Ranjit Singh signed the treaty under pressure but the pragmatic Maharaja maintained cordial and loyal relations with the British throughout his life. He didn't take any offensive action during their losses in Nepal war in 1815-16 and Burmese war in 1825. He even refused to assist the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur in 1820, Nepal in 1824 and Raja of Bharatpur in 1825, when approached by respective rulers (Singh 16-17). However, Maharaja Ranjit Singh never faltered to build his military strength and in keeping a well-trained and diversified modern army to match European standards since 1809. Initially, he tried in vain to get loan of officers of the East India Company (Griffin 134). Later he hired other Europeans in his service and recruited famous French Generals Jean Franocis Allard in 1822 who raised a renowned legion "Fauj-i-Khas".[4] This legion comprised French, American and Italian soldiers along with native soldiers. All these recruitment activities never became a concern for British except in 1837 when orders were circulated across India "to be vigilant and try to arrest any French officer travelling in disguise to join Ranjit Singh's army". This was all because the popularity of this legion spread across France and large number of applications from serving French military officers were received by Allard (Chavan "Ranjit Singh's French Connection"). This was a rare alarm, as a well-trained army on European standards of friendly and trustworthy Maharaja was a great asset against European power like Russia. They could defend their north western borders jointly. Overall, it appears that there was neither a need nor any chance of insecurity to the British from Maharaja's Court due to presence of these French and other Europeans soldiers.

On the other hand, the British proved to be truly opportunistic in their dealing with Punjab. By 1827, they fixed their eyes on the territories on and beyond the north-western frontier of Punjab after consolidating themselves in India (Singh 16-17). British implicitly supported the Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly's Jihad against the Sikh Empire in the north western frontier of Punjab, by ignoring his activities and preparations in their territories against its ally. This danger to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's empire ended with defeat and death of Sayyid Ahmad at Balakot on May 8, 1831 (Majumdar 240-41). Ranjit Singh thereafter planned about conquering Sindh and Baluchistan, states contiguous to his empire in the south-west, across the river Indus (Singh 19). In 1831, he met William Bentick at Ropar and proposed partitioning of Sindh between the two empires. Though the proposal did not find the favour of Bentick, they concluded a 'treaty of perpetual amity' (Chopra 240) (Edwardes 497).

The British India Company had their own plans about Sindh along with Baluchistan for extending their sphere of influence up to Afghanistan. They wanted to make these states as a buffer between them and the advancing Russia in Central Asia, as the outer layer of their defence wall (Chopra 240). Russia had taken Persia into its sphere of influence with the treaty of Turkomanchi in 1828 (Bilgrami 64). In this backdrop, Maharaja's intentions to conquer Shikarpur, a town on the west of Indus, also did not succeed. Shikarpur was strategically and commercially a very important during those days, as it was considered as the gate of Khorasan[5] and an important town for the trade with west and

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[4]   "The Lahore Akhbar records in some detail that the Maharaja checked the bonafides of both Allard and Ventura from the British authorities before agreeing to take them in service"(Singh & Sharma, Europeans and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 60).

central Asia. However, he dropped the plan of annexing Shikarpur under the British pressure as he knew the graveness of continuing with the plan as the British were much superior to him (Singh 22). By the mid-1830's, Russian and Persian machinations in Afghanistan took a dangerous shape. Moved by these, the British seized Ferozepur and converted it into a military cantonment in 1838 apparently to guard themselves against the Russian and Persian designs in the Central Asia and Afghanistan (Majumdar 241) (Chhabra 133).

In 1836, Dost Muhammad (King of Afghanistan) sought the British aid as he was sandwiched between Russia, Persia and the Sikh Empire of Punjab (Griffiths 96). He sent a formal letter to Lord Auckland about his problems with the Sikhs, who had annexed Peshawar from him. Auckland maintained a stance of neutrality on his dispute with Ranjit Singh as they did not want to turn against their 'trusted ally' in Punjab but sent Alexander Burns to sign some commercial deals with Dost Muhammad in November 1836 (Dodwell 490-92). British neutrality over Peshawar sabotaged the Alexander Burnes mission[6] and Dost Mahommad fell in Russian and Persian alliance. To balance the situation, a tripartite treaty between Auckland, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja was signed on June 26, 1838 to reinstate Shuja over the throne of Afghanistan. However, Ranjit Singh didn't permit the expedition force to pass through Punjab to Afghanistan for the first Anglo-Afghan war (Majumdar 245-46) (Singh 26). But, the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on June 27, 1839 turned the tide of this power dynamics in favour of the British. With the successive casualties of his successors such as Kharak Singh, Naunihal Singh, and Sher Singh, the empire he carved out, rapidly fell into dilapidation.The contemporary British narratives to their advantage, represented it as an era of anarchy in which intrigues and murders were a routine affair in Lahore Darbar (Lyall 260).

Deceit, Dismemberment and Annexation

Though the British had taken note of the happenings in the Punjab, but their intervention was delayed due to their involvement in the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842). However, after their disastrous evacuation[7] in 1842 and annexation of Sindh in 1843, they took full advantage of chaos in the Lahore Darbar. They connived with Dogra brothers (Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh) for dismemberment of Punjab (Singh 32-33). But, Dhyan Singh as well as then Maharaja Sher Singh was killed by Ajit Singh Sandhawalia. Ranjit Singh's minor son Dalip Singh was placed on the throne with his mother Rani Jindan as regent while Lal Singh became new *Wazir* (Prime Minister) with the support of the Sikh army after the assassination of two successive *Wazirs* Hira Singh Dogra and Jawahar Singh. Further, Lal Singh appointed Tej Singh as the Commander in Chief of the armed

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[5]   Khorasan was region that includes the territories of north-eastern Iran, southern Turkmenistan, and northern Afghanistan. The historical region extended along the Amu Darya in north (Oxus River) to the Caspian Sea in west and from the fringes of the central Iranian deserts in South to the mountains of central Afghanistan in east. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/316850/Khorasan

[6]   Alexander Burnes mission was to sign a commercial treaty with the Afghanistan king, but latter wanted a subsidy for maintenance of army and restitution of Peshawar to Afghanistan (Sykes 430).

[7]   After placing the Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul, the British army remained there and built a cantonment near the palace which was difficult to defend as surrounded by hills. In 1841, Afghans revolted and killed the Alexander Burnes, deputy of Sir William Macnaghten, and was a British envoy for Afghanistan. Later Macnaghten was murdered while negotiating with Afghans. Thereafter Afghans seized the cantonment and pushed the whole British force to evacuate the Kabul. On 6th January 1842, the 16000 marched out of Kabul to Jalalabad without any food but one Dr. Brydon reached the destination on 13th January, the rest were killed by the Afghans (Bilgrami 107-110) (Hopkirk 257-268).

forces in September 1845. The politico-military situation further aggravated when the British tactfully brought the new *wazir* under their influence (Edwardes 499) (Singh 58).

In preparation to control Punjab across Sutlej, in the year 1844, Sir Hardinge (Governor General) augmented the British troops, assembled pontoons along the Sutlej bank, and established arms supply depot near Raikot in Cis-Sutlej area (Singh 59). These preparations of the British disquieted the Sikh army which has already witnessed the annexation of Sindh. Dogra's fanned the anti-British feeling among the army with the help of Rani Jindan as both wanted to divert their attention from internal problems to the enemy across the Sutlej.[8] British exploited thisopening to dismember Punjab and persuaded the Gulab Singh and Tej Singh for treachery during the imminent war (Edwardes 499-500). On December 11, 1845, the Sikh army crossed Sutlej which paved the way for the first Anglo-Sikh War (Khilnani 14). The first battle between the Sikhs and the English was fought at Mudki on December 18, 1845. The Sikhs were defeated as Lal Singh apparently acted under the guidance of the British and let the arrival of their main army under Hugh Gough. The English again won the next battle at Firozepur on December 22, 1845 due to the desertion of Tej Singh and Lal Singh from the battle ground with troops and guns (Singh 79-82). Thereafter, the Sikh army retreated across the Sutlej but came back as the British army remain waiting for reinforcement instead of attacking the retreating Sikh army (Roberts 337). The Sikh army under Ranjodh Singh Majithia defeated the English at Buddowal on January 21, 1846. However, he was defeated at Aliwal on January 28, 1846. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon on February 10, 1846, in which Sikh army was routed (Singh 84-86). Thereupon, the British crossed the Sutlej and seized Lahore, the capital of the Sikh Empire. With signing of the 'treaty of Lahore', this war ended on March 9, 1846.

Under the terms of 'treaty of Lahore', the valuable region between the rivers Beas and Sutlej was seized from the Sikh Empire, that is Jalandhar Doab and also the entire hill counties between Indus and Beas. In addition to surrender of these territories, the Lahore Darbar was forced to reimburse 50 lakh rupees for the ratification of treaty. As the Sikh Empire could not readily raise this sum, it ceded Kashmir. The Sikh army was reduced to size of 12000 cavalry and 20000 infantry. The guns used in war were yielded to the British. Later in a separate treaty that was signed on March 16, 1846**,** the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh secured Kashmir for himself by paying the East India Company. This treaty left behind a weak Sikh Kingdom with no capacity to resist the British in the future (Majumdar 272-73). Henry Lawrence was made the Resident in Punjab and Lal Singh the Prime Minister (Wazir). Through the treaty of Bhairowal (December 1846), a pension of 150,000 rupees was awarded to Maharani Jindan and concomitantly a Regency Council of eight members was set-up, alongside a British Resident at Lahore for administration to make the native kingship mere titular. It also made the Punjab government to pay 22 Lakh rupees to the British to maintain sufficient force structure to preserve peace in the kingdom. With all these post war shrewd negotiations and treaties, the East India Company secured the control of the government until the Maharaja Dalip Singh attained the age of sixteen (Roberts 339) (Singh 93-99). By the year 1847, Henry Lawrence a British Resident at Lahore became the de-facto ruler of Punjab and Tej Singh, his chief adviser, on whom he already conferred the title of Raja (Majumdar 275).

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[8]   All the prominent chiefs of Lahore Darbar had correspondence with the British officers on the other side of Sutlej, who desired to secure their own hierarchy with the destruction of the army. The representative body of the Sikh army (Punchees of Army) was challenging the orders and decisions of nobility of Lahore Darbar and started to frequently shift their loyalty to different contenders and nobles, in return of financial rewards (Majumdar 252-256) (Khilnani 9-13).

In 1848, Lord Dalhousie replaced the Hardinge as Governor General and Frederick Currie succeeded the Henry Lawrence in Punjab (Majumdar 276). The policy of Dalhousie was to incorporate all the princely states into the British dominion by all possible means. On the other hand, Currie already showed his resentment over placing the Dalip Singh on the throne, after the first Anglo-Sikh war (Singh 102). Thus, both were complementing each other and looking for excuses to fulfill their ambition of annexing Punjab into the British dominion. Within three months of their arrival, Punjab had gone in to flames following the rebellion of Mulraj (Governor of Multan) and his call to true Sikhs to join him in religious war against the British. Lord Dalhousie under the advice of Lord Gough, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, postponed the action till winters (Roberts 341). In the meantime, rebellion spread to other parts of Punjab and the exile of Maharani Jindan further added fuel to the fire (Singh 113). Chattar Singh, the Governor of Hazara, also revolted against the British after the misconduct of Captain James Abbott. His son Sher Singh was sent to curb the rebellion in Multan, but he joined the rebellion along with his entire army in September 1848 (Edwardes 501). Later, the reinforcement came from Bombayand the British occupied the city of Multan by end of December. Subsequently, Mulraj surrendered on January 22, 1849 (Singh 137).

Lord Gough, the British Commander in Chief reached Lahore with the British army on November 13, 1848. He then proceeded to face the Sher Singh on the bank of Chenab, who left the Multan after the siege of Multan raised. The British and the Sikh forces fought near Ramnagar on November 22, 1848 in which Brigadier General Cureton and Lt. Col. Havelock lost their lives. The British under Lord Gough were defeated (Majumdar 285). Sher Singh retreated back to stronger position on the bank of Jhelum where the battle of Chillianwala was fought on January 13, 1849. He was joined by his father on January 16, 1849. In this battle, combined losses of British-killed and wounded were 2357 men and 89 officers (Roberts 343). The Sikh army then marched to Gujrat where 'the battle of Guns' was fought on February 22, 1849. In this battle, Gough used artillery primarily and then used infantry to inflict defeat on Sher Singh and Chatar Singh and both surrendered on March 10, 1849 (Singh 139). This war finally resulted in the annexation of Punjab to the British dominion on March 29, 1849 by Lord Dalhousie. Dalip Singh was pensioned off and sent to England along with his mother Rani Jindan. The administration of the Punjab was entrusted to a Board of Commissioners.

Conclusion

This incorporation of Punjab was a conspicuous and contradictory deviation from earlier policy. Initially, the British were using Punjab as a buffer for inner defence wall against the Russian and Persian machinations in Afghanistan and ultimately annexed these territories under the given geostrategic garb. Moreover, the internal dissent in royalty, army and frequent killings further incentivised them to take over rather than allowing the trouble to continue in the frontier Kingdom to the advantage of its so called, enemies. Although, there is a prevalent argument that the British could have let Punjab continue as a buffer state if the state had a powerful regime as it has under Ranjit Singh. But, it is also an open secret that the British themselves also left no stone unturned to further weaken the Sikh Empire. So, with the decimation of the Sikh power, there was no active power left which could pose a threat to the security of the British Indian Empire, except (for the British) Russia which could pose a threat to the security of the British Empire in India. Although, the annexation of Punjab had brought the British India close to the boundaries of the Russian empire, it allowed the company to deploy their own defence at the north-western frontiers of Punjab. This take-over of Punjab thus extended the British territories in north-west up to the 'natural' frontiers of Indian

subcontinent and it could be seen in realpolitik of defending and expanding the empire to secure the natural frontier of Indian Sub-continent- North West Frontier of Punjab.

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Naga Indigenous Religions: Reconstructing its Nomenclatures

LOINA SHOHE

Abstract

The Nagas are an indigenous people of North East India. They are predominantly found in Nagaland a hill state of India. Prior to India's Independence some areas of the present Nagaland was colonised by the then British Government of India, during this colonization they were introduced to Christianity. Before the coming of Christianity, the Naga people practiced their indigenous religions. The religions of the Nagas were often termed with derogatory terms and categorised likewise in the colonial period. This paper seeks to trace the earlier nomenclatures used for describing Naga religions as inadequate and its earlier categorizations as erroneous, and proposes a reconstruction, a redefining of Naga religions and their apt categorization..

Keywords: Indigenous Religions , Nagas, Nagaland, Religion, North East India

Introduction

The Naga people are a conglomeration of several tribes inhabiting the North Eastern part of India and North- Western Burma. The tribes have similar cultures and traditions, and form the majority ethnic group in Indian state of Nagaland, with significant presence in Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and some population in Assam. Nagaland borders the state of Assam to the west, Arunachal Pradesh and part of Assam to the north, Burma to the east and Manipur to the South. It has an area of 16,579 square kilometers (6,401 sq mt) with a population of 1,978,502 per the 2011 Census of India[1]. The state is inhabited by 17 major tribes - Angami, Ao Chang, Chakesang, Kachari, Khianmniungan, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Rongmei, Sangtam, Sumi , Yimchunger, Zeliang , as well as a number of sub- tribes (Lanunungsang & Ovung, 2012 : 2).

The Nagas, are orally narrated to have, migrated from Mongolia and then through southwestern China and Mynamar (Lotha , 2016: 5). Prior to their settlement in the present spaces the Nagas are believed to have reached a place called Makhel from whence each tribe dispersed in different directions (Nuh, 2002: 23).

Traditional Naga society was a patriarchal society, distinctly characterized by gerontocracy. Like most patriarchal society, they followed the patrilineal descent system. Nagas lived in villages and this identified a Naga (Nshoga , 2009: 5; Jamir & Lanunungsang ,2005: 37). The village was a composition of various clans; the clan system in turn serviced the social structure and regulated the custom and culture of the Nagas (Jamir & Lanunungsang , 2005 : 173). As for their polity, whereas the Angami and Ao tribes administered their villages through a Democratic form of governance where representatives of various clans form the leadership, the Konyak and Sumi tribes had a monarchical system where hereditary village Chiefs were responsible for administration of the village.

Christianity came to the Naga Hills in the 19th century during the colonial period under the protection and moral support of the British Government (Achumi , 2012: 69). The Gospel was first preached

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[1]   https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/districtlist/nagaland.html

at Molungyimchen and that was "the beginning of change from the old faith, culture filled with superstitions and fear, to the gracious act of the cross" (Imchen , 1993: 153). At present Christianity is the predominant religion of Nagaland with 87.93% of its population professing it (Census of India 2011)[2] . Prior to coming of Christianity all the Nagas practised their indigenous religion.

Naga Indigenous Religions: Indigenous Beliefs and Practices [3]

Nye (2003:18) speaks of religion as "not something mystical and detached from human sphere- it is what people do, and how they talk about what they do". In this understanding religion is not separated from the ordinary experiences of human life, it is not confined to the domain of supernatural but appears to be an engagement in the everyday affairs of humans. Durkheim (1915/ 2008:47) defines "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden- beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them" accentuating that religion is social and it induces a sense of belonging, even as its adherents derive their notion of morality from a *sacred* source. Thus religion appears to represent a tie between the individual and the larger social group in terms of association and in expression of shared meanings as well. Geertz's (1973:90) definition of religion as "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" reflects the cultural dimension of religion and focuses on how sacred symbols synthesize people's ethos – the tone, character , and quality of their life, influencing their moral life and aesthetic style and their worldview of perceiving/ interpreting reality and constructing ideas of order.

According to J.M.C. (1929:34) religion contains three elements – an intellectual one, an emotional one and a volitional one. The intellectual side both imply or include a faith or belief, a philosophy or science though it may be vague, crude, in-consistent or it may be very clear-cut, refined and logical. The emotional aspect refers to the certain awe, reverence, fear or affection towards the supernatural beings and the volitional side include the practical or co-native attitude towards the supernatural.

The Naga belief system like all religion had their intellectual, emotional and volitional elements. Though slight variations persisted amongst the vast number of differently spoken villages and tribes, the core aspects of the religious system ran along the same veins. The most significant aspects of their beliefs and practices are discussed as follows

Supernatural Beings in the Naga Pantheon

The intellectual or the cognitive aspect i.e., the religious belief shapes the worldview of its adherents. It influences individuals to make choices, interpret events, and plan actions; functioning as the source of morality and producing values, norms and attitudes from it (McGuire 2012 : 17)

At the heart of the Naga belief, was the acknowledgement of the existence of the supernatural beings and their influence in their lives and their world (Chophy 2019:26). Spiro & D'Andrade

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2   https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/13-nagaland.html

3   The paper shall refer to only four Naga tribes i.e, Angami, Ao, Konyak and Sumi as this paper forms a part of a larger study focused on these tribes.

(1958: 456) says 'conceptions of supernatural beings correspond to and are projections of the child's parental (or parent surrogate) imagos', here supernatural beings are understood as cultural conceptions which are passed on through socialization of a child.

J.M.C. (1929: 34) classified supernatural beings into four major classes based on supplication and propitiation – "Ghosts, or beings who once lived on earth as human beings; spirits or lesser beings who were never men; gods, that is ghosts or spirits who enjoy a certain marked eminence among their supernatural fellows; the Supreme Being, God, who stands alone and supreme, or a near- Supreme Being, who easily ranks first and foremost in the supernatural world".

a)   The Supreme Deity

In the Naga context, the categorization of the supernatural differs among the tribes with regard to the Supreme Deity and the concept of the creator. The Sumi call their creator *Alhou* (*Lho* means create in Sumi dialect) who is regarded as the Supreme Being but remains far from their visible space and do not interfere in their everyday life. The Sumi God is a *dues incertus* and a *dues remotes,* i.e. an unknown being who remains far away and uninvolved with day to day human details (Cox 2007: 19). The Konyaks revere their Supreme God as *Kahwang.* Furer-Haimendorf (1939/ 2004:112) writing about the Konyak Nagas recorded *Gawang* as the god of heaven; the Konyaks of Tamlu call him as *Abuhahwang* [4] (which translates as grandfather) who is believed to reside above the ground i.e. in the sky (the terminology probably differs due to the fact that each Konyak village speaks a different dialect). In both cases the Supreme Being denotes a single male deity. In Angami and Ao beliefs, the presence of a single male deity is absent; the Angamis referred to *Ukekepenopfii* as the creator of the world whose name is derived from the root word kepenopfii which means 'birth spirit' (Mathur 1992:126). Eaton (1984:41) referred to Ukepenofu as the Angami female supreme deity and mentioned that the ending 'pfu' was a feminine ending and hence Ukepenopfu is feminine and that Angamis regard her as the ancestress of the human race. The Ao's refer to *Lichaba* {Jamir & Lanunungsang (2005:153) translates *Li* or *ali* as 'earth', *cha* or *aja*' as 'means', 'to call or caller'}. Bendangangshi & Aier (1990/1997: 25) spelt it as 'Lijaba' and notes that he is one of the most important gods and that he is a creator, sustainer and controller of the earth. They identified the names of different Ao gods as 'Kodaktsungba, Anungtsungba, Longkitsungba, Longditsungba, Meyutsungba, Teroktsungba and Lijaba' (1990/1997:22) arguing that 'the many names of gods are addressed as one and their names are interchangeably used in different occasions' (1990/1997:29). According to them the different names are identified according to the different works otherwise all the gods of the Ao Nagas are the same (1990/ 1997:40). According to Tajen (1984:7) among the Aos 'Tsungrem' denotes the great deity of the sky and is personally called as 'Aning Tsungba' (Lord of sky) who influences weather and seasons while 'Lijaba' is the great deity of the earth who created the earth. They are considered the two most powerful deities and others are considered to be as less powerful and less important. Chophy (2018:2) recognized that 'Lijaba' (the diety in the earthly realm) belongs to the class of major deities along-with 'Lunkijingba' (the chief of heaven) and 'Mojing'(the chief in the realm of the dead). Hence, Lijaba is the creator of earth but not a 'Supreme Being- God who stood alone and supreme, or a near- Supreme Being who easily ranks first and foremost in the supernatural world'. Vivierrs & Mzondi (2006:3) mentions Armstrong's (1993) contemplation of the dawn of history where people possibly worshipped a Supreme Deity/Sky God/ High God who was perceived as

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[4]   Interview with Rev Mankap on 7th December 2019 at Tamlu village

creator of the world and governor of human affairs. The Sky God deemed too remote were in time replaced by spirits and gods considered more accessible, among them the construction of a female deity, known as the 'Great Mother' materialized. They concluded that the construction of goddesses may follow the feminist experience of replacing the hegemony of patriarchy and that in history there is no single, essentialist/dogmatic construct of god as people conceptualise new ideas of god as they find themselves in new situations in their search for meaning.

Though the Sumi Supreme Deity was *dues incertus* and *dues remotes* he was not replaced by other gods and spirits instead there was a coexistence of the Supreme Being and the other spirits/gods in the Sumi pantheon. The Supreme Being of the Konyak on the other hand is closely involved in the everyday life of the Konyaks and metes out punishment to wrong doers, and is constantly consulted for His will for providence, prosperity and protection in the individual and communal life as well. The Supreme Deity in the Sumi and Konyak belief projects a 'Patriarch' figure whose relation with the people, though distant in the case of the Sumi, is yet unmistakably, one that is of a benevolent figure who expects obedience and endowed with the power to bless in return.

The Aos speaks of no single Supreme deity but has a number of gods assigned with certain functions and powers, and it is hard to say whether they replaced the Supreme Being following Armstrong's (1993) theory {cited in Vivierrs & Mzondi (2006:3)} when they are claimed to be the same deity in different forms (Bendangangshi & Aier 1990/1997:40). To further probe into it, a reference to an Ao myth may be pursued - the Ao Nagas narrates that man, god, bear and tiger all lived together as brothers of a family and cultivated the field together; a quarrel separated them one day and the man was left alone to cultivate the field where he continued to live fighting his brothers the bear and the tiger and offering worship and sacrifice to his brother, the god (1990/1997: 15). God then in this form do not represent a Supreme Being but appears to have been related to man as a brother. From this myth, the concept of Supreme Being appears to be absent in the Ao Naga cosmology and evidently the idea of replacement therefore cannot be applied here. An entry by Furer-Haimendorf (1939/2004:60-61) talks of the Ao belief of *Lichaba* as a creator of earth and *Lunkizunba* as the creator of men evidently the concept of a Supreme Being (a single theistic deity) was not conceived in the Ao belief. As for the feminist theory of understanding the 'birth mother spirit' in the Angami beliefs, a reading of Yano & Pande (2012), Mehrotra (1992) and Zetsuvi (2014) would nullify any attempt of it, as feminism or even the waft of it clearly had not influenced the Angami women to help assert their equality in socio-religious life let alone lead to their reconstruction of a 'deity' at that period of time. Moreover, the Angami belief in a female birth mother is stripped of the projection of revering a female deity by categorizing her as a spirit and not one of anthropomorphism. The Angamis at present refer to *Ukekepenopfii* as a 'genderless' spirit.

It maybe noted that for the Sumi and Konyak , they follow a polity of Chieftainship where the office is inherited through the patrilineal lineage and where a Supreme Chief (*Akukatou*) of a village in the context of the Sumis and the Supreme Chief (*Great Ahng)* of many villages among Konyaks is practiced. Power is centralised in the hand of a single male chief though there are other subordinate chiefs/ahngs; there is a head chief in a Sumi village with other subordinate chiefs and a *Great Ahng* of the Konyak Nagas who administer over other villages each having its *Ahng*. Whereas, for Angamis and Aos they have a tradition of a republican form of polity where male representatives from clans (usually the eldest), holds the office of administration for certain tenure. No other explanation suffices best , to explain, other than referring to the difference in the political institutions followed by the mentioned tribes to indicate the difference in the presence or absence

of a Supreme Deity among the Nagas; where other beliefs and practices more or less run along the same veins and small variations presents no acute significance. Durkheim's postulation that religion is a symbolic expression of society (cited in Saliba 1997: 179) is evident here). In the Naga context the socio-political environment reflects the difference in the belief of the hierarchy of Super-naturals. The Sumi and Konyak which follow a patriarchal autocratic form of polity has the presence of a Patriarch Supreme Deity who is believed to be the creator. Whereas in the republican but still patriarchal polity of the Aos – belief in a number of Gods persists and the creator is just one of those who enjoys more or less the same power with the others but with different functions; which parallels the practice of the Aos having no autocratic chief and power being exercised equally through the clan representatives. The Angamis who share similar polity with the Aos a republican patriarchal one believes in a female birth mother who is considered the creator/ancestress designated only a spirit form, projecting that the ordinary (human) women is unrelated to the 'deity' and which in one way reflect the justification of the powerlessness of the ordinary women, and on the other leaves no room for claim of influence by women in the patriarchal set up. The construction and hierarchy of the Supernatural with regard to the Supreme Deity and the Creator in the Naga cosmology exhibits the power structure of their social life.

b)   The Sky Spirits

Another category of Supernatural beings in the Naga cosmology are the beings believed to dwell in the sky. Chophy (2019: 84) noting this category of deities to be endowed with physical bodies with human emotions and desires subsumed them to be classified as sprites or fairies dwelling in the sky, and having occasional interaction with earthly beings. However, sprites or fairies as identified by Chophy (2019) is argued against as the Oxford Dictionary (1987) gives the meaning of sprite as 'elf or fairy' , on further examination elf is defined as "mythical dwarfish being" and fairy is given as "small imaginary being with magical powers" – they are therefore defined by their smallness in size . The fact that these spirits had encounters with the humans which led to love affairs and even marriages suggests that physically they were compatible with the humans. Nagas in choosing their life partner gives due importance to physical features and abilities as such deformities or irregularities in heights would not have found favour for them to pursue love affairs/ marriage. Hence , to classify them as 'sprites' or 'fairies' is not very apt.

The Sumi called them *Kungumi* (meaning the ones who dwell above), The Aos called them *Kodaklar* and the Konyaks *Pinlan*. Bendangangshi & Aier (1990/1997:29) mentions "…the class of heavenly beings called Kodaklar or Kodaktsungrolar ….The nearest meaning in English is angel and this class of heavenly beings lived with gods in heaven." Here, the use of 'heavenly being' is argued, because the concept of heaven is an influence of Christianity and in the pre- Christian times though beliefs of supernatural beings dwelling in the sky prevailed and the Nagas believed in a place where they go after dying, 'heaven' as such was never defined. Noting that this category is neither human nor are they gods but of a lesser being; they fall under the realm of spirit in J.M.C.'s (1929) categorization of supernatural. Further considering the indigenous reference of relating the sky with this particular spirit, they should be considered as 'sky spirits'. The sky spirits were not always confined to the sky though. They occasionally wandered down to earth and had accidental encounters with humans.

Narratives about the sky dwellers speak mostly of them as females and renowned for their beauty, and the occasional interactions with humans sometimes even led to marriage after which they started residing in the human world. However, it appears the sky dwellers are not all females as an Ao

narrative speaks of *Anung Kodaker* (a male sky spirit) who wanted to marry a girl from Ungma village (Bendangangshi & Aier 1990/ 1997:36). According to the legend, after much persuasion the girl and her family agreed to his proposal and preparations began for the marriage whereupon the girl was to be taken away to live with the groom in the sky. Unfortunately, the brother of the intending bride was accidentally killed by one of the sky dwellers upon arrival for the marriage, which led to dissolution of the intended marriage and the groom left in anger and disappointment, cursing the family and vowing to take away his bride though not physically. Shortly thereafter the girl died and their family and clan ever since that day had failed to produce a good leader or rich men.[5] What can be deduced from this narrative is that sky spirits are not all females; this is also complemented by the fact that the Sumi terminology for sky dwellers is *Kungumi* which is a general category and not gender specific. Secondly, the sky spirits are believed to be capable of causing harm to the humans. They however do not appear to be ill disposed towards the humans in general resorting to harm only in unawareness or in retaliation.

To this category of supernatural beings no rituals, sacrifices or offerings are directed. The relation between the human and the sky spirits do not reflect one of reverence and compensation and the Sky Spiritsdo not characterise as compensators (Stark & Bainbridge 1987/1996: 39). The interaction of the human and sky spirits reveals two world constructs- one of the human world and the other of the supernatural with interaction between humans and the sky spirits taking place in the everyday space of the human beings. Incidentally, when a human girl married a male sky spirit she was expected to be taken away to the sky spirit's home whereas when a male human was able to woo a female sky spirit to be his wife she resided with him in his home. The patrilocal tradition of the Nagas appears distinctive even in their encounter with the supernaturals reflecting a social structure that permeated supernatural relationships.

c)   Propitiatory Gods

Men take two major attitudes towards the supernatural – the attitude of persuasion, petition or propitiation, and the attitude of coercion, constraint or compulsion (J.M.C. 1929:1). A belief in a supernatural and the attitude towards it is determined by the belief in its power. Amongst the deities in the Naga pantheons the most significant ones towards whom the act of propitiations are often directed are the supernatural beings who inhabits their everyday living space. The Angamis call them *Terhuomia* , the Aos *Tsungrem* , the Konyaks *Yaha* and the Sumi called them *Tughami* or *Aghau*. These are gods of their fields, their houses, their hills, their forests, their graveyards, rivers, lakes, pathways and so on. These gods influence their surroundings and intervene in human affairs. The tendencies of the gods are held to be such that when appeased or appropriated they bring blessings otherwise they bring destruction or other misfortunes. Hence, the gods are believed to be both benevolent and malevolent and had the authority to either bless or destroy in accordance to the treatment/reverence meted out to them. This belief in turn initiated a plethora of enactment of rituals, observance of taboos, and offerings of sacrifices related to all aspects of their socio-cultural life.

d)   Ancestral Spirits

The ancestral spirits are recognized and given due reverence in the Naga eschatology. They believe that the dead are aware of what was taking place in the physical world and are concerned with the

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[5]   Interview with Bendangangshi , co-author of the book *The Religion of the Ao Nagas* (1997), 16th May 2019 , at Ungma Village.

care of their properties (Mills 1926/ 2003). The ancestral spirits are invoked at certain ceremonies and rituals for blessing, yet their visible presence are regarded as omens of tragedies. They are also believed to be capable of bringing sickness to the living and of possessing ability to take away souls of the living. Among the Sumi tribe it is believed that when a significant man such as a chief dies he takes away with him a companion, i.e. another man dies soon after the chief dies.

Khongliam (2012: 36) had argued that in Khasi religion the concept of immortality of human soul has given reason for the Khasi people to respect the souls of departed relatives or parents; however such an act was not worship but only venerating them. Ram (1965:26) noted that Bhils believe in ghosts based on the belief that there is a soul in the body which has a separate existence; if there is a disease or illness in the family they associate it with the wrath of the spirit of the dead person and to nullify its effect and to propitiate the spirit, prayers or sacrifices are offered or its idol is installed. Similarly in Naga beliefs the belief in soul and its continuity after its physical life expires is related to belief in ancestral spirits and on important events they are remembered with symbolic rituals; however unlike the Bhils they do not link all their ill health to their ancestral spirits, only certain peculiar illness [6] are associated with them.

The belief in ancestral spirits signifies the continuation of family relationship even after death. The dead continues to live in the memories of the living and these memories are expressed/ displayed through rituals on important life events thus influencing the legacy of lineages more prominently. Social relations are therefore seen as being extended even after the end of physical life.

Belief in Soul and Afterlife

The Nagas believe the soul exists attached to their physical body, and upon death the soul is believed to leave the body and go to the land of the dead. About the Sumi concept of soul Chophy (2019) writes "In the traditional religion, the dichotomy of the body (aphimphi) and soul (aghungu) was identified ….A soul (aghungu) becomes a ghost (kithimi) if it permanently leaves the human body, and departs for the land of the dead (kithilato) ….for the Sumi, death is understood as body devoid of soul". The separation of the soul from the body however appears not limited to one's death, in fact the soul can separate from a living body as well. It is believed that when a soul detaches itself from a body the physical body falls sick and if the soul is not retrieved back to its physical being, the person dies. Such instances happens while in the wild or amongst children when they are frightened suddenly. In such cases if the soul was retrieved the body continued to live. After death the soul is believed to linger around for some days before embarking towards the land of the dead.

In Naga eschatology not every soul is destined for the same place. Based on the deeds during their lifetime the destiny for their eternal life would be determined. After journeying across the pathway of the dead the soul will be judged at the threshold among the Aos by *Meyutsungba* , among the Konyaks by *Dolonyu* the Supreme judges. Thereafter, the Aos believe the righteous will enter into T*ipuli* (Heaven in Ao) to be with *Meyutsungba* and the Konyak speak of *Yimching* as the land of the dead. The Sumi believes that from *Kithilato* the soul passes into the other world where the righteous shall go to *Kungu* (understood as a place above probably meaning in the sky) whereas the unrighteous goes to *ghuyi* (the Sumi idea of profane and therefore considered as a place of profanity).

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[6]   For instance among the Sumi it was believed that before the wedding day if a parent/parents of the marrying couple was/were deceased a ritual feast remembering them was to be observed if it was not, during the marriage feast when the guests partake in the food it causes them loose motion.

The earthly activities had impact on the soul and the Afterlife; for instance the soul substance of the person who had performed the *Feasts of Merit* and erected a stone was believed to adhere to the menhir (Fürer - Haimendorf 1939/2004: 25) moreover the souls of those who had sacrificed *mithun* (bos frontalis) and bulls with all righteousness and in accordance to the religious instructions were permitted to enter into 'eternal blest' (Bendangangshi & Aier 1990/1997: 44).

The concept of the soul and the *Afterlife* sustains the operation of morality and perpetuates the effort to attain ritual status, which is closely related to their social status, in their everyday life.

Rituals, Prayers and Sacrifices

If the belief in the supernatural is the heart of the Naga religion it is the rituals which sustains the beliefs, ritual aspect brings to light their behavioural and institutional practices (Chophy 2019:114). The Nagas perform rituals for almost every aspect of their life - rituals are observed on establishment of village, on construction of house, agricultural rituals, life cycle rituals, rituals for prosperity, for health, for safety, festive rituals, in the face of natural calamities and many more. There are public rituals and private rituals. Public rituals are mainly performed by the village priest whereas rituals related to clan or household/family rituals are performed by the clan priest or the eldest male member. There are also rituals which are observed occasionally and those that are a part of their everyday life.

Rituals are often accompanied by prayers and offerings/sacrifices. Prayers are offered relative to the enactment of the ritual; these are pronounced by the chief actor engaging in the ritual which is most often a priest or the head of a family .The Ao Nagas observing a ritual on a new cultivation site would engage in pouring out the rice beer from a cup slowly while uttering *Ang, na tama jemang* (meaning Take this, you drink first) and continue saying *Oh Lord god, from today onwards we shall continue to come here, hence I pray , you save us from all eventuality, sickness and even headaches as we work here and bless us by bearing abundant harvest in our labour* (Bendangangshi & Aier 1990/1997: 54). The Nagas offered chicken/rooster, pigs, or mithuns (*Bos frontalis*) as way of appeasing the supernaturals and sought wealth, longevity and prosperity in return. Besides food and drinks were also regular forms of offerings. When a house was constructed tiny bundles of food were tied to the main pillar of the house as an offering to the house spirit. Offerings were however not limited to animals, food and drinks; in Ighanumi village,it was narrated [7] how in the olden days the *Khagho* (Village Gate in Sumi) was a sacred space and as they pass through the gate they pick a twig or a leaf and offered it to the spirit of the gate. One of the Naga way of sacrifices included the occasional offerings of the skulls of humans from raids. Human heads were offered especially for replenishing the prosperity and fertility of the villages. The offering of a human part symbolize not the erroneous understanding that the Naga people had no value of life but rather the value and sacredness they attached to a human life. A relevance to Stark & Bainbridge (1987/1996:83) exchange theory between humans and gods is noted here where the desire of gods resemble the desires of humans, and thus the common value for human life, which impels the humans to involve in 'high exchange ratio' giving the greatest of their resources i.e., human life to the gods in exchange for greater rewards.

The items of offerings such as cattle, food and drinks, all essential and valuable commodities in an agrarian economy also symbolize the economic input of a greater return.

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[7]   Focus Group Discussion held in Ighanumi village on 24th November 2016

Taboo

Every religion has its values and ideals, some forms of avoidances and some forms of requirements. Every religion is again generally accepted to have its idea of what is *sacred* and what is *profane*, the Durkheimian (1915) ideal of what is *sacred* applied to things set apart and forbidden and *profane* to that which is not so sacred. It is in context to what is restricted or forbidden that the concept of taboo[8] is identified, but whereas taboo refers to the forbidden it is closely associated with the sacred (Olson 2015:246).

The *modus operandi* of Naga religious practices is based on differentiating which is permitted and which is forbidden, with regard to all aspects of their life. Thus, "there are taboos against offending Gods, spirits, cutting sacred trees, against religious functions, failing to contribute to a sacrifice etc (Thong & Kath 2011:132)." Taboo or forbidden is termed as *Kenna* in Angami , *Anempong* among the Ao's , *Henbü* by the Konyak and *Chini* among the Sumis. It is taboo for women to enter the men's morung , or to sit on the *tehubas,[9]* there are also taboos related to marriage practices, birth and death. The Naga observance of taboo is related to fear of misfortunes in economic aspect, death, sickness and other hardships in life.

One important form of taboo the Nagas observe is the avoidance against working on certain days .The Angami observance of such days when they are forbidden from venturing out or attending to everyday duties is called *penna,* the Ao's know it as *amang*, the Konyak *nyüopu* and the Sumi call it *pine*. The concept of *chini* , *pini* and *pine* all relates to taboo, and they overlaps sometimes in figure of speech. However they may be understood in this construct- certain practices which are not to be breached are termed as *Chini* (Forbidden in Sumi) for instance it is *Chini* to go to the fields while observing *Pine* (a ritual day) and *pini* will be referred for act of observing *Pine*. Radcliffe -Brown's (1964) elaboration on taboo was that "Anything – a material thing, a place, a word or name, an occasion or event, a day of the week or a period of the year – which is the object of a ritual avoidance or taboo can be said to have ritual value", hence the days on which the Nagas abstain from work because of ritual taboo may be called ritual days. Chophy (2019: 97) while referring to *pini* observed that "The concept does not merely imply prohibitions but also involves a state of mind where the individual or the community involved in the ritual takes a break from the monotonous cycle of daily existence". During observance of certain ritual days by a household, such as those related to sickness or birthing of livestock, other people are restricted from visiting their house and the entire village when observing certain ritual days do not entertain visitors, no stranger is allowed to enter the village nor does it allow its inhabitants to exit out thevillage gate or to bring anything into the village from outside. Among the Ao's of Longkhum village *Kitsungkulemba* was a one day ritual where, if a particular household which has experienced tragedies such as sickness among the family members or the livestock, or in the event of crop destruction the household hung bunches of the *Kinemgpungla* (*Rhamnus alaternus*) on the doorway or gate to show that they were observing *Kitsungkulemba* . Slaughtering of a pig was done and before the sun set the members of the house closed all the doors and windows, cooked the meat and shared amongst them. From each part of the slain pig small

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8   Note –"Taboo refers to that which is forbidden. It can be traced to the Tongan language of Polynesian culture and the term *tapu,* or the Fijian word *tabu,* meaning prohibited, not allowed, or forbidden. It is closely associated with what is sacred and is surrounded by custom and law." Carl Olson, 2015, Indian Reprint, *Religious Studies: The Key Concepts*, India. p.246

9   Tehuba is an Angami word referring to a sitting area made of stones arranged in a circular way where important matters of the village were discussed by the menfolk.

pieces were put in banana leaves and placed inside a basket, it was hung on the main pillar/post which was in the centre of the house as an act of worship.[10] Apart from other regular ritual days a village observed ritual days whenever there were unnatural deaths in the village or whenever there was destruction in the village by natural elements such as a house damaged by wind, or a tree near the village being blown down (Mills 1926/2003 : 296) . Besides, ritual days were observed by concerned individual(s), family or clan at life events (marriage, birth, death) too. For the Sumis when a village chief dies the entire village *pini* (the act of observing pine) for many days.

Here, one finds the observance of ritual days augmenting the concept of an 'insider' and an 'outsider'. Household ritual days demarcated the particular household and its members from the rest of the society, clan ritual day(s) such as one observed on death of its members or the ritual day(s) observed by the entire village identified the observants as one group and others as different where the observants/ insider were able to renew their feelings of belonging and solidarity. The ritual days as termed by the differently spoken Naga tribes are presented in the following table.

TABLE 1
Ritual Days of Nagas

Tribes	Ritual Day
Angami	*Penna/Penyie*
Ao	*Amung*
Konyak	*Nyüopu*
Sumi	*Pine*

Dreams, Omens and Divination

The Nagas had strong belief in their dreams such that for any major decisions they consult their dreams. For establishing a village, for instance, apart from surveying the other essentials required for a good settlement such as the fertility of soil, the conducive environment, the water source and a defensive area, the deciding factor is usually the omens of the dream; if upon sleeping on the selected site the omens of the dreams are interpreted as portend the site was abandoned (Nshoga 2009). In the case of marriage the Angamis first consult their dreams before going ahead with the marriage procedure. Dreams were often interpreted related to health, death and success. While there were seers and professional dreamers (Hutton 1921/2003: 246) to consult for those seeking aid, individual dreams were regarded with much conviction.

Reading the signs of nature is another Naga way of foretelling the future. The Nagas divine by observing peculiarities in nature, such as a halo surrounding the sun the Sumi believes that it symbolizes the impending death of an influential/significant man. Fortunes about hunting expeditions are divined by consulting seers, also when they met certain people[11] on the way they returned home instead because they believed the hunt will not be successful. The impending marriage life of a newly married couple is divined by observing the entrails of a chicken killed during the marriage ritual among the Aos.

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[10]   Interview with Chutiba , 77 years old at Longkhum, 5th June 2016.

[11]   A person who was believed to have an evil mouth, such a person is identified when the bad words he says really takes effect. Group Discussion at Ighanumi Village 24th November 2016.

Evans-Pritchard (1976: 35) records about the Zande that the Azande do not always consult the poison oracle for every doubt and misfortune rather they consults oracles and witch-doctors with matters which affect their health , their more serious social and economic ventures. In case an oracle predicts any undertaking to result in disaster, they gave up their plans. Similarly consulting dreams, reading the omens or divination for the Nagas were related to their socio-economic ventures, and concern for their health; and intending undertakings were cancelled in case of telling- signs of any harmful indication or disaster.

Thus indigenous religions of the Nagas reflect supernatural features — 'belief in a noncorporeal God or gods, belief in the afterlife, belief in the ability of prayer or ritual to change the course of human events which are universal' (Henig 2007). These in turn serve as their source of morality and produced values, norms and attitudes which influenced their everyday life. The indigenous beliefs and practices are closely inter-wined with their social structure and permeate their entire cultural system.

Indigenous Religions: The Academic History of Its Nomenclature

In the nineteenth- century the anthropology of religion became preoccupied with the origin of religion specially influenced by Taylor's (1871) theory on evolution of religion where he conceived animism as the base of all religion. Following it, the idea that, 'primitive' societies and their belief systems and practices would shed light to how the 'refined' religions eventually evolved prompted zealous western scholarships and flurry of producing literatures on 'primitive' society and religion such as Durkheim's (1915) *The Elementary Forms Of Religious Life*, Malinowski's (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Evans-Pritchard's (1965) *Theories of Primitive Religion* and a host of essays and addresses of Radcliffe -Brown (1964) talking of religion with reference to the 'primitives'.[12] The critical question as to whether the motive of the interest and study in primitive religions was to demonstrate the value and superiority of Christianity by locating it at the apex of religious development or whether the purpose was to trace the roots of Christianity to primitive thinking and thus to superstition was proposed by Cox (2007:11).While the question remains yet a rhetoric one, what emerged of the efforts of the studies/ and in the process of studies was unmistakably an attitude of the Westerners who McGuire (2012:14) observed began carrying an implicit cultural model of their 'religion' with them even as they encountered others. Two categories of religious traditions thus became differentiated one which was considered of 'virtuoso' religiosity related to sacred objectives such as holiness, spiritual blessings, and salvation and the other as 'popular' religiosity which was considered profane and related to people's pragmatic daily needs (McGuire 2012:114).The former (linked with the social and religious elites) as (McGuire 2012) observed became established as 'official' religion which were prescribed, regulated, and socialized by organized religious groups and the later (related to uneducated and superstitious masses) as 'nonofficial' religion characterized by unorganized, inconsistent, heterogeneous beliefs and practices and a distinct absence of religious specialists composing a separate organizational framework . According to McGuire (2012: 115), the establishment of "official" religion by definition began excluding "people's" religion which included the religious expressions characteristic of indigenous peoples in colonized lands.

The religion of indigenous people considered being spiritually/morally inferior to the 'Western' belief and practice, religiously inferior connotations such as animism, totemism, fetishism,

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[12]   These were compiled and published in the form of a book *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1964).

primitive, pagan, heathen, savage, archaic etc were unabashedly put to print by the practitioners of 'superior' religion in reference to the indigenous people and their religions.

Such ethnocentric views were left un-criticised in the academia for a quite a time until in the twentieth century attention were drawn to how these terminologies were having a denigrating effect on the cultures (of the indigenous peoples) instead of describing it (Harvey 2006 cited in Cox 2007:3).Turner (1977: 27) noting the religions of tribal societies out-rightly rejected the use of 'Primitive' and stressed that connotations such as 'animist' 'ethnic' 'pre-literate' 'non-historical' 'traditional' and 'archaic' are misleadingly inaccurate and offensive to describe religious traditions of people and called for a term which should, according to the first principles in religious studies, be one acceptable by the people described. Besides *Cultural- relativism* a perspective of understanding different societies, religion and culture objectively without using the values of one culture to judge the worth of another emerged as a strong method in modern anthropology, moreover the hype of the evolutionary paradigm of understanding religion was beginning to fade. These developments provided impetus to review the Western pejorative terminologies expressed for the beliefs and practices outside their definition of a higher 'religion' and to replace the prior concepts with one which would not demean the religious expression of a people and at the same time be scientifically apt in application.

Turner (1997: 28) proposed the term *primal* which was derived from various cognate words such as primeval, primordial and primary be applied to religion that have been left outside the so-called 'World Religions'; he justified that the term conveys the ideas that such religions presents the most basic or fundamental religious forms in the overall religious history of mankind and that they have preceded and contributed to the other great religious systems. The theological field welcomed the nomenclature perhaps in the sense of how it implies 'primary' and 'prior'. The *primal* as argued by Cox (2007:2) was however scientifically unwarranted and only aided more the missionary theory that the 'primal' worldview provides a base on which all world religions are built and, in the case of Christianity, anticipates the fullness of the message of Jesus Christ. The concept, therefore except from being devoid of the earlier obvious derogatory connotations, appears only a refined presentation of the earlier paradigm of the evolution of religion.

With the inadequacy of the term *Primal* to sufficiently represent the religion of the indigenous people, which was beginning to gain a firm foothold in academic circles as a tradition in its own right amongst the world religions , Cox (1996 cited in Cox 2007:27) suggested that the term 'primal religions' be replaced with 'the religions of indigenous peoples'. To guarantee the empiricism with the use of this phrase he further suggests the use of 'geographical, ethnic and linguistic qualifiers' where possible. By then the academia was already getting the hang of discarding the insensitive intentionally condescending terminologies used earlier and began describing religious expressions of indigenous people with their own faculty such as Native American Religions (Fletcher et al 2002), Indigenous Religions (Harvey 2002), Indigenous People and Religion (Brock 2005). Indigenous according to Brock (2005: 270-271) means originating in or native to a region, and 'Indigenous People' is a form of self-identification for many peoples, perhaps in this sense the nomenclature 'Indigenous Religion' fulfils the empirical understanding of a religion originating in a region and more significantly identifies the religion of a people with its own value and essence and has therefore found more appeal. Suffice to say, as Cox (2007:30) rightly points out, the development of new academic programmes and publications related to Indigenous Religions, supports the contention that 'Indigenous' now has overtaken 'Primal' as the preferred designation among religious studies scholars.

Conceptual Debate for Naga Indigenous Religion

The religion of the Nagas was tagged as 'animism' during the colonial rule. As noted by Kamei (2019) British Government of India instructed the official administrators including ethnographers to describe the religion of the tribal/indigenous communities as 'animism' and directed to use the terminology in the Census of India (1901). Animism according to Tylor (1871) was the most rudimentary form of religion and defined as a belief in Spiritual Beings. Animism occupied the lowest rung in the ladder of the evolution of religion while monotheism was positioned at the top. The Tylorian influenced categorization of a higher religion and a lower religion became an instrumental tool for Imperial Britain to use Christianity, a higher religion, for their colonial expansion.[13] Achumi (2012:67) notes that the Colonial powers acknowledged the role and need of Christian missionaries as an effective agency in expanding the British Empire; hence beside the lack of proper understanding, apathy and the ethnocentric attitude towards the religion of Nagas , the ulterior motive of the British Government of categorising the religion of Nagas as 'animism' appears to be a scheme for preparing the ground to influence the Western Christian Missionaries to propagate the 'higher religion' in the then Naga Hills which would in turn strengthen the colonial power.

The colonial monographs on Nagas that followed British administration *The Sema Nagas*(JH Hutton 1921), *The Ao Nagas* (JP Mills 1926) , *The Angami Nagas* (JH Hutton 1921), considered classics now on Naga History, all viewed the religion of the Nagas through 'animistic' lens. The indigenous scholarly reproduction (Kath 2005:26, Shikhu 2007: 12, Kath & Thong 2011: 105, Sema 2013: 57, Nienu 2015:137) of these references to the Naga religion as 'animism' without challenging the error/ aptness of its application has only continued to uphold the colonial legacy of it, and promotes the nomenclature to be used popularly in literature and everyday parlance as well.

A few variant on the use of other nomenclature of the religion of Nagas and not animism are noticed in the works of some. Here, we proceed to examine their application and their validation. Imchen (1993: 8) came out with a strong condemnation against terming the Ao Naga religion as animism and arguing that even the Biblical religion has animistic elements but do not fall under the category of animism, he asserted that the religion of the ancient people was the prime factor of all modern religions and likewise proposed that it was most relevant to use the word 'primal 'to refer to the religion of ancient Naga religion as so. Longkumer and Moanungsang (2012) opined that the concept of religion seems to be preconditioned by popular Western Value system and tribal religion and culture are considered inferior on basis of material backwardness. Affirming that tribal people do not like to be called heathen, savage, primitive or superstitious and that words such as animistic, pre literature, traditional or ethnic are not accurate and taking a cue from Turner they preferred to call religion of the indigenous tribes as Primal religion, denoting a religion in existence prior to the universal religion and in this regard categorize the religion of Nagas as primal religion. The fallacy of primal has already been discussed above therefore the argument shall not be repeated here save for the conclusion that primal do not suffice to term the religion of the Nagas.

Longchar (1995:12) had advocated the concept of 'tribal religion' and pointed out that it was misleading to label the religion of tribals as animism or primitive. He had since, been a devout practitioner of the concept (Longchar 1997, Longchar & Vashum 1998, Longchar 2015). However,

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[13]   Note Achumi (1992/2012:67) writes [*C*]*hristianity, popularly known as the religion of imperial Britain was closely interlinked with colonialism both in Africa and Asia....Both in Asia and Africa the British introduced Christianity along with their territorial expansion.*

Turner (1997:27) had already identified the complication in applying the concept of tribal religion universally he had said thus "'Tribal' may be acceptable to North American Indians and others but is quite unacceptable now in Africa and we need one term for use anywhere in the world."

Alternate terminology used for the religion of Nagas was 'Traditional religion'. One finds in Nshoga's (2009:193) articulation wherein he had decried that anthropologists, sociologists and Christian missionaries had branded the 'traditional Naga religion' as 'Heathenism', "Infidelist' and 'Animism' and confounded the application. A recent work *The Hornbill Spirit* (2016) by Abraham Lotha and the most latest work *Constructing the Divine* (2019) by Kanato Chophy easily one of the best works on anthropology of Naga Society in general and Naga religion in particular by a indigenous Scholar, all refers to the Naga religion as 'Traditional Religion'. This categorization is further complicated when understood that 'traditional' is not a distinguishing term since all religions are traditional in practice and in Africa alone Christianity and Islam are just as traditional (Turner 1997:28).

The alternate nomenclatures used for referring to the religion of Nagas are still falling short. Therefore, bringing up Cox's conclusion that 'indigenous' is now the academia's recognised category of the religion of the indigenous people, the religions of the Nagas are proposed to be categorized as Naga Indigenous Religions (NIR) (the plural form is proposed in accepting that each tribe practised their independent religion despite only variations in their core beliefs and practices). Similarly for empirical precision when dealing with different tribes, specification may be included such as Ao Naga Indigenous Religion, Angami Naga Indigenous Religion, Konyak Naga Indigenous Religion or Sumi Naga Indigenous Religion as such.

The concept of 'Naga Indigenous Religion' has been hinted in a book titled *The Phom Naga Indigenous Religion* (2015) by Henshet Phom, however apart from the appellation the author has not argued why he disapprove of the earlier categories nor has he elaborated on the validation of the new terminology he used. To substantiate that Naga Religions falls under the category of 'Indigenous' a reference to Cox's (2007:61) is cited

> In the writing of various scholars on this topic, the application of an inductive scientific method for classifying the characteristics of an 'indigenous' religion seems consistently to produce a list, which at a minimum, comprises the following three features : (1) indigenous societies are local, or at least self contained, and thus have no interest in extending their religious beliefs and practices beyond their own limited environment; (2) they are based primarily on kinship relations and usually have a strong emphasis on ancestors; (3) they transmit their traditions orally, resulting in a fundamentally different attitude towards beliefs and practices than is found amongst traditions derived from and based on authoritative written sources.

The Naga Indigenous Religions is local to each tribe and each village have their own localised belief system and practice and are not prone to extending their beliefs outside their locality, secondly the eldest male in the clan or family is often the religious head taking charge of performing many clan or family rituals; ancestors are revered and clans/tribes share common mythical descent. Lastly, beliefs and practices of the Nagas are transmitted orally and experienced by individuals in

the context of communal life and nature (Thong 2009: 251). In this context the religion of the Nagas qualifies as an indigenous religion characteristically.

Conclusion

It is of significance that the religions of the Nagas be referred to as 'Naga Indigenous Religions' henceforth. The Census of India (2011)[14] with regard to religion of Nagaland shows a list of the World religion 'Hindu' , 'Muslim', 'Christian', 'Sikh', 'Buddhist' ,'Jain' followed by 'Other Religions' and 'Not Stated', the categorization is similar to the All India Religion (Census of India 2011)[15] list . The Sumi, Ao and Konyak tribes all converted to Christianity however a small section of the Angamis still follows the indigenous religion. The omission of not specifying/identifying the indigenous religion of Nagas in a rubric of national significance impacts the collective disregard for Naga's indigenous religion and demotes its cultural heritage as well. Academically, the bifurcation of studying religion as 'world religion' and 'indigenous religion' has emerged, with strong emphasis on the need to focus on indigenous religion which earlier was neglected (Olupona 2004:xiv); while the bifurcation reveals the non-acknowledgement of the universality of religion , the categorization of indigenous religions such as Naga Indigenous Religions will find representation through this category providing augmentation of more theoretical and substantive discussions and its traditions understood within its own sacredness.

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Census of India (2011). https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/districtlist/nagaland.html

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[14]   https://www.census2011.co.in/data/religion/state/13-nagaland.html

[15]   https://www.census2011.co.in/religion.php

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The National Education Policy, 2020: Thrust on Entrepreneurship

BHARAT

Abstract

Education is an eternal voyage of acquaintance and enlightenment. National Education Policy, 2020 (NEP), as approved by the Union Cabinet, promises to make sweeping reforms in education and research, aiming to create new possibilities for life-long learning, besides making it industry oriented with emphasis on entrepreneurship. NEP aspires to make young generation more imaginative, innovative, ingenious, proactive, pioneering, prospect-oriented which would train their ability and willingness to create value for other people, relevant to all walks in life. This is at the core of entrepreneurship and is also a competence that all demography increasingly needs to have in today's milieu, regardless of career choice. The execution of NEP in true sprit will make the Indian youth accelerated and affianced for creating value to other people, based on the knowledge acquired by them, and this will further fuel deep learning and illustrate the practical relevancy of the educational system. The present research paper is an attempt to understand the NEP and underlines the strengthening inputs for entrepreneurship in India by adopting doctrinal method of research using primary and secondary sources. The NEP is significant a move towards promoting and nurturing the entrepreneurial attitude among youth through strengthening of educational structure.

Key words: Education, Entrepreneurship, National Education Policy (NEP), Technical and Vocational Education.

Prologue

"When learning is purposeful, creativity blossoms. When creativity blossoms, thinking emanates. When thinking emanates, knowledge is fully lit. When knowledge is lit, economy flourishes" (Kalam).

Education system happens to be the most important sector for any country and India is no exception to that. For any country, if the education system is not proper and robust then no matter how strong that country is, it will not be socially and economically commanding. There's no denying the fact that the Indian education system, is one of the credible among developing nations, left a lot to be desired, especially on the entrepreneurial front. Sailing on the demographic dividend, India has a huge pool of talented tech-savvy and tech-enthusiast, but till yesterday not erudite entrepreneurial intricacies in the curriculum (NEP, 56).

There is always a need for a comprehensive framework to guide the advancement of education in the country, uniformly. The aforementioned need was first felt in the year 1964 when Prof. Siddheshwar Prasad, Member of Parliament from Nalanda (Bihar) criticized the then Union government for not paying due attention to the education, coupled with lack of uniform vision and explicit philosophy for education. The same year, a National Education Commission, headed by Prof. (Dr.) D.S. Kothari, the then Chairperson of the University Grants Commission (UGC), was constituted to draft a policy. Based on the recommendations of this Commission, the Parliament of India passed the first National Education Policy in the year 1968. Subsequently, the second came in 1986 to be revised in 1992. Despite of all these initiatives and attempts, education still remained a theoretical aspect because

the central focus was on the promotion of literacy without providing the desired institutional support for sowing the seeds of innovative/critical thinking through practical exposure and experience. To keep pace and plug gaps, the Government of India has replaced the 34 years old National Policy on Education, with the National Education Policy of 2020 (NEP). The NEP, as nodded by the Union Cabinet, on one hand promises to make sweeping reforms in education and research; whereas, on the other hand, aims to create new possibilities for life-long learning, besides making it industry oriented with emphasis on entrepreneurship.

Primordial Education Structure in India

"Education is the special manifestation of man. Education is the treasure which can be preserved without fear of loss. Education secures material pleasure, happiness and fame" (Bharatahari).

Education is an eternal voyage of acquaintance and enlightenment. The primordial education structure of India is accorded an elated spot worldwide and is considered as a source of culture, tradition, knowledge and practice that encourages and endorses honesty, humankind, humility and above all humanity.

Education in India has a sanctimonious heritage of being practical, pragmatic and paired to life. It has evolved over the period since *Rigveda* and has focused on the ethical, spiritual, physical and intellectual aspects for the holistic development of an individual by emphasizing on values such as devotion and discipline, honesty and humility, self-respect and self-reliance. All the teaching and training, lesson and learning followed the tenets of *Vedas* and *Upanishads* fulfilling duties towards folks and family, thus encompassing all aspects of life.

The primordial education was on sound pedestal of the *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads*, *Dharmasutras* etc. The treatises of *Aryabhata*, *Bhaskaracharya*, *Brahmagupta*, *Chanakya*, *Chakrapani Datta*, *Gargi*, *Gautama*, *Katyayana*, *Madhava*, *Maitreyi*, *Nagarjuna*, *Panini*, *Patanjali*, *Pingala*, *Sankardev*, and *Thiruvalluvar* and the therapeutic writings of *Charaka*, *Sushruta* were also valued sources of learning. There used to be depiction of distinction between *shastras* (scholarly disciplines) and *kavyas* (creative and imaginative scripts). The foundation of erudition were drained from assortment of disciplines like *arthashastra* (polity), *itihas* (history), *anviksiki* (logic), *shilpashastra* (architecture), *mimamsa* (interpretation), *dhanurvidya* (archery), *varta* (agriculture, trade, commerce, animal husbandry) etc. besides participation in *vyayamaprakara* (exercises), *yogasadhana* (training the mind and body), *krida* (games, recreational activities), *dhanurvidya* (archery) for acquiring martial skills, and among others (NEP, 4).

Based on the precision of the *Guru* (teacher) and the promise of *Shishya* (disciple), the *Guru-Shishya parampara* (teacher-disciple tradition) used to be the hallmark for conveying subtle knowledge and conscientious skills touching all facets of life and learning. And eventually, *Shishya* used to master the knowledge that the *Guru* epitomized.

India is a vast land brimming with imaginative and inventive populace of varied talent and has the credit to give the world its first university, in the form of *Takshashila*. The legacy of *Takshashila* was followed and nurtured by *Nalanda*, *Vallabhi*, *Vikramshila* to touch the high standards of multi-disciplinary teaching and research. There are many wonderful things India has introduced to the world from the decimal system to the numeral notations and binary numbers, from the *chakravala* method of cyclic algorithm to ruler measurements, from snakes & ladders (as inspired from ***Mokshapat)*** to the game of chess (NEP, 4). The primordial Indian education was flawlessly

focused on innovation so as to sharpen the thought process and shape the intellect power. Evidencing innovative centric aptitude, *Aryabhata* became a great astronomer-mathematician only to give the world the concept and symbol of "0" (zero) and its integration into the place-value system besides propounding the heliocentric theory stating that the earth spin on its axis and prediction about the lunar and solar eclipses, duration of the day as well as the distance between the Earth and the Moon. The notable scientist *Kanad* devised that *paramanu* (atom) is an indivisible and indestructible particle of matter and has two states *i.e.* absolute rest and a state of motion. *Sushruta Samhita* contributed to *Ayurveda*, plastic surgery (most well-known contribution in the reconstruction of the nose, known also as Rhinoplasty) and cataract surgery (using a curved needle, *Jabamukhi Salaka*) and the long list goes on in diverse domes!

With the implementation of foreign model of education during the British regime and its continuation post-independence, inbuilt element of innovation coupled with critical thinking in *Guru-Shishya parampara* went astray for a long duration which resulted in shamble state of education in the country by the British styled universities established in India (Panagariya, 432). Due to this paradigm shift, the skill development took a back seat and degree oriented theoretical information imparting system dominated the academic milieu over the years. In such type of dogmatic learning structure the entrepreneurial outlook lacked due to over dosage of theoretical concerns. Of late, the Government's endeavors were not copious; to bring back innovation and critical thinking back in the pedagogy, as it was long forgotten.

Legislative domain on Education

The Constitution of India provides for division of powers between the Union and State governments as under the Seventh Schedule, there are three lists i.e. the Union list, the State list and the Concurrent list (the Constitution). The Constitution of India in its original enactment defined Education as State subject, thereby making provision that the State provides education to all its citizens. Through the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976 'education' became a concurrent list subject, w.e.f. 03-01-1977, under Entry 25 along with Forests, Weights & Measures, Protection of Wild Animals & Birds and Administration of Justice (Amendment Act). The objective behind the transfer was to give equal primacy to both the Central and State governments as partners in furthering the education goals in a cohesive manner.

However, the professional, vocational or technical training of Union agencies and institutions comes under Union list at Entry 65 while vocational and technical training of labour falls under Concurrent List along with Education at Entry 25. Accordingly, the policy evolution, advent of schemes, determination of standards/norms/certification regarding training came in the preview of Central government at National level, while the routine administration of Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) rests with the respective State Governments / UTs since 1956.

In short, under present legislation, education is considered not only as a joint responsibility, but almost like a 'partnership' in which the Union government plays a very crucial, if not dominant, role in education. Both Union and State governments have 'overlapping' responsibilities for policy making in education, and in case of conflict, the legislation of the Union Government prevails (Tilak, 12).

Despite of the bulk grants in consultation with the erstwhile Planning Commission and the Union Ministries various schemes/programmes/courses were launched including the Craftsmen Training Scheme of the year 1950 but the desired quantitative and qualitative results could not give the impetus to cultivate and nurture entrepreneurial attitude.

Lately, to ignite the spark of entrepreneurship, under the vision of a 'Skilled India' the Union Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship was carved to uniformly co-ordinate the Skill Development initiatives and building the vocational and technical training framework besides innovative thinking through the Directorate General of Training; National Skill Development Agency; National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC); National Council for Vocational Education and Training; National Skill Development Fund, thirty-eight Sector Skill Councils; thirty-three National Skill Training Institutes; fifteen-thousand ITIs and one hundred eighty-seven registered training partners of NSDC. And now it is advanced and advocated through the NEP too.

The National Education Policy, 2020

The penultimate education system created a mass of graduates, who could not put their knowledge to practical use and the spirit of creativity has been lost in generations of rote learning. The education system, according to Swami Vivekananda, is man-making, life-giving, character-building, and assimilation of noble ideas. Today the real rationale of education should aspire to develop 21st-century global skills to meet the industry requirement besides training in life skills. Therefore, the NEP is structured to explore the potential and further harness the young talent. The new policy reflects the paradigm shift from employability to entrepreneurship and it seeks to churn out job creators instead of job seekers.

NEP is in complete harmony with United Nations (UN) defined Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as adopted in 2015 by the UN Member States to eradicate poverty, protect the mother Earth along with ensuring overall peace and prosperity of people. The 17 SDGs are indivisible and integrated in the sense that they recognize that action in one part will affect results in others, and that development must set of social, economic and environmental sustainability scales. The SDG 4 encourages the member States to ensure 'inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'. Under SDG 4, Target 4.7 suggested for member States "to integrate values-based and action-oriented learning into their education systems" (Rethinking Schooling, XV). The NEP and SDG4 share the goals of universal quality education;technical, vocational and tertiary education; effective learning outcomes;technical training and vocational skills for entrepreneurship; Gross Enrolment Ratio (GRE); lifelong learning; inclusive and effective learning environments for all (NEP, 3).

At hand, NEP is not only founding the multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary facets of education and skills but also joining hands with flagship schemes and forerunner initiatives of the Government of India; *like*, "Make in India, Start-Up India, *Stand-Up India,* Skill India, Digital India and latest being Self-reliant (*Atma Nirbhar*) India" and interestingly most of them have the common goal to promote entrepreneurship over jobs.

Greater independence and self-fulfillment are the basic attributes of the entrepreneurship. The overarching goal of thrust onentrepreneurship is weaved in the NEP in the sense that it aspires to make young generation more imaginative, innovative, ingenious, proactive, pioneering, prospect-oriented which would train their ability and willingness to create value for other people, relevant to all walks in life. This is at the core of entrepreneurship and is also a competence that all demography increasingly needs to have in today's milieu, regardless of career choice. The following thrust areas underline that NEP will not only push to make India a global education hub but also an entrepreneurial laboratory besides self-reliant (Bharat):

Critical thinking and Skill development

The optimism of education is to train the mind to think and the success of nations mainly depends on the nurturing of the young generation and demography in such a way that they can think critically and choose their path freely rather than burdening them with pedagogy. Indeed, this kind of empowerment with education that is aligned with entrepreneurship is the key to success and will make all the difference not far in the future. And such an objective, if achieved, through NEP can do wonders.

> "Learning gives creativity, the creativity leads to thinking; the thinking provides knowledge and the knowledge makes great."

Education is the process of learning for the life that ignites the minds to think creatively and critically. The NEP gives leading connotation to critical thinking and skill development in the school as well as the higher education, as it calls to induce it from pre-school level to senior secondary level with the objective to empower every student with vocational skillfulness (NEP, Chapter 3, 4, 7 & para 10.8).

For endorsing and encouraging entrepreneurship, the commitment of the Government of India is echoed by the bell-wether programs like Atal Innovation Mission (AIM), Atal Tinkering Lab (ATL), Atal Incubation Centre (AIC), Atal New India Challenge *etc.* and now NEP has also joined the row. The pioneering institutions including the Indian Institutes of Management (*IIMs*), the Indian Institutes of Technology (*IITs*), National Institutes of Fashion Technology (NIFTs), premier universities etc. have come up with state-of-art incubation centers which provide resources and guidance to help the start-ups to focus on innovation, growth, development and booming of an idea into reality.

Just like, on birth, sometimes a baby is kept under care in an incubator in the 'Neonatal Intensive Care Unit' (NICU) with controlled temperature for the first few hours to let the baby grow stronger and adjust to outside environment. In like fashion, a start-up is incubated in an Incubation Centre, which gives them a chance to bring the business in the desired shape. Even the NEP encourages setting up incubation centers and centers of excellence to nurture the ground-breaking ideas and develop an entrepreneurial culture in educational set up which will channelize innovative minds in right direction to find solutions to the problems faced by the society and industry and thus creating value. Nevertheless, perking up entrepreneurial mindset and attitude through 'critical thinking and skill development' is a continuous and ongoing process and the way they are best learned is a concern for further contemplation and consideration. Also, the need to establish incubation centers in the vicinity of industrial area needs to be given top-priority to translate research into product/process.

Internship

The aptitude for taking designed jeopardy for the sake of achieving larger targets within the ethos of good business is the root of entrepreneurship and it needs to be sowed right from the foundation and cultivated till the higher-up level.

Acquaintance acquired in textbooks is further cemented by putting knowledge into action through internships. The practical understanding of the theory, the art of team-work, importance of leadership gets inculcated supplementing entrepreneurial capabilities. An intern is privy to almost every phenomenon just like a fly on the wall and thus internships helps the newbie in comprehending the flair and fervor for creating curious path to achieve. As the saying goes '*only heated stone becomes gold*', similarly the young mind needs to be given an exposure to work exhaustively to sharpen their

capabilities and to turn out them in becoming a serial professional in general and successful entrepreneur in specific to attain their accomplishments through the internships (NEP, 14, 37 & 46).

NEP emphasis on the holistic development of an individual by inclusive education from right from the school level to the higher education level is further paralleled to Global Citizenship Education (GCED) (NEP, 13, 37), a response to present global challenges, so as to cognize and resolve them. The object is to prepare the students think and adopt an eco-friendly way of life since the foundation level (NEP, 34-35). Also, with the thrust on digitization in the NEP, it would even advance digital internships as a regular feature. Nevertheless, there is a need for an institutionalized framework to nurture academia-industry linkage with strong support from government through a corresponding provision for the local industry with strict mandate to facilitate and engage the students for such programmes regularly.

Vocational and Technical Education

Ideally, education is skilling with theory and one of the biggest highlight of the NEP is the introduction of vocational courses. The opportunity to skill through vocational courses will provide the much needed real education.

Given the explosive pace of technological development allied with the sheer creativity, the NEP, promotes student entrepreneurs with the exposure to vocational education in partnership with industry and in alignment with the SDG 4.4. Integration of vocational education with educational offerings in all institutions by choosing focus areas based on skills gap analysis and mapping of local opportunities will develop entrepreneurial competencies besides capacities and will go a long way to make vocational education a part of the larger vision of holistic education.

NEP aims to increase the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education including vocational education from 26.3% (2018) to 50% by 2035 (NEP, 10). Further, as part of a holistic education, the very ideas of imaginative and flexible curricular structures enabling creative combinations of disciplines for study; NEP provides for rigorous research-based specialization by giving opportunities for multi-disciplinary work including industry; opportunities for internships with local industry/ businesses-houses; actively engaging with the practical side of learning which all is bound give auxiliary thrust to entrepreneurship (NEP, 37).

Also, the focus on technical education is decisive for India's overall growth and development, and is well addressed in NEP. The technical sectors like engineering, technology, management, architecture, town planning, pharmacy, hotel management and catering technology continue to demand well-qualified individuals for several decades, and hence closer collaboration between industry and institutions to drive innovation and research is actively encouraged in NEP. These domains will become part of the multi-disciplinary learning with an emphasis on opportunities to engage deeply with the field making, thus the education will be entrepreneur oriented. Nevertheless, in order to get the beloved results of vocational and technical education (curriculum and practicum) needs to be renewed/developed keeping the industry in the loop for effective pedagogy; otherwise the whole exercise will turn out to be farce.

Digital Technology

The best way to maximize the performance of any developmental initiative is to fortify the structure. Alike, if education is fortified with latest tools and technology, the high potential goals can certainty be achieved.

The NEP has also emphasized on the creation of electronic content and pedagogy, digital classrooms and libraries along with online teaching and learning by joining hands with Digital India mission to face the contemporary challenges as well as to defeat the current crisis emerging out of Covid-19 pandemic (Aggarwal). Enhanced learning is a solution and introduction of digital libraries will help in creating knowledge society. Economically viable technology based learning will spring surprises (NEP, 58).

Integration of technology with a dedicated unit for planning and development of digital infrastructure, digital content and capacity building of institutes in technology to look after the electronic needs of both school and higher education and to make India a digitally empowered society and knowledge economy (NEP, Chapter 23-24). Nevertheless, the ways of tackling the digital divide and the gender iniquities within digital technology needs to be confronted timely along with relatable tools of digital learning/techniques for teacher and taught both, besides up-gradation of e-infrastructure.

Institutional Support for Execution

To aid the above, NEP has proposed the National Committee for the Integration of Vocational Education (NCIVE) so as to promote integration of education with industry and the National Research Foundation (NRF) to seed, grow, and facilitate research by funding competitive proposals by liaison between researchers and relevant branches of industry (NEP, 44-46). Soliciting inputs from national and international entrepreneurs and practitioners; integrating vocational education programmes into mainstream education, complementing with a parallel voluntary and more business-focused approach; creating entrepreneurship oriented programmes with expanded high-quality opportunities that can make effective use of these qualifications would allow breakthroughs to be brought into NEP and/or implementation in an optimal fashion. Besides, as part of multi-disciplinary education, the focus will be on research & innovation by setting up start-up incubation centers, technology development centers, centers in frontier areas of research, greater industry-academic linkages. These initiatives will go a long way to preserve and promote entrepreneurial acumen and will also vastly strengthen the existing entrepreneurial sector (NEP, 36).

Further, to realize this, collaborated public spending by the Centre and State government in the education sector is increased to 6% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which is almost double of the existing spending (NEP, 59-60). To concise, entrepreneurship in education helps in reducing inequality, bringing inclusivity and ushering learning. Nevertheless, the need of the hour is to respond to all the impediments that obstructed all such previous reformative initiatives through the vast network of institutional support.

Thrust on Entrepreneurship

Education plays a significant role in strengthening and boosting of the economy; and accordingly the NEP stresses upon knowledge economy in terms of promoting cultural heritage, increasing GER by aspiring more and more youth to pursue higher education, creating a pool of talented and skilled youth who aspire to build the nation and boost national economy, imbibing technology solutions and digitally empowered Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (NEP, Chapter 17). Since knowledge economy is unified to society, this brings multitudes of socio-economic improvements. Concentration on vocational studies and support through funding, incubation canters reinforce boosting economy through entrepreneurship (Aggarwal).

"Entrepreneurial initiative is one of the principal elements in the economic growth of a society. The entrepreneur, as the organizer of the factors of production, has been recognized, as the central figure in economic development" (Cole, 28 and UN, 30-38).

A revolution is a budge in society and the need of paradigm shift from employability to entrepreneurship is manifested from the very fact that it opens up abundant opportunities. In the realm of entertainment the players in the market compete not only among them but against the time and hence are compelled to pay attention to the qualitative aspects by making the product innovative and competitive enough to lure the masses and increase the market share. In the cut-throat market competition, one has to have a unique selling proposition (USP) in order to survive in the market, where only the finest and fittest can survive.

Innovation is an important factor for entrepreneurship which requires a healthy environment, infrastructure, financial and institutional support (Roos, 5). Entrepreneurship starts with an innovative idea and gradually transforms into a successful business. It not only creates employment but also acts as an engine for growth of the economy. Risk taking ability, creativity, self-motivation are the handiness required for entrepreneurship. Some of these skills come from the environment where an entrepreneur grows up and some from learning. The present NEP seems to fulfill and provides for the above cited attributes.

"Entrepreneurship is the ultimate equalizer. It's mainly about whether you're hungry enough to wake up before everyone else and go to sleep after everyone does" (John, 2016).

Indian demography has no dearth of potential, perspective and prospective besides resources which have been, validated time and again. To quote a few innovations out of yesteryears, "system to prevent the soiling of railway tracks by Madhav Pathak of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh; herbal pesticide tablets for storage of food grains by Priyanka Guleria of Gurdaspur in Punjab; low calorie biscuits made from banana peels by Rucha Joshi of Nanded in Maharashtra; herbal formulation for controlling growth of larvae by Janaki Preeti of Chennai in Tamil Nadu; a toy laser for educational applications by Sudhanwa Hukkeri of Belgaum in Karnataka; a software programme for embedding of text through audio signals by Pardiwalla of Mumbai in Maharashtra; an optically controlled wheel chair by S. Harish Chandra of Chennai in Tamil Nadu; advanced audio video coding of data by Kyan Pardiwala of Mumbai in Maharashrta and a novel devise for lifting the surface water of the river by Jaydeep Mandal of Murshidabad in West Bengal are a few of the obtrusive occurrences" (Kalam).

The contemporary Covid-19 pandemic has further proved the necessity of self-reliant culture aiming in redirecting the youth to find employment through a self-sustaining, skill-based model. Banking of limited available resources in the global testing times, the way the N-95 masks, Face-shields, Personal Protective Equipment (PPEs) Kits, ventilators met the inland and international demand besides offering way out of *Aarogya Setu App* (Mobile application) which achieved 50 million downloads in just 13 days (The Hindu) is self-speaking on the Indian intellect.

NEP is glowing to underline the need for progress and promotion of entrepreneurial skills, entrepreneurial education and of course entrepreneurship through the integration of innovation and incubation!

No doubt, that the key drivers for the thrust to entrepreneurship like critical thinking and skill development; internship; vocational and technical education; digital technology; institutional support for execution are all rolled into the NEP but the voyage towards achieving the aims and aspirations has just begin and still has a long way to cover. In the backdrop of diverse geography and demography

besides existing inadequacies and inequalities, the impediments in the implementation of NEP at ground level cannot be ruled out in ensuring 'equality' in education, for prosperous and harmonious outputs in equitable and ever-evolving society. The synchronization between concerned ministries and coordination between academia-industry needs to be evolved to achieve desirable results.

Conclusion

Education is the core and imperative ingredient for growth, development and prosperity of any nation. The focal endeavor of the education system is to build moral-fiber and to cultivate human values by drawing, depicting and developing inherent creativity through instilling and enhancing the capacity of inquiry, thinking, creativity, technology, ethical management and entrepreneurship (Bharat).

In India, since *Vedic* ages teaching and learning was based on cultured tradition of *Guru- Shishya parampara* where the focus of education was to develop skills and eminence of the students by practical exposure with multi-disciplinary edification for their holistic development. However, after the introduction of formal British education system there was dominance of theoretical aspects resulting into passive learning just for formal recognition of being educated and skill development with practical facets took a back seat. Even after independence, the emphasis was given on the promotion of formal system based on theoretical approach to get a degree or certification for producing literates. It might suited in short run but the importance of vocational and technical education in a multi-disciplinary system with thrust on entrepreneurship was somehow undermined and ignored.

The demographic dividend of India will prove to be an asset only if the education values congregate the demand of the 'souk' and 'society' in the contemporary epoch. Although the earlier policies and programmes too endorsed and emphasized on entrepreneurship but the NEP seems to be more focused in that direction for contemporary times as it endeavors to connect the education with the problems arising out of technical and technological progression in the entrepreneurial sector besides to cope up with the personal and professional life problems.

The idea of infusing entrepreneurship into education has spurred much enthusiasm in the last few decades. A myriad of effects has been stated to result from this, such as economic growth, job creation and increased societal resilience, but also individual growth, increased engagement and improved equality. Putting this idea into practice will however, pose significant challenges alongside the stated positive effects. However, the NEP provides a novel path to the education system so as to make India a global knowledge-power and economic-giant (Bharat).

The prominent shift in the focus of NEP for developing entrepreneurial intellectuals rather than just the workforce will give thrust to entrepreneurship. For an upcoming economy like India, a potent and purposeful education policy focused on Entrepreneurship Education right from primary school will only pave the way for this radical transformation.

No doubt, the NEP is ambitious and futuristic for radical transformation from employability to entrepreneurship, but much of its success depends on its execution. The execution of NEP in true sprit will make the Indian youth accelerated and affianced for creating value to other people based on the knowledge acquired by them, and this will further fuel deep learning and illustrate the practical relevancy of the educational system. To conclude, NEP aims to usher producing prolific, productive and contributing citizens for building an inclusive, equitable, and self-reliant India.

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Seeing Things and Wondering: A Wittgensteinian Outlook

PURBAYAN JHA

Abstract

The later philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein offers a broad range of language, meaning and paves way to understand the culture of human beings with the notion of "forms of life." While it is a typical challenge for philosophy to survive among the progressive nature of civilization that is scientific and technocratic in nature, one has the scope to learn from Wittgenstein that philosophy can sustain itself by being an activity or practice. The practitioners of philosophy have to see things in a broad way, and should keep wondering at things. This paper is a humble attempt to address this aspect of Wittgensteinian philosophy. As an activity philosophy gets its life from language; at the same time we could claim that it enriches our lives as well by questioning the cultural dogmas, biases and prejudices to form a new worldview. In a sense, it would bring in a new culture, the culture of "doing philosophy." I argue in this paper that Wittgenstein has left a great legacy to understand philosophy as an activity and also make a point that by realizing this we can firmly establish philosophy's role amidst all the scientific and technological growth, and create a bigger picture of philosophy in the human life.

Keywords: Language, Culture, Forms of Life, Wittgensteinian Philosophy.

Philosophy as a discipline has faced challenges to survive in many occasions. In contemporary times the challenge is on a high level of intensity not only for philosophy, for other humanities disciplines as well. But still, even if it sounds sarcastic to some, we may claim that the degrees like Ph.D., D.Phil. and M.Phil. contain philosophy in them. What does it imply? I would say that research implies philosophising of the concepts to a great extent since its objective is either to give new knowledge or to add something significant to the existing knowledge. But should that be a point of satisfaction for people who are professional or academic philosophers? If the answer is negative then it would be better for the philosophers, at least for the survival of philosophy.

On a different note, there are some prejudices that create some hindrance in studying philosophy, esp. for a youth. For example, lack of jobs other than the academic fields, dearth of funding, and the crises that the humanities disciplines face. This is a challenge in the West also, though some prospects could be made if the interdisciplinary approach is incorporated. In US and Canada such prospects could be perceived (Hrotic, 2013). The interdisciplinarity could help in blossoming the potential of philosophy, however, this should also be noted that the subject should not be devoid of its roots. While talking about the crises that philosophy faces in particular and humanities in general, one should also consider that the purpose of studying humanities subjectes cannot be determined by market. Rather, the engagement with the world, arguing and rationalizing the objectives that help building a better tomorrow make humanities valuable and distinct. A world fully engaged with technology and short-lived aspirations need humanities therapy (Ikpe, 2015).

We study philosophy, we teach it and we write papers of philosophical nature. But the question is: Do we do philosophy? What then is implied by the term "doing philosophy"? In this respect, I think, Ludwig Wittgenstein has made a huge impact on the generations to follow. He has remarked in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, "Philosophy is not one of the natural sciences. (The word 'philosophy' must mean something whose place is above or below the natural sciences, not beside

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them.)" (*TLP* §4.111). The significance of philosophy lies in clarifying thoughts, instead of making scientific claims. Therefore, Wittgenstein's approach is different from the logical positivists. Philosophy's future cannot be oriented only in terms of science and technology, rather the whole culture is associated there, and philosophy refines the culture and civilization by constant argumentation and questioning. For centuries, philosophy had become thematized into some doctrines, but it was Wittgenstein who said that philosophy should not be seen as a body of doctrines but as an activity (*TLP* §4.112). His way of seeing things took a radically different position in his later part of life. It should be taken into consideration in the light of Wittgenstein that while his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* sought for the logical clarification of thoughts, *Philosophical Investigations* focused on the human aspect of language. Concepts like "forms of life" and "language-games" are the signatures of his later philosophy. In spite of the difference, the relationship between language and reality remains the objective for him, although in radically two different ways.

Philosophy as an activity

Wittgenstein recognizes that it is our general tendency to detect something as a philosophical problem that sounds puzzling to us. But there is nothing such as any philosophical problem unless we consider the puzzle of any value. Wittgenstein thinks that it is for philosophy to show that there are no such problems as we believe them to be (Wittgenstein, 1974, p. 47). I consider Wittgenstein's treatment of philosophy as a therapeutic activity as he says, "The philosopher's treatment of a question is like the treatment of an illness" (*PI* §255). We have to assess his conceptualization of philosophy as an activity, a practice. One might say that he focuses on language as speaking language is according to him is part of an activity, or of a form of life. His concept of language in his later philosophy is entangled with his idea of philosophy itself. Here we need to address the larger scenario of language which is not confined to the logical space of the *Tractatus* but rather extended to be a practice. The way we speak or write, creates our understanding which to a great extent helps us to make the linguistic activity meaningful. In a way it takes language far from the vicinity of logical corridor to a new way of understanding; understanding that is concerned with the everyday life of human beings, the cultural being as well. Wittgenstein says, "All that philosophy can do is to destroy idols" (Wittgenstein, 1993, p. 171). Perhaps one could say that he had a much bigger view of philosophy, considering the way he relinquished his enormous amount of inherited wealth and once led a solitary life. Another angle to look into it could be such which does not take a particular viewpoint or theory as iconic, rather understands the world as a whole comprising of different aspects and activities that also could supply innumerable inputs to philosophy. This would probably substantiate Wittgenstein's idea of "forms of life".

However, one can draw inspiration from Francis Bacon also who has rejected the notion of idols in his philosophy. Bacon with his method of induction has rejected the so-called Idols, or the false appearance of idols, so to say. The idols of 'Tribe', 'Cave', 'Market Place', 'Theatre' stand on certain false assumptions or concepts – the idols of the Tribe is a distorted production of the human nature since the structure of human understanding is like a crooked mirror; the idols of the Cave are caused due to the preconditioned system of every individual comprising education, custom etc.; the idols of the Market Place are based on some false conceptions deriving from some public communication where the words react on our understanding; lastly, the idols of the Theatre are prejudices stemming from received or traditional philosophical systems having their origins in dogmas. According to Bacon, men should renounce the qualities of idols, be freed and cleansed, with the method of induction and ratified by the use of experiments (Bacon, 1898). In a similar spirit,

Wittgenstein also rejects the idols or prejudices and sets forth a new paradigm of philosophy. For him, philosophy is a critique of language. In *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* he remarks, "Philosophy sets limits to the much disputed sphere of natural science" (*TLP* §4.113). This is where the distinctness of philosophy is, and this is why studying philosophy adds so much significance. In the following passages we will see how Wittgenstein approaches philosophy as an activity in his later half of life where the notions of forms of life, language and culture are intertwined.

How should we regard his notion of "forms of life"? It has such a broad scope that we would get a picture of the several aspects of human life. Wittgenstein's later philosophy has a lot to do with the language which is more human in nature than his earlier view. As cultural beings, we are embedded by language. We grow up using the language and thereby form a foundation of our culture. What I would try to do is to locate Wittgenstein's later philosophy in the context of the term "forms of life" in order to have an idea of philosophy not merely as an abstraction rather as an activity. The contention is also to evaluate 'thinking' as an activity which is necessary to philosophise. One may also counter this by saying that if there is nothing such as any philosophical problem then what is the use of studying philosophy. Now the issue is: how would one explain the suffering one's mind often goes through? In this respect, Wittgenstein's philosophy could be said as a therapy for undoing the suffering of one's mind in torment (Read & Hutchinson, 2010, p. 150). We have a tendency to problematise the concepts and think that the meaning is something inside the box. Wittgenstein takes us out of the cave to see that there is a greater aspect of meaning which is tied with our use of language. His beetle-in-the-box argument in *Philosophical Investigations* is a prime way of seeing things in the daylight kind of situation. Different people having known that there is beetle in everyone's box, and no one getting the opportunity to look into another's box creates a puzzle in everyone's mind. But actually, even if no one can see the beetle in another's box, it is all about understanding beetle in terms of its use. Once everyone understands it in the backdrop of language-game, then whether beetle as an object is there in the box or not makes no difference at all, the object drops out of consideration. This is an approach that delineates the impossibility of private language, based on the idea of correspondence between object and designation. This is also a way of demystifying the prejudice that meaning is something inside which is one of the key features of later Wittgenstein's approach to meaning.

If speaking a language is an activity, then the way one speaks or writes down his thoughts creates an understanding which would transform into a philosophy. As far as suffering is concerned, Wittgenstein's philosophy could be juxtaposed with the Buddhist view of life. Buddha did not feel the need of any high-level philosophy. For him the most important thing is to realize that suffering inevitably comes to us, and how we would get rid of that suffering by overcoming the obstacle of *avidyâ* was the teachings of Lord Buddha. As far as Wittgenstein is concerned, philosophy cannot be disentangled from our lives. Wittgenstein has had a unique way of seeing and wondering, often inconsistent but worth to observe. He even got detached from the Cambridge panorama and settled in a remote village of Norway called Skjolden, where in a scenic place he devoted himself to thinking and came back perhaps with more profound thoughts. Philosophising is an activity engaged with different facets of life. He famously remarks in *PI* that the job of philosophy is to shew the fly the way from the fly-bottle. Our entire life becomes a station of suffering and philosophy could take us out of the suffering by unveiling the ignorance and showing us the right path. One must wonder and

have a quest towards this revelation; both Buddha and Wittgenstein teach us about this aspect of life in a different way.

If we read *Investigations* as a dialogue we will find that he is engaged in a dialogue with the interlocutor which gives us a picture of the conception of philosophy as therapy. Rupert Read and Phil Hutchinson, in this regard, remark:

> In *Investigations* Wittgenstein pursues the therapeutic task by engaging us in "dialogues" with a diverse and dialectically structured range of philosophical impulses. These impulses are presented as the voice of Wittgenstein's imaginary interlocutor(s) in *Investigations*. Through these voices, Wittgenstein presents us with different aspects of our language use, customs and practices with the intention of facilitating our freeing *ourselves* from the grip of a particular, entrenched, simile, picture or its lure (Read & Hutchinson, 2010, p. 151).

Freeing ourselves from the muddle of concepts is however not an easy task. Philosophers are alleged by many to have a strong affair with the muddle of concepts, but basically philosophy does not necessarily solve the problems; Wittgenstein mentions that it can dissolve as well. As a therapeutic activity philosophy cannot disengage itself from the core of life since it adds meaning to our way of seeing. My claim is that this perception of philosophy could be related to his writings in his *Culture and Value*. Wittgenstein believes that there are many methods, and many therapies rather than any single philosophical method (*PI* §133). The illness lies in our conceptualization of things, in our understanding of meaning as a distinct entity, in our thinking that occupies the space which creates obstacle for any further implications of the language that we speak. Therefore, we have confined philosophy into the four walls of hardbound concepts and forgotten that with the course of time it has been shackled by the biases and prejudices involving some difficult conceptual matters. We need to address that unless we know how to do philosophy it will not make any further point to our lives. This endeavour, in my view, is directly or indirectly related to Wittgenstein's position against the fat development of science and technology and his preference over philosophy. In *Culture and Value* he says:

> Scientific questions may interest me, but they never really grip me. Only *conceptual & aesthetic* questions have the effect on me. At bottom it leaves me cold whether scientific problems are solved; but not those other questions (Wittgenstein, 1998, p. 91e).

Doing philosophy is a practice that involves our understanding of language, culture, religion and so on. One cannot claim that doing philosophy is a job that can be done in isolation, neither is it a futile activity. The penchant for knowledge is there since time immemorial. Philosophy is that kind of activity that stimulates us to think about the world, about the creatures and everything that is left for knowing. But either it is the failure of the philosophers, or our so-called progressive nature, philosophy has faced the challenge to survive. I would say Wittgenstein's scheme of "forms of life" plays a crucial role in this regard. Because through this concept we not only get an idea of his later view on language and meaning, a greater implication of language as an activity also opens up. Here one thing we should keep in mind. Doing philosophy is compared with architecture by Wittgenstein – it is something working on one's own self, own conception as well as his perception of things (Wittgenstein, 1998, p. 24e). Conceptually the philosopher has to have clarity in his mind and if he builds a theory, it should be like an architect's work, he has to see the possibilities one after another and clarify them accordingly.

The paradox of doing philosophy

When we communicate our thoughts we want to do so in meaningful terms. The problem occurs when we are riddled with different guises of language; while we consciously try to achieve the meaning at times we fall into the no-where zone. Wittgenstein speaks of language which goes on a holiday and thus paves way for philosophical problems, and miscommunication also takes place. In his later philosophy, the human nature of language and its use gets preference. Once we master the art of using language, we get used to its meaning. But when communication fails, it implies that somewhere the language is not being in use in a proper way, and therefore, meaningful communication collapses between the persons.

The decline of philosophy, nevertheless, is associated with the decline of culture as far as my understanding goes. But it has a lot to do with the professional philosophy as well. It might be argued that the onslaught of analytic philosophy upon other streams of philosophy too has hampered the course of philosophical reflections. But instead of going into this debate any further, we may observe in later Wittgenstein an inclination towards metaphors, analogies, contextual uses as far as the meaning of language is concerned.

There is a paradigm shift in later Wittgenstein in terms of the understanding of the relationship between language and the world. Philosophy is seen more of a practice, because of his conception of language as an activity. It is, however, possible to interpret that while demolishing philosophical ideas we actually create a new understanding of philosophy. One can try to see the other side of the coin also. While constructing an idea if we remain detached from its language, then the idea itself after a certain point of time could become unintelligible to us. John Cook holds that Wittgenstein's philosophy could be termed as "neutral monism" to some extent which eliminates the self or ego as a distinct entity. At the same time Cook is of the view that Wittgenstein sets out a task according to which "the business of philosophy is to demolish philosophical ideas" (Cook, 2010, p. 274). This contrast in Wittgenstein is perhaps a peculiar one but one should address the thoughts he had over our nature of philosophising. What to do with philosophy, and what should be left is a thin margin that we need to understand. Cook mentions:

> Undermining philosophical ideas takes the form: When we philosophise, we are tempted to think so-and-so, but if we consider that idea, and do so *while remaining free of all philosophical jargon*, we find that we cannot make sense of it (Cook, 2010, p. 273; italics are given by Cook).

We can perceive desperation in Wittgenstein to keep philosophy as a distinct activity which is independent of science. While he was not in favour of bringing any difficult propensity insofar as the conceptualization of philosophy is concerned, "the darkness of this time" following the Second World War made him pessimistic about the 'progress' of science and technology. We can assume from his observation that there is a battle between culture and civilization, and until we resolve this we would bring ourselves at the crossroad of 'progress' which may sound very flourishing but it will not include every sector of the civilization. However, progress in its very form is constructive, it means constructing in a complicated manner (Bouveresse, 2011, p. 315). Therefore, progress in civilization is an integral factor which we cannot get rid of. One could relate this to his words in *Culture and Value* where he says:

> Our civilization is characterized by the word progress. Progress is its form, it is not one of its properties that it makes progress. Typically it constructs. Its activity is to construct a

> more and more complicated structure. And even clarity is only a means to this end & not an
> end in itself (Wittgenstein, 1998, p. 9e; underlines are given in the text).

Wittgenstein actually questions this conception of clarity which lacks transparency. He believes that the approach he undertakes is of a different sort from that of the scientists since Wittgenstein is looking for the foundation which would not only create new buildings or progress but also bring transparency. For him, philosophy is not a standstill concept, it has enormous potential to ask the questions about life, culture, civilization. The language and its meaning also cannot live in isolation. In that respect his understanding of "doing philosophy" takes a radical turn, a cultural one which will be discussed in the next section.

The cultural concern

Let us look back at Wittgenstein's saying that "the philosopher's treatment of a question is like the treatment of an illness" (*PI* §255). He does not always amplify his remarks, so we need to address the illnesses that either bothered him or possibly bother us to a great extent. The survival of philosophy might sound insane if it lacks values that matter to our lives. One of the most subtle teachings of Wittgenstein is that philosophy leaves everything as it is, and one does not have to be biased and take sides in philosophy. This is a great way to realize that there are many opinions, beliefs, customs, conventions, so on and so forth that we often tend to take a side either way. Generally people treat everything on the terms of black or white, good or bad. But there are issues and incidents which are never really easy to comprehend in bipolar objectives, many gloomy and enigmatic things are there to be understood. Unless we form an open worldview we will lack a step or two to realize these.

As far as Wittgenstein's apprehension about modernity is concerned, it might also be due to his religiosity. At one point, after the First World War, he thought about being a monk. There was a prophetic man in him, as found by many who conversed with him. There was mysticism in his personality as well. But in spite of this, Wittgenstein is of the view that one cannot find the soul beneath the body as he says that the human body is the best picture of the human soul. He also does not discard religious faith and distinguishes it from superstition by saying:

> Religious faith & superstition are quite different. The one springs from *fear* & is a sort
> of false science. The other is a trusting (Wittgenstein, 1998, p. 82e; italics are given in
> the text).

Philosophy cannot remain complacent by the progress or being slowed down. It is a continuous activity that questions our viewpoints and observations. Wittgenstein, as mentioned earlier, was more concerned about conceptual and aesthetic questions than the scientific ones. It is a sheer contrast with his early career of a student of aeronautical engineering and a thinker who proposed a logical picture of language and reality. He thinks that the philosopher must 'wonder' at things, and must dispel the 'philosophical fog' (John, 1988, p. 501). The contemplative activity for having the foundation may be compared with mathematics, but the objectivity and reality of mathematical facts has to have the philosophical treatment (Wittgenstein, 1972, §254). This contrasting view is uniquely important to understand Wittgenstein's conception of philosophy. He cautions that our supposition of 'objectivity and reality' has to be battled and also we have to realize that there is nothing like any complete form of knowledge residing somewhere, not even in God (John, 1988, p. 502).

Wittgenstein was apprehensive of the industrial and technological development that science has brought into the life of human beings. In this sense, his view was akin to Oswald Spengler who warned about the decline of the West. Although, we should also take into account that Wittgenstein was not as pessimistic as Spengler, as he thought that there will be a new culture after the rapid

progress of science. Another point is to take into consideration the fact that Wittgenstein sets himself apart from the logical positivists. He did not fight with the metaphysics which is rooted in theology; even the so-called metaphysical achievements were not his target. The metaphysics which is rooted science was something against which Wittgenstein took up (vonWright, 1990). It does not mean that He has placed philosophy over science, but of course, he did not treat philosophy in the way Vienna Circle did – as Wittgenstein has opposed it being in the tune of scientism.

We should learn the bigger picture of Wittgenstein's philosophy after locating his contrasting viewpoints. Philosophy is not a rapid process; unlike science its aspiration is not materialistic achievements. Philosophy has to protect culture, it has to question the legacy of the previous cultural habits and productions; but it cannot let it go astray with the progress of civilization. The awakened mind should never stop contemplating since the quest for knowledge is a journey that keeps up the cultural momentum and protects it. There is no need for being the first or best among everything as there is no final knowledge. We wonder at our life at times and transcend from our humdrum existence to a more subtle meaning – the eternity, even being at home with our everyday existence. Wittgenstein's aspiration for a happy and fulfilling life could be perceived in his writings, despite the fact that he had miserable times quite often and wanted to commit even suicide. He sounds prophetic when he says, "To pray is to think about the meaning of life" (Wittgenstein, 1979, p. 73e). Again in *Notebooks* he remarks that believing in a God implies understanding the question about the meaning of life (Wittgenstein, 1979, p. 74e). He has that kind of originality and clarity which makes philosophy an enriching activity in life. In a rhetorical way Wittgenstein states:

> In philosophy the winner of the race is the one who can run most slowly. Or: the one who gets to the winning post last (Wittgenstein, 1998, p. 40e).

Philosophy as an activity could create a culture of its own. Doing philosophy may be regarded as a marginalized activity because the phrase "doing philosophy" indicates an activity, yet recognized as something which is difficult to accomplish. It involves wondering at things, at the existence of the world as well. In fact, Wittgenstein's way of doing philosophy is a practice and of revelation and his sense of wondering is a unique feature of his personality as well as his philosophy. The intensity of his thought and honesty in bringing out the profound words explicate his signature (John, 1988). Equating this with language and the Wittgensteinian notion of "forms of life" brings itself to proximity with Wittgenstein's views from its apparent obscurity. Basically, the simple truths are revealed in a profound way in his philosophy. His idea of taking everyday language into account in order to make it meaningful through use is a remarkable approach. Wittgenstein remarks (*PI* §432), "Every sign by *itself* seems dead. *What* gives it life? – In use it is *alive*. Is life breathed into it there? – Or is the *use* its life?" When culture also crops in, it becomes an activity full of life. The role of literature is also there to recognize. Reformation of our own thinking, recognizing the dogmas that have been running for a long time could be related with our uses of language. We can change our principles of life with the new uses of language, and thereby we can change the way we think and feel (Haller, 2003, p. 40).

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can at least claim that Wittgenstein was not pessimistic so far as the value of philosophy is concerned. Norman Malcolm finds that it was the passion consisting in creation and discovery that mattered for Wittgenstein. He continuously looked for fresh insights, new ways of dealing with the problems, connecting thoughts from one region to another and thus helping philosophy to come out of the turmoil with which it has been living for many centuries (Malcolm, 1984). The later philosophy of Wittgenstein, because of its emphasis on the uses of ordinary language makes a

great impact on the understanding of culture. In fact, some could even claim that his *Investigations* also produces a philosophy of culture through the concepts of language-games and forms of life (DeAngelis, 2007). The dissociation of culture from language is impossible. And if philosophy is a pursuit of meaning by means of language, then it cannot be an activity that is disinterested of culture.

My concern in this paper is more on the conceptualization of philosophy as an activity or practice after Wittgenstein. At the same time, I maintain the view that the decline of philosophy is associated with the decline of culture. It is the "stream of life" which is the goal according to Wittgenstein, for which we have to free ourselves from the philosophical confusions that happen due to believing in language in isolation of culture and life. Philosophy is that technique which enables us to realize this worldview. In that sense it is therapeutic according to Wittgenstein (Monk, 1991, p. 330). The philosophy of Wittgenstein gives us many lessons as far as our views on language, culture and by and large life is concerned. We are very often tempted to think that one kind of opinion is better than others, one sort of religious practice is better than other practices, one type of progress is more comprehensive than other types of progress. We symbolize everything in accordance with our choices, rather than questioning its import. We place ourselves in a hierarchy in terms of being civilized; as if we are always in that privileged zone. This is where we should learn about doing philosophy, take it out of the cold room of concepts and riddles and bring life to it. Wondering is a key feature in Wittgenstein's philosophy as well as a fascinating one. We also learn from his *Philosophical Investigations* (§109) that philosophy is a battle against the bewitchment of our intelligence, where language works as a means in achieving that goal. Another important lesson is that it is not important to take side in philosophy, as ultimately philosophy leaves everything as it is, according to Wittgenstein. This would also raise a new culture, a new way of seeing things and the world at large. He was not pessimistic in spite of bearing pains in his life, which is another fascinating aspect. One should lead an enlightened life and should not feel tired to do philosophy as long as he can, according to Wittgenstein. There could still be a happy life –

The world of the happy is a *happy world*. (Wittgenstein, 1979, p. 78e).

He had apprehensions regarding the technocratic civilization and many other things. But his last words were, "Tell them, I have had a wonderful life." In this context, I think, Wittgenstein's legacy has a paramount importance to preserve the values of philosophy and thereby to keep culture and civilization into a vibrant cohesion. The more we learn to adopt this kind of thinking, the more we keep on wondering, we will find the broader canvas of life and philosophy as well.

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WORK SEGREGATION AMONG SOCIAL GROUPS IN RURAL PUNJAB

SHUCHI KAPURIA

Abstract

This paper aims to examine the occupational segregation between social groups, a significant characteristic of the labour market of rural Punjab. Punjab has the largest percentage of Scheduled Caste (SC) population in the country, with majority living in rural areas, yet their landholdings are meager. In light of the structural transformation that the state is experiencing, the paper seeks to examine how the development experience of the state has translated into work and employment for its SC population? In particular, it examines the extent of segregation and the location of different social groups in occupational hierarchy. This paper also examines the importance of social group and education in determining the occupation of rural workers.

Introduction

Occupational segregation[1],defined as separation of groups of people, based on race, ethnicity, sex or any other criteria, either by law or because of custom, in employment, has often been studied in the context of gender, representing one aspect of the larger issue of gender disparity. Some studies have also looked into occupational segregation in the context of race or ethnicity, and in India in the context of caste groups. Various studies show that, in one form or the other, segregation exists in almost all countries, developed or developing(for instance, Ball's comparative study of occupational segregation and its relation to development and feminization of labour force in 49 countries across different regions of the world, 2008;study of Canadian Labour market by Olfert and Moebis, 2006; comparative study of EU Labour market by Emerek et. al., 2003; Åslund and Skans's study of ethnic segregation in Swedish Labour market, 2009; Salardi's study of gender and racial occupational segregation in Brazil, 2012; Del Rio and Alonso-Villar's study of gendered segregation in occupation between different racial/ethnic groups in the US).

Caste based segregation in Indiaresulted in certain caste groups –the lower castes— to live separately, perform occupations which were menial and ritually polluting and denied them access to education. Jajmani system of division of labour on caste lines was hierarchical and asymmetrical, based on exploitation and domination of the lower caste workers by the land-owning castes (Bhattacharya, 1985). The lower castes not only performed specific, specialised functions, but also worked as agricultural labour. Breakdown of jajmani systemhas led to dissociation of caste and traditional occupations. At times this dissociation has been voluntary, as in the case of Punjab where, lower castes have consciously distanced themselves from their traditional occupations in order to free themselves from the dominance of the upper/ landowning castes (Jodhka, 2002).

Since independence, government has taken various affirmative actions to improve socio-economic condition of the lower castes (SC, ST and OBCs) through reservations in educational institutions,

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1.   Segregation is not only limited to employment, it can also exist in the area of education and housing.

government employment and for their political representation. However, social exclusion that the lower castes faced in the past continues to existdespite legislations against it. Though rural occupations have now been freed of caste restrictions, there is a clear tendency for certain castes to cluster in certain occupations.More often, lower castes are found stuck in low paying, repetitive manual jobs, often their caste occupations and hence remain trapped in poverty. Effect of segregation in the labour market are not only limited to differentials in wages or salaries, but go much beyond to include issues of equality, efficiency and social justice (Anker, 1997).

Some recent studies in India have looked into differentials, discrimination and inequality among social groups, in jobs (Madheswaran and Attewell, 2007 and Borooah, 2005), and in educational achievements (Desai and Kulkarni, 2008). These studies show that differentials in earnings and income exist due to both human capital differentials and discrimination. Desai and Kulkarni (2008) find that gap in completing primary education has been declining over the years (1980s to 2000) but not in college level of education. The differentials in educational achievements also translate into wage and occupational differentials. Borooah (2005) found that discrimination explained about one-third of the differences in average income between caste Hindus and SC/ST households. Madheswaran and Attewell (2007)conclude that a large share of earnings differentials is due to differences in human capital endowments and about 15 percent is due to discrimination in the market place, and that occupational discrimination is more pronounced than wage discrimination.

Punjab presents a compelling case to study occupational segregation among social groups since it is the state with highest proportion of SC population in the country. While, Scheduled Castes comprise about 17 per cent of the population in India, and around 80 per cent live in rural areas, in Punjab SC population comprises of 32 per cent of the total population of the state and 73 percent live in rural areas (Census, 2011)[3].There are 39 officially listed castes among SC in the state, and each caste differs in their social identities and level of development. In addition, there are some 75 castes under OBC. In stark contrast to their numbers, only 6 percent of the operational holdings belong to SC which amounts to only 3 percent of the total area under cultivation (GoI, 2014). Secondly, SC in the state have been subjected to both 'social oppression' and 'economic deprivation' and the caste hierarchy is so deep-rooted in the society that even socio-religious reforms movements failed to make any substantial difference in their socio-economic condition (Ram, 2009; Puri, 2003).Thus, we find that a higher percentage of SC are illiterate than adults from other social groups—37 percent of SC compared to 22 percent of OBC and 18 percent of Others (World Bank, 2017). Likewise, poverty rate is higher among SC than other social groups[4]and the rate of decline in poverty has been slower for SC than other social groups.It is also common to come across instances of atrocities against SCs by upper castes over economic resources[5].

In light of thedissociation of the SCs from their traditional occupations, and withdrawal from agricultural operations, voluntarily or otherwise due to non-availability of agricultural work and their replacement by migrant labour,and their poor economic condition, it is significant to look into

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[3]   There are 39 officially listed castes among SC in the state, and each caste differs in their social identities and level of development. In addition, there are some 75 castes under OBC (http://www.pbscfc.gov.in/?q=node/21, and https://punjabxp.com/list-backward-other-classes/, accessed on 12.4.2019).

[4]   According to the estimates 38% of SC population was in Poverty in 2005 compared to 21 % of OBC and 7% of Others. These figures declined to 16 %, 8% and 2% respectively in 2012.(http://documents.worldbank.org).

[5]   Caste conflicts have often resulted in social boycott of the SCs by landowning castes, mainly *Jats*, where the former are denied to defecate in the latter's fields, collect fodder, or work as agricultural labour.

thedifferences in occupational distribution of SCs and other social groups. This paper examines the extent of segregation and the location of different social groups in occupational hierarchy. What has the development experience of the state meant for the SC population in terms of employment and work? It also seeks to examine the factors that determine occupation of a worker, in specific the importance of caste group and education.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: Section II presents labour market characteristics of rural Punjab, with focus on social group differentials. Section III measures occupational segregation and examines in detail different occupations that male and female workers from different social group are engaged in. Section IV examines the factors that influence occupational choice, and Section V concludes the paper.

Work Participation Rate and Sectoral Employment Among Social Groups

This paper is based on NSSO unit-level data on Employment and Unemployment Situation in India for the year 2011-12 (68th Round), which is the latest round of large-scale survey on employment situation in the country, conducted once in five years. At the all-India level this round collected detailed information on a wide range of social and economic characteristics of the households and individuals in rural and urban areas. For Punjab, the survey covered 1552 rural and 1566 urban households.

The first aspect to investigate in the study of labour market segregation is the rates of participation of different social groups. Table 1 below indicates three aspects of labour market of rural Punjab-1) a large gap in work participation (WPR) between male and female, 2) a large gap in work participation of female in usual status and that in the principal status[6], while for male this gap is insignificant. This indicates that a large number of female work in the subsidiary status; and 3) WPRs are higher for SC than OBC or Others for both male and female. Higher work participation rates by themselves may not imply better or more opportunities for SC/ST population, it may rather imply greater need or desperation among this social group to work to make a living.

TABLE 1

Social group wise WPR of rural population, age 15 years and above, 2011-12

	PS				PS+SS			
	SC/ST	OBC	OTHERS	ALL	SC/ST	OBC	OTHERS	ALL
Rural Male	79.78	79.69	73.86	77.24	80.27	79.98	74.37	77.74
Rural female	8.80	3.79	5.12	6.49	32.08	24.75	32.88	31.26

Source: Unit-level records of NSS, 2011-12

Agriculture continues to be the single largest employment providing sector for male workers, followed by manufacturing and construction. Dependence on agriculture is the highest

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[6]   Principal status refers to a person's employment for relatively a longer time of the period of 365 days preceding the date of survey. Even when a person was not working in the principal status, she/he could be pursuing an economic activity for a shorter period, of not less than 30 days during the reference year. This is referred to as subsidiary work of the person and together with principal activity is referred to as usual work status.

among Others social group, than SC/ST and OBC. Besides agriculture their employment in other sectors is very low.For SC/ST male workers agriculture, construction and manufacturing are the three most significant sectors of employment. For OBC along with construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and trade hotels and restaurant are the most significant sectors of employment.

For female workers agriculture is the most significant sector of employment across social groups, though a higher percentage of female workers from Others social group are employed in this sector than OBC or SC/ST. Manufacturing and community social and personal services are the other two significant sectors of employment, with a higher proportion of SC/ST workers than OBC or Others employed in these sectors.
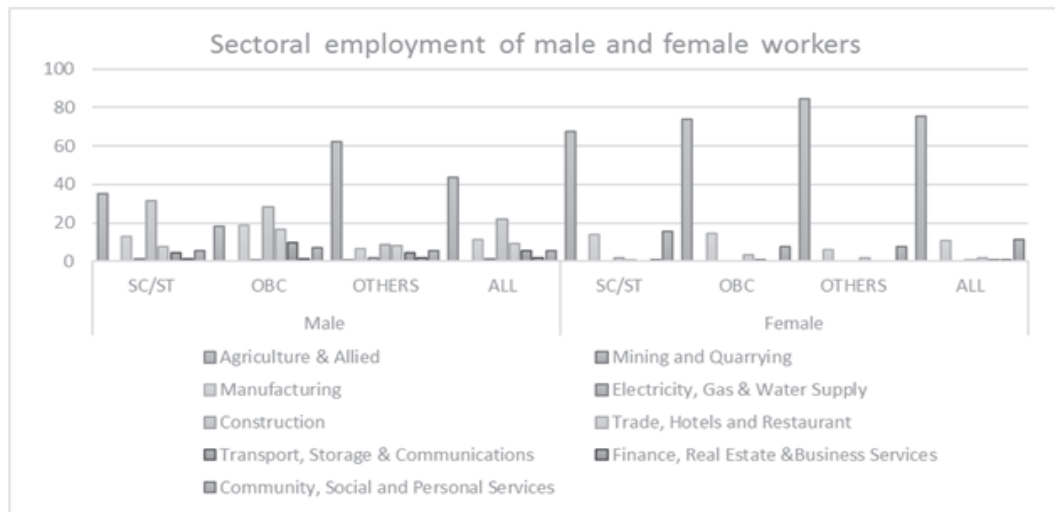
Figure 1. Sector of Economic Activity in the Usual Status (PS+SS) by Social Groups, Workers above 15 years, 2011-12.

Measuring Occupational Segregation Between Social Groups

Indexes of segregation measure the extent to which two groups, based on sex or ethnicity, are unequally represented across occupations. For this paper, segregation is measured between SC/ST and non-SC/ST (which comprises of OBC and Others) and between SC/ST and Others. Two commonly used indexes to measure segregation are Duncan Index or Index of Dissimilarity (ID) and Karmel and MacLachlan Index (IP).

Index of Dissimilarity (ID)

It is also known as Duncan index and is widely used in literature to examine dissimilarity between two groups (Duncan and Duncan, 1955). The index can be calculated as:

$$ID = 0.5 * \sum_i \left| \frac{OT_i}{OT} - \frac{SC_i}{SC} \right|$$

where OT_i is the number of workers from non-SC/ST (or from Others) in occupation i, OT is the number of OBC and Others in employment, SC_i is the number of SC/ST workers in occupation i, and SC is the number of SC/ST in employment. The index ranges between 0 indicating equal distribution among occupations, and 1 indicating complete segregation. It can be interpreted as the minimal proportion (in percent) of one group which would have to change occupations in order to make their distribution identical to the other social group. In the present case it is the percentage of SC/ST that have to change their occupation to make it identical to Others/OBC(or Others).

Karmel and MacLachlan Index (IP Index)

Another measure of segregation widely used to measure the occupational segregation and is defined as

$$IP = \frac{1}{N} \sum_i \left| \left(1 - \frac{OT}{N}\right) OT_i - \frac{OT}{N} SC_i \right|$$

OTrepresents the total number of non- SC/ST (or Others) in employment, $OT_i$the number of non-SC/ST (or Others) in occupation i, $SC_i$the number of SC/ST in occupation i, *N*the total number of SC, ST, OBC and Others in employment. The IP-index suggests the proportion of the workforce (persons in employment) which would need to change jobs in order to remove segregation, taking into account the differences in social group wise (SC/ST and OBC/Others) shares of occupations. The IP-index equals 0 for no segregation and a maximum of 0.5 for complete segregation.

Broad sectoral employment is not enough to examine segregation that exists in the labour market. For instance, while both Others and SC/ST may be employed in the agriculture sector, the former are more likely to be self-employed or cultivators while latter are more likely to work as agriculture labour. Therefore, occupational categories are used. In the 68th round of the survey, information on occupations is recorded at three-digit code level of National Classification of Occupations-2004. NCO-2004 also classifies occupations at one-digit divisions (0-9), where occupational division show hierarchy of skills and education in descending order[7].Since, measures of segregation depend on the number of occupational categories, the entire list of occupations reported by male and female workers, from SC/ ST and non-SC/ST social groups, at 3-digit level, are used.

TABLE 2

Indexes of occupational segregation by social group for male and female workers

	Male	Female	
	PS	PS	PS+SS
$ID_{SC/ST\ and\ non-SC/ST}$	0.53	0.56	0.40
$IP_{SC/ST\ and\ non-SC/ST}$	0.26	0.27	0.20
$ID_{SC/ST\ and\ Others}$	0.62	0.55	0.43
$IP_{SC/ST\ and\ Others}$	0.31	0.25	0.21

Source: Unit-level records of NSS, 2011-12

[7]   Ten divisions according to NCO-2004 are: 1-Legislators, senior officials and managers; 2-Professionals, 3-Technicians & Associate Professionals, 4- Clerks, 5- Service workers and shop and market sales workers, 6-Skilled agricultural and fishery worker, 7- Craft and related trades workers, 8- Plant and machinery operators and assemblers, 9- Elementary Occupations, and 0- Armed forces (https://labour.gov.in).

Both ID index and IP index have high values, pointing towards segregation in the labour market between social groups. The value of ID and IP indexes increase for male workers when segregation is measured between SC/ST and Others (rather than non-SC/ST), implying greater similarity of occupations of SC and OBC that hides segregation. For female workers in the principal status, value of the indexes is higher than the values when usual status work is considered. This implies that while principal status occupations of the two groups (i.e., SC/ST and non-SC/ST) is quite different, subsidiary status work is less dissimilar. Secondly, segregation between SC/ST and Others is lower than that between SC/ST and non-SC/ST, implying that the occupations of SC/ST and Others is less dissimilar when OBC are excluded.

One of the criticisms of these measures of segregation is that these are symmetric, which means that whether a group (based on sex or ethnicity) is under- or over-represented in higher and lower status occupations makes no difference to the measure of segregation (Watts, 2005).For the purpose of analyzingconcentration of each social group in low or high- status occupations, ten most important occupations of male and female workers from different social groups are listed in Table A1- A3 in Appendix.

As subsidiary status work of male workers is not too significant, only principal status work is considered (Table A1). SC/ST male workers are concentrated in Elementary occupations (51 percent), OBC are in craft and related trades (36percent), and Others are skilled agriculture and fishery workers (58 percent). Next in importance for SC/ST workers are the occupations under craft and related trades workers (25 percent). Among OBC, about 15 percent are involved in elementary occupations, while 13 percent of Others are in elementary occupations. About 11 percent of OBC are Directors and Chief executives which is higher than the percentage from SC and Others (5 percent and 7 percent, respectively).

Female principal status workers from SC/ST social group are concentrated in elementary occupations like agricultural labour, manufacturing labour, domestic helpers, garbage collectors, cleaners and launderers. Workers from OBC and Others social group are concentrated in skilled agriculture and fishery occupations (30 percent and 33 percent, respectively). Within this occupation group, majority are occupied as market–oriented animal producers and related workers (i.e., milk production). In rural Punjab, it is common for households to keep cattle and pre-dominantly female of the households take care of the livestock. They are also involved in some agricultural operations on household farms. A higher proportion of OBC female workers are in white collar occupations than the two other social groups, while the proportion of SC/ST in white collar occupations is the smallest. Since a large proportion of women work in the subsidiary status (Table A3), a very large percentage of workers from all social groups (92 percent in case of Others, 73 percent in the case of OBC and 60 percent in the case of SC/ST) are market oriented animal producers and related workers (i.e, involved in selling/producing milk). About 29 percent of SC/ST subsidiary status workers are in elementary occupations, while only 9 percent of OBC and 0.34 percent of Others are in elementary occupations.

Determinants of Occupational Choice

From section-III it is clear that there is a significant difference in the occupations that each social group is engaged in. To examine the factors that affect the choice of occupation, different occupations are categorised into 7 categories, based on the activity into which it falls. Workers who are 1) self-employed in agriculture; those who are self-employed in non-agricultural activities as 2) own account workers (OAW) i.e, those without employing any hired labour and may or may not employ (un-paid) family members; 3) and employers i.e., those who employ hired labour. Regular work not only includes regular salaried work or formal sector work but also informal or

unorganised sector work. In rural areas, this category is more likely to include informal work in the unorganised sector. Moreover, due to reservation of employment in the government sector, it is likely that lower castes are found to be employed in public sector more than in other sectors. Therefore, regular workers are categorised into 4) regular employees in government/ public sector and 5) regular employees in all other sectors. Casual labourers are categorised into 6) casual labourers in agriculture and 7) casual labourers in non-agricultural activities.

From figures 2 and 3 it may be noted that a larger percentage of male workers from Others social group are self-employed than OBC and SC workers. The proportion of regular workers from SC and Others social group is almost the same but a higher proportion of OBC workers are in regular employment. There is a large difference in the proportion casually employed among SC and Others. Among females, proportion of self-employed workers in principal and usual status, from Others and OBC social group is higher than that from SC/ST social group. It is noteworthy that relatively a small percentage of female workers in principal as well as in usual status from OBC and Others social group are casual workers, compared to SC/ST workers.
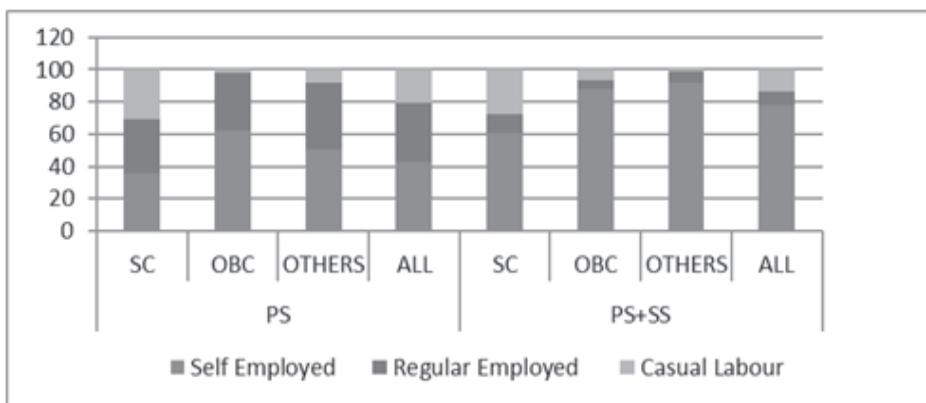
Figure2: Activity status of female workers, above 15 years of age

Figure3: Activity status of male workers, above 15 years of age

The broad trend in activity status of workers in rural Punjab appears to be similar to that observed in several developing countries. A large percentage of self-employed workers with a small percentage of wage employment has also been observed in other developing countries. Moreover, among the self-employed a majorityare own-account workers rather than being entrepreneurs or employers, and their earnings are meager, either because of their inability to find wage jobs or due to lower attractiveness of job search (Poschke, 2018). Strong labour market frictions, in developing countries, induce individuals to take up low-productivity own-account work instead of searching for wage employment.Another study found that activity status of workers exhibits hierarchy in terms of education and income (Gindling and Newhouse, 2014).In their study of 74 developing countries, they found thathousehold income and education was the highest for employers, followed by wage and salaried employees, own-account workers in non-agricultural occupations, un-paid family workers in non-agricultural sectors, and lowest for agricultural workers.

To determine which variables, affect occupational choice, multinomial logistic regression is used and to interpret the coefficients, marginal effects are calculated. The independent variables include household and individual characteristics, like age, square of age, sex, education, marital status, social group, size of the household, and size of land owned. Workers are identified on the basis of usual status. The model has been estimated for workers above the age of 15 years.

Sex, marital status and social group are used in the form of dummy variable, with female, never married and Others as the base category. Educational qualifications are categorized into illiterate, up to primary, middle, secondary and above. These are used in the form of dummies keeping illiterate as the base. The regression has been estimated relative to the parameters for self-employment in agriculture as base.

Results

TABLE 3

Estimates of the Multinomial Logistic Model of Occupational Choice

	Own-account workers, non-agricultural (OAW)	Employer, non-agriculture sector	Regular employee, public sector	Regular employee, other sectors	Casual labour, agriculture sector	Casual labour, non-agriculture sector
	Occu2	**occu3**	**occu4**	**occu5**	**Occu6**	**occu7**
Primary and below	0.531(0.153)*	0.696(0.432)	0.218(0.302)	0.332(0.165)**	-0.521(0.195)*	-0.296(0.168)***
Middle	0.903(0.175)*	0.375(0.510)	0.753(0.325)**	0.361(0.193)***	-1.154(0.292)*	-0.242(0.203)
Secondary & above	1.300(0.145)*	1.835(0.380)*	2.884(0.230)*	0.971(0.155)*	-1.759(0.278)*	-0.816(0.178)*
Male	1.672(0.112)*	4.539(1.009)*	0.893(0.150)*	1.625(0.120)*	1.623(0.171)*	2.875(0.173)*
Age	0.057(0.023) *	0.128(0.060)**	0.386(0.041)*	0.095(0.027)*	-0.008(0.035)	0.058(0.030)**
Age square	-0.001(0.000) *	-0.001(0.001)**	-0.004(0.000)*	-0.002(0.000)*	0.000(0.000)	-0.001(0.000)*
Married	-0.437(0.147) *	0.860(0.486)***	-0.805(0.209)*	-1.003(0.152)*	-0.390(0.227)***	-0.698(0.181)*
SC_ST	0.594(0.126) *	-0.310(0.329)	1.201(0.167)*	0.742(0.133)*	3.085(0.266)*	1.987(0.160)*
OBC	0.882(0.144) *	0.629(0.278)**	0.677(0.201)*	0.832(0.155)*	1.584(0.344)*	1.598(0.191)*
Size of land owned	-0.001(0.000) *	-0.001(0.000)*	-0.001(0.000)*	-0.001(0.000)*	-0.001(0.000)*	-0.002(0.000)*
Household size	0.024(0.022)	0.036(0.044)	-0.045(0.031)	-0.070(0.025)*	-0.065(0.036)***	-0.053(0.029)***
Constant	-2.062(0.482) *	-10.308(1.601)*	-10.774(0.886)*	-1.557(0.534)*	-1.770(0.745)**	-2.344(0.607)*

Notes: values in the parentheses are std. errors. *Significant at 1%, ** significant at 5% and *** significant at 10%

The results of the regression are given in Table 3 and marginal effects are given in Table 4.SC/ST and OBC have a higher probability, than Others social group, of being employed in all occupations except working as an employer in non-agricultural sector in case of SC/ST, compared to self- employment in agriculture. Likewise, male have a higher probability of being employed in all occupations compared to female. Size of land holding of the household is also negatively related to all occupations, i.e., as land size increases probability of being involved in all activities other than self-cultivation decreases. For a married person the probability of being employer in non-agricultural activities is higher than for unmarried person, while probability of being in all other occupations is lower. Age and age square have the expected positive and negative signs indicating employment in all occupations increases with age and then declines, except for casual workers in agriculture sector. Secondary and above educated have a higher probability of being self-employed in non-agricultural activities, both as OAW and as employer, as well as being in regular employment, than illiterate person.

Educated persons have a higher probability of being OAW in non-agriculture, regular employees in govt. sector and in other sectors than illiterates. They also have a lower probability than illiterates of being in causal employment.The probability of being an employer is higher for secondary and above educated than illiterates while for regular employment in government sector the probability is higher for middle and above educated.

Marginal effects

Table 4 below gives the average marginal effect of each variable on each occupation/ activity category. Among the various variables included here social group and education, especially secondary and higher education have the largest magnitude.Those with secondary and above education are more likely to be working in the public sector or as own account workers in non-agricultural activities. They have 13, 14 and 5 percentage point higher probability of being OAW in non-agricultural activities, in regular employment in government sector and regular employment in other sectors, respectively than illiterates. On the other hand, their probability of working as casual labour either in agriculture or in non-agricultural activities and as self-employed in agricultureis9 percentage point, 13 percentage pointand 11 percentage point, respectively, lower than illiterates.

Similarly, those with middle level of education are most likely to be occupied as OAWs in non-agricultural activities. Theyare less likely to be occupied as casual labour in agriculture or non-agriculture sector and self-employed in agriculture. Primary education lowers the probability of casual employment and increases the probability of own account work.

TABLE 4

Marginal Effects of the Multinomial Logistic Model

	Self-employed, agriculture sector	Own-account workers, non-agricultural (OAW)	Employer, non-agriculture sector	Regular employee, public sector	Regular employee, other sectors	Casual labour, agriculture sector	Casual labour, non-agriculture sector
	Occu1	**Occu2**	**occu3**	**occu4**	**occu5**	**Occu6**	**occu7**
Primary and below	-0.02843	**0.07519**	0.00916	-0.00279	0.02128	-0.02829	-0.04611
Middle	-0.04646	**0.13114**	-0.00201	0.02386	0.00289	**-0.06223**	**-0.04719**
Secondary & above	**-0.10772**	**0.12804**	0.01805	**0.14060**	**0.04611**	**-0.09522**	**-0.12987**
Male	**-0.19184**	0.02605	**0.06721**	**-0.03536**	0.01077	-0.00368	**0.12685**
Age	-0.01232	-0.00739	0.00063	0.02113	0.00232	-0.00337	-0.00100
Age square	0.00016	0.00010	0.00000	-0.00021	-0.00007	0.00003	-0.00001
Married	0.06652	0.01980	0.02928	-0.02507	**-0.08191**	0.00699	-0.01561
SC_ST	**-0.11284**	**-0.06279**	**-0.02236**	**0.03717**	**-0.02397**	**0.09427**	**0.09051**
OBC	**-0.10413**	0.01377	-0.00251	-0.00190	-0.00166	**0.02982**	**0.06660**
Size of land owned	0.00013	-0.00009	0.00000	0.00002	0.00000	0.00002	-0.00009
Household size	0.00277	0.01098	0.00109	-0.00213	-0.00832	-0.00172	-0.00267

Male workers have 19 percentage point lower probability than female of being self-employed in agriculture, and 13 percentage point higher probability of being in casual employment in non-agriculture sector. Self-employment in agriculture includes both cultivation of crops and production of milk (taking care of the livestock). While the former is male dominated in rural Punjab, latter is overwhelmingly a female activity. Male also have a higher probability than female of being employer in non-agricultural activities and lower probability than female of being in regular employment in the government sector.

Among social groups, SC/ST have lower probability than Others of being in self-employment in agriculture. Their probability of being OAW in non-agriculture activities, of being employers and of being in regular employment in other sectors is lower than Others social group. SC/ST have a higher probability of being in regular employment in the government sector, casual employment in agriculture and casual employment in non-agricultural sector respectively, than Others. Compared to Others social group, OBC have a lower probability of being self-employed in agriculture, and higher probability of being in casual employment- agricultural and non-agricultural.

In rural settings, though it may be difficult to place self-employment in agriculture or self-cultivation in occupational hierarchy on the basis of income, due to differences in size of land cultivated, extent of use of technology, availability of family labour etc., clearly on the basis of education, we can see that with increase in education, probability of self-employment in agriculture decreases. Social group differences among those occupied in agriculture, shows that SC are employed in agriculture sector as labour while Others are into self- employment with or without paid labour.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, it appears that human capital and social group combine to affect occupational choices of workers. SC/ST have a higher probability of employment in casual employment, both agricultural and non-agricultural, than Others social group. OBC workers likewise have a higher probability than Others, of employment in casual work but unlike SC/ST their

probability of employment in regular employment in government sector is lower and OAW in non-agricultural sector higher.

Historical and structural factors combine to explain the observed segregation in employment between different social groups. Historically, SC population were involved in their caste occupations, and agriculture labour, at times in the form of bonded labour. Their land holdings were meagre, and legislations like Land Alienation Act of 1901 helped to consolidate the position of landholding castes, by excluding non-landed castes from purchase of land. Land reforms in independent India also did not make any significant dent on changing land distribution among social groups. AsRam (2009) notes, "nowhere in India, are Dalits so extensively deprived of agricultural land as in the case of Punjab". Occupational segregation in agriculture sector shows that SC workers are engaged as agricultural labour, whereas Others social group are mostly involved in self- cultivation.

Structural transformation in the state has meant declining share of agriculture sector in total state income and rising share of industry and services sectors. Still agriculture continues to be the largest employment generating sector for male and female workers. Outside of agriculture, manufacturing and construction are other two employment generating sectors, mostly providing casual employment. Government's reservation policy appears to have a positive impact on employment of SC/ST in government or public sector.But the state has failed to diversify employment into modern services, and this is especially evident in the rural areas.

Education has a significant impact on occupational choices of workers. The marginal effect of increase in education lowers the probability of self-cultivation, casual labour in agriculture and in non-agriculture sector, and increases the probability of own account work in non-agriculture sector, regular employment in public sector and regular employment in other sectors. Though the marginal effect of secondary and above education on working as an entrepreneur or employer is positive, the magnitude of the impact is not as large as in the case of other occupations. This implies that education may not have such a significant impact on entrepreneurship in rural Punjab, and that other factorsmay be more important.

To decrease occupational segregation among social groups, land re-distribution may appear to be a way out, since a large percentage of male and female from Others social group vis-à-vis SC/ST are self-employed in agriculture and allied sector of milk production. However, land re-distribution may not be a viable solution for the same reasons that it failed to make any significant change to land ownership previously. Moreover, in the light of agricultural distress, there is in general a need to diversify employment away from agriculture into other productive opportunities. Education and skills appear to be a more desirable way to lower segregation in employment.

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Appendix

TABLEA1

Ten most significant occupations of rural male workers in principal status, 2011-12

	Occup. Div. /3-digit code	SC/ST	OBC	Others
Legislators, managers and senior officers	**1**	**5.07**	**11.66**	**6.19**
Directors and Chief Executives	121	5.01	11.48	5.65
Professionals	**2**	**1.85**	**3.36**	**2.31**
Technicians &related professionals	**3**	**1.00**	**1.99**	**1.26**
Clerks	**4**	**0.94**	**1.54**	**0.93**
Service workers andsales workers	**5**	**3.66**	**8.93**	**5.22**
Shop salespersons	522	1.72	4.95	2.47
Workers in protective services	516			1.53
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	**6**	**6.04**	**12.24**	**58.27**
Market Gardeners & Crop Growers	611	4.96	9.69	53.25
Animal producers for the market and similar workers	612			
Craft and similar trades	**7**	**25.17**	**36.32**	**7.19**
Building Frame and similar activities	712	6.29	7.72	
Painters, Cleaners and similar workers	714	12.88	16.15	2.46
Electrical/ Electronic mechanics and fitters	724		3.50	
Textile and GarmentTrades	743	1.66		
Plant and machinery operators and assemblers	**8**	**5.46**	**8.97**	**5.83**
Drivers	832		3.91	3.11
Glass, Ceramics and similar plant operators	813		2.60	
Elementary jobs	**9**	**50.81**	**14.99**	**12.78**
Labourers in transport and freight operations	933	2.35		
Manufacturing sector workers	932	1.81		
Agriculture, fishery and similar workers	920	30.06	5.83	4.19
Labourers in Mining and Construction	931	12.80	5.26	4.52
Messengers, Porters and Door keepers	915			1.70

TABLE A 2
Ten most significant occupations of rural female workers in principal status, 2011-12

	Occup. Div. / 3-digit code	SC/ST	OBC	Others
Managers, Legislators and senior officers	**1**	**3.87**	**7.70**	**4.00**
Directors and Chief Executives	121	3.87	7.70	4.00
Professionals	**2**	**1.16**	**6.64**	**14.53**
Professional in secondary education teaching	232		6.64	8.81
Technicians &related professionals	**3**	**1.48**	**18.93**	**6.30**
Middle & Primary Education Teaching	331		17.05	
Pre-Primary Education Teaching	332		1.88	2.56
Clerks	**4**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**7.37**
Cashiers and Tellers	421			4.22
Service workers and sales workers	**5**	**12.32**	**7.88**	**8.65**
House-keeping and workers in restaurants	512	4.78		
Workers providing personal care and related services	513	3.18	5.27	5.17
Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators	522		2.61	2.77
Skilled agricultural and fishery	**6**	**10.17**	**30.39**	**33.32**
Market Gardeners & Crop Growers	611			13.04
Animal producers for the market and similar workers	612	10.17	30.39	20.28
Craft and similar trades	**7**	**16.70**	**21.84**	**12.01**
Painters, cleaners and similar workers	714	3.65		
Textile and garment workers	743	11.21	21.84	10.91
Plant and machinery operators and assemblers	**8**	**3.81**	**1.79**	**2.28**
Drivers	832		1.79	
Elementary jobs	**9**	**50.49**	**4.83**	**11.54**
Domestic workers, helpers/cleaners	913	21.28	4.83	8.51
Garbage collection and related workers	916	4.97		
Manufacturing sector workers	932	12.64		
Agriculture, fishery and similar workers	920	9.75		

TABLE A 3

Five most significant occupations of rural female workers in subsidiary status, 2011-12

	Occup. Div. / 3-digit code	SC/ST	OBC	Others
Legislators, senior officials and managers	**1**	**0.47**	**0.86**	**1.52**
Directors and Chief Executives	121			1.52
Professionals	**2**	**0.00**	**0.00**	**1.45**
Other teaching professionals	233			1.45
technicians &related professionals	**3**	**0.75**	**0.88**	**0.00**
Service workers and sales workers	**5**	**0.57**	**2.22**	**0.19**
Shop salespersons and Demonstrators	522		2.22	
Skilled agricultural and fishery	**6**	**60.06**	**74.17**	**92.67**
Market gardeners &crop growers	611			0.73
Animal producers for the market and similar workers	612	59.75	73.08	91.94
Craft and similar trades	**7**	**8.91**	**12.41**	**3.83**
Textile and garment workers	743	7.16	12.41	3.58
Plant and machinery operators and assemblers	**8**	**0.32**	**0.00**	**0.00**
Elementary jobs	**9**	**28.94**	**9.45**	**0.34**
Domestic workers, helpers/cleaners	913	2.50		
Garbage collection and related workers	916	2.39		
Shoe-cleaning and other street services	912		2.26	
Agricultural, fishery and similar workers	920	23.00	5.52	

Imagining the Silenced and Otherised inAlka Saraogi's *Kali-Katha: Via Bypass*

MANDEEP SANEHI
YUBEE GILL

Abstract

Alka Saraogi, in her Hindi novel Kali-Katha,comes out with a strong dialogic corrective to the tendency towards extreme abstraction in pure metafiction.Despite using the metafictional approach in recuperating the dead and marginalized histories of people, this author never intends to reduce factuality to pure and empty imaginative fabrication. She recognizes the sense of disillusionment in the consumerist approach, which gets reflected in the entertainment, ease, abstract emptiness, and lack of commitment, in sundry literary works in the metafictional mode. Her fiction has a special purpose,of rethinking, if not of reconstructing, the hitherto hegemonized and elitist visions of the past. This paper examines the seriousness with which she pursues her goal of rewriting/revisiting the past from a humanist perspective. This distinguishes Kali-Katha from the pure postmodern historiographic fiction written hitherto.

Historiographic Metafiction is the child of Postmodernism's antithetic stance towards the realist tendencies of (re)presentational historical fiction. Linda Hutcheon's call for highly "self-referential and auto-representational" postmodern fiction (228) and Haydon White's project of historiography as a poetic construct, when he called history "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse" (ix), resulted in the linguistic/textual/discursive turn in the post-1968 philosophy. In fiction, signification without content, with hardly a reference to any outer material world, over-textuality and mere discursivity replaced the concrete material space of living with the abstract space of non-existence. The antithetic war of postmodernity against the closures of modernity found its home in infinite openness. This attitude of infinite openness ends up detaching the signifiers and all signifying systems from their very root of human existence and life. Meanings related with life and past are no longer being redefined or challenged. The possibility of their existence in any terms (hegemonised or redefined) whatsoever is perpetually negated. The so-called anti-totalitarian/generalization tendency of postmodernism has turned out to be a totalizing one. Such a tendency itself gestures at a narrow closure to the alternative range of possibilities. Alternative modes of narration are needed for breaking fixed closures, but infinite alteration would deprive human beings even of communicability –mere signifiers would preclude any possibility of meaningfulhuman interactions with life. Such an "obscurantist mode of reflexivity" (Ahmad 38) has been censured by some of the theorists and fiction writers. The need to look for some provisional closure, hence, feels justified. KallePihlainen writes about such temporary/provisional closures in terms of strategic commitment:

> [N]o all-embracing yet purely theoretical (i.e. non-prescriptive) representational theory like narrative constructivism can be translated into historical practice without compromise. It is too easily codified into an 'anything goes' position by cruder interpretations of the postmodern. Thus, at least some political commitments need to be spelled out even at the risk of imminent redundancy. (483)

This article deals with the work of Alka Saraogi, a Hindi novelist, who has tried to produce a dialogic corrective to such a tendency of pure metafiction. Saraogi's *Kali-Katha: Via Bypass*(published in 2000) produces a novelty of experience felt through alternative and multiple perspectives on history. The otherised versions of history are spelled through the sentient buildup of fictional blocks from the most personal and distinctive lives of the ordinary/ignored people. The people, whose stories have never been noticed earlier, are exhibited not only as the recipients of the impact of grand history but also as affective reactants on it with their individual perspectives and stories. The sway of the history fabricates the realities of their existence, and the little chunks of their many stories of variegated experiences and emotive reactions formulate and direct the flow of grand events and movements. These many realities get presented through multiple perspectives but never stray from the general and most logical line of dialectical development of events, which makes *Kali-Katha* a vibrating complex of the lived experience of people. The *livingness* of the experience portrayed has also been due to the all-inclusive humanist approach of the writer which omits almost nothing from the sphere of life and its depiction. The resonances of the unwritten histories of the so-called ignoble have been presented through the perspective of the experiencing subjects themselves: the narrative avoids any extremist indictment of the exclusionary elite class and situates them in the natural dialectical process of the development of history. In other words, the characters have been awarded their natural class traits: good and bad, and that too with their flexible correspondence with the material conditions around them. The positive or negative traits of the characters are in contradictory relationship with each other, the synthesis of which, as offered by the novel, gesticulates towards the writer's humanism. In other words, this novel is an act of perceiving history in dialectical terms through a humanist angle.

The literary methods used in the novel to propound otherness are also quite diverse in nature. The first of such discernable methods is the metaphor of the swelling behind Kishore's head: standing for his eye/perspective through which the whole narrative newness has been constructed. It is the window through which he now perceives his past and contextualises it in the grand history of his time. It becomes a memory-hole to enter into and enliven the personal story of his past, and which also serves as a pretext for rethinking the gaps of history:

> After his bypass surgery in the most reputed hospital of the city, Kishore felt pain in the backside of his head…. it was found that behind his skull, right above his neck, there was an acute swelling. Consistently flowing bloodhad clotted around it. It seemed that when Kishore, still unconscious, was being shifted from the operation table to the ward, his head had bumped against some iron partof the stretcher. (5)

The curtain of this swelling separates him from his present and blocks him inside the shell of his past. This re-awakened past becomes the world of his present and he begins feeling the present through this eye of the past. The past becomes the source of description about the present, creating the framework for Kishore Babu's narration.

Before experiencing this swelling, Kishore had "a contemptuous attitude towards those who walked on foot" and refused to have anything to do with the relatives who could not afford a car (7). The

swelling behind his neck alters his perception of people from the lower strata. He himself begins walking on the roads like a vagrant. The stagnancy/fixity associated with property and home transforms into a nomadic flux. His elite class ideological affiliations start melting away, and he begins perceiving the pains and life of the hitherto ignored people from the lower classes and below poverty-line. This shift in perspective expands from individuals to big historical incidences and movements from his past and the present political, historical and economic scenario.

Such shifts offer a fictional space for contesting both the postmodern tendency of obliterating the past and history as well as the modernist fixities of grand narratives. Historical references and imagined stories intermingle with each other to deconstruct the monopoly of both. Such complementary synthesis of extremities constructs the aesthetic measures of this novel. The authoritative historical and the minor personal are presented as complementary units of the complete dynamic reality. As the historical complements the fictional and personal, the personal echoes metaphorically the unseen reality of history. Through the story of Kishore and the history of Marwadis, the wider historical scenes of struggle for the independence of India and its aftermath have been brought alive on the pages of this novel, and the wider historic-political scene of this struggle and its consequences have been called forth to accentuate the hitherto undiscussed histories of Marwadis and other ordinary people.

These Marwadis, the former supporters of British in India, who benefitted from their regime, form the elite class of the present day India. Through their history the novelist tries to re-imagine the ways they constructed an aura around themselves. She presents them with the most human features of greed, cowardice and opportunism that the 'lack'/famines of their birthplace (Rajasthan) could have developed in them. For situating the making of such patterns of behavior, she fits their story into the great Rajputana famine of Rajasthan during 1869, which heavily influenced the lives of the Rajputs. Kishore's forefathers from the British territory of Ajmer migrated to Calcutta under the protection of a British officer whom they saved from getting killed by the Rajput *baghis* (rebels). This personal detail of the forefathers of Kishore or the history of a clan hints at the outer material circumstances that structure the genetic make-up of the communities. Kishore's uncle's participation in the freedom struggle and his own unfulfilled desire to have done so presents the general make-up of communities without any absolutism: the writer's humanism embroiders the whole historical drama. The way the Marwadis (the upper class in Calcutta) tried to construct an aura around their history to mask the unconscious interference of their conscience that reminded them of their past poverty and servitude to the British is revealing:

KishoreBabu's family had employed many convenient formulae to deal with the confusions produced bythe memories of their history. They can be registered as:

(1)   Forgetting things which happened in the past

(2)   Fabricating facts

(3)   Inventing complimentary anecdotes about their family history

(4)   Hanging the gilt-framed portraits of the ancestors wearing *achkan*; attaching the historically famous people and incidences with them

(5)   Buying antique furniture, ornaments, sculptures (7-8)

One gets a fair indication of how the ruling classestry to create myths around history and to produce myth as history. The deeper comment is directed toward the present day political scenario of India.

Kishore Babu's "road-measuring habits" pose some "uncomfortable questions before" such constructed "history of the family" (8). Their earlier dwelling in Baliganj becomes "somewhere in the north" for his daughters. Class-complex forces them to hide their earlier famine-struck history of poverty, exposing how the colonial contact had its repercussions on the making and unmaking of Marwadis.

Many anecdotes have been inserted within the main storyline. They have mainly been presented through the eye of Kishore but the narrative compulsion of naturalness never lets him control them directly. Moreover, the narrative technique of this novel comes out as quite intricate. Comments of the implied author, in the form of anecdotes, on the narrative of this novel form another interesting variation in this novel. Some of these anecdotes serve as a tool to explicate the self-reflexive nature of the novel. Such use of the implied author is in consonance with Booth's idea in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, when he calls it a strategy to sum up the "core norms and choices" of a novel (74). Their relevance in the novel goes beyond their immediate significance. They are implanted in a way that the objective historiography and fictional imagination of events are called up to mix into and complement each other. The following textual excerpt may be seen as an example of another such way for expressing the self-reflexivity of the text:

> This is the story of Kishore Babu and the presence of the story-writer in it would be as much as it should be in the pure *kissagoi* [the traditional way of story-telling]. Actually after reading some absolutely new modernist works and before getting this story written, Kishore Babu forced thestory-writer to pledge that he would write the story like twenty two carat pure gold ornaments made by the famous goldsmiths of Bengal – meaning thereby that he is free only to the extent of goldsmiths' mixing two carats of some other metal in the twenty four carat alloy of gold: this is because KishoreBabu knows that, without that mixture of impurity, it is not even possible to make ornaments from gold. (10)

What is unique about this experiment is that the postmodern mode of self-reflexivity, in a manner, has been superimposed on the realistic way of looking at things. The realistic mode allows very little intervention of the author or the authorial power is limited to present things as they are. On the other hand, postmodern fiction often involves more of the subjective interference of the author in the narrative. Self-reflexivity is one of the ways to intensify such subjective interventions by the author.The reader gets invited to ponder over reflective comments on the nature of the work itself. Juxtaposition of a postmodern form of self-reflexivity with the realist wish of "presenting as it is" brings two seemingly paradoxical and contradictory modes of thinking together. Such formal experimentation or alteration of artistic expression achieves consonance with many other formal experiments of the novel: all of which foreground the synthesis of the two seemingly opposite poles of the postmodern and the realist theories. Such alternative perspective remains functional behind the synthesis of history and story to project a more expansive presentation of reality. In the fragment cited above, the implied author claims to narrate the truth but in a way that is necessary for the work to become a work of fiction. The work of fiction has been presented as an ornament and the imagination visualizedas some metal other than gold needed for making jewelry, a metal required for giving gold ornaments a stable shape. The employment of this other metal turns out to be vital for the successful narrativization of factual and imagined events.

The metafictional self-reflexivity of this novel combines with the realist historical references that are either manifest in historical records or lie hidden under biased silences. But this should not be

taken as supportive of the authoritative version of history:one rather finds an attempt towards valorization of history that has either been suppressed or is under erasure beneath the layers of time. History remains resistant to the self-fulfilling dreams of power. It may lie buried under the layers of memory, somewhere deep in the unconscious. The narrative of *Kali-Katha*excavates a trench into the memory of Kishore to bring out such forgotten histories. Another textual example substantiates the relevance of history through the words of the implied author:

> On Kishore Babu's insistence some things about him outside the *kissa* –
>
> *Nothing that happens in this world gets lost. How can it get lost, when we still exist? Like devastated cities, it only gets buried somewhere deep inside us under the folds of surface layers – …. Not even a single moment dies from our past. It merely lies crouching down there inside us and it is said that when a man breathes his last, he sees, as if he were watching a movie, his entire life from his childhood up to his dying moment. But like a film that has been released, he cannot change anything in it. (13-14)*

This narrative voice implies history as something that cannot be reconstructed and represented. It may either be recalled from beneath the unconscious memory or reimagined on the basis of silences and alternative facts like diaries that speak for the personal experience of people. Here the memory has been connected to history. It has been used, as may also be inferred from the implied author's voice, as an unusual device for referring to/dealing with history. The digging out of Kishore's memory brings out not only the grand history of the independence of India but also the dispersed pieces of his and his family's/Marwadis' personal stories.

The probing of the complex interrelations between history and story as well as between story and memoryis a powerful streak in this narrative. Alternativity and difference have been seen in apparently homogenous categories too. Numerous ideologies with all their varieties intersect each other, cross through each other, and never remain the same. Big events of history direct and also get directed by the individuals and their personal experiences and opinions. The personal and subjective cannot be minused from the common objective history: history is of the people, and people are individuals too. These individuals are processed by their material conditions and their situatedness in temporal and spatial contexts. They form history and get formed by it. *Kali-Katha*'s Shantanu and Subhash Chander Bose, and Amolak and Gandhi ji cannot be separated from oneanother. Likewise the personal history of Marwadis does not restrict itself to the history of merely a clan but intermingles with and becomes the space of communication for the macro history of the colonization of India. Thus, this space ofconfluence of the local/personal and the general also reveals the postcolonial nature of the novel. Kishore, while searching for the history of his community as well as the history of his own roots,discovers finally to his shock that his elders (Amichand and Jagatseth) had allied with Mir Jafar, who assisted East India Company to conquer Sirajudaula and seize Fort William in the battle of Plassey (21). "On finding his own face in the face of the enemy," Kishore feels a pall of gloom falling on his dreams about the independence of his country (19). His own recreant act of running away from the field of struggle in a rally against the*firangis* makes him extremely restive after knowing the history of the Marwadis. Shantanu's words that "Marwadis cannot participate in the freedom struggle" as they are "cowardly and always worried about their lives and wealth" (20) push him on the route to this past history. Shantanu reveals to him how "the shadow of the famine always looms large over the Marwadis," and how they are always worried about their own future (91). This is how the personal narrative of Kishore is linked to the history of the whole Marwadi community,

and then, to the history of the British occupation of India during Sirajudaula's time. Apart from Jagatseth and Amichand's treachery, Shantanu goes on totalk about how some British soldiers who were captured by Sirajudaula later died of suffocation in the jail:

> *"One or two British soldiers might have died due to heat or suffocation, but the number was greatly exaggerated by the British so that they could prove to the world how callous and barbaric the Indian Nawabs were. In the memory of the dead, they erected this memorial right here on our chests. And what a name they gave to the memorial – Black Hole of Calcutta!" Shantanu was seething with anger. (21)*

The Empire otherised the people of the colonised countries so as to establish itself as the norm. Parallel to this postcolonial historiography, Kishore's personal history is charted out in such a way that it seems hard to decide which one is more important than the other. The shift itself is not easily discerned. This information of the past leads Kishore to the Bara Bazar Library where he tries to know more about Sirajudaula and the battle of Plassey. The librarian, who himself is from Ajimganj-Murshidabad and is interested in Sirajudaula, gives his personal file containing all the necessary records about Sirajudaula to him. These records inform Kishore about Sirajudaula's determined resistance in the battle of Plassey against the British army, Mir Jafar's secret understanding with the Admiral Colonel Clive that after becoming Nawab the latter would compensate the Company for the losses (amounting to more than two crore rupees) incurredby the British during their attack on Calcutta, and also about Mir Jafar's deception during the battle despite Sirajudaula's pleadings (who placed his turban in Mir Jafar's feet as a token of humble submission). He also comes to know how Amichand, a Sikh Khatri-Bania, was a connecting link between the Company and Mir Jafar. From here onward he is told about the history of his clan that before the Marwadis reached and prevailed in Calcutta, it was first the Bengalis and then the Khatri-Banias who used to hold sway there. Kishore feels relieved that his community is not related with Amichand. On enquiring about the Jagatseths, he is told by the librarian that they used to lend money to the Nawabs and the East India Company. They were the "kingmakers" and without their permission it was not possible for the king to occupy thethrone and that they could even compel the Nawab to imprison the lawyer for the mighty East India Company. Finally he is told that they were from Ajimganj-Jiyaganj. When after the death of Sirajudaula, Lord Clive visited Murshidabad, Jagatseth-Mehtabchand met him. Lord Clive was able to get the *diwani* of Bengal only because Jagatseth influenced the king of Delhi. But in the end, Jagatseth was killed only due to his political and economic power. The next Nawab Mir Kasim got him murdered in the citadel of Munger so that the Jagatseth might not conspire to overthrow him with the help of the Company. He is told that Mehtabchand's son JagatsethKhulashchand led an ostentatious life. The famine in Bengal caused the trade and hence Mehtabchand's money lent to the Nawab and the Company to sink. He faced bankruptcy and the later Jagatseths subsisted on the monthly allowance by the British government. This historical information about Jagatseths fills Kishore with guilt. He timorously asks Satyapal ji whether Jagatseths were Marwadis. The librarian confirms Kishore's misgivings with an affirmative nod, but also consoles him that "People who are mad after power and money have no caste or creed. They all belong to one caste. They have been selling themselves since centuries and will keep on doing so" (21-24). It is not the history of Sirajudaula but something else— his own personal history, that troubles him. Interest of the ordinary people in their own past serves as a tool for the novelist to explicate the history of the making of a nation. At the same time, the history of an emerging nation during the independence struggle forms the framework for the stories of these characters/individuals. Their interest in their past appears as a connection between

the two. The powerful glue of the imagination of the writer combines, very rationally, the *personal* accounts of these imagined characters with the *public* histories to form the artwork of this novel.

Kishore's guilt and search for his past do not stop at the information he receives from the Bara Bazar library. After returning from the library, he could not sleep at night. He asks his mother about the relationship his ancestors had with the British officers and is informed that his great grandfather Ramvilas (Barrhebabu) was valued highly by Haugh Sahib for his hard work and honesty. Hamilton Sahib treated him like his own brother and trusted him so much that all his business of the share market was in his hands. Sahib helped him in benefiting from the sale and purchase of jute. He is also told how after the death of his grandfather, Barrhebabu threw all the responsibility of business and property on his nephew Chauthmall. But the latter lost everything including the big *haveli* and the beautiful orchard in speculation. Kishore comes to know from his mother how his great grandfather Ramvilas was eventually forced to hanker after small amounts of money (25). The histories/sub-stories of Kishore's great grandfather and grandfather give the reader the history of the making of a clan, the Birlas: the way they arose in terms of class—from working peasantry to the present-day ruling class of India. The changing shifts in attitude and behavior in accordance with the shift in class position form a necessary part of characterization in this novel. Chauthmall's speculation and Kishore's varying moods and habits exemplify this. Moreover the novelist weaves this sub-story of Kishore's great grandfather within the two historically recorded events of the British profiteering from jute in India and the world wide experience of loss in speculation. The postcolonial concern of the novel in drafting the exploitative nature of colonialism runs side by side with the metafictional postmodernist concern of privileging micro histories over the grand general history. The way the British colonialism impacted the individual lives of the people, and the varied responses (supportive or resistive) it evoked towards itself fabricate this novel.

The novel has yet to reveal the information about Kishore's father. The novel here again takes a turn from the personal past to the historical. On knowing about his grandfather's very close relation with the colonial police officer Charles Tegart, who was notorious for his third degree torture on the rebels, Kishore says to his mother:

> "Never ever mention Tegart's name, mother. Don't tell anyone that he had visited our home"—his voice was shaking—"Mother, you have no idea, this Tegart was a very cruel man. He was no less than General Dyer. He committed many atrocities against the freedom fighters. It's a shame that such a man was grandfather's friend.... Eight years ago, Subhash Babu's elder brother Sharat Babu had been captured for planning to murder Tegart. Please don't ever talk to anyone about his association with the great grandfather." (26)

History under the mask of story and story under the pretense of history intermingle once again. His mother's moral lesson in response to his anxiety of getting exposed before his friends and thus hiding his history brings to light the ethical stance of the novel in revisiting history through the following ironic comment on the prominent leaders of independence:

> It was not only your grandfather – all those big shots who used to be there in Gandhiji's company, had their association with Tegart. I just know our elders did what they deemed right and we will do what we find right. But why should we wipe out or try to hide or be ashamed of our past? If you don't like anything, stay away from that. Can anyone undo what has happened? (26)

Through the words of Kishore's mother, the novel discourses on the issue of whether the past/ history can be reconstructed. Can what has been "done" be undone ever again? By situating the ideological affiliation of a person in his temporal/spatial circumstances, the novel communicates the idea of addressing the present in a guilt-free manner. The Marwadis' self-centeredness was engendered in the shadow of the famine in the great Rajputana. The scarcity rendered within them an acute hunger for profit/money and a pressing desire for abundance. Such past of the Marwadis can neither be cloaked by some myth nor undone through any other obfuscation. But there may be other choices in the present. Revisiting the past of her community by the writer is not a biographical confession, as it is inalterable. This revision is oriented toward knowing the past in an unblinkered manner and thus getting one's bearings in the present. But another considerable point in this regard is that this past has been seen through multiple angles of diverse ideologies. Shantanu's Marxist perspective, Amolak's Gandhian perspective and many other perspectives of different characters intervene in the interpretation of that past. One such example has been witnessed in the form of Kishore's mother's perspective on the history of Marwadis, which suggested history as an insight which may make people more conscious of their present.

Summing up, *Kali-Katha* is a significant work of fictional research into the micro/macro histories of the making of present day elite of India. It sees such opportunism on the part of some communities during the British rule in India with a humanist's eye. The micro hi/story of Marwadi community contains the wider historical context of the British occupation of India and the independence struggle against it. While dealing with the history of freedom struggle of India, the novel has produced a dialogics of multiform ideologies contending not only against the foreign powers but also among themselves. The chief strength of the novel lies in its intellectual and philosophical analysis of the wider historical scene of colonization and decolonization of India. While dealing with the idea of plurality with internal contentions and contradictions, and also recuperating the dead/otherised histories of people, the novel has experimented boldly at the level of aesthetic measures as well.The synthesizing tendency of this novel puts both realist/modernist and postmodernist perspectives in dialogue with each other, thus forming a departure from the tradition that excluded history to the extreme horizons of "narrative discursivity." *Kali-Katha*, post the Rushdie-tradition of historiographic metafiction, emerges as a kind of cogent next-generation response to some totalizing accounts of the British colonial period in India.

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Progress of Doctoral Research in Library and Information Science (LIS) in India:Space-Time Analysis

RESHMA RANA VERMA

Abstract

The paper attempted space-time analysis of doctoral research in LIS in India at the three spatial scales: the zone, the state and the university so as to identify the periods of acceleration/deceleration along with areas of concentration/dispersal in distribution doctoral thesesduring 1950-2017. It also attempted to examine the changing distributional pattern of doctoral theses along with the factors working behind such a phenomenon. For this, the study picked up data/information available from different secondary sources including Bibliography of Doctoral Theses: Social Science,Library Herald, CLIS Observer and Shodhganga.

The study concluded that nearly half of the total doctoral theses accomplished during 1950-2017 were produced in the last eight years: 2010 to 2017. Moreover, doctoral research in LIS is mainly confined to few states and universities in India. The 120 universities,conducting doctoral research in LIS, made only 15.0 per cent of 789 universities in the country in 2017. In all, 2872 doctoral theses were produced in 120 universities of 23 states and three union territories, giving an average of about 24 theses per university.

The annual average rate of growth, which remained less than 5.0 per cent between the 1950s and 1960s, got a momentum in the next decade to reach its peak level during 1980-89, indicating the take-off stage in its growth trajectory.A number of factors including the policy decisions by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi played a significant role not only in acceleration of doctoral research in LIS in the country but also in its intensification as well as physical expansion.

There existed wide differentials in distribution of theses at the three spatial scales: the zone, the state and the university. The southern and central zones together produced more than half (54.8 per cent) of total theses produced during the study period. The eight top ranking states awarded 2075 or 72.2 per cent of all theses, and the eighteen top ranking universities, making only 15.0 percent in total such universities producedin combine 1412 or nearly half of total theses. The current trends reveal that the production as well as productivity of doctoral research in LIS discipline will grow fast in the coming decades; however, the quality of doctoral research produced is likely to come up as a matter of serious concern.

Keywords: Doctoral research, Formative decades, Research Productivity, Spatio-Temporal changes, Differentials

Introduction

In the beginning of 19th Century, theFacultyof Arts in German Universities, then known as the faculty of philosophy, started demanding contribution to research. To write a dissertation was

made essential for the award of final M.A. degree,labeled as Doctor of Philosophy. It was, however, the Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (U.S.A.) to award the first three Ph.D. degrees in 1861; a real beginning of doctoral degree program(Cattell, 1929).In the case of doctoral research in Library Science discipline, the University of Chicago (USA)is credited with pioneering the program. J.S. Sharma, the first Librarian and the founder head of Library Science Department at Panjab University, Chandigarh,isamong few in the world and the first Indianto earn Ph.D.degree in Library Science; earning the degree from the University of Michigan, U.S.A. (Kumar, 1987).

In our country, the Library and Information Science (henceforth LIS) discipline was first introduced at Baroda in 1911, then a princely state. The discipline was then known as the Library Science.At its initial stage, the Library Science was an applied fieldtodeal with the organization and retrieval ofa large number of books withease. Later on, it started as a teaching discipline. Initially, a short course was introduced; gradually it progressed into Bachelor and Master level courses. Dr. Ranganathan, who pioneered Library Science in India, introduced Ph.D.program at the University of Delhi, Delhi (Satija, 2010).

According to an estimate 1754 doctoral research degreeswereawarded in LIS during 1950-2012, conducted in81 universities of 22 states/union territories inIndia (Singh and Babbar, 2014).In this regard,some of the universities and regions in the country have performed better than the others. Similarly, some of the research themes have been repeatedly examined, while some others explored sporadically. In addition, productivity level has been higher during some decades and vice versa. All such questions are important and require further investigation to get a comprehensive understanding of thedoctoral research program in LIS in India.Already, thereare a number of studies on the theme. In the following, an attempt has been made to present a review of literature on the basis of some select studies on this theme.

Analyzing the trends of doctoral research in LIS in Indian universities,Chaterjee, Rath and Poddar (1995)concluded that 1984-88 was a period of maximum growth, and 'Academic Libraries' has been the most popular research theme. Kannappanavar and Vijaykumar (2000)in an article entitled "50 years of LIS research in India: trends & developments" examined the research trends during last five decades. Kumbar and Raju (2008) traced doctoral research productivity in LIS during 1957-2006. Garg, Tamrakar and Tamrakar (2009)analyzed doctoral research work on the basis of chronology, themes, supervision, university and the language used to write the thesis. Kamila (2010) studied research trends during 1959-2009. Rana (2011), in a research article, reviewedthe works accomplished during 1957–2009. She focused on identification of trends and patterns in doctoral researchworks conducted at the Department of Library and Information Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh (PU). The study analyzed doctoral research in terms of time, place, themes, and research supervision. Similarly, Kamila and Das (2012), in a book, studied doctoral researches in LIS by classifying them according to time, theme, and research supervision. In another book, Singh (2003) traced the growth of LIS research in India during 1950-2012 by classifying doctoral theses in order of chronology, geographic location and the research themes.

The present study examines doctoral research in LIS from spatio-temporal perspective covering period spanning over nearly seven decades during 1950-2017. The study isconducted at the three spatial scales: zone/region, state, and individual university. In none of the earlier studies the period beyond 2012 has been covered. No other study has studied inter zonal/regional trends and patterns of LIS doctoral research.

In the light of above statements, the present paper has the following objectives.

Research objectives: - The following are the major research objectives of the present work. These included to-

1.   study the geographical distribution of doctoral research theses awarded in India;

2.   examine the temporal variations in award of doctoral theses; and

3.   analyse the factors working behind spatio-temporal changes.

Research questions:-

In the light of the above stated objectives, the paper raises the following research questions for their answer with the help of data analysis.

1.   Which of the zones/regions, states or universities performed better than the others in award of doctoral research theses in LIS research in India?

2.   Whether the zones/states/universitiestaking a lead at the initial stage continued to do so throughout the study period or the trend changed with time?

3.   When did the doctoral research program in LIS attained to its peak during the study period (1950-2017)?

Data sources and Methodology

Data/information have been picked up from different secondary sources including **The** *Bibliography of Doctoral Theses: Social Sciences***,** published by the Association of Indian Universities, the **Library Herald,** a quarterly organ of the Delhi Library Association since 1958,summarizing the research results of MPhil/Ph.D. dissertations awarded by Indian Universities, and the **CLIS Observer** started in 1984. In addition, **Shodhganga** (www.shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in)**-** a valuable repository of information relating to doctoral theses in India was tapped to collect data/information. Information relating to theses submitted to Panjab University, Chandigarh was accessed from the university website (www.puchd.ac.in).

Based on geographical and socio-economic factors, the individual scholars and the government agencies have divided India into six zones: Northern, Central, Eastern, North-Eastern, Southern, and Western (Deshpande, 1992). The present study has adopted the same division. The northern zone comprising of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana states, and union territories of Chandigarh and NCT of Delhi; the central of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh;the eastern of Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha, and Jharkhand states; in northeastern are Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Sikkim, and Mizoram; the southern of Andhra Pradesh (including Telangana), Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu states and union territory of Puducherry, and the western of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa state and union territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Daman and Diu.

Limitations of the Study

Information on doctoral theses has been collected from various sources, using thedifferent presentation styles. For example, **The** *Bibliography of Doctoral Theses: Social Sciences***,** published by Association of Indian Universities, presents data on doctoral theses according to year of submission, whereas different university departments of LIS present the same information by the year of Ph.D. degree

award. We have used both the sources, since several LIS Departments of different universities do not present such information. Hence, the information presented in temporal classification of doctoral theses implies both, the year of award/submission. Secondly, notwithstanding the best possible efforts the author could not access information on award/submission of doctoral theses in LIS discipline in the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, and Dr.B.R.Ambedkar University, Agra for the year 2017. Hence, the number of theses awarded/submitted in the year 2017 must be more than reported here.

The discussion is organized in the two sections. In the first section, an attempt has been made to analyses the temporal changes in the number of doctoral theses awarded in LIS during 1950-2017. In the next, distribution of doctoral theses at the zonal, state and university level will be examined along with spatial shift in distributional pattern.

I

Trends in doctoral research, 1950-2017

During the first three decades (1950-1979), the doctoral research in LIS moved at a snail's pace. Only the nineteen theses, making less than one per cent of total 2872 theses during 1950-2017, were awarded during these decades (Table 1). This was a formative period of doctoral research program in India. Under the leadership of S.R. Ranganathan,University of Delhi, Delhi introduced doctoral research program in Library Science in 1948. The first Ph.D. student, Mr. D.B. Krishna Rao, enrolled in 1952,received Ph.D. degree in 1957 on "Facet analysis and depth classification of agriculture" (Singh and Babbar, 2014:170). Before that, Mr. M. N. Basu was awarded Ph.D. degree in 1950 by the Faculty of Science, University of Calcutta on a theme relating to library science. There is, however, difference of opinion on the award of this thesis. In view of some scholars, since the thesis awarded to Mr. Basu by the University of Calcutta was submitted in the department other than the Library Science, the thesis awarded to Mr. Krishna Rao from Department of Library Science, University of Delhi must be considered as the first Ph.D. inthe Library Science (Kumar, 1998:5).

The number of theses awarded during 1960-69 decade was the three, against only the two during 1950-59, registering a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 4.14 per cent. However, it went up to 16.65 per cent during the next decade (that is 1970s), when the total number of theses rose to fourteen (Table 1). During the next decade, doctoral research in LIS reached to its take-off stage with number of theses going to 107 in 1980sfrom the fourteen earlier, CAGR rate achieving its peak of 22.55 percent.

During this period, the UGC, New Delhi notified the recommendation of the Fourth Pay Commission on the revision of pay-scales for University/College Teachers/Librarians or the Directors of Physical Education Teacherswith effect from January 1, 1986. UGC NET/Doctoral Research Degree was made the eligibility condition for fresh appointments; and several incentives announced, including the advance increments and the Career Advancement benefits to those holding Ph.D. degrees. Earlier, the Third Pay Commission, whose recommendations were in operation since 1973, had made Ph.D. degree compulsory for promotion to the post of a Reader/Deputy Librarian/Deputy Director of Physical Education. Besides, the in-service faculty members, interested in doing doctoral research degree, were granted leave plus displacement allowance to encourage them to go for the doctoral research. All this created a boomin doctoral research program in Indian universities. Such a policy decision taken by the Government of India helped not only the intensification but also in the physical expansion of the doctoral research in the discipline of LIS.

TABLE 1

Progress in award of doctoral theses in LIS in India during 1950-2017

Decade	Number of theses awarded	Share in percentage	Annual Compound Growth Rate (in %)
1950-1959	02	0.1	-
1960-1969	03	0.1	04.14
1970-1979	14	0.5	16.65
1980-1989	107	3.7	22.55
1990-1999	436	15.2	15.08
2000-2009	927	32.3	07.83
2010-2017	1383	48.1	05.88
1950-2010	2872	100.0	11.46

The decade of 1990s provided a further boost to doctoral program in LIS. The number of accomplished theses rose to 436 from 107 during 1980s, registering CAGR of 15.08 per cent. In 1992, the UGC, New Delhi made the National Eligibility Test (NET) as the eligibility condition for the fresh appointment of Lecturers in a University/College. Later on, modifying the earlier circular, where NET was made the eligibility condition, the UGC notified that those going to submit doctoral theses on or before December 31, 2002 will also be exempted from the NET condition. All such policy-decisions helped in promoting the doctoral research in all the disciplines including LIS.

The next decade (2000-2009) registered further increase in number of theses awarded in LIS. In 2000s the number of awarded theses reached to 927 while it was 436 during the 1990s. The total number of theses produced during the 2000-2009 made 40.0 per cent higher than that of the the total theses produced during the past five decades (1950-1999) in LIS. On an average, about 93 theses per annum were produced in comparison to about 44 during the previous decade. However, the CAGR came down to 7.83 per cent from 15.08 per cent in the earlier decade (Fig.1). In 2006, the UGC, New Delhi exempted under Career Advancement Scheme (CAS) the Ph.D. holders from NET eligibility condition. Later on, Ph.D. was made compulsory in promotion to Associate Professors from Assistant Professors in various disciplines including Deputy Librarian. Such a policy-decision infused a newlife in the doctoral program for the years to come.

During 2010-2017, the 1383 new theses, making 48.1 per cent in total theses awarded during 1950-2017, were awarded in LIS. This number is one and half times of all the theses awarded in 2000s. At the same time, it made more than thrice of the number produced during 1990s. On an average, 197 theses per annum were awarded during 2010-17, this average being about 94 during 2000-09, about 44 during 1990-99, and only about eleven during 1980-89. Evidently, there has been a big jump in number of doctoral theses, indicating the acceleration in speed with time.

However, there has been deceleration in CAGR, which came down to 5.9 per cent from 7.8 per cent during the earlier decade.
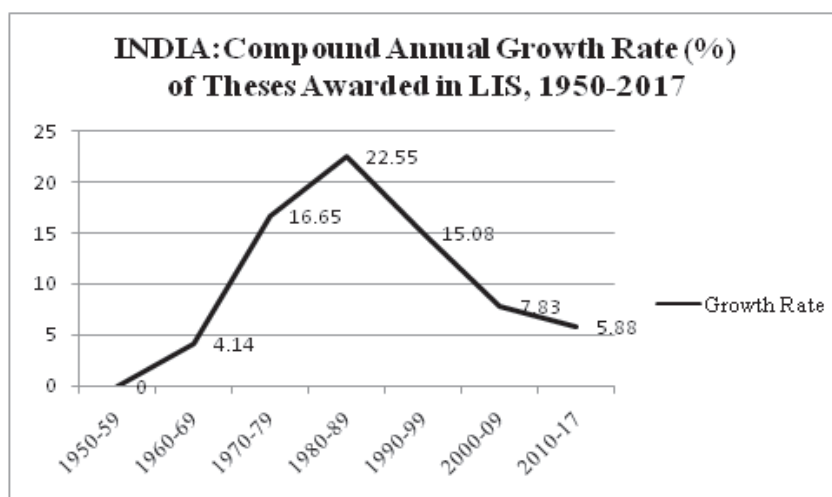
Fig. 1

Briefly, a total of 2872 doctoral theses in LIS have been awarded in India during 1950-2017. The number, growing at a very slow pace during the first three formative decades between 1950 and 1980increased fast during the 1980s. Registering CAGR of 22.6 per cent, the highest of all the decades covered under the study, the doctoral research attained to its take-off-stage in growth trajectory. A number of factors including the policy decisions by the Government of India initiated to promote doctoral research work in the country played an important roleintheintensification as well as physical expansion of doctoral research in LIS.

II

Distribution of Doctoral Theses : 1950-2017

A.   At zonal level

Not only the distributional pattern of doctoral theses produced in LIS but also the spatial shift during the various decades covered under study differed widely across the zones in India.In all, 2872 doctoral theses were awarded in LIS in India during 1950-2017, giving an average of about 479 degrees per zone. However, the number ranged from a high of 1106 in southern to a low of only 134 theses in northeastern zone (Table 2). This gives a ratio of more than eight times between the highest the lowest contributing zones. In proportional terms, southern zone contributed nearly two-fifths or 38.5 per cent and the northeastern zone less than five per cent (4.7 per cent). The southern zone was distantly followed by the eastern with 16.3 per cent, both in combine sharing more than half of the total theses during 1950-2017. The eastern zone was closely followed by the northern zone with 15.2 per cent in total. These three zones (southern, eastern and northern), in combine, shared 70.0 per cent of the total produced during 1950-2017. Against this, these three zones have only 55.0 per cent of the total universities/institute awarding doctoral theses in LIS.

TABLE 2

India: Decadal Progress in thesis numbers awarded in LIS discipline by zones, 1950-2017

Zone /Country	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
Central	-	01	02	13	72	208	173	469
Eastern	01	02	04	09	54	104	132	306
North-eastern	-	-	-	01	13	53	67	134
Northern	01	-	02	32	90	98	214	437
Southern	-	-	01	45	173	334	553	1106
Western	-	-	05	07	34	130	244	420
INDIA	**2**	**3**	**14**	**107**	**436**	**927**	**1383**	**2872**

Separately, the southern zone, sharing one-fourth of the total universities, contributed about two-fifths in total degrees. In productivity also, it had an edge over all other zones. Here, about 37 Ph.D. degrees per university were awarded during 1950-2017. This average was less than half for the western zone, being the lowest productivity zone (Table 3).

TABLE 3

India: Number of universities and awarded PhD degrees in LIS by zones

Name of the Zone	Universities awarding PhD in LIS, 2017	PhDs Awarded (1950-2017)	Average per/ university
Western	26 (21.7)	420(14.6)	16.1
Southern	30 (25.0)	1106(38.5)	36.9
Northern	23 (19.2)	437(15.2)	19.0
North-Eastern	05 (04.1)	134(04.7)	26.8
Eastern	13 (10.8)	306(10.7)	23.5
Central	23 (19.2)	469(16.3)	20.4
Total	**120 (100.0)**	**2872(100.0)**	**23.9**

The northern zone shares 19.2 per cent of total Ph.D. degrees (15.2 percent) awarded during 1950-2017. The northeastern zone, having only the four PhD degree awarding universities in

LIS performed far better. It shared 4.7 per cent of total awarded theses against its share of 4.1 per cent in total such universities during 1950-2017.

The distributional scenario changed fast with time. During 1950s, only two theses were awarded-one in the eastern and another in the northern zone, by the University of Calcutta, Kolkata and the University of Delhi, Delhi, respectively. During the 1960s, only three theses were awarded in the following manner: central (1) and eastern (2). In the former zone, the University of Allahabad awarded a thesis in Department of History in 1966. This university does not have the Department of LIS till date. In the latter zone, the University of Calcutta and Jadavpur University (both in Kolkata) awarded the theses. During 1970s, the doctoral research moved to the universities of other areas. The Fourteen theses awarded during this decade were distributed in all other zones except northwestern zone. The nine universities of eight states/union territories awarded the theses. The 19 theses awarded during the first three decades between 1950 and 1979 were distributed in the following manner:eastern(7),western (5), northern (3), central (3) and southern (1). The former two zones, in combine, shared more than three-fifths of the total theses of the period.

The 1980-89 decade, when 107 theses were awarded, recorded anexpansioninthe awarding area. During this period, the University Grants Commission (UGC), New Delhi made the Bachelor of Library Science degree compulsory for the post of Librarian in the University and College libraries; creating thus a huge demand for professionally trained Librarians, Deputy Librarians and Assistant Librarians. Those really interested in teaching and research joined the doctoral research, the rest entered the fast expanding job market in the library science.

Notably the southern zone, lagging far behind the other zones especially the eastern and the western, recorded the fastest growth. It produced 45 or 42.1 per cent of total 107 theses of the decade. It was followed by the northern zone with 32 theses, both in combine producing nearly three-fourth (72.1 per cent) of the total. Another salient feature of this decade was that northeastern zone produced the first theses in LIS, awarded by the University of Guwahati (Assam).

During 1990-99, when 436 new theses were produced, distribution pattern at the zonal level remained broadly the same as earlier. The southern zone continued its lead with 173 theses making about two-fifths (39.8 per cent) in total, distantly followed by the northern zone with 90 theses or 20.4 per cent in total. Both zones, in combine, shared three-fifths of total. However, inter-zonal disparities in distributional pattern were considerably reduced in comparison to the previous decade. The share of central zone increased at the cost of the northern zone, registering slower increase in comparison to previous decade (see Table 2).

During 2000-09, when 927 theses were awarded, inter-zonal distribution became more balanced in comparison to earlier decade. For example, southern zone though still leading with 334 theses, but its share declined to 36.0 per cent from 39.8 per cent during 1990-99 and 42.0 per cent earlier during 1980-89. Further the share of northeastern zone rose to about 6.0 per cent from 3.0 per cent during 1990-99. This could be possible due to start of doctoral research program in more states and universitiesof this zone in comparison to earlier decades.

During the latest period (2010-17), as many as 1383 new theses awarded, the inter-zonal distributional pattern registering a divergent trend in comparison to 2000-09. The share of southern zone rose to 40.0 per cent from 36.0 per cent, earlier. At the same time, the share of northern zone remained the same, and the shares of central and northeastern zones declined. Against this, the share of western zone increased to about 18.0 per cent from 14.1 per cent earlier. In this way, more than half (58.0 per cent) of the total theses of this period were awarded in these two zones. Establishment of privately managed universities after 2001 accelerated the process, such universities aggressively pursuing professional courses having demand in the market.The four zones produced more than four-fifths shareof total theses awarded by them in LIS during 2000-2017. However, this share was as high as nearly 90.0 per cent for the western and northeastern zones.

## B.	At the state level

In 2017, doctoral research in LIS was available in 23 states and the three UTs. In the remaining six states and four UTs including Himachal Pradesh (recently started at Central University of Himachal Pradesh),Uttarakhand, Goa, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Daman and Diu, and Dadra and Nagar Havelithedoctoral research in LIS has not yetbeen started. Further, it was highly concentrated in eight states (Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan) and if Chhattisgarh and Telangana, earlier a part of Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, respectively, are also added to this list their combined shareadds up to three-fourths (75.0 per cent) oftotaltheses during 1950-217.In contrast,theninebottom ranking states/union territories together shared only 128 or less than 5.0 per cent of the total theses. Such states/union territories included Jammu and Kashmir, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Bihar, Puducherry, Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, and Sikkim (Table 4). Evidently, there has been a highly uneven inter-state distribution of doctoral theses awarded in LIS during 1950-2017. The same is supported by the CV index value of 1.091 (Table 4).

A strong positive association is noticed between the number of theses in a state and the universities/ institutes awarding Ph.D. degrees in LIS. In other words, higher is the number of theses awarded in a state higher is thenumber of such universities there. The same is statistically supported in high value of rank correlation co-efficient (r=0.848) between the two.

Some of the states and UTs have contributed higher share of theses than their respective share in total such universities. These included Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, West Bengal states and Chandigarh (UT). The opposite is true for Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bihar, Chhattisgarh states and NCT, Delhi.

Distributional pattern at the state level has been changing fast during 1950-2017. It remained highly skewed during the first three decades. During 1950-59, the two theses awarded were distributed in two different states/union territories: West Bengal and NCT of Delhi. During 1960-69, the three theses were shared between West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. In the next decade, fourteen theses were distributed in as many as eight states/union territories. A close look reveals that the distributional pattern of doctoral theses at the state level remained highly randomized during the early decades.

TABLE 4
Distribution of doctoral theses in LIS by states during 1950-2017

State	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
Central	-	01	02	13	72	208	173	469
Tamil Nadu	-	-	-	03	23	98	304	428
Karnataka	-	-	01	29	71	100	137	338
Maharashtra	-	-	02	06	31	105	185	329
Madhya Pradesh	-	-	01	05	56	104	70	236
Andhra Pradesh	-	-	-	07	54	76	73	210
West Bengal	01	02	-	05	29	68	96	201
Uttar Pradesh	-	01	-	07	11	84	87	191
Rajasthan	-	-	-	12	29	18	81	140
NCT, Delhi	01	-	-	07	23	17	51	99
Odisha	-	-	-	01	22	35	34	92
Gujarat	-	-	03	01	03	25	59	91
Kerala	-	-	-	05	12	45	24	86
Chandigarh (UT)	-	-	02	12	09	22	17	62
Punjab	-	-	-	01	14	25	20	60
Assam	-	-	-	01	04	22	30	57
Haryana	-	-	-	-	06	11	25	42
Chhattisgarh	-	-	01	-	05	20	15	41
Telangana	-	-	-	01	13	15	12	41
Jammu & Kashmir	-	-	-	-	09	05	20	34
Meghalaya	-	-	-	-	04	16	14	34
Manipur	-	-	-	-	05	06	14	25
Mizoram	-	-	-	-	-	08	09	17
Bihar	-	-	02	03	02	01	02	10
Jharkhand	-	-	02	-	01	-	-	03
Puducherry	-	-	-	-	-	-	03	03
Uttarakhand	-	-	-	01	-	-	-	01
Sikkim	-	-	-	-	-	-	01	01
INDIA	**02**	**03**	**14**	**107**	**436**	**927**	**1383**	**2872**
CV Index	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1.136**	**0.997**	**0.899**	**1.247**	**1.091**

During 1980-89, the theses recorded a steep rise in their number to 107 from 14 in 1970s. During the decade 107 theses were distributed in the eighteen states/union territories, giving an average of about six theses per state/union territory. However, the number ranged from a high of 29 in Karnataka to only one in six states(Odisha, Gujarat, Punjab, Assam, Telangana, and Uttarakhand); indicating to the formative stage of doctoral research program in LIS in several states of India. The value of co-efficient of variability index (CV Index) being 1.136, there were wide inter-state

differentials in distributional pattern of theses during 1980-89. During 1990-99, 436, theses were produced in 23 states/union territories- giving an average of nineteen theses per state/union territory. Earlier during 1980-89, this average was about six only. The number of accomplished theses ranged from a high of 71 in Karnataka to only one in Jharkhand. At least in ten states/union territories, the number of theses produced was less than ten, each (Table 4). The value of CV Index being 0.997, inter-state differential in distribution pattern wasvery wide but reduced in comparison to the earlier decade. In 2000-09, the number of theses accomplished went up to 927, produced in 23 states/union territories, giving an average of forty theses per university. Earlier during 1990-99, this average was only of 19 theses. The number of theses produced ranged from a high of 105 in Maharashtra state to only one in Bihar. Five top ranking states of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, in combine, produced more than half (53.0 per cent) of the total theses produced in this decade. Mizoram got the entry in this arena for the first time and Jharkhand did not produce a single thesis during the decade. Inter-state differentials in distribution of doctoral theses were quite large, CV index value being 0.899. But differentials were considerably reduced. In fact, the minimum of all the decades covered under the study (Fig. 2). During 2010-2017, when the number of theses produced was 1382, produced in 25 states/union territories giving an average of 55 theses per state/union territory, inter-state differentials in distribution of doctoral theses further enlarged. The top ranking five states, namely Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, in combine, produced 812 or 59.0 per cent of all the theses of this period.
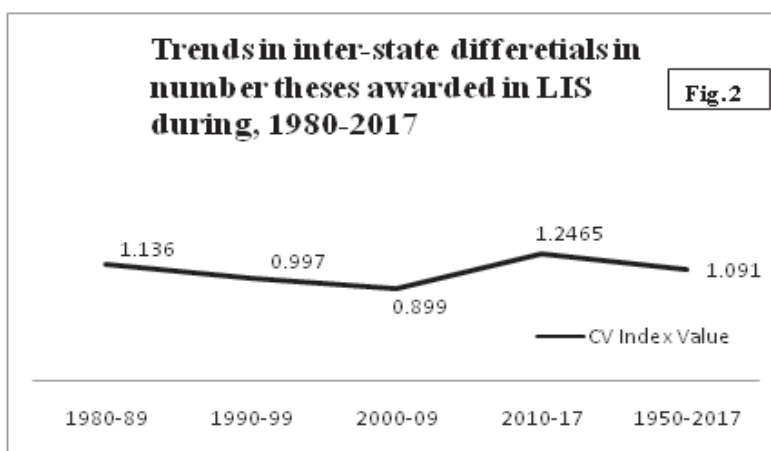
Briefly, doctoral research in LIS gradually spread to a large number of states and union territories, but still absent from nearly one-third of the states and union territories. Moreover, it remained highly concentrated in a few statesof the country- the southern and western Indian states having an edge over the states inother parts of India. The distributional pattern of theses at the state level kept on changing during the study period. Inter-state differentials remaining wide throughout the study period, yet sharply declined during 2000-09.

C.   At the university level

The 120 universities making only 15.2 per cent in total 789 universities in India in 2017 produced 2872 theses in LIS during 1950-2017. This indicates that doctoral research in LIS is still conducted

in the relatively small number of universities. On an average, about 24 theses per university were awarded during 1950-2017. There are, however, wide inter-university differentials in distribution. The number varied from a high of 120 theses in the Jiwaji University, Gwalior to only one thesis each in 21 universities. In fact, the doctoral research in LIS was highly concentrated in a few universities. For example, the eighteen universities making only 15.0 per cent in total 120 universities and awarding at least 50 theses each, produced 1412 or nearly half (49.2 per cent) of the total. On the other hand, 53 universities making 44.2 per cent of total 120 universities awarded only 176 or 6.1 per cent of total accomplished during 1950-2017.

Based on number of theses awarded, the 120 universities are categorized in the foursub-groups: (i) High (awarding more than 50 theses each), (ii) Moderate (awarding 50 to 30 theses each), (iii) Moderately low (awarding 29 to 10 theses each), and (iv)Low (awarding less than 10 theses each).

(i) **High** (>50 theses): Eighteen universities distributed in eleven states produced 1412 or 49.2 per cent of total theses during 1950-2017, giving an average of 78 theses per university. There were, however, wide inter-universities differentials on this count. The number ranged from a high of 120 theses in Jiwaji University, Gwalior to only fifty theses in University of Calcutta, Kolkata. Three top ranking universities, in combine, produced 342 or 24.2 per cent of total theses (Table 5A). During the three first decades (1950-1979), the eight universities produced only the ten theses. University of Calcutta and University of Delhi were the only two universities, which awareded Ph.D. degrees during 1950-59.

TABLE 5
Distribution of doctoral theses awarded in LIS by universities during 1950-2017

University Name	Decade							
	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
A. Universities, Which Awarded More than fifty Doctoral Theses each								
Jiwaji Univ. Gwalior			01	02	39	53	25	120
Karnatak Univ., Dhaward				20	37	36	24	117
Annamalai Univ. Chidambaram					11	31	63	105
Univ. of Mysore, Mysore			01	05	11	25	57	99
Andhra Univ., Waltair				04	34	37	19	94
University of Delhi, Delhi	01			05	22	17	35	80
SB Phule Univ., Pune			02	05	15	33	24	79
M.S. Univ., Tiruneveli					01	12	63	76
S.V.Univ., Tirupati				03	11	17	42	73
Univ. of Madras, Chennai				01	10	44	17	72
R.S.T. Maharaj Nagpur Univ.					08	26	36	70
A.M.U., Aligarh				01		24	45	70
Dr. B.A. MarathwadaUniv, Aurangabad (1993)					03	17	45	65

University Name	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
P.U.Chandigarh (1977)			02	12	09	22	17	62
Jadavpur Univ. Kolkata		01			11	25	23	60
Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur				12	28	11	06	57
Gauhati Univ., Guwahati				01	04	22	30	57
Univ. of Calcutta, Kolkata	01	01		03	03	11	37	56
Sub-Total	**02**	**02**	**06**	**74**	**257**	**463**	**608**	**1412**

B. Universities, Which Awarded 50 to 30 Doctoral Theses each

University Name	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
Sambalpur Univ., Sambalpur				01	05	17	25	48
BharathidasanUniv., Tiruchirappalli					01	04	39	44
Univ. of Calicut, Malappuram				01	06	28	08	43
SJPJT Univ., Jhunjhunun						01	42	43
S.K.Univ., Anantapur					07	22	12	41
Mangalore Univ., Mangalore					02	16	22	40
Osmania Univ., Hyderabad				01	12	15	12	40
K.U.Kurukshetra					05	10	25	40
Vikram Univ., Ujjain				02	09	16	12	39
Alagappa Univ., Karaikudi							38	38
Univ. of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram				04	06	14	14	38
B.H.U., Varanasi				05	10	05	18	38
Univ. of Burdwan, Burdwan				02	09	12	15	38
Utkal Univ., Bhubaneswar					16	15	06	37
Dr. H.S. Gour Univ., Sagar				01	06	19	10	36
Bharathiar Univ., Coimbatore							36	36
NEHU, Shillong					04	16	14	34
GNDU, Amritsar					07	16	11	34
Gulbarga Univ., Gulbarga				04	08	04	16	32
HCA North Gujarat Univ., Patan						12	18	30
Sub-Total	**-**	**-**	**-**	**21**	**113**	**242**	**393**	**769**

Other universities awarding Ph.D. degree during this period included Panjab University, Chandigarh, SB Phule University, Pune, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, University of Mysore, Mysuru, and Jiwaji University, Gwalior. It is only the Panjab University and SB Phule University that produced the two theses each, the rest producing only a single thesis. This was indeed a formative period of doctoral research program in LIS discipline in India. During 1980-89, thirteen universities of this category produced 74 theses, giving an average of less than six theses per university. However, the number ranged from a high of twenty in Karnatak University, Dharwad to a low of only one thesis each in University of Madras, Chennai and A.M.U., Aligarh. In fact, the three universities, namely Karnatak, Panjab, and Rajasthan, in combine, produced 44 or nearly two-thirds of total theses of this decade. Interestingly, Karnatak University and University of Rajasthan, which started awarding doctoral theses for the first time in this decade only, produced such a large number of theses in the same decade.[1]Javadpur University, awardinga single thesisduring1960-69, did not produce any thesis during this decade, and another four universities (Annamalai, ManonmaniamSundaranar (M.S.), RashtrsantTukadoji (RST) Maharaj, and Dr. BhimraoAmbedkar (BR) Marathwada) were yet to produce any thesis in LIS. Evidently, the doctoral research in LIS remained highly confined to a few universities listed under category up to 1980-89 decade.

During 1990-99, this category of universities produced 257 in comparison to 74 theses during the earlier decade. During this period, all but A.M.U. Aligarh produced theses in LIS. It means that 257 theses were produced in 17 universities, giving an average of fifteen theses per university. However, there have been wide inter-university differentials on this count, the number ranging from 39 theses in Jiwaji University, Gwalior to only one in Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Chidambaram. The five universities of Jiwaji, Karnatak, Andhra, Rajasthan and Delhi, in combine, awarded more than two-thirds or 160 of total 257 theses produced by such universities during 1990-99.In the next decade (2000-09),463 theses were produced giving an average of about 26 theses per university. However, the number ranged from a high of 53 in Jiwaji University to only 11 each in Rajasthan and Calcutta Universities. The top five universities, Jiwaji, Madras, Andhra, SB Phule, and Annamalai, produced, in combine, 198 theses or about 43.0 per cent of the total. Evidently, a dispersal tendency in distributional pattern of theses at the university level is noticed for the first time. This may be attributed to consolidation process in doctoral research in LIS. Another noted feature of distributional pattern during this decade is the increasing dominance of universities located in the southern India, distantly followed by the universities located in the central and the western India. The north Indian universities, which had taken a lead in the initial stage of doctoral research program in LIS, trailed far behind the universities located in southern, central, and western zones.

During 2010-17, when a total of 608 theses were produced in these universities, the average per university was 34 theses in comparison to 26 theses earlier. However, the number ranged from a maximum of 63 theses in Annamalai and Manonmaniam Sundaranar Universities each to a minimum of only six theses in University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.[2]Five top ranking universities, in combine,

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[1]   University of Rajasthan awarded its first Ph.D. degree in LIS in 1980 and Karnatak University in 1981. Their respective contributions to the award of doctoral theses during 1980-89 decade were 12 and 20 theses. Karnatak University, Dharwad ranked at the top and University of Rajasthan, Jaipur next only to it.

[2]   It is however to be noted that the number of theses awarded in the latter university might be larger than the number reported here. This is mainly because of difficulties faced by the author in getting the complete information from this university.

produced 273 or 45.0 per cent of the total theses produced in universities of this category, indicating a shift towards the concentration tendency at the university level. Further, a clear trend is noticed in favour of universities located in the southern India. Their collective share in total theses went to 47.0 per cent from 44.0 per cent, earlier.

Briefly, eighteen universities of this category, makingonly 15.0 per cent in total 120 universities awarding Ph.D. degrees in LIS, produced 1412 or 49.2 per cent of total 2872 theses during 1950-2017. The distributional pattern of theses among the universities continues to change during the study period. The distribution remaining highly skewed during the first three decades, it went in favour of universities located in northern and central Indian states during the 1980s and the 1990s. Then, it moved in favour of universities located in south Indian states followed by the states in the western Indian during the first decade of the 21st century. During 2000-09, dispersal tendency in inter-university distribution of doctoral theses in LIS was clearly visible, but moved towards the concentration thereafter.

(ii)   Moderate (50-30 theses): In this category, the twenty universities distributed in fourteen states awarded 769 theses making 27.0 per cent of total theses produced during 1950-2017. On an average, 38 theses per university were produced against 78 theses in universities falling under category discussed before. In their regional distribution, these universities were located in the following manner: south (9), north (3), center (3), east (3), west (1), and north-east (1). Evidently, the universities from the south Indian states dominant in the category.

Notably, inter-university differentials in distribution of theses are noted to be lower in comparison to those falling under the high awarding category. The number of theses awarded ranged from 48 in Sambalpur University, Sambalpur to 30 in Hemchandra Acharya (HCA) North Gujarat University, Patan. None of the twenty universities in this category produced doctoral thesis during the first three decades (1950-1979). In the next (1980-89) also, only the nine of total the twenty universities produced 21 theses, giving an average of less than three theses per university. However, the number ranged from five theses in B.H.U., Varanasi to one each in Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, University of Calcutta, Kolkata, Osmania University, Hyderabad, and Dr. H.S.Gour University, Sagar, indicating that doctoral research program in this category of universities was at its formative stage even in the 1980s.

During 1990-99, 113 theses were produced in 16 of 20 universities of this category. The number of theses ranged from 16 in Utkal University, Bhubaneswar to only one in Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli. The average number of theses per university being seven, in one half of the sixteen universities the number of theses was below the average. Evidently, there were wide inter-university differentials in distribution of theses during this decade. In 2000-09 decade, 18 of 20 universities of this category produced 242 theses, making about one-third of total theses awarded by this category of universities during 1950-2017. This is an indication of the acceleration in the process of doctoral theses award in LIS. Alagappa University, Karaikudi and Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, the two universities of this group, were yet to award Ph.D. degrees in LIS. The number of theses ranged from a high of 28 in University of Calicut, Malappuram to only one thesis in Shri Jagdish Prasad JhabarmalTibrewala (SJPJT) University, Jhunjhunun. The average number of theses per university being thirteen, the number of theses awarded was below this in seven of eighteen universities. During 2010-17, all the 20 universities produced 393 theses, making more than half

(51.1 per cent) of all the theses awarded during the study period. The average per university being twenty theses, 13 of 20 universities registered the number below this, indicating wide differentials in distribution of theses at university level.

The extraordinary performance of some universities of this category needs to be noted. For example, the SJPJT University, established in 2009 under the private management, has awarded as many as 43 Ph.D.till 2017. A cursory look suggests an unusual growth. This will become evidently clear if we compare this performance with that of the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, established in 1957 and produced only forty theses in LIS. The latter university produced its first doctoral thesis in LIS in 1992, against the former producing in 2009. It indicates that the award of doctoral research degree is treated like themanufacturing of goods. In fact, the research work is supposed to be a serious intellectual pursuit done for the furtherance of knowledge. It seems that commercialization has even invaded the highly intellectual pursuit like the higher education in India.

Briefly, the twenty universities in this category produced more than one-fourth of total theses in LIS during 1950-2019, and more than half of this being producing recently, that is, during 2010-2017. The majority of the universities in this category initiated doctoral research program in the 1990s and thereafter. Further, about a half of such universities were located in south Indian states. Inter-university differentials in distribution of doctoral theses were relatively low in comparison to universities included in earlier discussed high category.

(iii)   Moderately Low (29-10 theses): The twenty-nine university, making 24.2 per cent in total such universities, produced 513 theses- about 18.0 per cent in total theses during 1950-2017 (Table 5C). Evidently, their productivity share is much low to their share in total such universities. These universities were distributed in the following manner: Maharashtra (5), Uttar Pradesh (4), Tamil Nadu (3), West Bengal (2), Chhattisgarh (2), Karnataka (2), Jammu and Kashmir (2), Gujarat (2), Rajasthan (2), Punjab (1), Manipur (1), Mizoram (1), Madhya Pradesh (1), and NCT of Delhi (1). Some of them are of recent origin and some others started doctoral research program quite late. Four of them are the Central, 23 the State and remaining two the Privateuniversities.BansathaliVidyapeeth, Bansathali (Tonk), and Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Vishwa Mahavidyalaya (SCSVMV), Enathur (Kanchipuram) are privately/trust managed (deemed) universities.

The average number per university comes about 18 theses. However, the number ranged from a maximum of 29 theses in Tilak Maharashtra (TM) Vidyapeeth, Gultekedi (Pune) and Vidyasagar University, Midnapore to only the 10 in University of Kalyani, Kalyani and SCSVMV, Enathur (Kanchipuram). As many as 19 of 29 such universities produced theses below the average, confirming wide inter-university differentials in distribution of theses.

As indicated before, doctoral research in LIS in this group of universities started quite late. None of the universities in this category awarded doctoral thesis during the first two decades (1950-1969). During 1970-79, Pt. R.S.Shukla University, Raipur was the only university to produce only a single thesis. Thereafter, during 1980-89 only five theses in four universities were awarded (Table 5C). Even during 1980-89, about half of such universities produced only 52 theses, giving an average of 3.5 theses per university. The number ranged from eleven theses in Bangalore University, Bangaluru to only one each in the five universities, namely DR. B.R. Ambedkar, Agra, Kavempu, Shimoga, SantGadge Baba (SGB) Amravati, Amravati, Sardar Patel, Anand, and M.L.Sukhadia, Udaipur.

TABLE 5
C. Universities, Which Awarded 29 to 10 Doctoral Theses each

University Name	Decade							
	1950 -59	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
A. Universities, Which Awarded More than fifty Doctoral Theses each								
T.M.Vidyapeeth, Gultekadi (Pune)							29	29
Vidyasagar Univ., Midnapore					06	14	09	29
Punjabi Univ., Patiala				01	07	09	09	26
Bundelkhand Univ., Jhansi						24	01	25
Manipur Univ., Imphal					05	06	14	25
GG Univ., Bilaspur (Chhattisgarh) 24						03	16	05
Dr. BR Ambedkar Univ., Agra					01	21	02	24
Bangalore Univ., Bangaluru					11	10	03	24
APS Univ., Rewa (MP)						08	10	18
Univ. of Kashmir, Srinagar					03	02	13	18
Mizoram Univ., Aizawl						08	09	17
Kavempu Univ., Shimoga					01	08	08	17
SGB Amravati Univ., Amravati					01	13	03	17
Shivaji Univ., Kohlapur				01	02	04	10	17
Univ. of Lucknow, Lucknow				01		10	05	16
IGNOU, New Delhi							16	16
Univ. of Jammu, Jammu					06	03	07	16
Pt. RS Shukla Univ., Raipur			01		02	04	08	15
Sardar Patel Univ.,Vallabh Vidhyanagar, Anand					01	07	07	15
SNDT Women's Univ., Mumbai					02	07	06	15
SRTM Univ., Nanded						02	13	15
BR Ambedkar Univ., Lucknow						01	13	14
Banasthali Univ., Tonk (Rajasthan)							14	14
Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad						02	12	14
ML Sukhadia Univ., Udaipur					01	02	08	11
Anna Univ., Chennai						01	10	11
Madurai Kamraj Univ., Madurai				02		03	06	11
Univ. of Kalyani, Kalyani (Nadia)						04	06	10
SCSVMV, Enathur, Kanchipuram						02	08	10
Sub-Total	**-**	**-**	**01**	**05**	**52**	**191**	**264**	**513**

During 1990-99, 26 of such universities produced 191 theses. The average per university being seven theses, the number ranged from 24 theses in Bundelkhand University, Jhansi to only one each in B.R.Ambedkar University, Lucknow and Anna University, Chennai. In half of such universities, the number of theses was below the average, indicating wide inter-university differentials in distribution. The 29 universities produced total 264 thesesmaking more than half (51.5 per cent) in total 513 theses produced by universities of this category during 1950-2017. Evidently, the majority of theseswere produced during the last eight years between 2010 and 2017. The average being nine theses per university, the number ranged from a high of 29 theses in T.M. Vidyapeeth, Gultekadi (Pune) to only one in Bundelkhand University, Jhansi. On the whole, more than half of total 29 universities in this category produced theses below the average.

Briefly, the universities included underthis category can termed as the low productive, since the 29 universities making nearly one-fourth of total 120 universities awarded only less than one-fifth of total doctoral theses in LIS produced during 1950-2017. The delayed start of the doctoral research program coupled with the long duration taken to consolidate the program largely explains this.

(iv)   Low (< 10 theses): As many as 53 universities/institutes of this category, making more than two-fifths or 44.2 per cent of total such universities, contributed only 178 theses or 6.2 per cent of the total theses awarded during 1950-2017. Evidently, their contribution is extremely low in comparison to their share in total 120 universities, awarding Ph.D. in LIS in the country. These universities were distributed in 18 states and the two union territories. This included the eight universities from Gujarat and the only one each from the ten states/UTs (West Bengal, Kerala, Jharkhand, Haryana, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Sikkim, Uttarakhand, and Puducherry). At least 13 of such universities were managed privately. Some others are engineering and technological institutes such as IIT, Delhi, Roorkee University, Cochin University of Science and Technology, and Karunya Institute of Technology and Sciences (Deemed Univ.), Coimbatore. A number of these universities were functioning as the open universities, such as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University, Ahmedabad, Yashwantrao Chavan (YC) Open University, Nashik, VardhmanMahaveer (VM) Open University, Kota and Pt. Sunder Lal (SL) Sharma Open University, Raipur. Another important characteristic is that at least 19 universities of this category contributed only a single thesis. The majority of them were either the newly established universities or the old universities but not having the Department of LIS and theses were awarded in the departments other than the LIS. Obviously, it is a highly diverse group of universities/institutes in terms management, nature and the type of institutions, departments/faculties running doctoral research program in LIS, and the productivity level.

Thirty-four universities/institutes of this category, producing the number of theses ranging between the nineandthe two, awarded 159 Ph.D. degrees in total. The average being less than five theses per university, the number ranged from a maximum of the nine theses in MS University of Baroda, Vadodara, and Karunya University, Coimbatore to a minimum of only the two in five universities including Y.C. Open Maharashtra University, Nashik, Maharishi Dayanand University (M.D.U.), Rohtak, LN Misra Mithila University, Darbhanga, Pt. SL Sharma Open University, Raipur, and Sri Padmavati (SP) Mahila University, Tirupati (Table 5D). Such universities are either newly established or doctoral research program in LIS is notfunctioningsmoothly. For example, 21 of 34 such universities awarded doctoral thesis in LIS for the first time in 2010 or thereafter (Table 5D). For

example, MDU, Rohtak was not having the Department of LIS till recently. Recently, it started simentanously both the Master's degree course and the doctoral research program in LIS.

TABLE 5

D: Universities, Which Awarded 9 to 2 Doctoral Theses each, 1950-2017

University Name	Decade					
	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
MS Univ. of Baroda, Vadodara	01	01		02	05	09
Karunya(Deemed) Univ., Coimbatore					09	09
Ravindra Bharti Univ., Kolkata				02	06	08
Tilkamanjhi Bhagalpur Univ., Bhagalpur	02	01	02	01	02	08
MG Chitrakoot Rural Univ., Chitrakoot (M.P.)			02	02	03	07
AKK Women's Univ., Vijyapura (Karnataka)					07	07
MP Bhoj Univ., Bhopal					07	07
ML Chaturvedi National Univ., Bhopal				05	02	07
Hindustan Univ., Chennai					06	06
Mother Teresa Women's Univ., Kodaikanal					06	06
Cochin Univ of S& T, Kochi				03	02	05
Saurashtra Univ, Rajkot				01	04	05
North Maharashtra Univ., Jalagaon					05	05
Univ. of Mumbai, Mumbai				03	02	05
The GGRI, Dindigul, Chinnalapatti				02	03	05
Gujarat Univ., Ahmedabad	02		01		01	04
Dr.BR Ambedkar Open Univ., Ahmedabad					04	04
KSKV Kachchh Univ., Bhuj					04	04
BharatiVidyapeeth Univ., Pune					04	04
Singhania Univ., Jhunjhunun					04	04

University Name	Decade					
	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
V.M. Open Univ., Kota				04		04
Berhampur Univ., Berhampur			01	03		04
MK Bhavnagar Univ., Bhavnagar			01	01	02	04
Solapur University, Solapur					03	03
TISS, Mumbai					03	03
Pondicherry Univ., Puducherry					03	03
Dr. K. N.Modi Univ., Niwai (Raj.)					03	03
Ranchi Univ., Ranchi	02		01			03
Utkal Univ. of Culture, Bhubaneswar					03	03
Y.C. Maharashtra Open Univ., Nashik					02	02
MDU, Rohtak			01	01		02
LN Misra Mithila Univ., Dharbhanga		02				02
Pt. SL Sharma Open Univ., Raipur					02	02
S.P.Mahila Univ., Tirupati			02			02
Sub-Total	**07**	**04**	**11**	**30**	**107**	**159**

Note: None of the universities listed in this category awarded Ph.D. degree in LIS during the first two decades (1950-59 and 1960-69)

There were only the four universities in this category to produce doctoral thesis for the first time during the 1970s, producing together seven theses:M.S.University of Baroda (1), Tilkamanjhi Bhagalpur University (2), Gujarat University (2), and Ranchi University (2). During 1980-89, the four theses were awarded in three universities of M.S.University of Baroda (1), Tilkamanjhi Bhagalpur University (1), and LN Misra Mithila University (2). In 1990-99 decade, the eight universities awarded the eleven theses.Even during the latest period (2010-2017), six of such universities did not produce a single doctoral thesis in LIS. However, they produced theses in the earlier decades. Obviously, there must have been problems in smooth running of doctoral research program in such universities (see Table 5D).

TABLE 5

E: Universities, Which Awarded only one Doctoral Theses each, 1950-2017

University Name	1960 -69	1970 -79	1980 -89	1990 -99	2000 -09	2010 -17	1950 -2017
Rai Univ., Ahmedabad						01	01
Veer Narmad South Gujarat Univ., Surat						01	01
Documentation R&T Centre, ISI, Bangalore				01			01
Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Open Univ., Hyderabad				01			01
Bhagwant Univ., Ajmer						01	01
IIT, New Delhi			01				01
JMI, Univ., New Delhi				01			01
JNU, New Delhi			01				01
Pacific Academy of HE&R Univ., Udaipur						01	01
IIS Univ., Jaipur						01	01
Univ. of Kota, Kota						01	01
Sikkim Manipal Univ., Gangtok					01		01
Dayalbagh E.I., Agra						01	01
Mangalayatan Univ., Aligarh						01	01
Monad Univ., Hapur						01	01
Roorkee Univ., Roorkee			01				01
S.V.Subharti Univ., Meerut						01	01
S.V.Univ.,Sagar						01	01
Univ. of Allahabad, Allahabad	01						01
Sub-Total	**01**	**-**	**03**	**03**	**01**	**11**	**19**

Note: University of Allahabad awarded on Ph.D. in the year 1966 in the Department of History. No other university of this category awarded Ph.D. degree in LIS during the first two decades (1950-59 and 1960-69)

The lowest performing 19 universities/institutes produced the identical number of theses. Their performance has been highly sporadic. For example, the University of Allahabad, Allahabad produced only a single thesis in 1966 and the Monad University, Hapur did the same in 2017. The former, a centrally funded university now, is one of the oldest universities of the country,while the latter,

established in 2010, is a privately manageduniversity.Obviously, this is a highly diverse group of universities in terms the management, objectives, origin and running of doctoral research program in LIS. These were distributed in the following manner: Uttar Pradesh (6), Rajasthan (4), NCT of Delhi (3), Gujarat (2), and Karnataka (1), Telangana (1), Sikkim (1), Uttarakhand (1), and Madhya Pradesh (1).

The majority of them started doctoral research in LIS recently under the private management. In addition, several universities of this group have neither the Department of Library and Information Science nor producing doctoral theses on the regular basis. Examples are Documentation Research and Training (R&T) Centre, IIS, Bangalore, IIT, New Delhi, JNU, New Delhi, Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI), New Delhi, Dayalbagh Educational Institute (EI), Agra, Roorkee University, Roorkee, and University of Allahabad, Allahabad (Table 5E). Among the above listed universities/institutes, the JMI, New Delhi is the only university to start Bachelorand Master's degree courses in LIS discipline recently on the self-finance basis. University of Allahabad produced only one thesis and that too in the Department of History, and the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), New Delhi in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Briefly, 19 universities/institutes making about 16.0 per cent in the total of 120 universities awarded only the nineteen or less than one per cent of total theses in LIS during 1950-2017. In some of the universities/institutes produced theses in other than LIS departments. A majority of them having a recent origin have started doctoral research in the late 2000s or early 2010s.

Summary and Findings

In India, the doctoral research in LIS started not only late but also moved quite slowly during the first three decades after the Independence however, moving fast in recent years.The doctoral research in LIS is highly confined to few states and universities in the country.There are wide differentials in distributional pattern of theses at the state and the university level. The trend in distribution pattern of doctoral theses has been changing over the period. In the initial decades, the universities located in northern zone registered their dominance. This shifting gradually to the universities located in the states falling under the southern zone. The last three decades showing their clear cut dominance. Inter-state differentials in distribution of doctoral theses have remained wide throughout the study period.

In another development, the role of private universities in doctoral research program has increased in the recent decades.The distributional pattern of theses at the university level remaining highly skewed during the first three decades got tilted in favour of universities located in the states falling under the northern and central zones during the 1980s and the 1990s. In the first decade of the twenty-first century it moved to go in the favour of universities located in the south Indian states. During 2000-09 decade, dispersal tendencies in inter-university distribution of doctoral theses in LIS were clearly visible, moving thereafter towards the centralization.

The growth of PhD in LIS discipline is quite apprarent from the data. A number of factors including the policy decisions by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi have contributed significantly to the promotion of doctoral research work in LIS.

Conclusion

The study reveals that theSourthernZone, a late beginner, is the leading zone while the northern zone of India has legged behind, the precursor of LIS doctoral research in India. The axis of LIS

doctoral research moved from nortethern zone to Southern zone over the period of time. The current trend reveals that production as well as productivity of doctoral research degrees in LIS discipline will grow fast in the coming decades. The University Grant Commission has given impetuous to the LIS doctoral research by devising policies which supported and encouraged professionals/students to obtain doctoral degree in LIS discipline.

The private universities are also playing a significant role as they have started doctoral research in LIS recently under the private management. However, with increased role of commercialization and privatization in the higher education of India, the quality of doctoral research produced is likely to emerge as a matter of serious concern.Another, interesting finding of the study is that many of the universities (government and private) have awarded theses in discipline of LIS but they neither have the Department of Library and Information Science nor producing doctoral theses on the regular basis. Perhaps, this is due to enthusiasm of the researchers that they have registered themselves under University Librarians or Faculty members of other universities for achieving their dream to obtain PhD degree in LIS.

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Emotional Competence and Marital Adjustment among Childless Women

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ABSTRACT

Childlessness is defined as the inability to achieve pregnancy after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse. It is linked not only with psychological problems like low self-esteem, depression and anxiety but it also affects marital adjustment of a couple. Therefore, the aim of this study was to study Emotional Competence and marital adjustment among childless women. This was a descriptive and correlational study. Its sample consisted of two groups, i.e., childless women (n = 100), women with children (100) selected through purposive sampling technique from three Districts (Ganderbal, Srinagar and Baramulla) of Kashmir Valley. Adapted version of Dyadic Adjustment Scale and Emotional Competence Scale were used for data collection. Data analysis was done by IBM SPSS-20. It was found that women with children were higher on emotional competence as compared to childless women. Similarly, women with children were much better in marital adjustment as compared to the childless women. Results also indicated positive correlation between emotional competence and marital adjustment. Emotional competence can be considered as effective in the better adjustment of women.

Keywords: Childless Women, Emotional Competence and Marital Adjustment

Introduction

Childlessness is defined as the inability to achieve pregnancy after one year of unprotected sexual intercourse. After a year's unprotected sex, no pregnancy has taken place. [1]It also means that Women are having no live birth or no living children at the end of reproductive life span. [73] It can result from different factors. [3] One can differentiate between involuntary childlessness (e.g. infertility), intended childlessness (those who do not intend to have children), voluntary childlessness (the "childfree"), and temporary childlessness (related to circumstantial or delayed childbearing) which is neither voluntary nor involuntary. [3] Voluntary childlessness is referred as women in reproductive age and is fertile but have no intention to conceive. Women who have never had children, desire to remain childless and without any underlying assumption that they are advantaged or disadvantaged in relation to those with children. [4] Involuntary childlessness refers to those individuals who experience fertility problems. [5] Many early studies also assigned unmarried women to the category of "involuntarily childless". [6] Different factors contributing to voluntary and involuntary childlessness. [7, 8] One of the major reasons for contemporary childlessness is lack of partner. [9, 10] Higher male education is usually related to lower childlessness, while the opposite is true for women. [11-14] The higher a woman's level of education, the more likely she is to remain childless. [15-17] Among little educated women childlessness is also high. [18] In the past, Childlessness was mainly involuntary, related to later entry to marriage or living unmarried, or to sub fecundity due to medical conditions. [7, 19] Infertility, [20, 21] Sub-fertility, [21] Health problems. [22] Socioeconomically disadvantaged men, such as the unemployed or those in low-paid jobs, are the most likely to remain childless. [15, 23] whilst self-employed men are the least likely. [17]

Childlessness which is a stressful situation affects the marital adjustment of married couple. Marital adjustment as satisfaction with the marital-relationship and the spouse. Satisfaction, dyadic cohesion, consensus and affectional expression are all indicators of marital adjustment. [24] There are many factors affecting the marital adjustment of couples. [25] Childlessness is one of the factors that affect marital stability. Childlessness is linked not only with psychological problems like low self-esteem, depression and anxiety but it also affects marital adjustment of a couple. [26] Parenthood makes marriages stronger and strengthens the relationship of a couple. [27] In the old age childless people experience lack of social support and have a minimal strong network for independent living .[28,29] Misunderstanding between the couples resulting into degraded sexual life also negatively affects their relationship. [30] Infertile women undergo a lot of negative social consequences that includes instability in marriage, stigmatization and exploitation. [68] Some studies of Childless couples, who are married for at least a period of 10 years or more also show that marital adjustment is impacted significantly. [69] Childlessness results in pain and trauma, unfulfilled life, rejection from home and inadequate wellbeing. [69] Childless married women affected in various communities. [70] Childless women are further causing due to the expectations from family, relatives and society to fulfill the role of motherhood. Childless couples are more likely to divorce than couples with children. [31-35] Among infertile couples probability of divorce was found to be 2.20 times more as compared to fertile couples. [36] Domestic violence is also common. [37] Disharmony of marriage was more evident among childless couples. [38] Poor quality relationship was associated with different family and community problems. [71] Absence of role as a parent may have a negative impact on marital relations. [39, 2] Many couples are confronted with the problem of childlessness worldwide but little attention has been given to this problem. [40] Women are left with feeling empty, defective, incomplete, undesirable and unworthy. [41] In both men and women childlessness is associated with emotional responses such as depression, anxiety, guilt, social isolation, and decreased self-esteem [42] Stress placed on the marriage upon initiation of the childlessness. [43] Stress is the amount of guilt felt by the partner who has been diagnosed as infertile. [43] Women experienced significantly more psychological distress than their partners. [44] In the community childless men have lesser status compared to their peers with children and their views may not be considered or they may not be allowed to contribute to societal discussions. [45] Infertile couple goes through feelings of disbelief, denial, anxiety and loss of control, isolation and guilt. [46]

Emotional competence is important in coping with these challenges. It is defined as the ability to perceive, regulate, and express one's own emotions appropriately, and to perceive others' emotions correctly. [47-51] It is one of essential factor that can play a crucial role to cope with stressful situations. Those who have emotional competence are able to build life-long relationships. Emotional competence helps people develop tolerance and cope with life stressors. It facilitates recognizing one's own motivations, feelings and desires which is important in effective communication to a partner. Infertility affects the marital relationship of couples. Women with infertility face familial and societal pressures regarding childlessness. Childless couple goes through stress and emotional distress, especially women. People having emotional competence can better handle their relationships. Emotional competence helps an individual in making his/her relationship productive and strong. Emotionally competent people are better able to resolve their conflicts as compared to others. This may be the reason they are able to deal with their marital issues intellectually than those with lower emotional competence. For the couple, infertility is considered a stressor or trauma in the journey of their new life.

Overall, studies show that childless women generally suffer from series of psychological and psychosomatic problems that includes distress, depression, anxiety, and loss of self-esteem, shame and guilt. However, no study has been conducted on emotional competence and marital adjustment among childless women till date. Thus, on the basis of literature, three hypotheses were formulated: (1) There would be no significant difference of emotional competence among childless women and women with children, (2) There would be no significant difference of marital adjustment among childless women and women with children, (3) Women emotional competence would be significantly correlated with their marital adjustment.

Methods of Data Collection

Sample

The study sample consisted of 200 participants. The sample consisted of two groups: childless women (N= 100) and women with children (N= 100) selected through purposive sampling technique from three Districts (Ganderbal, Srinagar and Baramulla) of Kashmir Valley. Childless women were contacted from Clinics, gynecologists, hospitals etc. Women with children were also contacted from various localities. The Participants were made clear about the nature and purpose of the study and about the voluntary basis of their participation. In order to elicit their true responses without any fear or inhibitions a rapport was established by assuring the participants of the confidentiality of their personal information.

Inclusion criteria

For the childless women inclusion criteria were as follows:

- The age range of the participants was 30-40 years.
- Marital status of the participants was 10 years and above.
- Married women living with husband.
- Participants were either currently under the treatment of infertility or had been under the treatment earlier.

For the women with children inclusion criteria were as follows:

- The age range of the participants was 30-40 years.
- Participants were having at least one child.
- Women who are married and living with their husband.

Exclusion criteria

For the participants exclusion criteria were as follows:

- Divorced and widowed women were not included in the sample.
- Women without living child.

Measures

Emotional Competence Scale

Revised version of 30 items Emotional Competence Scale was used in this research. It measures five emotional competencies, namely a) Adequate Depth of Feeling (ADF), b) Adequate Expression and Control of Emotions (AECE), c) Ability to Function with Emotions (AFE), d) Ability to Cope

with Problem Emotions (ACPE) and e) Enhancement of Positive Emotions (EPE). The scale consists of 6 items in each competence and based on the lines of Likert having five alternatives to each item. Scoring of these five alternatives follow a system of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 from upper to lower end.

Dyadic Adjustment Scale

Adapted version of Dyadic Adjustment Scale was used in this research. It has four subscales, namely 1) Dyadic Consensus, 2) Dyadic Satisfaction, 3) Affectional Expression and 4) Dyadic Cohesion. There are 32 items in the scale out of these, 13 Measure consensus, 10 measure satisfactions, 5 measure cohesion and 4 measures affectional expression.

Statistical analysis

The collected data was analyzed by using the appropriate statistical techniques with the help of SPSS-20.

Results

TABLE 1

Comparison of two groups childless women (n=100) and women with children (n= 100) on Emotional Competence and its dimensions.

Dimensions	Group	Mean	SD	t-value	p- value
Adequate Depth of	Childless Women	18.20	3.34	17.24	.001
Feeling (ADF)	Women with children	27.30	2.38		
Adequate Expression and	Childless Women	15.27	3.31	12.03	.001
Control of Emotions (AECE)	Women with children		28.34	4.70	
Ability to Function	Childless Women	16.45	4.68	19.50	.001
with Emotions (AFE)	Women with children	30.50	2.30		
Ability to Cope with	Childless Women	19.22	2.43	14.54	.001
Problem Emotions (ACPE)	Women with children	27.29	3.03		
Enhancement of Positive	Childless Women	13.22	4.89	10.98	.001
Emotions (EPE)	Women with children	27.29	2.35		
Emotional Competence	Childless Women	40.04	10.70	24.12	.001
	Women with children	80.78	6.34		

Table 1 indicates comparison of two groups on Emotional competence. Results showed that two groups were statistically differed in their mean scores. The dimension wise difference revealed similar results as the two groups differ significantly with each other on all the dimensions of Emotional Competence. From the results it appeared that mean scores of women with children were significantly higher on Emotional Competence including dimensions (Adequate Depth of Feeling, Adequate Expression and Control of Emotions, Ability to Function with Emotions, Ability to Cope with Problem Emotions and Enhancement of Positive Emotions).

TABLE 2

Comparison of two groups childless women (n=100) and women with children (n= 100) on Marital Adjustment and its dimensions.

Dimensions	Group	Mean	SD	t-value	Level of significance
Affection Expression	Childless Women	8.02	3.34	10.12	.001
	Women with children	12.02	2.70		
Cohesion	Childless Women	9.34	3.12	14.28	.001
	Women with children	14.40	4.08		
Consensus	Childless Women	28.36	9.12	18.25	.001
	Women with children	45.12	5.30		
Satisfaction	Childless Women	17.19	6.67	12.77	.001
	Women with children	30.80	7.54		
Marital Adjustment	Childless Women	59.78	10.02	20.98	.001
	Women with children	100.41	14.89		

Table 2 shows comparison of scores for two groups on marital adjustment. Results indicated that mean scores of two groups were statistically differed on Marital Adjustment including dimensions. From the results it appeared that mean scores of women with children were significantly higher on Marital Adjustment including dimensions (affectional expression, cohesion, consensus, satisfaction).

TABLE 3

Coefficient of correlation between the scores of Emotional Competence and Marital adjustment.

Emotional Competence	Marital Adjustment
Adequate Depth of Feeling (ADF)	.48*
Adequate Expression and Control of Emotions (AECE)	.56*
Ability to Function with Emotions (AFE)	.66**
Ability to Cope with Problem Emotions (ACPE)	.52**
Enhancement of Positive Emotions (EPE)	.60**
Total Emotional Competence	.70**

$^{--}p<=.01$ & $^*p<=.05$

Table 3 shows correlation between Emotional Competence and its dimensions with Marital Adjustment. From the results it appeared that correlation was very strong and found statistically significant. The dimension wise analysis also showed similar results as all the dimensions of Emotional Competence were positively correlated with Marital Adjustment.

Discussion

The present study was an attempt to study emotional competence and marital adjustment among childless women and women with children. While analyzing significant difference of emotional competence between childless women and women with children results revealed that mean scores of women with children were significantly higher on Emotional Competence including dimensions (Adequate Depth of Feeling, Adequate Expression and Control of Emotions, Ability to Function with Emotions, Ability to Cope with Problem Emotions and Enhancement of Positive Emotions). A literature review did not come up with any studies in which childless women and women with children are compared on the basis of emotional competence. From the results it appeared that women with children were higher on emotional competence as compare to childless women. The reason may be that women with children were handling the day to day stresses of life more effectively than childless women. Children are great source of motivation for them. Parenthood has a substantial and enduring positive effect on life satisfaction. [52] Childless women reported significantly lower level of life satisfaction and self-esteem than mothers. [53] Hence among women with children emotional competence can be attributed to the sense of satisfaction with life due to the presence of children. The great source of satisfaction among women with children is motherhood which helps them in the development of emotional competence. On the other hand childless women usually suffer from sense of insecurity, hopelessness and generally develop sense of dissatisfaction with life which make them emotionally vulnerable and generate negative thoughts. That is why, they are found to be suffering from lack of control on emotions. Due to childlessness they undergo a lot of negative emotions such as feelings of loss, anguish, angar, sorrow, sadness, lack of femininity, shame and self-blame. These negative emotions definitely affect the emotional competence in them. Hopelessness further affects the emotional competence in childless women. Lack of hope for a child is very important for a woman as it results in grief and lowers down the sense of self-control and self-confidence. Childless women develop feelings of incompetency which may result in the development of negative attitude towards their own self. Childless people doubting their sexual ability, develop frustration and sometimes develop mental disorders. [54] Therefore, childlessness tends to damage emotional competence of women.

Results also indicated that childless women had poor marital adjustment as compared to women with children. This is in line with the previous findings where it was showed that childlessness was the main factor related to the condition of poor marital adjustment and creates greater deterioration in marital functioning. [55] Marital adjustment of childless women was very low as compared to women who were fertile. [56] Childless women were having low autonomy and it can lead to marital separation. [22] Marital relationship is affected by childlessness. [54] Infertile couple reports poor marital adjustment and quality of life. [57] Females experience a greater amount of stress related to infertility and this stress was related to satisfaction, consensus, and affection. [72] It has been reported that Infertility threatens harmony in the marital relationship and family life. [58] Infertility not only affects marital adjustment but quality of life as well. [59] Uneducated infertile females were less psychosocially adjusted than educated infertile females. [60] Infertil women face more marital conflict than infertile men. [61]

From the results it also appeared that there was a positive correlation between emotional competence and marital adjustment. A literature review did not come up with any studies that explored the relationship between emotional competence and marital adjustment but some other studies are consistent with the results that significant relationship between emotional competence and mental

health among adolescents. [62] Significant correlation between adjustment and emotional competence. [63] Emotional competence would increase the motivation and effectiveness of the employee. [64] Significant correlation between emotional competency and happiness. [65] Negative correlation between emotional competence and depression [66] Emotional competence and dispositional optimism were significantly and negatively correlated with depressive symptoms. [67]

Conclusion

Present study attempted to study emotional competence and marital adjustment among childless women. In the study it was found that women with children were higher on emotional competence as compared to childless women. Similarly, women with children were much better in marital adjustment as compared to the childless women. Results also indicated positive correlation between emotional competence and marital adjustment. Accordingly, emotional competence can be considered as effective in the better adjustment of women.

Limitations of the study

The study was conducted on childless women and women with children, childless males were not included in the study despite of the fact that they also get affected due to childlessness. Due to small sample size ,results of the present study cannot be truly generalized. The study considered only one moderator namely emotional competence of marital adjustment, there may be some more significant moderators for the childless women. Therefore it cannot be said confidently that women marital adjustment are moderator by emotional competence.

Acknowledgements

Financial support and sponsorship

Conflicts of interest

There are no conflicts of interest.

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FORM - IV

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1.	Registration No.	:	ISSN 0970-5260
2.	Place of Publication	:	Panjab University,Chandigarh (India)
3.	Periodicity of its Publication	:	Biannual
4.	Publisher & Editor-in-Chief's Name	:	Krishna Mohan
	Nationality	:	Indian
	Address	:	Shaheed Bhagat Singh Professor of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh
5.	Printer's Name	:	Jatinder Moudgil
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