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Honour Killings and the Role of Judiciary in India

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Abstract

The present paper seeks to draw attention of the readers towards the unconstitutional and criminal practice of honour killings prevalent in India on account of which young boys and girls are losing their precious lives. The customary practice rooted in socio-cultural setting is commonly practised in traditional patriarchal societies of North India especially among the Sikh Jats of Punjab and the Jats of Haryana. This is not to suggest that the practice is non-existent in other parts of India. Role of Indian judiciary for the cause of eradication of the practice and creating awareness among Indians is highly appreciable. The khap panchayats, the patronising agents of the practice should be taken to task along with the accused indulging in the practice. There is a need for stringent laws and stringent action against the guilty. The government and non-government organisations, young students, teachers, khap panchayats must all contribute by their efforts to uproot this inhumane practice in India.

A family, an important social institution, acts as an agent for the transmission of social values from generation to generation in societies all over the world and India is no exception. The interpersonal relationships in a family may be marked by benevolence or belligerence. In Indian society, belligerency may be expressed on account of inequality, hatred, jealousy, generational gaps among members of the family, violation of the expected norms and principles of a family or certain unusual conditions and circumstances. This may result in mental or physical abuse or violence against a family member. Many a times, the woman of a family is expected to accept her position as an inferior being and behave 'morally' as a subservient participant in a male-dominated family, failing which she may become vulnerable to be a victim of abuse and violence of the husband or the brother or the father or the entire family. Honour killing, one such form of violence, practised against men and women has assumed a serious concern in India - the land of multi-religious principles, multi-traditional cultures and multi-customary practices. Honour killing is understood as the killing of a

member causing presumed disgrace to the family due to his or her behaviour that was deemed to be immoral. (Kane, 2008, p. 12) Honour killing has grown as a deep-rooted evil, a bane for our society, which cuts across boundaries of caste, creed, class, religion and wealth. This practice is attributed to a number of causes. Marrying or entering into inter-caste marital or pre-marital relationship in which the opposite partner belongs to the disapproved caste, according to the presumed norms of the family, incurs the wrath of family members leading to killings in the name of protecting the honour of the family. Seeking divorce is considered to bring dishonour in some families who then resort to honour killing. Homosexuality, rape, rumour, non-adherence to a specific dress code, especially by women, extra-marital sexual relationship, love marriages, inter-communal, inter-religious and intra-caste marriages are among several other prominent causes of honour killing. (Manual Honour Related Violence, 2005, p. 73)

After India won freedom, there was a strong belief that our nation has turned into a liberal national state having no room for abuse and oppression at least in the name of caste or class or creed or religion or sex or language. Here, outdated and orthodox beliefs and practices have been forsaken for ever and values of egalitarianism have been upheld with pride. The Constitution of India has guaranteed the rights of equality, liberty and fraternity to all, thus “assuring human dignity.” (Sharma, 2009, p. 46) An adult person without any fear and reservation has the constitutional right to marry according to his or her own wish and desire to the person of his or her choice of any race, caste, nationality, community, religion or region and to make family with his or her partner. The right to dissolve the marriage has also been equally granted to all Indian men and women by our Constitution. However, disregarding the constitutional rights, honour killing is practised by some in India generally owing to the disapproved marriages in the families. A majority of honour killings is reported in the states of North India, particularly Punjab, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh but these may be identified in the rest of the country too.

As far as the magnitude of honour killings in India is concerned, one hardly has the access to an exact data drawn from public or private offices. But the survey conducted by a number of social organizations establishes the fact that India certainly falls in the list of those nations where the magnitude of honour killings is too high.” It is estimated that approximately one thousand people (both females and males) are killed every year in India owing to alleged honour killings.”¹

Honour killings are resorted to chiefly in the traditional and conservative societies, often referred to as ‘honour-based’ societies comprising of the Jat *Sikhs* in Punjab, the Jats in Haryana and the Rajputs in Rajasthan. Such societies are based on rights of patrilineal inheritance. The family or kin group forms the basic social, political and economic unit. As such, the elder and influential members of community including community councils such as khap panchayats in Haryana are seen as encouraging honour killings and defending

¹ *Times of India*, Bombay, 4 July, 2010, p. 4.

the killers. These traditionally entrenched patriarchal societies disregard the interference of state and the law to prevent honour killings by calling such interference as uncalled for, unjustified and” unacceptable interference into their socio-cultural values and familial patterns.” (Deol, 2014, p. 9)

The United Nations Population Fund reports that there are five thousand victims of honour killings in the world annually. In India, many cases of honour killings are either not reported or they are reported as suicides. Though one cannot be certain about the numbers, one can say with certainty that this customary practice is being followed unabated. In Punjab, the practice has caused an alarming situation. According to the data compiled by the Punjab police, thirty four honour killings were reported in the state between 2008 and 2010, ten in 2008, twenty in 2009 and four in 2010. All India Democratic Women’s Association (AIDWA) has put the numbers of honour killings to approximately nine hundred in Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh combined, while three hundred in the rest of the country. In 2007, as many as six hundred fifty five cases of honour killings had been registered.² The practice of honour killings is commonly prevalent in neighbouring countries too, such as Pakistan. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) records that six hundred and forty seven women were killed in the name of honour in 2009 and this figure was up by thirteen per cent as compared to 2008, the year when five hundred seventy four such killings were reported. In 2017, six hundred and ninety six cases of honour killing were reported involving two hundred thirty one male victims and four hundred sixty five female victims.³ It is noteworthy to point out that in the Northern states of India, as high as ninety two per cent of the people hide the reporting of honour killings and related crimes. This has been stated on the basis of a review done under orders of National Commission of Women which interviewed people from both urban and rural areas.⁴

A caste-wise statistical analysis of Punjab in 2013-14 highlights the fact that the Jats were chiefly the accused in the state who outnumbered the Khatri and the Dalits in practising honour killings as is evident from the table below:

Table I: Showing Caste-wise Analysis of the Accused in Punjab in 2013-14 (Deol, 2014, p.11)

Caste of the Accused	% involved
The Jats	92
The Khatri	7
The Dalits	1

² *The Hindu*, Madras, 22 May, 2010, p. 5.

³ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Report on Honour Killings, 2017, p. 1.

⁴ This report is based on Shakti Vahini, an NGO which conducted Research Study on Honour Killings in Northern India by order dated 22.12.2009 on the advice of National Commission for Women, 2009, pp. 4-5.

The above Table showing the caste-wise analysis of people responsible for the honour killings in Punjab in 2013-14 brings forth a concern about an overwhelming number of Jats involved in the practice as the accused. It is further noticed that of the accused Jats of Punjab, the Jats of Malwa region were found to be the diehard accused resorting to the practice of honour killing on a much higher scale as compared to the Jats of Majha and those of Doaba.

Table II: Showing Magnitude of Honour Killings in Punjab (Deol, 2014, p. 11)

Various Regions of Punjab	%
Malwa	56
Doaba	13
Majha	31

The above Table shows that 56 per cent of the accused Jats belong to the Malwa region which is the largest region of Punjab in terms of area and population and which includes the districts of Ferozepur, Sangrur and Ludhiana. The area is inhabited chiefly by the Jats. In the Majha region, however, the Jats commit the crime of honour killings on a comparatively lesser scale. The incidents of the crime are found to be the least in the Doaba region owing to the possible fact that the region is the hub of non-resident Indians who stay in foreign lands most of the times. India's connection through them with western world and its liberal ideology acts as an enabling factor in relaxing the narrow-mindedness of the Indians in general and the Punjabis in particular in this region thus dissuading them to resort to such a criminal practice.

It is to be observed that the involvement of the Jats in the inhumane practice of honour killing in large numbers may be because of the fact that the socio-cultural attributes of the Jats are rooted in patriarchal social set up which actively works behind the trend of following this practice by them. The Jats over the period of time have also borrowed and adopted several socio-cultural notions of the Mughals and the Pathans with whom they have been coexisting in Punjab for centuries. History is replete with references of several Muslim clans being highly patriarchal in which the male members, possessing socio-political influence would simply refuse the inter-caste marriages of their daughters for the cause of maintaining caste-pride and caste-purity and not letting their daughters feel inferior in any way. The Jats, who had come to acquire preponderant influence in Punjab during the Sikh rule under the Misaldars and later under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by routing various Muslim classes, had carried their rigid patriarchal traditions which continue even in present

time. These socio-cultural traditions, rightly or wrongly, have become the part and parcel of lives of the Punjabis. For instance, calling someone by the name of *saala*, the brother of the wife and *sahura*, the father of the wife is considered as highly derogatory language in the society of Punjab, especially among the Jats, the use of which may ensue into verbal spat or violent outbursts between the caller and the called. A majority of the Jats being farmers live in villages. Living in the rural areas has contributed to their aloofness from modern socio-cultural advancements. This has also made them socially more endogamous by virtue of which they regard pre-marital or marital relations of their daughters with boys of other or inferior castes as bringing dishonour to them in the society.” Further, their illiteracy invokes intellectual backwardness, conservative bigotry and psychological narrow-mindedness among them.” (*Ibid.*, p.12)

In the course of discussion on honour killings, it is pertinent to comprehend that there are various dimensions of relationships between a boy and a girl which evokes a strong and intolerant reaction of the family compelling them to opt for the honour killing or killings as the only choice. The following table is the indicative of different dimensions of the relationship between a boy and a girl.

Table III: Indicating Dimensions of the Relationship in Punjab in 2013-14 (Deol, 2014, p. 14)

Nature and Extent	%
Pre-marital relationship	36
Elopement of the couple	16
Secret marriage without the consent of girl's family	20
Caught in compromising condition	28

Table III indicates the trend that in thirty six per cent cases, the parents and family members of the girls involved in pre-marital intimate relationships with their male partners or vice-versa are intolerant and hostile towards such relationships as these fetch them a high sense of indignity, shame, disrepute, disgrace and dishonour. If the girl and the boy insist on maintaining their relationship, openly or secretly, despite the forbidding, warnings and aggressive outburst of the girl's or the boy's family, it probably results into the honour killing either of the girl or the boy or the couple. The helplessness and vulnerability of the couple emerging out of forbidding and violent behaviour of their family towards their relationship sometimes compels the couple to elope to an undisclosed place bringing a

huge dishonour and humiliation for a family in society. This orthodox and diehard mind set results in the discovering and the subsequent killing of the couple on the spot or after calling them back home by making false promises of getting them married. There may be other couples on the run who probably get secretly married through courts or by way of performance of religious ceremonies and rituals. These unapproved marriages too are considered as signs of social humiliation and harassment for the family. Among the conservative families, the killing of the couple alone, it is believed, can recompense honour to the family. It has been observed that in a majority of the cases of elopement and secret marriages, which are performed without the consent and knowledge of girls' family, the consent, support and presence of the family members of the boy matter a lot which may help make conditions favourable for the couple as well as the two families. At least twenty eight per cent cases of honour killings are such in which the couple has been caught in a compromising condition by the member or the members of the family. In such cases, the honour killings are hardly planned and organized, but they indeed emerge as the crimes of passion and provoked reaction. (Deol, pp. 14-15)

In rural areas the norms of the caste system are rigidly followed and any deviation is intolerable. (Munshi, 2017, p. 9) When an upper caste girl elopes with a boy of lower caste crossing all caste limits, the purity and honour of the caste is at stake for which the heinous crime of honour killing is committed as the justified act of punishment to the girl or the couple by the families of a particular caste.

Honour killing is not the practice confined to the North India. In the recent past, some incidents of honour killings owing to the caste prejudice have been reported in the state of Tamil Nadu. In 2003, the marriage of S. Murugesan, a Dalit and D. Kannagi, a Vanniyar was not accepted by girl's family and the couple was harassed and poisoned to death by the young woman's relatives. This happened at Puthukkooraipettai village in Cuddalore District. Both were graduates and their marriage had been duly registered under the Hindu Marriage Registration Rules, without the knowledge of their parents. Kannagi's father, who was the president of the local panchayat, saw their marriage as a disgrace and humiliation to the "family honour" as well as "caste honour" which led to their killings. One major difference between the North Indian incident and the village tragedy in Tamil Nadu is that the informal panchayat which exists in almost every village in Tamil Nadu does not seem to have played any role in the Puthukkooraipettai atrocity. But the fact remains that the incidents of honour killings are making the situation grim all over India and is alarming the state of love marriages and expression of free will, right to liberty and equality here.

The following table explains the wide-spread prevalence of the practice of honour killing in 2016 in various states of North, South, East and West India on the basis of the data compiled by National Crime Records Bureau and released by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Table IV: Showing Number of Honour Killings in India in 2016 (Data as per National Crime Records Bureau issued by Ministry of Home Affairs, 2016, p. 94)

Name of States	Number
Madhya Pradesh	18
Uttar Pradesh	16
Maharashtra	8
Punjab	8
Bihar	3
Haryana	2
Gujarat	10
Tamilnadu	1
Chhatisgarh	1
Andhra Pradesh	2

Table IV is indicative of the fact that the practice of honour killing has become a national phenomenon as people in most of the states on a higher or a lesser scale have indulged themselves in the practice. This is a shameful situation for the state governments as well as the central government for it suggests that Indian society is being dragged backwards in the direction of regression by the factors and forces facilitating the practice. In 2014, a single case of honour killing was reported in Uttar Pradesh whereas actually, there were a number of such cases which escaped reporting. Love affair of a couple has been the major motive of honour killings in Uttar Pradesh. The state witnessed three hundred and eighty three cases of murder where love affairs became the motive for the violent crime. As per NCRB data, Uttar Pradesh has reported highest number of murders i.e., four thousand seven hundred and thirty two on the said count.⁵ In Rajasthan in June 2012, a man chopped off his twenty year-old daughter's head with a sword after learning that she was dating men. According to police officer, "Omkar Singh told the police that his daughter Manju had relations with several men. He had asked her to mend her ways several times in the past. However, she did not pay heed. Out of pure rage, he chopped off her head with the sword."⁶ Indeed, these cases should not be happening as the society must always move on

⁵ Shri Kiren Rijju, Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, answering the question in Lok Sabha on Honour Killings, Unstarred Questions, No. 1485, for 8.12.2015, p. 3.

⁶ http://zeenews.india.com/news/rajasthan/man-beheads-daughter-in-gory-rajasthan_782437.html, accessed on 10 August 2018 at 11:00 am.

the path of progression and all possible measures must be taken to eradicate and uproot social evil practices including the honour killings. The Indian Judiciary in this regard is playing a responsible role in making Indians introspect themselves and contributing towards the making of a progressive modern society in India in a true sense of the word. The positive and progressive role of Indian Judiciary suggests its commitment for the elimination of honour killings in our country and this may be gauged from the following study.

Role of Judiciary

In the case study of *G. Krishan s/o Govindan v/s Union of India*, Chief Justice Katju, spoke vehemently against caste pride of upper castes, caste discrimination, inequality and violence involved in an honour killing. He observed that the self-styled people of upper castes and other backward classes generally stigmatise the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which cannot be borne in contemporary times of democracy where equality is basis of all relationships and discrimination of any kind is opposed tooth and nail. However, the sad part is that caste and class distinctions work actively in many people's mind because of which they cannot sanction the inter-mixing of castes or classes including the inter or intra-caste marital relations of their children. For instance, in many parts of western districts of Uttar Pradesh including Meerut, Moradabad, Muzzafarnagar, if a Scheduled Caste boy falls in love and marries (or wants to marry) a non-Scheduled Caste girl, they both often become victims of honour killings at the hands of either the non-Scheduled Caste community or the family members of the girl. In fact, there is nothing honourable in the act of killings committed in name of honour. The practice of honour killings is an 'abominable, disgraceful and shocking practice' which must be suppressed by the state.⁷

In the case study of *Arumugam Servial v/s State of Tamil Nadu*, Justice Markandey Katju and Gayan Sudha in their judgement denounced caste system, praised inter-caste marriages, recommended strongly the recognition of all such marriages with grace which are solemnised with mutual consent of two adults and directed the police to start criminal proceedings against the family responsible for honour killing in the said case. The bench hearing the case considers caste system as a bane for the nation causing division among its people who otherwise should stand united to face existing and upcoming challenges. The bench expresses concern that the caste system must be destroyed at the earliest. An inter-caste marriage should be encouraged as a facilitating factor in the interest of our nation to attack and destroy the caste system. But it is very unfortunate that the young men and women, who undergo inter-caste marriage, are either threatened with acts of illegal violence or it is actually committed on them. The perpetrators committing such acts must be severely

⁷ *G. Krishan s/o Govindan v/s Union of India*, Writ Petition No. 1224 of 1994 (reported in 2005 Cri L J 3811, High Court of Madras).

punished. In our free and democratic nation, each and every individual who is a major has the right to marry the person, he or she likes, irrespective of caste, creed, colour, religion or region and no one including parents can infringe this right. If the parents of the boy or the girl have any objection to their inter-caste or inter-religious marriages, they may cut off social relations with them, but under no circumstances, they may give threat of or commit or instigate an act of violence against them. The administration and the police authorities throughout the country should take their responsibility in protecting the interests of young couples and ensuring that they are not harassed and no act of violence is instigated against them. The guilty must be taken to task by instituting criminal proceedings against him/her/them by the police and by punishing suitably by law. All possible measures must be taken to prevent the honour killings and rigorous punishments must be given to the state officials including suspension of the district magistrate or collector in case they fail to prevent the incident of a trocity on young couple undertaking inter-caste or inter-religious marriage despite of having either the prior knowledge of the incident or not apprehending promptly the culprits.⁸

In the famous case of *Shakti Vahini v/s Union of India*, the Chief Justice of India, Justice Dipak Misra in his judgment affirms that an assertion of choice is an inseparable aspect of liberty and dignity. Simone Weil, the French philosopher and thinker refers to liberty as the 'ability to choose'. According to Justice Misra, "When the ability to choose is crushed in the name of class honour and the person's physical frame is treated with absolute indignity, achilling effect dominates over the brains and bones of the society at large"⁹ which is highly detrimental to the social health. According to him, a family or the elders, for the sake of their honour, can never be allowed to be guided by their passion to go against their children and eliminate them on account of the reason that their children wish to exercise their choice to get married. "The sea of liberty and the ingrained sense of dignity do not countenance such treatment in as much as the pattern of behaviour is based on some extra-constitutional perception." (*Ibid.*) The right of celebrating liberty needs to be well protected. Moreover, the things, the laws, the practices of the past which have outlived their utility to become obsolete need to be discarded or replaced by the new ones in the modern society making room for the liberty to flower. To quote Joseph J. Ellis: (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

We don't live in a world in which there exists a single definition of honour anymore, and it's a fool that hangs on to the traditional standards and hopes that the world will come around him.

The role of *khap* panchayats, the local caste-based councils, in patronising and encouraging the practice of honour killings needs a critical evaluation as their role cannot be under

⁸ *Arumugam Servial v/s State of Tamil Nadu*, Writ Petition No. 1859 of 2011.

⁹ *Shakti Vahini v/s Union of India*, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 231 of 2010, Supreme Court of India, p. 1.

scored and underestimated. The *khap* panchayats, in their self-appointed village courts, are very active in interfering with inter-caste, intra-caste and inter-religious marriages in North Indian states, especially Haryana, and very often giving their verdict in favour of honour killings in such matters. The belief that it is their duty to keep the traditions of medieval era intact and keep going inspires them to support the verdict of honour killing as the only deserving punishment awarded to the couples resorting to inter-caste, intra-caste and inter-religious marriages against the wishes of their families. Justice Dipak Misra, the Chief Justice of India while giving judgement on the petition filed by Shakti Vahini warned *khap* panchayats not only to stop behaving as “conscience keepers” but also to give their avowed approval to all those marriages which happen between two adults willingly. In this particular case being heard in Supreme Court at Delhi, a lawyer representing *khap* panchayats, clarified that these panchayats are not opposed to an inter-caste or an inter-religious marriage but to an intra-caste marriage - a marriage which takes place between *sapindas* – that is a marriage between the two cousins. As per Section 5(v) of the Hindu Marriage Act, marriages between sapindas are prohibited. Ruling out this objection, Justice Misra remarked that the *khap* panchayats are no body to take law in their hands and let law take its own course. The irony of the fact is that on the day of the hearing of this case of honour killing in the apex court, the city of Delhi witnessed another gruesome incident of honour killing in which a twenty-three year old young Hindu photographer named, Ankit Saxena was butchered to death publically near his home in west Delhi by the family of his Muslim girlfriend because he had the audacity to choose the girl from the Muslim community. The murder excited the public sentiments and caused much tumult, uproar and commotion but Justice Misra calmed everyone by stating that their concern and undivided attention should be focussed on the case under trial and not on the one outside the purview of the court.¹⁰

Usually, the honour killings are reported and admitted in the courts of India as homicides. But a close scrutiny enables one to uncover the truth and remove deceptive layer under which the barbarous crime of honour killing is generally committed. In this connection, Justices Sirpurkar and Deepak Verma while pronouncing judgement in a case remarked that the reason as to why parents and the family support the act of honour killings is that, the family, especially of the girl, has to undergo unbearable insults and humiliation in case of an inter-caste marriage. The shameful murder of the child or children thus committed is the outcome of a social issue like an inter-caste marriage which has become very relevant in present times and which needs to be dealt with carefully after due consideration. Caste-based honour killings may be put in a category different from that of homicides and the maximum punishment awarded to the accused responsible for honour killing may be the death sentence. In the case being heard in the court, the brother of a girl hailing from Uttar Pradesh, had killed, in the name of honour, five family members including his brother-in-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

law who was a Scheduled Caste. His act was considered as the violation of the Constitution of India and the accused was duly punished. One can form a fair estimate of quantum of punishments awarded to the accused in cases of honour killings from the following discussion. (Bhugra & Banthia, 2015, pp. 213-14)

A case of honour killing was brought before Karnal district court which pertained to Manoj Banwala (23) and Babli (19), the two members of the same clan who had eloped against the wishes of the family and got married in June, 2007. Their mutilated bodies were fished out of irrigation canal a week later. The case filed by the groom's family was one of a few cases of honour killings which reached the court. In her judgment pronounced in March 2010, the District Court Judge, Vani Gopal Sharma ordered the execution of five perpetrators involved in the killings of Manoj and Babli. Also, punishment of a life sentence was announced for the *khap* head who had ordered the killings of the innocent duo. The judgement was, indeed, the first court judgement convicting *khap* panchayats and was the first pronouncing capital punishment verdict in an honour killing case in India. The Judge expressed her anguish over the fact that the *khap* panchayats function contrary to the Constitution to become law unto themselves. Her judgement was hailed as a "landmark judgement" by the media as well as the legal experts.

In a case of State of U. P. v/s Krishna Master and others filed in Supreme Court of Delhi, the Court in August, 2010, awarded life sentence to three persons who caused death to six persons of a family in a case of honour killing at a village in Uttar Pradesh in 1991. A Bench of Justices H. S. Bedi and J. M. Panchal reversed the order of acquittal passed by the Allahabad High Court after the trial court held them guilty. The Bench recorded: "There is no manner of doubt that killing six persons and wiping out almost the whole family on the flimsy ground of saving the honour of the family would fall within the rarest of rare cases and, therefore, the trial court was perfectly justified in imposing the capital punishment on the respondents."

From the discussion above it comes to us very clearly that it is a high time to put an end to the heinous crime of honour killing. The Indian judiciary has been playing its part well in conveying the message to the society that the practice of honour killing is unconstitutional. By inflicting harsh punishments to the accused indulged in the practice, various courts from time to time have brought the culprits to the book. The judges, hearing cases of honour killings in various courts of India, have reiterated that no one is bigger than the rule of law which avers that no person has the right to kill any other person in garb of saving family honour.

The instances of honour killing are reported in western countries too and the courts there are awarding due punishments to the accused. The first such instance may be drawn from U.S.A. in 1999 when a Texas judge sentenced a man to a four months' imprisonment for

murdering his wife and wounding her lover in front of their ten year-old child. In Turkey, the Istanbul Second High Criminal Court adjudicated the honour killing in the hearing and had awarded a life imprisonment to the perpetrator for strangulating his wife. (Mishra, 2012, pp. 6, 7)

Efforts are already on for the suppression of honour killings in India. The National Commission for Women in India had set up a statutory body in 1990 in order to address the issue of honour killings among certain ethnic groups in North India. This body reviews constitutional, legal and other angles involved in such issues besides several challenges faced by women. The NCW's activism has contributed towards the reduction of incidents of honour killings in rural areas of North India. There is certainly a need for a codified law on honour killings in our country. In 2010 alarmed by the rise of honour killings, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ordered a cabinet-level commission to draft national legislation for the cause of eradication of honour killings.¹¹ The Government is planning to bring a bill in the Parliament having provisions of deterrent punishment for the accused indulged in honour killings. Expressing his serious concern over the evil practice, Chidambaram states with annoyance that the abhorrent crimes are being committed in name of defending the honour of a family or a woman. He contends that the accused must be given rigorous punishments. He ensures that laws proposed for the cause of ending the practice, once adopted by the Parliament, shall be enforced. To deal with this criminal practice effectively, the drafters of the proposed bill have intended to add a clause to Section-300 of the Indian Penal Code, 1862 that relates to the crime of murder, the maximum punishment for which is a death sentence and/or a fine. Besides this, there are proposals made to amend the Indian Evidence Act and the Special Marriage Act, 1954, which would do away the provision of the mandatory thirty days' notice period for getting the marriage, solemnised under this Act, registered. An urgent amendment in the said Act becomes necessary because the current process of getting a marriage registered consumes about forty-five odd days which is too long a period and during this period a couple is vulnerable to fall victim of honour killings in case of the marriage of their choice.

While the new legislation against honour killing is awaited, the control of the *khap* panchayats over local voting blocs and ruralites must be relaxed urgently. The practice must be condemned by one and all and every effort must be made to guard the potential victims of honour killings. To this effect, the Supreme Court in 2010 had given instructions to the governments in Haryana and six other states to take steps to protect potential honour killing victims.¹² In 2011, it decried honour killing as a "barbaric and shameful" practice that must be "ruthlessly stamped out." (Saran, 2017, p. 64) The honour killings ordered by *khap panchayats*, also known as *katta panchayats* in Tamil Nadu, should be declared illegal,

¹¹ *Times of India*, 9 July, 2010, p. 6.

¹² *Times of India*, 21 June, 2010, p. 4.

said the Court and warned that government officials who fail to act against honour crime offenders be prosecuted.¹³

There are several ways to effectively do away with the practice of honour killings in India. The mind set of Indians must be changed and they must be sensitized about our equal rights, freedom, gender equality etc. through education, workshops, public lecturing and open debates. They must be told categorically that the gruesome practice of honour killing is a crime and that each one of them must contribute his or her bit towards ending this criminal practice. Government and non-government organisations must make sincere efforts through various policies and orientation-cum-training programmes to eradicate the practice. The role of religious bodies is no less significant here in using their influence on the psyche of our countrymen thereby effecting a noticeable change in the society. The individual efforts by the teachers, students, leaders, and youth would make a difference in giving a new shape to the society. One has to see others with compassion, love and care as well as one has to respect dignity and equality of others in order to work for the creation of a harmonious and healthy society. The voluntary surrender of all authority, the commitment of refrain and non-interference in maintenance of obsolete, conservative customary practices such as honour killing by *khap* panchayats would be the measures, much appreciated and applauded. The media must take up consciously, on a more extensive scale, a progressive agenda-building role on social issues. (Bhugra and Banthia, 2015, pp. 216-17) The roles of government for bringing in and of judiciary in enforcing stringent laws banning completely the practice of honour killing and making provision of award of ruthless punishments on the accused in the practice are the most crucial in securing and protecting the social health of our nation.

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¹³ *Times of India*, 27 April, 2011, p. 1.

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The Subalterns and their Margins: A Psychoanalytical Reading of Mahasweta Devi's "Bayen"

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Abstract

This paper attempts to read Mahasweta Devi's short story "Bayen" as a subaltern narrative wherein a powerless woman is declared a bayen and is forced to carry the burden of evil of the entire community on her shoulders. The paper will analyze the forever shifting dynamics of power and will depict how the subalterns themselves constitute their own subalterns. It will highlight the formations of margins within margins and the manner in which discourses of center and periphery keep shifting.

Mahasweta Devi's story "Bayen" revolves around a woman called Chandidasi Gangadasi who belongs to the Dom community. Chandi is eventually declared as a bayen and is expelled by her community. She lives all by herself for a number of years until one day, while walking on the railway track she meets a group of robbers who are trying to loosen the track. Chandi runs in order to stop the moving train till she is finally sucked into the darkness of death. The state honors Chandi for her heroic deed, and her son Bhagirath asserts that his mother was never a bayen.

The authorial voice of Mahasweta Devi all through the narrative stands by Chandi and in the end subverts the power of the system by upholding the goodness that lurks within a body that has been smeared by evil.

The paper will offer a critique of power as invested in any group and will depict the manner in which even the weakest members of a social system through their integrity have the strength to question their own subalternity by arriving at some agency within themselves.

Key words

Center, Periphery, Power, Evil, Othering, Subaltern, Untouchability, Maternal Calling, Law of the Father, Guilt

This paper attempts to read Mahasweta Devi's¹, short story "Bayen"² as a subaltern narrative

¹ Mahasweta Devi (1926-2016) was an Indian Bengali fiction writer and socio-political activist. She worked for the rights and empowerment of the tribal people (Lodha and Shabar) of West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh states of India. Most of her stories revolve around the oppression faced by tribals in India.

² This paper refers to Mahasweta Devi's short story "Bayen" included in *Translating Caste* and not to the play by the same name written by her.

wherein a powerless woman is declared a bayen³ and is forced to carry the burden of evil of the entire community on her shoulders. The paper will analyze the forever shifting dynamics of power and will depict how the subalterns themselves constitute their own subalterns. Further the paper will highlight the formations of margins within margins and the manner in which the discourses of center and periphery keep shifting.⁴ It will offer a critique of power⁵ as invested in any group and will depict the manner in which even the weakest members of a social system through their integrity have the strength to question their own subalternity by arriving at some agency within themselves; as will be elucidated towards the end of the paper.

Further, the paper attempts to read “Bayen” from a psychoanalytical perspective⁶. It will analyze the story primarily from four vantage positions; the character of Chandidasi, who is the main protagonist of the story, her husband Malindar Gangaputta, the larger community and the dynamics of untouchability. It will also attempt to analyze the notion of evil and the unconscious inherited dynamics which tend to thrust the evil of an entire community onto certain individuals or groups. Since the paper attempts to analyze a number of characters and attitudes, it will become imperative for me to restate the narrative a number of times in order to highlight the key analytical points.

As the story begins, the first image that we see of Chandi is that she is crying and pleading with her one time husband that she is too afraid to live alone, she begs to be taken into the human fold. The second most powerful image is, of her walking the nights singing a

³ In the story, Mahasweta Devi informs that it is believed that a bayen is a witch who feeds dead children. She is not an ordinary witch for she cannot be killed like an ordinary one, because if a person kills a bayen, it will mean the death of their children. Further a bayen is supposed to warn people of her approach when she moves for if she even looks at a young man or a boy she can suck the blood out of him; that a whole tree can dry up the instant a bayen looks at it. Therefore a bayen has to live alone. When she walks everyone-young and old- moves out of her sight for to talk to a bayen means perfect death. It is further believed that a bayen raises dead children from the earth, hugs and nurses them? (26-27) It is the duty of the community to provide for her so that she does not interact with anyone.

⁴ Bell Hooks in her book *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* argues that for any defined group, especially one with any power, influence, or control, there is a center and a margin, where the center has more power, influence or control than the margin. Further she argues that there are multiple, overlapping circles of centers and margins. The same people who are on the periphery of society, within their own circle can be in the center. Nevertheless as rank and power are dynamic, there are structures/institutions to keep the fundamentals of the power structures in place, such as gender, class, race and caste. (Bell Hooks: Wikipedia) This paper proposes to look within the circle of the subalterns, specifically within the Dom community which is essentially on the margins of the society, being Dalits themselves. It attempts to trace the dynamics of the centers and margins within it. Bell Hooks very correctly formulates that: “To be in the margin is to be part of the whole but outside the main body.” It is this aspect too that the paper proposes to examine.

⁵ I am thankful for the numerous conversations I have had with both Dimple Oberoi Vahali and Jogin Sengupta on the issue of the insidious ways in which power pollutes all human relationships and group processes.

⁶ I am in particular grateful to Professor Honey Oberoi Vahali for clarifying and elucidating several psychoanalytical concepts for me. My discussions with her have enriched my understanding of these complex formulations.

lullaby. The third significant image is around the conversation that she has with her son. He questions her whether she is afraid of being alone. She replies that why should a bayen be afraid and yet her son sees her crimson shadow tremble in the water. He sees that her eyes are full and her voice cracks as she tries to protect him from her own shadow. The last image of Chandi that Mahasweta Devi depicts is of her running on the railway track in order to save the passengers from destruction.

While we hear the narrative of Chandidasi as narrated by Malindar Gangaputta to his son, we witness her psychic journey. Born into a Dom⁷ community she is absolutely at rest with her family and profession. After her father dies, she fearlessly declares to the community that she will continue his legacy of burying dead children below the age of six. One night as she is walking alone in the graveyard, she hears the voice of a man, guarding the graves. The man, Malindar Gangaputta, is amazed to see this fearless young girl who when he questions whether she is afraid or not replies that why should she be afraid, she belongs to the great family of Kalu Dom, who was given the charge of all the graveyards of the world by Raja Harishchandra himself. The man surprised at her strength decides to marry her. They live a peaceful life. She continues to do her work fearlessly until she realizes that she has conceived. She gives birth to a son, Bhagirath. It is from now onwards that a change is perceived in her. She no longer appears fearless. She realizes that she is afraid of the dark, she longs for light, she is too afraid of being alone. She longs for the chest of her husband with whom she shares her fear and loneliness. The fear that is pulling at her breast

⁷ The Doms are considered to be the descendants of Kalu Dom. They belong to a race of cremation attendants who cremate the dead and are considered to be untouchables. As legend goes, Kalu Dom gave shelter to the great king Raja Harishchandra when he lost his kingdom. When the king became a servant, Kalu Dom had employed him. When the king regained his kingdom, he gave all the burning ghats of the world to him. ("Neglected Lives": Wikipedia).

Ironically, given the caste dynamics, the Dom Rajas are keepers of the sacred flame revered by all Hindus. No matchstick is used at the ghats. Everyone must use the sacred fire that has been burning for centuries in Dom Raja's hearth. The fire and the burning at Varanasi's ghats, as the Hindu belief goes, liberates one from the everlasting cycle of life and death. A dying Hindu may not find Moksh (release from the cycle of rebirth) unless the 'untouchable' Dom gives 'mukhagni' to the pyre ("Dom Raja": Wikipedia).

The Domar, also known as Mehtoar, are a Hindu caste. They are found mainly in eastern Uttar Pradesh, principally in the districts of Kanpur, Raebareli, and Allahabad. They speak the Awadhi dialect. The Domar community are said to have originally consisted of seven divisions, the Domar proper, the Turahiya, the Lal Begi, the Hadi, the Bansphor, the Dusadh and the Dhanuk. All these are now distinct communities, and strictly endogamous. The Domar, like other Hindu communities practice clan exogamy. They are Hindu but are rarely visited by Brahmin priests, and have their own religious specialist. They are a landless community, providing the bulk of the agricultural labourers in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Many urban Domars are employed as cleaners in hospitals. As a Dalit community, they often suffer from societal discrimination. ("Domar Caste": Wikipedia).

is an irrational belief that if she continues with her profession then sooner or later this profession will kill her son and yet as she is a descendant of the great family of Kalu Dom she cannot discard her family profession. One day she returns home crying, carrying Bhagirath in her arms and informs her husband that some people have stoned her. She tells him that they accused her of intending to do some evil. She confides in her husband that she is not at all happy with her profession, that she has not the heart to do it any more. As with every passing day her fear grows deeper, she desperately wants to leave this profession. She realizes that though after digging a grave she often turns her face and feels that every thing is all right, yet every night her fear returns. She begins to fear that fire mouthed jackals might steal in and start digging away with large paws to get at the body inside the graves. Chandi begins to weep every night, she prays for Bhagirath and for each and every child in the village that each should live forever. Because of her child she feels a deep sense of pain for all the dead children. Her breasts begin to ache with milk if she stays too long in the graveyard and as a consequence unwittingly she begins to silently blame her father as she digs the graves. One day Chandi pleads with the village heads, "Get hold of somebody else for this work, . . . I am not fit for it anymore. . . " (34), but no one in the village seems to listen to her, not even her husband who scoffs at her that she is scared of false shadows. It is around this time that little Tukni dies, despite the fact that Chandi along with her sister-in-law had gone to the temple of Goddess Sheetal to appease her. Everyone in the village and within her family blame the death of the child on her. She tries her best to convince the village people that she in no way is responsible for Tunki's death. When the community refuses to believe her, in anger and rage she shouts at the community; that from now onwards she will no longer bury dead children. She tells them that they should find someone else, for she will not continue with this hated profession. Irrespective of what they say, she silences them and returns home. Though she has silenced every voice, yet to her utter dismay it is her own inner voice that she is unable to silence. It will be her own inner voice, the internalized father in her along with the vengeance of the community that will one day bring havoc upon her. Though vehemently she rejects this profession yet somewhere deep inside she lives with the fear that by rejecting this profession, she has incurred the wrath of her forefathers. She returns home, informs her husband of her doing and tells him that he must take her away from this community, for she fears it. She tells him, "Do you know what they call me" and he laughs and says, "And what do they call you? A bayen?" (35), the moment he utters this word a shudder runs through the being of Chandi and she cries in anguish, "How could you utter that word, you with a son of your own? Me a bayen?" (35), but once the word has been uttered, it leashes its own power and travels across the land and somehow unwittingly the power of evil once uttered begins to disseminate itself. The unutterable word returns to her one night after several nights of discontentment and utter disturbance at her inability to reconcile herself with the fact that she has abandoned the legacy of her ancestors. This will happen eventually. In the meantime Chandi begins to fear each passing day but when two months pass uneventfully, Chandi feels whole again. One day, she shares with her husband that at nights she often hears the angry cry of her

father and feels that in anger he is shouting at her that why did she abandon his profession. Guilt and anger begin to rip her apart and a kind of unease descends on her. Somehow to her own surprise, she realizes that this job which is most distasteful to her nevertheless has connected her deeply with her basic maternal instinct. Her husband begins to notice that all is not well with her.

To the utter horror of her husband, one night, Chandi is found by the community walking in the graveyard with a sickle in one hand, a lantern burning beside her, a heap of thorn bushes stacked on one side. When she is questioned as to what she was doing, she replies that she was cutting the thorns to spread them over the graves, to protect the graves from marauding jackals. Chandi, the one who had declared to the entire community that she has nothing to do with dead children, is found walking the graves in the middle of the night. Chandi's self is split between two dividing pulls of quitting this job which is completely distasteful to her and of continuing with this job; for abandoning it, would mean inviting the wrath of her forefathers. Moreover this job some how has connected her, with her deepest maternal instinct that even despite fearing the death of her son, she is compelled to guard the graves, for in her being, she has become the mother of all the dead children. With contrary pulls hauling at her life, this one time fearless Chandi unwittingly invites the apprehension and the wrath of her community. Chandi has nothing to say in her defense but to cry in agony that she is not a bayen. She pleads with her husband to convince the people that she is not a bayen, for she believes that he and he alone knows her for what she is. Chandi is declared a bayen. Ironically it is her husband who endorses the word of the community. According to the law of the community she is compelled to live a life of complete isolation. Chandidasi who in fear of her son's life had left her profession, Chandidasi who was absolutely afraid of the dark, Chandidasi who wept all the time for she could not stay alone, Chandidasi who because of her nurturant maternal instinct would guard the graveyard despite saying 'no' to this profession is declared the killer of children, a witch whose shadow can destroy an entire village. Moreover, she is declared a bayen by the very man she had believed in, the man, her husband in whom from the very beginning she had confided her each and every fear, whose protection she had sought, whose chest she had believed was her haven. When declared a bayen, she is compelled to live alone, but often the village folk hear the sound of a soft lullaby floating from a distance, a song of love and nurturance for her little son and for all the children of the village even though years have passed since she was declared a bayen. Whenever she meets Malindar she begs and tells him that she cannot live alone. It is now that Bhagirath, her son begins to take interest in her. But by now the cycle of evil is almost complete for Chandidasi begins to hide from her own son, in other words from her own self. Somewhere deep down, she has internalized that her shadow can harm her innocent son. Therefore one day after her son insists that she should speak to him, in anger she begins to walk towards the railway track to speak to Malindar who she knows while returning from his job walks through this path. Her intention is to chide Malindar for not protecting their child from her shadow. On the railway track she finds some robbers

preparing to loot the train. Chandi tries to frighten them by virtue of her image of a bayen. The looters run for their lives and Chandi prays that she was actually a bayen, so that she could summon the demons and stop the train from the disaster that it is heading into. Chandi runs to save the moving train. The maternal in her overtakes her and she dies becoming a mother to the village that had ousted her. Chandi is finally subsumed by the all engulfing system, she is subsumed by the omnipotent power of the system that all along has been consuming her and yet symbolically somewhere she dies defying this system completely.

We see her life journey from complete fearlessness to defiance, to her acknowledging her fear to her own self and hence becoming a real person. With the arousal of the maternal instinct in her she realizes that she is weak and helpless. In her psychic journey she begins to detest the profession that she had valued and respected so much and yet the rejection of this profession leads to a strong guilt in her. In other words Chandi is a split between the domain of the father and the whispering voice of the deep maternal. On the one hand the internalized father in her does not allow her to leave this profession and on the other, her own individual maternal instinct as a mother does not allow her to continue with this profession, for she strongly feels that her son will die if she continues with this work. And yet to add further complexity, strangely the paternal in her case has converted itself into the deep maternal for she experiences herself as the mother of all dead children. Even after saying 'no' to the internalized father in her, she is compelled by both her maternal and paternal instinct to guard the graves. It is this split within her own divided maternal self, the individual mother of an only son and the deeper maternal instinct which constantly whispers to her that she is the mother of all the village children, dead or alive that leads to her tragedy. At a superficial level we can say that when she said 'no' to this profession, the maternal instinct in her reacted against the paternal voice but when we delve deeply, we see a convergence of the two domains in her. The story thus is constantly positing a crisis between the paternal order of tradition and the maternal need to protect, nurture and care. Poignantly Chandi who feels that she is the mother of all the living and dead children of her village is abandoned by her own community.

Ironically Chandi the eternal mother lives and dies 'motherless'. All along the narrative Chandi seeks the protection and the love of her husband. She is too alone, too afraid, she needs someone to hold and gather her, to take her into the 'fold of the mother'. But her tragedy is that she is left completely 'motherless' by her community who in the process of converting her into a bayen, have even stolen away from her, her own being. Even though, after being declared a bayen, she constantly feels that she is no longer herself but only a shadow of her real self yet this does not allow her to kill the mother in her. She dies saving the community as a mother dies saving and protecting her children unconditionally.

Moreover by virtue of her profession, Chandi has always lived close to death. Apparently though she is a lively person yet her interaction with death has been closer than it has been with life. Analytically speaking she is completely defended against her own fears and

anxieties until she has her own child. It is only when she gives birth that she comes close to the life force in her. So the fear that she had suppressed for centuries in terms of her cultural inherited memory now begins to surface and comes in active dialogue with the forces of death. As she touches her madness, the community begins to sense her madness which they, because of their own cultural specific reasons perceive as evil. Deep down she comes in contact with a process of her own individuation which is absolutely essential for her to come into her own psychic birth. She goes through this process. Madness is a necessary stage in it. But just as, no one can come into life unaided, similarly no one can come into psychic birth unaided by others. D. W. Winnicott (1958) has suggested that in a person's journey through 'unintegration' to integration the role of a facilitating environment is crucial. As one dares to open the self to an examination of one's rigidities, fears, anxieties and terrors, a delicate psychological holding by significant others is critical. This psychological process may be marked by severe regressions which a good enough environment has to lovingly survive especially if a person, in this case Chandi is to reach a state of psychic integration via unintegration. Conversely the acknowledgement of ambivalence and fears till now held under control and repression can lead to terrorizing states of anxiety in the absence of a holding environment provision. Unintegration in such a scenario would end up in psychic collapse and disintegration⁸. Thus the arrival at ambivalence is a sign of psychic maturity, the non tolerance of ambivalence heralds anguish and terror. At another level the story is juxtaposing the conflict between life and death forces. Chandi is pulled by opposing forces of Eros and Thanatos in Freudian terminology.

Unfortunately her tragedy is, that her community including her husband, instead of nurturing her becomes the antithesis of a mother; the community kills the emergence of the new child in her. So instead of the new baby blooming, Chandi, the emerging self is crushed, deformed and she touches the brink of insanity. The community takes advantage of her vulnerability and at once they reinstate her in her caste and gender position by declaring her a bayen. After this, once she is discarded, they have nothing to do with her.

As we read the narrative, we realize that Chandi is the only real character in the story. She is the only person who changes, who is willing to accept that she is beyond the conditioned being that her community wants her to believe she is.

The central question in the story that needs to be addressed is; that why is it that Malindar, the man whom she had loved and trusted the most and the man who had really loved her, is the one who not only doubts her but joins the community in denouncing her. Apparently, it seems that he does not understand her psychic complexity. He cannot understand that Chandi, his wife is getting psychologically split, and that the voices she hears are actually the voices of her own inner self revolting against the decision that she has taken. He cannot understand her guilt; that how a person who seems to be so defiant, who can silence the entire community is also so psychically conditioned by the system, which in her case is

⁸ See Winnicott's notions of: 'mother as an environment', 'unintegration', 'disintegration' and 'holding'.

represented by the voice of her father within her. For Chandi begins to believe that now that she has left this work, the graves of little children will be opened and for this she alone will be responsible. Instead of understanding her anguish when she confides in him that she hears the 'hoi'⁹ of her father chasing the jackals in the middle of the night, he begins to fear that perhaps Chandi is slowly changing into a bayen, otherwise why is it that she wakes up with a start in the middle of the night as if she is listening to the cry of dead children, crying in their graves. Hence, one stormy night when he is dead drunk and deep in slumber, to his shock he finds the entire village at his doorstep with burning mashals in their hands and rage piercing through their eyes, they shout and call him, "Son of a bitch" (37), for not recognizing that a bayen is staying in his house. In a moment of trance he sees Chandi standing with open hair, fearful eyes, with a sickle in one hand. In a drunken trance he looks at her body, the dimly lit figure of Chandi, he sees her breasts thrust out against the rain soaked clothes. He feels her pain. A strong desire rushes in him to go close to her, he remembers her body, the desire for her body almost arrests him but suddenly something in him, the same irrational fear, tells him that if he comes close to this body he will be devoured by it. Though he may have loved her yet if he goes close to her something terrible would happen and then he steps out and looks at Chandi with blood shot eyes and shouts that, "I . . . hereby declare that my wife is a bayen, a bayen!" (38). The moment the patriarch endorses the word of the community, the word becomes the law and Chandidasi is declared a bayen. Francis Peter ssin his "Introduction" to *Voices of the Voiceless: Perspectives on Subaltern Literatures* while referring to various forms of subalternity, writes:

In post colonial terms subalternity is the space of difference between the imperialist or ruling classes and those whose presences and voices have been consistently snuffed out of the capitalist/casteist/patriarchal/colonial narrative and the dominant culture perspective. (Peter 1)

It is within this gendered, patriarchal and casteist subalternity that the story pitches itself in. Adding layers to the notion of subalternity, it depicts the constant snuffing of voices within the communities of the subalterns.

Malindar Gangaputta narrates the story of Chandi bayen to their son Bhagirath for apparently he believes that the boy must know what the entire village knows but deep down he knows that he is not worthy of being the boy's father. He knows that it was he, among all the people, who had actually betrayed his wife, yet he knows not why and that is the central issue that the story implicitly questions: Why is it that people whom one loves the most and who also reciprocate that love, are the ones who have the potential to betray. The story compels the readers to analyze the character of Malindar Gangaputta, in order to understand what led to his betrayal. Was it an unacknowledged hatred? If yes, then where did this hatred stem from? Was it the fear of female sexuality? Was it the fear of his own desire for

⁹ 'hoi' in the story refers to the loud voice of Chandi's father as he would shout in the middle of the night to protect the graves from wild animals.

her? What fear compelled Malindar to denounce the woman he was closest to? What unconscious powers were at play or are at play when we betray the people who have trusted us the most? Was it an unconscious collective inheritance of evil that made him impose this evil onto her? Or was it the fact that somewhere he realized that she was on the brink of insanity and so sooner or later she would become a problem for him and hence unconsciously this was the easiest way out. Can we assume that the very glimpse of insanity is enough to betray and discard a person because proximity to madness arouses one's own latent propensities of becoming insane. In the "Introduction" to *Madness and Civilization*, Foucault suggests that the fear of madness is so intimate for humans that it is by declaring our neighbors as insane that we ascertain our sanity. Or could it be possible that the fierceness in Chandi's character had viscerally frightened him all along, though apparently he was attracted to her? Was it the fear of female strength and the unconscious male patriarchal desire to crush this strength or was it some kind of resentment to deny closeness to a body which had always sought love and hence in the process to also deny the desire of the body to his own self? The only moment of sexual attraction in the story, is the moment of his denouncing her and hence in the process he also negates his own desire. Perhaps there was some kind of a collective cultural fear of female sexuality at play at that particular moment that stopped him from getting close to her.¹⁰ For looking at her body he thinks, "Go near a snake if you will, a fire even but not now, not to her . . ." (38), the symbolism of the snake as a seductive creature and of fire as representative of an all consuming sexuality that has the potential to burn a person completely is replete with patriarchal religious symbolism cutting across all cultures. Malindar denounces her. We see no remorse in him. He puts the entire blame either on Chandi or on her destiny, for when she says that, "I can't, I can't live alone" (27) he answers her by saying, "Who asked you to be a bayen then?" (27). Later in a moment of anguish as he narrates to his son that how much he loved her, how he rubbed oil into her hair and body, he says, "Did fate have to make a witch out of her? (28). When his son questions, "Who makes a bayen out of a person?" He answers, "God" (28). No where do we see a realization in Malindar that it was he, who had primarily failed to defend her and that it was because of his betrayal that she was declared a bayen. The only glimpse of guilt that we perceive in him is the repetition of the line, "She used to be so afraid of the dark" (28), which almost serves as a refrain in the story. The repetition makes the reader feel that somewhere there is an unconscious realization of his betrayal and this realization is so strong that he almost wishes that Chandi should take her own life and kill herself. For it is only when her presence is completely obliterated through death, then perhaps he may attain freedom from his guilt. Nevertheless at a conscious level he justifies himself by saying that she will be better off dead than living such a life. The reality of Chandi as living a life of a bayen, is a throbbing accusation, a reminder of the fact that it was he who had betrayed her and it is very difficult for him to live with this truth. But on the other hand this too needs to be problematized: Is death so powerful that by virtue of making a person

¹⁰ Several feminist psychoanalysts including Estela Welldon in *Mother, Madonna and Whore* have theorized extensively on the male fear of femininity and female sexuality.

invisible, it can obliterate one's feelings of guilt altogether or is guilt, an emotion, in itself so powerful that it does not really need the physical presence of the victim to torment the guilty one. In this context one can argue that Malindar contrary to what he believes about himself would continue to be tormented by what he did to Chandi even after her death.

If we look at the life of Malindar Gangaputta we understand that by virtue of his birth in the Dom community, he too, like Chandi belongs to the margins but we are told that since his childhood he was a hard working boy. And while other boys used to wile away their time, Malindar used to study hard and by dint of his hard work he learned to write his name and eventually was to be given a government job. Thus he became the most revered person in his community. He was also envied because he had married Chandi who was considered to be very beautiful. Eventually with the passing of time, Malindar from the margins began to shift towards the center. The pull of the center in itself is very strong and psychologically it is very understandable that once when one begins to move closer to the center it becomes almost impossible to move away from it. Thus, perhaps one unconscious reason for Malindar to denounce Chandi could be that after Tunki's death, somewhere or the other he becomes aware of the fact that the community desires to push Chandi to the periphery and the choice he knows is his. He knows that if he stands by Chandi, then he too will be rejected and the reverence that the community has for him will be lost to him for ever, whereas, if he denounces Chandi, he does not have much to lose. Chandi, he knows is already on the brink of insanity or as he too begins to suspect she is coming under the power of evil. Hence on the night when the entire village has come to his doorstep to denounce Chandi, the moment is extremely decisive for him. In this moment he can either save her and protect her and be out from the community or he can denounce her and live a life of respect and status. He lives a conscious conflict for something in him, his instinct tells him to go near her and protect her and then the voice of his socialization and opportunism tells him, "... go close to a snake or fire but not to her" (38), and he justifies to himself at that moment and all through his life that Chandi is a bayen. At a political level we see in Malindar how the weak subsumes the weak and aligns with the powerful. Bell Hooks in *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* argues that the way to move towards the center is to use those with influence in the community to get at the center. And in an oblique way Malindar gives in to his this instinct.

At a visceral level he understands that in destroying her, he is also destroying himself as in denying himself to her, he is also denying the desire for her within himself as well. He is aware that if she is no longer a woman; as he is conscious that by his word she can be converted into a bayen then he will no longer be a man; a man who can love a woman. Yet he denies the woman in her and becomes the cause of the ruin of both of them. As the story proceeds, he marries Jashi, who is considered to be the ugliest woman in the community, a woman he can never love.

Nevertheless, we find in Malindar a compulsion to narrate the story of the transformation

of Chandidasi into Chandibayen. This compulsion to chronicle her transformation manifests a certain level of guilt in him especially because this compulsion to narrate is directed towards his own son to whom somewhere unconsciously he feels accountable. He says, "You too must know what everyone knows" (31). Also when in the beginning of the story Chandi tries to speak to Malindar, he throws stones at her but after Chandi leaves he sits and weeps and then begins to narrate her story. We also need to analyze as to what hated parts of Malindar, Chandi had come to symbolize. For in the process of expelling Chandi, Malindar has unconsciously expelled certain parts of himself.

The story depicts as to how the evil within any community needs to be curtailed. In order to curtail its evil, a community needs a scapegoat and hence the entire process of scapegoating people is an intense need of any community, society, religion or family. It is very simple to thrust evil onto a single individual and in the process absolve oneself and one's community completely. Erick Erikson in *Identity Youth and Crisis* writes that the non acceptance of reprehensible and negative aspects in individual and collective self are unconsciously denied and then projected onto an 'other'. This 'other' who is in fact a carrier of one's disavowed parts is created into scapegoat. It is by creating Chandi as a scapegoat that she becomes a victim of this process of 'othering'.

Perhaps, the community targets Chandi primarily because being a woman she is considered to be the weakest of the weak. Moreover, as an individual she is fearless and has the strength to take her own decisions and this could be another reason to scapegoat her. When the community questions her whether she is not afraid she replies and says, "I am not afraid". Whenever the people of the community show their disgust at her profession, she questions that why are they detested and answers that their profession was ordained by the gods, "... the Gangaputras have no hand in it. Why should people detest or fear them so much?" (32). When Tunki dies and people blame her, she takes only a moment to say 'no' to her profession. Thereby she collapses the hierarchical oppressive edifice of the system and in a minute silences them. A time period lapses, Chandi becomes secure again but the community keeps a vigilant eye on her. They sense that she might leave for the town with her husband and they begin to realize that all is not well with her. They can see the turbulent conflict that she is going through and then in her most vulnerable moment, they denounce her. Thus, once again we see that perhaps it is the fear of the strong, empowered, aware women with questioning minds which leads the community to declare them as witches and in the process denounce them. By thrusting its evil onto the notion of a witch, the society is able to conveniently punish defiant women who pose a threat to it. Moreover, paradoxically, since women as the female gender are considered to be weak, the community knows that it has not much to fear if it will thrust this evil onto a woman. The entire discourse of witch hunting since ancient times refers to the patriarchal fear of female strength. In this respect, Mahasweta Devi's narrative belongs to the feminist discourse that brings to the fore a strong psychic dread of female strength. This collective psychic

fear is embedded deeply within gender politics that segregates and polarizes women as evil, sexual seducers because men, given the patriarchal order cannot endure their strength.

The story, of the transformation of Chandidasi into Chandibayen, is a study into the dynamics of evil. When a society, an individual or a community does not recognize the evil that is lurking deep within itself, then it tends to dissociate itself from its own self part but nevertheless the evil continues to exist and continues to unleash its power. This dissociated evil lurks and hovers all around and so it becomes important for the society to contain this evil and the easiest way out is to neatly pack it into the notion of a witch. So once this evil is discarded, the society has nothing to do with it as this evil is expelled by virtue of its being projected onto someone else. Thus, the precarious totalitarian balance of a community in relationship with a defensive expulsion of hated components of the self, when projected into caste, gender, class or communal divisions attains an equilibrium and saves the society from both confronting its own negative as well as its own insane parts. Thus the fear of evil is silenced and the community feels defended against it as the evil has been projected onto others. Moreover, the society from its inception has always feared death as death symbolizes mortality and termination of all that one has been. In this respect all those who are associated with death and its rites, especially burial and funeral are detested and considered to be untouchables. In denouncing Chandi somewhere the community is able to denounce its own fear of death, of graves and all the uncanny forces associated with it. The need is to analyze deeply as to what Chandi represents, what dissociated parts of the community she embodies and symbolizes.

This hatred towards Chandi takes us further into an analysis of untouchability in the context of India and of othering as a universal phenomenon. In the Indian context the entire logic of caste system and the division of society into those who will do the intellectual work and those who will do the undoable difficult work of scavenging, reflects a psychic complexity. Ironically, first the society compels some people through reinforcing caste related laws and economic disparity to perform the degraded, detested tasks of a community and then the people who are forced to do these tasks are the people who are most hated and declared as untouchables. They are considered to be filthy and dirty. It is believed that the upper caste, 'clean', 'pure', sections of society will become contaminated if they will come in contact with them.

The need is to analyze what this hatred is all about. Perhaps this hatred which is so intense is essentially self directed. Nevertheless, the self cannot accept that it can be so cruel to certain parts of its own self, hence the self tends to expel it outwardly onto the society at large. But as society is so large, therefore this hatred remains diffused and as anything which is diffused has the potential to become extremely dangerous, hence the society needs to target someone, in order that this diffused hatred will not consume everyone. Thus, certain sections of society who are either defiant as they pose a threat to the larger

sections or those who are the lowest in the hierarchy of subalterns and have gone through a continual historical process of subjugation and internalized this subjugation and have therefore almost lost the ability to revolt are targeted and declared as untouchables. Ironically, they are untouchables because they are 'dirty', they are 'dirty' because they carry and clean the filth and dirt of society. Hence, circuitously what precisely one hates is one's own bodily secretions which actually are a part of one's own self, but unacknowledged, and therefore hated and expelled.

Therefore, the people who help to discharge the dirt of society instead of being grateful to them, the society begins to detest and hate them. Whether it is the notion of untouchability, of communal hatred or of witch hunting, the genesis of these notions lie in the fact that the evil, the dirt, the hatred that one cannot accept in oneself, one projects it into an idea, a creed, a caste, a religion, a community, a gender, a family or then an individual, an other, always an other, than one's self. Thus, economically deprived sections, minorities, women, people with disabilities, misfits become the easiest targets especially if they are also a bit defiant for then the society has a double conscious as well as an unconscious reason to suppress and eliminate them and thus constitute them into subalterns. But the society will never completely eliminate these target groups for if it eliminates them, then once again the uncontained hatred will run amok and will begin to consume it in its anarchic form. In this respect a witch becomes a significant member of a society whose existence since times immemorial is essential to maintain the basic balance and health of a community or a social order. It is this aspect which is very subtly communicated in the story, for a bayen Mahasweta Devi writes "...is not an ordinary witch and therefore she cannot be killed like an ordinary one, because to kill a bayen means "death for your children." It is this tradition of not killing a bayen that needs to be analyzed deeply in this context. Melanie Klein (1963) states that maintaining an intimate bond via projective identification with the scapegoat is important for the survival of the community. Hate, aggression and antagonism towards the 'other', in such circumstances become the binding forces through which a relationship with the dissociated and denied self parts is retained. The story clearly states how the entire community sustains a bayen. "Every Saturday, a man from the Dom community of the village went to the tree with a week's provision-half a kilogramme of rice, a handful of pulses, oil, salt, and other food for the bayen" (26-27). Further given the patriarchal dynamics, men were rarely ostracized by society. It was always those who did not fit into the fixed notions of masculinity or femininity as defined by the male order, who were ostracized and targeted.

The hope of the narrative opens through Bhagirath, for it is Bhagirath alone who puts an end to this intergenerational, culturally inherited othering that has been going on since the inception of society. Throughout the narrative we see that Bhagirath is the only character who despite hearing the story of Chandi's transformation into a bayen tries to approach her again and again. He is the only character in the story who tries to see Chandi as a human

being and not as a bayen. When he questions Chandi, if she is not afraid and Chandi answers that she is not, he perceives that her eyes have filled with tears. At other times he tries to relate with her and wanders if she needs a new sari. Towards the end of the story when the State decides to honor Chandi, and the villagers are either too ashamed or still do not want to acknowledge her as one of them, Bhagirath comes forward and says, "My mother, my mother, the late Chandidasi Gangadasi . . . my mother, the late Chandidasi Gangadasi, sir. Not a bayen. She was never a bayen, my mother" (41). She is finally recognized by her son. But she has to die to prove that she is a human being and not an evil witch. Yet even towards the end after she sacrifices herself, still the community does not acknowledge, they remain silent, it is only her son along with one other who comes forward and acknowledges her as a part of self. Though he is only thirteen years old yet it seems that he is more aware of the processes of scapegoating or perhaps because he is so young therefore he is not completely hegemonised and hence can see through the evil of the society.

By acknowledging Chandi as his mother and by asserting that his mother was never a bayen, Bhagirath subverts the power of the system. The story in this respect ends in hope for it shakes the hegemonic absolutism of the system. Chandi dies but in the process of dying she breaks through the notion of a bayen not just for her own self but for the entire women as a gendered category. She proves that a bayen is only a fictitious construct; that she or for that matter any bayen is essentially a woman with a heart that flows with courage and nurturance. In her death which is a sacrifice, she ends the vicious cycle of evil and vengeance. She dies to save a village that had ruined and destroyed her life. The story thus subtly suggests the path to overcome evil. Evil, the story suggests can be annihilated through love and forgiveness. Chandi on whom the evil of the society was projected was yet so capable of forgiving that when it came to saving this same community she did not even have to think about it once.

Symbolically and psychoanalytically speaking too the story ends in hope, in redemption, for Chandi or what she has come to symbolize evil is finally at last acknowledged by someone, in this case Bhagirath as part of his self. This acknowledgement in itself is an achievement that breaks through the purist notions of good and evil. Moreover the moment of Chandi's death symbolizes a resolution of her conflict between the maternal and the paternal. For it is her maternal instinct which instills in her the impulse to save the community. And yet she does so by following her father's tradition; of becoming a safeguarding, redeeming force in the lap of looming death. She becomes the savior who takes on a relationship with death and so saves the entire community. Further the story in the end in an intergenerational sense symbolizes through Bhagirath, the emergence of the maternal: As Bhagirath reclaims her as his mother, the maternal is brought back to life even though she dies.

Mahasweta Devi's narrative as a chronicle gives Chandi a life beyond her mortality in which she symbolically individuates, becomes a mother to a son and individuates through

him. The authorial voice of Mahasweta Devi all through the narrative stands by Chandi and in the end subverts the power of the system by upholding the goodness that lurks within a body that has been smeared by evil. Ranajit Guha in "The Small Voice of History" writes:

....a re-writing that heeds the small voice of history will put the question of the agency and instrumentality back into the narrative. (Guha 316)

... All one can say at this point is that the overthrow of the regime of bourgeois narratology will be the condition of that new historiography sensitized to the undertones of despair and determination in woman's voice, the voice of a defiant subalternity committed to writing its own history. (Guha 317)

In this context, Mahasweta Devi reinstates Chandidasi, a so called "lower caste, evil woman" who despite being a subaltern has the potential and the power to write her own history within the grand narrative of history writing of the subalterns.

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To What Extent Indian Monetary Policy Is Independent From International Key Players?

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Abstract

Monetary policy independence is the most desirable goal for each and every economy in the world as it offers the requisite freedom in designing the macroeconomic stabilization policies. The present paper attempts to analyze the extent of independence of Indian monetary policy with respect to five key players of international market namely United States of America (U.S.A.), China, Japan, Euro Area and England for the period 1999:M1-2017:M3, by constructing the Monetary Independence (MI) index of India for all the five countries separately. The paper concludes that India has experienced a moderate level of MI during most of the years but at the same time, it can also be resolved from higher values of MI indices (since 2010) that Indian economy is working towards achieving more independence.

Keywords

Macroeconomics, Monetary Policy, Monetary Independence.

JEL Classification: E00, E52, E59.

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1. Introduction

Monetary policy is one of the most important policies of an economy. The term monetary policy refers to the actions taken by the central banking authority of the country in order to achieve high growth rate through two intermediate targets of price and output stability.

In India, this responsibility lies on the shoulders of Reserve Bank of India (RBI). As most economies, monetary policy framework of the Indian economy has evolved in response to and in consequences of financial openness, development and shifts in the underlying transmission mechanism (Mohanty, 2012).

An appropriate and independent monetary policy is must for the efficient functioning of the economy. Monetary policy autonomy can be viewed from domestic as well as international point of view. Here, domestic independence refers to the freedom from domestic political pressure and from fiscal policy of the economy. No doubt, this domestic independence of monetary policy is very important, but, in today's globalized world, more crucial is international independence. In this sense, monetary policy autonomy means that domestic interest rate movements are free from international interest rate changes. Before 1990, Indian economy was a kind of closed economy, so, it was an easy task for RBI to maintain its monetary policy autonomy. However, 1991 onwards India has opened up its economy and monetary policy has started facing the heat of international changes. The dependence of domestic interest rates on other countries' interest rates leads to domestic imbalance of the economy because in this situation domestic rates become unable to change in favour of domestic needs. No doubt, Indian economy is moving on the path of development at a very high speed but still it has not achieved the designation of a develop economy as it is still a member of developing countries category. Therefore, Indian economy is taking conscious steps on the development path and one of these steps is efforts to maintain its monetary policy independence.

Robert Mundell has discussed this concept of monetary policy independence in the form of international trinity in 1962. According to Mundell, independent monetary policy is one of the three major policy goals of every economy and other two goals are of exchange rate stability and capital account openness. International trinity hypothesis states that an economy can achieve two out of three policy objectives at a given point of time and it has to sacrifice the third one. Regarding exchange rate regime, this is always a topic of debate whether it is fixed or flexible exchange rate system which provides better environment for the conduct of an independent monetary policy. However, one conclusion which can be drawn from the available literature that it is neither fully fixed nor fully flexible exchange rate system which can achieve the goal of full autonomy of monetary policy with optimality. This conclusion is quite favourable for the Indian economy as Indian exchange rate system is neither fully flexible nor fully fixed. However, India has shifted from fixed exchange rate system towards the flexible exchange rate system and currently Indian exchange rate system is managed floating exchange rate system. As far as the role of capital account convertibility is concerned, India has opened up its capital account in a very gradual and planned manner while considering all of its positive and negative aspects. Moreover, it is also true that India has provide clear signals that it is going to increase the amount of capital account openness over the period of time. Therefore, it seems that India has chosen independent monetary policy and capital account openness over exchange rate stability. It

is also imperative to mention that out of three trinity choice monetary policy independence has remained an unchanged choice of Indian economy in the pre-as well as post reform period as it was accompanied by exchange rate stability in the pre-reform period and it is being accompanied by capital account convertibility in the post-reform era. Some important research studies that have been undertaken for understanding and examining the significance and mechanism of monetary policy independence are summed up as follows: -

Edwards (2015) examined the impact of Federal Reserve policy actions on the monetary policy of Chile, Columbia and Mexico using weekly data on policy rates from 2000 to 2008 and concluded the presence of policy repercussions in Chile and Columbia except for Mexico. He also enquired into the possibility of independent monetary policy in the presence of flexible exchange rate regime and concluded the existence of significant policy contagion leads to lower degree of monetary independence in Chile, Columbia and Mexico. Williams (2015) talked about the importance of central bank autonomy and determined that operational mandates are not appropriate for dealing with independence dilemma, rather, the accountability and transparency enhancing principles for a given goal mandate framework are effective. Villegas (2016) evaluated the effects of simultaneous policy goals using data on daily frequency on exchange rate and monetary policy instruments from 1990 to 2012 and concluded significant impact of interest rate interventions but limited effects of foreign exchange interventions.

Paul (2012) has conducted an empirical study to analyze the monetary independence of Indian economy by considering only USA economy. It has been concluded that in case of India, monetary independence has declined due to fixed exchange rate regime and not due to globalization. Kramer *et al.* (2008), in their empirical work have proved that no strong relationship exists between degree of stability in monetary conditions and the choice of a particular exchange rate or monetary regime. Therefore, International trinity hypothesis is not valid for Indian economy. On the other hand, Gupta and Manjhi (2011) by using data for the period 1980-81 to 2009-10 concluded that India has adopted middle solutions for monetary independence, exchange rate stability and capital account convertibility. However, some efforts have been made in India to evaluate the content of monetary policy independence, yet almost all the studies have analyzed this with respect to United States of America only. Therefore, in this study an effort has been made to conduct a comparative analysis of monetary independence of India from five very important economies from Indian point of view. Accordingly, the objective of the study is to analyze the extent of monetary independence of Indian monetary policy with respect to five key players of international market namely United States of America (USA), China, Japan, Euro Area and England. At the same time a sub-objective has been framed to conduct a comparative analysis to check which out of five has the maximum impact on Indian monetary policy. It is worth mentioning that these five economies have been selected because these economies contributes a very significant part of India's total trade and at the same time, among all the trading partners of India, currencies of these economies are very strong and preferred mode of storing reserves all over the world.

2. Database, Methodology and Construction of Index

For carrying out the analysis for the present endeavour, the time series data has been used pertaining to the time period 1999:M1 to 2017:M3. The data on six variables namely Call Money Rate (India), Federal Rate (USA), Interest Rate (China), Interest Rate (Japan), Interest Rate (Euro Area) and London Interbank Offered Rate (England) has been collected. Data Source for all the variables except Call Money Rate is *St. Louis FRED* database. The Data on Call Money Rate has been retrieved from the *Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy*. It is pertinent to conduct preliminary analysis in case of time series data. So, accordingly, Regular Unit root analysis has been carried out by using Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test to check the stationarity of the variables and seasonal Unit root has been identified and rectified with the help of X-12 ARIMA method, developed by U.S. Census Bureau. In order to test the presence of long-run relationship amongst the chosen variables, the Auto Regressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) technique of co-integration has been applied. For accessing the extent of Monetary Independence between India and the respective paired nation, the Monetary Independence (MI) Index has been constructed using the formula developed by Aizenman *et al.* (2008) and the graphical analysis for the same has been carried out to draw conclusions.

It is believed that simple correlation of interest rates is not the only indicator of monetary policy autonomy. Thus, researchers like Aizenman *et al.* (2008) have developed an index by taking annual correlation of monthly data which has been considered as the better parameter to measure the extent of monetary policy independence because this index can provide the exact amount of monetary policy autonomy. Therefore, this study has been carried out with both types of analysis i.e. Co-integration Analysis of monthly interest rates to confirm the long-run relationship amongst the variables of interest and the graphical analysis by constructing the Monetary Independence Index (MI). This index has been constructed separately for all the five economies considered under this study by using the common method given by Aizenman *et al.* (2008). The formula is given below:

$$MI = 1 - \frac{corr(i, i^*) - (-1)}{1 - (-1)}$$

Where i implies Call Money Rate (money market rate of India) and i^* implies the interest rate of paired country. $corr$ refers to the annual correlation between Call Money Rate (i) and the interest rate of paired country (i^*). This index can take the value between zero and one. Value near to one will ensure high level of monetary policy independence and value near to zero will reflect less degree of monetary policy independence. In order to provide clear picture, in this study five ranges have been described for the values of MI index i.e. i) 0-0.2 (very low MI), ii) 0.3-0.4 (low MI), iii) 0.5-0.6 (moderate MI), iv) 0.7-0.8 (high MI), v) 0.9-1 (very High MI).

3. Empirical Analysis

While conducting empirical analysis, it has been hypothesized that monetary dependence does not exist between India and five key players. The analysis has been explained with the

help of three sub-sections. Section 3.1 pertains to preliminary analysis which has been performed to check the stationarity, seasonality and structural break issues among the time series under evaluation. Section 3.2 deals with the co-integration analysis using Auto Regressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) model and Section 3.3 sums up the graphical analysis of the monetary independence index between India and the respectively paired country.

3.1 Preliminary Analysis: Testing Regular and Seasonal Unit-Root and Structural Break

A preliminary analysis has been conducted so as to detect the presence of regular and seasonal unit roots along with the evaluation of the existence of structural breaks. Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) has been used to test for regular unit root and X-12 ARIMA seasonal adjustment method has been performed to analyze the existence of seasonal roots in the variables which reported the presence of seasonality in the time series of all the five nations except for, Japan. Table-1 presents the summary of the order of Integration and presence of seasonality which indicates that interest rate series of India, China and Japan are stationary at level, however, that of U.S.A., Euro Area and England are integrated of order one. Hylleberg, Engle, Granger and Yoo (HEGY) Test for Structural Break has been applied to the time series data under consideration and no significant structural break was reported.

Table-1: Summary of Regular and Seasonal Unit-root		
Variables	Order of Integration	Presence of Seasonality
INDIA	I(0)	YES
U.S.A.	I(1)	YES
CHINA	I(0)	YES
JAPAN	I(0)	NO
EURO_ AREA	I(1)	YES
ENGLAND	I(1)	YES
Notes: I(0) and represents series is level and first-order stationary, respectively.		
Source: Authors' Calculations		

3.2 Co-integration Analysis

As per the unit root analysis, the candidate series are revealed to be integrated at $I(0)$ and $I(1)$ orders of integration and Auto-regressive Distributed-lag (ARDL) approach is recommended to verify the co-integration relationship among the combination of $I(0)$ and $I(1)$ variables in econometric literature, therefore, ARDL has been estimated by taking Indian policy rate (i.e., CMR) as the dependent variable in the present attempt. The bound test has been applied for testing the existence of long-run relationship among variables. The bound test is based upon the *F-statistics* that tests the null hypothesis of no co-integration relationship against the alternative of the presence of the long-run relationships

among the model variables. The lower bound and upper bounds of F -statistics are provided at given level of significance; if calculated value of F -statistics is above upper bound the null is rejected while if the value is less than lower bound null cannot be rejected. However, the test becomes inconclusive if the F -statistics falls in between the lower and upper bounds of F . The ARDL analysis has been performed for the full period (1999:M1-2017:M3) as well as for two sub-periods, namely, pre-recession(1999:M1-2006:M12) and post-recession (2007:M1-2017:M3). This distinction has been made in order to analyze the behaviour of monetary independence of India by isolating the sub-prime crisis emanated in U.S.A. in 2006.

The estimated values of ARDL Bounds test are reported in Table-2. The value of F -statistics(with 5 degrees of freedom) is 4.989, 12.338 and 7.990 forfull period, pre-recession and post-recession, respectively. It can be seen that the F-statistics values exceed the upper bounds of all the levels of significance and thus, confirm the existence of a co-integration/ long-run relationship among the model variables in all the considered time periods. Thus, it may be inferred from the findings that the chosen policy rates of India, U.S.A., China, Japan, Euro Area and England share a significant long-run relationship.

Table 2: ARDL Bounds Test						
	Full-Period		Pre-Recession		Post-Recession	
Test Statistic	Value	Degree of Freedom	Value	Degree of Freedom	Value	Degree of Freedom
F-statistic	4.989	5	12.338	5	7.990	5
Critical Value Bounds						
Level of Significance	10 Bound	11 Bound	10 Bound	11 Bound	10 Bound	11 Bound
10%	2.26	3.35	2.26	3.35	2.26	3.35
5%	2.62	3.79	2.62	3.79	2.62	3.79
2.5%	2.96	4.18	2.96	4.18	2.96	4.18
1%	3.41	4.68	3.41	4.68	3.41	4.68
Source: Authors' Calculations						

The execution of the ARDL model provides the long-run coefficients, given in Table-3. It can be observed that for the full-period (1999:M1-2017:M3), the long-run coefficients of only U.S.A and China are statistically significant at 5 per cent level. However, for pre-recession(1999:M1-2006:M12), all the coefficients of respective nations are significant except for China, implying dependence of CMR (India) on policy rates of U.S.A., Japan, Euro Area and England. However, for post-recession (2007:M1-2017:M3), all the coefficients turned insignificant except for Euro area, reflecting movement towards independence. It can be inferred that Indian policy rate has negative relationship with interest rate of U.S.A

and positive relation with interest rate of England in full period as well as in pre-recession period. The negative relationship with U.S.A. can be validated with the fact that Indian economy has preferred to follow the Interest rate path of England and this is very much evident from the graphical plot of policy rate of India with interest rates of U.S.A and England.

Table 3: Long Run Coefficientsof Policy Rates of respective Nations			
Variable	Full-Period	Pre-Recession	Post-Recession
U.S.A.	-2.994*** (0.006)	-1.251*** (0.000)	2.558 (0.125)
CHINA	4.883*** (0.002)	-0.318 (0.256)	2.538*** (0.002)
JAPAN	-3.111 (0.387)	0.990*** (0.001)	-16.427 (0.120)
EURO_AREA	0.235 (0.681)	-0.487*** (0.001)	1.020* (0.052)
ENGLAND	1.940* (0.096)	1.800*** (0.000)	-3.075 (0.129)
Notes: (i) Figures in parenthesis of type () are <i>p-values</i> ; ii) ***, **, and * denote significance at the 1 percent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent level of significance, respectively.			
Source: Authors' Calculations.			

3.3 Graphical Analysis of Monetary Independence Index

The Graphical analysis has been conducted to evaluate the extent of monetary independence of India with five key international players. Five graphs have been plotted to analyze the relationship of Indian monetary policy with all the five economies separately. Time is plotted on X-axis and MI Index along with annual correlations is plotted on Y-axis. The solid line and dotted line represents MI index and annual correlation, respectively. Panel-1(a) to Panel-1(e) in Figure-1 depict the behaviour of monetary independence index of India with respect to U.S.A., China, Japan, Euro Area and England, respectively over the time period 1999-2016. The MI index along with the respective annual correlation between India and its five key partners has been plotted in the said diagrams. The common inference which comes from all the five panels is that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of monetary independence and the correlation coefficient which implies increasing correlation signifies decreasing level of monetary independence and vice-versa. Further, towards the end of the considered time period correlation of CMR is decreasing with interest rates of other countries and therefore, MI level is increasing. It can be seen from the panel-1(a) that monetary independence with U.S.A. has been varying throughout the time period under consideration. For instance, in 1999 and 2000 MI index was in moderate range, from 2001-2005 the extent of monetary independence was very low between 0-0.2. However, India has improved its situation and during the period of 2006-2008 it again entered into the moderate range (0.3-0.5). Afterward, from 2009 to 2013 the levels of MI of the Indian economy with respect to USA keeps on fluctuating between 0.1-0.5 which can be a post effect of world

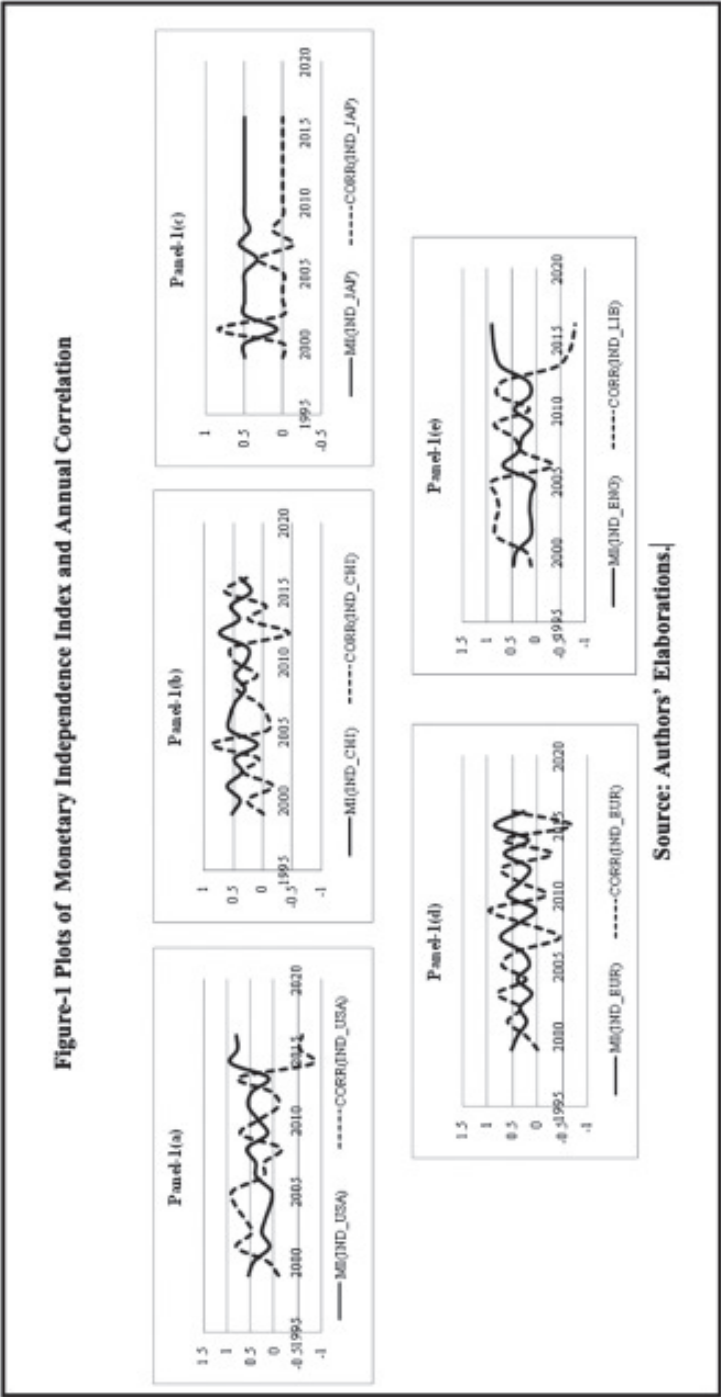
recession and then finally India has entered into the range of very high MI during the period of 2014-2016. Therefore, it can be concluded that Indian has realized the importance of MI and it has started walking on this path carefully and with full dedication. The panel-1(b) shows that from 1999 to 2007 MI index of India with respect to China has remained in moderate range except the year 2004 with very low value of MI Index (0.07). This episode of very low MI in 2004 may have happened due to the fact that in 2003 India has pegged its currency with basket of currencies and China was also a member of this basket. Later on, the value of MI index keeps on fluctuating on both sides except the year 2012 where it has achieved its peak value of 0.72.

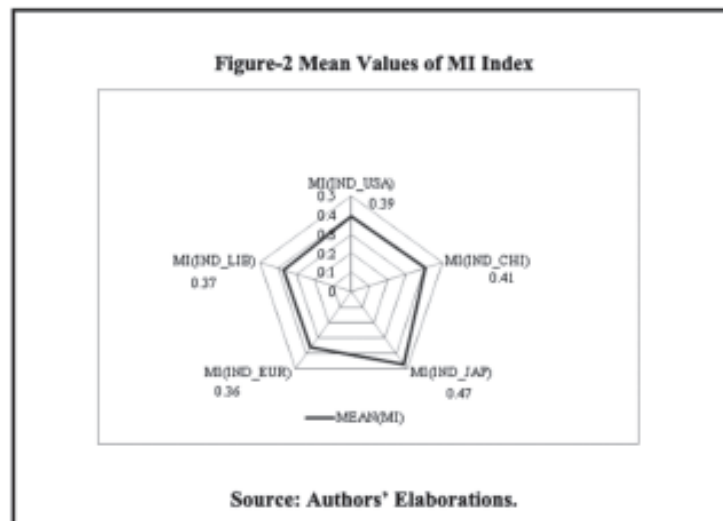
Further, panel-1(c) depicts the journey of MI index of India with Japanese economy. The graph shows that the MI index has assumed moderate values throughout the time period except for 2001 when it takes very low value of .08. It could have happened because in 2001 India has re-established its relationship with Japan with great enthusiasm after breaking all the ties in 1998 due to Pokhran-II issue. This positive turn in the relation may have increased the correlation between CMR and interest rate of Japan. The panel-1(d) explains the evolution of Indian MI index with Euro Area. The Index remained below the value of 0.5 (i.e. low and moderate range) except for four years (2007, 2010, 2013, 2015). India very well know the importance of monetary independence; therefore, it has tried from time to time to avoid the synchronization of its interest rate with interest rate of euro zone in spite of the fact that graphical representation of MI index of India and England. The value of this index has remained below 0.4 (i.e. very low and low range) except 2006. However, this index has started approaching 1 from 2013 onwards which signifies very high monetary independence. The high values of MI index in the recent years signifies that with England as well Indian economy is trying to maintain its monetary independence in spite of the fact that India is the third largest foreign investor in England.

Figure-2 presents the plot of mean value of MI index of India with respect to all the five international players considered under the study for the period 1999-2016. The diagram shows that value of MI for all the countries has remained around 0.4 except Japan for which The index takes the value around 0.5. This mean analysis proves that Indian Monetary authority has tried to maintain its monetary independence around the moderate range but still there is a scope of improvement by reconsidering its policy choices.

The Figure-3 is showcasing the entire journey of Indian Monetary independence with the respective key players in the international market for the two sub-periods i.e., pre-recession (1999:M1-2006:M12) and post-recession (2007:M1-2016:M12), in panel-3(a) and panel-3(b) respectively. From this graphical representation, one can evidently draw inferences for answering the question framed for this research endeavour. It is impertinent to note that over the period of time, the Indian economy has successfully reduced its extent of monetary dependence. However, panel-3(a) alongwith the co-integration results reported in Table-3 signifies moderate dependence of India on all the five nations except for China and panel-3(b), on the contrary, reflects movement towards higher degree of independence from all

Figure-1 Plots of Monetary Independence Index and Annual Correlation

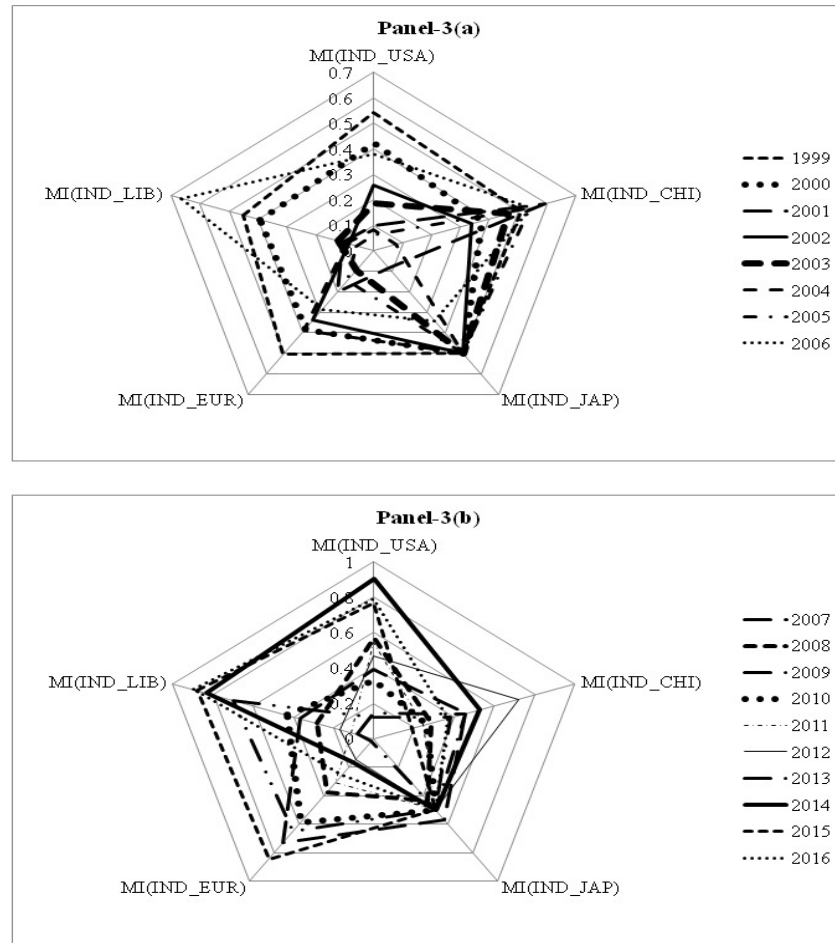




the nations except for Euro Area. Thus, it can be inferred from these trends that before the sub-prime crisis, Indian economy was maintaining moderate levels of independence on international players but after the occurrence of financial slowdown, India also became conscious about establishing its independence from outside forces or shocks. Although, the crisis of 2006 did not affect Indian economy so adversely but still to be on safer side, India took conscious steps to attain independence from external forces. But it is also evident from the co-integration results that a long run relationship does exist between India and its partners. Accordingly, the proposed hypothesis of no long run relationship has been rejected and therefore, complete independence cannot be achieved as such. In sum, it can be said that Indian monetary policy will remain dependent upon the policy variables of its counter-parts. The roadmap for monetary independence calls for the fair play of capital openness and exchange rate stability as well.

1. Concluding remarks

Monetary policy autonomy is always a major concern for every economy and Indian economy is not an exception. Mostly, monetary independence is explored with respect to the relationship between Indian money market rate and federal rate of USA because it has always been considered that it is the pattern of federal rate which is followed by most of the economies. However, market rates of U.S.A. are not the only important rates to check the independence levels of monetary policy of Indian economy. Rather, there are other key partners of India whose interest rates do affect Indian policy rates and important ones are China, Japan, Euro Area and England. Therefore, in this study, the extent of Indian Monetary Independence has been measured with respect to USA, China, Japan, Euro Area and England for the period 1999-2016 by constructing the MI index of India for all the five countries separately. Some of the data series are stationary at levels, whereas, some are integrated at first difference. Therefore, co-integration analysis has been carried out by employing ARDL model on monthly

Figure-3 Radar Diagrams for respective Sub-periods

Source: Authors' Elaborations.

data for the period 1999:M1 to 2017:M4. The ARDL co-integration analysis reveals that the chosen policy rates, i.e. CMR (India), Federal Rate (U.S.A.), Interest rate (China), Interest rate (Japan), interest rate (Euro Area) and LIBOR (England), have significant long-run relationship. Further MI Index reveals that India has experienced a moderate level of monetary independence during most of the years. But at the same time, in post-recession as it is visually evident from the declining values of MI index as well the reported coefficients of ARDL analysis that Indian economy has provided clear indication that it is aware of the importance of an independent monetary policy. Therefore, India has successfully maintained the level of its monetary policy autonomy from international impulses.

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La Faiblesse Morale dans l'œuvre de Gabrielle Roy : *Alexandre Chenevert.*

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ABSTRAIT

Roman de l'exil et de l'isolation, Alexandre Chenevert (1954) montre l'aliénation d'un homme de Montréal devenant victime de ses propres pensées et « de la grande ville grissante. » Dans cette communication on montrera les effets de l'urbanisation au rôle singulier du héros Alexandre Chenevert. On met en lumière la dégradation d'un homme simple qui souffre de l'exil et de l'aliénation et devient victime de l'information. Le temps du roman se situe d'avril 1947 à janvier 1949 et l'action a lieu à Montréal.

Gabrielle Roy est l'une des plus importantes écrivaines francophones dans la littérature canadienne. Son premier roman, *Bonheur d'Occasion* publié en 1945 lui a valu immédiatement une réputation sans précédent pour un auteur canadien. Parmi les honneurs conférés à cet écrivain de cet œuvre compris le prestigieux Prix Femina en 1947 en France et le Prix du Gouverneur Général au Canada. Publié en 1954 Alexandre Chenevert a mis sept longues années à écrire. Le roman tire son titre du nom du personnage principal, un caissier travaillant dans une banque.

Le personnage masculin chez Gabrielle Roy est le plus souvent un personnage médiocre qui est à peine effleuré, relégué, volontairement au second plan. Il vit souvent en marge de la vie réelle. Ses rêves évanouis, ses ambitions trop vastes en font un être profondément désabusé et souvent désespéré. Il tente de se raccrocher à la vie, de poursuivre l'aventure, mais découvre que le jeu n'en vaut pas le chandelle. Toute tentative par lui de jouer un rôle positif s'échoue lamentablement. Le héros n'est pas en mesure d'assumer sa responsabilité de père. Il ne s'établit aucun rapport entre le père et les enfants. Le père engendre et son rôle s'arrête là. La mère doit alors tout assurer : la vie matérielle, l'éducation, l'instruction, le bien-être. Nous nous proposons ici de montrer les effets de l'urbanisation au rôle singulier du héros Alexandre Chenevert. On met en lumière la dégradation d'un homme simple qui souffre de l'exil et de l'aliénation et devient victime de l'information.

Pour Alexandre Chenevert, le protagoniste dans l'œuvre de Gabrielle Roy, il se trouve victime de névrose et de paranoïa. Par nature inquiétant, son déséquilibre mental le fait chuter jusqu'à la destruction finale de son âme et de son corps.

Roman de l'exil et de l'isolation, *Alexandre Chenevert*(1950) montre l'aliénation d'un homme de Montréal devenant victime de ses propres pensées et « de la grande ville grissante. » Dans cette communication on montrera les effets de l'urbanisation au rôle singulier du héros Alexandre Chenevert. On met en lumière la dégradation d'un homme simple qui souffre de l'exil et de l'aliénation et devient victime de l'information.

Troisième récit de Roy, avec ce roman, le lecteur découvre comment l'individu peut être dévoré par les aspects matériels de la ville. Alexandre, vieux banquier paranoïaque devient une victime de la grande ville de Montréal. Le portrait d'Alexandre est sur-détaillé par rapport aux autres personnages masculins des romans de Gabrielle Roy. Dans un monde royen où les personnages masculins font d'assez rares apparitions dans un univers habité principalement par des femmes, Chenevert est l'unique héros qui prend vraiment toute la place dans le titre, l'histoire et les dialogues. On est bombardé par les descriptions physiques, psychologiques et comportements de cet homme malingre et insignifiant. Il est le héros unique de ce long roman où les autres caractères – une poignée de personnages, apparaissent sans importance ni grandes opinions. Les dialogues sont peu nombreux et quand ils existent ce ne sont que des monologues, chaque personnage tenant à ses idées et n'arrivant à rien communiquer à l'autre.

Monique Genuist dans son analyse n'est pas impressionnée et commente ainsi :

« Le livre entier est consacré à l'analyse détaillée et profonde d'un homme quelconque, si insignifiant que c'était presque une gageure pour Gabrielle Roy d'avoir réussi à intéresser son lecteur. » (Genuist 48)

Le problème majeure d'Alexandre est sa santé mauvaise et son âme continuellement détressé et agité. Esclave de son corps malade et prisonnier de sa propre âme, il ne peut échapper son destin solitaire de souffrir. Il souffre en effet des complexes immenses :

« Alexandre sentit sa pleine infériorité d'homme avec ses petites malaises d'estomac, ses rhumes perpétuels, ses problèmes confus..... tirées par des crampes d'estomac ou peut-être simplement par la complexité affreuse de la vie, que parfois il s'imaginait être le seul au monde à ressentir. » (Roy 15)

Ce sont des complexes créés par lui-même ou créés par la société. Il poursuit la paix et le repos non-existant jusqu'au fond de lui-même, jusqu'à la fin du roman, jusqu'à la mort. Comme on le présente dans cette communication, il est un homme isolé, il ne peut que

déplore la modernisation de la société envers laquelle il éprouve de l'hostilité et de la haine. Hostile à lui-même, il déteste tout ce qui existe, tout ce qui bouge, qui fait du bruit. Chaque chose, chaque bruit le détresse :

« Les tramways circulaient maintenant selon leur horaire normal. Alexandre se prit à guetter l'approche de chaque tram et, quand le vacarme se perdait, à attendre déjà le passage du suivant.....Bientôt les klaxons entrèrent en jeu. Le chien, revenu dans les parages, jappait sans arrêt. Une motocyclette passa, dans une pétarde d'explosions..... Et tout à coup, Alexandre se dressa sur son lit, bouillant de rancune, une lueur de folie aux yeux. La ville était certainement liguée pour l'empêcher de dormir, la société entière contre Alexandre. » (Roy 25)

La redondance des prédicats négatifs attribués à toutes les parties du corps d'Alexandre contribue à créer un effet de malaise grandissant qui détruira le héros au plan tant physique que psychologique. C'est étonnant qu'il soit tellement mal dans sa peau qu'il ne parvienne pas à s'installer dans la vie. Tous ses efforts d'introspection le conduisent à se découvrir étranger à lui-même et comment en plus d'être étranger au monde et aux personnages qui l'entourent.

Agressé par la ville, la banque est le lieu de travail d'Alexandre. Dans cet endroit où il passe ses journées, on le croirait en prison. Il parle de son bureau comme d'une « cage ». Les cages de verre des caissiers contribuent à créer l'impression qu'on est toujours observé sous le regard d'autrui. Alexandre se sent victime à la fois du public qui l'observe et de ses collègues qui notent ses moindres signes de faiblesse. C'est de là que viennent ses soucis. Pour lui la banque garde un visage austère et renferme bien des misères. D'abord, comme il ne peut pas s'apitoyer sur son cas, il fait des réflexions sur les autres employés. La banque où travaille Alexandre est spacieuse mais le malaise ressenti en ce lieu provient d'un effet d'impersonnalité et d'uniformité. La banque donne l'image d'un espace trop grand, trop ouvert, donc non sécurisant, et en même temps, trop visible, trop lisible, c'est-à-dire que cet espace ne peut donner un sentiment d'anonymat.

En lisant le texte, on observe que le problème d'Alexandre est plus psychologique que physique. La solitude est son lot : seul dans sa minuscule cage qui est pourtant identique aux autres. Trop exigu ou trop vaste, ce lieu de travail devient un lieu de conflit moral. D'autre part, le lieu de travail emprisonne moralement le personnage. Pour Alexandre qui travaille dans « une cabine transparente, à vrai dire sans plus de secret qu'une vitrine de magasin » (Roy 30), cette cage est le symbole de l'isolement et l'évasion de sa misère et de son angoisse. Il est irrité par le moindre bruit venant

de ses collègues, il est en fureur contre les jeunes collègues devant lesquels il est incapable de se contrôler :

« De petites sottes, au fond! Leurs ongles peints, leur blouse claire, est-ce que tant de légèreté convenait à la banque? et sans doute à son propre guichet serait installée un jour une de ces petites pimbêches sans expérience du public, sans psychologie..... » (Roy 32).

Tout semble prédestiner Alexandre aux malheurs. Sa journée commence par les reproches adressés aux secrétaires. Il n'est pas non plus protégé des coups d'œil méchants des clients ou de ses collaborateurs. Sa vitrine, que l'auteur compare à celle d'un magasin, le place dans la même situation qu'un objet exposé pour la vente. Mais, lui, il peut juger des critiques et deviner l'opinion qu'on a de lui.

La vie d'Alexandre se déroule ainsi, entre les calomnies des voisins et les critiques de Godias son collègue. Ainsi, s'explique sa méfiance envers tout le monde et ses savants calculs pour échapper au contrôle d'autrui.

Selon T. Hughes, « Alexandre se figurait n'être pas fait pour le temps où il vivait » (Hughes 90). Il prend parfois des résolutions de tout changer dans sa vie, de trouver le repos, une bonne santé, ou d'aimer et d'être aimé. En dépit de ces bonnes intentions, il devient de plus en plus nerveux et désampré, face à son existence. Sa nervosité frôle souvent la paranoïa; lorsque les bruits ambiants de son quartier l'empêchent de dormir la nuit, il s' imagine victime d'un vaste complot de la part de la société tout entière, liguée contre lui.

Victime de la propagande.

Alexandre vit dans une période de la propagande mais il n'est pas conscient d'en être devenu victime. Son esprit tourmenté, la nuit, s'échappe toujours pour prendre de multiples directions. Les premières phrases du roman de Gabrielle Roy indiquent que l'histoire d'Alexandre est celle d'un homme préoccupé.

Le petit caissier insomniaque est d'abord tracassé par un détail anodin, le bouton de son pardessus, mais très vite son esprit est accaparé par graves questions d'actualités qui l'empêchent de se rendormir : possibilité d'une guerre, bombes atomiques, grèves, crash d'avion et grève de la faim de Gandhi. Il croit qu'il est maître de ses pensées mais en fait c'est le contraire, c'est son cerveau agité qui le domine totalement : « son cerveau actif lui jouait le tour de paraître dispos après si peu de sommeil. » (Roy 9)

Son âme le dupe en le jetant dans un labyrinthe sans issue de problèmes et de pensées inutiles. C'est en fait le manque de sommeil qui le tourmente et qui déclenche en lui une

chaîne d'idées absurdes comme celle de l'orthographe des mots « indivisible », « Hyderabad » et « aspirine ». Son esprit est submergé par un flot de soucis et de problèmes qui concernent aussi bien sa vie personnelle que le sort de l'humanité : la question palestinienne, le péril bolchevique, les Nazis, les Juifs, ses collègues à la banque, les actions « fourbes » des Japonais.

Et la nuit ce sont les communiqués de presse et les informations à la radio qui accablent son esprit et qui le hantent. Il se trouve victime de la propagande publicitaire. L'accumulation des moyens d'information, au lieu de le stimuler, l'assaille et le met dans l'impossibilité de faire un choix. Alexandre est plongé dans une « jonglerie » interminable qui finit par altérer sa santé. Cette figure malingre est bien un être malheureux, hanté par le passé, angoissé par l'avenir et vivant en exil dans la société où il évolue.

Le roman dépeint avec précision la machine des médias qui alimente cette propagande. En guise de l'information, on constate une grande variété dans ce roman : manchettes, sous-titres, éditoriaux, nouvelles, quotidiens, journal du soir, gros-titres, entrefilets, journal à cinq cents, articles, revues populaires, magazines, publications, revues, informations radiographiques, journal parlé. Quant à la publicité, on relève dans le roman des réclames, annonces, enseignes, plaques-enseignes, panneaux-réclames, prospectus, brochures, dépliants, petites annonces, affiches, slogans, messages publicitaires, cartons-réclames, circulaires, annonces à la radio et du courrier commercial. Au total, Chenevert évoque à une centaine de reprises les thèmes de publicité, et c'est exactement cette invasion de l'information qui emprisonne moralement ce personnage.

Alexandre est un grand consommateur d'infos. Il lit tout ce qui lui tombe dans l'oreille. A la cafétéria, près de la banque, Alexandre lit le journal en déjeunant pendant l'heure du lunch. A la maison, le soir, il écoute les informations à la radio, c'est un obsédé de nouvelles. Dans le roman elles sont internationales, nationales, provinciales, montréalaises ou spécifiques, comme les nouvelles médicales, toutes intéressent Alexandre. Les nouvelles internationales traitent par exemple de la surpopulation, de la famine, de la guerre en Grèce, du réchauffement de la terre, d'une tornade au Texas, d'une grève de dockers, de la nationalisation de l'industrie en Angleterre, de l'aide américaine à l'Europe et des droits de l'homme. Alexandre ne cherche pas seulement à se renseigner, on le voit vraiment très préoccupé par l'information. Celle-ci fait partie de sa vie et le tourmente continuellement.

Insomnies et jongleries sont présentées dans ce récit comme directement liées à la civilisation urbaine. De la sorte l'avancée technique, le progrès, au lieu de le servir, font naître chez lui un sentiment d'insécurité et de malaise. C'est dans la quotidienneté de ce personnage que l'auteur a le mieux montré les formes d'aliénation dues à la civilisation urbaine.

Au plan personnel Alexandre se sent épié par sa femme, Eugénie, par les voisins et les collègues. C'est paradoxale qu'Alexandre communie par la pensée avec toutes les races de la planète mais il est incapable d'entrer en relation avec les personnes réels, fussent-ils de sa propre race ou de son entourage immédiat. Alexandre éprouve une certaine affection pour sa femme, mais aussi, il la méprise, la voyant impuissant à partager ses inquiétudes. Il éprouve du ressentiment à son égard lorsqu'elle dort profondément, tandis qu'il souffre de l'insomnie :

« ...elle dormait profondément. Et le bien-être dont elle jouissait suffit à détourner Alexandre de ses bonnes intentions. Il pensa à elle en des termes injurieux qu'il n'eût jamais osé prononcer tout haut. Il se demanda s'il ne haïssait pas madame Chenevert. Cette grosse femme sotte et indifférente, qu'aurait-elle pu comprendre au sort des Japonaise. Il s'accouda sur l'oreiller, le dos contre les barreaux du lit, et il voyait son âme, un instant adoucie, se remplir de fiel et de suspicion. » (Roy 19)

Il reproche à sa femme de négliger les grandes questions internationales, d'oublier la souffrance d'autrui. Il essaie de la convertir à ses idées mais elle est de la même race que ses collègues. Mais lui-même fait preuve d'égoïsme en étant incapable d'observer Eugénie, de s'apercevoir qu'elle vieillit et qu'elle souffre aussi : « Vivant à côté d'elle, Alexandren'apercevait point de grands changements chez sa femme et elle en était indignée. »(Roy 89)

Michael Argyle, dans "The Psychology of Interpersonal Behaviour" avance que les gens « with low self-esteem feel hostile and dependant and may behave in a ruthless manner. » (Argyle). Cette observation est confirmée par le comportement et le sens d'insécurité continuels du héros ainsi que par sa quête de sécurité financière. Selon Argyle, les gens qui possèdent une haute opinion d'eux-mêmes restent calmes, dépendants et sans demandes. Puisque Eugénie ne souffre d'aucun complexe, elle se débrouille assez bien avec ce petit pénible bourre de complexes.

Alexandre et Eugénie n'arrive pas à se communiquer des sentiments, les époux sont fermés l'un à l'autre. Eugénie est une femme discrète. Alexandre et elle ne se comprennent pas et elles'occupe peu des soucis de son mari. Elle est une femme réservée mais réaliste. Elle se laisse porter par la vie, menant l'existence dans une certaine indifférence, dépourvue de grands espoirs, de bonheur facile.

L'impuissance d'Alexandre reste dans le fait qu'il ne connaît pas le bonheur. Incapable d'en reconnaître l'existence dans les êtres, ni dans les choses, il ne sait que souffrir constamment. Suivant les conseils d'un docteur il songe à partir au Lac Vert pour la première fois de sa vie. Alexandre s'accorde cette part de bonheur. Mais une fois qu'il se trouve dans ce paradis il est incapable de jouir pleinement de la beauté dans ces parages. La solitude et

le silence qu'il avait toujours cherché l'étouffent. Tout seul dans sa cabane à l'écart de la civilisation, sans radio ni journal, Alexandre s'interroge, se tourmente. Laissé seul avec ses pensées il voudrait trouver plus que jamais les réponses à ses innombrables questions sur Dieu, les hommes, la vie.

Fait ironique, peu à peu, son isolement devient thérapeutique. Le Lac, la pluie, l'eau ont un effet apaisant sur le caissier. Il respire, il mange, il dort bien, il retrouve le calme. Son âme s'apaise, loin des problèmes du monde. Petit à petit il arrive à la découverte de lui-même, de la Nature, des autres.

Il ressent cependant le besoin de transmettre ses impressions positives du Lac, en écrivant une lettre dédiée aux hommes. Heureux pour la première fois de sa vie il veut communiquer son enthousiasme ; mais les phrases ne lui viennent pas aisément. Il éprouve des sentiments qu'il est impuissant à décrire. Il renonce finalement à son projet d'écriture, devant la difficulté de l'entreprise.

Cet échec signifie un défaut dans la fonction « production de l'esprit » car les mots par lesquels il s'exprime ne sont que la reproduction de ce que son cerveau a enregistré de façon répétitive du monde en détérioration de la ville, et non le résultat d'un travail élaboré de sa pensée sur ce qu'il a compris du paradis terrestre.

Ce court épisode d'écriture ratée constitue une mise en abyme de l'état de santé physique et psychique d'Alexandre qui oscille toujours entre le meilleur et le pire, entre un corps souffrant et un esprit infécond. Alexandre quitte le Lac Vert plus torturé que jamais. Le retour à Montréal est un retour aux enfers. Cet épisode marque le point de non-retour du caissier, parce qu'il est incapable de se résigner à n'être que le spectateur de la souffrance humaine. Alexandre s'abandonne au désespoir. M.G.Hesse rejette Alexandre Chenevert :

« Thus Chenevert, like most of mankind, profits little from his own or others experiences. Inevitably his resolutions to wholly change his life come to nothing. » (Hesse 8)

En conclusion on peut dire que la surdose d'informations avec ses qualités et ses défauts, la surcharge publicitaire vont accabler Alexandre qui est extrêmement sensible. Alexandre prend très au sérieux ses responsabilités face à l'information. Les catastrophes débitées par les médias le font souffrir, l'empêchent de dormir et le rendent malade jusqu'à en mourir. Cette aliénation dont il est victime est la conséquence d'un manque de communication avec les autres. Il est incapable de se contenter de ce qu'il a autour de lui, ses pensées, ses angoisses dépassent le niveau de la réalité quotidienne. Il emploie tout son temps, consacre toutes ses énergies aux chimères faux et aux notions insensées, oubliant ainsi les membres de la famille et ceux qui l'entourent.

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Women Leadership in Slums of Chandigarh: Marginalization of Women Leaders in Decision Making

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Abstract

This paper discusses the significance of slum women in local governance and politics in the slums of Chandigarh. In order to explain the nature of women leadership, this paper places emphasis on representation of slum women in political power structure, the involvement of women leaders in problem solving activities in slums and lastly the capability of women leaders to mobilise slum residents for basic amenities and security. In the slums used for the purposes of this research, a general pattern of women residents playing an active role as political participants emerges, but very few turn out to be local community leaders. Women often contest elections only when seats are reserved for the female candidates. The party politics in slum is dominated by male leaders whereas, mobilisation/protests involved both men and women leaders in slums. Women leaders, however, play an active role during local and national level elections to woo the women (voters) residents, but they do not get chance to take active role in decision making process. Women leaders play significant role to lead and mobilise women residents for issues related to women safety and other concerns of women residents in the slums. The average number of women leaders participating in problem solving activities and providing basic amenities to all the residents in slum colonies was quite low in selected slums.

Key Words

Community Leaders, Political Participation, Decision Making, Problem Solving Activities, Basic Amenities, Representation, Protests, Women and Elections

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to signify the role of slum women in local governance and slum politics by critically analyzing the pattern of their representation in political power structure, the role of women leaders in solving problems in slums and the capability of women leaders to mobilise slum residents for basic amenities and safety

concerns. Joop de Wit (1996:45), Jha, Rao and Woolcock (2007:244), Milbert (2008:207) and Harriss (2005:1044) in their studies show that community leadership is a completely accepted phenomenon in low-income settlements and local leaders act as “fixers” who function as vital intermediaries between people and government. This remains the general observation on local community leadership in Indian slums but when it comes to the female leadership there is a distinctively clear division organized along gender lines in the society. It is apparent that women in slums share different economic, political and social experience than their male counterparts. Singh (1978:94), Wit (1996:45) and Wiebe (1975:11) in their respective works have affirmed this observation as women are considered politically inferior in these settings and men dominate the political space in local urban governance. Generally women in Indian society are marginalized from participation and representation in power structure but it seems that poor women with fewer resources face even more inconvenience. In the given context present paper attempts to study the role of women in decision making process in the slums.

For the present study, four unauthorized slum colonies (labour colony 4, Madraasi colony, Nehru colony and Sector 25 slum colony) of Chandigarh have been selected on the basis of their geographical location and large population. Two sets of primary data have been collected to substantiate the argument. First set of data was collected from slum residents and second set was collected from in-depth interviews of local female leaders along with a semi-structured questionnaire. Fourteen local women leaders interviewed for the study included two former and three current ward councillors and nine *Mahila Mandal Committee* pradhans. Five women leaders were interviewed from labour colony-4 and nine were interviewed from other three slum colonies. This research paper consists of three major parts. The first part explains the characteristics of local community leadership in slum with specific focus on Chandigarh. The second part deals with the political representation of women residents in slums. The final part of the paper discusses the involvement of women leaders in the decision making and problems solving activities. To conclude it sums up the entire research in a comprehensive manner.

1

Characteristics of Local Community Leadership in Slums: General Observations

This part of the paper provides insight about common features of community leaders in Indian slums and how community leaders in Chandigarh slums are different or similar in characteristics from the rest.

1.1 Pradhans as Informal/Formal Leaders

Tracing the nature of community leadership reflects that most of the local leaders started as informal leaders (social workers and headmen/member of community

organisation) at an early stage. Wit (1996:42), Jha (2007:232) and Milbert (2009:207) in their studies have explained that the structure of community leadership in slums can be formal as well as informal. Informal community leaders are not attached to any organised associations and are not elected by people. They are either heads of informally organized caste, region, religion or another identity based association or a person engaged in welfare works for the benefits of slum community. In case of Chandigarh slums informal leaders were found in more number than formal leaders like any other slums of India. As out of the 45 interviewed local leaders in all four slum colonies 28 fall in the informal category. And remaining 17 local leaders occupy formal positions as elected presidents of grassroots organizations like trade unions, labour associations and party representatives. Formal leaders show greater influence over the entire community than informal leaders. More number of women leaders in slums acquires position of leaders formally. It is found in the study that women leaders in the slums have taken over the positions of local leaders largely with the help of their family. Unlike slums of Delhi and Mumbai, family involvement in politics remains a common feature in the slums of Chandigarh. Family of Sarita Sharma (ward member) represents BJP in Madras colony and Rajkumari Mishra (former ward councillor) and her family keep representing BJP in the elections. Family of Sunita Yadav (*mahila mandal* pradhan of congress party) represent the Congress party in Madras colony since many years. Local community leaders do not want to lose power and position to others and therefore, keep it within the family.

1.2 Local Leaders as Lowest Level Representatives of Political Parties

Community leaders working as lowest level party representatives are the most visible leaders of the locality. Majumdar (1983:97), Wit (1996:45) and Mitra (2007:232) in their studies portray local leaders as the lowest level representatives of various political parties. Like any other slum of India, leaders of sampled slum colonies associated to the political parties enjoy more popularity among slum dwellers because of their capability to fulfil the demands with the help of political contacts. Each political party appoints more than 3 political representatives for every slum area. Parties also appoint women pradhans for *Mahila Samitis/Sabha*, pradhans for youth wings and leaders for cultural clubs etc. Political parties approach individuals who are popular in their area and have a good image. Conversation with local leaders affirms that getting affiliation and position within a dominating party vests them with more power and ability to get benefits.

1.3 Socio-economic Status of Community Leaders

It is apparent from existing studies of Siddiqui (1969:19), Singh and DeSouza (1978:56) that the socio-economic aspects like education, income, caste, religion, occupation and period of stay are important attributes for getting recruited into community leadership. When the concept of community leadership is discussed in any study or research project the first thing that comes to mind is whether the slum leaders are different from slum residents. Observation from the field further represents that slum leadership comes mainly from the

hut owners and well-off persons in the slums. Almost all the leaders possess pucca huts along with the basic facilities like water taps, bathroom and toilets at home. Few influential leaders of slums do not even stay in the same slum colony because they got houses at nearby rehabilitated colonies they have moved accordingly. For example; some of the leaders of Madrasi colony stay at Bapu dham colony, sector 26 (rehabilitated) and leaders of unauthorised colony at Sector-25 stay at rehabilitated houses in Sector-25. Three leaders of Madrasi colony and Nehru colony and two leaders of Slum Colony at Sector-25 and Labour Colony are staying in the rehabilitated colony. One can also found local leaders representing social identity based organisation (caste, region and religion based organisation like *Yadav sabha*, *Balmiki sangh* and *Anusuchitjatis sangathan*, *Purvanchal samiti*, *Garhwal sabha*, *Oriya sabha*, *Masjid* committee and *Ganpatisabha*) in slums of Chandigarh. Leaders of regional organisations enjoy more powerful position in sampled slums.

Most of the leaders in slums belong to the occupational categories of skilled or industrial workers, shopkeepers, petty businessmen and semi-professionals. Leaders in slums mentioned that their occupation strengthens their positions as leaders in slum. For example Mahila Morcha Pradhan of Sector-25 colony (Shalu) and pradhan of *Balmiki Sangh* (Birampal Singh) in colony-4 working in Red Cross society and hospital respectively mentioned in their interview that they get benefitted because of their job. Rajkumari Mishra (*mahila mandal pradhan*) of Madrasi colony runs a shop, Sarita Sharma (ward member of Madrasi colony) has her own family business and Chibbu Yadav works as a contractor. All of them accepted that their jobs reinforce their position in the slums. It was observed during the study that leaders require the minimum level of education because they often represent the slum dwellers in front of outsiders and other stakeholders such as the administration, private bodies and governmental institutions. They have a fairly good idea about the slums and the entire city. Past activities and achievements of leader for the benefit of community have been considered as the most important quality to get more importance or popularity as community leader in slums. Slum leaders arbitrate in almost all the issues like getting a license, identity card, ration card, dealing with the police, getting welfare policies for housing or other facilities. Leaders need to build up or to be introduced into, a network of useful contacts and influential people so that they can deal personally or through others with any request, be it with respect to the police, the slum board, a bank or an employer. Instead of caste, region and religion identities the capability of local leader is more important to carry an influential personality.

2

Political Representation of Woman Leaders in Slums

This section of paper attempts to analyse the pattern of political representation of woman leaders in slums by focusing on their representation as ward councillor and as a member of

any organisation in power structure. While studying the representation of women in slums it has been found that women in slums do not hold any position in social and economic organisations in slums. No caste association (*Yadav sabha*, *Anusuchit jati sangathan*, *Balmiki Sabha*), religious organisation (*Ganpati sanghatan*; *Masjid committee* and *Hindu sabha*) and regional organisation (*Purvanchal samiti*, *Gharwal sabha*, *Oriya sabha*) recruits women as its head or leader. Not only social organisations even economic (trade unions, labour associations *majdoor sangh*, *Hind majdoor sangh*, *kabbadi sangathan*, *thela sangathan etc.*) organisations also do not provide any leadership opportunities to women. Women in slums only get limited political representation as ward councillors and pradhans of *Mahila Mandal* samiti of political parties. Very few former and present women councillors can be found in slums. Interview with these women leaders reflects that these women councillors contested for the Municipal election (1996, 2001, 2006 and 2011) from the reserved seats for women in that ward. This can be seen through some examples, Sarita Sharma contested municipal election in 2006 (ward councillor), when seat was reserved for women in Madrasi Colony. Rajkumari Mishra of Bharatiya Janta Party in Labour Colony-4 has also been elected as ward member/councillor in 2006 on a reserved seat. Sunita Devi (BSP candidate) in Madrasi colony also contested election when seat was reserved in her ward.

The above given context leads to the question that why women of slums are not able to get representation in proportion to their population. Analysis of data shows that two main factors are responsible for the low representation rates of women. First reason is their domestic responsibility which remains their prime concern and does not leave them with enough time. Around 69% of women respondents answered that they do not want to waste time by becoming a part of any political and social organisation. As many of them are also involved in paid work, they get very limited time for such political activities. Secondly, power structure in low urban settings is not favourable for women. As women in slums do not feel safe and secure to join any social and political organisation and activities. According to 73% women respondents, they avoid politics because they are more concerned with their safety and security. Social patriarchal structure has penetrated deep into the political sphere as most of the slum residents have migrated from rural areas and they brought their social and cultural structure to the city.

Conversations with *mahila* pradhans in slums suggest that they have attended meetings with government officials only a handful of times and they rarely get chances to voice their opinion. Out of the 14 women leaders only 5 leaders stated that they have visited political authority or political party more than five times. Political party meetings are held rarely except during the elections period when all political activities are at peak. Visits to the administrative offices, arranging community events is mainly done by male leaders or the male member of women leaders' family. Women pradhans accepted that their opinions and

views regarding the slum developments are always forwarded by others. Contrary to the women representation in slums, participation of women residents and leaders in elections and political activities is quite high in the sampled slum colonies. Not only women leaders, even large (91%) number of female respondents in slums accepted that they have voted in all the last three Lok Sabha and MC elections. They take elections as an opportunity to fulfil their demands or get incentives from leaders/parties. *Mahilamandal* pradhans play quite significant role as agents or mediators for political parties to mobilise slum women for voting. They assemble women residents of the slums for rallies and party meetings. These female leaders accomplish striking political activities like *mehandi competition*, *bhajan sandhya*, get-together parties and other competitions with political agenda. Women residents in slums are provided with incentives to join meetings, processions and rallies. This can be observed in the remarks of Shalu, mahila mandal pradhan at Sector 25 slum colony:

“Yesterday our party (BJP) has organised a get-together at the house of an eminent political party leader. There was a lunch and *mehandi* competition named *askamalkimehandi* competition. In this competition we have asked women residents of slums to draw the pictures of lotus in the hands and paper. (24th March, 2014 before Lok Sabha election 2014)

Conversation with women leaders clearly reflect that before elections, women leaders and political parties play quite an active role in wooing the voters to attend party meetings, rallies and processions and to manipulate the electoral choices of slum women. But the function of women leaders as active participants of political parties ceases once the elections are over. It can be inferred from the above mentioned examples that rather than their greater participation in elections women in slums are excluded from power structure by providing fewer opportunities for representation. They are mainly assisting the male members of family and party as covering agents in the public and political arena.

3

Involvement of Women Leaders in Decision Making Process in Slum Colonies

This section analyzes the role of women leaders in decision making by looking at their ability to mobilise slum residents for protests and their involvement in problems solving activities. It was found during field study that community leaders in slums play important role of intermediary to provide basic amenities and services to slum residents. Conversation with former and present women councillors of slum wards reflects that they were not often approached by slum residents for the provision of shelter, sanitation, water, education and health facilities. Large number (69%) of

respondents in their interviews mentioned that they have visited only male leaders or the influential member of the families of ward members for the provision of basic amenities. Very few respondents (14%) have approached to women leaders in slums. Generally, politically affiliated community leaders are acknowledged for their extensive social networks including contacts with politicians, police, lower level bureaucrats, administrators and other notables, within and outside slums. In this regard only 7% mentioned that they went to a woman leader in order to establish connection with government officials/bureaucrats and political parties. Survey further demonstrates that around 35% of slum dwellers were helped to obtain voters identity card and 45% of slum dwellers were helped to get ration card by local leaders. But very few approached to women leaders for this.

All the pradhans in slums do not possess equal capability to mobilise slum residents for collective demands. The average number of women leaders leading demonstration/ protests and participating in formal peace processes is quite low in Chandigarh slum colonies. Only few women leaders (two ward members and 3 mahila mandal pradhans) act as negotiators for disputes in slums. Usually when there is a dispute among neighbourhoods or within families; women pradhans avoid direct involvement in these fights. On the other hand, participation of women residents in the protests/rallies for community demands is quite high. Slum women are generally vociferous and they have potential of being mobilised for their needs. Around 68% of women accepted that they had participated in one or other protest against eviction, housing facilities and other basic services. Women leaders and residents along with the male members of slums raised slogans against authorities. Whenever there was any demolition activity by Chandigarh Administration in slum settlements; slum women came out on the road shouting slogans against the ruling party, authorities and administration. They burnt the effigies of political leaders, administrators and local authority. These protests were principally headed and led by male community leaders in slums. Women leaders in slums in their protests have principally focused on *key challenges, such as eliminating violence against women, preventing early marriages, supporting disabilities and promoting girl children's education*, protest against establishment of liquor shops etc. within slums. There are few examples of protests led by women leaders for security and safety of women residents in the slums. Lajwanti, resident of Sector-25 Slum Colony; narrated the story of protest which was mainly led by mahilapradhans. She asserted that:

“We along with our ward's mahila pradhans had protested against the opening of a tavern in our locality. Liquor shops nearby slum make slum unsafe for women and children. Therefore, we walked on the main road in front of the *Dainik Bhaskar* office, leading to rotary of Sector-37-38.” (sector -25 slum , 27th March, 2013)

Women in slum colonies generally do not file police complaints against domestic violence and other incidents (eve teasing and verbal molestation) happening outside home. But women in slums participate in various activities demanding safe and secure environment for women. Throwing light on this, Zakiya (Mahila *mandal pradhan*) in her conversation has stated:

“Large number of women residents along with male residents in slum raised voices against eve teasing and verbal molestation. Women leaders in slum attempt to sensitize slum women about use of public toilets and hygiene. Mahila morcha samiti leaders in slums raised voice against the crimes and violence happening with women in slums through protests.”

(Madrasi colony, 21st March, 2013)

Narratives illustrate that demonstration for women issues occur at slums, but the protest for them takes place at smaller level and fewer people participate in these protests. Protests in slums further reflect that women in slums are prepared to act collectively and showed solidarity in all protests. Whereas, male leaders in slums showed less solidarity for protests and demonstrations as they are divided on the basis of political affiliations and social identity. It has also been seen in the field visit that women leaders along with self help groups endow women residents of slums with a range of skills and knowledge to enable them to earn livelihood. Local women leaders in slums draw the attention of NGO's and self help organisations to provide training to women in diverse fields, such as embroidery, handicrafts, cooking traditional food, stitching, design decoration craft and self defence. The training classes held in the slums offer them an opportunity to connect with other women and people outside slum. Mahila *mandal pradhans* along with various organisations also organise health camps to spread awareness regarding hygiene and women health in slums. Women leaders in slums have more idea about the problems of women residents in slums than the male leaders.

Gender-based discrimination at home and in the slum community makes it difficult for women to exercise their independent will at large extent. Lesser inclusion of women in facilitating basic amenities/services to the residents makes women leaders in slums incapable of getting larger political space even at the lowest level of urban governance. But women in slums show relevance as leaders in creating a safe and better environment that gives women residents' space to become independent.

Conclusion

Inferences drawn from the study demonstrate that political structure in slums principally remains patriarchal in nature and women leaders have very limited say in slum politics. They get limited representation in political spheres. The party politics in slum is principally dominated

by male leaders whereas, mobilisation/protests for social concerns involved both man and women leaders. Women's representation in slum colony is affected by limited resources, time, burden of domestic work and opportunities, especially compared to men. They get opportunities to contest election (political representation) usually when the seats in slum wards are reserved for them. The average number of women leaders acting as negotiators/mediators and active participant in providing basic amenities in slums remain low. Women leaders in slums enjoy significant power in dealing with women issues in slums as they get independence to initiate lead and mobilise protests related to women issues and social concerns in the slums. Women leaders in slums hold notable position during lok sabha and local elections to mobilise slum women for voting, party rallies and meetings. Male leaders and organisations in slums are not keen to take up the issues and grievances of women residents. Therefore, in order to protect the interest of women residents strong women leadership is needed in unauthorised slum colonies. In order to provide suitable representation to women leaders in slum politics; safe and gender sensitive infrastructure facilities are required. More women specific institutions and local establishment of grassroots level groups is needed in slums to transform ordinary women as assertive participants.

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Role of Manufacturing Sector in Indian Growth Trajectory: An Analysis through Social Accounting Matrix based Output Linkages

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Abstract

An unbalanced structural shift in the Indian economy is the major issue of concern for the policy planners because this service-led growth is questionable from the sustainability angle in the long-run. The influx of the literature on identifying the sectoral vulnerabilities and the strengths for the economy has concluded that service and manufacturing sectors are the fastest growing sectors in the economy accompanied by the sluggish growth of the agriculture sector. The present paper attempts to show a clear picture of the role played by the manufacturing sector in the past two decades with reference to inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral production linkages. The Rasmussen Method has been used to compute production linkages at aggregated and disaggregated levels using the three Social Accounting Matrices available for post-reforms period in India. The analysis reveals that there are 7 key sub-sectors under manufacturing which are influencing other sectors in the economy with high backward and forward production linkages. Thus, the Indian policy planners need to focus on key sub-sectors of manufacturing sector to outshine the service-led growth in the long-run; a major objective of industrial reforms.

JEL Classification: E16, E23, L6

Keywords

Social Accounting Matrix, Production Linkages, Indian Manufacturing Sector

1. Introduction

The structural shifts in the Indian economy are the major outcome of liberalisation policies during 90's. The passing two decades witnessed the varying share of sectors in the GDP of the nation which marked the agro-based economy as a service-oriented. The mounting share of the demand-oriented services sector in the GDP of the nation will lead the economy towards long-run unsustainability unless the supply oriented agriculture and industrial sectors of the nation are adequately developed. The manufacturing sector is contributing 15.3 percent to gross value added (GVA) of India while, the shares of agriculture and service sectors are 19 percent and 53 percent, respectively¹. Structural change model focuses on the mechanism by which underdeveloped economies transform their domestic economic structures from a heavy emphasis on traditional subsistence agriculture to a more modern, more urbanized and more industrially diverse manufacturing and service economy (Todaro and Smith, 2011). But in the case of Indian economy, only services sector is focused and the other sectors are not used potentially.

A comparative picture of sectoral growth rates during different phases of liberalization has been shown in the Table-1 that substantiates the fact that agriculture is no more a dominant contributor to growth of the Indian economy. The manufacturing and services sectors have witnessed sharp growth rates during the transition from mild to intensive liberalization. It is evident that the Liberalisation, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) policies have caused a structural shift in the Indian economy and shifted its outlook from an agro-based economy to modern industry and service led economy.

Table- 1: Sectoral Growth Rates During Various Phases of Liberalisation

<i>Phases of Liberalisation</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Manufacturing</i>	<i>Services</i>
<i>Entire period (1951-52 to 2015-16)</i>	2.653 (0.000)	5.641 (0.000)	5.557 (0.000)	5.856 (0.000)
<i>Pre-Liberalization (1951-52 to 1985-86)</i>	2.222 (0.000)	5.163 (0.000)	4.989 (0.000)	4.573 (0.000)
<i>Mild Liberalization (1986-87 to 1991-92)</i>	3.684 (0.000)	5.3616 (0.000)	5.739 (0.000)	5.902 (0.000)
<i>Intensive Liberalization (1992-93 to 2015-16)</i>	2.955 (0.000)	6.573 (0.000)	8.589 (0.000)	8.030 (0.000)

Note: Author's own calculation by using Linear Spline Function.

The motivation for the present paper emerges from the concern that the demand-oriented service-led growth will not sustain in long-run and we have to develop supply-oriented manufacturing and agriculture sectors for sustainable long-run growth of the nation. Even though the share of agriculture sector in GDP has declined yet above 70 percent population is still involved in the farm related activities. However, the agriculture growth is heavily

1. Assessed from << http://planningcommission.gov.in/data/datatable/data_2312/DatabookDec2014%20116.pdf>> dated 4. 12. 2017.

dependent upon weather conditions, the high growth rates in manufacturing sector must be achieved via innovative industrial policy packages.

The developed nations experienced the enhanced output and productivity in both agriculture and industrial sectors by shifting the labour force from agriculture to non-agriculture especially in manufacturing sector. However, India's leapfrogging from agriculture to services sectors in terms of structural shift witnessed low output growth in agriculture because of weak production linkages of service sector to agriculture. Under these circumstances, identification of the sectors with high output linkages is of utmost importance so as to optimize and achieve the long-run growth objectives of the economy.

Manufacturing has the potential to emerge as one of the high growth sectors in India. The various industrial policy and programmes focus on placing India on the world map as manufacturing hub and gaining global recognition for the Indian economy. India is expected to become the fifth largest manufacturing country in the world by the end of 2020, and the govt has set an ambitious target of increasing the contribution of manufacturing output to 25% of gross domestic product (GDP) by 2025 – this would be 9%-point increase from the current level of 16%. GDP from manufacturing in India reached all- time high of 5,010 billion INR in the second quarter of 2016-17. This happened due to an enormous push by the government to open up an economy. The large chunk of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) will be attracted by the manufacturing sector in the coming years due to increase in the limit of FDI by govt in 15 sectors which will result in creation of employment in the sector (FICCI, 2017).

A bunch of studies has analysed the role of manufacturing sector in India but not much is known about its inter-sectoral performance and their impact on the economy as a whole. Under this setback, the present study has been attempted to access the production linkages of various sectors and sub-sectors of India. Through an inter-sectoral linkage analysis, the relative importance of manufacturing sector and its sub-sectors has been highlighted to defend a thesis that the growth of key manufacturing sectors is still a panacea for long-run growth of Indian economy.

2. Review of Literature

The idea of linkages grew out of Hirschman's theory of unbalanced growth (1958) and describes the relationships that exist between parties involved along the supply chain. Backward linkages describe the process of how a company in a given sector purchases its goods, products, or supplies from a company in a different sector, these are called inputs. Forward linkages describe the process of how a company in a given sector sells its goods, products, or supplies to a company in a different sector; these are called outputs. In Hirschman's area of study, known as development economics, backward linkages exist when investments in an industry profit from inputs and forward linkages exist when investments in an industry profit from outputs. According to Hirschman's theory, the development of an economy using the unbalanced doctrine depends on the linkages of the

sectors.

The concept of linkages has been inspected from so many angles and there are tremendous changes in the methods of computing linkages initiated from basic Rasmussen method to complex General Equilibrium models. Except for the identification of the key sectors, linkages are also used for description of nature of relationship between various sectors. The two basic data inputs used to analyze linkages are Input-Output (I-O) tables and Social Accounting Matrices (SAMs). On the path of theoretical survey, ample literature has been found on analyze the backward and forward linkages using basic Input-Output model. The studies which incorporated input output model to investigate output linkages are Bhattacharya and Rajeev (2016), Nir and Liang (2003). While on other side, in Raihan and Khondker (2010), Dakila et al. (2013), and Bhatt and Munjal (2013) SAM model is used to identify production linkages.

The above review reveals that the existing studies have not seen particularly the role of manufacturing sector from inter-sectoral perspective in the Indian economy. It would be insightful for policy planners of India to analyze output linkages at sectoral levels and reconcile the unbalanced growth doctrine. The identification of key sectors using SAM data will represent a better picture of working of Indian economy in comparison to linkages computed with Input-output tables. In this context, the current research makes an attempt to examine which are the key sectors under the category of manufacturing industry with respect to output linkages.

3. Methodology

To identify the key sectors of the economy, linkages are the best method opted by various researchers. Input-Output tables and Social accounting matrices are the most appropriated data tools to identify the sectors which are injecting more growth to the economy. The analysis in present paper is based upon the Social Accounting Matrices (SAM) data of years 1994-95, 2002-03 & 2007-08. The matrices used for the analysis purpose have been provided by Pradhan et al. (2007 and 2013). Since all the matrices are given with different sector classification i.e., in 1994-95 the sectors are 45×45, in 2002-03 they are 60×60, and in 2007-08 the no. is 78×78. So, the basic necessity of comparative dynamic analysis is the common sector classification so that it will be easy to compute linkages within common sectors over a period of time. To fulfill this purpose all three SAMs have been concorded to 41×41 commodity groups. The values of the elements in the matrices were in monetary terms so to neutralize the effect of price level changes all the matrices have been deflated using the implicit GDP price deflator for 2004-05 as the base year.

All the computations in the analysis are performed using SIMSIP SAM, a Microsoft® based application, with MATLAB® running in the background, which can be used to conduct policy analysis under a SAM framework. The tool was developed by Parra & Wodon (2009a) and is distributed free of charge, together with the necessary MATLAB components.

Several studies have been conducted using this SIMSIP SAM package e.g., Nganou *et al.* (2009), Fofana *et al.* (2009), Parra and Wodon (2008 and 2009). Most of the studies using this package have analysed price effects but the production linkages have been seldom analysed together.

The backward and forward production linkage coefficients represent the amount of output generated by the sector both within itself as well as in other sectors through their linkage effect. The backward linkage of a sector j quantifies the change in economy wide income, relative to the average change in the economy, caused by a unitary injection in the final demand of that sector j . These linkages are known as production linkages or output multipliers because these linkages measure the changes in the output/production with unitary injections. On the other hand, the forward linkage (in percentage terms) of sector j quantifies the change in income in sector j , relative to the average change in the economy, caused by a unitary injection in the final demand of all sectors (Parra and Wodon, 2010). These linkages are known as input multipliers. If the forward linkage for sector j is greater than 100%, the change in sector j 's income is higher than average income change in the economy after a unitary injection in all sectors. A key sector is usually defined as one with both backward and forward linkages greater than 1. A sector with backward linkages greater than 1, are called backward oriented sector and with forward linkages, they are called forward oriented sector.

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The Rasmussen method is generally accepted as the most popular linkage indices to identify the key sectors of the economy. Therefore, the Rasmussen-Hirschman Approach has been used to identify the production and employment linkages in India. Assume there are n endogenous account. Let $A_{n \times n}$ denote the matrix of technical coefficients, i.e., the matrix resulting from dividing every cell T_{ij} in $T_{n \times n}$ by the respective column sum Y_j . Let $Y_{n \times 1}$ and $X_{n \times 1}$ denote column vectors with the sums total expenditures, and the exogenous component, respectively. Then by construction, the following two equations hold:

$$Y = N + X \quad (1)$$

$$N = AY \quad (2)$$

Combining these equations gives,

$$Y = AY + X \quad (3)$$

$$Y = (I - A)^{-1}X \quad (4)$$

which can be rewritten as,

where I is the $n \times n$ identity matrix. The matrix $M = (I - A)^{-1}$ is known as the accounting multiplier matrix, the Leontief inverse matrix, or simply the inverse matrix. Each cell m_{ij} of M quantifies the change in total income account as a result of a unitary increase in the exogenous component of account. Let's define m_{ij} as typical element of the Leontief

Inverse Matrix M and V denotes the sum of all cells of the inverse matrix $V = \sum_i \sum_j m_{ij}$. Let M_i and M_j denote the sum of the i^{th} row and the j^{th} column of the inverse matrix, respectively: $M_i = \sum_k M_{ik}$, and $M_j = \sum_k M_{kj}$. Then the Hirschman-Rasmussen indices may be developed as i) Backward linkage index of sector i is given by:

$$BL_i = \frac{nM_i}{V} \quad (5)$$

and, ii) the Forward linkage index is given by:

$$FL_i = \frac{nM_i}{V} \quad (6)$$

4. Empirical Evidence

The linkage analysis of production linkages has been split into two sub-sections: i) an aggregated analysis that deals with the production linkages computed using 3×3 SAM tables of the years 1994-95, 2002-03, and 2007-08; and ii) a disaggregate analysis that deals with the production linkages computed using 41×41 sector SAM tables of the three periods. The SAM tables have been culled out from Pradhan *et al.* (2006) and classified in 41 sectors using concordance given in Appendix Table-A1. The aggregated analysis represents the relative situation of primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors for production linkages while the latter disaggregated analysis helps to gauge the better picture of entire economy through the binocular with lenses of production backward and forward linkages.

4.1 Production linkages

Production linkages refer to the input requirement of any sector, for producing its own output, from other sectors in the economy. In other words, if output of one sector requires the inputs from other sectors, used in its production cycle then these types of linkages are known as production linkages. One can also term it as interdependence among the producing sectors in the economy (Singh and Kaur, 2014).

4.1.1 An aggregate level investigation of Backward and forward Production Linkages

Table-2 includes both backward and forward production linkages computed for aggregated three sector (i.e., SAM of order 3×3) economy with i) agriculture and allied activities based primary sector, ii) the industry based secondary sector, and iii) services based tertiary sector. The table shows that all the three sectors have high backward and forward linkages. In all three period SAMs, the tertiary sector found to be the dominant sector with highest backward and forward production linkages. However, the secondary sector has lowest

backward linkages but ranked at second place in terms of forward linkages. Further, the primary sector is having lowest forward linkages while ranked at second place in terms of backward linkages. It may also be noticed from the Table- 2 that the backward linkages in manufacturing sector have declined from 0.91 in 1994-95 to 0.83 in 2007-08 that reflects Indian industry is not offering substantial spillover effect on growth of its input supplier sectors. The forward linkages of industrial sector are though high (i.e., above unity) yet their decline is pervasive over the study period under evaluation. The low forward linkages of agriculture sector are serious affair for the policy planners in Indian agro-based economy. These low linkages depicts that the resources of agriculture sector are not used potentially by the industrial and service sectors.

Table- 2: A summary of Production Linkages-an aggregated picture

<i>Sectors</i>	<i>2007-08</i>		<i>2002-03</i>		<i>1994-95</i>	
	<i>BL</i>	<i>FL</i>	<i>BL</i>	<i>FL</i>	<i>BL</i>	<i>FL</i>
<i>Panel A: Sectoral Linkages</i>						
<i>Primary</i>	0.85	0.89	0.90	0.94	0.97	1.18
<i>Secondary</i>	0.83	1.77	0.84	1.36	0.91	1.76
<i>Tertiary</i>	0.99	2.52	1.0	2.64	1.0	2.19
<i>Panel B: Descriptive Statistics</i>						
<i>Mean</i>	0.89	1.73	0.91	1.65	0.96	1.71
<i>Standard deviation</i>	0.09	0.82	0.08	0.88	0.05	0.51
<i>Coefficient of Variation</i>	9.18	47.21	8.71	53.66	4.82	29.55
<i>Minimum</i>	0.83	0.89	0.84	0.94	0.91	1.18
<i>Maximum</i>	0.99	2.52	1.0	2.64	1.0	2.19
<i>Note: i) BL stands for Backward Linkages, ii) FL stands for Forward Linkage</i>						
<i>Note: Author's Calculation</i>						

4.1.2 Evaluating Production Linkages at disaggregate level

The disaggregate analysis include the same linkage approach but with deeper dive into disaggregated economy specified by 41×41 sectors SAM. The SAMs of three periods have been concorded with common 41×41 sectors classification to make the computations more viable. Let us keenly observe these linkages on inter-sectoral level to understand the situation of manufacturing sector in the Indian economy.

4.1.2.1 Backward Production Linkages

Table-3 illustrates the backward production linkages for output with respect to 41 sectors for the years 1994-95, 2002-03 and 2007-08. From the table, it may be noticed that *Public Administration (S41)* is the sector with highest backward linkage to the tunes of 1.18 units. It simply means that a one unit increase in the demand/output of these sectors will enhance the backward linkage by Rs.1.18 percent, respectively. The sectors with backward linkages greater than unity and forward linkages less than 1 are considered as backward oriented sectors. There are 5 backward oriented sectors which are *Food products (S12)*, *Leather & Leather products (S17)*, *Textiles (S14)*, *Beverages & tobacco (S13)* and *Wood & furniture (S15)* among manufacturing sectors. All these sectors have above mean values while only one sector i.e. *Beverages & tobacco (S13)* has a linkage coefficient above 3rd quartile (See Quadrant 1, 4, 7 in figure). The remaining sectors of backward oriented category which have above mean but below 3rd quartile values can be designated as sector with potential to become star sectors. The sectors like *Rubber, Petrol, Plastic, Cola (S18)*, *Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries (S26)* and *Electrical, Electronic machinery appliances (S24)* are the lowest rank sectors in the manufacturing with below quartile 1 values.

Table- 3: Production Backward Linkages

Sector Code	Sectors	Backward Linkages					
		2007-08		2002-03		1994-95	
		Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Pannel	A: Sectoral Linkages						
S1	Food crops	1.13	9	1.1	14	1.08	11
S2	Cash crops	1.15	6	1.11	10	1.09	8
S3	Plantation crops	1.11	16	1.13	8	1.09	6
S4	Other crops	1.13	10	1.12	9	1.07	12
S5	Animal husbandry	1.17	2	1.15	2	1.09	3
S6	Forestry & logging	1.09	20	1.05	23	1.03	21
S7	Fishing	1.15	5	1.14	5	1.09	4
S8	Coal & lignite	0.81	33	1.07	22	0.9	33
S9	Crude petroleum, natural gas	0.24	41	0.37	40	0.54	40
S10	Iron ore	1.12	13	1.09	19	0.89	34
S11	Other minerals	0.49	40	0.32	41	0.43	41
S12	Food products	1.12	15	1.1	16	1.03	20
S13	Beverages & tobacco	1.13	11	1.1	17	1.07	13
S14	Textiles	1.05	25	1.03	26	1.05	17
S15	Wood & Furniture	1.09	21	1.07	21	1.07	15
S16	Paper & printing	0.93	29	0.82	34	0.96	31

Table- 3: Production Backward Linkages

Sector Code	Sectors	Backward Linkages					
		2007-08		2002-03		1994-95	
		Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
S17	<i>Leather & Leather products</i>	1.08	22	1.02	27	1.02	23
S18	<i>Rubber, petrol, plastic, cola</i>	0.58	39	0.7	36	0.77	39
S19	<i>Chemicals</i>	0.76	34	0.88	32	0.88	35
S20	<i>Non- metallic mineral products</i>	0.97	27	0.96	29	0.96	30
S21	<i>Metals</i>	0.91	30	0.85	33	0.86	37
S22	<i>Metal product except machinery</i>	0.75	35	0.79	35	0.99	27
S23	<i>Tractors, Agricultural Implements, etc.</i>	0.71	36	0.67	37	0.83	38
S24	<i>Electrical, Electronic machinery appliances</i>	0.65	37	0.56	39	0.93	32
S25	<i>Transport equipment</i>	0.83	32	0.91	31	1.02	25
S26	<i>Misc. manufacturing industries</i>	0.64	38	0.67	38	0.85	37
S27	Construction	1.07	23	1.04	25	1.02	24
S28	Electricity	1.04	26	1.1	18	1.04	18
S29	Gas & Water supply	1.13	12	1.13	6	0.98	29
S30	Railway transport services	1.1	19	1.11	13	1.06	16
S31	Other transport services	0.96	28	0.99	28	0.98	28
S32	Storage & Warehousing	1.12	14	1.11	11	1.07	14
S33	Communication	1.05	24	1.1	15	1.04	19
S34	Trade	1.14	7	1.13	7	1.08	10
S35	Hotels & Restaurants	1.16	4	1.08	20	1.09	5
S36	Banking & Insurance	1.14	8	1.11	15	1.09	9
S37	Ownership of dwelling	1.17	3	1.15	4	1.09	7
S38	Education & research	1.11	17	1.15	3	1.1	2
S39	Medical & Health	1.1	18	1.04	24	1.03	22
S40	Other services	0.86	31	0.94	30	1.02	26
S41	Public administration	1.18	1	1.16	1	1.11	1

Panel B: Descriptive Statistics

Mean	0.98		0.98		0.99	
Standard deviation	0.22		0.21		0.14	
Coefficient of Variation	0.23		0.22		0.15	
Quartile1	0.86		0.91		0.96	
Quartile2	1.09		1.07		1.03	
Quartile 3	1.13		1.11		1.08	
Maximum	1.18		1.16		1.11	
Minimum	0.24		0.32		0.43	

Note: The italic sectors belong to manufacturing sector classification.

Source: Authors' Calculations Using SIMSIP-SAM

4.1.2.2 Forward Production Linkages

Table-4 represents the forward production linkage. The most backward-linked industries provide the biggest demand-pull effects on the economy while on the other side the forward-linked industries provide the supply-push effects on the economy. The sector with the higher backward linkage is significant, because the increase in final demand of its goods by 1 unit will result in the maximum increase in total output of the economy. The sectors which are pulling maximum demand or in other words which have higher backward linkage in manufacturing industry are *Textiles, Food products, Wood and furniture etc.* The sectors like *Rubber, Petroleum, plastic and cola(S18), Metals(S21), Chemicals(S19), Food Products(S12) and Tractors, Agricultural Implements, etc(S23)* are pushing maximum supply in the economy with high forward linkage coefficients. All these sectors have values above mean and quartile 3rd which indicates that they have potential to become key sectors in manufacturing industry. Among these five potential sectors only two sectors have above unity values i.e. *Rubber, Petroleum, plastic and cola(S18) and Metals(S21)*. The most laggard or weak sectors with very low forward linkages are *Leather & Leather products(S17), Beverages & tobacco(13) and Wood & furniture(S15)*.

Table- 4: Production Backward Linkages

Sector Code	Sectors	Forward Linkages					
		2007-08		2002-03		1994-95	
		Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
Pannel A: Sectoral Linkages							
S1	Food crops	0.90	6	0.77	10	1.50	3
S2	Cash crops	0.42	24	0.27	26	0.50	19
S3	Plantation crops	0.26	32	0.10	38	0.10	38
S4	Other crops	0.79	9	1.00	5	0.96	8
S5	Animal husbandry	0.72	12	0.86	9	0.18	32
S6	Forestry & logging	0.27	31	0.17	34	0.17	33
S7	Fishing	0.13	41	0.15	35	0.19	30
S8	Coal & lignite	0.20	36	0.18	33	0.26	27
S9	Crude petroleum, natural gas	0.65	13	0.51	17	0.03	41
S10	Iron ore	0.25	33	0.04	41	0.14	35
S11	Other minerals	0.18	38	0.21	32	0.70	11
S12	Food products	0.84	8	0.89	8	0.15	34
S13	Beverages & tobacco	0.18	39	0.31	25	1.07	6
S14	Textiles	0.63	15	0.50	18	1.01	7
S15	Wood & Furniture	0.20	35	0.14	36	0.10	36
S16	Paper & printing	0.36	25	0.24	28	0.27	26
S17	Leather & Leather products	0.17	40	0.08	39	0.07	39
S18	Rubber, petrol, plastic, cola	1.15	4	0.73	11	0.68	13

Sector Code	Sectors	Forward Linkages					
		2007-08		2002-03		1994-95	
		Value	Rank	Value	Rank	Value	Rank
S19	Chemicals	0.89	7	0.91	7	1.15	4
S20	Non- metallic mineral products	0.33	28	0.21	31	0.22	29
S21	Metals	1.06	5	0.68	13	0.94	9
S22	Metal product except machinery	0.34	27	0.21	30	0.38	22
S23	Tractors, Agricultural Implements, etc.	0.72	11	0.43	21	0.59	18
S24	Electrical, Electronic machinery appliances	0.64	14	0.49	19	0.61	16
S25	Transport equipment	0.46	23	0.40	22	0.68	14
S26	Misc. manufacturing industries	0.49	20	0.37	23	0.28	24
S27	Construction	0.56	18	1.65	1	1.52	2
S28	Electricity	2.13	1	0.58	15	0.70	12
S29	Gas & Water supply	0.34	26	0.10	37	0.10	37
S30	Railway transport services	0.18	37	0.22	29	0.26	28
S31	Other transport services	1.40	3	1.26	3	1.08	5
S32	Storage & Warehousing	0.22	34	0.05	40	0.03	40
S33	Communication	0.28	29	0.25	27	0.19	31
S34	Trade	1.80	2	1.64	2	1.76	1
S35	Hotels & Restaurants	0.53	19	0.34	24	0.27	25
S36	Banking & Insurance	0.76	10	0.97	6	0.75	10
S37	Ownership of dwelling	0.62	16	0.55	16	0.39	21
S38	Education & research	0.48	21	0.63	14	0.41	20
S39	Medical & Health	0.27	30	0.46	20	0.29	23
S40	Other services	0.60	17	1.26	4	0.64	15
S41	Public administration	0.47	22	0.72	12	0.59	18

Panel B: Descriptive Statistics

Mean	0.58	0.53	0.53
<i>Table-4 contd.</i>			
Standard deviation	0.43	0.41	0.44
Coefficient of Variation	0.75	0.79	0.82
Quartile1	0.27	0.21	0.19
Quartile2	0.48	0.43	0.39
Quartile 3	0.72	0.73	0.70
Maximum	2.13	1.65	1.76
Minimum	0.13	0.04	0.03
Note: The italic sectors belong to manufacturing sector classification.			
Source: Authors' Calculations Using SIMSIP-SAM			

4.2 Identification of Key Manufacturing Sectors

In this section of the analysis particularly manufacturing sectors are scrutinized. Table-5 provides method to identify the key sectors having above mean backward and forward production linkages. It can be noticed that there are five sectors in manufacturing category which can be considered as key sectors with high backward and forward output/production linkages. These sectors are *Food Products* (S12), *Textile and Textile Products* (S14), *Rubber Petroleum Plastic and Cola* (S18), *Chemicals* (S19), *Metals* (S21). Except these five sectors, there is no sector with the combination of both these linkages having above mean value. The remaining sectors have only one (backward or forward) high production linkages. Therefore, to satisfy the objective of growth, the policy planners in India will have to concentrate on the sectors which are considered as key sectors during the analysis. The sectors which have either one (backward or forward) high linkage may also play significant role in delivering the objective of growth in Indian manufacturing sector.

Table-5: Situation of Production Linkages Sub-sectors of Indian Manufacturing Sectors

Linkage	Sub-Sectors of Manufacturing Sectors														
	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	S19	S20	S21	S22	S23	S24	S25	S26
Backward	H	L	H	L	L	L	H	H	L	H	L	L	L	L	L
Forward	H	L	H	L	L	L	H	H	L	H	L	H	H	L	H
Note: H and L represent above average (i.e., High) and below average (i.e., Low) linkages. The situation has been compared with average of all the 41 sectors of SAM for the year 2007-08.															
Source: Author's Calculation															

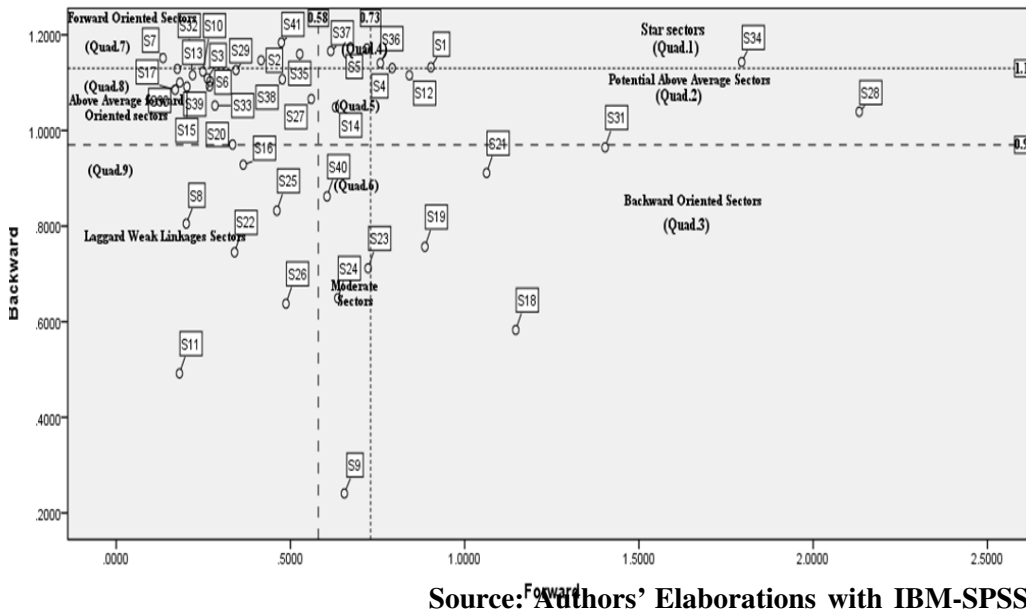
Thus, if we compare both types of production linkages, the manufacturing sectors appear with higher ranks in the category of forward linkages but the backward linkages of manufacturing sector are amongst lowest ranked sectors. There are five manufacturing sectors with above 3rd quartile (0.73) forward linkage coefficients and seven sectors (including five with above 3rd quartile) with above mean (0.58) forward linkages. However, in terms of backward linkages, only one sector scores linkage coefficient above 3rd quartile (1.13) while five manufacturing sectors score above mean (0.98) coefficient. Thus, in the comparison of other sectors classified under primary and tertiary categories, the Indian manufacturing sector appears to be a forward-oriented sector that lacks potential to uplift its input supplier sectors.

5. Conclusion

In this study, an effort has been made to analyze the contribution of manufacturing sector in the Indian economy with the help of Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) multipliers. The analysis concludes that in absolute term, the Backward Production linkages have relatively high values than forward linkages in Indian manufacturing sector. However, a comparative analysis reveals that the ranks of the sub-sectors of Indian manufacturing sector in terms of

forward linkages are much higher than backward linkages. On the other hand, primary and services sectors are creating higher production linkages in the economy in comparison to secondary industrial/manufacturing sector. Furthermore, the various sectors within the manufacturing sector diverge in terms of their output generating capabilities. More precisely, the sectors like *Food Products* (S12), *Textile and Textile Products* (S14), *Rubber Petroleum Plastic and Cola* (S18), *Chemicals* (S19), *Metals* (S21) are key sectors with a potential to influence others in terms of their high backward and forward output linkages. Policy makers, therefore, should focus on those sectors that are highly linked to others in terms of either backward or forward linkages. The major objective of the economic reforms in the year 1991 was to liberalize the Indian industry in such a manner that it can generate substantial opportunities for achieving high growth rates of the nation. However, the high linkages of service sector in the post-reforms period is a matter of serious concern and must be addressed by policy planners to avoid the situation of unbalanced growth accompanied with high inflation rates in long-run. The concentration of policies on key manufacturing sectors is an immediate need of hour to evade from a situation of non-robust demand-oriented growth.

Figure: Backward Linkages and Forward Linkages Matrix



Source: Authors' Elaborations with IBM-SPSS

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Appendix-A1

Concordance for Different Social Accounting Matrices			
Sector Code	41 Sectors in the Consolidated SAM Table	SAM Code of Sectors to Merge 2007-08	SAM Code of Sectors to Merge 2002-03
S1	Food crops	S1 to S6	S1
S2	Cash crops	S7,8,11,12,16	S2
S3	Plantation crops	S13, S14, S15, S9	S3
S4	Other crops	S19, S10, S17, S18	S4
S5	Animal husbandry	S20	S5
S6	Forestry and lodging	S21	S6
S7	Fishing	S22	S7
S8	Coal and lignite	S23	S8
S9	Crude petroleum and natural gas	S24, S25	S9
S10	Iron ore	S26	S10
S11	Other minerals	S27 to S31	S11
S12	Food products	S32,33,34,35	S12
S13	Beverages & Tobacco	S36, S37	S13
S14	Textiles & textile products	S38, S39	S14, S15, S16, S17
S15	Wood & furniture etc.	S40, S41	S18
S16	Paper & printing etc.	S42, S43	S19
S17	Leather and leather products	S44	S20
S18	Rubber, petroleum, plastic, cola	S45, S46, S47, S48	S21
S19	Chemical etc.	S49, S50	S22
S20	Non-metallic minerals	S51, S52	S23
S21	Metals	S53	S24
S22	Metal products Except machinery & transport equipment	S54	S25
S23	Tractors, agricultural Implements, industrial machinery, other machinery	S55	S26
S24	Electrical, electronic machinery & appliances	S56	S27
S25	Transport equipment	S57	S28
S26	Misc. manufacturing industries	S58	S29
S27	Construction	S59	S30
S28	Electricity	S60	S31
S29	Gas & water supply	S61	S32
S30	Railway transport services	S62	S33
S31	Other transport services	S63, 64,65,66	S34
S32	Storage & warehousing	S67	S35
S33	Communication	S68	S36
S34	Trade	S69	S37
S35	Hotels & restaurants	S70	S38
S36	Banking & Insurance	S71	S39, S40
S37	Ownership of dwellings	S72	S41
S38	Education & research	S73	S42
S39	Medical & health	S74	S43
S40	Other services	S75, S76, S77	S44
S41	Public administration	S78	S45

Legislation under United Progressive Alliance (UPA) – II Government (2009-2014)

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Abstract

The role of Parliament includes representing citizens, making laws, scrutinizing and passing the budget and oversight on the activities of the government. During the tenure of the United Progressive Alliance (UPA-II) government the ability of Parliament to discharge its role effectively had faced public scrutiny. This had been due to a low number of sittings, lack of legislative activities, frequent disruptions and budget passed without discussion. These are symptoms of a weakening institution.

This article presents an analysis of the legislative functioning of the UPA-II government and highlighted structural issues that affected the functioning of the Parliament. It examines the legislative process during UPA-II government with the analytical study of specific bills such as Lok Pal Bill, Land Acquisition Bill, Food Security Bill. Although some big-ticket laws like Lok Pal Bill, Land Acquisition Bill, Telangana bill and Food Security Bill, had been passed by the UPA-II government in the last session but bills like Goods and Services Tax, Reservation to Women's Bill remained pending in its term because of lack of consensus between the members of Parliament and due to disruptions in the both Houses.

Key Words

Parliament, Legislation, Legislative Process, Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, Parliamentary Debates

After 2004, the UPA launched path-breaking initiatives like the Right to Information, Rural Employment Guarantee, the National Rural Health Mission, drinking water and sanitation schemes. These social policies of the government and its performance, positioned the Congress as the party of Aam Aadmi.¹ Manmohan Singh became Prime Minister of the country second consecutive time in 2009 when he headed a second coalition government, the UPA-II government. Unlike the previous government, the UPA-II government was

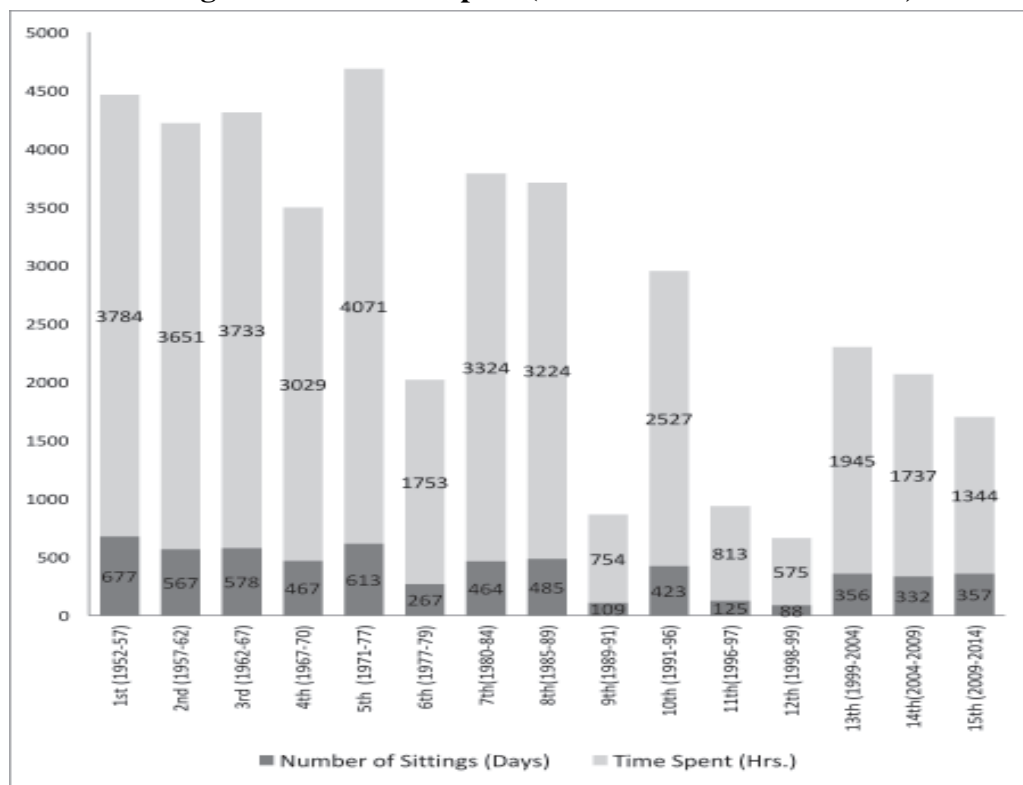
¹ Hasan, Z, "The Congress and its Future", *Seminar*, 641, 2013zoya_hasan.htm. last accessed on 9 March 2016 www.india_seminar.com/2013/641_z_

disrupted frequently and witnessed a decline in time spent on legislation over its five years term. **Graph-1** reflects that UPA-II government, during its tenure held 357 sittings with the duration of 1344 hours as against 332 sittings with the duration of 1737 hours during Fourteenth Lok Sabha; 356 sittings with the duration of 1945 hours during the NDA government (13th Lok Sabha) . The reasons for decline in total number of sittings and reduced hours of debate can be attributed to the role of opposition parties which made desperate efforts to disrupt Parliament.

The task of opposition parties became easier because charges of corruption started surfacing against different ministers of the government. All decisions of the UPA-II government were under scrutiny. People/NGOs started making exhaustive use of the Right to Information for seeking information regarding the functioning of different public authorities. Answers were sought from government agencies and public authorities.

Graph-1

Sittings Held and Time Spent (First to Fifteenth Lok Sabha)



Source - Parliament of India: The Fourteenth Lok Sabha (2004-2009), A Study, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 2010, p.2 and Time Spent on Various Kinds of Business in Lok Sabha- An Analysis, New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, September 2014, p.17

Most of the scams which resulted in embarrassments for the UPA-II government came to notice of the people of the country through making use of RTI for seeking information. The mass media attracted attention to the scams, scam-busters and inactions of the government and kept these acts of omission and commission firmly in public view. The 15th Lok Sabha had passed only 179 bills during its five-year term from 2009-14. In comparison of the 13th and 14th Lok Sabha which had passed 297 and 248 bills respectively, the performance of 15th Lok Sabha was not effective.² In comparison to UPA-I government, the UPA-II government got caught badly into cobweb of corruption related scams like Commonwealth Games Scam, the 2G Spectrum Scam, the Coal Scam.³ The UPA-II government had the difficult task of pushing forward the legislative agenda on key issues such as Land Acquisition, Food Security, Women Reservation and Communal Violence that were the basic issues mentioned in the 2009 election manifesto.⁴

Significant Laws Passed with least debates under UPA-II government

The UPA-II government showed a slowdown in legislative activity. In the first Lok Sabha, 49 percent of the total time was spent on debating legislation. This dropped to 28 percent in the 2nd Lok Sabha. In contrast, the 15th Lok Sabha had spent 23 percent of its time on debating legislation.⁵ In its five year term UPA-II government had passed many important bills such as Lok Pal Bill, Food Security Bill, Companies Law, Telangana Bill, Sexual Harassment Bill, Land Acquisition Bill etc. Most of these bills had been passed with least debates or discussions. Parliamentary Standing Committee had played a great role in passing of these bills. Committees made recommendations but some recommendations were not incorporated because of some reasons as lack of legal expertise and some were not according to the constitution.

The Lok Pal and Lok Ayukta Bill, 2011

The Lok Pal Bill, 2011 was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 4th August, 2011. The Hon'ble Chairman, *Rajya Sabha* Abhishek Manu Singhvi had referred this bill to the Department Related Parliamentary Standing Committee on Personal, Public Grievances, Law and Justice on 8th August, 2011 for examination. The committee had presented its report in the House on December 9, 2011. The bill was sought to provide for the establishment of a body of *Lok Pal* for the Union and *Lok Ayukta* for states to inquire into allegations of corruption against certain public functionaries and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.⁶

The Lok Pal Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 27 December, 2011 during the winter session but could not be passed in the Upper House. The opposition had charged the

² Malik, Kusum et al., "Vital Stats, Performance of Parliament during the 15th Lok Sabha", *PRS Research*, 21 February 2014 www.prsindia.org accessed on 2 April, 2014

³ Reetika Syal, The UPAlI Report Card", *The Hindu*, 6 June 2014 [www.thehindu.com >opinion> comment](http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/comment) accessed on 9 March 2016.

⁴ Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress: Lok Sabha Election 2009, <http://www.inc.org>

⁵ Kala, M. et al., "Rethinking the Functioning of the Indian Parliament: Background Note for the Conference on Effective Legislatures", *PRS legislative Research*, 7 December 2013 www.prsindia.org accessed on 2 April, 2014

⁶ The Lok Pal and Lok Ayuktas Bill 2011, *Bill No. 134-c of 2011*, As passed by Lok Sabha on 27th December, 2011. p.1

government with running away from a vote because of lack of majority in the House. The UPA-II government did not have a majority in *Rajya Sabha*. The bill was also the culmination of the battle between government and Team Anna Hazare for a strong anti-corruption ombudsman.⁷ The UPA-II government was not able to make a serious effort to create a consensus on its draft of Lok Pal Bill because it had facing threats and pressure from Team Anna Hazare. Thus, the government had to avoid a vote on the bill which caused it embarrassment within the House and outside.⁸ When Team Anna criticized all political parties for not showing determination to have a strong Lok Pal Bill, then BJP spokesperson, Tarun Vijay told that it is not fair to say that all opposition parties did not want Lok Pal Bill. He said that the BJP party has proved its stand on Lok Pal issue by passing a strong LokAyukta Bill in Uttarakhand which became the first state in the country to pass a very strong LokAyukta Bill.⁹

The Trinamool Congress, DMK, NCP and National Conference opposed the LokAyukta provision in the bill during an all – party meeting convened by Dr. Manmohan Singh in New Delhi on 23 March, 2012.¹⁰ Even the leftist wanted the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) to be an independent agency and the lone member of the Lok Jana Shakti Party. Ram Vilas Paswan wanted the Lok Pal abolished altogether. The BJP wanted private agencies should be out of the Lok Pal's preview as they do not get any government grants. The Samajwadi Party wanted the bill to be sent to a select committee. Then, the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh conveyed to all parties that any further delay would create an impression that government was not interested to tackle the corruption.¹¹ The debate on the bill had remained inconclusive in *Rajya Sabha* during the last winter session. On June 15, the *Rajya Sabha* notified a 15-members Select Committee chaired by Chaturvedi. The Select Committee has been asked to submit its report on the first day of the last week of the monsoon session.¹² The Select Committee of the *Rajya Sabha* on Lok Pal Bill held wider consultations with the public and government officials on the controversial anti- corruption legislation.¹³ The select committee was formed during the budget session to suggest amendments, if any, after the opposition raised objections about the format of this legislation passed by the Lok Sabha; as many as 190 amendments were moved by MPs from across the political spectrum.¹⁴

Pawan Kumar Bansal (Parliamentary Affairs Minister) said that the Lok Pal Bill has not been listed for consideration in the monsoon session that was began on 8 August, 2012. Bansal said that the Select Committee is expected to give its report on the first day of the last week of the monsoon session. And the government is committed to expeditiously

⁷ Lok Pal Bill to Come Up in *Rajya Sabha* during Budget Session, *The Times of India*, 7 February, 2012

⁸ Bill to Come Up in *Rajya Sabha* during Budget Session, *The Times of India*, 7 February, 2012

⁹ *The Hindu*, 24 March, 2012

¹⁰ *The Economic Times*, 24 March, 2012

¹¹ DNA, Saturday, 24 March, 2012, New Delhi. www.prsindia.org

¹² *The Economic Times*, 24 March, 2012

¹³ *The Economic Times*, 24 March, 2012

¹⁴ *The Indian Express*, 2 November, 2012

bringing it once it gets the report from the Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha.¹⁵ The Select Committee held nineteen sittings in all. The Committee in its first sitting held on 25th June 2012, had a general discussion on the issues involved in the bill. In its sittings held on 4th July, 5th, 13th, 25th July, 6th, 14th, 30th August, 5th, 6th September heard the oral evidence and views of a cross section of experts and organizations including the Attorney General of India, former High Court Judge, eminent jurists, NGOs and legal experts. At its sittings held on the 9th, 10th, 19th, 20th, 30th, 31st, October and 9th November, 2012 committee took up clause by clause consideration of the bill. On 19th November, 2012 Committee adopted its draft report on the bill. The Select Committee recommended enactment of the legislation after having gone through the memoranda, background notes, other documents and evidence tendered before it, as well as views expressed by its members on the provision of the bill.¹⁶

The Lok Pal Bill had taken 46 years to pass and finally passed by Rajya Sabha after a great debate by the different political parties. Arun Jaitley (the leader of opposition in Rajya Sabha) said that they had needed to restore faith in public life and created an effective mechanism to deal with corruption. It was important that they provided for an effective Lok Pal legislation. Most opposition parties- BJP, BSP, CPI (M), AIADMK, DMK and JD (U) had minor problems with the bill in its present form. After eight failed attempts at passing the bill, several fasts-unto-death by Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal and a people's movement of India Against Corruption (IAC), the bill's now seeing a ninth attempt.¹⁷ Kapil Sibal (Law and Justice Minister) said that it is the collective will of the House. He also admitted that this legislation has been hanging fire for the last four decades. It was time to celebrate the consensus that had been reached on the issue. Only the Samajwadi Party (SP) opposed the Lok Pal Bill and MPs of this party walked out of Rajya Sabha.¹⁸ Since Hazare's fasts in April and August of 2011 turned the public mood against corruption in high places, the anti-corruption ombudsman had been a political Waterloo for Congress.¹⁹ Sushma Swaraj (leader of opposition in the Lok Sabha, 2009-14) and her counterpart in the Rajya Sabha Arun Jaitley said they were ready to pass the Lok Pal Bill without debate if the government agreed to incorporate all amendments unanimously approved by the select committee.²⁰ Harish Rawat (Water Resource Minister) at the Congress briefing said that they wanted to pass Lok Pal Bill in this session itself. There were unanimous recommendations adopted by the Select Committee. The government had brought the bill with these amendments and BJP supported it along with the UPA. And finally, the Rajya Sabha passed the Lok Pal Bill on 17 December, 2013 and it was sent to the assent of the Lok Sabha and the President.²¹

¹⁵ "Uncertainty Over Lok Pal Bill in Monsoon Session of Parliament", *dna*, 3 August, 2012

¹⁶ *Report of the Select Committee of Rajya Sabha on the Lok Pal and LokAyukta Bill*, 2011, Parliament of India, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 23 November, 2012 <http://rajyasabha.nic.in>

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ *The Times of India*, 13 December, 2013

²⁰ "UPA to Move Lok Pal Bill in Rajya Sabha Today", 13 December, 2013

²¹ *The Times of India*, 13 December, 2013

The quality of Parliamentary debates in India has always been lamented. This is true of primary laws passed by Parliament or by state legislatures and also of subordinate legislation issued by regulators. The outcome is that Indian laws are often poorly drafted, requiring frequent amendments and tedious judicial clarification. A case in point was the 2013 version of Lok Pal and LokAyukta Bill, as passed by both Houses of Parliament considerable time was spent debating substantive issues but the bill's drafting style was ignored. Poorly written laws are not specific to India and indeed, the world over; transformative changes are taking place to overcome precisely this problem. For example, the UK, whose legal legacy has set up the 'good law initiative' to make legislation less difficult for people to understand and easier to access in the digital age.²²

Through governance, efficient administration, honest Parliamentarians and meticulous observations are required to maintain true democratic set-up in the country. But, unfortunately, regionalism, political will power has become a sought of barrier for good governance and the ulterior motive of the elected members has strengthening the structure of true democracy which is the government of the people, for the people and by the people. Look at the ulterior motives of the political inefficiency of the representatives of the country who are concerned more about their personal interests rather than country. It appears that the politicians are least concerned about as it might not curtail their unwanted motives. Strangely enough the Lok Pal Bill which is still not that effective as it has taken around 46 years of long arduous journey to receive the stamp and recognition of Parliament. The bill which has been passed, still suffers from many lacunas which must be removed for making it more effective.

Civil Society Organisations had played the former role in the conflict over the Lok Pal Bill. Jayal Said²³, "The conflict over the Lok Pal Bill can be interpreted as Civil Society against the state". Persons led by Anna Hazare were distinguished members of civil society and their relationship with the state is clearly adversarial.²⁴ Civil Society of Anna Hazare struggled hard to pressurize the Union Government to pass a strong JanLok Pal Bill so that bureaucracy, courts, ministry including Prime Minister could be brought within the purview of such a strong law to check corruption in India. And Civil Society of Anna Hazare and his team are succeeded in getting the proposed legislation passed to eradicate corruption in India.

If we trace the history of Lok Pal Bill, it was, first of all presented during the fourth Lok Sabha 1968 and was passed there 1969. It still passed through an arduous journey in 1971, 1977, 1985, 1989, 1996, 1998, 2001 and 2004. Strangely enough the Lok Pal Bill was referred to Standing Committee for making necessary amendments. Before it could take a concrete and effective shape, the House was dissolved. And when the so called Lok Pal Bill, with all its discrepancies, came up to the Rajya Sabha for serious debate, it had to face many problems before it finally received the sanction of the Lok Sabha. Ironically enough, every political

²² *The Indian Express*, 15 January, 2014

²³ Pokharel, K., "Politics Journal : Who Makes Up India's 'Civil Society?', *India Real Time*, blogs.wsj.com>2011/06/20>politics-journal accessed on 18 July 2016

²⁴ *Ibid*

parties which, in hearts of hearts, remained the bill in a chaotic state, clamoured just to attract public attention and to secure public interests. After having failed many times, the ineffective Lok Pal Bill still requires amendments. Strangely enough, the same bill was passed in Rajya Sabha on December 17, 2013.

National Food Security Bill, 2011

In the last decade, a strong movement emerged in India-led by left political parties, academics and non- governmental organizations for establishing a universal right to food. It was this pressure that culminated in the drafting of the (NFSB) National Food Security Bill 2011 and eventually passed by Parliament in September 2013, becoming the National Food Security Act, 2013.²⁵ Improving food security ought to be an issue of great importance for a country like India where 1/3 of the population is estimated to be absolutely poor and one half of the children malnourished in one way or another.²⁶ The bill was highly controversial and after initially being promulgated as a presidential ordinance on 5 July (National Food Security Ordinance, 2013), it was passed only in late August 2013 by Indian Parliament.²⁷ The bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on 22nd December, 2011 and was referred to the Standing Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution on 5th January, 2012 by Hon'ble Speaker for examination and report to Parliament.²⁸

The bill provides food and nutritional security in human life cycle approach, by ensuring access to adequate quantity of quality food at affordable prices to people to live with dignity and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.²⁹ The UPA government's ordinance on Food Security will require a massive roll-out apparatus by state governments. Though, the law had come into immediate effect, clause 10 in the ordinance provides six months "lead time" for identifying the food insecure in a "fair and transparent" manner as required by the ordinance. The ordinance sought to give a legal right to monthly food handouts to 67percent of the population, or about 800 million Indians, at a fraction of market price.³⁰ Opposition parties, including the BJP and the leftist criticized the government for sides' tapping Parliament to pass the ordinance and termed it as anti democratic. In the beginning of the monsoon session the Cabinet approved an ordinance to launch food bill. President Pranab Mukherjee had approved it to be turned into a law.³¹

The All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) had called upon Parliament to reject the NFSB introduced in the Lok Sabha. Association said that bill was a cruel joke on the women who were suffering from a constant erosion of the PDS (Public Distribution

²⁵ Swaminathan, M., "Implementing the Food Security Act", *Yojana*, December 2013, p.22

²⁶ K.P.Kannan, S MahendraDev, Alakhnarin Sharma, "Concerns on Food Security", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4 November 2000, p.3919

²⁷ Rammohan, A., "Food Security in India and the Food Security Bill", *Yojana*, December 2013, p. 36

²⁸ "The National Food Security Bill 2011", *Twenty Seventh Report*, Standing Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution (2012-13), Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, January 2013, p.10

²⁹ *The National Food Security Act 2013* (Act No. 20 of 2013), www. parliament of india.nic.in accessed on 19 July, 2016

³⁰ *The Hindustan Times*, 5 July 2013

³¹ *Ibid*

System) and an incessant increase in prices of essential commodities which had led to widespread hunger and malnutrition. The AIDWA demanded that the Bill be rejected in the present form and demanded a Food Security Act that guaranteed the universal right to food and ensured at least 35 kg of food grains per month for every household at Rs. 2 per kg.³²

The Food security Bill had little or no effect on malnutrition, poverty and hunger. Hunger can be eliminated if and only if the government and NGOs identifying the 40 lakh affected households and ensured that cash or food would be reached the principal female of the household. Analysis of the state-wise 2004-05 National Sample Survey and the 2005-06 National Family Health Survey data led to the conclusion that most important cause of malnutrition in India was the abysmal state of 'public health' in terms of sanitation, drinking water and public knowledge about the importance of cleanliness and nutrition.³³ The National Food Security Act, 2013 was an act to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two thirds of India's 1.2 billion people.³⁴ It was signed into law on 12 September 2013, retroactive to 5 July, 2013.³⁵

One senior opposition politician, Murli Manohar Joshi described the bill as a measure for vote security for the ruling government coalition rather than food security.³⁶ Samajwadi Party Leader Mulayam Singh Yadav declared that it was clearly being brought for elections. This bill did not bring earlier when poor people were dying because of hunger and nothing for the poor.³⁷ Dr. Surjit S. Bhalla warned if the Food Security Bill implemented it will cost 3 percent of the GDP in its very first year.³⁸ The Indian Ministry of Agriculture's Commission on Agricultural costs and prices warned that enactment of the bill could be expected to induce severe imbalance in the production of oilseeds and pulses.³⁹

Professor Jean Dreze, Delhi School of Economics and Ritika Khera, Asstt. Professor, IIT, Delhi had placed views /suggestions before the Standing Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution that there had been substantial improvements in the functioning of the Public Distribution System. Through this Food Security Bill the trend of improvement of PDS can be decisively consolidated and it was really an opportunity to eliminate hunger.⁴⁰ The CPI (M) had given notice in the Lok Sabha for over 50 amendments.

³² "AIDWA Wants Parliament to reject Food Security Bill", New Delhi, 23 December 2011, www.prsindia.org accessed on 19 July 2016

³³ Virmani, A., "What we need is Not a Food Security Bill but a Hunger Elimination Act", *Times of India*, 7 June 2013

³⁴ "Government defers Promulgation of Ordinance on Food Security Bill", *Times of India*, 13 June 2013.

³⁵ "The National Food Security Bill 2013 receives the Assent of the President, published in the Gazette of India as Act No. 20 of 2013", *Press Information Bureau*, Government of India www.pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=99309

³⁶ Iyer, S., "This isn't Food Security, it's Vote Security, says BJP", *The Hindustan Times*, 31 August 2013

³⁷ Food Security Bill Passed in Lok Sabha after nine-hour debate", *First Post*, 27 August 2013 www.firstpost.com/politics/food-security-bill-passe-in-lok-sabha

³⁸ *Indian Express*, 6 July 2013

³⁹ Gulati, A. et al., "National Food Security Bill, Challenges and Options", Discussion Paper no.2, *Commission on Agricultural Costs and Prices*, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, December 2012 www.prsindia.org

⁴⁰ "The National Food Security Bill 2011", *Twenty Seventh Report*, Standing Committee on Food, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution (2012-13), Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, January 2013, p.46

The CPI (M) had reservations on several clauses related to cut in household entitlements, identifications of beneficiaries, issue price of commodities, the Planning Commission's figured the state-wise allocations, imposition of the Central government's reforms, including cash transfers on the state through framing of rules. The BJP, the SP, the CPI and AIADMK planned to move amendments. The BijuJanata Dal, the Shiv Sena and the Trinamool Congress had finalized their strategy on the bill. The SP wanted that the grains requirements for the PDS under the bill should be sourced from farmers.⁴¹

Thus, National Food Security Bill, 2011 was the major achievement of the government, the primary purpose of it was to decimate the pinch of poverty and hunger through proper and efficient Public Distribution System. By passing the bill, all the political parties remain quite satisfied as it would ensure food and nutrition security to the downtrodden and the poor. By doing so the government and all the political parties meant for providing quality life through quality food and that to either at the affordable price for by distributing food to the poor through government agencies. But the mean tendency of politics whether of the ruling government or that of the opposition party cannot be ruled out. Such important bills like NFSB required immediate attention of the government and the opposition as being is of the dire importance of the public but, unfortunately, even such important issues remain untouched as either the government or the opposition always thinks in terms of securing their vote- bank.

As discussed, important bills like Lok Pal and LokAyukta Bill, Whistleblower Bill etc. were passed within the span of five minutes and that to in the concluding session of the Parliamentary session of UPA-II government. We feel that such important bills have required full time discussion for which the Parliament is meant for. But the fact remain that all the politicians always keep their ulterior motives in for, without caring for the interests of the public. No doubt, owing to ill-willed opposition and for the sake of criticism, such important bills remain insensitive to the political parties. Even, the opposition of BJP and the Lefties were forced to decimate as the bill was pro-poor (BPL) people.

One need to remain worried that if such activities are eliminated and bills would not be allowed to be tabled or discussed in the Parliament, the government cannot go a long way in providing massive security to the poor section of the society which invariably remains reeling under the heavy weight of unwanted political pressure, which, unfortunately, the opposition mounts on the government. We feel that all the political parties including the ruling party should rise above their petty politics and remain united for the upliftment of the masses in country. By serving the downtrodden and the poor through National Food Security Bill which always requires proper Public Distribution System and for which good governance can go a long way in providing help to them.

Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2011

LARR Bill is another example of the political bankruptcy of the politicians who invariably ignore national interests and give more importance to their political bias. Owing to this

⁴¹ *The Hindu*, 8 August 2013

fact, LARR Bill, the purpose of which is to establish the weaker sections of society, like the farmers, still remains hanging in balance subjugating the interests of the people. This speaks of their evil political bent of mind. This shows that their selfish interests are more important as compared to public welfare.

Another contentious legislation that received support was the one pertaining to altering the laws on acquisition of land, replacing the century-old Land Acquisition Act, 1894 enacted by the British. The Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act aims to usher in a more equitable process for governments and companies to acquire land from people. In fact, in all these three instances, political and Parliamentary managers of government had to sweat hard to accommodate different viewpoints across the political spectrum and the bills were pushed through only in the last two sessions –monsoon and winter 2013. Parliament devoted some 15 hours of discussion of bill after it had been dissected threadbare by the Standing Committee.⁴²

The Minister of Rural Development had introduced this bill in the Lok Sabha on September 7, 2011. The purpose of the bill was to have a unified legislation for acquisition of land and had replaced the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The provision of this bill was not applied to 16 existing legislations that had been provided for Land Acquisition. These included the Atomic Energy Act 1962, Land Acquisition Mines Act 1885, the National Highway Act 1956, and The Railways Act 1989.⁴³ The NCLR (National Council for Land Reforms) was set up in January 2008 for ‘providing broad guidelines and policy direction on land reforms’ and ‘agriculture’ is state subjects, the need for a ‘National Land Reforms Policy’ had been felt for evolving a uniform approach to the issue.⁴⁴

After an introduction of LARR 2011 bill in Lok Sabha on September 7, the government had faced heat from landowners. Chandra Shekar Yadav, leading the delegation lamented that the state government was cheating innocent farmers. Virendra Katewa, Secretary, Ring Sangrash Samiti said that the “farmers are fighting for rights for the past six years. Even if the bill is not enacted we had nothing to lose. Once it is in existence the state will be forced to pay compensation accordingly.”⁴⁵

The bill failed to address fundamental causes behind disputes and litigation over compensation. Like the existing laws, it had provisions that can be misused by states to favour companies at the expense of the right of farmers and forest dwellers. Property owned by powerful people was exempted from acquisition. Indeed, the controversies over land acquisition in the Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Karnataka were due to such misuse.⁴⁶ The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Rural Development recommended the exclusion of all public – private partnership (PPP) and private infrastructure projects from the

⁴² *The Sunday Tribune*, 2 March 2014

⁴³ Gangwani, S., The land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2011, *PRS Legislative Research*, 23 April 2012

⁴⁴ Sinha, A., et al., “Keen to Bring Land Reforms bill in Parliament”, *India Today*, 12 September 2011, India Today, in today.in/story/jairam_ramesh_keen_to_bring_land_reforms_bill/.150949.html

⁴⁵ New Land Bill May Pose Problem for State Government, *The Times of India*, 22 September 2011

⁴⁶ Singh, R., New Land Law: Riddled with Loopholes, *The Economic Times*, 22 September 2011

definition of “public purpose”. This proposed amendment to the Land Acquisition and Resettlement and Rehabilitation (LARR) Bill, 2011 was required tracts of land for infrastructure development by themselves. The Committee also suggested that there should be no alienation of land or any land acquisition in scheduled areas covered under schedules V and VI of the constitution. The committee also recommended that states be allowed to have their own approach. The Parliamentary Standing Committee had itself noted in its report that the government hardly gave any time to stakeholders to submit their views and to consider these.⁴⁷ LARR bill was among the 31 bills that had lined up for consideration during the monsoon session on 8 August, 2012 by the government. The Ministry of Rural Development revised its bill and circulated it to different ministries to seek their comments.⁴⁸

Mr. Madhuresh Kumar, national organizer of NAPM, said the government needed to change the bill which in its present form not only betrays the *aamaadmi* but had gone against the recommendations of Parliamentary Standing Committee. While challenged the government to pass the bill in its present form in the ongoing session, the speakers at the protest venue said the bill had faced the same fate as that of Land Acquisition Act Amendments bill that UPA-I tried to pass in the Rajya Sabha in 2009.⁴⁹ The original LARR Bill 2011 was introduced in Parliament September 2011 and referred to a Parliamentary Standing Committee. The Panel’s report was submitted in May 2012 which was followed by the Rural Development Ministry re-wrote the bill to incorporate many of its recommendations.⁵⁰ This LARR bill came into force from 1 January 2014. On 31 December 2014, the President of India promulgated an ordinance with an official mandate to meet the objections of farmer welfare. An amendment bill was then introduced in Parliament to endorse the ordinance. Lok Sabha passed the bill but the same is still lying for passage from the Rajya Sabha.⁵¹

On 30 May 2015, President of India promulgated the amendment ordinance for third time.⁵² The current Narendra Modi led National Democratic Alliance government driven Land Acquisition Amendmnet bill in the Lok Sabha on 10 March 2015 had seen a tough resistance from key position parties in India who had called the proposed amendments anti farmer and anti poor.⁵³ While the bill was passed in Lok Sabha, it still was pending in the Rajya Sabha where the current government does not have a majority for the proposed amendments to become effective.⁵⁴ The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government came under heavy attacks from opposition parties and farmer organizations for the proposed Land Acquisition bill amendments. The opponent of the land acquisition bill as Indian National

⁴⁷ Rajiv Kumar, R., et al., “Land Bill Needs a New Public Purpose”, *Business Standard*, 7 June 2012

⁴⁸ Kaushal, P., “House to Take Up Land Bill in Monsoon Session”, *Indian Express*, 4 August 2012

⁴⁹ Protest Against New Land Acquisition Bill, *The Hindu*, 23 August 2012

⁵⁰ Cabinet refers Land Acquisition Bill to GoM, *The Hindu*, 28 August 2012

⁵¹ “Land Acquisition Ordinance re-promulgated as Amendment Bill Lies with Joint Parliamentary Committee”, *LawStreet*, 1 June 2015

⁵² “Land Bill: Six Facts You need to Know”, *The Hindu*, 11 March 2015 m.thehindu.com/news/articles6978832 last accessd on 8 April 2016

⁵³ “Key Changes Proposed in Land Acquisition Ordinance” <http://equity.blogspot.in/2015/0/>, last accessd on 8 April 2016

⁵⁴ “Controversy Over Land Acquisition Bill: All You need to Know” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/land_acquisition_in_India #cite_ref_indiaNext_38_0 accessed on 9 April 2016

Congress had opposed the bill. Sonia Gandhi the Chairperson of UPA and Indian National Congress claimed the bill to be ‘anti –farmer” and ‘pro-corporate’. They claimed that amendments had aimed at benefiting the large corporate houses than the farmers, as farmers are the backbone of nation.⁵⁵ Samajwadi Party Leader Mulayam Singh Yadav said the Modi government was “taking anti-farmer stand” and is “favouring industrialists”.⁵⁶ Not only the opposition parties but also other organizations that traditionally supported Bhartiya Janata Party such as Mazdoor Sangh, Bhartiya Kisan Sangh and Akhil Bhartiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram had came heavily against the amendments proposed by the Narendra Modi led NDA government.⁵⁷

Thus, an analysis of the LARR bill points out that a bill has taken a long time to pass in the Parliament. The LARR bill, is, thus, a poor reflection on the insensitivity and insincerity of the politicians, whether the ruling or the opposition were flinging mud on each other without caring for the development of the country. Not even for a second, they realize that their unparliamentarily activity is telecast throughout the world. We felt to understand the sort of message they would like to give to the world. We, as the common citizens of the country feel that such type of activity required an immediate check. All the leaders of the country need to rise above their political agenda and work for helping the nation to move on. And the Parliament is the right forum where they can give redresses to the ailments of the down-trodden.

Conclusion

The 2009-2014 Lok Sabha was perhaps one of the least productive over the past five decades in terms of time lost. In the last winter session of the UPA II government, it had passed 20 bills with less than five minutes discussions. The government faced turbulent times inside Parliament as cases of corruption came to the fore. Proceedings were in fact disrupted so often, that the productive time of the lower house, or Lok Sabha, stood at only 61 percent. Among the more frequent forms of protests were shouting down the speaker and each other, snatching papers from officials and waving placards in front of the speaker’s chair. At one point some parliamentarians also got rid of their clothes to protest with their chests bared. Others pushed each other around, uprooted microphones, smashed a glass and a computer, and one guy even used pepper spray. The last days of the 15th Lok Sabha which saw members resorting to acts almost unheard or unseen in Parliament – use of pepper spray in the house and disrupting almost the entire proceedings since the government announced the decision to form the separate Telengana state out of Andhra Pradesh. It was indeed a virtual blot on democracy when almost the entire winter session of the 15th Lok Sabha in 2012 was washed out as the opposition remained firm on its demand for

⁵⁵ "Land Bill will Break Nation’s backbone Sonia writes to Gadkari", *The Indian Express*, 28 March, 2015

⁵⁶ "Entire Opposition is Against Land Acquisition Bill says Mulayam", 24 February 2015 m.firstpost.com/politics/entire-opposition-land-acquisition-bill-says-mulayam-2118759.html last accessed on 10 April 2016

⁵⁷ "Land Bill: RSS Affiliates Lodge Strong Objections before Joint Parliamentary Committee", *The Indian Express*, 23 June, 2015

a Joint Parliamentary Committee to probe the 2G spectrum scam and the ruling UPA stuck to a contrary stand. This Lok Sabha had passed 177 bills of the 326 in its five-year tenure. This is the least number of bills passed by a full five-year-term of Lok Sabha. All reflected deterioration in quality of legislation. Finally, this government of UPA-II lost General Elections of May 2014 and a new Government of NDA-II led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi got formed in the country which has the prime responsibility of not committing the blunders which its predecessors had committed.

Since the 13th Lok Sabha (1999-2004), when the BJP-led NDA - I was in power and the Congress was in the Opposition, the actual sitting hours of the house have turned to be less than the hours proposed. And the decline has been progressive. In 1999, the government of Atal Bihari Vajpayee fell after the budget was presented, but before Parliament could approve it. Since the budget proposals are valid for only 75 days unless Parliament approves the Finance Bill and there was no possibility of an alternative government, the budget of a government that had been earlier defeated on the floor of the Lok Sabha was passed in a special session. The budget itself was voted and approved in less than half an hour with the Rajya Sabha spending only five minutes on it. The shortest ever budget session in India's history occurred in 2001. The railway budget was passed in a few hours with much heckling and almost no discussion. The general budget faced almost the same fate, but took one day to pass after the speaker made it clear that he did not want to become the first presiding officer in the country's Parliamentary history to allow passage of the Finance Bill without discussion. In 2002, the Lok Sabha first passed the appropriation bill.

It is interesting to see how little time is spent by Parliament in debating the provisions of legislative measures. In the seventh session of the thirteenth Lok Sabha in 2001, of the 9 bills were passed, the Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Amendment) Bill 2001, was passed in four minutes. It is important to note in this context that though legislative proposals receive such scant attention, as opposed to what happens in some other countries, there is no 'sunset' provision in almost any legislation in India. As a result, the laws continue to be in force for years without any periodical review of their relevance or adequacy.⁵⁸ In 1999 winter session, Parliament met for less than 20 sittings but created a record by approving 22 bills during this period. Many of these aimed to make far reaching consequences in the economic policies in the country.⁵⁹ In 1999, the NDA government noted that the result of New Telecom Policy 94 (NTP-94) was not satisfactory and the sector was facing financing issues. Hence, it brought a fresh policy-the New Telecom Policy 1999 (NTP-99). This allowed licenses to migrate from a fixed license fee regime to a revenue share arrangement with effect from August 1, 1999.⁶⁰ The lack of attention was not confined only to the passing of the bills but even to their further processing and submission to the president of India for assent. It was reported that the Chemical Weapons Convention Act, 2000, as

⁵⁸ Singh, M. K., *Indian Parliament : Dynamics & Details*, New Delhi :The Readers Paradise, , 2013, p.23

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 32

⁶⁰ India Politics, *Mandate 2014*, vol.2, p.4

approved by the President contained 40 errors.⁶¹ Many of these changes are reflected in the distribution of Parliamentary time over the past 60 years. Although the Indian Parliament passed 2,500 bills from 1951 to 1999, the legislative role of Parliament has decreased dramatically.⁶²

Since the Narendra Modi government took oath on 26 May 2014, NDA-II has introduced 74 new bills, at an average of 37 per year, reveals a study done by PRS Legislative Research. But going by session, the number of bills introduced has halved in the last four—from 16 in winter session 2014 to eight in winter session 2015. In fact, in the current Budget session, the government has not introduced a single fresh bill in Parliament. In the last two years, the government has drafted only 23 new bills. When India today confronted Jaitley with these statistics, the finance minister had a one-liner to defend it: “The country is not ruled by legislation alone.” But numbers don’t substantiate Naidu’s argument as only eight of the 60 bills pending from the previous Lok Sabha sessions have been passed in the 16th Lok Sabha. In the 14th Lok Sabha, six out of 30 pending bills and in the 15th, eight out of 37 bills were passed.⁶³ In three years in office, the Modi government has scrapped more than a thousand laws. The Winter Session of Parliament concluded on January 5, 2018. The session had 13 sittings (December 15, 2017 to January 5, 2018), the lowest since 2009. During the session, Lok Sabha worked for 78% of its scheduled time, while Rajya Sabha worked for 54%. So far in the 16th Lok Sabha, the average productivity of Lok Sabha is 92% and that of Rajya Sabha is 73%. During the session, Lok Sabha worked for 78% of its scheduled time, while Rajya Sabha worked for 54%. So far in the 16th Lok Sabha, the average productivity of Lok Sabha is 92% and that of Rajya Sabha is 73%. Out of 13 sittings, Lok Sabha sat beyond its scheduled time on six days (approximately eight hours). On the other hand, Rajya Sabha sat beyond its scheduled time on two days. More number of Bills have been introduced and passed in the 16th Lok Sabha in comparison to the 15th Lok Sabha. However, fewer Bills are being referred to Parliamentary Committees (28%), as compared to the 15th Lok Sabha (71%) and the 14th Lok Sabha (60%).⁶⁴ The Budget Session of Parliament had seen little progress being made and virtually no bills being passed in seven days due to sustained protests by Opposition parties. The functioning of both houses of Parliament had been stalled since the second half of the Budget session began on 5 March as opposition parties raised issues ranging from India’s biggest bank fraud to the division of Cauvery River Water and special package to Andhra Pradesh. The second half of the Parliament Budget Session resumed on 5 March, had been a complete washout so far, and with the government was unable to push through any of its legislation.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *The Telegraph*, Kolkata, 21 June, 2001

⁶² Agarwal, A., “The Indian Parliament”, in Davesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (ed.), *Public Institution in India Performance and Design*, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2006, p.94

⁶³ India Today, 27 April, 2016

⁶⁴ Vital Stats Parliament in Winter Session 2017, *PRS Legislative Research*, 5 January 2018, accessed on 10 April 2018

⁶⁵ "Budget Session of Parliament: Finance Bill, Ministry Budgets Passed in Lok Sabha without Discussion: Opposition Cries Foul", *FirstPost*, 14 March, 2018

Ravidas iconography: a study of the visual culture and spatial configuration of the *Dera Sachkhand Ballan*

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Abstract

This paper looks at the Ravidas iconography, installation and structural arrangement through images and their attendant oral narratives, collected during the field survey of the dera Sachkhand Ballan during September-October, 2017. The paper analyzes the primary visual data collected from the dera to study its visual culture and understand the meanings imputed to the icons of Ravidas. Participant observation methodology was used to gain perspective of the images and their meanings from the dera visitors. The iconographic depictions of Ravidas and its sacred meanings posit a defiant and autonomous narrative of social protest and change, based on the rejection of the dominant ideas of guru/bhagat hierarchy, monotheism and sacred text as the supreme divine entity. To question these dominant ideas is to challenge the underlying basis of the Jat Sikh dominance and Sikh religious authority in Punjab, which draw on the idea of upholding a single source of religious authority, marginalization of the bhagats and the living gurus.

Key words

Ravidas; Dera Sachkhand Ballan; iconography; dalit dissent; caste hierarchy; Sikhism; bhakti; Guru Granth Sahib; dalit assertion; Ravidassia religion; nirgun; sacred gaze; visual culture.

The *Dera Sachkhand Ballan* (DSB) has acquired significant importance by virtue of its rise as one of the most popular sacred spaces for the dalits in Punjab and overseas. 32 per cent of the total population of Punjab is constituted by dalits and over one-third or 12 per cent of Punjab's population identify as Ravidasias.¹ Ravidassias affiliate to the gurus of the DSB as their place of worship, transnational networking, fund-raising, congregation and self-organizing as a dalit community.

¹ "10 facts about Dera Sachkhand Ballan, and why politicians woo it." Hindustan Times. March 16, 2016.

This paper looks at the Ravidas iconography, installation and structural arrangement through images and their attendant oral narratives, collected during the field survey of the dera Sachkhand Ballan during September-October, 2017. The paper analyzes the primary visual data collected from the *dera* to study its visual culture and understand the meanings imputed to the icons of Ravidas. Participant observation methodology was used to gain perspective of the images and their meanings from the *dera* visitors. The iconographic depictions of Ravidas and its sacred meanings posit a defiant and autonomous narrative of social protest and change, based on the rejection of the dominant ideas of guru/bhagat hierarchy, monotheism and sacred text as the supreme divine entity. To question these dominant ideas is to challenge the underlying basis of the Jat Sikh dominance and Sikh religious authority in Punjab, which draws on the idea of upholding a single source of religious authority, marginalization of the bhagats and the living gurus.

For the Ravidassias, the visual register is an important mode of asserting the sacred. The *dera* icons of Ravidas breach the important Sikh principle, that the Guru Granth Sahib (GGS) is the only visual embodiment of the divine or what is generally referred to as the *guru manyo granth* in Sikhism.² Shifting the theoretical focus from the textual to the visual enables this paper to look at the democratizing influence of the visual narratives of Ravidas with its attendant oral narratives. Through the visual, it becomes possible to proliferate multiple Ravidassia narratives and themes without essentializing any one narrative as the most superior. Instead of the authorial linear narrative of the text, the visual narratives afford multiple voices from below, keeping open the radical possibility of new and unique means of undoing traditionally held caste based hierarchies.

Visual tropes of Ravidas: guru, god and sant

In the *dera* space, the words maharaj, guru, sant, bhai, mahapurush, satguru, jagatguru are often used together or variously for the same person.³ The words guru, jagatguru and satguru are the ones that denote Ravidas' unique and superior position in the *dera*. The word guru has different connotations in the Hindu, Sikh and the *dera* discourse. Mlecko (1982) writes, "If the word guru means many things, it is because the guru is many things. He is an entity which in the western culture has no exact counterpart. For the guru is a teacher, counselor, father-image, mature ideal, hero, source of strength, even divinity integrated into one personality".⁴ The Sanskrit word guru means, "a dispeller of ignorance". A person who is the source of wisdom and guidance. This is largely the Hindu notion of the guru. In the Sikh thought, guru represent the legitimate lineage of faith—a figure of fundamental importance.

In the vedic tradition, the guru meant the one who led the student-devotee-seeker on a philosophical and spiritual inquiry. The one who taught the students the right metrics, grammar,

² Judge, Paramjit S. "Egalitarian Religion and Caste based Social Exclusion in Rural Punjab." In Mapping Social Exclusion in India: Caste, Religion and Borderlands, edited by Paramjit S. Judge, 108-129. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

³ Field notes. *Dera Sachkhand Ballan*. September 15, 2017.

⁴ Mlecko, Joel D. "The Guru in Hindu Tradition." In *Numen* 29, no. 1 (1982):33-61.

etymology and mnemonics.⁵ So the guru in the vedic tradition was seen as the repository of knowledge. Hindu faith itself puts great emphasis on the role of the guru. In the Bhagwad Gita, Krisna tells Arjuna, “Know this (knowledge) by obeisance, seen the truth, will instruct you in this knowledge”. The guru, in Hinduism, is a personal teacher of spirituality. Moreover, the guru is also seen as an embodiment of the truth and as an incarnate deity. The Siva Samhita says, “Knowledge imparted by way of the teacher’s mouth is productive; otherwise it is fruitless, weak and leads to much suffering”.⁶ But unlike the Hindu tradition which exalts the guru for their spiritual qualities, Sikhism exalts the guruship as the legitimate lineage of faith. Deifying the gurus as the supreme entity, equal to the status of the divine text.

While in the gurudwara, guru is the most superior entity; in a temple, it’s the various deities representative of a personal god, who are superior. The *dera* space encompasses both Hindu and Sikh meanings of guru and god. In the cultural matrix of Punjab, the guru is seen as superior to the sant or maharaj. And the satguru or jagatguru imply highest respect or status, above the guru, maharaj and the sants. In the Sachkhand Ballan, it is common to find the appellation satguru for Ravidas. The living guru or the *dehdhari* guru of a *dera* are referred to as the sant or maharaj.

Image 1: A view of the *dera* wall. From left to right, Ravidas as a sant, Ravidas being worshipped by Meera Bai and portrait of Nanak as sant.



⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Whicher, Ian. *The integrity of yoga Darshana, Development of yoga in early Hindu thought*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1998.

The DSB portrays Ravidas as the renouncer, the leader, and the figure of the divine, all at once. The multiple presences of Ravidas and the plural meanings in the visual portrayals create the space for a radical possibility. The possibility, which monolithic and monotheistic narratives of Sikhism foreclose by fixing and limiting the divine entity to the mono, or one. The idea of the one, not only flattens out the vastness and diversity of possibilities of subversion of the caste based hierarchy, which divides the upper and lower caste sants in Punjab; but also helps to maintain and perpetuate these hierarchies. When the caste based hierarchies underlying monotheistic belief get challenged, so do the Sikh religious bodies which enjoy immense political power in Punjab.

In the *dera* space, the figure of the divine is a complex idea. Image 1 shows Ravidas as both human-santin the left-side portrait, and a divine-god entity worshipped by Meera, on the right-side one. The possibility of showing the divine as the renouncer in the same space is part of the constitutive pluralism of the Ravidassia belief system.

Ravidas portrayal in *dera* can be understood from the concept of the “Narhari”⁷ half man, half god. This man-god status has been described by the poet-saint Rajjab as the *nara-narayana* or the man-god.⁸ The man-god is realizable by fusing together the two opposite categories of what is seen as the binary of the man-material/ god-essence. In effect, challenging the hierarchy of guru/ bhagat.

The *dera* exalts Nanak as a sant, a poet, wanderer and nirgun bhakta while the khalsa see him as the first guru in the lineage of Sikh guruship. For the DSB sant tradition, Nanak was one of the sants who became followers of Ravidas. In fact, it is a popular narrative of subversion related with Nanak, that he offered food to Ravidas during the *sachasauda* episode of his life. This narrative deviates from the dominant Sikh narrative by placing place Nanak and his *shabad* in the nirgun Bhakti traditions.

The *dera* followers highlight bhakta Nanak’s association with sant activities like the *kirtan*, pure living and *namsimaran*. Different from the narrative of the guru Nanak- the figure that emerges as the first guru in the Sikh discourse. In every depiction the halo around Ravidas is big and prominent, whereas the halo around Nanak is in the form of a glowing orb of light, less prominent and smaller in size.⁹ In the portraits of sants, the halo is usually a representation of god’s light and as such, the status of the sant in the belief system. A saint or a sant in the *dera* context, is a person for whom, acting out the god’s will is the supreme priority. So the prominence of the halo and its size is a good indicator of the importance given to that figure, usually seen in terms of their proximity to the divine. The reciprocation of the visual narrative by the Ravidassia seer is also very important in the process of validation of the sacred space.

In their *darshan* of the portraits of Nanak the sant and Ravidas the guru, the Ravidassias

⁷ Pradhan, Gaurav. *Rabindranath Tagore: literary concepts*. New Delhi: APH publishing, 2002.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Halo in visual representations discussed in Forest, Jim. *Praying with Icons*. New York: Orbis books, 2006.

acknowledge and reiterate the subversive meanings of the imagery. Without the gaze of the seer validating the subversive meaning, the meaning itself is incomplete and ineffective. So the *dera* space is not only an amalgamation of subversive meanings which destabilize the dominant caste based narratives of hierarchy, but also involves the agency of the Ravidassia viewer.

Image 2 : placement of portraits and pictures on the adjacent prayer hall walls



The placement of portraits of several important sacred figures one after the other- as seen in images 2 and 3, is such, that the difference between the sants, the gurus and the god becomes diluted and rendered insignificant, The pictures of the *dera* heads placed along the portraits of the supreme guru Ravidas, and other bhakti sants of repute who enjoy the status of deity by the dalits, acts as a claim for destabilising the internal heirarchy.

Image 3: the prayer hall wall lined up with more portraits and pictures



However, the *dera* logic of visual representation doesn't follow the logic ascribed to the dalit theology- that of a complete negation of the Hindu and the upper-caste theology. In fact, the visual culture of the *dera* has incorporated structural elements of the mainstream faiths, invoking the *janju* and *tilak* of upper caste and Hindu belief systems in creative ways. This imitation of symbols however, is not an imitation of meanings.¹⁰ An analysis of the new symbols of the Ravidassia faith will help to understand the radical new meanings imputed to dominant symbols.

Visual markers and symbols of Ravidassia faith:

Recent studies indicate that there is a sense among the Buddhist, Christian and Sikh converts, that leaving the Hindu fold has not resulted in the eradication of the caste status.¹¹ So the urgent need for and pride in separate markers is visible in the *dera* space. The *dera* either completely rejects the visual markers of Sikhism or uses the symbols with subversive meanings. The term Sikh Chamars would be an inappropriate terminology for the Chamars who visit the DSB, even if they continue to visit the gurudwaras. Ravidassia, is a more appropriate terminology for people who accept and endorse sikh religious places and symbols, but with the Ravidassia subversive meanings and aspirations attached to it. The younger Ravidassias do not identify themselves as Sikhs. The appellation dalit Sikhs is increasingly being rejected due to the emerging markers of Ravidassia religion.¹²

The regional links of the DSB with Uttar Pradesh enables the Ravidassia dalits affiliated to the *dera*, to associate with non-Sikh ideas and heritage more directly, without their regional Sikh heritage becoming the dictatorial voice of authority. *Dera* symbols show the North Indian regional influence of Uttar Pradesh. The visual tropes and markers of the *dera* show the regional influence of the place of Ravidas' birth, Benaras. The way of life and tropes used in the images of the main prayer hall of the *dera*, regionally associates with Benaras. The early accounts of Ravidas do not mention him travelling to Punjab in order to spread his *bani*. It is the Naths, who included Ravidas' bani in their repertoire of faith through oral narratives- an important means of performing the belief by wandering sants. The *dera* continues to host a large number of Nath sants as visitors with their regionally specific narratives and beliefs of Ravidas.¹³

The *dera* heads take the appellation of Dass, a rebuff to the Sikh appellation Singh. The appellation Dass implies humbleness in place of the khalsa order's title Singh.¹⁴ The *gaddi*

¹⁰ Massey, J. *Downtrodden: The Struggle of India's Dalits for Identity, Solidarity and Liberation*. Geneva: World Council of Churches Publications, 1997.

¹¹ Singh, Pashaura and Louis E. Fenech, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014,

¹² Singh, Pashaura and Louis E. Fenech, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹³ Callewaert, Winand M., and Peter G. Friedländer. *The life and works of Raidâs, Volume 2*. Delhi: Manohar publishers, 1992.

¹⁴ Ram, Ronki. "Looking beyond Generalities: Caste, Social Exclusion and *Deras* in Punjab." In *Mapping Social Exclusion in India: Caste, Religion and Borderlands*, edited by Paramjit S Judge, 164–91. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

nahseens of the *dera* are free to maintain unshorn hair and beard without any rigid rules for the same. The *dera* gurus are known to be mild mannered and humble in their conduct lacking the disciplinary zeal of the men in charge of the gurudwaras often referred to as *bhai ji*'s. The replacement of the *ik onkar* sign with the *hari* sign is an important declaration of autonomy in the *dera*. Even those who call themselves Ravidassia Sikhs, due to their affiliation with the Sikh diaspora abroad, do not use the khanda symbol.¹⁵

Image 4: The palanquin with the icon of Ravidas inside, and the icon of Ravidas mandir placed on it.



In a gurudwara, the central place is reserved for the GGS, kept on a palanquin. The bani of the Sikh gurus in granth sahib, is followed by the bani of the 15 bhaktas. The DSB prayer hall upsets this symbolic hierarchy. Inside the palanquin, it has the icon of Ravidas with the name in the devnagiri script, and a framed picture of the Ravidas mandir at Benaras, in golden colour, placed on top. This creative imitation and appropriation of Sikh elements, helps to subvert the dominant by virtue of a creative engagement with the other instead of an outright dismissal. There are several such imitations of design, placement and the way in which sacred spaces are arranged inside the *dera*. Appropriating elements of Sikhism helps to lend new and radical meanings to mainstream symbols. The use of the palanquin for Ravidas icon, is a radically different meaning to the common usage of palanquin inside the gurudwara, for the human-god-text, the supreme being.

¹⁵ Jacobsen, Knut A. and Kristina Myrvold, eds. *Sikhs in Europe. Migration, identities and representations*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Image 5: from left to right, Ravidas the protagonist performing the miracle of janjus, sant Sarwan Dass and Ravidas as the ascetic



Several Ravidas icons can be seen bearing brahmanical markers, like the image 5 showing him in *janeu*. This imagery seems oddly placed in the ideology of Ravidassia liberation from brahmanism. However as shown in the image 6, these markers of Brahmanism like *janeu* are placed alongside historical figures of anti-caste like BR Ambedkar. So instead of the glorification of Brahmanism, the visual narratives convey something more dense and complex. In order to access the layered meaning of the images, it is first important to analyse the present challenges of the Ravidassia dalits.

They struggle to defy the dominant caste order and dynamics has two major tasks: of affirming a positive dalit self, and of positing a negation of the caste order. The contradiction in the usage of the upper caste markers along with the glorification of figures of anti-caste politics is only an expression of this political double-bind. However, in the form each different visual narrative placed along each other, these two otherwise contradictory depictions come together is co-existing parts of the vast, plural constellation of Ravidassia narratives of liberation and self-respect.



Image 6: The portrait of BR Ambedkar, placed alongside Ravidaspulling out thejaneu from his heart, on the right hand side.

Ambedkarites have often accused Hindu organisations of appropriating Ravidas as a Hindu god. According to them, the Hindu organisations like the Hindu Education Foundation, wrongly depict Ravidas to be a follower of Hindu gods to appropriate Ravidas in Brahmanism.¹⁶ The *dera* narrative places the brahmanical imaginings of Ravidas in the same space as the ascetic imaginings, without concern for threat of appropriation by Hinduism. The established power and popularity of the *dera* is big reason its narrative is not under any imminent threat from Hindu appropriation.

However there remains the conflict of sagun and nirgun beliefs in the *dera* narratives, the former being closer to the Vaishnav system while the latter being the radical Bhakti thought. While several textual sources affirm Ravidas as a follower of sagun belief, the *dera* depicts him largely as the nirgun sant who completely rejected the Vedas. Ravidassia narrative attributes this characterization to the replacement of the supreme ideal of god with the idea of an equitable society or *Begumpura*, a land without sorrows, by him.

In the *Kabir-Raidas-ka-Samvad* sung by santSain, Kabir had argued for the impersonal Brahman and Ravidas, for the anthropomorphic god. Towards the end of the commentary which is the form of a debate between Ravidas and Kabir, the sagun manifestation of god-Vishnu mounted on a *garud* was affirmed. In the *Kabir Bijak*, *Kabir granthavali* and the *Guru Granth Sahib*, Kabir-Ravidas' guru, refers to god with Vaishnava names such as Hari and Ram. Similarly, in *RaidasParchai*, *KabirdasParchai*, *Bhavisya purana* and *Ravidas Ramayan*, the sagun manifestation of god is upheld.¹⁷ But the Ravidassias still maintain that Ravidas was a nirgunsant and oppose the saguna as an appropriation.

The visual representation of Ravidas with brahmanical markers is symbolic of what Ravidas means to the dalit masses- a source of self respect and dignity. But the nirguni assertion of the followers is an act of maintaining and promoting the radical element of Ravidas' thought. While Vaudeville¹⁸ argues that Ravidas is not the most radical of the North Indian bhakti saints, Gail Omvedt has called Ravidas a bhakti radical.¹⁹ However the assertion of nirguni radicalism in the visual culture of *dera* is not only a function of the ideas and thoughts of Ravidas, but aspirations and assertion of the Ravidassias for whom Ravidas is a symbol of protest. For them, his caste and nirguni thinking is a means of contesting upper caste pride and asserting the lower caste pride.

¹⁶ Attri, Pardeep. "Appropriating Guru Ravidas- Ignorance is Bliss for Hindu Education Foundation, USA." Roundtableindia.https://roundtableindia.co.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8609:appropriating-guru-ravidas-ignorance-is-bliss-for-hindu-education-foundation-usa&catid=119:feature&Itemid=132. (accessed December 6, 2017).

¹⁷ Lorenzen, David N. *Praises to a Formless God: Nirguni Texts from North India*. Albany: State University of New York, 1996. Pp170.

¹⁸ Vaudeville, Charlotte. "Sant Mat: Santism as the Universal Path to Sanctity." In *The Saints: Studies in a devotional tradition of India*, edited by K Schomer and W H Mcleod, 21-41. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

¹⁹ Omvedt, Gail. *Seeking Begumpura: The Social Vision of Anti caste Intellectuals*. Pondicherry: Navayana, 2008.

Ram (2009) argues that Ravidas used brahmanical markers like *janeu* and *tilak*, as a form of social protest²⁰ against Brahmanism. The presence of brahmanical markers in his iconography are part of the social protest, in the form of assertion of self respect. This is a sentiment among a large section of the dalits who have faced the humiliation of their caste being used as a word of abuse.

To understand the conflict of multiple narratives of self-pride and self-abnegation, a study of the placement of images in the prayer hall is important. The *dera*'s main prayer hall is an informal setting where devotees can be seen lying about casually. The main prayer hall of the *dera* is where the devotees gather to pay respects to Ravidas. The act of looking at the Ravidas imagery lined up in the prayer hall is a recognition of his divine or guru status. This visual component of the *dera* takes away from the Sikh script of the text as the most exalted sacred object.

Inside the prayer hall, the relationship of the devotee with the divine image of Ravidas is at once formal and informal. For while the imagery represents the figure of the divine, the space of appreciation of the imagery- the prayer hall floor, is an informal resting place where devotees often lie down and rest, instead of prostrating. The aesthetic of devotion applicable inside the temple and gurudwara space, where the devotee performs respect for the divine, is missing in the *dera*. Covering the head is also not a strict rule, as part of the Sikh performative, where not covering the head can be directly apprehended as an insult to the divine. This informalisation of the space, or its profanation, creates the possibility of putting self before the divine, by the Ravidassia dalit devotee.

Image 8: devotees in resting positions in front of the Ravidas' sacred images



²⁰ Ram, Ronki. "Ravidass, Dera Sachkhand Ballan and the question of Dalit identity in Punjab." *Journal of Punjab Studies* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 1-34.

The visual presence of multiple sacred objects on the prayer hall wall, is a denial of the singularity of god and his exclusive power asserted by Sikh monotheism. Faiths centred on the idea of one god have often censured the icons of pluralist belief systems by attempting to erase the plurality. Iconoclastic movements- political movements for the destruction of religious icons, have historically posed a challenge to the idea of one god. The presence of several divine figures- the saints, gurus, *dera* heads and Ravidas, pose a political challenge to the centrality of the text in the constellation of beliefs.

Instead of one fixed meaning, the visual representation of Ravidas has shifting and flexible meanings. The Prayer hall in the image 8, depicts Ravidas in various moods, avatars and as the protagonist of different narratives- the follower, the divine, the leader. Ravidas- the Chamarsant, revered in his human form, is depicted as humble, lowly and of a polluting occupation. Ravidas as the supreme leader of Chamars is depicted as the savior with a halo round his head, Ravidas as the Bhakti Chamarsant is shown doing leather-work in Benaras.

The wall of the *dera* prayer hall is replete with images of lower caste gurus arranged in no particular order as shown in figure 8. The multiple icons of Ravidas, have the effect of locating him in the non-essentialist sant tradition, as well as, giving prominence to Ravidas in the constellation of gurus. How the individual seer perceives and connects with the image of Ravidas also depends on their immediate contradiction on the caste dynamics. If a Ravidassia feels an affinity with the images depicting Ravidas engaged in leather work, it could be with a sense of community with the Chamar people, or it could be with a sense of self-effacing humility and respect for physical labour. It is the act of seeing, which gives the visual narrative, its real meaning.

In the act of seeing Ravidas from the sacred gaze, the Ravidassia affirms and validates the guru status of Ravidas. “Sacred gaze” denotes any way of seeing that invests its object- an image, a person, a time, a place- with spiritual significance.

Historically, the monotheist faiths have censured the “presumed beliefs and practices of others”²¹ by calling them idolatry. Calling the display, adoration or worship of idols, idolatry is a pejorative way in which visual representations depicting multiple gods have been looked down upon. This has been a way of affirming monotheism as superior belief system, by “denying livelihood to the images of others.”²² So the visual gaze of the Ravidassia dalits that looks up at Ravidas imagery, anointing him as the supreme guru, makes the *dera* space, gives its specific meaning to the radical narrative of the imagery.

Apart from the representation of the sacred, and its recognition by the seer, its reproduction at the *dera* and its related organizations, is an important means of assertion of dalit autonomy. The digital reproduction of the sacred in posters, calendar art at the *dera* and

²¹ Morgan, David. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

²² Ibid.

social media platforms affiliated with Ravidassia dalits, is an important means by which the visual register functions to posit a more radical notion of the sacred. In his seminal work on visual representations, Walter Benjamin argues against the mechanical reproduction of the image²³ because according to him, upon its induction in the mass culture the image loses its artistic significance. But in the context of the sacred image converts, its reproduction gives the masses the ability to propagate those visual narratives through their mass circulation.

When the subject of the image is sacred, its reproduction also fulfils the important purpose of democratizing the image by making it part of the mass culture where it can be accessed by common people. The modern age offers diverse ways of digitally reproducing divine images. Printed posters of Ravidas and their circulation through online uploads, blogs and *dera* websites have created a space for the formation of a mass culture around the Ravidas imagery of the *dera*.

Dera santism: Breaking the guru/hierarchy in images



Image 9: Image of Ravidas with in the sant form flanked with with the main *dera* building and the satsang hall building.

The *dera* provides dignity to the status of the sant, which has lost much value after the social shift in piety towards external forms, instead of internalized devotion. In Punjab, the word sant has an Adi granth reference of a person associated with scriptural commentary

²³ Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Translated by J.A. Underwood. London: Penguin, 2008.

and exegesis. In its modern usage, the word *sant* is used to communicate a variety of precept- the most popular being, a wise and spiritually accomplished person, mostly in the capacity of a follower. A *sant* is ranked lower to the *guru*, which reifies the caste based hierarchy of follower-leader, or *bhagat-guru*. But in the *dera*, the status and appellation of *sant* is valued and glorified.

The syncretistic faiths and reformatory beliefs of the North Western region of India have been called the *sant parampara*, *Sant Mat* or *santism*- the tradition of the *sants*.²⁴ *Sant Mat* is the chief influencing force of the anti-brahmanical nature of the *dera* depictions and narratives. Image 9 shows Ravidas in plain white robes in the foreground with the two *dera* buildings. This *sant* depiction of Ravidas seen on various *dera* literature and displays, poses a fundamental challenge to casteism by highlighting Ravidas' castelessness and focusing on the spiritual, the meditative, the devotional self. Image 9 depicts calmness in eyes, a popular visual means of depicting spiritual accomplishments of any *sant*/ saint.



The image 10 and 11 show *sant* Nirajan Dass and Gautama Buddha, in the meditative stance, respectively. The only common theme among the various similar *sant* images, is their glorification and emphasis on their spiritual accomplishment, a very basic and constitutive aspect of *santhood*. The importance to the stature of the *sants*, and their depiction in the meditative stance underlines the *dera* emphasis on *santism*. Image 10: *Sant* Niranjan Dass dressed in the *sant* outfit of all white.

The word *sant* derives from the Sanskrit word *sat* (the truth).²⁵ A reference to the one who knows the truth or the one who has experienced the ultimate reality, enlightenment or self-realization. Although in the modern interpretation, it has come to mean someone who can be a moral or a spiritual exemplar. In the *sant* tradition, the teachings of the various *sants*, poets and *gurus* can become part of the same loosely held tradition, with the space to hold internal differences.

The Ravidassia *sant* preaches the idea that true devotion is not the achievement of salvation through cessation from the body, but through the very "impure" body. The idea of renunciation as an ascetic, and access to the inner self through the ascetic mode, is an important aspect of *santism*.

²⁴ Vaudeville, Charlotte. "Sant Mat: Santism as the Universal Path to Sanctity." In *The Sants: Studies in a devotional tradition of India*, edited by K Schomer and W H McLeod, 21-41. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

²⁵ Ibid.



In the *dera*, although sants are revered, they are not the highest in the conventional hierarchy of piety and authority. All sants are to be respected by virtue of them being the seekers of salvation or truth. And while some may command more respect among the followers, the recognition of one or more sants as more worthy of respect, is a matter of the individual believer and not for an ecclesiastical authority to decide.

Image 11: Buddha as the yogic sant

The claim towards Buddha as a part of Ravidassia history in the DSB, is not a matter of articulating facts, but a political assertion. It is important to make a distinction between assertion for ideological autonomy as a political goal; and the presence of an articulation of ideological autonomy as the content of Ravidas bani.

The DSB's ability to bring together sants of various regions in its visual culture, is not a function of formal ties with the various sants or their ideology, but a part of Ravidassia assertion. But while assertion of autonomy from Hinduism as part of the political project of liberation of the lower caste people is a valid argument, the claim of a fundamental theological distinction from Hinduism by a section of Ambedkarites is tenuous. The presence of Shaiva elements is evident in the meditative practices of the *dera* santism.

The *dera* santism draws heavily on the Saiva tradition. Many *dera* devotees believe that meditation is an important aspect of the Ravidassia belief where only the sant who leads others- the guru, can show the right path through meditation. The Ravidas sant *parampara* is close to the Saiva yogic tradition for its emphasis on the meditative individual as the source of the ultimate.²⁶ The rule of the meditative self as a venerable object becomes crucial in this spiritual-meditative quest. In Shaiva devotionism, Shiva is the theistic force and yoga the physical forces, while the sant-guru is the link between the yogi and the Siva, a channel for his power.

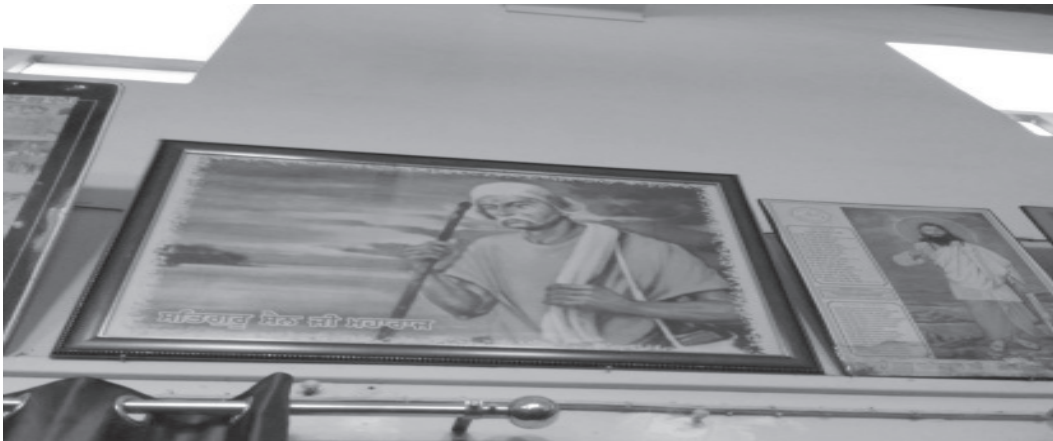
The santism of the DSB can be seen as a combination of non khalsa, Vaishnav and non-Vaishnav Hindu tradition, Bhakti and the Shaiva meditative practices. The emphasis on the practices of meditation allows the poet-philosopher to announce and renounce his caste occupation and stigmatized body, at the same time. The presence of Hindu influences cannot therefore, be dismissed summarily in the *dera* religiosity, as easily as a section of Ambedkarites do.

²⁶ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious rebels in the Punjab: The social vision of untouchables. Delhi: Ajanta, 1988.

The santism of the DSB bears a similarity to the anthropomorphic dimension of god in Hinduism. Anthropomorphism is based on the belief that there is no categorical distinction between human being and the divine. The element of the anthropomorphic in Hinduism, is on account of the fact that the human can be the divine, and the divine can be human in the Hindu belief system. The worship of Ravidas as god-guru is on account of this deep-setaedsagun nature of Hinduism. Within Hinduism therefore, it is common to worship gurus, siddhs, yogis, naths, ancestors and heroes.²⁷

The DSB narrative often explains Ravidas' greatness in terms of his popularity among upper caste disciples. The queen of Chittor, Jhali; prince of Kanshi; Mirabai the bhakti sant and Rajput princess are cited as some of the prominent of his upper caste followers.²⁸ However, the visual and oral narrative of dalit sant Sain's discipleship of Ravidas is the more popular narrative of glorification of Ravidas.

Image 12: portrait of Sain



Sain was an important dalit figure and a contemporary of Ravidas. There are many different stories of Sain's birth and origin as a sant. According to one narrative, he was a barber at the court of the king of Rewa, raja Ram. An alternative story is that Sain was born in Maharashtra and was a barber in the court of king of Bidar. A third story is, that he was born in Amritsar district of Punjab. And later on, served the kings of Bandhogarh and Bidar.²⁹

The portrait of Satguru Sain has a prominent presence in the *dera* prayer hall of DSB. Sant Sain is called by the honorific of satguru in *dera*, while the GGS refers to him as a bhagat. The reference of satguru, displaces the Sikh appellation of bhagat. The Vaishnav notion that

²⁷ Hawley, John Stratton and Mark Juergensmeyer. "A Dalit Poet-Saint: Ravidas." In *The Life of Hinduism*, edited by John Stratton Hawley and Vasudha Narayanan. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

²⁸ Ram, Ronki. "Guru Ravidass: Prophet of Dalit Liberation." *Voice of Dalit* 4, no. 1 (2011):29-47.

²⁹ From oral dera narratives at DSB, September 20, 2017 and Singh, Trilochan and others. *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2000.

Sain was a follower of Ramanand becomes contested by the satguru narrative, where he is accorded the highest respect and upheld as one of the greatest saints to be the follower of Ravidas.

The *dera* saints, and their installations inside the *dera* in the form of memorabilia and pictures, form a very central part of its santism of the *dera*, and its culture. These various installations are unique to the *dera* space, and become defiant ideas in the regional context of Punjab where the deification of the living saints is still a taboo subject.



Sacred installations of the dera:

Image 13: memorial of Sant Sarwan Dass.

The sacred installations are a very important part of the Ravidassia sacred universe, as they function as sant memorabilia. When they stop at the installation, the dera visitors share their stories and facts about Sarwan Dass' life with each other.

In the regional context of Punjab, where the sant is seen as lesser than the guru, the structures which mark the greatness of the dera heads also function as radical memories, and guide to the future praxis of the people.

The greatness and the humanitarian causes of the erstwhile and present day saints of the dera, become a context for deifying and glorifying them. Unlike some of the derasants who have acquired a bad public image for their criminal record, the Akal Takht doesn't have the suitable context to raise an issue with every dera and living guru/ sant, as such.

Sant Sarwan Dass enjoys great popularity among the dera visitors, and the members of the organizing committee. The dera is also known as Sant Sarwan Dass dera, due to his important contributions to the dera, charity and his kind disposition. But the popularity of derasants also becomes a context for deifying them. This deification of the derasants and gurus sits uneasy with the politics of exalting the text as supreme guru. And if the dera has a clean record of untainted saints like the DSB, to censure and ban them becomes all the more difficult.



Image 14: Palanquin of Sarwan Dass

Sant Sarwan Dass, also known as the *brahmleen*, was the second *dera* gaddi nasheen but commands the highest respect after Ravidas, as he was the founder of the *dera*. He used to sit in the *dera* compound, receiving the guests who come for pilgrimage, in orange turban and bearing his characteristic long beard.³⁰

The memorial structures of Sarwan Dass is composed of several elements, coming to form a unique structure. The image 13 shows Sarwan Dass as an idol, with a temple bell on top. The palanquin is specific to the Sikh treatment of the holy scripture. The small room where the installation is placed, is on the right side corner of the *dera* from the entry gate, meant for *darsahan* and marking the importance of Sarwan Dass as the founding guru.

In the image 14 the other structure dedicated to Sarwan Dass can be seen. Towards the right, there is a larger room, where another palanquin of Sarwan Dass is kept, in the manner of Sikh holy scripture, but with visible insignia of the Ravidassia religion- Hari. The structure of remembrance and *darshan* is unique in that, it is designed in the manner of the gurudwara palanquins. The flowers arranged in the front, and the carpet below, are arranged as the settings around the Granth Sahib in the gurudwara. It is important to note, that the GGS is viewed as a living entity just like the arrangement and treatment of the palanquin. This structure then, is not just a tribute to the dead sant, but an assertion of equal status for Sarwan Dass as the eternal scripture.

Sarwan Dass is known to have contributed a lot towards the health care and education of the dalits in the region. The Shri Guru Ravidass technical college Phagwara, Primary school

³⁰ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious rebels in the Punjab: The social vision of untouchables. Delhi: Ajanta, 1988.

Raipur-Rasoolpur, Bhagwan Ravidass ashram Haridwar and the rooms of high school at Ballan had been built by him. He was known to have knowledge of ayurvedic medicine and was famous for distributing free medicines to the patients at the *dera*. It is said that Sarwan Dass had healing powers and would bless mothers with progeny. Sarwan Dass also started the initiation ritual or *Namdan*, through which the *sangat* formally became the adherents of the *dera*.



Image 15: commemoration of satguru Garib Dass

Images 15 and 16, are structures of commemoration, which represent remembrance in death. Like the remembrance structure of Nanak in Kartarpur, Pakistan and that of Kabir in Maghar, Uttar Pradesh. These structures cross elements from *samadhi* and *mazaar*. But the structures of Garib Dass and Ramanand are even more syncretic. The usage of stemmed roses, instead of a garland or flower petals spread across, is akin to the arrangement of flowers around the Granth sahib in the gurudwara.



Image 16: Structure commemorating sant Ramanand

Spatial configuration of the *dera*

The spatial configuration of the *dera* is a further declaration of Ravidassia creative appropriation and its use to assert dalit autonomy. Dera Sachkhand is situated in the Ballan village, 2-3 km from the Jalandhar-Amritsar road, peppered by Ravidass gurudwaras and

bhawans. Structurally, the easiest determinant of a gurudwara is its white dome. While a temple has a spiral shaped top, the gurudwara has may have many dome shaped structures, with a big one in the centre.

The Satsang hall or the Shri Guru Ravidass Satsang Bhawan, as it is officially named at the *dera*, bears a strong resemblance to the Sikh gurudwara. The satsang hall can accommodate 20, 000 people, with an adjoining langar hall where around 2, 000 people can eat at one go. The hall also has the facilities of recording and live telecasting of videos. Every Saturday and Friday, the telecast of the Amritbani via the Doordarshan, ensures regular listening of the bani of Ravidas.

The Satsang hall has been sponsored by the Birmingham sangat. Before 2010, the platform had The installation of Ravidass in a golden *palki*, also sponsored by the Birmingham Sangat (congregation). The raised platform, and the palanquin with the Amritbani inside, became an important marker of separate faith after 2010. It is here, that the Amritbani was replaced for the Granth Sahib in 2010, after sant Ramanand's demise. The *derahad* replaced the Guru Granth Sahib with Amritbani Satguru Ravidas³¹ after the incident of the murder of Sant Ramanand in Vienna and the Guru Grath Sahib was removed from various gurudwaras named after Ravidass in the Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur and Nawanshahr districts of Doaba.³²



Image 19: Satsang Hall

In the sangat hall, the placement and arrangement of objects is similar to the gurudwara, except the jarring presence of the pictures of Ravidas and the *dera* heads right behind the palanquin as shown in image 19. The spatrial distribution inside the satsang hall: the entrances, the sitting space, the railing, the balcony area and raised platform, are similar to the setting inside of the gurudwara as shown in image 18. With the most important element of change- the visuals of Ravidas displayed all over the background wall of the raised platform. A categorical and uninhibited declaration of distinction and autonomy from Sikhism.

Whether a management committee refers to a structure as a gurudwara, a temple or a bhawan is a function of self-identification by its members. Many Ravidassia shrines

³¹ Myrvold, Kristina and Knut A. Jacobsen, eds. "Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representation" in *Sikhs in Europe Migration, Identities and Representations*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2011.

³² "Birs removed from Guru Ravidas gurudwaras." *Sikhsangat.org*. <http://sikhsangat.org/2009/birs-removed-from-guru-ravidas-gurdwaras/>. (accessed December 12, 2016).

structurally resemble the Gurudwara. Technically, a Gurudwara cannot have idols or any *dehdhari* guru. But the ability of Image 19: *dera* gurus the Ravidass mandirs and bhawans, to structurally incorporate features of Gurudwara within itself, is a commentary on the ongoing debate over guruships and dalit ideology in Punjab. The structures and *dera* ballan gurus break the Sikh-Hindu binary, to create space for a more radical dalit political thought and ideology.



The presence of Ravidassia idols and pictures, along with the Guru Granth Sahib is antithetical to the Sikh tenet of the GGS representing the living guru. The guru devotionism bears affinity to the theistic Hindu tradition of guru worship, where the figure of the guru can be seen in consonance with the figure of the human god or *avtaarwad* in Hinduism. Avtaarwad is the main difference of Sikhism with Hinduism, that becomes a pronounced feature of the spatial settings of the *dera*.³³

The sacralization of *dera* guru images in the *dera*, is close to the *avtaarwad*, the embodiment of god in the human form. In no way can it be represented, that which is upheld as the *Ik Onkar*, or the one being. The *dera* sants look like Amritdhari Sikhs, but can also be clean shaven. Formally, they are not required to abide by the Sikh code of conduct. The actual perception of their religious identity among the followers is a contested question. While the *dera*. But the *deras* are not a syncretic but distinct in its beliefs.

Site of unique visuals

The distinct nature of *dera* beliefs become evident in some of its unique sites and structures. Like the *nishan sahib* in the image 20, which is worshipped like an idol. Since the thought of Ravidas' and his life-story is filled with the message of opposing idolatory, the idol worship of *nishan sahib* is a unique contradiction. The two separate objects: the *nishan sahib* and the idol give rise to a new sacred object, giving it a unique new meaning and place in the Ravidassia *dera*.

³³ Gill, Pritam Singh. Heritage of Sikh Culture: Science, Morality and Art. Jullundar: New Academic Publishing Co., 1975.

Unlike the *nishan sahib* at the gurudwara which has the triangular flag of the *khanda*, DSB *nishan sahib* has the hari insignia. Unlike the Hindu idols where there is a purity/ pollution hierarchy of the castes who may touch, give *darshan* and enter the temple, the *dera* has no such norms of purity/pollution or restriction of entry. But unlike the *nishan sahib* at the gurudwara, the Sachkhand Ballan doesn't mark the corps of the initiated Sikhs. Its importance is in marking the *dera* as a Ravidassia space stamped with the insignia of *har*.

The *dera* *nishan sahib* contains the *har* emblem. The forty rays round the circle of the insignia signify forty hymns of Guru Ravidass. Within the circle, there is another smaller circle within which *har* is inscribed in Gurmukhi script with a sign of flame on the top of it.³⁴ Unlike the Vaishnav tradition where the *har* depicts Vishnu, the *har* here represents Ravidas, whose invocation of god goes beyond the vedic-brahmanistic Hinduism.



The unique elements of Ravidassia faith draw from the unique historical lineage of the *dera*. The *dera* gurus are seen as following the Udasi line, a movement that poses a separate lineage from the Sikh gurushipand can be seen as part of the advaita-nirguna traditions of Punjab sant tradition.

Image 20: Nishan sahib of the *dera*, worshipped as an idol.

In order to propagate the mission of his father, Sri Chand, the son of Nanak started a sect of his own. During guru Hargobind's time, Baba Harditt, a kashmiri Brahmin was appointed to organize udasi missionaries in various parts of the country. Active centres of Udasi preaching came up, establishing *deras* and sangats in obscure places, and preached the gurbani.³⁵

The *dera* gurus bear the number 105, considered to be an udasi order of ascetics. The *dera* gurus bear this aspect of Hindu legacy that connects them to baba Gurditt, and the Udasi lineage.³⁶

The *dera* sant also has the unique tradition of giving the devotee the mantra. The importance of the mantra comes from the Udasi tradition where it signifies an incantation or sacred

³⁴ Ram, Ronki. "RavidassDeras and Social Protest: Making Sense of Dalit Consciousness in Punjab." The Journal of Asian Studies 67, no. 4 (2008): 1341-1364.

³⁵ Kohli, Mohindar Pal. Guru Tegh Bahadur: Testimony of Conscience. New Delhi: Sahitya Akedmi, 1992.

³⁶ Oral narratives of dera, October 10, 2017.

text. It is a sacred formula given as advice or counsel to the disciples. While the Udasi order upholds the lineage of the missionary preachers from Bhai Chand onwards to the present day mahants, it subscribes to the Sikh guru Nanak's teachings and the Adi Granth. The present contention of the *dera* with the Guru Granth Sahib is, it erases this history of mixed influences and preserves leadership roles only for the ten Sikh gurus.³⁷ So the unique elements of the visual culture in the DSB is directly related to the philosophical debates by different lineage of gurus in the sant tradition of Punjab. The history and legacy of the philosophical discourses raised by the DSBsants: of the living guru, emphasizing meditation and physical labour, asceticism, have culminated into its present day defiance.

The maharaj's of the *dera* Sachkhand Ballan are ascetics who follow the attire and lifestyle of the Udasis. The appellation 108 is designation of successorship in the lineage. The difference between the Sikhs and the Udasis is as follows: while the Sikhs believe in the family form, Udasis were ascetics who practiced celibacy.³⁸ Guru Amardaas separated wholly, the passive and reclusive Udasis from the regular Sikhs. After the abolition of the masands by Guru Gobind Singh, Udasis took control of the Sikh places of worship preaching Nanak's teachings.³⁹ The Udasi establishments which were known as *akharas*, were responsible for keeping the teachings of the sants alive, at the level of both ritual and doctrine. The present day *deras* are a modern variant of the akhara culture.

Apart from the Udasin, the DSB draws from the *advaita-nirgun*. These influences create the unique amalgam of ideas that the DSB is. The *advaita-nirgun* is the body of thought which follows in the *advaita* philosophy but makes important additions and deviations with regard to chiefly: a personal god, salvation and karma theory. *Advaita-nirgun* went beyond the conception of a god with attributes, to a god which transcends attributes and is realized internally. The usage of dynamic colours and themes to depict Ravidas in the *dera*, is the *nirgun* thought of Ravidas is a conscious revival and revolutionizing of the Upnishadic elements over and against the Vedic elements in Hinduism.

The Upnishadic rebellion to the Vedic *karma kanda*, the rituals which glorified the role of the brahmin priesthood, became part of a rigid, social establishment, which in turn was rebelled against by Saguna bhakti, and the Saguna again by the Nirguna bhakti. The effect of the Upanishadic rebellion is visible in the *dera* where the prayer rooms are not treated with rigid performatives of respect. In fact, the space remains informal and inclusive of the dalit women.

³⁷ Gandhi, Surjit Singh. History of Sikh Gurus Retold: volume 2, 1606-1708 C.E 997. New Delhi: Atlantic, 2007.

³⁸ Narang, GC. Transformation of Sikhism. New Delhi: Kalyani publishers, 1989.

³⁹ Cunningham, J D. A History of the Sikhs. Delhi: S Chand and co., 1966.



Image 21: Women preparing for the langar seva outside the *dera* prayer hall

The visual imagery of the lower caste sants has contributed to a unique culture of informalisation of space visible in image 21. Instead of a strict code of dressing as a mark of respect for the order of hierarchy, the general sense of the space is that of normalizing the agency of the lower caste devotee. Instead of a code of covering the head, it is common for the women volunteers to leave the hair uncovered inside the *dera*. The constant profanation of the sacred achieved in the usage of a sacred space, makes it a site for casual human interaction, with less control and discipline from above. Unlike the Gurudwara where there is a separate space for preparation of langar food, it is common for women to sit at the entrance of prayer hall to prepare for the langar meals as part of the *seva*.

This is a unique sight because the neat distinction between the domestic and public sphere is broken. It is not as if women do not perform the gender specific tasks in temples and gurudwaras, but within the *dera*, their *seva* is not invisible. The *seva* of cleaning rice is performed like a household chore, beaching the otherwise strict ethic of domestic/ public sphere for activities like washing, cleaning and peeling that belong to the kitchen, away from the public view.

This democratization of the sacred space gives rise to the followers speaking in not just one but many voices, and creation of space for the women Ravidassia dalits to practice

their faith without the rigid application of the gendered norm. Making the dera space, a site of social protest that represents a wide range of people, opinion, beliefs and narratives against the dominant monotheistic, *guru manyo granth* of Sikhism.

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An Analytical Study on India's Trade Potential and Prospects with Bangladesh

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Abstract

India has been an dominant in the Bangladesh's domestic politics and foreign policy ever since Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971. Both are good neighbours and members of APTA, SAARC, BIMSTEC, etc. India enjoyed warm relations with Bangladesh when Awami League (AL) was in power and reciprocal of it under Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). The current dynamics of the relationship are very positive. It is in this context, the present study has analysed India's trade potential and prospects with Bangladesh, employed Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) and Intensity of Trade Index. The main findings of the study depicts that India has comparative advantage in the export/import of many to/from Bangladesh. This comparative advantage helps not only to diversify product baskets; but also lead to increase volume of trade. Intensity of India's trade with Bangladesh for total trade and exports from India to it is greater than 1 since 1991. India has intensity of import from it. India has great potential and prospects with Bangladesh.

Keywords

Relations; Dynamics; Potential; Prospects; Comparative Advantage; Intensity.

Introduction

In this paper, an attempt has been made to analyse India's trade potential and prospects with Bangladesh, employed RCA and intensity of trade index. Among India's neighbours, Bangladesh occupies a special position not only because of India's role in its liberation but because geographically, too, it surrounds Bangladesh from three sides. India's

links with Bangladesh are civilisational, cultural, social and economic. There is much that unites the two countries-a shared history and common heritage, linguistic and cultural ties, passion for music, literature and the arts. Among other things, both the countries have also carried out reforms to achieve higher growth rates and share the common goal of reducing poverty and improving the livelihood of their masses. In the last more than four decades, the two countries have continued to consolidate their relations and have built a comprehensive institutional framework to promote bilateral cooperation in all areas.

The bilateral relations between the two countries are on a high trajectory with regular high-level visits and exchanges. Various issues need to be resolved if the relationship between the two are to be improved such as the sharing of water from 54 common rivers that flow from India to Bangladesh, informal trade, transnational crime, interference in internal affairs etc (Karim, 2009; Dutta, 2010). Due to its geographical position, Bangladesh depends on India for its development. Trade relations continued to boost between them. India's exports to Bangladesh have increased to US\$ 56,68,793 thousands in 2016 from US\$ 3,24,585.7 thousands in 1991. Imports by India from Bangladesh have also expanded to US\$ 6,77,098 thousands (2016) from US\$ 5,733.41 thousands (1991). Bangladesh's imports from India are much higher than India's from Bangladesh. Now Bangladesh's exports to India are also rising. Under the wave of regionalism and globalization, both are members of many regional trading blocs i.e. Asia Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Bay of Bengal Initiatives for Multi-Sectoral and Technical Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) etc.

East Bengal, now Bangladesh, was previously a part of India and then Pakistan. The Indian army was instrumental in leading Bangladesh to victory in its armed struggle for independence against Pakistan. India was the first country to recognise Bangladesh as a separate and independent state (Rahman, 2005). India established diplomatic relations with the country immediately after its independence in December 1971 under the first democratic government of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman of Awami League Party. After its independence, Bangladesh's requirements of consumer goods, especially food, came from India. Over the years, the country has sought easier access to Indian markets for its own products. There already exists a bilateral trade agreement between Bangladesh and India which was signed in 1980 and later amended and signed in March 2006; this came into force on April 1, 2006 and is valid till March 2009. This agreement provides for expansion of trade and economic cooperation, making mutually beneficial arrangement for the use of waterways, railways and roadways, passage of goods between two places in one country through the territory of the other, exchange of business and trade delegations and consultation to review the working of the agreement at least once a year. Implementation of this agreement has the potential to aid trade and investment between the two countries.

Review of Literature

Fertő and Hubbard (2002) used Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) indices

and alternative specifications of RCA i.e. Relative Trade Advantage (RTA), Relative Export Advantage (RXA) and Relative Import Advantage (RMA) to investigate the performance of Hungary's agriculture-food over the time period of 1992 to 1998. Hungary has comparative advantage in agriculture-food production at international level. **Hiranth** (2003) used gravity model and revealed that SACs have full trade potential and prospects. **Simsek et al.** (2004) explored the competitiveness of Turkish firms in the EU market, employed different trade measures of comparative advantage. At aggregate level, Turkey has comparative advantage in raw materials and labour intensive goods, a relative export advantage in capital goods and comparative disadvantage in the research intensive goods. **Hisanaga** (2007) studied the comparative advantage structure of US international trade in services by using RCA index. USA has a strong RCA in Knowledge based services like Royalties and License Fees.

Serin and Civan (2008) analysed Turkey has high rate of comparative advantage in fruit juice and olive oil markets in the EU but this is not the case in the tomato market, applied RCA and regression over the period from 1995-2005. **Shinyekwa and Othieno** (2011) examined comparative advantage of Uganda's exports to the East African Community (EAC) partner states and how it has evolved during the implementation of the EAC treaty. Uganda has RCA in only 234 product lines from the list of 4,401 HS 6-digit level disaggregation. **Bano and Scrimgeour** (2012) in his study investigated New Zealand has very high degree of comparative advantage in Kiwifruit production between 1981 and 2011 by using RCA. **Chingarande et al.** (2014) tried to find out whether Mercosur members possessed comparative advantage, utilised RCA. Mercosur members have comparative in many products i.e. Brazil have comparative advantage in 674 product lines, Argentina in 518 product lines, Paraguay in 485 product lines, Uruguay in 312 product lines and Venezuela in 83 product lines.

Das and Pradhan (2014) in their study showed that India has sustainable trade potential and prospects with Gulf region comprising six members of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) namely Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iran and Iraq over the last decade and also suggested quantitative measure to boost bilateral of trade. **Lu et al.** (2014) assessed spatial pattern of comparative advantage of Watermelon production in 21 provinces in China. The findings showed that comparative advantage kept on increasing in these provinces. **Mwasha and Kweka** (2014) explored the top export sectors in Tanzania, applied RCA. The results revealed that Tanzania has comparative advantage in sectors with traditional cash crops such as spice, tea and coffee. The mineral sector is the leading export sector in Tanzania. **Mudavanhu et al.** (2014) investigated competitiveness of Kenyan industries in the world trade by using RCA. Results indicated that Kenya has significant competitive advantage in the world market in textiles, chemicals and allied industries and plastic/rubber.

Ndayitwayeko et al. (2014) used Normalised RCA to analyse EACs comparative advantage in coffee in the international coffee market, with a special focus on Burundi for the period 2000 to 2012 at SITC 3-4 grade. They also applied time trend regression model

to detect whether a country gained or lost its comparative advantage. EACs have comparative advantage with Uganda and Kenya leading the group. **Ashish and Kannan (2015)** assessed structure of India's revealed comparative advantage in agro-processed products and its changes from 2003 to 2013. The consistency and stability tests were also conducted for the indices over the years. **Atiff et al. (2016)** applied RCA and RSCA and Lafay Trade Balance to examine changes in trade pattern and specialisation of Pakistan's service sector for the period 2007 to 2014 and also used Galtonian regression and kernel stochastic to analyse the structural stability of comparative advantages. Except UK, Pakistan's specialisation pattern in services trade has become more polarized in some specific sectors. **Padilla (2016)** evaluated the changing pattern of comparative advantage and export specialisation of East Java province (Indonesia) from 2007-2013, employed RCA, Revealed Systematic Comparative Advantage (RSCA) and Trade Balance Index (TBI). Dynamic changes have occurred due to change in the price of commodity and global integration.

Data Sources

The secondary data has been used to attain the objectives. Data to calculate RCA has been collected at 2-digit level mentioned in SITC revision-2, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) data base from 2001 to 2016. This data has been extracted from International Trade Centre (ITC) which is a joint agency of the WTO and the United Nations (www.trademap.org/Index.aspx). Data for India's trade intensity with Bangladesh has been collected from sources like World Integrated Trade Solution (World Bank) (www.wits.worldbank.org/lang=en), Direction of Trade Statistics (International Monetary Fund) etc. for the period 1991 to 2015.

Research Methodology

a. Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA): It tells about the relative trade performance of individual countries in particular commodities. The commodity pattern of trade exhibits the inter-country differences in relative costs as well as in non-price factors. It shows how competitive is a product in countries export compared to the products share in world trade. A product with high RCA is competitive and can be exported to countries with low RCA. The advantage of using the comparative advantage index is that it considers the intrinsic advantage of a particular commodity and is consistent with changes in an economy's relative factor endowment and productivity. It shows which goods countries tend to specialize in their trade. The Revealed Comparative Advantage for Exports (RCAX) is calculated as below:

$$RCAX = \frac{(x_{ij}^k / X_{ij})}{(x_j^k / X_j)}$$

Where: x_{ij}^k = export of product k by country i (India) to another Region j; X_{ij} = total exports of country i (India) to the reference group j; x_j^k = exports of product k by the reference group j; X_j = total exports of reference group j.

The Revealed Comparative Advantage for Imports (RCAM) is calculated as below:

$$RCAM = \frac{(m_{ij}^k / M_{ij})}{(m_j^k / M_j)}$$

Where: m_{ij}^k = import of product k by country i (India) from another Region j; M_{ij} = total imports of country i (India) from the reference group j; m_j^k = imports of product k by the reference group j; M_j = total imports of reference group j.

b. Intensity of Trade Index: Trade prospects of any country can primarily be measured with the help of Kojima's (1964) intensity of trade index with its partners. It tries to establish the relative trade performance of a trading partner in relation to a country's trade with the rest of the world. When the trade intensity is high between two countries, it shows that both have more potential/ prospects of trade with each other. It is defined as the share of one country's exports (trade) going to a partner country divided by the share of world trade going to the partner. It is calculated as:

$$T_{ij} = \frac{[(X_{ij} + M_{ij}) / (X_i + M_i)]}{[(X_{wj} + M_{wj}) - (X_{ij} + M_{ij}) / (X_w + M_w) - (X_i + M_i)]}$$

Where: T_{ij} = total trade intensity index of country i with country j; X_{ij} = exports of country i to country j; M_{ij} = imports of country i from country j; X_i = total exports of country i; M_i = total imports of country i; X_{wj} = total world exports to country j; M_{wj} = total world imports from country j; X_w = total world exports; M_w = total world imports.

The calculation for the trade intensity index for exports is as follows:

$$X_{ij}^a = \frac{[(X_{ij} / X_i)]}{[(M_j - M_{ji}) / (M_w - M_i)]}$$

Where: X_{ij}^a = export trade intensity index of country i with country j; X_{ij} = exports of country i to country j; X_i = total exports of country i; M_j = total imports of country j; M_{ji} = imports of country j from country i; M_w = total world imports; M_i = total imports of country i.

The calculation for the trade Intensity Index for Imports is as follow:

$$M_{ij}^a = \frac{(M_{ij} / M_i)}{[(X_j - X_{ji}) / (X_w - X_i)]}$$

Where: M_{ij}^a = import trade intensity index of country i with country j; M_{ij} = imports of country i from country j; M_i = total imports of country i; X_j = total exports of country j; X_{ji} = exports of country j to country i; X_w = total world exports; X_i = total exports of country i.

Results of the Study

I. Results of Revealed Comparative Advantage for Exports (RCAX): Table-1 shows in which product India has comparative advantage ($RCA > 1$) in the export of product to Bangladesh. Value greater than 1 for RCAX indicates that India should export that particular product to it and vice-versa.

Table-1 Products with Value of RCA Greater than 1 for Exports to Bangladesh from India

Serial No	Product Code ¹	RCA Characteristics ²
1	1	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the years 2006 and 2007.
2	2	There is RCA in this product since 2002 except for the years 2007 and from 2010 to 2015.
3	4	India has comparative advantage in the export of this product to Bangladesh since 2001.
4	6	India has trade specialisation in this product in the year 2016.
5	7	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
6	8	India has trade specialisation in this product since 2001
7	9	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
8	10	There is comparative advantage in this product since 2001
9	11	Except for the year 2006, India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
10	12	There is comparative advantage in this product since 2002.
11	13	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2003.
12	14	India has comparative in the export of this to it Since 2004
13	15	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
14	16	There is no trade specialisation in this product since 2001 except for the years 2004, 2006 and 2011.
15	17	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002
16	18	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2003 except for the years 2005 and 2007.
17	19	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
18	20	India has no trade specialisation in this product since 2004

¹Annexure-1

²Annexure-2

Serial No	Product Code ¹	RCA Characteristics ²
19	21	Except for the year 2006, India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
20	22	Except for the years 2006 and 2008, India has no trade specialisation in the export of this product to Bangladesh since 2004.
21	23	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
22	24	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2007
23	25	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
24	26	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004.
25	27	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
26	28	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
27	29	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
28	30	There is comparative advantage in the export of this product to Bangladesh by India since 2001
29	31	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2012.
30	32	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
31	33	India has comparative advantage in the export of this product to it since 2001
32	34	India has trade specialisation in this product since 2001
33	35	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
34	36	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
35	37	India has trade specialisation in this product since 2001
36	38	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
37	39	India has comparative advantage in the export of this product to it since 2001
38	40	There is comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
39	43	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004
40	44	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002
41	45	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004
42	47	There is trade specialization in this product since 2011.
43	48	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
44	49	Except for the period 2005 to 2008, India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.

Serial No	Product Code¹	RCA Characteristics
45	50	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002.
46	51	India has comparative advantage in the export of this product to it since 2001.
47	52	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
48	54	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
49	55	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
50	57	Except 2002, India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
51	58	India has comparative advantage in this product in the year 2016.
52	59	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
53	60	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002 except for the years 2006 and 2007.
54	66	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2004 except for the years 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2012.
55	68	India has comparative advantage in the export of this product to it since 2001.
56	69	India has trade specialisation in this product in the year 2015.
57	70	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
58	71	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002.
59	72	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
60	73	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
61	74	Except from 2006 to 2014, India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
62	75	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
63	76	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
64	78	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
65	79	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004
66	80	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004
67	81	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
68	82	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
69	83	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
70	84	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
71	85	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001

Serial	Product	RCA Characteristics
72	86	Except for the period 2005 to 2010, India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002
73	87	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
74	91	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
75	92	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the year 2006.
76	94	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2003 except for the years 2005 and 2008.
77	97	India has no comparative advantage in the year 2015.
78	99	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.

- India has comparative advantage in the export of products with code 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 59, 68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 91 and 99 to Bangladesh since 2001.

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II. Results of Revealed Comparative Advantage for Imports (RCAM): Table-2 shows in which products India has trade specialisation to import from Bangladesh.

Table-2 Products with Value of RCA Greater than 1 for Imports by India from Bangladesh

Serial No	Product Code ³	RCA Characteristics
1	3	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001
2	5	Except for the period 2004 to 2006 and 2011 to 2012, there is no trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
3	6	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004.
4	8	India has comparative advantage in the import of this product from it since 2002
5	9	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the years 2003 and 2004.
6	14	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002.
7	18	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2010.
8	19	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2010.

³Annexure-1

⁴Annexure-3

Serial No	Product Code ³	RCA Characteristics
9	20	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
10	22	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2003.
11	23	There is trade specialization in this product since 2007.
12	25	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2007.
13	27	There is trade specialisation in this product in the year 2016.
14	28	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
15	31	There is no comparative advantage in the import of this product from it since 2010.
16	34	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the year 2002.
17	35	There is no trade specialisation in this product since 2001 except 2004.
18	40	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2011.
19	41	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
20	46	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2005.
21	49	Except for the years 2002 and 2003, India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001
22	53	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001.
23	56	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
24	57	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2003 except 2005.
25	60	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the period 2006 to 2008.
26	61	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2002.
27	62	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the period 2004 to 2008.
28	63	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
29	64	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2012.
30	65	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2004.
31	66	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except 2013.
32	68	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except 2010.
33	69	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.

Serial No	Product Code ³	RCA Characteristics
34	70	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except for the period 2006 to 2010.
35	71	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except from 2012 to 2015.
36	74	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.
37	75	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2007.
38	78	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2007.
39	79	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2005.
40	82	India has no comparative advantage in this product since 2001 except 2002.
41	89	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2014.
42	94	India has comparative advantage in this product since 2005.
43	99	There is trade specialisation in this product since 2001.

- India has comparative advantage in the import of products with code 3, 20, 28, 41, 56, 63, 74 and 99 from Bangladesh since 2001.

III. Results of Trade Intensity Index (TII): TII index is used to calculate India's trade prospects with Bangladesh. A unitary value i.e., $TII=1$, shows that there is no difference in importance to a nation i in supplying imports to nation j . Trade intensity index with a value greater than one ($TII>1$) indicates higher bilateral trade than can be expected on the basis of their share in world trade. When the value of intensity is high between two countries, it shows that both have more potential of trade with each other.

Table-3 Intensity of Trade Index of India with Bangladesh

Year	Intensity of Trade Index for Total Trade between India and Bangladesh	Intensity of Trade Index for Exports by India to Bangladesh	Intensity of Trade Index for Imports by India from Bangladesh
1991	12.6622	12.0435	0.3309
1992	12.3122	14.4752	0.4424
1993	12.2079	16.8378	0.9575
1994	14.9387	NA	NA
1995	19.0932	32.1656	3.2216
1996	15.2418	25.4536	2.2509
1997	11.9604	22.2179	1.6155

Year	Intensity of Trade Index for Total Trade between India and Bangladesh	Intensity of Trade Index for Exports by India to Bangladesh	Intensity of Trade Index for Imports by India from Bangladesh
1998	14.4549	26.5892	1.5296
1999	8.7978	NA	NA
2000	9.1343	16.8244	2.1493
2001	11.3150	20.9817	1.5993
2002	10.3750	14.5135	1.3049
2003	13.0530	24.1152	1.2965
2004	9.3669	19.3015	0.8668
2005	7.6388	15.7188	0.9164
2006	6.0650	11.8788	1.4531
2007	6.5342	12.6629	1.2797
2008	7.0114	13.2725	1.1913
2009	3.9730	7.1246	0.7826
2010	4.0241	7.4242	0.8903
2011	3.3617	5.3848	1.0312
2012	4.7063	9.1247	0.9331
2013	4.9429	9.8431	0.9408
2014	4.4682	NA	NA
2015	4.1866	7.5451	0.8036

In the year wise analysis of intensity of trade index of India with Bangladesh, it is found from Table-3 that there are fluctuations in total Trade Intensity Index (TII), Export Intensity Index (EII) and Import Intensity Index (III). Intensity of India's trade with Bangladesh for total trade and exports from India to Bangladesh is greater than 1 since 1991. The value of total TII and EII are observed highest in 1995 and lowest in 2011. The value of total Intensity of trade for imports by India from Bangladesh was less than 1 for the period 1991 to 1993. It is greater than 1 since 1995 and rotated around 0.7-3 thereafter. III is noted least in 1991 and maximum in 1995. India has sustainable trade prospects with Bangladesh and is a net exporter to it.

Discussion and Conclusion

Both Bangladesh and India are two major countries of the SAARC. India plays an important role in Bangladesh's trade since the independence. Bilateral relationship has improved

significantly. From above results and discussion, it is found that India has comparative advantage ($RCA > 1$) in the export/import of many products to/from Bangladesh. This comparative advantage helps not only to diversify product baskets; but also lead to increase volume of trade. This will help both in increasing volumes and achieving diversification of trade with it. It will enlarge its market size and competitive in product. India has to maintain its specialisation in products which have $RCA > 1$ but also have to develop comparative advantage in other products. Intensity of India's trade with it for total trade and exports from India to it is greater than 1 since 1991. India has trade prospects with it and is a net exporter to it. There are a few fundamental issues between India and Bangladesh, as mentioned above, that need to be resolved if the relationship between the two are to be improved more and exploit potential of trade.

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Annexure-1 Product Codes-2 digit SITC, Revision 2

Product Code	Product Description	Product Code	Product Description
1	Live animals	50	Silk
2	Meat and edible meat offal	51	Wool, animal hair, horsehair yarn and fabric thereof
3	Fish, crustaceans, molluscs, aquatic invertebrates nes	52	Cotton
4	Dairy products, eggs, honey, edible animal products nes	53	Vegetable textile fibres, paper yarn, woven fabric
5	Products of animal origin	54	Manmade filaments
6	Live trees, plants, bulbs, roots, cut flowers etc	55	Manmade staple fibres
7	Edible vegetables and certain roots and tubers	56	Wadding, felt, nonwovens, yarn, twine, cordage, etc
8	Edible fruit, nuts, peel of citrus fruit, melons	57	Carpets and other textile floor coverings
9	Coffee, tea mate and spices	58	Special woven or tufted fabric, lace, tapestry etc
10	Cereals	59	Impregnated, coated or laminated textile fabric
11	Milling products, malt, starches, inulin, wheat gluten	60	Knitted or crocheted fabric
12	Oil seed, oleagic fruit, grain, seed, fruit, etc, nes	61	Articles of apparel, accessories, knit or crochet
13	Lac, gums, resins, vegetable saps and extracts nes	62	Articles of apparel, accessories, not knit or crochet
14	Vegetable plaiting materials, vegetable products nes	63	Other made textiles articles, sets, worn clothing etc
15	Animal, vegetable fats and oils, cleavage products, etc	64	Footwear, gaiters and the like, parts thereof
16	Meat, fish and seafood food preparations nes	65	Headgear and parts thereof
17	Sugars and sugar confectionery	66	Umbrellas, walking-sticks, seat-sticks, whips, etc
18	Cocoa and cocoa preparations	67	Bird skin, feathers, artificial flowers, human hair
19	Cereal, flour, starch, milk preparations and products	68	Stone, plaster, cement, asbestos, mica, etc articles
20	Vegetable, fruit, nut, etc food preparations	69	Ceramic products
21	Miscellaneous edible preparations	70	Glass and glassware
22	Beverages, spirits and vinegar	71	Pearls, precious stones, metals, coins, etc
23	Residues, wastes of food industry, animal fodder	72	Iron and steel
24	Tobacco and manufactured tobacco substitutes	73	Articles of iron or steel

Product Code	Product Description	Product Code	Product Description
25	Salt, sulphur, earth, stone, plaster, lime and cement	74	Copper and articles thereof
26	Ores, slag and ash	75	Nickel and articles thereof
27	Mineral fuels, oils, distillation products, etc	76	Aluminum and articles thereof
28	Inorganic chemicals, precious metal compound, isotopes	78	Lead and articles thereof
29	Organic chemicals	79	Zinc and articles thereof
30	Pharmaceutical products	80	Tin and articles thereof
31	Fertilizers	81	Other base metals, cermet, articles thereof
32	Tanning, dyeing extracts, tannins, dyes, pigments etc	82	Tools, implements, cutlery, etc of base metal
33	Essential oils, perfumes, cosmetics, toiletries	83	Miscellaneous articles of base metal
34	Soaps, lubricants, waxes, candles, modeling pastes	84	Machinery, nuclear reactors, boilers, etc
35	Albuminoids, modified starches, glues, enzymes	85	Electrical, electronic equipment
36	Explosives, pyrotechnics, matches, pyrophorics, etc	86	Railway, tramway locomotives, rolling stock, equipment
37	Photographic or cinematographic goods	87	Vehicles other than railway, tramway
38	Miscellaneous chemical products	88	Aircraft, spacecraft and parts thereof
39	Plastic and articles thereof	89	Ships, boats and other floating structures
40	Rubber and articles thereof	90	Optical, photo, technical, medical, etc apparatus
41	Raw hides and skins (other than furskins) and leather	91	Clock and watches and parts thereof
42	Articles of leather, animal, gut, harness, travel goods	92	Musical instruments, parts and accessories
43	Furskins and artificial fur, manufactures thereof	93	Arms and ammunition, parts and accessories thereof
44	Wood and articles of wood, wood charcoal	94	Furniture, lighting, signs, prefabricated buildings
45	Cork and articles of cork	95	Toys, games, sports requisites
46	Manufactures of plaiting material, basketwork etc	96	Miscellaneous manufactured articles
47	Pulp of wood, fibrous cellulosic material, waste etc	97	Works of art, collectors pieces and antiques
48	Paper and paperboard, articles of pulp, paper and board	99	Commodities not elsewhere specified
49	Printed books, newspapers, pictures etc		

Source: International Trade Centre, Geneva (ITC), http://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1|699|699|TOTAL||2|1|1|1|1|2|1|1|1|1|1

Annexure-2 India's Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) for Exports to Bangladesh

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
1	18.3	3.865	366	37.4	5.43	0	0	33.4	NA	746	39.2	17.6	102	NA	0	430
2	0.23	1.7237	2.31	31.3	5.43	21.1	0	1.63	50.9	0	0	0.0051	0	NA	0	1.09
3	0.169	0.0182	0.0071	0.0188	0.0025	0.0124	0.0126	0.04	0.254	0.102	0.0798	0.25	0.203	NA	0.231	0.221
4	914	727.069	93.5	655	227	32.9	150	366	76.9	202	77.7	119	848	NA	71	89.3
5	0	0.0223	0.58	0.0261	0.0041	0	0.0877	0.148	0.85	0.0134	0.205	0.111	0.0938	NA	0.0518	0.545
6	0.331	0.3455	0.0757	0.0603	0.011	0.0043	0.0074	0.0147	0.0282	0.0045	0.002	0.0014	0.0116	NA	0.145	10.3
7	11.7	14.7311	14.3	14.4	11.5	19.8	11.8	13.7	40.7	24.1	8.44	3.77E	4.92	NA	7.09	8.97
8	609	24252.03	159	31.6	3.75	5.36	8.55	11.1	20.2	9.37	9.65	6.59	3.38	NA	3.74	5.72
9	4.27	2.6966	3.97	6.03	1.47	13.9	21.5	4.92	16.7	27.5	20.4	7.92	14.5	NA	9.25	17.9
10	168	9022.762	237	641	190	131	454	139	132	531	695	506	829	NA	315	37.6
11	832	10581.8	90.5	45.3	18.4	0.174	17.4	6.86	51.9	33.5	9.99	14.8	29.4	NA	5.94	12.1
12	NA	308.4337	92.1	31.5	60.8	87.8	2.33	41.6	42	10.9	47.5	14.3	4.41	NA	5.37	15.9
13	NA	NA	535	184	NA	102	212	883	493	642	67.2	287	234	NA	249	31.3
14	0.259	0.398	0.449	2.97	6.13	1.6	1.98	2.05	18.5	60.5	234	89.4	288	NA	0.35	43.5
15	24.5	131.7608	10.7	4.52	8.8	8.07	14.8	7.3	2.44	0.587	1.16	0.962	0.671	NA	0.812	0.777
16	NA	NA	NA	14.1		3.11	0.306	0.192	0.114	0.669	2.6	0.14	0	NA	0	0.0494
17	NA	32069.28	406	5.6	197	135	67.4	513	0.95	4.24	243	85.5	2.05	NA	15.8	1.88
18	NA	NA	172	208	0.678	56.5	0	234	93.8	18.8	414	159	76.8	NA	21.9	60.1
19	17.2	3.7897	1.47	5.7	3.04	2.26	0.67	1.94	3.26	5.07	4.37	2.55	3.46	NA	2.47	6.72
20	21	4.4121	4.15	0.874	0.516	0.0434	0.054	0.272	0.581	0.131	0.307	0.385	0.0916	NA	0.122	0.341
21	7.29	1.5595	26.1	15.2	5.04	0.643	1.58	4	9.79	102	197	119	428	NA	443	24.4
22	19.4	50.4672	5.31	0.263	0.207	1.03	0.684	2.44	0.303	0.717	0.0714	0.0688	0.14	NA	0.125	0.24
23	276	9302.564	386	352	470	435	348	147	401	518	409	61	122	NA	254	90.6
24	2.28	3.0375	1.77	0.987	0.741	1.04	0.826	0.368	0.236	0.0142	0.0647	0.0864	0.0441	NA	0.128	0.0724
25	181	45057.76	103	416	405	378	109	52.9	163	39.5	85.7	86.3	72.9	NA	238	48.5
26	NA	NA	NA	773	605	9.55	138	54.9	53.6	3.07	7.33	1.38	1.12	NA	8.06	1.8
27	22.4	18.2117	16.2	10.5	13.8	11.3	6.21	2.79	3.59	1.95	3.07	1.08	2.38	NA	4.78	19.4

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
28	4.37	11.5617	4.43	2.42	1.8	2.49	3.14	2.91	8.69	9.33	8.44	3.98	12.8	NA	8.39	9.4
29	114	1442.321	530	490	237	471	93.1	706	136	162	162	231	172	NA	136	398
30	16.7	8.4874	9.02	4.61	5.31	10.2	4.32	3.23	4.25	3.57	4.24	3.94	4.1	NA	1.94	3.07
31	0.317	0.0071	0.005	0.24	0.115	0.0654	0.132	0.379	0.0472	0.178	0.27	148	187	NA	250	4.12
32	161	232.0516	142	286	280	437	242	484	377	41.2	567	995	114	NA	211	531
33	56.6	56.8637	71.2	70.7	67.3	37.4	17.7	48.7	112	292	381	205	466	NA	349	218
34	175	188.4459	52.3	2.22	4.26	8.25	7.38	15.1	9.7	13.6	32.4	93.6	131	NA	78.7	199
35	94.1	21.8907	18.5	8.42	10.1	11.4	11	12.2	9.25	18.7	32.7	36.4	21.3	NA	33.9	24.8
36	NA	NA	NA	NA	0	0.602	1	0.12	0.106	3.02	NA	6.39	517	NA	NA	118
37	213	13.5885	5.84	7.99	5.24	3.95	5.58	1.18	133	969	328	NA	234	NA	851	207
38	32.9	418.3459	303	466	624	559	56.7	272	123	161	267	145	85	NA	150	107
39	10.4	22.35851	10.6	6.56	3.29	6.85	3.68	3.44	5.12	8.08	7.34	6.12	7.99	NA	11	16.2
40	218	926.3684	370	111	74.2	75.4	68.6	52.1	34.5	14	17	22.6	260	NA	19.3	58.9
41	0.0092	0.0046	0.0047	0.0048	0.0084	0.0148	0.0936	0.0907	0.0786	0.0841	0.145	0.111	0.1	NA	0.224	0.304
42	0.168	0.1515	0.445	0.42	0.144	0.13	0.0457	0.283	0.0841	0.0262	0.0327	0.0249	0.0063	NA	0.01	0.0831
43	0	NA	NA	10.2	NA	NA	0.172	3.2	0.55	0	NA	4.3	#DIV/0	NA	1.15	0.625
44	0.129	1.5794	3.24	4.01	39.3	53	4.01	2.08	2.18	1.05	3.19	4.97	2.88	NA	3.39	2.35
45	NA	NA	#DIV/	205	NA	NA	0.00E+	NA	111	#DIV/	182	#DIV/0	4.75	NA	NA	332
46	0.0083	0.0123	0.0294	0.0825	0	0.291	0	0.0573	0	0	0.0015	0.0008	0.00E+00	NA	0.0006	0.0006
47	NA	0	0.0391	0.00+00	0	0.00+00	0.0644	0.906	0	0.981	3.06	9.94	0.712	NA	44.4	59.2
48	431	222.4496	44.5	12.4	8.5	11.1	5.34	9.09	6.82	3.95	2.75	4.77	4.13	NA	4.34	41.3
49	8.74	1.3667	1.66	5.79	0.551	0.73	0.178	0.54	1.74	5.59	45.3	56.2	51.5	NA	34.3	42.9
50	0.172	1.0693	29.4	4.35	6.08	0.139	8.33	35.2	96.6	32.6	93.5	28.8	0.734	NA	11.5	2.01
51	5.99	637.8378	4.28	7.65	5.91	17.9	5.19	8.61	19.9	9.16	41.2	5.53	88.7	NA	49	810
52	34.2	84.8305	47.2	33.4	24.2	2.76	8.16	43.5	30.6	56.1	55.3	64.2	65	NA	99.7	443
53	0.0007	0.0055	0.0023	0.0019	0.0031	0.00001	0.0018	0.004	0.0383	0.0124	0.006	0.0161	0.0182	NA	0.055	0.0629
54	1.15	15.3628	10.2	8.71	12.1	9.95	4.96	12.3	24.1	20.2	11.4	7.35	8.44	NA	14.1	78.9
55	25	37.755	32.3	8.85	6.27	20.1	6.39	8.47	13.7	9.61	14.6	14.3	18.6	NA	57.9	93.9

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
56	0.0201	0.0452	0.213	0.084	0.0278	0.103	0.182	0.171	0.536	0. 247	0.452	0.543	0.49	NA	0.341	0.218
57	0.518	2.3623	0.603	0.531	2.31	0.169	0.0053	0.0121	0. 170	0.0672	0.0169	0.278	0.0118	NA	0.0248	0.0062
58	0.324	0.2961	0.144	0.122	0.139	0.14	0.126	0.104	0.193	0.136	0.248	0.366	0.42	NA	0.747	11.3
59	123	13.1741	13	1.42	0.728	0. 430	0.217	0.454	0.661	0.477	1.05	3.17	3.96	NA	3.44	26.4
60	0.431	9.2455	2.06	2.45	3.1	0. 430	0.223	2.31	2.16	2.21	10.4	13.2	12.4	NA	8.72	42.4
61	0.0015	0.0019	0.0077	0.0032	0.0048	0.0043	0.0011	0.0034	0.0029	0.0015	0.0023	0.0017	0.002	NA	0.0033	0.0049
62	0.0032	0.0037	0.0123	0.0222	0.027	0.005	0.0057	0.0117	0.0098	0.0138	0.0162	0.0127	0.0099	NA	0.0194	0.0276
63	0.0144	0.0086	0.0168	0.0102	0.023	0.0149	0.0177	0.0152	0.0494	0.0172	0.0106	0.0181	0.0141	NA	0.052	0.0518
64	0.0946	0.0403	0.0688	0.0838	0.038	0.0574	0.0386	0.0604	0.0427	0.0226	0.03	0.0361	0.0301	NA	0.0466	0.125
65	0.0044	0.031	0.0068	0.0036	0.0026	0.0003	0.0005	0.0004	0.0012	0.0027	0.0197	0.0104	0.0131	NA	0.0103	0.0063
66	262	1.7272	16.8	0.0123	103	13	0	4.78	NA	0	NA	196	0.53	NA	2.79	0.105
67	0	0	0	0.00+00	0.155	0	0.0128	0.0174	0	0.0151	0.0257	0.0129	0.0118	NA	0.681	0.272
68	219	386.3248	516	85	26.6	66.6	3.97	10.6	28.8	52.4	65.4	161	16.2	NA	949	32.4
69	0.836	0.3711	1.7	0.101	0. 107	0.223	0.193	0.349	0.343	0.245	0.32	0.478	0.494	NA	1.04	1.69
70	195	12.1624	6.12	28.3	726	12.3	1.48	4.4	5.18	3.2	91.1	746	234	NA	77.1	17.5
71	NA	157.9946	295	405	45.8	38.6	26.2	5.61	64.5	7.13	112	739	11.9	NA	4.64	3.74
72	149	143.158	20.3	7.7	10.4	15.1	6.86	13.7	23.7	9.03	4.51	14.5	32.3	NA	58.3	178
73	72.4	17.6869	144	51.3	21.6	25.8	6.9	12.7	10.2	12.6	7.33	25.6	7.85	NA	14.2	51.6
74	67.7	44.7004	78.4	1.97	2.02	0. 177	0.0474	0.878	0.35	0.341	0.336	0.276	0.285	NA	1.32	3.43
75	0.317	14.054	31.6	22.2	147	3.65	NA	NA	1.24	NA	17.7	NA	23.4	NA	6.1	0.659
76	635	7019.578	300	576	543	134	113	274	90.4	930	131	168	57.7	NA	194	320
78	284	3.1904	14.8	NA	0	NA	6.76	0.457	97.2	9.57	1.14	1.24	26.8	NA	1.93	0.819
79	NA	NA	NA	17.2	15.3	0.382	5.98	14.6	33.3	68.3	9.73	1.95	2.78	NA	24.6	27.3
80	NA	0.9605	0	33.4	1.19	0	0.783	9.88	0.537	0	0.298	NA	NA	NA	0.456	23.5
81	169	NA	NA	170	18.9	NA	12.7	81.7	NA	34.3	14.8	6.36	58.9	NA	26	24
82	10.9	20.1558	16.1	5.87	0.995	32.7	2.23	17.7	11.4	4.66	6.4	9.95	7.25	NA	8.25	25.7
83	10.2	125.6966	63.7	45.4	27.3	13.9	21.6	17.1	72.9	58.9	132	178	417	NA	71.6	35.1

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
84	10.1	10.1544	26.1	11.7	9.3	6.37	2.44	11.8	14.5	12.1	19.3	11.3	14.5	NA	12	126
85	28.2	14.2272	8.62	11.5	16.6	13.2	2.85	7.47	10.6	11.6	10.7	7.7	11.9	NA	17.4	26.9
86	NA	89.7272	86.8	29.4	0.151	0.261	0	1.57	0.0406	0.188	10.1	4.37	338	NA	2.36	119
87	53.1	57.0869	27	3.63	3.88	6.52	9.18	9.94	10.6	12.3	17.7	17.5	16.6	NA	24	49.6
88	0	0	0.0005	0	0.0034	0	0.0529	0.0245	0.0994	0.0194	0.0429	0.0235	0.413	NA	0.0234	0.332
89	0	0	0	3.85	0	0.0122	0	0.0744	0	0	0	2.7	0.0345	NA	0.273	0
90	2.57	1.5341	1.25	1.64	2.03	2.26	2.68	2.57	7.84	3.24	4.86	3.41	2.55	NA	3.75	4.21
91	51.7	10.5583	2.3	3.97	0.506	16.6	5.62	5.35	15.3	6.63	46.4	32.5	5.41	NA	12.3	45.9
92	2.22	NA	11.2	4.15	23.9	0.191	0	43.3	0	1.83	3.02	34.9	86.1	NA	164	97.4
93	NA	NA	0	0	0	0	0.878	0.0189	0	0	0.0274	0	0	NA	0	0.0043
94	17.3	1.0027	0.68	0.283	1.12	0.749	0.523	1.66	0.534	0.21	0.803	0.511	0.52	NA	0.406	0.49
95	0.464	0.14	0.227	0.465	0.296	0.0944	0.0158	0.0677	0.0549	0.0725	0.17	0.343	0.237	NA	0.135	0.161
96	4.55	12.6534	2.88	3.14	2.65	4.53	4.62	6.55	9.87	7.96	15	19.4	18.3	NA	15.6	37.8
97	0	0	18.8	2.87	9	2.21	0.0915	59.4	2.43	4.84	1.33	17.5	2.08	NA	0.338	0.193
99	16.8	3.6569	16.2	6.62	2.86	151	410	527	341	204	148	239	1.66	NA	147	0.118
Annexure-3 India's Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA) for Imports from Bangladesh																
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
3	43.6193	36.7081	113.5375	237.4453	454.7475	289.8559	165.63	655.1881	129.385	202.3277	425.9211	139.4652	39.4037	NA	28.9887	19.58273
4	0.032	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0.0473	0
5	0	0.2085	0.1866	18.2463	3.7027	6.2582	0.7161	0.3466	0.092	0.5031	3.2079	3.1062	0.075	NA	0.1623	0.479
6	0	0	0	1.6979	0	0	0	13.504	0.6769	0	0	17.4117	2.9478	NA	7.9867	10.8671
7	0.0094	0.0031	0.0016	0.001	0	0.0029	0	0.0044	0	0	0.0112	0.0482	0.0018	NA	0	0.0046
8	0.618	17.8232	7.9317	8.6587	7.2325	12.8539	3.0617	4.5228	3.6886	14.6407	21.2086	28.7362	57.851	NA	9.8589	0.6471
9	0.5299	0.3371	1.6933	2.4872	0.4513	0.0566	0.0078	5.2046	0.0872	0.01	0.1798	0.009	0.1417	NA	0.0611	0.0167
10	0.0477	0	0	0.0143	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
11	0.1166	0.0882	0	0.2101	0	0.0114	0	0	0	0.0035	0	0	0.05	NA	2.6268	0.3596
12	0	0.119	0	0.0015	0.0163	0.0051	0.0085	0.0084	0.1608	0.0104	0.0446	0.0158	0.0089	NA	0	0.0014
13	0	0	0	0.0973	0.5753	0.4298	0.2608	0.1256	0	0.1821	0	0	0	NA	0.4935	0
14	0	1.6465	0	0	0	0.8443	37.236	24.8872	0.2705	3.2331	2.5641	0.5906	2.1506	NA	0.1355	0
15	0	0	0.0026	0.0211	0.15	0.5618	0.2077	0.0235	0	0.0644	0.2402	0.2499	0.1562	NA	0.026792	0.048776
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2323	NA	0	0
17	0	0.1043	0.0451	0.1102	0.5467	0.1164	0.1548	0.3849	0.1242	0.0287	0.0269	0.0281	0.1374	NA	0.1245	0.2397
18	0	0	0	0	0.844	0	0	0	0.3364	1.9437	0.8775	0.6842	2.036	NA	1.2565	0.5185
19	0.2775	0.6481	0.4272	0.5294	0.5729	0.16	0.2262	0.2189	0.6485	2.2681	1.6742	1.2963	2.2982	NA	6.1194	2.605
20	1.1669	10.5175	6.994	50.7901	10.8692	6.4074	4.8893	8.9587	21.8279	21.8165	8.3571	4.1703	7.617	NA	4.1445	1.2976
21	0.0119	0.035	0.026	0.1015	0	0.0137	0.1366	0.003	0.0029	0.1518	0.2501	0.1066	0.0935	NA	4.0614	1.6965
22	0.3311	0.5055	4.3769	5.7601	22.2832	9.885	28.1414	7.5201	18.5082	19.5011	24.2193	19.6077	29.3264	NA	26.3869	29.4336
23	0	0	0	0.1078	0.9866	0.8384	1.1608	3.6981	1.6202	1.2383	1.4387	6.423	2.1609	NA	0.5245	1.0276
24	0	0	0.0138	0	0	0	0	0	0.0428	0.168	0.2451	0.3067	0.625	NA	0.8693	0.1791
25	0	0.0257	0.638	0.1395	0.3706	0.7707	1.413	2.5482	4.3037	1.8252	3.2661	2.1719	1.8094	NA	1.7148	1.7049
26	0.1735	0	0	0	0.3189	0.0281	0.435	0.0476	0.9012	0.3004	0	0.0209	0	NA	0	0
27	0	0	0.2351	0	0	0.4231	0	0.9484	0.0049	0.8505	0.7668	0.4082	0.4197	NA	0.2884	1.0463
28	20.2101	30.4736	45.463	36.4628	39.6993	19.0667	11.2268	10.4605	6.6405	0.7682	2.4928	4.4253	1.7622	NA	4.1951	2.5882
29	0	0.0465	0.0756	0.0156	0.0005	0	0.1136	0.1447	0.0002	0.0518	0.0335	0.0441	0.0094	NA	0.028	0.0929
30	0.0029	0	0	0.009	0	0	0	0.0005	0	0.0029	0.0197	0	0	NA	0.029	0.0005
31	1.8901	0	0	5.6422	0.1497	7.6108	10.4367	2.9957	1.3224	0	0	0	0	NA	0.3589	0
32	0	0.0878	0	0	0	0	0	0.0051	0	0.0023	0.0046	0	0.005	NA	0	0.192
33	0.1483	0.0332	0.0254	0	0	0.0161	0.0096	0	0.0116	0.0704	0.0032	0.3297	0	NA	0	0
34	1.4694	0.0638	1.587	11.1579	3.465	3.9682	2.3401	1.7136	2.5887	2.001	1.5233	1.1704	0.9065	NA	0.7493	0.3633
35	0	0	0	1.052	0	0	0	0	0	0.0929	0.0017	0.0436	0.0334	NA	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0.6553	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
37	0	0.0091	0.0065	0.0855	0.0248	0.0028	0	0	0.0635	0	0	0	0.0111	NA	0	0
38	0.1975	0	0	0	0.0011	0.023	0	0.0002	0.0008	0.0002	0.001	0.0274	0	NA	0.092	0.3111
39	0.0205	0.1359	0.1529	0.5822	0.5447	0.1956	0.1151	0.1899	0.317	0.3329	0.3619	0.3624	0.2584	NA	0.3911	0.1103
40	0.0025	0.0105	0.0252	0.0348	0	0.0221	0.0075	0.0544	0.9965	0.5205	1.9054	1.8186	0.71	NA	2.9888	1.2264
41	69.1887	65.7824	30.7651	41.2414	23.1708	11.5218	8.2626	12.8872	20.1614	24.2535	6.3455	4.6316	6.0598	NA	6.6134	6.7133
42	0	0	0.475	1.4329	3.7634	0.5965	0	0.0064	0	0.0727	0.0331	0.2138	0.0649	NA	12.4228	4.407
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
44	0	0	0.0024	0	0	0.0566	0.6646	1.745	1.0342	0.7003	0.3229	0.1636	0.0402	NA	0.1583	0.479
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.3712	0.3104	0	NA	0	0
46	0	0	0	0	7.9395	0	5.0411	0	0	0	17.9638	0	0	NA	1.1904	9.3015
47	0.0373	0	0	0	0	0.007703	0	0.044666	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
48	0.01	0.016	0.0236	0.0088	0.0333	0.0474	0.0435	0.0308	0.062	0.0297	0.058	0.0872	0.2161	NA	0.177	0.127
49	0.7005	1.2461	1.0338	0.5789	0.0935	0.4437	0.3754	0.4197	0.6648	0.4618	0.328	0.337	0.4461	NA	0.0619	0.1981
50	0.9861	7.697	0	0	0.026	0.3324	0.5299	0.5887	0	0.0213	0	0	0.3743	NA	0	0.0585
51	0.1462	0.2426	0.2543	0.373	0.4323	0	0.0438	0.0117	0	0.0518	0.016	0.0024	0	NA	0	0.0109
52	0.0245	0.1007	0.0721	0.0377	0.3141	0.1362	0.2229	0.113	0.1889	0.1571	0.1327	0.1408	0.2043	NA	0.1638	0.1138
53	1282.244	164.9156	484.2061	644.3387	745.7049	1250.753	1237.725	417	1117.811	711.8633	738.4286	553.2188	449.8373	NA	229.9852	81.9277
54	0.0033	0.1534	0.0102	0.0135	0.0325	0.1813	0.0376	0.0626	0.2542	0.5132	0.0529	0.0819	0.067	NA	0.0193	0.0176
55	0	0.011	0.0002	0.005	0.0021	0.0097	0.0443	0.0244	0.0347	0.0233	0.0306	0.0376	0.021	NA	0.009	0.0063
56	7.5986	19.892	7.8301	8.247	53.2215	19.1816	24.2189	4.4107	18.0969	19.146	13.1004	9.3925	12.9005	NA	19.6628	9.9529
57	8.9397	1.1385	0.6871	0.5804	4.24	12.0323	0	0.6824	0	2.9029	0.829	0.9708	0	NA	0	0
58	0.0491	0.01	0	0.0086	0.0321	0.0518	0.0121	0.0261	0.2815	0.5776	0.243	0.0556	0.0958	NA	0.7395	0.0601
59	0	0.1009	0.0782	0	0.0225	0.1891	0.0067	0	0.0161	0	0.0306	0.0868	0.0572	NA	0.0146	0.0004
60	0	0	0.0174	0.0206	0.7184	1.3615	5.7236	1.643	1.7417	0.5312	0.6268	0.4516	1.0059	NA	0.5793	0.3038
61	0.021	1.8291	0.0012	0.0281	0.6783	2.3639	4.915	9.3397	14.2196	32.4425	54.3449	40.9314	86.5379	NA	110.2983	24.5307
62	1.1446	0.9934	2.0795	0.7641	0.5648	0.4529	0.8705	0.4226	1.0509	1.6408	3.0071	4.0184	6.7628	NA	8.3859	30.3069

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	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
63	189.3825	11.5235	0.03783	3.1187	134.3769	236.2147	116.8589	245.6426	276.4341	208.9464	141.2007	125.5752	148.5139	NA	144.3108	62.8942
64	0	0	0	0	0.3544	0.1066	0.1027	0.0636	0.054	0.575	0.0536	1.0737	3.0679	NA	5.7159	4.4444
65	0	0	0.2083	1.1469	6.0384	3.2857	2.5681	12.3761	48.6152	24.0337	13.1944	8.3153	3.9398	NA	9.5898	5.6274
66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0466	0	2.0175	NA	0	0
67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0.3708	0.0924
68	0	0.3251	0.0494	0	0	0	0	0.3037	0	2.8281	0.2258	0.1271	0.2085	NA	0	0
69	1.4398	1.4724	0.5003	0.3847	0.4313	2.2199	0.5043	1.0329	1.5858	4.83	1.9628	0.9693	1.118	NA	1.2432	0.3072
70	0	0	0	0	0	1.2667	13.6496	10.3301	8.1892	4.8398	0.8039	0.1509	0.1227	NA	0.7468	0.5771
71	0	0	0	0.1926	0	0.1969	0.1917	0.0393	0	0	0	13.325	19.8562	NA	2.3757	0.0324
72	0.0108	0.0142	0.0293	0.1152	0.0955	0.5077	0.5906	0.352	0.3398	0.931	0.6029	0.5587	0.406	NA	0.2667	0.3552
73	0.0198	0.1056	0.0136	0.0197	0	0.0173	0.1346	0.0561	0.0596	0.0494	0.0316	0.0768	0.0763	NA	0.4095	0.2794
74	3.0853	0	0	5.1136	3.5711	14.325	11.3503	3.0918	15.6536	10.6669	10.755	8.5153	10.7085	NA	2.4705	1.6244
75	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.6428	0	6.874	5.7744	3.0519	0	0	NA	14.6979	1.6764
76	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0077	0.0408	0.2983	0.0894	0	0.1742	0.0795	NA	0.0094	0.0004
78	0.3989	0	0.1478	0.3314	0.1142	0	1.5773	16.7875	0	0.1397	0	5.6946	3.2427	NA	18.1021	41.7887
79	0	0.0063	0	0.6512	1.961	0.7671	2.1792	1.6434	2.1674	1.356	1.6242	3.1321	2.0506	NA	1.6001	1.6351
80	0	0	0.153173	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0.8715
82	0.0146	2.2191	0	0	0.0057	0.0879	0	0.0076	0.0204	0.0323	0.0272	0.3686	0.0023	NA	0.1735	0.0686
83	0	0	0.0582	0.0104	0.0448	0.0202	0	0.0342	0.0241	0.0023	0.0587	0.0431	0.0769	NA	0.0012	0.0044
84	0.0256	0.0356	0.1452	0.0302	0.0376	0.0721	0.0629	0.04	0.0834	0.0546	0.0679	0.0514	0.0353	NA	0.0878	0.016
85	0.2046	0.2097	0.0883	0.0924	0.1576	0.504	0.5523	0.2157	0.123	0.2364	0.1877	0.2456	0.123	NA	0.1253	0.0695
86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0077	0	0	NA	0	0.0021
87	0.0024	0.0025	0	0.0051	0.0069	0.0269	0.0019	0.0076	0.0058	0.0042	0.0946	0.0259	0.381	NA	0.3373	0.2495
88	0	0.0277	0	0	0.0094	0	0	0	0	0	0.0054	0.0013	0	NA	0	0.0062

Product Code	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
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89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	1.2372	7.52
90	0.0067	0	0.1604	0.05	0.005	0.0257	0.0079	0.0185	0.0237	0.0345	0.1042	0.1088	0.0076	NA	0.3217	0.089
91	0	0	0	0	0.0281	0	0	0.0153	0	0	0.118	0.1876	0	NA	0	0
92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NA	0	0
94	0.0749	0.0141	0.0572	0.3412	1.1146	0.5775	0.9294	0.9112	2.7642	4.7353	1.2392	1.0857	0.8569	NA	1.1029	0.1729
95	0.0274	0	0	0.0186	0	0.0114	0.0115	0	0	0.1556	0.31	0.023	0	NA	0.0031	0.002
96	0.0248	0.165	0.0755	0.0959	0.1542	0.2507	0.3855	0.121	0.0739	0.1466	0.0426	0.0274	0.2593	NA	0.0475	0.0389
97	0	0	0	0	0	38.6021	26.2835	0	0	0.8043	9.3495	0.4763	0.1668	NA	0	0
99	37.9247	0.0347	1290.378	100.7706	240.2557	2446.486	662.7723	1.3147	7086.822	26.3106	525.2083	495.1899	82.803	NA	21.4159	0.0737

Ramendra Nath Nandi, *The Rigveda in Its Historical Setting*. Delhi:

Ashish Kumar

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Primus Books. 2018, PP. viii+143, Price Rs. 1195, ISBN: 978-93-84092-89-4.

The book titled, *The Rigveda in Its Historical Setting*, instead of locating Rgveda in its historical setting, mainly attempts to give voice to the material remains of Harappan civilization through the Rgveda. The book revolves around the central argument that assigns the Rgvedic Aryans and the Harappans same geographical space and timeframe, and by arguing so, the author rejects the Aryan-migration into India theory, which otherwise is usually accepted by scholars. To support his often far-stretched and weakly grounded arguments, the author has reinterpreted and provided with a new geo-ethnic background to the Rgveda by pushing back its date to late Harappan period (more precisely, between 1900 and 1200 BC). (p. 5). At another place, the author underlines that the Rgveda ‘witnessed the three well-known stages of urban life of north-western South Asia, namely, the mature phase (2600-2400 BC), the degenerate urban phase (2400-2000 BC) and the post-urban phase (2000-1700 BC).’ (p. 27). Yet, instead of assigning the Aryan identity clearly to Harappans, the author proposes the presence of multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural people, including Aryans, in the North West India. In this way, the Rgveda is argued to have been ‘a Bronze-Age (pre-Iron-Age) text of the Greater Punjab that followed the dissolution of the Indus Civilization.’ (p. 20). However, in the same book at another place the author argues the presence of iron’s knowledge in the third millennium BC on the basis of ‘the discovery of iron objects at Mohenjo-daro in Sindh and Mundigak in Afghanistan.’ (p. 9).

The author by correlating ‘Harappan archaeology and the Rgveda compositions’ highlights the awareness on the part of Aryans of urban and fortified centers, which are referred to as ‘massive (*mahi*), broad and large (*prthvi*, *urvi*), strong like metal (*ayasi*), stone-built (*asmamayi*), numerous (*bahula*), many-pillared (*sahasrasthuna*), with many gates (*satadura*) and full of resource (*satabhuji*). (pp. 2, 3, 8). Furthermore, Rgvedic Aryans like their contemporary Harappans are mentioned to have taken an active part in market economy. (pp. 29-32). But the author does not provide any strong evidence, other than the Rgvedic hymns, to support this point. The author suggests Aryan’s migration, caused by the social and geo-climatic disorder in Harappan Civilization, from India to west Asia and Europe. It is argued that several ‘enterprising [Harappan-Aryan] families’ following the ‘destabilization of the world system during late third millennium BC, may have moved out in different directions, the wealthier and more powerful towards Syria, Turkey and South-

east Europe and the less well-to-do towards the lower Murghab delta, southern Tajikistan and the Kazakh steppes.' Furthermore, the author cites the findings of cremation practices in south-eastern Europe and north Central Asia, as concrete evidence indicating a 'south to north movement of peoples and cultures'. (pp. 43-44).

The geo-climatic disorder, which caused the disintegration of urban and proto-urban civilization, gave birth to Vedic culture. In author's view, 'hymns of the Rgveda... also highlight the trauma and misfortune suffered by various groups of people in the Greater Indus Valley.' It makes this text 'a highly motivated religious text with a traumatic preoccupation with persistent geo-climatic disorders and the resulting civil disturbances, both entailing loss of life and property.' (pp. 64-65). The bards (who perhaps were also traders) propagated the Vedic ideology, based on prayers to divinities and fire-rituals, 'among, ethnic South Asians, most of whom were passing through a traumatic phase following the decay of Harappan civilization.' (p. 71). These bards, including fair-skinned as well as dark-skinned poets, with the patronage of different chiefs composed Vedic literature. However, internal conflicts among bards or priests are also underlined in this book, which makes Vedic corpus polycentric. For instance, the author identifies the Atharvaveda (originally known as AtharvanAngirasa) as a composition of 'diverse groups of subaltern priests and composers.' (pp. 77-78). In a same way, inclusion of Soma cult in the Rgvedic liturgy, displays the assimilation of dark-skinned aboriginal ethnic groups, who originally lived in the Hindu Kush Mountains and prepared the Soma juice and consumed it. (pp. 81-82).

On the question of Saraswati River, the author argues the presence of two Saraswatis: eastern, identified by the dry Ghaggar-Hakra River and western, identified with Haraxvaity of the Avesta and the Harauti of the Old Persian inscriptions. (p. 98). According to the author, Ghaggar-Hakra River, which had been a mighty river in the third millennium BC, was the central theme of several bardic compositions. These bardic compositions remained a part of the Rgveda even after the drying up the Ghaggar-Hakra River in the late second millennium BC. Later, with the entry of diverse ethnic groups (for instance, Divodasa, a Daha chief of Irano-Afghan origin) into North-West India, the information related to western Saraswati too entered into the Rgveda. (pp. 102-108). The presence of horse, likewise, is argued by the author in Harappan society. Whereas the onager and the ass were largely in use, 'the domestication of horse was confined to certain regions like Gujarat, which is said to be a natural habitat of the equidae family.' In addition, the author employs the Rgveda (e.g., term *asva* occurs 368 times) to justify the presence of horse in Harappan society. But at another place, the author acknowledges that 'the Harappans could not have domesticated this [horse] animal because its wild progenitor was not part of their environment.' (pp. 114-121).

The author, as it appears from this book, transforms the Rgveda into a mouthpiece of Harappan people, whose script, mainly found on seals and sealings, is yet to be deciphered.

Highly polemical in character, the book does not engage at all with the views and theories proposed by scholars², who neither identifies Aryans as indigenous inhabitants of India nor attribute an urban context to the Rgveda. In nutshell, this book, by mixing archaeological and literary evidences has attempted to develop a new historical narrative, in which Harappans and the Aryans shared the same geographical space and chronology. But the book, due to a highly polemical reading of evidences and self-contradictory statements, fails in its attempt miserably. In fact, the moment the Rgveda is taken out of its putative Harappan context, all the arguments in favour of the Aryans' indigenous origin, proposed by author fall flat.

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