

RESEARCH HORIZONS

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Maniben Nanavati Women's College

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- To enable economic independence

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Vol. 4

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Smt. Sunderbai Hansraj Pragji Thackersey

(11-06-1885 to 12-01-1980)

Smt. Sunderbai, a soul of religion and education, selfless service and philanthropy, had lived a meaningful life, just short of only five years, to become a Centenarian.

At just the blooming age of 12 years, she was honoured with the nuptial sanctity in the year 1897, with **Shri Hansraj Pragji Thackersey**, the grand son of Shri Thackersey Muljiseth. At a very young age, Shri Hansraj Pragji Thackersey had settled down well in business and won laurels in the social and political arena as well.

At the age of 39 years, having lived a wedded life for 27 years, the cruel fate snatched away from her, Sheth Shri Hansraj. At that time, though miserably bereaved of the life's partner, her profound faith in Almighty and her religious mental spirit, accorded in her great courage and strength, to take up faithfully and creatively all the responsibilities of unfulfilled assignments and cherished dreams of her loving counter-part.

She created a Trust, "**Hansraj Pragji Thackersey Education Fund**" in memory of her late husband and from its corpus, set up the Hansraj Pragji Thackersey Girl's School.

She channelised her wealth for many good causes. Her donations for the development and maintenance of educational institutions in Dwarka and a college at Nasik are worth the note in the history of the progress of education for girls.

She had made a royal donation to Vanita Vishram, at Bombay and Surat, and offered her devoted services, for about three decades, on its Managing Committee.

She also encouraged many students to go abroad for studies or business. For more than half century, this spacious building at Maharshi Karve Road (Queen's Road) stands monument, now housing the Gujarati medium **H. P. T. Girl's School**, an English medium - **The Blossoms Sunderbai Thackersey English High School**, and a large Assembly Hall, popularly known as **Sunderbai Hall**.

She was also one of the pioneers and the main supporter of the Bhatia General Hospital, which she equipped with the latest equipment and made it as one of the leading hospitals. Here she rendered her services as the Hon. Secretary for many years.

She, under the close association with Lady Premila Thackersey, her nearest relative, the founder of the S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai, had directed her donations to this University and to-day, in her memory, stands SHPT School of Library Science and SHPT College of Science at Mumbai and one of the Sections of Polytechnic of this University at the Juhu Campus. She was a member of the Senate of this University, for a number of years.

The heritage she has left behind her, is benevolently utilised with the same zeal and spirit, bearing in mind her ideals of life, by her devoted loyal Trustees, who execute her cherished dreams, with no axe to grind.

Why is there a need for research? Obviously, because there are problems which need to be analyzed and their ramifications to be spelt out. Such research may be of applied or abstract types. The research might be undertaken for various reasons. In some cases, it may be purely a search for truth. In other cases it may be a source of pleasure or joy. In quite a few cases, it may be a need for fulfilling academic requirements. Whatever may be the object of the research, the process of research is undoubtedly, an enriching experience.

Research cannot be done at random nor cannot be done at leisure. In the first instance, the researcher must have a genuine interest and liking for the subject. Next is the selection of the right topic. The journey begins thereafter, through the complex and painstaking procedures of collecting data, reviewing, analyzing and evaluating the data, experimenting, reporting, disseminating and ultimately, finalizing the thesis/article.

One experiences intense moments of joy, sorrow, hopes, despair, satisfaction and frustration at various stages during the research tenure. However, the maxim "A winner never quits" should be the researcher's gospel. Another axiomatic principle of research is that 'perfection can never be a destination, it is always a journey in the right direction.

If research is a systematic, comprehensive and a scientific study of matter, creativity is more of an imaginative, unconventional and an original exercise, at times giving an impression of being an eccentric or idiosyncratic gimmick. Creativity arises out of the tension between spontaneity and limitations, the latter (like the river banks) forcing the spontaneity into the various forms which are essential to the work of art or poem. The editorial team takes pleasure in introducing a special section for creative writing for our valued contributors. This issue will surely offer our readers a scholarly as well as a joyful reading experience.

Dr. Harshada Rathod

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Introduction:- The World Bank Economic Review of Jan 1999 (Vol 13, No.1) is devoted to a symposium issue on efficient Public Sector Downsizing. The symposium issue provides a conceptual framework for analyzing the effects of downsizing operations. It contains six articles for the World Bank research project on Public Sector Retrenchment and Efficient Compensation Schemes. Several Studies on Public Sector downsizing have been made, including the studies by Svejnar and Terrell (1991), Diwan (1994), Fisbein (1994), Kikeri (1997), and Lindauer and Nunberg (1994). The Public Sector Retrenchment Project represents the first systematic attempt to address downsizing from a variety of perspectives, ranging from public economies to labor economics to mechanism design. This paper has been divided in three sections. Section I describes the World Bank Research Project on public sector retrenchment. Section II discusses the downsizing of work force in India followed by Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) in Public Sector Banks (PSBs), Section III summarizes our findings and analysis and concludes.

SECTION I. : World Bank Research Project on Public Sector Retrenchment

The world Bank indirectly supported more than 40 attempts to downsize the public sector in developing countries between early 1991 and late 1993. The average downsizing operation led to the separation of 1,25,000 workers at a cost of \$400 million, including \$87 million in severance pay. The downsizing operations varied considerably. For instance, the smallest one affected 247 public sector workers, compared with more than 1.6 million workers for the largest one.

According to the World Bank, Public Sector downsizing is not a final goal of economic policy, but economic reforms may require mass layoffs. State – led development strategies left a legacy of bloated bureaucracies and overstaffed public enterprises. Severe labor redundancies characterize transition economies, where the shift from plan to market requires millions of workers to be relocated out of the public sector. In Latin America and South Asia, decades of protective policies led to the proliferation of white elephants and sick industries. All over the world, technological progress is making natural monopolies disappear, thus confronting formerly somnolent utilities with harsh competition. Increasingly, authorities are correcting the employment excesses from past patronage and cronyism as more modern and democratic ways replace traditional and authoritarian ones.

The extent of labor redundancies could make politically unfeasible any serious downsizing, especially based on involuntary dismissals. Hence, a Voluntary approach to reductions in public sector employment is increasingly popular among developing country governments, multilateral organizations, and donor countries. The Voluntary approach offers severance to encourage the redundant workers to quit, thus overcoming their resistance to downsizing, restructuring, and privatization. In many developing countries, buying out the redundant workers is in fact the only way to bypass the legal obstacles to the dismissal of public sector employees. In addition, it seems fair to compensate those who may suffer from change in the rules of the game. In this respect, severance pay resembles the lumpsum transfers that characterize textbook analyses of economic planning. If public sector downsizing increases efficiency, it should be possible to compensate redundant workers in the public sector and still make a net gain for the economy. Public sector downsizing could thus qualify as a Pareto – optimal reform.

"The World Bank Study concludes that downsizing reduces Public Sector expenditures, particularly the Public sector wage bill. When the present value of this reduction is higher than the up-front cost in terms of severance pay and enhanced safety nets, downsizing has positive financial returns. A more precise assessment has to be based on economic returns. Downsizing also reallocates workers across sectors. When aggregate welfare increases as a result of this reallocation, downsizing has positive economic returns."

Downsizing of the work force in India: Prodded by the balance of payment crisis of July 1991 and pressurized by the World Bank & the IMF, Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister of India, introduced the concept of downsizing of the work force for which he provided, in the central budget,

a safety net of Rs. 1200 crores. Economic recession of 1997 onwards led the manufacturing firms in the private sector adopt cost reduction measures. Globalization led to fierce competition of the multinational companies in India and abroad; therefore most of the Indian companies wanted to reduce cost and be competitive. The first casualty is the number of workers employed and since 1992 many Indian companies have resorted to downsizing by introducing VRS. According to Shri Ravindra Verma Chairman 2nd Labour Commission (Vol I – Part I – p.245) "VRS are spreading very fast and have affected many enterprises in different sectors". Associated Cement Company, BHEL, HMT, Indian Airlines, Siemens, TISCO, SAIL and many other companies have introduced VRS. Indian Railways were thinking of reducing their number of workers by 30,000 per year. This is by no means an exhaustive list. The Verma Report concludes: "We learn that about 8 Lakh workers have been ushered out of jobs through VRS and retirement schemes".(Para 4.283). The Verma Report received number of complaints on VRS. They are summarized in the next paragraph (Para 4.284)

"We have been told that in many cases, it is a travesty of truth to describe these schemes as voluntary. We are not asserting that all 'Voluntary' retirement schemes have suffered from elements of duress. We realize that in many cases, acceptance of VRS has been bonafide, and by free choice. But we have also been told of elements of indirect compulsion, pressure tactics, innovative forms of mental harassment, compelling employees to resign by seeking to terminate them, and in some cases, physical torture and threats of violence against themselves or dependents. Responsible officers or workers associations particularly in the Banking Industry, have deposed before us about such practices followed by employers particularly in foreign banks."

Downsizing in Banks:- According to M. Narasimham, Chairman of the Committee on Banking Sector Reforms (April 1998) "It seems apparent that there are varying levels of overmanning in public sector banks. The managements of individual banks must initiate steps to measure what adjustment in the size of their work force is necessary for the banks to remain efficient, competitive and viable. Surplus staff, where identified, would need to be redeployed on new business and activities where necessary, after suitable retraining. It is possible that even after this some of the excess staff may not be suitable for redeployment on grounds of aptitude and mobility. It will, therefore, be necessary to introduce an appropriate Voluntary Retirement Scheme with incentives. The managements of banks would need to initiate dialogue in this area with representatives of labour."

Overall Picture of VRS in PSBs : VRS started in manufacturing and then spread to other sectors like banking. VRS was introduced in PSBs at the request of Ministry of Finance, Government of India, conveyed to Indian Banks Association (IBA).

26 banks, excluding Corporation Bank, implemented VRS from 1st Nov. 2000 to 31.3.2001. Corporation Bank did not implement the scheme because it argued that it has enough business to keep its existing staff fully employed. On the contrary, the chairman of the bank argued that the bank may need more staff in view of its expansion plan. However, due to pressure of officers' union, Corporation Bank relieved 160 officers in 2003. IDBI Ltd. offered VRS in Nov. 2004 to approx 430 out of 2800 employees, after the merger of IDBI with IDBI Bank by the end of Oct. 2004, when it became a universal bank. Among the private sector banks it has been reported that the ICICI bank also offered VRS to its employees who had crossed the age of 40, but no figures are available for comparative purposes with PSBs. The State Bank of India and its group offered VRS only to those employees who were above 53-55 years of age. Any other employees below this age was denied VRS.

The overall picture of VRS is given by Mr. Banambar Sahoo of Allahabad Bank in his dissertation submitted to Indian Banks' Association, in his Table No.6 which gives details of total strength as on 31st March 2000, number of applications received, number of applications accepted / staff relieved and number of applications rejected.

Table No.1.1
Applications Received, Released and Rejected under VRS

Cadre wise break-up of Employees	Total Strength as on 31.03.2000	No. of Applications Received	No. of Applications Accepted/ Relieved	No. of Applications Rejected
A) Nationalised Banks				

i) Officers	158296	40067	34808	5259
ii) Clerks	275682	31858	29930	1928
iii) Sub-staff113593	8800	8000	800	
Total	547571	80725	72738	7987
B) State Bank Group				
i) Officers	79820	24485	9630	14855
ii) Clerks	157984	17407	14810	2597
iii) Sub-staff	77742	4197	3632	565
Total	315546	46089	28072	18017
C) Public Sector Banks				
i) Officers	238116	64552	44438	20114
iii) Clerks	433666	49265	44740	4525
iii) Sub-staff	191335	12997	11632	1365
Total	863117	126814	100810	26004

Source: Table No. 26 of Banambar Sahoo Study P94.

Table No.1.2

Region based Banks wise Employee Response to VRS (Percentage wise)

SI	Description	Officers	Clerks	Sub-staff	Total
A % of Applications Received to the Total Strength in the corresponding cadre					
i	Northern based Banks	19.4	7.2	5.8	10.3
ii	Eastern based Banks	25.5	9.4	7.7	13.5
iii	Southern based Banks	28.1	12.8	5.3	15.8
iv	Western based Banks	29.1	12.2	7.5	15.6
v	Total Public Sector Banks	27.1	11.4	6.8	14.7
vi	Standard deviation4.3	2.6	1.2	2.5	
B % of Cadre wise Applications Received to the Total Application Received					
i	Northern based Banks	52.5	35.3	12.2	100
ii	Eastern based Banks	52.4	35.3	12.3	100
iii	Southern based Banks	51.5	41.9	6.6	100
iv	Western based Banks	50.1	38.5	11.4	100
v	Total Public Sector Banks	50.9	38.8	10.3	100
vi	Standard deviation1.1	3.2	2.7		

Source: Table No27 Banambar Sahoo Study p94.

From the above two tables it can be concluded that VRS was predominantly accepted in western and southern regions and by the officers, rather than clerks and sub-staff. Above 1 lakh. applications were accepted. It is estimated that PSBs spent around 7,913 crores toward ex-gratia and above 12,510 crores in all due to VRS. It is expected that they will save around Rs. 2117 crores per annum on account of reduced wage bills.

SECTION II- Our Findings and Analysis : We have gone through the Annual Reports of 27 PSBs and the following tables 1.3 & 1.4 give the bird's eye view of VRS performance of each bank.

We have also tried to find out the strength of women on the payrolls of banks, This is shown in Col.9 of Table 1.4. On an average women constitute 13-14 % of the total staff strength. (In HDFC bank women constituted 60-70% of the staff strength in 2001. They were all of a very young age, probably less then 30 years).

Table No. 1.3

Bank wise Break-up of Applications Received, Accepted, Rejected and Cost of VRS.

Sr. No.	Bank	Number of Employees Applied for VRS	Number of Applications Accepted	Number of Applications Rejected	Cost of VRS (Crores)
1.	State Bank of India	35,380	20,784	14,596	2271.24
2.	State Bank of Hyderabad	1,545	1,545	-	170.30
3.	State Bank of Patiala	925	925	-	109.01
4.	State Bank of Travancore	915	915	-	121.05 (including leave encashment)
5.	State Bank of Bikaner & Jaipur	1,231	1,231	-	131.52 (excluding leave encashment)
6.	State Bank of Mysore	1,374	1,374	-	155.57
7.	State Bank of Indore	359	359	-	45.12
8.	State Bank of Saurashtra	965	965	-	104.78
9.	Canara Bank 7,920	7,280	640	873	
10.	Punjab National Bank	6,095	5,890	205	675.89
11.	Bank of Baroda	6,762	-	-	855.15
12.	Bank of India 7,768	7,458	310	855.20	
13.	Central Bank of India	7,388	7,388	-	629.42 (including leave encashment)
14.	Union Bank of India	4,303	4,303	-	525.95
15.	Indian Overseas Bank	3,992	2,158	-	190.23
16.	Syndicate Bank	7,167	7,167	-	365
17.	Oriental Bank of Commerce	740	740	-	90.13
18.	Indian Bank 3,988		-	635.77	(including leave encashment)
19.	UCO Bank 5,479	4,865	614	659.25	
20.	Allahabad Bank	1,467	742	-	56.96
21.	United Bank of India	2,800	-	-	93.1 (including leave encashment)
22.	Andhra Bank 1,600	1,600	-	184.47	
23.	Bank of Maharashtra	2,643	1,876	-	217.78

24	Dena Bank 3,534	3,534	-	459.11	
25.	Vijaya Bank 2,582	2,470	112	270.49	
26.	Corporation Bank	-	-	-	-
27.	Punjab and Sind Bank	2,073	1955	118	276.56
	Total				11022.06

Source : Annual Reports of Public Sector Banks 2001 & 2002

Table No. 1.4
Bank / Cadre-Wise Analysis of Applications Accepted & Post VRS Strength.

Sr .No.	Bank	Number of Applications Accepted for VRS	Officers Applications Accepted	Award Staff Applications Accepted	Subordinate Staff Applications
1.	State Bank of India (S.B.I)	20,784	6,694	11,271	2,819
2.	State Bank of Hyderabad	1,545	652	685	208
3.	State Bank of Patiala	925	-	-	-
4.	State Bank of Travancore	915	534	299	82
5.	State Bank of Bikaner & Jaipur	1,231	413	653	165
6.	State Bank of Mysore	1,374	485	780	109
7.	State Bank of Indore	359	161	159	39
8.	State Bank of Saurashtra	965	385	464	116
9.	Canara Bank 7,280	-	-	-	-
10.	Punjab National Bank	5,890	2,163	3083	1,178
11.	Bank of Baroda	-	-	-	-
12.	Bank of India 7,458	2,803	3,869	1,248	-
13.	Central Bank of India	7,388	-	-	-
14.	Union Bank of India	4,303	-	-	-
15.	Indian Overseas Bank	2,158	-	-	-
16.	Syndicate Bank	7,167	2,708	7,167	-
17.	Oriental Bank of Commerce	740	-	-	-
18.	Indian Bank -	-	-	-	-
19.	UCO Bank 4,865	2,388	1,955	522	-
20.	Allahabad Bank	1,462	810	451	201
21.	United Bank of India	922	-	544	378
22.	Andhra Bank 1,600	-	-	-	-
23.	Bank of Maharashtra	-	-	-	-
24	Dena Bank 3,534	1,396	1,609	529	-
25.	Vijaya Bank 2,470	-	-	-	-
26.	Corporation Bank	-	-	-	-
27.	Punjab and Sind Bank	1,955	-	-	-

Post VRS Total Strength	officers	Award Staff	Subordinate staff	Women Strength payrolls
214,845	52,459	106,731	55,655	-
14,825	4,246	7,337	3,242	-
11,944	2,901	6,203	2,840	1,606
12,172	2,593	6,582	2,997	3,491
13,392	3,080	6,416	3,896	983
11,419	2,229	5,619	2,121	2,061
6,558	1,730	3,415	1,413	-
7,492	1,792	3,616	2,084	758
48,257	13,172	22,932	12,153	9,963
58,309	14,658	31,713	11,938	7,200
46,360	14,191	22,562	9,607	-
44,052	9,609	24,358	10,085	6,368
46,754	14,966	21,592	10,196	-
28,044	8,794	13,499	5,751	3,771
-	-	-	-	4,100
28,977	8,865	1,6093	4,019	-
13,588	4,802	5,672	3,115	-
-	-	-	-	-
31,223	8,078	16,448	6,697	2,952
21,009	6,501	10,202	4,306	1,802
19,963	5,586	10019	4,358	1,175
12,798	4,314	6,235	2,249	-
14,238	3,361	7,644	3,233	2929
10,947	-	-	-	1459 women took VRS
13,471	3,675	6,962	2,834	2,397
-	-	-	-	-
10,084	3,627	4,463	1,994	807

The reduction in total staff strength due to VRS of UCO Bank is from 31,223 (31.03.2000) to 29,166 (31-03-2001) to 25,567 (31-03-2002). The break up for 31.03.2002 is officers – 6405, award staff – 16448, subordinate staff – 5780, The women on payroll were 2479.

Source: Annual Reports of Public Sector Banks 2001 & 2002.

Response of Female Employees to VRS

According to Sahoo in a sample of nine banks, the following percentages of female employees were relieved under VRS.

Table No.1.5
Response of Female Employees' of PSBs to VRS.

Cadre.	% of Female Employees Relieved to their Total Strength in their corresponding cadre.
1. Officers	32.7
2. Clerks	13.4
3. Sub-staff	2.1
4. As a whole	14.7

Source : Table No.10 of Banambar Sahoo Study p87.

As per above table amongst female employees the officers seem to outnumber the other two categories in percentage terms,

A random sample of 100 female optees was conducted in the month of May 2006. Answers were solicited from VRS optees on the basis of a questionnaire. Ladies were contacted personally as well as on phone. The findings of the random sample survey among 100 female employees who took VRS are as follows.

Table No. 1.6
Posts held on VRS

Post	Number
Clerks	62
(Including Special Assistants)	(18)
Officers	38
Total	100

Source : Personal interviews with Female VRS optees.

The age profile of female employees who took VRS are as follows.

Table No. 1.7
Average Age Profile of Officers and Clerks of the Age they opted for VRS, Years of Service Completed and Remaining.

Sr.No	Post	Average Age in years at which opted for VRS.	Average Age in Service Completed	Average Years of Service Remaining on VRS.
1	Clerks	48.6	26.7	11.4
2	Officers	50.5	29	9.5

Source : Personal Interviews with female VRS optees.

The conclusions from the above table 1.7 regarding age profile are

- i) The average age of officers turned out to be 50.5 yrs. They constituted 38% of the sample.
- ii) The average age of clerks has been found to be 48.6 years. They formed 62% of the sample.
- iii) In our sample no employee was found to be in sub-staff category.
- iv) The analysis confirms that the objective of Ministry of Finance to bring down substantially the age distribution of the employees has not materialized.

Table No. 1.8

Post VRS Staff Expenses of PSBs for the year ended 31st March 2002

Sr. No.	Bank	March 2001 (Rs in crore)		March 2002 expenses to		% of staffs staff expenses over 2001		Increase in operating expenses 2002 (Rs in crore)
		OE	SE	OE	SE			
1.	State Bank of India	8298	6011	7210	5152	72.44	71.46	-858
2.	State Bank of Bikaner	427	328	400	289	76.89	72.18	-39.09
3.	State Bank of Hyderabad	451	321	415	283	71.28	68.26	-38.19
4.	State Bank of Indore	224	155	225	153	69.44	68.06	-2.38
5.	State Bank of Mysore	347	281	314	242	80.97	76.99	-39.24
6.	Allahabad Bank	658	481	707	492	73.08	69.61	11.73
7.	Andhra Bank 456	339	454	312	74.23	68.69	-26.95	
8.	Bank of Baroda	1608	1146	1563	1056	71.27	67.56	-89.47
9.	Bank of India 1744	1339	1531	1087	76.78	70.99	-251.98	
10.	Bank of Maharashtra	541	424	479	336	78.38	70.05	-88.01
11.	Canara Bank 1670	1253	1593	1123	75.05	70.48	-130.55	
12.	Central Bank of India	1448	1152	1431	1119	79.56	78.17	-33.42
13.	Corporation Bank	341	200	384	214	58.59	55.67	13.9
14.	Dena Bank 571	435	460	323	76.07	70.06	-111.93	
15.	Indian Bank 744	593	726	563	79.78	77.57	-30.24	
16.	Indian Overseas Bank	877	669	885	660	76.34	74.51	-9.49
17.	Oriental Bank 524	315	529	288	60.11	54.54	26.69	
18.	Punjab National Bank	1872	1459	1799	1316	77.96	73.16	-142.76
19.	Punjab Sind Bank	400	305	381	281	76.29	73.26	-24.2
20.	Syndicate Bank	1077	881	1028	816	81.82	79.33	-65.65
21.	Union Bank of India	1020	756	967	687	74.14	71.04	-69.54
22.	United Bank of India	542	448	758	652	82.63	86	204.74
23.	UCO Bank 746	618	837	687	82.84	82.07	68.68	
24.	Vijaya Bank 438	330	422	306	75.42	72.56	-24.50	

Source : Officers' Voice, News Letter of Officers' Organisation of Corporation Bank, September 2002, p4.

The following Table No. 1.8 worked out by the Officers' Organization of Corporation Bank, published in their News letter "Officers' Voice" of Sept. 2002 gives an idea of reduction in staff expenses in March 2002 over March 2001, as a percentage of operating expenses.

On the face of it there is a reduction in staff expenses as shown by Minuses in col no. 4.

We can **conclude** from the above discussion that the age distribution has not improved substantially – there is hardly a reduction of two years, But staff expenses have gone down substantially in 2001-02. The State Bank of India has stated on its website 2003 that the payback period of its VRS is less than three years. Does this mean that VRS should be offered every three years? Some managers argue that the labor laws should be amended to make VRS a regular feature of wage employment.

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Basel II Accord : Impact On Indian Banks

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Abstract :

Banks are repositories of national economy, backbone of the nation's payment system and are the main conduits for the national monetary policies. Following failure of several banks in the 1980s, the Basel I risk-based capital standard was born. A further logical evolution of the same is the Basel II New Capital Accord. Complying with Basel II will however be quite challenging for Indian Banks. This paper traces the genesis of Basel I, its shortcomings and then briefly discusses the three pillars of Basel II. It further delves into the present scenario in Indian banking and examines the issues and challenges in implementing Basel II.

1.0 Introduction:

India is at an inflexion point with respect to its economic growth at this present juncture. India's macroeconomic performance and the strength of its banking system go hand-in-hand. Banks in India have paid an important role in mobilizing savings; allocating capital and helping organizations make the right investment decisions, apart from providing risk management vehicles. Having an estimated growth of 15% per annum, the present Indian Banking sector is today about US \$ 35 billion in terms of total banking assets.

Today's banks have however changed their portfolio with times. They have emerged as a one-stop shop of varied financial services. This has necessitated increasingly complex financial transactions to be carried out by banks-complex in terms of both trading as well as credit.

Strong risk management practices are therefore needed for continued smooth functioning. The Reserve Bank of India has been advocating gradual convergence with international best standards with suitable country specific adaptations.

2.0 Basel I:

2.1 The Genesis

In response to the spectacular failure in 1974 of the German Bank, Bankhaus Herstatt and other banks on either side of the Atlantic, the BCBS (Basel Committee on Bank Supervision) recommended the adoption of risk-based capital standards by globally active banks in July 1988. This was popularly known as the Basel Accord-I.

India like many emerging market countries adopted the Basel I guidelines in 1999. The RBI introduced risk assets ratio system as a capital adequacy measure in 1992, in line with the Basel accord of 1988.

2.2 Shortcomings of Basel I

The initial capital accord of 1988, being simple, was hugely successful with more than 100 countries accepting it as a benchmark. However, subsequently, it was criticized as being inflexible due to its focus on primary credit risk. Leeladhar V, while making a speech on Basel II Accord and its implications at the Bankers' Club, Mangalore on 11th March 2005 criticized the Basel I accord for its :

- Broad brush approach-irrespective of quality of counter party or credit
- Encouraging regulatory arbitrage by cherry picking
- Lack of incentives for credit risk mitigation techniques
- Not covering operational risk

The Basel I approach gave rise to a significant gap between the measurement of regulatory risk (as prescribed by Basel norms) and the economic risk actually experienced by individual banks¹. To address the above issues, the BCBS drafted the Basel II Accord.

3.0 The New Capital Accord: Basel II:

3.1 The Three Pillars

The Basel II Accord was approved by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision of Banks for International Settlements in June 2004. It was suggested that Banks and supervisors implement the same by beginning 2007.

Basel II takes a three-pillar approach to regulatory capital measurement and capital standards².

Pillar 1 spells out the capital requirement of a bank in relation to the credit risk in its portfolio (which is a significant shift from one size fits all of Basel I). It allows flexibility to banks and supervisors to choose from among the Standardised Approach, the Internal Ratings Based Approach and Securitisation Framework methods to calculate the capital requirement for credit risk exposures. Pillar 1 also sets out the allocation of capital for operational risk and market risk in the trading books of banks. For Operational risk, the three approaches are Basic Indicator approach, The Standardized approach and Advanced Management approach. For Market risk the two approaches are Standard Duration approach and the Model approach.

Pillar 2 provides a tool for supervisors to keep checks on the adequacy of capitalization levels of banks and also distinguish banks on basis of their risk management systems and profile of capital. It allows discretion to supervisors to

- a. Link capital to the risk profile of a bank
- b. Take appropriate remedial measures if required and
- c. Ask banks to maintain capital at a level higher than the regulatory minimum

Pillar 3 provides a framework for improvement of banks' disclosure standards for financial reporting, risk management, asset quality, regulatory sanctions and the like. The pillar also indicates remedial measures that regulators can take to keep a check on erring banks and maintain the integrity of the banking system. Further, pillar 3 allows banks to maintain confidentiality over certain information, disclosure of which could impact competitiveness or breach legal contracts.

3.2 Basel II Implementation in India

Based on the recommendations of a Steering Committee established in February 2005 for the purpose, the RBI issued draft guidelines of implementing a New Capital Adequacy Framework in line with Basel II. The RBI had initially specified that the migration to Basel II will be effective March 31, 2007. The deadline of implementing Basel II has now been extended. All scheduled commercial banks will have to adhere to the guidelines by March 31, 2009. Incidentally, 2008 is also the year when restrictions on branch opening and acquisition go, which would mean increased competition for banks.

3.2.1 The Present Scenario

With respect to minimum capital adequacy, India is much ahead of several other developing countries in instituting prudential norms for its banking industry. While the minimum capital adequacy requirement under the Basel standard is 8 percent, the RBI has stipulated and achieved a minimum of 9 percent. The capital adequacy norms applicable to the 88 commercial banks, 2000 co-operative banks and 133 regional rural banks have been maintained at varying levels of stringency. On the first track, the commercial banks in India will start implementing Basel II. They will initially adopt the "Standardised Approach" to credit risk and "Basic Indicators Approach" to operational risk. The co-operative banks, on the second track, are required to maintain capital for credit risk as per Basel I framework and through surrogates for market risk. The Regional Rural Banks, on the third track, have a minimum capital requirement which is, however, not on part with the Basel I framework. Consequently, India will have a major segment of systemic importance on a Basel II framework, a portion of the minor segment partly on Basel I framework, and the smallest segment on a non-Basel framework. The overall supervisory focus will be primarily on enhancing the quality of risk management systems in these banks.

RBI has also introduced "Risk-based supervision" in 23 banks on a pilot basis³. It has also announced an indicative set of weights for domestic corporate long term loans and bonds subject to different ratings by international rating agencies like Moody's Investor services which are slightly different from that specified by the Basel Committee⁴.

3.2.2 Issues and Challenges:

While there is no second opinion regarding the purpose, necessity and usefulness of Basel II, there would be some issues and challenges which are likely to be faced while implementing the same⁵.

1. Capital requirement:

The new norms will almost invariably increase capital requirement in all banks across the board. A survey conducted by FICCI along-with KPMG in 2006 found that 87 percent of respondent banks have already estimated the incremental capital required for this purpose, 27 percent expect their capital requirements to

increase by 1-2 percent while 20 percent banks expect their capital requirements to increase by more than 3 percent during the implementation stage of Basel II norms⁶. In ICRA's estimates, Indian Banks would need additional capital to the extent of Rs. 120 billion to meet the capital charge requirement for operational risk under Basel II. An immediate fall-out has been that public sector banks have been allowed to dilute government stake to 51 percent and the pressure to bring this down further to 33 percent is increasing. According to the RBI, the combined capital adequacy ratio is expected to come down by about 100 basis points when domestic banks apply Basel II norms⁷.

2. Profitability:

Competition among banks for highly rated corporates needing lower amount of capital may exert pressure on already thinning interest spread. Further, huge investments in technology may cost heavily and impact profitability for smaller banks in the short term.

3. Risk Management Architecture:

The new standards are an amalgamation of international best practices and call for introduction of advanced risk management system with wider application throughout the organization. Technology plays an important and significant role in Basel II compliance. Any solution you deploy requires a mechanism by which you deliver it. In case of Basel II, technology provides the mechanism. A CIO of the bank will face an issue of selecting the right technology to meet organisation's requirements. Pricing, ease of implementation, ease of use, ability of employees to leverage the technology and meeting an organisation's reporting requirements are other issues.

4. Rating Requirement:

Although there are a few credit rating agencies in India, the level of rating penetration is very low. A study revealed that in 1999, out of 9640 borrowers enjoying fund-based working capital facilities from banks, only 300 were rated by major agencies⁸. Further rating is a lagging factor of the credit risk and the agencies have a poor track record in this respect. There is a possibility of rating blackmail through unsolicited rating. Moreover, rating in India is restricted to issues and not issuers. Encouraging rating of issuers would be a challenge.

5. Choice of Alternative Approaches:

The new framework provides for alternative approaches for computation of capital requirement of various risks. However, competitive advantage of IRB approach may lead to domination of this approach among big banks. Banks adopting IRB approach will be more sensitive than those adopting standardized approach. This may result in high-risk assets flowing to banks on standardized approach, as they would require lesser capital for these assets than banks on IRB approach. Hence, the system as a whole may maintain lower capital than warranted and become more vulnerable.

6. Absence of Historical Database:

Computation of probability of default, loss given default, migration mapping and supervisory validation require creation of historical database, which is time consuming process and may require initial support from the supervisor.

7. Incentive to remain unrated:

In case of unrated sovereigns, banks and corporates, the prescribed risk weight is 100 percent, whereas in case of those entities with lowest ratings, the risk weight is 150 percent. This may create incentive for the category of counterparties, which anticipate lower rating to remain unrated.

8. Supervisory framework:

Implementation of Basel II norms will prove a challenging task for the bank supervisors as well. Given the paucity of supervisory resources, there is a need to reorient the resource deployment strategy. Supervisory cadre has to be properly trained for understanding of critical issues..

9. Corporate governance issues:

Basel II proposals underscore the interaction between sound risk management practices and corporate good governance. The bank's board of directors has the responsibility for setting the basic tolerance levels for various types of risks. It should also ensure that management establishes a framework for assessing the risks, develop a system to relate risk to the bank's capital levels and establish a method for monitoring compliance with internal policies.

10. National Discretion:

Basel II norms set out a number of areas where national supervisor will need to determine the specific definitions, approaches and thresholds that they wish to adopt in implementing the proposals. The criteria used by supervisors in making these determinations should draw upon domestic market practice and experience and be consistent with the objectives of Basel II norms.

11. Disclosure Regime:

Pillar 3 purports to enforce market discipline through stricter disclosure requirement. While admitting that such disclosure may be useful for supervisory authorities and rating agencies, the expertise and ability of the general public to comprehend and interpret disclosed information is open to question. Moreover, too much disclosure may cause information overload and may even damage financial position of bank.

12. Disadvantage for smaller banks:

The new framework is very complex and difficult to understand. Therefore, it may be out of reach of smaller banks. It is unlikely that such banks will have the financial resources, intellectual capital, skills and large scale commitment that larger competitors have to build sophisticated systems to allocate regulatory capital optimally for both credit and operational risks.

13. Discriminatory against Developing Countries:

Developing countries have high concentration of lower rated borrowers. The calibration of IRB has lesser incentives to lend to such borrowers. This along with withdrawal of uniform risk weight of 0 percent on sovereign claims may result in overall reduction in lending by internationally active banks in developing countries and increase their cost of borrowing.

14. Higher charges:

Institutions under the new capital accord may charge customers a higher price for day-to-day banking activities to make up for the additional cost of operational risk capital. As a result, customers could be driven to institutions charging lower rates. Typically, such institutions will be able to charge a lower rate because they won't be required to adopt the new RBI capital adequacy norms.

15. Credit availability to SSIs:

Under the proposed Basel II norms, banks would be discouraged to lend to SSI that is not rated because a loan to an unrated entity will attract 100 percent risk-weight⁹.

16. Support from Senior Management:

An early buy-in from senior management and business leaders is essential to help ensure the success of Basel II. Without visible support and encouragement from the business leaders, implementation can become very difficult and time-consuming.

17. Cultural change:

Good risk management involves large amount of cultural change. Embedding good risk management practices into day-to-day business processes is necessary to help ensure compliance with the qualitative and quantitative aspects of Basel II requirements.

18. Rewards and Incentives:

A number of banks, globally, have found it useful to offer incentives to and reward good risk management practices through the use of human resources policies¹⁰.

18. Integrated Approach:

Banks in India now need to comply with a number of different regulatory initiatives, such as Sarbanes-Oxley, Basel II and Clause 49. Implementation of these as standalone solutions can duplicate effort. An integrated approach through a suitable risk management framework could well help the banks to gain synergies.

19. Capital Adequacy assessment process:

Though banks may plan for their capital for the next one or two years, planning for the risk arising out of the business profile of banks in the future is seldom done. Banks need to plan for risks that they may take in the future and the capital required to cover these risks. This type of planning requires proper integration of the business plan for the next few years with the capital adequacy plan.

4.0 Conclusion:

The common objective of all official supervisors is to maintain a strong and vibrant financial system. Critical for this is to have a robust risk management system in place. Basel II precisely tries to achieve this and is a logical and appropriate successor to Basel I. The RBI has accepted in principle the New Capital accord (Basel II). The task of implementing Basel II is however quite intimidating as eventually the entire system including the banks and the supervisor will have to migrate to the New Accord. The RBI has been advocating gradual convergence with international best standards with suitable country specific adaptations. Flexibility has been the hallmark of our reform process and it may be necessary to adopt a flexible approach while implementing Basel II. This does not pose just challenges but also offers considerable opportunities to banks to upgrade their risk management systems and thus become more efficient and competitive. Implementation of Basel II has been described as a long journey rather than a destination by itself. It will definitely require commitment of substantial capital and human resources on part of both banks and the supervisors. RBI has decided to follow a consultative process while implementing Basel II norms and move in a gradual, sequential and co-coordinated manner. Implementing Basel II will only make Indian Banking much stronger and robust and ready to meet challenges of tomorrow.

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Impact Of Urbanisation In India

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Introduction: The process of urbanisation refers to much more than simple population growth; it involves changes in the economic, social and political structures of a region. Rapid urban growth is responsible for many environmental and social changes in the urban environment and its effects are strongly related to global change issues. The rapid growth of cities strains their capacity to provide services such as energy, education, health care, transportation, sanitation and physical security. Because governments have less revenue to spend on the basic upkeep of cities and the provision of services, cities have become areas of massive sprawl, serious environmental problems and widespread poverty.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, urbanization resulted from and contributed to industrialization. New job opportunities in the cities motivated the mass movement of surplus population away from the countryside. At the same time, migrants provided cheap, plentiful labour for the emerging factories. Today, due to movements such as globalization, the circumstances are similar in developing countries. Here the concentration of investments in cities attracts large numbers of migrants looking for employment, thereby creating a large surplus labour force, which keeps wages low. This situation is attractive to foreign investment companies from developed countries that can produce goods for far less than if the goods were produced where wages are higher.

Thus, one might wonder if urban poverty serves a distinct function for the benefit of global capital. One of the major effects of rapid urban growth is "urban sprawl"- scattered development that increases traffic, saps local resources and destroys open space. Urban sprawl is responsible for changes in the physical environment, and in the form and spatial organization of cities. Urbanization in India is neither unique nor exclusive but is similar to a worldwide phenomenon. Indian urbanization has proceeded as it has elsewhere in the world as a part and product of economic change. Occupational shift from agriculture to urban-based industry and services is one part of the change. New industrial investments and expansion of the services industry in new location is also another factor. As for the magnitude, in 1901, only 25 million people constituting 10.84 percent of population lived in urban areas in India. In the 107 years since then, the urban population has grown 12 times and it is now around 285 million people constituting 28 percent of the total population. During the past five decades, growth rates of urban population have seen significant. It was 41.4 percent during 1941-51, in the decade 1961-71 38.20 percent, and in the next decade 1981-91 promoted some observers to suggest that the urbanization was slowing down. This appears to be due mainly because of a decline in rural-urban migration but the urban growth rate of 3.10 percent has been significantly higher than overall population growth rate of 2 percent. The urban growth rate during 1991-2001 is 31.39 percent which is lower than the 1981-91 urban growth. Contrary to popular perception, migration is not the principal or the dominant factor in urban growth. The urbanization trends in India are a direct reflection of the structural changes that are taking place in the economy.

The urban areas are likely to play an increasingly important role with the continuing liberalization of the economy. Much of the growth of the economy will come from economic activities that are likely to be concentrated in and around existing large cities. The cities need to be supported with improved planning and infrastructure to accommodate growth, better governance and management.

Impact of Urbanization: The growth of urban areas has affected the environment and quality of life to a great extent. The provision of infrastructural facilities required to support urban population is lagging behind the pace of urbanization. As a consequence, the urban environment in large cities is deteriorating very rapidly. All cities have severe shortage of water supply, sewerage, developed land, housing, transportation and other facilities. The level, quality and distribution of services have been very poor. These deficiencies have serious health impacts particularly affecting the urban poor. Deteriorating infrastructure, weak municipal institutions and poor delivery systems have constrained the urban economy and its ability to generate employment, incomes and services for the poor. The impact of urbanization may be considered in the context of urban infrastructure services comprising water supply, sanitation and solid waste management, land and urban environment.

- a. **Water Supply** - Inequities in water availability are a reflection of unequal development within the country. 13 percent of Delhi's citizens do not get water supply every day; 40 percent of households in Madhya Pradesh are not supplied even 40 litres per person per day. Even if India achieves the Millennium Development Goal of halving the population without access to drinking water and sanitation by 2015, 244 million people in rural India and 90 million in urban India will still not have access to safe, sustainable water supply. According to the 1991 census, 81.4 percent of urban household had access to safe drinking water but 40 million persons (18.60 percent) were reported to without access to safe water supply.
- b. **Sanitation** - Nearly three-fourth of the population living in cities have no access to any human waste collection and disposal system. The sewerage systems exist in 60 Class I cities out of 300 but where systems exist they cover the area only partially. In these circumstances only 15 percent of the urban population has access to private toilets. More than half of the urban population particularly in small and medium towns resort to open defecation. Due to inadequate sewerage and lack of water treatment facilities, pollutants enter ground water, rivers and other water sources causing water born diseases.
- c. **Solid waste management** - According to National Sample Survey Organization Report, December 2002, for regular disposal of garbage, 59 percent of urban households depended upon the Nagar panchayat or municipality. 18% had a system of garbage disposal developed by the residents themselves, while 20% of urban households had no arrangement for garbage disposal. In urban slums, a higher percentage of households (26 percent) managed without any system of garbage disposal, 63 percent depended on the Nagar panchayat or municipality, and in only 10 percent cases, the residents themselves had made arrangements for regular disposal. Most solid wastes that are collected end up in open dumps, sanitary landfill or drainage system, threatening both surface water and ground water quality. Solid wastes create one of the most visible environmental problems in low income areas in urban areas.
- d. **Land** - Rapid urban growth has led to the problems of urban sprawl, ribbon development, unregulated development, high cost for urban infrastructure and pollution due to the inadequate disposal of urban and industrial waste. The record shows that public land development and regulatory agencies have not been able to accommodate the constantly changing needs of urban economies and populations in an orderly manner.
- e. **Urban environment** - In recent years, the urban environment has become a major subject of concern. The process of rapid urbanisation poses serious challenges to towns and cities which are struggling to provide and maintain the already inadequate level of urban services. Among the major environmental problems faced by urban areas are air, water and soil pollution and growing volume of wastes including environmental degradation and pushing to the limit their ability to sustain human life. Although the entire urban population is affected, the urban poor are the most vulnerable. It is poor performance of local governments in the delivery of basic urban services that lead to environmental degradation and lower quality of life in urban areas.
- f. **Urban Housing** - The housing sector needs to be viewed within the perspective of the emerging macroeconomic policies. In the political rhetoric, housing is regarded as one of the basic needs. Despite this recognition, in terms of public policies and investments, housing has generally received a low priority. The benefits of public housing programmes have accrued disproportionately to the better and successive plan periods, the housing problem continues to be daunting. The housing crisis manifests itself in many ways like growth of slums and haphazard development, overcrowding and deficient services, increasing homelessness, etc. The below table shows the growth of slums in four metropolitan cities in India. It is observed over the period of ten years the slums have increased in all the cities, this is mainly due to improper housing planning in these cities.

Table 1

Estimated Slum Population of Million-Plus Cities, 1991 & 2001 (In million)

City	1991	2001
Greater Bombay	4.32	5.86
Kolkatta	3.63	4.31
Delhi	2.25	3.26
Chennai	1.53	1.96

Source: Population Census Report 1991 and 2001.

- g. **Urban Poverty** - Urbanization signifies a structural change in the economy - a change in the occupational pattern from the primary sector to secondary and tertiary sectors. There has been a change in the employment sector due to change in occupational pattern. The growth of employment in urban areas has been higher than overall employment average in the country. Still there is not much reduction in poverty.

Table 2

Estimates of Incidence of Poverty in India

Year	Poverty ratio (%)			Number of poor (million)		
	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined
1973-74	56.4	49.0	54.9	261.3	60.0	321.3
1977-78	53.1	45.2	51.3	264.3	64.6	328.9
1983	45.7	40.8	44.5	252.0	70.9	322.9
1987-88	39.1	38.2	38.9	231.9	75.2	307.1
1993-94	37.3	32.4	36.0	244.0	76.3	320.3
1999-00	27.1	23.6	26.1	193.2	67.1	260.3
2007*	21.1	15.1	19.3	170.5	49.6	220.1
*Poverty projection for 2007						

Source: Tenth Five Year Plan, Vol. 1, Planning Commission.

From the above table it is observed that there is a decline in urban poverty ratio from 49 percent in 1973-74 to 23.60 percent in 1999-00. Further the projected figures for the 2007 show that urban poverty ratio may come down to 15.10 percent. During the year 1973-74 the rural poverty was 56.40 percent and by 1999-00 it has come down to 27.10 percent. The poverty ratio is more in rural areas compared to urban areas still the fall in urban poverty is less as even by 1999-00 23.60 percent population is unable to secure 2100 calories per day being the threshold limit between the poor and the non-poor. The serious deprivation in the provision of basic services to large segments of urban population is today's ground reality. According to 2007 projected figures still there will be 15.10 percent urban population which will have no access to basic urban services such as water and sanitation, land, affordable shelter, security of tenure and transport. The majority of the poor largely get accommodated in slums and informal settlements. While there has been an overall rise in income in the urban areas there is considerable disparity between the different groups. The income distribution is considerably skewed as in the case of large cities in the country.

Conclusion: India will witness rapid urbanization and the next decade will be characterized by industrialization and metropolitanisation. Most of the growth will take place through physical transformation of rural areas into urban areas on the periphery of urban agglomerations and urban corridors. This process will be stimulated by economic development. The next decade will also witness urbanization of poverty. The new migrants to urban areas taking up informal sector employment with low wages, occupying illegal settlements without basic services and security of tenure in its peripheries, with longer

journeys to work will be the dominant feature of this process. This will lead to increasing overcrowding, worsening of access to shelter and environmental health problems, a visible manifestation of the process of future urbanization. The income inequality will sharpen the distinction between and among different social groups, such as urban rich from the urban poor, and the urban poor from the rural poor. Inequalities will threaten further marginalization of the poor. The improvements in the living conditions of urban poor with access to economic benefits cannot be ignored and allowed to persist without endangering the social fabric. Urban areas would have to plan strategically, operate effectively and manage efficiently in order to provide sustainable livelihoods, safe and secure living environments for the urban poor.

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Consumer Awareness : Rights And Responsibilities

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Introduction

In the 20th century, the presence and influence of the market grew dramatically in consumer life. We began to purchase things from the market for a price. Soon, mass production and industrial production came into being, giving the consumer world an entirely new dimension. Have you ever wondered how much urban consumers depend on the market for fulfillment of even their basic needs. This over-dependence on the market and the inherent profit motive in mass production and sales has given manufacturers, and dealers a good reason to exploit consumers. As a consumer, you would know how market products are constantly underweight, of inferior quality and do not prescribe to quality standards specified by quality-control agencies. Consumers not only do not get value for their money but also often have to suffer losses and inconvenience due to market manipulations.

Consumer rights are now an integral part of our lives like a consumerist way of life. They have been well documented and much talked about. We have all made use of them at some point in our daily lives. Market resources and influences are growing by the day and so is the awareness of one's consumer rights. These rights are well defined and there are agencies like the government, consumer courts and voluntary organisations that work towards safeguarding them. While we all like to know about our rights and make full use of them, consumer responsibility is an area which is still not demarcated and it is hard to spell out all the responsibilities that a consumer is supposed to shoulder. In this research paper, we will give an overview of the 8 consumer rights, their implications and significance for a developing country like India, and also define the various aspects of consumer responsibility.

Objective of the study

The study's main aim is to create consumer awareness by highlighting the rights and responsibilities of the consumer and to understand the relationship between the rights and responsibilities.

Consumer Rights

In order to safeguard consumer interest, 6 consumer rights were initially envisioned by consumer rights activists of the West, namely:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ø Right to Safety | Ø Right to Information |
| Ø Right to Choice | Ø Right to be Heard |
| Ø The Right to Redress | Ø The right to consumer education |

Right to Safety

Poor urban consumers (defined as those households with monthly incomes of less than 3000 rupees) could be affected more by the heavy metals present in vegetables purchased. Several reasons may be attributed to this including: Poor consumers wash their vegetables less thoroughly than better off consumers; the poor may purchase vegetables that have been in the market for a longer time at a lower price, therewith increasing the risk of longer exposure times of the vegetable to aerial deposition of heavy metals; the poor have less access to higher priced food that is perceived to be of higher quality and the poor may be more susceptible to the adverse effects of heavy metals due to an already unfavourable relative health and nutritional situation, with particular reference to women and children. Also, the research team's consumer studies indicate that awareness of food safety issues is lower amongst lower income groups. On the other hand, wealthy consumers may be more exposed to heavy metals through greater overall consumption of vegetables. The wealthy are able to purchase costly 'off season' vegetables when high doses of agro-chemicals (some containing heavy metals) are applied by farmers to stave off insect pests.

Earlier, right to safety meant that a consumer should be protected from health risks of using electronic products like irons, plugs, or other such things. Technological changes have however widened the ambit of this consumer right. The right to safety has now expanded in purview to include genetically modified food. Food safety should ensure that consumer has no short-term or long-term adverse health effects due to consumption of genetically modified food. Genetically Modified organisms can be defined as 'organisms produced as a result of Biotechnological changes or genetic engineering'. Genetic Modification technology is suspect because making changes in the genetic code alters the entire sequence of the material and that might lead to unintended development of many undesirable traits. For e.g. A virus while in contact with a gene resistant plant may acquire the genetic material (disease resistant quality) and may become even more dangerous. If any such virus becomes virulent, it may destroy desirable plant species and create serious imbalance in the given eco-system. Also, if a consumer eats genetically modified food products, s/he may develop resistance to anti-biotics or allergies in certain cases.

Safety of natural food products is also a problem of growing concern since due to increased chemical inputs in farms, our food supply is being contaminated with pesticides and chemicals. This poses a grave danger to consumer health. For non-vegetarians, the problem is even more serious since food animals are being fed such as anti-biotics to fight diseases among animals and boost their growth. This can have serious repercussions on consumer health.

Right to Information

Right to information means the right to be given the facts needed to make an informed choice or decision about factors like quality, quantity, potency, purity standards and price of product or service.

The right to information now goes beyond avoiding deception and protection against misleading advertising, improper labelling and other practices. For e.g. when you buy a product or utilise a service, you should be informed about:

- a) How to consume a product
- b) The adverse health effects of its consumption
- c) Whether the ingredients used are environment- friendly or not etc.

Due to the ever-increasing influence of the market and the ever-changing scene with price wars and hard-sell techniques, the consumer's right to information becomes even more important. The right to information means much more than simple disclosure of the product's weight or price. A consumer has the right to know how the product has been prepared, whether it has been tested on animals or not, if environmentally-sound techniques and resources have been used in its production processes, what kinds of chemicals are used into its manufacturing and what could be their impact on consumer health. Clearly, a consumer has to consider a lot of factors before s/he buys a product.

Ideally, a consumer should have knowledge of the entire 'cradle to grave' journey of the product to determine whether its safe and beneficial for use or no. The 'cradle to grave journey' refers to the processes a product goes through- from the time of it being made out of raw material, the processes of its moulding into its final shape, transportation, labour, ingredients used, to the form in which it ends up on market shelves. It is only when a consumer is aware of the history of the product that he can make informed choices.

Recently, it has come to light that most cosmetics like lipsticks, kajal and mascara are tested on animals in laboratories to see whether they have any adverse effects on them or no. There was also a controversy about how Nike shoe company was using sweat labour in South Asian countries, paying its workers abysmally low wages for manufacturing shoes. Similarly, there was a 'McLibel' case against McDonald's alleging that McDonald's generated a lot of unwanted waste due to its excessive packaging and harmed the environment.

Right to Choice

Different interests can interpret the right to choice in different ways. For the developed world consumers, right to choice translates into more and a variety of products to choose from. For e.g. American consumers can choose from 25,000 super market items, 200 kinds of cereals, and read 11,092 magazines. This kind of choice often gives consumers a sense of well-being and safety and encourages them to believe that abundance leads to good living. The market also perpetuates this line of thought by advertising and promotion gimmicks.

The right to choice has a very different definition in developing countries. For a population dependent on the environment for livelihood, the right to choice and other consumer rights need a shift in focus. The focus needs to be on choice of good practices like organic farming and conservation of natural heritage. In cities, people should be able to choose cleaner and safer ways of transportation over polluting ones. Similarly, healthy and fresh food should be chosen over junk food. The right to choose must essentially be a consumer's right to choose a safe and healthy product of good quality over an unsafe or defective product. This can give a consumer immense leverage not just to choose products that are safe but also to influence the practices adopted by the market.

Misinterpretation of choice by market forces has systematically weakened the consumer's position vis-à-vis the market. The market has exploited this situation by interpreting the right to confuse and exploit the consumer.

The consumer has been made to believe that more varieties of the same product on the market shelves give him or her the right to choose what s/he wants. In reality, more varieties of the same product just encourages false advertising claims and give the consumer a false sense of choice. Various kinds of shampoos, soaps, and other cosmetics differ merely in colour, smell and brand image. Each one of them claims one-upmanship over the other but gives the consumer very little value for money or a better quality product.

Right to be Heard

The right to be heard means that consumers should be allowed to voice their opinions and grievances at appropriate forum. For e.g. if you have been cheated in the market place or deprived of the right quality of service, your complaint should be heard and given due attention by the authorities. Consumers should also have a right to voice their opinion when rules and regulations pertaining to them are being formulated, like the recent amendments in the Consumer Protection Act. The right to be heard holds special significance in the Indian context because Indian consumers are largely unaware of their rights and passively accept their violation. Even when they have legal recourse, they prefer not to use it for fear of getting embroiled in legal complexities. To allay consumer fears and to allow them to express their views and grievances, consumer forums have been in existence in India for a long time. Consumers have been approaching these forums and consumer NGOs regarding their problems and complaints.

Right to Redress

Competition is the by-product of the market economy. Everyday, manufacturers are discovering newer ways of cheating and duping consumers. Unscrupulous market practices are finding their way into consumer homes, violating consumer rights and jeopardising their safety. It is to protect consumer interests that consumers have been given the right to obtain redress. In India, we have a redress machinery called Consumer Courts constituted under the Consumer Protection Act (1986), functioning at national state and district levels. But it has not been made complete use of under due to lack of awareness of basic consumer rights among consumers themselves.

While in the developed world, right to redress is perhaps the most commonly exercised consumer right, in developing countries, consumers are still wary of getting involved in legal redress system. There are consumer courts in India where any consumer can lodge a case if s/he thinks he or she has been cheated.

Right to Consumer Education

Consumer education empowers consumers to exercise their consumer rights. It is perhaps the single most powerful tool that can take consumers from their present disadvantageous position to one of strength in the marketplace. Consumer education is dynamic, participatory and is mostly acquired by hands-on and practical experience. For instance, a woman who makes purchase decisions for the household and does the actual buying in the marketplace would be more educated about market conditions and 'best buys' than a person who educates himself about the market with the help of newspapers or television. Also, today, it is not just the market or products that a consumer needs to educate himself about but s/he also needs to know about company profile, government policies and introduction of new technology.

Market influences have grown so much that, not just wholesale and retail sellers but even medical practitioners are falling prey to their pressures. The pharmaceutical industry is one such example. India, with its 1 billion population and largely uneducated consumers, is a very lucrative market for this industry. The pharmaceutical industry, to boost its sales, offers free samples of medicines, freebies, and even free luxury

holidays to physicians to influence them to use their brands and give them preference over other brand names. There have been many instances when drugs banned in countries like US, have been prescribed to Indian consumers and are readily available as over-the-counter drugs. It is a sad example of gross violation of consumer trust by medical practitioners. This situation is rampant not just in rural areas but also among educated urban consumers. The reason why the market, in connivance with physicians, is able to exploit consumers is that Indian consumers are not aware of the prevailing situation and do not keep themselves abreast with latest developments taking place around them. Consumer education can play a crucial role in protecting consumers against such dangers.

In the Indian context, sustainability and traditional knowledge can play a vital role in empowering consumers but consumers are unable to connect to their knowledge base. Consumer education can rejoin the broken link and make traditional knowledge accessible to consumers again. Some sources of consumer education are past experiences of consumers, information dissemination by government agencies and NGOs, classroom teaching by teachers and informal lessons by parents.

Consumer Responsibility

While we all like to know about our rights and exercise them, we hardly ever accord the same importance and urgency to our consumer responsibilities. Consumer rights and responsibilities are intertwined together and without sharing consumer responsibility, consumers will find it very difficult to enjoy their rights on a long-term basis.

Consumers need to tread cautiously in the market place. While buying a product, ask yourself these questions:

- Ø Do you really need this product?
- Ø For how long would you like to use it?
- Ø Will it last as long as you would like it to?
- Ø What is the health fallout of that product?
- Ø If it is a food product, does it give you any health benefits?

Check the labelling of the product to see the nutritional chart of the product. You can also empower yourself by knowing the law. For e.g., did you know that ISI mark on bottled mineral water has been made mandatory by the government and now labelling of non-vegetarian ingredient in food products is also mandatory for the industry?

Consumer responsibility can play a very important role in not only checking the market but also in restricting unnecessary consumption. It is not the sole responsibility of the market or of the government to provide consumers with detailed information. A consumer, on his part, must make every effort to inform himself of the product or service. For example, if a consumer consumes a health product, he must make efforts to inform himself beforehand about its possible side effects, and must also exercise caution regarding his eating habits, diet and physical exercise, to take full advantage of the product. Consumer responsibility is based on ethics and rationale.

There are no definitive sets of consumer responsibilities and a consumer must exercise restraint in consumption to consume responsibly. For example, conservation of the environment cannot be forced upon consumers but a consumer must make a conscious effort to reduce consumption, choose environment-friendly alternatives and conserve energy. Consumer responsibility needs to be shouldered by different consumer segments. Every segment has its own special consumer profile and consumption patterns. These patterns define the kind of consumer responsibility that a segment must discharge.

Responsibility towards safe waste disposal

Most often we consume without sparing any thought for what's going to be left behind as waste. More and more percentage of waste generated in urban areas today consists of non-biodegradable waste. Urban consumers are making use of plastic, paper and cardboard packaging, disposables batteries, plastic throw-away pens, use and throw nappies, empty cans etc are becoming a common feature of an urban dustbin. India's urban population is around 300 million. By 2011, the total quantity of solid waste generated in urban areas is expected to cross 56 million tonnes, creating a waste management crisis for urban India. Consumers

need to become accountable for their consumption patterns and their serious environmental and economic implications. The 4 R's of consumption (Reduce, Recycle, Refuse and Reuse) are not just a consumer's prerogative but also his consumer responsibility.

Ecolabelling

Eco-friendliness is an important criterion in judging a product's feasibility. It is a way of assessing how much damage a product has caused to the environment. 'Eco-mark' is one way of knowing which products conform to environmental standards and are more environment-friendly than others. Ecolabelling is a methodology practised by many countries in the world, including India. The Indian government has formulated a scheme whereby some categories of products are awarded the 'Ecomark' if they conform to certain standards set by the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Unfortunately, in India, the scheme has not taken off due to consumer apathy and lack of response. The market has manipulated this situation to lobby with the government to make ecolabelling a voluntary scheme, which will allow manufacturers to disclose and cover information at will.

Young Consumers and Consumer Responsibility

Children, teenagers and youth constitute a very important consumer segment for the market. Their consumption habits are unique and their purchase decisions are based on popular trends, brand image, use of new technology, flavour of food products, and style.

The market also realises that young consumers have a propensity to consumer junk food and prefer them over traditional forms of food. This characteristic is exploited by the market by associating convenience and a brand image with junk food like colas, pizzas, and fast-food joints.

Women Consumers

Women consumers not only constitute 50% of the total consumer population but also make 80% of all purchase decisions. They are being specifically targeted by the market because of their growing purchasing power and their 'working-woman' status. Now, women have the dual role of family-makers and work professionals to play. As a result, they have less time, increased pressures and are slowly being de-linked from their traditional knowledge bank. The market takes advantage of this situation by offering to women instant services and products, like fast-food, 'two-minute' snacks, and refrigerators and washing machines with supposedly better technologies.

Conclusion:

The consumer movement needs active participation of consumers to lobby with the government, pressure the market to deliver better quality, and to support consumer rights campaigns. Empowerment of consumers by NGOs and public campaigns is a two-way process and without continuing consumer support, no campaign can flourish.

Consumers have the responsibility of choosing products that are not just convenient but also safe to use and eco-friendly. They must evaluate the nutrition content of food products before buying them and weight their quality with traditional foods that are less-expensive, have better nutritional scores and consume less resources like packaging and transportation thus the consumer should realise that there is always a mutual and reciprocal relationship between the rights the consumer enjoys and the duties they need to fulfill.

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Customer Relationship Management In Retail Industry

With Special Reference To Bigbazar and Subhiksha

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1. Introduction: Customer Relationship Management

Customer Relationship Management (CRM) is increasingly gaining importance among both academics and business practitioners. As technologies and customer expectations rapidly change, business realizes the value of having long-term relationship with individual customer and other business partners. They are developing effective and efficient processes of customer relationship management and are focused on enhancing shareholders value by shifting from a 'market share' mindset to obtaining higher 'share of individual customer's businesses. This emphasis is on enhancing lifetime value of customers and developing partnering relationship with profitable customers.

Customer Relationship Management is a comprehensive strategy and process of acquiring, retaining and partnering with selective customer to create superior value for the company and the customer.

With customer expectations becoming increasingly demanding, the diversity and range of product and service on offer from banks are widening continually. The challenge for the banks is to work towards ensuring that customers prefer their product or service vis-à-vis that of their competitors'. The key is to develop and nurture a close relationship with customers by understanding their needs and preference and catering to their requirements.

"Think customer, dream customer" is the crux of marketing today. The customer is at the core of CRM. Customer satisfaction and exceeding the customer's requirements, that too on a continual basis, will create customer loyalty. Customer loyalty will emerge through the proposition of mutual benefit.

Retail market can be defined in terms of a group of consumers with similar needs, say a particular market segment and a group of retailers using a similar retail format to satisfy those consumer needs. The consumer segments can be worked out in terms of the customers' geographic location, demographical, life style, buying situation, specific occasion, benefits sought and so on.

So the retail market strategy is a statement worked out to identify-

- (a) The retailer's target market.
- (b) The specific format planned to be used by the retailer to satisfy the target market's needs.
- (c) To work out the bases upon which to build up sustainable competitive advantage.

Retailing concept is a management orientation, through which the retailers try to focus on the needs of their target market and satisfy those needs more effectively and efficiently than their competitors. In order to be successful, retailers will firstly have to identify their target market or prospective customers, focus on their specific needs and satisfy these needs better than their competitors.

A retail format refers to the retailer's mix in terms of the nature of merchandise and services offered, pricing policy, advertising and promotion plans, approach to design of the store and visual merchandising, location of the store etc. Sustainable competitive advantage refers to the retailer's attempt at building up and maintains advantage over competition for a long period of time.

CRM or Customer Relationship management may be referred to as a business philosophy, a set of strategies, programmes and systems that focuses on identifying and building loyalty with a retailer's most valued customers.

CRM = Customer Relationship Management

CRM = Continuous Relationship Management

CRM is a comprehensive strategy and process of acquiring, retaining and partnering with selective customers to create superior value for the company and the customer. This means that CRM will work on the principal that retailers have to chart out programmes, which will help them to raise their profitability on a continuous basis through building long-term relationships with their customers.

2. Problem Statement :

Customer service in retailing focuses on customer expectation. The ability of the retail organization to identify these expectations and fulfill them will determine whether consumers enter the shop again and again.

3. Objectives:

The followings are the main objectives of the present study.

- 1) To study recent trends in retailing.
- 2) To study Benefits of CRM to retailers
- 3) To study the customer satisfaction through CRM in retail market with special reference to Big Bazaar and Subhiksha.

4. Research Methodology:

The data collection has been done through primary and secondary sources. The secondary data has been collected from books, articles in newspapers, Journals, Magazines and primary data by personal interview of customers visiting to Big Bazaar and Subhiksha.

5. Benefits of CRM to retailers

Today, the emergence of new retailing formats, advancements in the field of technology and increase in consumer awareness and needs is making retail competition more intense and also forcing retailers to develop more attention towards working out the long term retail market strategy. The retail market strategy will provide an insight to retailers on how to deal with the market environment, customers and competition. Benefits of CRM to retailers are:

- CRM helps in improving customer retention and loyalty. The customer will spend longer periods at the retail outlet and buy more products, which can result in long-term value.
- CRM will help in generating high customer profitability through a steady flow of customer purchases from the same retail outlet.
- CRM can result in reduced cost of sales, as existing customers will be more responsive and active.
- CRM will emphasis on maximizing the lifetime value of customer segments and enhancing customer satisfaction.

Retailer will focus on quality, customer care and marketing

6. Customer satisfaction through CRM in retail market special Big Bazaar and Subhiksha:

(A) Pantaloon: Big Bazaar

1. Company Profile

Pantaloon Retail (India) Ltd, is India's leading retail company with presence across food, fashion, home solutions and consumer electronics, books and music, health, wellness and beauty, general merchandise, communication products, e-tailing. Headquartered in Mumbai (Bombay), the company operates through 3.5 million square feet of retail space, has over 100+ stores and 30+ cities in India and employs over 14,000 people. The company owns and manages multiple retail formats catering to a wide cross-section of the Indian society and its width and depth of merchandise helps it capture almost the entire consumption basket of the Indian consumer. For the financial year ended June 2006, it had gross sale of Rs. 2,018.76 crores.

2. Company group

Pantaloon Retail is the flagship enterprise of the Future Group, which is positioned to cater to the entire Indian consumption space. The Future Group operates through

six verticals: Future Retail (encompassing all retail businesses), Future Capital (financial products and services), Future Brands (management of all brands owned or managed by group companies), Future Space (management of retail real estate), Future Logistics (management of supply chain and distribution) and Future Media (development and Management of retail media spaces.)

Future Capital Holdings, the group's financial arm, focuses on asset management through real estate investment funds (Horizon and Kshitij) and consumer-related private equity fund. It also plans to get into insurance, consumer credit and other consumer-Related financial products and services.

3. **Group Vision**

Future Group shall deliver Everything, Everywhere, Every time for Every Indian Consumer in the most profitable manner

4. **Group Mission:**

Pantaloon Retail (India) Ltd, is India's leading retail company with presence across food, fashion, home solutions and consumer electronics, books and music, health, wellness and beauty, general merchandise, communication products, e-tailing and Leisure & Entertainment. It sells everything of daily requirement under one roof with numerous varieties, different shades.

5. **Score Value:**

- **Indianness** : confidence in ourselves.
- **Leadership** : To be a leader, both in thought and business.
- **Respect & Humility** : To respect every individual and be humble in our conduct.
- **Introspection** : Leading to purposeful thinking.
- **Openness** : To be open and receptive to new ideas, knowledge and information.
- **Valuing and Nurturing Relationships** : To build long-term relationships.
- **Simplicity & Positivity** : Simplicity and positivity in our thought, business and action.
- **Adaptability** : To be flexible and adaptable, to meet challenges.

6. **Marketing Strategy**

Promoter of PANTALOON, Kishor Biyani has an uncanny ability to gauge what the consumer is really looking for. So, while many competitors were blindly trying to apply Western merchandising and retailing models in the Indian marketplace, Pantaloon zeroed in on one single attribute: the average Indian consumer's obsession with bargains.

Biyani's action based on a shopper's real needs.

The customer loyalty programmes and schemes offered by Big Bazaar are very magnetic to attract customers to step in. Buy-two-get one free, Buy-one-get one, Buy of Rs.1400 get 5 K.G sugar free, and so on many more offers. The philosophy behind this is "Buy more save more". It is profitable for both the company and the customers. It generates revenue for company, saves money and time of customers.

Thus, Big Bazaar is doing hard to attain a big market share and customer attraction in organized retail sector.

(B) Subhiksha

1. Profile of the company

Subramaniam wanted to "Pioneer a new trend", which led to the creation of a new hybrid model "SUBHIKSHA". This uniquely Indian business model had all the clout of

a big retailer and yet we low cost and accessible enough to compete with the neighborhood stores. With a Rs. 5 crore in capital, Subhiksha- with a discount store format was born, to serve a simple proposition: It would sell everything at a discount of 5 to 17 percent to the Maximum Retail Price. The first Subhiksha store was opened in Tiruvanmiyur in Chennai in March 1997. Today, the chain has reached about 164 outlets in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, its turnover has reached Rs. 224 crore.

2. Set up

To cut costs, Subhiksha decided on adopting the following:

- Small sized functional stores with an approximate area 1500 square feet.
- All the retail outlets taken on a 10-year lease period.
- Having fixed vendors for the store furniture and equipment reduces purchased costs.
- Providing customer service and eliminating self-service. This would eliminate customer pilferage, which is normally around 5 percent in the existing retail market.

3. Vision

They want to emerge as the largest retailer in the "Food Grocery Pharmacy" segment in all the geographical regions they operate from

DRIVING MANTRA AT SUBHIKSHA IS:

"LESS PROFIT AND MORE BUSINESS"

4. Special features

- Worldwide discount retailing of groceries is the fastest growing sector.
- It constitutes the largest component of human expenses.
- Customers are conscious of the distance of the store from their house, availability, quality and price of branded groceries.
- People did not seem to care what kind of shop they bought their groceries from and whether it was air-conditioned or not.
- It seemed that the number 1 retailer made most of the money.
- The number managed to get by while the rest of the retailers had to eventually put down the shutters.

5. Supply Chain Management

Subhiksha has a centralized purchasing system. This eliminates multiplicity of billings, which would occur if the stores were to make independent purchases. It buys directly from distributors who sell at only a small margin above the mill prices and from 150 odd manufacturing companies.

Subhiksha has 3 separate godowns for stocking Pharmacy products, unbranded groceries and branded FMCGs. It has a fleet of 10 tempos, which supplies its stores once a day. As the discount format requires holding costs to be at a minimum all the stores are connected in an intranet to facilitate inventory planning. Subhiksha makes spot payments against delivery, which enables it to get cash discounts. The supplier helps in inventory –control and in return gets an improved cash flow.

6. Marketing Strategy

Subhiksha helps the consumer make informed buying decisions. Smaller packs of products in established brands are usually less economical. However, promotional offers by leading brands usually price smaller packs at lower prices to induce buying. For example the gingely oil brand Idhayam was priced at Rs 14 for a 200 ml pack which works out at Rs 70 per litre while the 500ml was priced at Rs 36 which works out at Rs 72 per litre. Here, Subhiksha would inform buyers to purchase

multiple packs of smaller quantities to save money. On products like tea, which have a nil tax on small packs and an 8 percent tax on larger packs, the customers are encouraged to buy multiple units of smaller packs, which help them save money.

Thus, Subhiksha's strategy of having low real estate costs, quick inventory turns and informed customer buying has helped its meteoric growth. With a goal of having at least 40 stores in every city, Subhiksha hopes to become a Rs. 1500 crore discount store chain by 2003. The interesting aspect of the site is the 'Buy without Paying' scheme, where the salaried employee-shoppers can buy at their nearest Subhiksha showroom without making any payment immediately.

Margin Free purchases directly from manufacturers at ex-factory price and sells at lower prices than the MRP, as it eliminates the margin accrued in the traditional manufacturer-stockist-wholesaler-retailer network. Margin Free has a consumer base of 6 lakhs and it sells them consumer cards at Rs 40 per year. Customers who buy this card get discounts on bulk purchases and also government subsidized products like Rs 2 per kg rice.

7. Price control

Margin Free takes extreme care while pricing the products through all its stores. It has employed software, which evaluates the price by minimizing profits. Every store is computerized and utilizes the software to determine the pricing. This helps in ensuring that the products are rationally priced.

Margin Free has found exceptional success in its scalable franchised model. It is now looking to upgrade to a central warehouse concept, which will help it manage growth further. The success of Subhiksha and Margin Free indicate that the discount war will hot up in the coming months but it will be the customer who will emerge as the final winner.

Subhiksha will operate each region as a separate business unit with its own business head of operations. The chain has roped in top draw talent from across industries to take over as regional heads. Sniffing the potential for profits in the huge lower- and middle-class retail segment where Subhiksha is the biggest player, some of the country's top banks, financial institutions and domestic equity-based mutual funds are now together dishing out Rs 100 crore to be the first in at the counter.

The location of stores in each city will be critical. The chain aims to focus on the no-nonsense middle-class neighborhoods, where customers are looking for value-for-money deals without being fixated over brands. Such off-the-high street locations have the twin benefits of bringing in every customer within a 10-minute walking radius, plus Save Subhiksha enormous rental costs.

Meanwhile, the chain has become the first retail chain to start direct procurement of food grains and pulses from farmers in the country. Subhiksha's own-label groceries form almost 40 percent of its total sales, making cost-cutting crucial there. Moreover, with sales of more than 1,000 tonnes per month of rice alone, intermediaries can prove extremely costly to a discount-based retailer.

Customer relation will be good if the customer is satisfied with service. And customer's satisfaction can be judged on the number of visit of the customer to the store.

There are various factors to which customer give preference and these factors are responsible for the satisfaction of customer.

Researcher has selected two stores to study customer relationship management. A sample of 100 customers has been taken (50 customers from each store). To analyze relation of these stores with customers, information has been collected regarding customer's preference, visit and the factors of satisfaction.

Collected data was edited to avoid unwanted information and it is arranged in the proper order and sequence. Properly edited data was coded and classified further to make it simple by preparing tables, Figures, charts and diagrams etc.

(C) **Reasons for customers preferring these stores more than local store**

Customers give preference to that store where they get all required service at reasonable price. There are various factors, like quality, price, personal interaction etc. that influence the preference and visit of customer in any store. Researcher has taken these factors to study customer preference in various stores.

1. **Pantaloon:Big Bazaar**

In case of Big Bazaar, to study customer's preference researcher has taken various factors into consideration. As it is mainly a grocery store the scale of preference will change. The scale of preference is explained with the help of table and Figure.

Table 1.1
Reason of preferences to Big Bazaar

Parameters of preferences	Number of customers
Quality	15
Price	21
Service	11
Variety	19
Others	14

Source: Compiled from Primary data.

Figure 1.1
Reasons of Preference to Big Bazaar

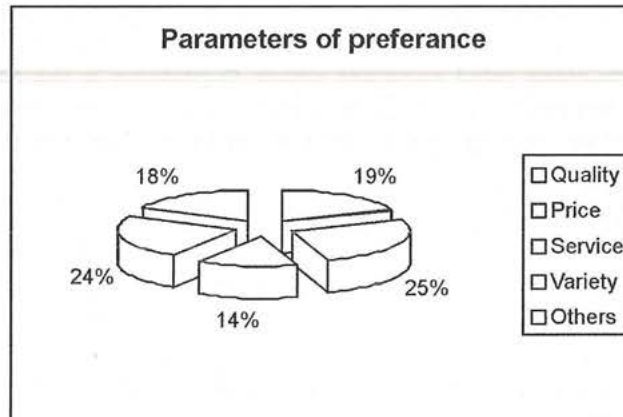


Table 1.2 and Figure 1.2 explain that among the various parameters of preference. Maximum number of customer preferred price 25 percent, followed by 24 percent of customers for variety. There are 19 percent customers who preferred quality and 14 percent preferred service. There are other parameter like here shopping can be done till late night which is not possible at local store and various free gifts, discount is also given.

2. **Subhiksha**

In case of subhiksha, to study customer's preference researcher has taken various factors into consideration. As it is mainly a grocery store the scale of preference will change. The scale of preference is explained with the help of table and Figure

Table 2.1
Reason of preferences to Subhiksha

Parameters of preferences	Number of customers
Quality	18
Price	17
Service	09
Variety	11
Others	01

Source: Compiled from Primary data

Figure 2.1
Parameters of Preference to Subhiksha

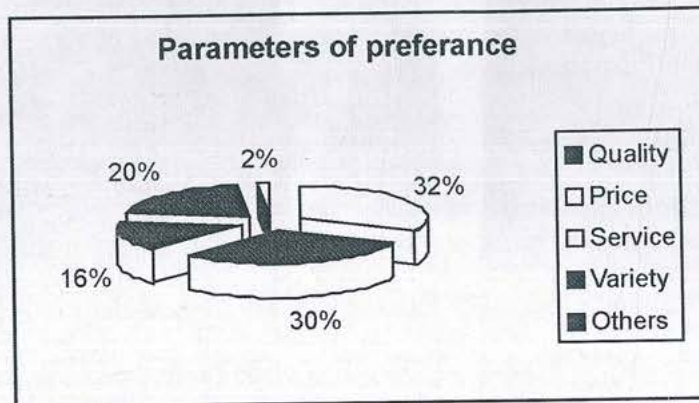


Table and Figure 2.1 explain that among the various parameters of preference. Maximum number of customer preferred quality i.e.32 percent, followed by 30 percent customers for price. There are 20 percent customers who preferred variety and 16 percent preferred services. There is other parameter like all required items are available under one roof and also medicines. Discount and free home delivery is given by this store.

3. **Big Bazaar: Efforts for maintaining good CRM**

Pantaloon Retail (India) Ltd, is India's leading retail company with presence across food, fashion, home solutions and consumer electronics, books and music, health, wellness and beauty, general merchandise, communication products, e-tailing and Leisure & Entertainment. It sells everything of daily requirement under one roof with numerous varieties, different shades. As there mission is to deliver **Everything, Everywhere, Every time for Every Indian Consumer** in the most profitable manner, they are trying to do this at their best.

a. EVERYTHING: In Big Bazaar one can get almost everything of daily life use like garments, grocery, stationery, electronics, entertainment, health, cosmetics, kitchenware, home living etc.

b. EVERYWHERE: The Future Group is trying to open their outlets in multiple places, according to density of people and demand.

c. EVERYTIME: One can avail products from Big Bazaar till late night. They also provide home delivery for some products. It creates a better opportunity to maintain long lasting relationship with customers.

d. EVERY INDIAN CONSUMER: The products in Big Bazaar are to match every segment of customer, quality wise and price wise. One can get branded ones and

other one also. The vast range of products also attracts all types of customers to go there and to get all the required things under one roof.

The customer loyalty programmes and schemes offered by Big Bazaar are very magnetic to attract customers to step in. Buy-two-get one free, Buy-one-get one, Buy of Rs.1400 get 5 K.G sugar free, and so on many more offers. The philosophy behind this is "Buy more save more". It is profitable for both the company and the customers. It generates revenue for company, saves money and time of customers. Thus, Big Bazaar is doing hard to attain a big market share and customer attraction in organized retail sector.

They arrange training to their staff for implementing CRM programmes. They try to provide good quality products with wide variety and at lower prices. They have very active complaints cum suggestion cell.

4. Subhiksha: Efforts for maintaining good CRM

Subhiksha means 'prosperity' as its name implies it is becoming prosperous day by day from March 1997, when the first Subhiksha store was opened in Chennai in March 1997. Since then, they are concentrating and doing well in the retailing of groceries, which is the fastest growing sector, and constitute the largest component of human expenses.

"Less profit and more business" is the driving mantra of Subhiksha. They are applying the strategy to sell everything in their stores at discount of 5 to 17 percent on MRP. Their target segment is middle class customers, who seek for good bargain or lesser price, instead of glamorous shopping place. As, Subhiksha also deals with pharmacy products, and providing a better discount on medicines than other Medical stores, it gives an extra edge to it to attract customers and to become better shopping place for loyal customers, now a days every house is spending at least Rs.1000 on medicines, so it would be a good saving if one gets a better discount on purchasing, as there is a good profit margin in pharmaceutical products.

As, Subhiksha purchases groceries and product directly from the producer or manufacturer on cash it gets a good discount on deal, it also gives a competitive advantage to it against its competitors.

Subhiksha put emphasis on quality product at discount rate and variety for maintains good customer relation. The sales personnel at Subhiksha also help to customers in making buying decisions, to save money. This is a very good practice; it creates an environment of trust between buyer and seller and creates a long time relationship and that is the main objective of CRM -Making Money, Saving Money and Saving Time.

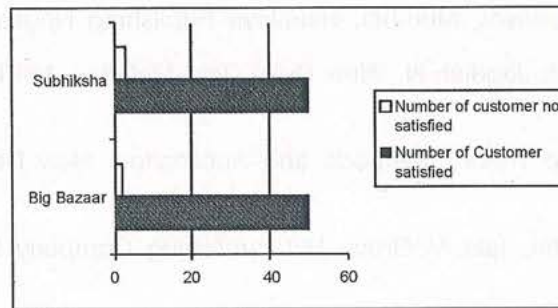
Customer service in retailing focuses on customer expectation. The ability of the retail organization to identify these expectations and fulfill them will determine whether consumers enter the shop again and again. A sample of 100 customers are taken and researcher tried to find out where they are satisfied with the store or not and tried to get reasons for it. Table 5.9 shows how many customers are satisfied with the store services.

Table 3.1
Number of customer satisfied

Particulars	Number of Customer satisfied	Number of customer not satisfied
Big Bazaar	50	2
Subhiksha	50	3
Total	100	5

Sources: Compiled from Primary data

Figure 3.1
Number of customer satisfied



In table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 show that ninety five percent of the total customer is satisfied with service under CRM programmes taken stores. From the above table 3.1 we can say that 95 percent populations accept that "Good CRM programmes have positive effect on customer satisfaction".

5. **Concluding observations:**

Business worldwide is enhancing shareholder value by shifting from a 'share of market' mindset to the 'share of customer' paradigm through relationship management practices. Relationship management helps firms focus on the lifetime value of customers to enhance their relationships with profitable customers.

Contemporary marketing in most organized retail establishments in India are generally thematic or tactical. Thematic initiatives communicate what the retail store stands for, trying to put forth the positioning idea/platform on which it is built-say, on the platform of sheer experience or on multi-brand convenience. Tactical efforts aim to convert browsers into buyers.

From the study the conclusion can be draw that each of four companies are very well aware of the importance of customer relationship, and they are doing at their best to gain maximum customer attraction; customer satisfaction so that they can attain customer loyalty. A loyal customer buys more, does word-of-mouth publicity that is the best publicity, it saves time and money of company. So companies are also giving best customer care to their customers, launching different attractive loyalty programmes, schemes and offers to give more to their customers to save money and their precious time. After all customers are the King and the King should be happy.

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Problems Of Indian Agriculture With Special Reference To Tea - A Plantation Crop

Ms. Kanchan Priyatosh Dutt
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"Agriculture is not a commodity machine but the backbone of the livelihood security system in India, where 70 percent of the population is in village. So, agriculture is not just a question of economics and trade but of dignity and survival. We need to develop a long-term stake in agriculture. This will pay enormous dividends."

- Dr. M.S. Swaminathan,
Agriculture scientist

1. Introduction:

Agriculture is the science or art of cultivating the soil, growing and harvesting crops, and raising livestock. It is the basic industry in every country, both developed and developing. It therefore, plays a very significant role in the process of economic development. In the early stages of economic development agriculture is, normally the major contributor to national income and provides employment to a large majority of population. At later stage with higher levels of economic development the importance of agriculture gradually declines. In India it contributes more than a fifth of country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and generate 60 percent employment. Agriculture with its fundamental importance contributes significantly throughout the process of economic development of a country.

Agriculture is a way of life, a tradition, which, for centuries, has shaped the thought, outlook, culture and the economic life of India. It supports the largest share of the country's workforce. The contribution of Indian agriculture to the nation's economy hardly needs to be emphasized.

India, being an agrarian economy, the performance of agriculture is very important not only from the from point of view economic growth but also for the well being of the majority of the population. There is no economy in the world impacted more by agriculture than India. Given the sector's importance, the fate of economy in India is directly linked to the pulse of agriculture. Though the service sector is booming as the engine of economic growth in the recent past, there is no argument over that India is still agrarian economy.

Tea is the most consumed drink in the world after water. It is refreshing, thirst-quenching natural product. Tea is indigenous to India. This is mainly because of it's pre-eminence as a foreign exchange earner and its contribution to the country's GNP.

In all aspects of tea production, consumption and export, India has emerged to be world leader. India exports Tea mainly to Russian and European Countries. It also exports U.S.A., Japan, West Asia, and Asia pacific Region. In fact there is hardly any country where Indian Tea is not found. India In all aspects of tea production, consumption and export, has emerged to be the world leader, mainly because it accounts for 30 percent of global production. It is perhaps the only industry where India has retained its leadership over the last 150 years.

The range of tea offered by India from the original Orthodox to CTC and Green Tea, from the aroma and flavour of Darjeeling tea to the strong Assam and Nilgiri tea remains unparalleled in the world.

2. Statement of problem:

India is the largest producer of tea in the world. Once upon a time India was contributing 50 percent of world export of tea. India is today struggling hard to find its lost glory due to the reasons like dipping prices, declining exports, waning export market share, emergence of strong competitors in global market, quality related problems, loopholes in marketing system, competition from other beverages, labour problems etc.

3. Objectives:

1. To study world production and exports of tea.
2. To evaluate the role of India in world production and export of tea.
3. To find out reasons on declining share of tea export from India.

4. Research Methodology:

The data collection has been done through secondary sources. The data has been collected from books, articles in newspapers, Journals, Magazines, Publications of Tea Board of India and internet.

5. India as a global leader in tea production:

The world market for Tea industry is not very large. Not many countries are into production of tea. Tea production is concentrated in few countries due to suitable climate, soil and availability of cheap labour. However 30 countries produce tea in the world. India is the largest producer of tea in the world.

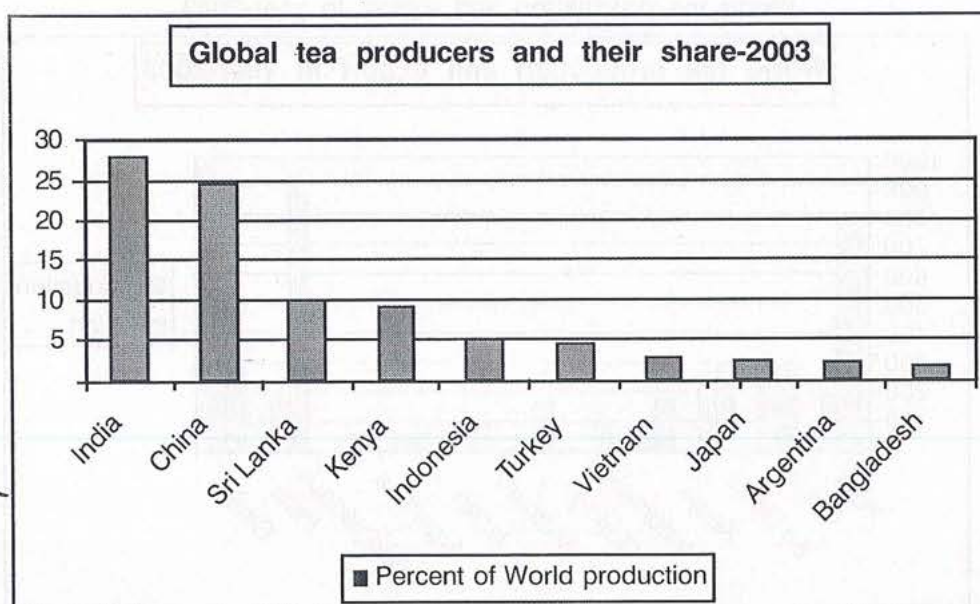
Coming to the history of tea in India, consignment of tea seeds is reported to have brought from China to India by the East India Company as early as 1774. However, tea planting in India is believed to have started from 1824 onwards, gradually emerging into organized cultivation in northeastern part of the country. In 1834, around 2000 tea plants were dispatched to south India. Encouraging success in Assam led to commercial production of tea in south India with tea plants introduced in Niligiri hills (Tamilnadu) and in Wynaad district (Kerala). Gradually progressing Indian tea sector witnessed a phenomenal success during the second half of the nineteenth Century. Now India is the largest producer of tea in the world.

Table 1
Top 10 Producers of tea-2003

Country	Production (Millions kgs)	Percent of World production
India	885.00	27.63
China	770.35	24.05
Sri Lanka	310.00	9.68
Kenya	290.00	9.06
Indonesia	160.00	5.00
Turkey	150.00	4.68
Vietnam	95.00	2.97
Japan	84.00	2.62
Argentina	63.00	1.97
Bangladesh	60.00	1.87

Source: Tea Statistics 1997-98 and 2003-2004, Tea Board, Kolkata.

Graph 1
Global tea producers and their share-2003



As seen Table 1 in graph 1 India constitute over 27.63 percent of the global production, followed by China 24.05 percent, Sri Lanka 9.68 percent, Kenya 9.06 percent, Indonesia 5 percent, Turkey 4.68 percent, Vietnam 2.97 percent, Japan 2.62 percent and Argentina, Bangladesh 1.97 percent and 1.87 percent respectively.

6. India's share in world tea cultivation, production and export:

As shown in table and graph 2 the percentage increase in the world tea production has not seen a huge rise in the last few years owing to the fact that there has been limited growth in the area under tea-cultivation. The total world production of tea has been 3174.06 millions kg in the year 2003. The top five tea producing nation hold five producing nation holds over 75 percent of total world tea production.

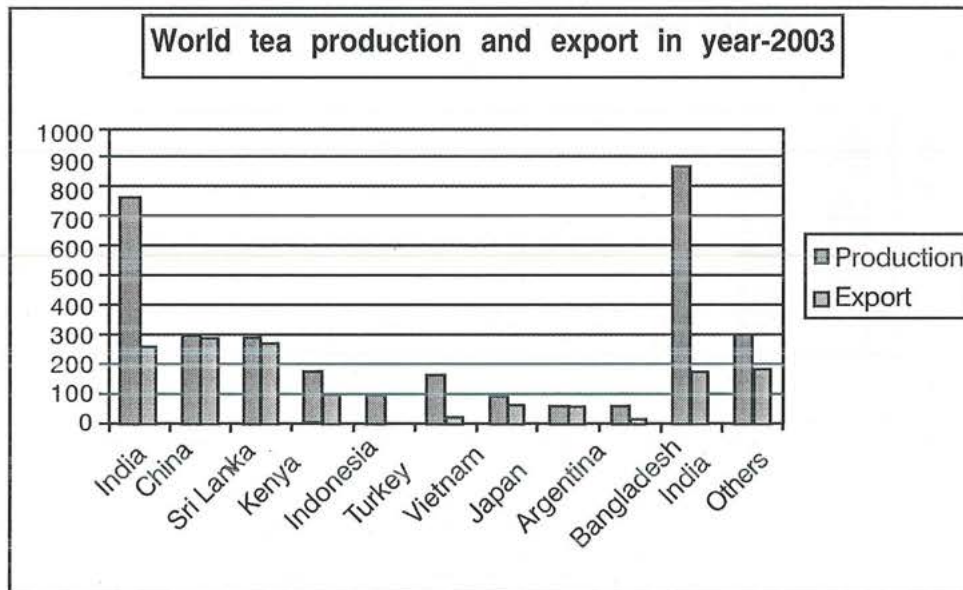
Table 2
Worlds Tea Area under cultivation, production and Export
Year 2003, Quantity (Millions Kg.)

Name of Country	Area in Hectares	Production	%Share in world production	Export	% Share in world export
India	519598	878.13	27.67	173.68	12.40
China	1207300	768.14	24.20	259.98	18.56
Sri Lanka	188199	303.25	9.55	290.57	20.74
Kenya	131419	293.67	9.25	269.27	19.22
Indonesia	143620	169.82	5.35	88.18	6.29
Turkey	76639	155.00	4.88	7.04	0.50
Vietnam	87000	93.00	2.93	59.90	4.28
Japan	50000	91.930	2.90	0.85	0.06
Argentina	36000	60.00	1.89	58.19	4.15
Bangladesh	50000	58.30	1.84	12.17	0.87
Others	223361	302.82	9.54	180.25	13.23
Total	2713136	3174.06	100.00	1400.80	100.00

Source: Tea Statistics 1997-98 and 2003-2004, Tea Board, Kolkata.

Graph 2

World tea production and export in year-2003



The production and export figure of the tea industry is skewed towards the nations where the top five nations in both the categories hold nearly 75 and 77 percent respectively. It clearly depicts heavy concentration of tea plants in few selected countries.

The top five countries export around a quarter of their production and holds 33 percent share in the global trade. Kenya, Sri Lanka and Indonesia produce only 25 percent of the world tea but control 50 percent of the global trade. They export around 85 percent of their total production.

The top 10 exporting countries constitute around 85 percent of the world exports. The total tea exports in the year 2003 were 1400.80 millions kgs. The top 10 tea producing and exporting nations are shown in the above Table.

From the export trends as shown in table and graph, it is visible though India dominates in the field of tea production; it has slowly started losing out in the field of exports to its rivals like Sri Lanka and Kenya.

7. Concluding observations:

From the export trends it is clear that though India dominates in the field of tea production, it has slowly started losing out in the field of exports to its rivals like Sri Lanka and Kenya (China is mainly exporting green tea).

The main reasons of India losing out its export market to Sri Lanka and Kenya are:

1. The quality of India tea is inferior to that of its competitors. The reason behind the inferior quality being the old India tea bushes. Sri Lanka and Kenya are the two new tea-producing nations and owing to their newer tea bushes, produce superior quality of tea.
2. Most of the destinations countries are shifting their preference from CTC, which India produces in large volume, to the orthodox.
3. Dismantling of the Rupee-Ruble agreement has drastically brought down the export quantity from India to Russia.
4. With increasing demand for in global market, production too has increased but the incremental production is getting into domestic consumption rather than catering to the export markets. In India nearly 80 percent of the total production is being consumed. The surplus for exports is not enough to cater to the needs of the international market.

The price movement in this sector has shown a steady rise till 1999. Post 1999 has seen a constant fall in the price movement. Russia, which is still the largest export market for India, has started sourcing tea from other exporting countries like Kenya and Sri Lanka due to deteriorating quality of Indian tea. In 2002, exports to Russia fell by a whopping 34.7 percent. India exported 57.9 millions kgs of tea in 2001 to Russia, which came down to 37.8 million kgs in 2002. Also the sharp drop in exports has been attributed to a shift in the preferences of Russian consumers, who have started consuming more of the orthodox variety of tea.

Because of the oversupply situation in the domestic front, the domestic prices also came down. Changing consumption patterns have also contributed to the decline in tea prices. As per the industry sources, the industry is facing stiff competition from soft drink industry leading to decline in tea consumption in the country.

In a nutshell, the world market prices in real terms have declined and the cost of production has increased steadily thus cutting producers' costs. Moreover, India's big market like Russia, Iran and Iraq have faced political problems, which brought down the tea, exports these countries.

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Globalization : The Emergence Of India's Knowledge Economy, And The Role Of Information Technology Sectors

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Neo-Classical economists recognized only two factors of production: labor and capital. This is now changing. Information and Knowledge are replacing capital and energy as primary wealth assets, just as the latter earlier replaced land and labour. Technological developments in the contemporary world have transformed the majority of wealth creating work from physically – based to “knowledge-based”. In both developing and industrial countries, importance of knowledge for business performance, economic growth and development has been expressly recognized.

It is in this context that the present paper focuses on describing the relevance of a knowledge economy in a globalizing world, and the role of the Information Technology in catalyzing the process of global integration in a symbiotic relationship. It attempts to look at the evolution of India's knowledge economy and tries to decipher the role, growth and performance of the IT sectors in the economy. It attempts to delineate the future prospects for the growth of IT sectors in the rapidly integrating global economy of India.

KNOWLEDGE, KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH:

Modern developed societies have become information based knowledge societies, where knowledge accumulation has taken place through a long history of discoveries, inventions, learning and improvements in the past. New ideas, methods, skills and know-how, which are intangible assets of a knowledge economy, have not only contributed to physical capital accumulation and accelerated growth of these societies, but such immaterial investment in knowledge building through education, research and development (R&D) has further accentuated knowledge accumulation at a still accelerated rate. So, knowledge manifested in new ideas, skills, methods, R&D, and learning-by-doing, has become invisible and subtle sources of socio-economic growth of societies.

Knowledge is at the core of technological development. Romer (1990) in his New Growth Theory contends that technology, and knowledge on which it is based, is intrinsic part of the economic system. Economic growth is driven by accumulation of knowledge. Thus, a knowledge economy is one, in which generation and exploitation of knowledge plays a predominant role in the creation of wealth.

Information and communication technology plays a crucial role in shaping the knowledge economy. These two technologies have the potential to increase wealth generation in the knowledge economy by adding value to existing products and services.

To acquire and maintain a globally competitive knowledge base in its core business activity is a principal challenge to every modern business firm. More than any other factor of production, knowledge capital is becoming the most critical factor for nations' long-term competitive success.

The link between growth and accumulation of knowledge has been tested by a few rigorous empirical studies. These empirical studies are based on knowledge variable as endogenous to growth in open economies. This literature recognizes two main mechanisms of knowledge accumulation. The first is that, trade may change a country's pattern of specialization. Learning is faster if the country specializes in goods with higher learning potential (Krugman, 1987; Lucas, 1993; Stokey, 1988, 1991; Young, 1991). The second mechanism is that trade in goods and factors of production may open sources of technological inputs (Grossman and Helpman, 1991; Rivera-Batiz and Romer, 1991).

KNOWLEDGE GLOBALIZATION AND GROWTH:

Since mid 1980s, more specifically since the early 1990s, the whole world is integrating as a global market economy, characterized by stimulated and unrestrained trade, capital and technology flows across geographical frontiers of countries. Globalization has induced the economies to exchange on the basis of

comparative advantage. For improving their competitiveness, economies are trying to reinforce their knowledge base and thus invest heavily in education, health and R&D.

With accumulated knowledge, modern economies are able to realize high growth trajectories. Since the last decade, when the world trade has been expanding, and most economies have become more integrated into single global economic system, information and communication systems too have developed at a faster rate because of the rapid development of information technology; now the opportunity for greater diffusion of knowledge has emerged, and capital has become more mobile. Globalization has not only lead to specialization and concentration of commodity production; it has also eventuated in large sophisticated service industries.

International trade provides access to a large international market, to advanced technology, and therefore, to a large stock of knowledge assuming that a country's total factor productivity depends not only on its research and development (R&D) and stock, but also on the research and development stock of its trading partner. Coe, Helpman and Hoffmaister (1997) view that developing countries with limited R&D stock can boost productivity by trading with a more developed country that has a larger stock of knowledge from its cumulative R&D activities.

Another channel for greater technology transmission is foreign direct investment (FDI), whether associated with joint ventures or direct investment in subsidiaries of MNCs, FDI often transmits advanced types of technology, either through capital goods imports that are later imitated, or through the diffusion of knowledge and expertise.

IT AND GROWTH UNDER GLOBALIZATION:

During the last decade, the world has become more integrated through trade and technology. Due to globalization, trade in technology and technology-embodied capital, and consumer goods and services have witnessed impressive growth. This changing economic scenario has far-reaching implications for employment, productivity, and efficiency.

Berndt, Morrison and Rosenblum (1992); Autor, Katz and Kruger (1998); and Ferguson and Wascher (2004) remark that current productivity boom is associated with a sharp increase in demand for workers with computer-related skills. The recent literature shows that Internet has changed the markets by allowing more efficient research. The effect of the internet on services trade growth is positive and significant. Countries that have greater Internet penetration also have had higher growth in services trade in recent years. The expansion of trade in services has important implications for growth around the world. Moreover, there are likely to be large multipliers on these effects, as other studies have found that services are important input into nearly all sectors. This implies that, while Internet will affect growth directly through its impact on productivity, it should also increase growth indirectly via its effect on openness.

THE EMERGING KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY OF INDIA:

India has endeavored to build and consolidate its knowledge base since independence. Indian planners envisaged the strategy to attain economic and technological self-reliance by investing perceptibly in education, R&D and health sectors. A gigantic network of research laboratories and institutions, coupled with a chain of engineering colleges and IITs has enabled India to forge a formidable reservoir of technically skilled manpower. This massive homegrown technically professionalized manpower gave it the strength to emerge as one of the fast growing knowledge economies in the world. With increase in the use of IT in knowledge intensity sectors of the economy, India has got a tremendous growth impetus to emerge as the fourth largest economy in the world.

India has many of the key ingredients for effecting this transition. It has a critical mass of skilled, English-speaking knowledge workers, especially in sciences. It has a large and impressive Diasporas, creating valuable knowledge linkages and networks. In addition, the development of the IT sector in recent years has been phenomenal. India has created profitable niches in Information Technology (IT) and is becoming a global provider of software services. Developing countries are looking to India to find technological solutions for their socio-economic problems, while corporations in developed countries are scrambling to initiate research and development (R&D) activities in India to develop faster and cheaper products. India has been witnessing a rapid increase in research and development investments over the past few years. While the government is increasing its budget on research and development each year, more multi-national corporations are initiating research and development activities in India.

The key factor contributing to India's position as a preferred destination for research and development (R&D) is the availability of a large, highly skilled talent pool. It is the second-largest knowledge resource bank in the world. It has the largest IT pool in the world. According to estimates, there are 1.5 lakh IT professionals

in Bangalore only. The country has a well-developed higher education system. With 380 universities and 11,200 higher education institutions, India produces over 6,000 Ph. Ds, 2 lakh engineers and 3 lakh science graduates and postgraduates annually. Around 8 per cent of the Indians under the age of 25 to 34 years attain tertiary education, as compared to 5 per cent in China (CSIR, 2005):

India's telecommunication sector has registered rapid growth in recent years, spurred by reforms. As a result, more than 47 million people have mobile phones at the end of 2004! Fierce competition has resulted in Indian mobile telephony becoming the cheapest in the world. This has been a boon, especially to people in India's 6 lakh villages. India, thus, has largely developed around three functional pillars of the knowledge economy i.e., education, innovation, and ITs.

ROLE, GROWTH AND PERFORMANCE OF IT SECTORS IN INDIA:

India is one of the world's fastest growing economies and is emerging as a global hub of information technology. The IT industry in India has grown at an incredible rate of fifty per cent per annum, is highly export oriented and has established as an exporter of knowledge intensive services.

(a) The Share of IT Industry in India's GDP:

The industry currently accounts for over 8 per cent of India's GDP (Table 1). In absolute terms, it has grown from merely Rs.6345 crore in 1994-95, to a peak of Rs.246609 crore in 2006-07 at a high and significant annual rate of 33.02 percent. The industry's contribution to National Economic output has nearly escalated by 8 times from less than 0.5 percent in 1994-95, to 8.6 percent in 2006-07. Driven by the boom in international market the revenue growth of IT sector was the highest in 1995-96, 2000-01 and 2005-06, but due to the worldwide recession during 2001-03, the IT industry growth also received net trail. Nevertheless, with high annual average growth of IT sector, India's attractiveness as an investment destination in IT sector has been accentuated.

(b) IT Share in Domestic and Export Markets:

The export earnings of Indian IT sector jumped to US\$31.9 billion in 2006-07 and is likely to be US\$40.8 billion in 2007-08, as compared to US\$0.73 billion in 1995-96. Although the domestic software market is registering a healthy growth rate, but still not been able to catch up with the revenues of the software export market. The total size of domestic market which was just US\$1.8 billion in 1995-96 crossed US\$ 16 billion in 2006-07 (Table 2). Although Indian firms are gaining ground and are on equal competition with the MNCs yet, the percentage share of domestic market has declined from 71.1 per cent in 1995-96 to 33.9 per cent in 2006-07. The decline in domestic market is due to expansion of export market and less absorptive capacity for information and technology.

(c) Decomposition of Earnings of the Indian IT Sector:

(i) From Export Markets

The software and service industry continue to be the dominating factor in overall growth of Indian IT industry. In export as well as domestic sector, computer software remains the fastest growing sector. With a modest beginning in the early 1990s, revenue earned from Indian software exports worth US\$ 0.485 billion in 1994-95, which escalated to \$3.4 billion in 1999-00 and further touched \$22.9 billion in 2006-07. According to Nasscom (2008), this figure is expected to increase to US\$ 29.4 billion by 2007-08, a growth of 28 per cent over the previous year. During the same period, the share of the software export revenue in the total export earning of IT sector decreased from 100 per cent to 72 per cent.

It is estimated that ITES-BPO exports from India will exceed US\$ 10 billion (Table 3) and continue to be a high potential, high-growth segment contributing close to 30 per cent of IT export revenue in 2007-08.

As per Tenth Plan Document on IT industry (2002), out of top 400 companies, more than 250 have already acquired ISO 9000 certification. More importantly, 27 Indian companies have acquired SEI CEE (Software Engineering Institute Capability Model) Level 5 certification (the highest quality standard for software companies).

The growth of information industry depends upon software as well as hardware industry. The total revenue of hardware segment grew from US\$ 0.96 billion in 1994-95 US\$ 8.48 billion in 2006-07 and is expected to reach US\$12 billion by 2008 (Nasscom, 2008). The Indian hardware manufacturing sector export revenue accounts for less than 5 per cent of the hardware segment total revenue and barely 2.7 per cent of total

Indian IT-ITES exports revenue in 1999-00. In 2006-07 hardware exports, revenue stood at US\$ 0.48 billion as against US\$ 0.11 billion in 1999-00, and accounted for 1.5 per cent of total IT exports earnings in 2006-07.

Shift towards Offshore Services :

An increased share of ITES-BPO services have led to shift in the delivery mode of services in favor of offshore services which has increased from 38 per cent of the total exports in 1993-94 to 71 per cent of total export revenue in 2006-07 (Table 4) whereas the share of onsite services has come down from 62 per cent to 29 per cent of total export revenue during the same period. This was possible due to high-speed (64Kbps, 2Mbps) data communication links provided to the industry by Software Technology Park of India (STPI) and Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited (VSNL). Seeing the growth of Indian software industry.

(ii) From Domestic Markets:

The Indian domestic market has recorded a small base and lower growth rate as compared to the export segment. The share of domestic software revenue in the total domestic revenue increased from 29 percent in 1994-95 to 44 per cent in 2006-07. The domestic software market has grown significantly since 1994. The year 1999-00 was a boom year for the domestic software market, with revenues aggregating to US\$ 1.9 billion which accounted for 45 per cent of the total IT domestic revenue.

The domestic market for ITES-BPO was valued at US\$ 0.03 billion in 1999-00 with a meager share of less than 1 per cent in total IT domestic market. As shown in the (Table 5) domestic ITES-BPO revenue is expected to reach US\$ 1.6 billion by 2008 with a share of 7 percent in the total IT domestic market. Domestic revenue of ITES-BPO recorded a highly significant growth rate of 42.28 per cent per annum. The demand for IT hardware component is estimated to have grown from US\$0.77 billion in 1994-94 to US\$ 11.5 billion by 2007-08.

(iii) From Verticals and Complementary Sectors:

Since the inception of industry in India, players within the country have been focusing on quality initiatives, to align themselves with international standards. Over the years, the industry has built robust processes and procedures to offer world-class IT software and technology related services to other production sectors such as Banking, Finance, Insurance, Human Resource, Accounting, Healthcare, Pharmaceuticals, Biotechnology, Design and development for Automotive and Aerospace industries, Animation and Graphics, Legal Support, Transportation, Real Estate and Catering have emerged as areas in which they have developed special expertise and have even launched packaged software.

As per Nasscom-McKinsey Report, 2005-06, key drivers of growth of industry include high degree of contribution by telecom and BFSI verticals, followed by manufacturing, retail, construction and utilities (Table 6).

(iv) Software Export Destination:

Indian software services are exported to global markets. However, the bulk (67.8 per cent) is concentrated in North America (USA and Canada), which is the largest market for software. Europe accounts for 25 per cent of India's export and the rest of the world for a further 7.7 per cent (Table 7).

(D) Employment Generation and its Distribution in India's IT Sector:

Another key impact of growth of IT industry has been on the expansion of employment opportunities in Indian economy. The total number of professionals employed in Indian IT industry is estimated to have grown from 160,000 in 1996-97 to 1,630,000 in 2006-07, growing by over 328,000 in the last year alone and registered a high and significant annual growth rate of 22.28 per cent (Table 8).

The very success of IT industry in India is in fact due to the availability of highly skilled workforce. Employment in engineering services, R&D, and software products is expected to have increased from 0.38 lakhs in 2003-04 to 1.45 lakhs in 2007 (Table 9) whereas total employment bolstered up from barely 0.859 million in 2003-04 to 1.63 million in 2006-07. Nasscom (2008) has predicted that Indian IT sector will employ 10 million professionals by 2008 (directly employs 2 million professionals and 8 million job opportunities through indirect and induced employment).

(E) Growth of Telephony in India :

The telecom sector in India has registered 300 per cent growth in the last five years. With world class, telecom infrastructure India has fifth largest telecom network in the world and second largest in Asia.

From the (Table 10), it is clear that the number of mobile subscribers escalated up from 0.88 million to 165.1 million during the period 1997-07. On the other hand, number of fixed land subscriber reached its peak level at 42.6 million in 2002-03 as against 9.8 million in 1994-95 but after that it started to decline and stood at 40.9 million in 2003-04, a negative growth of -3.9 per cent, the minimum growth ever achieved during the period. The total number of subscribers stood at 9.8 million in 1994-95 and it shot up to 205.9 million by 2006-07. As per Economic Survey (2007-08), the targeted growth of 250 million has been achieved in the month of October 2007 and by December 31, 2007, the total number of subscribers increased to 272.88 million. This growth has resulted in growth of total teledensity in India from 1.1 per 100 people in 1994-95 to 23.9 per 100 people in December 2007 (Table 11).

(F) Growth of PC and Internet Penetration:

The Indian Government announced its Broadband and Internet Policy in 2004. It gave impetus to broadband and Internet penetration in the country. As a result of it, number of internet subscribers shot up from a meager 0.05 million in 1995-96 to 9.27 million in 2005-06 (Table 12) and is expected to cross 40 millions by 2010. Broadband connections have continued to grow since beginning of 2006. Total broadband connections in the country have reached 2.10 million by December 2006 (MIT Report, 2006-07). The expectation by 2010 for broadband subscribers is around 20 million.

The Desktop PC market (including notebooks) grossed 2.96 million units in September 2006, registering a growth of 19 per cent over the last fiscal. PC sales are projected to cross 6.5 million units in 2006-07 (MIT Report 2007).

Problems and Policy Implications:

The above discussion presents an extremely optimistic picture of the growth of IT sectors in the Indian economy, yet the sector is riddled with a whole lot of impediments, which need to be overcome.

There are three important elements in software infrastructure viz. telecommunication network, human resource and research and development (R&D). Software companies in India encountered number of problems including shortage of telecommunication links, poor transmission and high cost of installation and; high attrition rates, poor transfer of skills, reduced incentives for training investments and reinforced dependence on programming services (Roy, 2003).

Under regulatory constraints, there is poor enforcement of copyright protection laws, both at home and abroad. Besides, the production of packaged software products, together with continuously changing nature of production technology and demand in this market, raise the associated risk of Indian producers to a very high level (Kumar, 2001).

Though Indian IT companies maintain service levels and follow instructions of regulatory authority, but nothing more is offered. Most Indian vendors are reluctant to spend even small amounts on marketing and communication efforts as major Korean, Japanese and European IT vendors do. Vendors from India do not perceive the problem from the customer's perspective; lack taking feedback from customer and tend to have short-term mentality. Thus, most of Indian Vendors lack depth and width in domain knowledge and do not have strong customer centricity.

Infrastructural bottlenecks have impaired IT services, for in the early days, Bangalore was by far the best place to send work to, but late year, Bangalore suffers the infrastructural shortcomings common to many Indian cities: a water shortage, inadequate sewer, an erratic power supply, and pot-holed roads too narrow for the traffic they need to bear. In the long run, it may make Bangalore a less attractive destination.

In the recent years, there has been a rise in the level of attrition rates among ITES workers who are quitting their jobs to pursue higher studies. Of late, workers have shown a tendency not to pursue ITES as a full-time career, stemming from factors like high stress and lack of growth opportunities. The BPO industry is characterized by ungodly work hours, never ending night shifts; high work targets; repetitive nature of work; pressure to work on metrics; non-negotiable metrics; irate customer; and insufficient holidays. In addition to it, the poor quality of talent pool and lack of soft skills in many Indian software and marketing professionals is likely to add to the worries (Rao, 2005).

Prasanna (2005) predicts that India will lose its market share even as its business in absolute terms increases. Other nations such as China, Mexico, Ghana, South Africa, Malaysia, Mauritius, Thailand etc. have

realized the potential of ITES-BPO in job creation and revenue generation and are gearing up to compete for share in the market. India does not have sufficient people who speak non-English foreign language such as Spanish, French, and German. The share of non-English work is set to rise in the future.

Notwithstanding these challenges faced by IT sectors in India, a number of steps have been taken as apart of the it Action Plan formulated by National Taskforce on IT and Software Development (NTITSD) and accepted by the Government. Some of steps include:

- a) Initiatives to ease the supply of engineering personnel; expanding the capacity of IITs, upgrading the existing institution and setting up of new IITs;
- b) Enhancing regulatory certainty and efficiency to enable the sector to contribute more to economic growth;
- c) Augmenting infrastructure for software development: steps to augment the band width, setting up of technology parks and more steps (Kumar, 2001);
- d) Boosting IT penetration by resolving regulatory issues in communication and reducing and rationalizing tariff structure on hardware and software;
- e) Increasing the use of IT as a competitive tool to improve the efficiency of production and marketing so as to respond to rapidly changing market needs (Dehman, 2005);
- f) Moving up the value chain in IT by developing high-value products through R & D, improving the quality of products and services, marketing products and brand equity to position the "India" brand name further, expanding the focus outside the US to emerging market in Asia, the Pacific, Japan and so on (Roy, 2003);
- g) Providing suitable incentives to promote IT applications for the domestic economy by developing local language content and application (Joseph, 2001);
- h) Putting in place suitable human resource development training initiatives (Saha, 2005); starting at the primary school and moving on to the tertiary levels to meet the expected growth of IT;
- i) Massive expansion of IT literacy and skills among the population so that people can begin to use ITs to derive benefit both economically and socially;
- j) Further scaling up IT applications, such as community radio, fixed / mobile phones, smart cards (Sridhar, 2006), internet and satellite television to improve the delivery of services to rural population; and in e-governance among different Indian States.

Conclusion:

In nutshell, we find that India has made impressive progress in the IT domain, and its IT industries and IT-Enabled Services have become one of the most globalised and dynamic industries and services in the world. The industry's contribution to National Economic output has nearly escalated by 8 times during the period 1994- 07. The Software export sector continue to be dominating factor in the overall growth of Indian IT industry with more than 70 per cent share in total IT export earnings. In contrast to it, the domestic market has registered a lesser growth, But, India being a large country, has vast potential for its domestic market. At the same time, the telecom sector in India has grown manifold and is now the second largest in Asia. In the post reform period, number of cellular subscribers has surpassed the number of landline subscriber, registered a jump in teledensity from 1.1 per 100 people in 1994-95 to 23.9 per 100 in December 2007. To maintain the growth of IT industry in India and to reap full benefits of ITs, India needs to address national and local dimensions of IT infrastructure and connectivity (access, content and language), scale up IT applications and create suitable environment for effective use of ITs to permeate the entire economy and lead to flourishing competition and growth.

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Table 1
Share of IT Industry in India's GDP (base 1999-'00)

Year	GDP Growth (Rs. Crore)	Growth of Revenue in IT Sector (Rs. Crore)	Share of IT in GDP (Percentage)
1994-95	1302076	6345	0.49
1995-96	1396974(7.29)	9892(55.90)	0.71
1996-97	1508378(7.97)	13700(38.50)	0.91
1997-98	1573263(4.30)	18641(36.07)	1.19
1998-99	1678410(6.68)	25307(35.76)	1.51
1999-00	1786526(6.44)	36179(42.96)	2.03
2000-01	1864300(4.35)	55390(53.10)	2.97
2001-02	1972606(5.81)	64210(15.92)	3.26
2002-03	2048287(3.84)	77957(21.41)	3.81
2003-04	2222758(8.52)	97866(25.54)	4.40
2004-05	2388384(7.45)	127580(30.36)	5.34
2005-06	2612847(9.40)	201413(57.87)	7.71
2006-07	2864309(9.62)	246609(22.44)	8.61
Annual Growth Rate	6.32(39.76*)	33.02(27.91*)	

Note: (i) Figures in parentheses are % increase over the previous year
(ii) *represent t-value.

Source: (i) NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

(ii) Government of India (2007-08), *Economic Survey* (2007-08), New Delhi: Ministry of Finance, Oxford University Press.

Table 2
Market Share of IT Sector in India

Years	Export Earnings of Indian IT Sector (billion US \$)	Percentage share in Total IT Revenue	Domestic Revenue of IT Sector (billion US \$)	Percentage share in Total IT Revenue	Total Revenue of the IT Sector (billion US\$)
1995-96	0.73	28.85	1.80	71.15	2.53
1996-97	1.10	29.73	2.60	70.10	3.70
1997-98	1.80	20.83	3.00	62.50	4.80
1998-99	2.60	44.07	3.30	55.90	5.90
1999-00	4.00	48.78	4.20	51.20	8.20
2000-01	6.20	51.24	5.90	48.80	12.10
2001-02	7.70	57.04	5.80	42.90	13.50
2002-03	9.60	40.34	6.30	39.10	16.10
2003-04	13.0	61.57	8.30	38.40	21.60
2004-05	18.20	64.10	10.20	35.90	28.40
2005-06	24.20	64.70	13.20	35.30	37.40
2006-07	31.90	66.70	16.20	33.90	47.80
Annual Growth Rate	35.34(16.44)		18.99(21.84)		26.81(21.96)

Note: Figures in parentheses are t-values.

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

Table 3

Decomposed Export Earnings of Indian IT Sector (in US \$ billion)

Years	Aggregate Exports Revenue of the IT Sector	Revenue from Software Export	Share in Total Export Revenue (percent)	Export Revenue from ITES-BPO Segment	Share in Total Export Revenue (percent)	Revenue from Hardware Export	Share in Total Export Revenue (percent)
1994-95	0.48	0.48	100	-	-	-	-
1995-96	0.74	0.73	100	-	-	-	-
1996-97	1.10	1.10	100	-	-	-	-
1997-98	1.80	1.80	100	-	-	-	-
1998-99	2.60	2.60	100	-	-	-	-
1999-00	4.07	3.40	83.50	0.56	13.80	0.11	2.7
2000-01	6.20	5.20	83.90	0.93	15.00	N.A.	-
2001-02	7.70	6.20	80.50	1.50	19.50	N.A.	-
2002-03	9.90	7.10	71.70	2.50	25.30	0.30	3.0
2003-04	13.30	9.20	69.20	3.60	27.10	0.50	3.7
2004-05	18.20	13.10	72.00	4.70	25.80	0.40	2.2
2005-06	24.20	17.300	71.50	6.30	26.00	0.58	2.4
2006-07	31.90	22.90	71.80	8.40	26.30	0.48	1.5
2007-08(E)	40.80	29.40	72.10	10.90	26.70	0.50	1.2
Annual Growth Rate	40.33(27.04)	35.62(24.83)		29.98(9.58)		17.00(6.95)	

Note: Figures in parentheses are t-values.

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New

Delhi: NASSCOM

Table 4

Software Exports: Delivery Model (in percentage)

Years	On-Site Mode	Offshore Mode
1993-94	62	38
1994-95	61	39
1995-96	60	40
1996-97	58	42
1997-98	59	41
1998-99	58	42
1999-00	57	43
2000-01	56	44
2001-02	45	55
2002-03	43	57
2003-04	36	64
2004-05	30	70
2005-06	30	70
2006-07	29	71

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic*

Review, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

Table 5

Decomposed Revenue of Indian IT Sector from Domestic Market (in US \$ billion)

Years	Aggregate Domestic Revenue of the IT Sector	Domestic Revenue of the Software Segment	%Share in Aggregate Domestic Revenue	Domestic Revenue of the ITES-BPO Segment	% Share in Aggregate Domestic Revenue	Domestic Revenue of the Hardware Segment	%Share in Aggregate Domestic Revenue
1994-95	1.20	0.35	29.20	-	-	0.77	64.20
1995-96	2.40	0.49	20.40	-	-	1.94	80.80
1996-97	2.06	0.67	32.50	-	-	1.39	67.50
1997-98	2.60	0.95	36.50	-	-	1.62	62.30
1998-99	3.30	1.25	37.90	-	-	1.60	48.50
1999-00	4.20	1.90	45.20	0.03	0.70	2.20	52.40
2000-01	5.90	2.46	41.70	0.07	1.20	3.30	55.90
2001-02	5.80	2.50	43.10	0.10	1.70	3.00	51.70
2002-03	6.30	2.70	42.90	0.20	3.20	3.30	52.40
2003-04	8.30	3.60	43.40	0.30	3.60	4.30	51.80
2004-05	10.02	4.23	42.20	0.60	6.00	5.20	51.90
2005-06	13.20	5.81	44.00	0.90	6.80	6.50	49.20
2006-07	16.20	7.13	44.00	1.10	6.80	8.00	49.40
2007-08	23.20	10.12	43.60	1.60	6.90	11.50	49.60
Annual Growth Rate	22.26(20.04)	27.19(21.14)		42.28(9.14)		18.92(11.91)	

Note: Figures in parentheses are t-values.

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

Table 6

Distribution of IT Revenue by Verticals

Verticals	Share in Revenue(in percentage)
Healthcare	3.00
Airlines and Transportation	2.00
Construction and Utilities	4.00
Media, Publishing & entertainment	4.20
Retail	8.00
Manufacturing	13.90
Hi tech / Telecom	20.00
BFSI	38.00
Others	8.00

Source: NASSCOM (2005-06), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASCCOM.

Table 7

Global Market for Indian IT Export (in percentage)

Market	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
America	62.00	67.10	69.10	69.40	68.30	67.80
Europe	24.00	23.70	22.20	22.60	23.10	25.10
Rest of the World	14.00	6.00	8.70	8.00	8.60	7.70

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New

Delhi: NASCCOM.

Table 8
- Employment in Industry

Year	Employment ('000)	Yearly Growth (%)
1996-97	160	-
1997-98	190	18.70
1998-99	230	21.00
1999-00	284	23.50
2000-01	430	51.40
2001-2002	520	20.90
2002-2003	665	27.90
2003-04	843	26.80
2004-05	1058	25.50
2005-06	1293	22.20
2006-07	1630	26.10
Annual Growth Rate	22.28(14.81)	

Note: Figure in parentheses is t-value.

Source: NASSCOM (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

Table 9
Distribution of workers in IT industry ('000)

Years	IT services	ITES- BPO	Domestic Market	Engineering, R&D, Software Products	Total
2003-04	215 (25.03)	245 (28.52)	318 (37.02)	81 (9.43)	859 (100)
2004-05	297 (28.07)	316 (29.87)	352 (33.27)	93 (8.79)	1058 (100)
2005-06	398 (30.78)	415 (32.10)	365 (28.23)	115 (8.89)	1293 (100)
2006-07	562 (34.48)	545 (33.44)	378 (23.19)	145 (8.90)	1630 (100)

Note: Figures in parentheses shows percentage share in the total

Source: NASSCOM . (various issues), *The IT Industry in India: A Strategic Review*, New Delhi: NASSCOM.

Table 10
Growth of Telephony in India (in millions)

Years	No. of Fixed lines Subscribers	No. of Mobile Subscribers	Total Subscribers
1994-95	9.80	-	9.80
1995-96	12.00(22.40)	-	12.00(22.40)
1996-97	14.5(20.80)	-	14.50(20.80)
1997-98	17.80(22.80)	0.88	18.68(28.80)
1998-99	21.60(21.30)	1.20(36.40)	22.80(20.10)
1999-00	26.70(23.60)	1.90(58.30)	28.60(25.40)
2000-01	32.70(22.50)	3.58(88.40)	36.28(26.90)
2001-02	41.50(26.90)	6.58(83.80)	48.08(32.50)
2002-03	42.60(2.60)	13.00(97.60)	55.60(15.60)
2003-04	40.90(-3.90)	35.60(173.80)	76.50(37.60)
2004-05	41.40(1.20)	56.90(59.80)	98.30(28.50)
2005-06	40.20(-2.90)	101.90(79.10)	142.10(44.60)
2006-07	40.80(1.50)	165.10(62.00)	205.90(44.90)

Note: Figures in parentheses are % change over the previous year.

Source: (i) Government of India (2003-04), *Annual Report* (2003-04), New Delhi:

Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.

(ii) Government of India (2007-08), *Economic Survey* (2007-08), New Delhi:

Ministry of Finance, Oxford University Press.

Table 11
Growth of Teledensity in India

Years	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
Teledensity	1.10	1.30	1.50	1.94	2.33	2.86	3.58	4.28	5.11	7.02	9.11	13.50	18.50

Source:(i) Government of India (2004-05), *Annual Report* (2004-05), New Delhi:

Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.

(ii) Government of India (2007-08), *Economic Survey* (2007-08), New Delhi:

Ministry of Finance, Oxford University Press.

Table 12
Growth of Internet subscribers in India

Years	No. of Internet Subscribers (in mn.)	No. of Broadband Subscribers (in mn.)
1995-96	0.05	-
1996-97	0.09(80.00)	-
1997-98	0.14(55.60)	-
1998-99	0.28(100.00)	-
1999-00	0.95(239.30)	-
2000-01	3.04(220.00)	-
2001-02	3.42(12.50)	-
2002-03	3.64(6.40)	-
2003-04	4.55(25.00)	0.04
2004-05	5.55(22.00)	0.18(350)
2005-06	6.95(25.20)	1.35(650)
2006-07	9.27(33.40)	2.34(733)

Note: Figures in parentheses are % change over the previous year.

Source: Government of India (Various issues), *Economic Survey* (Various issues),

New Delhi: Ministry of Finance, Oxford University Press.

Trends In The Use Of Antidumping Measures In India

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I Introduction:

The developed countries have been the most frequent users of antidumping measures. But, the last one and half decade has witnessed phenomenal rise in the use of antidumping duties by the developing countries. Dumping occurs and anti dumping duties may be levied by an importing country when producers sell their goods in that market at a price below that which they are sold in the home market. Detailed provisions regarding the identification of dumping and remedial measure against dumping have been made in the Uruguay Round Agreement on Antidumping formally called the Agreement on Implementation of Article VI of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994. Thus the remedial process requires determination of three elements, which is existence of dumping, margin of dumping and existence of injury.

Dumping is considered to be unfair and to lead to unfair trade, which need to be corrected. The duties are designed to offset the injurious effect of dumping margin in the importing country. The antidumping laws have become important tools to be used since the Uruguay Round Agreements reduced or eliminated tariffs and quotas. The objective of the paper is: i) to study the trends in the use of antidumping measures in India, ii) to examine tariff reductions and exchange rate depreciation as factors responsible for increased antidumping filings, and iii) to find out whether authorities have used 'fair comparison' stipulated in the Uruguay Round Agreement to arrive at the normal value. An examination of the above objectives will helps us to find out whether there is a protectionists element involved in the antidumping filings in India. The paper is organized as follows: The present Section I gives the introduction, Section II presents a brief review of literature, In Section III we study the country wise, year wise and product wise breakup in the use of antidumping measures by India, Section IV analyses two factors i) tariff reductions ii) exchange rate depreciation acting as triggers in the use of antidumping duties, Section V is devoted to case studies, where in a few cases are analysed with reference to export price and dumping margin, and Section VI presents conclusions.

II Review of Literature

The existing literature on antidumping measures showcases the entire spectrum from Industry level determinants of antidumping petition filing to trade diversion, to macroeconomic effects of antidumping measures.

Vandenbussche (1999) study was the first to investigate empirically the effects of European antidumping actions on import diversion from importers 'named' in an antidumping investigation, and potentially subject to protectionist measures, to countries 'not named' in the investigation and finds that trade diversion in the European union caused by antidumping actions is limited. Prusa & Skeath (2001) examining the motives for antidumping filings, find that the rise in antidumping activity is not solely caused by unfair trading practices but also motivated by strategic concerns. Feinberg and Olson (2005) find that tariff reduction agreed to under the Uruguay Round not only increased the likelihood of country using antidumping protection, but also the total number of antidumping petitions filed by countries. Irwin (2004) puts recent United States antidumping experience in historical context by studying the determinants of annual case filings over the part half century. The study finds the annual number of antidumping cases is influenced by the unemployment rate, the exchange rates, import penetration and change in the antidumping laws and its enforcement in the early 1980s.

Finger et al (2001) argue that as a 'pressure valve' to maintain an open trade policy, antidumping policy had serious weaknesses since it does not distinguish between instances that advance rather than harm the national economic interest. Moore & Zanardi (2008) study finds that in a large set of countries the use of antidumping is systematically influenced by reduction of applied sectoral tariffs and they also find evidence of retaliation and deflection effects as determinants of antidumping filings.

III Trends in use of antidumping duties in India

In this section we present the trends in international use of antidumping measures and a country-wise, year-wise and product-wise breakup of antidumping measures imposed by India.

While antidumping actions were only used by major industrial countries less than a decade ago, they are now the trade policy of choice of developing and transition economies as well. On a worldwide basis, India has since 2001 overtaken United States in terms of initiation of new antidumping cases. In terms of cases per dollar (\$) of imports, India's intensity of antidumping use is seven times the United States figure, though this is less than Argentina's intensity, which is 20 times the United States number (Finger, Ng and Wang Chok ,2000).

Table 3.1 presents (Appendix 1A) the international use of antidumping measures. India easily emerges as the most frequent user followed by the United States and the European Union.

A country-wise breakup in the use of antidumping measures filed by India as shown in table 3.2 (Appendix 1B) throws up some interesting facts. Between 1992 and 2004, India initiated and imposed antidumping duties in 375 cases. Of these, 94 cases were filed against developed countries, an astounding 240 cases filed against the developing countries of which, 20.2 % were against China and 41 cases were filed against the transition economies. Analyzing the year wise trend (Table 3.3, Appendix 1C) we find that there is a sharp rise in the use of antidumping measures after 1995, the period coinciding with the culmination of the Uruguay Round Agreements, which negotiated reduction in the tariff peaks and increase in tariff bindings. In 1996, 21 antidumping cases were initiated by India as against 6 cases in 1995, registering a rise of 250 percent.

A sector wise breakup of cases initiated by India shows that 62.4% of the cases were filed in the chemical sector and most of these were against China (Table 3.4 Appendix, 1D). These are the sectors in which India has a comparative advantage. Thus we observe an increasing trend in the use of antidumping measures by India post 1991.

The questions which arise are: what are the factors which can be attributed to this phenomenal rise in the use of antidumping duties? Changes in macroeconomic variables such as exchange rates and tariffs affect domestic production and volume of imports. In this context we study the reduction in tariff rates and exchange depreciation of the domestic currency as factors responsible for rising number of antidumping cases filed.

IV Effects of Tariff rates reduction & Exchange rate depreciation on aggregate antidumping filing activities

Prior to 1990s, India had strict import licensing regime and very high level of tariffs, which eliminated the need to use tools, such as antidumping actions to provide relief to the domestic producers from import surges. But the liberalization reforms of the 1990s and the commitment made under the Uruguay Round Agreement resulted in elimination of quotas and reduction in average level of tariffs accompanied by increased in the number of bound tariff lines. These have resulted in: i) an increased level of import penetration ratio, and ii) an import surge.

a) Tariff Rates:

In 1990 – 1991, the highest tariff in India stood at 355%, the simple average of all tariff rates at 113 %, and the imported weighted average of tariff rate at 87%. These rates were lowered substantially during the early 1990s. The peak rate fall to 85% in 1993 –1994 and to 65% in 1994 -1995 (Mehta, 2003)

The implementation of the Uruguay Round accelerated the process of tariff reduction. In the Uruguay Round, India committed to bind tariff lines for 62% of its industrial products. In the Pre - Uruguay era (i.e. before 1995) the binding was applicable to only three percent of lines. These tariff commitments at the Uruguay Round led to an increase in import coverage under bound rates from nine percent in the Pre-Uruguay round to 68% in the post Uruguay round (Mehta & Aggarwal, 2003)

Table 4.1 India's bound tariff structure (Jan 1, 2001)

Binding Tariff Rates %	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-35	35+	Total
Number of bound lines	147	27	53	253	723	1349	2130	4629

Source: WTO Integrated Database

b) Overall trade protection

The import penetration ratio reflects the combined effect of both tariff and non tariff barrier reductions. It is calculated as the ratio of industry imports to domestic availability. Table 4.2 shows how the import penetration

rates did not exhibit any perceptible changes till the late 1990s. In the late 1990s, there was an improvement in the import penetration ratio across all the four sectors. The rise in imports following a policy of liberalization meant more competition for the domestic producers from international producers. The domestic producers experienced fall in sales, rise in inventories, fall in the levels of employment, decreasing demand, thus providing a right turf for initiating antidumping duties. The stage was set to initiate antidumping action.

Table 4.2 Import Penetration Rates in Indian Manufacturing Sector(%)

Sector \ Year	1980 – 85	1986 – 90	1991 – 95	1996 – 2000
Intermediate goods	0.11	0.13	0.15	0.18
Capital goods	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.19
Consumer goods	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.10
All Industries	0.10	0.11	0.12	0.16

Source: Das (2003)

c) Import surges

Import surge is a substantial and usually unforeseen increase in imports above recent trends for a particular product or class of goods, presenting serious adjustment costs for domestic workers and firms producing such goods. When an import surge is due to economic or commercial factors other than unfair trade practices, the government may resort to safeguards to provide temporary relief to the domestic industry. Import surge may have a negative effect on the producers. Article 2(1) of the Safeguard Agreement sets forth conditions to define an import surge (ft.fao.org). The GATT / WTO are silent on the points of time to be compared, a quantitative threshold as well as on the length of the period to be investigated. This can lead to major discrepancies.

Import surge has often been used as an excuse to initiate antidumping investigations in India. From Table 4.3 we find that in 33 cases the growth in imports has been negligible or negative, but the defendant countries have attracted antidumping duties. We can say that antidumping duties have been used to protect the domestic producers.

Table 4.3 Average Rate of Growth of Value of Imports from Defendant Nations during the two Years before the initiation of Investigation.

Change in Import (%)	Number of cases
100 & Above	30
75 to 100	03
50 to 75	08
25 to 50	08
0 to 25	10
Less than zero	33
Total	92

Source: Singh S K (2005)

We observe that the number of antidumping cases have registered a sharp rise after 1995 (Table 3.3 Appendix IC), which coincides with the levels of increased import penetration ratios (table 4.2).

d) Exchange rate depreciation

Using a dataset based on United States antidumping filings from 1982 to 1987, Feinberg (1989) finds that filings increase with a weaker \$. A depreciation of the \$ in terms of Yen would have no effect on the prevalence of dumping if prices adjusted simultaneously to exchange movements. However, if the prices of

Japanese imports priced in \$ adjusts slowly, the short run effect of the \$ depreciation is to keep the prices of Japanese product in the US market below the rising \$ value of Japanese home market prices. Therefore, the likelihood of finding 'Unfairly traded' imports – dumped is increased by the decline in the external value of the \$ (Feinberg 1989).

Following Feinberg (1989) we only consider the averages of the average quarterly movements in the exchange rates between the Indian rupee (INR) and US\$ from 1994 to 2004 and the corresponding number of antidumping cases filed. From table 4.4 (Appendix IE) we observe that the number of antidumping cases filed has increased with the depreciation of the INR against the US\$. The number of antidumping cases filed by India peaked in the year 2002 (78cases), which coincided with a sharp depreciation of the INR (48.59INR=1\$). But, in the following year as the rupee marginally gained ground (46.7 INR=1\$) against the US \$, the number of antidumping cases filed declined (32 cases). The depreciation of the INR may not be the sole responsible factor, but nevertheless an important one.

V 'Fair Comparison'- Case Studies

In determining dumping three steps of examination are i) Determination of export price ii) determination of the normal value iii) Comparison of the export price & the normal value. Generally the export price as shown in the books of the exporter is taken for consideration of dumping and if that is not available it is constructed. The normal value is the comparable sale price for the like product in the exporting country in the ordinary course of trade (Khoman S, 1998).

The Uruguay Round stipulates a 'fair comparison' of the two prices. Surprisingly, the idea of 'fair comparison' is not expressly stipulated in many national antidumping laws. If the 'fair comparison' requirement is expressly provided for in the national legislation, it could, to some extent, check some of the abuses that take place in the comparison process. (Krishna R, 1997).

In this study we have undertaken a random sample of 70 antidumping cases filed by India between 1996 -2004 to examine whether it involves a 'fair comparison'. To start with, the investigating authority issues a questionnaire to exporters soon after the initiation of investigation. The information demanded by authority is enormous and the exporters failed to furnish the complete information under such circumstances there is the provision to use the 'Best Information Available' to arrive at the normal value, which nothing but the information is furnished by the complainant. Table 5.1 provides the information on the method used for calculating the normal value. The total number of cases actually reported in the table 5.1 adds up to more than 70 cases, typically, because many times an antidumping filing involves more than one country at a time for the same commodity group. For ex. Antidumping case filed in 1990 – 2000 for imports of vitamin A involves two countries Singapore and Georgia and the European Union.

Table 5.1 Normal Value Calculation in 70 cases in India 1992 – 2000

Calculation Method	No of cases
Best available information	70
Costs constructed on the basis of exporters information	32
Export prices to other countries	02
Total	104

Source: Calculations based on DGAD database

Dumping margins

In many of the cases it was found that the exporters have not responded to the queries of the DGAD. 'Best Available Information' has been used as evidence for dumping by the investigating authorities in 70 out of the 104 case analyzed. The dumping margins have been as high as 80% in 21 cases reported. But an interesting fact that comes to light is that in almost all cases non cooperation from exporters has attracted higher margins as compared to the dumping margins imposed on the exporters who have cooperated. It has some serious implications. Investigating authorities constructed normal value based on 'Best Available Information' and have therefore arrived at a higher normal value. These exporters were subject to higher dumping margins, exceeding by more than 10% points. Table 5.2 gives an overview of dumping margins imposed.

Table 5.2 Antidumping duties imposed by India

Duty range %	No of cases
0 - 10	13
11 - 20	14
21 - 40	26
41 - 80	31
80+	21
Total	107

Source: Calculation based on DGAD database

VI Conclusions

India emerges as a top user of antidumping duties in the world. The liberalization reforms in the 1990s eliminated / reduced the protective shield provided by import licenses and high tariffs. It has resulted in an increased level of import penetration ratio which can partially explain the increased frequency of antidumping cases. The depreciation of the domestic currency against the US \$ is also a contributing factor. Taking into consideration the average quarterly movements in the exchange rates between the INR and US \$, we find that the number of antidumping investigations filed by India registered a sharp increase in the year 2002 (78 cases) when the exchange rate was 1\$=INR48.59. The case studies which examined 'fair comparison' reveals that the authorities frequently made use of 'Best Information Available' to arrive at the normal value. This methodology is inherently biased towards the complainant. The dumping margins imposed on non cooperative exporters often exceed the dumping margin imposed on exporters who furnished information for the same commodity under review. Antidumping action can be regarded as a protective device for the domestic producers, thus blunting competition from more efficient suppliers.

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Appendix 1A

Table 3.1 International use of Antidumping Measures

User Countries in the Global Antidumping Data Base	Number of Antidumping Investigation1995 – 2004 1995 - 2004	Number of Antidumping Measures indicated
Argentina	192	139
Australia	172	54
Brazil	116	62
Canada	133	80
Columbia	23	11
European Union	303	193
India	400	302
Mexico	79	69
New Zealand	47	14
Peru	55	34
South Africa	173	113
South Korea	77	43
Turkey	89	77
United States	354	219
Venezuela	31	25
Sub Total	2244	1435
Share of Total	(84.8%)	(86.7%)

Source : Bown P Chad, Global Antidumping Database, Version 3.0

Appendix 1B

**Table 3.2 Country wise imposition of Antidumping Measures by India
(1992 – 2004)....(cont'd)**

Country	Number of Antidumping Measures
Australia	01
Bangladesh	01
Belarus	01
Bulgaria	01
Brazil	05
Canada	05
China	76
European Union	58
Georgia	01
Hungary	02
Iran	07
Indonesia	13
Japan	12
Kazakhstan	02
Macedonia	02
Malaysia	06
Mexico	03
Nepal	01
Newzeland	01
Nigeria	01
Oman	01
Philippines	01
Poland	04
Qatar	01
Russia	14
Republic Of Czechoslovakia	03
South Africa	37
Saudi Arabia	08
South Korea	25
Singapore	08
Taiwan	28
Thailand	13
Turkey	04
United States	21
Ukraine	07
Venezuela	01

Source: Calculation Based on Global Antidumping Database Version 3.0

Appendix 1C

Table 3.3 Antidumping cases in India (1992 – 2004)

Year	Number of Antidumping measures
1992	5
1993	–
1994	6
1995	6
1996	21
1997	13
1998	29
1999	63
2000	41
2001	67
2002	78
2003	32
2004	14
Total	375
Source Calculation Based on Global Antidumping Database Version 3.0	

Appendix 1D

Table 3.4 Sector wise breakup of cases initiated by India against China (1992 – 2004)

Product Category	Number of cases	% of total cases
Chemicals	234	62.4
Manufactured Goods	118	31.4
Minerals & Fuels	02	0.50
Textiles & Fibers	21	5.60
Total	375	
Source: Calculation Based on Global Antidumping Database Version 3.0		

Appendix 1E

Table 4.4 Exchange rate movements (quarterly averages) and Antidumping filings

Year	Number of Antidumping cases	Average of the quarterly average movements (INR to US \$)
1994	6	31.37
1995	6	32.67
1996	21	35.38
1997	13	36.6

1998	29	41.21
1999	63	43.04
2000	41	44.96
2001	67	47.24
2002	78	48.59
2003	32	46.7
2004	14	45.3
Source: Calculations based on Global Antidumping Database and www.x-rates.com .		

જળને જીવનનું પર્યાય માનવામાં આવે છે. સંપૂર્ણ જીવ સૃષ્ટિ જેમકે મનુષ્ય, પશુ પંખીઓ તેમજ છોડ અને વૃક્ષોના શરીરનો ૮૦% ભાગ પાણીનો જ બનેલો હોય છે. જીવનની સમગ્ર પ્રક્રિયાઓ માટે જળ આવશ્યક છે. ભૌગોલિક ક્ષેત્રફળની દૃષ્ટિએ પૃથ્વીનો ૩/૪ ભાગ એ દરિયાઈ પાણીથી ઘેરાયેલો છે જે પૃથ્વી પર ઉપલબ્ધ પાણીના ૯૭% છે પરંતુ આ પાણી ખાર છે અને પૃથ્વીનો ૧/૪ ભાગ જે જમીનથી સભર છે તેના પર પૃથ્વી પર ઉપલબ્ધ કુલ પાણીના ૩% ભાગ જ ઉપલબ્ધ છે જે આપણા માટે ઉપયોગી થાય છે. પણ તેમાંનો ૨% ભાગ પહાડો પરના બરફના રૂપમાં જમા થયેલો છે. આમ આપણા માટે ફક્ત એક ટકા જ પાણી શેષ રહે છે.

જમીન પર ઉપલબ્ધ પાણીના સ્ત્રોતોનું વર્ગીકરણ બે પ્રકારે કરવામાં આવે છે (૧) સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતો (Surface Sources) (૨) ભૂમિગત સ્ત્રોતો (Underground Sources)

જમીનની સપાટી ઉપર પાણીનો પ્રવાહ થઈની નદી, નાળાં, સરોવર અને તળાવો સ્વરૂપે વહેવા લાગે છે તેવા પાણીનો સ્ત્રોતને સપાટીના સ્ત્રોત કહેવામાં આવે છે. જ્યારે જમીનમાં પડેલ તિરાડો દ્વારા તેમજ જમીન દ્વારા ચૂસાઈને પાણી જમીનની અંદરના ભાગે (સપાટીની નીચે) વહેતું થાય છે ત્યારે આવા પાણીના સ્ત્રોતને ભૂગર્ભ જળ તરીકે ઓળખવામાં આવે છે. ભૂગર્ભ જળથી મળતો પાણીનો જથ્થો જમીનની સપાટી પરથી મળતા પાણીનાં જથ્થા કરતાં ઓછો હોય છે. આવા પાણીના જથ્થાનો આધાર જમીનની નીચે આવેલ પાણીના જથ્થા ઉપર તેમ જ તેના ઉપરના સ્તરની ભૂ-સ્તરીય સંરચના (Geological Formation of Substrata) ઉપર રહે છે. ગરમીની ઋતુમાં નદી, સરોવર, તળાવ, છીછરા કૂવા જેવા સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતો સૂકાઈ જાય છે પરંતુ ઊંડા કૂવા તેમજ પાતાળ કૂવામાંથી પાણી જમીનની ઊંડાઈમાંથી મેળવવામાં આવે છે તેથી તેમાંથી મળતો પાણીનો જથ્થો ભરોસાપાત્ર હોય છે. પરંતુ વર્તમાન સમયમાં પાણીની વધતી જતી માંગને પહોંચી વળવા માટે જ્યારે સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતો અપર્યાપ્ત બનવા લાગ્યા છે ત્યારે આ વધતી માંગને પહોંચી વળવા માટે ભૂગર્ભ જળનું પંપિંગ (દોહન) ઊંચા પ્રમાણમાં કરવામાં આવી રહ્યું છે. જેથી ભૂગર્ભ જળનું સ્તર ૧ થી ૧.૫ મીટર પ્રતિ વર્ષ નીચેની સપાટીએ જઈ રહ્યું છે. જે ચિંતાજનક પરિસ્થિતિને વ્યક્ત કરે છે. અહીં પ્રસ્તુત લેખમાં ભૂગર્ભ જળના સ્તરમાં થતા ઘટાડા માટે જવાબદાર કારણો અને આ સમસ્યામાંથી બહાર આવવા માટેના ઉપાયો સૂચવવામાં આવ્યા છે.

ભૂગર્ભ જળના સ્તરમાં ઘટાડો અને ખેતી ક્ષેત્ર :

વર્તમાન સમયમાં ખેતી અને સલગ્ર પ્રવૃત્તિઓ, ઉદ્યોગધંધા, પીવા માટે સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતોની સાથે ભૂગર્ભ જળનો પણ ઉપયોગ કરવામાં આવી રહ્યો છે પરંતુ ખેતી અને સલગ્ર પ્રવૃત્તિઓના સંદર્ભમાં ભૂ-જળનું દોહન હરિયાણી કાંતી બાદથી વધવા પામ્યું છે કારણકે ઉંચી જાતના પાકો માટે પાણીની માંગ વધારે હોય છે પરંતુ ભૂ-જળના દોહનની તુલનાએ તેનું રિચાર્જિંગ નથી થઈ રહ્યું. રાષ્ટ્રીય આંકડા પ્રમાણે દેશમાં જળ વિકાસની સ્થિતિ પટટકા છે અર્થાત ૧૦૦ લીટર પાણીના ઉપયોગ બાદ જળસ્ત્રોતને ૫૮ લીટર પાણી પાછું વાળી શક્યા છીએ જેથી ભૂજળના સ્તરમાં ઘટાડો થયો છે.

કેન્દ્રીય ભૂજળ બોર્ડએ ૧૯૯૬ માં જણાવ્યા મુજબ દિલ્હીમાં ૪૮ મીટરની ઊંડાઈએ ભૂગર્ભજળ ઉપલબ્ધ થાય છે. ગુજરાતના મહેસાણા અને સૌરાષ્ટ્ર વિસ્તારમાં તથા તામિલનાડૂના કોઈમ્બતુર વિસ્તારમાં પણ ભૂગર્ભ જળની સપાટી પહેલાં કરતાં ચિંતાજનક રીતે ઘટી રહી છે. રાજસ્થાનમાં ભૂગર્ભ જળની સપાટી પાછલાં ૧૦ વર્ષોમાં ૫ થી ૧૦ મીટર જેટલી ઘટવા પામી છે. પાણીની જરૂરિયાત માટે સાધનસંપન્ન લોકો પોતાના ઘરો કે ફાર્મ હાઉસમાં બોર બનાવી પાણી મેળવે છે જેના માટે કોઈ ચાર્જ તેમને ચૂકવવો પડતો નથી. આથી આવા બોરમાંથી પ્રાપ્ત થતા પાણીનો મોટા પાયા પર બગાડ થાય છે. એટલે કે વ્યર્થ વહાવી દેવામાં આવે છે. વર્ષ ૧૯૫૦ થી દસ વર્ષ દરમિયાન ૨,૦૦૦ બોર અને વર્ષ ૧૯૬૦ થી દસ વર્ષ દરમિયાન ૫૦,૦૦૦ બોર બનાવવામાં આવ્યા હતાં. ત્યાર પછી ના એકજ વર્ષમાં ૧,૭૨,૦૦૦ બોર બનાવવામાં આવ્યા હતા. આ પછી પણ બોર બનાવવાની કામગીરી નિરંતર ચાલુ જ છે. સરકારી નળ તથા કૂવાના પાણીનો પણ મોટા પ્રમાણમાં ઉપયોગ થાય છે. વધુમાં જમીનના નીચેના સ્તરમાં રહેલા વિવિધ હાનિકારક તત્ત્વો કોઈકવાર પાણીમાં ભળતાં પાણી પ્રદૂષિત થતાં પ્રદૂષણમાં પણ નિરંતર વધારો થવા પામ્યો છે.

આમ નિરંતર રીતે ઘટતા જતા ભૂગર્ભ જળના ભંડારોની ક્ષતિપૂર્તિ ફક્ત વરસાદના પાણીથી થઈ શકે છે. પરંતુ આપણે વરસાદના પાણીનો સારી રીતે સદુપયોગ કરી શકતાં નથી. ભારતમાં વરસાદ અને હિમવર્ષાથી મળતો પાણીનો કુલ જથ્થો અંદાજે ૪૦ કરોડ હેક્ટર મીટર જેટલો થવા પામે છે. પરંતુ આ કુલ પાણીમાંથી ૩.૮૦ કરોડ હેક્ટર મીટર એટલે કે ૯.૫૦ટકા પાણી વાપરવા માટે કામમાં આવે છે. જ્યારે જમીન પર પડતું કેટલુંક પાણી ગંદા પાણીમાં ભળીને પ્રદૂષિત થાય છે જે જમીનમાં ઉતરી કે નદીઓમાં ભળી પ્રદૂષણમાં વધારો કરે છે. આમ એક બાજુ ભૂગર્ભ જળનું સતત દોહન કરવામાં આવે છે. જ્યારે બીજી તરફ તેનું રિચાર્જિંગ (પુનઃપૂરણ) થતું નથી તેથી તેના સ્તરમાં સતત ઘટાડો થઈ રહ્યો છે. આ માટે કેટલેક અંશે ખેતી ક્ષેત્રે હરિયાણી ક્રાંતિ બાદ અપનાવવામાં આવેલ આધુનિક ટેકનિકો પણ જવાબદાર છે. દેશમાં કુલ ખેતીલાયક વિસ્તાર ૧૭૫૦ લાખ હેક્ટર છે જેમાં સિંચાઈ આપવા માટે ૨૬૦ ધન કીલોમીટર પાણીની આવશ્યકતા છે પણ પાણીની ઉપલબ્ધતા ઓછી છે ત્યારે માત્ર ૧૪૫૦ લાખ હેક્ટર વિસ્તારમાં જ ખેતી થઈ શકે છે. પરંતુ વર્તમાન સમયમાં જ્યાં સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતો પર્યાપ્ત નથી બનતા ત્યારે આધુનિક ટેકનીકોનો ઉપયોગ કરીને જમીનનાં ઊંડાણમાંથી પાણી મેળવીને ઉત્પાદન વધારવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરવામાં આવે છે. આ ઉપરાંત રાસાયણિક ખાતર, વધુ ઉપજ આપતી જાતોનો કાર્યક્રમ, ખેતીક્ષેત્રે યાંત્રીકરણ વગેરે જેવા પરિબળો પણ ભૂગર્ભ જળમાં થતા ઘટાડા માટે જવાબદાર છે જેની ચર્ચા આ પ્રમાણે કરવામાં આવી છે.

૧) રાસાયણિક ખાતરોનો વધતો ઉપયોગ :

વર્તમાન સમયમાં ખેડૂતો જૈવિક ખાતરોને સ્થાને ઉત્પાદન વધારવા માટે રાસાયણિક ખાતરોનો ઉપયોગ વધારે પ્રમાણમાં કરી રહ્યા છે. જૈવિક ખાતરોનો ઉપયોગ ન કરવાને પરિણામે જમીનમાં ઉપલબ્ધ જૈવિક કાર્બનનું પ્રમાણ ૦.૦૮ટકા થી ૦.૫૮ટકા ની વચ્ચે રહેવા પામ્યું છે. જ્યારે કે સ્વસ્થ જમીન માટે તેનું પ્રમાણ ૦.૮ટકા થી વધારે હોવું જોઈએ. જૈવિક કાર્બન (Organic Carbon) અને હ્યુમસ (Humus) નું પ્રમાણ ઘટવાના પરિણામે જમીનની પાણી સંગ્રહ કરવાની ક્ષમતામાં ઘટાડો થવા પામ્યો છે. કારણ કે હ્યુમસ (Humus) પોતાના વજનથી કઈ ગણા વધારે પાણી શોષવાની અને સંગ્રહ કરવાની ક્ષમતા રાખે છે. આમ જમીનની પાણી સંગ્રહ કરવાની ક્ષમતા ઘટવાને પરિણામે ખેતી ક્ષેત્રે સિંચાઈની આવશ્યકતા વધારે ઉભી થાય છે ત્યારે ભૂગર્ભ જળના સ્ત્રોતોનું પંપિંગ વધારે કરવામાં આવે છે.

૨) ખેતીક્ષેત્રે યાંત્રીકરણ :

વર્તમાન સમયમાં ખેતીક્ષેત્રે યાંત્રીકરણના પરિણામે ભૂ-જળનું પંપિંગ કરવું સરળ બન્યું છે. તેથી જ્યારે ખેતી ક્ષેત્રે પાણીનો પૂરવઠો સપાટીના સ્ત્રોતો દ્વારા પૂરતા પ્રમાણમાં પ્રાપ્ત ન થવાના પરિણામે પમ્પસેટ અથવા ટ્યૂબવેલો જેવા સાધનો દ્વારા ઓછા ખર્ચે અને ઓછા સમયે વધારે પાણીનું પ્રમાણ જમીનમાંથી બહાર કાઢવું શક્ય બન્યું છે. આથી આવા સાધનોનો ઉપયોગ ખેતી ક્ષેત્રે વધવા પામ્યો છે. જે પણ ભૂ-જળમાં થતા ઘટાડા માટે જવાબદાર છે.

૩) વધુ ઉપજ આપતી જાતોનો કાર્યક્રમ (HYV P) :

હરિયાણી ક્રાંતિ હેઠળ ખેતીક્ષેત્રે ઉત્પાદન વધારવા માટે વધુ ઉપજ આપતી જાતોનો કાર્યક્રમ અમલમાં મૂક્યો છે. આ જાતોમાં વધારે ઉત્પાદન માટે વધારે પ્રમાણમાં પોષક તત્વોની જરૂર પડે છે. જે માટે રાસાયણિક ખાતરો અને સિંચાઈની સગવડોની જરૂરિયાત વધારે પ્રમાણમાં ઉભી થાય છે ત્યારે નદી અને નહેરોના પાણીની સાથે ભૂગર્ભ જળનું પણ દોહન કરવામાં આવે છે.

૪) વધારે પાણીની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકોનું ઉત્પાદન :

વર્તમાન સમયે ખેતીના મૂળભૂત સિદ્ધાંત “પાક ચક્ર” (Crop Rotation) ને અપનાવવામાં નથી આવી રહ્યું. જેમકે વધારે સિંચાઈની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકો પછી ઓછા પાણીની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકોનું ઉત્પાદન કરવામાં આવે છે. જેમકે ધાન પછી મસૂર. તેવી જ રીતે વધારે ખાતર અને બિયારણની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકો પછી ઓછું ખાતર અને બિયારણની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકો લેવામાં આવે છે. જેમકે મગ પછી બટેટા પછી ભોપલું, જેવા સિદ્ધાંતોનો અમલ કરવાથી જમીનની ફળદ્રુપતામાં વધારો થાય છે અને પાકનું ઉત્પાદન પણ વધે છે. પરંતુ વર્તમાન સમયમાં ખેડૂતો દ્વારા વધારે આવક સર્જન કરવા જતા “પાક ચક્ર” ને અપનાવવાનું ભૂલવામાં આવી રહ્યું છે. દર વર્ષે ખેડૂતો વધારે પાણીની જરૂર પડે તેવા પાકો અને રોકડિયા પાકો જેમકે બટેટા, શેરડી, ધાન, ઘઉં વગેરે લેવામાં આવી રહ્યા છે. જે માટે ભૂજળના સ્ત્રોતો પર વધારે આધાર રાખવો પડે છે.

૫) વૈશ્વિક ગરમી :

ગ્રીન હાઉસ વાયુમાં કાર્બન ડાયોક્સાઈડ, મિથાઈન, નાઈટ્રોસ ઓક્સાઈડ જેવા વાયુઓનું પ્રમાણ વધવાના કારણે વૈશ્વિક ગરમીની સમસ્યા ઉભી થઈ છે. વર્તમાન સમયે પશુપાલનની વધતી જતી પ્રવૃત્તિઓને પરિણામે વૈશ્વિક ગરમીની સમસ્યા વધવા પામી છે. એક અંદાજ પ્રમાણે ૬૫૮૬ નાઈટ્રોસ ઓક્સાઈડ અને ૬૦ મિલિયન ટન મિથાઈન પશુઓ દ્વારા છોડવામાં આવે છે. સરેરાશ ડેરીની દરેક ગાય ૫૦૦ લીટર જેટલો મિથાઈન ઓક્સાઈડ વાટે છોડે છે જે આખી દુનિયાના ૧૬૮૬ વાર્ષિક મિથાઈનની નિકાસ કરે છે. જેથી ગ્લોબલ વોર્મિંગ ની સમસ્યા વધારે તીવ્ર બની છે. વૈશ્વિક ગરમીને પરિણામે જળવાયુમાં પરિવર્તન આવી રહ્યું છે. જેથી વરસાદ દર વર્ષે ઘટવા પામ્યો છે જ્યારે બીજી બાજુ ખેતી અને સંલગ્ન પ્રવૃત્તિઓમાં, ઉદ્યોગોમાં, માનવીના વપરાશ માટે પાણીની માંગ વધી રહી છે. જ્યારે ભૂ-જળના રિચાર્જિંગ માટે વરસાદના જળનું પ્રમાણ ઓછું મળી રહ્યું છે જે પણ આ સ્તરના ઘટાડા માટે જવાબદાર છે.

૬) ખેડૂતોને નિઃશુલ્ક વિજળીની સવલતો :

ભારતમાં કેટલાક રાજ્યોમાં રાજ્ય સરકારે ખેડૂતોને મફત વીજળીની સવલતો ઉપલબ્ધ કરાવી આપી છે. આથી ખેડૂતો ટયૂબવેલો મારફતે અનિયંત્રિતરૂપે ભૂ-જળનો ઉપયોગ કરી તેનો દુર્વ્યય કરી રહ્યા છે.

આમ હરિયાણા ક્રાંતિ બાદ ખેતી અને સંલગ્ન પ્રવૃત્તિઓના સંદર્ભમાં ભૂ-જળનું દોહન વધી ગયું છે. ત્યારે હવે પ્રશ્ન એ ઊઠે છે કે આપણે ભૂ-જળના સ્ત્રોતોને કેવી રીતે સુરક્ષિત રાખીએ જેથી આપણે કૃષિ, માનવ તેમજ પશુ સ્વાસ્થ્યને જાળવી શકીએ . નિઃસંદેહ છોડોનો પ્રથમ ખોરાક (First Food of Plant) જળ જ છે. જેથી જળના પ્રત્યેક ટીપાનો ઉપયોગ કરવો પડશે. આથી જ "Water year-2007-Theme Crop Per Drop" મનાવવામાં આવ્યું જે ખેતી ક્ષેત્રે માટે સૂચક છે.

ભૂગર્ભજળના સ્તરમાં થતા ઘટાડાનેરોકવા માટેના ઉપાયો :

જો આ પ્રમાણે ભૂગર્ભ જળમાં ઘટાડો થતો રહેશે તો નેશનલ કમિશન ઓન એગ્રીકલ્ચર પ્રમાણે ૨૦૨૫ સુધીમાં સઘળા પશ્ચિમ એશિયા, ઈજિપ્ત, લીબિયા, અફઘાનિસ્તાન, પાકિસ્તાન, સિંગાપોર, દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા તથા ભારત અને ચીનના અમુક ભાગો જળવિહોણા બની જશે. આ દેશોને ઔદ્યોગિક વપરાશ માટે તો ઠીક પરંતુ ઘરગથ્થુ વપરાશ માટે પણ પાણી મેળવવું મુશ્કેલ બનશે. ગરીબ દેશો પાસે ખોરાક, પાણી અને તેલની આયાત કરવા સિવાય કોઈ વિકલ્પ નહીં રહે અને આ સ્થિતિ આજે અત્રની બાબતમાં સ્વાવલંબી તથા જળસંવર્ધનની બાબતમાં સવાશ્રયી દેશો માટે પણ સર્જશે.

આથી આવી પરિસ્થિતિ ન સર્જાય તે માટે નીચેના ઉપાયો સૂચવવામાં આવ્યા છે જેથી ભૂગર્ભ જળના સ્તરને નીચે જતો અટકાવવાનો પ્રયાસ કરી શકાશે.

૧) સિંચાઈની વ્યવસ્થામાં સુધારો કરવો :

સિંચાઈ દ્વારા આપવામાં આવતા પાણીની બચત કઈ રીતે કરી શકાય તે માટેની પદ્ધતિઓ પણ વિકસાવવામાં આવી છે. જેમકે ઈઝરાયેલમાં ખેતીક્ષેત્રે ટપક સિંચાઈ પદ્ધતિને અગ્રિમતા આપવામાં આવે છે કે જેમાં ભૂજળનો ઓછામાં ઓછો ઉપયોગ કરીને વધુમાં વધુ ઉત્પાદન મેળવવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરવામાં આવે છે. આ માટે ખેતરમાં પ્લાસ્ટિકના પાઈપો પાથરવામાં આવે છે જેમાં આવેલ નાના નાના છિદ્રો મારફતે ટીપે-ટીપે દ્વારા પાણી છોડને મળે છે અને વધારાનું પાણી વહી જતું અટકે છે તેવી જ રીતે ફૂવારા પદ્ધતિ જેમાં બે મોઢા વાળી પાઈપો લગાવવામાં આવે છે અને તેના દ્વારા ચારે બાજુ ફૂવારા રૂપે પાણીનો છટકાવ કરવામાં આવે છે.

કર્નાલ પાસેની સેન્ટ્રલ સોઈલ સોલિનીટી રિસર્ચ ઈન્સ્ટિટ્યૂટે એક નવી પદ્ધતિ વિકસાવી છે. જેને મટકા સિંચાઈની પદ્ધતિ કહે છે. જેમા માટીના ઘડાને જમીનમાં ખાડો કરી કોઠલા સુધી દાટી દેવામાં આવે છે અને પછી તેમાં પાણી ભરવામાં આવે છે જેથી તેની આસપાસ જમીન ભેજવાળી બને છે અને તેના દ્વારા કોબીજ, દૂધી, તરબૂચ વગેરે પાકો સફળતાપૂર્વક ઉગાડી શકાય છે. આમ આવી સિંચાઈની પદ્ધતિઓના સાધનોના પ્રચાર કરવાની ખાસ આવશ્યકતા છે. ટપક સિંચાઈ અને ફૂવારા સિંચાઈ પદ્ધતિઓનો ઉપયોગ કરવાથી ૪૦૮૬ પાણીની બચત થશે અને વધારે ક્ષેત્રફળનું સિંચન થશે.

૨) જૈવિક ખાતરોનો ઉપયોગ વધારવો :

ખેતીક્ષેત્રે FYM Compost, NADEP Compost, Vermicompost વગેરેનો પુષ્કળ પ્રમાણમાં પ્રયોગ કરવાથી જમીનના હ્યુમસમાં વૃદ્ધિ થશે અને પરિણામે જમીનમાં પાણીની સંગ્રહ કરવાની ક્ષમતામાં વધારો થશે અને સિંચાઈની જરૂર પણ ઓછી

૩) તળાવો બનાવવા અને બંધો બાંધવા :

જળસંગ્રહની ક્ષમતા વધારવા માટે મોટા બંધો બનાવવા જોઈએ કારણકે નાના બંધો દુષ્કાળના સમયે જલ્દીથી સુકાઈ જાય છે. જ્યારે મોટા બંધો પર તેની અસર ઓછી થાય છે. તેમજ જળસંગ્રહની દૃષ્ટિએ જોતા આપણા તળાવો અને વાવ તરફ પણ વિશેષ ધ્યાન આપવું જોઈએ. બંધો બાંધવાથી અને તળાવો બનાવવાથી આસપાસ આવેલી જમીનમાના પાણીનું સ્તર ઊંચું આવશે. જેથી ખેડૂતો ખેતરના કૂવાઓમાંથી પૂરતા પ્રમાણમાં પાણી પ્રાપ્ત કરી શકશે.

૪) વનીકરણ :

જ્યાં વૃક્ષો તેમજ વનસ્પતિ વધારે પ્રમાણમાં હોય છે ત્યાં વરસાદ વધારે પડે છે એટલે વૃક્ષો વધુ ઉગાડવા માટેના પ્રયાસો કરવા જોઈએ. વૃક્ષો ઉગાડતી વખતે એ પણ જોવું જોઈએ કે વૃક્ષો પસંદગી કરેલ વિસ્તારમાં જ ઉગાડવા. આમ કરવાથી સૂકા પ્રદેશોમાં પણ વરસાદ થવાની શક્યતા વધશે. આ જ પ્રમાણે પર્વતોના ઢાળ ઉપર વનસ્પતિ ઉગાડીને પણ પાણીનું સંરક્ષણ કરી શકાય છે.

૫) પાણીનું બાષ્પીભવન થતું અટકાવવું :

વર્ષમાં વરસાદ અને હિમ વર્ષાથી મળતો પાણીનો કુલ જથ્થો અંદાજે ૪૦ કરોડ હેક્ટર મીટર જેટલો થવા જાય છે. પરંતુ તેમાંથી ૭ કરોડ હેક્ટર મીટર પાણી બાષ્પીભવનથી બાષ્પરૂપે ઊડી જાય છે આથી આ બાષ્પીભવનને અટકાવવા માટે પાણીની ઉપર એક એવું રસાયણ નાખવામાં આવે છે કે રસાયણ પાણીમાં ભળતું નથી તેમ જ બીજા ઉપાયમાં મીણ, પ્લાસ્ટિક કે અન્ય બીજા કોઈ હલકા પદાર્થને પાણી પર તરવા દેવામાં આવે તો પાણીનો ખુદ્ધો ભાગ ઘણો ઓછો રહે છે પરિણામે બાષ્પીભવન ઓછું થાય છે. પરંતુ આવા પદાર્થોના ઉપયોગ આપણે ત્યાં વધારે પ્રચલિત થયો નથી.

આમ ઉપરોક્ત વિવિધ ઉપાયો હાથ ધરીને ભૂજળનાં સ્તરને નીચે જતું અટકાવવું જોઈએ.

સમીક્ષા

આમ એક તરફ સતત વસ્તી વધી રહી છે અને બીજી તરફ પાણીની માંગ વધવાના પરિણામે જમીનમાં પાણીનું સ્તર ઘાટી રહ્યું છે. જ્યારે ભૂગર્ભશાસ્ત્રીઓના એક અનુમાન પ્રમાણે જમીનમા ૩૦૦ મીટરનો ઊંડાઈએ લગભગ ૩ અબજ ૭૦ કરોડ હેક્ટર મીટર પાણીનો જથ્થો ઉપલબ્ધ છે. આના આધારે કેટલાક વૈજ્ઞાનિકોએ અનુમાન લગાવેલ છે કે ભારતમાં આવનારી બે પેઢીઓ માટે આ પાણી પૂરતું છે. પરંતુ આજે દેશમા જે રીતે ભૂગર્ભ પાણીનો ઉપયોગ થઈ રહ્યો છે અને ભૂગર્ભ જળના પૂનઃસંગ્રહ માટેની યોગ્ય વ્યવસ્થા થઈ નથી તે જોતાં પીવાના પાણીની સુવિધા હવે લાંબો સમય ટકશે કે કેમ તે એક શંકાની બાબત છે. સામાન્ય માણસ આ પાણીને મેળવવા ૩૦૦ ઊંડે સુધી જવાનું સાહસ કરી શકે તેમ નથી તેને તો ઉપરની સપાટી પરનું જ પાણી જોઈએ કે જે નિરંતર નીચે જઈ રહ્યું છે. આ સ્થિતિમાં એ આવશ્યક છે કે આપણે પાણીના બચાવનું અભિયાન આદરી લેવું જોઈએ. આપણે પણ આપણા ભાવિ પેઢી માટે પાણીનો સંચય શરૂ કરી દેવો જોઈએ જે રીતે આપણા વડવાઓએ આપણા માટે કર્યો છે.

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Foreign Direct Investment - A Case Study Of India And China

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The 21st century belongs to the Asian Countries particularly to India and China. It is therefore obvious that India-China comparisons have increased and speculation prevails as to which country has developed at a faster rate and has achieved larger benefits from the policy of attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

There have been very significant claims that China has always seemed to have better development and it has outperformed India since 1980, when it chose to introduce Deng's reforms. However there is a need to study whether China has really outperformed India and sort out the claims and counterclaims.

1. INTRODUCTION :

China introduced its reforms almost 13 years before India did in 1991. The Chinese chose to promote economic growth through increased FDI but India preferred to encourage homegrown entrepreneurship and only recently has chosen to attract FDI. So far China has grown faster but the gap in growth rates is gradually narrowing. Infact China's growth rate is more volatile and India with better business environment on account of technology boom, better allocation of financial resources and better protection of property rights has the potential to achieve increased growth rates in the future.

The comparative India-China growth rates are given in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Growth rates in GDP in China and India (1980-2004) (Corrected data)

Percent per year			
Period	China (1)	India (2)	Ratio (1) / (2)
1980-1992	8.4 (1.4)	5.8 (2.0)	1.4 (0.7)
1992-2004	7.1 (1.0)	6.7 (1.8)	1.1 (0.6)
1980-2004	7.6 (1.3)	6.3 (2.0)	1.2 (0.7)

Note: The growth rates are calculated on compound rates basis using the three year moving average centered. Figures in brackets are those of annual average population growth rate. The methodology in Samuelson and Swamy (1974) and Swamy (1984) has been followed. Raw data for 2001-2004 are from IMF Article IV documents.

1. Source: Swamy (2003)p 47 and IMF (imf.org.country reports)

China also has a faster rate of growth than India and it is ahead of India, in PPP – based corrected income per capita by 44 percent. However, India, having adopted the economic reforms since 1991 has halted the widening of the gap. India has managed to achieve high growth rates while maintaining a vibrant democracy.

2. FDI Policy in India since 1991:

Since 1991, FDI inflows have increased by leaps and bounds both in amount and in number of foreign collaboration (FC) approvals. During the post policy period from August 1991 to March 2006, total amount of FDI approvals stood at Rs. 8,591 cr. The share of FC approvals involving foreign investment rose to 52.37 per cent while it was just 25 per cent in the pre-liberalized period.

2. India's share in FDI flows to Developing Countries:

Inspite of the fact that India is in a strategic position with access to a vast domestic and South Asian market, its share in world's total flow to direct investment to developing countries is very low. (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 : FDI Inflows in Selected Asian Developing Countries during 1970-2004.

Country	FDI (billion US\$)		
	1970	1990	2004
China	-(0.0)	3.48 (2.0)	53.50 (8.0)
Hong Kong	.050 (0.37)	3.27 (1.57)	34.03 (5.0)
India	.045 (0.34)	0.23 (0.11)	5.33 (0.82)
Indonesia	.045 (0.34)	1.09 (0.52)	1.02 (0.16)
Korea	.066 (0.49)	0.759 (0.37)	7.68 (1.18)
Malaysia	.094 (0.70)	2.61 (1.26)	4.62 (0.71)
Philippines	(-) 1 (0.0)	0.55 (0.27)	0.46 (0.07)
Singapore	.093 (0.69)	5.57 (2.68)	16.06 (2.48)
Sri Lanka	0 (0.0)	0.43 (0.02)	0.23 (0.04)
Thailand	.043 (0.33)	2.57 (1.24)	0.95 (0.15)
Developing Economics	3.93 (29.26)	35.73 (17.19)	233.27 (35.99)
World	13.43	207.88	648.16

Fig. in brackets are percent share to world total.

Sources: UNCTAD, World Investment Report, 2005, GOI, Economic Survey, 2003-2004.

Although the FDI inflows into India have increased considerably and are satisfactory, yet India's share in the global FDI regime is still insignificant and miniscule. It therefore shows that more liberalization and reforms are required to attract prospective foreign entrepreneurs. Therefore an efficient and adequate infrastructure has to be developed and many other modifications like moderate tax rates, availability of skilled labour force and above all a business friendly public administration has to be provided.

2.2 Resent FDI flows into India

India has been more content with merely the rate of growth of the quantum of FDI in recent years, even though the base is very small when compared to comparable countries. The total inward FDI stock has been around \$ 206 billion in China as per latest available figures, while it is just \$ 27.5 billion in India during 2000-2008. This shows that both on quantity and quality of FDI, India is grossly under performing its potential.

This may be due to procedural delays, disputes regarding land availability, lack of proper infrastructure, poor administration at state level etc. Besides many of the projects in which FDI is welcome but are delayed are in basic industries like power, refineries, telecommunication etc where there is a long gestation period and therefore the projects take time to materialize. So also in many strategically important sectors such as ship-building, aerospace capital goods IT hardware, solar energy etc. India has failed to attract more FDI.

2.3 Sectoral growth of FDI in India:

Since the government has realized the importance of attracting FDI into the more important core sectors of the economy, except those of strategic concern (like defence and atomic energy) the Government has announced a number of incentives to promote FDI.

These include import of capital goods at concessional customs duty, liberalization of external commercial borrowing norms, tax holiday and concessional tax treatment for certain sectors. Several state governments are also offering subsidies on fixed capital, loans at concessional rates of interest and attractive power rates.

All this has helped to change the business environment and has attracted more investment and business opportunities in telecom, electrical equipment, computer software, energy and transportation sector. Table 2.2 shows the sectors which have attracted highest FDI.

Table 2.2 Sectors Attracting Highest FDI. inflows in India (during August 1991 and March 2006)

Sector	Amount of FDI Inflows	
	Rs.Crore	US \$ Million
Electrical equipment	23,709	5,496
Telecommunication	14,337	3,372
Transport Industry	13,315	3,178
Energy	10,976	2,581
Services Sector	12,804	3,091
Chemicals	8,580	2,143
Hotel and Tourism	4,984	1,371
Food processing industries	4,702	1,179
Metallurgical industries	2,816	655
Textiles	1,775	450

Source: GOI, Dept. of Industrial Policy and Promotion, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, FDI Policy, April 2006.

2.4 Policy Initiatives and Modifications in the FDI Policy in India:

To reduce the dependence on debt flows the government has introduced numerous changes in the foreign investment policies so that more funds can be mobilized through non-debt creating private inflows.

In this context the following basic modifications have been provided :

- To attract FDI an automatic route can be adopted, where there is no need for government approval if the investment or foreign equity is within the specified ceiling.
- The government has set up the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) to consider proposals on the basis of liberal parameters in other cases.
- A Foreign Investment Promotion Council (FIPC) has also been set up to determine specific targets to attract FDI in certain sectors and regions.
- In 2000 the Govt. launched the SEZ (Special Economic Zone) scheme which could be in public private sector or set up by the State Govt. These are in keeping with the Chinese model, where Free Trade Zones (FTZs) or Export Processing Zones (EPZs) have been encouraged. Infact, these special zones provide exclusive treatment to tax concessions.

In India the SEZ policy has not been welcomed and accepted by all. There are fears that the economic independence of the country may be endangered. However, these doubts are unfounded because in the process of globalization all countries are moving closer to each other and therefore foreign investment flows are bound to take place and need to be encouraged.

2.5 Recommendations of Committee on FDI (2002) – (Chairman : N.K.Singh)

The Committee basically pointed out that approach in FDI should shift from a broad approach to one of target specific companies in specific sectors. There should be more accountability among the concerned administrative ministries and departments and decision making must be speedy, accurate and efficient. Hence, the FIPB and the Foreign Investment Implementation Authority (FIIA) should be empowered to expedite approvals and improve administration.

The committee was of the opinion that India should follow China's example to make SEZ the most competitive destination for export related FDI in the world. The laws should be simplified and redtapism should be reduced. Except defence, FDI caps on all manufacturing and mining sectors should be removed and in the case of telecom, civil aviation, broadcasting and insurance sectors be raised.

Above all, encouraging national treatment to foreign firms, making investment in most sectors automatic and replacing the present permission driven approach by a proactive promotion/ soliciting approach is necessary.

A sector specific marketing strategy needs to be developed. So far in India the growth of the Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) has been profound. These success stories need to be documented and made known to potential investors. The govt. has to improve its image and show that it can provide a congenial atmosphere for making foreign investment easy and profitable. The govt. must revamp its publicity campaign and the steps to provide more encouragement for the growth of the SEZ. There should be more transparency in the policy decisions and in the regulations and procedures governing different sectors.

However the Indian govt. is aware that the best policy to achieve high rates of growth would be to simultaneously encourage the development of homegrown entrepreneurship and FDI in those sectors like infrastructure where monetary investments are heavy and sophisticated technology is required for development.

3. FDI Policy in China since 1978 :

China is more FDI-led country than any other in the Southeast Asian region. It embraced FDI in 1978, much earlier than India. It encouraged the foreign investors to take full advantage of their cheap labour and produce goods which could be exported to other countries, particularly to USA. Therefore this led to China's export-led manufacturing boom, at the cost of the domestic entrepreneurship.

The foreign firms were given special treatment in the form of cheap capital, tax incentives and cheap labour. The private firms were not encouraged at all. Such a policy was basically adopted to protect the inefficient and loss-making state-owned enterprises (SOEs).

Under such circumstances the private entrepreneurs were forced to access financing from foreign firms – mainly based in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Such financing became FDI.

Table 3.1 – FDI inflows into China

Measure 1	1984-89	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04
Billions of Dollars	2.3	16.1	40.6	50.50
Percent of GDP	0.7	3.7	4.7	7.2
Percent of total FDI flows to developing countries	12.7	27.1	25.3	35.99
Growth in GDP (percent a year)	9.7	12.2	8.3	10.10

Source: IMF, Balance of payments statistics year book and International Financial Statistics various issues; China Statistical year book.

1. Period Averages.

3.1. Benefits of FDI in China.

Table 3.1 shows that FDI inflows into China have surged rapidly from almost nil at the start of the reforms in the late 1970s to nearly \$ 45 billion a year (nearly 5 per cent of the GDP) in the second half of 1990s. This was mainly due to the reforms introduced by Deng Xioping which ushered in an era of renewed confidence and entrepreneurship in China. During the Asian financial crisis, there was a slight decline in FDI inflows but they picked up again in 2000. China therefore is the largest recipient among developing countries, accounting for almost 35 per cent of the FDI flows to all developing countries.

As the foreign investment increased to as high as 6% of GDP in 1995, the income accruing to foreign firms, which was \$5.3 billion in 1992, increased phenomenally to \$22 billion by 2002.

The initial benefits of such FDI-led boom was mainly transfer of management skills and technology. It helped the Chinese govt. to postpone difficult internal reforms. The foreign investors were willing to acquire assets from the loss-making SOEs. This helped the Chinese govt. to drag its feet on privatization.

Such FDI helped China to develop world class infrastructural facilities. Unlike India, where power and transport shortages are very acute, China has wisely allowed FDI in such facilities. This has further helped to develop the manufacturing sector and increase production of a variety of goods and services. The 'Made in China' goods are now available in all USA markets and in many countries, including India.

4. China – India Comparison:

However, all these 'spillover' effects of FDI are offset by the cost of attracting FDI. Unlike India, China has not been able to encourage private entrepreneurship. There is not a single Chinese company which can compare favourably with a global MNC either from USA or UK or Europe.

On the other hand, many Indian companies are world class and comparable to MNCs from developed economies. The software-led development of India is a unique story of success which can be emulated by China in the near future.

Although in the 60s and 70s PSUs in India were occupying the commanding heights of the economy, they never discouraged private entrepreneurship. To-day with more open acceptance of the liberalization programme, private sector is being specially encouraged to expand and to develop. The capital markets therefore have developed and are stronger, efficient and transparent. So also the legal framework in India is more advanced and with further reforms, they will help India to surge forward in the International market.

India is the 'best destination' for FDI and joint ventures, claimed Mr. Kamal Nath, Commerce and Industry Minister at the Focus India show in Chicago. He pointed out that India has emerged as an across the board low cost base, attractive enough to MNCs to relocate in the country. More than 100 of the Fortune 500 companies have a presence in India as compared to only 33 in China he pointed out.

Further, India promises high returns on investments, freely allowing repatriation of profits. According to a survey by Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), 70 per cent of foreign investors were making profits and another 12 per cent were breaking even. This shows that FDI policies in India were among the most liberal and attractive amongst the emerging economies.

In future the Indian diaspora may increase its investment and although it may not be able to match the Chinese diaspora as 'hard' capital goes, yet Indians abroad can invest substantially in the form of 'intellectual capital', which could prove to be even more valuable. While China has won the race to be the World's factory, India could become the World's technology lab.

Conclusion

There may be many parameters on which China may score over India. The FDI led boom in China has helped mainly in the development of the infrastructural facilities, manufacturing sector and encouraged more exports from the country. However it did not allow the growth of private entrepreneurship. Therefore there are doubts as to whether such a model is practical and acceptable. On the other hand, India should encourage FDI cautiously but with some element of transparency and consistency in policy. It should also encourage expansion and evolution of private entrepreneurs. This may perhaps prove to be a double powerful weapon and help India to sustain higher growth rates. It may also help India to emerge as an even more powerful nation than China in the 21st century.

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Eco-Economy: The Need of the Time

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Even discounting the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, the global ecosystem and the future evolution of life on earth are seriously endangered and may well end in – a large scale ecological disaster. Overpopulation and industrial technology have contributed in various ways to a severe degradation of the natural environment upon which we are completely dependent for life. As a result, our health and well-being are seriously endangered.

- Fritjof Capra (The Turning Point)

There are many environmental hazards that human kind is facing today; the intensity of such hazards like climate change, desertification, depleting water levels, etc. is constantly increasing at an alarming rate by the day. It is only natural that these environmental hazards have triggered widespread concern. Academicians and thinkers from various branches of knowledge, ranging from engineering, pure sciences, and humanities, etc. are worried about the situation and are investing their time and energy to find sustainable solutions for the benefit of future generations.

This paper focuses on the issues relating to the problems of ecological imbalances and the immediate need for an Eco-economy. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the stressed relationship between the present economy and the earth and the second part discusses the concept of eco-economy and indicators suggesting trends towards building it.

I

Stressed Relationship between the Economy and the Earth

Since the last fifty years global economic progress has been remarkable albeit at a price; very recently the world economy has been facing a distressing recession. The negative outcome of unbridled consumerism and industrialization has given rise to some ecological issues which are threatening and these show the stressed relationship between the economy and the earth. The following signs indicate this stressed relationship:

I. Rising Temperature: Since the last thirty years the average global temperature has risen by 0.44° Celsius (0.8° Fahrenheit) i.e. from 13.99° Celsius in 1969-71 to 14.43° Celsius in 1998-2000 (Brown, EE, 29). The average global temperature is rising dramatically. It is also estimated that it will still continue to shoot up even faster in the next century. This rise in global temperature is the result of the burning of fossil fuels and deforestation. Moreover, this projected rise in global temperature will be unevenly distributed, i.e. more over the earth and less over the water or oceans.

II. Melting Ice: The most evident effect of global warming is melting ice. Mountain glaciers of the world as well as the ice on the surface of the Arctic Ocean are melting. Over the last four decades, the ice sheet in the Arctic Ocean has thinned by 42% and it has shrunk in area by 6% (Brown, EE, 31). In Asia the snow on the Himalayas is also melting which will have an adverse effect in the region. As Lester R. Brown puts it:

If the massive snow/ice sheet in the Himalayas-which is third largest in the world, after the Antarctic and the Greenland ice sheets - continues to melt, it will affect the water supply of much of Asia. All of the region's major rivers- the Indus, Ganges, Mekong, Yangtze and Yellow- originate on the Himalayas. Ice melting in this area could alter the hydrology of several Asian countries including Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Vietnam and China. Less snow melt in the summer dry season to feed rivers could worsen the

hydrological poverty already afflicting so many in the region. (Brown, 1982, EE, 34)

I. Rising Sea Level: Another serious implication of global warming is the rising sea level as a result of thermal expansion of water and melting of glaciers. Rising sea level leads to inundation of coastal areas. Saltwater intrusion and invasion of coastal fresh water aquifers are other effects of rising sea level. According to Donald Boesch's estimate that with each millimeter rise in sea level, the shoreline retreats an average of 1.5 meters. (Brown, 1982, EE, 34) If there is 1 meter rise in sea level, it will be responsible for 1,500 meters coastline retreat and this is a loss of land which can definitely adversely affect many economies of developing countries with high population growth.

V. Increasing Frequent Storms: Global warming is directly related to the power of storms. Rising temperature leads to weather events. Such situations are more common particularly in countries of the hurricane and typhoon belt. Other countries that also face the threat are China, Japan and the Philippines in the western Pacific and Bangladesh in the Bay of Bengal, the US and Central American Caribbean countries in the Atlantic. In recent years, the world has seen some extraordinarily destructive storms which are multiplying.

IV. Drying Rivers: One of the biggest challenges that mankind faces is the drying rivers which affects the available stock of water. It is the developing countries which lack enough water to satisfy their basic needs for drinking and food production. Drying rivers in highly populated countries result in hydrological pollution and affect the marine eco-system of rivers. The drying of rivers is also outcome of diversions made for industrialization and for irrigation purposes. As a result many rivers do not reach the sea adversely affects the food production depending on the downstream of rivers.

VI. Falling Water Table: Global demand for water has increased due to expanding global population and global economy. This more than the sustainable yield of aquifers in the world. Moreover, more water has to be diverted from agriculture to meet the increasing demand of modern and industrialized cities. This leads to decrease in agricultural production.

VII. Signs with BSE: Following are some of the important signs of stressed relationship between the economy and the environment.

- Collapsing fisheries
- Shrinking forests
- Deteriorating soil
- Eroding soil
- Disappearing species

II

Concept of Eco-economy and Its Indicators

The foregoing shows that rapid growth in global economic activities is at the root of the conflict between the present and the earth's natural ecosystem. The question that arises is how will the global economy maintain such a situation? This is why Eco-economy is needed. Therefore, it becomes very important to define it at this juncture. We can say that Eco-economy is that economy which respects ecological requirements of the future generations. In this sense, an ecologically sustainable economy can be called 'Eco-economy'. Moreover, in an Eco-economy, all economic activities as well as economic policy are eco-centric. The tragedy is that the present economy is in conflict with its own support system. The worry is that this support system is deteriorating. This is because there is a fundamental difference of outlook of ecologists and economists regarding the use of the support system. According to L.F.

Economic theory and economic indicators do not explain the economy is disrupting and destroying the earth's

natural system. Economic theory does not explain why Arctic sea melting and it does not explain why grasslands are turning into deserts in northwestern China, why coral reefs are dying in the south Pacific, or why the Newfoundland Cod fishery collapsed. Nor does it explain why we are in the early stages of the greatest extinction of plants and animal since the dinosaurs disappeared 65 million years ago. Yet economics is essential to measuring the cost of society of these excesses. (Brown, EE, 3-4).

Now fact, in the eco-
Economics considers ecosystem as its subsystem and ecology considers the economy – the subsystem. If both do not function coherently then both will suffer in the long-run and ultimately mankind will suffer. From a holistic point of view, the economy is the subsystem of ecology but there is a fundamental difference in the outlook of both. The following are the points indicating fundamental differences between ecologists and economists:

- * Economists rely on the market mechanism to address different economic issues whereas ecologists do not understand or appreciate market mechanism.
- * Economists believe in Maxima i.e. they advocate the maximization of gain of every economic agent through the market mechanism. Every agent in the economic system tries to maximize his individual gain. On the other hand, ecologists believe in Minima, i.e. they will always try to minimize the use/exploitation of natural resources or try to find the ways of using natural resources as minimally as possible with the aim of sustaining them.
- * Ecologists are more worried about the limits of exploiting natural resources but economists do not consider any limits. As L.R. Brown notes:

Economists look at the unprecedented growth of the global economy and of international trade and investment and see a promising future with more of the same . . . Ecologists look at this same growth and realize that it is the product of burning vast quantities of artificially cheap fossil fuels, a process that is destabilizing the climate. They look ahead and see more intense heat waves, more destructive storms, melting ice caps, and a rising sea level that will shrink the land area even as population continues to grow while economists see booming economic indicators, ecologists see an economy that is altering the climate with consequences that no one can foresee. (Brown, EE, 5).

The above discussion proves that an economy which is dependent on the market mechanism is destructing and therefore there is an urgent need to have an eco-economy that can support the economy and is the subset of the eco-system. To quote L.R. Brown: "Today's global economy has been shaped by market forces, not by the principles of ecology . . . This has created a distorted economy that is out of sync with earth's ecosystem – as economy that is destroying its natural support system" (Brown, EE, 78).

It is necessary at this juncture to mention that the present economy and its pace are not capable of meeting the demands of future generations of mankind. In other words, the present economy is using resources unsustainably for future generations. This must be checked and there must be a rethinking regarding the present system of economy. A new eco-economy needs to be framed in a way that it can satisfy the present requirements without limiting the prospects and availability of resources for the requirements of future generations. The present economy should be a sustainable one which operates at the sustainable level of yield from the ecosystem, otherwise history will repeat itself. In the past many early civilizations have disappeared because they moved onto an economic path which was not environmentally sustainable. To quote P.K. Rao:

The Mayan civilization in the western hemisphere began to flourish around the third and fourth centuries AD; the civilization collapsed rather suddenly during the tenth century, a period which also coincided with temperature

rise and climate change in the region. Similarly, the collapse of the Mali civilization in Africa in the fourteenth century was attributed to severe changes in climatic factors . . . The lessons of economic history indicate that mismanagement of natural resources and the environment led to the disaster cited above. (Rao, 4).

It is a well established fact that whenever there is mismanagement of natural resources, it has resulted in disaster. It will be useful to quote Rao again:

These viewpoints were also supported by scientists like Henry David Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh in the nineteenth century. Marsh's 1864 contribution analyzed the fall of past civilizations and found that most of these possessed a single common feature: The civilization collapsed when its demands on natural resources exceeded the land's ability to supply the same. There have been experiences of deforestation leading to desertification and the collapse of human life in specific regions. (Rao, 5).

All the observations made above are very serious in nature and require a paradigm shift in the basic thinking regarding the relationship between the earth and the economy. The shaping of the new eco-economy will first presume that economy is the subset of the eco-system. Nevertheless, the task of transforming the present market- oriented economy into a new eco-economy based on the principles of ecology is not at all a simple one. This requires appropriate and systematic changes in sync with the earth's eco-system in sharp contrast with the present day self-destructing economy.

Fundamental changes will have to be made in all the key sectors like energy, materials and food as elaborated by L.R. Brown, "Among the key economic sectors energy, materials and food the most profound changes will be in energy and materials" (Brown, EE, 83). The changes required in these sectors are a shift from oil, coal and natural gas to wind, and to solar cells and geothermal energy in the energy sector. On the other hand, the materials sector will need to emphasize on reuse/recycle models. In the food sector, natural capital will have to be used with better management; aquifers will need to be stabilized by moderating the use. Attention will have to be paid to better water productivity and conservation of topsoil.

In this process of transformation, certain new industries and professions will rise and others will disappear. Those like fish-farming, bicycle manufacturing, wind-farm construction, wind turbine manufacturing, hydrogen generation, fuel cells and solar cells manufacturing, light rail construction, tree planting industries etc. will be upcoming and professions like wind meteorologists, family planning midwives, foresters, hydrologists, recycling engineers, aqua cultural veterinarians, ecological economists, geothermal geologists, environmental architects, bicycle mechanics, wind turbine engineers will expand. On the other hand, industries like coal mining, oil drilling, nuclear power generation, clear-cut logging, manufacturing of throwaway products, automobile manufacturing etc. will see the sunset. (Brown, EE, 87, 89, 91)

As the above discussion implies, the transformation to eco-economy is possible and there are certain indicators which need to be tracked for this transformation to eco-economy which are discussed in chapter 2 The Earth Policy Reader by L. R. Brown. They are as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Population | (2) Economic growth |
| (3) Grain harvest | (4) Fish catch |
| (5) Forest cover | (6) Water scarcity |
| (7) Carbon emissions | (8) Global temperature |
| (9) Ice melting | (10) Wind electric generation |
| (11) Bicycle production | (12) Solar cells sales. |

All the above indicators can be used to measure the progress or the lack thereof towards building an eco-economy which is based on respecting ecological principles. A short explanation of each indicator is as follows:

1. Population: Population is both a social as well as an environmental indicator. The history of human population trends suggests that in recent years we have grown in numbers which in turn results in a very large ecological footprint of mankind i.e. we are using natural resources more than the regenerating capacity of nature. According to WWF Living Planet Report (2006):

Humanity's footprint first grew larger than global biocapacity in the 1980s; this overshoot has been increasing every year since, with demand exceeding supply by about 25 percent in 2003. This means that it took approximately a year and three months for the Earth to produce the ecological resources we used in that year. (LPR, 14).

The expanding ecological footprint is threatening the existence of many other species with whom we share the planet and who are an important part of our life cycle.

2. Economic Growth: Economic growth is the most important single indicator suggesting the mounting pressure on the earth's environment. Many economic activities that are carried are beyond the sustainable yield capacity of nature. In addition to this, the increasing population also adds to the increase in demand for natural resources.

3. Grain Harvest : This is the third indicator suggesting the adequacy of food supply. According to L.R. Brown : "Grain production is a useful indicator of growing food demand in that increased output reflects population growth and rising affluence with its associated rise in consumption of grain-fed livestock products" (Brown, TEPR, 84).

4. Fish Catch: The productivity and health of oceanic ecosystem can be measured with the help of fish catch. In recent years the increasing demand for seafood had resulted in decreasing fishery stocks, declining catches and collapsing fisheries. Fishing activities are overrunning the sustainable capacity of fisheries. It is very important to note the observations made by Living Planet Report (2006) which provide the Living planet Index suggesting the health of the ecosystem:

The Living Planet Index measures trends in the Earth's biological diversity. It tracks populations of 1313 vertebrate species – fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds, mammals – from all around the world. Separate indices are produced for terrestrial, marine, and freshwater species, and the three trends are then averaged to create an aggregated index. Although vertebrates represent only a fraction of known species, it is assumed that trends in their populations are typical of biodiversity overall. By tracking wild species, the Living Planet Index is also monitoring the health of ecosystems. Between 1970 and 2003, the index fell by about 30 per cent. This global trend suggests that we are degrading natural ecosystems at a rate unprecedented in human history. (LPR, 2).

5. Forest Cover : The area under forest cover is the one of the most important indicators indicating human activity and changes of land use. Depleting forest cover is an alarming situation indicating the decreasing supply of forest products. It also suggests that the capacity of forests to control floods, protect soil and purify water, etc. is also reducing.

6. Water scarcity: This is an indicator suggesting the intensity of human imposition on nature. The constant depletion of water levels and overall abrupt reduction in water supply is also very alarming.

7. Carbon Emissions: Carbon emissions are also indicative of human activity According to L.R. Brown: "Carbon emissions tell us a lot about ourselves and our current habits and provide clues about the kind of world we will be leaving for future generations" (Brown, TEPR, .84).

8. **Global Temperature:** Global Temperature is the best indicator of how mankind is maintaining the health of the living planet i.e. the Earth.

9. **Ice – melting:** Ice-melting is the only most sensitive and evident effect of increasing global temperature.

10. **Wind-energy Generation:** Wind-energy generation will be very important for generations in future and the rate at which it is generated will indicate the trend towards building an eco-economy.

11. **Bicycle Manufacturing:** Bicycle manufacturing and its sales will also indicate mankind's ability to use less fossil fuels, to lessen traffic congestion and air pollution, to increase mobility and obtain exercise.

12. **Solar Cells:** Solar cells are also considered as a future source of energy and therefore the use and demand for them will also indicate the trend towards building eco-economy.

It may be beneficial for policy makers to heed to the above discussed indicators or trends to track or check present economic trends in favour of an eco-economy. To sum up in the words of L.R. Brown: "No sector of the global economy will be untouched by the environmental revolution. In this new economy, some companies will be winners and some will be losers. Those who anticipate the emerging eco-economy and plan for it will be winners. Those who cling to the past risk becoming part of it." (Brown, EE, 95).

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'Whodunnit?' A Study of A Postmodern Appropriation Of The Crime Fiction Genre With Reference To Vikas Swarup's 'Six Suspects'

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It is said that crime does not pay and the old adage is no doubt true. Nevertheless, crime has been the foundation of an entire genre of fiction for more than one hundred and fifty years. 2009 marks the 75th anniversary of Agatha Christie's *Murder on the Orient Express*. It seems an appropriate point to examine the future of this genre which, write John Scaggs, "is the one that has been most frequently and successfully appropriated for ethnic, cultural, feminist, and gay and lesbian reformulations".¹

The approach of this paper will encompass a discussion of the postmodern appropriation of the genre' with reference to the Indian writer Vikas Swarup. A recent article in *Mumbai Mirror*, p.11 Sunday, January 4, 2009 has drawn attention to a new trend in Indian writing in English.

'The publishing world was forever on the lookout for more Arundhati Roys and Rushdies. Fast-paced thrillers and juicy whodunits by Indian authors have been few and far between. But things seem to be changing now with a slew of titles coming up'²

What is interesting, for the academician, is that the crime fiction genre', whether in India or abroad, has rarely been deemed fit for serious literary study. The impossibility of rereading detective stories has been cited as a possible reason. According to Martin Priestman "This apparently essential disposability has perhaps helped to ensure that a form which is often meticulously clever on many narrative and strategic levels encounters a kind of glass ceiling when it attempts to claim serious literary status".³

Six Suspects is Vikas Swarup's second novel. His first 'Q & A' has been made into a much acclaimed film *The Slumdog Millionaire*. His novel is in keeping with the recent trend of experimenting with unusual settings and flamboyant characters like femme fatale, refugees, politicians, film stars. Vikas Swarup uses, what might be called a page 3 setting. Six people want to murder a politician's son and they gather at his party to carry out their plans. Commenting on his book Vikas Swarup says.

'My book is not exactly standard crime fiction..... For me, the act of murder provided a good framing device from which to spin a polyphone narrative involving the six suspects.'⁴

One need not spend too much time quibbling about whether *six suspects* is 'crime fiction' or 'crime noir'. The latter refers to one branch of thriller fictions in which readers identify with characters who consciously exceed the law, whether in their whole lifestyles or through specific actions.⁵ What is important for the purpose of this paper is that the novel can be seen as an attempt to use the genre of crime fiction for purposes beyond its original *raison d'être*. It can be viewed as a postmodern appropriation of the genre as a means of highlighting the impossibility of what has always been central to crime fiction: the process of interpretation and the discovery of truth. The epigraph of the novel, "Murder, like all art, generates interpretation and resists explanation," is a pointer to the centrality of this theme. What is also interesting is the very conscious attempt to incorporate a range of social issues which have been interwoven dexterously into the plot. "There is a caste system even in murder" so goes the second sentence of the novel, and certainly the six suspects represent various strata's of society. This gives the novelist the opportunity to get the 'panoramic imaginative sweep' (blurb) which helps to open up a range of social issues. While class has always played a predominant role in crime fiction, Swarup has opened up the genre to include social questions never considered to be a part of the genre'. Another interesting aspect of Swarup's skillful use of the genre' is the interesting interplay of the reading process and detection which further underscores the impossibility of defining truth. Infact, the novel can be seen as a site where the entire notion of 'Truth' is contested.

Swarup's focus, unlike the majority of 'Whodunnits', is not so much on the unraveling of past events or the detection activity itself. Rather his focus is on the inner psyche, the motives and emotions of the 'suspects' as the novel grapples with a range of social problems that plague modern India. The term 'whodunit' focuses attention on the crucial drive to identify the perpetrator of a specific crime. Swarup shifts the focus more the 'Whydunnit' as, in an interesting twist, the victim is no innocent babe in the woods but a criminal menace to society, himself a murderer of an innocent girl. Therefore, what we have is an interesting story of the murder of a murderer.

Are all these elements really new or is Vikas Swarup making ingenious use of the rich tradition of the crime fiction genre? This is the question that one needs to probe. To answer this question we need to highlight the interesting elements that have passed down through several generation of writers. It is necessary to see how Swarup uses some of these elements in his novel. Only then can a true appraisal of Swarup's use of the crime fiction genre, popularly known as 'Whodunnits', be possible.

The general critical consensus is that the detective story began with Edgar Allan Poe, the 'father' of the detective genre. But now the early ancestor of the genre has been traced as far back to the Bible (The story of Cain and Abel) and even earlier to one story drawn from the Hercules Myths. The story of Cain and Abel can be read as an example of how crime fiction, according to Stephen Knight,⁶ "creates an idea (or a hope or a dream) about controlling crime". Cain murders Abel out of jealousy and is punished by God in two ways, he becomes an outcast, and he is marked by God so that all may recognize him for who he is, and more significantly for what he is – a criminal. The 'Mark of Cain' is a reassurance to all those who abide by the law, as it suggests that the criminal is always identifiable as 'other' than themselves. Infact the noteworthy characteristic of the early stories, that have been identified as ancestors of the genre, is the emphasis on right conduct, reinforced by harsh punishments meted out. Throughout the evolution of the genre, crime has been seen as a transgression oif established boundaries of acceptable social behaviour. The social order has to be maintained. In all the crime fiction stories we find that a particular view of the world or ideology is validated. Some have seen these books as "fantasy projections of a readership anxious to believe there are people committed enough to be trusted to protect a threatened and divided society from itself.

Vikas Swarup's novel brings to focus a world in which there is no God to mete out punishments. The list of crimes attributed to Vicky Rai is long and is almost a pastiche of all the crimes committed by celebrity film stars and young politicians in recent years. So Vicky Rai is a symbol for all those who believe that their power and position can help them escape justice. In so doing, Swarup has changed the focus from one individual 'corpse as signifier to a representative victim who is the perpetrator of a range of social crimes.

Another interesting predecessor of Poe is Oedipus the king by Sophocles (430 BC). The play has a plot which foregrounds a hidden secret of its core and which is structured around the enquires that uncover this secret at the end. Who killed Lauis? This is the mystery and interestingly Oedipus is both the criminal and the force of law and authority. This doubling of functions has its echoes in several crime fictions including Six Suspects.

The revenge tragedy of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period (end of 10th Century and beginning of 17th Century) is structured by the overriding imperative of restoring the social order as embodied in the act of revenge. It is the absence of justice that forces the revenges to pursue a course of action that is unjust. Furthermore, the tragedies of revenge are often structured around the fact that criminality has invaded the centres of justice. The king is the killer in Shakespeare's Hamlet (1601) and it is this corruption at the heart of the structures of power and justice that signals to the revenges the overriding necessity of justice. Ironically, by taking the law into their own hands, the revenges often disrupt the very social order that they are trying to restore.

Vikas Swarup's novel has traces of this theme of retribution as a gesture of anger against corruption in high places. "Let us resolve to cleanse the political system of criminal elements". There is no personal motive and the avenger has no private suffering to revenge. Whatever is done is done for public good. The ends justify the means. This ideology is of course, shown to be fraught with dangers. How many Vicky Rais have to be killed to make India corruption free? Can murder be justified? There are some of the questions that Swarup's novel raises, questions that the 'revenge tragedy' genre also raised several centuries ago.

The crime fiction or whodunit genre really has its roots in the short-story series formula engineered by Poe and taken to a new level by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The latter wrote four novels as part of this genre. The

entire Holmes Canon provides an interesting x-ray of the range of social attitudes to which it must have appealed. There is a fear of serious organized crime seen largely as a 'foreign infection', suspicion of the older, feudal and rural classes by contrast to the hand working should middle class, fitful awareness of the suppression of women's freedom within the traditional family structure, coupled with reluctance to challenge the structure itself. In *Six Suspects* social problems are dealt with in greater length, there is also a wider range of problems but there is a similar reluctance to challenge the structure. There is more emphasis on middle class activism propelled by the media.

The British whodunit novel came fully into its own after the First World War when Agatha Christie established a pattern of extraordinary resilience by transmuting the strengths of the Holmes – like short story into the novel form. Logic and reason, traced back to the Enlightenment, were the foundations of detection. In the crime fiction of this period (i.e. between First and Second World Wars) plot is elevated above all other considerations and realistic character development takes a back seat to the construction of the puzzle. Vikas Swarup makes interesting use of the first person narrator Arun Advani, who is an investigative journalist, determined to track down Vicky Rai's murder using as he writes, cold logic of reason to find the bare truth. But he goes on to say truth is messy and his focus will be on the 'life histories' of the six suspects. This, Swarup uses the technique of multiple and split narratives in order to pursue the stories of the six suspects. The suspects are 'types' the bureaucrat, the archer, the tribal, the thief, the politician and the American.

Another interesting notion that was important in British crime fiction was that of 'fair play' the idea of fair play is grounded in the notion that the reader should, at least in theory, be able to solve the crime at the heart of a story of detection, and for this reason should have access to the same information as the fictional detective. Thus, logic and reason should help the reader to unraveled the puzzle element at the heart of the "whodunnit". Vikas Swarup subverts the entire notion of textual reliability by making the narrator the murderer. In this he is not original as this had been done by Agatha Christie in her famous book *The Murder of Roger Achroyd* (1926). By destroying the reader's faith in the reliable narrator Vikas is able to demonstrate that the threat of social disorder comes from within society. Infact the impossibility of nailing the truth is made in the epigraph used in the "Evidence" section. "These are no facts, only interpretations". The entire section 'Solution,' has the following epigraph. 'If you want to live in the city you have to think ahead three turns, and look behind a lie to see the truth and then behind that truth to see the lie'. (Vikram Chandra, *Scared games*) and highlights how the truth is never us "bare" as it is made out to be. "I have solved the case, uncovered the bare truth" brags Arun Advani but as we soon learn it is a bare lie. The "reliable narrator" is fallible thus undermining our faith in an univocal authority. As Priestman states "with the collapse of the 'reliable narrator' other assumptions about literature as a mouthpiece of univocal authority can also be felt to crumble".

It is one of the ironies of the novel that justice is also an impossibility. It is the innocent tribal Jiba Korwa who is found guilty and killed in an encounter. Once again Arun Advani tries to get justice for the victim of a corrupt police system by pinning the blame on those responsible. He claims that he has committed libel in the interest of serving the ends of justice. "Come what may, I shall continue to tell the bare truth". As a result of his stand the public is galvanized into action and measures are initiated to bring about reforms in the system. "That is the only way to safeguard and strengthen our democracy. That is the only way to ensure a future worthy of our children."

It is one of the inherent ironies in the novel that the text itself does not seem to support Advani's stand that ends justify the means. It is clear in the chapter 'Sting Operation' that one Vicky Rai is soon replaced by another. The corrupt continue to have a field day. The conversation between Singhania and Netaji, the new chief minister, is chilling. Corruption continues as both make their plans to "enjoy the fruits together". The only person who gets justice is Shabnam Saxena where the betrayal of her double Ram Dulari actually serves to save her. Shabnam is free to marry the American and leave the country. The final confession of Advani tries to make a case for murder. It voices the feelings of the middle class that the time has come for action and the onus is on them to challenge the status quo. What is chilling is Advani's complete disregard for the 'means'. Pride in having committed the perfect murder gives him a sense of being the new warrior fighting the forces of evil. The last sentence is especially frightening 'And even murder can become addictive'. Advani's zeal to clean up the system will turn him into a serial killer albeit for good. Is this the kind of activism that can safeguard democracy and create a better future for the future generations? These are the disturbing questions raised by the novel and in true postmodern fashion there are no final answers.

Vikas Swarup in his 'Acknowledgements' states "This was a difficult book to write. The very ambition of the novel – to tell the interlocking stories of six disparate lives in a tightly schematic space – made it a daunting enterprise" some parts of the book tend to be pretentious and often unreadable. But Swarup has a great talent for grating front – page headlines and using page 3 glamour to frame various social issues. Critics have questioned the deliberate absence of some issues like the Gujarat riots or even the soft pedaling of the Kashmir issue. Be that as it may be, the fact remains that Swarup is a popular writer for the masses and yet he has not been content to write a crime fiction per se. Infact he has used the genre's very efficiency to deal with various themes like the interpretation of reality and the possibility of justice and neat solutions. For this alone he deserves our kudos. As the final epigraph stakes 'Nothing in the world is harder than speaking the truth". F.M. Dostoevsky.

Note: All Textual references are from Six Suspects by Vikas Swarup 2008. London Doubleday.

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"Of Jacob's Ladders And Cats Cradles : " A Study Of James Reaney's Verbal Configurations In His Plays.

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In an attempt to understand Reaney's individuals in his communities, one needs to understand the socio-linguistic patterns in his plays. R.A. Hinson's definition of the term puts it as "the study of language in society". Another linguist Ralph Fasold specifies some of the aspects of sociolinguistics as "address forms, ethnography of communication, discourse and linguistic pragmatics. Further, there are three essential concepts of ethnography of communication—they are speech community, speech situation, event and act. Speech itself, as Dell Hymes suggests has eight components that required to be studied (1) Situation (2) participant (3) event (4) act sequence (5) key to speech act (mock or perfunctory function) (6) instrumentalities (dialect, codes, varieties, registers,) (7) norms (8) genres like poetry, myths, proverbs, lectures and casual speech. All the four aspects of sociolinguistics ethnography, discourse, address forms and linguistic pragmatics commonly study, therefore, speech acts, gender discourse fillers, conversational implicatures and deixis. The term deixis has a special implication here. It studies diction or a class of words whose referents depend critically on time, place and participants in the speech event in which they occur. This paper aims to enlist and analyse the usage of diction in Reaney's Plays from the socio linguistic point of view.

There are two levels of communicative processes taking place in the plays; the characters communicating with one another and secondly, Reaney, the narrator continuously communicating with the audience/reader. He creates a "linguistic pastiche" (linguistic collage) to project the country life of Ontario. Reaney brings in the dialect, vocabulary, linguistics structures and the communicative frame work of the inhabitants of the communities but parallel to them, he interweaves his own poetry, songs, ballads, refrains and many other type of verbal configurations such as slogans, catch phrases, phatic communions, regular address forms giving his dialogues or monologues or multilogues a touch of somewhere being Reaneyian. All this is arranged to enhance what is already conveyed to the spectator / reader in the form of conversations between or among characters, absent or present in the scene. Also, there is an intermingling of popular voice and the personal voice that creates a heightened effect of sound, rhythm and music which results into creating a great verbal collage.

Barring the plays *Antler River*, *Gyroscope* & *Waceusta* and the settings of almost all the plays is located in the Perth County. However, communities referred to vary from play to play. In the Donnelly trilogy it is the Biddulph community comprised of two diverse groups with Blackfeet. White feet disparity. Geograph match projects the English Canadian Society with its comparison of Anglican versus United Church values. Names and Nicknames has the pastoral and idyllic community. Ignoramus has a sub – community section that has orphan children controlled artificially by Hilda and Progressaurus. The other communities referred to are the Stratford Ontario types, Millbanic working class people, the Victorian English ones, the native Crees in Wacausta and others.

Each community shares with its members distinct features of communicative pattern. To bring out this pattern, Reaney mixes the popular voice with the poetic one He brings in carol, hymns, liturgical chants, patriotic songs, national anthem, familiar or popular and not so popular songs, nursery, rhyme, Victorian parlour songs, word games, wordlists, name lists, documentary language, medicine show announcements, choral repetitions and poetry. The choice of vocabulary again contributes heavily to the projection of the targeted community. Equally important is the study of various techniques like play within the play, overlapping and intersecting variant telling of stories constructing a social mythology. While reconstituting the social myths, he breaks the temporal and spatial patterns or sequences and creates a mixed genre. Diana Bessai says "As a stylist, Reaney is a pioneer dramaturgical dissident in Canada". Booring calls Reaney's plays an "Invocations of an entire society, rather than of any portion, class time, that is why his works and especially plays often pause to make lists, threatening to finish in a catalogue compiled by a neighbouring Zeno. (ECW, 5)

Gerald Parker compares Reaney with his Irish Literary mentor W.B. Yeats and says both the play wrights are devoted (sometimes with almost acquisitive zeal) to language ; to words. Ross Woodman, another Reaneyian

critic has described Reaney's language as something of an established talisman through which access to another universe is possible. On Reaney's study of Greek, in particular, Woodman comments :

" the world within the alphabet
began to open up to him (Reaney). He
dimly recognized that words transmuted things
into thoughts ; that the manipulation of words, was,
in fact, the shaping of reality into a human form.
wood lists became an inventory of the world, the
stuff from which a cosmos is made ; dedensions were the beginning.
of a structure which grammer brought to completion (Woodman, 13)

Language then by itself "plays the primary role of a protagonist" in reaney's drama as well as theatre. The reader realizes that Reaney exploits, utilizes, manipulates, restores, creates as well as recreates the vocabulary of the language. In fact, one finds the language oscillating between its simple usage and compound or complex patterns. Parker's concept of language playing the role of a protagonist in Reaney's plays could be best exemplified in the following lines from Gyroscope :

' I was a verb, an adjective, a noun for head ;
A pronoun here, with participial lungs,
Infinitive fork and colon eyes until,
One day I learned to read myself and, printed person
That I was I climbed out of the book that felled me
Asleep, and now I change the plot and now, author !
I print you, I write you into pages where I lately lay and wept"

(Gyroscope, 29)

Gradually, from the beginning of a play to the end of this play, one realizes that the verbal pattern as well as the linguistic framework undergoes all sorts of processes of words and syntactical patterns being exploited, utilized, manipulated and recreated for achieving effective communicative purposes. The above mentioned 'poem' is a striking example of a Reaney coining new words, introducing abnormal collocation of words, using abnormal syntactic pattern - (" I climbed out of the book that felled me / Asleep..."), thereby representing multiple-dimensions of the language - 'protagonist'. Apparently, what results is that the reader gets the impression of being lost in a strange world of 'poetic complexities"

In particular, it is this " 'poetic' complexity of language" that makes Reaney "a stylist a pioneer dramaturgical dissident in Canada². Reaney's Performance Poems (1994) which is a "suite of connected poems interspersed with prose vignettes and meant to be ...acted within a circle of symbolic props" illustrates the best that Reaney is not the kind of playwright or a poet who is going to make his audience "end up shifting butts .. in Seats and stifling yawns" (PP, 4). Instead Reaney's audience continuously keeps himself / herself alert because of the constant movements on the stage as well as continuous shifts in conversations and in pragmatics of the conversational passages by way of interruptions in the form of having songs, ballads, nursery rhymes, stories, riddles, word games, refrains and repetitions, sounds, monologues, dialogues, triplets, quintets, voices of a single man or a woman, mob voices and several other kinds of combinations of partners in the communication practices in the plays. Through a variety of dramaturgical devices that Reaney implements in his plays, he is able to project a multitude of expressions of the individuals as well as those of the group in social, political, religious as well as cultural contexts.

What become important then is to study the language, especially, the vocabulary that Reaney uses to represent a particular kind of society. While Names and Nicknames contains the vocabulary that depicts harmony between the physical and social environment on Farmer Dell's farm, the Donnelly trilogy has a set of vocabulary that depicts harmony between the physical and social environment on Farmer Dell's farm, the Donnelly trilogy has a set of vocabulary that depicts a "sick society". For instance in Names and Nicknames the chorus sings :

" So spring on Farmer Dell's Farm.

The snow has melted, the snow has gone
 The bare trees have put their green leaves on ...
 Knees deep knee deep knee deep knee deep knee deep
 The frogs in the pond sing (Names and Nicknames, NN, 14)

And throughout the play we find such recitations, wordlists, chants that bring out the exuberance pervading in the atmosphere of the school, church or in the house resulting out of the individual's or the whole community's harmony with the various elements of nature :

"Sunset in Farmwife Dell's kitchen
 Cups and saucers. Spoons and forks ...
 Fire in the stove. Bread in the oven.
 Plants in the windows. Wood in the wood box.
 Towel on the roller. Water in the pail, Dipper in the water.
 Supper supper, Sunset sunset" (NN 20)

In contrast to this, the phrases repeated in Sticks and Stones :

"Others using ropes and making cats' cradles
 Wild lands wild lands wild lands
 Cut into concessions cut into farms
 Canada West Canada West
 In the New World the new world the new world"

(Sticks & Stones, 23)

Prepare the readers for the coming dangers in the play. The laws of geometry clash with the geographical positions of the land and the creek as a result of which there are chances for the subject of a lawsuit, quarrels about water rights flooding' among the neighbours who share common boundaries of their respective farms. In fact, the identity of the individual in the community is purely based on the kind of the association that the individual had with the land that she was connected to. Social stratification was based on the criteria of either possessing the land or tilling the land for the landowner and that led to the Whitefeet – Blackfeet ideologies in the Irish society mentioned in the Donnelly trilogy. The Whitefeet vocabulary consisting of words like "kneel", "swear", "curse", "blackleg", "squatters" and "trespassers" was used for the tenants who supported the tyrannical landlords against whom the Whitefeet people formed a secret society to punish them. Reaney uses the typical rural vocabulary in order to create the picture of the community of southwest Ontario to the extent that the rural imagery consisting of words related to nature, farming and livestock are present in the speech of the characters in the play.

Another approach to studying the verbal configurations of Reaney's plays is Edward Sapir's theoretical approach to vocabulary and language and his belief that the vocabulary "reflects the physical environment and the characteristics of the culture of the people making use of it", one finds the relevance of his theory of the language and communicative pattern that Reaney employs in his works. Colours in The Dark encompasses the social as well as physical characteristics of not only the region of southwest Ontario but the whole of Canada. In order to present the community life and the pattern of communication amongst them Reaney creates a "verbal collage" in which as Parker suggests there is a "juxtaposition of Reaney's "private" poetic voice of the "Existence Poem", "The Sundogs" or "Antichrist as a Child", with the highly familiar and popular, thus more "public" and communal, voices of hymns and songs' (232). The play displays 'a profusion of reference and experience' in the sense that Reaney uses several texts from "immediately accessible communal poetry of hymns songs like "Shall We Gather At The River ?" or scripts the story of Adam and Eve and the serpent for the contemporary setting. What results is Reaney is able to make a 'mosaic – all – things – happening – at – the same – time – "(Author's Note, Colours in the Dark, 5); a scene where the individual grow-up from being a child to and an adult being under the influences of a lot of people in society, community, family and the neighbourhood. Gerald Parker rightly puts it :

"As the play traces the growth of an individual, related on several levels to the story of a region, a country, and the 'world' s story' we see language itself, becoming a principal means by which

interior and the exterior experience is transformed save and shaped. The discovery of language, then, and the recognition of its magical powers is a central issue in the play and the most important means by which the various elements of play's collage aesthetic, with its serialization and separation of verbal, aural, and visual experience, are integrated³ (235)

With the help of metaphor, Reaney creates "a world of words". Beneath the apparent pattern of the random associations of separate scenes and sequences, we find a verbal organization divided into eight different segments that are again sub-divided into twenty one separate units. The name-lists and the word-lists are used as major tools to represent multitude of objects and people present in a locale. In *Colours In The Dark*, (CITD) each segment is a cluster of names from various registers : the days of the weeks : flowers of Canada ; planets of the solar system; colours ; letters from the alphabet, and miscellaneous objects like "Harmonium", a psalm, Jack in the Pulpit or people grouped as "Ancestors". The stories are chosen as per the words in the wordlist, for instance, the first segment is :

"White suggests Sunday, Alpha, White Trillium, Harmonium, the Sun, "Shall we gather at the River", The Big Rock Candy Mountain" (CITD, 17)

The names of the flower, day of the week, colour and the alphabetical letter are specifically chosen in the order to form a canopy for the kinds of stories that are included in the segment. The colour attributed for creating the verbal as well as the scenic imagery in the first segment is white, symbolic of purity and virginity. The stories that fall under this segment are those of the melting of ice and glaciers, the story of fight between the fir and the maple tree indicating the change in the vegetation according to the changes in climate and a significant reference is that to the Book of Genesis that a girl called Bible Sal has just finished copying and she further intends "to copy out the whole – Bible ! "The reference to this activity seems to be irrelevant for the whole scene but bears significance in the context of the play in the sense that the word "genesis" provides an indication to the story of the civilization that is going to appear in the play. Before this segment actually begins there are indications of the birth of the hero that is hindered by the paws of the Grizzly Bear.

In the Second segment the instructions are :

"Red suggests Monday, BCDE, Red Zinni, Ancestors, the Moon, a psalm "Won't You Buy My Pretty Flowers?" (CITD, 20)

Stories from mythology and legends, tales of fantasy, children's stories, Biblical tales, and tales of the first immigrants that came to Canada are told by way of poetry, name-lists, questions and lyrical / interrogative sequences. For instance, the second segment contains stories starting with that of the Fall of Adam and Eve and is eventually followed by a cluster of nursery stories and poems, thereby giving the impression of a random selection of stories. But, gradually, the reader finds the story of Canada being unfolded with the help of an intricate verbal network. The segment begins with the "Existence Poem".

"Existence gives to me
What does he give to me
He gives to me a pebble
He gives to me a dew droop
He gives to me a piece of string
He gives to me a straw." (CITD 23)

In the beginning of the segment the use of the word 'existence leads to the colour "red" symbolizing fire. The Poem is followed by Father, the central character saying, "He gave to me – the colour RED !" (CITD, 21) The word "RED" is then, elaborated upon with "Red is for Monday, red zinnias, BCDE, the Moon The darting little tongue of the harmless garter snake." (CITD, 21). The story of Adam and Eve in the contemporary setting of wild lands of Canada is thereafter enacted. Pa representing Adam complains Ma of having kept open the window of the apartment since there is the fear of snakes climbing the trumpet vine in their garden. At the end of the scene, both of them disappear with their, "ruin original" and the word "RED" reappears with the reference to the "blood red berries" within the background of the woods. Thus, the repetitive use of the word "red" reveals a great number of stories related to the people of Canada.

Ostensibly, the Poem "Berry Picking" seems to be a nursery rhyme but also has a topographical reference, since it talk about the vegetation of the region – a topic that Reaney has a special penchant for. The wordlist for the berries goes as :

"Look at the raspberries
Wild Gooseberries
Huckleberries
Over here !
Look at the raspberries
Wild currants, don't eat them. They're poison.
Bunch berries (ugh!) (CITD, 23)

In his article Ontario Culture And What ? (1984), Reaney recommends Alice Munroe's story Wild Swans in her collection called "Who Do You Think You Are?". Reaney suggests such stories are valuable readings because it is here that "Physiography, psychology and physiology all meet" ⁴ (Spring, 1984, 253). In fact, Reaney himself makes an attempt to see that all these three aspects of Canada appear simultaneously in his works. In fact, in this article Reaney narrates his experience of teaching a course on Ontario Literature and Culture where he strongly advocates the need for each Canadian to be familiar with the ecosystem of Canada : "In a way, killdeer, tree and weed identification is what my course is all about" (Ontario Culture and What ?, 253) – He further asserts, "I happen to believe that if you don't know the weed that grows at your doorstep-knot wood – or the grass that grows in cemeteries – orchard or poverty grass or the name of the tree outside your window, then you're not rooted in your environment." Reaney commends in this article what Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro has done in their works to highlights the "intimate surroundings" in their works Two Little Savages and Who Do You Think You Are ?. respectively. Reaney as a wrier was concerned like Atwood and Munro and he felt "that the literature we had wasn't taking effect Had failed to see much of our real life in Ontario so I had evidently wanted to hurry up things a bit by raiding other disciplines – sociology, geography, local history, fine art, MuLuhan and Innis, folklore ... ⁵ (253). It is indeed not surprising then that Reaney brings in the non-literary forces into his writing with the help of "a fixed verbal arrangement" (Gerald Parker, 234) that includes literary devices like verbal imagery, metaphor, simile, allegory, symbols, cadence, lists of names of any object that is present on the earth between "the Sun and the Moon". Rhyming words, or verbal sounds or "language of symbols and myths".

In the Donnelly trilogy the family names are continuously repeated in order to differentiate their enemies from their friends. The names o the roads are changed in order to represent the Bidduph township. In Geography Match again a detailed list of names of geographical places of Canadam, names of various kinds of fish, names of French soldiers who first came to Canada, the names of the Red Indian tribes, names of metals, names of the historical and legendary / mythological figures frequently appear and reappear. Children's plays like Ignoramus and Geography Match as well as the plays for the grown upos like Antler River are again the kind of plays where Reaney seems to have taken up the issue of knowing the "real life in Ontario" as well as in Canada "by borrowing words from the fields of sociology, geography, local history, fine art and folklore. In Geography Match and Antler River, Reaney exploits the "verbal heritage" right from the conventional "curse vocabulary" to the modern vocabulary technological discourse to exhibit the events of historical importance of different decades of London.

In his article entitled Cutting Up Didoes (1992) Reaney again takes up the issue of culture with reference to the language spoken in Ontario. Reaney strongly reacts to the "determined attempt afoot by Commercial masters to deny us our verbal heritage⁶. (373). Reaney strongly believes." At the centre of our genuine culture is some verbal DNA called a Bible and its assisting verbal chromosome Homer and Greek Myth, the essential nourishing connectives are lacking" In the present culture.⁷ (375) In this article Reaney takes up the issue of what he calls – "decline of working class vocabulary from ten thousand words in the immediate post war period to today's miserable two thousand words" (373). Reaney believes, "Because of the meager verbal outlet, violence has increased and my reaction was to write a controversial poem on reviving the art of swearing " (373) Reaney relates vocabulary to culture and reiterates that it is a responsibility on the part of the writer to see that the extensive resource of the vocabulary in a language does not become extinct :

"The strategy of culture, to, use a phrase from one of our greatest cultural critics, Harold Innis is ... to fight for the writing of films and plays that, though oral, challenge audience and know that the best way to learn new vocabulary is to hear strange poetic words in a context, and learn by that context. As a children's playwright, at first I was continually told that no child' will ever understand that' : yes if you won't let them have a chance at

it. Within reason, exuberant language, works its magic subliminally and eventually beyond reasonable expectations, partly as in the young's reaction to nursery rhymes, not noted for their traffic – signal vocabulary. Children love words of all sorts⁸(373)

Considering the "school plays" from the afore mentioned view point one finds that all the four plays as well as the play Alice Through the Looking – Glass do contain vocabulary that includes "words of all sorts" .. For instance the play Apple Butter that is meant for "under fives" does contain words like "temperance" "marriage proposal obsession", "ferules" and many others. For Names and Nicknames Reaney says, "it still works for the under-five age group" (Interview with Reaney by Catherine Ross, 9) and that "It is literally about words, in lots of ways." (9). In the introduction to the play reaney writes, "Many of the choruses, by the way, are taken from the suites of words used in a speller that my father learned to spell out of in the 1890's at the Irish School near Stratford, Ontario. The scenery choruses came from such wordlists as "in the Yard", and "On the Farm", and the great monumental lists of boys' and girls' names in this book gave me the idea for the climax of the play." (Introduction NN, 5) One also identifies the "Irishness" of the English words and phrases used in the play, for example the play begins with different names for a valley like "vale", "dell", and the name of the farmer is Dell. Marion M. Lynn, Canada based Irish writer, in her article called Once Upon a Time in a Rural Irish Community (1997) notes : "Anyone who has visited Ireland understands the centrality of low green valleys" Lynn notes that "the Irish songs ... central to folksongs of Canada: consisted long phrases like "way down the low green valley where me and my people grew" or "down in the valley, the valley so low" (102).... Marion Lynn who is engaged in rediscovering her Irish roots, makes note of the socio-cultural traits of the Irish settlers in Canada in this article wherein she also refers to the linguistic aspects of the Irish community settled in Ontario during the nineteenth century. Lynn recollects her childhood memories and remembers how recitation and repetition were the remarkable linguistic traits of the community. She recollects of her own father who used to sing and recite in the community in Ontario and how "words were often repeated to ensure accuracy" (102). There is no exaggeration if one finds the Irish cultural specificity in Reaney's plays which can be attributed to his Irish origin and the tendencies of the family that he was brought up in along with the kind of primary education that he had from the Irish School in Stratford, Ontario. In his autobiographical article dated June 24, 1991 published in Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series, volume 15, Reaney refers to the one room school in which he studied as "the Irish School". Reaney notes that his mother was fired from this School because she put on too many plays. Reaney ends this article by asking, "And isn't it odd that my mother who was fired from teaching us at the Irish School for doing too many plays with the young people, but that her son, at Western at least, actually had his salary raised, basically for doing the same sort of thing ?" (308)

In Names and Nicknames (NN) one finds the glimpses of the Irish School, Reaney creates "a flowing story line that proceeds without a break until the very last chorus" (NN 5) with repetition and recitation as major tools for representing the rural life in Ontario. For instance Rob, the hired boy on Dell's farm repeats :

"Turn the separator, turn the separator.

Cream out one spout Skim out the other, " (NN 11)

The reader (Child or adult) also finds a wide range of words being used for things on poultry / cattle farms for example "cream separator", "skim", "spout", "coboss", "tache" and others. Without even once giving the impression of being redundant, Reaney skillfully brings in the long lists of words to describe a setting. For instance the way to village school is described by the chorus reciting as

"A Schoolyard a schoolyard a schoolyard

Where is the schoolyard

Where the ground is tamped hard

With the children's stamping feet ?

We're on the way to find it,

Find it find it

On the way to school

Dew dust mud hail

Snow ice frost smoke

Road lane ditch track

Truant officer

Tree

Pebble

One finds the repetitions / echoes of words used here in the Existence Poem in Colours in the Dark where "pebble" and "dewdrop" stand for material as well as the spiritual values of the poem.

In Colours in the Dark the vocabulary and details from the "Criminal Records for the Huron and Bruce districts, 1850" are purposefully brought in not only to present a socio-political scenario of the southwest Ontario region but also to project their influences of the socio-political factors on the ecclesiastical or spiritual tendencies of the people of the region. In fact, vocabulary is directly taken from these records :

" Have you committed –
Robbing orchards
Refusing to give half the road
Driving as Sleigh without bells
Travelling on Sunday with a
Loaded wagon of whiskey,
Trespass, vagrancy, having arms and legs.
Being born. (CITD, 16)

The interrogation is further extended to :

"Have you kept a bawdy house
Have you ever had arms and legs "No !
Have you ever breathed air" (CITD, 17)

Here, one finds the underpinning of the "crimes" or "sins" committed by the Blackfeet – the Donnellys and their friends the Keefes who were victimized by the whitefeet society for the same reasons. There is the underlying reference to the " new national self-consciousness " of being a Canadian during the sixties that led to the freedom and individuality of the common Canadian individual which was questioned by the social and political establishment as depicted in text like George Ryga's *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* (1967).

Reaney's use of selected but unlimited use of vocabulary is the key feature of his works that tend to remind people about the words long forgotten or obsolete. At the same time the reader a new, phrases or hyphenated words in accordance with the tech changes taking place in the Ontario region. For example in *Ant.***** Which has its locale in an urban set-up, Reaney coins new phrases for persons, objects or situations that undergo sociological changes on account of industrialization, mechanizations and women's liberation. Reaney creates phrases like "shut-up house", "shilly-shally" for fumbling for words, "dry-nursing a baby for not feeding but only taking care of it. "house husband" for a husband who is jobless but his wife is working and many other words and phrases like "technogiant" "three pieces suit experts", "multinational grab", "forest city". Reaney also coins up new verbs like "treed up", "drownded", "bared", "bussed", "I should salary" and others who are affected by a modern day computer like machine called "Techno giant" that is described as "blind, mechanical monster with a statelite for eyes whose hand we fall into every time we drive a car or watch TV" (AR, 1) It seems Reaney is pointing out at the erratic use of the English languages that the computers of future will generate when he makes his characters speak in lexical and syntactical abnormalities.

With Reaney's inexhaustible treasure of vocabulary with which he creates a "verbal collage", Gerald Parker sees the possibility of Reaney running the "obvious risks of a confusing semantic richness " but such a situation Parker notes "is inhibited by the functioning ... of three major modes of discourse" (*How to Play : The Theatre of James Reaney*, 237) The three modes of discourse referred to are : "the speech of appearance ; "printed rhetoric", and "poetry and verse". According to Parker, "the speech of appearance" (Parker takes this term from Andrew K. Kennedy's *Book Six Dramatists in Search of a Language*, 1975, 31) is the "conversational idiom, relatively flat and unembellished for some, and metaphorically and rhythmically (at times melodramatically) heightened for others, especially the Donnellys, in whose speech Reaney has placed the cadences, rhythms, and diction of a version of Irish dialect" (237). The second mode, that of the "printed rhetoric" covers the use of the documentary language from newspapers, public records, criminal records, political records and others. The third mode of discourse, the "one that makes Reaney's style distinct from others – because on one side

is the use of the documentary language in his words and parallel to its use is the use of poetry and verse-is the "lyrical, choric, liturgical, and popular ballad forms.")

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Portrayal Of Mahatma Gandhi In Gujarati Dalit Literature

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If I have to be reborn, I should be born as an untouchable so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition.

-Mahatma Gandhi

I have been born a Hindu but I will not die a Hindu

- Dr. Ambedkar

Dalit literature is post-Independence literature and is expressive of dalit experiences which comprise social, cultural, political and economic processes which structure society. It is in this context that Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar become relevant. Eleanor Zelliot has, in her book, *From Untouchable to Dalit : Essays on Ambedkar Movement*, very minutely studied the figures of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar as well as their leadership roles which overlap in their efforts to remove the stigma of untouchability from the democratic national life of India. The juxtaposition of Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar has been the topic of endless and fierce debate over decades. Zelliot notes:

Both Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar are known, to different groups, as the "Saviour of the Untouchables". Gandhi was a caste Hindu, the "Father of Independence" who is said to have spoken and written more on untouchability than on any other subject. Gandhi publicly put the abolition of untouchability, along with Hindu-Muslim unity, as the essential pre-requisite for India's true Independence. He also made popular the term 'Harijan' (Children of God) for the Untouchables. Ambedkar was the most highly educated Untouchable in India, recognized by many as the Untouchables' chief spokesman, the founder of a political party for Untouchables, and the moving spirit behind organizations, schools and colleges established for their uplift. (Zelliot, 150-51)

The foregoing implies that the priority of the public action of both Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar was the cause of the untouchables. But there are clear ideological differences in the manner in which they operated. Gandhiji's stand is philosophical, social and inclusive while Dr. Ambedkar's is constitutional, political and exclusive. Gandhiji practiced what he preached; in the face of great opposition he admitted a Harijan family to his ashram to set an example among caste Hindus. While Gandhiji aimed at abolishment of untouchability and reform of Hindu society through a change of heart in caste Hindus, Dr. Ambedkar hoped for the annihilation of the caste system in the tradition of Jotiba Phule and strove to liberate dalits through political power. Unlike in Gandhiji's case, the self-contradiction in Dr. Ambedkar's stand is that in the Second Round Table Conference held in London in 1931 before the Poona Pact, he demanded a separate electorate for dalits. This is how untouchability progressed from being a religio-social issue to becoming a socio-political issue. Gail Omvedt while distinguishing between 'value-oriented' and 'norm-oriented' movements in **Dalits and the Democratic Revolution** notes:

Reformist (incorporative, norm-oriented) trends were also embodied in Gandhi's 'Harijan movement, which stood in the tradition of the broad upper caste social reform tradition which sought to cleanse Hinduism of its impurities, to lop off the excrescences' in the words of M.G. Ranade, i.e., to chop off the diseased branches of the tree with the intention of fostering its growth. In contrast, the anti-caste movement aimed at felling the tree. (Omvedt 10-11)

Omvedt maintains further that 'the dalit movement in particular and anti-caste movements in general should be seen as 'value-oriented' or anti-systemic' movements which seek to transform the basic structure of the Indian social system, replacing caste and the accompanying social oppression, economic exploitation and political domination by an equalitarian society'.

The tug of war was between Gandhiji's patronizingly religious viewpoint of reform from above and Dr. Ambedkar's militantly Marxist viewpoint of reform from below. According to Valerian Rodrigues in *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*, Dr. Ambedkar accused Gandhiji of undertaking an 'illusory campaign against Untouchability' as the observance of Untouchability for Hindus was an act of religious merit. Rodrigues states that "Gandhism is simply another form of Sanatanism which is the ancient name for militant orthodox Hinduism . . . All that Gandhism has done is to find a philosophic justification for Hinduism and its dogmas." (Rodrigues, 170)

With the passage of time, dalit awareness, identity-building exercises and literature came to be centred round the ideologies of Jotiba Phule and Dr. Ambedkar whose 'progressive' anti-caste approach was privileged over Gandhiji's 'regressive' Hindu nationalist approach. The fact that the 'oppressed classes' spurned the word 'harijan' and chose to call themselves dalits strengthened Dr. Ambedkar's position as the unchallenged dalit leader, the 'cultural icon' of dalits.

The aforesaid has provided a background for the latter half of the paper which deals with the portrayal of Gandhiji in Gujarati dalit literature. Anti-caste movements took place in many states of India including Gujarat. Gandhiji's harijan movement grew out of Gujarat and yet the majority of the dalit community, dalit ideologues and dalit writers in Gujarat in the manner of their counterparts in Maharashtra set Dr. Ambedkar on a pedestal undermining the status of Gandhiji. One obvious reason for this is that Dr. Ambedkar placed himself in binary opposition to Gandhiji and this theory seems to have gone well with his followers irrespective to which State they belonged to. Alok Mukherjee remarks in *Towards an Aesthetic of Dalit Literature* :

Dalit writers have been charged with being divisive and sectarian, using disrespectful and offensive language towards Hindu divinities and revered figures, and engaging in distortions of pre- and post-independence Indian history. (Mukherjee, viii)

The portrayal of Gandhiji in Gujarati dalit literature is in keeping with the above remark, the tone is either of derision or sarcasm, scorn or disregard, and even incredulosity and disillusionment. To begin with, the figure of Gandhiji is conspicuous by its absence in Gujarati dalit literature and is overshadowed by the figure of Dr. Ambedkar whose iconic status looms large. The image of Gandhiji appears more in Gujarati dalit poetry as he is hardly given a place in Gujarati dalit novels, drama or short stories which are mainly engaged in stereotypical themes such as upper caste discrimination of dalits in villages as well as in cities and hostility faced by them with regards to housing, workplace, public places, etc., sexual exploitation of dalit women by upper caste men, the opposition of savarnas to reservations, etc.

'The Flame' is a short story poignantly told by Harish Mangalam. In keeping with the trend of the second phase of dalit literature in Gujarat which refrains from angry outbursts, the point is subtly made. A man and his friends are suffering from eczema, a metaphor for untouchability. Neither are doctors with foreign degrees nor Ayurvedic doctors able to cure the disease. During a discussion 'a devastating cyclone in Gujarat in 1981' (the anti-reservation riots), 'a leaping flame in Jetalpur' (the Jetalpur massacre) etc. anti-dalit incidents are brought in.

All of a sudden, the air was filled with the stench; all the sores had begun expanding in all the directions. North – West – East - South, towards the horizon. One of the friends came up with a suggestion: "Let us observe a day of silence. This is the statue of a world famous physician, an authority on eczema." All of them craned their necks to look up at the statue. The friend continued: "He had discovered the cure for eczema . . . but . . ." the man interrupted: "But what my friend?" and rushed towards the statue. His face lit up with joy. His friend carried on in a muted tone, his face fallen : "This extremely caring and industrious doctor died under mysterious circumstances.....! That is why this disease has gone out of hand now. (Trivedi & Burke, 68)

Beginning with the depiction of Gandhiji as an ineffectual physician or failed saviour in this story, there are more shocks in store for the reader of Gujarati dalit poetry. In a poem called 'Spars' (Touch) by Harish Mangalam, Gandhiji is 'doctor' again, however in a negative role:

Dr. Gandhi wove minutely
Through his spectacles,
But poison he pricked,
Pricked sharply. (Translation mine) (Prakamp, 3)

In another conversational poem 'Damiyal Local' (Morose Local), Mangalam presents Gandhiji's three apes deridingly as three traders

Of Gandhiji's three apes:

First Trader : I have deceived you
through lies and exploitation.
You will ask "Why are the chimneys of mills silent?"
I, the Mahajan know. (that is why
I have placed a bale of polyster cloth
On my mouth!)

Second Trader: I do not want to see your
tattered, burning self.

It was I who doused you
with petrol and struck a match.
(That is why I have placed the wheels
of the spinning machine on my eyes!)

Third Trader : Your cries "Reopen closed mills",
"No revolution in silence".
I want to listen to none of this.
(That is why I have shoved
the chimneys of closed mills up
my ears!) (Translation mine) (Prakamp, 20)

The poet engages in a deliberate subversion of Gandhian principles of 'Speak no evil', 'See no evil', 'Hear no evil'. The poem that follows is 'Rebirth' by Jayanti Parmar and although written in a seemingly naïve idiom, the underlying despair is actually carefully restrained:

I am searching for Bapu,
Searching Mahatma Gandhi.

You had prophesied
That if you were re-born
It would be in a harijan home.

Therefore
I am searching for Bapu,
Searching Mahatma Gandhi.

I fail to decide.
Is that you whose land was snatched?
Is that you who was mauled?
Is that you who had to return
Empty-handed from the well
And later be boycotted?
Speak Bapu where are you?

Jazmair, Mithaghoda, Ranmalpura,
Belcchi, Bihar or Andhra,
Where do you reside?
In which dalit house born?

Appear before us Bapu.
May you not be slain in blunder.
Only this worry haunts me.
I am searching for Bapu.
Searching Mahatma Gandhi. (The Silver Lining, 78)

In yet another poem 'Bapu ne' (To Bapu) by Anil Vaghela, the reader is stung by the biting satire:

Revered Gandhi Bapu,
 welcome to Porbandar in a new avatar.
 Look, we have now launched
 satellites in space,
 to accomplish your unfulfilled dreams.
 Come, let us once again
 give untouchability the certificate
 of a national scourge.
 Today we have Mandusinh
 In Nathuram's place.
 Bhangi Prime Minister – impossible.
 Harijan President – Possible.
 But M.S. Vankar, M.D. Bhangi, IAS Chamar,
 This has surely happened Bapu.
 And this is why
 the tiger threatens the cow.
 Bapu come again in true form!
 Will those people consider you
 Lord Attenborough's Gandhi? (Translation mine) (Asmita, 81)

The poet clearly privileges Dr. Ambedkar's constitutional provisions over Gandhiji's moral values and social measures as Mangal Parmar too laments in his poem 'Bapu':

Bapu, your very name
 brings to mind two words,
 Truth and Non-violence,
 but your followers have worked wonders.
 They have removed the prefix 'non' from
 non-violence and prefixed it to
 the word truth.
 They have blindfolded you
 with your own loin cloth. (Translation mine) (Asmita, 83)

'Gandhiji ne' (To Gandhiji), a poem by Arvind Vegda is also a lamentation:

Your last words
 'Hey Ram!'
 are now spoken
 at every moment
 in every city
 in every street
 on every path
 at every step.
 Where is Gandhi?
 Where is he?
 Dalit welfare as it is,
 Arre Ram! (Translation mine) (Pageru, 44)

The poets hold Gandhiji responsible for their sorry plight and its irreducibility, be it unemployment, untouchability, political invisibility or social oppression. The question that arises in this context is why then is Dr. Ambedkar extolled in Gujarati dalit literature?

Pravin Gadhi's 'Gandhi Kavyo' (Gandhi Poems) are an attempt at the 'revival' or 'resurrection' of Gandhiji. Mahatma Gandhi holds centrestage in these poems. Mincing of words does not work for this poet and those expecting poems in honour of the 'Father of the Nation' are sure to be let down. Each poem is laced heavily with anger, sarcasm, irony, scorn (and might we add hate?). Pulled down from his high pedestal, the Mahatma is dissected, examined with scepticism and made to stand on his head. What sort of a revival is this we ask? Jarring allusions to Gandhiji's brutal assassination are made each time to undermine his 'Mahatma' status. In 'Freedom at Midnight' Gadhi writes:

By evening Nathuram
pumped three bullets
into his chest without any Radcliffe line across it. (Translation mine) (Dalit Vani, 55)

In the poem 'Gandhi' he says:

Gandhi you lifted your foot to take the third step
in the dark forest of my ancestors' history
when Nathuram Godse's bullets flew.
"Hey Ram!"
After that nobody has
Stepped upon the stains of your blood to enter. (Translation mine) (Dalit Vani, 57)

Gandhiji is spitefully addressed in 'Freedom at Midnight' as 'Napak Doso' (Unholy Old Man) and 'dosla' (Stupid Old Man) leaving the ordinary reader paralysed in the senses.

Without resorting to any reductive explanation for the given portrayal of Gandhiji in Gujarati dalit literature (and it is clearly not a case of negative dialectic where the positive is wrung out in the teeth of its opposite) the conclusion to be made in the face of the questions that arise is that the anti-Gandhi stand of the Gujarati dalit writers is stark and unmitigated.

If Dr. Ambedkar has been able to achieve everything for dalits, why do they still face the same problems? Are not discussions nowadays steered in the direction of mindsets and the need to change them? Dalit can acquire high educational degrees and jobs but can't buy a house in a savarna locality. Is their ghettoisation not enough to make them rethink Gandhiji's role in their post-Independence history and his efforts for their welfare? It would certainly do more good than harm to consider these questions.

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Stylistics - A Pedagogical Tool To Enhance Reading Skills

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Literature is characterized by a use of language which, creates its own context- its own world- a world that is transient, incomplete and kaleidoscopic in nature and is expressed by a uniquely appropriate use of language that represents those perceptions. The uninitiated such as the young student reader often finds it difficult to comprehend this world.

Hence, in an undergraduate class, a teacher's objective is to develop in the students an awareness to understand the structure that holds this world together- a structure that is created by language- without resorting to 'translating' it into conventional language; and at the same time enjoy the literary experience itself.

However, more often than not, English literature teaching today cannot honestly claim to do this- instead of concentrating on the text, it is characterized by a "flight from the text"¹, as the prescribed literary texts require a sophisticated response to language.

Thus, in the Indian education situation, the literature course degenerates into merely a discussion of the writer of the text, established critical opinion and background information instead of a discussion of the texts. The literature class is thus passive and neither the teacher nor the pupils have any 'interest in innovation or quest for the underlying principles. This is largely due to a conviction among many experienced teachers that literature as an aesthetic object can only be experienced instinctively, hence, no amount of conscious training will be of use to those who lack the sensitivity.

Thus, for such students an easier way is adopted – they are instructed in a sort of simplified version of literary criticism so that they may be given access to significant aspects of the work they are supposed to be studying without having to read it themselves. Hence, their increased dependence on notes, guides, or potted critical judgments. The students, thus, learn to make critical comments on literary texts without ever having read the texts themselves.

In India, such surrogate reading is quite popular. What is learnt is how to extract ideas drawn from literary texts, social background, characters and so on. This seems to smoothen the students' path but hardly teaches him to respond independently to literary works. Kudchedkar² summed it up thus: "The BA Elective English course teaches about literature rather than literature."

Such a situation is aided by the rote based examination system that kills all initiative that may be left in the student for it asks of nothing more than a regurgitation of what has been taught. Lack of time and motivation only add the spice that is left out in the dish.

Almost all undergraduate teachers therefore, face the problem of falling attendance, as students either have notes, with them and hence bunk lectures, or are bored as they do not understand the 'hi-fi' stuff as they call it. Their morale and motivation being low, their teacher, in a desperate attempt to keep them in the class keeps simplifying the text, till it reaches the ludicrous level of a mere paraphrase.

In such a situation teaching cannot be stimulating or inspiring. Further, conventional teachers often equate good literature teaching with good literary criticism and this has 'prevented the development of an effective pedagogy for English literature teaching.'³ especially in non-native English speaking countries. Hence, a student hardly responds independently, develops no cognitive skills- acquires no literary competence.

Any change necessitates that the learner must acquire 'the ability to carry out a first person activity in which one plays the role of a participant performer'.⁴ Literary teaching should develop a pedagogy that will guide the student towards an independent ability to read literature, which will enable him to evaluate the critical judgment of others against his own experience and make criticism an extension of his own interpretation rather than a replacement for it.⁵

Since literature represents a truth that cannot be accommodated within the schematic structures of ordinary reality, its own language creates the contextual conditions for understanding this realism. Though different from the real world, it resembles it; varying in degrees from work to work. The language employed by the text is largely instrumental in creating this alternate order of reality within its self generated context. Hence, close attention to the actual language used is necessary for it provides the main clues to the meaning of the text, the writer's world view, his scheme of values, and the theme of the work.

Practiced readers have developed an instinctive sensitivity to the subtleties of linguistic expression without conscious awareness of it. For inexperienced readers to achieve this, a focus on the language of the text can begin at the very practical level of observing the features of the language in the text itself- this is open to observation by all and hence based on the relatively objective criteria which can be learnt by even our students- new comers to literature. This is relevant to our education system where the command over English of a majority of our students is unremarkable as they are from regional medium schools with practically no exposure to literature.

It is particularly useful for reading genres such as poetry where the language is foregrounded and each word requires close processing. The impact of each word is carried by its syntactic, semantic and phonological properties. Learning to read poetry is largely a matter of developing an awareness of linguistic form and its relationship to the meaning that is being conveyed.

The aim of literature teaching then is to develop the ability to experience literature and a large part of this training requires the student to understand that literature is such a specific use of language... even when the literature is in the mother tongue.

There are several critical approaches to the study of literature with varying focus on textuality that had originated at different places – but what they had in common was their emphasis on the text rather than on the writer or the genesis of the text. Some of the major approaches are:

Practical Criticism by I.A. Richards, 1992, New Criticism by Brooks and Warren, 1960, Structuralism by Ferdinand de Saussure, 1916, Stylistics by Jakobson, 1972, Riffaterre, 1978; Leech, 1980; Widdowson, 1975; 1992.

The objective text-based approach discussed in this paper is Stylistics which is an academic development of the 20th century but which has a link with its classical predecessor- Rhetoric. Ferdinand de Saussure can be termed as the founder of Stylistics.

The theory of Stylistics draws upon the Saussurian concepts of signifier (linguistic sign), signified (concept represented by the sign), langue (language in its social context- e.g. oral lang.), parole (actual manifestation of the language- special use in a specific text).

Stylistics has been defined as the study of literary discourse from a linguistic orientation. ⁶It is morphologically related to the parent disciplines: Literary Criticism and Linguistics. It borrows the investigative techniques of linguistics and works on the object of linguistic study- language. Its aim is to link the linguist's literary intuition and the critic's linguistic observations and make their relationship explicit.

In the Indian education scenario, it has tremendous implications for pedagogy that cannot be undermined. It hones the analytical ability, teaches one to draw inferences, generalizations and evaluate worth of analyses. In short, it makes independent readers.

Widdowson, one of the foremost proponents of Stylistics makes explicit the pedagogical implications⁷. He has outlined an approach to sensitize students to read literature independently yet keep room for alternate and individual reading with reference to the texts.

Some of them illustrated below, can function as starting points for classroom interaction:

1. **Priming questions** (to establish a common starting point)
2. **Cloze variant** – This requires students to fill blanked out matter (words, phrases) in the text and then compare with the original—leading to a guided discussion on theme, rhetoric, intention etc.

3. Lexical enquiry-

a) **Parts of Speech-** e.g.: Repetitions of the word 'wild' in the following extract-

"..... their voices? Run wild

A noon for wild men, wild thoughts wild love

Wild feet stirring up the dust.."

Does this repetition indicate 'wild'- unconventional longings or does Kamala Das perceive herself/lover as wild?

b) **Word Collocations-**

"To follow knowledge like a sinking star

Beyond the utmost bound of human thought"

highlights Ulysses' death wish, - a desire to travel to the next world , meet Achilles in the happy isles..... an euphemism when read in conjunction with

'To sail beyond the sunsets until I die..."

makes the theme of Tennyson's poem Ulysses clear.

c) **Choice of lexis** as seen in Shelley's Ozymandias where every word is an apt expression of poetic thought.

4. Syntax:

A study of the use of modals in Ulysses can yield interesting insights-

In the lines " I will drink life to the lees"

'will' which is conventionally used to depict the simple future, here appears to carry the force of determination not willingness as is evident when read with

" It may be the gulfs will wash us down:

It may be that we shall touch the happy isles"

where 'may' reduces the force of futurity, especially as the verb is widely used in the poem with a mixture of the past and present. This idea is strengthened by the recurrent such use of 'may' as in "Some work of noble note may yet be done". Further, the 'to-infinitive' instead of the simple future in " To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield" once again highlights the notion of a future that is improbable. This helps discuss the theme of Ulysses as an individual whose wish is but a death wish.

5. Semantic / Rhetorical analysis

a) **Repetition:**

The use of repetition in Good Bye Party to Miss. Pushpa T.S.-

"Ms. Pushpa is smiling and smiling"

shows the mental vacuity of Pushpa as well as the Indian habit of anxiety based repetition. Such a use of the present progressive being very common in India, the line also has satirically comic overtones.

b) **Ambiguity:**

When in the same poem Ezekiel refers to Ms. Pushpa as a 'popular lady'

Is he genuinely praising her or is a satire intended? One can't be sure and it is this overlap of meaning that creates value.

6. Phonological Level

a) **Vowels- long vowels in the following lines from Ulysses**

"The long day wanes: the slow moon climbs: the deep

Moans round with many voices"

highlight the sluggishness of Ulysses' present life and differentiates him from the Ulysses of the past.

- b) **Stress** - The use of Spondee draws our attention to the heavy weight, slow movement of the line that echoes the sense

"When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw
The line too labours and the words move slow"

Similar but more complex activities can be used with advanced learners

7. Unscrambling , punctuating mixed up lines
8. Comparing two texts on the same theme in the same/ different genres and discussing them at various levels
9. Conversion of prose to poetry
10. Conversion of poetry to prose

Finally, the student is guided to synthesize his readings into a coherent statement about the poem.

A Demonstration of the Strategy

This strategy has been used in the literature class with a great deal of success by the writer as a part of her doctoral research. A brief illustration of the method for use in the FYBA class where students study literature for the first time is given below:

The Solitary Reaper – William Wordsworth

The poem was first read aloud by a student volunteer.

After a few warm up questions such as 'Where is the poem set? Who is the poet talking about? etc.', priming questions were asked by the teacher to draw the attention of the students to the intricacies in the poem. One such set of questions pertain to the nature of the sentences used in the various stanzas. Answering this, required use of their knowledge of English as taught in Std XII , so it was not at all difficult for them. Using their answers, the teacher created a reading map for the students- In the first stanza, the two dominant patterns seen are Commands and Declaratives. While the command draws the attention of the listener, the declaratives that alternate with the commands provide the details that the poet wishes to talk about-

"Behold her, single in the field,
Yon solitary Highland Lass!
Reaping and singing by herself;"

Having done that, he uses the next set of imperatives and following declarative constructions to justify drawing attention to the reaper and the setting of the poem.

In the second stanza, the poet moves on to details. He highlights the metaphor of comparison of the reaper with nature's best song birds by the use of negatives-"No nightingale did ever chaunt...", "A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard...". Her voice is soothing like the nightingale's and at the same time it holds a lot of promise like the cuckoo's . Even as this helps characterize the song of the reaper in the minds of the students, the teacher- facilitator can add the characteristic reference to exotic locations as a common romantic ploy to create the atmosphere of romance.

The interrogatives of the third stanza provide pointers to the possible theme of the song of the reaper. The answers are provided in declaratives but they lack conviction or force as they are tempered by the use of 'maybe', and 'perhaps' which brings in a note of uncertainty. A focus on the lexis- war, battle, melancholy, plaintive -, underlines the melancholy of the reaper's song, to which the teacher can provide the external input of a penchant for the melancholy by romantic writers and also highlight the enduring nature of the description that makes it take on appealing for all times.

Finally, the use of only declaratives in the final stanza, brings out the growing conviction of the poet and its effect on him. Such a focus allows the reader to empathize with the poet's unshakable belief :

"Whate'er the theme the maiden sang ...

The music in my heart I bore

Long after it was heard no more".

Here, again the teacher, in the role of the facilitator, shows the impact of the poem on the poet and traces the development of Wordsworth's theory of poetry 'Emotions recollected in tranquillity.'

A summing up discussion on the simplicity of language, nature as a backdrop etc., can lead up to an integration of the analysis and pave the way for a first step in independent reading of literature with comments on the Romantic features of the poem and a statement on Wordsworth's notion of poetry.

Such a method builds self confidence, and weans students away from secondhand materials and demystifies a text. Stylistics thus paves the way and prepares a base for critical judgment to operate e.g.: I like it because..... I know how it works . The student learns to bring in his own personal meaning into a text. Hence, he brings in a reading strategy of his own and gradually develops as an independent reader- at his / her level. It makes the students tease meaning from the text and prevents him from making statements without any textual reference. He is now able to process the text individually.

Limitations and Objections

However, this approach is not without limitations. Gower⁸ condemns any application of linguistics to literary study on the grounds that the nitty gritty of linguistic analysis can damage the essential power of literature to evoke feelings and disclose the truth of life. He believes that Stylistics actually impedes reading as it is largely linguistic analysis- hence students may miss out the tone of the work. Thus, it is too clinical and surgical and hence counterproductive to students reading. However, he lends ironic support to it in Stylistics ".....can help only if it is totally subservient to reading, in which it is no longer really analysis at all, but a gesture towards better understanding towards better reading..."⁹

Further, Stylistic analysis is not evaluative and this may hamper the development of the critical mind.

The Way Forward

Despite objections and presence of external constraints such as a fixed timetable, examination schedule among others, it is a method worth pursuing as it has the potential to make an independent reader. Even if complete texts cannot be looked stylistically, significant portions can be analyzed closely to elicit reader responses to the text. Over time, such an approach will make the student free of external help and make the literature classroom dynamic and interactive. The objectives of literature teaching will also then be achieved as students will become sensitive, independent readers.

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Antioxidants - The Health Protectors

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Health promotion and health protection are two sides of the same coin. There is money value for each coin. In a similar way there is health value in each cell. When men find it difficult without coins how can him, be at ease in absence of healthy cells. There are trillions and trillions of cells in the men's body, so when one cell is damaged man does not realize it. Slowly and progressively if not taken care, damaged cell can lead to plethora of diseases.

Why not protect the cell itself? Let us see it is damaged and leads to diseases. There is a dire need to protect the cell to lead a healthy and happy life.

Since conception cell multiplies, the man grows up gradually. He is counted on designing of uncountable episodes of health promotion and health protection. He expresses himself in manifold ways in each circumstance and at the same time he is exposed to a wide variety of environment. Realistically his life is a bundle of cells and sustains on oxygen and food.

Cell is a living microscopic unit and works unnoticed every fraction of a second. Agglomeration of cell eventually turns into tissues, bones and skin etc. Cell functions through wide array of chemical reactions and the rate at which the internal cellular functions occur is called "metabolism". Creation and destruction is a natural phenomena and balance need to be maintained in life.

There is oxidation, which is a kind of burning in presence of oxygen, during all metabolic processes in the body. Residual metabolic waste is known as free radicals (FR). Generation of free radical is a natural process during food utilization. Body has the self defense mechanism through specific enzymes and nutrients to handle it. Adequate dietary input also takes care of FR.

Free radicals are highly reactive molecules in want of one electron. For successive biological reactions they steal the electron from other organic molecules present in the cell. There is frantic evolution of FR creating havoc to the cell structure and its functioning. Free radicals play villains and keep peeping into rich territory of precious DNA of cells and damage it. In current scenario they are amny other avoidable and unavoidable external sources which tend to increase the free radical load on the human system.

EXTERNAL SOURCES OF FREE RADICALS

- o Stress
- o Tobacco smoke
- o Alcohol
- o Insecticides
- o Chemicals used in houses or work places
- o Excessive amount of sunlight
- o High amount of polyunsaturated fats (PUFA) in the diet
- o High consumption of fried foods
- o Lack of fruits and vegetables in the diet
- o Strenuous exercise
- o Radiation – UV rays, X –rays, ozone etc
- o Car exhaust
- o Environmental pollutants
- o Physical or emotional trauma
- o Illness and infection

EFFECT OF FREE RADICALS

- Poor immune system and frequent bouts of cold, flu & other bacterial infections and autoimmune diseases
- Deterioration of eye lens leading to cataract followed by blindness
- Inflammation of joints resulting in arthritis
- Damage to nerve cells in the brain affecting the memory and concentration
- Acceleration of aging process
- Increased risk of heart disease since free radicals encourages low density lipid (LDL) or bad cholesterol to adhere to artery wall
- Damage DNA which tend to mutate and produce carcinogen resulting in cancers

Antioxidants come as rescue remedy for the free radicals. They safe guard the cells and protect the body from all damages and diseases. They are super heroes; they kill the villain and come out with victory in health.

Antioxidants are chemical compounds available in the army of vitamins, minerals, carotenoids, polyphenols and essential oils. They exhibit health benefits and are health protectors by serving as cell protectors.

People refrain themselves to visualize the consequences of cell damage until ready to visit doctor. Either they are unaware of the preventive power present in their food itself they are supposed eat daily or they ignore the fact. Antioxidants offer the medicinal value to the food commonly available in their kitchen and vegetable market. Nature showers bountiful, beautiful and colorful food items possessing the antioxidant power. They are mostly present in plant kingdom especially fruits, vegetables, spices, herbs etc. Most of them contain vitamins, minerals, pigments, carotenoids, polyphenols and essential oils rich in antioxidant power.

Vitamin A, C and E serve dual purpose. They act as antioxidants as well as vitamins but all vitamins are not antioxidants. Vitamin E is the gate keeper at the cell membrane to check FR and protects the cell. Since it is fat soluble vitamin it prevent lipid peroxidation which otherwise lead to rise in LDL and cardiovascular disease. Vitamin E works comfortably in the company of vitamin C and selenium.

Synergistic interaction of vitamin C has with vitamin E helps in regenerating active form of E after E has reacted with FR. It helps in manufacturing white blood cells, adrenal hormones & antibodies and play vital role in detoxification, transportation or conversions of biological compounds

Vitamin E is present in almonds, peanuts, wheat germ, corn oil, safflower oil, soybean products, sunflower seeds etc. The demand for vitamin E is increased with high consumption of polyunsaturated fats (PUFA) through diet as it may increase lipid peroxidation or rancidity (horrible smell in oils). To prevent rancidity chemical antioxidants like BHA (butylated hydroxy anisole), BHT (butylated hydroxy toluene), propyl gallate and tocopherol (vitamin E) are added by the manufacturers.

Vitamin C needs an army of bioflavonoid to work in stressful situation otherwise it may get oxidized itself. Bioflavonoids are water-soluble compounds such as citrin, hesperidin, rutin, flavones, flavonals, and catechin and quercetin. They all have unmatched strength of antioxidant capacity measurable in the unit called ORAC (Oxygen Radical Absorption Capacity). Bioflavonoids are commonly found in the white material just beneath citrus peel, as well as in peppers, grapes, pine bark, onions, garlic, blue and red berries, green tea as well as buckwheat.

Polyphenols and bioflavonoids exhibit role in reducing cholesterol and prevent coronary heart diseases. Thus each compound possessing antioxidant property play significant role in postponing and preventing many degenerative diseases. The requirement of antioxidants may be increased during exercise among athletes and people under certain pathological conditions. Extra dose antioxidants through food supplements, herbs and spices can provide extra support to energy level and health under guidance

Berries are crown jewel of ice creams and cakes etc. Blueberry has been found to carry maximum antioxidant potential. They also contain beta-carotene, vitamin C, vitamin E, ellagic acid and phenolic compounds and protect memory, retina health, urinary tract health and support healthy glucose metabolism and detoxification process.

Peaches, plums, apricot, mangos, watermelon, guava, papaya and pink grapefruit may score lower ORAC value than berries but still contain plenty of antioxidants as well as other nutrients. Allium family having the members like onions, garlic and cruciferous family with the team of cabbage, cauliflower, broccoli possesses super qualities to fight against carcinogen and enhance energy levels.

Pomegranates too have been used for thousands of years by Mediterranean peoples. It contain polyphenols, tannins, ellagic acid and anthocyanins and these compounds are believed to fight cardiovascular diseases.

Now a day's Green tea has been well advertised for its antioxidant behaviour proving to support a healthy heart and is recommended for smokers, the obese and those under stress.

Vitamin A particularly carotenoid like betacarotene, lycopene, lutein and zeaxanthin protect skeletal muscles, nervous system and ocular region; reduce toxicity of iron and other heavy metals; alcohol, tobacco use and certain drugs & pollutants.

Herbs and spices are magic bullets of antioxidants power. They add variety to foods as part of a healthy diet can help to reduce the risk for a broad array of illnesses. An additional benefit of herbs is that they can be used to replace artificial flavourings and salt, as well as high-calorie toppings and flavourings. Oregano is a great herb for pizza, pasta, sautéed vegetables, omelettes, garlic bread, and salad dressings and protect them from many nasty pathogens such as E. coli and Salmonella. Oregano is also a source of vitamins K, A, and C, as well as manganese, iron, Omega-3 fatty acids, calcium, and dietary fiber.

Rosemary and thyme are other one in the line which happily provides several benefits, including stimulating the immune system, improving digestion, enhancing circulation, and reducing anti-inflammatory.

Peppermint and basil are Indian herbs rich in phenolic constituents and flavonoids and carry antiviral, antioxidant, antifungal, and antibacterial activities. Peppermint may also ease stomach complaints such as indigestion due to its ability to relax smooth muscles. Both of them are effective in reducing the mental fatigue and improving the concentration. Both goes well with tomato based base or toppings.

Magnesium, calcium, iron, and potassium, as well as vitamins K, A, and C and dietary fiber are other value added nutrients from herbs.

Other spices and herbs with high efficacy in preventive medicine world are aniseed, fennel seed, ginger, turmeric, clove, cinnamon, black pepper nutmeg etc.

Have you ever seen any spoilage in dry well stored spices like clove, cinnamon, black pepper nutmeg? Why? Because they all inherently contain precious volatile and odorous compounds known as "essential oils".

Essential oils have astounding antioxidant power. They are highly concentrated steam distilled compounds from different parts of the plant. These are blessed with the antiviral, antifungal, antibacterial, anti-inflammatory and air purifier properties.

It is so easy to understand that the food we eat in grams the spices and herbs we take in milligrams and essential oils we inhale through drops. It has been suggested in an article that two drops of essential oil of clove have the antioxidant power of equal to 5 pounds of carrots, 10 oranges or 2.5 cups of blueberries. If you ever happen to have tooth ache and imagine the intensity of pain just remember the power of clove oil drop. Practically these essential oils are not for internal consumption. Even external consumption needs supervision and guidance.

I deal daily intake of antioxidant-rich foods through 5-9 serving of fruits and vegetables mentioned above may lower the risk of several degenerative diseases. In addition you can look beautiful, young and live longer with smile on your face.

Economic Valuation of Wetlands

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Introduction

Natural resource accounting is an economic instrument for achieving sustainable development. Understanding of the ecological processes that regulate ecosystem functions is central to economic valuation of natural resources. Economic valuation of natural resources requires efficient methodologies to capture the values derived from ecosystem functions. The wetland ecosystems are the most productive ecosystems in the biosphere and are increasingly being threatened due to developmental activities. Economic valuation of these ecosystems may yield strategies that promote their sustainable utilization. Therefore, this paper makes an attempt to understand the problems and prospects of economic valuations of wetlands.

Ecosystems

Natural ecosystems provide a number of ecosystem services, which are critical for the survival and development of human society. These services are generated due to ecosystem processes which occur through interactions between biotic and abiotic components and between different biota of the ecosystems. The choices we use on how we utilize natural ecosystems determines the maintenance and sustainability of the ecosystem services leading to sustainable development. An efficient management of ecosystems is a must to maintain the flow of goods and services from natural ecosystems. Management of natural ecosystems is particularly problematic due to their extremely complex non-linear character with extensive interconnections among the components. Moreover, ecosystems exist in different states on a spatio-temporal scale that lead to qualitative and quantitative shifts in the generation of goods and services. Ecosystems generate these services on a sustainable basis only when they function within their natural threshold limits. Certain key ecological processes and species determine threshold limits of an ecosystem. Therefore, it is essential that the role of these key ecological processes and species is quantified to sustainably utilize ecosystem resources.

Due to poorly understood nature of ecosystems and hidden nature of ecosystem services, natural ecosystems undergo rapid degradation. The importance of ecosystem services is widely appreciated only upon their loss. Ecosystems are natural capital assets which require appropriate management if they are to produce the sustainable flow of income. The management process requires use of funds, which otherwise could have been used for alternative purposes. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake economic valuation of ecosystem resources not only for the conservation of natural ecosystems but also for achieving sustainable development. The complexities involved in ecosystem valuation, scope and limitations of ecosystem valuation can be understood more clearly using the example of wetland ecosystems.

Wetland Ecosystems

Wetland ecosystems are among the most productive ecosystems in the world, which not only support unique flora and fauna, but also provide ecosystem services beneficial to the human society. Wetlands consist a wide range of habitats from areas under water to seasonally inundated, predominantly dry areas, like flood plains. Heterogeneity in wetland habitats due to variation in geomorphology, hydrology and vegetation type has led to difficulty in correct identification and delimitation of wetland ecosystems. The World Conservation Union (IUCN) adopted a formal internationally acceptable definition of wetlands in the Ramsar Convention. According to the Ramsar Convention, wetlands are defined as: "areas of marsh, fen, peatland or water whether natural or artificial, permanent or temporary, with water that is static or flowing, fresh, brackish including areas of marine water, the depth of which at low tide does not exceed six meters". This broad definition comprises all kinds of wetland ecosystems. Wetland ecosystems spread across the world account for about 6% of the global land area (Turner, 1991).

Wetlands can be classified into five broad categories:

1. **Estuarine ecosystem** – Estuarine ecosystems are those areas where rivers meet the sea and the salinity is intermediate between salt and fresh water. These areas are exemplified by the deltas, mud flats and salt marshes.
2. **Marine ecosystem** - Marine ecosystems are those areas which are not influenced by river flows and are represented by shorelines and coral reefs.

3. Riverine ecosystem - Riverine ecosystems are those areas that are periodically inundated by river overtopping and include water meadows, flood plains and oxbow lakes.
4. Palustrine ecosystem - Palustrine ecosystems are predominantly covered by water and these ecosystems include marshes and fen.
5. Lacustrine ecosystem - Lacustrine ecosystems are permanently submerged by water and there is little or no surface flow and are exemplified by ponds and lakes.

Benefits of wetlands

Human societies living near the wetland ecosystems sustain their livelihoods based upon the resources of wetland ecosystems. Fish is a major source of food not only for the communities living near the wetlands but also for communities further inland. The seasonal grazing lands provide fodder for the livestock of local communities. Tree species dispersed through the wetland ecosystems provide fuel wood to the local people. Certain wetland ecosystems have nutrient rich, high moisture containing soils (flood plains) which support dry season agriculture. The surface and groundwater which is present in the wetland ecosystems is a major source of water not only for drinking purposes but also be used for practicing agriculture and in industries. Besides these direct benefits derived from the structural components (land, air and living organisms) of wetlands, the ecological functions provide intangible ecosystem services. These intangible services include:

1. Biogeochemical cycles and nutrient retention,
2. Groundwater recharge,
3. Bioremediation,
4. Flood mitigation,
5. Storm protection and
6. Sediment trapping.

Wetland ecosystems being transition zone between aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems support and sustain a large diversity of marine fauna. Thus, wetlands are valuable, multiple use economic resource which are critical for the development of sustainable economies.

Status of Wetlands

Wetland ecosystems are among the most threatened of all environmental resources which are rapidly diminishing due to anthropogenic activities. During last hundred years US has lost around 47% of its wetlands, whereas UK and New Zealand had lost around 60% and 90% of their wetlands respectively (WCMC, 1992). For most of nations of South Asia, the loss of wetland has been estimated around 80% (UNEP, 1992). The over utilization of total wetlands stock has been the result of combined effect of economic development, information failure, market failure and intervention failure (Turner, 1991). Conversion of wetlands for alternative uses is largely due to information failure i. e. policy makers and planners are unaware of the goods and services which are provided by wetlands. Moreover, due to market failure majority of these goods and services are not traded in conventional market economy and therefore no economic values are assigned to them. Information and market failures lead to intervention failure i. e. inefficient policies are made by the planners with regards to conservation of wetland ecosystems. Wetlands being multiple use economic resource, which are undergoing rapid degradation, it is necessary that their goods and services are made explicit and economic values assigned using suitable economic valuation techniques. This would lead to more rationale decisions being taken with regards to conservation of wetlands and their sustainable utilization based upon the economic efficiency criteria.

Economic valuation of wetlands

The concept of economic value of environmental resources such as ecosystems is anthropocentric in nature. The economic valuation of environmental resources such as wetlands is concerned ultimately with the allocation of wetland resources to improve human life. For the computation of the total economic value of wetland ecosystem, it is necessary to classify wetland values into:

1. Direct use values: the values derived from the direct use or interacting with wetland resources and services.
2. Indirect use values: the values derived from the indirect support and protection provided to an economic activity and property by the natural ecological functions of wetlands.

3. Option and quasi-option values: the values based upon the future demand of a particular resource.
4. Non-use values: potential values associated with an environmental resource which rely merely on its continued existence and are unrelated to its current use (Pearce and Warford, 1993).

Wetlands provide a host of goods and services. Based upon the classification of use and non-use values the total economic valuation framework for wetlands is worked out (Barbier, 1994 and Scodari, 1990) and is given in the following Table 1.

Table 1: Framework for the economic valuation of use and non-use values of wetlands

Use Values		Non-use Values	
Direct Use Value	Indirect Use Value	Option and Quasi-option Value	Existence Value
Fish	Nutrient retention	Potential future uses	Biodiversity
Agriculture	Flood control	Future value of information	Culture, Heritage
Fuel wood	Storm protection		Bequest Value
Recreation	Ground water recharge		
Transport	External ecosystem support		
Wildlife Conservation	Microclimate stabilization		
	Shoreline stabilization		

Direct use values of wetlands consists of familiar activities like fishing, fuel wood and fodder extraction and agriculture. These activities can be commercial or non-commercial in nature. Fishing, fuel wood and fodder collection for commercial purposes is easy to value because the end products enters the conventional market and thus has an economic value. Non-commercial direct uses of wetlands are often neglected but it is these that are critical in determining the economic value of tropical wetlands in developing countries. The failure to take this value into account is often a major factor behind policy decisions that lead to over exploitation of tropical wetlands (Barbier, 1993).

Ecological functions performed by the wetlands have indirect use values because these functions support or protect economic activities that have direct measurable values. The indirect use values of ecological functions is related to the change in the value of production or consumption of activity or property that it is protecting (Barbier et. al., 1997). For example, groundwater recharge which occurs through the flood plains leading to the augmentation of the groundwater reserve of the area. The volume of the groundwater which is recharged through the flood plains can be used for domestic, agricultural and industrial uses. Any change in the groundwater reserve due to disruption of groundwater recharge will lead to increased cost of acquisition of water for any of these activities resulting in welfare loss which can be estimated in economic terms. A special category of value is option value which arises because an individual may be uncertain about his future demand for a resource and or its availability in the wet land in the future.

The total economic value of wetland ecosystem is estimated after the various use and non-use values monetized. It is imperative that suitable economic valuation methodologies are used so as to get the most appropriate economic value for a particular goods or services provided by the wetlands which reflects the importance of that goods or services to the society. Monetization of direct use values of wetlands is relatively simple because the end products can be assigned absolute value as they enter the conventional market. The major challenge is in assigning economic value to indirect use value of wetlands which comprise majorly of non market goods and services. Studies have been carried out to capture the economic value wetlands considering different ecological functions varying on a case to case basis. A few examples of economic valuation studies carried out across the world for assigning economic value to direct, indirect and option values of wetlands provide the basis for understanding the advantages and limitations of valuation of ecosystems in general and

wetlands in particular and the role of natural resource accounting in achieving conservation and sustainable utilization of ecosystem resources.

Farber and Costanza (1987) estimated economic value of three primary contributions of coastal wetlands of Louisiana: commercial fishing and trapping, recreation and storm protection. Economic valuation was carried out using indirect and energy analysis methods. Economic estimates of wetland services varied from 590 USD/acre using WTP to 6400-10600 USD/acre using energy analysis method. 590 USD /acre represents the lower bound estimate because it excludes many wetland services and 6400-10600 USD/acre energy analysis estimates are high because they include wetland services which are not economically valuable. In Thailand, a combination of shrimp farming and sustainable yield forestry represents an output of 160-500 USD/ha/year (Dixon, 1989). The value of wetlands as nutrient sink was estimated for Stockholm archipelago. The value of wetlands corresponded to 430 USD/ha/year (Gren, 1993). In a study carried out in the Hadejia-Nguru wetlands in northern Nigeria, the role of groundwater recharge function of the flood plains in supporting dry season agriculture was investigated using the production function approach (Barbier, 2000). This study made explicit the crucial role which groundwater recharge plays in the dry season agriculture being practiced by the local communities. It also highlighted loss of welfare which will result if there is disruption of this crucial ecological function.

In a multi institutional interdisciplinary study carried out by Centre for Environmental Management of Degraded Ecosystems, University of Delhi, Department of Business Economics, University of Delhi, and Institute of Economic Growth, an attempt was made to quantify the goods and services provided by the wetland ecosystems of Yamuna river corridor in the Delhi region (2001). In this study, four ecological functions performed by the wetland ecosystems were economically valued: 1. hydrological functions, 2. biological productivity, 3. nutrient storage and 4. habitat for flora and fauna. The major focus of this study was to assess relative economic merits of conservation of wetland ecosystems of Yamuna river corridor versus channelization of the river in the Delhi stretch for development of civic infrastructure including making river front resorts. For this a host of ecological and economic methodologies were used which included the use of water balance method, contingent valuation method and production function approach. The cost benefit analysis using different discount rates suggested that preservation of wetland ecosystems is economically more sound option as compared to the development of river front resorts.

Scope and limitation of valuation

Typical valuations studies take into account few or single value of wetlands from the numerous values wetlands provide on a local, regional and global scale. This means that economic estimates arrived at in different valuation studies are lower bench mark values of wetland resources. Even then these economic estimates prove that wetlands are highly productive economic resources and conversions of wetlands for alternative development options represent inefficient resource use.

Economic values are assigned to incremental changes which occur in the ecological function being valued; this principle works best when increments are small and the change in the ecological function has minimal feedback on the rest of the system. Ecosystems being highly interdependent systems and the change in a single ecological function can lead to cascading effects on other ecological functions of the ecosystem. Moreover, segregation and classification of ecological functions of wetlands into discrete values is done for ease of analysis ignoring the extensive interconnections present among various functions. Economic valuation studies carried out to monetize ecological functions ignore this very important characteristic of ecosystems. Use of a specific valuation technique depends upon the nature of ecological function, data availability on various ecological and economic parameters and the time period for which the analysis is carried out. Any valuation technique works under certain simplifying assumptions of the system. Therefore, conclusions and assumptions drawn on the basis of economic estimates should be treated with caution. For example contingent valuation method, used for estimating non-market goods and services, is highly unreliable particularly when it is used for the estimation of willingness to pay from the general public who are not familiar with the particular goods and services being valued. Ecological processes which regulate ecosystem function such as: 1. natural thresholds of ecosystems in which they generate flow of ecosystem services and 2. role of disturbance regimes in ecosystem functioning are not clearly understood in ecological science consequently the importance of economic valuation is questionable. Moreover, it is difficult to put economic value on attributes of ecosystems such as the resilience of natural ecosystems to exogenous and endogenous perturbations.

Conclusion

Though there are many limitations of economic valuation of ecosystems, natural resource accounting provides a tool in the hands of policy makers and planners to arrive at a rational decision with regard to conservation of natural ecosystems. Techniques of natural resource accounting provide methodology by which the crucial role of many non-market goods and services provided by the ecosystems in the development of human society can be made explicit. To develop strategies for sustainable utilization ecosystem services a more understanding is required with respect to ecological processes that regulate ecosystems with further development of more effective economic valuation techniques. To make natural resource accounting more practical and meaningful, we must look for meaningful ecological and economic indicators which reflect health ecosystems and economic development. The ecological security and economic development can only be assured when ecological theory is integrated with economic theory.

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Are The Cities Decaying In The Mumbai Metropolitan Region?

[Case Study Of Bhiwandi & Kalyan]

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Abstract

This article intends to study the demographic pattern, occupational structure and socio-economic characteristics of tertiary workers of the two selected cities located within the metropolitan region of Mumbai, namely Bhiwandi and Kalyan. The objective of the study is to assess the complexities in the growth of these peripheral medium centers in the context of the approaching concept of a global city. Some of the important aspects like population growth, population density, and occupational, socio-economic conditions of tertiary workers have been studied to analyze their growth patterns. The analysis has been carried out based on secondary data viz. census report, maps for wards, toposheets etc. Primary survey of the city core has complemented the findings of the study. Tables and graphical presentations have been incorporated. Maps have been prepared from GIS and satellite imageries and presented in the article.

Introduction

With the emergence of the concept of globalization in the 21st Century, the third world countries like the port city of Mumbai functioned as the gateway of global business. What is unique about Mumbai is that the city with its surrounding metropolitan region depicts contrasting features. On one hand it handles huge international, commercial and financial activities; on the other hand it also accommodates old existing typical Indian urban problems like congestion slums, poverty of resources etc. Mumbai Metropolitan Region had a geographical extent of 3965 Sq. Km. which increased to 4236 Sq. Km. with the establishment of BMRDA Act of 1974. The plan made provision for the city to expand in the south towards Raigad district and to the north in Thane district. Of total area covered by the metropolitan region, 1249.28 Sq.km. is urban area and 2986.92 Sq. km is rural areas. Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) comprises of 6 Municipal Corporation, 15 Municipal Council of different grades and 6 Census Towns (MMRDA, Draft Regional Plan for M.M.R. 1991 – 2011) Bhiwandi and Kalyan, the two medium cities taken up for study are Municipal Corporations of Thane district.

It has been seen that the medium cities taken up for analysis have their internal diversities expanding over the last decade which has brought a new urban spatial order in the metropolitan region. The towns also reveal that along with the area spread there has been demographic changes. The density pattern of each selected city viz Kalyan and Bhiwandi show high concentration around its market centre which gradually declines towards the outer areas unlike the mega city of Mumbai, these small or medium cities situated in the peripheral area reveals a mixture of administrative and commercial function around the city centre which gradually merges with non-tertiary functions as one moves away from the centre. Urban renewal is virtually absent in these medium cities and the intermingling of tertiary and non tertiary functions have created a chaotic urban condition.

In spite of the growth of the mega city of Mumbai, the peripheral cities viz. Kalyan and Bhiwandi which had their own genesis and historical background remains dormant. Interestingly the research questions which arise out of this analysis are as follows:

- 1) Are the peripheral cities in the metropolitan region, having healthy growth or stagnation?
- 2) What does the demographic and occupation structure of the peripheral cities indicate?
- 3) Can these cities survive independently or they will decay and decline?

Research Methodology

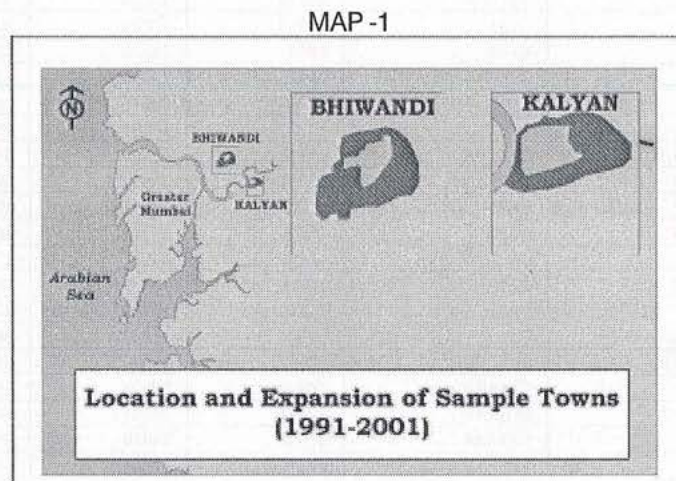
The major findings of the study are based on secondary and primary data. The demographic and occupational analysis is based on the census data for the year 1991 and 2001. The data for area calculation of each town is to find the density pattern of the two selected cities namely; Bhiwandi and Kalyan, have been

obtained from satellite imagery and with the help of GIS package. Primary surveys have been carried to supplement the secondary data. Questionnaire sample survey of shops along the main commercial areas has brought out the socio-economic conditions of tertiary workers in the medium cities of Bhiwandi & Kalyan.

Cartographical techniques have been applied for the spatial analysis of data for the present study. In the first phase, the location of the two urban centers has been shown. In the next phase ward wise data which is integrated into zones in a temporal frame have been plotted in choropleth scheme. Graphs and maps have been combined to show the demographic and occupational structure of the sample cities. Maps are prepared by using Arc – In – Fo (GIS) package and presented along with the findings.

Profile of the Study Area

The areas taken up for analysis are two medium cities in Mumbai metropolitan region viz Bhiwandi and Kalyan as shown in Map 1.



Bhiwandi: This medium city is situated in Thane district in the north east of Maharashtra. The sample centre is located at the central part of Bhiwandi Taluka which is not well connected by railways. Situated away from the coast, it remains inaccessible to Mumbai city. Bhiwandi became a Municipal Corporation in 2001 having a population of 5, 98, 741 (Census 2001) with a growth rate of 58%. This gave a new thrust to the development of the medium city of Bhiwandi situated at the fringe of MMR.

Kalyan: Another medium city of Thane district taken up for study is situated in the north – eastern part of Mumbai metropolitan region on the bank of River Ulhâs. It is one of the ports of Mumbai which lost its eminence with the introduction of modern ship and silting of Thane Creek. Kalyan regained its economy after 1980 with the rise of chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Kalyan became a Municipal Corporation in 1981. The status of the town was enhanced in 1991 with the inclusion of Dombivili as an integrated urban area of Kalyan – Dombivili Municipal Corporation. The population of Kalyan according to Census 2001 is 11, 93,512 with a declining growth rate of 17.6% which indicates stagnancy affecting the urban economy and labor market of the area.

Data Analysis – Results and Discussion

(A) Demographic Analysis has been carried based on population growth and population density of two medium cities of Bhiwandi and Kalyan. The analysis has been undertaken based on census data.

Bhiwandi: To analyze the decadal growth rate of population in Bhiwandi 27 zones have been tabled showing Table No. 1 population growth rate. A graph has been constructed based on the above data for the town of Bhiwandi. Some observations can be made from the following table and graph:

Table 1
Decadal Growth of Population for the City of Bhiwandi - 1991-2001
(Zone wise distribution)

Zones	Wards as per 1991 Census	Wards as per 2001 Census	Population in the zones (1991)	Population in the zone (2001)	Decadal Growth %
1	1,2,60	4,5,6	18808	22946	22.00
2	57,58,59	1,2,3	15634	23027	47.28
3	37,38	28	6820	9571	40.33
4	39,40,53,54,55,56	29,30,31,32	18813	22069	17.30
5	48,52	33,60	8328	12555	50.75
6	47,49,50,51	34,35	15982	12217	-23.55
7	3,4,5,9,10	36,37,38,42,43,64,65	40562	59120	45.75
8	6	39	7257	26410	263.92
9	11	7,8,9,40	25380	48415	90.76
10	12	10,41	13042	25123	92.63
11	15	15,44	8964	18222	103.27
12	8	45,62	5549	11656	110.05
13	7,46	63	6228	4917	-21.05
14	43,45	59,61	11397	16989	49.06
15	34,35,41	55,56,58	13173	19060	44.68
16	33,36	26,27	13784	21511	56.05
17	31,32	24,25	7100	14681	106.77
18	29,30	54,53	10696	11771	10.05
19	44	57	6347	6458	1.74
20	17,28	47,49	16728	18441	10.24
21	24	50,51	11190	15995	42.94
22	25,26,27	52	8762	11963	36.53
23	21,22,23	20,21,22,23	21487	35420	64.84
24	20	17,18,19	19622	55978	185.28
25	16,18,19	16,46,48	17001	25597	50.56
26	14	12,13,14	21689	33828	55.96
27	13	11	8727	14801	69.60

Source: 1) Census of India-1991, Series 14-Maharashtra, Paper-I of 1991
2) Census of India 2001, Series Maharashtra.

- (i) The highest population growth can be seen in zone 8 which is close to industrial area situated in the north eastern part of the town and in zone 24 which is diametrically opposite, situated in the south western part which is a newly developed urban area.
- (ii) Decadal growth rate of population is also very high in three other zones, viz. 11, 12 and 17 of which zone 11 and 12 are newly developed areas.
- (iii) Medium decadal growth is found in zones 5, 9, 10, 16, 23, 25 and 27 which lies outside the inner city area.
- (iv) Growth rate starts declining towards the core of the inner city viz. zones 18, 19 and 20.
- (v) Two zones namely 6 and 13 located at the core of the inner city have a negative growth.
- (vi) Zone 1 and 4 in the outer area is green zones with a low growth rate which are yet to develop.

Kalyan - Dombivili: Municipal Corporation has been segregated into 26 zones and decadal growth rate of population is tabled. Table 2 brings out the following observations.

Table 2
Decadal Growth of Population for the City of Kalyan - 1991-2001
(Zone wise distribution)

Zones	Wards as per 1991 Census	Wards as per 2001 Census	Population in the zones (1991)	Population in the zone (2001)	Decadal Growth%
1	1,29,40	1,2,3,4	67792	45372	-33.07
2	11,41,43,66	56,8,9	34454	50367	46.19

3	43	7,37	8984	39716	342.07
4	65	10,40	20695	27686	33.78
5	57,64	38,39	33426	27278	-18.39
6	68,69,72,73,74,75	11,12,41,42,43,44,50	24790	70414	184.04
7	53,56,62,63	36,46,47,48,49	59417	42357	-28.71
8	51,55,58,61,67,70,71	13,14,15,16,17,26,33,45	89334	100900	12.95
9	45,47	34,35	38510	28712	-25.44
10	54,59,60	24,25,27,28	36756	42100	14.54
11	9,44,50,52	18,19,20,21,22,30	81122	96847	19.38
12	46,49	23,29,32	27480	53948	96.32
13	6	31	16500	10535	-32.15
14	34	51,66	14310	26937	88.24
15	33,39,42	64,65	54057	32640	-39.63
16	30,35,36	67,68,69,70,71	50278	68466	36.17
17	26,38	86,87,92	44805	27464	-38.70
18	22,31,32,37	88,89,90,91	89922	41247	-54.13
19	21,24,25,27	81,83,84,85,96	45428	52120	14.73
20	8,28	60,61,62,63	34850	32478	-6.81
21	19,20	80,95	23209	22273	-4.03
22	10,17,18	58,78,79,93,94	34840	51835	48.78
23	13,15,16	72,73,74	27294	36809	34.86
24	12,23	75,76,77	16108	31402	94.95
25	3,4,5,7,14	52,55,56,57,59,82	50036	78986	57.86
26	2	53,54	12772	19869	55.57

Source: 1) Census of India-1991, Series14- Maharashtra, Paper-I of 1991
2) Census of India 2001, Series-Maharashtra.

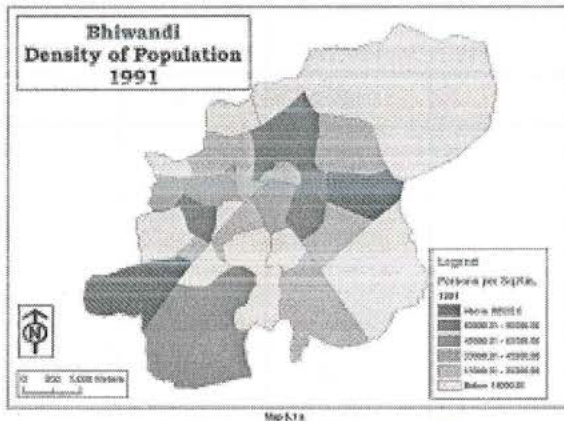
- (i) The highest population growth can be seen in two isolated areas in zone 3 which is developing as a new urban sprawl, located in the outer city areas, followed by zone 6 which is at the core of the inner city.
- (ii) Medium growth rate of population is found outside the inner city but close to it, in zones 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26 etc.
- (iii) The most striking demographic feature in Kalyan is that out of the total zones ten zones register negative growth rate viz. Zones 7 and 9 of Kalyan and zones 17 and 18 of Dombivili. Some areas in between like 15 and 20 face negative growth.

Population and space can further be analyzed by taking, density of population in Bhiwandi and Kalyan. Map No. 2 and 3 of 1991 & 2001 respectively have been prepared for Bhiwandi. The observations are:

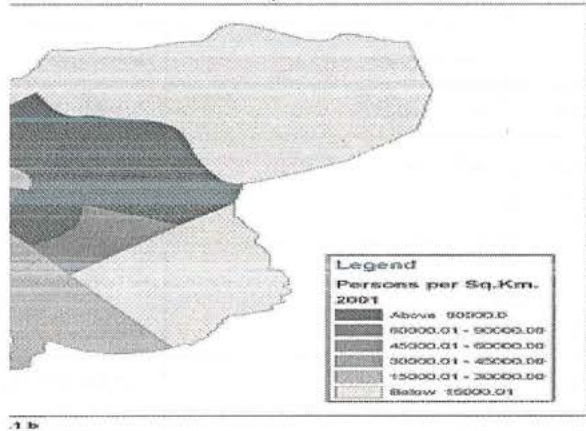
- (i) A sharp rise is seen in some zones like 18, 22, 23, 24 and 25.
- (ii) There is an overall rise in density in most of the zones barring two namely 6 and 13 which has been affected by demographic decline.
- (iii) In the north western side, zones 2, 3, 4 & 5 shows a density rise though marginal. At the core of the inner city areas there are some zones which have marginal density rise, e.g. Zone 19, 20.

In short the core of Bhiwandi is not showing the highest density pocket. From the old centre viz. Nizampur area, density declined and shifted to the adjacent areas. It is also observed that certain pockets of outer fringe are namely zones 3, 18, 23, 24 and 27 have acquired higher growth and density due to new urban thrust.

Map 2



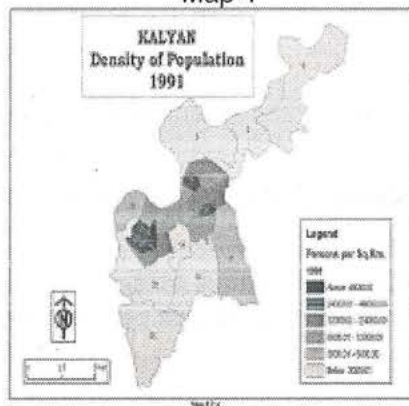
Map 3



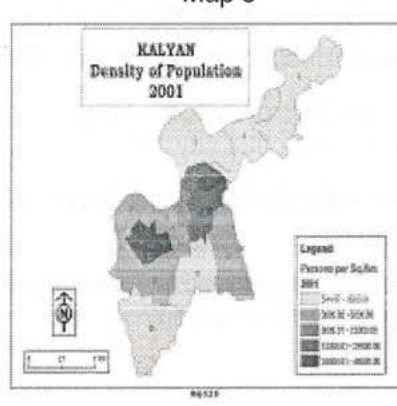
Population density for Kalyan has been calculated applying the same technique as in the case of Bhiwandi. Map Nos. 4 and 5 shows zone wise density in decadal frame from which the following observations are made.

- (i) The density pattern in 1991 indicates that the zones located in outer urban areas namely 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 25, 26 etc. have low density which continues to remain low even in 2001 except 14 and 25 which registers a growth in density of population.
- (ii) Density gradually increases towards the inner city or the core of Kalyan and Dombivili.
- (iii) Density of population is the maximum in zones 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 & 12 in Kalyan and 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24 in Dombivili. These areas form the core and outer core area of the Municipal Corporation.
- (iv) In between Kalyan and Dombivili, isolated zones acquired higher densities while rest of the areas remains static. Between Kalyan and Dombivili, the latter is pushed to the higher level than Kalyan. In spite of the amalgamation of the two centers, the integration is yet to take place and acquire a unified pattern.

Map 4



Map 5



- B) To analyze the occupational structure of the two medium towns of Bhiwandi and Kalyan, primary, secondary and tertiary work force has been compared in decadal frame.

In Bhiwandi, high concentration of primary workers is seen in zones, 1, 23, 24, 26 and 27. These zones are located in the peripheral areas of Bhiwandi in the north or south. Primary workers do not exist in zones 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 and 19 which are a part of the inner city. The peripheral areas are rural having tribal population.

Distribution of secondary workers in temporal frame reveals decline of workers in major part of the inner city areas namely 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 19 and partly in 1, 22, 23 and 27. The inner city areas have seen closure of mills and factories with workers lay-off. Simultaneously there is a rise in secondary workers in zones 4, 24 and 25. These zonal patterns highlight many issues and challenges for the future growth of this city.

Distribution of zone wise tertiary workers in Bhiwandi reveals a decline in number in the inner city zones 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. The decline has crossed the inner city zones and touched the outer areas in zones 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. The tertiary workers are rising in zones like 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26 & 27 which can be treated as areas of advantage.

In Kalyan distribution of primary workers highlights a rise of primary workers in some peripheral zones namely 3, 11, 12, 13 and 26. Simultaneous decline is also seen in zones 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18 and 21.

Distribution of primary workers in Bhiwandi and kalyan show a similarity in its distribution. Both the urban centers were under rural domain where primary activities like agriculture, fishing etc, were the mainstay of the economy. Today with all urban transformations, primary activities have been pushed to the peripheries in both towns while primary activities are loosing significance in the inner city zones.

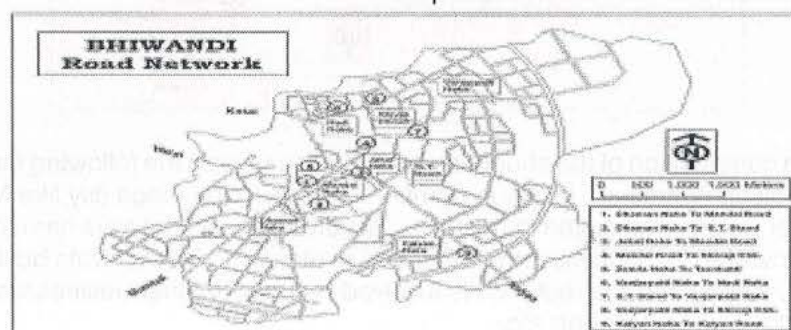
Zone wise distribution of secondary workers is on the decline in zones 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18 and 19. In some zones namely 2, 3, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 there is a rise in percentage of secondary workers. Most of the zones which show a rise are in the Dombivili area which has pushed itself to a higher level than Kalyan.

Distribution of tertiary workers in Kalyan reveals a marginal decline of tertiary workers in zones 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. High percentage of decline is seen in zones 15, 17 and 18. Marginal rise can be seen in zones 3, 22, 23, 24, 25 & 26 which signifies a stagnant economy in Kalyan – Dombivili region.

- (C) An attempt has been made to conduct a primary survey in the form of questionnaire analysis based on stratified proportional judgment sampling. It is used to analyze the socio – economic character of the people involved in tertiary functions. This survey will not only help to highlight the occupational structure but also try to analyze the specialization of commodities handled by the shopkeepers, their religion and language, status of their business etc. in the case of medium cities like Bhiwandi and Kalyan. From the primary survey the following analysis reveals certain observations.

Bhiwandi cities do not reveal any commodity specialization as seen in metropolitan cities. Electric goods shop is concentrated in Dhaman Naka area followed by Mandai Road area, Kalyan Naka, Jakat Naka etc. Grocery shops are spread almost along all business areas of the inner city like other commodities. Textile, the next important commodity has the largest number of shops along Dhaman Naka followed by Jakat Naka, Vanjarpatti Naka etc. Other important commodities handled by the business men are sweetmeat, leather goods, machine and spare parts, utensils, medicines and drugs, jewellery, vegetables & perishable etc. Map No.6 signifies the major roads along Bhiwandi city.

Map No.6



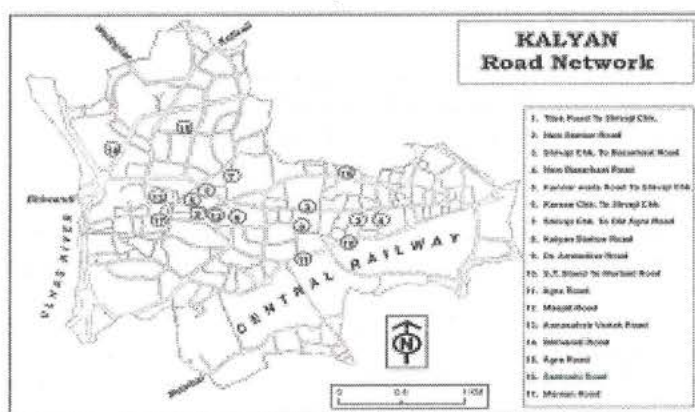
The language composition as shown in Table-5 (see Annexure 1) of the shopkeepers in Bhiwandi reveals some interesting facts. A particular language speaking group is associated with some specified businesses e.g. 50% of Telegu speaking shopkeepers in Bhiwandi are associated with medicines and drugs while another 50% in tailoring. Almost 60% of Kannada speaking businessmen has hotels and restaurants. Marathi speaking shopkeepers are partly in hotels followed by medicines and drugs, textiles, utensils etc. Gujratis are mainly in textile businesses, electrical goods, parts and common services. Urdu speaking people are mainly into tailoring, embroidery work, hotel business etc. Last but not the least Punjabi speaking people are associated with hotel business, automobile machine parts, and furniture and misc. services. An affinity with language group and commodity is observed in Bhiwandi.

Religious Composition of the shop keepers in Bhiwandi can be categorized into four groups. They are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. Hindus form the predominating community who owns hotels, medicines and drug shops, private and common services, electric goods, sweetmeat, utensils, textiles etc. Muslim community is mainly involved in textile business, medicine and drugs, hotels, tailoring etc. Half of the Sikh community is involved in miscellaneous activities and another half in furniture business. Christians are distributed in hotels, cold storage, and commercial businesses as well as tailoring.

Status of Business as per the opinion of the shopkeepers shown in Table 6(see Annexure 1) during the last five years reveals that the picture is overall positive. There has been flourishing business in sweetmeat, medicine and drugs, tobacco, cold storage, hotels, furniture, tailoring business. Electric goods groceries, machine parts show a slight decline. Power loom industry in Bhiwandi is under attack. 50% of the shopkeepers feel that textile business is on the decline. 100% of the shopkeepers feel that utensils, paper and stationery, jewellery, paints and chemical business have sharply declined.

The analysis of the socio-economic character of the tertiary workers of Kalyan follows the pattern as in Bhiwandi. As per the classification of commodity is concerned there is some specialization of goods in particular areas as seen in Map No.7. In the case of electric goods 50% of the shops are located in New Station Road. The rest is present in Kumbharwada Road, Shivaji Chowk Road and Tilak Road. Grocery shops are mainly located in Kumbharwada Road and New Station Road 60% of textile products are distributed in Shivaji Chowk to Purana Agra Road. Rest is along Bazarhaat Road and New Station Road. Leather goods show concentration in Bazarhaat Road and Tilak Road. Machine parts are solely found along Purana Agra Road. 90% of utensil shops are located in Kumbharwada Road while medicines and drugs are equally distributed along all the important roads barring Tilak Road. Other commodities found in Kalyan are variety goods, paper & stationery, jewellery, hotels, private and commercial services etc.

Map No.7



The language composition of the shopkeepers in Kalyan reveals the following facts. It has been seen that local Marathi speaking people are lesser in number for trade in the mega city like Mumbai. However, in smaller towns the local people participate in business. According to the analysis carried out 26% of Marathi speaking people are involved in medicine and drugs. 20% in utensils, 13% in private business, 10% in leather business, 7% in photography and the rest 24% is involved number of other businesses like electric goods, tobacco products, cold storage, tailoring etc.

Gujratis speaking businessmen are involved mainly in textile business followed by electrical goods, jewelry variety goods, commercial and private business etc.

Hindi speaking shopkeepers are in large concentration in sweetmeat business followed by jari making and glass business, tailoring, grocery products etc.

Urdu speaking shopkeepers are equally distributed among electric goods, medicine and drugs, furniture, private and commercial business and tailoring.

Majority of Kannada speaking shopkeepers are involved with hotels and restaurants followed by electric goods, cold storage and general store businesses.

Malayalam speaking shopkeepers are mainly concentrated in books and periodical business followed by medicine and drugs and paper and stationery.

Parsis in the city are all associated with bakery and confectionary business.

Marwari's are mostly associated with jewellery followed by grocery products.

Analyzing the religious composition of shopkeepers in the city of Kalyan as shown in Table 7 (see Annexure 1), the following facts have been revealed.

Five religious groups have emerged important in the region namely Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Zoroastrians. Hindu community is in majority in the city, distributed in almost all types of commercial business. 15% Hindus are involved in textile business, followed by utensils, medicine and drugs, hotel business, sweetmeat business etc.

Muslim community handles electric goods, textile, medicine and drugs, jewellery, hotel and tailoring services etc. 50% of Sikh community is involved in variety goods business and another 50% in hotels and restaurants services. 40% of the Christian community handles books and periodical business and the rest has electrical goods shop, medicine and drugs, paper and printing business. Zoroastrians are concentrated in bakery business mainly.

The status of business as per the opinion of the shopkeepers in the last five years in Kalyan as shown in Table 8 (see Annexure 1) highlights that grocery products, sweetmeat, machine parts, tobacco, medicine, paper & printing commercial services, hotels, tailoring businesses have flourished in the last five years. Textile business has a major decline of 58% followed by utensil business of 44%, leather of 33%, electric goods of 25% jewellery of 20% etc. Shopkeepers feel that business of furniture has drastically declined followed by bakery and confectionery business.

Conclusion

As discussed earlier about the location of the two urban centers viz, Bhiwandi and Kalyan, we conclude that they are outside the municipal area of Mumbai but within the Mumbai metropolitan region (MMR). Thane district in MMR is well connected by western and central railways together with roadways. The expansion observed in this region is axial growth along the western rail route where Mira- Bhayander, Vasai, and Virar has transformed themselves from smaller census towns to bigger municipal corporations. Simultaneously there are many such urban centers along the Ulhas River and the central rail route beginning with Thane, Ulhasnagar, kalyan Dombivili, Bhiwandi etc, located in the northeastern part of thane region. All these urban centers are independent but interspaced by rural areas. Growth rate of population is higher along the western rail corridor than the central rail route. These are isolated urban centers within the metropolitan region having their unique location characteristics and historical background. In the gambit of these urban centers in MMR, a satellite town has been built up in a planned manner as a counter magnet of Mumbai city, along the Thane coast i.e. Navi Mumbai whose characteristics are entirely different from other old established medium towns in the district.

With the turn of the 21st century, in the era of globalization, many new functional and structural dimensions were added to the mega cities of the world including Mumbai. The new global economy gave a new direction to the urban explosion which took place in Mumbai at the expense of the small and medium centers in the peripheral regions viz. Bhiwandi and Kalyan, which make Mumbai a city of extreme contrasts.

From the demographic character observed in these medium towns Kalyan and Bhiwandi projects a negative growth rate at the core of the cities and population density has shifted from the core region to the adjacent peripheral region where opportunities exist which indicates that these medium cities do not reveal a healthy growth, rather they are stagnating.

Regarding the occupational structure of the two medium cities it has been seen that there is a general decline of secondary workers in the main city centers because of the closure of industries which has affected trade and commerce. The main areas suffer from congestion, old infrastructures, meager connectivity etc. which has aggravated the problems.

From the socio-economic survey of tertiary workers in Bhiwandi and Kalyan, it reveals that in contrast to Mumbai's trade and market, these medium cities do not show any segregation of commodities but intermixing of commodities like textile, utensils, medicines, jewellery etc. Language and religion groups show some affinity with the commodity trading as seen in big cities. The survey further highlights the status of business in Bhiwandi and Kalyan where most of the businesses show a decline like textile, chemicals, paper, leather products except a few like hotels, sweetmeat, grocery products, communication services etc.

To conclude, Bhiwandi and Kalyan, the two medium urban centers in thane district show a haphazard and unplanned growth. MMRDA gives an overall plan covering the whole of MMR, but do not give an intracity planning for each center. This planning is carried forward by individual municipal urban authority which also has the power to implement such plans. In the midst of the unplanned nature of expansion of Mumbai, there is a continuous conflict which surges between capital investment and land values because of which market forces are attacked and do not grow in a planned manner. As a result of which there is stagnation and irregularities in these urban towns, two of which has been analyzed in this research article. Bhiwandi and Kalyan situated at the periurban area of Mumbai metropolitan region have the base for urban development. Taking up proper urban renewal programmes in a planned integrated manner, will make these peripheral medium urban centers more competent to face the new challenges of globalization.

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સાહિત્ય કોઈની બાપીકી મિલકત નથીતું ભલે દરવાન હોય પણ તારો બબડાટ સાંભળવાની હું સદંતર ના પાડું છું. તું મને ઘાસ પર ચાલતી રોકી શકે, તારી લાઈબ્રેરી મારે માટે બંધ કરી દઈ શકે, પણ એવો કોઈ દરવાજો નથી, કોઈ સાંકળ નથી, કોઈ તાળું નથી જેનાથી તું મારા મગજને કેદ કરી શકે. વર્જિનિયા વુલ્ફના એ રૂમ ઓફ વન્સ ઓનમાં આ પોતાના ઓરડાની વાત કરાય છે. પણ આ ઓરડો સર્જાય છે જાતની અંદર પરંતુ એને આત્મકથારૂપે બહાર આવવાનો રસ્તો પ્રાપ્ત થયો છે ખરો?

નારીવદ મુખ્યત્વે વિચારકારણ, રાજકારણ અને સમાજકારણનો હિસ્સો પહેલા અને સાહિત્યનો પછી બન્યો નવી નારીના જન્મમાં અનુસંરચનાવાદી ચિંતક દેરિદા અને ઉત્તરસંરચનાવાદી મનોવિશ્લેષક લંકાને આભારી છે. ગુજરાતીમાં અનુઆધુનિક યુગમાં માર્જિનલાઈઝ સાહિત્યને કેન્દ્રમાં લવાયું અને નારી વિષયક પ્રશ્નો ઘેરા રંગે ઉપસ્થા નારીવિમર્શ ગુજરાતીમાં જુદા આધાર પર વિકસ્યો છે. અને પાશ્ચત્ય નારીવાદી વલણોથી તે અલગ છે. એમના અને આપણા પ્રશ્નો જુદા છે, ભૂમિકા વેગળી છે.

ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં નારી શોષણ અને અન્યાય સામેના વિરોધની શરૂઆત આમ તો કુન્દનિકા કાપડિયા અને ઈલા મહેતાની નવલોમાં સ્પષ્ટપણે વ્યક્ત થાય છે.પરંતુ એ પહેલા પણ પરંપરાગત અને નવી નારીનું આલેખન આપણે ત્યાં થતું જ હતું, કવિતા, વાર્તા નવલોમાં આ પ્રગટ થયું જ છે. પરંતુ આત્મકથા અને નાટક તરફ વળીએ છીએ ત્યારે ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં નારીવાદી દ્રષ્ટિકોણને ચોક્કસ નિરાશ થવું જ પડે છે. (ડોલ્સ હાઉસ જેવા નાટકોની અછત આજે પણ સાલે છે.)

ગુજરાતીમાં આત્મકથા સાહિત્યમાં નારી લિખિત આત્મકથાની સંખ્યા આંગળીના વેટે ગણાય એટલી છે. સ્મરણકથા, સંસ્મરણાત્મક લેખો સંવેદનો પ્રગટ કરતાં લેખોની સંખ્યા ઘણી મોટી છે, પરંતુ વિશ્વની અને ભારતની અન્ય ભાષામાં નારી લિખિત આત્મકથા ઘણી મોટી સંખ્યામાં મળે છે. શા માટે ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં નારી લિખિત આત્મકથાની સંખ્યા આપણને સ્તબ્ધ કરી દે એવી છે? નારી સર્જકો કે નારી પોતાનો ઓરડો રચવામાં આજે પણ ખંચકાય છે. સ્ત્રી પંડનો ઇતિહાસ આલેખવામાં નબળી પડે છે. કારણ એ નથી કે તેને તેની સંવેદનાની સજાગતા નથી પણ એ સંવેદનાને જાગૃત બનાવે અને આલેખન કરે તો કેટકેટલાયે ધરતીકંપો, તોફાનો મચી જાય, જ્યાં સુધી તે પોતાની સંવેદનાને વ્યક્ત ન કરે ત્યાં સુધી બધું જ સારું છે. અહીં એને વ્યક્ત થવાનું છે, છુપાયા વગર પણ સમાજમાં જ જ્યારે તે પોતાની ઈચ્છા વ્યક્ત કરવા અનેક સંદર્ભોની રાહ જુએ છે તો પછી તે કઈ રીતે આત્મકથામાં તેના અનેક ન કહેવાયેલા અને કહેવાના બાકી એવા સત્યો આલેખી દે ? સ્ત્રીનું સત્ય શું પુરૂષ ખમી શકશે ખરો? આવા કંઈક કેટલાયે ડર સમાજને ડગાવી રહ્યા છે, સ્ત્રીને ડગાવી રહ્યા છે, પોતાની આત્મકથા લખવાથી અને વ્યક્ત કરવાથી.

ગુજરાતીમાં આત્મકથાનો પડકાર સ્ત્રીઓએ બહુ મોળો પણ કંઈક આવો ઝીલ્યો છે. શીરીન નામનાં એક પારસીબાનુએ ઈ.સ. ૧૮૯૦ માં શીરીન મડમ શીર્ષક આપીને આત્મકથા પ્રગટ કરી. અનેક વિવાદ છતાં આ કૃતિનો ઉલ્લેખ કરવો રહ્યો, ત્યાર પછી કનુબહેન દવેની (૧૮૯૨ - ૧૯૨૨) મ્હારી જીવન સ્મૃતિ અને નોંધપોથી આત્મકથા પ્રાપ્ત થાય છે.૧૯૧૩ થી ૧૯૨૧ સુધીમાં અનેક માસિકોમાં તે પ્રગટ થઈ હતી, ૧૯૩૨ માં તે પુસ્તકરૂપે પ્રકાશિત થાય છે. તેમાં તેમનું શૈશવ, શાળાજીવન, સ્વજનો, દાંપત્યજીવન ઉપરાંત સાહિત્યપ્રત્યેની અભિરૂચિ અને તેમના વાંચન અંગેના પણ અનેક સંદર્ભો છે. નાનપણમાં તેમનેય સીતા,

સાવિત્રી, અનસુયાને મુખ્યત્વે વાંચ્યા અને પછી ધીરેધીરે નવીન વાંચન તરફ વળ્યા હતા. અહીં સંસ્મરણો વિશેષ અને આત્મકથા ઓછી લાગે છે. નોંધરૂપે લખાયેલી આત્મકથામાં એક સંજગતસૂત્રતા તો નથી જ પરંતુ અનેક જગ્યાએ એવું લાગે કે લેખિકાએ પસંદ કરેલા અને સમાજને ગમે એવા જ સત્ય, પ્રસંગોને આવર્તા છે એક જગ્યાએ તેઓ પંદર વર્ષના બાળક પતિમાં રહેલી મુગ્ધતા, કલ્લોલની વાત કરે, ૧૪મે વર્ષે મંદમંદ પગલા ભરતી ગૃહિણી તરીકે પોતાને ચાલેખે છે અને પછી ચિંતન, નિબંધમાં સરી જાય છે. અહીં તેમની કલમમાં એક સ્ત્રી તરીકે તેમના વિસ્તારને બદલે સમાજને ધ્યાનમાં રાખીને કરાયેલો વિસ્તાર ઉડીને આંખે વળગી આવે છે. જાહેર જીવનની વિગતો, વાંચનની વિગતો, જીવનમાં અપનાવેલો સુધરેલો દ્રષ્ટિકોણ આવે છે, પરંતુ આ બધા પર પેલા પરંપરાગત વિચારોની અસર પણ જોવા મળે છે, પુત્રીને અભ્યાસ આપ્યો, એની પછી તરત જ એક વાક્ય આવે છે કે ગૃહકાર્યમાં તેને ઠીકઠીક નિયોજી હતી. મારી અનિચ્છાએ તેનું વેવિશાળ એક ગ્રેજ્યુએટ યુવાન સાથે થયું અને પછી એ સંબંધનો અંત ચાર વર્ષે આવ્યો. સ્ત્રી જ્યારે આત્મકથા લખે છે ત્યારે તે સતત એ વિશે જાગૃત રહે છે, પોતાના વાંચક અગે અને તેથી જ કદાચ તેનું નિજી આકાશ તે વ્યક્ત નથી કરી શકતી અમેરિકા નવલકથાકારની આત્મકથા ધ વુમન વિધિન તેના મૃત્યુના ચાર વર્ષ પછી પ્રગટ થઈ હતી તેને પોતાની વાત કહેવા માટે પોતાના મૃત્યુની રાહ જોવી પડી. સ્ત્રી જ્યારે લખે છે ત્યારે એક સમગ્ર જાતિના (સ્ત્રી જાતિ) એક પ્રતિનિધિ તરીકે લખે છે. તે પોતાની જાતને સ્ત્રી પરંપરાના એક્સટેન્શન (Extension) તરીકે જુએ છે. સ્ત્રી લેખનની થિયરીમાં સીમાચિહ્ન મનાતા ફ્રિમેલ ઇમેજિનેશન (૧૯૭૫) નાં લેખિકા પેટિશયા મેયર સ્પાક્સ આ વાતનું સમર્થન કરતા કહે છે કે સફળતાને જીવનનું એકમાત્ર ધ્યેય માનનાર પુરૂષની આત્મકથાનું સ્ટ્રક્ચર સીધી ગતિવાળું હોય છે. જ્યારે વર્ષોવર્ષ બદલાતાં જીવનના ગંતવ્યોવાળી સ્ત્રીની આત્મકથાનું સ્ટ્રક્ચર સ્પ્રિંગ જેવું સ્પાઈરલ હોય છે. પુરૂષની આત્મકથાનું કન્ટેન્ટ પબ્લિક હોય છે જ્યારે સ્ત્રીનું પ્રાઈવેટ.

ઈ.સ.૧૯૩૮ માં પ્રકાશિત થયેલી શારદાબહેન મહેતાની આત્મકથા જીવનસંભારણામાં પહેલી વખત આત્મકથાનો ઘાટ બંધાતો લાગે છે. અહીં ગૃહસ્થજીવન, જાહેરજીવન; આઝાદીની લડતની ગતિવિધિ તથા ગાંધીજીની પ્રવૃત્તિ અહીં વર્ણન, ભાષા સૌંદર્ય છે પરંતુ એક વ્યક્તિની આત્મકથાને બદલે એમની જાહેરજીવનની કથા અને એક આદર્શ જીવન જીવનાની રેખા પણ આલેખતા હોય એવું લાગે છે. ત્યાર પછી ઈ.સ.૧૯૬૪ માં મુંબઈ સમાજના અગ્રણી ગંગાબહેનની ૧૮૯૨ થી ૧૯૧૭ સુધીની સંસ્મરણ કથા સ્મૃતિસાગરને તીરે મળે છે. વાચનશોખ ધરાવતાં ગંગાબહેનની આત્મસંમાનની તીવ્ર લાગણી તથા આત્મવિકાસની ઝંખનાથી એમનાં સંસ્મરણો આલેખાયા છે. ચરોતરની પટેલ જ્ઞાતિના રીતિરિવાજો અને લોકમાનસનું એમણે કરેલું આલેખન, અંગત જીવન અને કૌટુંબિક જીવનના હૃદયસ્પર્શી પ્રસંગો, આગવી ભાષા સાથે ગુજરાતી નારી લેખનના ઇતિહાસમાં એની ગદ્યસિદ્ધિને કારણે અને રસાળ અભિવ્યક્તિને કારણે આગવું સ્થાન ધરાવે છે.

કમળાબેન પટેલની મૂળ સોતાં ઊખડેલામાં પંજાબકાર્યના કેટલાંક અનુભવોનું વર્ણન કર્યું છે. ગાંધી પ્રવૃત્તિથી પ્રભાવિત તેમની પ્રવૃત્તિ રમખાણો વખતે સ્ત્રી પર થયેલા અત્યાચાર, વગેરે વિશે રસપ્રદ ઘટનાઓ આવે છે, ભારત પાકિસ્તાનના વિભાજન પછી ખેવાયેલી સ્ત્રીઓને શોધવામાં, પાછી લાવવામાં મહત્વની જવાબદારી સંભાળી હતી, પૃથ્વીના કોઈ પણ ખૂણે સુધ્ધ થાય, એમાં સૌથી વધુ ભોગ બનવાનું, પીડાવાનું દેહથી અને મનથી, નારીને ભાગે જ આવે છે. પ્રાચીનકાળથી સ્ત્રીઓ પ્રત્યેના આપણા ભાવમાં પાશવવૃત્તિનો પ્રબળ અંશ રહેલો છે. પંજાબનાં રમખાણો દરમિયાન એ પાશવવૃત્તિએ ઉત્કટ રૂપે પ્રગટ થઈ બીભત્સતાનું નરક સર્જ્યું હતું. ઉર્મિતંત્રને હચમચાવી દે એવી હકીકતોનું આલેખન અહીં થયું છે. કોમી દ્વેષનો ભોગ બનેલી સ્ત્રીનું અહીં બચાવ છે, આ આત્મકથામાં કમળાબહેનના કર્તૃત્વ અને સ્ત્રી પરિસ્થિતિનો વિભાજન સમયનો આલેખ મળે છે. હૃદયદ્રાવક પ્રસંગ/ ઘટનાએ કથાને વધુ પકડી રાખી છે. મૃદુલાબહેન સારાભાઈનું

પ્રથમ પ્રત્યાઘાત ગાંધીભાવના, વાતાવરણનો આલેખ જોવા મળે છે. સ્વ કરતા ગાંધીનું વધુ સ્થાપન કરતી કૃતિમાં વિચારોની સ્પષ્ટતા , આઝાદીની લડતની ગતિવિધિને રસમય રીતે આલેખી છે.

સંસ્મરણાત્મક લેખોમાં જીવનના કોઈ ચોક્કસ પાસાનું આલેખન કરતા અંશો પણ મળે છે. પોતાને ગમતું કામ જેમ કે સુશીલા ઝવેરીનું દીનાબહેન પાઠકનું ચિત્ર વસુબહેન ભટ્ટ પાસેથી, મંજુ ઝવેરી પાસેથી તેમના સાહિત્યિક કાર્યોનો આલેખ, વગેરે જેવા છૂટા છવાયા આલેખો મળે છે . શરીફા વીજળીવાળા પાસેથી માતા પુત્રીનો આંતર બાહ્ય સંવાદ મળે છે. એમાં ભાષા, સંવાદ વધુ સબળ બનતા જણાય છે. પણ નારી જાગૃતિની ક્ષણથી તે મુક્ત નથી થઈ શકતાં, જીવનની ઉત્તમ ક્ષણો અથવા કરેલા કાર્યોની નોંધ મળે છે. પોતાનો ગુસ્સો વ્યક્ત હંસાબેન મહેતા, જો હું પુરુષ હોત તો લેખમાં કાઠે છે પણ નારીવાદને ટકોરાબંધ રજૂ કરતી આત્મકથા ગુજરાતીને મળવાની હજી બાકી છે.

એની સામે પુરુષ સર્જકની આત્મકથાની કોઈ ખોટ વર્તાતી નથી. એના કારણો ચકાસવા જેવા છે. કયા કારણો સ્ત્રીને, ગુજરાતી સ્ત્રીઓને પોતાની આત્મકથા લખવા રોકી રહ્યા છે. સ્ત્રી અને પુરુષની આત્મકથા વાંચીએ છીએ ત્યારે અમુક તારણો જોવા મળે છે, પુરુષની આત્મકથા છે ગૌરવની, એમને મેળવલા યશોગાનની. એ આત્મકથામાં તેમની સિદ્ધીને યોગ, સંઘર્ષની કથા, સત્યનો પ્રેમ જોવા મળે છે. જ્યારે સ્ત્રીની આત્મકથા છે તેની વ્યથાકથા , તેના ન હોવાપણાની કહાણી, આ પુરુષની આત્મકથાને વિચારકો વાંચે છે , ચર્ચે છે. જ્યારે સ્ત્રી પોતાના મનમાં ઢબુરી રાખેલ યાતનાની વાત કાગળ ઉપર મુકે છે ત્યારે તેને ક્ષોભ તો થાય જ છે પણ બહુ ઓછા ચર્ચિત લોકો એનો સ્વીકાર પણ કરે છે એનો શ્રોતા વર્ગ અબૂધ અને અજાણ હોય છે.

નારી લિખીત કેટલીક મહત્વની આત્મકથામાં સૌ પ્રથમ ઉલ્લેખ કરવો જ પડે એવી ઈ.સ. ૧૭૦૦ માં બહીનાબાઈએ લખેલી આત્મકથા છે. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૧૪માં આ પુસ્તક પ્રકાશિત થાય છે. પુરુષપ્રધાન સમાજમાં સ્ત્રી હોવાને કારણે વેઠવી પડેલી યાતનાઓ વિશે એમણે વેધક આલેખન કર્યું છે. ૧૭૦૦ ની સાલની એ વખતના સમાજની, પ્રથમ ભારતીય આત્મકથા છે.

સ્ત્રી જન્મ મહાળોનિ ન વ્હાવે ઉદાસ /

પોતાના સ્ત્રી હોવાનો રંજ અનુભવે છે અને પછી આગળ કહે છે

इथे नाव घेती सोसावीण ऐसे /

आम्हा कोण पुरे इजपुढे

રૂઢિવાદી સમાજમાં સમાજનું ચિત્રણ પોતાના અસ્તિત્વ પર ગુસ્સો, સ્ત્રી હોવાનો ગુસ્સો પણ વ્યક્ત કર્યો હતો.

ત્યાર પછી ૧૯૩૦ માં સુધી મઝુમદાર પણ એ પેટર્ન ઓફ લાઈફ, પોતાની આત્મકથામાં પતિ અને પિતાનું લેખલ કંઈ રીતે સુરક્ષિતતાની લાગણી અનુભવવા માટે આપવામાં આવે છે , તેની વાત કરે છે. નયના તારા સહગલનું પુસ્તક પ્રીઝન એન્ડ ચોકલેટ કેક (૧૯૪૨) માં તેના માસી કૃષ્ણા હઠીસીંગ નયનાને પરદેશ મોકલતી વખતે એક મંત્ર આપે છે, દીકરી હંમેશ ચાદ રાખજે કે આત્મવિશ્વાસ ધરાવતી કોન્ફીડન્ટ સ્ત્રી પુરુષને પરવડતી નથી. તેથી હંમેશ બિચારા બાપડા દેખાવું સારું પણ અંદરથી કોન્ફીડન્ટ રહેવું જેથી કટોકટીના સમયે કોઈને કોઈ મૂર્ખ મદદે પહોંચે અને ન આવે તો આપણને જ ખબર છે કે આપણે બધું કરવા સમર્થ જ છીએ.

નારીવાદનું સમજ્યા પહેલા અને બીજી બધી જ થિયરીઓ પહેલા જ સ્ત્રીએ પોતાનું સ્ટેન્ડ (ચદ્દટ્ક) નક્કી કરી લીધું હતું, તેનું અસ્તિત્વ સમાજને પડકાર ફેંકે એ પહેલા જ સમાજને સુરક્ષિત અનુભૂતિ આપવા તેને પોતે જ પોતાને આંચળો પહેરાવી દીધો હતો. મનુ ભગવાને સ્ત્રીના જીવન પર પડેલો પાડયો પણ એ પડદાનો સ્વીકાર સ્ત્રીએ ન કર્યો હોત તો ?

સ્ત્રીની આત્મકથા જોતાં આવા કેટકેટલા સત્યો ફાટે છે. જો સીતા ધરતીમાં ન સમાયા હોત તો રામ શું સીતાને ઝીરવી શક્યા હોત ? સ્ત્રીની મોટાભાગની આત્મકથામાં એક વેદનાનું આકાશ ઝળુબે છે, તેને પ્રાપ્ત કરેલી સિદ્ધિ કરતા વિશેષ વાત તે સંઘર્ષ, એ પામવાની યાત્રા અને એમાં કહેવાતા પોતાનાઓએ કરેલા અન્યાયની વાત પ્રત્યક્ષ કે પરોક્ષ રૂપે આવે છે. અહીં અનેક કહેવાતી વિભૂતિઓના સત્યો પણ ખૂલે છે. એવી જ એક આત્મકથા વિજયાલક્ષ્મી પંડિતની ધ સ્કોપ ઓફ હેપિનેસ છે, ઈંદિરાગાંધી એક પુત્રીના જન્મ વખતની ઘટના: નેહરુ કુટુંબ કમલા નેહરુના પ્રથમ બાળકના અવતરવાની રાહ જોતું હતું ત્યારે સ્વરૂપરાણીએ દરવાજો ખોલી બાળકના જન્મવાની જાહેરાત કરતાં માત્ર હુઆ કહ્યું, ત્યારે તેમના પતિ મોતીલાલે હસતા હસતા સામે પુછ્યું કે, બચ્યા હુઆ ત્યારે તેમણે મોં ચડાવી દરવાજો બંધ કરી દીધો અને આ રીતે ભારતની પ્રથમ ભાવિ મહિલા વડાપ્રધાનને તેની રૂઢિગત દાદીમાએ દુનિયામાં આવકારી હતી. આવી કંઈ કેટલીક પ્રગટ અપ્રગટ બાબતો વ્યક્ત થાય છે. જો કસ્તુરબાએ આત્મકથા લખી હોત તો ...? સ્ત્રીનું આત્મકથા લેખન, તેની જાગૃતિ, તેનું નીજી આકાશ, વ્યક્ત થવું અને કરવું, બહુ હિંમત માંગી લે છે, ધીરેધીરે આપણે એ દિશા તરફ વળી રહ્યા છીએ પરંતુ એની સંખ્યા આજેય ઓછી છે. ખરેખર તો સમાજને બોલતો અરીસો ગમતો નથી. પુરૂષ સ્ત્રીને મુર્ખ માને છે પણ જો એ સ્ત્રી મન અને સ્ત્રી લેખનને સમજે છે તો એ જાતને પૂછે કે શું એ સાચું છે ?

જ્યારે આત્મકથાનો આ શુન્યવકાશ ભરાય જશે ત્યારે આ ઊંડા રોપાયેલા પૂર્વગ્રહો બધાજ પોતાની ભ્રામક અવસ્થાથી મુક્ત થઈ જશે, આટલા વર્ષો સુધીનું સત્ય વૈદિક, સામાજિક સત્યનું શું થશે ? કારણ આત્મકથામાં તેને વ્યક્ત થવાનું જ છે, છુપાયા વગર, કોઈ પણ સંદર્ભ વગર અને પછી એ સ્ત્રીનું સત્ય આ સમાજ ખમી શકશે ખરો ?

ગાંધીજીની સર્વતોમુખી સર્જકતાના પ્રભાવથી ગુજરાતના વિદ્યા-સાહિત્ય-શિક્ષણના ક્ષેત્રમાં જે સંસ્કાર પોષક શક્તિ નીકળી, તેમા સાહિત્યક્ષેત્રના માળી પાઠકસાહેબ સહેજે બની રહ્યા. ઉમાશંકર જોશી. શેષ ઉપનામથી કવિતા સર્જન કરનાર, દ્વિરેફ ઉપનામથી વાર્તાઓ લખનાર અને સ્વૈરવિહારી ઉપનામથી નિબંધો સર્જનાર, ઉમાશંકર જોશીએ જેમને ગાંધીયુગના સાહિત્ય ગુરુ તરીકે ઓળખાવ્યા છે તે રામનારાયણ વિશ્વનાથ પાઠકનો જન્મ ઘોળકા તાલુકાના ગાણોલ ગામે તેમના મોસાળમાં ઈ.સ. ૧૮૮૭માં થયો હતો. પિતા વિશ્વનાથ માતા આદિતબાઈનાં ધર્મ, વ્યવહાર અને વિદ્યાના સંસ્કાર તેમને વારસામાં મળ્યા હતા. શાળાનું શિક્ષણ તેમણે જેતપુર, રાજકોટ, જામખંભાળિયા અને ભાવનગરમાં લીધું હતું. કેળવણીકાર નાનાભાઈ ભટ્ટના શિક્ષણનો તેમને લાભ મળ્યો હતો.

રા. વિ. પાઠકે વાર્તાલેખન માટે પોતાના નામમાં આવતા બે રેફને કારને દ્વિરેફ ઉપનામ રાખ્યું. 'યુગધર્મ' અને 'પ્રસ્થાન' નિમિત્તે આ વાર્તાઓનું લેખન થયું. ૧૯૨૨-૨૩ના અરસામાં તેમણે વાર્તા લખવાનો પ્રારંભ કર્યો. લગભગ બે દાયકા જેટલો સમય તેમનું વાર્તાસર્જન ચાલ્યું. 'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' ના ત્રણ ભાગમાં બધી મળી ચાલીસ વાર્તાઓ ગ્રંથસ્થ થઈ છે. મુકુંદરાય, ખેમી, જક્ષણી, કોદર, જમનાનું પૂર, સૌભાગ્યવતી, કપિલરાય, નવો જન્મ, બુદ્ધિવિજય, છેલ્લો દાંડક્ય ભોજ, એક પ્રશ્ન, ઉત્તરાપથનો લોપ, કુલાંગાર, દેવી કે રાક્ષસી, અંતરાય વગેરે તેમની જાણીતી વાર્તાઓ છે. ટૂંકી વાર્તાના ક્ષેત્રે ધૂમકેતુની જેમ દ્વિરેફને અપૂર્વ સિદ્ધિ મળી છે. ધૂમકેતુની રંગદર્શી ઊર્મિપ્રધાન શૈલીવાળી વાર્તાઓ બાદ દ્વિરેફથી વાસ્તવપ્રધાન વાર્તાઓને ગુજરાતી ટૂંકી વાર્તાસ્વરૂપમાં પૂરક બળ રૂપે જોઈ શકાય.

'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' ના ત્રણ ભાગમાં વાર્તાકલાની દ્રષ્ટિએ ઉત્તરોત્તર વિકાસ સધાયેલો જોવા મળે છે. પ્રથમ ભાગમાં કઈક અંશે મુગ્ધ, રોમેન્ટિક અભિનિવેશ તેમની વાર્તાઓમા જોવા મળે છે. જ્યારે પછીની વાર્તાઓમાં જીવનની રુક્ષતા અને કઠોરતાની વાસ્તવિકતા નિરૂપણ પામ્યાં છે. દ્વિરેફ વાર્તાનું આકર્ષણ ઊંડાણથી અનુભવ્યું છે. તે વાર્તાઓને 'વાતો' કહે છે તે સૂચક છે.

ચિંતન એ દ્વિરેફની વાતોનું મુખ્ય લક્ષણ છે સર્જનના પ્રબળ વેગથી તેઓ દોરાતા નથી, પણ ફિલસૂફીની તટસ્થતાથી તેઓ વાર્તાઓ લખે છે. ધૂમકેતુની વાર્તાઓ ઊર્મિપ્રધાન છે જ્યારે દ્વિરેફની વાર્તાઓ બુદ્ધિપ્રધાન છે. વિનોદ, સંયત ઊર્મિ, તાર્કિકતા અને માર્મિકતા એ રા. વિ. પાઠકના સાહિત્યજ્ઞસર્જનના વિશિષ્ટ અંશો છે. જમનાનું પૂર અને મુકુંદરાય એ બે વાર્તાઓમા ઓછેવત્તે અંશે હાસ્યકટાક્ષ ભળ્યાં છે.

એક પ્રશ્ન 'માં નોકર ડાહ્યલાના હાથમાંથી બાટલી કોણે લીધી? એ પ્રશ્નને લઈને માનસશાસ્ત્રીય રજૂઆત હળવે હૈયે કરવામાં આવી છે. 'સાચો સંવાદ' માં આછી રમૂજવાળું પ્રસન્ન દામ્પત્ય આલેખાયું છે. 'રજનુ ગજ' માં જૂનીનવી પેઢીને સંઘર્ષ અને જૂની પેઢીની શંકાસ્પદ, સંકુચિત મનોદશા કટાક્ષ દ્વારા રજૂ થઈ છે. 'જક્ષણી' માં લેખકનાં હાસ્ય. કટાક્ષ અને માર્મિકતા ઉત્કટ રૂપે જોવા મળે છે. સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ 'મધ્ય યુગનું માનસ ધરાવતી સતીને કારણે આપણને ખડખડાટ હસાવે છે. 'નવો જન્મ' માં પારસી ગૃહસ્થની પ્રશ્નોત્તરી અને ખેમી લાંચિયા પરસોત્તમને ચીડવે છે એમાંથી હાસ્ય નિષ્પન્ન થાય છે. લેખકની વિનોદવૃત્તિ આ વાર્તાઓને નવું જ પરિમાણ બક્ષે છે.

મુકુંદરાય, ખેમી, નવો જન્મ, જમનાનું પૂર, અને કપિલરાય કરુણ કથાઓ છે. મુકુંદરાય નવી કેળવણીને પચાવી શક્યો નથી. રઘુનાથ ભટ્ટનો એકનો એક આધાર હોવા છતાં મુકુંદરાય તોછડાઈથી ને અપમાનકારક રીતે વર્તે છે. એમાંથી કરુણકથા જન્મે છે. 'ખેમી' વાર્તા પર ગાંધીવાદ અને સમાજવાદની અસર છે. લેખકે આ વાર્તામાં વર્ણભેદ, અસ્પૃશ્યતા, અંધશ્રદ્ધા, વહેમ, રૂઢિજડતા, શોષણખોરી, લાંચરૂઝ્મત, દારૂ વગેરે અનિષ્ટોનું દર્શન કરાવ્યું છે ખેમી અને ધનિયાનું જીવન બરબાદ થવામાં આ બધાં

અનિષ્ટો અને સમાજવ્યવસ્થાનો ઘણો મોટો ફાળો છે. દ્વિરેકની વાર્તાકળા અહીં ઉદ્દેશપ્રધાન બનતી હોય એમ લાગે છે પણ ક્યાંક પ્રચારતાની છાંટ નથી. લેખક ક્યાંક લાગણીવેડામાં તણાતા નથી. સમગ્ર આલેખનમાં વાર્તાકાર તટસ્થ છે. આખું આલેખન સંયમથી ને સ્વસ્થતાથી થયું છે. ખેમીનું ચરિત્રચિત્રણ દ્વિરેકને હાથે અસાધારણ કૌશલથી થયું છે. ખેમી પતિ તરફ પ્રેમાળ છે. તે આનંદી સ્વભાવની છે પણ તે સ્વતંત્ર મિજાજની ગુજરાતી સ્ત્રીનો નમુનો છે. પતિ ઉપર તે પ્રેમથી શાસન કરે છે. પતિના વિરહમાં તે ઝૂરે છે છતાં બોલાવ્યા વિના તે જતી નથી. પોતે વિરુદ્ધ હોવા છતાં ધનિયાને આઠ આના દાડ પીવા આપે છે. પતિનું મૃત્યુ થતાં, ભંગી કોમમાં પુનલગ્નનો બાધ ન હોવા છતાં, તે પુનલગ્ન કરતી નથી. રસીકલાલ પરીખ લખે છે; "એટલું તો ચોક્કસ છે કે આ સંગ્રહની ઉત્તમ વાર્તા ખેમી છે. તેનું કારણ તેનું સંવિધાન અને સાચા પ્રેમજીવનનું આલેખન છે. ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યની નાયિકાઓમાં ખેમીનું સ્થાન પહેલી હારમાં છે તે વિશે કોઈ શંકા નથી. અહીં ઔચિત્ય જણાય છે. નવો જન્મ'

મનોવિશ્લેષણવાળી નવલિકા છે. ઝમકુકાકી કુટુંબનાશ થતાં પશુ બને છે પણ જીવનનો ઉદ્દેશ પ્રાપ્ત થતાં પાછાં રઢિયાળાં માનવી બને છે. આ પરિવર્તનની કરુણમંગલ કથા 'નવો જન્મ' માં છે. જમનાનું પૂર' એક કાવ્યમય ગદ્યકથા છે. તેમાં બેહદ મહત્વકાંક્ષાને કારણે એક નારીનું પતન થાય છે ને તે જમાનાના જળમાં ડૂબી જાય છે. કપિલરાય એક 'ખેનિયાક' ની કથા છે. તેમા સાહિત્યકાર તરીકે નામના મેળવવા માગતો એક યવાન તખ્તલુસોની માયાજાળમાં ગાંડો બની જાય છે તેની હાસ્યપ્રેરક પણ અંતે કરુણ વાર્તા કહેવાઈ છે.

પ્રયોગશીલતા રા. વિ. પાઠકની વાર્તાકાર તરીકેની એક વિશિષ્ટતા છે તેઓ નવા નવા વિષયો પસંદ કરે છે. રજૂઆતની શૈલી અંગે પણ તેઓ હંમેશા પ્રયોગો કરતા રહે છે. વાર્તાકાર પોતે 'હું' તરીકે પ્રથમ પુરુષ એક વચનમાં વાર્તા કહેતો હોય તેવી એક પ્રશ્ન, સાચો સંવાદ, સાચી વારતા, પહેલું ઈનામ, નવો જન્મ, કપિલરાય જેવી છ એક વાર્તાઓ છે. સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ' એ વાર્તા સંસ્કૃત નાટ્યપ્રકાર 'ખાણ' ની રીતે એકોક્તિ તરીકે કહેવાઈ છે. જક્ષણી'માં વાર્તા કથક તરીકે વાર્તાનો નાયક અને તેમની પત્ની બંને છે. પહેલો ખંડ અને ત્રીજો ખંડ વાર્તાનાયકની પત્નીને મુખે કહેવાયો છે. 'શો કળજગ છે ના!' બાળકોની વાર્તા છે. 'સાચી વારતા' બાઈ હરિએ તેના પતિ કેસરીસિંહનું ખૂન કર્યું તે અંગેની વાત છે. જ્યારે પહેલું ઈનામ ડિટેક્ટિવ પ્રકારની કથા છે.

રા. વિ. પાઠકની વાર્તાના સંવાદો અર્થસભર અને વિનોદની છાંટવાળા જોવા મળે છે. તેમાં સાહિત્યિક અભિરુચિનાં દર્શન પણ ઘણીવાર થાય છે. સંવાદો પાત્રોચિત અને પ્રાણવાન હોય છે. સંવાદોની ભાષા સરળ, સહજ પણ માર્મિક છે. ખેમીનો ઉદ્ગાર કે ના ના, આટલે વરસે માઅરે જીવતર પર થીંગડુ નથી દેવું! ઘણું બધું કહી જાય છે. જક્ષણીના મહારાજની ભાષા. સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાની ભેદ માં સતીની ઉક્તિ સ્વામીનાથ, દાસીને કેમ કાંઈ આજ્ઞા કરતી નથી? અને પતિનો જવાબ; સતી! હું તારા સતીત્વથી પ્રસન્ન છું. તું આજે મને ખુશીથી વાયુ ઢોળ. વગેરે પાત્રોચિત છે અને વિનોદયુક્ત પલ છે.

પાત્રાલેખનમાં દ્વિરેકને ધારી સફળતા મળી છે. ગૌરી, હીરા, જમનાનું પૂર ની નાયિકા, બાઈ રૂખી, બાઈ હાર સાચો સંવાદ' ની નાયિકા-વિમળા, જક્ષણી ની નાયિકા ગંગા, ઝમકુકાકી, કમળા, ખેમી વગેરે આ વાર્તાસૃષ્ટિના સ્ત્રીપાત્રો છે. 'એક પ્રશ્ન' નો નાયક રમણલાલ, 'સાચો સંવાદ' નો નાયક વિમળાનો પતિ, 'જક્ષણી' નો નાયક મુકુંદરાય, રઘુનાથ ભટ્ટ, હરજીવન, મહાસુખ, 'નવો જન્મ' નો નાયક કપિલરાય, ધનિયો વગેરે પુરુષ પાત્રો પણ જીવંત અને વાસ્તવિક છે. આમાંથી ખેમી ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યનાં સ્ત્રીપાત્રોમાં પહેલી હારમાં સ્થાન પામે તેવી છે. ઝમકુકાકીનું ચરિત્રચિત્રણ પણ અસાધારણ સુંદર રીતે થયું છે. જક્ષણીનો મહારાજ, મુકુંદરાય, કપિલરાય, રઘુનાથ ભટ્ટ વગેરે કદી ન ભૂલાય એવા ચરિત્રો છે.

આ વાર્તાઓમાં ફિલસૂફીની વેધક દૃષ્ટિ સર્વાંગ દેખાય છે. ઘટના ગમે તેટલી કરુણ હોય કે પાત્રોના ચિત્તમાં ગમે તેવા અંઝાવાતો પેદા થયા હોય, છતાં તેનું આલેખન કરતાં લેખક પોતે લાગણીના પૂરમાં તણાતા નથી. લેખક જીવનના પ્રવાહનું ફિલસૂફી તટસ્થતાથી દર્શન કરાવે છે. એ પ્રવાહ કરુણ, મંગલ, ક્યાંક દુઃખી એવો છે. લેખક જાતે સંડોવાયા વિના એ પ્રવાહનું દર્શન કરાવી આપે છે. લેખકની આવી કથનરીતિને કારણે તેમની વાર્તાસૃષ્ટિમાં નિરૂપાયેલ પ્રત્યેક ભાવરેખા તથા તેમાં સંચારિત થતી પ્રત્યેક વિગત એના સૂક્ષ્મમાં સૂક્ષ્મ સ્વરૂપે મોકળાશથી જોવાની આપણને અનુકૂળતા રહે છે. વસ્તુ, ઘટના કે પાત્ર વિશે

લેખક ઝીણામાં ઝીણી માહિતી આપણને આપે છે. આથી વાર્તાને તેની સમગ્રતામાં પામી શકાય છે. જ્યોતીન્દ્ર દવેએ રા. વિ. પાઠકને ઈજાહમ ઇલજાહમયમ કજાલશભશફક કહીને ઓળખાવ્યાં હતા. રા. વિ. પાઠકની વાર્તાઓ તર્કસંગત અને બૌદ્ધિક તત્ત્વવાળી હોય છે. આ વાર્તાઓનું ઉદાર પાસું નથી; પણ જમા પાસું છે. ધૂમકેતુની વાર્તાઓમાં તાર્કિકતાનો અભાવ આપણને દેખાય છે.

રા. વિ. પાઠક ગુજરાતના પ્રથમ પંક્તિના વાર્તાકાર છે. તેમનામાં ગાંધીયુગની વિદ્વતા છે. આગલા પંડિતયુગના સમર્થ મહારથીઓના દેવું બુદ્ધિતંત્ર અને પાંડિત્ય તેમની પાસે છે. તેઓ ગાંધીજીના પ્રભાવ હેઠળ આવ્યા હતા. તેથી તેમની રજૂઆત અને શૈલી સાદી, સીધી અને સરળ છે. અનંતરાય રાવળ કહે છે તેમ, 'તેમનામા પંડિતયુગ અને ગાંધીયુગના સૌ ઉત્તમ તત્ત્વોનું મંગલ મિલન થયું હતું'. એકંદરે ગાંધીયુગની ભાવનાઓથી રા. વિ. પાઠકનું સર્જન દીપ્તિમાન બન્યું છે. રજૂનું ગજ, પહેલું ઈનામ, સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ જેવી ત્રણેક વાર્તાઓમાં અસહકારની ચળવળનો ઉલ્લેખ આવે છે. 'નવો જન્મ' માં ગાંધીજીની કાંતણવૃત્તિની વાત છે. 'સાચો સંવાદ' માં ગાંધીજીએ સ્વભાષાનો આગ્રહ રાખ્યો છે એ વાત મજાક સ્વરૂપે કહેવાઈ છે. 'ખેમી' વાર્તામાં ભંગી કોમની કથા લીધી તેમાં પણ ગાંધીજીની દલિતો પીડિતોના વહારે ધાવાની ભાવનાનો પડઘો જોવા મળે છે. ગાંધીજીનો પ્રભાવ લેખકની ભાષાશૈલી પરત્વે મુખ્યત્વે પડ્યો છે.

માનવમનનાં રહસ્યોને પ્રગટ કરતી રા. વિ. પાઠકની પ્રયોગશીલ વાર્તાઓ તેમની સાહિત્યસાધનાનું એક ઉજ્જવળ પાસું છે. આ વાર્તા વાર્તાકળાની તેમની શક્તિનો પરિચય આપે છે. નવો જન્મ, કપિલરાય, ખેમી, જક્ષણી, મુકુંદરાય વગેરે વાર્તાઓ લેખકનું માનવજીવનનું તેમજ માનવમાનસનું ગહન દર્શન કરાવે છે. આ જ્ઞાનનો સર્જનાત્મક કૃતિમાં કેવા કૌશલથી ઉપયોગ થઈ શકે છે તેનું ઉત્તમ દષ્ટાંત આ વાર્તાઓ છે. માર્મિક સંવાદો, સુરેખ પાત્રચિત્રણ, ઊંચી રસિકતા, માનવજીવનનાં સત્યોની સ્પષ્ટ રજૂઆત, માનસ પૃથક્કરણ અના માનવમનનાં રહસ્યોનું સચોટ આલેખન વગેરે તત્ત્વોથી આ વાર્તાઓ સમૃદ્ધ બની છે. કપિલરાય, ખેમી, જક્ષણી સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ વગેરે વાર્તાઓમાં લેખકની વિનાદવૃત્તિ અને માર્મિકતાનો ઉત્કટ પરિચય થાય છે. 'રજૂનું ગજ' માં સંચાલકોનાં સંકુચિત અને નિકૃષ્ટ માનસ દર્શાવવાનો લેખકનો આશય છે. આ વાર્તામાં ગ્રામસમાજના લોકોનાં નિંદાખોર હીનમાનસનાં દર્શન કરાવતું વાસ્તવિક આલેખન થયું છે. ખેમી, જક્ષણી અને મુકુંદરાય દ્વિરેફની વાર્તાકલાના ત્રણ શિખરો છે.

કદરૂપતાનું આલેખન ખાસ નોંધવા જેવું છે. રા. વિ. પાઠકે 'જક્ષણી'ના મહારાજ. 'સાચી વારતા'ની બાઈ રૂખીએ બંનેનું બેડોળપણું વિગતસભર રીતે આલેખ્યું છે. બાઈ હરિનું રૂપ જુગુપ્સાકારક દર્શાવ્યું છે. ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યની ટૂંકી વાર્તાઓમાં વિરૂપતાનું આવું આલેખન વિરલ છે. મહારાજનું બેડોળપણું હાસ્યપ્રેરક છે; જ્યારે બાઈ રૂખીનું જુગુપ્સાપ્રેરક છે. સમગ્ર રીતે જોતાં દ્વિરેફ ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યના ટૂંકી વાર્તાના પ્રથમ પંક્તિના સર્જક છે. તેઓ ધૂમકેતુ પછી ટૂંકી વાર્તાને એક ડગલું આગળ લઈ જાય છે. પાત્રાલેખન, ભાષા, વિનોદ, સંવાદ, માનસવિશ્લેષણ, વસ્તુગૂંથણી, રજૂઆત આ સર્વ દૃષ્ટિએ તપાસતાં રા. વિ. પાઠકની વાર્તાઓ ઊંચા શિખરો સર કરે છે. એક પ્રયોગશીલ વાર્તાકાર તરીકે દ્વિરેફ સૌથી વધુ નોંધપાત્ર છે. ડૉ. ધીરુભાઈ ઠાકર નોંધે છે- 'સંખ્યામાં થોડી પણ વિશિષ્ટ વ્યક્તિત્વવાળી 'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' આમ ગુજરાતી નવલિકાના વિકાસનો નવો જ ઉન્મેષ દર્શાવે છે. આ વિધાન ઉચિત છે.

દ્વિરેફની વાર્તાઓમાં હાસ્ય-કટાક્ષ:-

'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' ભા. ૧ માં તેર વાર્તાઓ છે. તેમાંથી દસેક જેટલી વાર્તાઓમાં કોઈને કોઈ સ્વરૂપે વિનોદનું તત્ત્વ આવે છે. લેખક આપણને જુદી જુદી દસાવે છે. મર્મ, હાસ્ય, કટાક્ષ, ટોળટપ્પા, ઠઠ્ઠામશકરી, બનાવટ, ઉપહાસ વગેરે બધા હાસ્યના પ્રકારો લેખકે યોજ્યા છે. આ વાર્તાઓ વાંચતાં હૃદયમાં હાસ્યની એક લહેર ચાલે છે. અહીં સૂક્ષ્મ હાસ્યથી માંડીને ખડખડાટ હાસ્ય સુધીના પ્રકારો લેખકે ખેડ્યા છે. મોટા ભાગની વાર્તાઓ વાંચીએ છીએ ત્યારે આપણું માથું મલક્યાં કરે છે. રા. વિ. પાઠક પાસે એક હાસ્યકાર તરીકેની વિશિષ્ટ શક્તિ છે. તેનો ખ્યાલ આ વાર્તાઓ વાંચતાં સહેજે આવે છે.

હાસ્ય નિષ્પન્ન કરવાની આવડત એક વિશિષ્ટ શક્તિ માંગી લે છે. વળી હાસ્ય ગ્રામ્ય કે સ્થૂળ થઈ જવાનો ભય સતત રહ્યા કરે છે. રા. વિ. પાઠકની આ વાર્તાઓમાં ક્યાંક ગ્રામ્યતા કે સ્થૂળતા દેખાતી નથી. આ વાર્તાઓમાં એક ઉચ્ચ પ્રકારની સંસ્કારિતાનાં દર્શન થાય છે. સુરુચિને આઘાત લગાડે એવું હાસ્ય અહીં ક્યાંક જોવા મળતું નથી. લેખકે જીવન અને જગતને બહુ સૂક્ષ્મતાથી અવલોક્યું છે અને માનવની નબળાઈઓને હળવે હૈયે હસી કાઢી છે. હાસ્ય ક્યાંક કટુતાવાળું કે ડંશીલું બનતું નથી. સર્વત્ર રામનારાયણ પાઠકની પ્રસન્નતા હાસ્યરૂપે ફેરી રહે છે. હાસ્યનું અવલંબન બનતા પાત્ર તરફ પણ આપણી અનુકંપાને સહાનુભૂતિ જળવાઈ રહે એ પ્રકારનું હાસ્ય લેખકે નિષ્પન્ન કર્યું છે. આવો સંસ્કારી વિનોદ એ રામનારાયણ પાઠકની વાર્તાકાર તરીકેની એક વિશિષ્ટતા છે.

એક ‘મુકુંદરાય’ અને બીજી ‘જમનાનું પૂર’ એ બે વાર્તાઓને બાદ કરતાં બાકીની તમામ વાર્તાઓને લેખકે હાસ્યનો પુટ આપ્યો છે. ‘એક પ્રશ્ન’ વાર્તામાં હાસ્ય પરિસ્થિતિગત છે. ‘સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ’માં હાસ્ય પાત્રગત છે. ‘સાચો સંવાદ’માં હાસ્ય સંવાદગત છે. આમ પાત્ર, પરિસ્થિતિ કે સંવાદના આલેખન દ્વારા લેખક હાસ્ય નિષ્પન્ન કરે છે. ‘જક્ષણી’માં હાસ્ય પાત્રગત પણ છે ને પરિસ્થિતિગત પણ છે.

‘એક પ્રશ્ન’ વાર્તામાં દરેક જણ નોકર ડાહ્યલાના હાથમાંથી બાટલી લઈ લીધાનો દાવો કરે છે તામાંથી હાસ્ય જન્મે છે. ‘રજનું ગજ’માં હાસ્ય કરતાં કટાક્ષનું તત્ત્વ વિશેષ છે. ‘સરકારી નોકરીની સફળતાનો ભેદ’માં વિમળાના સતીધર્મના અતિરેકમાંથી હાસ્ય ઉપજે છે. ‘શો કળજગ છે ના!’માં કટાક્ષ છે. ‘જક્ષણી’ હાસ્યની દૃષ્ટિએ ખાસ નોંધપાત્ર વાર્તા છે. એમાં મહારાજનું બાહ્ય કદરૂપાપણું હાસ્યનું આલંબન બને છે પણ બાયડી ઝટ મોટી થાય તે અંગેની લોલુપતા કદરૂપાપણાનું જ બીજું સ્વરૂપ છે પણ ક્યાંક મહારાજ આપણી સહાનુભૂતી ગુમાવતા નથી. ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં હાસ્યપ્રધાન ટૂંકી વાર્તાઓમાં ‘જક્ષણી’ એક સીમાચિન્હરૂપ વાર્તા છે. પ્રસન્ન દામ્પત્યનો પરિચય આપ્યો છે. અસંતુષ્ટ કામવાસનાને કારણે મહારાજ માનસિક વિકૃતિનો ભોગ બન્યા છે.

‘પહેલું ઈનામ’ વાર્તામાં હાસ્ય જુદી રીતે પ્રગટ થાય છે. અહીં હરજીવનનું અલગારીપણું, સમારંભની પ્રમુખની કંઠંગી સ્થિતિમાંથી હાસ્ય જન્મે છે. ‘નવો જન્મ’નું રહસ્ય પારસી ગૃહસ્થની પ્રશ્નોત્તરીને આભારી છે. હાસ્ય અહીં પ્રારંભના અત્યંત શોકમય વાતાવરણ પછી આશ્વાસનરૂપે આવે છે. ‘કપિલરાય’નું હાસ્ય તખલ્લુસોની લીલામાંથી જન્મે છે.

‘ખેમી’નું હાસ્ય ‘જક્ષણી’ પછી વિશિષ્ટ રીતે નોંધપાત્ર છે. ખેમી પરસોત્તમને ચીડવે છે તેમાંથી હાસ્ય નીપજે છે. પણ આ હાસ્ય પાછળ ખેમીની વેદના રહેલી છે. રસિકલાલ પરીખ કહે છે તેમ - “હસવું અને રડવું એ બે જીવનના મુખ્ય ભાવો છે. દ્વિરેફ આંસુને હાસ્ય નીચે છુપાવવાનું વધારે પસંદ કરે છે?” એટલે કે દ્વિરેફનું હાસ્ય પોચટ બનતું નથી. ટૂંકી વાર્તાઓના સ્વરૂપને જાળવીને હાસ્યની સેર ચાલ્યા કરે એવું આલેખન કરવામાં કુશળ અને માતબર સર્જક તરીકે દ્વિરેફનું સ્થાન અજોડ છે.

રસિકલાલ પરિખના અભિપ્રાય મુજબ : “આ નવ વાતોમાં લેખક ગુજરાતના ચાલુ જીવનમાંથી વસ્તુ લઈ તેને બિન્ન બિન્ન બનાવોમાં ગોઠવી વિવિધ પ્રકારના હાસ્યનું ભાન કરાવે છે. પણ આ હાસ્યની પાછળ લગભગ દરેક ઠેકાણે એકાદ આંસુનું બિંદુ ક્યાંક લાગી રહેલું હોય છે અને જ્યાં સુધી એ આંસુનું બિંદુ નહીં જડે ત્યાં સુધી આ વાતનો રસાસ્વાદ પૂરો થતો નતી, એમ લાગે છે.”

ખેમીની અંધશ્રદ્ધા કરુણા જન્માવે છે. જ્યારે ‘જક્ષણી’ના મહારાજની અંધશ્રદ્ધા ઉપહાસપાત્ર નીવડે છે. આનું કારણ એ છે કે ખેમીની અંધશ્રદ્ધા પાછળ ત્યાગની ભાવના રહેલી છે. મહારાજની અંધશ્રદ્ધા પાછળ લોલુપતા રહેલી છે. આમ અંધશ્રદ્ધાનું આલંબન લઈને લેખકે હાસ્ય અને કરુણ બંને રસો સફળતાથી નિષ્પન્ન કર્યા છે.

વિનોદનું તત્ત્વ વાર્તાને લાગણીવેડામાંથી બચાવે છે. અકારણ ગંભીરતાથી દૂર રાખે છે. અને વાર્તાને રસવૈવિધ્ય પુરું પાડે છે.

દ્વિરેફની વાર્તાઓમાં કરુણ રસ :-

આ સંગ્રહની તેર વાર્તાઓમાંથી જેનો મુખ્ય રસ હાસ્ય નથી એવી ચારેક વાર્તાઓ તારવી શકાય તે છે ‘જમનાનું પૂર’, ‘મુકુંદરાય’, ‘નવો જન્મ’ ને ‘ખેમી’. ‘જમનાનું પૂર’ અને ‘મુકુંદરાય’એ બંને સર્વાંશિ ગંભીર પ્રકારની રચનાઓ છે. તેમાં મુદ્દલ હાસ્ય આવતું જ નથી. એ બંને વાર્તાઓનો પ્રધાનરસ કરુણ છે. ‘નવો જન્મ’ ‘ખેમી’એ બે વાર્તા છે તો કરુણરસપ્રધાન પણ તેમાં લેખકે જૂજ પ્રમાણમાં હાસ્યનો આધાર લીધો છે.

હાસ્ય અને કરુણ એ બંને રસ એક સિક્કાની બે બાજુ જેવા છે. હાસ્યના શિખર પરથી પગ લપસે તો સીધા કરુણરસની ખીણમાં ગબડી પડાય. આ સંગ્રહની નવ વાર્તાઓમાં હાસ્યનો ભાવ મુખ્ય હશે. હાસ્યની પાછળ ક્યાંક ને ક્યાંક ડૂસકું છુપાયેલું હોવાનું જ. નર્યું એકલું હાસ્ય આછકલું બની જવાનો સંભવ છે. એની પાછળ રહેલું કરુણતાનું તત્ત્વ જ હાસ્યને માતબર બનાવે છે. આ દૃષ્ટિએ રા. વિ. પાઠકની વાર્તાઓનો અભ્યાસ કરવા જેવો છે.

‘જમનાનું પૂર’ એ ‘અહંકારના પતનની’ અથવા ‘વધારે પડતી મહત્વકાંક્ષાના પતનની’ કથા છે. અહંકારી બેહદ મહત્વકાંક્ષાવાલી નારી જમનાના પૂરમાં ડૂબી જાય છે. આ ઘટના કરુણરસ નિષ્પન્ન કરે છે. લેખક અંતે પ્રશ્ન પુછે: જગતનો પૂરનો હેતુ શો? ‘મુકુંદરાય’ વાર્તા સમગ્ર ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યની કરુણરસની વાર્તાઓમાં આગલી હરોળમાં સ્થાન પામે તેવી વાર્તા છે. મુકુંદરાયની તોછડાઈ, ઉચ્છૃંખલતા અને અપમાનકારક વલણથી રઘુનાથ ભટ્ટને જે ઘોર વિષાદનો અનુભવ થાય છે તેને લેખકે મૌન દ્વારા પ્રકટ કર્યો છે. એ મૌનનો ભંગ થાય છે ત્યારે કરુણરસની પરાકાષ્ઠ તથા આવે. રઘુનાથ ભટ્ટ, આવા પુત્ર કરતાં તો અપુત્ર રહેવું સારું એ મતલબની, વિમળશાએ અંબાજી પાસે ત્રણ વાર વરદાનરૂપે નખખોદ માંગ્યું એ કથા કહે છે. એ સાથે જ આખા ઘરમાં મૃત્યુ જેવી શાંતિ છવાઈ રહે છે. આ વાર્તાનો ઘેરો કરુણરસ આપણને સ્પર્શી જાય તે રીતે આલેખન પામ્યો છે.

‘મુકુંદરાય’ વાર્તાનો આરંભ ભાઈ આવે છે તેના સ્વાગત માટે સર્જાતા ધામધૂમથી ઉલ્લાસમય વાતાવરણથી થાય છે અને અંતે ઘેરા કરુણરસમાં આવે છે. તો ‘નવો જન્મ’વાર્તાનો આરંભ અસાદારણ શોકમગ્ન વાતાવરણ થી થાય છે અને અંતે ઉલ્લાસમય વાતાવરણ જેવા મળે છે. ‘નવો જન્મ’ વાર્તા માનસવિરલેષણ અંગેની છે. ઝમકુકાકી રૂપચંદના અવસાનથી શૂન્યચિત્તવાળાં બની જાય છે. એક જાજરમાન સ્ત્રી માનસિક વિકૃતિનો ભોગ બની માખણ ચોરવાનું કૃત્ય કરે છે વગેરે ઘટનાઓ કરુણરસની વાહક બને છે પણ આ વાર્તા સુખાંત બની છે.

‘નવો જન્મ’ સુખાંત વાર્તા છે તો ‘ખેમી’ કરુણાંત વાર્તા છે. ખેમી અને ધનિયાની પ્રણયકથાનો અંજામ કરુણ આવે છે. આમાં વિષય સમાજવ્યવસ્થાનો જ દોષ છે. દારૂનું વ્યસન અને અંધશ્રદ્ધા એ તો માત્ર બાહ્ય નિમિત્તો જ છે. આ વાર્તાના સંદર્ભમાં ‘આ એશ્વર્ય પ્રણયસુખી હાય આશા જ કેવી!’ એ કવિ કાન્તની કાવ્યપંક્તિ જરૂર યાદ આવે.

આ કરુણરસ પોચટ નથી. લેખક ક્યાંક લાગણીવેડામાં ઊર્મિલતામાં સરી પડતા નથી. પૂરા સંયમથી આ કરુણરસની વાર્તાઓ આલેખન પામી છે. ઊર્મિ અને માર્મિકતા આ વાર્તાના વિશિષ્ટ લક્ષણો છે. સ્વસ્થતા ને વિશદતા એ વાર્તાના ગુણો છે. હાસ્યરસના આલેખનમાં કુશળ એવા રા.વિ.પાઠક કરુણરસ પણ એટલી જ કુશળતાથી નિષ્પન્ન કરી શકે છે. એમનું હાસ્ય પોચટ નથી; એમનો કરુણ ઊર્મિલ નથી.

હાસ્ય અને કરુણ ઢાલની બે બાજુ જેવા છે. લેખક અંધશ્રદ્ધાનું આલંબન લઈ હાસ્ય ને કરુણ એ બંને રસો જરૂરત પ્રમાણે નિષ્પન્ન કરી શકે છે. ખેમીની અંધશ્રદ્ધા હાસ્ય જન્માવે છે, એકની પાછળ ત્યાગ છે; બીજાની પાછળ લોલુપતા છે. ત્યાગ કરુણ જન્માવે છે; લોલુપતા હાસ્ય જન્માવે છે.

‘હસવું અને રડવું એ જીવનના મુખ્ય ભાવો છે. દ્વિરેફ આને હાસ્ય નીચે છુપાવવાનું વધારે પસંદ કરે છે” અર્થાત્ હાસ્યરસની વાર્તાઓ પાછળ ઊંડે ઊંડે કરુણરસ ડોકિયાં કરતો હોય છે. ‘કપિલરાય’ વાર્તામાં હાસ્ય તો પુષ્કળ છે તેમ છતાં તખ્ખલુસોની કરુણ કથા છે. તેમાં સાહિત્યક્ષેત્રે નામના મેળવવા મથતા યુવાનની ભ્રમિત દશા વર્ણવાઈ છે. ‘સરકારી નોકરીની

સફળતાનો ભેદ' વાર્તામાં વિમળાનું પાત્ર હાસ્યનું કારણ બને છે પણ વાર્તા કહેનારની વેદના તો આ હાસ્ય પાછળ છૂપાયેલી પડી જ છે. આવી સતીના પનારે પડેલા પતિની દૃષ્ટિએ જોઈએ તો કથા કરુણ બની જાય છે.

હાસ્યરસ પ્રાચીન રસશાસ્ત્રીઓનો આદર પામી શક્યો નથી. ભવભૂતીના મતાનુસાર રસમાં રસ તે કરુણરસ. આમ, સાહિત્યમાં કરુણરસનું માહત્તમ ઘણું છે. રા.વિ.પાઠક પોતાની ટૂંકી વાર્તાઓમાં કરુણરસનું સંયમથી, લાઘવથી ને સચોટતાથી આલેખન કરી શકે છે. 'મુકુંદરાય' અને 'ખેમી' એ બે કરુણરસની ઉત્તમ નવલિકાઓ છે. એકંદરે, રા.વિ.પાઠકને કરુણરસના આલેખનમાં પ્રશસ્ય સફળતા મળી છે.

રા.વિ.પાઠકની વાર્તાઓમાં ગ્રામજીવન છે અને શહેરીજીવન છે. : કોર્ટ અને જેલ જેવાં સ્થળો પણ છે. બ્રાહ્મણથી માંડી પારસી સુધીની કોમના માનવીઓ પાત્રરૂપે નિરૂપાયાં છે. એમણે લોકકથા, ડિટેક્ટીવ કથા, મનોવૈજ્ઞાનિક તત્ત્વવાળી કથાથી માંડીને સ્વપ્નકથા સુધી વાર્તાસૃષ્ટિનો વિસ્તાર સાધ્યો છે. કરુણ, હાસ્ય, શૃંગાર, અદ્ભુત જેવી અનેક રસોની વાર્તા અને એ નિમિત્તે જાતીય-જિન્સીતત્ત્વને અવલંબન કરતી વાર્તાઓ પણ આપી છે. કામવૃત્તિને કારણે દામ્પત્યજીવનમાં સર્જાતી કરુણતા કલાના પૂરા ઔચિત્ય સાથે રજૂ થાય છે. ગુજરાતી સાહિત્યમાં 'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' એ નવોન્મેશ દર્શાવ્યો છે.

ડૉ. ચંદ્રકાંત શેઠ યોગ્ય જ કહે છે - 'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' વાંચવા કરતાં સાંભળવાની ચીજ વધારે જણાય છે. એની ભાષાગત-નિરૂપણગત, સ્વરૂપગત કેટલીક ખૂબીઓ વાંચવા કરતાં સાંભળવાથી જ વધારે પમાય એમ પણ લાગે છે.

સંદર્ભ સૂચી :-

૧. 'દ્વિરેફની વાતો' ; ભાગ-૧-૨
૨. 'રા. વિ. પાઠક' ગ્રંથકાર શ્રેણી.

“નશો નોતરે નાશ” આધુનિક લોકનાટ્ય ભવાઈ વેશ દ્વારા સમાજ શિક્ષણ જાગૃતિ કાર્યક્રમ : એક પ્રયોગાત્મક અભ્યાસ

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પ્રસ્તાના -

લોકસંસ્કૃતિ, લોકસંસ્કાર અને લોકનાટ્ય એ લોકશિક્ષણ સાથે સંકળાયેલી પ્રાચીન પરંપરા છે. તેમણે લોકજાગૃતિ અને લોકશિક્ષણને પોષણ આપ્યું છે. ભારતીય સંસ્કૃતિ સાહિત્ય સાથે તાલ મેળવી જે ચાલતી રહી છે. નાલંદા, તક્ષશિલા, ઉજ્જૈન વગેરે સાહિત્ય, શિક્ષણ-સંસ્કારના વિદ્યાધામો હતાં. લોકજીવન હંમેશા પ્રજા સાથે ઘબકતું રહે છે. તે જીવંત અને ગતિશીલ હોય છે.

ઈ.સ. ૧૩૫૦ પછી ભવાઈએ નાટકનું સ્થાન લીધું અને સમગ્ર ગુજરાતમાં ફરીફરીને લોકજીવનને ઘબકતું રાખ્યું છે. ગુજરાતની વિશિષ્ટ ઓળખ માટે લોકનાટ્ય ભવાઈ ઉત્તમ દૃષ્ટાંત છે. લોકનાટ્ય ભવાઈ લોકજીવન સાથે એટલું બધું ઓતપ્રોત થયેલું કે એકબીજાને જુદાં પાડવાનું અશક્ય બની ગયું હતું. તે લોકજીવન સાથે એકરૂપ થઈ ગયું હતું. અનો અહીં જ લોકશિક્ષણ મૂળ પ્રાપ્ત થાય છે. પરંતુ કાળાન્તરે સાહિત્યમાં અને સમાજમાં પરિવર્તન થાય છે. પ્રજાજીવન અને સાહિત્યનું વહેણ પણ બદલાય છે. ભવાઈવેશમાં લોકજીવનનું પ્રતિબિંબ હોય છે. સમાજમાં સંસ્કાર સિંચન, શિક્ષણ જાગૃતિ કરવી એ મહત્વનું હોય છે. સાક્ષરતા ભિયાન, સ્ત્રીભૂણ હત્યા, પર્યાવરણ, દારૂબંધી, કુટુંબનિયોજન જેવા કાર્યક્રમો ભવાઈવેશો દ્વારા રજૂ કરવામાં આવે છે.

અનૌપચારિક શિક્ષક એ અનાયાસ પ્રક્રિયાક્રત અને તે વ્યક્તિને માટે ઉભી થતા પરિસ્થિતિજન્ય વાતાવરણ, અનુભવો વગેરેમાંથી વ્યક્તિ શિક્ષણ મેળવે છે. આયોજિત સંસ્થાઓ ઉપરાંત વ્યક્તિ અન્ય સંસ્થાઓ જેવી વિવિધ પ્રકારના નાટ્યમંચો-સંસ્થાઓ, ભવાઈની તાલીમ સંસ્થા, ધર્મનું શિક્ષણ આપતી સંસ્થાઓ વગેરેમાંથી શિક્ષણ મેળવતી હોય છે. આમાં પૂર્વઆયોજિત શિક્ષણ હોતું જ નથી. વ્યક્તિ અભાનપણે પણ શિક્ષણ મેળવી શકે છે. અનૌપચારિક શિક્ષણ એ અપ્રત્યક્ષ પરંતુ દીર્ઘજીવી અસર ધરાવનારી પ્રક્રિયા છે. વિવિધ અનુભવો જેવા કે સામાજિક પર્યાવરણમાંથી શીખે છે અને તે અનુભવજન્ય પ્રાપ્ત કરેલું જ્ઞાન કદી ભૂલાતું નથી. અનૌપચારિક શિક્ષણ એ આજીવન પ્રક્રિયા છે અને તે વિવિધ અનુભવોમાંથી, વિવિધ પ્રસંગોમાંથી અને વિવિધ પર્યાવરણમાંથી શિક્ષણ પ્રાપ્ત થતું હોય છે. લોક નાટ્યભવાઈ એ અનૌપચારિક શિક્ષણ આપતી તાલીમ સંસ્થા છે. ભવાઈ દ્વારા સામાજિક, સાંસ્કૃતિક, ધાર્મિક અને શૈક્ષણિક જેવા વિષયોનું જ્ઞાન વિવિધ ભવાઈ વેશો દ્વારા ભજવીને આપી શકાય છે.

ભવાઈ એ લોકનાટ્ય છે. તે સામાજિક જાગૃતિ, શૈક્ષણિક જાગૃતિ વગેરે સમાજ ઘડતરનું કામ કરે છે. આજે સામાજિક સમસ્યાઓ દિનપ્રતિદિન વધતી જાય છે. શાળા-મહાશાળાઓ બાળકોને સુધારવા પ્રયત્નશીલ હોય છે. લોકજાગૃતિ માટે સ્થાનિક સમાજને ધ્યાનમાં રાખી ભવાઈવેશમાં ગીત-સંગીત દ્વારા, પોસ્ટરો દ્વારા ગ્રામ્ય વિસ્તારોમાં અને શહેરી વિસ્તારમાં કાર્યક્રમો રાખી શકાય છે. ભવાઈ વેશ દ્વારા તે અભિવ્યક્તિ થઈ શકે છે. સમાજમાં એમાં ખાસ કરીને યુવનોમાં સામાજિક સમસ્યાઓ સવિશેષ દૃષ્ટિગોચર થાય છે. એમાં યુવાનો માસ-મીડીયાનંદ અવાસ્તવિક જીવનશૈલીનું ખોટી રીતે પોતાના જીવનમાં અનુકરણ કરે છે. અને તેમાંથી આ સમસ્યાઓ ઉદ્ભવે છે. આજે શહેરોમાં અને ગ્રામ્ય વિસ્તારોમાં આ સમસ્યાઓ ઘર કરી ગઈ છે. સમાજના મોટાભાગના લોકો ટી.વી. સિરિયલો જોતા કે યુવાનો પાનના ગલ્લે પાન, સીગારેટ, બીડી જેવા વ્યસનો કરતા કે કોઈકવાર દારૂ જેવો નશો કરતા જોવા મળે છે. ત્યારે ભવાઈ લોકનાટ્ય દ્વારા આવની સામાજિક સમસ્યાઓ તેમની જ બોલીમાં, સમાજ વચ્ચે જઈને હાસ્ય, સંગીતના સુશ સાથે રજૂ થાય છે. વ્યસન નોતરે નાશ આધારિત ‘નશો નોતરે નાશ’ સમસ્યાઓનો લોકજાગૃતિ કાર્યક્રમ ગ્રામ-ઐઠોર તા. ઊંઝા, જિ. મહેસાણામાં આ આધુનિક ભવાઈવેશ રજૂ કરીને સમાજમાં લોકશિક્ષણ-સમાજશિક્ષણનો સંશોધન સ્વરૂપે એક નવતર પ્રયોગ કર્યો છે.

સમસ્યા કથન :-

“નશો નોતરે નાશ” આધુનિક લોકનાટ્ય ભવાઈ વેશ દ્વારા સમાજ-શિક્ષણ જાગૃતિ કાર્યક્રમ” : એક પ્રયોગાત્મક અભ્યાસ.

શબ્દોની વ્યાખ્યા :-

ભવાઈ :-

ભવાઈ એટલે લોક બોલીમાં, જાહેર સ્થળ પર, પાત્રને અનુરૂપ વેશમાં, જ તે સ્થળે સામાજિક જાગૃતિ માટે યોગ્ય પોસ્ટરો લગાવી, સંગીત તથા ગીત સાથે રંગલો-રંગલી જેવાં મુક્ય પાત્રો અને બીજાં જરૂરી પાત્રો સાથે આનંદ સાથે જ્ઞાન આપતી લોક શિક્ષણની પ્રયુક્તિ છે.

આ સંશોધનમાં નશો નોતરે નાશ આધારિક પાત્રો દ્વારા વેશો ભજવી સમાજને સમાજમાં રહેલો વયોવૃદ્ધ તથા યુવાનોને જાગૃત કરવા ગ્રામ્ય વિસ્તારમાં પ્રયત્ન થાય છે.

વ્યસન :-

ટેવ, ખરાબ ટેવ, બીડી કે દાડનું વધુ પડતું સેવન, ગાંજો કે ચરસ જેવા તત્વોનું વધુ પડતું સેવન. જે અંગ્રેજીમાં ઇફમ ઇફબશર્, અમમશભશશિંજાક્ષ ક્ષિં ઇફક્ષિંજાભક્ષશિંક્ષલ ઉલિલ જર ઉશિક્ષલ, ખયતયુ; ઇફહફજશુ, ઉફક્ષલય: ઉયતલિભ-શિંજાક્ષ, ઋક્ષાળિ ફ ઇફબશર્, વ્યસની વફબશર્કિંયિંમ ફાફિમમશભક્ષયિંમ.

આ અભ્યાસમાં ૧૮ થી ૩૦ વર્ષનાં યુવાનો અને યુવતીઓ તરીકે લેવાના છે કારણ કે હવે મોટી ઉંમર લગ્ન થવાના અને કુવારા રહેવાના સંજોગો વધતા જાય છે. તેથી વધુ ઉંમરના ઉંમર લાયક સ્ત્રી કે પુરૂષ તરીકે લીધેલ છે.

૧. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માપદંડની રચના કરવી.

૨. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માપદંડની માહિતી મેળવી મળેલ પ્રાપ્તિકોને આધારે યુવાનો અને યુવતીઓ વચ્ચે તુલના કરવી.

૩. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ભવાઈ રજૂઆતને અંતે માપદંડ અને માપદંડ અને અભિપ્રાય ભરાવવા કે મૌખિક અભિપ્રાય મેળવવા, મળેલ પરિણામોની તુલના કરવી, અસરકારકતા તપાસવી.

વિવિધ ચલો :-

- પરતંત્ર ચલો :- ૧. યુવાનો અને યુવતીઓ ૨. ઉંમર લાયક સ્ત્રીઓ અને પુરૂષો

- સ્વતંત્ર ચલો :- “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તિકો.

ઉત્કલ્પનાઓ :-

૧. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” યુવતીઓ માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તિકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.

૨. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” યુવાનો માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તિકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.

૩. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ઉંમર લાયક સ્ત્રીઓ માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તિકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.

૪. “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ઉંમર લાયક પુરૂષો માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તિકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.

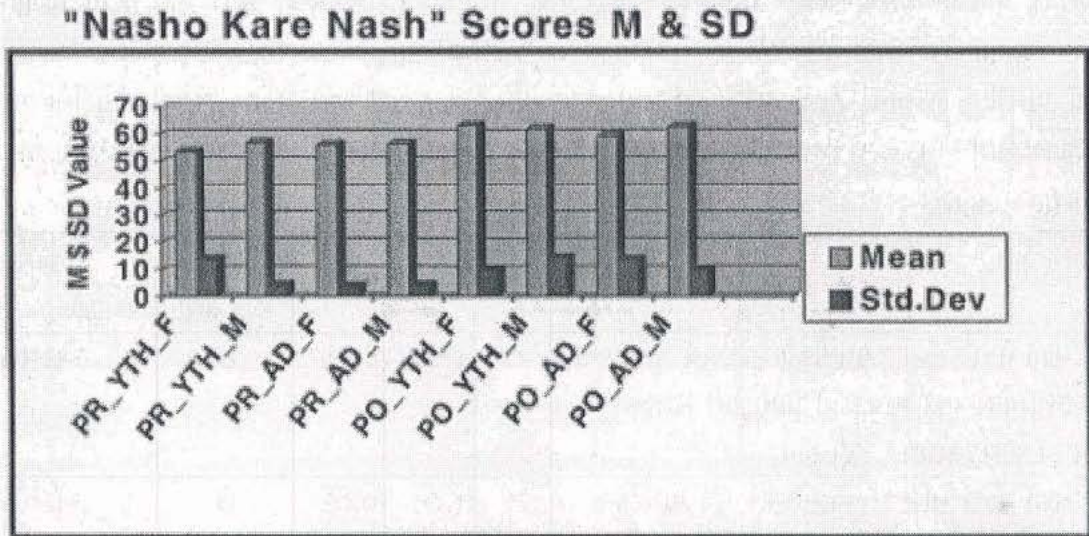
નમુનો

માપદંડ ચલો	યુવતીઓ	યુવાનો	ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રી	ઉંમરલાયક પુરૂષ	કુલ
પુર્વ કસોટી	૨૫	૨૫	૨૫	૨૫	૧૦૦
પ્રયોગ અંતેની કસોટી	૨૫	૨૫	૨૫	૨૫	૧૦૦
પૂર્વ કસોટી	૫૦	૫૦	૫૦	૫૦	૨૦૦

સાધનોની રચના અને ઉપયોગ

- માહિતી એકત્રીત કરવા નીચેના જેવા સાધનોનો ઉપયોગ કરેલ છે.
- લગતા “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માપદંડ રચના કરવા સંદર્ભ પુસ્તકોનું વાંચન.
- એમ. બી. સુચના સર્વેનું વાંચન.
- કમ્પ્યુટરમાં સોફ્ટવેર જેવા કે પાવર પોઈન્ટ, વર્ડ જેવા સોફ્ટવેરોનો તેમજ હાર્ડવેરનો ઉપયોગ અને એન્કાર્ટાનો ઉપયોગ કરવો.
- સંકલ્પનાઓ સ્પષ્ટ કરવા અને પૂર્વ થયેલ સંશોધનો માટે સૌ પ્રથમ સંદર્ભ સાહિત્યનું વાંચન, તેમજ સાધનોના ઉપયોગની યોજના પ્રમાણેના અન્ય સાધનોનો ઉપયોગ કર્યો.
- ચોક્કસ સમસ્યાઓનું સ્વરૂપ નિર્ધારણ કર્યું.
- હેતુલક્ષી માહિતીની નોંધ કરી. તે માટે “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માટે ભવાઈ માટેનું ગામ નક્કી કર્યું. સ્થળ અને સમય નક્કી કર્યો, જરૂરી સંમતિઓ મેળવી.
- “નશો નોતરે નાશ” માપદંડ માટે યુવાનો અને યુવતીઓ તથા ઉંમર લાયક સ્ત્રીઓ અને પુરૂષો નમુનાનું ઉંમર આધારે વર્ગીકરણ કર્યું જેથી મળે પ્રાપ્તિકોને આધારે વચ્ચે તુલના કરી શકાય.
- “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ભવાઈ રજૂ કરી.
- “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ભવાઈ માપદંડ અને અભિપ્રાયવલીની રચના કરી.
- “નશો નોતરે નાશ” ભવાઈ રજૂઆતને અંતે માપદંડ અને અભિપ્રાય ભરાવ્યાં. ભવાઈ રજૂઆતને અંતે માપદંડ અને અભિપ્રાય કરાવ્યાં. ભવાઈ લેખપત્રના માળખા પ્રમાણે માહિતી વર્ગીકૃત કરી.
- અંતે સક્ષિપ્તસાર અને ભાવિ સૂચનો કર્યાં.

માહિતીનું વર્ગીકરણ : ગ્રાફ ૧



ટેબલ : ૧ નમુનાની સંખ્યા, મધ્યક, પ્રમાણિત વિચલન અને પ્રમાણભૂલના માપો, પૂર્વ યુવક-યુવતીઓ તથા ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ અને પુરૂષો તેમજ પ્રયોગોને અંતે યુવક-યુવતીઓ તથા ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ અને પુરૂષો તેમજ પ્રયોગોને અંતે યુવક-યુવતીઓ તથા ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ અને પુરૂષોના માપો દર્શાવતો કોઠો.

૧	વિવિધ ચલો	સંખ્યા Valid N	મધ્યક Mean	પ્ર.વિ. Std.Dev	પ્રમાણિત ભૂલ Standard Error
૨	PR_YTH_ પૂર્વ કસોટી યુવતીઓ	૨૫	૫૯.૪૦	૧૩.૮૮	૨.૭૮
૩	PR_YTH_ પૂર્વ કસોટી યુવાનો	૨૫	૫૬.૫૬	૩.૯૩	૦.૭૯
૪	PR_AD_ પૂર્વ કસોટી ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ	૨૫	૫૫.૬૮	૩.૪૬	૦.૬૯
૫	PR_AD_ પૂર્વ કસોટી ઉંમરલાયક પુરુષો	૨૫	૫૬.૧૬	૪.૨૩	૦.૮૫
૬	PR_YTH_F પ્રયોગ અંતે કસોટી યુવતીઓ	૨૫	૬૨.૯૬	૧૦.૦૨	૨.૦૦
૭	PR_YTH_M પ્રયોગ અંતે કસોટી યુવાનો	૨૫	૬૧.૬૮	૧૪.૧૩	૨.૮૩
૮	PR_AD_F પ્રયોગ અંતે કસોટી ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ	૨૫	૫૮.૯૨	૧૩.૮૩	૨.૭૭
૯	PR_AD_M પ્રયોગ અંતે કસોટી ઉંમરલાયક પુરુષો	૨૫	૬૨.૩૬	૯.૮૨	૧.૯૬

ઉપરોક્ત ટેબલ અને ગ્રાફ નં. ૧ માં આધારે વિવિધ માટો દર્શાવેલ છે. પ્રથમ સ્તંભમાં કોઠાની હારના ક્રમ દર્શાવેલ છે. તેના આધારે વિગત આ પ્રમાણે છે.

૧. તેમાં ત્રીજી હાર અને સાતમી હારમાં યુવતીઓની પૂર્વ કસોટી અને પ્રયોગ અંતેની કસોટીના મધ્યકો અને પ્ર.વિ.ના માપ અનુક્રમે ૫૯.૪૦ તથા ૬૨.૯૬ તેમજ ૧૩.૮૮ તથા ૧૦.૦૨ છે, જેમાં પ્રયોગ અંતે મધ્યક ઊંચો જોવા મળે છે.
૨. તેમાં ચોથી હાર અને આઠમી હારમાં યુવકોની પૂર્વ કસોટી અને પ્રયોગ અંતેની કસોટીના મધ્યકો અને પ્ર.વિ. ના માપ અનુક્રમે ૫૬.૫૬ તથા ૬૧.૬૮ તેમજ ૩.૯૩ તથા ૧૪.૧૩ છે, જેમાં પ્રયોગ અંતે મધ્યક ઊંચો જોવા મળે છે.
૩. તેમાં પાંચમી હાર અને નવમી હારમાં ઉંમરલાયક પુરુષોની પૂર્વ કસોટી અને પ્રયોગ અંતેની કસોટીના મધ્યકો અને પ્ર.વિ.ના માપ અનુક્રમે ૫૫.૬૮ તથા ૫૮.૯૨ તેમજ ૩.૪૬ તથા ૧૩.૮૩ છે, જેમાં પ્રયોગ અંતે મધ્યક ઊંચો જોવા મળે છે.
૪. તેમાં પાંચમી હાર અને નવમી હારમાં ઉંમરલાયક પુરુષોની પૂર્વ કસોટી અને પ્રયોગ અંતેની કસોટીના મધ્યકો અને પ્ર.વિ.ના માપ અનુક્રમે ૫૬.૧૬ તથા ૬૨.૩૬ તેમજ ૪.૨૩ તથા ૯.૮૨ છે, જેમાં પ્રયોગ અંતે મધ્યક ઊંચો જોવા મળે છે.

ઉત્કલ્પનાની ચકાસણી

ક્રમ	ઉત્કલ્પના	df	t	p	સાર્થક છે છે કે નથી	ઉત્કલ્પનાનો સ્વીકાર / અસ્વીકાર
૧	“નશો નોતરે નાશ” યુવતીઓ માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.	૨૪	૧.૯૨	૦.૨૫	છે	અસ્વીકાર
૨.	“નશો નોતરે નાશ” યુવાનો માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.	૨૪	૧.૭૮	૦.૦૯	છે	અસ્વીકાર
૩.	“નશો નોતરે નાશ” ઉંમરલાયક સ્ત્રીઓ માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.	૨૪	૧.૦૧	૦.૨૮	છે	અસ્વીકાર

૪.	“નશો નોતરે નાશ” ઉંમર લાયક પુરૂષો માટે પૂર્વ માપદંડના અને પ્રયોગ અંતે માપદંડના પ્રાપ્તકોની સરાસરી વચ્ચે સાર્થક તફાવત નહીં હોય.	૨૪	૧.૦૫	૦.૨૭	છે	અસ્વીકાર
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સંક્ષિપ્ત સાર :-

ઉપરોક્ત ઉત્કલ્પનાના કોષ્ટક જોતા ખ્યાલ આવે છે દરેક શૂન્ય ઉત્કલ્પનાનો અસ્વીકાર થાય છે, તેથી તપાવત જોવા મળે છે, દરેકમાં પી મૂલ્ય કરતાં ટી મૂલ્ય ઊંચું જોવા મળે છે તેથી એવું કહી શકાય કે ભવાઈનો વેશ ભજવ્યા પહેલાં જે કસોટી લીધી તેના કરતા ચારેય તુલનામાં ભવાઈ વેશ ભજવ્યા બાદ લીધેલ કસોટીના પ્રાપ્તકોની સરાસરી ઊંચી જોવા મળે છે, જે તફાવત સાર્થક છે. તેથી એવું કહી શકાય કે વ્યસન અંગે જાણકારીમાં વધારો થતો જોવા મળે છે. તેમજ તેના અભિપ્રાયો પણ હકારાત્મક જોવા મળ્યા છે.

સૂચનો :-

૧. ભવાઈ વેશથી સમાજને જાગૃત કરી શકાય છે, એ ખ્યાલને સમર્થન આપી શકાય.
૨. આ પ્રકારની રજૂઆત કરી પ્રાયોગિક સંશોધનનો અન્ય સમસ્યાઓ પર પણ હાથ ધરી શકાય.
૩. આ પ્રકારની રજૂઆત કરી પ્રાયોગિક સંશોધનનો અન્ય ગ્રામિણ અને શહેરી વિસ્તારોમાં પણ હાથ ધરી શકાય.
૪. ભવાઈ વેશ કરનારાઓને નિયમિત રોજગારી મળે, રાષ્ટ્રીય કામગીરીને ચાર ચાંદ લાગી જાય. તેથી તેમને લગતું સંશોધન હાથ ધરી શકાય.
૫. નશો કરનાર વ્યક્તિને રૂ. ૨૫,૦૦૦/- નો દંડ અને બે વર્ષની સજા થઈ જોઈએ એવો કાયદો કરવો જોઈએ.

સંદર્ભ સાહિત્ય :-

૧. પાંડુરંગ ગણેશ દેશપાંડે “અંગ્રેજી ગુજરાતી કોશ” ચોથી આવૃત્તિ ૧૯૭૪, યુનિ. ગ્રંથ નિર્માણ બોર્ડ.
૨. મોતીભાઈ પટેલ અને “સુક્ષ્મ અધ્યાપન અને અધ્યાપન” ભૂપેન્દ્ર ચૌહાણ તથા અન્ય પ્રથમ આવૃત્તિ ૧૯૯૬-૯૭ બી.એસ.શાહ પ્રકાશન, અમદાવાદ.
૩. મનુભાઈ ટી. ત્રિવેદી “શિક્ષણમાં આંકડાશાસ્ત્ર” તૃતીય આવૃત્તિ, યુનિ. ગ્રંથ નિર્માણ બોર્ડ-ગુજરાત રાજ્ય.
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૭. Buche M.B. (1974), "First Survey of Research in Education" N.C.E.R.T., New Delhi.
૮. વેશ વંશ જનક દવે, અમદાવાદ
૯. SPSS Computer.

विगत सदी के पूर्वार्ध को भारतीय 'नारी-जागरण' एवं उत्तरार्ध को 'नारी-प्रगति' का युग कहा जा सकता है। स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारत में शिक्षा, व्यक्तिस्वातंत्र्य एवं आर्थिक आत्मनिर्भरता से नारी, जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में पुरुष के साथ कदम-से-कदम मिलाकर चली ही नहीं है, कुछ क्षेत्रों में उससे आगे निकलकर उसने यह भी साबित कर दिया कि स्त्री एवं पुरुष के दिमाग में कोई अन्तर नहीं होता। दोनों में मानवीय गुणों का अंतर्निहित स्रोत विद्यमान होता है, जो परिवेश, अनुभव एवं अवसर के अनुसार अपनी पहचान बनाता है। नारी-प्रगति की दृष्टि से सन् १९७५ के बाद का समय अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। यही वह समय है, जब भारतीय नारी की स्थिति में अत्यधिक परिवर्तन हुआ है। संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघ द्वारा अंतरराष्ट्रीय महिला वर्ष की घोषणा, स्त्रियों की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए विभिन्न सर्वेक्षण एवं रिपोर्ट्स, 'स्टेट्स ऑफ विमेन इन इंडिया', 'नेशनल पर्सपेक्टिव प्लान', 'श्रमशक्ति' इत्यादि का बनना एवं उनका कार्यान्वयन, नेशनल कमीशन ऑफ विमेन तथा विभिन्न राज्यों में महिलाओं संबंधी आयोगों का बनना, महिला संगठन का गठन, बलात्कार, दहेज विरोधी कानून, महानगरों में घर की चार दीवारी से बाहर निकलकर अधिक से अधिक संख्या में महिलाओं द्वारा नौकरी करना, कार्यस्थलों का उत्पीड़न रोकने के लिए उच्चतम न्यायालय के आदेश पर समितियाँ बनाना एवं भूमंडलीकरण का प्रभाव, जनसंचार माध्यमों द्वारा स्त्रियों की समस्या पर ध्यान केन्द्रित करने से नारी की सदियों पुरानी छवि बदल गयी। स्वयं नारी भी अपनी इस परिवर्तित छवि को स्वीकार कर आत्मविश्वास से जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में अपने कदम बढ़ाने लगी।

आशारानी वोरा के अनुसार "समाज के निर्माण में स्त्रियों की भागीदारी महत्वपूर्ण होती है। किसी समाज के स्तर का आकलन इसी बात से किया जाता है कि उसमें स्त्रियों की स्थिति क्या है?"^१ आधुनिकता ने स्त्रियों को पहले से थोड़ी अधिक जगह, थोड़ी अधिक स्वीकृति जरूर दी है। और बीसवीं सदी में तो महिलाएँ खूब मुखर हुईं और उन विषयों पर भी वे खुलकर बोलीं जो अब तक उनके लिए वर्जित थे। आधुनिकता ने इसे अपनी जरूरत कहा। गत सदी में औरतों के मुद्दे संस्कृति और आधुनिकता की बहस में खूब उलझते-सुलझते रहे। हालाँकि, यह सच है कि अपवादों को छोड़कर वह अपनी भूमिका स्वयं कभी तय नहीं कर सकी। स्त्री की सबसे बड़ी त्रासदी यही है कि उसकी भूमिका हमेशा ही अपनी जरूरतों को ध्यान में रखकर घर में पुरुष या समाज में व्यवस्था तय करती है।"^२ यहीं से आरंभ होती है स्त्री-विमर्श की कथा।

महिला-लेखन का महत्व प्रतिपादित करते हुए लेखिका प्रभा खेतान का कहना है कि, "स्त्री के अनुभवों की अभिव्यक्ति कुछ विशेष और अलग रंगों और रेखाओं की पहचान है। कम से कम कुछ तो ऐसा अखोजा रहा है, जिसे केवल औरत ही खोज सकती है। कुछ तो ऐसा होगा जो बिल्कुल हम स्त्रियों का निजी सच होगा, हमारा अपना भोगा हुआ, जिया हुआ सच।" "दो उपन्यास और नारी का आत्मसंघर्ष" शीर्षक निबंध में वह लिखती हैं, "स्त्री-लेखन और पुरुष-लेखन में फर्क होता है और रहेगा..... क्योंकि स्त्री और पुरुष आज भी इस पितृसत्तात्मक समाज में जैविक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक धरातल पर भिन्न हैं।"^३ "स्त्री-लेखन का एक और महत्वपूर्ण उद्देश्य स्त्री की विभिन्न भूमिकाओं के बारे में मानवसमाज को परिचय देना है, जीवन के उन अँधेरे कानों पर भी प्रकाश डालना है, जिसकी पीड़ा स्त्रियों ने सदियों से झेली है।"^४

महिलाओं द्वारा उपन्यास-लेखन का आरंभ उन्नीसवीं सदी के अंतिम दशक में हुआ। तब से लेकर स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काल में सातवें दशक तक महिला उपन्यासकारों की सृजन-प्रक्रिया अपेक्षाकृत मंथरगति से चलती रही, परंतु तत्पश्चात् असंख्य लेखिकाओं ने उपन्यास-लेखन के क्षेत्र में प्रवेश किया। बीसवीं सदी के आठवें दशक में राजेन्द्र यादव ने तो यहाँ तक कह दिया कि, "इस समय तो सारा कथा-क्षेत्र प्रायः नारियों के हाथ में है, इसलिए उनसे प्रत्याशाएँ भी सबसे अधिक हैं।"^५ गत सदी के सातवें दशक से अनेक उपन्यास लेखिकाओं ने समकालीन परिवेश उसकी विभिन्न समस्याएँ एवं उनसे संघर्षरत चेतनाशील भारतीय नारी का अपनी रचनाओं

में चित्रण किया है। इनमें शिवानी, कृष्णा सोबती, उषा प्रियंवदा, मन्मू भंडारी, शशिप्रभा शास्त्री से उपन्यास-लेखन का जो दौर आरंभ हुआ उनमें मेहरुनिसा परवेज, ममता कालिया, कृष्णा अग्निहोत्री, मृदुला गर्ग, मंजुल भगत, निरुपमा सेवती, कुसुम अंसल, दीप्ति खंडेलवाल, राजी सेठ, नासिरा शर्मा, प्रभा खेतान, ऋता शुक्ल, मैत्रेयी पुष्पा, चित्रा मुद्गल, अलका सरावगी, गीतांजलिश्री, चन्द्रकान्ता, जया जादवानी, क्षमा शर्मा, उषा यादव, प्रतिभा डाबर, सुषम बेदी, मृणाल पाण्डेय, मधु कांकरिया, लवलीन, जयंति इत्यादि नाम जुड़ते चले गए। इन सभी लेखिकाओं ने अपनी रचनाओं में समयानुसार परिवर्तित सोच एवं स्थिति के प्रति जागरूकता प्रदर्शित की है। इनके उपन्यास समय के सच्चे दस्तावेज हैं। इन लेखिकाओं की सफलता के विषय में सत्यकेतु सांकृत ने सही कहा है “एक नारी, नारी-समाज की समस्याओं को जितने अच्छे ढंग से प्रस्तुत कर सकती है, शायद पुरुष नहीं, यही कारण है कि इन लेखिकाओं को अपने समाज, अपने परिवेश को रूपायित करने में बहुत सफलता मिली है।”^६

बीसवीं सदी के अंतिम दो दशकों में महिला कथाकारों की जो रचनाएँ हमारे सामने आईं वे निश्चित रूप से अपनी पूर्ववर्ती रचनाओं से भिन्न हैं। इनमें कुछ ऐसे तीखे, ज्वलंत अंतर्विरोधों, विरोधाभासों, प्रश्नों को उठाया गया है जिससे महिला लेखन की एक अलग पहचान बननी शुरू हुई है। क्या नब्बे के दौर का महिलालेखन उससे पूर्ववर्ती अस्सी-सत्तर या साठ के दौरे के लेखन से भिन्न नहीं है? इसका कारण यह है कि इन दो दशकों के इनके लेखन में स्त्री के अधिकारों के प्रति अधिक सजगता, आक्रामकता, तीखापन एवं पितृसत्ता की तीव्र आलोचना हुई है। लेकिन क्या इस श्रृंखला की कड़ियों का आरंभ महादेवी वर्मा के लेखन से नहीं होता? उपन्यासलेखन न सही लेकिन महादेवीजीने भारतीय नारी की समस्या का विवेचन करके भारतीय नारी-जीवन के प्रति अपनी चिंता, ईमानदारी एवं प्रतिबद्धता का परिचय तो अवश्य दिया है। महादेवी वर्मा ने कितना सही कहा है कि, “हमें न किसी पर जय चाहिए, न किसी से पराजय, न किसी पर प्रभुत्व चाहिए, न किसी पर प्रभुता केवल अपना वह स्थान, वे स्वत्व चाहिए जिनका पुरुषों के निकट कोई उपयोग नहीं है, परन्तु जिनके बिना हम समाज का उपयोगी अंग बन नहीं सकेंगी।”^७

बीसवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम दशक के ऊषःकाल में हिन्दी की महिला उपन्यासकारों की सूची में जुड़नेवाला एक विशेष उल्लेखनीय नाम है डॉ. प्रभा खेतान का जिन्होंने बदलते हुए जीवन-संदर्भ में नारी की बदली हुई मानसिकता के साथ जुड़ी हुई भारतीय नारी की समस्याओं को केन्द्र में रखकर अपने औपन्यासिक संसार का सृजन किया है। सोच और सृजन के साथ गहरी संलग्नता प्रभा खेतान की विशेष पहचान है। फ्रेंच भाषा की महान लेखिका सीमोन द बोउवार की नारी मुक्ति आह्वान की पुस्तक ‘द सेकण्ड सेक्स’ को ‘स्त्री-उपेक्षिता’ शीर्षक से प्रस्तुत करके अपनी पहचान करानेवाली प्रभा खेतान अपनी औपन्यासिक कृतियों द्वारा इस दशक के महत्वपूर्ण उपन्यासकार के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हो गई हैं।

प्रभा खेतान के उपन्यास महानगरीय परिवेश के साथ जुड़े अमीर वर्ग की, विशेष रूप से मारवाडी परिवार की समस्याएँ तथा घुटती-बिलखती एवं विद्रोह करती नारी का चित्रण करते हैं। प्रभा खेतान के उपन्यासों में ‘आओ पेपे घर चलें’ (१९९०), ‘तालाबंदी’ (१९९२) ‘अग्निसंभवा’, ‘एड्स’, ‘छिन्नमस्ता’ (१९९३), ‘अपने-अपने चेहरे’ (१९९४), ‘पीली आंधी’ (१९९६) एवं ‘स्त्री पक्ष’ (१९९९) उल्लेखनीय हैं।

‘आओ पेपे घर चलें’ डॉ. प्रभा खेतान की प्रथम औपन्यासिक कृति है। “मूलतः स्त्री पर केंद्रित यह उपन्यास अमेरिका की पृष्ठभूमि पर लिखा गया है।”^८ इसमें नारी-मन की संवेदनाओं की सुंदर अभिव्यक्ति के साथ अमरीकन नारी की बेचैनी, संत्रास एवं अकेलेपन की पीड़ा से भी हमारा परिचय होता है। उपन्यास लेखिका डॉ. प्रभा खेतान ही यदि इस उपन्यास की प्रभा है तो इस उपन्यास की कथा ‘कथा’ नहीं, परन्तु विश्व के नारी-जीवन की नियति का जीवन्त दस्तावेज है। भारतीय समाज में नारी की स्थिति एवं वैदिक युग से लेकर आज तक उसने तय की हुई यात्रा से तो हमारा परिचय है ही, परन्तु यह उपन्यास अमरीकन नारी की पीड़ा से हमें परिचित कराता है। इस उपन्यास की कथा प्रभा के अमरीका निवास के अनुभवों पर आधारित है। इसके सभी नारी-पात्रों की अपनी-अपनी नियति है। सीमोन के अनुसार “हर औरत की अपनी कहानी होती है, अपना अनुभव होता है, पर अनुभवों का आधार सामाजिक संरचना तथा स्थिति होती है। परिस्थितियाँ व्यक्ति की नियन्ता होती हैं। अलगाव में जीती हुई स्त्रियों की भी एक सामूहिक आवाज़ तो होती ही है।”^९ अतः आर्थिक रूप से स्वतंत्र नारी हो या पति और पिता के वैभव को अपनी इच्छानुसार भोगने की सुविधाप्राप्त नारी हो,

नारी-मुक्ति की कामना रखनेवाली विश्व की नारियाँ विभिन्न रूपों में पुरुष शोषण के खिलाफ आँसू बहाती हैं। आँसू बहाती औरत न अमरीकी होती है, न भारतीय, वह सिर्फ एक औरत होती है। पर सिर्फ आँसू बहाना ही औरत कि नियति नहीं है। हर पुरानी पीढ़ी की औरत से आधुनिक औरत एक कदम आगे बढ़ाती हुई आज अपने अधिकारों के प्रति, अपने जीवन की सार्थकता के प्रति, समाज में अपने स्थान के प्रति एवं अपनी अस्मिता के लिए जाग्रत होती जा रही है। इस उपन्यास की आइलिन भारत जैसे गरीब देश की औरत को भीख स्वीकार करके आत्म-सम्मान बेचने से बचना चाहती है और प्रभा ने एक अनजान देश में भी आत्मसम्मान से जीना सीखा। प्रभा अमेरिका जैसे वैभव सम्पन्न देश में लाखों डालर कमाने के बदले अपनी जमीन पर लौट आना चाहती है। वह अपने समाज में आकर जहाँ लड़की दान की वस्तु समझी जाती है, एक लड़ाई लड़ना चाहती है ताकि उसकी छोटी बहनों को, अपनी बेटियों को वह सब सहना न पड़े। औरत की अनेक पीढ़ियों तक चलनेवाली एक बहुत लम्बी लड़ाई में अपना दाय देकर अपना जीवन सार्थक बनाना चाहती है। यदि नारी को मानव-जाति में अपनी अलग पहचान बनानी है, अपने पृथक अस्तित्व को सार्थकता प्रदान करनी है, मानवीय गरिमा प्राप्त करनी है तो निश्चय ही यह उपन्यास मुक्ति की तलाश में भटकती नारी के लिए पथ-प्रदर्शक बन सकता है।

प्रभा खेतान का दूसरा उपन्यास 'ताला बन्दी' मारवाड़ी व्यापारी घरानों के परिवेश को, नारी से थोड़ा अलग हटकर रेखांकित करते हुए श्रमिक समस्या का चित्रण करता है। लेखिका यह दर्शाना चाहती है कि समय के साथ इन घरानों में भी बदलाव आया है। परम्परागत मानसिकता के स्थान पर नयी सोच एवं प्रगतिशीलता ने जन्म लिया है। 'अग्निसंभव' उपन्यास 'हंस' पत्रिका में छपा था। उपन्यास की नायिका आइ.वी. चीनी महिला है, जिसे अपने देश से अटूट प्रेम है। मामूली किसान की बेटी आइ.वी. जीवनसंघर्षों से निखर कर किस प्रकार हांगकांग ब्राँच मेनेजर बन जाती है यह इस उपन्यास में दर्शाया है। "लेखिका ने वैश्विक धरातल पर स्त्री के संघर्ष को मुखर किया है। वे बताना चाहती हैं कि स्त्री में एक दैवी शक्ति है। यदि वह कुछ करने की ठान ले तो वह मारवाड़ी पारंपरिक घर की स्त्री हो या चीन की मामूली किसान की बेटी, सफलता के परचम लहरा सकती है।"^{१०}

'एड्स उपन्यास एक लंबी कहानी है जिसे लेखिका ने उपन्यास कहा है। एक सफल दाम्पत्य जीवन में पति के मित्र से दोस्ती के फलस्वरूप पत्नी एड्सग्रस्त हो जाती है, परंतु पति अपनी पत्नी की इस गलती को माफ कर देता है। इस उपन्यास में वैवाहिक जीवन की त्रासदी एवं वैश्विक स्तर पर इस बीमारी से उत्पन्न आपसी संबंधों पर दरारों का चित्रण किया गया है।

वर्तमान दशक के मन-मस्तिष्क को झकझोरनेवाले उपन्यासों में 'छिन्नमस्ता' उपन्यास उल्लेखनीय है। इस उपन्यास का शीर्षक एक मिथक पर आधारित है। पौराणिक कथा के अनुसार छिन्नमस्ता देवी अपना ही कटा हुआ सिर अपने बायें हाथ में लिये, मुँह खोले और जीभ निकाले हुए अपने ही गले से निकली हुई रक्तधारा को चाटती है, जिसके हाथ में खड्ग है एवं गले में मुंडों की माला धारण की है और जो दिगम्बर स्वरूपा है। इस उपन्यास का केन्द्रीय पात्र प्रिया है, जिसके माध्यम से लेखिका ने नारी के छिन्नमस्ता स्वरूप को प्रस्तुत किया है। प्रिया का संघर्ष है अपने परिवेश एवं स्त्री को तुच्छ 'वस्तु' समझनेवाले समाज से। प्रिया आधुनिक नारी की पहचान है जो समाज एवं परम्परागत जड़ मूल्यों को चुनौती देकर सक्षम रूप से अपनी पहचान बनाती है।

पुरुष द्वारा नारी का शोषण अनेक रूपों में सदियों से होता रहा है। आधुनिक युग में नारी स्वयं जागरूक होकर अपनी स्थिति पर सोच-समझकर संघर्ष कर रही है, परंतु आज भी नारी की स्थिति में अपेक्षित बदलाव दृष्टिगत नहीं होता। इसलिए आज भी नारी को छिन्नमस्ता देवी का रौद्र रूप धारण करके अपने परिवेश एवं समाज से संघर्ष करनेकी आवश्यकता है। 'छिन्नमस्ता' उपन्यास की प्रिया अपने मारवाड़ी समाज के पुरुषों की संकुचित मानसिकता का शिकार है। केवल मानसिक ही नहीं, शारीरिक रूप से भी वह अपने भाई द्वारा छली गयी थी। पति नरेंद्र ने उसे उड़ने के लिए कहा अवश्य, परंतु अपनी बतायी सीमा के भीतर ही उड़ने की अनुमति दी। नरेंद्र ने उसे आपसी ईमानदारी, वफादारी, प्यार, समर्पण की दुहाई दी थी परंतु प्रिया इन शब्दों को भ्रम कहती है, "औरत को यह सब इसलिए सिखाया जाता है कि वह इन शब्दों के चक्रव्यूह से कभी नहीं निकल पाये ताकि युगों से चली आती आहुति की परम्परा को कायम रखे।"^{११} प्रिया अपनी अम्मा और भाभी की घुटन-भरी जिंदगी के इतिहास की तारीख बदलना चाहती थी और सचमुच उसने अपने जीवन की तारीख बदल दी। आधुनिक नारी की परिवर्तित मानसिकता एवं पुरुष की वही पुरानी कल्पना के कारण ही स्त्री-पुरुषों के संबंधों में विघटन का आरम्भ होता है। आधुनिक चेतना -सम्पन्न नारी के विषय में प्रिया कहती है, "हजारों सालों से पुरुष की कल्पना

वहीं की वहीं ठहरी हुई है बल्कि हम आधुनिकाओं की भूमिका की सूची में नित्य नयी भूमिका जुड़ जाती है। पुरुष के क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ती हुई हम, यह क्यों नहीं स्वीकार पाती कि कुछ पाने के लिए कुछ खोना पड़ता है।^{१२} और प्रिया ने आर्थिक स्वावलंबन से आत्मविश्वास प्राप्त करके अपनी एक अलग पहचान बनाई। बचपन से अपने परिवार की एक - एक प्रवृत्ति को उसने देखा, भोगा था और उसके प्रति विद्रोह की जो भावना जाग्रत हुई थी वह अब वापस सिमटना नहीं चाहती थी।

प्रभा खेतान का यह उपन्यास नारी के आर्थिक स्वातंत्र्य, परम्परा एवं मूल्यों के प्रति विद्रोह एवं आधुनिक दाम्पत्य-संबंधों की सही पहचान द्वारा नारी को नयी दिशा प्रदान करने का संकेत है। गोपालराय के शब्दों में “अपने लघु कलेवर के बावजूद यह आधुनिक नारी की मानसिकता का एक प्रामाणिक और अनुभूति-गज्ञिन दस्तावेज है।”^{१३} यह उपन्यास नारी को अपनी अन्तर्निहित शक्तियों को पहचान कर अपनी मुठ्ठीभर जमीन पर चेतना का सिंचन करके आगामी पीढ़ी को अधिक सशक्त एवं अधिक ईमानदारी से अपने परिवेश एवं समाज से संघर्ष करने की ओर दिशा-निर्देश करता है।

‘अपने-अपने चेहरे’ प्रभा खेतान की आत्मकथा का अधूरा अंश है जो अमीर घराने के मारवाडी परिवार की विसंगतियों एवं समस्याओं को यथार्थ रूप से प्रस्तुत करता है। प्रभा खेतान ने इस उपन्यास में श्री राजेंद्र गोयनका नामक उद्योगति, उनका भरा-पूरा परिवार एवं उनकी बिजनेस पार्टनर ही नहीं, उनसे घनिष्ठ संबंध रखनेवाली, अपने पैरों पर खड़ी स्वावलंबी ‘दूसरी औरत’ रमा की कथा के माध्यम से नारी-शोषण की सुदीर्घ परम्परा का चित्रण किया है। राजेंद्र गोयनका सामाजिक बाधाओं के कारण रमा से विवाह नहीं कर सकते परंतु उसे परिवार के एक सदस्य के रूप में मान्यता दिलवाना चाहते हैं। परिवार न तो इस संबंध को सहज रूप से स्वीकार करता है और न ही रमा को महत्व देना या उससे सलाह लेना पसंद करता है। परिणामस्वरूप उनके पारिवारिक संबंधों में कड़वाहट आ जाती है। आरंभ में इस संबंध का जोर-शोर से विरोध करनेवाली मिसेज गोयनका भी शान्त होकर परिवार के सारे सदस्यों को अपने पक्ष में कर लेती हैं। विपक्ष में रह जाते हैं मिस्टर गोयनका जो रमा की बैसाखी लेकर चलने को मजबूर हैं।

इस उपन्यास में अमीर घराने की दो-दो स्त्रियाँ गोयनका जैसे लोलुप पुरुष के शोषण का शिकार होती हैं, जिनकी करुण गाथा का प्रभा खेतान ने चित्रण किया है। मिसेज गोयनका अपने पति के दोहरेपन को अच्छी तरह पहचानती हैं। उपन्यास लेखिका के शब्द हैं “मिसेज गोयनका सोच रही थी अपने पति के दोहरेपन पर। जहाँ समाज होगा, लोग टोकेंगे, वहाँ वे जरूर मुझे लेकर जाएँगे।”^{१४} दूसरी और ‘दूसरी औरत’ रमा है जो पिछले पच्चीस वर्ष से मिस्टर गोयनका के साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं। परन्तु मिस्टर गोयनका के साथ अपने संबंध के लिए उसके पास कोई नाम नहीं है। वह सोचती है, “सड़े और उबाऊ पच्चीस साल के इस संबंध को क्या नाम दूँ - प्यार, आबसेशन, आदत ? क्यों नहीं छोड़ पाती मैं ? असुरक्षा, भय । किसका ?”^{१५} रमा न किसी की पत्नी है न मां, न किसी के घरकी बहू। अपने अस्तित्व की तलाश करती हुई रमा अपने को स्वावलंबी तो पाती है, परंतु सामाजिक संदर्भ में वह “बेचारी अकेली औरत” है।

राजेन्द्र गोयनका की शादीशुदा बेटी रीतू का जीवन भी ‘दूसरी औरत’ के कारण अभिशप्त है। रीतू पढ़ी लिखी आधुनिक औरत है होने के बावजूद उसके पति के जीवन में दूसरी औरत आती है, क्योंकि भारतीय समाज स्त्री को एक वस्तु के रूप में स्वीकार करता है। रीतू के अपने मायके आने पर उसी के परिवार की स्त्रियाँ उसे दोषी म्हरानी है। रमा और रीतू की समस्या से तनावग्रस्त होकर मिस्टर गोयनका की मौत होने पर रमा और रीतू के जीवन की समस्या का कोई अन्त नहीं। प्रभा खेतान ने इस उपन्यास में अमीर मारवाड़ी परिवार की समस्याओं को वाणी दी है। सत्यकेतु सांकृत के अनुसार “प्रेमचंद को उपन्यास सम्राट इसीलिए कहा जाता है क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने उपन्यासों में अपने ही परिवेश को अपने कथानक की पृष्ठभूमि बनाया है। प्रेमचंद के विपरीत प्रभाजी एक अमीर मारवाड़ी परिवार का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं और उन्होंने भी अपने उपन्यासों में अपने ही वर्ग के कथानक को लिया है अतः उस वर्गकी समस्याओं को प्रस्तुत करने में उन्हें भी अदभुत सफलता मिली है।”^{१६}

प्रभा खेतान का ‘पीली आंधी’ उपन्यास गोपालराय के अनुसार “इस दशक के दो-तीन ही सर्वश्रेष्ठ उपन्यासों में परिगणनीय हैं।”^{१७} ‘पीली-आंधी’ उपन्यास मारवाड़ी परिवारों के जीविकोपार्जन के लिए अपने मूल स्थान से विस्थापित होकर बंगाल-बिहार तक पहुँचकर स्थापित होने की कोशिश में विभिन्न परिस्थितियों से जूझते एवं पीड़ित होते परिवार की कथा है। आवरण पृष्ठ पर उद्धृत

पंक्तियाँ इस उपन्यास का परिचय इन शब्दों में देती हैं, “इस उपन्यास में कोई एक परिवार नहीं, इसमें कुल हैं, कबीला है, संयुक्त परिवार है.... मगर सब कुछ टूटता हुआ, उड़ती हुई रेत के दूहों जैसे स्त्री पुरुष और उनके किरकिराते हुए रेतीले क्षण। तीन पीढ़ियों की स्त्रियाँ, चाची, बड़ी माँ और सोमा अपनी अपनी बात कहती हुई भी खामोशी की धुन्ध में खोती हुई। मगर एक चीज़ सबको जिन्दा रखती है, वह है प्रेम।”^{१८}

यह उपन्यास उस समय की गाथा है जब, भारत में अंग्रेजों का शासन था और ‘राजपूताना’ आधुनिक सुविधाओं से वंचित था। पति-पत्नी और दो छोटे-छोटे बच्चों का रंगटा परिवार सुजानगढ़ से धनबाद पहुँचता है। एक बेहतर जिन्दगी की तलाश में निकले हुए इन परिवारों की पीड़ा, दुःख-दर्द का प्रभा खेतान ने अत्यंत संवेदनशील एवं प्रभावशाली रूपसे चित्रण किया है। इस उपन्यास में लेखिका ने सम्पन्न मारवाड़ी समाज की अंध परम्पराओं, संस्कारों में जकड़ी, टूटती-बिखरती पारिवारिक जिन्दगी का जो चित्रण किया है, वह लेखिका के यथार्थ अनुभव एवं कल्पनाशीलता का सुभग समन्वय जान पड़ता है। प्रभा खेतान के उपन्यासों के एक विशेषता उनकी लेखनी से प्रसूत विभिन्न एवं सजीव पात्रों का निर्माण है। म्हालीराम और पन्नालाल सुराणा जैसे व्यवसायकुशल पात्रों के साथ सुन्दरलाल सेठ, गौतम सेठ, लता भाभी, रेखा बाई, निमली बाई, सोमा, ताई (पदमावती) और नन्दलाल सुराणा जैसे विभिन्न पात्रों में सोमा और ताई का चरित्रांकन अदभुत है। दोनों ऊपर से एक फिर भी भिन्न है। दोनों का जीवन समान लगते हुए भी एक-दूसरे से एकदम विपरीत है। प्रेम की त्रासदी का शिकार दोनों परंतु एक ने परम्परा और संस्कारों की जकड़न में उसे केवल सहलाया जबकि दूसरी ने विद्रोह किया, परम्परागत संस्कारों को चुनौती दी एवं विवाहित होने के बावजूद एक अन्य विवाहित पुरुष से प्यार करके उसके बच्चे की माँ बनी और रंगटा परिवार की दहलीज को लांघकर चली गई। सोमा और गौतम तथा सुजीत सेन और चित्रा के दाम्पत्य जीवन की त्रासदी का मार्मिक चित्रण करने में लेखिका को सफलता मिली है। सोमा और चित्रा के पात्र द्वारा लेखिका ने आधुनिक नारी की पहचान करायी है। इस उपन्यास के विषय में गोपाल राय का कथन दृष्टव्य है “पीली आंधी में प्रेम की संवेदना एक अन्तर्धारा के रूप में बहती दिखाई देती है। ताई जैसे चट्टानी व्यक्तित्व के भीतर रिसती हुई प्रेम की संवेदना का अंकन तो अदभुत है। प्रभा प्रेम के अंकन में सुरेंद्र वर्मा की तरह काम व्यापार की चाशनी नहीं डालती, न ही कृष्णा सोबती और मृदुला गर्ग की तरह ‘बोल्डनेस’ का झूठा प्रभाव पैदा करने की कोशिश करती हैं। प्रभा की प्रेम संवेदना का एक नया संसार है, कामशास्त्र का नया पन्ना नहीं।”^{१९}

‘स्त्री पक्ष’ प्रभा खेतान का अंतिम उपन्यास है। इसमें मारवाड़ी एकल परिवार की वृंदा मासिक धर्म, यौन शुचिता, विवाह इत्यादि पर गंभीरता से सोचती है। फिर सुमित से वृंदा का विवाह बच्चे, तलाक एवं फिर एक कम उम्र पेंटर आर्जव का जीवन में प्रवेश परंतु उसके साथ जाने से इन्कार-संक्षेप में कहें तो स्त्री स्वातंत्र्य के नाम पर स्त्री क्या चाहती है इसे लेखिका स्पष्ट नहीं कर सकी हैं।

प्रभा खेतान के सभी उपन्यासों का एक महत्वपूर्ण आकर्षण उनकी भाषा है। उनकी भाषा अत्यन्त सरल एवं बोधगम्य है। साहित्यिकता का निर्वाह करते हुए बोलचाल की भाषा में प्रस्तुत लेखिका के सभी उपन्यास पाठकों को बरबस अपनी ओर खींच लेते हैं।

प्रभा खेतान के नारीपात्र चाहे वह प्रभा हो या प्रिया, रमा हो या सोमा या चित्रा, आज की नारी को अपने परिवेश एवं समाज से संघर्ष करने की प्रेरणा देते हैं। उनके उपन्यास मारवाड़ी समाज की व्यथा-कथा का अत्यंत प्रामाणिक, संवेदनशील एवं जीवन्त चित्र प्रस्तुत करते हैं। “सदी के अंतिम दशक की महत्वपूर्ण लेखिका प्रभा खेतान ने अपने उपन्यासों में सामाजिक, आर्थिक वस्तुस्थिति को स्थापित करने की चेष्टा की है। उनके सामने मुख्य रूप से स्त्री अस्मिता का यथार्थ बोध है, लेकिन स्त्री संदर्भ जैसे आर्थिक पहलुओं पर भी उन्होंने गहराई से प्रकाश डाला है। इस संदर्भ में वे स्त्री को एक नई दिशा देने में सफल हुई हैं।”^{२०}

आज की भारतीय नारी के सामने अनेक सैद्धान्तिक, तार्किक एवं व्यावहारिक समस्याएँ मुँहबाँँ खड़ी हैं। स्त्री-विमर्श के प्रश्न अनेक आयामी हैं। एक लम्बी पुरानी स्थापित व्यवस्था को तोड़कर जनसंघर्ष से जुड़कर कदम-कदम पर यथार्थ से मुठभेड़ करना नारी अस्मिता की पहचान का तकाजा है। “स्त्री-लेखन का सबसे अहम् दायित्व है स्त्री पाठिकाओं को झकझोरना, उनके परम्परित जर्जरित संस्कारों को तोड़ना, जिनमें वे बुरी तरह से कैद हैं। इसके बिना स्त्री समाज की सोच नहीं बदल सकती।”^{२१} विकास की प्रक्रिया में सवालें का सिलसिला चलता रहता है और जवाब कभी अंतिम सत्य नहीं होते। पिछले कुछेक वर्षों में जिस तरह का लेखन स्त्री

लेखिकाओं की कलम से निकला है, वह इतना सशक्त, क्रांतिधर्मी, चेतना सम्पन्न 'फीडबैक' वाला है जिससे स्त्री समाज की चेतना विकसित होगी, वह स्त्री के हितों की सुरक्षा करनेवाला, उन्हें साहस, आत्मशक्ति, विवेक, विश्वचेतना प्रदान करनेवाला सिद्ध होगा। स्वतंत्रता का अहसास बाहरी नहीं, भीतरी होता है। नारी के मानसिक क्षितिज का विस्तार करने की, जागने की, परम्परा तथा मूल्यों, परिस्थितियों को अपने संदर्भ में समझने की कहानी यहीं से शुरू होती है।

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३ हंस जून १९९४/६५, जगदीश्वर चतुर्वेदी, स्त्रीवादी साहित्य विमर्श पृष्ठ १९० से उद्धृत

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१२ वही पृष्ठ ७४

१३ समीक्षा, अप्रैल-जून, १९९३, छिन्नमस्ता पुस्तक समीक्षा, पृष्ठ १०

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१५ वही पृष्ठ ७४

१६ समीक्षा, अप्रैल-जून, १९९६ पृष्ठ १८

१७ समीक्षा, अक्तुबर-दिसम्बर, १९९७, पृष्ठ १०

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२१ राकेशकुमार, नारीवादी विमर्श, हिन्दी में स्त्री लेखन : दशा और दिशा पृष्ठ ४६

आदिवासी समाज में स्त्री-स्वतंत्रता की अवधारणा : बहुपतित्वयुक्त समाज के विशेष संदर्भ में

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प्रस्तावना :-

स्वतंत्र यानि स्व का तंत्र । विमेन्स लिब यानि स्त्री-स्वतंत्रता के इस आधुनिक दौर में यह देखना दिलचस्प है कि हजारों वर्ष पूर्व सभ्यता के शैशवकाल में आदिवासी स्त्री कितनी स्वतंत्र थी । यह एक विचित्र सत्य है कि जिन्हें हम जंगली और अलभ्य मानते हैं उन आदिवासियों ने अपनी स्त्रियों को कितनी स्वतंत्रता देने दी थी । आदिवासी समाज में स्त्री एक व्यक्ति है उतनी ही स्वतंत्र, उतनी ही सचेतन जितना कि पुरुष । वहाँ वह न तो दोगम श्रेणी की नागरिक है और न केवल उपभोग्य वस्तु या पुरुष के मनोरंजन का साधन । अपने मन और शरीर पर उसी का नियंत्रण है । इसीलिये अपने जीवन को गति और दिशा देने विषयक निर्णय भी वह स्वयं करती है । चूँकि वह केवल योनि (sex organ) मात्र नहीं है इसीलिये योनिशुचिता का मिथक उसके जीवन को समग्रता में घेर नहीं पाता है । प्रकृतिपुत्र आदिवासियों में न तो कन्या का जन्म अशुभ है और न ही कन्या द्वारा स्थापित विवाहपूर्व या विवाहेतर संबंध उसे कलंकित करते हैं । पति की दीर्घ आयु के लिये कोई विशिष्ट अनुष्ठान उसके लिये उसी प्रकार अनिवार्य नहीं है जैसे कि वे पुरुष के लिये अनिवार्य नहीं हैं । तलाक और वैधव्य सदृश विवाहित जीवन के परवर्ती पड़ाव उसकी दीप्ति को घुंघला नहीं कर पाते । स्त्री के जीवन में यदि कोई अनपेक्षित घटना घट जाय तो यह सहज समाज उसे अपने जीवन के परिष्कार का पूर्ण अवसर देता है बिना उसे कलंकित किये ।

चूँकि आदिम समाज में स्त्री पुरुष के समकक्ष है लगभग उसके जितनी ही स्वतंत्र है अतः समकक्ष स्थान पर आसीन स्त्री के लिये योनिशुचिता की अवधारणा भी नहीं है । यही स्त्री की स्वतंत्रता का मुख्य मूल स्रोत भी है ।

खस बहुपतित्वयुक्त आदिवासी समाज में स्त्री को प्राप्त स्वतंत्रता

उत्तर प्रदेश के देहरादून जिले में स्थित जान्सरबावर नामक प्रदेश में खस नामक विचित्र समुदाय रहता है वो महाभारत युग का जीवाश्म (फोसिल) प्रतीत होता है खस भारत की प्राचीन जनजाति है जो भारतीय परंपरा और इतिहास से जुड़ी हुई है । उनकी अपनी परंपराएँ और प्रथाएँ हैं जहाँ सभी भाई किसी स्त्री के पति हैं । विवाह सबसे बड़े भाई का होता है और व्यवहारतः अन्य सभी उसके पति बन जाते हैं ।

जान्सरबावर में वयस्क होने के पूर्व कन्या देवी का चिन्ह मानी जाती है । चूँकि वहाँ किसी प्रकार का पर्दा नहीं है अतः लिंग पर आधारित अलगाव आंशिक है । युवा लड़के और लड़कियाँ मुक्त भाव से बातचीत और हंसीमजाक करते हैं । कृषि विषयक कार्यों तथा गाय और बकरी चराते समय वे साथ साथ कार्य करते हैं परंतु पानी इंधन और चारा लाने के लिये लड़की सदैव अपनी साथवालियों के साथ जाती है । दिन भर के कड़े श्रम के पश्चात् युवा लड़के और लड़कियाँ गांव के खुले मैदान - 'अंगना' में एकत्र होकर गाते हैं, नृत्य करते हैं, बीड़ी पीते हैं, बातकही करते हैं और अपना मन बहलाव करते हैं । यह विशेषाधिकार केवल युवाओं के लिये उन्मुक्त है । रवाइन जौनपुर में अंगवा के सदृश 'रिंगना' होता है । रिंगना एक लड़की का ढांचा होता है । जो एक खुले कमरे के समान दिखता है । जैसे जैसे लड़की बड़ी होती जाती है वह रिंगना के जीवन की दर्शक बनती जाती है जो मेले और त्योहारों के अवसर पर जीवन के स्पर्दनों से जीवन्त हो उठता है । त्योहार और मेले के अवसरों पर युवतियाँ मुक्तभावसे गांव और पड़ोस के युवा लड़कों से मेलमिलाप करती हैं । कुछ मामलों में ऐसी ही भेंटों के समय विकसित मित्रता विवाह के रूप में भी परिणित हो सकती है और लड़की का यार उसके पिता से उसका हाथ मांगता है । कभी कभी ऐसी भेंटों में हुई जान पहचान के आधार पर लड़की किसी विशिष्ट लड़के से विवाह के लिये आग्रह भी करती है । ऐसी भेंटों की परिणिति वर्तमान विवाह के भंग की और पुनः विवाह की भी हो सकती है । ये मुलाकातें एक स्त्री और

एक पुरुष में जोस्ती को सुगम भी बना सकती है। यह तब तक पूर्णतः वैयक्तिक और समाजस्वीकृत है जब तक वह स्त्री पुरुष संबंध के स्थापित मानदंडों का उल्लंघन नहीं करती। यह लोगों के जीवन में कितनी समा गयी है और इसे कितना पवित्र माना जाता है इसका संकेत यार के नाम को बांयी बांह पर गुदवाने की तेजी से बढ़ती प्रवृत्ति द्वारा समझा जा सकता है। ऐसी भेंटों में विवाहपूर्व काम से बचा जाता है। पर छिटपुट रूप में यदि ऐसा हो ही जाय तो समाज में ऐसे मामलों को अनदेखा कर आगे बढ़ जाने की प्रवृत्ति है।

कामविषयक स्वतंत्रता

व्यवस्था में खस स्त्री को विवाहपश्चात् मातृत्व बहुपतित्वयुक्त सामाजिक अपने दांपत्यजीवन में पतियों के साथ कामसंबंधों के निर्वाह में कोई स्वतंत्रता नहीं है। वरिष्ठता के क्रम का पूर्ण निर्वाह उसके लिये अनिवार्य है। और इसी क्रम के अनुरूप उसका कामजीवन गतिशील रहता है। पतियों के अलावा समुदाय के अन्य पुरुषों के साथ कामविषयक स्वतंत्रता का उपभोग वह जानसारबावर में प्रचलित नैतिकता के दोहरे मानदंडों के अनुसार दो स्तरों पर करती है। ध्यान्ती के रूप में अपने मायतों के घर रहते समय वह खिलंदडी चिडिया के समान उन्मुक्त रहती है। उसे अपने मनपसंद साथी के साथ इच्छानुसार बातचीत करने, हंसने, गाने और नृत्य करने की स्वतंत्रता के साथ ही यौनसंबंध स्थापित करने की स्वतंत्रता भी है। परंतु ठीक इसके विपरीत विवाह के पश्चात् रहन्ती के रूप में पतियों के घर में रहते समय निष्ठा में तनिक सी भी विचलन या व्यवहार में तनिक सी भी फिसलन पर कडा निषेध है। इस नियम का उल्लंघन करने पर या तो स्त्री को तलाक दे दिया जाता है या उसे इतना प्रतडित किया जाता है कि वह स्वयं ही घर छोड़कर चली जाय।

तलाक विषयक स्वतंत्रता

खस समाज में स्त्री को दांपत्य जीवन में सदाचार के कठोर नियमों का पालन करना होता है। यह सत्य है पर आदिवासी जीवनदर्शन में स्वतंत्रता की महत्ता की संगति में उन्हें तलाक या 'छूट' विषयक स्वतंत्रता दी गई है। इस पर्वतीय अंचल में सर्वाधिक अनूठे आभूषण धारण करनेवाली आभूषणप्रिय खस स्त्री अपने पति को इस आधार पर तलाक देने के लिये स्वतंत्र है कि उसके पति ने पर्याप्त आभूषण उसे नहीं दिये।

इसी के साथ स्वच्छन्दता पूर्वक मायतों के यहां रही हुई खस स्त्री बहुपतित्वयुक्त पारिवारिक व्यवस्था में पतियों से उकता जाने पर भी तलाक ले सकती है। ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न होने पर स्त्री अपने मायतों के यहां चली जाती है और वहीं रहती है। बाद में मायत ही तलाक की व्यवस्था करते हैं। यदि इसी बीच कोई नया मनपसंद पुरुष स्त्री खोज ले तो यह दायित्व नये पति का हो जाता है। और स्त्री अपने इच्छित साथी के साथ जीवन व्यतीत कर सकती है। पर स्त्री द्वारा तलाक लेने पर उसे अपने सारे आभूषण ससुराल में ही छोड़ने पड़ते हैं।

बहुपतित्वयुक्त दांपत्य में पतियों में विभाजन होने पर खस स्त्री को मनपसंद छोटे भाई के साथ रहने की स्वतंत्रता है पर वैसी स्थिति में बड़ा भाई विवाहभंग भी कर सकता है।

स्वतंत्रता के दृष्टिबिंदु से देखने पर कहा जा सकता है कि खस स्त्री कन्या के रूप में अबाध स्वतंत्रता का उपभोग करती है। परंतु बहुपतित्वयुक्त दांपत्य में अनेक बंधन उस पर रहते हैं। वैवाहिक कामजीवन समतुल्यता की धारणा द्वारा निर्देशित रहता है। अतः स्वतंत्रता वहाँ नहीं है और सदाचार की बलवती धारणा के कारण विवोह्तर संबंधों की स्वतंत्रता भी नहीं है। पर तलाक या छूट का अधिकार और पुनः विवाह की सुविधा के कारण रहन्ती के जीवन में एक संतुलन आ गया है।

खस स्त्री की इयत्ता उसके वस्त्रों और आभूषण से भी झलकती है। 'एक रुप रुप, सौ रुप कपडा, हजार रुप गहना' खस स्त्री जो आभूषण धारती है वे इस अंचल के सर्वाधिक अनूठे आभूषण तो हैं ही पर इसी के साथ खस स्त्री की इयत्ता का द्योतक यह तथ्य भी है कि खस परिवार की सारी संपत्ति गहनों के रूप में उसके शरीर पर विराबती है। वे उसके जीवन में कितना समा गये हैं और वह किस प्रकार उनको अपनी अस्मिता से जोड़कर देखती है यह अत्यंत पारदर्शी ढंग से खसों के समाज जीवन के इस नियम में उभर आया है कि यदि पति आभूषण प्रिय खस स्त्री को पर्याप्त आभूषण नहीं लाकर दे तो इसी आधार पर वह उसे तलाक भी दे सकती है।

संपत्ति विषयक अधिकार

खस स्त्री को संपत्ति रखने का अधिकार नहीं है। अगर उसे उसके पति तलाक देते हैं तो अपने सारे आभूषण उसे पति के घर छोड़ने पड़ते हैं।

लाहली बहुपतित्वयुक्त समाज में स्त्री शास्ता की भूमिका में

हिमाचलप्रदेश के कुछ भागों में तथा उससे जुड़े हुए चकराता के पर्वतीय भागों में लाहली जनजाति निवास करती है जिनमें बहुपतित्वप्रथा प्रचलित है।

लाहली समाज में यौनजीवन के संदर्भ में स्त्री ही स्वामिनी है। जब सभी भाई अपने बिस्तर पर सोने चले जाते हैं तब पत्नी जाकर उस पति के पार्श्व में लेट जाती है जिसके साथ वह रात्रि व्यतीत करना चाहती है। इस प्रकार बारी बारी से वह अपने पतियों में से प्रत्येक के साथ दांपत्य का निर्वाह करती है। सामान्यतः सभी पति उसके हाथों समान लक्ष्य पाते हैं। शायद ही कभी शिकायत का कोई मौका आता है। अपने पतियों में से किसी एक के साथ उसका कितना भी लगाव क्यों न हो, व्यवहार रूप में सभी समानतः उसके लक्ष्य का केन्द्र बनते हैं। यदि लाहली स्त्री को अपने कर्तव्यों का निर्वाह कठिन लगता है तो अपने कार्यों में सहयोग के लिये अपने पतियों से एक और पत्नी लाने का आग्रह भी वह कर सकती है। इसी के साथ घर में किसी भी भाई द्वारा नयी पत्नी लाने के पूर्व प्रथम पत्नी की सहमति आवश्यक है।

तलाक विषयक स्वतंत्रता

लाहली स्त्री का विवाहभंग करने विषयक अधिकार वधूशुल्क की प्रथा द्वारा अनुशासित है। यदि विवाहभंग विषयक पहल वह करती है, तो वह तब तक पुनः विवाह नहीं कर सकती जब तक उसके मायतों द्वारा उसके लिये लिया गया वधूशुल्क पतियों को लौटा नहीं दिया जाता। परंतु इसके विपरीत यदि पति पत्नी से तलाक लेता है, तो उसे पत्नीको क्षतिपूर्ति तक नहीं देनी पड़ती। उसे पत्नी को निर्वाहभत्ता भी नहीं देना पड़ता। स्त्री को विवाहभंग और पुनः विवाह के लिये छूट लेनी पड़ती है। संभवतः वधूशुल्क एक प्रकार की जमानत की रकम थी जो पिता को इसलिये ही दी जाती थी ताकि पत्नी का पति के घर में रहना निश्चित हो सके। और ऐसी स्थिति में जब पत्नी विवाहभंग कर पत्नी के रूप में संबंध नहीं रखना चाहती तब वह रकम लौटाना आवश्यक है।

लाहली स्त्री पति के विवाहेतर संबंध को सहन नहीं करती और पति की निष्ठाहीनता का पता चलने पर वह उसका तीव्र विरोध करती है। यहाँ तक कि वह ऐसे पति को तलाक भी दे देती है।

निष्कर्ष

प्रकृति के गहन सान्निध्य में रहनेवाले आदिवासियों के जीवन पर भी प्रकृति की छाया उतर आई है। उनके चतुर्दिक फैला प्राकृतिक वातावरण वनों का मौन पसरा एकांत और जीवन के स्पंदनों से धड़कते उनके त्यौहार तथा नृत्य युवावर्ग को आत्मीय संबंध विकसित करने का मौका देते हैं। यही वह बिंदु है जहाँ सभी प्रकार के संबंधों को स्वीकार कर उन्हें स्थान दिया जाता है। योनिशुचिता चूँकि इस समाज में कोई मुद्दा नहीं है इसीलिये स्त्री विवाहपूर्व काम, विवाहेतर काम, तलाक और पुनः विवाह संबंधी अनेक स्वतंत्रताओं का उपभोग करती है। सभी आदिवासी आपसी समझौते तथा पलायन द्वारा विवाह को स्वीकार करते हैं। यह तथ्य सिद्ध करता है कि उनका समाज विवाहपूर्व यौन संबंधों को स्वीकृत करता है। आदिवासी समाज में वैवाहिक जीवन के बाहर भी काफी हद तक वासना कि तुष्टि की जा सकती है। अधिकांश आदिम जातियों में विवाह की यौन विषयक पवित्रता को बनाये रखने पर जोर नहीं दिया जाता। आदिवासियों में विवाह का मुख्य उद्देश्य सहवास ही नहीं है। उनमें विवाह का आधार आर्थिक सहयोग है। पारस्परिक प्रेम और प्रजनन भी विवाह के गौण उद्देश्य हैं। इसी के साथ सभी आदिवासियों में तलाकशुदा और विधवा स्त्रियों में पुनः विवाह की प्रवृत्ति है। जिससे उनके पुनर्वास का प्रश्न भी हल हो जाता है।

विवाह और काम के प्रति आदिवासियों के दृष्टिकोण हिन्दुओं के दृष्टिकोण से भिन्न है। इसके अतिरिक्त उनकी संस्कृति का वह आयाम यह भी दर्शाता है कि कानून का सार सामाजिक आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप वस्तुओं के ग्रहण और नियोजन करने में है। अन्यथा दोषियों की बड़ी संख्या सामाजिक समस्या का कारण बनेगी। आदिवासियों के इस दृष्टिकोण के कुछ आयाम कुछ पश्चिमी देशों के वातावरण का स्मरण दिलाते हैं। अपने जीवन के चुनाव की स्वतंत्रता त्योंहारों, नृत्यों सांध्यकालीन उत्सवों के घनिष्ठ संबंधों को विकसित करने के अवसर और पुरुषों तथा स्त्रियों द्वारा भोगी गई सामान्य स्वतंत्रता मानवजाति के इन दोनों समाजों द्वारा साझी की गई है। हालांकि ये दोनों समाज पूर्णतः भिन्न सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक और आर्थिक अवस्था में हैं। आदिवासी विवाह की व्याख्या अपनी गतिविधियों पर एक स्थाई बंधन की अपेक्षा एक सामाजिक और आर्थिक अनुबंध के रूप में अधिक करते हैं। अपने प्रेमी के साथ पलायन कर दोनों भागीदारों द्वारा विवाह आसानी से तोड़े जाते हैं। इन घटनाओं को तब तक अधिक गंभीरता से नहीं लिया जाता जब तक कि वधूशुल्क की पुनः अदायगी जैसे कुछ मतभेद उससे न जुड़े हों आदिवासी अपनी समस्याओं का समाधान उपलब्ध सर्वोत्तम विधि से करते हुए जीवन को उसी रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं जिस रूप में वह उनके सामने आता है। वे सदैव अस्थायी समाधान के रूप में समस्या पर सोचते हैं। अपने घरों और झूमरोती में भी वे स्थायी समाधान के पास नहीं जाते। उनके विवाह भी स्थायित्व की अवधारणा से नहीं जुड़े उनका दृष्टिकोण उनकी यायावर जिंदगी के साथ अत्यंत संगत है।

प्रकृतिपुत्र आदिवासी का जीवन प्रकृति और उसके नियमों द्वारा संचालित है। कठिन जीवन संघर्ष से घिरे आदिवासी के पास अपने जीवन के विषय में अधिक सोचने या अपने नियम बनाने का अवकाश ही नहीं है। उनका जीवन उन्हें जो जिस रूप में सामने आता है उसे उसी रूप में स्वीकार करने के लिये प्रेरित करता है।

“मध्य-युगीन काव्य में नारी चित्रण”

Dr. Usha Ranawat

Head, Dept. of Hindi, Wilson College

मध्यकाल देश के गौरवमय सांस्कृतिक जागरण एवं सांस्कृतिक उन्मेष का कालखंड है। इसे हिन्दी साहित्य का “स्वर्णकाल” भी कहते हैं। काव्य एवं शिल्प की दृष्टि से हिन्दी वाङ्मय में इसका गौरवपूर्ण स्थान है। कबीर, सूर, तुलसी, जायसी, मीरा जैसे कवि हिन्दी-साहित्य के देदीप्यमान नक्षत्र हैं।

मध्ययुग के काव्य को दो प्रकार से वर्गीकृत किया जाता है। प्रथम...

१. सगुण - काव्य धारा

२. निर्गुण - काव्य धारा

आलोचकवर्ग उसे चार धाराओं में भी बाँटकर देखते हैं :-

१. संत काव्य

२. प्रेमाख्यान काव्य अथवा सूफी काव्य

३. रामकाव्य धारा

४. कृष्ण काव्य धारा

मध्यकाल के परवर्ती समय को “रीतिकाल” के नाम से जाना जाता है। अपने आराध्य के प्रति अनुराग, भक्ति तो इनका वर्ण्य - विषय था ही। परन्तु प्रश्न उठता है कि समूचे मध्यकाल के भक्तिकाव्य में व रीतिकाल के श्रृंगारी काव्य में नारी की स्थिति क्या थी ?

इस पर विचार करते समय हमारे सामने तीन प्रश्न उठ खड़े होते हैं :-

पहला प्रश्न उठता है कि मध्ययुगीन काव्य में कवियों का नारी विषय दृष्टिकोण क्या है ?

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि इस काल में कवियों द्वारा स्त्री का चित्रण किस रूप में किया गया है ?

तीसरा प्रश्न कवियित्रियों के दृष्टिकोण को लेकर भी उठता है ?

(अ) मध्ययुगीन काव्य में कवियों का नारी विषयक दृष्टिकोण

भक्तिकालीन कवियों ने स्त्री का जो चित्रण किया है वह हेय है, निकृष्ट है। उनका मानना है कि भक्तिकाल की नारी समाज को पथभ्रष्ट करनेवाली है। वह समस्त अवगुण, पापों का भंडार है। इसीलिए उसे प्रायः दुख का कारण माना गया है। नारी के अनेक दुर्गुण वर्णित हैं। उनमें से कुछ इस प्रकार हैं :-

१. बुद्धिहीन :- स्त्री बुद्धि का नाश करनेवाली है। नारी के वश में आकर अच्छे-बुरे, शुभाशुभ का निर्णय करने का विवेक समाप्त हो जाता है। जो व्यक्ति स्त्री की सलाह लेता है वह मूर्ख होता है। जायसी ने “पद्मावत” में कहा है -

“तुम तिरिया मतिहीन तुम्हारी, मुरुख सो जो मतै धरनारी,

राघव जो सीता संग लाई, रावन हरी कवन सिधि पाई ?”

तुलसी ने स्त्री को पशुओं की श्रेणी में रखा -

“ढोल, गँवार, शूद्र, पशु नारी

सकल ताड़ना के अधिकारी।”

जो पुरुष स्त्री से प्रेम या स्नेह करता है वह उसकी बुद्धि का हरण कर लेती है और जो स्त्री के वश में हो जाता है उसका सारा विवेक नष्ट हो जाता है उसे कई दुःख झेलने पड़ते हैं। परन्तु नारी से देवता भी बच नहीं सके हैं। दादू के शब्दों में :-

“दादू सूर, नर, मुनीवर, बसि कीए बह्मा, विष्णू, महेश
सकल लोक से सिरि पड़ी साधु के पग हेठि ।”

२. स्वच्छंद :- मध्ययुग के कवियों के अनुसार नारी को बाँधकर रखना चाहिए। स्वतंत्र होते ही वह स्वच्छंद हो जाती है -

“सुरतंत्र भाँ गिरहि नारी” (तुलसी)

नारी पाप कर्म से भी नहीं चूकती। वह किसी का अनुशासन नहीं मानती। “सूरसागर” में कृष्ण स्वयं नारी को हीन मानते हैं -

“कबहूँ बालक मुँह न दीजियो, मुँ न दीजियो नारी।

जोइ मन करे सोइ करि डारे, मूड़ चढ़त है भारी।।”

अर्थात् बालक एवं स्त्री को मुँह नहीं लगाना चाहिए अन्यथा सिर चढ़कर जो मन में आता है करती है।

३. कपटी :- बाहर से कुछ भीतर से कुछ। यानी सरल, सुशील, निष्कपट, दिखनेवाली स्त्री वास्तव में कपटी होती है। उसके गुणों में छल-कपट छुपा रहता है -

“विधिहुँ न नारि हृदय गति जानी,

सकल, कपट अध अवगुन खानी।” (तुलसी)

विधाता भी स्त्री के हृदय की गति को नहीं जान सकते। साधारण मानव की तो बात ही क्या? पलटू साहब का कहना है :-

“अस्सी बरस की नारि हूँ, पलटू न पतियाय

जियत निकेवि तत्व को मुये नरक ले जाय।।”

भक्त कवियों ने नारी को माया कहा है और उसे मनुष्य का घोर शत्रु कहा है। कबीर के अनुसार -

“कामिनी रूपी सकल कबीरा, मृगा चरिन्दा होई।

बड़ बड़ ग्यानी मुनिवर थाकै, पकरि सकै नहिं कोई।।”

कवि चरणदास ने भी स्त्री की उपेक्षा करते हुए कहा कि वह छल से पुरुष को वश में कर लेती है। टोना-टोटका करती है। तरह-तरह से रिझाती है और ऊपर से भली सुदृढ़ लगती है लेकिन इसके विपरीत सब भाँति स्त्री अहितकारी, अमंगलकारी, है। दादू ने गोरक्षनाथ की ही भाँति नारी को राक्षसी व बाधिन कहा है -

“नारी नागणि राकसी बाधनी बड़ी बलाइ।

दादू जै नर रत भएण तिनका श्रवस बाई।।”

कबीर तो यहाँ तक कहते हैं कि उस स्थान पर भी नहीं जाना चाहिए जहाँ स्त्री को जलाया गया हो अन्यथा उसकी भस्म उड़कर पुरुष को नष्ट कर देगी।

सूरदास ने भी नारी निंदा में कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी। उनके अनुसार नारी नागिन सी है। “नागिन का विष तो तब व्यापता है जब वह डसती है परन्तु नारी तो दृष्टि निक्षेप मात्र से मानव को चेतनाहीन कर देती है।

“सुकदेव कहयौ सुनो हो राव, नारी नागिन एक सुभाव।

नागिन के काटे विष होइ, नारी चितवन नर रहे मोह।।”

नानक का कथन है - नारी की चिंता में पड़कर पुरुष जीवन का मैदान हार जाता है। जीवन रूपी जुए में वह कच्ची बाजी खेलता है अर्थात् अपना जीवन नष्ट कर देता है -

“गोवर है वर कंचन सुत नारी

बहु चिंता पड चालै हारी

जुए खेलजु काची सारी ।।”

पलटू ने विधवा नारी की पुकार पर कटाक्ष करते हुए कहा है :-

“पिसना पीसै रांडरी पिव-पिव करे पुकार ।

पलटू ऊपर से कहै भीतर भरा विकार ।।”

मंझन का कथन है कि स्त्री पुरुष के वाम भाग में रहती है उसका आचार व्यवहार भी सदैव वाम यानि विपरीत ही रहता है। उसे वामा कहा गया है इसलिए कोई भी उसे सज्जन समझता है तो वह मूर्ख है।

४. डरपोक :- तुलसीदास ने नारी को स्वभाव से भीरु बतलाया है। वह इतनी डरपोक होती है कि शुभ कार्यों में भी अनिष्ट की आशंका करती है -

“समय सुभाऊ नारि कर साँचा ।

मंगल महुँ भय मन अति माचा ।।”

५. अस्थिर बुद्धि का आरोप :- कवियों के अनुसार नारी का मन और बुद्धि अस्थिर होती है। उसके मन के विचार क्षण क्षण परिवर्तित होते हैं। अतः किसी को उसका विश्वास नहीं करना चाहिए। व्यक्ति चाहे तो अपना प्रतिबिम्ब भले ही पकड़ सकता है, लेकिन नारी तो छाया से भी अधिक चंचल होती है। उसके हृदय की मूल भावना को कोई नहीं जान सकता -

“निज प्रतिबिंब बरुक कहि जाई,

जानि न जाइ नारि गति भाई ।।”

जायसी तो कहते हैं कि नारी द्वारा लिये निर्णय अस्थिर होते हैं इसलिए किसी को भी उसकी सलाह नहीं लेनी चाहिये।

रहीम तो नारी की तुलना सर्प, घोड़े व राजा के साथ करते हैं, वह कहते हैं कि इन्हें सँभालकर रखना चाहिए क्योंकि इन्हें पलटते देर नहीं लगती।

“उरग, तुरग, नारी, नृपति, नीच जाति हथियार,

रहिमन इन्हें सँभारिये पलटत लगे न बार ।।”

६. स्वार्थी :- कवियों ने स्त्री को बहुत मतलबी माना है। वह उसी के अनुकूल होती हैं जिससे उसका स्वार्थ पूरा होता है। जब तक स्वार्थ रहता है तब तक वह अपनापन दिखलाती है। वास्तव में वह किसी की शुभचिंतक नहीं होती। मंझन ने “मधुमालती” में लिखा है - स्त्री से स्नेह रखनेवाले को कभी उचित प्रतिदान नहीं मिलता, उसे सदैव पछताना पड़ता है। जिसने भी स्त्री से प्रेम में जी लगाया उसने सेमल के शुक के समान फल पाया। जो उस फल के तैयार होने पर रुई जैसा अखाद्य पदार्थ पाकर निराश होता है।

“तिरिया जगत न आपनि काहू, तिरियाहि प्रेम कोइ लहै न लाहू।

तिरिया प्रेम जीय नेइ लयऊ। सेंवर संग जैसे फल पायऊ ।।”

कवियों के अनुसार चारों युगों में स्त्री कभी किसी की नहीं होती। अतः उससे सनेह करके जीवन नष्ट नहीं करना चाहिए। गुरु तेगबहादुर कहते हैं -

“जगत में जूठी देखी प्रीत,

अपने ही सुब सिउ सभलागे

किआ दारा किआ मीत ।।”

७. दुःखदायी :- भक्त तुलसीदास के अनुसार नारी सब प्रकार के दुःख देने वाली है। काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मद, प्रबल मोह इन सबका परिणाम दुःख होता है। लेकिन नारी के कारण जो दुःख होता है वह इन सब दुखों से भयंकर होता है -

“काम, क्रोध, लोभादि मद प्रबल मोह के धारि
तिन्ह मुँह अति दारुन दुखद माया रुपी नारि ।।”

कई कवियों ने नारी को दुख रूपिणी, माया, प्रत्यक्ष रूप में बड़ी मोहक कहा है। नारी कनक और कामिनी के रूप में प्रत्येक स्थान पर विद्यमान है।

कबीर के अनुसार :-

“चलो-चलो सबही कहै बिरला पहुँचे कोय,
एक कंचन एक कामिनी गहरी घाटी दोय ।”

चरनदास कहते हैं :- नारी का संपर्क अनेक बंधनों एवं दुःखों का उत्पादक है। इसलिए साधना में सफलता, जीवन में सुख और कल्याण की आकांक्षा रखनेवाले मनुष्य को नारी के स्पर्श ही नहीं वरन दर्शन से भी दूर रहना चाहिए :-

“नारि किये दुःख बहुत है, बंधन बंधे अनेक
जो सुख चाहे जीव का तिरिया कूँ मत देख ।”

वे कहते हैं जो स्त्री में अनुरक्त रहता है उसे कुत्ता और कौआ बनना पड़ता है। इस प्रकार चौरासी लाख योनियों में भटकना पड़ता है -

“नारी के फैलाव का दीखै ओर न छोर,
नारी में जो चित रहे वह है कूकर काग ।।”

८. पापिनी :- नारी नरक की खान है। पापों के कारण स्वयं नरक में जाती है और साथ रहनेवालों को भी पापी बना देती है। उसके साथ रहकर कोई पापकर्म से बच नहीं सकता। कबीर...

“नारी कुंड नरक का, बिरला धमें बाग
कोई साधू जन ऊबरे सब जन मूवा लाग ।।”

तुलसी ने नारी की उपमा अंधकार रूपी रात्रि से देते हुए कहा है कि पाप रूपी उल्लुओं के लिए नारी सुखकारी अंधेरी रात्रि के समान होती है -

“पाप उल्लूक निकर सुखकारी। नारी निबिड़ रजनी अँधियारी ।।

नानक ने भी इसका समर्थन करते हुए लिखा है कि, “लोग सोने-चाँदी की भाँति ही सुंदर स्त्री की कामना करते हैं उसी के कारण पाप करते हैं और यमपुर जाते हैं -

“कामिनी लोड, सुइना रुपा मित्र लुडेनि सुखधाता
नानक पाप करे तिन कारणि जासो जमपूरि बाधाता ।।”

९. धर्म में बाधक :- इस युग के कवि स्त्री को भक्ति, धर्म एवं ज्ञान प्रप्ति में बाधक मानते हैं। नारी में काम, क्रोध, मद, लोभ आदि दुर्गुण होते हैं। माया की साक्षात् मूर्ति स्त्री है। वह अत्यंत दुःख देने वाली है।

सूरदास ने स्त्री को मिथ्या और उसके सुख को क्षणभंगुर बतलाया है। स्त्री को भक्ति मार्ग में बाधक और नागिन के समान कहा है -

“झूठे नाते जगत के सुत कलत्र परिवार ।।

दादू :-

“जे नर कामणि पर हरे ते छूटे ग्रमवास.....

दादू औंधे मुषि नहीं, सरदा निरंजन पास ।।

अर्थात् - नारी का त्याग करने से मनुष्य भव-बंधन से छूट जाता है।

कबीर कहते हैं :-

मनुष्य के कल्याण में भगवदप्राप्ति में बाधक होने के कारण समस्त सांसारिक सुखों के साथ नारी का भी शीघ्र ही त्याग कर देना चाहिए अन्यथा पछताना पड़ेगा। वे स्त्री को भगवान और भक्त के बीच की दुर्गम घाटी मानते हैं।

गुरुनानक ने लिखा है - स्वर्ण आदि सांसारिक आकर्षणों तथा पुत्र-पुत्रियों के बंधनों के समान ही नारी के लिये गँवार मनुष्य दुविधा में पड़कर हरिनाम विस्मृत कर देता है -

“कनक-कामिनी हेतु गवारा दुविधा लगे नाम विसारा।

बंधन सूत कनिया अरु नारि ।।

रैदास भी लगभग इसी विचार के समर्थक हैं।

१०. कठोर :- कवियों ने स्त्री को कठोर हृदयवाली कहा है। वह दया, क्षमा, ममता से रहित होती है। वह हृदयहीन एवं कठोर होती है। पुरुष स्त्री से प्रेम करता है, परंतु वह कठोरता से उसका परित्याग करती है।

सूरदास -

“नारि से नर प्रीति लगावै, पै नारी तिहि मन नहिं लावै।

नारि सगै प्रीति जो करे, नारी नाहिं तूरत परिहरै ।।”

स्पष्टतः भक्त कवियों ने स्त्री को माया रूप मिथ्या ओर गर्हित माना है। विश्व के महान पुरुषों को पैदा नारी ने ही किया है। शायद यही एक सदगुण है। गुरुनानक ने नारी को प्रतिष्ठा व गौरव के आसन पर बिठाया है - स्त्री पुरुष को जन्म देती है, पुरुष उससे शादी करता है। वह जीवन - संगिनी बनकर समाज में उसके साथ साथ चलती है अतः पूज्या है।

दरिया साहब ने भी इसका समर्थन करते हुए नारी को जगत-जननी ओर पोषिका कहा है। मूर्खलोग स्वयं ही ईश्वर को विस्मृत करते हैं और दोष स्त्री पर मढ़ देते हैं। इस प्रकार के रवैये के क्या कारण हो सकते हैं ?

निंदात्मक रवैये के संभावित कारण -

इस निंदात्मक रवैये के कारणों पर यदि विचार करें तो इन कथनों के मूल में अनेक सामाजिक कारण विद्यमान थे।

सर्वप्रथम मध्ययुग के पूर्वकाल में अनेक धर्म-साधनाएँ प्रचलित थीं जैसे नीलपट सम्प्रदाय, वाममार्ग, कापालिक मत, बौद्ध संप्रदाय, सहज संप्रदाय, कौल मार्ग आदि। इन धर्म साधनाओं में नारी का निकृष्ट प्रयोग हुआ। साधना व धर्म के नाम पर विषय - वासना को प्रश्रय दिया गया था। अतः धर्म के नाम पर समाज में अनैतिकता एवं व्यभिचार पनप रहा था।

नारी की उच्छृंखलता और आदर्शहीनता के प्रति भक्त कवियों में स्वाभाविक रूप से रोष था जो उनके द्वारा नारी निंदा के रूप में अभिव्यक्त हुआ।

दूसरा कारण कवियों का विपरीत मूलक दृष्टिकोण था। मध्ययुग धार्मिक युग था, इस काल का साहित्य प्रधान रूप से धार्मिक

साहित्य है। इसमें तत्कालीन सामाजिक परिस्थितियों की भी आलोचना की गई है। समाज में व्याप्त अनैतिकता और उच्छृंखलता को समाप्त करने के लिये स्त्री के प्रति तिरस्कार का दृष्टिकोण अपनाया गया। विषयोपभोग का प्रमुख उत्पादन होने के कारण विराग और तप की भावना से प्रेरित होकर भक्त कवियों ने कामिनी नारी की निंदा की पतिव्रता की, सदैव प्रशंसा की।

तीसरा कारण मुगल काल में नारी की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं थी। उसे वस्तु समझा जाता था। वह पुरुष की संपत्ति थी। उसका मूल्यांकन काम भावना के नाते ही आंका जाता था। इस प्रकार युग का इतिहास नारी की करुण स्थिति को दर्शाता है। नारी को इस दीन दशा से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिये संभवतः कवियों ने नारी, विषयोपभोग के प्रति अरुचि उत्पन्न कर समाज में नैतिकता व सदाचार की भावना का प्रसार करने हेतु नारी के प्रति निंदापरक उक्तियों की रचना की।

(ब) मध्ययुगीन काल में कवियों द्वारा स्त्री का चित्रण

मध्यकाल में जो कवि नारी को ठगिनी, राक्षसी, कायर बुद्धिहीन कहते हैं वे ही कवि नारी को अन्य रूपों में भी चित्रित करते हैं। ये चित्रण तीखे, प्रहारात्मक व आलोचनात्मक व सकारात्मक हैं। नारी के सुंदर, सौम्य, आदर्श रूप भी इन्हीं कवियों ने प्रस्तुत किये हैं। उनका वर्गीकरण इस प्रकार है -

१. प्रेमिका - मध्ययुग के सर्वाधिक प्रेम - प्रसंग गोपी-कृष्ण, राधा-कृष्ण प्रेम-लीलाओं के रूप में दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। आत्मसमर्पण का ही दूसरा नाम प्रेम है। प्रेम की अनन्यता, प्रगाढ़ता और आत्मसमर्पण की व्याकुलता गहराई से चित्रित हुई है जो अन्यत्र दुर्लभ है। रामचंद्र शुक्ल ने इस प्रेम को “जीवनोत्सव” कहा है। यदि कालिदास से पूछते तो शायद वे इसे “प्रेमोत्सव” ही कहते।

राधा-कृष्णा का प्रेम रूप, प्रेम भर नहीं है वह धीरे-धीरे जीवन के अन्य प्रसंगों में उगता, बढ़ता और विकसित होता है। प्रेम में सौंदर्य के साथ संयोग और विरह दोनों ही स्थितियाँ मौजूद हैं। आँखों ही आँखों में प्रेम हो जाता है.....

“औचक ही देखि राधा, नैन बिसाल भाल दिए रोरी।

नील वसन फरिया कटि पहिरै, बेनि पीठि रुलती झकझोरी।

सूर श्याम देखत ही रीझै, नैन नैन मिलि पड़ी ठगोरी।”

हितहरिवंश

कहा कहौ इन नैनन की बात।

प्रिय मिलन से पहले सबसे पहले मन को तैयार करना होता है। देव ने प्रेमिका के मन के सजने का मोहक चित्र खींचा है-

“यों सुनि ओछे उरोजन पै अनुराग के अंकुर से उठि आये।”

बिहारी में प्रेम को लेकर खास तरह का अंतर्विरोध दिखाई पड़ता है। उनका आदर्श तो उदात्त है और व्यावहारिक पक्ष अनुदात्त। प्रेम का उदात्त स्वरूप -

“गिरी ते उँचे रसिक मन बूड़े जहाँ हजार

वहै सदा पसू नरन कौं, प्रेम पयोधि पगार।

चटक न छौड़त, घटत हू, सज्जन नेह गंभीर

फीको परै न बरु फटे, रंग्यो चोल रंग चीर।”

संयोग वर्णन में प्रेमिका की विविध भंगिमाओं, हावों, सुरति-बिहार, मद्यपान, क्रीड़ा आदि का मादक चित्रण है तो विरह वर्णन में सूरदास अप्रतिम हैं। गोपियाँ कह उठती हैं -

“निसदिन बरसै नैन हमारे
सदा रहति पावस ऋतु हम पर
जब से स्याम सिधारे।”

बिहारी -

“लाल बिहारे बिरह की अग्नि अनूप अपार
सरसै बरसै नीर हूँ, मिटे न झर हूँ झार।।”

मध्यकाल के प्रारंभिक चरण के कवि विद्यापति तो काव्य-रसिक और भावुक कवि थे। “पदावली” में राधा-कृष्ण के प्रगाढ़ प्रेम को विविध रूपों में उठाया है। वयः संधि, नखशिख, नोक-झोंक, मिलन-विरह, अभिसार, मानभंग सबका आधार प्रेम है व नायक - नायिका, प्रेमी-प्रेमिका ही हैं।

पत्नी :- तुलसीदास के काव्य में सीता पतिव्रता नारी के उत्कृष्टतम रूप में दिखाई पड़ती हैं। सीता पतिव्रत का दृढ़ता से पालन करती हैं। वनगमन के समय वह विनम्रतापूर्वक हठ करती हैं -

“जिय बिनु देह, नदी बिनु वारी
तैसिं पुरुष पुरुष बिनु नारी।”

मंदोदरी का चित्रण पत्नी के आदर्श रूप को प्रस्तुत नहीं करता वरन् वह एक कमजोर नारी-सेविका बनकर ही पति के सम्मुख हाथ जोड़कर सदैव खड़ी रहती है। वह रावण से हाथ जोड़कर प्रार्थना करती है कि राम का विरोध त्यागकर सीता को लौटा दें -

“चरन नाई अंचल रोपा। सुनहु वचन पिय परिहरि कोपा।”

बालि की पत्नी तारा भी मंदोदरी की तरह कमजोर नारी के रूप में चित्रित हुई है।

सूफी कवियों के नारी पात्र जीवनपर्यंत पति की सेविका बनकर रहते हैं और पति की मृत्यु के पश्चात अपना अस्तित्व मिटा देते हैं। जायसी के नारी पात्र आदर्श पतिव्रत का पालन करते हैं। वे पति की सेवा से ही परमगति पाती हैं।

“सोई पिचारी पियहि पिरीती,
रहे जो सेवा आयसु जीती।”

सीता को दिए गये अनुसूया उपदेश में नारी - जीवन का आदर्श प्रस्तुत हुआ। (मानस अरण्य ७-९)

धैर्य, धर्म तथा मित्र ही की भाँति नारी की सच्ची पहचान आपत्तिकाल में होती है। पति के रोगी, धनहीन, नेत्रहीन, बधिर, क्रोधी, दीन आदि अवस्था के प्राप्त होने पर उसका धर्म है तब भी उसका अपमान न करे और मन, कर्म, वचन से पति के चरणों में प्रेम रखने का एक मात्र व्रत रखें।

माँ:- संत कवियों ने समस्त नारी जगत के प्रति मातृभाव की दृष्टि रखकर विषय - वासना से निवृत्त होने की प्रेरणा दी है।

रज्जब के अनुसार -

“सबहि माता, सब बहन, सब पुत्री कर जाति
रज्जब के रमणी नहीं, सबछा सतगुरु ज्ञान।”

सूरदास की बाललीला बेजोड़ हैं। माँ-पुत्र, कृष्ण-यशोदा के उत्कृष्ट चित्र हैं। बाललीला में यशोदा, नंद, बलराम हैं। यशोदा वात्सल्य में डूबी हैं,

“जसोदा हरि पालनै झुलावै,
हलरावे, दुलराइ, मल्हावै,
जोई सोई कहु, गावै।”

कृष्ण पूछते हैं -

“मैया मोरी कबहिं बढैगी चोटी
किती बार मोहि दूध पियत भई
अज हूँ है यह छोटी।”

नंद को मथुरा जाकर कृष्ण को छोड़ना था। वे खाली हाथ आए, कृष्ण के बिना लौटे इस पर यशोदा का क्षोभ देखने लायक है - एक पिता दशरथ थे जो पुत्र के वियोग में मर गये, एक पिता तुम हो

“फारि न गई वज्र की छाति,
कत ये सूल स है।”

अंत में विषाद का स्वर उभरता है -

“नंद ब्रज लीजैं ठोकि बजाय।”

तुलसी ने कौसल्या के वात्सल्य में सामाजिक मूल्यों से अधिक वरीयता नहीं दी है। वह राम से कहती हैं कि केवल पिता की आज्ञा हो तो तुम माता को पिता समझकर बन मत जाओ। किंतु माता-पिता दोनों की आज्ञा हो तो चले जाओ -

“जो केवल पितु आयसु ताता
तौ जनि जानि माता
जौ पितु-मातु कहेऊ बन जाना
तौ कानन सत अवध समाना।”

कैकेयी का राम से पुत्रवत स्नेह है। उनके राज्यभिषेक पर प्रसन्नता की सीमा नहीं रहती।

“मधुमालती” में रूपमंजरी अपनी बेटियों की बिदाई के समय उपदेश देती है -

“सासु, ननद कहूँ उत्तर न दीजै,
जो वे कहहिं सो सिर पर कीजै,
बिनु पूछै बकत न मुँह खोली,
मधुरे बचन परजन सें बोली।”

दबंग - साहसी -

सूरदास का भ्रमरगीत बेजोड़ साहित्य है। उनमें गोपियों का चित्र अमर है। गोपियाँ पुरुष निर्मित मर्यादाओं को तोड़ने का साहस रखती हैं। उनकी गोपियाँ बड़ी दबंग व साहसी हैं। उनमें अपना विरोध करनेवाले पुरुष का तिरस्कार करने की प्रवृत्ति है। वे गाली दे सकती हैं, अपमान कर सकती हैं। उद्धव को (पुरुष) कपटी-कुटिल बतलाती हैं। उद्धव को अविश्वसनीय प्रमाणित करती हुई आपस में कहती हैं कि, यह व्यक्ति हमारे श्याम का मित्र हो ही नहीं सकता।

“मधुकर। जानत हैं सब कोऊ।

जैसे तुम औ मीत तुम्हारे, गुजनि निपुन हैं दोऊ।।

पाके चोर हृदय के कपटी तुम कारे और बोऊ।”

आत्मविश्वासी - सूर की गोपियाँ प्रगल्भ तो हैं ही, वे अपनी दुर्बलता से अनभिभूत हैं। उनमें प्रबल आत्मविश्वास है। वे कमजोरी का उपयोग अपने पक्ष में करना जानती हैं -

“कहौ तो सुख आपनौ सुनाऊँ

ब्रज जुवति कही कथा जोग की, क्यों न इतो दुख पाऊँ।

हों इक बात कहत निरगुन की हों ही मैं अटकाऊँ।

एक आँधरौ हिय की फूटी, दौरत पहिरि खराऊँ।

सूर सकल षटदसन वै हों, बरहरवरी पढ़ाऊँ।

इस प्रकार अपने प्रतिपक्ष की शक्ति को उसकी कमजोरी में बदल देना उन्हें आता है। वे उद्धव के निर्गुण के ज्ञान की शक्ति को कमजोरी में बदल देती हैं।

वाग्विदग्धता : गोपियों ने अपनी बात को सटीक बनाने के लिये वाकपटुता का उदाहरण दिया है। उद्धव की पराजय का कारण गोपियों की वाग्विदग्धता है। रामचंद्र शुक्ल ने लिखा है -

“सूरदास जी में जितनी सह्यता और भावुकता है प्रायः उतनी ही चतुरता और वाग्विदग्धता भी है। किसी बात को कहने, न कहने के जाने कितने टेढ़े-मेढ़े सीधे ढंग उन्हें मालूम थे।”

गोपियों के कथन में सर्वत्र वचनवक्रता है। उनमें उद्धव के मत को असत्य प्रमाणित करने की योग्यता है। तुम्हारे अनुसार यदि हरि अंतर्यामी है तो वह हमारी पीड़ा क्यों नहीं समझते -

“हरि काहे के अंतर्यामी ?

जौ हरि मिलत नहीं यहि औसर,

अवधि बतावत

निराकार की रूपहीनता को लेकर वे उद्धव के संदेश का प्रतिकार करती हैं। उद्धव से पूछती हैं -

“निर्गुण कौन देस को बासी

मधुकर। हंसि समुझाय सौँह दे बूझति साँच न हाँसी।”

बड़े ही आत्मविश्वास से वे अपने मत को श्रेष्ठ व उद्धव के मत को निकृष्ट कहती हैं।

वीरांगना - वीरगाथा काल की वीरांगनाओं का उदाहरण मध्यकाल के समक्ष था। मध्यकाल के कवियों ने भी वीरांगनाओं के प्रति विश्वास व्यक्त किया। रणभूमि में पुरुषों के साथ जौहर दिखाती थी। यहाँ तक कि जौहर भी कर डालतीं। चितौड़ की रमणियाँ देश प्रेम जगाने में संलग्न रहतीं। सरदार चूड़ावत की नवविवाहिता का बलिदान प्रख्यात हैं। पन्नाधाई से सभी परिचित है। कवि पृथ्वीराज की पत्नी तो अकबर पर सिंहनी सी टूटकर, कटार निकालकर खड़ी हो गई जब अकबर की नीयत डोल उठी थी। अकबर उसे “माँ” कहकर क्षमा मांगते हैं। मध्ययुग के कवियों ने नारी के तेजोमय, वीर व साहसी चित्र दिये हैं। पद्मावत में यह रूप दिखता है -

“जौहर भई इस्त्ररी पुरष भई संग्राम

पाति साही गढ़ चूरा चितऊर भा ईस्लाम

परबत समुद्र मेह, ससी दिनकर सहि नसकी वह अग्नि

मुहम्मद सती सराहिय जरै जो असपियू ताकि।” (जायसी)

(स) मध्यकालीन काव्य में कवयित्रियों का नारी विषयक दृष्टिकोण -

मध्यकाल में कवयित्रियों का नारी विषयक दृष्टिकोण भी कई अर्थों में रोचक है। मध्यकाल में देदीप्यमान कवियत्रि मीराबाई को कौन नहीं जानता। कृष्ण भक्ति तथा रामभक्ति की रचना करने वाली अनेक कवयित्रियाँ हुई हैं। ब्रजदासी, धगकुँवरि, पवनकुँवरि, प्रेमरतन, स्वर्णलली, लाज-माधवी, चंद्रमुखी, बनी-ठनी प्रमुख हैं। रत्नावली एवं केशवधू के नाम भी लिये जाते हैं।

इन कवयित्रियों ने अपनी रचनाओं में अधिकतर भक्तिभावना ही प्रकट की है।

ताज कवयित्री ने मुसलमान होते हुए भी धर्म व जाति के बंधनों को तोड़कर कृष्णभक्ति के गीत गाये। समाज की मर्यादाओं का खंडन करते हुए उन्होंने श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति अपने प्रेम की घोषणा की, अपने प्रेम के लिये वे हिंदू बनने के लिये, कोई भी कष्ट सहन के लिये, बदनामी सहन करने के लिये तैयार हैं।

“सुनो दिल जानी, मेरे दिल की कहानी,

तुम दस्त ही बिकानी, बदनामी भी सहौंगी पै,

देवपूजा ठानी, मैं निवाज हूँ मुलानी

तजे कलमा कुरान सठि गुनन गड़ौंगी मैं

स्यामलाल सलोना सिर क ताज कुल्ले दिये

तेरे नेह दाग में निदाध व्यहे दसूँगी मैं

बाढ़ नाल प्यारे हिंदुवानी व्हे रहौंगी मैं (ताज)

एक अन्य कवयित्री स्वर्णलली ने अपने काव्य में श्रीकृष्ण के प्रति विमुग्ध तन्मयता का प्रकाशन किया है -

“से कृष्णा बिना मोरा पान न रमे

फुकुर कहित अन्दर भये।”

कवयित्री चंद्रमुखी स्वतंत्रता की कामना का भाव व्यक्त करते हुए कहती हैं -

“माधौजी मैं न भई बन मोर

मोरा होती यमुना तट रहती, कुंज में करती कलोज,

मोरा होती जंगलबिच रहती, नाचत ही मुख मोड़

चंद्रमुखी भज बालकृष्ण छबि हरि के वरण चित्तचोर।” (चंद्रमुखी)

मीराबाई का व्यक्तित्व खुलकर हमारे सामने आता है। मीरा ने दिव्य आलंबन के प्रति अपने भाव कविता में व्यक्त किये हैं। मीराबाई उच्चकुल से संबंधित थी। राजकुल के बंधनों से मुक्ति का खुलेपन से अभिव्यक्त होना कम विद्रोह एवं साहस की बात नहीं है। उनके प्रयत्नों में जो साहस है उसकी अपनी सामाजिक अर्थवत्ता है। उन्होंने इसकी परवाह नहीं की, लोकजाल त्यागकर साधुओं की संगत की। कृष्ण के प्रेम में दिवानी मीरा-

“लोक लाज की काणा न मानूँ

निरमे निसाब घुरास्याँ हो भाई।

लोकजाल कुल रा मरज्यादा

जगमौ ठोकणा राखयारी।

(मीराबाई)

क्योंकि मीरा के लिये -

“म्हारौं री गिरधर गोपाल, दूसरा ना कूयाँ।”

मीराबाई को समाज और तत्कालीन वातावरण से अनेक बार लोहा लेना पड़ा। इस संघर्ष ने उन्हें निराशा नहीं साहस दिया। कठिनाइयों की कसौटी पर उनकी अनुभूतियाँ और भी निखर उठीं और उनकी भावनाएँ अग्नि में तपाये हुए स्वर्ण की भाँति दीप्त हो गईं।

“राजाजी ध्याने जहर दियौं मैं जानी
जैसे कंचन दहत अग्नि में, निकसत बारा बानी।”

मीराबाई के काव्य में व्यक्त भावों से प्रकट होता है कि भक्त कवयित्रियों में से कुछ नारी की अपनी अवस्था से मुक्त होने की कामना थी, संकल्प था, साहस था -

“पग घुँघरु बाँध मीरा नाची रे
मैं तो अपने नारायण की आपहिं हो गई दासी रे
लोग कहे मीरा भई बावरी, न्यात कहैं कुलनासी रे” (मीरा)

उस समय की नारी समाज, शासक व पुरुष की इच्छा के विरुद्ध कुछ नहीं कर सकती थी। किंतु मीरा ने इन सबके विरुद्ध विद्रोह किया। मीरा का प्रेम अलौकिक था परंतु अभिव्यक्ति थी लौकिक धरातल पर। साधुओं के साथ भजन तथा नृत्य को लेकर उनका तीव्र विरोध हुआ। मीरा ने जोगी को लेकर अपने भावों को रूप देने का प्रयत्न किया। व्याकुल होकर वे पुकारती हैं.....

“जोगी मत जा, मत जा, मत जा पाई परु चेरी तोरी है।
प्रेम भगति को पबैंडो कही न्यारो हमकुँ गैल बता जा।
मीरा खुलेपन से स्वीकार करती हैं कि “तेरी खातिर जोगन हूँगी, करवत लूँगी कासी।”
मध्यकाल में इस प्रकार मीराबाई ने अपनी अलग पहचान बनाई है।

कुल मिलाकर यह कहा जा सकता है कि भक्तिकाव्य में नारी की स्थिति अंतर्विरोधपूर्ण है। जहाँ भक्त कवियों ने नारी की निंदा की है वहीं उन्होंने नारी की कल्पना ऊर्जस्वित, दीप्ति संपन्न रूप में भी की है। वहीं मध्यकाल के अंधेरे में मीरा जैसी नारी रत्न चारों ओर अपनी आभा बिखेर रही थीं। इससे प्रकट होता है कि मध्ययुग की नारी अपने ऊपर थोपे गए सामाजिक बंधनों से मुक्ति के लिये छटपटा रही थी।

Opening Of Education For Women In Gujarat

Smt. Vidyagauri Nilkanth And Smt. Hansa Mehta

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The Social, Political and Economic changes, that took place, in medieval India, brought down the status of women and consequently, the opportunity for their education. In this traditional society, the role of formal education was limited. Instructions under the social order was gained to direct face to face contact.

Under these conditions, it was natural that women's education was neglected, whatever education they received was at home. Society had a general prejudice, against female education. It was believed that a girl, taught to read and write would become a widow.

In this context the contribution of two Gujarati Lady like Smt. Vidyagauri Nilkanth and Smt. Hansa Mehta.

Hansa Mehta

Hansa Mehta was an educationist and she was the first woman to be appointed Vice-Chancellor of a co-educational University in India. She was a prolific-writer and an orator. She was a freedom fighter who made it her mission to free India. She actively took part in the freedom struggle and had to suffer imprisonment many a times. She was known as the dictator of Bombay.

Hansa Mehta was born on 3rd July 1897 at Surat in a Nagar Grahasta family that was well known for their liberal views, scholarship and administrative capabilities. She was the daughter of Manubhai Mehta who started his career as Professor of Philosophy in Baroda College rose through ability and merit to be the Prime Minister of Baroda State. Her paternal grandfather, Nandshankar Mehta, was the first to write a novel in Gujarati in prose. She was sent to school and college in Baroda. She 'graduated from the Baroda College, and then affiliated to the Bombay University, with B.A. (Hons) in Philosophy. She and her older sister, Jayashri Raiji was the third among Gujarati women to obtain a college degree. She sailed for England to study journalism.

In London she met Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and it was Mrs. Naidu who initiated Hansaben into the women's movement by taking her to meetings. Later she sailed to U.S.A alone. There she attended educational and social work conferences and met women active in suffragette movement. From San Francisco she sailed for Japan where she was caught in the great earthquake. The hotel where she was staying was one of the few buildings that were not damaged and miraculously she came out of the ordeal unharmed. She returned home via, Shanghai, Singapore and Colombo.

Hansaben married Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, who was then the Chief Medical Officer of Baroda State. It was a Pratiloma marriage, which created uproar among the Nagar Grahasta community. They held meetings protesting against the marriage of a woman belonging to the highest caste to a Vaishya. She was ex-communicated from her community. But her father and other members of her family approved of the marriage, and the reformer Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda was so pleased with this inter-caste marriage that he attended all the wedding festivities. The couple/ further moved to Bombay where Dr Jivraj started and developed the K.E.M. Hospital and G. S. Medical College of which he had been appointed the first Dean.

In Bombay, Hansaben found fertile ground to realize her full potential. She kept herself busy with educational and social welfare activities. She became the member of the Bombay Legislative Council, being elected from its general constituency. She had declined to seek election from women's quota, as she was opposed to the quota policy. She became Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education and Health.

Some of her literary contributions in Gujarathi are Balvaratvalli, Kishorevartavalli, Bavlana Parakrama, a translation of Pinnachio and Golibarni Musafari, a translation of Gulliver's Travels. An account of her travels through various countries was published as Arnn Nu Adhbhut Swapnu. Later, she published her works in English as Adventures of King Vikrama and Prince of Ayodhya. Thus along with Gijubhai Badheka, Hansaben pioneered the writing of children's books in Gujarati. She started publishing plays in Gujarati. She translated into Gujarati Shakespeare's Hamlet and Merchant of Venice; Valmik's Ramayana from Sanskrit; two plays of Moliere from

French- Le, Bourgeois Gentilhomme and Tartuff (1978). The Farbus Gujarati Sabha published a collection of her articles in Gujarati on various subjects. She published three tracts in English as Women Under the Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession, Post-war Educational Reconstruction and Civil Liberties. A collection of her articles in English entitled Indian Woman was published in 1981.

Hansaben came under the influence of Gandhiji and joined India's national freedom movement.

She organized picketing of shops selling foreign clothes as well as liquor shops, and participated in other freedom movement activities. As the 'dictator' of Bombay she led a mammoth procession on which was joined by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and some other Congress Working Committee members. The procession was dispersed by a lathi charge and Hansaben was arrested. In her Presidential address at the All-India Women's Conference convention held in Hyderabad, Hansaben proposed a Charter of Women's Rights. The Charter proved useful in clarifying the woman's status and for pressing for suitable legislation regarding the same. The first such legislation that was taken up was the codification of the Hindu Law.

Hansaben was a member of the Constituent Assembly of India. On the historic occasion of the transfer of power, she had the privilege of presenting the National Flag to the nation on behalf of the women of India. On the International scene, Hansaben represented India on the Nuclear Sub- Commission on the Status of Women in the United Nations. She represented India on the United Nations Human Rights Commission that drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She was a member of the Executive Board of UNESCO and led Indian delegations to several international conferences. In India, she was associated with many educational, social and cultural organizations. In recognition of her contribution to social service, Hansaben was awarded the Padma Bhushan. She was also conferred the Hon. D. Litt by the Allahabad University and by the M.S. University of Baroda. The Leeds University in U.K. conferred on her an Honorary Doctorate.

Unfortunately, she became a semi-invalid in the last few years of her life. Still her spirit remained undaunted and she took active interest in human affairs, Her quest for knowledge was unquenchable. To the very end she lived in pursuit of knowledge. At the age of 98, Hansaben passed away peacefully in Bombay on 4th April 1995.

Vidya Gauri Nilkanth

Vidya Gauri Nilkanth was a social reformer, educationist, writer and woman of remarkable intelligence, integrity and simplicity. She was well read in Gujarati and English Literature. She considered it her mission to uplift and empower women. In those days, majority of the women confined themselves to the home-centered roles of daughters, sisters, daughters-in-law, wives and mothers and they were prohibited from being educated as society was prejudiced that educated women would not prove effective in their traditional roles. She wanted to prove to the society that women were capable of higher education and through education only women can be better wives and mothers. She wanted to break the barrier to women's education. She regarded education as a lamp that would remove darkness and ignorance.

Vidyagauri was born on 1 June 1876 in Ahmedabad. She was the daughter of Gopilal Dhruva and Balaberi. Her father was a petty judicial officer who had a transferable job and was posted to small towns of Gujarat. Her mother stayed in Ahmedabad for the education of her daughters, Vidyagauri and Sharda. They were sent to a school in Ahmedabad, where Vidyagauri studied till class VII. As there was no high school for girls at this time in Ahmedabad, Vidyagauri and her sister Sharda had to join the Anglo-Vernacular classes in Mahalakshmi Teachers' Training College. While Vidyagauri was in school, she was married to Ramanbhai, son of the social reformer and educationist, Vidyagauri. When married, she was only 13 and her husband was nine years older to her and she considered him as her teacher and held him in high regard and respect. They wrote articles and books together and jointly edited a magazine, Jnansudha. With her husband's support she attended the Matriculation examination. Three years after matriculation, Vidya Gauri and her sister joined the Gujarat College. In the Intermediate Arts Examination of Bombay University, Vidyagauri stood first in Logic and opted for moral philosophy and logic for her B.A. She took eight years to complete the course. She was advised by many to give up her studies. They asked, "What is the point of a woman passing the BA." But Vidyagauri was determined to continue her studies. She graduated standing first in the entire University for which she obtained a Fellowship in Gujarat College. She and her sister, Sharda Mehta, thus became the first two Gujarati Hindu women graduates.

Vidyagauri became an active member of the Ladies Club, which was started in Ahmedabad. The club had Hindu, Parsi, Muslim and Christian members. This brought Vidyagauri into the public arena. When the Indian

National Congress annual session was held in Ahmedabad, Vidyagauri and Sharda sang Vande Mataram from the dias.

Vidyagauri started tailoring classes for poor Muslim women under the sponsorship of the National Indian Association. She also organized adult education classes and various activities for the War Relief Fund during World War I. For her active role she was honored with the title of M.B.E (Member of British Empire). Again, she was awarded the Star of India for her public services. She returned this award when Gandhiji was arrested during the Salt Satyagraha.

Vidyagauri started the Ahmedabad Branch of the All India Women's Conference. She was an active member and President of this Branch for many years and presided over the Lucknow session of the AIWC. She was associated with numerous educational institutions such as the Maganbhai Karamchand Girls' High School, the Diwalibai Girls' School, Ranchhodhal Chhotalal.

Girls' High School and the Vanita Vishrams which provided secondary education to women who were widows or dropouts from school because of marriage. She started in Ahmedabad the Lalshanker Umia Shanker Mahila Pathshala, which was later, affiliated to the SNTD (Karve) University. She taught English, Psychology and Philosophy in this college. Vidyagaun was the Honorary Secretary and then President of the Mahipatram Rupram Anath- ashram an orphanage. She was also the member of Victoria Jubilee Hospital, Ranchodhial Chhotalal Dispensary and various other charitable and philanthropic organizations. She presided over the 15th session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad. She was also very keen in establishing libraries all over Gujarat.

She was a prolific writer and contributed to women's magazines such as Gunsuriclari, Streebodh, Sharda, etc. She, with her sister translated R. C. Dutt's The Lake of Palms. Her own essays and articles have been published in Forum, Narikunj, and Jnansudha.

Vidyagauri devoted her whole life for upliftment of women. Girls who wanted to marry outside their caste, widows who wanted to re-marry, women whose husbands or in-laws ill-treated them, all came to her for help and advice. She actively sought the implementation of the Sharda Act and also worked for the Hindu Code Bill. She did not aspire for any honor or position or power but did all the work out of genuine concern for the poor, the underprivileged and the oppressed.

When her diamond jubilee was being observed in Ahmedabad, Gandhiji said, "No celebrations are enough for Vidyaben because she is an ornament of Indian womanhood. The more we can honor her, the better. She is an ardent reformer but at the same time maintains our traditions".

ખાદી દ્વારા સ્વાતંત્ર્ય સંગ્રામમાં સ્ત્રીઓનો ફાળો

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ખાદી એટલે હાથ વણાવટનું કાપડ. ભારતમાં અંગ્રેજોનાં આગમન પૂર્વે લોકો પોતાના વસ્ત્રો હાથેથી વણીને બનાવતા હતા, એટલે કે રેંટિયા દ્વારા અને આવા રેંટિયા ગામે ગામ જોવા મળતા હતા. આ રેંટિયામાં સૂતરની પુણીને કાંતી તેનું વણટકામ કરીને જે કાપડ બનતું તે કાપડ ને ખાદીનું કાપડ કહેવામાં આવે છે. અંગ્રેજોના ભારતમાં આગમન બાદના લગભગ સો દોઢસો વર્ષોના કાળમાં આ રેંટિયા થી કાંતી ને કાપડ બનાવવાની કલા અદશ્ય થઈ ગઈ હતી. આ અદશ્ય થઈ ગયેલી કલાને પુનર્જીવિત કરવાનું કાર્ય ગાંધીજીએ કર્યું હતું.

ખાદીનાં કાંતણકામ માટેનો મૂળ વિચાર ગાંધીજીને ઈંગ્લેન્ડમાં ૧૯૦૯માં હિંદી ક્રાંતિકારીઓ જોડે ચર્ચા કરતાં આવ્યો હતો. એમને તો એ વખતે જ સમજાઈ ગયું હતું કે રેંટિયા વિના સ્વરાજ અશક્ય છે. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૨૦માં તેમણે લખ્યું હતું કે, “મારી પાકી ખાતરી છે કે હાથકાંતણ અને હાથવણાટના પુનર્જીવનથી હિંદુસ્તાનના આર્થિક અને નૈતિક પુનરુદ્ધારમાં વધારે ને વધારે મદદ થશે. કરોડો પાસે ખેતીના પૂરક ધંધા તરીકે સાદો ઉદ્યોગ હોવો જોઈએ. કાંતણ વર્ષો પહેલા ગૃહઉદ્યોગ હતો, અને જો કરોડો ને ભૂખમરાથી બચાવવા હોય તો તેમના ઘરો માં કાંતણ ફરી દાખલ કરી શકે તેવી સ્થિતિ ઉભી કરવી જોઈએ ને દરેક ગામે પોતાનો વણકર વસાવવો જોઈએ.”

આજ વાત ને બીજી રીતે સમજાવતા એમણે કહ્યું હતું કે “મોટામાં મોટા યંત્રોથી જો હિંદુસ્તાનની ગરીબાઈ અને એમાંથી ઉભું થતું આળસ દૂર કરી શકાતું હોય તો હું એની હિમાયત કરું.... હિંદુસ્તાન અને માનવજાતના પ્રેમીએ એક જ પ્રશ્ન પોતાની જાતને પૂછવાનો છે.... હિંદુસ્તાનનું દુઃખ દારિદ્ર્ય દુર કરવાનાં વ્યવહારુ સાધનો સારામાં સારી રીતે કેમ શોધી ને યોજી શકાય? હિંદુસ્તાનનું હાડપિંજર ચિત્ર જો એ નજર સમક્ષ રાખે તો તેણે એંસી ટકા લોકો, જેઓ પોતાના ખેતરોમાં કામ કરે છે, અને જેમને વરસના ચાર મહિના લગભગ કાંઈ જ ધંધો નથી, અને તેથી જેમને ભૂખમરો વેઠવો પડે છે, તેમનો વિચાર કરવો જોઈએ.... આ ફરજિયાત વેઠવા પડતા આળસમાં વારંવાર પડતા દુકાળો પણ ઉમેરો કરે છે. એવું કયું કામ છે કે આ સ્ત્રીપુરૂષો સહેલાઈથી પોતાના ઘરમાં બેસી ને કરી શકે અને તેમની ટૂંકી આવકમાં ઉમેરો કરી શકે?”

આમ ગાંધીજી માનતા હતાં કે દેશની વસ્તીનો મોટો ભાગ ખેડૂત હતો. એમાંથી ઘણાને પુરું આખું વર્ષ કામ મળતું નહતું. અવારનવાર દેશમાં દુકાળ અને અછત સર્જતા હતાં, આ ઉપરાંત દેશનું પુષ્કળ ધન પરદેશી કાપડરૂપે વિદેશ ચાલ્યું જતું હતું એ પરિસ્થિતિને બદલવા લોકોને એવું કામ આપવું જોઈએ જે શીખવામાં સરળ હોય જેને વિશે લોકોમાં અરુચિ ન હોય જે સહેલાઈથી બનાવી શકાય અને જેને માટે વધુ મૂડી રોકવી ન પડે, અને કાંતવાની પ્રવૃત્તિ આવું કામ હતું. તેનાથી ધન સુપાત્રમાં વહેંચાય અને વિદેશ જતું અટકે અને આખી પ્રવૃત્તિથી લોકોમાં સહકારની ભાવના કેળવાય તેથી ગાંધીજીએ રેંટિયા દ્વારા ખાદી બનાવવાની શરૂઆત કરી. તેઓ માનતા હતાં કે, “બધી બુરાઈનું મોટામાં મોટું કારણ એનું મૂળ બેરોજગારી છે. જો એનો નાશ કરી શકાય તો મોટા ભાગની બુરાઈ વધારે પ્રયત્ન કર્યા વગર દૂર કરી શકાય, જીવનદાયી રેંટિયો જ કરોડોને માટે નિરાશાના અંધકારને સ્થાને આશાનો પ્રકાશ લાવી શકશે. જનતા પૈસાના અભાવના રોગથી એટલી નથી પીડાતી જેટલી કામનાં અભાવના રોગથી પીડાય છે.... જ્યાં સુધી એનાથી સારું કામ ન મળે ત્યાં સુધી રેંટિયો કાયમ રહેશે.”

ખાદીનાં ઉપયોગ દ્વારા ગામડાઓ સ્વાશ્રયી બને અને જો ગામડાં સ્વાશ્રયી થાય તો એનાથી હિંદુસ્તાનની આર્થિક આઝાદી નિશ્ચિત બને અને આર્થિક આઝાદી રાજનૈતિક આઝાદી માટેનો માર્ગ મોકળો કરશે. આમ ગાંધીજી ખાદી દ્વારા દેશમાં આર્થિક આઝાદી અને આર્થિક આઝાદીને પગલે રાજકીય સ્વરાજ્ય લાવવા માંગતા હતાં.

ગાંધીજી માનતાં હતાં કે આ કાંતાણ કામ દ્વારા જ તેઓ સ્ત્રીઓને આર્થિક રીતે સ્વાવલંબી બનાવી શકે તેમ હતાં.

ગાંધીજીએ જીવનમાં જે રૅટિયો અને ખાદીને આત્મસાત કરી લીધા હતાં તે રૅટિયા કે સાળ ને ગાંધીજીએ ઈ.સ. ૧૯૦૮ સુધી જોય સુદ્ધા નહોતાં. તેઓ જ્યારે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાથી ભારતમાં આવ્યા ત્યારે પણ તેમણે રૅટિયો જોયો નહોતો. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૧૫માં તેમણે સત્યાગ્રહ આશ્રમની સ્થાપના કરી અને પછી રૅટિયાની શોધ ચાલુ કરી શરૂઆતમાં તેમનો કોઈ કાંતનારું મળતું નહતું. મોટાભાગે કાંતવાનું કામ તો સ્ત્રીઓ દ્વારા જ થતું હતું તેથી દેશમાં તેઓ જ્યાં જ્યાં જતા હતા ત્યાં પોતે આવી કોઈ બહેન કાંતનાર હોય તો પોતાને તેની મુલાકાત કરાવવાનું સૂચવતા, ભણેલી ગણેલી બહેનોને તો રૅટિયો ચલાવતા આવડતું ન હતું એટલે તેઓ ગામડાઓમાં રૅટિયો ચલાવનારની શોધ ચલાવતા હતા. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૧૭માં ભરુચમાં કેળવણી મંડળની પરિષદ ભરાઈ ત્યાં તેમનો પરિચય ગંગાબહેન મજૂમદાર સાથે થયો. તેઓ પોતે કાંતતા નહોતા. પણ તેઓ નિર્ભય થઈને પ્રજ્ઞના બધા વર્ગોમાં હળીભળી શકતા, તેમની આગળ બાપુએ પોતાની રૅટિયાની ઝંખના મૂકી. પોતાની આત્મકથામાં બાપુ લખે છે : “મારું દુઃખ મેં તેમની પાસે મૂક્યું ને દમચંતી જેમ નળની પાછળ ભમી હતી તેમ રૅટિયાની શોધમાં ભમવાનું પણ પ્રતિજ્ઞા લઈ મારો ભાર તેમણે હળવો કર્યો.”

ગંગાબહેન મજૂમદાર એક અત્યંત પ્રતિભાવાન વ્યક્તિ હતા. ગંગાબહેને ખાદીની ચળવળ શરૂ કરવા પાયાનું કાર્ય કર્યું હતું. ખૂબ પ્રયત્નો પછી ગંગાબહેનને રૅટિયો મળ્યો હતો અને કાંતણકામ કરનારી બહેનો મળી હતી તેમને આ કાર્ય પોતે શીખ્યું અને કેટલીક યુવતીઓને શીખવ્યું. ગાંધીજી એ પણ આ કાર્ય ગંગાબહેન પાસેથી શીખ્યું. તેઓ એ ગાયકવાડી રાજ્યના વિજાપુર ગામે એક ઘર ભાડે લીધું અને ગંગાબહેન તેમની પુત્રી સરસ્વતી અને બહેન હીરાલક્ષ્મી અને કેશવલાલભાઈ એ મળી ત્યાં એક ખાદી કેન્દ્રની શરૂઆત કરી. પરંતુ તેમને રૅટિયા ને કાંતવા માટે સૂતરની પુણી મેળવવામાં ખૂબ જ મુશ્કેલીઓ પડવા લાગી પુણી બનાવવાની કળા તો લગભગ આ સમય સુધી લુપ્ત થઈ ગઈ હતી. શરૂઆતમાં તેઓએ મિલની પુણીઓ પર જ આધાર રાખવો પડતો હતો. આ સમયે ગંગાબહેન પુણી બનાવવાની કલા એક મુસ્લીમ વણાટકામ કરનાર પાસેથી શીખ્યા. ત્યારબાદ તેઓએ વિજાપુરમાં ખાદી ઉત્પાદન કેન્દ્રની શરૂઆત કરી અને ધીરેધીરે વિજાપુરની ખાદીનું નામ થવા લાગ્યું.

૧૯૧૯ સુધીમાં આ કેન્દ્રમાં ૧૫૦ સ્ત્રીઓ કામ કરવા લાગી. થોડા જ સમયમાં ગંગાબહેને પોતાનો ખાદી ઉદ્યોગ શરૂ કર્યો. અને એક જ જગ્યામાં ખાદીનું કાંતણ, વણાટ શરૂ કર્યું. ખાદી ઉત્પાદનનું આ પહેલું મોટું કેન્દ્ર હતું. ગાંધીજી લોકોને ખાસ કરીને સ્ત્રીઓને ગંગાબહેનનું ઉદાહરણ લઈ ખાદીનું કેન્દ્ર સ્થાપવાની પ્રેરણા આપવા લાગ્યા. ૧૯૨૧ સુધીમાં ગંગાબહેનની પ્રવૃત્તિનો વધુ વિકાસ થયો. તેમના કેન્દ્રમાં એક સાથે બસો ચરખાઓ ચાલવા લાગ્યા હતા. આમ ગંગા બહેને મૃતપાય થયેલું હાથવણાટનાં કાર્યને એક નવું જીવન આપ્યું ખાદી હવે બધાના શબ્દકોશનો મહત્વનો શબ્દ બનવા લાગ્યો. આમ, અશિક્ષિત અને ખૂબ જ સીધા સાદા વિધવા ગંગાબહેન મજૂમદાર એક નવા યુગનાં પ્રણેતા બન્યા અને તેમના દ્વારા આધુનિક ખાદીનો જન્મ થયો.

ગંગાબહેન રૅટિયો ચલાવતા શીખ્યા અને ઘણી સ્ત્રીઓને રૅટિયો ચલાવતા શીખવ્યું. રૅટિયો કાંતતાં શીખનાર શરૂઆતની બહેનોમાં શ્રી અવંતિકાબાઈ, રમીબાઈ કામદાર, શંકરલાલ બેકરના માતૃશ્રી અને વસુમતી બહેન હતા.

તે સમયે ‘સૂતરના તાંતણે સ્વરાજ’ એ સૂત્ર પ્રચલિત થતું જતું હતું. ૧૯૨૭નાં અસહકારના આંદોલનમાં એક લાખ કાંતનારીની બાપુએ માગણી કરી કે, “જો સ્વરાજ મને એક લાખ રૅટિયો ફરતા કરી દો તો હું એક વર્ષમાં સ્વરાજ અપાવું” આ રીતે રૅટિયો અને ખાદી અસહકારના યુગમાં સ્વરાજના સંદેશવાહકનું એક અસરકારક બળ બની ગયો. આમ અસહકારના આંદોલનમાં રૅટિયા અને ખાદીના પ્રચાર દ્વારા ગાંધીજીએ સ્ત્રીશક્તિને જગાડી હતી એટલે કે સ્ત્રીઓમાં આત્મવિશ્વાસ જગાડ્યો હતો અને ગાંધીજીની હાકલથી લાખો સ્ત્રીઓ એ કાંતવાનું શીખ્યું અને તે દ્વારા માત્ર આર્થિક રીતે જ સ્વાવલંબી ન થઈ પરંતુ રાજકીય ક્ષેત્રે પણ નોંધપાત્ર યોગદાન આપ્યું. આ પરિપત્રમાં દરેક સ્ત્રીઓનું ખાદી દ્વારા સ્વતંત્રતાની ચળવળનું યોગદાનને વર્ણવવું શક્ય નથી તેમાંથી કેટલીક સ્ત્રીઓનાં યોગદાનનો અંહિ ઉલ્લેખ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે.

ગાંધીજી એ દેશ માટે કરેલા કાર્યમાં હંમેશા તેમને સાથ અને સહકાર આપવા તત્પર એવા કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધીનું યોગદાન નોંધપાત્ર છે. સામાન્ય ગુજરાતી સ્ત્રી જે પતિની સેવાને જ જીવન માને તેવા કસ્તૂરબા એ પોતાના પતિ મોહનદાસ ગાંધી સાથે સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાં રંગબેદ વિરુદ્ધ ચાલી રહેલી ચળવળમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો અને જેલમાં પણ ગયાં હતાં તેઓએ બાપૂ સાથે ચંપારણનાં સત્યાગ્રહમાં પણ ભાગ લીધો હતો. જ્યારે ગાંધીજી એ ગરીબ ગ્રામવાસીઓને આર્થિક રીતે સ્વાવલંબી બનાવવા

ચરખા અને ખાદીનો પ્રચાર કર્યો ત્યારે કસ્તૂરબાએ પણ ચરખો ચલાવવાનું શીખ્યું અને તેમણે પણ ખાદી અપનાવી અને ગાંધીજીની સાથે સાથે ખાદીનો પ્રચાર કર્યો હતો. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૨૨માં અસહકારની ચળવળ સમયે તેઓ એ આપેલા પ્રવચનોમાં કહ્યું હતું કે, “અત્યારે તો એક જ વિષય છે, સંદેશો એક જ છે, અને તે એ કે સૂતર કાંતો અને ખાદી પહેરો. આ ઘડીએ આપણું કર્તવ્ય સ્વરાજ કેવી રીતે મેળવવું તે છે. આપણે તે જરૂર લેવું જોઈએ. આપણે આપણા પગ ઉપર ઉભા રહેવું જોઈએ. પારકાં કપડાં આપણને સારા ન લાગે, તે દેશને શોભે નહીં. મુંબઈમાં તો લોકોએ રૅટિયા ઉપર ચડાવી દીધા છે. તેઓ કહે છે કે અમે ઘણાં કાંતીએ પણ વણી કોણ આપે? સાળો નાંખો અને સૂતર વણાવો. ખાદીને રંગાવો. પાતળું કાંતો તો પાતળું પહેરો, જાડું કાંતો તો જાડું પહેરો.... સૌ રોજ એક કલાક જ કાતવાનું નક્કી કરે અને બે તોલા જ રોજ સૂતર કાંતે તો હિંદુસ્તાનને સ્વરાજ ઘરે જ બેઠું છે. સ્વરાજ લેવાનું ક્યાં છે? સ્વરાજ તો ઘરમાં છે....”

આમ કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધીએ ગાંધીજીનાં જીવનનાં આદર્શો ચરખો અને ખાદી આત્મસાત કરી લીધાં હતાં અને પોતે ખાદી કાંતી પહેરતા અને ઠેરઠેર ખાદીનો પ્રચાર કરતાં હતાં જ્યારે ૧૯૧૪માં પ્રથમ વિશ્વયુદ્ધ ફાટી નીકળ્યું ત્યારે તેમણે બહેનોને “સૂતરનો દાડગોળો” બનાવવાની હાકલ કરી હતી. કસ્તૂરબા એવું માનતા હતાં કે પરદેશી વસ્ત્રનો ત્યાગ કરી ખાદીમય બનવાથી જ સ્વરાજ મળી શકે છે. ખાદીમાં જ હિંદુસ્તાનનું સ્વરાજ છે. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૨૨માં ગાંધીજીને ચરવડા જેલમાં મોઠલીવી દેવામાં આવ્યા ત્યારે ગાંધીજીનું કાર્ય કસ્તૂરબાએ ઉપાડ્યું અને ભારતભરમાં ફરી વિવિધ સભાઓને સંબોધી ખાદીનો પ્રચાર કર્યો હતો અને સ્ત્રીઓને ખાદીનાં કાંતાણકામ દ્વારા સત્યાગ્રહમાં ભાગ લેવા પ્રોત્સાહિત કરતાં હતાં. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૩૦ના મીઠાના સત્યાગ્રહમાં કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધીએ ભાગ લીધો હતો અને આ લડતમાં બહેનોને સક્રિય ભાગ લેવા માટે કહ્યું હતું. તેમણે બહેનોને દાડતાડી અને પરદેશી કાપડના નિષેધનું કાર્ય કરવા હિંમત આપી હતી. આજ રીતે ઓગસ્ટ ૧૯૪૨ની હિંદ છોડો ચળવળ વખતે પણ ગાંધીજી જ્યારે જેલમાં ગયા ત્યારે કસ્તૂરબાએ બધી કોમની બહેનોને મળીને લડત કરવાની અને સત્ય અહિંસાનો માર્ગ ન છોડવાની પ્રેરણા આપી હતી. આમ કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધી વિશે જોવા જઈએ તો તેમનું આખું જીવન જ દેશ માટે સમર્પિત કર્યું હતું અને ગાંધીજીના ખાદી સત્ય, અહિંસાના આદર્શોને આત્મસાત કરી સતત તેના પ્રચાર માટે પ્રયત્નશીલ રહ્યા હતાં અને તે દ્વારા સ્વતંત્રતાની ચળવળમાં પોતાનો ફાળો આપ્યો હતો. કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધી જેવા જ ખાદીને જીવન માનનારી બીજી દેશસેવિકા હતી મણિબહેન પટેલ, સરદાર વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલનાં પુત્રી મણિબહેને ખૂબ જ નાની ઉંમરથી સેવાનો ધર્મ સ્વીકારી લીધો હતો. તેમણે પોતાના પિતા સરદાર વલ્લભભાઈ પટેલ સાથે બારડોલી સત્યાગ્રહમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો અને બારડોલીની સ્ત્રીઓમાં શક્તિ અને આત્મવિશ્વાસનો સંચાર કર્યો હતો. ૧૯૩૦-૩૨ ના મીઠાનાં સત્યાગ્રહમાં પણ તેમણે ખૂબ આગળ પડતો ભાગ ભજવ્યો હતો. ૧૯૪૨માં ‘ભારત છોડો’ આંદોલનમાં મણિબહેને ૧૯૪૫ સુધી કારાવાસ ભોગવ્યો હતો. મણિબહેન પણ સ્ત્રીઓને હંમેશા કાંતવાની પ્રવૃત્તિ શીખવતા અને તે માટે તેઓને જાગૃત કરતાં હતાં. તેઓ પોતે ચરખો કાંતતા અને જ્યારે ૧૯૪૨ની લડત સમયે જેલમાં હતાં. ત્યારે જેલમાં કેદીઓએ નિયમિત કાંતવું જોઈએ તેવો આગ્રહ રાખતાં હતાં અને જે ન કાંતતા તેને મણિબહેન ઘણીવાર સમજાવતા તો ઘણીવાર ધમકાવી પણ નાખતાં હતાં. તેઓ ખૂબ સાદું જીવન જીવતા હતાં અને હંમેશા પોતાના હાથનાં કાંતેલા સફેદ વસ્ત્રો પહેરતા હતાં, તે વસ્ત્રો તેઓ જાતે જ ધોતા, જાતે જ સૂકવતા અને જાતે સીવતા હતા. મણિબહેને ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિ વિવિધ ટ્રસ્ટો દ્વારા શરૂ કરી હતી. તેઓ કસ્તૂરબા ટ્રસ્ટ, વલ્લભ વિદ્યાનગર ટ્રસ્ટ, નવજીવન ટ્રસ્ટ સાથે સંકળાયેલા હતાં તેમણે ગાંધીજીની ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ આજીવન માટે અપનાવેલી હતી.

ખાદીને જીવન માનનારી બીજી સ્ત્રીઓમાં મણિબહેન નાણાવટીનું નામ પણ મોખરે આવે છે. સાબરકાંઠામાં જન્મનારા અને નાણાવટી કુટુંબનાં ચંદુલાલ નાણાવટીનાં જેવા ધનાઢ્ય પરિવારમાં લગ્ન કરનાર મણિબહેન નાણાવટીનું જીવન એક આદર્શ છે.

મુંબઈના પારલાનું નાણાવટી કુટુંબ એના આતિથ્ય માટે ખૂબ જ જાણીતું હતું. મણિબાનાં લગ્ન બાદ સ્વામી આનંદ, જુગતરામ ભાઈ, કિશોરલાલભાઈ, જમનાલાલજી, રાજેનબાબુ અને ગાંધીજી જેવા નેતાઓ આ પરિવારની મહેમાનગતિ માણતા હતાં. મણિબહેન મહેમાનગતિ કરતાં કરતાં ઘરમાં ચાલી રહેલા સત્યાગ્રહના કાર્યમાં સક્રિય ભાગ લેતા હતા. અહિં જ મણિબહેન ચરખો કાંતતા શીખ્યા એટલું જ નહિ પણ તેમના અખંડ કાંતાણજ્ઞાની શરૂઆત પણ અહિંથી જ થઈ. તેઓ હંમેશા ચરખાને

સ્વતંત્રતા મેળવવાનું સાધન માનતા હતા. તેઓ બીજી સ્ત્રીઓને પણ ખૂબ પ્રેમથી ચરખો ચલાવવાનું શીખવતા હતાં અને હંમેશા ગાતા, “ચરખા ચલા ચલા કે લેગે સ્વરાજ લેગે”.”

૧૯૩૧માં ગાંધીજી મુંબઈના પારલાના ભગિની મંદિરમાં રહ્યા ત્યારે મણિબહેન તેમના પ્રત્યક્ષ પરિચયમાં આવ્યા. બાપુ પાસે માર્ગદર્શન માંગતા તેમણે પારલામાં જ મહિલાઓ દ્વારા સંચાલિત ખાદીબંડાર શરૂ કરવાની સલાહ આપી અને ઈ.સ. ૧૯૩૪માં મણિબહેને તેમના ત્રણ સાથીદારો જયાબહેન દેસાઈ, શીરીન હવેલાલા, સુનાબહેન રાઉ એ મળીને પારલામાં અને દેશના ખાદી કેંદ્રોમાં વિશેષ મહત્વ ધરાવનાર ખાદી મંદિરની સ્થાપના કરી. ખાદી મંદિર ખાસ સ્ત્રીઓનાં સ્વાવલંબન માટે જ શરૂ કરાયું હતું. ખાદી મંદિર સ્ત્રીઓ દ્વારા જ ચલાવવામાં આવતું હતું સ્ત્રીઓ ખૂબ જ વિશ્વાસપૂર્વક ખાદી કાંતતી, કાંતેલી ખાદીને વણાવી ખાદી મંદિરમાં તેનું વેચાણ કરતી અને આ બધાનો યોગ્ય હિસાબ પણ રાખતી હતી. નવાઈ પમાડે તેવી વાત એ હતી કે આ બધી સ્ત્રીઓ સાતમા ધોરણથી વધુ ભણેલી ન હતી. તેઓના ખાદી મંદિરનો મુખ્ય હેતુ હતો સ્ત્રીઓથી સ્ત્રીઓ વડે ને સ્ત્રીઓ દ્વારા જ ખાદીનું વેચાણ.

ખાદી એ મણિબાનું હૃદય હતું તેઓ કહેતા કે “કાંતવા માટે વૃણો અને વણવા માટે કાંતો” મણિબાનાં નજીકનાં સાથીદારો તેમને ‘ખાદી બહેન’ કહીને સંબોધતા હતાં. મણિબા કહેતા, “આ ખાદી મંદિર મારી પ્રયોગશાળા છે અને રૅટિયો એ મારું પાઠ્ય પુસ્તક છે.””

ખાદી મંદિરનાં વિકાસ સાથે તેની શાખાઓ મુંબઈ ભરમાં શરૂ કરાઈ. આ ખાદી મંદિરની દુકાનો, વિધવા, ત્યક્તા, છૂટાછેડા લીધેલી અપંગ જેવી સ્ત્રીઓ ને આજીવીકા પુરી પાડતી હતી. તેમણે ગુજરાત અને મુંબઈમાં ઘણા બધાં ખાદી બંડારની સ્થાપના માટે મદદ કરી હતી. તેમણે જુદા જુદા પ્રકારના ચરખા પણ શોધ્યાં હતાં. મણિબા એ ગુજરાતનાં આદિવાસી ઓ માટે મઢી, વેડચી, બારડોલી, ધરમપુર, ડાંગ જેવા વિસ્તારોમાં ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ શરૂ કરી હતી. ખાદી પ્રવૃત્તિની સાથે સાથે મણિબહેને ગાંધીજી સાથે અનેક લડતોમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો અને અનેકવાર જેલ ગયા હતા. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૨૯ની સાલથી મણિબાએ રૅટિયાને ગ્રહણ કર્યો હતો ત્યારથી, અખંડ એક દિવસનો પણ ખાડો પાડ્યા સિવાય તેમના મૃત્યુ સુધી એટલે કે પમી એપ્રિલ ૨૦૦૦ સુધી અખંડ રૅટિયો કાત્યો હતો. તેમણે ચરખાં અને ખાદી ને આજીવન મંત્ર બનાવ્યો હતો અને તેના કાર્યોમાં જ પોતાનું આખું જીવન સમર્પિત કરી દીધું હતું. મણિબહેને સ્ત્રીઓને યોગ્ય શિક્ષણ આપવા મણિબહેન નાણાવટી કોલેજની પણ સ્થાપના કરી હતી.

મણિબાની જેમ જ પોતાના જીવનને ખાદી યજ્ઞ બનાવનાર બીજી ઘણી સ્ત્રીઓ હતી. જેમકે મીઠુબેન, કેપ્ટન ભગિનિઓ, હર્ષિદાબહેન, રામેશ્વરી, મ્હેરુ, બીબી અમતુસલામ, રામદેવી વગેરે. તેમાંથી કેટલીક સ્ત્રીઓ વિશે જોઈએ.

મીઠુબેન પીટીટ નો જન્મ ખૂબ જ ધનાઢ્ય પારસી કુટુંબમાં થયો હતો. તેમણે ગાંધીજી સાથે ૧૯૧૫ના વર્ષ પછી સત્યાગ્રહની ચળવળમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો. ગાંધીજીના આદર્શોથી પ્રભાવિત થઈ તેમણે ખાદી પહેરવાની શરૂઆત કરી. તેઓ પોતાના ખભા ઉપર ખાદીના પોટલા લઈ ગામડે ગામડે ખાદી વેચવા જતા હતાં. તેઓ પોતે પણ ખાદી કાંતતા હતાં. ગાંધીજી એ સ્ત્રીસભાની સ્થાપના કરી હતી સરોજની નાયડુ આ સભાના પ્રમુખ હતા અને મીઠુબહેન તેના ઉપ-પ્રમુખ હતાં. આ સભા દ્વારા ગાંધીજી એ સ્ત્રીઓ માટે ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિ શરૂ કરી હતી. પરંતુ ટૂંક સમય માં જ આ સભાને પૈસાની અછત પડવા લાગી હતી ત્યારે મીઠુબહેને પૈસા ઉભા કર્યાં હતાં અને ફરી એકવાર ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ શરૂ થઈ હતી. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૩૧ માં ગાંધીજી ની પ્રેરણાથી મીઠુબહેન સુરત નજીક એક આશ્રમની સ્થાપના કરી હતી. આ આશ્રમમાં તેઓ પછાત કોળી પ્રજા ને ખાદી કાંતવાનું શીખવતા હતાં. તેમણે આદિવાસી બાળકો માટે શાળા પણ શરૂ કરી હતી. આ ઉપરાંત કાંતવાના અને વણાટકામનાં વિવિધ કેન્દ્રો પણ શરૂ કર્યાં હતાં. તેમના મૃત્યુ બાદપણ આશ્રમની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ ચાલુ જ રહી અને આજે પણ આ આશ્રમ સક્રિય છે.

મીઠુબહેનની જેમ જ ખાદી ની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ કરનાર કેપ્ટન ભગિનિઓ પેરિન બહેન, અને ખુરશીદબહેન દાદાભાઈ નવરોજીની પૌત્રીઓ હતી. તેઓ એ પણ ગાંધીજીની ખાદી પ્રવૃત્તિમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો. અને સ્ત્રીસભામાં ખાદીનાં વણાટ કામ અને કાંતણકામ માટે કાર્ય કર્યું હતું.

હર્ષિદા બહેન માટે તો ચરખા ઘેલા નું બિરુદ જ વપરાય છે. ઈ.સ. ૧૯૨૫ માં સરોજની નાયડુ એ ગાંધી જયંતિનાં દિવસે ખાદીનાં મહત્વ વિશે પ્રવચન આપ્યું હતું અને સ્ત્રીઓને ખાદી દ્વારા પોતાની સ્વતંત્રતા મેળવવાની પ્રેરણા આપી હતી. હર્ષિદાબહેન આ પ્રવચન થી ખૂબ જ પ્રભાવિત થયા હતા અને તેમણે વિદેશી કપડા નો ત્યાગ કરી ખાદી અપનાવી લીધી હતી. તેમણે બીજા લોકોને ખાદી નું કાંતણ શીખવાની પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધી. આખા જીવન દરમિયાન મણિબલનની પ્રવૃત્તિઓમાં વ્યસ્ત રહ્યા હતાં. તેમણે હરિજન અને અસ્પૃશ્યો ને ખાદી કાંતવાનું શીખવ્યું હતું.

ઉષાબહેન મહેતા ૧૯૩૨ માં ગાંધીજી સાથે લડતમાં જોડાયા હતા. તેમની સાથે તેમના બે મિત્રો સરલા અને હસુ પણ જોડાયા. તેમણે મુંબઈમાં બાલ વાડી અને ખાદી પ્રવૃત્તિઓ શરૂ કરી હતી. ૧૯૪૨ પછી તેમણે મણિબહેન નાણાવટી અને કેપ્ટન ભગિનીઓ સાથે ખાદી પ્રવૃત્તિઓ શરૂ કરી હતી.

તારાબહેન મશરૂવાલા પણ ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિમાં સક્રિય રીતે જોડાયેલા હતાં. ત્યાં તેઓ એ ગૃહઉદ્યોગ, વિકાસ ગૃહ વગેરે શરૂ કર્યા હતાં. આ પ્રવૃત્તિઓ ખાસ કરીને સ્ત્રીઓ માટે શરૂ કરવામાં આવી હતી. તેમણે ગાંધીજી ને તેમના વિદ્વર્ભનાં કાર્યો માં મદદ કરી હતી. તેઓ એ મણિબહેન નાણાવટી સાથે પણ ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિઓ કરી હતી. આ બધીજ સ્ત્રીઓ અને આ ઉપરાંતની બીજી ઘણી જ સ્ત્રીઓ એ ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિમાં ભાગ લીધો હતો.

આમ ઈ.સ. ૧૯૧૫ પછી શરૂઆતમાં ગાંધીજી એ ભારતમાં ખાદીની પ્રવૃત્તિ નાના પાયે શરૂ કરી અને સમય જતાં તે એક વટવૃક્ષ બની ગઈ હતી. આ પ્રવૃત્તિનો મુખ્ય હેતુ તો ગામડાઓને જ સ્વાવલંબી બનાવવાનો હતો. પરંતુ આગળ જતાં આ પ્રવૃત્તિએ સ્ત્રીઓને પણ સ્વાવલંબી બનાવી. વર્ષોથી ઘર અને સમાજનાં વાડામાં બંધાઈ ગયેલી અને કૌટુંબિક જવાબદારીઓમાં વ્યસ્ત રહેનારી સ્ત્રીઓને પડદામાંથી બહાર લાવવાનું કાર્ય ખાદીએ કર્યું હતું. ખાદી દ્વારા ગાંધીજીએ સ્ત્રીઓને આર્થિક રીતે સ્વતંત્રતા અપાવી હતી અને તેમને પુરુષોની સમકક્ષ બનાવી હતી. આમ ખાદીએ સ્ત્રીઓને આર્થિક અને રાજકીય રીતે જાગૃત કરી. ભારતમાં ખાદી પ્રવૃત્તિનાં મુખ્ય બે લક્ષણો જોવા મળે છે. એક તો ખાદી આર્થિક સ્વાવલંબનનું માધ્યમ હતી. એટલે કે ખાદીનાં કાંતણ દ્વારા મધ્યમવર્ગની સ્ત્રીઓ પોતાની આવક મેળવતી હતી અને સ્વાવલંબી બનતી હતી. આગળ જોયું તેમ ગંગાબહેન મજુમદારે ખાદી કેન્દ્રની સ્થાપના કરી હતી અને આ કેન્દ્રમાં સ્ત્રીઓ કાર્ય કરી પોતાની રોજી મેળવતી હતી. આ ઉપરાંત ભારતની અનેક ગરીબ મધ્યમ વર્ગીય સ્ત્રીઓ ખાદી કાંતીને તેને વેચીને પોતાનું ગુજરાન ચલાવતી હતી. અને આમ ખાદીને લીધે સ્ત્રીઓ સ્વાવલંબી બની હતી. આની સાથે સાથે આ સ્ત્રીઓ દેશની સ્વતંત્રતાની ચળવળમાં પણ સહભાગી બનતી હતી. ખાદી નું બીજું લક્ષણ એ હતું કે ખાદી સ્વદેશી ચળવળ નું પ્રતીક હતી. ખાદી કાંતવા થી અને ખાદીના વણાટ કામથી અને ખાદી પહેરવાથી ભારતીય સ્ત્રીઓ સ્વદેશી વસ્તુઓનો ઉપયોગ કરતી હતી અને સાથે સાથે તેઓ પરદેશી માલનો બહિષ્કાર પણ કરતી હતી ને પોતાના દેશના ધન ને પરદેશમાં જતું અટકાવતી હતી. આમ ખાદી એજ સ્વાવલંબન, સ્વતંત્રતા અને સ્વદેશી નું પ્રતિક બની ગઈ હતી. ખાદીની દરેક પ્રવૃત્તિઓ સાથે સ્ત્રીઓ જોડાવા લાગી હતી પુણી બનાવવી તેને કાંતવી તેને વણવી અને તેને ઘરે ઘરે જઈ વેચવી આ બધી પ્રવૃત્તિઓ સ્ત્રીઓથી સ્ત્રીઓ વડે અને સ્ત્રીઓ દ્વારા જ થતી હતી. મણિબાનું ખાદી મંદિર તેનું ઉત્તમ ઉદાહરણ હતું. આમ મધ્યમવર્ગ ની સ્ત્રીઓ પોતાની આર્થિક સેવતંત્રતા મેળવવા આ કાર્યમાં જોડાઈ અને ઉચ્ચ શ્રીમંત વર્ગની સ્ત્રીઓ જેમકે મીઠુબેન પીટીટ, મણિબેન નાણાવટી વગેરે દેશ માટે કાંઈ કરવાની ભાવના થી આ ચળવળમાં જોડાઈ. આમ ખાદીનાં કાંતણકામથી સ્ત્રીઓ એ સ્વતંત્રતા ની લડતમાં યોગદાન આપ્યું અને આર્થિક સ્વાવલંબન મેળવ્યું હતું.

આ પેપરનો અંત હું જુગતરામ દવે ના એક ગીતની પંક્તિ થી કરું છું.

‘હરિ કાંતો કાંતોને બહેન પૂરી પ્રીતે: અતૂટ
હરિ ઘરો ઘરમાં એ પ્રેમને પ્રસારો: અતૂટ
હરિ મારી ભારતીના ભારને ઉતારો: અતૂટ
હરિ રૂડા રૈંટિયા અખૂટ બાપ દેજો: અતૂટ’

પાઠ ટીપ:

૧. ગાંધીજી યંગ ઈન્ડિયા, સન ૨૧-૭-૧૯૨૦
૨. નારાયણ દેસાઈ, મારું જીવન એજ મારી વાણી, દ્વિતીય ખંડ : સત્યાગ્રહ, નવજીવન પ્રકાશન મંદિર, અમદાવાદ, ૨૦૦૩, પૃ. ૪૧૦, ૪૧૧.
૩. નારાયણ દેસાઈ, મારું જીવન એજ મારી વાણી, દ્વિતીય ખંડ : સત્યાગ્રહ, નવજીવન પ્રકાશન મંદિર, અમદાવાદ, ૨૦૦૩, પૃ. ૪૧૩
૪. મનુ પંડિત, ખાદી માતા મણિબહેન નાણાવટી, ગુજરાત ખાદી ગ્રામોદ્યોગ મંડળ, અમદાવાદ, પૃ. ૨૬
૫. મનુ પંડિત, ખાદી માતા મણિબહેન નાણાવટી, ગુજરાત ખાદી ગ્રામોદ્યોગ મંડળ, અમદાવાદ, ૨૦૦૪, પૃ ૨૬
૬. નવજીવન સામયિક, તા. ૧૪-૫-૧૯૨૨, પૃ. ૨૬
૭. સુરેખા સાવંત, વુમેન એસ કેટાલીસ્ટ ઓફ એન્જ ઈન ધ ૧૯થ એન્ડ અર્લી ૨૦થ વેસ્ટન ઈન્ડિયા, એલ. જે. એન. જે. કોલેજ, મુંબઈ, ૨૦૦૩, પૃ. ૬૮
૮. મનુ પંડિત, ખાદીમાતા મણિબહેન નાણાવટી ૧૯૦૫ થી ૨૦૦૪, ખાદી ગ્રામોદ્યોગ મંડળ, અમદાવાદ, પૃ. ૬૩

સંદર્ભસૂચી :

૧. મહાત્મા ગાંધી, વિલેજ સ્વરાજ, નવજીવન પબ્લીસન હાઉસ, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૬૨
૨. આચાર્ય જે. બી. કૃપલાની, પોલીટીક્સ ઓફ ચરખા, વોરા પબ્લીશર, બોમ્બે, ૧૯૪૬
૩. એસ. આર. બક્ષી, ગાંધી એન્ડ સ્ટેટસ ઓફ વિમેન, ક્રિએશન પબ્લીકેશનસ, ન્યૂ દિલ્હી, ૧૯૮૭
૪. પુષ્પા જોશી, ગાંધી ઓન વુમેન, નવજીવન પબ્લીશીંગ હાઉસ અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૮૮
૫. સં. ડૉ. સુરેખા સાવંત, વુમેન એસ કેટાલીસ્ટ ઓફ એન્જ ઈન ધ ૧૯થ એન્ડ અર્લી ૨૦થ સેનચ્યુરી વેસ્ટન ઈન્ડિયા, એલ. જે. એન. જે. કોલેજ, ૨૦૦૩
૬. એસ. જી. બેંકર, ગાંધીજી અને રાષ્ટ્રીય પ્રવૃત્તિ: નવજીવન પ્રકાશન મંદિર, ૧૯૬૭
૭. નારાયણ દેસાઈ, મારું જીવન એજ મારી વાણી દ્વિતીય ખંડ, નવજીવન પ્રકાશન મંદિર, અમદાવાદ, ૨૦૦૩.
૮. મનુ પંડિત, ખાદીમાતા મણિબહેન નાણાવટી, ગુજરાત ખાદી ગ્રામોદ્યોગ મંડળ, અમદાવાદ.
૯. ઉષા મહેતા, ભારતની સ્વાતંત્ર્ય સેવિકાઓ, નવભારત સાહિત્ય મંદિર, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૯૮.
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૧૧. અલકા પાઠક, કસ્તૂરબા ગાંધી, સૂચના ઔર પ્રસારણ મંત્રાલય, દિલ્હી, ૧૯૯૫

Women's Education in Mumbai - (1818 to 1864)

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It is a well known fact that common women, women not only from lower castes but women from middle class, had no freedom to take education upto the middle of 19th century. In fact, the parents did not allow the girls to take education. Naturally, institutions to give formal education to females did not exist even in a city like Bombay, Mumbai. The well known Marathi papers 'Dnyanodaya' mentioned, 'Many people are of the opinion that if our girls start reading and writing, they will leave their husbands, the husbands of the educated girls will die soon, or their lives would be shortened..' 1 Similarly the Board of Education in its report mentioned that even the rich, well to do people were not ready to send their daughters to school. The American Missionaries who had started schools for girls in Bombay/Mumbai had many difficulties in getting students. They used to distribute clothes, money and prizes among the poors so that they would send their girls to schools. Orthodox section of the society used to bring many obstacles in opening of the schools for girls. They used to charge rents two times more than the normal ones. 2 There are many such views about female education. Lokhitwadi in his Shatapatre started female education he wrote that when the priest read "Pothis" (Scriptures) and explain certain rituals to the ladies, the ladies being uneducated could not understand them and accepted whatever the priest said. No one told the gents to jump into the funeral pier of their wives or asked them not to remarry. Women were purposely kept in dark. 3 Again it appeared in Darpan that some people feel that to educate the girls means to take them to bad path, they would become harsh, cruel and cunning. But it is not so, women must be given education. 4

These examples are sufficient to make it clear that women were purposely kept illiterate. But the social reformers were equally ahead in prepogating female education.

Female education began in Bombay in 1824, when the missionaries opened schools for girls Dr. John Wilson used to give very effective speeches in support of female education. He wanted to establish a model girls school. But he could not get proper accomodation for girls school in Mumbai. At this time Jagannath Shankarshet alias Nana Shankarshet came forward.

At this point, I would like to mention here, something about Nana Shankarshet. He was a philanthropist of 19th century Bombay. He was a social reformer too. Whenever there was a question of developement of Bombay, the first person to come forward to shoulder the responsibility was Nana Shankarshet (While writing my M.Phil. dessertion on Bhaudaji Lad, Whenever I used to go through archival papers I used to come across the name of Nana shankarshet and it created curiocity about Nana in my mind and I decided to do doctoral study on this personality. I received my Ph. D. degree in 2000.) Wherever there was a need for funds, pancity of finances, Nana donated money generously. His biographers, Shri. V. M. Pitale as well as V. V. Kulkarni mentioned that during his entire life time he must have donated Rs. 25 Lakhs towards the different causes. 5 Governors of Bombay like Elphinstone, used to seek his advice on various issues in connection with Bombay's social, political and religious issues.

Naturally, when Dr. Wilson had a problem in getting a suitable place for starting a school for girls, Nana came forward to help him facing the wrath of the orthodox section of the society. He offered his own premises for holding classes for girls' school in Girgaon. 6 Dr. Wilson was highly impressed by this gesture of Nana. He indeed upwards of thirty years ago, he (Nana Shankarshet) had given him a room for female school on easy terms on the premises, next to his mansion. His own daughters he had taught to read and write in vernacular with fluency and accuracy. 7 Thus, Nana was convinced that female education was a must. He (Nana) went a step further and stated women from lower starta of the society also must be given education. 'The Society cannot make progress without female education.' he thought. Therefore, he even arranged a prize distribution ceremony at the hands of Lady Falkland, the wife of Governor, Lord Flakland. Through such activities he encouraged the girls to come forward and take education. 115 girls were present for this prize distribution ceremony. 8

Nana's Example was followed by Jamshetji Jijibhoy. He too arranged such a programme for Gujarati girls. In 1852, in Bombay there were 7 schools for girls. Three out of them were for Maharashtrian girls, one for

Gujarati girls and three were for Parsi girls. There were 129 Marathi girls, 371 Parsi girls and 45 Gujarati girls, 545 girls altogether in these seven schools. 9

The Gujarati prize distribution was held in the Bungalow of Ramdas Devidas. Dnyanodaya reported the news in these words - People like Jagannath Shankarshet and Ramdas Devidas give their premises for female education is an important gestures on their part, which the whole society must take note of and follow their foot steps. 10

These things speak volumes of the efforts of people like Nana to encourage female education and make girls, women equal to men.

Today, each and every women in this city owes a lot to Nana, had he not taken efforts, we would not have come in large number here.

These are few examples of making the women feel that they too had potential of taking education and stand shoulder to shoulder with men. Nana, indeed, tried his best to educate women.

Foot Notes :

1. Dnyanodaya, 15th June, 1854.
2. The report of the Board of Education, 1840-58, P. 169; Madgaonkar G. N., Mumbai Varnan (Mar.), P. 232.
3. Sahastrabuddhe P. G., Lokhitwadinchi Shatapatre (Mar.) P. 72.
4. Darpan, 28th March, 1834.
5. Quoted by Sawant S. in her unpublished Thesis -Nana Shankarshet, Jeevan Va Karya, (Mar.) P. II.
6. Darpan, 28th March, 1834.
7. Dr. Wilson's Speech at Royal Asiatic Society, 10th August 1865.
8. The Telegraph and Couriers, 6th September 1848.
9. Bombay Education Society Report, 1852, P. 179.
10. Dnyanodaya, 16th February, 1852.

महाराष्ट्र के अनाम क्रांतिकारी नेता

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श्री.विष्णु गणेश पिंगले

परिचय :-

हमारा भारत देश सारे स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को गर्व की नजरो से देखता है। जिन्होंने भारत की स्वतंत्रता के लिए अपने प्राणों का बलिदान दिया, उन्ही स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों में से एक थे - श्री.विष्णु गणेश पिंगले।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगलेजी का जन्म १८८८ में पुणे जिले में तलेगाँव में ब्राह्मण जाती में हुआ था। नौ भाई बहनों में से वे सबसे छोटे भाई थे। नौ साल के उम्र से ही तलेगाँव के प्राथमिक विद्यालय में उन्होंने अपनी पढ़ाई की शुरुवात की। १९०५ में उन्होंने महाराष्ट्र विद्यालय में प्रवेश लिया जो मुंबई विद्यापीठ से सल्लग्न था। महाराष्ट्र विद्यालय में वीर सावरकर जैसे महान स्वतंत्रता सेनानी के विचारों का प्रभाव उन पर हुआ। ७ अक्टूबर १९०५ को सावरकरजीने पाश्चात्य कपडों की होली की थी। महाराष्ट्र विद्यालय से बहोत सारे विद्यार्थीयोंने उसमें सहभाग लिया था और विष्णु गणेश पिंगले भी उन्ही में से एक थे।

१९०८ में ब्रिटीश सरकार से अनुदान नहीं मिलने की वजह से महाराष्ट्र विद्यालय बंद हुआ। १९१० में वे मुंबई चले आये और उन्हे उद्योगपति गोविंदराव पोतदार के पायोनियर अकाली कारखाने में नौकरी मिली। ये माहिम में रहने लगे। श्रीमान पोतदार राष्ट्रवादी थे और विस्फोटीत पदार्थ बनाने के लिए माहिर थे। पोतदारजी ने ही उन्हे वसई के अपने वकील दोस्त हरी लक्ष्मण पाटील से मिलाया, विष्णुजीमें और उन्हेमें गहरी दोस्ती बन गई। स्वदेशी आंदोलन व जापान के हस्त उद्योग के यश से प्रेरित होकर उन्हेने भी लातूर जिले में अवाशा में अपना खूद का छोटा कारखाना खुलवा दिया। लेकिन उनकी महत्वाकांक्षा थी इंजिनियर बनना(१)।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले - अमेरिका में :- १९१२ - १९१४

१९११ में विष्णुजी ने अमेरिका जाने का निश्चय किया। ऐसा कहाँ जाता है की उन्हेने अमेरिका जाने की बात अपने परिवार से छुपा के रखी थी। उनके बड़े भाई केशवराव को भी जब वे रेलवे स्थानक पर पहुँचे तब अमेरिका जाने की बात बता दि। वे अमेरिका हाँगाकाँग के मार्ग से पहुँच गये। वहाँ जाने के बाद १९१२ में वॉशिंगटन विश्वविद्यालय में मेकॅनिकल इंजिनियरिंग कोर्स में प्रवेश लिया(२)।

भारत से जो विद्यार्थी अमेरिका जाते थे, उन सबके स्वतंत्रता के प्रति अलग अलग मत थे। कई विद्यार्थी ब्रिटेन के प्रति निष्ठावान रहते थे और उनका पूरा ध्यान अपनी पढ़ाई पर केंद्रित करते थे। अन्य विद्यार्थी जैसे विष्णु गणेश पिंगले भारत में अंग्रेजों के साम्राज्यवाद को हटाना चाहते थे। विष्णुजी अमेरिका के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से भी प्रभावित हुए(२)।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले व डॉ.पांडुरंग खानखोजे :-

डॉ.पांडुरंग खानखोजे क्रांतिकारक, कृषक शास्त्रज्ञ और इतिहासतज्ञ थे। वे गदर पक्ष की स्थापना करनेवाले प्रमुख नेताओं में से एक थे। वे बाल गंगाधर तिलक के कार्य से बहुत प्रभावित हुए। १९०० में, खानखोजे अमेरिका में रहने चले गए। प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध के पहले डॉ.पांडुरंग खानखोजे ने गदर पक्ष स्थापन करने में प्रमुख भुनिका निभाई। १९११ में वे लाला हरदयाल से मिले। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले की भारत की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के प्रति काम करने की लगन की वजह से उनकी मुलाकत डॉ.पांडुरंग खानखोजे व लाला हरदयाल से हुई। वे गदर आंदोलन में सम्मिलित हो गए। डॉ.पांडुरंग खानखोजे भी विष्णु गणेश पिंगले से मिलकर बहुत प्रभावित हुए। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले खानखोजे के लिए एक चिट्ठी लेकर आए थे। प्रथम भेट वाले दिन ये दोनों वार्तालाप में लगे रहे और सोने का इन्हे कोई ध्यान नहीं रहा।

डॉ. पांडुरंग खानखोजे ने अपने गुरु लोकमान्य तिलक के संबंध में जानकारी चाही और पिंगले ने लोकमान्य की गिरफ्तारी और सजा के बाद भारतीयों में क्या प्रभाव पड़ा है, यह जानकारी भी दी। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले ने डॉ. पांडुरंग खानखोजे को बताया कि नागपूर में युवकों में बहुत उत्साह है और कलकत्ता, पंजाब में भी यही हालात है। खानखोजे से उन्होंने अमेरिका में क्रांतिकारियों के संबंध में पूरी जानकारी ली और विष्णु गणेश पिंगलेजी का उत्साह यह जानकर बहुत बढ़ा की भारत से दूर रहते हुए भी वहाँ के युवकों में इतना उत्साह है। डॉ. पांडुरंग खानखोजे ने कहाँ की तुम्हारा विचार इंजिनियरिंग करने का बहुत अच्छा है और उसकी बहुत आवश्यकता है। परंतु यह भी कहा कि इस वक्त क्रांतिकारी भावना को प्राथमिकता देना अधिक लाभदायक है और उनके इस बात से विष्णुजी सहमत थे। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले का विचार पहले मेक्सिको और फिर ओरेगन और कैलिफोर्निया में जाकर भारतीयों में जागृति फैलाने का था।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले और गदर पार्टी :- १९१४

गदर पक्ष(३)की स्थापना जुन १९१३ में कॅनडा और अमेरिका में बसे हुए भारतीयों ने स्थापित की थी। इनका एक ही लक्ष्य था भारत को ब्रिटीश राज से मुक्त करना। ये पक्ष पहले हिंदी असोसिएशन ऑफ पॅसिफीक कोस्ट के नाम से भी जाना जाता था।

हिंदुस्तान गदर पार्टी का नाम भारत के स्वाधीनता आंदोलन के इतिहास में स्वर्णम अक्षरों में लिखा हुआ है। यह साम्राज्यवाद विरोधी राष्ट्रीय जनतांत्रिक क्रांतिकारी पार्टी थी। यह गणतंत्र की पक्षधर थी और हिंदु, मुस्लिम धर्म निरपेक्षता पर जोर देती थी। इसने करों के वृद्धि का विरोध किया और भारतीय सैनिकों तथा मजदूरों और किसानों से क्रांति में शामिल होने का आवाहन किया। पार्टी सामुहिक नेतृत्व व जनमंत्र में विश्वास करती थी।

गदर पार्टी ने अपने समाचार पत्र व साहित्य प्रकाशित किए। पार्टी ने शस्त्र प्राप्त करने और भारतीय सेनाओं को क्रांति में शामिल करने के प्रयास किए। अपने उद्देश्य प्राप्ति के लिए नवंबर में उन्होंने युगांतर आश्रम प्रेस की स्थापना सॅनफ्रांसिस्को में की। १ नवंबर १९१३ में उर्दू गदर अखबार का प्रकाशन शुरू किया। यह पत्र स्पष्ट व जोरदार तरीके अपनी क्रांतिकारी विचारधारा का प्रचार करता था। गदर हिंदुस्तान गदर पार्टी का मुख्य पत्र था। यह पत्र जहाँ कहीं पहुँचता था वहाँ गदर पार्टी की शाखाएँ खुल जाती थी। वह भारत में भी भेजा जाता था।

गदर पक्ष को आर्थिक कठिनाईयों से भी गुजरना पड़ता था। शाखाएँ खुलवाने की वजह से यात्रा से, पत्रिका के छापने से, शस्त्रास्त्र खरेदी के लिए उन्हें पैसे की जरूरत पड़ती थी। आर्थिक मदद पाश्चात्य देशों में नहीं मिलती थी। आर्थिक समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए गदर पक्ष के अनुयायी डकैती भी डालते थे।

पिंगलेजी जतीन मुखर्जी के साथी सत्येन भुषण सेन को बर्कली युनिवर्सिटी में मिले थे। गदर पार्टी की तरफ से सत्येन भुषण सेन, करतारसिंग सरबा, विष्णु गणेश पिंगले और उनके साथ सिख क्रांतिकारक अमेरिका से एस.एस.सर्लमेन जहास से अक्टूबर १९१४ के दुसरे सप्ताह में निकले(४)। सत्येन भुषण सेन और विष्णु गणेश पिंगले थोड़े दिनों के लिए चायना में रुके। वहाँ पर वे गदर पार्टी के नेता तहाल सिंग व चीन के क्रांतिकारी डॉ.सन-यत सेन को मिले। उन्होंने डॉ.सन-यत सेन से ब्रिटीशों के खिलाफ विद्रोह करने के लिए मदद माँगी। डॉ.सन-यत सेन ब्रिटीशों को नाराज करने के लिए तैयार नहीं थे।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले भारत में - १९१४ :-

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले व सत्येन्द्रनाथ नवंबर १९१४ में भारत आए। अपने घर पूना जाने के बजाय वे सीधे लाहोर आ गए। वहाँ क्रांतिकारी नेता परमानंद से मिले और भाई परमानंदने उन्हें रासबिहारी बोस के पास भेज दिया। वहाँ से सचिन्द्रेनाथ सन्याल के साथ पिंगले पंजाब आए जिससे विद्रोह के लिए नागरिकों को तैयार कर सके। भूमिगत बम बनाने की फैक्ट्रियाँ अपना काम कर रही थी। ये फैक्ट्रियाँ अमृतसर व लुधियाना के समीप झावेवाल में थी(५)।

अंग्रेज सरकार गदर अखबार के पर्थों पर पूरी निगरानी रखती थी और भारत में आने पर उन्हें रोक लिया जाता था। इसलिए क्रांतिकारियों ने ६ डुप्लीकेटर मशीनों का प्रबंध किया और उनपर एलाने जंग (जंग की घोषणा व गदर संदेश) विद्रोह का संदेश पत्र छापने लगे।

रासबिहारी बोस उस समय भूमिगत रहकर काम करते थे। वह तमाम शस्त्रों से सुसज्जित देशभक्त युवकों की गतिविधियाँ पर ध्यान रख रहे थे और सारे आंदोलन का जायजा ले रहे थे। उस समय रासबिहारी बोस की गिरफ्तारी पर सरकार ने भारी इनाम की घोषणा की गई थी और उनके चित्र सर्वत्र वितरित किए जा रहे थे। परंतु १९१४ के अधिकतर समय में रासबिहारी बोस बनारस में ही रुके रहे। पुलिस को उनकी कोई जानकारी नहीं मिली।

बनारस में सभी प्रांतों और देशों के नागरिक थे और भीड़वाली गलियों में जहाँ बहुत ही घनी आबादी थी, सब प्रकार के लोग चलते फिरते रहते थे। रासबिहारी बोस बंगाली टोले के समीप ठहरे हुए थे। बाहर का कोई आवश्यक कार्य होता था तो वह रात में काम करते थे। सचिन्द्रनाथ सन्याल के कई सहयोगी उनसे मिलते थे और एक बार तो सहयोगियों में से एक ने बमों और सिव्हील्वरो का भी वहाँ प्रदर्शन किया। रासबिहारी बोस जब उनका निरीक्षण कर रहे थे, उस समय १९ नवंबर १९१४ की रात्रि को दो बम विस्फोट हो गये। जिससे रासबिहारी बोस व सचिन्द्रनाथ सन्याल दोनों जखमी हो गये। तुरंत उन्होंने बंगाली टोले के अन्य मकान में अपना निवास बना लिया(६)।

गदर पक्ष की योजना :-

रासबिहारी बोस, सचिन्द्रनाथ सन्याल, विष्णु गणेश पिंगले बनारस से लाहौर रवाना हो गये। रासबिहारी बोस सावधानी रखते थे कि वह किसी एक मकान में १२ घंटे से अधिक नहीं रुकते थे। इस प्रकार गोपनीय विभाग गुप्तचरों को काफी उलझनों में डाले रखते थे। इन क्रांतिकारियों की योजना थी की भिन्न भिन्न मिलिटरी कैंम्पो व छावनियों में ब्रिटीश सरकार के विरोध में विद्रोह की भावना फैलाए। सभी फौजी क्षेत्रों में विद्रोह का प्रचार शुरू हो गया था। ग्रामीणों ने भी छावनियों में जाकर आंदोलन के लिए सहयोग देने का बीड़ा उठाया था। किसान वर्ग भी इस लक्ष्य में सहायता कर रहा था। जो भी शस्त्र इकट्ठे किए गए थे उनको वांछित स्थानों पर पहुंचा दिया गया था और विद्रोह के बहुत से केंद्रों में राष्ट्रीय झंडे पहुंचा दिए गए। अंग्रेजों पर आक्रमण करने की योजना बन रही थी और इनका नारा था “देश के लिए शहीद हो जाओ”।

इस योजना का अधिक भार रासबिहारी बोस के कंधों पर था और अब इस भार को विष्णु गणेश पिंगले एक सच्चे देशभक्त युवक की तरह जो भी आदेश या कार्य मिलता था उसे विनयपूर्वक एक सैनिक की तरह संभाल लेते थे या करने के लिए तत्पर हो जाते थे। सचिन्द्रनाथ सन्याल को तो कहना था कि उस मराठा युवक को चित्र सदैव उनके सामने प्रेरणा के रूप में दिखाई देता है और उनकी चमकती आँखें उनके अनुशासन की झलक देती हैं।

इमिग्रेशन अक्ट और कामागाटामारु जहाज :-

इमिग्रेशन अक्ट ९ मई १९१० को लागू हुआ। इस अक्ट के अनुसार भारतीयों के कॅनडा जाने पर रोक लगा दी गई। रोक की शर्तें निम्नलिखित थी(७)।

१. उस व्यक्ति के पास कॅनडा में प्रवेश का वैध पासपोर्ट होना चाहिए।
२. उस व्यक्ति की यात्रा प्रस्थान करने के स्थान से सीधी कॅनडा के जहाज में होनी चाहिए। बीच में जहाज परिवर्तन करना या किसी अन्य कारन से यात्रा परिवर्तन का मार्ग उसने ना अपनाया हो।
३. उसके पास कम से कम २०४ डॉलर नकद होने चाहिए।

जो यात्री इन आधारभूत प्रतिबंध को पूरा नहीं करते थे, उन्हें कॅनडा की बंदरगाह पर जहाज से नहीं उतरने दिया जाता था और उसी जहास से वापस लौटना पड़ता था। इस अवस्था में उनके पास इतनी रकम नहीं रहती थी कि वह वापस हिंदुस्तान की यात्रा कर सकें और इसलिए उस यात्री को बाध्य होकर हाँगकाँग के गुरुद्वारों में जाकर आश्रय लेना पड़ता था।

खालसा दीवान सोसायटी व अन्य संगठनों ने अंग्रेज अधिकारियों को इस अक्ट को तुरंत वापस लेने या आवश्यक परिवर्तन करने

के अनुरोध पत्र भेजे। परंतु उनपर इसका कोई प्रभाव नहीं पडा। सरकार ने बंगाल के भूतपूर्व अधिकारी और भारतीय भाषाओं के जानकार विलियम सी. होपकिंसन को इस अक्ट को लागू करने के लिए विशेष रूप से नियुक्त किया था।

कॅनडा आने के लिए कलकत्ता से सीधे जहाज बहुत कम थे। यात्रीयों को पहले हॉंगकांग या जापान जाकर वहाँ से कॅनडा के लिए सीधे जहाज पकड़ना पड़ता था। १९१४ में ३०० से ज्यादा भारतीय प्रवासीयों ने कॅनडा जाने की कोशिश की। जिस जहाज से वे यात्रा कर रहे थे उस जहाज का नाम था - कामागाटामारु जहाज। इस जहाज से आनेवाले यात्रीयों को कॅनडा उतरने नहीं दिया गया। कामागाटामारु जहाज २६.९.१९१४ को वापस भारत में आया। क्रांतिकारियों ने इस अवसर पर पूरा लाभ उठाया और कॅनडा में प्रवेश न मिलने पर निराश लौटे भारतीयों में क्रांतिकारी भावना का प्रचार किया। ज्यादातर यात्री पंजाब प्रांत के थे।

इसी घटना की पार्श्वभूमी पर विष्णु गणेश पिंगले पंजाब पहुँचे और निराश लौटे। भारतीयों में क्रांतिकारी भावना का प्रचार किया और बताया की जब तक विदेशी गुलामियों से भारत स्वतंत्र नहीं होगा तब तक उन्हें स्वतंत्र रूप से देशांतर भ्रमण का लाभ नहीं मिल पाएगा। दिसंबर १९१४ को वे पंजाब पहुँचे और उनका साथ देने के लिए करतारसिंग सराबा दक्षिण अमेरिका से भारत आए और दोनों ने मिलकर पंजाब में गदर पार्टी के कार्य को संभाला।

प्रथम महायुद्ध व गदर पक्ष का विद्रोह :-

प्रथम महायुद्ध की शुरुवात हो गई थी और बहुत से अंग्रेज सैनिक भारत से युद्ध क्षेत्र भेज दिये गए।

१६ दिसंबर १९१४ को रास बिहारी बोस, जतिन मुकर्जी, विष्णु गणेश पिंगले के साथ देने के लिए करतारसिंग सराबा दक्षिण अमेरिका से भारत आए और पंजाब में गदर पार्टी के कार्य को संभाला। प्रथम महायुद्ध की शुरुवात हो गई थी और बहुत से अंग्रेज सैनिक भारत से युद्ध क्षेत्र में युरोपियन क्षेत्रों में भेज दिए गए। करतारसिंग सराबाका यह कहना था कि दुश्मन पर आक्रमण करने का यह सबसे अच्छा समय है। इनकी योजना के अनुसार सबसे पहले अंग्रेज अधिकारियों पर चाहे वह नागरिक सेवा में हो या फौजी सेवा में आक्रमण किया जाए और फौजी छावनियों और कॅम्पों में जितने शस्त्र भंडार हैं उनपर कब्जा किया जाए। इसके लिए तमाम टेलीग्राफ के तारों को और संबंधित रेल्वे लाईनों में तोड़फोड़ की जाए और इस प्रकार संगृहीत शस्त्रों को स्थानीय क्रांतिकारियों की सहायता से भिन्न भिन्न स्थानों पर सुरक्षित रखा जाए और फिर तमाम नेता पंजाब में इकट्ठे होकर १२ माह तक इस संघर्ष को जारी रखें। भिन्न भिन्न स्थानों के नेता विद्रोह के लिए सिग्नल की प्रतीक्षा कर रहे थे। क्रांतिकारियों को यह आत्मविश्वास था की सैनिक उनकी सहायता करे और इसी आत्मविश्वास के बलबुते पर उन्होंने अपनी योजना को अंतिम रूप देने का निर्णय लिया(८)।

बम तैयार करना यह भी गदर पक्ष के अभियान का एक भाग था। लेकिन गदर पक्ष के अनुयायी में से कोई भी बम बनाना नहीं जानता था। १९१४ के अंत में विष्णु गणेश पिंगले ने कपूरथला में आयोजित गदर अनुयायी के सभा में ऐलान किया की उन्हें बम तैयार करने के लिए एक बंगाली बाबू सुरेन्द्र बोस सहायता करने के लिए तैयार है। ३ जनवरी १९१५ को पिंगले और सचिन्द्रनाथ को ५०० रु. गदर पक्ष से मिले और वे अमृतसर से बनारस के लिए रवाना हो गए। २१ फरवरी १९१५ को पंजाब के २३वीं रेजिमेंट के जवान पहले विद्रोह करके अपने अप्सरों को गोली मारकर उनके शस्त्रों को इकट्ठा करेंगे। इस विद्रोह के बाद २६वीं रेजिमेंट विद्रोह करेंगी, जो विद्रोह के लिए सिग्नल होगा, उसके बाद दिल्ली और लाहोर की तरफ सेना आगे बढ़ेगी। ढाका में जो सिख सैनिक थे, उन्हें भी इस योजना में शामिल किया गया(९)।

गदर पक्ष की योजना असफल :-

परंतु अचानक सब योजना उल्टी पड़ गई और पंजाब सी.आय.डी. को विद्रोही की योजना का पता चल गया। बलवंतसिंग नामक सैनिक के चचेरे भाई कृपालसिंह के द्वारा इस योजना का पता पंजाब पुलिस को चला। कृपालसिंग रासबिहारी बोस के लाहोर मुख्यालय में गये जहाँ पर विष्णु गणेश पिंगले सहित अन्य नेता इकट्ठा हुए थे। २१ फरवरी १९१५ के दिन के विद्रोह की योजना का कृपालसिंह को पता चला। उसने पंजाब सी.आय.डी. को इस बात की सूचना दी और उच्च अधिकारियों को सचेत कर दिया कि तमाम छावनियों में २१ फरवरी को सैनिक विद्रोह होनेवाला है।

क्रांतिकारियों का पता चला की उनकी योजना के बारे में पुलिस को जानकारी मिली हैं तो तुरंत ही विद्रोह करने का दिन २१ बजाय १९ फरवरी १९१५ की घोषणा कर दि और रासबिहारी बोस तुरंत लाहोर से निकल गए। सरकारी अधिकारियों ने भी कृपालसिंह की सूचना मिलते ही नं. १ मोची गट हाऊस लाहोर पर छापा मारा। तुरंत ही तमाम फौजी छावनियों में फौजी अधिकारियों के पास विद्रोह की सूचना प्रसारित कर दी गई और पूरे सावधान रहने का आदेश दिया। अंग्रेजी सैनिकों ने दिल्ली, अम्बाला, मेरठ, फिरोजपुर, लाहोर क्षेत्रों में मार्च प्रदर्शन किया। विद्रोह के स्थान के सैनिकों को सतर्क कर दिया गया की वह विद्रोहियों से मुकाबला करने के लिए पूरी तरह तैयार रहे। जब करतारसिंह सराबा फिरोजपुर छावनी में पहुँचे तो उन्होंने देखा कि वहाँ के फौजी बहुत ही हताश और भयभीत थे। उन्होंने करतारसिंह सराबा को वहाँ से चले जाने का संकेत दिया।

इस प्रकार सैनिकों में निरुत्साह की लहर फैल जाने से और नेताओं की गिरफ्तारी से आंदोलन को बहुत बड़ा धक्का लगा और उनकी योजना एकदम बीच में ही रह गई। जो उत्साह और लगन गांववालों में और गांव के कार्यकर्ताओं में उभर रही थी वह एकदम ठंडी पड़ने लगी। करतारसिंह तुरंत अपने उच्च अधिकारियों के मुख्यालय की तरफ दौड़े लेकिन इस प्रकार वह पराजय के वातावरण को देखकर निराश हो गये और विष्णु गणेश पिंगले सहित अन्य नेताओं पर क्या बीती यह तो अनुमान करने की ही बात है।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगले पंजाब चले आए और मेरठ में एक मुस्लिम सैनिक से मिले तो अपने आप को क्रांतिकारी बताता था। पिंगले उस मुसलमान अफसर को लेकर जिसका नाम वास्तव में नवाब रखा था, बनारस चले गए। पिंगले मेरठ के सैनिक छावनी में विद्रोह करवाना चाहते थे और १० बम की पेटी को लेकर मेरठ पहुँचे, तो वहाँ छावनी में पिंगले ने अपने को पुलिस से घिरा हुआ पाया और जो फौजी संदिग्ध थे, उन्हें गोलियों से उड़ा दिया गया। मुंबई पुलिस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार विष्णु गणेश पिंगले द्वारा लाए गए बम पूरी छावनी को उड़ा देने के लिए काफी थे (१०)।

विष्णु गणेश पिंगलेजी का बलिदान :-

करतारसिंह सराबा को बनारस से गिरफ्तार किया गया। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले, करतारसिंह सराबा के ऊपर सरकार ने मुकदमा दायर किया। सरकारी आरंभ था कि गदर पार्टी वालों ने शंघाई, हांगकांग, सिंगापूर, रंगून आदि स्थानों पर फौजी सैनिकों में विद्रोह फैलाने के प्रयास किये और भारत में चिंगारी फैलाने के लिए लाहोर, अमृतसर, लुधियाना आदि प्रचार योजना बनाई और सेनाओं की छावनियों में भी विद्रोह फैलाने का प्रयास किया। विष्णु गणेश पिंगले और करतारसिंह सराबा ने आरोपों को जवाब देते हुए कहा की तमाम षड़यंत्र की योजना की जिम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर है।

गदर पक्ष के अनुयायी को सजा देने के लिए एक स्पेशल ट्रीब्युनल चला। जिसमें कमिशनर ए.ए.इर्विन (अध्यक्ष), कमिशनर बी.टी.बी. एलिस व स्पेशल कमिशनर शिव नारायण थे (११)।

न्यायाधीशों ने फैसला सुनाते हुए २४ अभियुक्तों को फांसी की सजा सुना दी। मृत्युदंड पानेवालों में करतारसिंह सराबा, विष्णु गणेश पिंगले, भाई परमानन्द, जगतसिंह व अन्य नेता थे। मृत्युदंड की सजा सुनकर किसी के मुख पर कोई परेशानी नहीं थी, बल्कि सभी प्रसन्न मुद्रा में थे (१२)। महाराष्ट्र की जनता इस महान क्रांतिकार के योगदान को जानती नहीं है। उन्हें विष्णु गणेश पिंगलेजी के योगदान से अवगत कराने का ये छोटासा प्रयत्न है।

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” तारा रेड्डी एक अलौकिक व्यक्तिमत्त्व ”

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जिज्ञासा यह मनुष्य की प्रथम प्रवृत्ति है। सब लोग जिज्ञासा प्रिय होते हैं। विशेषतः अलग अलग क्षेत्र में जिन लोगोंने अपना कार्य करके सर्व सामान्य लोगों के मन में अपना स्थान निश्चित किया ऐसा बहुमोल कार्य करते हुए उन्हें किन किन संकटों का सामना करना पड़ा। और अपने जिद्द से उन्होंने अपना स्थान “ध्रुवस्थान” बनाया। इन लोगों को किस तरहसे प्रेरणा तथा स्फूर्ति मिलती इन्हें जानकारी पाने की जिज्ञासा सबको होती है। वही लोग हमारे प्रेरणादायी तथा मादार्शक होते हैं। ऐसा ही एक अलौकिक व्यक्तिमत्त्व तारा रेड्डी का है।

तारा रेड्डी का जन्म २७ जनवरी १९२६ में दादर पाटणकर कुटुंब में हुआ। उनके पिताजी का नाम भार्गव वामन कोर्लेकर और माता का नाम सौ. शारदा भार्गव था। तारा रेड्डी के नाना नारायणराव वह अत्यंत प्रतिष्ठित तथा समाज सेवक थे। अमृतराव को श्रीमंत यह उपाधी था। दादर के सब सामाजिक सभा तथा सार्वजनिक कार्यक्रम उनके बंगले में होते थे। दादर में सी.के.पी. लड़कियों की मॅट्रिक तक पढ़ाई कम थी। (१९२०) ”तारा रेड्डी माँ उन्हें से एक थी। उनकी माँ ने उनके साथ ही मॅट्रिक की परीक्षा दी थी। तारा रेड्डी को समाजकारण तथा कारण की सिख माता-पिता से मिली। उनके पिता ने देहज विरोधी आंदोलन का कार्य किया था। उनके साथ प्रबोधनकार ठाकरे भी थे।

जब १९२० में असहकार आंदोलन शुरू हुआ। तब गांधीजीका आदेश आया की ”सब युवक गाँव की ओर चलो” तब उनके पिता ने वकिली पेशा छोड़कर गांधीजी के विधायक कार्यक्रम में हिस्सा लिया। उन्होंने सामाजिक तथा राजकीय जागृती के लिए ”भेल” नाम का साप्ताहिक शुरू किया। उनकी माँ भी ”भेल” साप्ताहिक में लेख लिखती थी।

तारा रेड्डी की शिक्षा उरण यहाँ पुरा हुआ। सेकेंडरी स्कूल की स्थापना उनके पिता ने की थी। इस वजह से उन्होंने प्रथम वहाँ अपनी शिक्षा की। वह बहुत होथियार होने के कारण आगे की शिक्षा दादर में ली। इसके बाद वह बम्बई में कायम स्वरूप से रहने लगे। (इंडियन एज्युकेशन सोसायटी - किंग जॉर्ज याने आज वह राजा शिवाजी नाम से पहचाने जाती है।

उन्होंने रुईया कॉलेज में इंटर तक शिक्षा की। उनके सभी सहलियाँ सी.के.पी. थी। ”१९४२ के आंदोलन में उनके कॉलेज की सभी छात्राओं ने सहभाग लिया था। उन्होंने क्या करना उन्हें स्वातंत्र्य था। उनके कुटुंब में लड़का-लड़की ऐसा भेद नहीं था। इस के कारण ही वह विद्यार्थी संघटना का कार्य करने लगी। १९४२ के काँग्रेस अधिवेशन में स्वयंसेविका का कार्य किया। उन्होंने महात्मा गांधीजी को और अरुणा असफली को नजदीकसे देखा था।

१९४२ के आंदोलन के पहिले वह छठी कक्षा के वक्त ऑल इंडिया स्टुडेंट्स फेडरेशन की सदस्य थी। (१९३९, १९४०, १९४१, १९४२ यह चार साल तारा रेड्डी के राजकीय जीवन का क्षेत्र महत्व पूर्ण था। वह संघटना का आयोजन का कार्य करती थी। हरिंद्रनाथ चटोपाध्याय कवी ने देशभक्तीपर कविता रची थी। सुहासिनी जांभेकर (सरोजनी बहन) जो गीत गाती थी। इसी से तारा रेड्डी को साम्यवादी विचारधारा मन में निर्माण हुई। विनोबा भावे, पंडित नेहरू, रविंद्रनाथ टागोर इन्हे प्रति उनके प्रति आदर था। तथा ९ अगस्त को अरुणा असफली उन्होंने गवालिया टैंक ग्रेटरोड यहाँ राष्ट्रध्वज फैलाया। इसका उन्होंने उनके प्रति आदर था गर्व था। तब तारा रेड्डी सब स्वयंसेवकोंको सहभाग लेने के प्रवृत्त किया।

उन्होंने ब्रिटीशों के विरोध कपडा गिरण बंद किया। मोर्चा लिया। इन्हें सबको जेल में कैद किया। (ठाणा जेल) १९४३ के ब्रिटीश के विरोध मिति चित्र लगाने के कारण उन्हें येरवडा जेल में भेजा गया। (दो महिना) वह जेल होते अत्याचार के विरोध संघर्ष करती थी। जेल में वह क्रांतिकारक संगित, विद्रोह का गाना बोलती थी। ” सफेद नारिंगी, हरा, इस रंग की साडियों का तिरंगा बनाकर जेलपर २५ जनवरी रात में फैलाया यह कार्य इंदुताई इन्होंने किया। हल्ल (लोहियावादी इंदु केळकर). उस वक्त उनके मदत बस लड़कियों की उन्हें तारा रेड्डी यह थी।

जयप्रकाश नारायणजी का किताब तारा रेड्डी ने पढ़ा और वह प्रभावित हुई। ठाणा जेल में उन्हका संबंध सब गुन्हेगार स्त्रियों के साथ बात करके उन्हका दुःख समझकर इन्हका काम का वक्त आठ घंटा होना चाहिए। उन्होने गोदावरी परलेकर के साथ संघर्ष किया। हमे सब सामान्य स्त्रियों के प्रति कार्य करना चाहिए ऐसा मन सोचा। सत्याग्रह कार्य में सिंधु देशपांडे गोवा सत्याग्रह में बारा महिना सना हुई। इंदु भट, शांता हटंगडी, इ. तथा ऑल इंडिया स्टुडेंट्स फेडरेशन मे (ए.आय.एस.एफ.) बहुतसे गाना आत्मसात किया। उसमे से १) नही रखनी, नही रखनी, यह जालीम सरकार नही रखनी २) डायर तेरे इस जुलमो का नही हुआ इन्साफ ३) दिन खुन के हमारे यारो न भुल जाना ४) मेरा रंग दे बसंती चोला यह गाना सिखे थे।

उन्हे के यह राष्ट्रीय कार्य की वजह से उन्हको रुईया कॉलेज में प्रवेश नही दिया। क्यो की वह जेल जाकर आये थे। इसके बाद उन्होने खालसा कॉलेज में प्रवेश लिया और वह इंटर हुई। पिताके तरह वकिल बनने लिए उन्होने लॉ कॉलेज में प्रवेश लिया। परंतु उन्हका मन पढ़ाई नही लगा तब वह पढ़ाई छोड दी।

१९४४ मे जो टिटवाला किसान परिषद हुई थी तब वह सहभाग थी। उसके बाद उन्हका कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में प्रवेश हुआ। किसान सभा के लिए चंदा मिलता था। उसमे कम्युन का काम चलता था।

उस वक्त मोरारजी देसाई का सरकार था। उन्हके साथ सुशीला गोखले तथा शांता केळकर काम करते थे। यहा से उन्हको हदपार किया। उन्होने कम्युन छोडकर बंबई यों को आकर गिरण कामगार युनियन में काम करने लगी। तबी अरुणा असफली इन्होने कम्युनिस्ट पक्ष के विडोड पार्टीबा दिया। गिरण कामगार युनियन में उन्हकी पहचान गंगाराम रेड्डी के साथ हुई। उन्होने उन्हके साथ शादी की। उन्हके कार्य हर तरह की मदत की। गिरण काम करने वाली स्त्रियों को निकालने के वजह से मोर्चा, सभा भाषण इ. हुए। इस वजह से उन्हे आपने बच्चो की तरफ ध्यान देने के लिए वक्त नही मिला। युनियन का काम करने के कारण वह महिला आंदोलन की और खिचती चली गयी। तब १९५४ में 9अखील भारतीय महिला फेडरेशन की स्थापना हुई। इस संघटना के आधारपर महिलाओं के सब प्रश्न लेकर संघर्ष में कार्य किया। यही वक्त संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र आंदोलन का था। संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र आंदोलन का नेतृत्व भी तारा रेड्डी इन्होने किया। उन्होको जेल में भी जाना पडा था। जब मुंबई महानगरपालिका व विधान सभा के चुनाव में जितकर उन्होने गयारह साल नगर सेविका का कार्य किया था। उन्होने और महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया था। वह शिक्षा समिती का कार्य द्विभाषिक विरोध में कार्य किया। इसके बदले उन्हे साडेतीन महिना साबरमती जेल में रहना पडा। उन्हके दो बच्चे लड़की उज्ज्वला तथा लड़का प्रकाश यह नाना - नानी के पास रहते थे।

उन्हके आंदोलनमे याने के "महंगाई प्रतिकार संयुक्त महिला समिती यह इसमें शक्कर, तेल, घासलेट इन्ह के भाव बढ़ गये। तथा बजार में से गायब हुए। यह मनुष्य के मुलभूत आवश्यकता पुरी नही हो पाती थी। इस समस्या का हल निकालना है तो सब महिलाओ ने इकट्ठा आना चाहिए। इकट्ठा होकर आवाज उठाना चाहिए। महंगाई के विरोध संयुक्त महिला समिती स्थापित की तब मृणाल गोरे इन्होने अध्यक्षपद कार्य किया। सहकारी मिनाक्षी बाई उपाध्यक्ष और सुशिला गोखले - पटेल सचिव तथा तारा रेड्डी कार्य संभालती थी। उन्होने कार्यकारी मंडल का निर्माण किया। उन्हका मानना था महिला फेडरेशन यह स्वतंत्र है। पार्टी से उन्हका संबंध नही होते हुए भी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ऑफ इंडिया इन्ह पक्ष ने मदत की। कम्युनिस्ट पक्ष का कार्य करते समय उन्हको संघर्ष नही करना पडा। बिड़ी कामगार आंदोलन में स्त्री-पुरुष भिन्नता दिखाई दी। महिलाएँ पुरुष की तरह काम करती थी। तभी भी दोन के पगार में भिन्नता थी। तारा रेड्डी के मतानुसार स्त्री समानता होने के लिये उन्हको आर्थिक स्थान पुरुष बराबर होना चाहिए। तबी स्त्रियो महिलाओं को पुरुष जैसे समानता मिलेगी। उनहके मतानुसार महिलाओंको वारीस अधिकार समसमान दिया गया नही तो उसे समान अधिकार कहाँ से मिलेगे। इस लिए कानून बदलना चाहिए। ऐसा उन्हका मानना था तथा आग्रह था।

१९५७ मे अंतरराष्ट्रीय महिला साल घोषित किया। तब वह बर्लिन में थी। उन्होने वुईमेन इंटरनॅशनल डेमोक्रेटीक फेडरेशन संस्था का सेक्रेटरी बनकर कार्यभार संभाला। इसमें महिलाओं की सामाजिक वैधानिक तथा आर्थिक स्थिती का अहवाल फेडरेशन को भेजा जाए। विश्व के देश सबी देश अहवाल भयानक थे। याने के कौन से भी देश में महिलाओ को सुरक्षा देने वाला कायदा-कानून नही था

। ऐसा सर्वेक्षण में दिखाई दिया । अपने भी देश में महिलाओं का दर्जा सुधार के लिए समिती तथा संघटना का निर्माण किया गया । विश्व के तीन हजार संघटना की परिषद बर्लिन में ली गयी । इस परिषद का काम तारा रेड्डी सचिव बनकर किया । वह अफगानस्थान, अफ्रिका, मंगोलिया, कॅटीन अमेरिका इन्ह देशों के महिला संघटना संपर्क में थी । "उन्हें आंतरराष्ट्रीय टेलीफोनद्वारा संपर्क से उन्हें आंतरराष्ट्रीय किर्ती की महिला कार्यकर्ती जानी जाती है ।

अखिल भारतीय महिला फेडरेशन का काम करते समय "उन्हें महिला आंदोलन पत्रक कल्पना आयी । शुरू से वह संपादक मंडल में थी । उन्होंने पक्ष का मुखपत्र "युगांतर का काम किया । युगांतर संपादक एस.व्ही. देशपांडे तथा कॉ. श्री. निवास सरदेसाई, डॉ. अधिकारी, कॉ. जांभेकर, श्रीकांत लाड यह विचार तथा वृत्तिसे साम्यवादी थे । इस लिए वह स्त्री - पुरुष ऐसा भेदभाव नहीं करते थे । उन्होंने तारा रेड्डी को प्रोत्साहित किया । उनका ध्यान मुंबई गिरणी कामगार महिला, तथा महाराष्ट्र के महिला आंदोलन की ओर जादा था ।

कम्युनिस्ट पक्षका विभाजन हुआ यह तारा रेड्डी को अच्छा नहीं लगा । मतभेद चर्चा से मित सकता है । इसपर उन्हें विश्वास था । सी.आय.पी. तथा सी.पी.एम. में मनभिन्नता नहीं थी । उन दोनों में चर्चा होनी चाहिए ऐसा उन्हें मानना था । उन दोनों में चर्चा होनी चाहिए ऐसा उन्हें मानना था । इन्ह मन भिन्नता की वजह से देश के राजकारण का नुकसान हुआ । तथा विश्व आंदोलन में भी नुकसान हुआ । यह दोन पक्ष इकट्ठी होना चाहिए । ऐसा तारा रेड्डी मन था ।

उन्होंने उम्र भर लेखन किया । मामा वरेरकर की लेखिनी बनकर कार्य किया । उन्होंने जीवन नाम की कथा लिखी । इस पहिली प्रति की प्रस्तावना आचार्य अत्रे उन्होंने किया । कार्ल मार्क्स क्रुप्स काया यह पुस्तक लिखा (लेनिन के शिक्षा तज्ञ पानी का चरित्र) उन्होंने अहमदाबाद की दंगल, भिवंडी दंगल, बम्बई शहर की दंगल, महिला और नोकरी बालकामगार, महिला फेडरेशन का इतिहास, इ. साहित्य उपलब्ध उपलब्ध है । जागृती मंडल का मंडल भारुड नाम का मासिक निकालते थे । उसमें उनके कथा और कविता प्रसिद्ध थे ।

उन्हें रिटायर्डमेंट यह शब्द मान्य नहीं था । क्यों की हम काम करना छोड़ दिया या रोक दिया तो अपना दिमाग भी काम करना छोड़ देगा यह उन्होंने यह जिना पसंत नहीं था । ऐसा वह कहती थी ।

ऐसे व्यक्तिमत्व की नारी स्वभाव से प्रेम भरी तथा अलौकिक काम करनेवाली महिलाओं प्रश्न नजदीक से अभ्यास करनेवाली । उन्होंने न्याय मिलने के लिए झगड़ने वाली सर्व श्रेष्ठ नारी थी । "स्पॅरो" संस्था ने उनकी मुलाखत ली उसका आलोचन ।

अन्नपूर्णा महिला मंडल के संस्थाचालक प्रेमा पुरव तारा रेड्डी के बारे में कहती है की 9 कार्यकर्ताओं का मन नहीं होता है । यह सत्य नहीं है । केवल वह प्रदर्शित करते नहीं । क्यों की वह जनता का नेता होता है । इस वजह से एक कहावत आयी 9 तुटेंगे पर झकेंगे नहीं ।" इस लिए कार्यकर्ता झुकता नहीं है । आंदोलन का खंबा झुका तो चौबारा खडा नहीं हो सकात । प्रेमा पुरव कते है की तारा रेड्डी से ही उन्हें शिक्षा हासील हुई की त्याग कैसा करना चाहिए । प्यार कैसा करना चाहिए । कष्ट याने क्या ? महत्वाकांक्षा कैसी होती है और कौन से भी संकटों का सामना किस तरह से करना चाहिए । इस वजह से तारा रेड्डी यह प्रेम पुरव की आदर्श थी ।

तारा रेड्डी इन्होंने संसार तथा बच्चों को अपने समाज सुधार कार्य की वजह से दुर्लक्षित किया । उन्हें मानना था जनता का सुख यह अपना सुख है ।

तारा रेड्डी को ७५ साल पुरा होने के लिए ३७ दिन बाकी थे । और उन्हें स्वर्गवास हुआ (३० डिसेंबर २००५) ऐसी थोर विचारधारा की और समाजभिमुख एक तारा अपनों से दुर चला गया । उनके यह कार्य से सब महिलाओं को संदेश दिया की हमें किस तरह से अनेक संकटों का सामना करना चाहिए । यह बताया है । अपना कार्य ज्योती की तरह होना चाहिए की दुसरो का जीवन उजाला से भर दिया जाये । यह अपना प्रथम कर्तव्य होना चाहिए ।

आंतरराष्ट्रीय लोकशाही वादी महिला फेडरेशन में १) रोज़ा लक्ज़ेबर्ग २) युजिनी कोर्ल ३) व्हॅलेअना तेरेष्टोवा ४) ईटो कुर्सिन ५) मारी क्लॉड इ. तथा भारतीय महिला फेडरेशन नेताओं में १) रेणू चक्रवर्ती २) अनुसूया वागळे ३) अरुणा असफअली ४) विमल फरुकी ५) हाजराबेगम ६) पुष्पमती बोस ७) कपिल खांडवाल इ. महिलायों ने अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है ।

तळटिपा :

- १) डॉ. रोहिणी गवाणकर, जीवन कथा : एक अग्निशिखेची पृ. १०
- २) तत्रैव पृ. ९
- ३) तत्रैव पृ. १०
- ४) गीता महाजन, ताराबाई तुमच्यामुळे पृ. २५
- ५) राम बाहेती, तारा निरवळली पृ. २५
- ६) डॉ. रोहिणी गवाणकर, जीवन कथा - अग्निशिखेची भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट प्रकाशन पृ. १०
- ७) तारा रेड्डी, मागे वळून पाहताना पृ. ३२
- ८) ल.स.कारखानीस, लीला आवटे, माधवी विचारे, अभिवादन तारा रेड्डी पृ. १
- ९) तत्रैव पृ. ३६
- १०) "स्पॅरो" संस्थाने की हुई बुलाबात
- ११) प्रेमाताई पुरव इन्हके साथ हुई मुलाखात २४-९-२००७

संदर्भ ग्रंथ और प्रत्यक्ष संवाद :

- १) "स्पॅरो" संस्था मे मुलाखात डॉ. रोहिणी गवाणकर उन्हेने ली थी ।
- २) ल.स. कारखानीस, लीला आवटे, माधवी विचारे अभिवादन तारा रेड्डी - भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पक्ष का प्रकाशन २००६.
- ३) उज्ज्वला रेड्डी और प्रकाश रेड्डी इन्हकी मुलाखत
भ्रमणध्वनी नंबर - ९८६९०००६८४, २४३१ ०६७८
- ४) अन्नपूर्णा महिला संघ के कार्यकर्ता प्रेमा पुरव की मुलाखत
- ५) तारा रेड्डी भारतीय फेडरेशन ४५ साल स्थापना विचार विकास भारतीय महिला फेडरेशन (मुंबई समिती) प्रकाशन १९९९

स्लाईड :

- १) तारा रेड्डी (फोटो)
- २) तारा रेड्डी समाजवादी विचारवंत का पुरस्कार स्विकारते हुए ।
- ३) कवी संमेलन भाषण करते समय
- ४) कॉ. जी. एल. रेड्डीचा ७५ साल का सालगिराह फोटो
- ५) १९७२ बर्लिन जाते समय बम्बई हवाई अड्डा का फोटो
- ६) आंतरराष्ट्रीय लोकशाहीवादी महिला फेडरेशन आंतरराष्ट्रीय महिला नेता
- ७) भारतीय महिला फेडरेशन नेता
- ८) प्रकाश रेड्डी व उज्ज्वला रेड्डी उन्हका भ्रमणध्वनी संवाद तथा मुलाकात ९-१०-२००७
- ९) प्रेमा पुरव की मुलाकात लेते समय फोटो

From Ahimsa To Naxalism : The Shattered Dream Of Mahatma

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The first protagonist of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi, who endeavored to establish the examples through his conduct in life, believed that human beings could only function as human beings when they are prepared to love each other, respect each others' dignity and be sensitive to the problems and aspirations of the people of the community in which they reside. The Mahatma always aimed at empowering civil society and community based organizations through economic and social equity. Based on Indian ethos and values, Mahatma's ideas were part of his general crusade against poverty and exploitation, against socio-economic injustice and deteriorating moral standards. Mahatma was an economist of the masses. Under the Gandhian economic principles, the character of production should be determined by social necessity and not by personal need. The most significant difference between Marxian socialism and Gandhian socialism lies in the method they recommended to achieve the goals.¹ Marxian socialism harps on violence, Gandhian socialism aims at change of heart on the part of the rich. Gandhiji wanted the Zamindars to act as trustees of their lands and allow them to be used by tenants.² Gandhiji always wanted that village government should control everything at the grassroots level by controlling resources and decision making by village assembly. He emphasized decentralized production system to curb distress migration to urban centres. He felt the need of local governance as a check against arrogance of the state. He had also felt the need for a low expense popular franchise that ensures participatory democracy. Gandhiji through his path breaking and revolutionary ideas wanted India to have inclusive progress. But in reality all his ideologies remained in theory and nothing was implemented in practice. The failure of ideal situations disillusioned the masses which had great expectations from the ruling party and resulted in various hostility and uprising.

Uprising by farmers and attempts for reforms

The armed struggle against the feudal landlords, the jagirdars and deshmukhs in the princely state of Hyderabad with exaction and forced labor, called vetti-chakiri, was responsible for the peasant uprising not only against the feudal landlords but also against the Nizam of Hyderabad.. This was followed by sporadic violence and the oppressive measures of the local ruler resulted in conflagration. It engulfed the whole Hyderabad between 1946-1951.³ About 40 percent of the people lived on feudal estates where powerful owners had their courts and jails. The feudal system allowed these owners to demand manual labour from both men and women.⁴ It was the landlord's privilege to sleep with a new bride on the marriage night. The custom of Adi Bapa required a bonded female servant to accompany her master's daughter to the girl's marriage home. There she used to be at the mercy of the groom, who used to treat her as an object. In addition, the landlords endured no censure for raping and making concubines of women who took their fancy.⁵ The other 60 percent of the population settled on lands held by the Nizam. They were ruled by Desmukh (overseer) who forced them to labor and beat them at will.⁶ The people grueling in abject poverty and humiliation revolted against the local potent. One of the most vociferous demands of the movement was waiving the debts of the peasants. Despite the atrocities inflicted by the Nizam's police and the reign of terror, the communists succeeded in establishing a parallel government in **Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam district.**⁷ The hated landlords who were the pillars of the Nizam's aristocracy in the rural areas, were driven out from their fortresses like houses and their lands seized by the peasantry. **In the wake of Telangana movement and to assuage the grief of the people Vinobha Bhave, a nationalist leader influenced by Gandhiji's philosophy of Sarvodaya (upliftment of everyone), started a movement to persuade landlords to donate land for redistribution to the landless, known as Bhoodan (the gift of land). Vinobha Bhave was supported by Jai Prakash Narayan. In Bihar the movement collected considerable amounts of land. In 1964 Communist party got divided on the issue of Sino-Soviet split and Indo-China war and Communist Party of India Maoist emerged as a new party. In the midst of these events an agricultural tenant movement began in Naxalbari in Darjeeling, West Bengal in 1967. Charu Majumdar is considered the father of the Naxal Movement, named after the peasant's armed uprising at Naxalbari. It became synonymous of armed insurrection influenced by Mao Tse Tung of China.**⁸ On May Day in 1969, Sanyal announced the birth of CPI (ML). In 1971, however the government responded with operation Steeplechase. This coupled with Majumdar's death in police custody a year later, destroyed Naxalism in West Bengal. Sanyal who fled to Andhra Pradesh made it clear that the

Naxalite Movement was not for land but for state power' . From the early seventies onwards, the movement broke into increasingly small fragments and interafeuds. This led to the development of a host of new ideas which paid attention to issues which had hitherto been neglected such as culture, gender, caste or tribe.

Methodology

The present paper seeks to shed light on Naxalite movement in India in general and Bihar in particular with the prime objective of understanding the movement from the grassroots perspective and how its ideologies deviated from people centric programme to party centric. The involvement of the people including members, activists and supporters of the Naxalite movement lends credibility to find out the root cause of the altered power equations, leading to factionalism based on economic, social and religious issues as well as explore possible, effective measures to deal with it. Based on various literatures available on the subject as well as empirical studies undertaken over a period of three years of field visits to various villages in Bihar, where interviews were taken of officials, bureaucrats and participants of the movement .The study tends to analyze extant realities starkly facing Naxalism across a vast disgruntled territory

The Dichotomy Situation in South Bihar

It was in South Bihar at Champaran Gandhiji started his first satyagraha movement against the white landlords who had been inflicting atrocities on the farmers by compelling them to grow indigo on a fixed amount of land .. On the same land where Gandhiji's first lesson of Satyagraha became successful later on became the spawning ground for violence.

The earliest seeds of the Naxalite movement in Bihar were sown, as early as 1967 in village Ekwari, in the Sahar block of Bhojpur district with a population of approximately 9000 in 1995.⁹ Roughly one third of the population is farmers and remaining two thirds are labours, who are either completely landless or have marginal landholdings. The largest landholdings in the village today are below 100 bighas.¹⁰ However, landowners in Ekwari are called Zamindars by the laborers since they not only own land, but also have control over the gram-panchayats. In this village, an incident took place in 1967 that trigged Naxalite movement.¹¹ From there, during the last 35 years, the movement has spread over to a large number of districts in Bihar. The area most affected by the movement is the region known as South Bihar, flanked by the Ganges in the north and Chota Nagpur plateau in the South.¹² The South Bihar, where Naxalism flourished very rapidly, is home to 2.70 crores of people comprising 33% of Bihar's population. It has a population density of nearly 780 persons per square kilometers.¹³ The area consists of 14 districts: Patna, Gaya, Nalanda, Jehanabad, Aurangabad, Nawada, Rohtas, Bhojpur, Buxar, Monghyr, Jamui, Banka, Shiekhpora and Lakhisarai.

In South Bihar the various incidents of violence had occurred either in the name of caste or due to land related issues which were often intertwined. However, the crux of the problem was poverty, long-term unemployment, material deprivation and social exclusion. Social discrimination was something more sardonic than economic deprivation that damaged the self-esteem and therefore, poverty had not only economic dimension but also social.¹⁴

A survey carried out by the A.N.Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna in six villages of Bhojpur district revealed that the emergence of Naxalism in this area could be attributed to the brutal oppression of low caste landless laborers and sexual exploitation of women folk by upper caste land holders. Before the onset of Naxalism the chamars and mushar, belonging to Scheduled caste, were the victims of such atrocities.¹⁵ This statement was corroborated by the statistics of another researcher, Manju Kala.¹⁶ According to her, economic exploitation and social oppression forced the oppressed to join Naxalism. According to Manju Kala's survey the agrarian structure in most parts of South Bihar just before the Zamindari abolition was characterized by landlords from two militant upper castes: Bhumiards and Rajputs followed by occupancy ryots and new land holders mainly from Muslim and non-occupancy ryots from backward peasantry as a dominant social force and the militant mass mobilization of the poor forced..In South Bihar, the proportion of dalits (scheduled caste) population is relatively higher than in North Bihar. The population of dalit in Gaya is 26%, in Nalanda 25%, in Aurangabad 23%, Rohtas 19% and Bhojpur 15% against the state average of dalit population of 15%.¹⁷

Thus numerical strength not only evinced rigor in democratic elections, but also in daily life to protest with more confidence. In South Bihar like in other parts of India ,after independence, land was distributed among the poor landless laborers for agricultural purpose as a part of land reform measures. This land was

available from ceiling surplus, Bhoodan and gairmajarua khas. Although these were few sources of land acquisition, the reform measures and related ceiling laws were implemented in a tardy and tedious fashion.¹⁸ In real sense the landlords often dispossessed the new settlers as a result of which land distribution existed only on paper. Statistics reveal that in India out of 6.84 lakhs acres of total bhoodan land, 2.87 lakh acres had been given to poor people.¹⁹

P. V. Rajgopal, Vice-chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, had said that 40% of Indians are now landless and 23% of them are in abject poverty. He further said to the News Agency AFP that such conditions have bred Maoist insurgency in 172 of India's 600 districts and farmers are killing themselves in 100 other districts. Prior to the imposition of the emergency in 1975, the movement had spread in two or three districts, but during emergency it faced persecution and had to lie low. The phase after 1977 therefore, saw the surge of the movement and the emergence of the new Naxalites.²⁰

There are now three groups operating in the area: 1. CPI (ML) party unity with Majdoor Kisan Sangram Samiti (MKSS) on their agrarian organization; 2. People's War Group; and 3. Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). The MCC made an attempt to forge unity among numerous groups, some open, other semi-open and yet some secret.²¹

People's Perception

Even through the term Naxalite is part of the vocabulary of the people of South Bihar, it is understood in different ways. On the basis of the questionnaire, the author came to the conclusion that people who decided to join or not join the Naxalites had in most cases heard about the Naxalites before they actually met them. A large majority of the people in Jehanabad had initially understood the Naxalites to be people who indulged in maar-kaat (killing/slashing). These perceptions changed once they came into contact with some leaders and members of individual factions at the village level. Their personal contact made them realize that the maar-kaat of the Naxalites was with good intentions. Many of them joined the movement on the basis of this perception; others hoped that the Naxalites would deal with their oppression. However, a large majority continues to express their understanding in popular terms.²²

Diverse reasons motivate people to join a revolutionary movement. The author felt that most of the people at the village level, with few exceptions had little understanding of the formal ideologies of Marxism and Leninism. People support Naxalite movement because they feel that the Naxalite share their sense of injustice and fight on their behalf. The Naxalite ideology also strikes a chord with the people because it finds expression in concrete struggle on immediate issues that concern them like land distribution and implementation of minimum wages. Many people join the movement, especially its open front for non-ideological reasons and with non-revolutionary intentions. They recognize the injustice and realize that only a collective struggle could redress their grievances. Many individuals approached Naxalites with specific personal reasons such as retribution for rape, protection on the face of threats and arbitration of property disputes.²³ Sometimes joining the Naxalite movement was a matter of survival in South Bihar. As this type of connection gave priority to their interest and provided them strong presence at the local level. But some of them join the movement to settle scores with their enemies or to gain advantage in a private conflict of personal issues. Last but not the least, personality factor had a strong influence on the popularity of different naxalite groups in certain areas. Collective identities like caste, class and gender play a crucial role in determining who joined the movement.

Case Study Issues

Innumerable case studies revealed that South Bihar is sitting on a volcanic edge. During the fourth state assembly election, Jagdish Mahto, an educated youth of Koeri caste was severely beaten by the henchmen of the landlord, Sankh Singh, when he attempted to prevent them from rigging votes.²⁴ Meanwhile, news of the Naxalbari uprising which took place in the same year had spread far and wide. The Naxalite message caught the imagination of Jagdish Mahto who started looking for like-minded friends. In this endeavor, Rameshwar Ahir joined him, a yadav dacoit turned rebel who returned to Ekwari after serving 12 years in jail for murdering a constable.²⁵ At this time Jagdish Mahto tried to forge link with Naxalite leaders and then formed the present CPI (ML) liberation.²⁶ Initially the focus of this movement was annihilation of oppressive landlords, their henchmen and against the state policy. The struggle against the landlord was not only about land, but also against their feudal attitude and behavior. Jagdish Mahto and Rameshwar Ahir died in 1972 and 1975 respectively but were fondly remembered as Marx and Engel of Bhojpur though both of them had no fair knowledge of communist ideology. Bihar government banned both People War Group and Maoist Communist Centre²⁷ in 1986. But secret meetings continued and majority of them participated in the CPI (ML) organized National Women's

Convention in Kolkata. The struggle initiated by them was against the landlord. Therefore, Sankh Singh and his family, who had formed Ranbeer Sena against the Naxalite in 1994²⁸ became the target. In 1997 Naxalite killed Sankh Singh along with his five family members. The Naxalite movement became a wee bit successful in challenging the feudal power. The local freedom could create unprecedented political consciousness among the laborers, who commanded some dignity. The Ekwari story was an extreme case but this news spread in other villages like Dhanbad Bihta, Belaur, Gorpa, Gulzarpur, Baruhi, Nannor and Nidhi. The outcome of these struggles was much the same everywhere.²⁹

Mr. Vinay Sinha at present working with National Agricultural Rural Bank lost his entire family in Naxalite wrath at Fatuah block near Patna..³⁰ There are innumerable cases of these types of tragedies. They have been challenging the power of the landed upper castes and their feudal attitude. Another incident of this type took place on Sunday, 13, November 2005 when around 1000 armed Naxals stormed the police barracks in Jehanabad located 60 kilometers from Patna. The Naxals first triggered a series of powerful blasts in and around the local court. They scaled the jail and set off bombs inside. They freed 341 prisoners, including their leader Ajay Kanu.³¹ They gunned down top Ranbeer Sena leader Bade Sharma in his cell and abducted 16 of his men. Their attack spread panic in the town of one lakh people. During 2006, from the peripheries of West Bengal, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh Chattisgarh it has extended to Orissa, Maharashtra and other southern states. Now Naxal conflict came to be recognized as the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by India. According to the 2005-2006 Annual Report of the Ministry Of Home Affairs, Naxal violence in 2005 was reported from 509 police stations across 11 states. In 2006, Naxal violence has been reported from 1,427 police station 13 states. On April 9, 2006, similar type of incident took place when on early morning the Naxalites blew up part of Bansi Nala railway station building and railway tracks in Gaya district to enforce the bandh of Magadh called by the CPI (Maoist) to protest the arrest of their top leaders. Similar type of violent act took place on July 1, 2007, where nine persons were killed in Sasaram district as Maoist rebels attacked on the local Police Station.³² In recent Naxal attacks the rate of civilian casualty has gone up. Earlier the Naxal movement was restricted to rural areas, but recently some city-bred activists have been arrested in Mumbai for allegedly being involved in Naxal activities³³.

Past Mission and Present Goal

In the first stage of the Naxalite movement in early 1970s and 1980s, the aim was to annihilate the oppressor landlords, their cronies and all those associated with them. The focus was on land rights, minimum wages, common property resources and housing.³⁴ To a certain extent, these were achievable goals. The Naxalites succeeded in extracting surplus lands from the landowners through violent means by putting a red flag in the middle of the land against all oppositions and then used to distribute it among the poor for agriculture and housing purposes.³⁵ There had also been instances of land remaining in the hands of the party. This land, instead of being distributed to poor people, was being leased to sangathan members on a share cropping basis. The author did not come across the instance of land being distributed to women. Another economic issue often taken up by the Naxalite movement was related to housing. Living on land belonging to the landlord had increased the dependence of laborers on their employers. With the help of Naxalite groups, labourers were sometimes able to resettle or reclaim the fallow land. Apart from economic rights, the Naxalite movement had been able to gain basic social rights for the Dalits by making them conscious of their position and status as human beings and claiming equal rights as others.

Instances of rape of lower caste women have decreased dramatically. Arbitrary beatings are no longer tolerated. Laborers were free to sell their labor to whomsoever they please. Dalit children are able to go to school and attend class side by side with the upper class children. All this has become possible because the landlords are no longer in a position to exercise illegitimate power with impunity and the state administration is not in a position to prevent the Naxalites from demanding equitable social justice. The Naxalite squads were effective in targeting the most notorious gang leaders that considerably reduced the strength of their groups.³⁶ Elimination of criminal gangs has not only been a concern of Party Unity, but also of other Naxalite groups. In this respect they have achieved incredible success.³⁷

In the political arena, the Naxalite movement has achieved some success in South Bihar. The MCC (Maoist Communist Centre) has been playing a commendable role in protecting the political rights of the poor and the oppressed in rural Bihar. The assertiveness of the poor, who remained obscurant due to upper class arrogance, has catapulted them to the mainstream of life as a noticeable phenomenon. Agricultural laborers are able to think of themselves as citizens with the same political rights as their upper class counterparts. Another important political right denied to many in South Bihar was the right to vote. People were often kept

away from the polling booths by henchmen of the Upper Castes and classes, who would cast dummy votes in their name.³⁸ The most important role of the squad is to protect the Dalits and the oppressed, which were the prime targets of frequent attacks. The daily life of squad members has had its share of ups and downs and deprivation. They are almost totally dependent on the people for their survival. Apart from armed actions, sometimes they also followed non-violent protests like aarthik nakebandi (economic boycott) jan-adaalat (people's court), gherao (blockade), dharna (picketing), chakka-jam (road blocks), putla dhahan (effigy burning) and hunger strikes. The initial name of the Party Unity was unification and it created a cultural front to unite the people. The front came into existence on January 1, 1982 with the merger of two CPI (ML) The popular slogans used by them are as follows:

- Samantsahi ke kille Ko dhwansh karai, janwad ke drug ka Nirman Karai
(Smash the castle of feudalism and build that of democracy)

P.U. Slogan³⁹

- Apni satta, apna Kanoon
(Our power, our law)
- Hum ladegane kyoki ab tak hum adhikaro ke liye nahi lade
(We will fight because so far we never fought for our right).

M.C.C. Slogan⁴⁰

- Khet per adhikaar ke liye lado, desh mein janwaad ke liye lado
(Fight for land right, march towards democracy)

Liberation Slogan⁴¹

Changing Track and Tactics

In South Bihar, the Maoist Communist Centre has perpetrated acts of violence. What began as a fight for social and economic justice eventually snowballed into a caste conflict with a veneer of social struggle. Virtually, a parallel judicial system in certain pockets described as Jan adaalat or People's Courts were held to pass extreme sentences such as shorten an accused by six inches i.e. to behead him. In the present time the Naxalite movement has deviated from the earlier ideologies where they used to emphasize on redistribution of land, enforcing payment of minimum wages to the farm labor, holding people's court and enforcing social code through imposing taxes and penalties, destroying government property and kidnapping government functionaries. Now they are militarizing the armed component of the party by giving more sophisticated weapons and expertise in the use of improvised explosive devices. The chilling massacres of the unarmed civilians by the Naxalites in 2006 were unprecedented. The major killings were Darbhaguda massacre of 28th February 2006 in which 27 persons were killed. The another inhuman act shown by them was at Monikonta massacre of April 2006 at Orissa in which 15 unarmed villagers were killed after abduction. Now Naxals have become obstacles to development especially in rural areas what earlier they used to frown on. ⁴² In Bihar, the Naxalites had been reported by destroying all such buildings that could provide shelter to security personnel whether these were school buildings, panchayat bhavans, community centres and any house big enough to shelter a police picket.⁴³ They attacked Divisional Engineer Office at Eturrenagram agency at Warangal on 29th March 2006.⁴⁴ They bombed the resthouse at Bhim Bandh a tourist spot in Munger district on 25th May 2006.⁴⁵ On 1st June they bombed the telephone exchange office in Charla Mandal in Andhra Pradesh.⁴⁶ The vast railway network of the country has been the worst victim of Naxalites rampage against development. On 25th April 2006 Naxalite attacked Narganlo railway station on the Jhajha-Asansol railway line in Bihar.⁴⁷ On 15th October 2006, the Maoist blew up a portion of the track at Chegdo halt station in Jharkhand.⁴⁸ On 30th October, 2006 the Maoist blew up a 100 metre railway track between Narkatiaganj and Harinagar stations under Samastipur division of East Central Railway.⁴⁹ Government owned National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC) had also been the target of the Naxalites. On quite a few times like on 21st March, 20th May and 30th October 2006, they attacked and destroyed the resources of the mines.⁵⁰ The Naxalites tactics of supplementing armed struggle with mass agitation have posed as much a new threat to the government as it has posed security challenges in sylvan pockets of Andhra and Orissa. The easy access to small arms by the Naxalites, are known only in the North-East and Jammu and Kashmir. The recovery of 600 unloaded rockets, 275 rocket launchers, 70 gelatine sticks and other explosive material from Mahbubnagar and Prakasam districts of Andhra Pradesh in September 2006 was followed up by recovery of 543 land mines from Indian Army personnel at Tehla Shakuntala, West Bengal in October 2006.⁵¹

The nexus of Indian Naxal groups with Nepal Maoist, LTTE and the Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) has come to the fore. There have been reports of the Nepal Maoists receiving financial and material assistance from both the ISI and the North Korean intelligence. The ISI's interest in helping the Nepal Maoist is due to the latter's anti-India views⁵². During 1980s the two different streams i.e. People's War Group and Maoist Communist Centre, of the Naxalite movement charted out their respective tactics separately. However, lately, they have emerged as the main challenge to the Indian State because of their coordinated action plan and determination to implement it. They have also expanded their area of operations from their old pockets in West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh in the 1970s to new guerilla zones in other states like Orissa, Maharashtra, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the new millennium.

At present the target areas are Madhubani, Araria and Supaul.⁵³ From January to September 2007 at least 384 persons including 129 civilians, 162 security forces and 93 alleged Naxalites have been killed. The highest number of killings was reported from Chattisgarh followed by Andhra Pradesh 59, Jharkhand 44 and Bihar 28. Compare to 2006 though the number of killings have decreased but conflicts have intensified.⁵⁴ Two most recent striking aspects of the Naxal movement are: 1) slaying of women and children as small as three years old; and 2) presence of teenagers among Naxal rank and file. Both aspects are worrisome because they raise disturbing questions. The latest tactics adopted by the Naxal outfits are to engage in simultaneous multiple attacks in large numbers particularly against the police forces and police establishments.

Combating the Menace

The focus of anti Naxalite operations has been concentrated on foiling the efforts of the Naxal groups in creating CRZ. The smoldering ember of rural unrest in India can be doused by proper action initiated with empathy and understanding, dialogue and reasoning. The Government's efforts to accelerate development in Naxal affected districts seem to have fallen flat. The Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR) holds a similar opinion⁵⁵ The ACHR opined that the formation of a separate ministry for the development of the Naxalite affected areas should be considered as a way to bridge the gap between promises and performance. Victims of development are the project affected people (PAP). This has added another unpleasant dimension to the scenario of rural alienation and turmoil⁵⁶.

The annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs for 2004-2005 was tabled in parliament recently. Ramchandra Guha, a sociologist and historian aver that violence against violence is equal to more violence. He strongly feels that fighting fire with fire leads to more violence; the government is hell-bent on pursuing a violent course. Sixty thousand people have been forcibly displaced by Salwa Judum in Chattisgarh. It was the first major anti-Naxal campaign and was meant to be a spontaneous movement supported by the government that claimed no role in it. Salwa Judum or the "People's Peace Movement" against Naxalites, has turned out to be a cure that is worse than the disease. This organization envisaged close coordination between the security forces and the local people, but soon degenerated into a private militia that behaved in the same manner as the Naxalites. It is human rights tragedy being played out right in the heart of India. Senior -Congress leader and former Chief -Minister Ajit Jogi, a critic of Salwa Judum despite his party supporting it, says that the only way out of the impasse is to open channels of dialogue with the Naxalites and convince them to stop killing civilians. He added that they take advantage of the vacuum created by the inefficiency of the administration and political institutions, espouse local causes and take advantages of the disaffection and perceived injustice among the unprivileged, and then disband the Salwa judum.

Arms and money are also flowing into the Naxalites coffers. A joint study by Oxfam Amnesty International and International network on small Arms came to startling conclusion that 40 million of the 75 million small arms in private hands around the world are not in Kashmir or North-East, but in Bihar, U.P. Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Madhya Pradesh. While a sizeable proportion is with local mafia, more and more are reaching into Naxalite hands.⁵⁷ So the Naxalite have to be dealt with a democratic process. The government is trying to formulate a multi pronged strategy to tackle the issue.⁵⁸ The best way to tackle Naxalities is to ensure that the deprived class gets their rights.⁵⁹

Given the constitutional division of power vested on the States and the Centre to maintain law and order, it has not been sensible to follow a uniform strategy.⁶⁰ A coordinated grid comprising of security and administration incorporating all elements of the society has to be established. The role of the grid should be twofold: first is the containment of the root cause and symptoms of militancy, and the second, expanding effectiveness of governance summarized as in table.

Containment and Expansion - Grid	
Containment	Expansion & Effectiveness
Geographic Area	Governance
Economic Sabotage	Employment related economic activity
Unemployment	Political and Social Synergy
Social Discontent	Policing and Social Policing
Violence	Vocational and Central Education
Dehumanization and Crime	Mass Information, Education, Communication
Rumors and Disinformation	Health Services
Recruitment by Naxals	Financial Assistance

The key aspects of containment should be restricting the geographical spread, by identifying likely areas where Naxalite are planning to spread their influence by proactive police and economic measures. A number of measures to improve policing at the state level should be taken. There should be special drive to recruit youngsters like Greyhound of Andhra Pradesh for this elite group.

The intelligence net-work could be further spruced up. In some cases it has been seen that shopkeepers are aware of a likely incident and keep their establishments closed, while the local police remains unawares. Penetration into the terrorist organization through human intelligence should be in essence supplemented by technical intelligence. Social policing is an important facet which is normally neglected.⁶¹ The Deputy Inspector General of Eastern Bhagalpur, Kumar Rajesh Chandra in his letter no. 114/Secret dated 14/03/2005 informed Commissioner Bhagalpur that Ishipur, Barahat, Banka, Katoria, Chandan, Anandpur and Amarapur villages are Naxalite infested and CPI (ML) and People War Groups are active. Apart from grabbing land, these people are killing innocent civilians; hence there should be proper measures to keep them under control. He suggested that in all these above mentioned Thanas, there should be CRPF police, anti-mine and bullet proof vehicles and efficient net working with local people. He further added that there should be vigilance over the 114 surrendered Naxalites, who had been given Rs. 18 lakh for rehabilitation so that they should not slip back again to the same old situation, implying thereby that it cannot be tackled by law and order alone. With social policing and proper networking, rehabilitation measures could bring such persons to the mainstream.⁶²

Tribal rights, distribution of land and greater social equity would go a long way in achieving the objectives. Strategies to contain economic impairment need to be undertaken by law as well as economic enforcement agencies; the later is particularly weak and needs to be activated at the State and district levels. Thus the low skill services and modern agriculture should be linked to consumer markets by retail chain jobs and small business that offers a minimum income which is a far superior alternative to subsistence farming. In his book "Banker to the Poor" Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus has brilliantly elucidated the various ways to overcome poverty and deprivation. Those measures could be replicated to curb Naxalism.⁶³

The election process is the most powerful weapon in a democratic system for policy making. It would be a better way to deal with the dynamics of society and for the cause of the oppressed through a democratic manner.⁶⁴

The basic principle behind the synchronized Naxal movement evident in recent years is to subvert people's loyalty to the government and provoke them to act against it. Therefore, expansion of governance should be the key to wean away the people from the Naxal threshold and normalize the situation..⁶⁵

Education and health services are the principal agents of change in a society. Therefore, schools and health centres should be the hubs of development and the district administration needs to ensure that these function effectively.⁶⁶ All governmental posts in remote areas need to be fully manned. Financial assistance in terms of small loans and creation of Self Help Groups is a measure which has received international acclaim

with the Nobel Peace Prize award to Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. It is unfortunate that despite having resources, the system is unable to deliver aid to those who actually need it.

Conclusion

Even if Naxalite movement declined or suppressed, its ideology will continue to threaten the Indian ruling powers as long as they fail to put an end to the grinding poverty and social inequality that crush the Indian poor. To fathom the plight of India at the advent of the new millennium, it is essential to listen to the voices of the masses like Mahatma and strive to remove their travails. The state, in fact, requires too much of introspection to adopt policies and ensure their implementation. It has to go beyond its knee-jerk attitude towards a phenomenon like Naxalism.⁶⁷ Development programs must not be perceived as anti-people due to the displacement. Without economic development, strong-arm tactics would not succeed against the Naxalites even with the strongest possible anti-terror war. The Central Government should continue to coordinate and supplement the efforts and resources of the state governments on both security and development fronts to meet the challenge posed by Naxalism. It requires a bottom-up approach; and not a top-down approach as in case of terrorism. The time for analysis is over, time for action has come. The upsurge of Naxalism is an indication that the government's attempt to reconcile growth with equity has failed. One should make the poor stake holders participant in economic development from the very start. In the case of infrastructure projects in rural areas, preserving a small portion of the annual revenue for the distribution as royalties for those who lose land or customary rights can do wonders. If small, highly industrialized countries in Europe can do this, why not India?

(Footnotes)

¹ Gandhian Trust ship as an instrument of human dignity, K. Kesavulu, Gandhi Marga Journal, Vol. 25, No. 4, January-March, 2004, pp. 23-29.

² Ibid. p. 27.0

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¹⁹ In an article in newspaper DNA India, on Rising red rage: Are Naxalites terrorists or activists?, Mumbai, Friday, June 29, 2007, pp. 8-9.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 1537 (The year 1997 is an appropriate demarcating line because it makes the end of one phase and the beginning of another Naxalite movement not only in Bihar but also in India as a whole

²¹ Ibid., p. 33.

²² Do we know how to read and write that we can tell you? (a common answer) We may be called Naxalite or other name but we do not go anywhere nor come from anywhere We just do our work

(another common answer). Before the sangathan (collective) came to our village, we had heard that : sangathan is Naxalite. It cuts mundi (head). It is dangerous .We did not have a lot of neither knowledge or information then. When we came closer and had a chance to talk over our knowledge grew. In English light means prakash (light) so we say Naxalite making a new map that is naksha (map) for Bharat :(India) with our light. Naxalite means cutting at the back of neck, Nus kaat kar prakash lana (bringing light by cutting the nerve). The zamindars (landlords) say Naxalite we say them Naxalbari. We support the Naxalbari movement and its objectives. We are walking on the same path. But our zamindars say that this is a Naxalite who cuts the nus(nerves) of the upper caste and carries out their safaya (annihilation). They say Naxalite want to control you with butt and rifles. Government calls us ugrawadi (terrorist), but we are not ugrawadi (terrorist). Those persons are ugrawadi who are exploiting and oppressing. If somebody fights for ones right they should be called Naxalite.

²³ In some cases, individuals have been reported to have joined the movement for seemingly trivial reasons, which however matters a great deal to the person concerned. For example an activist of M.K.S.P. reported that Ajit villagers of Gaya district had joined the open front because he had lost his bullock and needed help to find it. Another person approached M.K.S.P. for a help in a dispute involving neighbor's newly constructed window.

²⁴ Op.Cit. Mukherji and Yadav pp. 53-54.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 52.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 53.

²⁷ DNA.Sunday, Mumbai, August, 28, 2005, p.10.

²⁸ Op.Cit. Bela Bhatia, who interviewed Sankh Singh in November, 1995.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 1543.

³⁰ Interview with Mr. Vinay Sinha, AGM Nabard Bank, on 5th January 2007 at Mumbai between 3.00pm-5.00Pm.

³¹ Hindustan Times, Mumbai, November15, 2005 p.1.

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³³ In an article by Kanu Sanyal on "sometimes villagers get blown up" in DNA. Sunday, 28, October, 2007, p.8.

³⁴ Sumanta Banerjee, India;s Simmering Revolution: the Naxalite Uprising, London, 1984, pp.23-24.

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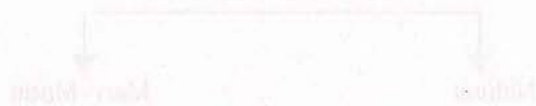
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Ways To Combat Disaster

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'Disaster' is defined as a crisis situation causing wide spread damage which far exceeds ones ability to recover. Actually it has to suffocate one ability to recover, only then it can be called as 'disaster'.

Disaster can be studied under some phase.

The 1st Phase – is a disaster phase. The time when the disaster is taking place, which results into profound damage to the human society which includes loss of human life, animal life, loss of property, loss of environment etc. During this time the people are under utmost shock.

The 2nd Phase – is better known as Reaction or rather Response Stage where we get the responses of the individuals in their own ways. This stage is also covered with the medical help and public help where by the society comes forward to help the authority in doing the relief work. This time the need that we being felt as the people are, the basic need i.e. food, cloth, shelter?

The 3rd phase is recovery phase. It is during this time that the victims actually realize the impact of disaster. It is now that they perceive the meaning of the loss that they have suffered. They are often housed which is not their house, along with other victims. This phase can be further divided in to two that is physical health and mental health. Physical needs are being taken care with the help of medical treatment but the mental well being is equally very important where by the person tries to be normal and this to get back to life as pre-disaster life. For which they required a resources and facilities like occupation, help from the government and non-government organizations. Thus they provide with a whole new environment, adequate enough to pursue a normal life. This is called rehabilitation.

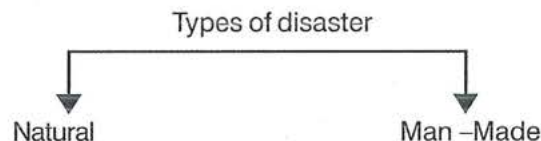
The fourth phase is identifying the risk reduction stage. This stage is felt and understood as soon as affected people are newly settled. This includes the thoughts and steps that can be taken to avoid the such damage, like for e.g. built a house which is less easily to earthquakes etc. This process of making the impact less sever is called mitigation.

The fifth and the final phase is known as 'get ready' or preparedness phase. Under this phase many things are taken into consideration that is developed of awareness among the population on the general aspects of disaster and on how to behave in the face of the future disaster. This also includes education on alert signs of disaster, methods of safe and successful measure and first aid measures.

It is important to note that the time period for each phase many depend on the type and severity of the disaster.

The above given phases is applicable in all the disaster.

There is mainly two types of disaster.



Natural – The term "Natural Disaster" refers to those disaster that are triggered by natural phenomena.

Natural disaster can be misleading because it implies that the disasters are solely a result of natural hazards – when in fact human endeavors are major contributory facts in creating a disaster. The natural disaster has also increased one more type and that is environmental degradation i.e. excessive exploitation of natural resources.

Man made disaster

The term 'Man-made Disaster' usually refers to disasters resulting from man-made hazards. Further Man-made disaster can be divided into three categories armed conflict, technological disaster and disasters that are not caused by natural hazards but that occur in human settlements.

Under Natural Disaster the following calamities can come that i.e. earth quake, hailstorms, avalanches, land slides, floods and cyclones, drought, etc. all the calamities has its own on large and small impact on the society but Drought has a its adverse impact on the economic activities and life of an area.

The reduction of natural hazards and disaster and their management involves

- i) Provision of immediate, relief measures to disaster affected people.
- ii) Prediction of hazards and disaster
- iii) Measures of adjustment to natural hazards.

The provision of relief measures to the disaster victims involves several steps to be followed such as.

- i) There should be magnitude of disasters. Any kind of misconception should not be allowed to occur.
- ii) Priorities must be decided before undertaking the remedial and relief measures. For e.g. high density areas, communication equipments, heavy machines to remove debris, water pumps etc.
- iii) Relief measures should be provided by foreign countries only after they are requested by the affected country.

The management of natural hazards involves disaster resource and disaster predictions.

All the natural disasters are to be managed differently. There can not be one typical way of managing the disaster.

But the impact of disaster on society or individual is almost always same.

The impact of natural disaster on society and the environment are substantially large in less developed countries. This is explained by the typically higher degree of vulnerability in developing countries. Factors contributing to increased vulnerability in developing countries are high rates of poverty, high unemployment, distribution inequalities, and socio-economic exclusion of the poor from basic services, strong population growth and lack of strong national and local instituting for dealing with natural disasters.

There is awareness today that disaster in developing countries should not be analyzed in isolation but should rather be seen as only a more acute, more extreme form of the general chronic daily suffering of many of the people. The processes that drive vulnerability are considered largely the same to those that determine differences in income and social study. The concept of vulnerability is thus regarded a tool for translating known everyday socio-economic and political processes into an analysis of who and what is at risk in the context of natural hazards.

Nevertheless, the poor are particularly at risk as they lack the capacities to cope wit shocks hate limited access to essential of disasters may lead to a vicious cried of disasters and chronic poverty. Poverty increases vulnerability which decreases the ability to recover after disasters.

Socially if we examine then the impact of disaster is much felt on the lower economic group. The loss of houses, income, health etc. at the same time the remedies that has reached to this group has a poor quality and in sufficient.

Due to degradation of environment the effect can be seen on the health of the people.

Society suffers through the loss of lack of economic development and which directly affects the well being of the people.

Psychologically the individual who has lost so much gets shattered and loses the self confidence in doing things and the period of this depression varies from individual to individual.

The most and worst impact is seen on women & children as well as aged and handicapped.

Women and children are more vulnerable for such kind of shocks because many a times it so happens that men is the only bread earner in the house and anything happens to him breaks the full family. Even today there are many family in India which has a typical patriarchy family where by women's are not given the power to make decision and facing disaster such women cannot cope with the situation.

It is also well known truth that the socialization of girl child even today is done in a such a manner that there one as a housewife is repeatedly told and reminded about their weaker sex. Communist so much that they are always all the time dependent on any men even if he is younger in his age.

This kind of treatment makes women weaker and they fail to improve their conditions.

The deviant behavior of some people have also scared the people for women's empowerment and when any disaster takes place then these women are the first victim of mans problems.

Taking about aged and children they are the one who requires utmost care and support so even during the disaster they needs to be taken care.

These all are the social impact the economic loss is undiscribble the economic growth is directly related to the loss or National GNP.

What do we do? Because such disaster can not be controlled or stopped totally but are can do something by which the effect of the disaster can be felt less, and it has less social and economic damage.

What we need to do is a 1st of all is Disaster Preparedness. Which is consisting of a wide range of measures, both long and short term, designed to save lives and limit the amount of damage that might otherwise be caused by the event. This involves long-term policies and programs, legislation, physical and urban planning, public works and building.

Preparedness is normally seen as an activity of the planning and engineering disciplines as well as medical, social and security services.

When we say preparedness this involves on the both the part that is government and localities or vulnerable group.

The Preparedness Planning should be done on several ways like at village level, local level, the role of telecommunication etc. and most important of all is Disaster Action Plan. From side many people must be unaware, about the government policy. As it is general feeling that government don't do anything but that is not true the following are some objectives based on which different policies for Pre-Disaster, During Disaster and Post Disaster are beginning decided.

Objectives:

- To assess the risks and vulnerabilities associated with various disasters;
- To develop appropriate disaster prevention and mitigation strategies;
- To provide clarity on roles and responsibilities for all stakeholders concerned with disaster management so that disaster can be managed more effectively;
- To develop and maintain arrangements for accessing resources, equipment, supplies and funding in preparation for disasters that might occur;
- To ensure that arrangements are in place to mobilize the resources and capability for relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and recovery from disaster;
- To create awareness and preparedness and provide advice and training to the agencies involved in disaster management and to the community;
- To strengthen the capacities of the community and establish and maintain effective systems for responding to disasters;

- To ensure co-ordination with agencies related to disaster management in other Indian states and those at the national and international level;
- To ensure relief / assistance to the affected without any discrimination of caste, creed, community or sex.
- To establish and maintain a proactive programme of risk reduction, this programme being implemented through existing sectoral and inter-sectoral development programmes and being part of the overall development process in the state;
- To develop and implement programmes for risk sharing and risk transfer for all types of disasters.
- To address gender issues in disaster management with special thrust on empowerment of women towards long term disaster mitigation.
- Develop disaster management as a distinct management discipline and creation of a systematic streamlined disaster management cadre.

There is also some disaster management strategy in India.

- Appropriate specialized support to Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) for setting up the system and framework for disaster risk management.
- Development of national / state database on vulnerability, disaster risk management and sustainable recovery.
- Strengthening National and State Government through support for hardware and software for disaster risk management and capacity building of institutions.
- Awareness campaigns on disaster mitigation and preparedness for each programme state.
- Support to include disaster management in school curriculum and schedule to drills in disaster prevention and response for schools.
- Promoting partnership with academic institutions and private sector in development of disaster risk management plans.
- Development of training manuals in Disaster Management for District, Block, Gram Panchayat, Villages / Wards for each State in vernacular languages.
- Capacity building activities for all stakeholders including civil society organization in the rescue, relief and restoration in disaster situations, and the use of equipment involved.
- District multi-hazard preparedness and mitigation plans integrating Block / ULB, Gram Panchayat, Village / Ward plans which would involve vulnerability mapping, risk assessment and analysis hazard zoning resource inventory, response structure etc.
- Strengthening disaster management information centers in programme states and disasters for accurate dissemination of early warning and flow of information for preparedness and quick recovery operations.
- Dissemination of cost effective alternate technologies for hazard resistant housing – including retrofitting / roof top rainwater harvesting features as long term mitigation measures.
- Developing Vulnerability and Risk Indices, and annual Vulnerability and Risk Reduction Reports for creating benchmarks to measure disaster risk management.

What needs to be done is the spread of awareness amongst the youth and others regarding the different policies of government which has not reached to the people.

At the same time at the social level one needs to create more humanitarian approach for any disaster that is going to take place, or during the disaster.

Though it is a well known truth that in India we have seen the co-operation of people on a large scale whenever there is need. But now we require more alertness in this field.

There are many NGO's who are working some are autonomous, some are partly funded by the government or by foreign companies. The quality and capacity of such NGO should be increased with the help of government and even people can contribute through such NGO in financial or by any other way.

Thus any disaster is manageable but when we require believes in potential of the people government and for above all in our self.

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Self Help Groups And Panchayati Raj - Have They Empowered The Women In India ?

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Introduction

Women are regarded as the nucleus of a nation. Just as Jawaharlal Nehru has exhibited his assessment of the need for educating and empowering women when he declared at an annual conference on community development :

"In order to awaken the people it is the women who has to be awakened. Once she is on the move, the household moves the country moves and thus, we build the India of tomorrow".

There have been in the past decade two interventions in India that have contributed towards generating processes of empowerment for women. One is the 73rd and 74th amendments that make it mandatory for a one third reservation of seats in local self governing bodies and the other the formation of self help groups of women around micro finance. This paper raises questions about the processes of empowerment generated under each of these interventions and also suggests synergistic linkages between the two.

Self Help Groups – SHG

Generally a Self Help Group is formed when members of a community who have the same or similar problem come together, meet, share experiences, have discussions and thereby arrive at solutions. Internationally such groups have been formed around medical problems and addictions. Self-help is seen as an inexpensive way of providing vital community services. "As an ethos a SHG symbolizes community initiatives to tide a problem over and achieve a level of self sufficiency. It is a concept that has evolved over time and has gone through several and substantial modifications".¹

The SHG has evolved over time all over the world and the journey has been at several levels – from labour / kind / premonetary currency to cash, from non-financial to financial groups, from rotating to non-rotating patterns, from short lived to semi-permanent or supposedly permanent groups and from savings only to savings driven credit groups. (Seibel, 2000)

Grain Banks have been in existence since many years in India, where in areas of frequent drought the community pools grain when it is available so that it can be accessed as a loan in times of scarcity. These have also been actively promoted by non-governmental organization (NGO's), community based organizations (CBO's) and funding agencies (national and international) as systems that build food security. The monetary component enters into the system of rotating loans with the advent of markets that function on the basis of money. In India an initiative in self-help has been the 'chit-funds'.

In India one also finds SHG's round watershed management, forest management etc. However largely the SHG is the conduct through which micro finance is routed to the poor in the belief that it will prove catalytic in helping them to pull out of poverty. These are small groups of 10-20 persons, who come together with the intention of saving and rotating loans amongst the members. Once these groups stabilize they are accorded formal support from the banking system so as to widen their lending capacities. An important dimension of SHG's is the peer pressure that members of a group exert amongst themselves which act as a substitute for formal collateral.

Why Micro Finance ?

The rationale of micro finance is based on findings which have shown that the poor can save and can be relied upon to return on time the money that they borrow. Micro finance supposedly circumvents the backwards of both the formal and informal systems of credit delivery. The vision of micro finance is based on the understanding that the entire household benefits when loans are given to women. Further it is argued that micro-finance can empower women since it instills a augmentation of income and their participation within group activities. Hence, most of the groups formed are women only Self Help Groups. Internationally, micro finances has been heralded worldwide as an effective cure for poverty.

Panchayati Raj and Women

Panchayats existed in India even before the British rule. Panchayati Raj (PR) which is in actuality a formalization of local self Government came into being after independence. The constitution which was then being drafted however did not include anything connected to Panchayati Raj. Instead it was included in Article 40 to the Directive Principles. By the late fifties several states did set up PR bodies at village, block and districtive levels. PR was seen as a means of ensuring democratic participation for rapid rural development. However : "Since there was no constitutional support political will and adequate power or resources these PR bodies started languishing. Women were rarely on these bodies except as co-opted members who were accorded little power, respect or political status".²

It is not as if the issue was not important on the nation's agenda. Several commissions were set up to examine ways in which it could be strengthened such as the Balwant Rai Mehta Study team (1957), the Ashok Mehta Committee (1977), The G.V.K. Rao Committee (1985) and the L.M. Singhvi Committee (1987). In 1988, the parliamentary subcommittee recommended that Panchayati Raj bodies be given constitutional recognition. It was only in 1992 that Parliament gave constitutional status to Panchayati Raj. On December 22nd and 23rd 1992 two amendment for rural local bodies and the 74th constitutional amendment for urban local bodies made them institutions of self Government. Within a year following this all the states passed their own acts in conformity with the amended constitutional provisions.

72 % of India's population live in the rural areas. Here there are nearly 600 district panchayats about 6,000 block panchayats at the intermediate level and 2,50,000 gram panchayats. 27.8 % population live in the urban areas in India. Here one finds 96 city corporations, 1,700 town municipalities and 1,900 nagar panchayats. Currently every five years about 3.4 million representatives are elected by the people of whom one million are women. Women head about 175 district panchayats more than 2,000 block panchayat and about 85,000 gram panchayats. Likewise more than 30 city corporations and about 600 town municipalities have women chairpersons. A large number of hitherto social excluded groups and communities like the tribals and dalits are now included in these decision making bodies.

The major impetus in the constitutional amendments for women's political empowerment has the reservation of 1/3rd of the seats for women in local bodies along with reservation of seats for SC's and ST's as per their regional populations. Initially women were hesitant to enter this whole new political arena because of which political parties and vested interest groups took advantage of the situation. Women were only rubber stamps and actually veiled men and the dominant masculine line which always held power. This was called the proxy rule. A new group of 'sarpanch patis' also emerged where the husband of the women sarpanch managed the affairs of the panchayat while the women acted only as a rubber stamp.

However over time things have changed to some measure. It has been proved that wherever women hold positions in local bodies there is greater efficiency and transparency in the running of public affairs. Women have been known for doing excellent work in raising women's economic status, took campaign against child marriage, child labour, bringing piped water supply, building health centres, strengthening primary schools and SHGs. The optimistic observation has been that over this past decade women have proved to be not just passive disinterested participants in the political processes. More women who are from the marginalized section of society have entered the fray. The provision of reservations in the system of local governance in India has been hailed as an empowering process for women since it has not only brought women out of their houses and into the public place but it has also given them a voice and platform to express themselves.

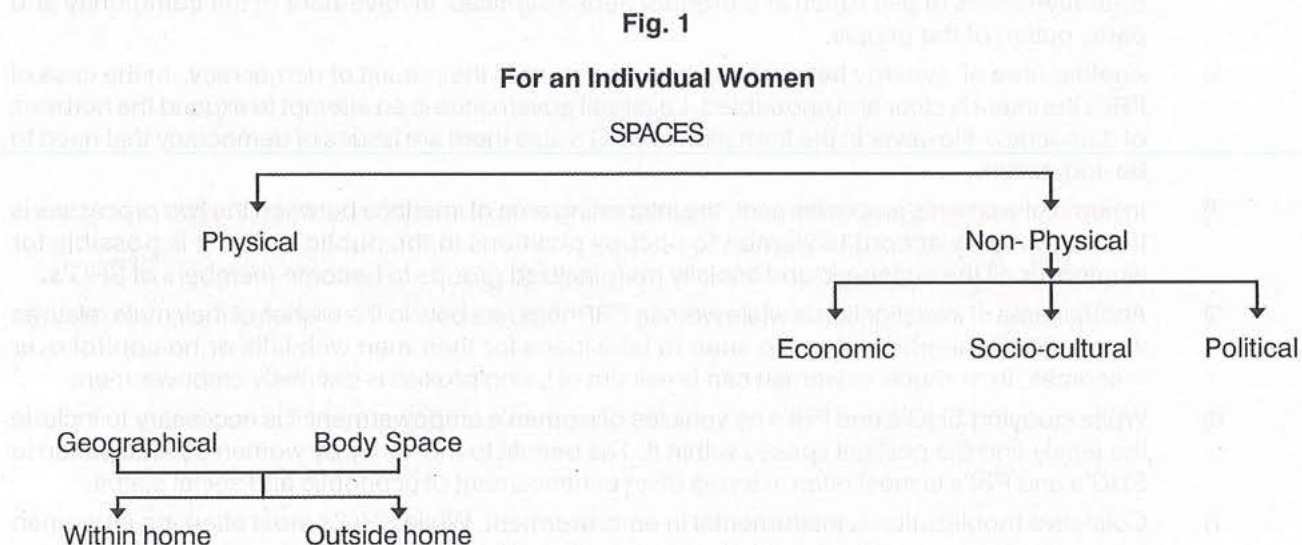
What is Empowerment?

It is easy to build in empowerment as a goal of all development initiatives. Empowerment is the most frequently used term in development dialogue today. It is also the most nebulous and widely interpreted of concepts. Advocates of micro finance claim the very process of forming self help groups in empowering and a critical mass is formed which can be harnessed to pull households out of poverty traps. "The mass can be unsurpsed by larger political and economic interest to promote their own mandates by which women become instruments and one further disempowered".³

Further empowerment cannot be achieved through the handling of just money since credit by itself does not bond women together enough to unleash a process of empowerment. Other social and development concerns are required to cement groups so that they can metamorphose into vehicles of empowerment. Similarly advocates of PRI's also claim that participation in the democratic process empowers women.

"In the context of development – economic / social / political, empowerment cannot be given to anyone nor is it a goal that can be reached by an organization or state. Empowerment is a process whereby constraints that impede equal participation are reduced, so that the inequality starts moving toward becoming equality. These can range from education, health services, housing, livelihoods, employment, remuneration etc. Often with development interventions such as micro finance, targets are chased and the achievements of those targets is confused with the achieving of empowerment".⁴

Constraints can be reduced with the concept of 'spaces'. By space is meant that which allows a person the place / freedom / margin to do what she / he intends to do. The following flow chart Fig. 1 outlines the different spaces that a women finds herself within:



Physical Space

This space constitutes a women's access in the physical space of her body, of mobility across spaces outside her house and within her house. Women's ownership access to a control of physical space have a significant bearing upon their position in intra-domestic unit. A women's ownership and control of her own body is often limited. Many cultures view women's bodies as property which is owned by men. The spaces accorded to a women determine her mobility opportunities for action and consequently power. Besides changes to avail education facilities and work opportunities signify empowerment. Access to a school, a training centre, educational or vocational, a place of work outside the house, agricultural / non-agricultural can be translated into access to physical geographical space, the existence and quality of which can be evaluated as an indicator of empowerment.

Economic Space

This space allows a woman ownership access and control of goods and services which enhance economic independence. Within economic space is included ownership access to and control of immovable property, movable property, assets both tangible and intangible income etc. In as much as property allows a women economic leverage one can say that it enhances her economic space.

Socio cultural space

The third kind of space that can enhance women's power within the domestic sphere is socio-cultural space. This space widen when a person's position within kin-based hierarchies is relatively higher than is others. The access and control to socio-cultural space that a woman can have which will enhance her position within the household is intimately connected to religious dictates, caste factors and ethic origins.

Political Space

This can be perceived at two levels: private political space and public political space. This space is not easy to come by as the divide between the private and the public is very significant in the lives of women.

Suggesting Synergistic Linkages :

There has been over the past 10 years a visible and concentrated effort to involve women in PRI's and in SHG's. These can be interpreted as two parallel processes of women's empowerment. There is need at this juncture to not only track and trace them but to also examine where these processes diverge:

- 1) On the surface the overt mandate of micro finance is economic empowerment and the overt mandate of PRI's is political empowerment. However, it is important to take into account the economics of the PRI movement since it is often considered that this makes the seat of power so inviting to men and consequently threatening to women.
- 2) An important linkage between the two processes lies in the fact that both revolve around the operative ethos of self which in a broader sense signifies involvement of the community and participation of the people.
- 3) Another area of synergy between the two processes is the pursuit of democracy. In the case of PRI's the intent is clear and undoubted. Local self governance is an attempt to expand the horizons of democracy. However in the formation of SHG's also there are issues of democracy that need to be addressed.
- 4) In terms of women's empowerment, the interesting area of interface between the two processes is the margin they accord to women to occupy positions in the public arena. It is possible for women for all the economic and socially marginalized groups to become members of SHG's.
- 5) Another area of investigation is while women PRI members bow to the wishes of their male relatives women SHG members are also seen to take loans for their men with little or no control over resources. In as much as women can break out of being proxies is definitely empowerment.
- 6) While studying SHG's and PRI's as vehicles of women's empowerment it is necessary to include the family and the political spaces within it. The benefit to the family by women's participation in SHG's and PRI's is most often in terms of an enhancement of economic and social status.
- 7) Collective mobilization is instrumental in empowerment. While SHG's most often are all women groups and hence facilitate collective mobilization. With PRI members to start with women are isolated members within an otherwise all male domain.
- 8) A symbiosis has to be worked out between PRI's and SHG's. This would enhance the functioning of both processes.
- 9) Most important of all it is necessary to find out whether either of the two processes of empowerment has managed to alter the existing value systems on which power structures are based.

Conclusion :

To conclude it can be said that given the fact India has seen two major initiatives towards women's empowerment in the guise of PRI's and micro finance, the time has now come for research to delve into unraveling the areas of overlap between the two processes. There are issues which affect women's live intimately which are seen in both initiatives. A common conceptualization of empowerment should be used to gauge the extent of empowerment that has been unleashed by women's participation in PRI's and in SHG's. It is only when women come to power and control with a new understanding of power different from the existing patriarchal understanding, that empowerment will take place in the true sense.

List of Footnote :

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Tourism today is one of the world's fastest growing industries. During the modern period, it has emerged as a global phenomenon. At a face value, tourism can be seen as a form of modernization, transferring capital, technology, expertise and modern values from the west to less developed countries. Tourism is the largest employer in most parts of the world and a major socio-economic factor important in poverty eradication. As one of the world's largest industries, tourism is associated with many of the prime sectors of the world's economy. Any such phenomenon that fabric of life-economically, socio-culturally and environmentally – and relies on primary, secondary and tertiary levels of production and service is difficult to define in simple terms.

The evolution of word 'Tourism' was derived from the word 'Tour', in Latin language tour means compass which goes round and round. The literary meaning of word tour generally is an activity connected with traveling, which means going from one place to another. According to Pico Iyer "We travel, initially, to lose ourselves, and we travel, next to find ourselves. And we travel in essence, to become young tools again to slow time down and get taken in, and fallen in love once more"-

There is no accepted definition of what constitutes the tourism industry; any definition runs the risk of either overestimating or underestimating economic activity. At its simplest, the industry is one that gets people from their home to somewhere else (and back), and which provides lodging and food for them while they are away Mathieson and Wall, see tourism as comprising three basic elements:

- 1) A dynamic element, which involves travel to a selected destination.
- 2) A static element, which involves a stay at the destination and
- 3) A consequential element, resulting from the above two, which is concerned with the

effects on the economic, social and physical subsystems with which the tourist is directly or indirectly in contact.

Tourism is generally taken to include, at the very minimum, a one-night stay away from the place of normal residence or origin. Tourism is based in part on the assumption that the experience offered by the destination is not available in the tourist's home environment.

The tourism industry includes a number of key elements that tourists rely upon to achieve their general and specific goals and needs within a destination. Broadly categorized, they include facilities accommodation, transportation and attractions. Although in-depth tourism represents traveling from destinations. The tourist may visit a hill stations for relaxation, recreation or rest. While some tourists go to different places for the health reason, for sports or for religion. While trades, business meeting, for buying of goods, for marketing his products or for business conference. Such tourist may be staying in that place for less than twenty-four hours. The person traveling for different reasons requires different timings for his stay for example – A tourist going to Dharmashala for health may stay for many days/months. While a pilgrim go to that place to visit temple for two or three hours only. But we can still call him a tourist, because he has moved to the new place for definite purpose.

TOURISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

Tourism in India is as old as our history. In India, during the early period a sophisticated agricultural economy, made the export of cash crops 'an important trade link'. Manufacturer of the steel from iron ore, for weaponry was another important item of trade in the later Vedic period. Caravan sarais were an important development. From hymns and epic poems, we learn that sporting events and ritual sacrifices were also popular festive occasions. The Mahabharat gives an interesting account of such a fair, the kings who attended it and offerings were made. Our old books refer the term tour in different context related to the purpose of the tourist. For example, the term 'Yatra' indicates the person traveling to holy places because certain Dharmashastras describe the importance of Dharmayatra for Hindu religion. Even in the Islam and Christianity visit to the places of pilgrimage is given priority. Similarly most of the religions of the world has given importance to pilgrimage to holy places. Therefore in the

early stages of history, people travelled for religion purpose. 'Jatraism' implies the tours of local, especially rural people in groups to various religious shrines in the neighbouring areas, during specific seasons like Navratras twice a year. Thus the importance of pilgrimage was never ignored by the people of medieval and modern world.

The Arthashastra reflects the protection given to merchants and their high status in Indian society. Insurance and safe passage for goods, regulations of prices, weights and measures and the use of gold, silver and copper as standards of exchange also indicate a well developed system of trade and travel. In the ancient books of India we come across the word 'Deshatan', this was used for the tourist. Normally Deshatan can be understood as a person going to other nation for the purpose of earning wealth. Therefore such merchants and businessman travelled for the purpose of trading and business like selling and buying of goods from one part of country to another. The merchants travelled in internal part of his nation for internal trade while some merchants were involved in external trade, thus they went out of country for business and wealth. Brahmin villages evolved into centres of learning attracting travelers and scholars. At the same time, the Buddhist sangha established the tradition of pilgrimage, when monks went from village to village and court to court preaching the value of middle path. Rest houses or panthagars were provided for the mendicant travelers. Monasteries also attracted the monks, the merchants and the laymen.

The bazaars with cities provided access to goods brought from the hinterland foreigner's gates where all services were provided to them, although there was a strict control over their movements. They had to carry a note for safe passage from one territory to another. For their entertainment, dancing halls were allowed, but again inspectors ensured that the conduct of the travelers were not unruly. Gambling was licensed and was a source of revenue for the state. Many ancient books refer the term 'Paryatan' meaning traveling. The purpose of the traveling for 'Paryatan' was a curiosity to see and know new places to gain knowledge for improving his health and to relax. Today, the term Paryatan is equivalent to term tourism which generally indicates all activities relating to traveling.

Travelling for pleasure on the rivers and the hills was a tradition started by the royal courts. But such movements made all those who had business at the court to move along with it, away from the heat and dust of the cities to the rural calm of the summer retreat. An example worth citing here is that of the Mughal emperors, who had great love for nature and travelled extensively. They contributed towards what we today call resort development. The Shalimar and Nishant bagh at Srinagar are some examples. Infact, Jehangir travelled every year to Kashmir in summer and in the winter to the Tarns-Vindhya region. We also found that certain kings of ancient time constructed Dharmashalas or inns for the travelers so that tourist does not face the problem of accommodation.

TOURISM IN MODERN INDIA

The nineteenth century was witness to the emergence of the phenomenon of industrialization, which was responsible for having a profound impact on the social systems. The traditional structures began showing cracks and the social landscape was altered substantially. The twentieth century witnessed the processes of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization that led to further breakdown of traditional social structures and conversion of every institution as an industry including tourism. Cities were growing at tremendous speed. There was migration of people from rural to urban areas to find jobs. In the first stage of migration from villages to cities link with the native place was stronger. The family visited their in villages. But later on link with village became weaker, because life became hectic in cities. The new generation preferred to live in cities, thus contact with village became less. Due to hectic life and overcrowded cities it became a necessity for people to escape and take a break from their routine life. Thus people started taking vacation for shorter holiday to near by place. Holidays for shorter and longer durations according to their linking and finance were planned by travel agents.

Development of transport and communication has boosted Indian tourism industry. With higher personal income and better education, there is an increasing secularization of beliefs. Pleasure components are being added to the familiar pilgrim routes and shrines have now begun to advertise special tours, because the economic benefits of pilgrims/tourists have become alluring for these trusts. Melas at sacred shrines are now great attractions, apart from the special 'Kumbh Mela' held in Ujjain, Nasik, Haridwar and Allahabad. Pilgrimage sites have also become import tourist destinations, because they are so closely linked with cultural identity of a destination like Varanasi or Gangotri. The awareness of the people to go out for holidays is increasing day by day. It has brought about changes in customs of women, older people and children. As everyone was interested in traveling, the tourist agencies has

become efficient who attract people to travel to different places. Thus, tourism and travel agencies has become part of tourist industry in India.

The rail networks in India placed the means of recreation within the reach of an increasingly large number of people who had leisure time and the income to enjoy it. The traveling agents conduct tours for different purpose for different kind of people like conducting tour to holy places, tours for students, shopping tours, adventure tours and business tours. Private airlines were incorporated into the public sector corporation, Indian airlines, with a view to establishing an air transport network to link the remote areas of the country. Domestic tourism was encouraged by providing the leave travel concession, since the new industrial giants in the public sector now provided employment to people from all parts of the country. Youth and students were also provided concessions to travel and study in different parts of the country. International tourism was promoted for its economic benefits, particularly foreign exchange earning, which a newly industrialization country like India needed.

Tourism is the act of travel for predominately recreational or leisure purposes and also refers to the provision of services in support of this act. Tourism which was hitherto seen as an expression of the free spirit of an individual is now being defined and controlled by the market forces, producing goods and services not with the Motto of catering to human needs and desires but for the sake of profit. The unforeseen mushrooming growth of travel sites on the internet, availability of travel literature and unparalleled increase in travel agencies, tour operators, and mass holidays, market stand testimony to the same.

The government has set up the infrastructure to promote tourism by establishing India's International and Tourism promotion offices in various parts of the country. The tourism sector was initiated to establish luxury facilities for the high spending tourist. To strengthen the tourism infrastructures, state tourism development corporations were setup to provide accommodation and transport facilities at tourist destinations around the country. Almost every state has a tourism department which frames the tourism policy of the state.

Tourism has been recognized as an industry and many policy benefits and incentives have been given to the private sector to invest in tourism to encourage its growth. Tourism has been identified as one of the world's largest industry with a growth rate of five percent per annum over the past twenty years. The earnings from tourism have made it one of the world's largest industry and the fastest growing sectors of global trade. The World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) estimates a 4.5 percent per annum increase in the total amount of travel and tourism economic activity between 2002 and 2012.

Development of tourism is no doubt a major concern to many developing countries today including ours. Travel and tourism enables is to enrich our lives with new experiences, to enjoy and to be educated, to learn to respect foreign culture, to establish friendships, and above all to contribute to international co-operation and peace throughout the world.

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***Creative
Writing
Section***

Tik, Tik, Tik, ... Tik, Tik, Tik,... Tik, Tik Tik ...

Oh! My God! 6'o Clock, what day is it? There were butterflies fluttering in my stomach, what day? Yesterday it was Friday, no Saturday, yes today is Sunday. Ok! relax Simmi relax, you can afford to roll in the bed for an hour or so and allow the incessant voices to chatter in your mind. What to make for breakfast, lunch? Ok I remember where to go in the evening must ask Shiv when to ask, feel like shaking him out of his sleep for instant answers. It won't work, you know that don't you? I opened my eyes and stared at the watch again damn! can't see properly without the lenses, looks like 7'o Clock. Can't you snore slowly? Shiv can beat even a foghorn.

Life was fun with Shiv. We liked naming the days, eagerly awaited Saturdays, freaky Sundays and dreaded Mondays. Sunday was always a fun filled day. Over a cup of tea in the morning, munching those Dubai made cookies or desi kharis, we would plan our sumptuous lunch followed by ghee laden sweet then we would argue over steamed phulkas or oily paranthas, yellow or black dal and invariably Shiv used to win. Shiv felt rejuvenated only after his afternoon nap. It was a must to get over an entire week's fatigue. Evenings would be spent idling at the beach feeling the cool air brushing past your face or seeing the waves play see-saw or sipping a cup of coffee at Barista or just watching an action packed, I know the ending, type of film, or the usual lack lustre love triangle. The beach appealed to me the most, the sight of children playing, the aroma of corn being roasted, the tempting coconut water, the steamed channas with lemon and red chilly powder squeezed in. All these things and the setting sun casting its lovely hues in the sky made my day very special. It gave me immense delight to sit beside Shiv and let the sand slip through my fingers.

Sundays always went past like fast trains and the rest of the week till Friday, Shiv would almost kill himself over work and I would immerse myself in the never ending household chores.

That was life eight years ago, today life is different. I remember the day we moved into this new flat. The flat was just the way I had fantasized a big airy kitchen with lot of sunshine. The kitchen was my heaven, a creator's paradise. I would love to cook for Shiv specially on Sundays when he would savour every meal of the day. The balcony, attached to the bedroom, had a breath taking view. One could see the coconut trees, the Gulmohar trees which cast their mysterious shadows on the bedroom walls but somehow over the years these things lost their freshness and life started to become mundane monotonous and the loneliness of the week started weighing on my mind. For months, our doorbell didn't ring more than twice. That is by the milkman and the newspaper vendor and Shiv when he came home late in the evening opened the door by himself and then one day I found these voices chatting to me in my mind. I think when we had our Ghriha Pravesh Pooja, there behind us, were my parents, Shiv's parents my brother, my sister, relatives and their the last click of toes were these voices which slowly crept in before we closed the main door. I don't know why they chose me and when will they leave me? They seem to choke my vocal cords, now they are all inside me.

Today the kitchen, the passage, the bedroom, the hall all appear as strange places. The kitchen is now a cold metallic factory producing things with no one around to appreciate. The knife, the blades, the fan, the fire, all ricocheting into the abyss of my mind. I peep in to see and up springs a knife, the yellow one its sharp edge like a shark's tooth glistens and invites my hand to grab it, my head starts reeling, and I am sinking into the bed, the fan seems to be falling on my stomach pressing me to the bed, my other hand can feel the wet warm sticking fluid, the blue bed sheet turning into crimson red, in the cupboard's mirror I can see the color of the floor changing..... far away I can hear my name being called out but my eyes are sealed shut and suddenly ice cold water splashes on my face and my heart leaps up and peeps from my eyes and I see Shiv looming large over my face.

"Simmi! Simmi!" the color had drained out of his face, his eyes were red and swollen and tears were streaming down his face but it was his eyes which were filled with disbelief. Oh my God! How could I? Shiv is my life boat. How can I leave him alone in the house with these voices?

It has been eight long years but this morning silence has been broken only by my voice "Shiv it is high time you got up, this is the third time I am waking up".

"Yeah I am getting up".

"I am not waking you up again Shiv"

"Ok?"

The sound of brush against my teeth, the water flowing out of the tap, the click of the front door lock, the humming of the refrigerator are the only sounds that break the eerie silence, that remind me that I am alive. I deliberately shift the spoons in the drawer, bang the teapot on the gas stove mumble to myself but nothing seems to help.

After some time we meet at the breakfast table, where sometimes we chat and sometimes we don't. I wish I could metamorphose into a newspaper behind which Shiv usually hides himself. I had exhausted all my culinary skills and Shiv had outrun his compliments. "Remember Shiv the Gynac who said that the cyst is in my head tell me Shiv does he understand women?" Does he look beyond the scissor in his hand, does he only deliver, cut the umbilical cord, look at the new life or does he ever see those eyes of the mother, the tears that flow out, the barrenness, loneliness, the long wait, the expectations, can he see them, feel them..."Simmi if you don't like this Gynac, we will go to another one, you know we can try again ok!" "Shiv you really think it is in my mind?" Does he care for their problems? These voices keep interrupting me. "Shiv you have to bring me back."

"From where, huh? Simmi?"

The Sunday afternoon rolled by insignificantly. In the evening, we still made an attempt to fill the void. We were at the beach again and the setting sun trying to revive our spirit. I found myself walking through the water. Initially the coldness of the water stings your feet, then slowly as you move in the warmth of the sand engulfs you, there were many around me splashing water, throwing themselves at the waves, or just soaking their feet in the water. I smiled back mostly at women and moved ahead, with each wave I was edging forward deep inside the blue water, this feeling of weightlessness was great, like walking on moon suddenly there were bubbles rushing out of my mouth, I could see many fishes around me, there was a riot of colors yellow, orange, black but where do these shoals of fishes go? I wanted to be part of them, join hands with their fins but all my attempts drew hostile glances from all. For quite some time I just glided in water then found myself surrounded by a group of dolphins who finally accepted my wish to connect. I happily swam with them in circles holding on to their fins but the coldness of water was reaching my bones and I made several attempts to guide them to the surface, towards light and warmth but every time they dragged me down, my hands were glued to their fins. I wanted to break free as it was too cold here, too lonely, too bare. I wanted to cry loudly but the sound choked in my throat finally the deadness in my eyes drove away all the dolphins and I was left with glazed eyes, alone gliding towards the surface.

"Simmi, Simmil are you listening?"

"Huh"

"Do you want to walk through water feel it at your toes, you like it don't you?"

Do you want to walk there too? "I don't mind".

"I will join you if you hold my hand tightly"....I just wish, in my other hand, I could clasp a small tender hand and guide the small tiny feet through water. It has been a long wait....

आतंक के खिलाफ.....एक आवाज

Dr. Nagma Javed

Dept. of Hindi, S.N.D.T. Mahila Mahavidyalaya

दहशत गर्दो !
बेगुनाहों के खून से
तरबतर हैं तुम्हारे लिबास
तुमने छीन लिए कितनी
मासूम आँखों के रुबाब

आतंक वादियो !
जंगल के दरिन्दें गुमसुम
खडे है
तुम्हारे नाखून तो
उनसे भी बडे है...

बदबख्त शैतानो !
इन्सानियत को तुमने
कत्ल कर डाला
क्या माओं ने तुम्हारी
इसी दिन के लिए था
तुमको पाला ?

टेरारिस्टो !
कितने बच्चों की जखमी निगाहें
बापों को अपने ढूँढ रही हैं ?
कितनी माओं की खाली गोदियां
लालों को अपने ढूँढ रही है ?

कातिलो !
बेकूसूरों की मांगे उजाड कर
तुम भी चैन से
जी न सकोगे
जखमी आहें तुम्हारा पीछा करेंगी
फटी निगाहें तुमसे मांगेगी
अपने खून का हिसाब...

दरिंदो !
तुमने बहनों से भाई छकीन लिए
मत भूलो
एक दिन तुम्हें खुदा के
रु-ब-रु होना है
पूछेगा वह पालन हार
क्यों किया तुमन नर-संहार ?

आतंकवादियों !
कौन - सा मजहब
मानवता का दुश्मन है ?
क्यों बर्बाद तुमने किया
इन्सानियत का चमन है ?

दहशत गर्दो !
एक दिन तुम्हें भी
देना पड़ेगा
एक - एक खून के कतरे का हिसाब !
तुम पर नाजिल होगा खुदा का इताब^१

इन्सानियत के दुश्मनो !
जिस रास्ते पर चल रहो तुम
वह हैवानियत का रास्ता है
लौट आओ...लौट आओ...लौट आओ

दिलों से अंधेरा अपने मिटाओ
मुहब्बत के चिराग जलाओ
मुहब्बत ही खुदा है
खुदा ने अपने बंदों को दी
यही बेशकीयत नेमत^२ है
तुम्हारा वजूद तो मानवता के
लिए बन गया जहमत^३ है

अंधेरो में भटकने वाले !
रोशनी को पहचानो
रोशनी में आओ
रोशनी में नहाओ

इन्सानियत तुम्हे पुकार रही है
अपने अंदर छिपे
इन्सान को ढूँढ लाओ
दरिन्दगी से बाज आओ
वहशी नहीं - तुम
इन्सान हो
तुम इन्सान हो...

पहचानो अपने आपको
पहचानो खुदा को और
कायनात को
अंधेरो से दामन बचाओ
मुहब्बत के दीये जलाओ
मुहब्बत के दीये जलाओ

सुनो, मानवता की पुकार
सुनो आदमियत की गुहार
अमन, शान्ति, स्नेह और
भाईचारा
यही है खुदा को प्यारा
यही है खुदा को प्यारा

शर्मसार इन्सानियत है आज
शैतानियत का है तुम परराज
खुदा की इस जमीन पर
मत करो गारत गरी
मानवता की लाश है आज
बेकफन पड़ी

खुदा ने कहा है कुरान में
मत फैलाओ
जमीन पर फितना और
फसाद
कातिलो !

होश में आओ
अंधेरे अपने दिलों के मिटाओ
उजालों को गले से लगाओ

खुदा को भी बंदा वही
अजीज है
दिल में जिसके मुहब्बत
का गीत है
जो हर किसी का मीत है

एक किरन, एक चिराग
मुहब्बत तो है
बस, एक राग
अब -

राग तुम ऐसा सुनाओ
दुनिया को गुलजार बनाओ

फूल - फूल के दामन पर
लिख दो
उल्फत का नाम
पत्ते के हाथों में
थमा दो अम्न का पैगाम

जागो, इन्सान हो तुम
जागो, जागो, जागो
कि इन्सान हो तुम
खुदा का फरमान हो
तुम !

१) कबर, गुस्सा

२) इनाम

३) तकलीफ, पीडा

Book Review : *"The Secret" By Rhonda Byrne*

Ms. Cicilia Chettiar

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The Secret is a phenomenon. Since the book debuted late in 2006 it has sold over four million copies with some thirty other translations now available or underway. It is a tribute to clever marketing and a telling commentary on the disillusionment in the lives of millions. The Secret is an easy read with numerous examples, stories and quotes. The first few chapters outline the premise and explain how to use "the secret." Then the book is broken down into several more chapters, each focusing on different areas to improve: including money, health, relationships, you, the world and life. It is easy to refer back to any section to keep you focused on the area of interest and has a quick summary section at the end of each chapter.

The Secret began as a DVD and, having seen the remarkable success of this DVD (which has sold in excess of 1.5 million copies), Rhonda Byrne created a book by the same name. The claims are lofty: "There isn't a single thing that you cannot do with this knowledge. It doesn't matter who you are or where you are, The Secret can give you whatever you want." Imagine that: the power to get absolutely anything. Who can resist that claim?

There are many things in this book that are not new, if you have been around the self-help section before. Positive attitude, positive self talk, visualization and gratitude are all covered, but when used in context of "the secret," they seem to take on a sense of intrigue and mystery.

Byrne says the most powerful law in the universe is the law of attraction. It states that people get what they want or rather think about. A person's thoughts (whether conscious or unconscious) and feelings are manifested absolutely. Think positively or negatively, you get what you wish for. Just like the law of gravity works in the same way for the good person and the bad person. Thus your thoughts become things. You shape your own life and destiny through the power of your mind.

According to Byrne and the twenty-nine co-contributors whom she quotes extensively, everything in the Universe (which is always capitalized and usually synonymous for "God") vibrates on a particular frequency. When you think in harmony with the frequency of something, you attract it to you. Books that promise health and wealth for their practitioners are published every day. But few associate such promises with Byrne's breathtaking audacity.

You are God in a physical body. You are Spirit in the flesh. You are Eternal Life expressing itself as You. (p. 164).

The chapter on powerful processes talks about the role of expectation, gratitude & visualization. These concepts are powerful tools in every therapist's repertoire. The suggestion to give up negative automatic thoughts, change perspective, and plan your goals is presented in the context of the law of attraction. How are these concepts different from cognitive intervention? What's the big Secret here?

The book having been written primarily for a white Christian audience, it's hardly surprising that the process of applying the Secret begins on a Biblical note. This would make the book more palatable and thereby induce within an individual a sense of a spiritual journey. The three steps, "Ask, Believe & Receive" are so obviously Christ derived, no one will miss its implications.

Even when you look at its application, the book suggests in a very mesmerizing way how one should eat. Snap out of your trance and you realize all Byrne is suggesting is what dieticians have been saying for years, chew your food slowly, savor each morsel, don't do anything else while eating and set realistic targets. What's the big Secret here?

Talk about the time frame for achieving your goals in the same context, you get a vague statement like "Time is an illusion". Referring to Einstein's theory of relativity may just be a way to camouflage the obvious reality; you might not get what you want, when you want.

By saying that you can create the day that you want in advance, by thinking about and thereby attracting what you want, all she's doing is making you begin your day in a systematic, planned organized way. We all know that a well planned out day is more likely to end on a happier note than an unplanned day. What's the big Secret here?

The chapter on how to attract money is another example of how simple positive thinking have been presented with a sense of mystery. A very practical suggestion given here is to give money to get money. If an individual can overcome his attachment to money to such an extent that s/he willingly gives away money, would not such an individual then consider himself possessing abundant money? So what Byrne is actually asking us to do is overcome our attachment with money. That's the best way to get over a lack of it. What's the big Secret here?

In the same vein she talks about improving relationships & health. What is interesting in this book is an attempt to explain the law of attraction by referring to quantum physics, a subject most people would not easily understand. But Byrne's team of experts in the field of quantum physics show how the law of attraction can easily be explained through quantum physics. The book therefore is providing spiritual and scientific proof for its propositions thereby in one masterstroke attempting to rid it of both spiritual and scientific dissent.

The Secret is a very clever book. It talks about spiritual and scientific greats like Einstein & Christ in the same breath, but provides no corroborative proof that they too were nothing but products of the Secret. Various inspiring quotes have been given but without knowing the context in which they were made can we really judge their true meaning?

Finally, it talks about energy and its healing properties. This is music to the ears of all those healers who focus on energy healing especially in a country like India. This book has made positive thinking fashionable and would be wonderful if people actually do live out its principles. But what happens if people get impatient and give up? To end on a positive note, following the non hedonistic, value laden ways of our forefathers (which is actually what The Secret is suggesting) will attract a happy life. Ms. Byrne will agree that this is no big secret.

Race and More : A Review Of 'Crash' (2005)

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This Oscar winning film, shot in 36 days on a meager budget of \$6 million, was originally released in 2004 but was rendered ineligible for that year's Academy Award since it played for less than a week. When it finally opened in LA the following year, it not only qualified for an Oscar nomination but went on to win the Oscar for Best Picture for 2005. A significant film in many ways, it was also a film of many firsts – the first film to be primarily set in LA and to win a Best Picture Award; the first Best Picture film since *Rocky* (1976) to win only three Oscars (Best Picture, Best Editing, Best Original Screenplay) while other films usually win in more than three categories; the first film bought in a Film Festival (Toronto) to win Best Picture at the Oscars. It is also the lowest grossing Best Picture winner since *'The Last Emperor'* (1987). *'Crash'* has also won numerous awards during its year of release from associations such as the IFFP Spirit Awards, the Screen Actors Guild, and BAFTA. Also, director Paul Haggis became the first screenwriter, since 1950, to write two Best Film Oscar winners back-to-back. for *"Million Dollar Baby"* (2004) directed by Clint Eastwood, and for *"Crash"* (2005) which he himself directed. *'Crash'* also received additional four nominations, including one for Haggis' direction.

"Crash" is seen mostly as a film about racial issues in LA, and while it is about that, it is also about much more. I see *'Crash'* as a film that is ultimately about all of us despite being posited as a film about a few people in an American city; as a critique of the famous American concept of the 'Melting Pot' and the myth of the "American dream"; and as a film that reflects a human condition that can only be understood in its complexity as a postmodern condition, even as the film falls clearly within the realm of Popular Culture as a Hollywood commercial film. Vaclav Havel, the President of the Czech Republic describes the postmodern condition in a speech delivered in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1994 : "And thus today we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation. We enjoy all the achievements of modern civilization that have made our physical existence on this earth easier in so many important ways. Yet we do not know exactly what to do with ourselves, where to turn. The world of our experiences seems chaotic, disconnected, confusing. There appear to be no integrating forces, no unified meaning, no true inner understanding of phenomena in our experience of the world. Experts can explain anything in the objective world to us, yet we understand our own lives less and less. In short, we live in the postmodern world, where everything is possible and almost nothing is certain".

And it is this kind of a world that *'Crash'* brings out with a unique brilliance of its own. Beginning at the scene of an accident in Los Angeles, it goes back in time to retrace the events over the last 36 hrs that led up to the present tragedy. The city of Los Angeles in which the film is set is a microcosm of America, current superpower and the Mecca of a globalised world. The problem with globalization is that it has ushered in drastic changes that have completely unnerved human beings, not just in America, but all over the world. "We stand helpless before them because our civilization has essentially globalized only the surfaces of our lives. But our inner self continues to have a life of its own. I think there are good reasons for suggesting that the modern age has ended. Today, many things indicate that we are going thorough a transitional period, when it seems that something is on the way out and something else is painfully being born. It is as if something were crumbling, decaying, and exhausting itself, while something else, still indistinct, were arising from the rubble." (Vaclav Havel). John Storey, in *'Inventing Popular Culture'*, similarly claims that globalization "can of course produce resistance to difference, but it can also produce the fusing of different cultures and the making of new and exciting forms of cultural hybridity". In *'Crash'* we see the hitherto homogenous, monolithic, dominant white culture under threat from 'outsiders' (or at least those considered to be so) who are now 'insiders' by virtue of being migrants. But the film is not a lament on the loss of the old world order; and while I won't go so far as to say that the film actually celebrates the plurality and chaos of America's new, emerging realities, the fact that it can laugh at the absurdity of human perceptions and prejudices suggests a positive acceptance of the inevitable.

'Crash' captures America, LA in particular, in the midst of struggling to deal with racial conflicts heightened by the presence of several ethnic communities within its boundaries. The utopian notion of the great American 'melting pot' is challenged by the realities of a changing world order. At the beginning of their classic 1963 sociological work on ethnicity in the United States, *'Beyond the Melting Pot'*, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote: 'The point about the melting pot is that it did not happen. At least not in New York andin

those parts of America which resemble New York. This is the subject of 'Crash', in which the benign notion of America as a melting pot is replaced by the image of a seething cauldron of racial prejudice".

Yes, 'Crash' is about race, but in a very different way. While many earlier race-related films focused solely on conflicts between blacks and whites, 'Crash' is significant in that it is one of the first mainstream Hollywood films to draw within the scope of its narrative a variety of other ethnic communities – Latino, Korean, Mexican, Iranian. Of greater significance is the fact that no single community takes centre-stage and no community remains in the background. This film is as much about whites as it is about blacks as it is about other ethnic groups.

No one is at the centre of this film's narrative. Everyone is centered for a time and then decentered to let someone else take centre stage. Unlike most mainstream Hollywood films that were characterised by a smooth narrative technique, film makers and critics see it is a postmodern tendency to reject linear narratives. "Crash" has a circular narrative structure, beginning and ending at almost the same point – it begins with a car crash and ends with one. Actually, it ends nearly six times, as one reviewer noted, which is not surprising considering that the film has so many small narratives contained within it, each imploding into the other. Moreover, these narrative threads intersect at various points to suggest the interconnectedness of the city's population, indeed, of the human race. For this reason, the film abounds in coincidences, sometimes making it seem artificial and contrived in the process. A.O Scott, for instance, in his review, observes that the narrative of the film "is at once tangled and threadbare; at times you have trouble keeping track of all the characters, but they run into one another with such frequency that by the end, you start to think that the population of LA county must number in the mid-two figures – all of it strangers who hate each other on sight." But it is, after all, the numerous coincidences that weave the different narrative strands into a whole. They allow the characters to "collide" with each other in different situations that bring out their complexities. As one reviewer put it, "When we crash up against each other's humanity, we just might learn to tolerate each other".

It is here that the crashing of cars becomes significant. Throughout the film, the car is used as a metaphor. The closed environs of one's car symbolizing security and familiarity, allows its inhabitants to insulate themselves from the world outside. A car crash, however, interrupts the smooth ride. It forces the inhabitants to forsake the comforting confines of their car and confront the reality outside. Hence, the film makes use of a series of car-crashes to occasion people to "collide" with those they otherwise wouldn't want to interact with. Christine Thayer (brilliantly essayed by Thandie Newton), a Black woman earlier humiliated by a white police officer (Matt Dillon), for instance, has no choice. If she wants to survive she must cling to the same officer she detests, but because she does that, she sees another dimension to his character, that of a man who even if for a little while is able to put duty before prejudice, humanity above colour. "Crash" tells us that lessons about others and about ourselves can only be learnt through an active, if not always positive, engagement between 'Self' and 'Other'.

What is interesting about 'Crash' is that "resistance to difference" is not a one-way process. Every character (representing his/her ethnic community) is seen resisting the "difference" of every other character, while his/her own "difference" is simultaneously resisted by others. Nearly everyone is dominator and dominated, victimiser and victimised. Matt Dillon, for instance, who humiliates the black couple, is himself at the receiving end of a black receptionist who is not very helpful when he approaches her with regard to his father's illness. He is left with no choice but to watch his father suffer night after painful night.

A critic once said that "postmodern films present the unrepresentable..... what was formerly thought of as unsuitable for film is now suddenly an essential part." In the only graphically sexual scene in the film, Detective Graham Waters (Don Cheadle) flippantly tells his mother that he can't speak to her right now because he's having sex with a white woman. This is not the usual joke but the literal truth since that is exactly what he happens to be doing at the time! In another instance, an exasperated DA (Brendan Fraser) wrings his hands in despair when he's told that his car has been stolen by two black boys : "Why did these boys have to be Black?", he asks, since he stands to lose either the Black vote or the White vote, one way or another. His paranoid wife (Sandra Bullock) too is furious about being carjacked by the two Black boys because she "knew" what was going to happen but didn't say anything because she would have been labelled 'racist'; but irony of ironies, she was right about fearing them, except that she now expends her wrath on an innocent Mexican-American locksmith convinced that he is a potential gangster. This is America caught in its own trap. Political correctness take on a whole new meaning in modern day America where white people have to be hyperconscious and hypersensitive about demeaning blacks even when they are found to be obviously guilty

of crime. Which really does not mean that things have changed much for the Black population – the black TV director must watch his wife molested by a racist police officer and apologize to him for fear of getting arrested despite being innocent. Later, he is even asked to revise a television commercial by his white boss because the black man in it does not sound “black enough”!

That Detective Graham Waters thinks his ‘white’ partner is Mexican adds another dimension to these prejudices. The Black community that has always accused whites of cultural ignorance and cultural stereotyping is no different, no less guilty of harboring prejudices. It is at this point that his partner (Jennifer Esposito) gives him a “geography lesson”: “My mother’s from Puerto Rico. My father’s from El Salvador. And neither of these is in Mexico.”! However, she herself loses her “frame of reference” and is extremely disparaging of the Chinese woman whose car crashed into theirs. ‘Crash’ abounds in this kind of constant undercutting where “frames of reference” are first built up and then destroyed. The grand narrative of the “melting pot” is being challenged here, and the message is clear. No one, not even the dominant group can remain outside the “melting process”: all must lose old identities to let new ones emerge.

The racial prejudices in the film operate at both levels, conscious and unconscious. ‘Crash’ is a daring film because it confronts these prejudices head on. It seems to be saying that the enemy within is far more dangerous than the one without, particularly the enemy that lies buried within us, somewhere so deep we don’t even know it exists. This truth is brought home through the instance of Officer Tom Hansen (Ryan Phillippe), who shoots an innocent black boy because he mistakenly believes that he is laughing at him. The prospect of a white man being laughed at by a black man is still intolerable; and this, coming from the man who was earlier so disgusted by his racist partner (Matt Dillon) that he asked to be reassigned! His partner’s prophetic words- “You think you know who you are? You have no idea.” - have now been realised, and Officer Hansen, appalled as he is at his own bigotry, must learn to live with guilt forever. It is not easy to go on after having discovered the beast within. It is at points like these that ‘Crash’ acquires ‘universal’ dimensions, turning into a film that is ultimately about the fragmentation of the human “Self”, telling us that we must first resolve the conflicts within our own fractured selves if we are to find out who we really are; that while we need to rethink our perceptions of those that lie outside ourselves, we need, first of all, to inspect those that lie within. However, in trying to drive home his message, Haggis sometimes resorts to clichéd conclusions. Sandra Bullock’s sudden, literal and figurative, embracing of the Spanish maid she has always disliked because she tends to her after a bad fall down the stairs, is rather unconvincing. Nevertheless, like her, most other characters are offered a chance at redemption – Matt Dillon is able to save the life of the Black woman he had humiliated; Ryan Phillippe is able to save the Black woman’s husband (Terence Howard) whose humiliation he had watched in silence; the thief who is let off by the same husband then seizes an opportunity to free some Thai and Cambodian victims of human trafficking; the Black couple are able to reach out to each other once again after the painful episode that nearly ruined their happy marriage; the daughter of the Mexican is saved because the gun she was shot with had blanks – the examples are many. However, not everyone gets such reprieves and there are some lives that end in irreversible tragedy. Cheadle’s brother, for instance, is shot without provocation. And Cheadle himself must suffer in silence his mother’s accusation that he is the one responsible for his brother’s death.

Since the complex human condition the film presents can only be adequately expressed using devices like irony and metaphor, the film is fraught with ironies (both comic and tragic) well embedded in the script, dialogues and plot. The Black thief who curses a fellow Black for stealing, because he steals from Black people is convinced his own thievery is alright since he steals from white people. When they unceremoniously dump the “Chinaman” they accidentally knocked down outside a hospital, the camera closes in on a set of statues depicting the Nativity, to underscore the irony of their act of mercy. The car thief does a good deed by freeing a group of Thai and Cambodian people bought to be sold. They are now “free”, free to be a part of the great American Dream, to further add to the chaos of a city/country already seething with racial intolerance. In a final irony, the film ends with the Black receptionist involved in a crash with a Chinese. As they engage in a heated argument each accusing the other of causing the crash, the camera gradually moves upwards, looking down at a scene where people of different ethnic identities have joined in. Haggis is suggesting that human conflicts will go on; that expecting easy resolutions is unrealistic -which doesn’t mean that we should not try.

Although “Crash” is part of mainstream Hollywood cinema, it defies easy summarisation and also easy categorisation. A.O.Scott asks, “What kind of a movie is “Crash”? It belongs to a genre that has been flourishing in recent years – at least in the esteem of critics – but that still lacks a name”. Perhaps, the name “postmodern” might help.

For one thing it is not clearly contextualised. While the voice-over lines at the beginning identify LA as the location, one really does not get a strong sense of place and the setting could as well have been any American city. Critic Liz Hoggard, in her review 'Colour Code', believes that LA is a significant location for the film: "Most Los Angelenos are isolated from social interaction inside the bubble of their cars. This is a real estate culture that actively promotes the concept of 'white flight' and that has long made LA the most segregated and racially tense city, west of Mississippi." She also quotes Gaylene Gould (Project Manager of Black World at the BFI) who shares a similar viewpoint: "I think LA is the epitome of .. alienated existence....it's almost the furthest western point you can get, it's the furthest point of consumerism and capitalism." My point, however, is that while the distinctiveness of LA might be undisputable, its distinctiveness is not particularized in the film, especially considering that most of the events unfold in closed rooms (such as homes, offices, shops) or on the street – and how different is one street from another?

The opening lines of the film locate the events in a specific context and paradigm within which the film operates. Detective Don Cheadle narrates: "It's the sense of touch. In any real city, you walk, you know? You brush past people, people bump into you. In LA, nobody touches you. You're always behind this metal and glass. I think we miss that touch so much that we crash into each other just to feel something." LA is pitted against every other 'real' city, thereby making LA, by implication, an unreal city. LA is also differentiated from other cities by its lack of touch. And by the fact that its inhabitants are "always behind metal and glass". But even as LA is particularised as being different from other cities, the points of difference are metaphorical and 'Universal'. Isn't every human being hungry for a loving touch? Isn't every urban city trapped in a concrete jungle of "metal and glass"? If "metal" and "glass" are taken metaphorically to signify things that can be easily broken or shattered – our emotions, our selves etc – then again, this is true for all of the human race. Thus, while the opening lines place the film in a specific geographical context, they also go beyond that to represent the angst of the human race. Also, while 'Crash' is a film about racial prejudice, the theme could be transposed onto other contexts to include any other human prejudice that threatens to tear us apart. If it is race in America, then it is caste in India. Thus, in the sense that the film happens at the interstice between the individual and the collective, the specific and the general, the local and the global, it is a 'glocal' film that reflects the increasing 'glocality' of the modern world, and not just of color-conscious Los Angeles.

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"Men, men, these are wanted;
everything else will be ready,
but strong, vigorous, believing men,
sincere to the backbone are wanted.

"My faith is in the younger
generation, the modern
generation; out of them will
come my workers.

They will work out the whole
problems like lions...

They will spread from center
to center, until we have
covered the whole of India.

"Numbers do not count, nor
does wealth or poverty,
a handful of men can throw the
world off its hinges,
provided they are united in
thought, word and deed."

- Swami Vivekanand



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