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**DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE &
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Type Setting & Printing:

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442, Saheed Nagar

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ODL- TALE OF A PRACTITIONER*

I deem it a great honour to deliver the Prof. Ram Reddy Memorial Lecture. I am aware of my limitations and lack of qualifications to deliver the same. I am equally aware that I could never have been the first choice of the organizers and hence the onerous responsibility of mine is to rise to the occasion and prove my worthiness. I shall not dwell on the life and works of Prof. Reddy. Prof. Murali Manohar is far better suited for the same than all of us put together. I had the great fortune of listening to Prof. Reddy once (in 1996 or 1995) and he touched all his listeners. He was indeed the doyen of open learning in this country and all of us owe to him a debt which none of us can repay. Sometimes it is wiser to remain indebted than attempt to pay back the debt. I would make no such endeavour to pay back.

Before I delve into my topic 'ODL-Tale of a Practitioner', I must spell out my limitations. My basic discipline is History-Intellectual History of Modern India and like many of you I have walked only half way through the intricacies of ODL. For my fellow academic fraternity of history I have migrated to ODL and for my ODL fraternity I belong to history. Whether I am fused or confused, you have to decide at the end of the talk. My second limitation is that I have never researched any aspect of ODL – theory or practice . My strength is PRACTICE. I came to ODL by chance but have adapted myself to an extent and my presentation relates to the practice of ODL and is at best based on observation, experimentation and even reflection on a limited scale.

Students perspective, role of the teachers, role of technology, role of ICT and IT, finance, management issues and marketing etc. are the few issues relating to ODL that I propose to take up. I intend to round off my talk with the philosophy of ODL and philosophy of Education. I must warn you, that here is a serious conservative person before you, quite a reductionist and one who prefers to keep things simple. My entire experience revolves around a simple fundamental theory

All education (its philosophy, technology, problem, solutions etc.) is about students learning and teachers teaching. The two Principal Characters are Students and Teachers and all other characters (human & physical resources) involved are facilitators. They are to facilitate this teaching-learning process and not manage, not supervise, not control, not define and far less not own the process.

** Prof. Ram Reddy Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. S.P. Pani
Director, DDCE, Utkal University on 13th March, 2014 ,Jammu University ,19th IDEA
Conference(Indian Distance Education Association).*

Students are indeed the ‘primary’ actors, beneficiaries and without students, all others need not exist . Others have no role to play. Should we not use the word ‘learner’ in place of student ? Rather not. We are not confined with the learning aspects, a “student” is preferred for he is still a *chattr*-one who stands under our umbrella – umbrella of protection, umbrella of our point of view, umbrella of our school of thought say *Samprayadaya*, he is indeed a person - a whole person. Vast number of our students remain faceless to us, we may not come in contact with them, there are logistic barriers which we are not able to break. All these are true yet we come across many, many are not faceless for us in the contact program, in the admission counselling, even in the examination hall and when they come for CLC, Mark sheet, Migration, Original Degree and even for validating their transcripts – they all become alive, they are our students. Success of ODL depends on converting our clients, learners, enrolment / registration numbers to our students, converting the faceless to a face. Even when we have a large student base they are not without character. Over a period of time our student’s profile change. In the last two decades, our experience at Utkal University has been quite a learning one. In the BA program, twenty years back, adult learners and those who could not make it to a regular program gathered under our portals. A section was drawn from the Defence-Police Force, women students from Muslim pockets and those who could not get a seat in Education / Sociology / Public Administration Hons. crowded us. All of them remain yet the profile has changed. The number of adult learners is coming down. A large number of Sikhya Sahayaks are now dominant – they are to become fulltime teachers and their learning needs and goals have changed. Army and Police persons are into professional programs in a very big way. Large section of students are young but employed in both organized and unorganized sectors. B.Com students are into Chartered Accounting, Cost Accounting and Company Secretary courses in a big way. Profiles of MBA intake has changed. Recognizing student profile is a necessity. It leads to better mapping of their needs. Lack of competence in English particularly in Social Sciences and Humanities is posing a serious threat to our P.G. program. Our inability and refusal to offer courses in vernacular medium is a handicap. In Computer Science, a number of employed, aged, senior rank officials from banking, civil services even doctors come in early 1990s to learn computer application to apply it in their own organization and to rise in their own organization. In the 2000s, young students came for job opportunities, today many youngsters who are highly competent in IT application are coming to vet their knowledge and skill, they are mostly employed and self employed. We have not responded to their changing needs. The first step is to recognize the changed profile. In a dual mode University with a unified academic structure and curriculum for ODL and Regular courses, it is almost impossible to address the special and specific needs of ODL. We offer add on non-credit courses in Software to meet the needs of our MCA students. ODL is also about providing a second chance, second opportunity for the students. Interesting individual tales are numerous in every institute of ODL. People have come to us in their eighties to fulfill their lifelong urge for

education. They have come to us to overcome their loneliness after the death of their spouse. People come to us, as regular colleges could not admit them because of restriction of course combination, age bar and host of other meaningless barriers. People have come to change their track. Even highly successful people come to us just to get a graduation degree. Until IGNOU awarded degrees to students of Hotel Management, they all flocked to us to get just graduate degrees. Ideally we should be able to respond to each student, award credit for his past learning and be able to offer him an assortment of courses. We are to create a conducive ambience to allow him to gather a degree. We are far from such a situation. We are caught in the web of regulations. We are far from being open. We are indeed a very closed system including the 'OPEN' institutes, Universities and Boards. An ideal ODL practitioner needs to respond to the individual needs of a student in terms of structure of courses, psychological and career counselling, learning difficulties and even personal problems. These are only indicative, if we reflect we shall discover multiple layers of student character, profile, need and varieties of challenges. In a single word the "UNKNOWN STUDENT", more precisely an enrolment, a number and registration number ought to become an 'INDIVIDUAL' or a 'KNOWN STUDENT' for us. Let us convert our learners, clients, stake holders, registration numbers to our students, to our *chhatra's*, to our *sisyas* and let us be their *Gurus* (mentors), *Acharyas* (those who transform skills) and not mere *sikhyakas* (tutors).

Let us now turn to the teachers. Teachers are indeed the other actor, the other stake holder. They are the course writers, the counselors, the administrators, the managers the examiners, the policy makers and the all others. At the outset I have spelt out that students and Teachers are the principal components. Students learn and teachers teach- this is the principal activity, if this happens everything else falls in to place. How to ensure that this happens? There are fools who think that we need less teachers, few can teach a vast number or even all. An ideal teacher should have knowledge, he should be learned, he must have skill and even the skill to transfer skill but here also the Teacher ought to be a person. He can be inbuilt into learning material yet he must emerge out also. The impact of the personality of the teacher, his/her personal touch is much more important than knowledge, skill, learning and formal teaching. ODL at no stage can offer education with a discount on teachers. As the student can't be faceless, so also teacher can't be faceless. The problem of numbers would remain in ODL. That makes the task of the Teacher more challenging, the 'essence' of the teacher ought to be more focused when he acts as a counselor in contact program and when he meets his students otherwise. When he prepares the courseware, he is not merely writing, he is teaching. When he corrects the assignment is he providing a feedback. Can we ensure that the counselor alone evaluates the script (as a teacher who has offered course evaluates the student)? Is counselling not teaching? Yes, it is still teaching, the skills are different. If the students have studied the course material in advance, if the students became participative and get into doubt clearance mode and discussion mode, then the counselling mode can be adopted. Otherwise conventional

teaching happens. In contrast ,you can ask, should teaching in conventional course be also counselling ? Irrespective of the technology involved– virtual class room- online classroom – the essence remain the same-Teaching-Learning Process. No teaching happens without learning. Counselling is also teaching, may be the process is different, technique is different, challenges are different and if it is not teaching – no learning takes place. The real challenge for us is to succeed under both the modes. Unfortunately instead of a convergence of two systems, there are more divergence. Teachers of ODL are discriminated in many forms as are students of ODL. Students are considered as second rate and so are teachers. This is the most unfortunate part of the ODL scenario in our country. The real challenge is to ensure the Teaching – Learning process notwithstanding numbers and distance. Just as Brahmins even practice un-touchability among Brahmins, so also teachers also practice un-touchability among themselves. Teachers of ODL when they became academic administrator (say Directors and even Vice Chancellors) they cease to be teachers. They confuse managerial and administrative roles to be divorced from teaching roles. All these lead to various divergence and not convergence. Teaching remains central to the ODL system and teachers remain central to the system. The challenges for teachers under ODL are manifold (in terms of technology, numbers, counselling, course writings, assignment evaluation etc.) and the system must address these challenges effectively. Proper training modules need to be evolved, awareness needs to be created at all levels (particularly of the policy matters) and at ‘no point’ we should cease to be teachers.

The role of the teachers have changed and would change further with technology. Arrival of printed books changed the role of the teachers . Black Board had changed our role. Interactive board, internet, power point presentation and such other technical interventions would affect us. It would affect ODL practitioners even more. There is no quarrel with technology but let us remember the teacher can’t be faceless. The ‘Impact of his personality’ is a necessity and welcome ingredient in Education and even in ODL. Teachers are not under threat of extinction. In fact we need more teachers, better teachers, excellent teachers more today than in yester years. Yes, we must change for the better, change with the changing times and technology.

Having dealt with the two principal characters, student and teachers, now let us turn to the other. The other include men (the administrator, managers, policy makers, the subordinate staff etc.), the material and the processes (the course IT & ICT aspects, finance, marketing, library, learning resources, evaluation and logistics, etc.) . Even with the two actors (students and teachers) there can be no drama without the others. In our ODL scenario we have almost insurmountable problems relating to the other. I can only touch a few. The attitude of the other (Vice Chancellor, Registrar, Finance Officer, Dean down to the Junior assistant) is the major issue. In a dual mode University there is even double colonization. There is a lack of purpose and sensitively at all levels. The practitioners themselves think that the ‘system is second rate, ineffective and emancipation of the ‘below’ . The student complicate this further with a similar attitude of short cut and even worst consider ODL to be purchasable. University use ODL for

resource generation for the 'OTHER' not for ODL. Instead 'OTHER' subsidizing ODL, the ODL cross subsidizes the other. The students and teachers are constantly in a conflict mode with the 'Others'. In fact unless the 'OTHER' is improved, ODL is under serious threat.

The most important aspect is that of 'Attitude'. Universities cannot consider ODL to be a tool of resource generation. Resources can be generated for strengthening ODL, not for other purposes. Resources are diverted leaving the ODL high and dry and without any serious effort to improve the quality of learning material, learning process and infrastructure. Proper utilization of resources need to be ensured. Like all other funding processes, in ODL also, funding is scheme specific. All said and done funding is still in 'top down' mechanism and not down-up mechanism. Those who want to corner fund must subscribe to schemes, they are not free to develop their own schemes. The defects of 'planning' in this country are too well known, solutions are also well known but solutions are not applied. There is general lack of awareness about ODL, it's specialties and its requirements. Attitude, awareness and sensitivity must improve. The course material, the print in particular is of crucial importance to the success and quality of ODL. Content, quality of print and get up all are important, A lot is made out of IGNOU contents – adoption that too outright adoption is recommended, translation is recommended for vernacular medium, making the best 'available to all is recommended and even converting the entire IGNOU lot to open source has been experimented. My reservations are manifold. Yes, IGNOU course material is world class, it passes through a well defined process of production, it definitely deserves ISO Certification, all civil service aspirants use it, all NET qualifiers have used it and teachers universally use it for teaching etc. On the other hand, it's base is CBSE, Higher Secondary standard. This is not the base of vast number of our students. All or at least maximum is cramped into least space- we should make an impact by teaching well even if it means less, we must teach how to learn rather than trying to teach everything, many of our students do not crack the essence from IGNOU course material. In fact, adoption cannot be ensured. It has to harmonize with our academic standards and requirements. Each ODL institute has to find its own way out. Our own teachers under ODL and otherwise need continuous training in developing courseware. Sometimes outsourcing is helpful, if the publishers are reputed, if they have strong copy writing teams, editorial staff and quality printing facility. Here again the 'other' is involved, it imposes tender process, lowest rate is preferred and quality goes for a toss. You lose the bride in dowry, it is a disaster for a family, it is a disaster for ODL to resort to L1 in course material. Let us save our soul and not our purse.

Assignments and projects have been a nightmare for many of us. Cut and paste, photocopying other's assignment, downloading from net and emergence of professional assignment and project writers are too well known. Added to that, managing the logistic, of keeping track of receipt, evaluation and dispatch etc. is a challenge. More important than this is the apathetic attitude of those who evaluate. A score is awarded, seldom a feed back is

provided, rarely we tell the student how to improve and in the process, the basic purpose of assignment is lost. I have tried many techniques: online submission and online evaluation, assignment during personal contact programme, single answer multiple choice and gaming in the computer lab and IT application for logistics. And I know I have not succeeded in the basic objective of providing feedback, improving performance, mid-term evaluation and continuous learning etc. I have raised an issue for which I am still groping in dark for an answer.

Yet another issue is conduct of personal contact program. Should it be compulsory- in practice or in its violation ? Should it be on every Saturday and Sunday or during vacation only? In mid semester? so on and so forth. Should we conduct it only if a minimum number attend? Whether the teaching technique is same as in regular mode? Has it to be counselling? Does our course material reach before counselling session? Is it possible to finish the course? Do our counselor speak well of ODL? Do they not treat out students as second rate? Do they not compare them constantly with students from regular mode? Can we arrange counselors but from regular Institutes? so on and so forth. The questions are too well known to our ODL family members. Here again I do not have straight answers to all the question. I still assert that ODL family must constantly question these and find answer at individual institute level. The practices are bound to be varied. Counselors need training, at least they need to be sensitized, they must be made to love our students, care for our students, be sensitive to their needs and in a word be teachers to them. Of course we should take feedback, manage the logistic well and have fixed academic calendar etc.

Managing logistics is of vital importance. Few issues relating to logistic can be raised. Managers of ODL are required to be excellent managers of material. I had to re-read Kautilya's Arthashastra on management of supply during a war. ODL is always into war like situation ,course material, printing orders and supplies, procurement of out sourced courseware, paper for printing, reloading your franking machine, envelopes, even stickers, address label, cleaning agent and you name it, ODL needs it. Store and procurement or material management is critical to your success. Bad logistics can kill any good ODL institution. Details can be imagined. If you can't read books on material management or Kautilya, please observe your wife. Bring in the principles of material management of your kitchen to your ODL institutions, you would succeed.

Managing finance is equally critical to your success. We must understand finance. Most of our finance officers are at best accountants, some are good accountants. You would seldom find a finance manager. They understand book keeping at best. They do not understand resource generation, inflow-outflow chart, maximization of resources, optimum utilization of resources, core competence and need of out sourcing of non-core activity etc. We, the teacher-managers of ODL ,must master finance and financial management. Otherwise ODL is bound to be servile to incompetent and ignorant financial managers. I am presuming that the 'other' and 'we' both are honest 'Location of a bank in institutes of ODL go a long way in better

management of finance. It should be exclusive. IT application also helps and so does E-receipt.

Our HR management skills are mostly poor. We are great in following rules, regulations and what not. We are not leaders, we are not managers of men and women. We are at best good in creating groups not team. Leadership can come from any quarter. Boss is not the only leader, boss is not necessarily the leader. It is the leaders who make a difference to ODL institutions. Thinking out of the box, creative thinking, taking responsibility, creating ownership etc. help. I can give few examples from our institutes. All building foundation and inauguration stones carry the names of all including gardeners, we call ourselves 'Team DDCE', mango-coconut trees have been planted and adopted by our employees, we have extended EPF to all categories of our temporary employees, staff annual picnic is conducted and team building exercises are continuously and consciously carried out. Good practices can be adopted from others without much difficulty.

Massive IT application is the order of the day. Without IT application no institute of ODL can succeed. I need not harp on its importance. I will speak of costly lessons I have learnt. No readymade software would serve our purpose, not even standard accounting package or even library package. The first requirement is that the ODL and its end users must be able to specify their requirement otherwise need mapping by the best IT company would fail. The best way is to first computerize the existing manual process – receipt, cash book writing, stock maintenance, accession register etc. and the second step is to innovate, effect change and introduce better management skills. Accuracy of data is critical to our requirement. Data can be fed by Data Entry Operators, OMR can be used. Online data feeding by students can be introduced. Here quantum jump is welcome. One need not pass through all the stages, the *mantra* is “latest” is not the best, “appropriate” is the best, we need not re-discover the wheel, existing wheel can be adjusted. It is best is to work in-house, all need not be masters, let them learn only how to use and not how to process, interactive web page helps, we must use mobile phones and SMS more than email. Open sources are the best, annual maintenance is a must, robust hardware, effective internet connectivity with alternate connectivity help and the last word – anyone who asks for a fortune for IT services will never be able to meet our requirement.

A word on marketing would be useful. The classic principle- you must advertise when going is bad and you can afford to advertise when going is good holds for us. You must advertise under all circumstances. We need to advertise to build our brand, to create goodwill, to improve our quality, to attract students and to increase our revenue and to be in the picture. Our students are our best advertisers. We always use our students for admission counselling and the entire process of admission is managed by our students under the supervision of teachers. Negative marketing is also necessary. At no stage the incoming students can be given the idea that full commitment is not required, that it is easy to pass and that they need not work hard. Instead it must be made clear to them that they need to be committed, to devote time and

energy and rise to the occasion. Public as a whole must know about us. Advertisement, meeting queries, counselling, interactive website, responding to emails and SMS etc. are all part of our marketing strategy. There is nothing wrong in marketing. We must build our quality and brand.

An ODL institute must be full of activities. It must occupy a place of prominence in the University (dual mode). At Utkal, DDCE now stands respected. We play a vital role. We have developed and manage the result processing software. We collaborate with Academic Staff College for Orientation, Refresher and Short Term courses, P.G. Depts. seek our facilities for seminars and conferences. We adopt their courses of studies and there are numerous occasions when our curriculum is followed by others. We organize leadership camps, yoga camps, placement drives, and literary activities etc. Our hands are full. We say a busy man has time, lazy has none. This is true for institutions also.

I may go on with several other aspects. But it is indeed not needed. To conclude ODL is all about a mode. Number and distance are the inherent challenge. Openness is a greater challenge. Even our best open Universities are not that open. When a student comes to us we should be able to formulate a course for him. Challenges of Education, Principles of Education and Philosophy of Education for ODL and all other modes are one. We have a simple formula: let the students study-learn and teachers teach. Let us facilitate that and pat our back with great satisfaction.

Our philosophy and vision can be summarized in the one liner that ODL Institutes have adopted.

Education For All

Education Any Time, Any Where and For Any One

We are a people's university

Even swimming can be taught through ODL.

We must remember that the difference of ODL system from other forms of education are today vanishing and we must confirm that **PHILOSOPHY of EDUCATION** does not change with mode of education, situation of education or the difference in logistics. Good Education and its philosophy, principles and practices are indeed unified. *Sa Vidya Ya Vimuktaye*- Education Liberates. It liberates our soul from the chain of rebirth. It universalizes our 'self' and 'ego'. It frees us from ignorance, hunger, negative feeling, discrimination and you can add. Education is the highest liberating tool. Let us be liberated and liberate others.

I thank Prof. Murali Manohar and Prof. Romesh Verma and the entire ODL family for this kind invitation and the patient hearing.

Thank you one and all.



(S. P. Pani)

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5. Specify Title & scope /Methodology of research/Review of literature and Hypothesis and objective in the first part of your article.
6. In the main body place logical facts, figures, ideas and concepts etc.
7. Clearly state your findings and conclusions, establishing how your work is an improvement on others, its relevance, scope for further research and limitations of your research.

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- While mentioning the Affiliation, the Principal author's name should figure as the first author, name of the guide /others should figure as second /third authors.
- Authors are required to check that the references given at the end of the article must match with the references given within the article.
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MOTHERHOOD IN 19TH CENTURY AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN SLAVE NARRATIVES

Lipsa Mishra

Abstract

There have been abundant accounts defining the context of slavery for blacks and how black women were treated in slave society. Nineteenth century American society presents a clear example in which oppression, bondage, and capitalism worked together to redefine, reshape, and re-establish the lives of black Americans. These accounts often represent motherhood as one of many roles for slave women. Motherhood represented a unique position for black women, as these women were also laborers, breeders, and paramours in 19th century American society. Motherhood was the center of black women's existence and black women's response to these multiple and often conflicting roles was to create a new meaning of black womanhood. This paper is prepared around the themes of black women's answer to motherhood, the significance of motherhood for black family life, black women's responsibilities in 19th century American society, and finds that how black women's motherhood challenged domination of race, gender, and class in 19th century American society. This article attempts to highlight the complex nature of black motherhood in nineteenth century American society using black women's speeches, life histories and other writings published in the 19th century.

Key word :*Motherhood, Slave, Womanhood, Laborers, Breeders, Children.*

There have been abundant accounts defining the context of slavery for blacks and how black women were treated in slave society. Nineteenth century American society presents a clear example in which oppression, bondage, and capitalism worked together to redefine, reshape, and re-establish the lives of black Americans. These accounts often represent motherhood as one of many roles for slave women. Motherhood represented a unique position for black women, as these women were also laborers, breeders, and paramours in 19th century American society. Motherhood was the center of black women's existence and black women's response to

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Nineteenth century American society exemplifies the manner in which domination, repression, and capitalism combined to define, shape, and determine the lives of black Americans. There have been abundant accounts defining the context of slavery and how black women functioned in slave society. Motherhood represented a unique position for black women, as these women were also laborers, breeders, and concubines of the Whites in 19th century American society. The new meaning of black womanhood was created by their response to these multiple and often conflicting roles played by them. Using black women's autobiographies and other writings published in and around the 19th century, this essay attempts to highlight the complex nature of black motherhood in nineteenth century American society.

Motherhood advocates a unique relationship between the mother and the child which is seen as the basic necessity for child development. Mothers nurture their children, provide love, affection, and supervision, and shape their primary development. In the 19th century American society, motherhood was seen as an indispensable act of reproduction of a particular family. The joys and privileges of motherhood enjoyed by white women were not available to the black women. The era between 1820 and 1860, was the period in which womanhood was represented as pious, pure, obedient and domestic. Women were encouraged to embrace these benefits and take their rightful place at home.

Womanhood and the experience of motherhood for black women, were completely different from that of the white women, and were connected to the social system. In fact, Hazel Carby argues that,

“two very different but interdependent codes of sexuality operated in the antebellum South, producing opposite definitions of motherhood and womanhood for white and black women which coalesce in the figures of the slave and the mistress” (Carby, Hazel, 147).

Motherhood for slave women was connected and rooted in a social system of bondage, unlike white women, who could enjoy motherhood and the social status. Associated with it the roles of African men and women slaves centered on the slave economy and the labor of black women was not separated from black men. Another slave interviewed for the Federal Writer's Project said: *“Master had four overseers on the place and they drove us from sun up 'till sunset. Some of the women plowed barefooted most of the time, and had to carry that row and keep up with men, and then do their cooking at night”.* (Hine, Darlene Clark, and Kathleen Thompson, P-78).

Moreover, *“It is estimated that in the Cotton Belt slave women spent approximately thirteen hours a day in the fieldwork, engaged in such diverse and traditionally masculine tasks as plowing fields, dropping seeds, hoeing, picking, ginning, sorting and molting cotton”.* (Hine, Darlene Clark, and Kathleen Thompson, P-283).

The labor of black women was a crucial part of the slave economy and is critical in understanding the multiple roles of black women. These multiple roles and expectations of black women were that they should be mothers, field helps, breeders, servant, nannies, wives and concubines, thus compounding the complication of their lives. The system of slavery demanded that women completely involve themselves in work, including cleaning, farming, cooking, other household chores, and reproduction was an indispensable part of life for a slave woman. Motherhood was connected to the triumph of the institution of slavery, and this created a exclusive and lively relationship between black women and their children. On one hand, black women took care of their children and performed in the roles of wife and mother. At the same time, they were also aware of the fact that their children could be sold or dishonoured. Black women were not in a position to protect their children from slavery.

Black women never truly enjoyed motherhood. They had children, arranged households, nursed and cared for their offspring, and formed communities. As mothers, black women loved their kids and cared for them in addition to the multiple responsibilities they performed. The attachment between mother and the child was strong, and slave women often took tremendous measures to care for their children. A slave confirms this:

“I remember well my mother often hid us all in the woods, to prevent master selling

us. When we wanted water, she sought for it in any hole or puddle, formed by falling trees or otherwise”. (Jones, Jacqueline, P-112)

Black women were the most vulnerable group in many ways and were important not only for their labor, but also for their reproductive capability, and they were vital for the slave market. They were exclusively responsible for supplying the slave workforce. Black women were a basically treated as breeders, laborers, and concubines, even their motherhood was not separated from their slave status. Black women were often forced to become mothers and wives, and this represented a key feature of their endurance.

Hilliard Yellerday, an ex-slave, commented on this point:

“When a girl became a woman, she was required to go to a man and become a mother. There was generally a form of marriage. The master read a paper to them telling them they were man and wife...Master would sometimes go and get a large, hale, hearty Negro man from some other plantation to go to his Negro woman. He would ask the master to let this man come over to his place to go to his slave girls. A slave girl was expected to have children as soon as she became a woman. Some of them had children at the age of twelve and thirteen-years-old. Negro men six feet tall went to some of these children” (Jones, Jacqueline, P-98)

Black women often responded to slavery by engaging in various forms of protest: taking part in revolts, running away, poisoning owners, indulging arson, and declining to accept sexual exploitation, abortion and infanticide. Black women displayed an amazing amount of guts when they initiated opposition to the slave society. Yet infanticide, one of the most extreme forms of opposition, is a glaring example of black women's reluctance to participate in increasing the slave work force. Abortion, a more widely documented approach, was also employed by black women as a method of protest. Herbert Gutman offers proof suggesting that abortion was a practice used by black women.

Black women tried their level best to keep their children away from slavery, they even preferred abortion or infanticide to letting their children become slaves. Mistreatment shaped how black women experienced motherhood. While black women were bold in resisting slavery, their male counterparts could not even attempt to raise their voices. They were forced to have children and supply them to the slave workforce. On the other hand, black women also chose to defy oppression by teaching their children values and encouraging education with the expectation that one day, their children would breathe in a slave-free society.

Black women struggled for freedom in a society that viewed women as slaves. Many tolerated slavery, learned the cultural philosophy, and recognized the importance of changing their lives for better futures. Black

women challenged general views as they passed through the stages of survival, protest, revolution freedom, and created a new definition of black womanhood. This innovative method allowed black women to discard the authority and the idea of the inferiority of African Americans, the traditional idea of womanhood. They maintained a sense of self-esteem; and self-worth. When black women and men decided to have a child — whether in or out of wedlock, they were exercising a rare opportunity to choose in a world with few choices. The practice of unwed motherhood was very common during this period. It is inconceivable that such a pattern could have evolved had black men collectively shunned women who had children by men other than themselves — black or white. Just as bond people of both sexes enforced rules of exogamy, slave men and women tried to abide as closely as they could to their traditions— both old and new — of courting, parenting, and having sexual relations.

Slave family had an inclination to be unsteady, due to the nature of the tradition of slavery. Masters could sell away members of family if desired, or could separate the family on the plantation, making them work in different areas. Slaves had no control over their own fate, and therefore spent each days in fear. Their fear of the unknown became a crucial reason why the mother played a significant role in their development. Domestic work was an opportunity for slave mothers to enrich themselves by taking up skills that could benefit their families. Mothers did domestic work to keep themselves, their family, and

much of the slave society healthy by providing additional clothing, food or other life supporting materials. Some slave mothers felt that slavery was the worst fate to give to a child. They often felt that death was preferable to a life of slavery. Runaways occurred often, and some were successful in their runaway efforts while others were caught. Margaret Gamer, a slave woman, escaped along with her husband and children with a group of slaves in the winter 1856, when the Ohio River was frozen. They made it to the other side of the river and found freedom, but shortly their pursuers caught them.

Slavery had its greatest impact on the family life of the Africans brought to the United States. Most of them who came in the beginning were males. The Black female population was not equal to the number of males until 1830. As a result, the frequency of sexual relations between Black slaves and White women was fairly high. The intermarriage rate between male slaves and free White women increased in spite of the practice of interracial relationships. Prior to that, male slaves were encouraged to marry White women, since the children from such unions were also slaves henceforth, it increased the property of the slave master. In attempting to get an accurate description of the family life of slaves, one has to sift through a conflicting opinions on the subject. Scholarly contradictions partially stemmed from historians using their findings from a particular region as typical of slavery across time and place. Recent findings reveal that at any point in slave history, family life varied as a function

of gender composition, region, mode of production, the nature of the planter's business interest, size and location of the master's properties, and the slaveholder's commitment to family stability.

Yet certain aspects of the slaves' family life during the last hundred years are undisputed. Unlike the earlier periods, African slaves had no civil court of last resort and were not allowed to enter into binding contractual relationships. Since marriage is basically a legal relationship that imposes obligations on both parties and exacts penalties for their violation, there was no legal basis to any marriage between the two individuals in bondage. Slave marriages were regulated at the discretion of the slave master. As a result, some marriages were initiated by slave owners and were just as easily dissolved. Hence, there were numerous cases where the slave owner ordered slave women to marry men of his own choosing after they reached puberty. The slave owners preferred a marriage between slaves on the same plantation, since the primary reason for slave unions was breeding of children who would become future slaves. Sometimes when two slaves desired to be together and it was advantageous to the master, the matter was resolved by the sale of one of the parties to the other owner. Yet, many slaves, who were allowed to get married, preferred women from a neighbouring plantation. This allowed them to avoid witnessing the many assaults on slave women that occurred. Historians are divided on the question of how many slave families were unhappily separated from each other by their

owners. Recent historical work documents greater structural diversity than previously understood. In general, a slave master's business decisions created a variety of slave marital and familial relationships and structures. For those wealthy planters with hundreds or thousands of acres scattered throughout the colonies and the West Indies, production priorities, not slave marriages or families, determined slave residence. Any concern for imbalanced gender ratio or slave reproduction could be resolved through buying additional slaves on location.

Smaller slaveholders had more reason for uniting slave couples, because a residential slave couple could significantly increase their slave property through consistent childbearing. The children between the age group of ten to fifteen were most helpless as they were sold or rented out away from their families, when they bestowed the greatest mastery of adult work tasks and work potential. State legislatures supported the sale of all children capable of fieldwork. While slave owners viewed the maturation of enslaved children as positive virtue, slaves considered adolescence as a time of deep sorrow because it involved losing their children. Sales in the interregional slave trade were high for the teenagers and began to decline as slaves moved into their thirties. Despite some slaveholders' commitment of holding slave families together, the events were a slaveholder's death, bankruptcy, or lack of capital made the forcible sale or renting of some spouses or children unavoidable. In instances where the slave master was

indifferent to the fate of slave families, he would still do his utmost to keep them together simply to enforce plantation discipline. It was believed that a married slave who was concerned about his wife and children was less inclined to rebel or escape than a "single" slave. Schwartz notes that

"in trying to prevent their sale, some slave youths 'fout an' kick lak crazyfolks' when placed on the auction block" (Berlin 2000, p. 171).

Some slaves went further. When faced with possible separation from her infant child, one slave mother

"took the baby by its feet. . . . And with the baby's head swinging downward, she vowed to smash its brains out before she'd leave it" (Berlin, 2003, p. 216).

Sometimes their intimidations and requests convinced the owners or potential buyers that the cost of family separation was not worth completing the transaction. Whatever their reasoning or circumstances, the few available records show that slave owners did not split a majority of slave couples. Although there are examples of some slave families' living together for forty years or more, the majority of slave unions did not last long. They were dissolved by death from overwork and poor nutrition, the sale of one partner by the master, or personal choice. Slave masters insisted on the importance of the slave mother in the slave family, particularly in regard to child rearing. In so doing, they helped to sustain both African and European cultural traditions that slaves drew upon when

deciding how to order their social world. Accordingly, the slave took on the most significant long-term responsibilities of child care. Virginia slave owners promoted matrifocal and matrilocal families among heirs slaves in several ways. First, a Virginia law dated 1662 stipulated that black children take the status of their mothers. This legal association between slave mother and child strengthened, within the slaveholder's perception of an ordered domestic world, the cultural dictates of their society concerning gender differentiated responsibility.

Masters believed that slave mothers, like white women, had a natural bond with their children and that therefore it was their responsibility—more so than that of slave fathers—to care for their offspring. Subsequently, young slave children habitually lived with their mothers or female maternal kin, thus establishing the matrifocality of slave families. Besides, masters assembling lists of their human property routinely identified the female parent of slave children but only sometimes indicated paternity. When prompted to sell a group of slaves which might include parents and their children, owners sometimes tried to sell a mother with her small children as a single unit but rarely afforded slave fathers this same consideration. At the same time that slaveholders promoted a strong bond between slave mothers and their children, they denied to slave fathers their paternal rights of ownership and authority, as well as denying them their right to contribute to the material support of their offspring. Undoubtedly, slave masters felt that if it became necessary for

them to challenge the power that slave parents had in the lives of their children, it would be much easier to do so if the parent with whom the child most readily identified as an authority figure was a female rather than a male. Slaveholders' insistence on the importance of the slave mother by identifying her as the head of the slave family and primary care-giver of the children, along with the derivation of the slave child's status from that of the mother, firmly established the matrifocality of most slave families. Thus, while slave fathers had a significant presence in the consciousness of their children, mothers obviously were much more physically and psychologically present in the children's lives.

A review of the slave narratives can explicate further these issues of slave family structure and membership. As that a large majority of Virginia ex-slaves identified their mothers as the primary providers of care and socialization during their childhood.

“Significantly, 82% spoke of the physical presence of their mothers during most of their childhood years, while only 42% recalled continuous contact with their fathers. Moreover, fully one-third of those who did make mention of the presence of their fathers during their childhood indicated that these men did not live with them but only visited on their days off.” [Perdue et al., p. 26.]

Although many of the ex-slaves interviewed obviously knew and lived with their mothers, but there were some slaves who grew up without their mothers. This was

particularly so for the last generations of Virginia slaves who were born and reared between 1830 and 1860 when masters increasingly were selling women to traders who took them out of the state. Information descriptive of the slave exports from the state documents this activity. *Richard Sutch* estimates that by 1850, slaveholders were selling equal numbers of adult women and men and actually more adolescent and young adult females than males within those broad age groups. Because the average age at first birth for Virginia slave women was between nineteen and twenty years. A large number of exported slaves were probably young mothers, many of whom were forced to leave without their young ones.

Liza McCoy recalled that her Aunt Charlotte, a slave who lived in Matthews County, “was sold to Georgia away from her baby when de chile won’t no more three months.”

Ex-slave Fannie Berry included in her autobiographical account of life in late antebellum Virginia a tragic scene of slave mothers separated from their infants. She described the incident in part as:

“Dar was a great crying and carrying on ‘mongst the staves who had been sold. Two or three of dem gals had young babies taking with ‘em. Poor little things. As soon as dey got on de train dis ol’ new master had de train stopped an’ made dem poor gal mothers take babies off and laid dem precious things on de groun’ and left dem behind to live or die... [the] master who

bought de mothers didn’t want gals to be bothered wid dese chillun ‘cause he had his cotton fields fer new slaves to work”. (perdue,p-199)

Caroline Hunter’s recollections about her life as a child with her slave mother and three brothers on a small farm near Suffolk, Virginia, at the end of the antebellum era include a telling example of the frustration that slave kin felt in response to the imposition of white authority in the lives of their children. The scene she describes also suggests important questions about the slave child’s general perception of black adult authority:

“During slavery it seemed tak yo’ chillun b’long to ev’ybody but you. Many a day my ole mama has stood by an’ watched massa beat her chillun ‘till dey bled an’ she couldn’ open her mouf. Dey didn’ only beat us, but dey useta strap my mama to a bench or box an’ beat her wid a wooden paddle while she was naked.” (Perdue,p-150).

Stripped naked and beaten before her daughter, other family members, and the slave community, Caroline Hunter’s mother must have known that such an example of her obvious helplessness in the face of slaveholder power would jeopardize her authority within her own domestic sphere— authority that she needed in order to rear Caroline and her other children. Nevertheless, the owner’s demonstration of control did not destroy the bond between child and parent or the respect that Caroline had for her mother. On the contrary, the experience seemed to have deepened the young girl’s appreciation for her mother’s plight and helped to further instill in

the daughter a profound hatred for their cruel owner. Yet, these expressions of white dominion and control that slave youth repeatedly witnessed had some impact on the ways in which slaves differentially identified and related to white and black authority.

Late antebellum Southern society was indeed a harsh environment within which slaves tried to establish and maintain successful families. Many were able to do so, yet others failed to sustain viable slave marriages and kin networks. The lives of Virginia slaves were too precarious to guarantee the complete and the constant success of any social institution, including marriage and the family. Here it must also be stated that the slave family that emerged in the postbellum South was a viable but a battered institution, threatened by new forms of economic and social oppression as well as the internal strife inherited from the previous era.

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SHIFTING IMAGES IN CONTEMPORARY ERITREAN POETRY

Vipin Kumar

Abstract

*This paper explores the shift in contemporary Eritrean poetry and is based on the translated version of poems **Who Needs a Story?** Eritrea, like many other African nations, has a deep rooted oral poetic tradition, but written poetry is of a recent origin. Most of the poets were part of the Eritrean struggle for Independence (1961-1991) as freedom fighters and/or as supporters in the Eritrean Diaspora; their poems reflect some of the most compelling aspects of this struggle and humbling realities of the present. The paper will look at the poems that deal with the struggle and the poems that comment on the post-independence realities and issues.*

Sky is the same everywhere, and literature is like that...there are certain local colourings, that's all.

R.K. Narayan

To discuss the entire contemporary poetry of most if not all countries requires more than a book, and Eritrea is no exception. The translated version of *Who Needs a Story?* broke through both the external, internal walls of silence that had previously surrounded the work and also shattered some of the internal barriers among Eritrean poets themselves and their readers. Now a speaker of Tigrinya with limited Arabic or a speaker of Arabic with limited Tigre could now have easy access through the translation into English of the original language of the poem that he or she did not know. Containing thirty six poems by twenty two contemporary poets and produced in two local and two global languages, *Who needs a story?* is the first anthology of contemporary poetry from Eritrea ever published.

All of the poets in *Who needs a story?* participated in the Eritrean struggle for independence (1961-91) from Ethiopia as

freedom fighters and / or as supporters in the Eritrean Diaspora. Therefore, for the most part they focus either on war or peace. As might be expected after such a long war, its presence in Eritrean poetry predominates. Nevertheless, each of the points in *Who needs a story?* marks a distinct point in this spectrum of Eritrean Experience. Each unfolds a distinct story of war, peace or both as a part of the larger story of a new nation coming into being and an old country reinventing itself. This paper explores the shift in contemporary Eritrean poetry and is based on the translated version of poems *Who needs a story?*

‘Who said Merhawi is dead?’ by Solomon Drar enacts a kind of perpetual ‘martyrs day’, commemorating a war hero. Through linking and even equating the war hero and ‘fields of gold’, the pun on ‘Merhawi’ suggests a perpetually embattled spirit – a constant ‘wirlwind / of the revolution’ – ‘[b]urial in the ground’, as stated in the poem’s

beginning, but also exploding in the fields. The profound, mythopoic image of the blossoming bed (mother stands proud / And his bed blossoms), later complimented by Drar's joining the heroic vision of Merhawi to the Eritrean present. The poet extends his thanks Merhawi for nation's hard won independence:

sisters and brothers
come and sing
'Thanks, Merhawi, thanks'
As they stroll down
Liberation Avenue....

For Drar in 'Who said Merhawi is dead?', war is his only *terra firma*, beginning his poem where Merhawi is buried, 'in the ground / Heaped with stones'. Nevertheless Eritrea's war poetry repeatedly takes an Horatian and / or Homeric stance on war, unflinchingly and profligately violent yet ultimately without regret if it serves the cause of Eritrean nationalism.

Mussa Mohammed Adem introduces the readers to 'The Invincible' through a kind of psychological portrait:

he has that true killer look
and dirges play like soundtracks in his head ...
constantly
making him think, 'encircle, attack, attack'

The poet praises the courage and boldness of 'The Invincible' soldier who is always ready to attack without any fear. Framed as a war hero who is human and vulnerable, 'The Invincible' is also a war monster.

He sees enemies like sorghum bending
And breaking, their heads spilling out all red.

By overcoming his enemies he overcomes nature, too, becoming the most violent animal of all: 'crocodile run away from his jaws. / He lives according to his law.' So the poem becomes an account of the bravery of the Eritrean soldiers.

'Singing our way to victory' by Mohammed Osman Kajerai has also indelible impression in/on the mind of the readers. His 'Singing' is all but literally synonymous with his 'gun / And a thousand explosions / Declaring ... our struggle / For freedom....' The poem's epistolary opening becomes throwaway salutations and relatively unimportant verbal niceties compared with what the poet really wants to say, resembling Adem in deploying the fearcest imagery without any hesitation. Whatever the beauty the poet sees in nature seems trivial compared with his mission to 'plant the landmines for our struggle'.

Kajerai praises even women soldiers' contribution. The poet brings them out from the stereotype and traditional representations of their being passive, powerless, domestic and long suffering victims. Here the poet transforms the benevolent image of an Eritrean woman's breast in to the mere earth where she should leave her dead behind and go on fighting, 'Woman of Eritrea' can always be counted on for 'high spirits and passion'.

'A Dowry to see Freedom' takes on the voice of a father who gives a dowry:

The most precious dowry I can give,
Dear love, is for you always to see freedom.

The poet further reveals the sacrifice of heroes and sees an image of 'Free Eritrea... shining in our eyes'.

Kajerai's 'Wind and Fire' reinforces the bleak, exultant, unforgiving message in a sequence of brief, self-contained stanzas, as in a series of epigrams of war each one of unflinching violence. Displaying self-determination, resilience and no respite from war and struggle, poems of Mohammed Osman Kajerai sound defiant and exalted. He seems to revel in the violence and abject conditions he portrays.

Tsegai does not withhold a single syllable in describing the abject reality of war that Drar, Adem, Kajerai and Michael do not let a reader forget, but for Tsegai war is not the end-no more than death is an elegy. Somewhere and somehow, however miraculously or invisibly, it contains a turn/shift and a movement towards life and peace. 'I am Also a Person' engagingly self-dramatizes this turn. Committing a kind of poetic act of self-elegy, Tsegai simultaneously focuses on an individual's destruction and, in an intimidating stroke of brutal psychological honesty, his or her self-destruction, too, be it justifiable or not. Moreover, the poet even sees himself 'embrace' such 'suffering', whatever its outcome.

The wind wanted my bones...
I wished I was never born...

The poet seems pessimistic here. It is a sort of futility of war. The expectations that he had of freedom do not seem to be fulfilled.

El-Shiekh (Madani) needs more than a 'poem of force', with a candor that poets of force would never admit, 'To beat back my fear/ Of dying in this war'. For him children should be free of war, at least an escape from war and not its reiteration. His poems portray the situation where he expresses a turn from war to peace and prosperity. Regardless, the poet plays another role, shifting his identity to that of a character who survives at the end of a tragedy. He becomes the elegist who, however diminished, must testify to what he knows:

The dead
Sons and daughters of Adai
I ask, 'Is this the promised end?'

'If He Came Back' by Fessehaye Yohannes explores that post-war Eritrea is so 'harsh' and 'brutal' that even someone who has come back from the dead is vulnerable and could die twice! As an elegy, it repeatedly becomes anti-literal, as if there is no expressive alternative to recalling a war hero's 'memory and home/ and proudly moving on because of them'. The real greatness of his poetic vision is that it has no 'centre' but scatters almost unaccounting from one image to the next.

Sibhatu too shows another dimension of war. She engages a less traditional, less conventional, perhaps more difficult subject: a war experience surely as universal, timeless and significant as the heroism recorded by her fellow poets. All of her fellow poets write about the deaths of their heroes but she remembers her 'cell-mate', Abeba.

‘Remembering Sahel’ of Paulos Netabay, reminds us of British Romantic poet, William Wordsworth. The poem of Netabay sounds like ‘the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings’ and seems to ‘take... its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility’. And the poem becomes a pastoral elegy. Here the poet does not simply praise the heroes, he also describes the beauty of nature that shows the varying attitude/image of the some contemporary Eritrean poets. In this changing attitude of the poets, Ghirmai Ghebremeskel is no exception. His ‘A Candle in the Darkness’ begins with war’s absurdity and near madness, formenting a kind of hysterical desire to be a part of it. Ghebremeskel begins to swell into an astounding visions of natural paradise of peace.

Angessom Isaak in ‘Freedom’s Colors’, sheds the role he has at the beginning of the poem. The poet becomes more content in addressing the frustrated and humbling realities of the present rather than the wild and heroic expectations of the past. He wonders why his vision of Eritrea changes. He becomes more honest than ever, answering ‘I don’t know why’. The poetic achievement of ‘Freedom’s colors’ reveals no absence of artistic delight in contemplating the nature of freedom and democracy in contemporary post-independence Eritrea. Isaak’s poem reveals a profound awareness—“Beauty is truth, truth beauty”,—that is all/ye know on earth, and all ye need to know’. And this is the beauty of ‘Freedom’s Colors’ that it reaches such a realization. It portrays a manic condition changing from battlefield euphoria to the more practical everyday, protracted and often depressing matters of carving a

livelihood and a society out of third world want, poverty and underdevelopment.

Contemporary poets of Eritrea who write without addressing or alluding to its armed struggle for Independence or war in general have no such dramatization to offer, other than on a general and universal human level of human emotion responding to everyday events. There is a noticeable shift in Negusse’s poems like/as ‘We miss you, Mammet’ and ‘Wild Animals’. The first poem/one describes the devastation of the Eritrean landscape and psyche through the lens of the death of Mammet. It (poem) dramatizes being driven beyond a poet’s ultimate devastation. It shows a unique power of remembering a traditional, literary historical figure as Mammet. In another poem ‘Wild Animals’ the poet expresses an abiding faith. There will come a day when ‘the gate opens’ to ‘the city’ where ‘we all get along’ where the desire for this and the prevailing conditions against it are hardly unique to Eritrea. The poet longs for a city that will welcome all of us.

There are poets as Saba Kidane, Reesom Haile and others feel free and are able to describe what they see; the everyday realities of a post-war Eritrea yet of many a nation in Africa as well all over the world. Though the struggle remains but it changes. It becomes more domestic, humorous, crude or personal. It engages subjects like raising children, flirting, unwed mothers, immigration, household products, etc..

There are more concerns about harsh realities of life in the poem ‘Growing Up’ by a popular poet Kidane. It is a remarkable poem which is about the care and future of a growing

child. 'Go Crazy Over Me' portrays an exuberant and powerful statement of a human desire to live free of any conflict. She concentrates more on love rather than any other thing. She highlights a mother's special, spontaneous sense of the moment, warding off the world and all its destructive force with a gentle distraction. She feels pain for her son as well as for herself. She remains caught in a near constant state of crisis. She has no choice but to try, seemingly against all odds. Her maternal powers joining rather than separating the responsibilities she has at home and on the battlefield, she is driven by her sexual power, too.

She takes a breath
And catches fire,
Her breasts bouncing....

'Let's Divorce and Get Married Again' by Hailemariam focuses on the inevitability of love and romance. It takes the readers into a new reality. It picks up the often told, universal story of men and women at a different point. 'For Twenty Nakfa' by the same poet recounts a brief, humorous anecdote that sounds almost like an expanded Tigrinya proverb. It functions as a kind of parody. The poet's irreverence and disrespect in giving the money goes against the Eritrean grain of discouraging public begging.

'Breaths of Saffron on Broken Mirrors' portrays poet's erotic obsession not the problem but the solution by shifting his focus from himself to the natural world around him. An erotic irrepressibility confronts a reader:

'Lust won't leave me alone'.
Unhesitating, a scene of a masturbating, poetic fantasy immediately unfolds:

Confused and wanting you
Bathed in juicy colors
We fall on each other
And I bathe like a hero
In your body full of desire....

Representing a long standing and wide ranging poetic tradition of erotic poetry, Osman's 'Juket' also reads alike. Unabashed in his description, the poet is similarly bold in expressing his overwhelming desire to 'taste', 'drink', 'breath', 'nibble' and bathe in all the sexual pleasures he sees his beloved can offer. Thus the details of the poet's song within the poem create a distinctly Eritrean portrait or idealization of a physically beautiful young Eritrean woman.

There is a quite noticeable shift in the poems of Ghirmai Yohannes (San Diego). An actor, poet and comedian, Ghirmai Yohannes (San Diego) picks up where the war leaves off, confronting a number of different experiences that everyday Eritreans would encounter in their various walks of life. 'Like a Sheep' focuses on a causality of emigration. 'Blithely' innocent, like a sheep, he is 'Led with a rope around his neck,/... blindly follow(ing) the trader/ And the butcher'. The poet sounds sardonic. His objectivity allows his poem to attain a kind of universal description of the perils of an illegal immigrant. Another poem by San Diego, 'Next Time Ask', presents a similarly mordant voice, only its acerbic attitude encompass not merely the sorry plight of an illegal immigrant but the entire range of human endeavor. Fatalistic yet funny, 'Next Time Ask' shrugs off any emotion, ideology, aspiration or even personal attachment to confront:

One fact (that) won't go away
Tomorrow or today
You know you have to die.
Don't think of asking why.

In the poem, a sheep or any animal maintains a state of innocence with no expectation that it is to be slaughtered, which he also implies about the illegal immigrant in 'Like a Sheep'. The poet cultivates an awareness about the limits of human understanding and expression in order to stress what might be humanity's greatest gift to both the world and itself as well as an ultimate insight for its survival. San Diego wants his reader to contemplate some of life's most basic questions about human survival. In 'Unjust Praise', the poet focuses on Eritrea's salt that offers a readily identifiable and accessible image to provoke a reader or a listener again to reflect on life itself:

In proper measure
Bringing out the taste,
The flavor and spirit
Of our food, hot or cold....

'Who Needs a Story?', on which Eritrea's first anthology of contemporary poetry is entitled, provides a perfect focal point to consider all of the stories that his contemporary Eritrean poetic colleagues employ in their work. Everybody has a story to tell; everybody is a story in him/herself. At this point, San Diego dramatized self-examination of his writing process becomes

most unrelenting. The poet realizes, 'I already have a story/ That nobody knows and it's great—I am the story'. So every Eritrea's contemporary poet has a story of his own.

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REFUSING TO PLAY THE GAME: CORDELIA IN *KING LEAR* AND MEURSAULT IN *THE STRANGER*

Jayaprakash Paramaguru

The credit of making a comparison between William Shakespeare's *King Lear* and the existentialist, Albert Camus's *The Stranger*, goes to the scholars, Arthur Scherr and Morris Weitz. Ever since *The Stranger* was published in 1942, no critics except these seem to have undertaken a comparison between poor Cordelia, the beloved daughter of King Lear, and Meursault, the honest and sincere junior assistant, who stands alone against all social norms and conventions. Camus was aware of Shakespeare's *King Lear* and the character of Cordelia. Camus was particularly fond of the plays of Shakespeare. He studied the major plays, "translated *Othello and Hamlet*" (Bree 39), recommended his sonnets for publication in French, "translated *Timon of Athens*" (Lottmann 233) into his mother tongue and at one time, also expressed a wish to translate *Romeo and Juliet* into French. All these facts lead to the conclusion that Camus was very much involved in, rather influenced by, Shakespeare's works in general and *King Lear* in particular since he mentioned this a few times in his widely acclaimed essay, *The Myth of Sisyphus*. It is significant that, at this time, *The Stranger* was in full progress.

After the First World War, everybody started talking about the existence of human beings, and the philosophy related to existentialism and absurdity became the prime

concern of the European literature. Everybody including Meursault talked about Christian values. He said: "What difference could they make to me, the death of others, or a mother's love, or his God; or the way he decides to live, the fate he think he chooses, since one and the same fate was bound to "choose"... all alike would be condemned to die one day ... and what difference could it make if, after being charged with murders...since it all came to the same thing in the end?" (Camus 75). During the last minute before his execution, he refused to address the priest of the church as 'father' and was disgusted with his words when he advised him to return to God for his sins to be forgiven; "He had more to say on God. I went close up to him and made a last attempt to explain that I'd very little time left, and I wasn't going to waste it on God" (Camus 74). But had it been the case, Cordelia would not have come to such a tragic end. Monmouth's story, written in Latin in 1135 AD on which it is based, portrays a king that is deprived of his kingdom by the treachery of his daughters, has a happy ending. Therefore, it seems likely that the loss of Christian faith had already struck roots by the end of the sixteenth century itself and was felt in full rigour only in the modern times under the influence of Camus, Kafka, Satre, and Beckett etc. However, Shakespeare since he foresaw the future much earlier and created an honest

and uncompromising character like Cordelia as a revolt against well entrenched values. Credit also must be given to Morris Weitz for being the first person to have brought such an insightful comparison. Scherr has rightly pointed out; “The natural universe is indifferent to human, socially constructed values like monarchy, patriarchy, and filial loyalty: products of culture rather than nature...Camus seems to vaunt nihilism, the idea that there are no absolute values, as itself an absolute value” (Scherr 20).

The Stranger has been treated as an existential novel, they have also hinted at absurd nature of the protagonist and “Meursault’s” misogyny, immorality, irresponsible indifference, and inability to enjoy life” (Scherr 21). However, the appearance of *The American Edition of The Stranger* (1955), generated a new principle when Camus asserted that “the hero of the play is condemned because he doesn’t play the game... in this sense he is a stranger to the society in which he lives: he drifts on the margin, in the suburb of private solitary, sensual life...if you ask yourself in what way Meursault doesn’t play the game”(Camus, “Lyrical and Critical Essays” 336-37), the answer will be that he refuses to play the game in the sense he does not lie or hide his feelings. He follows the footsteps of Cordelia. His speech or feelings do not have any element of exaggeration. Both the protagonists believe in the sun which leaves no shadows; they are committed to absolute value or the absolute truth. To simplify life we always tend to make people happy. In most

of the cases the statements we make deviate from the absolute value of something, which not necessarily should be false statements. Since Camus made it very clear that the novel is all about ‘not playing the game’, much of the discussion should concentrate on how both Meursault and Cordelia are honest, sincere, believing in absolute honesty of feeling, are therefore strangers to society.

Ever since *The Myth of Sisyphus* was published in 1942, everybody expected that the author would not let his readers down by not publishing another masterpiece soon. *The Stranger* followed the *Myth*. In it Camus created the character of Meursault, the ‘absurd man’ who was perpetually conscious of the end of earthly life and hence rejected the way the society wanted him to be. He believed in death as the final reality, and refused to take any unjustified leap of faith in the religion of Christianity. It is difficult to understand why everybody considers this novel as an existential novel when Camus himself did not consider his work as an embodiment of existentialism.

The novel opens with a resonant understatement: “Mother died today, or may be yesterday” (Camus 1). The death obliges the protagonist, being the only son, to go and attend the funeral of his mother. This is obviously an import and social obligation for any son and no law on earth can prevent him from performing this duty. But Meursault still had to satisfy his “annoyed” (Camus 4) boss for the two days leave he asked for and it seemed as if his senior was just doing him a

favor. Instead of showing sympathy to the grief-stricken employee, the man became unhappy because the applicant would get four days of consecutive leave.

Another important incident occurred when the hero encountered a stranger in the bus while leaving for his village to attend his mother's funeral. Just like most people love gossiping unnecessarily to get rid of their loneliness, the stranger in the bus started asking unnecessary questions to Meursault to which "he just nodded to cut things short" (Camus 1). Sometimes, or even most of the times in fact, people tend to forget about their audience and whether they are really interested. But the reality is: Who cares for the receiver? They just go on asking questions and sore their listeners to death.

Coming back to the episode of spending "a typical Sunday afternoon" (Camus 16), one should note that people have different ways of doing things on holidays and so does Meursault. But should it concern society if he does the same differently and does not go to the cinema, chat, or chooses to have fun with friends in the streets? People even have problems if he makes friends with people like Sintes and Salamano, whom most people in society do not like.

The incident that made him feel exasperated is the crying episode, especially the way the woman kept on crying: "At regular intervals she emitted a little choking sob; one had a bad feeling she would never stop" (Camus 8). Starting from the priest, the woman, her mother's lover, Marie to Raymond

— all behaved as if they were much more worried and concerned about his mother's death than he himself was. Their demonstrative grief did not necessarily mean that Meursault had less feeling for his mother. He loved his mother deeply and in fact they stayed together for a month or two before she decided to go away. He wanted to visit his mother regularly as he said, "I seldom went to see her. Also it would have meant losing my Sunday- not to mention the trouble of going to the bus, getting my ticket, and spending two hours of journey each way" (Camus 5). So taking the practical things into consideration, it was almost impossible, especially working for six consecutive days and not getting a rest day, and again you get ready for another routine week and so on. Towards the end of the novel, the 'love for mother' issue became so prominent that it brought the life of an innocent person to an end. Here one is struck by the way he resembles Cordelia, who preferred honesty to play-acting. Everybody seemed to have an opinion on Meursault's 'absurd' nature just like the whole household had one regarding Bertha's education in August Strindberg's *The Father*. The only difference was: while Strindberg's characters held different opinions, the characters in this novel had only one and that he did not have any feelings for his mother at all and therefore deserved to be condemned.

Meursault's enjoyable time spent with Marie and his visit to a Fernandel movie, just after mourning his mother's death, was not accepted by society. Even these incidents formed a subject of discussion in the court of

law. Back in the seventeenth century, when we talk of the metaphysical poets and even Shakespeare in his sonnet, *True Love*, we are really struck by the way the poets played with the phrase 'true love' and how those over-romantic lines became memorable ones for lovers and their beloved. One does not reject the concept of love; one feels that the concept has been exaggerated through expressions such as; "marriage of true minds.....Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks....Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks" (Shakespeare's sonnet 116). Again, one does not understand why people in society are so afraid of mentioning the importance of physical love while this is perhaps the only thing that matters in making a relationship more strong. We know this truth but hardly speak of it because we are afraid of social disapproval. Meursault was happy with Marie, enjoyed her physical beauty but "when she asked me if I loved her I said that sort of question had no meaning, really, but I supposed I didn't" (Camus 24). Even regarding marriage Meursault held different views and for him "that question meant nothing or next to nothing" (Camus 28). Marriage for him, "had no importance really, but if it would give her pleasure, we could get married right away" (Camus 29). The first time that he "seriously considered the possibility of marrying her" (Camus 33), he was actually motivated by sensual pleasure because he and "Marie seemed to be getting on well together, laughing and chattering away" (Camus 33).

Meursault was not alert to and engaged with others in society. He was not even aware of playing the game to make the public happy. At the trial, everybody including the judge and the prosecutor made a mockery of the judicial system. The protagonist was not allowed to meet anybody, even to smoke inside the prison although "it could have done no one any harm" (Camus 49). Throughout the trial, trivial questions such as; "If I had loved my mother (Camus 42)... Why did you fire five consecutive shots (Camus 42)... Why did you pause between the first and second shot (Camus 44)... How can you not believe that He suffered for your sake" (Camus 44), exasperated him and he felt he was standing in "a sort of no man's land" (Camus 46). Things which they should have been least concerned with such as his "callousness" (Camus 41) at his mother's funeral, his attitude towards God and so on were accorded undue importance. Most importantly, his helpful witnesses who could have contributed immensely to the trial by throwing some light on facts of the case were not taken into serious consideration. Rather, people whom he "had seen as a mere blur of faces rose one after another" (Camus 54) were listened to. He said with much agony and frustration: "For the nth time I was asked to give particulars of my Identity and, though heartily sick of this formality, I realized that it was natural enough: after all, it would be a shocking thing for the court to be trying the wrong man" (Camus 54).

Questions related to his mother, her age, his appearing abnormally calm at his mother's funeral made him feel so disgusted and filled him with such loathing that he was more or less compelled to believe that he was "guilty" (Camus 56). The question arises here: Can't someone smoke cigarettes, have fun with his girlfriend, and drink coffee after a relative's death or is it really necessary to cry relentlessly to show off his love and affection for the departed soul even after knowing the fact that, "every man on the earth was under sentence of death" (Camus 72). It seemed as if the judge had some other ideas when he asked, "if I believed in God, when I said, "no", he plumped down into his chair indignantly" (Camus 43). Meursault was simple but the judicial system or its representatives were not. As a result, all those effectively communicated new ideas, and deep insights were in vain because thoughts of different schools diverged in the so called "yellow wood" (Frost L.1). We all know that ideas can be accepted or rejected but everyone expands their knowledge by having them discussed but the system did not turn out to be a good listener.

The well-intentioned but the slow learner, Meursault did not understand the game and hence left the goal post open to allow other players to push the ball into his own goalpost. Instead of answering the questions asked by the judge in a predictable manner, which could easily have convinced everyone of his innocence, he responded in an undemanding manner exactly the way Cordelia responded when forced to answer to an absurd question

put to her by her father. Throughout the entire hearing, his manner of answering the questions of the judge was alien to the latter. He had his own ideas but the question was with whom he could have discussed when he found himself only at the receiving end all the time. His simplicity and strangeness worked against him. The court was not ready to accept that Meursault was a simple human being having an uncomplicated character. Making life simple is all about whether one is pretentious or bold. It is like whether the choice of your words helps you to disguise your original thoughts or to make an absolutely honest statement. At times we survive or at others we may have to pay a heavy price for our 'will to truth'. Unfortunately, Meursault and Cordelia both paid a heavy price for not hiding their feelings.

Since this paper aims at undertaking a comparison between Cordelia and Meursault, and in view of the fact that we have already talked about Camus's admiration for the plays of Shakespeare and the possibility, it seems he might have been influenced by Cordelia's self-destructive frankness before creating the character of Meursault. It is therefore essential to throw some light on the character of Cordelia, and her passion for absolute truth.

Shakespeare's greatest tragedy, *King Lear*, "can be viewed as implicit plays-within-the-plays, where power is won and lost" (McCarthy 83). The play opens with the king when he calls upon each of his daughters to declare how much love they have for their old father. Goneril and Regan used the best possible words of flattery to deceive their

father with the sole aim of getting a major portion of his kingdom. They acted like the greatest of actors while Cordelia refused to engage in such play-action. She preferred reality to acting unlike her elder sisters, especially when she found nothing left for her after her sisters' melodramatic way of expressing their love to Lear. She said;

“What shall Cordelia do?

Love, and be silent

...

Then poor Cordelia!

*And yet not so; since, I am sure, my love's
More richer than my tongue.*

Nothing will come of nothing: speak again.

...

*Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave
My heart into my mouth: I love your majesty
According to my bond; nor more nor less.*

...

Good my lord,

*You have begot me, bred me, loved me: I
Return those duties back as are right fit,
Obey you, love you, and most honour you.
Why have my sisters husbands, if they say
They love you all? Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord whose hand must take my plight
shall carry*

*Half my love with him, half my care and
duty:*

*Sure, I shall never marry like my sisters,
To love my father all”.*

(King Lear Act 1, Scene 1)

Cordelia, unlike her sisters, “chooses truth over illusion and rebels against Lear's play-within-the-play” (McCarthy 83) exactly

in the manner in which Meursault questioned the so called conventional norms of society. She also paid a heavy price for refusing to accept the world of illusion in which her father was wandering.

Cordelia and Meursault made a mark as radical outsiders in the midst of play-acting insiders. In spite of intense opposition they obstinately chose to follow their own path. They hardly bothered about the conventions of society. Scherr has rightly observed:

“In her subtle (perhaps not so subtle) manner, Cordelia rebels against the rigid patriarchal society of her time, just as Meursault quietly revolts against the hypocritical banalities of his speech. It is possible that one of the reasons they both exhibit honesty with regard to their feelings for their parents is that they have borne a festering resentment toward the general social structure, a resentment which lacked an outlet for expression until they committed their irrevocable acts” (Scherr 25)

Meursault, the poor, unknown, and Algerian clerk had only one passion; he wanted to live a life on his own terms just like Cordelia fanatically emphasized honesty. Towards the end, both of them heroically rose to the challenge, embracing the unconventional and absolute values. All of us understand that death is utterly indifferent to fame, fortune, and comes to all. If this is the truth, the absolute one, then the million dollar question arises: Why this struggle, the struggle to establish one's superiority or to prove somebody wrong and why should we not provide an individual

freedom when it bears on issues related to free will? Even though they were thrown into a hostile and unsympathetic environment, they still continued to stand for truth and challenged accepted cultural values by creating their own set of rules as if they were not simply willing to drift through life.

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THE IMPACT OF SARVA SHIKSHA ABHIYAN IN ODISHA: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE PERCEPTION OF THE SLUM PEOPLE IN CHANDRASEKHARPUR AREA OF BHUBANESWAR

Punyatoya Kar

ABSTRACT

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is a government of India flagship programme started in the year 2001 for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in a time bound manner as mandated by 86th amendment of the constitution of India making free and compulsory education to the children of 6-14 years age group, a fundamental right. The present paper makes an attempt to study the impact of the programme on slum dwellers of Chandrasekharpur area and their perceptions and attitudes toward it. A well structured interview schedule was used to collect data for this micro study. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations made in the paper would prove useful in the improving the functioning of the programme of SSA and making its impact more effective and broad based to the target group as well as to the stakeholders. This micro study would also help to enrich our macro understanding.

Keywords: *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Universalization of Elementary Education, Slum Dwellers*

INTRODUCTION

A good quality education is the birth right of every child. In India lots of efforts had been made before and after independence to provide free and compulsory elementary education to every child without any discrimination. Various Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government of India also gave recommendations to universalize elementary education. The Right of Children to free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE) 2009 is a detailed and comprehensive piece of legislation which includes the provision related to free and compulsory education of all the children in age group of 6-14 years as fundamental right.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is a response to the demand for quality primary education all over the country. Started in the year 2001, it is a Government of India's flagship programme for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in a time bound manner. It is an umbrella programme covering other programmes like DPEP, Lok Jumbish, Operational Blackboard, Shiksha Karmi Project, etc. A couple of factors which led and failure of above mentioned programs and to the launch of SSA by government are inadequate school infrastructure, high teacher absenteeism, lack of communication facilities, poor quality educational methods, inadequate funds and so on.

SSA adopts, 'The Bottom-Up' process of planning, where in the felt needs of the served communities and educational needs of learners are well taken care of. It is an integrated approach implemented in partnership with State Governments to cover all the districts in the country unlike the previous programmes. The programmes covers the whole gamut of elementary education sector & is flexible enough to incorporate new intervention like the specific intervention for girls e.g. NPEGEL, Kasturba Gandhi Programme. Thus SSA is an attempt to provide quality education to all children through active participation of community in a mission mode.

Main Characteristics of SSA:

- A programme with a clear time frame for universal elementary education.
- Thrust on quality & making education relevant.
- A main streaming Gender approach
- Focus on the educational participation of children from the SC/ST, religious & linguistic minorities, etc.
- An opportunity for promoting social justice through basic education.
- A partnership between the Central, State & Local Govt.
- An effort at effectively involving a Panchayati Raj Institution, School Management committees, Village & Urban Slum level committees, Parents-Teachers associations, Mother-Teacher associations, Tribal Autonomous councils & other grass-root level structures in the management of Elementary Schools.

- An opportunity for states to develop their own vision of Elementary Education.
- Community ownership of school based interventions through effective decentralization.

Goals of SSA

The goals of SSA are:

- All children in school, education guarantee centre, alternate school, 'Back-to-School' camp by 2003; extended to 2005.
- Complete 5 years of primary education by 2005 (extended up to 2007) and 8 years of schooling by 2010.
- Bridge all gender and social category gaps at primary stage by 2007 and at elementary education level by 2010.
- Universal retention by 2010.
- Focus on elementary education of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life.

In Odisha SSA came into force in the year 2001. Initially it was implemented in fourteen districts namely Angul, Baleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack Deogarh, Ganjam, Jagatsinghpur, Jajpur Jhasugada, Kendrapada, Khurda, Nayagarh, Puri and Sundargarh. Later SSA was implemented in all 30 districts of the state.

Objectives of the study

The following objectives were formulated to be achieved by the researcher within the time and resources of the researcher:

- To develop a proper insight into various provisions of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan to universalize primary education;
- To assess level of awareness among parents about Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and its provisions;
- To detect gender concern included in Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and its impact on parents;
- To seek the opinions of parents to make Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan an effective mission and result oriented for people.
- To make an evaluation of the functioning of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan;

Hypothesis of the study

The following hypotheses were formulated to make the study systematic, clear-cut and organized in character:

- Sarva Sikhya Abhiyan seem to be full fledged governmental programme with provision to universalize primary education:
- Awareness about Sarva Sikhya Abhiyan is intact but so faras knowledge about provisions is concerned it is almost nil;
- Sarva Sikhya Abhiyan hardly overcome gender orientation that parents have towards education of children.

Methodology

Methodology involves the formulation and application of the design of research in such a way that the conditions of collection and analysis of data enable us to answer the specific questions under the aims and objectives of study. Various methods were

adopted to make the study pin pointed in character. The research design used for the study is descriptive type as the descriptive studies aim at describing accurately the characteristics of a group, community, their age composition caste wise distribution and so on.

The tool used for data collection was the interview schedule which consisted of a set of questions pertaining to certain questions to be answered with regard to the topic. The interview schedule was filled up by the researcher in presence of the respondents after establishing rapport with them. The parents of the child (either father or mother) were taken as respondents.

Universe and Sample of study

The area undertaken for study is Chandrasekharpur. The area is 7 kms. away from the heart of Bhubaneswar city and located in the northern direction of the city which is on the side of Nandankanan road. At present Chandrasekharpur is a vast area and most developing area in Bhubaneswar town. The universe of the present study comprises of 5 slums namely Omfed Basti, Jagannath Sahi, Nilamadhab Basti , Niladri Basti and Sikharchandi Basti. Omfed Basti and Jagannath Sahi are situated very close to Nandankanan road. Whereas Nilamadhab Basti and Niladri basti are located in the inner portion i.e. away from the main road. Sikharchandi Basti has the highest settlements but its location is at the outskirts of The samples for the study are drawn from the five slums which comprise the universe of study. From the five slums 50 respondents were

chosen as samples for the study. The type of sampling method used is purposive sampling. In purposive sampling the researcher has purposively selected certain units of sample the choice of which is supreme and nothing is left to chance.

The number of samples selected is limited to 50 due to lack of time given by the respondents and also due to the constraint of communication to 5 slums. The table below depicts a picture about the sample respondents from the study regions:

Sl.No.	Name of the Slums	No. of Households	No. of Children	Sample selected
1.	Omfed Basti	98	117	12
2.	Jagannath Sahi	72	68	7
3.	Niladri Basti	84	73	7
4.	Nilamadhab Basti	85	98	10
5.	Sikharchandi Basti	150	143	14
	Total	491	499	50

Study Findings and data analysis

The findings of the study have been subdivided into three sections namely:

- ❖ Socio-economic aspect of the respondents;
- ❖ Awareness and facilitator of SSA program;
- ❖ Perception and participation in SSA program.

Socio-economic factors play a strong role in the personality development of the individual. The social variables consist of host of factors like age-group, sex, caste, religion, level of education, etc. The economic factors on the other hand comprise of an array of factors that determine the economic standard of any person like nature of occupation, level of income, etc. During the study the researcher interviewed more number of male respondents than females. Majority of these

respondents belonged to 25 to 30years of age. People of general caste dominated the study. It was also found that majority of the respondents have educational qualification below matric level but they aspire to make their child more educated. That is the reason why most of these slum –dwellers have migrated to Bhubaneswar town. These slum dwellers (majority of who are daily wage laborers) worked very hard day and night to give their child good education and other infrastructural facilities.

Under the section of “Awareness and Facilitator of SSA program” the researcher’s main objective was to check whether people had any idea of the program or not and whether the programme had percolated to the masses or not. During the field survey the researcher came to know that out of 50 respondents 44 respondents had awareness of the program and the main facilitator of the

programme were local school teachers(47.7 percent). The table below gives a clear picture of the facilitators of SSA program:

Distribution of sample respondents on who were the facilitators who made them aware of SSA program

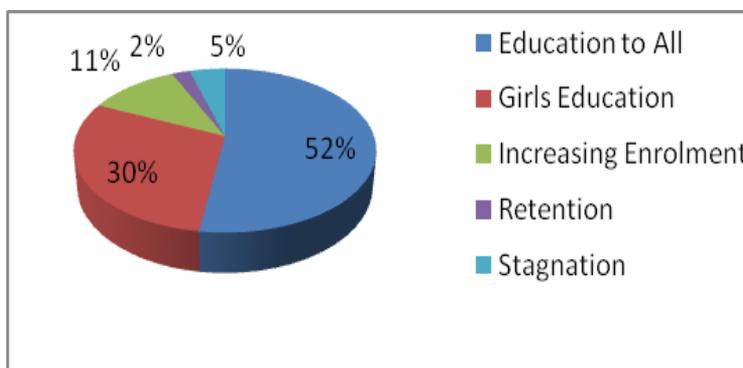
Sl. No.	Facilitators	No. of respondents	Percentage
1.	Teacher of local school	21	47.7
2.	Ward members	6	13.6
3.	Shiksha Sahayak Karmi	5	11.4
4.	Media (Newspaper & Television)	11	25
5.	Local NGOs	-	-
6.	Govt. official	1	2.3
	Total	44	100

The facilitator behind the awareness was either interpersonal or institutional. The interpersonal sources were local school teachers, ward members, Sikshya Shayak Karmi’s and government officials. Among these school teachers played a major role in making people aware about SSA program. According to the respondents school teachers made a frequent visit to the slums and kept them informing about the programme and its objectives. So far as institutional sources are concerned media played a crucial role in awareness of SSA program. The respondents

emphasized more on electronic media (television) than print media (newspaper). As television was chief source of entertainment they remained glued to it and through help of advertisements in television they came to know about the programme. Newspaper created less interest among the people as they had no time to read it.

After knowing the facilitators of the programme the researcher then asked the people about the facts that they were aware of SSA program. The following chart clearly represents the awareness of facts of SSA:

Facts aware of known



The chart clearly depicts that majority of awared respondents opined that the programme focused on “Education to all”. About 30 percent of respondents opined that the SSA program paid attention on girl’s education and 11 percent respondents were of the view that the programme aimed at increasing enrollment. Very few respondents opined about retention and stagnation as other features.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan as a governmental programme introduced a number of developmental schemes in primary schools. In this context the researcher questioned the respondents about the new developments they found after implementation of SSA. The respondents opined that they knew about the new developments in school’s either by the help of their children or when they went for parents-teacher meetings to school. The following table gives a clear picture about the opinions of the respondents about new developments:

Distribution of respondents on the basis of new developments they found in their school after introduction o f SSA

Sl. No.	New Developments	Number of respondents	Percentage
1	Increase in number of teachers	4	9.1
2	Distribution of free books	4	9.1
3	Mid-day meals provided	6	13.6
4	Distribution of free dress	10	22.7
5	Appointment of lady teachers	-	-
6	Increase in construction of school buildings	20	45.5
	Total	44	100

From the table it is clear that majority of the respondents (45 percent) opined that they found construction of school buildings as a major development. Near about 23 percent of respondents spoke about free distribution of dresses. Mid-day meal scheme was gaining momentum after the developments in school buildings. Other developmental schemes included appointment of more teachers and free distribution of books to the children in the school.

The last and final section under the findings of the researcher’s study is “Perception and participation of respondents in SSA program”. The researcher’s keen interest in this part was to know how the respondents visualize the programme. Therefore the researcher tried to take a note on whether there is participation of respondents in the programme and if they participate in the programme how in what manner they take part in the programme.

The first question put forth to the respondents was how the people perceived SSA as a programme. It was noticed that majority of the respondents i.e. twenty four respondents who were aware of SSA perceived the programme was moderately successful. To them though midday meals, dresses and books were provided in schools and attracted number of children, there were other developments which schools needed. Majority of the respondents complained that school did not have proper drinking water facility. Sanitation was not taken care of by the school authorities. Adequate classrooms were not there. Even though buildings were constructed they remained half built. Numbers

of teachers appointed were less and some teachers did not take classes regularly. So to them the programme launched by government was nice but it was moderately successful.

It was noticed that rest twenty respondents opined that the programme was successful. It was so because they saw midday meal was given in schools on regular basis; even dresses were distributed to children freely. The parents those who could not afford giving books to children got free books. All these fascinated parents to large extent. So they thought the programme was successful.

The table below gives a clear picture of the people's perception:

Distribution of respondents on the basis of people's perception

Sl. No.	People's Perception	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1.	Successful	20	45.5
2.	Moderately Successful	24	54.5
3.	Not at all Successful	-	-
	Total	44	100

After collecting data regarding the programme success the researcher tried to gather data regarding the lacunae of the program which made it moderately successful among the majority of slum dwellers. Majority of the sample respondents gave the opinion that there was no mobilization to make the people aware about the programme. Teachers play a zero sum role in helping the uneducated people to make them aware of the educational mission. They play a very marginal role in motivating parents to send their children to schools. Many people opined that there is free

flow of money from government to make this mission of universalizing primary education as a success but money is eaten up by the officials in charge of the programme. NGO's role in channelizing the fund for program was very marginal.

Another important point regarding the perception of program is the distinctiveness of program. Only the respondents who were educated to some extent could answer the question to some extent. To these respondents though government had launched number of

educational programme SSA was the only program which was percolated among common masses. The mid-day meal scheme, distribution of free books and dresses were completely new things, which no other programme had. The program attracted attention of parents and children to large extent. One of the schemes of SSA i.e. mid-day meal schemes became very popular. So the respondents said the very programme launched by government was somehow distinct from other governmental programmes.

Besides perception of SSA program the researcher also discussed about the participation of respondents in SSA program. Participation especially refers to respondent's participation in SSA programme. In this context the researcher collected data regarding participation of parents in activities of school. The respondents especially participated in the parents –teachers meeting of the school. These meeting were held once in a month as many parents had problems of attending the meeting frequently as they had to go out for work.

Many respondents opined that they actively participated in the meeting. The topics which the majority of the respondents discussed were about the development of child and importance on extracurricular activities. Parents emphasized that they send their children to schools for their improvement in studies. This was major focus of both teachers and parents. Parents asked about where their children lack and wanted suggestions from teachers. They gave importance to increase curricular activities of school so that their children can develop healthy personality.

Many parents opined that they even talked about daily activities of school. They complained teachers about improper water & toilet facilities, which should be given importance. The parents opined that they were very much comfortable with the teachers because it helped them to know about the standard of their child, the daily activities of school, whether teachers are taking classes or not and most importantly what type of relationship is there between teachers and student.

Parents also opined that they send their child to school during functions organized by schools like Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja, Sport Day and Annual Function. These periodic functions act as a major motivator for the children for going to school. This increased the regularity of children in attending the school.

In brief, following are the observations which the researcher derived during the study:

- Though parents had heard about Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan they were not well aware about the provisions, which are in the programme.
- Some parents are apathetic to send their children to school.
- In order to universalize education NGOs are playing marginal role.
- To some extent children lack interest in going to school.
- According to some parents much time is spent in Midday meal scheme.
- After implementation of programme hardly any checks are made whether

programme is operating properly or not.

- Improper infrastructural facilities like no drinking water and toilet facility in school.
- Less number of teachers in school especially lady teachers.

From the findings derived from the field the researcher noted that there were certain gaps or shortcomings in the implementation of different activities of SSA. Some of them are broadly identified as:

- No proper utilization of funds;
- Violation of guidelines as well as the norms fixed for the implementation of programme;
- Lack of timely supply of free textbooks to the targeted students;
- Lack of awareness about all the activities of the programme among the people;
- Civil works were not executed as per the requirement;
- Record relating to monitoring was not maintained;
- Lack of appropriate, qualitative and adequate teaching learning material;
- Lack of qualitative and effective teacher training
- Lack of coordination between government officials and school teachers in execution of SSA.

The education administration in most states and UTs is yet to effectively tackle these endemic problems. The main question that arises is that whether such a decision of government to universalize education is merely

cosmetic, “pie in the sky” rhetoric of the kind that we have seen so often in last 50 years, or is it a realistic goal?

In an article published on 15th June 2010 in Economic Times titled “Education fund for ‘Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan’ spent on babus’ cars, luxury” it has been mentioned that the British government has initiated an inquiry into the manner in which funds from Department for International Development (DFID) have been used for India’s flagship elementary education programme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. The inquiry stated that “millions of pounds of aid for education and the ‘Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan’ has disappeared into the depths of corruption without any benefit to the poor children”.

Reports in the British media put a monetary figure on the corruption ranging from £70 million to £340 million. The article quoted the Comptroller and Auditor General’s report stating that almost £14 million had been spent on items and luxuries that had nothing to do with schools.

SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Elementary education has been given the highest priority because this is the children’s stepping-stone for pursuing higher goals. School attended by children has the most substantive impact on the quality of learning. Public schooling always remains dominant provider of education for the majority of the population. This is because in our country majority of children come from lower and middle class background and they give more priority to public schools than private schools which are costlier and expensive for them. Government or public schools do not make use of their resources effectively-mainly

teachers. Teachers in such schools are not trained to teach in a multi grade classroom context. This disconnection between the reality of the teaching environment and the tools provided to teachers in government schools plausibly impacts negatively on learning outcomes. Therefore steps should be taken to improve teacher quality and involve more teachers in school as they play a vital role in teaching –learning process. The government should also motivate the local planners and leaders on how to expound and improve primary education in particular.

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is an extensive scheme covering the entire country subsuming within itself all other major governmental educational intervention. After evaluating the SSA program the researcher has the following suggestions:

- In order to achieve universal primary education first of all education of parents is necessary. SSA is a popular program among people. Therefore they should be well aware about the programme especially its aim and objectives.
- Guidelines and norms laid down for the implementation of the various activities under S.S.A. should be strictly adhered to. The funds earmarked for the SSA should be 100% utilized to achieve the desired goal.
- The facilitators should play active role in making the programme a huge success. Not only local teachers and television but also other sources like government official, NGO’s can help in promoting SSA.
- Non-professional teachers, whether workers, villagers or students need to be used in large numbers for teaching the educationally unreached.

Best Practices

In **Karnataka**, it is reported that School Management committees have been constituted with student representatives on the committees. The SMCs have also been provided training at the nearest Cluster Resource Centers. Teachers have been made accountable as each teacher adopts 80 households in the school catchment area to monitor the progress of the school going children in their adopted households.

In **Haryana**, the Village Education Committees which ensure no out of school children in their villages are motivated through trophies\ mementos.

Source: Planning Commission’s Evaluation Report on SSA

- It should be noted that books and dresses should be provided timely so that students can come to schools regularly.
- Children’s are the future citizens of India. They should be motivated to attend school. To increase their attendance they must be provided some incentives either in terms of cash or kind.
- Vocational education should be imparted to the students so that it can help in generating employment facilities.

- Civil works like construction of school rooms, urinals & toilets should be taken up as per requirement.
 - As per provision, the monitoring mechanism should be made effective.
- Monitoring team at different levels like State level, district level etc. must be constituted. The monitoring reports should be prepared and record to this effect be maintained for follow up action.

Best Practices

Orissa has a project named AAROHANA for mainstreaming drop outs and out of school children. At every block and village level, data on out of school children in various age groups including their name/guardian wise detail is prepared and each block resource centre has been entrusted the responsibility to mobilize the parents and enroll the children. The novelty of project AAROHANA is the mainstreaming of children after the course completion and follow up action to retain them in formal school. This is being done through appointment of resource persons who will ensure the regular attendance of each and every child enrolled in the bridge courses, will conduct weekly evaluation of each child, map the extracurricular activities of the children and act as a remedial teacher when mainstreaming them in a school.

Source: Planning Commission's Evaluation Report on SSA

Lastly to conclude with a hope that with clear vision, strong will, greater dedication, increased people's participation and of course higher investment we would be able to fulfill our goal of providing satisfactory quality of education to all children in the country within the next decade.

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AN ANALYSIS OF STATE WISE ALLOCATION OF FOOD GRAINS UNDER NATIONAL FOOD SECURITY ACT, 2013 IN INDIA.

Zubairul Islam

ABSTRACT

The Indian National Food Security Bill, 2013 (also Right to Food Bill), was signed into law September 12, 2013 (The National Food Security Bill, 2013). This law aims to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two thirds of India's 1.2 billion people. The gazette of India (extraordinary) related with this act contain a table to show state wise allocation of food grains. In this paper food grain quantity allocated to different states by center government was correlated with proportion of number of poor people in the state. Results shows that state wise distribution of food grains under food security act, 2013 is not as per the proportion of poor population in the states.

Key words - National Food Security Act, Poverty in India,

INTRODUCTION

The demographics of India are inclusive of the second most populous country in the world, with over 1.21 billion people (2011 census), more than a sixth of the world's population (demographics of India, 2013).

India has more than 50% of its population below the age of 25 and more than 65% below the age of 35. It is expected that, in 2020, the average age of an Indian will be 29 years, compared to 37 for China and 48 for Japan; and, by 2030, India's dependency ratio should be just over 0.4 (Basu, 2007).

India occupies 2.4% of the world's land area and supports over 17.5% of the world's population. Per the 2001 census, 72.2% of the population lives in about 638,000 villages and the remaining 27.8% lives in more than 5,100

towns and over 380 urban agglomerations (Census, 2001).

Ensuring food security ought to be an issue of great importance for a country like India where more than one-third of the population is estimated to be absolutely poor and one-half of all children malnourished in one way or another. There have been many emerging issues in the context of food security in India in the last two decades. (Dev & Sharma, 2010)

According to Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Food security has three components, viz.,

availability, access, and absorption (nutrition). The three are interconnected. Many studies have shown that improvement in nutrition is important, even for increase in productivity of workers. Thus, food security has intrinsic (for its own sake) as well as instrumental (for increasing productivity) value. (Dev & Sharma, 2010)

Smt Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the National Advisory Council wrote to the Prime Minister on October 27, 2010 forwarding the basic framework of the proposed National Food Security Bill (NFSB). In another letter on November 16, 2010 to the PM, she suggested a close examination of the proposal of the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) to replace the existing BPL survey with a socioeconomic census/ survey to be conducted by the Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India. The Prime Minister set up an Expert Committee under the chairmanship of Dr C. Rangarajan to examine the implications of the proposals of the NAC and MoRD and make suitable recommendations (Report of the expert committee).

India's high economic growth rate in the past decade has not been fully reflected in the health status of its people, with 22 per cent of its population undernourished. According to the National Family Health Survey 2005-06, 40.4 per cent of children under the age of three are underweight, 33 per cent of women

in the age group of 15-49 have a body mass index below normal and 78.9 per cent of children in the age group of 6-35 months are anemic. These are disturbing statistics which point to nutritional deficiencies. The NAC proposal for a National Food Security Bill is perhaps the most important national effort yet to address these deficiencies in India (Report of the expert committee).

The Indian National Food Security Bill, 2013 (also Right to Food Bill), was signed into law September 12, 2013 (The National Food Security Bill, 2013). This law aims to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two thirds of India's 1.2 billion people. Under the provisions of the bill, beneficiaries are to be able to purchase 5 kilograms per eligible person per month of cereals as rice at rupees 3 per kg, wheat at rupees 2 per kg and coarse grains (millet) at rupees 1 per kg. The Central and State Governments shall endeavor to progressively undertake necessary reforms in the Targeted Public Distribution System in consonance with the role envisaged for them in this Act. (Gazette of India, 2013).

Main features of the bill are as following:

1. Seventy five percent of rural and 50 percent of the urban population are entitled for three years from enactment to five kg food grains per month;
2. The states are responsible for determining eligibility;

3. Pregnant women and lactating mothers are entitled to a nutritious “take home ration” of 600 Calories and a maternity benefit of at least Rs 6,000 for six months;
4. Children 6 months to 14 years of age are to receive free hot meals or “take home rations”;
5. The central government will provide funds to states in case of short supplies of food grains;
6. The current food grain allocation of the states will be protected by the central government for at least six months;
7. The state governments will provide a food security allowance to the beneficiaries in case of non-supply of food grains;
8. The Public Distribution System is to be reformed;
9. The eldest woman in the household, 18 years or above, is the head of the household for the issuance of the ration card;
10. There will be state- and district-level redress mechanisms; and
11. State Food Commissions will be formed for implementation and monitoring of the provisions of the Act.

The Indian Ministry of Agriculture’s Commission on Agricultural Costs and Prices (CACP) has referred to the Bill as the “biggest ever experiment in the world for distributing highly subsidized food by any government through a ‘rights based’ approach.” The Bill extends coverage of the Targeted Public Distribution System, India’s principal domestic food aid program, to two thirds of the population, or approximately 820 million people.

The present study makes an attempt to correlate the quantity of food grains allocated to different states of India with the poverty level of those states.

Material and Methodology

This study is based on two sets of secondary data; first set belongs to the quantity of food grain allocated to the states under food security act, 2013 (Table 1) another set shows proportion of poor people in each state of India (Table 2).

Table 1 shows 549 lakhs of food grain will be distributed to the states. Proportion of food grains to each state was calculated using simple formula as following:

$$\text{Food grain allotted to the state} * \frac{100}{\text{Total food grain allotted to the nation}}$$

Table 1 Food Security Act - State wise allocation of Food Grains			
SN	State	Food Grains (Qt Lakh Tons)	Food Grains (% of Total)
1	Andhra Pradesh	32.1	5.847
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0.89	0.162
3	Assam	16.95	3.087
4	Bihar	55.27	10.067
5	Chhattisgarh	12.91	2.352
6	Delhi	5.73	1.044
7	Goa	0.59	0.107
8	Gujarat	23.95	4.362
9	Haryana	7.95	1.448
10	Himachal Pradesh	5.08	0.925
11	Jammu and Kashmir	7.51	1.368
12	Jharkhand	16.96	3.089
13	Karnataka	25.56	4.656
14	Kerala	14.25	2.596
15	Madhya Pradesh	34.68	6.317
16	Maharashtra	45.02	8.200
17	Manipur	1.51	0.275
18	Meghalaya	1.76	0.321
19	Mizoram	0.66	0.120
20	Nagaland	1.38	0.251
21	Odisha	21.09	3.842
22	Punjab	8.7	1.585
23	Rajasthan	27.92	5.086
24	Sikkim	0.44	0.080
25	Tamilnadu	36.78	6.699
26	Tripura	2.71	0.494
27	Uttar Pradesh	96.15	17.514
28	Uttarakhand	5.03	0.916
29	West Bengal	38.49	7.011
30	Puducherry	0.5	0.091
31	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0.16	0.029
32	Chandigarh	0.31	0.056
33	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	0.15	0.027
34	Daman and Diu	0.07	0.013
35	Lakshadweep	0.05	0.009
	Total	549	100.0

Source : Gazette of India, 2013

Table 2 shows 2698.17 lakhs people are under poverty line in India. This estimation is based on Tendulkar method. The literature on the analysis of poverty in India is indeed very rich. One can safely classify the literature into three broad categories. The first group is concerned with the estimation of the number of people lying below the poverty line. In this group two approaches are used viz (i) income based or consumption expenditure based method of estimation of head count ratio

(Dandekar and Rath,1971 ; Jha,2000; Radhakrishna and Ray,2005; Sen,1996,2001; Suryanarayana,2000; Sundaram, 2000; Sundaram and Tendulkar,2000; Subramanian,2005; etc) and (ii) calorie based estimation of head count measure of the consumption deprivation(Jones and Sen .2001; Meenakshi and Vswanathan,2003; etc).

Proportion of poor people in each state of total poor population in India was calculated using simple formula as following:

$$\text{Proportion of poor in the state} * \frac{100}{\text{Total poor in the nation}}$$

Table 2 Population under poverty line in India – 2011-12			
SN	State	Poor in Lakh	Poor in %
1	Andhra Pradesh	78.78	2.920
2	Arunachal Pradesh	4.91	0.182
3	Assam	101.27	3.753
4	Bihar	358.15	13.274
5	Chhattisgarh	104.11	3.859
6	Delhi	16.96	0.629
7	Goa	0.75	0.028
8	Gujarat	102.23	3.789
9	Haryana	28.83	1.069
10	Himachal Pradesh	5.59	0.207
11	Jammu and Kashmir	13.27	0.492
12	Jharkhand	124.33	4.608
13	Karnataka	129.76	4.809
14	Kerala	23.95	0.888
15	Madhya Pradesh	234.06	8.675
16	Maharashtra	197.92	7.335
17	Manipur	10.22	0.379
18	Meghalaya	3.61	0.134
19	Mizoram	2.27	0.084
20	Nagaland	3.76	0.139

21	Orissa	138.85	5.146
22	Punjab	23.18	0.859
23	Rajasthan	102.92	3.814
24	Sikkim	0.51	0.019
25	Tamilnadu	82.63	3.062
26	Tripura	5.24	0.194
27	Uttar Pradesh	598.19	22.170
28	Uttarakhand	11.6	0.430
29	West Bengal	184.98	6.856
30	Pondicherry	1.24	0.046
31	A and N Islands	0.04	0.001
32	Chandigarh	2.35	0.087
33	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1.43	0.053
34	Daman and Diu	0.26	0.010
35	Lakshadweep	0.02	0.001
	Total	2698.17	100

Source : Work of Ratan Ghosal, retrieved from <http://www.iariw.org>

To calculate judicious quantity of food grain to each state following formula was used.

$$\text{Total food grain allotted to the nation} * \frac{\text{Proportion of poor in the state}}{100}$$

Finally difference in between quantity of food grains on the basis of proportion of poor and quantity of food grains allotted to each state under food security bill, 2013 was calculated. It is shown in table 3.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results shown in table 3 reveals the fact that state wise distribution of food grains under food security act, 2013 is not as per the proportion of poor population in the states. On the basis of results states were grouped in two categories. First losing states and second gaining states.

Twelve states were identified in the category of losers. Uttar Pradesh stands on the top of losers, which is losing 25.564 lakhs tons of food grain. Other states are Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Assam, Karnataka, Manipur, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and Arunachal Pradesh in this category. Figure 1

Twenty three states were identified in the category of gain. Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh are on the top in this category. Table 3

Table 3 Difference in proportion of food grain allocated to the states and state wise poverty proportion in India

SN	States	Food grain allotted Lakh Qt.	Food grain allocation estimated - Lakh Qt.	Difference
1	Andhra Pradesh	32.1	16.029	16.071
2	Arunachal Pradesh	0.89	0.999	-0.109
3	Assam	16.95	20.606	-3.656
4	Bihar	55.27	72.873	-17.603
5	Chhattisgarh	12.91	21.183	-8.273
6	Delhi	5.73	3.451	2.279
7	Goa	0.59	0.153	0.437
8	Gujarat	23.95	20.801	3.149
9	Haryana	7.95	5.866	2.084
10	Himachal Pradesh	5.08	1.137	3.943
11	J & K	7.51	2.700	4.810
12	Jharkhand	16.96	25.298	-8.338
13	Karnataka	25.56	26.402	-0.842
14	Kerala	14.25	4.873	9.377
15	Madhya Pradesh	34.68	47.624	-12.944
16	Maharashtra	45.02	40.271	4.749
17	Manipur	1.51	2.079	-0.569
18	Meghalaya	1.76	0.735	1.025
19	Mizoram	0.66	0.462	0.198
20	Nagaland	1.38	0.765	0.615
21	Odisha	21.09	28.252	-7.162
22	Punjab	8.7	4.716	3.984
23	Rajasthan	27.92	20.941	6.979
24	Sikkim	0.44	0.104	0.336
25	Tamilnadu	36.78	16.813	19.967
26	Tripura	2.71	1.066	1.644
27	Uttar Pradesh	96.15	121.714	-25.564
28	Uttarakhand	5.03	2.360	2.670
29	West Bengal	38.49	37.638	0.852
30	Puducherry	0.5	0.252	0.248
31	A & N Islands	0.16	0.008	0.152
32	Chandigarh	0.31	0.478	-0.168
33	D & Nagar Haveli	0.15	0.291	-0.141
34	Daman and Diu	0.07	0.053	0.017
35	Lakshadweep	0.05	0.004	0.046
	Total	549	549	

Source : Study

DIFFERENCE OF ALLOCATION OF FOODGRAINS FROM POVERTY RATIO UNDER FOOD SECURITY ACT IN INDIA - 2013

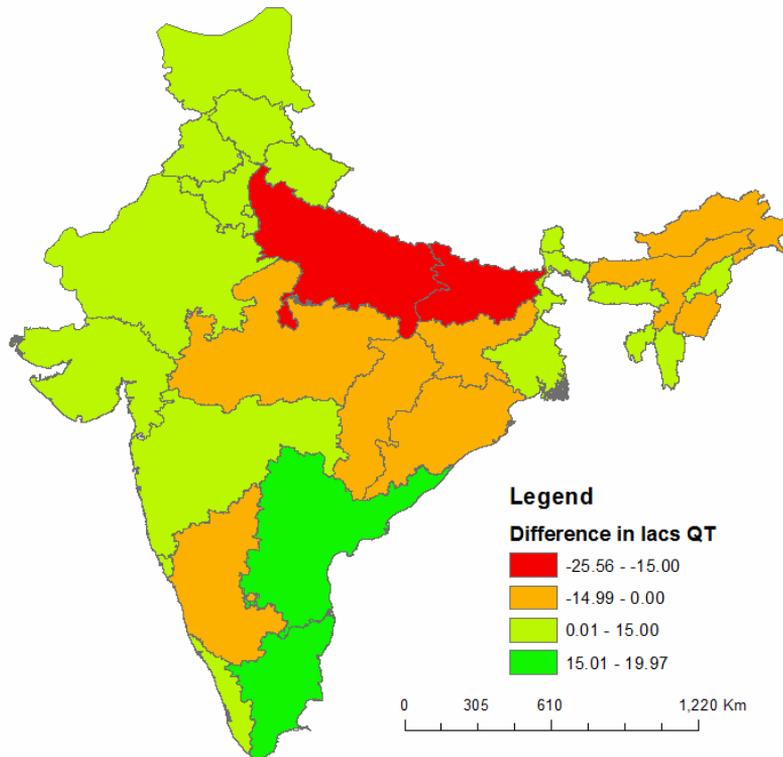


Figure 1

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FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION IN RURAL NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION FROM RURAL ODISHA

Prakash Kumar Sahoo

ABSTRACT

The study attempts to examine whether the employment shift from the farm to the Non-farm sector at the household level arises out of prosperity induced or distress induced factors. The examination of employment patterns of rural workforce at various levels leads to conclusive evidence that distress induced push factors have been pre dominant in driving workers to non-farm employment. The paper also theoretically and empirically explains the factors that determine the individual adoption of non-farm employment. Based on a survey of 100 households in the two villages of Jagatsinghpur district in Odisha state, the study found that low levels of education and their status as landless earners devoid of capital resources, lack of special skills or training of workers concerned and their social affinity significantly influence the employment in rural non-farm sector.

Key Words: Non-farm employment, Prosperity induced, distress induced.

INTRODUCTION

Rural households in the developing world are not just limited to traditional rural activities of farming as they participate in a wide range of non-agricultural activities. Non-farm activities may include manufacturing (i.e., agro-processing) and be accumulative (e.g., setting up a small business) or adaptive (switching from cash crop cultivation to commodity trading in response to drought, coping through non-agricultural wage labour or sale of household assets as an immediate response to a shock, or comprise a survival strategy as a response to a livelihood shock). Such Non-farm incomes can contribute significantly to their total incomes. The non-farm rural economy comprise all those activities associated with wage work or self-employment in income generating activities

that are not agricultural but located in rural areas (Lanjouw et al., 1999).

The non-farm sector has been playing a crucial role in achieving integrated rural development because of its special characteristics like low capital requirements, labour intensive nature, short gestation period and creation of employment opportunities. Agricultural sector may not be able to absorb increased labour force. Seasonality factor is still dominant in Indian agriculture. Land is not equally distributed. Thus landlessness creates the urge to go for a non-farm enterprise. There is uncertainty, risk in production in agriculture due to droughts, floods, crop failures etc. There is unemployment and economic inequality in rural areas.

Alongside with these dismal conditions, labor force is growing rapidly, but employment opportunities are not keeping pace. As land available for expansion of agriculture becomes increasingly scarce, non-farm employment must expand if deepening rural poverty is to be avoided. A growing number of studies (Lanjouw et al., 1999 and Islam, 1997) indicate that the non-farm sector has the potential to increase rural employment and improve income distribution. It has been observe that while the share of rural areas in total national employment has decline from 82 percent in 1977-78 to 71 percent in 2004-05, the share of rural non-farm sector (RNFS) has gone up from 16.6 percent to 25.7 percent during the same period (Srivastava, 2006).

Expanding opportunities in rural areas outside of agriculture also may help stem the migration of rural dwellers to the cities and slow the spread of urban congestion and pollution. As urban industries are unlikely to absorb the rapidly increasing labor force, hence it is up to the more labor-intensive rural non-farm sector to absorb excess labor and diversify income sources.

Under this backdrop the present study seeks to examine the factors influencing household participation in rural non-farm economic activities.

Review of Selected Literature

A review of the available literature reveals that the determinants for the participation in non-farm activities in post reform period are many. A number of Indian studies however suggest growth of agriculture is likely to stimulate growth and development of Rural Non Farm Economy (Hazell and

Haggblade, 1991; Bhalla, 1993; Dev, 1990; Papola, 1992; Unni, 1991, 1994).

Indian village studies (Huffman, 1993) indicate that the most important determinant of the incidence of non-farm employment may be that the poor with the lower reservation wages generally show the greatest inclination to become involved in non-agricultural activities, even at a low wage.

Several studies (Da Silva, 1998 and Weller, 1997) have attempted to identify and characterize the influential factors in the process of developing non-farm employment. These factors may be either endogenous or exogenous to the rural sector. Case studies in Central America indicate that rural development influences are diverse and frequently originate outside of the rural sector. Endogenous factors permit the accumulation of capital (physical, human, financial) up to the point at which the state of development makes a region attractive for foreign capital investment. The exogenous determinants of non-farm employment include the influence of the urban cities on their rural surroundings. Cities demand an expanded set of goods and services and create a larger labour market.

Smith et al. (2001) found signs of labor market duality in their studies of Ethiopia and Uganda. The skilled and educated individuals were found either to enter into high paid jobs or to return to self-employment, while the unskilled and uneducated were dependent on low-pay casual employment opportunities. They found that non-farm low wage employment was motivated by “push” factors such as low farm income and the availability of surplus labour. Relatively wealthier

individuals enter into non-farm self-employment to earn an attractive return.

An empirical study carried out in Chile shows that non-farm employment and income is not only a source of jobs for the households, but are also a means of integrating women into the labor market. It also shows that education is a central element for the development of jobs for young people.

Escobar (2001) has shown that in Peru, access to public services and an adequate endowment of private assets (especially education and credit) may improve access to non-farm employment. Non-poor households often rely on non-farm employment sources more heavily than poor households. So, it can be said that the growth of non-farm employment does not necessarily mean that income is rising overall or that labour conditions of the rural population are improving. Rather, new employment alternatives are being created.

Visaria and Basant (1994) also viewed that there was increasing casualisation of employment in non-farm sector, while on the other it is argued that the rural non-farm sector is squeezing labour from agriculture, thus, creating shortage of labour for peak agricultural operations and the growth of RNFS, instead of becoming competitive, should supplement and complement the growth of agriculture (Basant and Kumar, 1994).

Many other studies have identified various diversified factors influencing the growth of non-farm sector. Mellor(1976) showed that agricultural growth induces the growth of non-farm sector in rural areas through consumption and input linkages. The

counter argument was provided by Vaidyanathan (1986), who attributes the growth of rural non-farm sector as distress induced due to rural unemployment. It was also observed that the ownership of land provided an opportunity for the household to release the educated young persons for non-farm sector while rearing old persons for agricultural sector (Unni, 1994). Srivastav(2006) has established that there is a significant relationship among RNFS employment, agricultural wages and the degree of urbanization.

A study by Fisher et al. concludes that, “growth in the Rural Non Farm Sector is clearly boosted by a thriving agricultural economy”. Citing the 1991 Census which records that in states with a healthy agricultural sector such as Punjab, Haryana and West Bengal, over 25 percent of rural workers were engaged in the non-farm sector whilst in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh(with more sluggish agricultural growth) it was only 10 percent.

Growth in non-farm activities was the result of push factors in the pre reform period which we call ‘distress-induced’ but post reform period saw an increase in this sector due to pull factors. Shylendra and Thomas (1995) found that growth in different RNF activities are due to developmental pull factors, in post reform period. Based on a micro study of a semi arid village in Gujarat, significant occupational diversification was found. About 90 percent of households were found to be engaged in non-farm activity. Growth in non-farm activities was largely attributed to pull factors, which particularly consisted of increased local demand for goods and services

and expansion of government activities. Other positive factors included agricultural modernization and commercialization, increased demand for non-crop goods and services, urbanisation and growth literacy and welfare oriented policy interventions leading to increased job opportunities.

The experience of economic growth across countries suggests that high agricultural growth is generally accompanied by the growth in the rural non-farm sector owing to its forward and backward linkages with agriculture, specifically there are 'forward linkages' from the rural non-farm sector where rural non-farm outputs serve as inputs to agriculture such as manufacture and repair of agricultural implements, transport, distribution of fertilizer, etc. Also there are backward linkages from non-farm sector where this sector provides a demand for the output from agriculture. Chuta and Liedholm's, (1979) review of rural non-farm employment cites a number of studies which have shown that such backward and forward linkages between rural non-farm sector and agriculture are quite strong.

Papola (1987) found that the performance of rural non-farm sector in different states was broadly related with the levels of agricultural productivity more closely with the growth rate of agricultural output. Rise in income levels, purchasing power and to an extent the invisible surplus generated by agricultural growth led to the emergence of non-farm activities.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this empirical study is to analyze the rural non-farm employment

in Odisha. More precisely the study is based on the following objectives:

1. To examine the pattern of non-farm activities undertaken by the rural households; and
2. To identify the determinants of household participation in non- farm employment

Data and Methodology

Due to unavailability and inaccuracy of the secondary data needed for analysis the present study completely relies upon primary data sources. A survey was carried out in two villages of Jagatsinghpur district of Odisha state in India. One systematically questionnaire was developed for that. The interview schedule contained a host of questions on the basic housing conditions and facilities therein, total income of the household and occupation of each household member.

Area of Study

The study was conducted in Jagatsinghpur district which is one of the coastal districts of Odisha. The area is situated about 60 k. m. east of the state capital, Bhubaneswar and is adjacent to Cuttack city which is the state's second largest commercial town. Jagatsinghpur composed of approximately 221,783 households and has an estimated population of about 1,136,604 (District Census Report, 2011, Provisional). In addition, Jagatsinghpur has an estimated population density of 681 per sq. Km.

This area was chosen because, though the district is one of the major cropping and livestock producing area (Economic Survey, Odisha, 2011-12) in the state it is not sufficient

to meet the livelihood. Agricultural sector is not sufficient to absorb increased labour force. Seasonality factor is still dominant in agriculture. Land is not equally distributed. Thus landlessness creates the urge to go for adoption of non-farm activities. There is unemployment and economic inequality in rural areas. For that reason most of the people of this district depending upon non-farm activities.

Selection of Villages

To pick up the appropriate villages with good representation of the distinguished characteristics of the non-farm sector a pilot survey was conducted in 5 villages. During the pilot survey Focused Group Discussion (FGD) was held in each village to trace out the economic and social characteristics of the households in the village and their involvement in non-farm activities. Out of that two villages were selected purposefully for our study.

Those two villages are Singipur and Kathiapada and have distinct Characteristics.

Selection of Sample

As the use of probabilistic method to select a sample requires a sample frame, hence for this purpose the lists of the households were obtained from the local Gram Panchayat Office in these villages and used as sample frame. This frame was not out of date as it was used in the recent Panchayat election in the area.

Mainly due to financial and time constraints it was considered necessary to limit the size of the sample. From these two villages a total of 100 sample households were selected for carrying out the survey. Although the selection of villages was purposeful, households within the village were selected randomly. The total number households in the villages and the proportion selected for our sample study are given in Table-1.

Table-1: Selection of Sample

Village	Total HHs	HH selected	HH selected (%)
Singipur	208	70	33.65
Kathiapada	120	30	25.0
Total	328	100	30.49

Source: Primary Survey

Data Analysis

The present research in general used a combination of *descriptive* as well as *econometrics analysis* to examine the non-farm employment structure in the study area. SPSS version 20 was used for descriptive analysis as it is latest version during the

analysis period. To determine the factors behind respondents participation in non-farm employment a **probit** model is estimated in which the dependent variable equals **1** if head of the household is engaged in non-farm

economic activities and 0 otherwise. The probit model that emerges from the normal cumulative distribution function is estimated using maximum likelihood method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research findings based on the Field Survey carried out in rural areas of Jagatsinghpur District concerned with improved understanding and appropriate recommendations for the rural non-agricultural economy. Interest in the non-agricultural economy originates from increasing realisation of its important role in rural livelihoods, and its potential contribution to poverty alleviation. The study starts with a mapping of employment patterns across different sectors in the economy.

RURAL NON-FARM ACTIVITIES PURSUED

The aspect of non-farm activities is the core of this study and the study sought to determine the various non-farm activities that subsistence farmers engage in order to obtain additional income for them to survive and meet basic requirements. Of the total 100 sampled households 93 households are engaged in non-farm activities whilst 7 households did not. This figure is very high considering the fact that this district is very close to the nearest major town. (Jagatsinghpur). This can mean that the push factors for engaging in non-farm activities were weighed by the factors which encouraged engagement in non-farm activities.

Non-farm participation	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	93	93.0
No	7	7.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Primary Survey

From the statistics (see table-3), most of the household heads, 18 (19.36%) were engaged in wholesale and retail trading. They were taking advantage of the close proximity of the two towns and buying various goods of use to the rural communities from these towns. Then they sold these goods for the profit motive to

the people. This seems to be a popular activity particularly because it is not seasonal and the items sold are an everyday or frequent requirement. The other activities with a fairly large proportion were preparing structured bamboo/ cane products and transport with 8 households being involved in the activity.

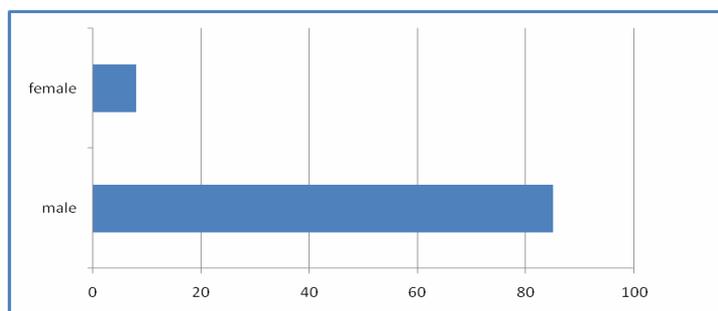
Table-3: Types of Non-Farm activities		
Non-farm activities	Frequency	Percent
Coir Rope	3	3.22
Garage	2	2.16
Structured Bamboo/cane Products	8	8.61
Jewellery	3	3.22
Handloom Weaving	7	7.52
Potery	5	5.38
Carpentry	7	7.52
Trade(wholesale/retail)	18	19.36
Transport	8	8.61
Machinery and Equipment Repair	5	5.38
Tailoring	3	3.22
Brick Making	4	4.30
Cycle Repairing	4	4.30
Rice Mills/Attachhaki	4	4.30
Barbering	3	3.22
Blacksmith	3	3.22
Pathology	1	1.08
Tea stall	5	5.38
Total	93	100

Source: Primary Survey

Handloom weaving and Carpentry also had better frequency with 7 households being involved in the activity. In addition to this 5 households were involved in pottery, 5 households were involved in tea stall and five households were involved in machinery and

equipment repair. Households involving in coir rope making, Jewellery, tailoring, barbering and blacksmith have the frequency of 3. Out of these only one household has been involved in Pathology.

Figure-1: Sex of household heads participating in Non-farm employments



Source: Primary Survey

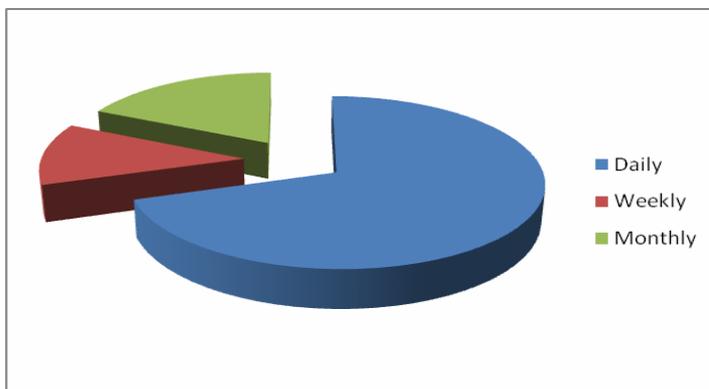
From the above figure showing sex of household heads participating in Non-farm employments it is clear that the non-farm participant household heads 85 (91%) are male while from 8 (9%) are female.

Empirical studies often demonstrate that the RNFE comprises a set of heterogeneous activities, ranging from employment in high productive sectors to low productive activities earning just enough to sustain subsistence farmers (Reardon, 1997). This heterogeneity is driven by different incentives and capacity to undertake non-farm activities among rural households. Many poor households are excluded from non-farm activities due to the lack of assets required to overcome entrance barriers. Others are trapped in low remunerative activities that do not allow them

to grow out of poverty. Consequently, identification of the factors shaping access and income from non-farm activities is crucial for policy makers to inform and adjust policies in the rural domain (Reardon et al., 2006).

Many of the non-farm activities in which households were found to engage were often of low status. The low level of employment is attributable to the fact that the poor can generally not afford to be unemployed. The form of employment inadequacy they usually experience is underemployment, either of the visible or invisible kind. They do not bring in much money but they are nevertheless vital for livelihoods, particularly those of the poorest – who comprise the majority of the population in the surveyed villages. Majority of these informal activities were paid on daily basis.

Figure-2: Modes of Payment across Various Non-Farm Activities



Source: Primary Survey

Despite the fact that wage labourers are being hired increasingly, there are no regular contracts of employment for them as they are not covered by any legal regulation. Their resources of property and qualifications are so limited that they only have a few options to engage in remunerative activities.

Consequently, the dominating strategy is a hand-to-mouth solution based on local employment. Moreover the lack of documentation in the economy provides a readymade incentive for employers to shift their activities beyond the net of legal protection for workers. They are often

recruited indirectly through so called contractors and denied even basic labour rights relating to working hours, minimum wages and working conditions.

Factors Influencing Household's Participation in Non-Farm Economic Activities: Probit Model Estimation

To determine the factors behind respondents participation in non-farm employment a **probit model** is estimated in which the dependent variable equals 1 if head of the household is engaged in informal economic activities and 0 otherwise. This **dichotomous** dependent variable is condition upon several individual (age, education, skill and experience), household (household size, working members, social relation, income, ownership of house, telephone and transport) and community (dummy for village) level variables. The Probit model that emerges from the normal cumulative distribution function is estimated using maximum likelihood method.

The probit model is defined as:

$$\Pr(y = 1 / x) = \Phi(xb) \quad (1)$$

Where, Φ is the standard cumulative normal probability distribution and xb is the probit score or index.

Suppose y^* , the ability to participate in informal employment is unobservable and it depends on a set of observed factors X_i . That is

$$y_i^* = \beta X_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (2)$$

Where β is a row vector of parameters, and X_i is the column vector of the variables that affect y^* and ε_i is normally distributed with 0 mean. The observable binary variable is related to y^* in the following sense;

$$Y=1 \text{ if } y^* > 0$$

$$=0 \text{ otherwise}$$

Given the normality assumption, the probability that y^* is less than or equal to Y can be computed from the standardized normal cumulative distribution function as:

$$P_i = \Pr(Y = 1) = \Pr(y^* \leq Y) = F(Y_i) = \int_{-\infty}^{\beta X_i} f(z) dz$$

Where $f(z)$ represents density function, z is normally distributed with 0 mean and unit variance and P_i is the probability that a household head will participate in non-farm economic activities.

A Probit model has been estimated on a set of explanatory variables regarding head of the household participation in non-farm economic activities. A description of the explanatory variables is given in table: .The dependent variable in the analysis is:

NFEA=1, if head of the household is engaged in non-farm economic activities (self employment, unregistered business, wage labour, permanent private employment)

$$=0, \text{ Otherwise}$$

Table-3: Definition and Summary Statistics of Independent Variables

Variables	Definition	Mean	Min.	Max.	Std. dev.
AGE	Age of HHH (in years)	45.2	18	75	14.2
SEX _(1,0)	Sex of HHH	1.09	0	1	0.29
LED	Level of education of HHH (in years)	7.93	0	14	4.26
HH SIZE	Household size	6.1	2	16	2.48
HME	No of HH members employed	2.0	1	6	1.36
SKIL _(1,0)	Special skill or training	0.2	0	1	0.3
SJOB _(1,0)	Sources (relatives, friends, neighbours or other people) used for getting job by HHH	0.8	0	1	0.75
DEM	Duration of employment (in days per months)	24.16	10	22	4.21
LAND	Land size	1.66	1	5	0.476
ELEC _(1,0)	Availability of electricity	0.84	0	1	0.38
MACH _(1,0)	Ownership of machineries and other equipments	0.3	0	1	0.4
HLOC _(1,0)	Village where HH is located	2.5	0	1	3.55
CRDT _(1,0)	Availability of Credit	1.71	0	1	0.46
DSTNC	Distance to the nearest market	0.6	5	40	0.4

Source: Computed from data collected from Primary Survey

Estimation Results of Probit Model

This section deals with estimation or economic results of non-farm participation model. As it has been explained in the preceding section, the probability of participation in non-farm activities given the explanatory variables is captured by running a probit regression model. Literature suggests that there are several factors which can

influence farmers to participate in non-farm activities many of these are socio-economic characteristics of the farm household. In the econometric model used, potential variables expected to influence non-farm employment participation are included. Regression results for participation in non-farm activities, the corresponding marginal effects are presented in Table-4

Table-4: Participation in rural Non-Farm Employment				
Variables	Marginal effect	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-value
AGE	-0.0165*	-0.0790	0.009	-1.93
SEX	0.2254**	0.7152	0.0694	2.47
LED	-0.0416**	-0.2015	0.017	-2.25
HH SIZE	0.0725**	-0.3259	0.024	2.46
HME	0.3525***	1.6524	0.126	2.89
SKIL	0.5110**	1.8582	0.5360	2.69
SJOB	0.0825	0.3806	0.145	0.52
DEM	0.0321	0.1513	0.011	2.69
LAND	-0.5922**	1.7857	1.2548	-2.14
ELEC	0.3168	0.6726	0.4948	0.048
MACH	-0.0311	0.1411	0.185	-0.17
HLOC	0.0451	0.2135	0.127	0.38
CRDT	0.2854**	0.8328	0.3886	0.032
DSTNC	0.1074*	0.9559	0.3698	0.010
CONSTANT	-	2.2735	1.6234	1.62
Notes: *** 1% level of significance ** 5% level of significance * 10% level of significance Chi-squared = 37.58*** Prob> chi 2=0.0000 Log likelihood : -44.711451 Pseudo R-square: 0.57 Number of Observations=100				

Source: Computed from data collected from Primary Survey

The marginal probability effect (dF/dx) is the change in probability in term of infinitesimal change in each independent, continuous variable and discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1. Similarly, z-statistics (t values) are the test of the underlying coefficient being 0.

The results (see table-4) indicate that, participation in non farm employment is influenced by different variables such as age of the HH head, sex of the HH head, HH

size, land size, special skill, level of education, credit, electricity and distance to the market.

Age

The variable age of the heads of the household negatively influences the possibility of their involvement in non-farm economic activities. In more precise terms, older head of the household are less likely to participate in non-farm economic activities. The young people are more attracted towards non-farm

economic activities due to a variety of reasons; firstly, these occupations demand hard labor which reduces the chances of those who are older. Secondly, it may also indicate towards the lack of employment opportunities in formal sector as well as possession of required skills to participate in these well-paid jobs.

Household Size

The expected relationship between the household size and the probability of the household being engaged in RNFE is positive. This is the result of two factors. First, even if RNFE activities is randomly distributed across persons, there are more persons in larger households, so there is a relatively greater chance that at least one working member will be in non-farm employment. Secondly it was observed during field work that once a member of the HH is engaged in RNFS, other younger members tend to follow him/her. The parents in most HH also encourage their children to be educated and employed in better non-farm occupations. Since large family size has a genetic component it is likely to be 'interested' alongside access to modern RNFE. Results from the probit analysis suggests that when the family size increases by one, heads of the household are 8% more likely to participate in the informal sector. A higher household size due to dependency problems make it necessary on part of its member to diversify their income sources and strive for more productive occupations.

With the addition of each new working member in the household, the probability to engage in informal sector increases by 40%.

The result points towards two diverging phenomenon; on one hand there is high dependency ratio (55% in research area) and at the same time weak labor market, both pushing people into informal sector for survival.

Education and Skills

Education is a potentially important determinant of RNFE. Education improves an individual's prospects for non-farm jobs as well as increases his or her ability to allocate time to work efficiently among income producing activities. However, in early development phases many rural non-farm activities require only low levels of schooling. Here we can expect a positive relationship between modern non-farm occupations (like mechanical repairs of tractors, services, modern textiles, jute, plywood factory) and level of education, but a negative relationship between level of education and traditional non-farm occupations (like rickshaw pullers, basket makers, barbers, clothes washing, shepherds, tailors, potters, carpenters, goldsmiths.). Individuals with higher levels of schooling have more and better non-farm employment possibilities.

On an average around 8% of the total population aged 5 or above are illiterate, 25.6% have attended primary schooling, 12% have obtained upper-primary level of education, 28% have obtained secondary education and 26.5% have received tertiary level of education. A small deal of disparity is observed in the educational attainment of male and female population.

Table-5: Education profile of Males and Females			
Education level of Individuals	Gender Category		Total
	Male	Female	
Illiterate	8	36	44
	(2.8%)	(14.7%)	(8.2%)
Primary	67	70	137
	(23.1%)	(28.6%)	(25.6%)
Upper-primary	34	29	63
	(11.7%)	(11.8%)	(11.8%)
Secondary	89	60	149
	(30.7%)	(24.5%)	(27.9%)
Tertiary	92	50	142
	(31.7%)	(20.4%)	(26.5%)
Total	290	245	535
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

Note: Values in parentheses are column percentage

Out of total female population in this age category around 15% are illiterate, 28.6% has attended primary schooling, 12% has gone to upper-primary schooling, 24.5% has received secondary schooling and 20.4% has received tertiary level of education. On the other hand among the total male population, 2.8% is illiterate, 23% has attended primary schooling, around 12% has reached upper-primary level, 31% has received secondary schooling and around 32% has gone for secondary level of education. It is worth pointing here that a greater percentage of female population is either illiterate or has attended primary schooling, whereas, a higher percentage of male population has gone for secondary level of education.

Special Skills is found to be significant positive influence on participation in non-farm employment. Skills measured in form of vocational training earned at private or public institutions increases the probability of respondents by almost 12% to engage in

informal employment sector. The situation regarding training institutions in the study area can be judged from the fact that only 30% respondents reported training institutes pertaining to their profession, but only 10% have received training prior to joining their profession majority of which were arranged by the formal sector i.e. government of India through different institutions like Jana Sikshyana Sansthan and other training programmes.

LAND OWNERSHIP STRUCTURE

Land size is found to be significantly negative influence on rural non-farm employment. The result from probit analysis reveals that Individuals with their own land have a lower probability of adopting non-farm employment.

Land is a form of natural capital that is utilized by rural communities to generate a means of survival. Since rural livelihood is

dependent upon agriculture land is a very crucial asset in rural areas. The issue of land ownership is very crucial because most of the rural poor in the developing world, including India, still possess small landholdings which are barely enough to provide them with a means of subsistence. As a result, struggles

over, and for land are widespread across most developing countries worldwide today. True to form, the majority of all the household heads who were interviewed, that is 34%, owned the land on which they were settled whilst the remaining more 66% did not own any land. (See table-6)

Table-6: Land holding by different households (in acres)		
	No. of Households	Percentage
No Land	66	66.0
0 ? 1.25	5	5.0
1.25 ? 2.5	19	19.0
2.5 ? 5	10	10.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Primary Survey

CREDIT AVAILABILITY

Variables access to credit and availability of electricity are turned out to be significant and positive as far as the decision to participate in non-farm employments is concerned. This could be due to the fact that access to credit and availability of electricity enables and promote households to engage in non-farm self employment.

Results of the regression model tell that distance to the market influences positively household's participation in non-farm employments. This seems reasonable because the presence of opportunities for labor market in the town and being far away from the town increases the transaction costs of involving non-farm activities.

A positive influence of village electrification on non-farm employment participation was expected due to the fact that villages having electricity are close to the town/city and thus more non-farm employment

opportunities and labor market. The variable electricity is consistent with our prior expectation. Positive and significant influence of electricity on non-farm employment participation is evident from the result.

Finally variables like sources of job; owning machineries do not have a statistically significant relationship with the probability of household's participation in non-farm employment.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion reveals that farming is no longer a major livelihood strategy as more and more households are switching towards alternative sources of employment especially non-farm activities in the study area. Substantial numbers of farmers are involved in non-farm activities to supplement farm income though the economy of the household is depending on farming. The result of the

study shows that about 93 percent of the sampled households are participating in non-farm employment. The result also reveals that no significance difference in the level of participation in non-farm employments between the male and female household groups.

Apart from food for work, masonry, daily labour and petty trade are the major non-farm employments undertaken in the study area. The study points, among others, the three main reasons that explain the extent and involvement in non-farm employments are insufficiency of income from agriculture, decline land size, soil fertility or productivity and shocks (rain failure, short rainy season, pests swarm, etc.) and thus farmers apparently participated in non-farm employments due to push factors. But it should be noted that farmers undertake non-farm activities during the dry or slack season. The result of the study suggests that non-farm employment improve farmers' livelihood. Further the statistical analysis confirms households that participate in non-farm activities are more likely to spend for education, food, clothing and health care than those who do not participate at all. Nonetheless, farmers have been constrained by various factors while accessing the non-farm employments. A frequently cited reason is absence of employment opportunities followed by lack of skill, and lack of nearby towns and transportation.

In view of the results and from the point of view of the fight against rural poverty, it may be affirms that the greater ease of access

to non-farm employment and income is concentrated among the less poor rural residents.

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TECHNOLOGICAL EMERGENCE OF NEW GENERATION BANKING IN INDIA

Daisysmita Sahoo

ABSTRACT

Technology, people, customer and regulation are the four elements on which hinge the success of banking in the rapid changing economic environment. The ultimate performance of a bank depends upon the satisfaction of its customers. In the emerging competitive and technology driven era, banks have to strive hard for retaining and expanding their customer base. Technology is a key differentiator in the performance of banks. Indian banks need to focus on swift and continued infusion of technology while ensuring its aptness and efficacy for all with regulatory compliance while regulator creates common techno-facility to reduce cost of banking transactions.

Keywords: AELPM, Mobile banking, RTGS, NEFT, DVP, PVP

INTRODUCTION

Indian banking can be broadly divided as public sector banks, private sector banks, foreign banks, regional banks and co-operative banks. The development of information technology culture in Indian banking initially varied at the time of introduction depending upon the category of the bank.

Information technology is one of the most important facilitators for the transformation of the Indian banking industry in terms of its transactions processing as well as for various other internal systems and processes. The various technological platforms used by banks for the conduct of their day to day operations, their manner of reporting and the way in which inter-bank transactions and clearing is affected has evolved substantially over the years.

The technological evolution of the Indian banking industry has been largely directed by the various committees set up by the RBI and the government of India to review the

implementation of technological change. No major breakthrough in technology implementation was achieved by the industry till the early 80s, though some working groups and committees made stray references to the need for mechanization of some banking processes. This was largely due to the stiff resistance by the very strong bank employees unions. The early 1980s were instrumental in the introduction of mechanization and computerization in Indian banks. This was the period when banks as well as the RBI went very slow on mechanization, carefully avoiding the use of 'computers' to avoid resistance from employee unions. However, the critical period acted as the icebreaker, which led to the slow and steady move towards large scale technology adoption.

Evolution of IT in Indian Banking

The IT saga in Indian Banking commenced from the mid eighties of the twentieth century when the Reserve Bank

took upon itself the task of promoting automation in banking to improve customer service, book keeping, MIS and productivity. This role played by the Reserve Bank has continued over the years. Some of the major landmarks in this regard have been the introduction of Advanced Electronic Ledger Posting Machines (AELPM), followed by use of Mainframe, then use of stand alone computer systems which transformed into network based systems, the installation of Core Banking Solutions and the latest development of Wireless Banking under Web 2.0 regime as also cloud computing.

All these initiatives have resulted in banks in India utilizing technology to their best advantage leading to improved customer service which resulted in acceleration of business growth.

Trends show that banks in India have been endeavoring to leverage technology to bring about improvements in; quality of customer services, scale and specialization in products, alternative sources of income particularly from fee-based services, geographical reach through communication networks and electronic delivery channels, risk management practices, housekeeping, internal control systems and regulatory compliance and cost efficiencies and scale economies. In other words, banks in India started perceiving IT as a tool to achieve improvement in the efficiency (more output with less input) and effectiveness (outcomes) sectors.

Impact of Technological Developments on Indian Banking

In 1991, the opening up of the Indian economy coincided with the Internet

revolution worldwide. The Indian private and public sector banks were using conventional modes of operation were doubly impacted by this revolution. Once Indian IT services started flourishing, it was a matter of time before Indian banks wholeheartedly embraced technology. This led to business process automation in banking, which enhanced customer service, reduced manpower costs and increased profitability. The Reserve Bank of India played a leading role in this transformational journey, by issuing regulations and recommendations on banking mechanization and computerization.

Establishment of computerized inter-connectivity across branches of banks, introduction of MICR-based cheque clearing, modernization of payment services and settlements through Electronic Clearing Services (ECS), Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS), National Electronic Funds Transfer (NEFT), were all important landmarks in the revolution of banking technology. There has been a conspicuous shift from traditional modes of operations to channel-based banking. With the introduction of ATMs (Automated Teller Machines) customers were benefited with “any time” access to their money. The debit card and credit card facilitated cashless transactions, and unleashed a revolution in the banking world. Affordable technology infrastructure like cheap, small but powerful computers and other handheld gadgets and higher Internet bandwidth at lower cost assisted in easy accessibility to banking products and helped effortless banking transactions. Customer expediency was

further enhanced with launch of call center and phone banking services. All these aided banks to offer quick and transparent services.

The introduction of mobile banking primarily through SMS was a noteworthy milestone in Indian banking. The launch of smartphones created some kind of a revolution in the banking world. As the number of mobile phone users in India rapidly increases, banks are exploring the feasibility of using this omnipresent device as an alternative channel for delivery of full-scale banking services.

Key initiatives taken in mobile banking

The apex bank and NPCI are taking initiatives to develop solutions across the mobile banking space to reduce the burden on ATMs and other channels. Following are some initiatives taken:-

- IMPS – An emerging, convenient remittance system

An IMPS is a mobile based remittance system which is inter-bank in nature and is owned and operated by the National Payment Corporation of India (NPCI). IMPS facilitate access to bank accounts and transfer of funds through mobile phones. The system, launched in November 2010, provides real time transfer of funds between the customers of different banks on a 24x7 basis. In other words, funds can be transferred any time to the beneficiary who receives the funds instantaneously, and both the sender and receiver get the confirmation of debit and credit respectively.

- NUUP

National Unified USSD Platform (NUUP), launched by National Payments Corporation

of India (NPCI) and offered on a short code *99#, is a service which would take banking services to every common man in this country. The service was launched in November 2012. The service would allow every banking customer to access banking services with a single number across all banks – irrespective of the telecom service provider, mobile handset make or region.

- M-KCC- Mobile based Kisan Credit Card

The smart card linked, mobile based and Aadhaar enabled KCC, popularly known as m-KCC, was launched in July 2012 and is seen as an example of harnessing the latest technology for user friendly applications for Financial Inclusion of farmers.

A mobile linked Kisan Credit Card (m-KCC) was launched by NABARD on a pilot basis on October 2, 2011 in Villupuram district of Tamil Nadu for farmers having KCC accounts with the Pallavan Grama Bank (an RRB sponsored by the Indian Bank).

The m-KCC using mobile technology enables farmers to carry out purchase of agricultural inputs in cash-less manner. All transactions are carried out through mobile phones of farmers and vendors registered with the bank and the technical service provider (TSP). The transaction is performed through a combination of a secured SIM card and a PIN using an interactive voice recording/SMS system. This enables the farmers to buy agriculture inputs by initiating transactions through a mobile phone enabled system linked to the bank's CBS. NABARD is encouraging banks, particularly RRBs, to use this pilot for extending mobile based KCCs to farmers.

Banking Technology providers

Due to the complexities involved, most banks now prefer to engage IT vendors to introduce specialized softwares to help in their

risk management systems, retail and corporate banking, card management systems, complete back office support including data management systems.

Major Technology Vendors & Products

Vendor	Flagship products and applications
i-flex Solutions (Oracle Financial Services Software limited)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexcube- core banking solutions, retail, corporate, internet banking, investor servicing and asset management • Other offerings include Flexcube lending suite, Flexcube for Islamic banking, private banking • Reveleus- risk management solutions • Mantas- risk and compliance solutions
Infosys	Finacle- core banking solutions, e-banking, CRM, treasury, cash management, wealth management, Islamic banking etc
TCS	TCS BaNCS- suit of solutions covering banking, capital market and insurance firms 28.5
Nucleus software	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finnone- comprehensive suit of software for retail banking applications • Cash@will- cash management • TRADe facta- trade finance • BankOnet- internet banking • PowerCard- credit cards • FMS- fraud management system

Source: D&B Industry Research Service

Banking Technology and Regulatory process

Technology development in banking has regulatory implications for the stability of banks and of the economy. Some intuitive implications are as follows:

- o The widespread adoption of technology by the banking industry
- o The impact of technology on every single core banking function
 - i. Supervision and Regulation
 - ii. Currency Management
 - iii. Monetary & Financial Stability
- o The potential technology offers to banks for rendering more effective its internal processes and functions
- o Opened up new markets, products, services, delivery channels
- o Opened up a market for “risks” derivatives

- o Thrown up the challenge of financing tech firms & IT innovation
- o Provided regulators with the wherewithal to meet the challenge
- o Became the cornerstone of all structured financial sector reforms
- o Enabled the emergence of non-intrusive, focused supervision with a view to prevent frauds and disturbances to financial stability

Regulatory driven Currency Management is a formidable task in India given

- o The geographical size of the country
- o The volume and value of notes and coins in circulation
- o The marked preference for cash
- o Currency handling practices

Technology offers immense opportunities to improve performance. The proliferation of

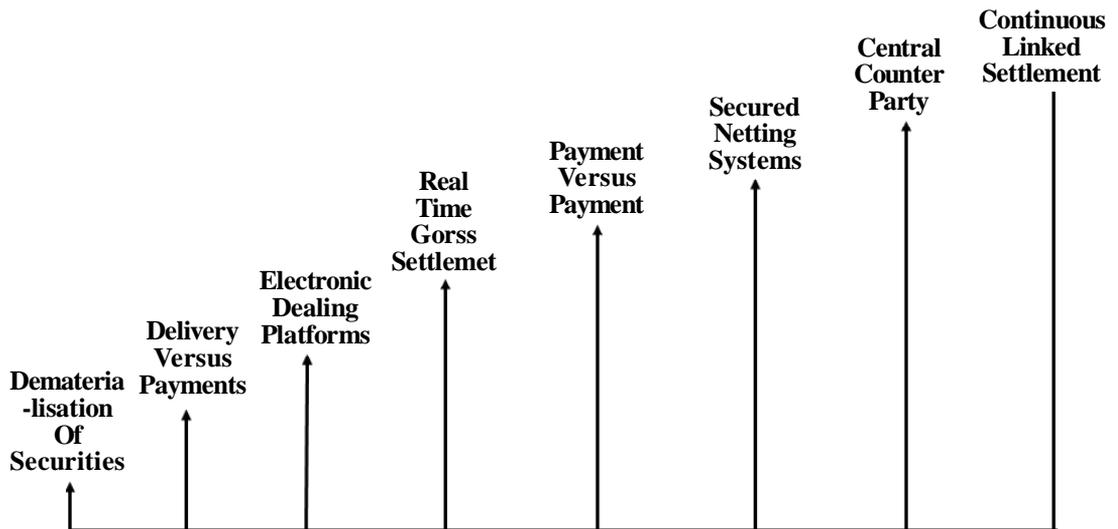
IT has following further regulatory implications:

- o Redefined the toolkit of economic indicators used in implementing monetary policy
- o Rendered more complex, the task of compiling statistical information
- o Rendered difficult the task of capturing the impact of IT on price levels
- o Raised issues in respect of the possible proliferation of digital money
- o Transformed the conduct of the payment and settlement system
- o Set the stage for an unprecedented growth in financial activity across the globe
- o Rendered more vulnerable the domestic payment system and financial stability to international “shocks”

IT proliferation makes the conduct of monetary policy more complex and prone to implementation and operational risks. But the proliferation of IT in banking has set the stage for improving and managing risks in payment systems like:

- o Electronic Trading Systems
- o DVP (Delivery versus payment)/PVP (Payment versus Payment)
- o RTGS (Real time gross settlement)
- o Secured Netting Systems
- o The growth of the Central Counterparty (CCP)
- o Continuous Linked Settlement

IT and Payment and Settlement Systems regulatory development is captured by following presentation:



CONCLUSION

Banking sector plays an important role in development of Indian economy. Hence banks need to optionally leverage technology to increase penetration, improve their productivity and efficiency, deliver cost-effective products and services, provide faster, efficient and convenient customer service and thereby, contribute to the overall growth and development of the country. Technology enables in easy and increased penetration into the banking system, enhances cost effectiveness, banking products and services affordable and makes small value transactions feasible. It simultaneously ensures viability and profitability of providers. Technology allows transactions to take place faster and offers unparallel convenience through various

delivery channels. Technology enhances choices, creates new markets, and improves productivity and efficiency.

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INDIA'S LOOK EAST POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH EASTERN INDIA –PRIORITIES AND PROSPECTS

Biswajit Mohapatra

ABSTRACT

India launched one of its major foreign policy initiative ,viz., Look East Policy,in the same year as the New Economic Reforms.The Look East Policy ,marked a watershed both in terms of a major shift in the context of India's foreign policy and also showed a new found confidence and determination of the country to be an important player in the fast changing economic, and strategic arena in its neighbourhood. Though it is largely regarded as an attempt at reviving India's many centuries old historical links,with the South East Asian Countries yet it had a significant aim to develop the much neglected North Eastern India too.But after two decades,it is pointed out that the neglect continues in the same way. In the light of the above mentioned concerns,this paper outlines the broader goals from a policy perspectives with deeper analytical insight and suggests necessary measures for fulfillment of the goals of this policy ,for the better interest of the region.

Key Words:India,North Eastern India, South East Asia,Look East Policy,Development

The North eastern region ,with its 99 per cent of the outer boundaries, sharing the borders with foreign countries is as such of very crucial and vital geographical importance as this part of the country ,was very rightly believed to play a very important role in the multiple aspects of security, trade, commerce and connectivity being planned under this new policy venture. As such connecting India to South East Asia through the North Eastern Region of India (NER) was a significant objective of this initiative. The North Eastern Region is an important focal point in many respects, which is closely intertwined with the achievement of many *Look East Policy* objectives.

Given the fact that the region's strategic location and untapped natural resources has promises for abundant economic growth for

the region and the country as a whole, the problem of insurgency and conflicts in the region were believed, can be overcome as the Look East Policy would make available various avenues for faster economic development for the people in the region. The development of India's Northeastern states and the need to curb insurgency activities along the border with Myanmar were accorded high priority with the strong belief that the economies of India, China and the ASEAN could be centered on the states of the region. This region retains a high prospect to play a contributory role in propelling the economies of the sub-continent and the ASEAN countries simultaneously.

For the Northeastern region, it can be said that the year 1991 truly is a memorable period as, along with the launching of New

Economic Reforms Policy, India also launched a major foreign policy initiative, viz., *Look East Policy*, which is regarded not only as a major shift in the context of India's foreign policy, since it demonstrated a kind of confidence never seen before and also strong determination of the country to play an important role befitting its image on the global stage. It was also evident that in the rapidly changing economic and strategic arena concerning the Asia and our own neighbourhood, India truly realized the opportunity of scaling up its economic growth as a whole and to develop a region which had been neglected heretofore besides strengthening its ties with the countries of South East Asian region.

While some commentators hailed it as a strategic shift, others chose to describe it as an attempt at reviving India's many centuries old historical links, which it shared with the South East Asian Countries, in the field of commerce, culture and communications. The present thaw in the bilateral relationship between India and China also acted as a booster for the SE Asian countries to warm up to India's overtures in this respect. Some have even gone very far to point out that the ASEAN member countries were the first to have realized the inherent economic gains that could accrue to them in this change of course of India's economic policies and the burgeoning size of the domestic market. While others have pointed out that this policy can be said to be primarily aimed at the need of balancing China's fast growing expansion along with kick starting India's economic

engagement in Southeast Asia, it also addresses its domestic concerns in the north eastern region.

Be that as it may, it's a matter of deep concern that even after more than two decades of the launching of this policy, the region is yet to get over the age old syndrome of continued neglect of the region and also lack of any visible economic development in the area.

The Look East Policy at the time of its launch had raised high hopes of fast economic development and alleviation of poverty amongst the people in the region because of the potentialities which were hidden behind such initiative. In this context, it was thought that with the gradual implementation of the Look East Policy, some of India's biggest challenges and the region's development obstacles, e.g., the outstanding political issues concerning insurgency and statehood, lack of political stability and high degree of unemployment in the region can be overcome. Therefore the major challenge that faces the policy makers and the political establishment today is how can India confront these challenges and realize the available opportunities of creating an environment congenial for infrastructure development and investments to enable the region to facilitate international trade and commerce between India and the ASEAN countries and which would no more downgrade the importance of the North-east as a development region and also combine the potential of the region along with the national support in the realization of India's Look East policy.

North Eastern Region & South East Asia - Expanding opportunities for regional integration through intra-regional trade

This region Northeast India, the easternmost region of India is connected to eastern India via a narrow corridor, in the midst of Nepal and Bangladesh. The Siliguri Corridor located in West Bengal, with an average width of 21 km to 40 km, serves as the connecting link, linking the North Eastern region with the mainland Indian sub-continent. Almost about 90 per cent of its entire border area of this region ,i.e., about 4500 kilometers of international border is shared with China in the northern part, Myanmar in the east, Bangladesh in the southwest, and Bhutan in the northwest.

“South East Asia is one of the fastest growing regions in the world today and enjoys the enviable reputation of being business and investment friendly while the north eastern has the potential to emerge as a strategic base for foreign and domestic investors, given the calmness that has been restored in the both political and societal terms. Some of the sectors which offer very strong opportunities for mutual cooperation have been identified as, infrastructure, energy, oil and gas, mining, manufacturing, agriculture and agro-processing, healthcare, information and communication technologies and hospitality, which enjoy a strong demand both within the region ,sub-region and also worldwide.

“We see our partnership with ASEAN not merely as a reaffirmation of ties with neighbouring countries or as an instrument of economic development, but also as an integral part of our vision of a stable, secure and

prosperous Asia and its surrounding Indian Ocean and Pacific regions.”¹

“While each one of us has a unique and rich heritage, there are abiding linkages of culture and custom, of art and religion and of civilization, all of which create a sense of unity in the diversity and pluralism in our region. In addition, given that together we constitute a community of 1.8 billion people, representing one-fourth of humanity, with a combined GDP of 3.8 trillion U.S. dollars, it is only natural that India should attach the highest priority to its relationship with ASEAN.”²

“In addition, given that together we constitute a community of 1.8 billion people, representing one-fourth of humanity, with a combined GDP of 3.8 trillion U.S. dollars, it is only natural that India should attach the highest priority to its relationship with ASEAN. We see our partnership with ASEAN not merely as a reaffirmation of ties with neighbouring countries or as an instrument of economic development, but also as an integral part of our vision of a stable, secure and prosperous Asia and its surrounding Indian Ocean and Pacific regions.”³

Through the look East Policy, the ASEAN member states of the South East Asia region can tap the vast potential of contiguous markets of Myanmar, China, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Indonesia and other East and South East Asian countries which constitute almost half of the world’s population,”

In the recent past, India and ASEAN economies have successfully been able to withstand the global economic crisis relatively well .The India-ASEAN bilateral trade also

have grown by over 10 times in the last decade. The reason being the ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement in Goods has contributed to increased trade between India and ASEAN. The free trade agreement in services and investment, when finalized, will surely then give a boost to trade and services and facilitate movement of professionals across the region benefitting population on either side of the borders.

The launch of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) negotiations between ASEAN and its six free-trade partners, including India, will culminate in the formation of the largest free trade zone that will bring enormous benefit to the peoples of our region. With the opening up of the border points at Moreh, Sutarkandi, Mankachar and Dawki, for bilateral trade and commerce, there is every possibility that trade can receive a boost if proper policies are laid down to take advantage of the rapidly changing development scenario. Further with Assam's internal waterways network connected Bangladesh which gives it access to the ports of Chittagong, Kolkata and Haldia, both the land and water routes are now readily available to investors for re-export to East and South East Asia. And not to speak of the region's immediate proximity to certain member countries of SAARC, like Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan, which also will help the foreign investors to take advantage of the expanding opportunities for regional integration through intra-regional trade under SAARC Preferential Trading Agreement (SAPTA).

Look East Policy –Phase Two

The pursuit of physical connectivity to Southeast Asia received added importance under the phase two of India's Look East policy. With fast realization amongst the policy makers that the region is an integral part of India's extended neighbourhood, improved trade with Southeast Asia received its much deserved attention. With this establishment of air and land links to East and Southeast Asia also has been given due priority in the phase two of the policy. As immediately after the 1997 financial crisis, the Phase two of Look East Policy was launched, it has focused upon building up 'arrangements for Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and establishment of institutional linkages between the countries of the region and India. This second part is more significant as within the context of Look East Policy, India has also developed closer relations with CLMB countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Brunei) by November 2000. It's seen that India's relations with the countries of Southeast Asia greatly got strengthened especially after President Clinton's visit to the region in 2000, which also had brought about dramatic improvement in the Indo-US ties. India also took the lead for the institution of the India-ASEAN Summit two years after, i.e., in 2004. In a significant move, India is now engaged actively in building transport corridors to the region, which inter alia, included the trilateral highway project involving Myanmar and Thailand and the proposed rail link between New Delhi and Hanoi, which is being hailed as a part of its new road diplomacy.

It is true that the Look East policy in phase two has the potential to enable India to break out of the political confines of the subcontinent, which had severely restrained India's grand strategic options. The Look East policy allowed India as such to transcend the existing political barriers between the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asian region. As an added incentive, a new economic grouping called BIMSTEC, was formed bringing together the five nations of the Subcontinent (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka) together with two countries from Southeast Asia, Myanmar and Thailand, with the sole aim of promoting regional cooperation amongst them, helping both India and other SAARC countries to engage in economic cooperation in the subcontinent, which they had been deprived of so far despite their collective need and recognized potential for rapid economic growth.

The Future Ahead

India's keenness to expand its free trade initiative to countries outside the SAARC region and having almost decided to sign FTA with Thailand as the India-Thailand FTA talks is on final stage of conclusion, it is likely to facilitate Indian access to the Indo-China region through the North Eastern part and enable India to become a partner in the Greater Mekong Sub region initiative as well as the rapidly growing ASEAN region, passing on great economic benefits to this region.

Since 1995, India has made consistent attempts to improve its political and economic ties with the military regime in Myanmar. The Indo-Myanmar border trade, which was

inaugurated in April 1995 with the opening of the border trade along the Tamu (Myanmar)-Moreh (Manipur) sector have got the much needed boost with the recent opening of more trading routes, especially at Longwa, Rih and Pangsau Pass, which holds the promise of not only more trade but also encouraging youths in the region to involve themselves in multifarious economic activities. Besides a developed trade across Indo-Myanmar border will be of advantage also in terms of reduced costs for the businesses while accessing the market of South East and even East Asian countries. As there lies big potential, the trade through the Manipur-Myanmar route will certainly pick up and will have strong impact on the regional economy.

Further as the process of negotiating similar agreements with Singapore and Malaysia is also nearing finalization, the expected dramatic expansion of India's trade and economic ties with these countries is full of so much potential that the trade would become broad based and also across the cultures. If so far the North Eastern region has not become so much a part of India's trade expansion strategy with eastern neighbours, it's solely for the reason that the physical infrastructure which is required to facilitate trade and smoothen the economic links between the North East and the neighbouring countries is largely absent. With reports of infrastructure bottlenecks and delays at border points, which add substantially to the transaction cost of goods likely to be exported in international trade, the North Eastern region has remained out of India's expanding of trade strategy with the eastern

neighbours. So far the region presented a picture of ports of transit available but with borders for conduct of trade closed.

With substantial investments being made by the Union Government in infrastructure, construction of highways and bridges, re-establishment of rail links and communication facilities, it's expected that the multiple transit arrangements, proliferation of trade routes and custom check post, would make it easy for the businesses to push their exports rather faster from within the region. In this context the North Eastern states stand to gain heavily if they also reorient their industrial and economic policies to encourage production of high standard goods by facilitating setting up of world class infrastructure to help the business and private entrepreneurs to tap these neighbouring markets across the border rather than remain mere bystander to the emerging economic scenario. Any such attempt to integrate the North Eastern region with the national trade expansion strategy can ensure innumerable possibilities of economic transformation of the region. This will also result in the end of isolation of the North Eastern part and open up the region to the neighbouring countries, which probably will be the biggest ever achievement of our government as also people in the region will gain in material sense in terms of their increased prosperity from the policy initiative, i.e., India's Look East policy.

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A STUDY OF VYUHAS AS DESCRIBED IN VIRASARVASVAM

Manugayatri Rath

In the ancient system of warfare, the battle order otherwise known as *vyuha* constituted a major strategy to win over the enemy in the battle field. So, it has been given utmost importance by the authorities of ancient treatises when two hostile armies faced each other and conflict was eminent. The Sanskrit term which stood for battle order, array and formation was *vyuha*.¹ To begin with, the battle arrays seem to have been simple and consisted of only *paksau* (wings), *urasyam* (vanguard) and *pratigraha* (rear-guard).² With the passage of time, battle arrays came to acquire seven fold dimension viz., wings, flanks, vanguard, centre (*Madhya*), rear-centre (*prastha*) and *koti*.³ Somesvara improved upon the system of deployment and made it nine-fold viz. *mukham*, *uras*, *praurasyam*, *pratigraha*, *kaksau*, *prakaksau*, *paksau*, *prapaksa* and *prasthana*.⁴ In a developed form, this order consisted of seven divisions, viz. Wings, flanks, vanguard, centre, rear centre, rear guard and *koti*. The soldiers were organized in various battle formations as per orders of the commander in the field. The character of *vyuhas* adopted by a commander depended on various considerations, i.e., composition of forces at his disposal, character of the theatre of operations, strength and nature of the enemy's battle order, etc. A large varieties of such battle orders envisaged in the Mahabharat wars.

In this background *Virasarvasvam*, a military treatise of the 18th century composed by Gopinath Chamupati Singh, the king of Tigris Garjat of Orissa, gives a long list of such *vyuhas* which were practiced by ancient and medieval rulers of Orissa. The text *Virasarvasvam* is an unpublished palm leaf manuscript written by Gopinath Chamupati Singh otherwise known as Gopinath Tunga. The *vyuhas* mentioned in the *Virasarvasvam* are *sarvatobhadra vyuha*, *karkata vyuha*, *saravatomukha vyuha*, *srunga vyuha*, *ardhavartaka vyuha*, *vajra vyuha*, *churika vyuha*, *kakapada vyuha*, *gomutrika vyuha*, *ahi sanchari vyuha*, *makara vyuha*, *kukhi vyuha*, *musika vyuha*, *valava vyuha*, *garura vyuha*, *bhusanga vyuha*, *padma vyuha*, *suchi vyuha*, *sakata vyuha*, *syena vyuha*, *jalandhar vyuha*, *padma vyuha*, *valaka vyuha*, *kaka vyuha*, *kraunch vyuha*, *simha vyuha*, *varaha vyuha*, *puskarini vyuha*, *Agni vyuha*, and *chakra vyuha*. The nature of the battle order adopted by a commander depended on various considerations i.e. composition of force at his disposal, character of the theatre of operations, strength and character of the enemies battle order etc.

The Vaddhaki-Sukara-Jataka propounds only three broad classifications of deployment for battle viz., the lotus array, the wagon array and wheel array. 'Wagon' was a 'Wedge-shaped phalanx'. The lotus is 'equally

extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the king.’ The ‘wheel’ is self explanatory.⁵ Battle arrays have been classified in several broad categories viz., Staff-like arrays⁶, Snake-like array⁷, Circle like array⁸ and Detached order⁹.

Although no details of vyuhas are available, they are frequently mentioned in the contemporary chronicles of the period. “The lord (Prithiraja) arranged his army in the form of a crescent(*chandrayuha*).....”¹⁰ According another version Rawal Ji, a general of Prithiviraja deployed his forces in a “vulture like array’ (*Gridha vyuha*). In this scheme Baibhadra Kachchawaha was posted along with troops on one wing, on the other wing was Jayaraja Yadav; Pavas Pundir’s forces formed the neck and beak of the bird which was right opposite the enemy’s front; the torso and the feet were formed by Samarkesari; at the tail was Maru. Prithiviraja was himself somewhere on the left wing of the *Vyuha* before the commencement of the fateful action.¹¹

We find that Kautilya had a very rational approach to this subject. He broadly divided the battle order under four main categories, i.e *Danda* (staff), *Bhoga* (snake) *Mandala* (circle) and *Asamahata* (detached order). Each of these again subdivided into several divisions. The *Danda* comprised seventeen, the *Bhoga* five, the *Mandala* two and the *Asamahata* six varieties of arrays. The array in which chariots from the front, the elephants, the wings and horses, the rear is called *arista*,

that in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other is called *Achala*, that in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand in order one behind the other is known as *Aparihita*. When again the wings were occupied by elephants, the flanks by horses and the front by war cars, it was called a *Chakra* (Wheel) array. When the front was occupied by elephants, the flanks by chariots and wings by horses, it is known as *Madhy-bhedi array*. There was also what has been described as an *Antarbhedi array*. In this scheme the flanks are occupied by elephants, the wings by chariots and the front by cavalry.¹²

The following are some of the vyuhas or battle orders mentioned in the Virasarvasvam.

Sarvatomukha vyuha

This formation afforded visibility on all sides, enabled control and had sufficient depths. This formation was aggressive in nature and at the same time could effectively tackle enemy attack by the enemy from any side. This formation however, to be really effective needed a large number of soldiers and commanders.

Vajra vyuha.

This *vyuha* was like a *Vajra* in outline. Originally this *vyuha* was designed by Indra, the king of Gods. The formation allowed clear visibility and consolidations of strength. Flanks were less extended in comparison to the *Sarvatomukha vyuha* while the rear was kept ready with the columns of elephant forces.

Garuda vyuha

Garuda was the king of birds; it was big and very strong with large wings and curved beak. In this formation we find a prolonged centre with beaks, two slightly curved wings and a massive central body having troops well formed on sides, a protected tail, i.e. the rear. Though the defence of the formation was well secured, it could also launch a strong attack by the curved wings and well-developed beaked head.

Ardhachandra vyuha

In this formation the soldiers of the front line or coming through the front line could fight. This formation was able to resist the enveloping of the enemy and afforded good reservation, but its depth was not thick and lacked reserve force at the centre. Thus it was not suitable for prolonged fight.

Makara vyuha

According to Manu, this formation should be adopted while enemy attacks are apprehended from one flank or on both the flanks at a time, but Kautilya says this formation should be adopted to fight the frontal attack of the enemy. The formation of this *vyuha* had small frontage though strongly built, and vertically elongated and well guarded flanks. Thus, it appears to be both offensive and defensive formation in attack, it can pierce through the enemy front line while making narrower target for the enemy and can also defend itself if attacked from the sides.

Mandala vyuha

The term *Mandala vyuha* refers to a class of formation and not to any particular type. The name and description signifies that it was a circular formation adopted to encircle the enemy. Kautilya also confirms that with this formation, the enemy can be attacked from all sides.

Sarvatobhadra vyuha

This is a type of *mandala vyuha* and is described in the Mahabharata as *Mahavyuha*, meaning a great and dangerous formation.

Chakra vyuha

It appears to be another variety of *mandala vyuha* where the fighting troops of the own army were protected by an impenetrable outer mantle of great defenders. The fighting troops formed the inner core and could attack the enemy from there without any hindrance.

To fight this *vyuha*, the enemy had to enter into the core of the circle by piercing or breaking in the outer mantle of defenders. But even after his entrance into the core, the outer circle might close again. Therefore, the enemy has to fight to enter, and then he has to fight with the attacking elements of the opponent who incidentally being protected on all sides can converge on the intruder within the core. This phase may probably be compared with dog fight stage of the present day close quarter battle. Ultimately the intruder should make his escape route through the protective outer circle of the enemy. Thus, fighting in the *Chakra vyuha* becomes extremely difficult.

Sakata vyuha

This is “T” shaped formation consisting of mainly two wings—Right, left and two columns at right angle to the wings forming central axis.

Chakrasakata vyuha

The interior part of the formation was like that of the *sakata vyuha*, but the posterior part was like a *chakra vyuha* but not a pure one. The *chakra vyuha* was also modified like a lotus. The morphology of the plan was more or less like that of a litho cyst with the cyst extended horizontally. It was considered impenetrable.

Kraunch vyuha

This *vyuha* consists of a prolonged central column at the interior side; two wings curved forward a medium sized body, two small legs projected towards the posterior side and a small bulged portion at the juncture of the legs with body. This formation is very aggressive, having most of the soldiers in the front. While the prolonged and beaked central column can pierce through the centre of the enemy, the wings can simultaneously close up the flanks. The formation affords good visibility, command and control to the *senapati*, who normally stays at the head of the formation. The wing commander also can play effective role. This formation is useful in defense too as it provides for all round defence.

Syena vyuha.

This is a slight modification of *Kraunch vyuha* though basically similar. Its neck is

short and thick, wings are less extended but wider and more or less at right angles to the head and body. The body with the tail is comparatively longer. In this formation the soldiers can be deployed in a more consolidated way. Thus, it is stronger in defence but can launch hard attack with strength.

Sringata vyuha.

This is also generally ‘T’ shaped formation where the arms are presumably projected at acute angles like horns from the small head. The body, i.e. the central column, is long and it has two small flanks at the rear.

So, these were some of the instances of different *vyuhas* mentioned in the *Virasarvasvam*.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the strategic arrangement of fighters and weapons is known as battle array. The *vyuhas* mentioned above in the *Virasarvasvam* are powerful and it was very much difficult on the part of the enemy side to penetrate into those *vyuhas* or battle arrays to fight against the counterpart. Sometimes if the enemy side could penetrate into the *vyuhas*, it became very difficult for the enemy to come out from the *vyuhas* again. This happened when Abhimanyu in case of Kurukshetra war. Although, Abhimanyu could enter into the Kauravas side by crossing the *Chakra vyuha*, but could not come out of that and ultimately killed by the *Saptarathis* of Mahabharat. In fine, the *Virasarvasvam* gives

a lot of information regarding war and its related aspects which is a great contribution to the military history of Odisha and India as well.

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HERITAGE OF PRACHI VALLEY - A STUDY OF SCULPTURAL ART

Chittaranjan Sahoo

The river Prachi originated from the Mahanadi at Dakamba near Naraj. It comes under a complicated drainage system with several channels emerging out of it before it finally discharged into the Bay of Bengal. From Naraj to Phulnakhara though the course of Prachi is extinct still then the traces are visible during the rainy season. River Kuakhai branched off from the Kathajodi 5 km downstream of Cuttack near the village Kanjipatna and joined with the Prachi at Phulnakhara. To the south of Kuakhai from Phulnakhara up to Binzarpur, the Prachi is known as Gambhariganda. The river Prachi at present exists over a 60 km in length with a catchments area of around 600 sq. km is also locally called as '*Patharabuha nadi*' which reminds the incidence of carrying stones for various monuments in the valley. Unlike most other rivers of Odisha, the river Prachi finds its reference in numerable ancient texts. The texts like *Markandeya Purana*, the *Kapila Samhita*, the *Prachi Mahatmya* both Sanskrit and Odia text, the Odia *Mahabharata*, the *Sunya Samhita*, the *Gyana Kosa*, the *Shamba Purana*, the *Brahma Purana*, the *Skanda Purana*, the *Niladri Mahodaya*, the *Padma Purana-Uttarakhanda* and *Srustikhanda*, the *Agni Purana*, and in the local legends talk at length about the importance of the Prachi¹.

All the rivers connected with Prachi system are vitally important as it bears the archaeological potentiality right from the 3rd

century B.C². It is presumed from the present statistics that in the Prachi valley there are more than 700 villages, 50 *patanas*, 35 forts (*garhs*), which witnesses the maritime trade during the early medieval period. Hundreds of prominent *mathas*³ and temples of different sectarian beliefs indicate the religious coexistence in the past. The *Dwadasa Sambhus* and *Dwadasa Madhavas* at the sacred *tirthas*, paved the path for the growth and development of Saivite and Vaisnavite assimilation and enhanced the sacredness of the Prachi-Saraswati which is a rare phenomenon in Odisha.

Though Odisha is a holy place of Hindus for the last two thousand years and Puri became the centre of all the religions where the royal patronage were provided for the spiritual assimilation. The realm of Lord Jagannath flourished in the Prachi valley as associated with the Lord by the establishment of his uncle's house with the Madhava temple at Niali, worshiped in the magnificent Visnu temple built during the Ganga period in connection with *Daru* collection for the Navakalevara rituals of Lord Jagannath with goddess Mangala of Kakatpur. Mangala, the prominent Sakta deity in the valley, proves the historical importance of the Prachi river system.

One is amazed at the sight of the sculptural treasure found in the valley lying in various stages of preservation, be it in the monument itself or as loose and detached

sculptures enshrined under a tree or a thatched shrine. An attempt is made in this paper to highlight some of these priceless sculptural wonders.

Jaina Art:

Jainism in the Prachi valley seems to have flourished a longer period of time. A survey in the Prachi valley reveals that Jainism flourished simultaneously with Buddhism, Saivism, Vaisnaism, and Saktism. A number of Jaina relics are laying scattered in various parts of the present study area, and in some places they are kept in the Siva temple premises. However, the Jaina images cannot be connected with the dating of the temples where they are found. Now, few images are preserved in the Odisha State Museum and Indian Museum, Kolkata. The Jaina Tirthankara images found in the valley are of two types i.e. one in *kayotsarga* pose and the other sitting in cross legged position.

The scattered Jaina images and the lone temple dedicated for *Sasanadevi* Padmavati located in Kenduvilwa revealed that Jainism was flourished in the Prachi valley right from early medieval period⁴. The Risabhanatha and Parsvanatha images outnumber the other *Tirthankara* images of the Jaina order. The ears and legs of the Tirthankara images are unnaturally long and the head adorned with umbrella protecting the divinity. Some also appear on a double petalled lotus pedestal. When the cognizance symbol is absent, the Tirthankara images stand in a row and they can commonly be distinguished by their hair style. Apart from the *lanchna* bull, the post-Gupta images are also distinguished by the drum players, elephant, dharma- charka, lion

etc. But in the Prachi valley *dharma charka* symbols are conspicuously absent.

Though one sandstone image of seven Tirthankaras in a row with Sasana Devi was found at Betenda in the Prachi valley but presently the image is lost. But the khandolite image of Rishavanath is found at Betenda, worshiped in the name of Rishi Thakurani and also at Kenduvilva by the name of Varunei Thakurani. But the unique chlorite image of Rishavanath in the Gramesvara temple of Nibharana (**Fig.1**) is in the best state of preservation and worshiped as Kamadeva Visnu. The Yakshya-yakshini chlorite image in the Gramesvara temple at Lataharana, the guardian deity of wealth is also in the good state of preservation.



Figure 1- Rishavanath, Gramesvrara temple

The chlorite image of Ambika (**Fig.2**) and Yajnesvari at Kenduvilva, artistically best preserved with the cognizance symbol of one small lion at the left lower corner of the pedestal. But the chlorite image of Rishavanath chiseled out in *kayotsarga* pose as the *mulanayaka*, depicted with twenty-fourth Tirthankras in the front wall of Swapnesvara temple at Adaspur. The

Astagraharchita Rishavanath, chlorite image in *kayotsarga* pose found with the Nilakanthesvara temple of Adaspur where the eight divinities seated on the double petalled lotus pedestal, the tri-linear umbrella, close cropped hair style with *makara torana* arch and the musicians, worshipers at the pedestal are beautifully carved. It is identified with the last Tirthankara Mahavira, which the Jaina sculpture appears in Orissa. The Astagraharchita Rishavanath of Anlo at the Shoalpuamaa Thakurani shed is well preserved.



Figure 2- Ambika, Kenduvilva

The goddess Bhagavati of Jihola, near Astaranga is a unique image of Laxmi with Jaina affiliation, also called Jaina Laxmi. The Chabisakuda, the common place of worship in the *sarakas* near Banamalipur surrounded by fifteen *patanas* commemorate the twenty-fourth Tirthankara of Jaina pantheons.

Vaisnava Art:

The Madhava worship started during the reign of Madhavaraja of Sailodbhava⁵ dynasty during seventh century at Kangodamandal, Paramavaisnava Ramaka Satrubhanjadeva Trivuvana Kalasa of Dasapala in 812 AD. The Sanakshemundi copper plate of Indravarmadeva of Ganga dynasty established the twin temple Lokamadhava and Swayambhuva Siva in the Svataka Rajya at Relibalisa village. The pillar inscription of Chodagangadeva in Vijayanagar taluka of Srikakulam district as Chodaganga himself declared as Madhava during 1153 and 1183 A.D. The twin temple at Gandharadi, Nilamadhava and Sidhesvara stands on the bank of Mahanadi in ninth century A.D. and latterly the Nilamadhava and Sidhesvara twin temple at Kantilo by the Somavamsis.

The later Bhaumakara kings and queens inclined towards Vaisnavism, known from the Anantasayana Visnu image found at the Saranga and Bhimkund in Angul district. The Somavamsis related with the Bhaumakaras by the matrimonial alliance and accepted the same social system and spiritual belief. The Somavamsis and the Gangas were Paramamahesvara but Vaisnavism developed during their reign side by side with Saktism and Jainism. Somavamsis king Yajati-I and Anantavarman Chodagangadeva of Ganga dynasty were Paramamaheswar with their occupation of costal Odisha but the later built the magnificent shrine of Lord Jagannatha at Puri. But the Madhava cult flourished during the Bhaumakaras is evident from the Madhava images of different forms and sculptural innovation with fine artistic workmanship.

Different sizes of Madhava images with peculiar names such as Keshava, Prachi Madhava, Janjali Madhava, Durga Madhava, Lalita Madhava, Madhavananda, Gadadhara Madhava, Ananta Madhava, Nila Madhava and Mudgala Madhava or Biranchi Madhava are found from various places of the valley but their exact finding spot is not mentioned in *Prachi Mahatmya*. Kaviraj Jayadeva of twelfth century A.D. has described the name of twelve Madhavas in the twelve cantos of Sri Geeta Govindam honoring the cultural tradition of the Prachi valley⁶.

Sakta Art:

Saktism flourished as a separate cult among the tribal people before it was corporate into the fold of Saivism. But the mother goddesses were worshiped during the Harappan period dated back to 3rd millennium B.C. The *Guhya Samaja tantra* composed some times in the 3rd Century A.D. introduced Sakti in a novel form. This concept of the sacred union between the male and the female principles the world was appropriated by the Saivites, out of which grew the concept of Hara-Parvati or Ardha-Narisvara worship. This form of worship together with the common worship of female divinities was forged ahead during the Somavamsi rule with a view to become more popular. Innumerable Hara-Parvati images of the Prachi valley are the product of Somavamsi period. During that time many shrines and images were carved to forge the Sakti worship. Quite a large number of Chamunda and the Sapta Matrika images were also made during this period. These images were carved under the royal patronage, though the temples are vanished or in a dilapidated condition. The Chandi

temple of Kenduli, twelve-armed Durga image of Amanakunda Garh, Chandi temple of Narisho, Marichi temple of Tolagopinathpur, Chandi temple of Viligram, Harachandi temple of Bisimatri, Dugra temple of Adaspur, Motian, Ambapara, Bharadapatana, Nibharana, and the Chandi temple of Kakatapur and Chitresvari. But curiously all the images decorated with a *champaka* garland, proves the Vaisnavite affiliation offered with an item of green leaves called as *koshala* saga or *leutia* saga.

The Prachi Valley witnesses innumerable Durga images both large and small which indicates the iconographic importance of two-armed Durga. The two-armed Durga image of Viraja goes back to the Gupta period having no mount and similar two handed Durga images are also found from the Prachi valley though in a later date. Similar iconographic features image was carved on the outer wall of the Buddhanath temple of Garede Panchana in Balipatana found within the ruins of a Buddhist site in the adjacent area.

The four-armed images of Durga in the valley are of two kinds, one, the demon has human body with buffalo head having no mount is evident from the Durga image of Tulasipur. Such types of images are also found at Tentuligan, Bhilligram etc. The other types with mount lion, holding the trident in lower two hands that pierce the chest of the demon, with human head and holds conch and disc with the upper two hands called as Durga-Madhava. But the brass and bronze images of four-armed Durga, worshiped in the *garhs* are called Kanaka Durga and offered with non-vegetarian offerings. The six-armed Durga images are rare but are seen at

Astaranga and Purnesvara temple at Bhillideuli.

The eight-armed Durga images are innumerable in the Prachi valley. The Durga Thakurani of Daruthenga-Tampala, Tulasipur, Balabhadrapur, Astaranga-Jahania are the best examples in this category. These are the fine products and attributed with *khadga*, trident, wheel, arrow in right hands and battle-axe, a bow, a shield and snake in left hands. The sandstone image of eight-armed Durga image as the side deity in the Pravati temple at Nibharana is remarkable.

But the unique and magnificent ten-armed Durga image of the valley are nearly twenty in numbers and usually carry a *khadga*, trident, a wheel, an arrow and a goat in right hands and battle-axe, bow, shield, snake and bell in the left hands. But the only one twelve-armed Durga image, Barabhuji Thakurani at Kuda Atana at Amanakunda Garh, honored as the presiding deity in the Prachi valley⁷.

The Chamunda images of the valley are famous for their excellent iconography and at present in the temples and sculpture sheds. Balarama Dasa's "*Bata Avakasha*" thrown light on goddess Sadanga, famous in the locality, seven miles from Kakatpur this is an eight-armed image of Chamunda⁸. But the *Prachi Mahatmya* describes goddess Katyayani an eighteen-armed Chamunda at Niali. Only one two-armed Chamunda is found with the Varaha-Nrusingha temple at Adaspur, a rare phenomenon of the valley. The four-armed Chamunda images are seen at Motian-Durga temple, Pitapada, Gramesvara temple of Lataharana. The six-armed Chamunda

images are traced at Sanahuli-Tulasipur, Kapilesvara-Bhilligram. The eight-handed Chamunda images are seen in Somesvara temple Kakatapur, Mangala temple, Chamunda of Amaresvara. But the ten-armed Chamunda worshiped as goddess Jagulei at Chaurasi (Fig.3) is in the best preserved image affiliated with Buddhist pantheon.



Figure 3- Chamunda, Chaurasi

Iconographically when the Chamunda is two-armed identified as *kshyama*, when four-handed as Rudra Bhairavi when six-handed as Rudra Charchika, when honoured eight hand as Rudra Chamunda and when ten handed she is honored as Siddha Chamunda.

The *Guhya Samaja Tantra* of third century A.D. introduced Sakti in a novel form as is said that Lord Budha Manifest himself in the form of five-Dhyani Buddhas, who are associated with their respective *saktis*. The sacred union between Buddha and the Sakti brings the supreme enlightenment, which has been described in the tantric literature of Buddhism. The Avalokitesvara image at

Kenduvilva, the Dakshinesvara temple of Bagalpur, Betinda, Kuruma are made of sandstone and khandolite. But the important deities like Marichi, Nairatma of Tiruna, Marichi at Betenda, Astaranga, Konark-Ramachandi, Narayani of Ambiligan, an *astabhuj*a Karukala, the Budhi Thakurani of Binishpur of Ratnasambhava kula are the important images of Buddhist pantheon of the early-medieval Period, indicates the influence of Buddhism in the Prachi valley in the long past. Innumerable sandstone image of Buddha are worshiped as the village deity in and around the valley.

Apart from the above Prachi valley is also famous for the worship of Varahi (one of the Saptamatrka) cult at Chaurasi. The Varahi temple was constructed towards the first part of 10th century A.D. which is a typical example of *khakhara* order like Vaital temple in Bhubaneswar exclusively meant for the sakta divinities. The deity is seated in *lalitasana* pose over a buffalo and holds blood pot in the left hand and fish in the right (**Fig.4**).



Figure 4-presiding deity, Varahi temple, Chaurasi

Saiva Art:

Before the Madhava worship Saivism was present in the Prachi Valley. Most of the villages are seen with one or more Saiva *pithas*. These temples are facing towards the east, west, south and north like the Bhubaneswar group of temples. Out of many Sobhanesvara temple at Niali and Angesvara Mahadeva temple at Pitapada are famous for their excellent workmanship. Different types of Bhairava images are traced out in the valley are also remarkable. Similarly two-armed and four-armed Parvati images are carved as the side deities. There are instances of Parvati is replaced by Durga images but called as Parvati by the local people. Many places also followed the twin temple traditions but in the Prachi valley is famous for the Hari-Hara worship and the *Prachi Mahatmya* describe the famous *dvadasa* Sambhu and twelve Madhavas on the bank of the sacred river Prachi.

This indicate that the Prachi valley commemorates the Saiva, Sakta, Tantra, and Madhava worship along with Buddhism and Jainism in a parallel way right from the early-medieval period to 14th-15th century A.D. In this region one can study about the innovation of artist's sculptural style in relation to ornamentation, hair style, attributes held by the deities and the syncretized cult images which are the rare phenomenon in Odisha. Hence more and more research is required in order to find out the peculiar features of the rare images of Prachi valley after examining with the Silpa text, whether the artists in this region followed the guidelines of sacred texts or not.

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GROWTH OF PRESS AND JOURNALISM IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ODISHA AND IT'S ROLE IN MAKING ODISHA A SEPARATE PROVINCE

Krushna Chandra Das

Growth of press and journalism is a significant aspect of modernity. This paper attempts to trace the growth of press and journalism from the 19th century to the birth of a separate province of Odisha during the British Rule. The Great Famine of 1866 (or the *Naanka Durvikhya*) was a dividing line in the history of Odisha. The untold miseries that the people of Odisha had faced under double colonization i.e. of the British and the predominant Bengali bureaucracy created a new awakening which ultimately culminated in the movement for a separate province of Odisha based on its linguistic identity and freedom struggle of India becoming active in Odisha. In this saga growth of press and journalism had a vital role. ¹

Even though the Christian Missionaries introduced modern technique of printing press, hand written newspaper was already inaugurated in Odisha long before the coming of these missionaries. This newspaper named *Kujibur* edited by Sadhu Sundar Das was printed in the early part of the nineteenth century. He was the founder and editor of this journal long before the first publication of the *Utkal Dipika* in 1866 by Gouri Shankar Roy, who is generally regarded as the father of journalism in Odisha. *Kujibur* was not published and printed by modern technology. A revolutionary in spirit, the sage Sadhu Sundar Das was also a social reformer. He drew the attention

of many Christian Missionaries towards him by his powerful personality and knowledge. Rev. A. Suttan visited Kujibar Math in 1822 and was very much impressed by the place and personality of Sadhu Sundar Das² He had more than five hundred disciples and taught them vedantic knowledge which attracted John Brown Mayris, the Secretary of the Baptist Mission of London . He held Sadhu Sundar Das as the living God, spiritual leader and mentor in his centenary book *A Book from 1792-1892*.³

Sadhu Sundar Das founded the *Kujibar* journal with Gangadhar Sarangi and Rama Chandra Jachak two of his most obedient disciples as the Assistant Editors of the journal. He used to write on palm leaves.⁴ He touched upon the political condition, religion, social reform, educational progress, industry, agriculture, health trade and commerce, music and dance, culture and philosophy. Reasons responsible for the decadence of the society were also discussed in his journal.⁵

Sadhu Sundar Das, through his journal induced the kings to open Vedantic schools and criticized the wasteful expenditures incurred by them in unnecessary warfares. But this Magazine was not regularly published. Sometimes it was brought out as a weekly or quarterly or daily. In 1827, one of his manuscripts was translated into English

and was published in the *Kujibur*. The Christian Missionaries also translated some topics of this journal into English and sent them to Britain where these were published in the Baptist journal. Further, these were also sent to the kings and distributed among the people who gathered at different fairs and festivals.⁶

Sadhu Sundar Das for the first time realized the necessity of an Oriya newspaper in Odisha. Accordingly to Leccey, a Missionary, he died on 16th April, 1838.⁷ A contemporary of Raja Rammohan Roy, Sadhu Sundar Das provided a proper direction to Odisha which was replete with superstitions and blind beliefs. For the first time he developed the political and religious consciousness of the people of Odisha.⁸

The first Oriya book to appear in print was the Oriya version of the Bible *New Testament*. This was printed in Bengal by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1809¹. Thereafter, along with the Bible the Christian missionaries published various tracts & pamphlets from the Serampore Missionary Press in Bengal for the purpose of religious propaganda in Odisha. Till 1837 there was no press in Odisha. In that year the missionaries installed a press at Cuttack. This is famous as the Cuttack Mission Press². From this press apart from the Bible and the propaganda literature, the missionaries brought out three periodicals in Oriya Language - *Jnanaruna* in 1849. *Prabodh Chandrika* in 1856 and *Arunoday* in 1861³. In the pages of these journals we find information about the day-to-day affairs of the then Odisha⁴. These journals were short-lived because practically there was no

educated middle class in Odisha at that time to sustain them for a considerable period. In the mid-nineteenth century, the number of printed books in Oriya language was quite inconsiderable. There were only a few improperly written school text-books which were printed in Bengal. The classical heritage of Oriya literature was confined to the palm-leaf manuscripts. In such circumstances the separate identity of Oriya language was questioned by a number of Bengalis belonging to Bengal proper and domiciled in Odisha. They advocated the replacement of Oriya medium of instruction by the Bengali in the schools of Odisha. In 1869 the famous antiquarian scholar of Bengal Rajendra Lal Mitra paid visit to Odisha and in a meeting addressed by him at Cuttack he put forth the reasons in favour of the abolition of the Oriya medium of instruction in the School of Odisha.⁵

Towards the late sixties of the nineteenth century a small group of educated middle class were found in Odisha pulsating with the signs of new life. This class, to an extent patronized by the feudal people like Rajas and Zamindars, took the lead in safeguarding and fostering Oriya language and interests. Gaurishankar Roy of Cuttack and Fakir Mohan Senapati of Balasore were the two earliest protagonist of Oriya language who belonged to this class. Both of them were determined to promote the development of Oriya language and literature by establishing press in Odisha.

Gaurishankar Roy, a clerk in the Cuttack Collectorate was the first native of Odisha to establish a printing press. He was a man of considerable learning,

farsightedness integrity and courage. With the assistance of two prominent local men of Cuttack - Bichitrananda Das and Jagamohan Roy he established the press and brought out from it a journal called *Utkal Dipika*. In this task he was encouraged by the Maharaja Bhagirathi Mahindra Bahadur of Dhenkanal and T. E. Ravenshaw, the then Commissioner of the Odisha Division. Capital shares for the press were purchased by the rajas of Talcher, Badamba, Nayagarh, Athgarh, Narasinghapur and some local Zamindars. The initial capital thus collected was Rs.7500/- and Cuttack Printing Company was formed on 1st July 1865. In the midst of the horrors of famine the first issue of the *Utkal Dipika* was brought out by the company on 4th August 1866. At the start the company had a lithograph press. The letters were engraved on stone and then printed on paper. The engraving on stone was done by Bhagirathi Sathia. From 4th August 1867 *Utkal Dipika* was printed in lead scripts. Gourishankar Roy was the first editor of the journal. For fifty long years under his able editorship the *Utkal Dipika* acted as a beacon light in the social life of Odisha. It was not only the first journal to be edited by a native of Odisha but also the most lasting of all the journals of the nineteenth century. Its publication went on as late as 1936 when the publication of all the journals of the nineteenth century had long been stopped. In fact it is a mirror of the Odisha during the second half of the nineteenth century and a major part of the first half of the twentieth century.⁶

Although the *Utkal Dipika* was a weekly journal, initially, it had four pages.

The size was doubled in 1883 and again doubled in 1911.⁷

The expertise of Gourishankar Roy in Cuttack was Fakirmohan Senapati attempted by at Balasore. Fakirmohan who received little formal education and was initially a school teacher was pained for the need of printed books in Oriya language. He points out in his autobiography that the lack of books is the reason for the Oriyas were being humiliated by the Bengalis who had a fairly developed press and literature in their language.⁸ He was determined to establish a press at Balasore for promoting the development of Oriya language. For this purpose he formed an association composed of Babu Jjaykrushna Chowdhury, Babu Radhanath Roy and Fakirmohan Senapati. He and his associates carried on propaganda among the people so that they would purchase capital shares for the press. Several meetings were organised. The substances of the speeches delivered in them was as follows: "Those who purchase the Company's share will get much profit as the scriptures like Ramayana and Mahabharata if printed will sell at cheap rates. It would be much easier to read the printed books than the palm-leaf manuscripts. It would not be necessary to call for special scripture-readers. The boys can easily acquire learning. No outsider can abuse the Oriyas as fools".⁹ With utmost persuasion Rs.1200/- was collected as the capital and a press company called P. M. Company and Co. was formed. Out of this capital a second-hand machine was purchased from the Midnapore Mission Press. But when printing operation was started it was found to have outlived its

utility. Fakirmohan and his associates had thus become the victim of a swindler. But Fakirmohan did not lose heart. He made fresh efforts for the collection of capital. An amount of Rs.800/- was borrowed from Babu Kishorimohan Das the younger brother of the Zamindar Babu Madan Mohan Das and a new Super Royal Columbian Press was purchased from Calcutta and brought to Balasore by bullock-cart owing to the stoppage of navigation in the rainy season. This new press was visited by John Beams the Collector of the Balasore district and T.E. Ravenshaw the Commissioner of Odisha. The Commissioner gave a reward of Rs.10/- to the press authorities. The press yielded quite good profits even at the initial stage because the Balasore Collectorate printed all its necessary documents in it. Fakirmohan brought out a periodical called *Bodhdayini O Balaswar Sambadbahika*. It had two parts. The *Bodhdayini* part contained literary writings while the other part captioned Balaswar Sambad bahika contained news items.¹⁰ Published in July 1869 as a monthly journal, it was converted to fortnightly 3 years later and lastly as a weekly in June 1872. To this journal, patronage was subsequently accorded by the Samanta Zamindar family of Balasore.¹¹ Apart from being one of the pioneer journals in Oriya language it had its special significance in the fact that the early writings of Fakirmohan Senapati are found in its pages its editor. He is also its father of modern Oriya prose literature.

With the spread of education the growth and expansion of the educated middle class the number of press went on multiplying.

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, thirteen more presses were established in Odisha. They are as follows:

- 1) Dey Press, Balasore founded in 1873 (Proprietor, Zamindar Baikuntha Nath Dey)
- 2) Utkal Hitaisini Press Cuttack founded in 1873 (Proprietor Zamindar Kalipad Banerji)
- 3) Victoria Press Cuttack founded in 1885 (Proprietor, Zamindar Jagannath Rao)
- 4) Bamanda Press Cuttack (This press was borrowed by Shri Chaturbhuj Pattanayak from the Maharaja of Bamanda Sudhal Deb and installed at Cuttack in 1885)
- 5) Bhakti Pradayini Press, Puri founded in 1874 (Proprietor Gopal Chandra Chatterji)
- 6) A press established in Ganjam in 1875 by the Nisha Nisedhini Samaj
- 7) Mayurbhanj Press, founded in 1879,
- (8) Puri Printing Corporation Press founded in 1890
- (9) Arunodaya Press founded in 1893
- (10) Roy Press founded in 1894 (Proprietor Sitanath Roy)
- (11) Darpanraj Press founded in 1899
- (12) Binod Press Balasore, founded in 1899 (Proprietor Brajanath Dey) and
- (13) Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack.¹²

Most of the presses were located at Cuttack and Balasore obviously because these two places were the centres of awakening in the nineteenth century Odisha. The increase in the number of press resulted in the phenomenal increase in the publications of books and periodicals in Oriya language. During the period from 1866 to the end of the nineteenth century, fifty-eight journals were published. Most of them were short-lived. A few of them which lasted for considerable period and had significantly influenced the social and cultural life of the people are discussed below.

After the publication of *the Bodhadayini O Baleswar Sambadbahika* another journal called *Utkal Darpan* appeared at Balasore in 1873 through the patronage of the local Zamindar Baikunthanath Dey.¹³ Initially a weekly, it was changed Fortnightly in 1877. This journal being literary in character marked a definite advance in the formative phase of modern Oriya Literature. Rabindranath Roy and Madhusudan Rao both of whom are the pioneers in modern Oriya poetry contributed their earliest writings. It was closed after thirteen years of publication.

In 1873, another weekly called *Utkal Putra* appeared at Cuttack. It was edited by Pyarimohan Acharya a young man of “moral courage and patriotic devotion” who dedicated himself to the cause of development of Oriya literature. His courageous writings in which he held the British Government responsible for the educational backwardness of Odisha impressed the educated people of the time.¹⁴

In 1883, two journals-one monthly called “*Sevak*” and a weekly called “*Sanskarak*” were published from the Cuttack Mission Press.¹⁵ Subsequently the two were merged into a single journal under the title of *Sanskarak O Sevak* and were patronized by Sir Basudeb Sudhaldev, the Maharaja of Bamanda, a small feudatory state in the Sambalpur district who rendered valuable service to the cause of modern Oriya literature in its formative phase by his patronage to of literature. The two pioneer poets - Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan Rao the reformist writer Biswanath Kar and Chandramohan Maharana were the important contributors to this journal.

In 1889, through the initiative of the Maharaja of Bamanda a journal called “*Sambalpur Hitaisini*”¹⁶ was published from the Jagannath Ballav Press of Deogarh the Capital of Bamanda which was at that time a place of literary culture due to the literary propensities of the Maharaja. The writings of Biswanath Kar found the place of prominence in the pages of this journal. It lasted for a considerable period because of the patronage of the Bamanda royal family.

In 1889 another journal “*Sahitya-Sammilani Samalochana Patrika*” was published at Cuttack.¹⁷ Its main objective was to review the text books in Oriya language. Its editorial board consisted along with others of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Roy the founder-editor of *Utkal Dipika* and poets like Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan Rao and some other luminaries.

A new era in Oriya literature began the under the tutelage of Sriramchandra BhanjDeo the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and ‘*Utkal Prabha*’ was published in 1891.¹⁸ This journal gave stimulus to the literary writers because the Maharaja announced to give twelve rewards annually the amount of each reward being Rs.120/- six to the best poets and six to the best prose-writers the amount of each award being Rs.120/-. Poets like Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan Rao ; writers and novelists like Fakirmohan Senapati, Ramashankar Roy and Bishwanath Kar contributed poems short stories and essays to this journal. Lala Ramnarayan criticized the poetry of the classical poet Upendra Bhanja who belonged to the eighteenth century. As the Bhanja literature

was adversely criticized in this journal the protagonists of Bhanja literature brought out in 1893 a journal named “*Indradhanu*” at Cuttack. The critics of Bhanja literature soon published at Bamanda a journal entitled *Bijuli*. The mutual criticism in these two journals which was literary at the beginning ended in mutual wranglings and personal attacks. The controversy between the *Indradhanu* and *Bijuli* ushered in literary criticism in Oriya literature.¹⁹

In 1897, a literary journal called ‘*Utkal Sahitya*’ appeared at Cuttack.²⁰ This journal was modern in its style and approach. The Cuttack Secondary Training School played an important role in its publication. The poems and articles which were discussed in the Alochana Sabha (Association for discussion) of the school of which poet Madhusudan Rao was the principal, were published in it. It was edited by Biswanath Kar, Chandra Mohan Maharana, Madhusudan Rao, Nandakishore Bal, Damodar Kar, Krushna Prasad Chowdhury, Artatrana Shatapathy, Shyam Sundar Nanda, Daityari Kar, Mrutyunjay Rath and Rajmohan Basu were its major contributors.

There was no daily newspaper in Odisha in the nineteenth century. The journals were weekly, fortnightly and monthly. Due to financial difficulties most of the journals were small in size. For many years the *Utkal Dipika* was a four-page journal. There were various types of journals. The *Utkal Dipika* and the *Balaswar Sambad Bahika* mainly contained news items. Due to the communication difficulties the news relating

to national and international development was often back-dated. Local news as gazette notification, government regulations, itinerary of the government officials posting and promotion of officials, condition of crops, market price, law suits, politics relating to the local self-government activities of the rajas and Zamindars, the Calcutta University examination results for the Oriya students, stealing and dacoity, review of Oriya books, development of shipping export and import, challenges to the nascent Oriya language and alleged negligence of the interests of Oriyas were published. Some journals were purely literary. Among the literary journals of the nineteenth century *Utkal Darpan*, *Sambalpur Hitaisini*, *Bijuli Indradhanu*, *Utkala Madhupa*, *Utkal Prabha* and *Utkal Sahitya* may be regarded as the foremost. Journals like *Taraka* and *Prabhati Tara* served the cause of the Christian missionaries. Certain other Journals were intended to preach Brahma philosophy and bring about social reformation. *Sikshak O Dharmabodhini Brahma Utkal Subhakari Patrika* are such examples. Such example pioneers of press and writers like Gauri Shankar Roy, Fakirmohan Senapati and Madhusudan Rao had been deeply influenced by Brahmoism. Therefore, the nineteenth century journals notably *Utkal Dipika* bears clear imprint of Brahmoism. Majority of journals were more or less biased towards social reformation like *Sevak*, *Samskarak*, *Shikshbandhu*, *Asha* (a journal advocating the upliftment of women edited by a woman named Reba Roy) and *Samyabadi*. There were some vocational journals like the *Byabasayi* an agro-industrial journal and

Utkal Chikitsaka a medical journal. All the journals were primarily devoted to the cause of development of Oriya language and to the furtherance of the interests of Oriyas who were scattered in different administrative divisions of the British empire in India. The very titles like *Utkal Dipika* (the light of Odisha) *Utkal Putra* (the son of Odisha) *Utkal Madhupa* (the honey of Odisha) *Utkal Hitaisini* (the well-wisher of Odisha) *Utkal Prabha* (the Radiance of Odisha) *Utkal Sahitya* (the literature of Odisha) symbolize such Pan-Oriya patriotism.

The attitude of the Government towards the press was one of blessing and encouragement nor was the press seditious in its tone. The Cuttack Printing Company's press and the Utkal Press at Balasore were visited by the Commissioner of Odisha division. T. E. Ravenshaw²¹. Ravenshaw and John Beams were strongly in favour of the retention of the Oriya language encouraged the pioneers of press in Odisha because as they rightly considered that the Oriya language and thus and literature could be developed through press. In general all through the nineteenth century the educated middle class in Odisha was profously loyal to the British Government. But loyalty to the Government did not make them entirely blind to the flaws in the administrative set up. Criticizing administrative negligence during the famine of 1966 the *Utkal Dipika* thus wrote : "The Secretary of State in Great Britain hearing our miseries has expressed such magnanimity but the government servants here who have already seen us suffering for more than a year say that relief work is going on properly some of them say

that there is no necessity of spending further money from the public exchequer others advice the Board (Revenue Board) not to send further rice on the supposed ground that there is enough of paddy stock".²² In 1869 the *Baleswar Sambad Bahika* protested against the forcible dragging of people to the police station without any cause being told for the purpose of census survey.²³ *Utkal Dipika* protested against the forcible dragging of people to the police station without any cause .They were told that the purpose of census survey was the reason *Utkal Dipika* protested against the compulsory provision of Rasad to the Amalas (the land revenue officials) during their tour in the rural areas.²⁴ In 1878 during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton when the licensing press Act was passed ,the *Utkal Dipika* took strong exception to it. Regarding the act , the Journal wrote "This Act is very fatal to us (the vernacular journals and newspapers) Let the readers go through it and consider if we (the vernacular journals and newspapers) have any chance of survival."²⁵ Towards the end of the nineteenth century an increasingly critical attitude towards the British rule is perceptible in the press. The harmful aspect of British imperialism in India had been detected by at least a few educated men. The *Utkal Sahitya* thus wrote.

"We have reposed too much reliance upon the rulers. We want to entrust everything to them. This trend has prevailed in our country all through. But will it help us any more ? The commercial policy of the British Government is day by day leading us to the economic ruin."²⁶ Regarding the

harmful effects of import of foreign goods upon the economy of India the *Utkal Sahitya* wrote “We are purchasing foreign good and pouring money into foreigners coffers almost in a spell-bound manner. Some well-wishers of the country have felt deeply sad and concerned at this and are trying to find out some remedies to rescue our countrymen from dependence upon foreign goods. Some of them say that if Indians stop using foreign goods and use the indigenous goods the money of the country will not be drained out and the indigenous artisans and labourers will be benefited.”²⁷

But the tone of the press was never seditious or positively hostile to the government. Analysing the public opinion of Odisha in 1893-94 the Commissioner of Odisha division therefore stated that in Odisha, the people kept aloof from the politics of the country as a whole and were only interested in solving the local problems and had firm belief in the government and that the educated people in Odisha unlike their counterparts in Bengal were not politically dangerous.²⁸

Most of the journals were short-lived. Till 1880, twenty-six journals had been published but only four journals were actually carrying on their publication in 1881-82.²⁹ From the middle of the nineteenth century till 1890, forty-eight journals had been published in toto, but in 1890-91 only eight journals were existent.³⁰ Financial stringency mainly accounts for the short tenure of the journals. This difficulty was partly overcome by the patronage of some rajas and Zamindars. The Sriramchandra Bhanjadeo of Mayurbhanja and Raja Baikunthanath

Dey of Balasore and some others were the main patrons publication of some important journals. But the want of readers and subscribers which was due to the general illiteracy of the people made it difficult to continue the publication. Fakirmohan Senapati, the editor of the *Balasore Sambad Bahika* which was one of the earliest journals observed in his autobiography. The number of nominal subscribers ranged between forty and fifty but the price was actually collected from eight or ten. The number of persons who actually read it ranged between twenty and twenty-five.³¹ The “*Utkal Sahitya*” which was started in the last decade of the nineteenth century when comparatively there had been fair progress of education in Odisha wrote in similar vein. “It is universally acknowledged that the journals are the best means of developing a language. But why there is so much distaste for them in Odisha”.³² Want of dedicated journals and literatures was also responsible for the backwardness of press and journalism. In the nineteenth century Odisha Gaurishankar Roy was an editor par excellence Journalism as a profession had not been well-accepted by the educated people in Odisha. Regarding the want of dedicated literatures, he wrote, in “*Utkal Sahitya*”. It is a regrettable fact that persons wholly dedicated to the cause of literature have not yet appeared in Odisha. The history of any advanced country’s literature reveals that time to time there appear on the literary scene some dedicated literati who infuse vigour and new life into literature.³³

Mrutyunjay Ratha, thus sums up under five heads, as the causes of backwardness

of press and journalism : (1) want of proper management (2) want of money (3) the editor's lack of qualification patiences and sagacity (4) lack of responsible writers capable of writing worthy articles and (5) the readers inability to subscribe.³⁴

Nevertheless, the press played a very significant role in the nineteenth century Odisha : While in the pages of the journals modern Oriya prose and poetry came into existence ,the printing and publication of classical writings of Oriya literature which were mostly poetic, gave rise to a comparative study of the classic and modern. The modern trend prevailed but the classical literature was studied from the stand-point of scholastic and literary criticism.

Whatever social and political awakening can be traced among the nineteenth century educated elite of Odisha is due to the press because journals and books were the main medium of communication. Such measures of social reform like the preservation of the religion of the Hindu boys who had taken their meal in the free kitchen during the famine of 1866, ³⁵ female education and emanicipation³⁶ and abolition of casteism etc. were advocated in the pages of the journals.

The most distinctive contribution of the press was the promotion of a sense of unity among the Oriya-speaking people who were scattered in different administrative divisions of the British empire in India. It was through the press that the educated elite in Odisha tried to safeguard the Oriya language and promote its development protest through against the alleged

discrimination against the Oriyas specially in the matter of appointment to the government posts³⁷ in different administrative divisions and put forth the legitimate grievances of the people of Odisha. As a result by the end of the nineteenth century a congenial atmosphere had been created for starting a movement for the integration of all Oriya-speaking areas into a single province. It was through the press that the ground had been prepared for such a movement and it was also substantially through the press that the movement was carried on till the creation of Odisha as a single province in 1936.

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UNDERSTANDING OSHO RAJNEESH: A PSYCHOHISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

Priyadarshi Kar

This article attempts to interpret the life of Chandra Mohan Jain-popularly known as Osho Rajneesh from psychoanalytic perspective. Theories of human personality resting on the concepts of infantile sexuality and the dynamic unconscious considerably influenced our understanding of human behavior. Pioneered by Freud, the search for the hidden, unconscious forces that have shaped human history, has become a most controversial historical methodology. If historicism classically concerned itself with recorded facts and rational explanation, psychoanalytical theory immediately offered the way into something quite different: the unconscious motivation that shape human action: the aggression, sexuality, passions, fantasy and the inner world of its subject. Freud believed, by applying the psychoanalytic method to groups or societies in the past, one might explain not simply outbreaks of collective psychosis but the very origins of cultural attitudes, prejudices, mythology, religion, indeed human civilization itself. Thus, a new discipline-psychohistory- was launched which combined historical analysis with social sciences models, humanistic sensibility, and psychodynamic theory and clinical insights to create a fuller, more rounded view of life in the past. (P. Lowen berg P 109).

A Brief Life sketch

Chandra Mohan Jain was born on 11 December 1931 in a small farming village in

Madhya Pradesh. He was the eldest son of a cloth merchant Taran Panth, a Jain Sect. (see **Joshi 1982 :198-90**). "Rajneesh" seems to have been a difficult child, frequently challenging the authority of religious and bureaucratic figures around him, but at the same time he was also indulged with good deal of physical and intellectual freedom. (Vasant Joshi)

Rajneesh graduated in Philosophy in 1955 . He excelled as a debator and post graduated in Philosophy in 1957 from Sagar University. He was appointed lecturer in Philosophy at Raipur Sanskrit College in 1957. Subsequently he joined the Faculty of Mahakoshal Arts College of Jabalpur University in 1958 and taught there till 1966. Rajneesh began in 1966 country-wide tours preaching and publicly challenging conventional religious and political thought. Supported by group of Indian businessman (mostly Jains) he settled in Bombay in 1968. His first books were published by Motilal Banarsidass, a prominent Jain firm. Rajneesh conducted several meditations camps in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Himachal Pradesh during 1960's. From 1968 till 1974 the movement around Rajneesh was formalized under the name '*Jeevan Jagriti Kendra*' or Life Awakening Centers. The aim of the Kendra was to conduct his tours and meditation camps and to publish his lectures and the quarterly magazines titled '*Jyotiskha*'. Shifting from Bombay to Poona

in 1974 he established the Rajneesh Foundation in 1975. By July of 1981, the Rajneesh Foundation had purchased the “Big Muddy Ranch” in Oregon, in the north-west of America. In 1981 he moved to USA reportedly for medical treatment or according to some to avoid tax arrears and his increasing unpopularity in India.

He eventually settled down on a ranch in Central Oregon USA named Rajneeshpuram.

In America, leadership of the movement was placed firmly in the hands of Ma Anand Sheela. In 1984 Rajneesh was refused permanent residence in America, partly because he was not teaching, partly because of various immigration and taxation charges likely to be brought against him before long, in October 1984 he therefore began speaking to small groups again. After July 1985, the audiences increased.

On 14 September 1985, Sheela suddenly left the ranch. Rajneesh himself left the Ranch on October 27 and was arrested the next morning. He was tried in a court of law on the 14th November 1985 on some thirty-four charges particularly related to immigration offences, and entered an “Alfred plea” of guilty on two of the charges. After paying a fine, he left USA. After returning to India, where there were likely to be further investigations into the financial affairs of the earlier ashram, Rajneesh left for Nepal, then in January 1986 began traveling around the world. When he returned to India in July 1986, he had been deported from or denied entry to

some twenty-one countries (Appleton, 1987). The *ashram* was reestablished in Poona in 1987.

Rajneesh passed away on 19th January 1990. The *Illustrated Weekly of India* (February 11-17, 1990) suggested that he may have; been poisoned by his disciples¹. His disciples, however, insisted that he was still suffering from radiation poisoning which he received while he was held in American prison. At the time of his death he was known as “Osho”, (Beloved Master), a Buddhist title he had assumed in February 1989 after announcing on New Year’s Eve that he had become the vehicle for the coming Buddha.

A GLIMPSE OF HIS PHILOSOPHY

His mission was to lead his followers to higher states of consciousness and transform the world. Freed from the distorting conditioning of the society, families and politics would become obsolete in the new world. Living in harmony and pursuing spiritual aims, the Rajneeshes would become the nucleus of a new race of human beings—*Homo Novus*. Rajneesh’s concept of spirituality was a “religionless religiousness” without any adherence to any creed. It demanded a deprogramming or deconditioning of the mind and a transcendence of the personal past. His philosophy of liberation emphasized a rejection of all conventional values, highlighted direct, ecstatic experience, a knowing through intense feelings—hence importance of sex. The most and fundamental commitment is to love oneself—hence the dictum—”Be Selfish”.

Rajneesh believed that a person's sexuality revealed one's essence and attitude towards whole life. Sex's spiritual significance, Rajneesh said, lies in producing mindlessness or the silence of the mind that made true meditation possible. The orgasm is a 'door into silence' and it is the stillness and meditation after the intercourse which is the real object of the feast. Inspired by Hindu and Buddhist tantra, Rajneeshism was crafted through techniques that were eclectic in nature. It owed as much to healing practices of American-Indian Shamans and the West Asian Sufi orders as to New Age Psychotherapy techniques of transpersonal psychology. (Sudhir Kakkar)

Interpreting Rajneesh

Many scholars have tried to understand and interpret Rajneesh's life and his movement in terms of theories and principles of psychoanalysis. The scholar attempts to examine the works of—Ronald O Clarke and Sudhir Kakar . Broadly, these scholars have indicated the obvious psychoanalytic inference that Rajneesh's childhood experience led to the formation of a highly narcissistic personality, hyper empathic to his needs and with an inordinate need to maintain the conscious experience of a grandiose self. Both also claim that Rajneesh suffered from some degree of narcissistic personality disorder. Kakar also casts serious doubts about the god man's experience of "enlightenment" by saying that probably it was 'a period of extended clinical depression that ended with a hypomanic episode'. (Sudhir Kakkar)

Rajneesh claims that writing a biography about him—or, for that matter, a psychological profile is impossible. The reason, he says, is that "he" is no longer there. He alleges that he (the pronoun is inescapable in linguistic communication) is an enlightened spiritual master, a "living Buddha", one who has permanently dissolved the ego with all its worldly desires and attachments. He now dwells, he says, in a state of continuous and undefiled awareness, bliss, freedom, and compassion; but this "he" is not a "self", not an individual person, but a presence, an emptiness, inextricably one with the whole of things. There are no empirical or conceptual mechanisms for grasping or describing such a state of being, he insists. Hence, any attempt to do an "ego-biography" or psychological profile of him is bound to be superficial .

In his study Ronald Clarke indicates how the empirical and conceptual tools of contemporary psychiatry and clinical psychology provide a diagnostic framework that lends intelligibility to this self-avowed holy man's otherwise enigmatic and bizarre behavior. Specifically, Clarke tries to demonstrate that Rajneesh's claim that he has permanently dissolved the ego and all worldly desires and attachments is the product of a delusional system associated with a narcissistic personality disorder(NPD).

The American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (hereafter referred to as DSM) describes the essential features of the narcissistic personality disorder as:

"a grandiose sense of self-importance or uniqueness; preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success; exhibitionistic need for constant attention and admiration; characteristic responses to threats to self-esteem; and characteristic disturbances in interpersonal relationships, such as feelings of entitlement, interpersonal exploitiveness, relationships that alternate between extremes of over idealization and devaluation, and lack of empathy" (DSM, 351).

A descriptive analysis illustrating how these criteria apply to Rajneesh should prove helpful not only in understanding this particular Guru; it may also provide clues that are useful in deciphering the personality and behavior of other charismatic religious leaders of both the East and West.

Grandiose sense of self –importance and uniqueness

Rajneesh's sense of self-importance and uniqueness seems to possess no limits. Titles like "Buddha", "Mahavira", "Christ", etc were assigned to them by their zealous devotees, often after their death. Rajneesh had deliberately assumed the title "Bhagwan," meaning "the blessed one" one who is fortunate enough to recognize his own divine being, one who is fully enlightened, who has no unfulfilled desire or longing, and who resides in a state of ultimate and permanent bliss (Rajneesh, 1980b: 119f). In his earlier discourses in Bombay and Poona, he explicitly aligned himself with all the "Buddhas" (enlightened masters) of previous religious traditions (Gautama, Mahavira, Lao Tzu,

Bodhidharma, Kabir, Jesus, Muhammad, etc.). He even proclaimed his superiority to all previous Buddhas and holy men. For example, he asserts: "Jesus can be found again very easily... . But to find a man like me—who has travelled thousands of ways, in thousands of lives, and has gathered the fragrance of millions of flowers like a honeybee—is difficult" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 45).

On the basis of his immediate mystical experience, Rajneesh claims possession of absolute and total spiritual truth. "Truth, to me," he says, "has not been a fragment.... Truth has revealed itself to me as a total organic unity" (Rajneesh, 1986b, 696). Believing this, he feels that he has nothing to learn from other spiritual leaders, of whom he is largely contemptuous. Here, for example, is how he refused one invitation by a group of religious leaders to engage in a dialogue: "What dialogue can they have with me? If they know, there is no need to come here. If they do not know, then it is going to be a monologue. I will speak and they will have to listen. A dialogue is not possible... . I say I know. So with me there is only one possibility—a monologue" (Rajneesh, 1985b: 480).

Fantasies of unlimited success

For example, he claims to have spent a previous incarnation in the Himalayas seven hundred years ago as a spiritual master of a mystic school of disciples representing many religious traditions. Rajneesh's biographer and devotee, Vasant Joshi, provides the following details:

that he lived 160 years, fasted for 21 day and was on the verge of enlightenment, however did not opt for it out of love for his followers and decided on one more birth to ensure synthesis between east and west, create a new man without past and awaken the consciousness of his followers.

Aside from the questionable belief in reincarnation that is presupposed in this “reminiscence”, and the fact that the tale bears the familiar stamp of the Bodhisattva. First, it is highly implausible and curiously anachronistic that issues such as an East-West synthesis and a creation of a new man “totally discontinuous with the past” would have entered the minds of members of a remote mystic school, say in Nepal or Tibet, seven hundred years ago. And second, the idea of a yet-to-be-enlightened individual serving as master of a mystic school is incongruous with Rajneesh’s own standard that a “true master” is one who is already enlightened, Clarke argues.

Rajneesh clearly considered himself to be a man of world-historical significance. He had conceived his spiritual mission to be one of world, transformation. His role, he has declared repeatedly, is that of a “midwife” assisting in the birth of a “New Man” on the planet (Rajneesh, 1984: 192). He regards his disciples (“Sannyasins”) as (“the first rays” of the “New Man”, and his experimental commune in Central Oregon was to have served as a “Buddhafield” (energy field) wherein the “New Man” would be born . The Guru frequently impressed upon his followers

the world-historical significance of his mission in words like the following: “.....you are participating in something of eternal value—a great experiment upon which the whole future of humanity depends”. Such a declaration was often accompanied by an apocalyptic prediction that failure to achieve a world transformation of consciousness (to create a “New Man”), within the next two or three decades would inevitably result in a nuclear holocaust (“World War III”).

In addition to indicating Rajneesh’s impermeable sense of world-historical importance, many of his statements also reveal his narcissistic penchant for transforming failures into successes via the mechanisms of fantasy, repression, rationalisation, and projection, Clarke argues that such narcissistic coping mechanisms, however, do not afford total shelter from the harsh reality of failure with its attendant feelings of rage and frustration, not even for one so imaginatively versatile as Rajneesh.

Need for constant attention and admiration

Referring to narcissism, DSM states: “Individuals with this disorder are constantly seeking admiration and attention, and are more concerned with appearances than with substance”. British writer Sally Belfrage(p222) has perhaps most poignantly summarized Rajneesh’s insatiable need for attention and adulation.

“He is on a chair on a platform; we are on the floor. We never stand when he stands;

we do not even know how tall he is ... He is indulged in every way. Being the object of the passionate love of many imaginative people, the quality of indulgence is amazing. He is capable of accepting that love; that is his supreme difference. Most people can't handle unqualified adoration, even from only one other person, believing themselves unworthy of it. He believes himself worthy of it.

Clarke's own impression, resulting from several visits to the Oregon commune, echoes Belfrage's. Rajneesh thoroughly delights in being the sole focus of attention of his thousands of adoring devotees. Being surrounded by a horde of singing, chanting, dancing disciples celebrating one's very presence must be enormously intoxicating to the ego. And he obviously thrived on it. Furthermore, nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of total attention to the Guru. He will tolerate no distractions. For example, people were not even allowed to cough during discourses in Poona and Rajneeshpuram.

A powerful mechanism employed by Rajneesh to guarantee that he remained the constant centre of attention among his devotees was the ubiquitous-photo technique. Until the time of the Oregon commune's dissolution, his disciples were required to wear his picture in the locket attached to their *malas*—the 108-bead necklace they wore around their necks. Moreover, his portrait dominates virtually everything associated with the movement. Every volume of his published discourses displays his picture on the cover. His portrait is prominently featured on virtually

every page of every edition of Rajneesh newspapers. And often such newspapers have included multi-page special sections that were exclusively photographs of the Guru. Finally, his picture was displayed everywhere throughout the Oregon commune. These observations lend plausibility to Hugh Milne's contention that Rajneesh once stipulated at Poona that only pictures of himself were to be used on the covers of the movement's publications, and that "the only full page photographs that were to appear were those of Rajneesh himself. No ordinary disciple could take up more than a third of a page" (Hugh Milne P 122) .

Milne, a former personal bodyguard of Rajneesh and later a defector from the movement, and others, have noted the Guru's addiction to publicity (Milne, 1986: 120, 164f). Much of his bizarre behaviour, including his outrageous verbal attacks on others, appears to be motivated to a large extent by his desire to attract media attention. Whether publicity proved favourable or unfavourable was not of great concern to Rajneesh. Milne quotes him on this point as follows:

"Now it does not matter whether I am famous or notorious. I do not care whether people see me as Buddha or as Rasputin. Few people will think of me as Buddha, and the majority will probably regard me as Rasputin. That's beautiful. One thing I am certainly interested in is that everybody should think something about me " (Hugh Milne P 122).

Rajneesh has openly admitted that the purchase of ninety-odd Rolls Royces by the

commune was, in part, a device to acquire media attention. Milne plausibly contends that the Guru needed them also as reassurance of his disciples' adulation (Milne, 1986: 232). One curious incident clearly demonstrates how ultrasensitive Rajneesh has been about the retention of his followers' devotion. On September 26, 1985, shortly after Ma Anand Sheela's abrupt departure from the Oregon commune, Rajneesh issued a "surprise announcement" that his disciples no longer were required to dress in "sunrise colours" or wear the *malas* with his portrait. Apparently his disciples responded to the announcement with excessive alacrity, for, during a discourse a few days later, he told them that they had hurt him by being so enthusiastic about abandoning their red clothes and *malas*. "You have been clapping because I have dropped red clothes, *malas*, and when you clap you don't know how much it hurts me" (The Rajneesh Times, 1985, 4:7, A-1). The Guru proceeded to suggest that those who had eagerly abandoned their red clothes were hypocrites. Apparently unable to resist indulging in an intimidating reprisal, he then announced the withdrawal of his "Buddhafield" (a spiritual energy allegedly radiating from the Guru's being that enhances his disciples' spiritual growth). From that moment on, he stated, if his disciples wished to become enlightened, they were on their own. They could no longer depend on his spiritual energy for support. "Now clap as loudly as you can. Clap!" he spitefully concluded (The Rajneesh Times, 1985, 4:7, A1). During the following day's discourse, however,

Rajneesh reassured his sannyasins that he could not withdraw the Buddhafield "because he loved them so much." "I just said it to shock you," he confessed.

Disturbances in interpersonal relationships

Those who suffer from a narcissistic personality disorder, Clarke argues, invariably experience disturbances in interpersonal relationships such as: entitlement ("expectations of special favours without assuming reciprocal responsibilities"); lack of empathy; interpersonal exploitiveness; and lack of sustained, positive regard in relations with other.

Entitlement:

Implicit at the core of Rajneesh's self-concept is his assumption that his very presence on Earth—the result of his decision to accept a final earthly embodiment—constitutes a great gift of existence to the human species. "Neither has anybody else been this way, with this style: having nothing and living as if you own the whole universe" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 685).

Rajneesh provides justification for possessing whatever he seeks". "I have never asked anybody whether I am right or wrong. Wrong or right, if I want to do it, I want to do it and I will make it right.... I have never allowed anyone to interfere with me" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 156). "Right and wrong have never been my consideration. What I happen to like is right..." Rajneesh seems to lack any genuine sense of social reciprocity.

As he has put it, “You will have to cope with me, there is no other way. I never coped with anybody, so I don’t know how to...” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 359). He likens social compromise—the sine qua non of social coexistence—as “poison” (Rajneesh, 1975b: 229). “I am not here to compromise—” he exclaims, “not an iota of compromise” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 622).

Rajneesh’s grandiose sense of entitlement is perhaps most dramatically revealed through his role as social critic and iconoclast. His persistent attacks on all external authority (politicians, priests, “the Polack Pope,” etc.) are caricature-laden and intemperate. “I know the art of how to make enemies,” he candidly has admitted (Rajneesh, 1985a: 567). He believes that he is entitled to all the rights and privileges afforded by the larger body politic, but can remain exempt from its attendant responsibilities and obligations. Evidence that has emerged in conjunction with his 1985 conviction of immigration fraud clearly suggests that Rajneesh considers himself to be above and beyond the law, entitled to its protection and other benefits but free to bend or violate it whenever it becomes an inconvenience or a hindrance to his purposes.

Interpersonal exploitativeness:

Narcissists commonly seek to take advantage of others. It is beyond question that he is a “master” at manipulating and exploiting other people. A pattern of exploitation of others for self-aggrandisement persists throughout his life history. Rajneesh made a startling confession of a form of manipulation.

“To speak on Mahavira was necessary because without that it was impossible to get any Jainas to hear me... . If this whole crowd of Jesus, Mahavira, Buddha, Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu somewhere meets me they will all be mad at me because I have made them say things they would never have dreamed of. They could not. Sometimes I have even put meanings into their words which go basically against them” (Rajneesh, 1985b, 1.8).

Another manipulative technique that Rajneesh employs is the “double message”. On the one hand, he has said repeatedly that his disciples’ “surrender” to him does not mean that they must imitate him or simply become his robots. Surrendering to him is only a device to conquer the ego, he has maintained. On the other hand, he has also instructed his disciples to surrender totally (Rajneesh, 1975a: 47, 75, 284 f.), and he has indicated his willingness to accept responsibility for their well-being and spiritual growth (Rajneesh, 1977a: 134).

Rajneesh attempts to justify the more blatant manipulations of his disciples by claiming that such practices are simply “devices” to awaken them from their spiritual slumber and thereby enhance their development of consciousness. In resorting to such techniques, he says, he is following a precedent established by George Gurdjieff, a Russian-born, early twentieth-century shamanic leader noted for his despotic and exploitive spiritual growth techniques.

Lack of empathy and sensitivity toward others:

Rajneesh's lack of empathy and concern for the feelings of others has already been sufficiently documented in his transcribed talks. For example, Where, could one find a more glaring illustration of insensitivity than his aforementioned remark "Unless I am damaged, nothing is damaged"?.

As previously indicated, Rajneesh appears to take delight in generating anger, confusion, and fear in others by deliberately provoking controversy. His contempt for all efforts to ameliorate the plight of the world's poor and oppressed is widely recognized. Furthermore, the condemnation and consignment of the "whole-of-humanity" to nuclear destruction because it rejects his message does not appear to be an act of a compassionate man. In short, his claim to possess universal and unconditional love and compassion for others is not true.

Lack of sustained, positive regard for others

One of the most striking characteristics of Rajneesh's life is that he has been singularly devoid of intimate friendship and interpersonal attachments. Sudhir Kakar also cites several instances to substantiate this point. Rajneesh is a "loner", a man of near-total aloofness and aloneness. His refusal to become emotionally involved with others apparently stems from his traumatic experience at the age of seven when his maternal grandfather died. He frequently refers to this sudden and painful loss as a pivotal event in his life, one that has,

he says, "determined my whole course of life". Here is Rajneesh's description of the effect of the death of his loving grand father had upon him "Aloneness became my nature. His (grand father's) death freed me forever from all relationships. His death became for me the death of all attachments. Thereafter I could not establish a bond of relationship with anyone. Whenever my relationship with anyone began to become intimate, that death stared at me".

Grooming and Lying

Several additional characteristics are frequently associated with the Narcissistic Personality Disorder. Two are particularly worth mentioning in this profile of Rajneesh: preoccupation with grooming and resorting to prevarication or "outright lying" (DSM, 316).

In virtually all of Rajneesh's portraits and public appearances, he seems strikingly well-groomed. Clearly, Rajneesh qualifies as the world's best-dressed Guru.

Milne's contention that Rajneesh always insisted on carefully posed photographs and scrutinized and edited all photographs seems quite credible. Equally plausible is the former Sannyasin's report that films relating to him were closely scrutinized and tailored.

Prevarication and "outright lying" constitute another feature often associated with narcissism that applies to Rajneesh. Deception and falsehood form a pattern running throughout the Guru's life. His penchant for rationalisation has already been referred to in this essay. His addiction to exaggeration is commonly recognised among

his own followers. His public discourses are notoriously laden with caricature, stereotypical thinking, factual error, and paraphrasing without attribution. Rajneesh's rhetorical methods warrant a thorough critical analysis in themselves.

In a reminiscence in his *Glimpses of a Golden Childhood*, Rajneesh confesses that he frequently practised truancy from school, and, to hide the fact from his father, he entered into collusion with school officials—who were relieved to have the young troublemaker absent from class—to falsify his attendance record (Rajneesh, 1985a: 687). Elsewhere in *Glimpses*, Rajneesh says that whenever he did attend school he would deceive his teachers “by just scribbling”, pretending that he was rapidly taking notes. He adds: “I used to laugh when they were deceived. But it is impossible to deceive me...” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 389).

The pattern persisted, it appears, through his college career. For example, he tells how on one occasion he pretended to be an ardent devotee of goddess Kali to gain admission to the institution. After Rajneesh had succeeded in being admitted, the principal soon discovered that he had been duped. The principal then confronted him. Rajneesh's rejoinder is instructive: “I said ‘You should have understood, even on that day. You are not a saint either, but I wanted admission. What else to do?’ (Rajneesh, 1985b, 2:838). On yet another occasion, as a graduate student at Sagar University, Rajneesh managed to avoid two years of compulsory military training at the institution by persuading a vice-chancellor

to “take care of it”, meaning to secretly doctor the records (Rajneesh, 1985b, 1:737).

Rajneesh also admits to having resorted to deception to veil his prolonged and excessive absences from the classroom during the years he was employed as a philosophy professor at Jabalpur University. He says, “I would come back after three days for a few hours, just to show myself in the university, that I was there—because they could not give me that much leave nor could I take that much leave; otherwise from where could I get money?” (Rajneesh, 1985b, 2:144). He employed elaborate and calculating his deceptive schemes to create an impression that he was present. (Rajneesh, 1985, 2:144 f).

That some of his acts of dishonesty were in violation of law does not seem to have deterred Rajneesh. For example, he once persuaded an acquaintance to backdate an announcement of intent to marry which, according to Indian law, must be posted on a court bulletin board one month prior to the marriage: “Do one thing. Post it, backdate it one month tonight. Who will prove that it was not there a month?... . You have to do it. It is not a question of law, it is a question of love. You have to do it!” he urged (Rajneesh, 1985b, 3:659 emphasis in original). A short time later, he denied that he knew anything about the arrangements for the marriage—an outright falsehood (Rajneesh, 1985b, 3:660). In light of this incident ‘arranging fraudulent marriages was included in the thirty-five count indictment brought against Rajneesh by United

States immigration officials. He is reported to have said that he had lied—”for the first time in his life”—when he pleaded guilty (*On the Road Again*, 1985).

The Guru’s attitude toward honesty and truthfulness can perhaps best be summarised in his own words:

I believe in Gautama Buddha’s definition that “Truth is that which works.” Now, this is a strange definition because sometimes a lie can work, and I know that many times truth does not work at all; the lie works. But I agree with Buddha. Of course he would not agree with me, but I, am more generous than Gautama Buddha himself. If something works, brings the right results, what does it matter whether it was a lie in the beginning, or a truth? What matters is the end, the ultimate outcome (Rajneesh, 1985a: 444).

“Since he cares little for the opinions of others, his defensive maneuvers are transparent, a poor camouflage to a discerning eye. This failure to bother dissembling more thoroughly accounts in part for his overt immodesty and obvious arrogance” (Milne, 1969: 262—emphasis added). Milne’s point perhaps clarifies, in psychological terms, a strange and obfuscatory statement by Rajneesh concerning his truthfulness: “I am always speaking the Truth— sometimes in a way that looks like a joke, sometimes in a way that it looks like a contradiction, sometimes in a way that it looks like a lie—but I am always saying the truth, and truth alone” (*The Rajneesh Times*, 1985, 4:8, A-4).

What causes narcissism ?

Clarke and Kakar both agree that Rajneesh ‘s childhood experiences helped in forming a highly narcissistic personality in the child. Rajneesh was born in the home of his maternal grandparents in Kuchwada, According to Joshi, the newborn infant was endowed with such “grace and beauty” that the grandfather, Nana, became convinced that he had been a monarch in some previous life. So, he spontaneously ‘ named the infant “Raja,” meaning “the King”. Nana apparently was so enamored by his infant grandson that he refused to allow him to return to the village of Timani, where Rajneesh’s father was employed as a struggling cloth merchant .Rajneesh was reared by these doting maternal grandparents for the first several years of his life.

During these formative years, he developed such a deep attachment to his grandparents that, he regards them as his “real parents”. Although both grandparents left their imprint on him, apparently it was his grandmother, Nani, who influenced him more than anyone else. “For my first year? I knew Nani as my mother; those are the years when one grows... . My own mother came after that; I was already grown up, already made in a certain style, and my grandmother helped me immensely.” “I never saw a more beautiful woman than my Nani. I myself was in love with her, and loved her throughout her whole life... . All that is beautiful in vision somehow comes through her. She helped me in every way to be the way I am.” “Perhaps I am her

vehicle; perhaps she has poured herself into me. She I loved me so deeply that I never considered my real mother to be my real mother” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 22.)

According to Rajneesh, *Nani* (his grandmother) was born in Khajuraho, a city famous for its many temples containing countless erotic sculptures and to which Rajneesh referred as “the ancient-most citadel of the Tantrikas” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 4). He has further speculated that *Nani* may have been born into a Tantric family (Rajneesh, 1985a: 62). Whether or not this was the case, *Nani*’s outlook appears to have been decidedly Tantric, especially as evidenced in her child-rearing practices. According to Rajneesh, *Nani* was totally indulgent and permissive. He reports that she “helped me to dare everything—I mean everything... . Whatsoever I wanted she arranged... . I don’t remember her ever saying no to me” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 53, 56f.— emphasis in original). *Nana*, it appears, was equally indulgent. Neither grandparent ever punished the young child for his frequent acts of mischief. Referring to these mischievous acts, Rajneesh reminisces, “That was my way during those first years when I lived with my grandfather, and yet I was absolutely protected from punishment. He never said ‘do this’ or ‘don’t do that’.... That was enough to, allow me to do whatsoever I wanted” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 58-60). Again, he relates, “my grandfather not only loved me but loved everything I did. And I did everything that you could call a nuisance. I was a continuous nuisance. The whole day he had to listen to

complaints about me, and he always rejoiced in them... He never punished me

He simply allowed, absolutely allowed me to be myself” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 36 f.). Rajneesh recounts an incident that graphically reveals the extent to which his grandmother was willing to go to satisfy his every whim as a child:

I used to carry a small suitcase, just like the doctors’. Once I had seen a doctor passing through the village, and I said to my *Nani*, “Unless I get that suitcase I will not eat!”... . You know what she did? That’s why I still love her—she told *Bhoora* (the family, servant), “Take your gun and run after that doctor and snatch his bag. Even if you have to shoot the man, get his bag. Don’t worry, we will take care of you in court” (Rajneesh, 1985a: 248).

In addition to demonstrating extreme “parental” overindulgence, this anecdote is noteworthy in two other respects. First, it indicates that the young child already had developed a habit of resorting to intimidation (“Unless I get that suitcase I will not eat!”) to get whatever he wanted, a pattern that he has also applied to his disciples in later years (“If you don’t love me enough, I’ll leave my body”) (Strelley, 1987: 296). Second, it also suggests—as do other of Rajneesh’s reminiscences concerning his grandmother—that *Nani* may well have fit Otto Kernberg’s description of narcissistic parenting: “Chronically cold parental figures with covert but intense aggression are a frequent feature of the background of (narcissistic) patients” (Kernberg, 1986: 22).

Following the traumatic experience of grandfather Nana's death when Rajneesh was seven, Rajneesh moved to Gadarwara, where his biological parents were then living. He reports that he did not relish living with his parents, because of the number of relatives who stayed with them. "This is not a family," he remarked at one point, "It's a bazaar" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 260). The solution to this problem soon came when Nani also moved to Gadarwara and settled in a separate bungalow. In effect, he spent some of his daylight hours with his parents, but his nights were usually spent with Nani (Rajneesh, 1985a: 55, 718f.). Nani apparently continued to indulge her grandson by granting him permission to do whatever he liked. Of the six rooms in her bungalow, she kept only one for herself and turned the other five over to Rajneesh, allowing him to use them as he wished, even consenting to his insistence that no one—not even she—be allowed to enter one particular room, his "sacred place of learning", where he allegedly mastered "all kinds of magical tricks" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 713 f.). Nani's continuing pattern of total permissiveness, as well as her aggression and hostility toward others, is disclosed in her response to one of his pranks: leading unsuspecting persons toward an unprotected well in the dark of night. One individual, the town sweet maker, when led to the well, actually fell in. When Rajneesh later confessed the incident to Nani, her reply was "Great! Good! That man deserved it. Did he really fall into the well just as you said?" Rajneesh's recollection of her reaction continues:

I can still hear her laughter. She laughed herself to tears. She said, "That's very good,

but is he alive or not?" I said, "He is perfectly okay." "Then," she said, "there is no problem. Don't be worried; that man deserved it... ." I asked her, "Don't you want to say anything about it?" She said, "No, because I have watched you from your very childhood. Even if you do something wrong, you do it so rightly, and at exactly the right moment, so that even a wrong becomes a right." It was she who told me, for the first time, that right in the hands of the wrong man becomes a wrong; and wrong in the hands of a right man becomes a right (Rajneesh, 1985a: 110f.).

Rajneesh's parents apparently exhibited greater concern for their son's unruly and uncooperative behaviour. But their attempts to control him were halting and ineffectual. In their confrontations with the headstrong youth determined to have his own way, they invariably acquiesced, and eventually they abandoned all attempts to discipline him. His mother, Saraswati, for example, prevailed on him once or twice to fetch vegetables - from the town market. When Rajneesh adamantly refused, she "dropped the idea forever" (Rajneesh, 1985a: 362). On a couple of occasions, his father, Dadda, did attempt to punish him, for misbehaviour; but, when Rajneesh accepted the assigned punishment with overt relish, he, too, quit trying from then on. The following incident clearly reveals both the pattern of parental acquiescence-and Rajneesh's stubborn defiance of parental authority. Dadda once remonstrated with his son for allowing his hair to grow long and for wearing a Punjabi garment that resembled' a skirt. Embarrassed by townspeople taking Rajneesh for a girl, Dadda issued an ultimatum to his son: "Cut your hair; otherwise I will cut

it for you!” Rajneesh’s defiant response so angered Dadda that he forcibly cut a lock from his son’s hair. But the son was not to be outdone in this power struggle with his father. He promptly went to the barber and had his head completely shaved, a customary Indian gesture whenever a child’s father had died. In a reminiscence of the incident, Rajneesh describes the final outcome of the confrontation:

...my father had learned a lesson. He said to me, “I have repented enough. I will not do such a thing again.” And he never did. He kept his word. That was his first and last punishment to me. It is even unbelievable to me, because I did so many troublesome things. But he listened patiently to all complaints, and he never said anything to me. In fact, he tried his best to protect me (Rajneesh, 1985a: 464).

The evidence runs counter to Rajneesh’s claim that he is an enlightened master—if the latter is taken to refer to one who has permanently dissolved the ego and transcended all worldly desires and attachments. It does not challenge his contention that he had a profound mystical experience in a public garden in Jabalpur, India, at age twenty-one: nor does it rule out the possibility that this experience may have involved a vivid sense of ego-loss. Rajneesh’s self-avowed Buddha-status is instead part of a delusional system associated with a severe narcissistic personality disorder. In other words, his condition seems to be one of ego-inflation rather than egolessness.

According to Joshi, Rajneesh’s enlightenment occurred in the wake of a year-long spiritual crisis marked by intense feelings of doubt, insecurity, and emptiness. “He almost

went mad,” Joshi reports. Rajneesh has described his condition at that time as “one of utter darkness”:

It was as if I had fallen into a deep dark well. In those days I had many times dreamt that I was falling and falling and(going deeper into a bottomless well. And many times I... awakened from a dream full of perspiration, sweating profusely, because the falling was endless without any ground or place anywhere to rest my feet... . It was all darkness—aimless and ambiguous. My condition was full of tension, insecurity and danger (Joshi, 1982: 51).

He also reported that his emotional state was accompanied by physical symptoms such as appetite-loss, severe headaches, and lack of a sense of the existence of his body. Referring to the latter, Rajneesh 1 says: “The body was so non-existential that I had to hurt myself to feel that I was still in the body. I had to knock my head against the wall to feel whether my head was still there or not. Only when it hurt would I be a little in the body” (Joshi, 1982: 52). Heinz Kohut and Ernest S. Wolf refer to the latter phenomenon as “fragmentation”, a symptom severely experienced in narcissistic patients whose self-esteem has been taxed for prolonged periods (Kohut and Wolf, 1986: 185).

From a depth-psychological perspective, therefore, it is plausible to argue that Rajneesh’s crisis was triggered by a failure of his narcissistic coping mechanisms to counter threats to his sense of grandiosity and self-esteem. If so, then his “enlightenment” may be viewed as an experience involving, at the psychological level, the formation of a new grandiose delusional system aimed at resolving his crisis of threatened grandiosity and self-

esteem. Such an interpretation is supported by the self-grandeur that is evident in his subsequent account of his enlightenment experience. Rajneesh relies on a customary metaphor to describe his experience of ego-dissolution: “For the first time I was not alone, for the first time I was no more an individual, for the first time the drop has come and fallen into the ocean.” His ensuing statement, however, subtly shifts the metaphor’s traditional meaning in a decidedly narcissistic direction: “Now the whole ocean was mine, I was the ocean. There was no limitation. A tremendous power arose as if I could do anything whatsoever” (Rajneesh, 1984: 459—emphasis added). Rather than egolessness, we find here an intoxicating sense of unlimited power and possessiveness—a hallmark of pathological narcissism.

It is conceivable that under more favourable circumstances Rajneesh’s commune experiment might have enjoyed a happier denouement. Under a different style of leadership, the commune might have succeeded in disarming its outside opposition and endured as an alternative society. Though it is unlikely to have succeeded in fulfilling Rajneesh’s grandiose vision of creating a new archetypal human that would eventually transform the world, its celebrative lifestyle, productivity, and ecological orientation might have earned widespread admiration and respect. But Rajneesh’s own narcissistic and anti-social behaviour proved the major obstacle to such an eventuality. His inordinate self-grandiosity, insatiable need for adulation, lack of sensitivity toward others, exploitiveness, unwillingness to compromise, deceitfulness, recklessness, lack of respect for the law, contempt for social order and convention, and

lack of political awareness—and, perhaps above all, a lack of any sense of his own limitations—these are the myriad ingredients that contributed to the failure of his experiment. It may sound trite, but it’s correct to conclude that “he was his own worst enemy” argues Clarke.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Ms. Lipsa Mishra

Ph.D Reseach Scholar,
P.G Department of English,
Utkal University, Vanivihar,
Bhubaneswar-751004
Email: mishra.lipsa@gmail.com

Mr. Vipin Kumar

Lecturer in English,
Adi-keih College of Arts and Social Sciences,
Eritrea, NE Africa
Email: vipanjang@gmail.com

Dr. Jayaprakash Paramaguru

Associate Professor, Department of English,
Gandhi Institute of Technology and
Management, Bhubaneswar
Email :Jayaprakash.bbsr@gmail.com

Ms. Punyatoya Kar

Ph.D Reseach Scholar,
P.G Department of Sociology,
Utkal University, Vanivihar,
Bhubaneswar-751004
Email: punyatoya.kar@gmail.com

Mr. Zubairul Islam

Associate Professor,
Geography Department,
Adigrat University, Adigrat,
Tigray Region, Ethiopia, N. E. Africa.
Email: zubairul@gmail.com

Mr. Prakash Kumar Sahoo

Academic Consultant in Economics,
DDCE, Utkal University
Vani Vihar, Bhubaneswar-751007
Email: sahooprakash769@gmail.com

Ms. Daisysmita Sahoo

Consultant, Infosys Ltd. Bhubaneswar
Email: prasantsahoo12@yahoo.co.in

Mr. Biswajit Mohapatra

North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong
Email: biswajitm_1@hotmail.com

Ms. Manugayatri Rath

Lect. in Sanskrit,
Department of Sanskrit,
KIIT School of Social Sciences,
KIIT University, Bhubaneswar.
Email: manugayatridandi@gmail.com

Mr. Chittaranjan Sahoo

Research Scholar,
Utkal University of Culture,
Bhubaneswar-751001
Email: chittaranjansahoo496@gmail.com

Mr. Krushna Chandra Das

Lecturer in History,
KIIT School of Social Sciences,
KIIT University, Bhubaneswar.
Email: d.kcdas@gmail.com

Dr. Priyadarshi Kar

Lecturer in History,
Ravenshaw University, Cuttack.
Email: priyadarsikar@gmail.com



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