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Editorial

Indian Journal of Distance Education was started by the Directorate of Distance Learning, Panjab University in 1987 to promote research not just in distance education but across multiple disciplines in various fields like social sciences, law, education, fine arts and languages. It is a refereed/peer reviewed journal in English brought out annually. The journal provides an opportunity to both faculty and research scholars to send well-researched papers for publication. Insightful research that breaks fresh ground in various areas like society, religion, law, education, politics, economy, literature, fine arts and distance education is welcomed.

The contributors have sent meticulously researched papers wherein both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been adopted. The present issue is carrying forward the tradition of the journal being a collection of papers that explore continuities' as well as changes. It facilitates communication between various domains of knowledge. The seventeen contributors to this volume belong to the disciplines of History, Geography, Human Rights, Social Work, Sociology, Economics, English, Fine Arts and Education. The contributors range from senior figures in the field to fresh voice of a Ph.D. researcher.

I am thankful to the contributors for sending research articles and also for their patience. I express my gratitude to the referees for their expertise and generous cooperation. Thanks are also due to the Editor for this issue (2021 and 2022) as well as the Editorial Board for their continuous effort in bringing out this volume. I would also like to thank Ms Prerna for providing valuable typing and computer skills. Thanks are also due to Ms. Sheenam Grover and Mr. Amit for their help. I am also indebted to Mr Jatinder Moudgil, Manager, Panjab University Press for the printing of this Journal. I am deeply indebted to Professor Renu Vig, Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University for her constant support and encouragement of such academic endeavours.

Professor Harsh Gandhar
Editor-in-Chief
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Impact of Environment Education in Shaping Environmental Knowledge, Concern and Behavior

Mamta Garg* and Meenu Dhiman**

Abstract

The world is witnessing a number of environmental issues, which are the result of the egocentric desires of man. So, to solve such issues and protect nature there is a dire need to develop environmentally sensitive practices among all human beings especially among the youth. Consequently, Environmental Education is being included in school/college curriculum right from the very beginning. This study investigated the effect of active and passive Environmental Education towards shaping the environmental knowledge, concern and behavior among students in higher education. Researchers used descriptive survey method. A multistage random sampling technique was adopted to select 753 students studying in first year of postgraduate programmes at Panjab University and its affiliated colleges situated in Chandigarh. Environmental Knowledge Test, Questionnaire on Modes to Impart Environmental Education, Environmental Concern Scale and Environmental Behavior Scale were administered on the sample. The findings revealed that students who were taught EE in their schools/colleges by active pedagogy possessed higher concern and adopted pro-environment behavior than those who were taught with passive mode. Research ¹has confirmed that proactive Environmental Education is one of the most effective strategies for preparing young people to mitigate environmental degradation with their sensitive and environmental friendly behavior.

Keywords: Behavior, Environmental Education, Environmental knowledge, Higher education, Modes of teaching

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Introduction

Man always has and will depend on nature for food, clothing, housing, medicine and ultimately for his survival. Ever since the Vedic times nature and human kind (i.e. Prakriti and Purush) are considered to be an inseparable part of the life system. Persistence of human beings on the earth depends on existence of a clean and healthy environment because the environment directly and indirectly affects the lives of all the living and nonliving things, individually and collectively (Kukriti, Gihar and Saxena, 2006). But the selfish desires of man have led to indefinite misuse of nature which disturbed the ecological stability to a great extent that has endangered the existence of man (Sharma and Verma, 2013). Such anti-environmental behavior and unwary lifestyle of human beings is leading towards serious environmental problems like environmental degradation, scarcity of resources, depletion of ozone layer, air and water pollution, desertification and acidic rain which results in floods, droughts, earthquakes, landslides and epidemics. These environmental problems have become important cause of concern not only in the developing countries like India, but the entire world as well (Gihar, Saxena and Kukreti, 2006).

Although it is a fact that environmental issues cannot be solved in a couple of days, it requires rigorous efforts by all the members of society. Young people have to live quite a long time with the consequences of a hastily weakening environment bequeath to them by their preceding generations, thus they have special concerns and special responsibilities with respect to the natural environment (Licy, Vivek, Saritha, Anies and Josphina, 2013; Mifsud, 2011).

Many researches showed that quality of environment of any country is critically depending on the knowledge, attitude, skills and behavior of its citizens. It was also shown by some studies that an increase in environmental knowledge can bring a positive change in environmental attitudes and both knowledge and

attitudes are assumed to influence environmental practices. It has been recommended that individuals should have awareness about it, whether they put it in action or not at present but may do it in future if have the requisite knowledge. Many environmentalists and educationists considered Environmental Education as a bridge to sustainability as it played a vital role in granting solutions to environmental conservation and protection (Meerah, Halim and Nadeson, 2010).

A World Conference was held in Stockholm in 1972, and it defined 'Environmental Education as a process of developing a world population that is aware and concerned about the total environment and its associated problems, and which has the knowledge, skills, attitudes, motivations and commitment to work individually and collectively towards the solution of current problems and the prevention of new ones' (UNESCO-UNEP, 1976, as cited in Vega,2004). In 1975 an International Conference titled 'The Belgrade Conference' was organized to talk about strategies to impart the awareness, attitude, skill and feeling of involvement among citizens to complete the desired goals of Environment Education. Two years later in 1977, Tbilisi Conference took place to emphasize the training of pre and in-service teachers in EE. Further, it was followed by the UNESCO-UNEP International Congress (1987) which focused on growth of researches on techniques for environmental education. In 1992, The Earth Summit at Rio De Janerio put forward Agenda 21 that was totally devoted on the importance of environmental education for sustainability in economic and environmental resources. Collective measures for the promotion of EE by governmental and non-governmental agencies were also emphasized by Johannesburg Summit held in 2002 (Sahay & Singh, 2013). At the conference on 'University Action for Sustainable Development' held at Dalhousie University, Halifax Canada in December 1991, the role of universities was discussed and it

was emphasized that universities and their graduates must be considered as significant actors to protect environment.

Hamid, Ijab, Sulaiman, Anwar and Norman (2017) said that higher education across the world holds the liability for shaping students' and other faculty members' attitude and behaviors in terms of preserving and conserving the natural environment. Educational academies play an important role in instigating civic consciousness among students for solution of environmental problems by making youth knowledgeable about environment and its related issues. With this line the attitude and awareness of young people is of great importance because if the youth is aware and sensitive about the environmental problems, they will be able to solve these environmental problems more effectively and concurrently.

India is an incredible country with a population of more than a billion with great geographical, social, economic and cultural diversities. Therefore, enforcing something through education will probably have a more attainable effect over enforcing something by laws. World- wide, India is the only country which passed one of the milestone judgments by the Supreme Court , according to which all educational boards are to append EE as a part of the formal education system at all levels (Naikoo,2017).

In India, University Grants Commission (UGC) and NCERT play deciding role in development of environmental education curriculum. According to these organizations environmental education should be holistic, location specific and encompassing. These two organizations decided to introduce Environmental Education as a compulsory subject for all the students of Arts, Science and Commerce in schools and colleges. These organizations believed that good EE at school stage is required to develop environmental sensitivity and awareness (Sengupta *et al.*, 2010; Bhartiya, 2016).

Though environmental education is a mandatory subject but it is not taught with the spirit with which it has been introduced. The students are not given requisite knowledge or it is given in a mechanical form without helping them to relate it with real life. In spite of the efforts of the government and educational institutes, the desirable results have not been achieved. The previous research conclusions showed that even if students took many courses on environmental issues it did not show any significant difference in their level of environmental awareness and environmentally responsible behaviors (Thapa, 1999; Aydin and Cepni, 2010). Moreover, it has been reported by Clark (2003) that students from developed settings versus less-developed settings had significantly different levels of information and understanding despite their exposure to institutionalized environmental education.

Significance of Environmental Education

Environmental Education (EE) teaches a man how to interact with rest of the world, so to improve his internal world. It enables a person to maintain his/her life by understanding the relationship between man and nature. This in turn, helps in the preservation of humanity on Earth. It generates wide spread awareness of environmental problems.

In line with the views of various writers, Pooley and O'Connor (2000) as well as Stevenson (2007) also stated that education of the societies is the most effective way of eliminating environmental problems. When the problems related to environment increases, environment education becomes an individual and socialistic necessity to increase sensitivity (Alim, 2006; Dunlap and Liere, 1978). More and more scholars and experts realize that education for environment is the only way of creating awareness for the protection and conservation of environment (Min, Jing and Danping, 2014).

According to Stokes and Crawshaw, students fall in Lay group and they need proper knowledge, guidance and skills to solve environmental problems. To

make students aware and concerned about environmental problems, the teachers' role is very important. The teachers can literate students about different ways to protect and enrich the environment as children imitate them and draw inspiration from them.

Like many other environmental researchers Hines *et al.* (1986-1987) and Hungerford and Volk (1990) believed that EE can cultivate environmentally responsible behaviors among citizens by effective teaching methods and this should be the main goal of EE. Different pedagogical activities can develop highest order of critical thinking and skills among students, which are essential to analyses environmental issues (Ballantyne and Packer, 2009; Stevenson, 2007 cited in Kimaryo,2011).

Through role play, experimental method, project method, dramatization, storytelling, simulation training games, seminar, project and educational visits, a teacher can enhance positive attitude and actions by imparting knowledge for environment. These methods can be treated as 'Active Learning Method' in which there is interaction between students and teachers and two sides interact with each other (Derevenskaia, 2014; Mingazova,2014; Koutsoukos, Fragoulis and Valkanos,2015). These methods facilitate learners to open up their senses to nature and bond with it.

It is argued that there is no uniform mode of teaching environmental education. However for the effective application of EE, apt teaching and learning techniques are required to address all the components of EE i.e education about, education in and for the environment. The interdisciplinary nature of EE emphasized a versatile way of teaching and learning, by engaging pupils in analytical studies of actual existing issues of the environment (Stevenson, 2007).

In a recent report of UNESCO it is mentioned that "Education is not giving students adequate knowledge to acclimate, act and respond to all environmental crises." People lack socio-emotional skills and action-oriented competences

which are central to environmental and climate action. UNESCO has therefore set a new target to make environmental education a core curriculum component in all countries by 2025 (UNESCO, 2021).

Purpose

To find the more effective modes of imparting environmental education for enhancing environment knowledge, concern and behavior among students.

Methodology

In the present study descriptive survey method was used. This was an ex-post facto research wherein the researchers investigated the methods used at school and college level to teacher environmental education and which methods of Environment Education are more effective in shaping knowledge, concern and behavior of students. For this purpose, a comparison was made between the students who were taught environmental education with active and passive modes at their school/college level.

Researchers used following tools for data collection: Questionnaire on Modes to Impart Environmental Education, Environmental Knowledge Test, Environmental Concern Scale, and Environmental Behavior Scale. These tools were developed and standardized by the researchers themselves. In the present research, steps of tool construction were followed by the researchers, as has been suggested by Singh (2006). These steps included:- Planning and writing of the items for preliminary draft, Experts opinions for Content validity, Preliminary administration or try-out of the tool, Item analysis, Final draft, Validity and reliability of the tool and Preparation of the norms for the final tool. The tools were standardized on a sample of 150 students. The validity of the tools was determined by content validity method. Internal consistency of Environmental Knowledge Test, Environmental Concern Scale, and Environmental Behavior Scale were determined by Kuder Richardson-20 techniques wherein KR-20

values of these tools came out to be .821, .86 and .842 respectively indicating the high consistency of these tools. For Questionnaire on Modes to Impart Environmental Education, Cronbach's alpha came out to be .70. As per Kline 's (2000) rule of acceptance, these value were acceptable. Therefore the tools were considered reliable to administer on the sample selected for final data collection.

After collecting the data, firstly, the students were categorized in two groups, based on the methods used by their teachers to teach environment education at school/college level i.e. taught by **Passive mode**: -Passive mode indicate the teaching methods where students were taught Environment Education through lecture method only and no other methods of teaching were used by their teachers. Environmental education was not given much importance as a subject in their school/college. **Active mode**:-Active mode consists of those pedagogies where in Environment Education is taught with variety of methods like demonstration method, hand on activity, projects, role playing etc. Environmental education was considered as an important subject and teachers encouraged the students by giving rewards for their environment friendly behavior and punishments for bad behaviors.

Thereafter, comparisons were made between these two groups of students for their environmental knowledge, concern and behavior using t-test.

Sample

A total of 753 students studying in first year of postgraduate programmes in Science, Social Science and Humanities at Panjab University and its affiliated colleges situated in Chandigarh were selected as sample. Multistage random sampling was used. At the first stage, the population under consideration (i.e. students at Panjab University and its affiliated Colleges situated in Chandigarh) taken of higher education students was divided into three strata i.e. students from Science, Social Science and Humanities. At the second stage, using clusters sampling technique, departments from Science, Social Science and Humanities

were selected by lottery method. At this stage, 5 departments from Sciences, 5 from Social Science and 5 from Humanities were selected from the Panjab University campus. Again by using the same method, 5 colleges affiliated to Panjab University were selected out of 20 colleges situated in Chandigarh. Here the researcher took the same departments in the colleges as were taken from P.U. campus, because in the colleges the number of departments varied as per the availability. At the third stage, purposively first year students of postgraduate programmes were selected. The reason behind selecting students from first year of postgraduate programmes was to have parity on the basic education about environment. As per instructions of Supreme Court, all the students have to qualify 'Environment Education paper' at undergraduate level.

Findings

Environmental Knowledge and Modes of imparting Environmental Education

Table1: Values of t-test for comparison between students' Environmental Knowledge, w.r.t. Modes of imparting Environmental Education

Modes of imparting EE	N	M	SD	SEM	t-value	p-value
Active mode	373	19.95	5.81	.30	1.62	.10
Passive mode	380	19.26	5.88	.30		

Modes used to teach environmental education in School/college made no significant impact on students' environmental knowledge as t-value ($t=1.62$, $p=.10$) is not statistically significant. No difference was found in the environmental knowledge of students who were taught environmental education with active modes and those who were taught with passive modes.

The study of Morgil *et al.* (2004); Budak *et al.*,(2005); Gulgun *et al.*(2008); Ernst and Theimer (2011); Arslan (2012); Ahmad *et al.*(2015); Kumar *et al.*(2016); Edsand and Broich (2020) supports the results of present study by

stating that Environmental education should not be considered as panacea or miracle to promote environmental awareness among students. There are many factors like socio-demographic environment, parents' views, teachers' mastery, methods used to teach EE, hands-on activities and the values of ecocentrism. Researchers like Budak *et al.*,(2005); Gulgun *et al.*(2008); Zsoka *et al.* (2013); and Ahmad *et al.*(2015) also mentioned that a majority of students chose TV-radio shows, social media sites and internet as the most effective ways for awareness on environment. Conversely, some researchers (Schmidt, 2007; Utarasakul,2008; Roberts, 2009; Desa *et al.* 2011; Levine and Strube, 2012; Uzuna and Kelesa,2012; Zsoka *et al.*,2013 Derevenskaia, 2014; Haryono *et al.*,2014; Ibanez, *et al.*,2017; Liu and Guo ,2018; Palupi and Sawitri,2018) found that environmental knowledge and modes to impart EE strongly relate to each other.

Though in previous researches various explanations have been proposed, but present result may also be understood keeping in view of the type of tool used for measuring students' environmental knowledge. The tool was based on the syllabi of Environmental Education paper offered at undergraduate level. All the participants had qualified this paper during their graduation. As it is mandatory for all to qualify this paper so it is possible that the method used by teachers did not impact them as mostly they prepared for exam by reading books. The methods used may have influenced their understanding and concern for the issues but recalling of the facts.

Environmental concern in relation to modes of imparting environmental education

Environmental concern among students was studied with respect to the modes used by teachers at their school/college level to teach Environment Education. Students who were taught by active methods were compared with those who were taught by passive methods. t-test was employed.

Table2: Values of t-test for comparison between students for their Environmental Concern in relation to Modes of imparting Environmental Education

Variable	Modes of imparting EE	N	M	SD	SEM	t-value	p-value
Environmental Concern	Active mode	373	89.51	12.88	.66	2.21	.02
	Passive mode	380	87.40	13.23	.67		

It is evident from the obtained t value ($t=2.21, p<.02$) that students under Active mode and Passive mode of teaching differ significantly with regards to their environmental concern. Students who were taught the subject of environmental education with hands-on activities or experiments (active mode) showed more concern for environment as compared to those students who were taught with simple lecture method in their schools/colleges.

This finding is in line with the results of Bozoglu, *et al.*(2016); Liobikien and Poskus (2019) who opined that nature experiences in Environment Education and action related Environment Education foster environmental concern. Moreover, the basic aim of teaching Environmental Education at school/college is to make students more concerned and responsive towards environmental issues. Thus the present findings indicate that teaching Environmental Education actively leads to desirable outcomes, not if taught passively.

Environmental Behavior in relation to Modes of imparting Environmental Education

The difference in Environmental Behavior of students who were taught Environment education by active methods and those who were taught by passive methods, was found out by employing t-test. The values have been presented in table 3:

Table3: Values of t-test between students' Behavior on Modes of imparting Environmental Education

Variable	Modes of imparting EE	N	M	SD	SEM	t-value	p-value
Environment Behaviour	Active mode	373	54.88	11.07	.57	2.17	.02
	Passive mode	380	54.82	10.89	.559		

Environmental behavior of students in higher education relates significantly with modes of imparting environmental education at their school or college level as t-value (2.17, $p=.02$, $<.05$) reveals a significant difference in environmental behavior of students who were taught with active modes and those who were taught by passive modes. The findings revealed that students who were taught environment education in their schools/colleges by active pedagogy possessed more pro-environment behavior than their counterparts.

In revious researches by Schmidt (2007);Uzuna and Kelesa(2012); George and Archontia(2013); Ajaps and McLellan (2015); and Neaman *et al.*(2018),reported that only action-related environmental knowledge led to environment behavior. Direct experiences have a stronger influence on people's behavior than indirect experiences. Rajecki (1982) explained that indirect

experiences, such as learning about an environmental problem in school as opposed to directly experiencing it (e.g. seeing the dead fish in the river) will lead to weaker correlation between attitude and behavior. Similarly, Liobikien *et al.* (2016) found that action-related knowledge influences pro-environmental behavior the most in comparison to other types of environmental knowledge. Al-Rabaani and Al-Shuili (2020) opined that enhancing students' sense of responsibility and changing their behavior is strongly influenced by amount of information they receive in their schools, or rather the effectiveness with which the information delivered informs their attitudes and consequent decisions and actions.

Implications

Research has confirmed that education is one of the most effective strategies for preparing young people to learn about environmental issues, and ultimately be able to mitigate or slow environmental degradation (Asunta, 2003; Trumper, 2010; Harring and Jagers, 2017). As knowledge is a precondition for igniting environmental awareness in individuals and enabling them to understand and evaluate the impact of society on the ecosystem (Gambro and Switzky, 1996), it's important to educate the students about this. Grusovnik (2012) argued that education, of course, will also be crucial in bringing about change. However, an education that focuses on simply sharing information, or even on scaring people with dark scenarios, will not suffice; what is needed instead is an education that can offer new identities and programs which people are able to identify with. Otherwise the denial of environmental issues will continue, no matter how thoroughly thought through the method of data-presentation. Thus the main focus of environmental education programs should be to change behaviors through increase in environmental concern and promoting pro-environment behavior. Thus, Environmental education should be imparted in such a way that it not only increases the awareness but enhance concern towards environment and

responsible behavior among students. Yet, it seems that the Indian Environmental Education has failed to increase responsible environmental practices with knowledge and concern among students. Therefore, students from school levels to University level, should be given more direct experiences about consequences of human actions on environmental degradation in order to increase their environmentally sensitive behavior.

As Jusoh *et al.* (2018) cited the findings of Hassan, Rahman and Abdullah (2011) that at the university level, environmental education should focus on field work such as conducting experiments, and practical research in the field of solving environmental issues. When students are exposed to direct experience with the environment and nature through 'hands-on' activities, it directly improves knowledge and awareness that leads to good environmental practices as also found in the present study. In schools and colleges, environmental education should not be taught passively by lecturing as it may increase knowledge not the concern and responsible behavior. Therefore, teachers should use active methods using role play, nature walks, discussions, field trips, projects, documentary films etc. to sensitize the learners towards environment and inculcate pro-environmental behavior. It is recommended that teachers should be trained in student-centered methods as these promote active learning, interest, analytical research, critical thinking and enjoyment among students (Greitzer, 2002; Hesson & Shad, 2007).

Conclusion

Schools and universities can play an important role towards environmental sustainability through the effective implementations of education for environment. Therefore, it is worth mentioning here that the students of higher education would be future teachers, policy makers and leaders so they must be equipped with good knowledge and relevant behaviour to solve environment problems (Ray & Ray, 2011). Though environmental education is a mandatory subject but it is not

taught with the spirit with which it has been introduced. The fact may be the students are not given requisite knowledge or it is given in a mechanical form without helping them to relate it with real life. Therefore, it is vital to implement effective strategies that make them more knowledgeable and concerned as it ultimately leads to responsible behavior. These strategies can help students to strengthen their bond with nature and ultimately this bond expedites students to involve in environment friendly activities.

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The Advent of the Christian Missionaries in Ladakh

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Abstract

The earliest advent of the Europeans goes back to the beginning of the 17th century when the Portuguese merchant Diogo d'Almeda entered Ladakh and shared information about the region following which the Jesuits of Goa sent missionaries to the region with the aim of spreading the Gospel of the Christ into the region of Tibet. Almost after a gap of two hundred years the second encounter of the missionaries took place in the form of the German Moravian missionaries in the latter half of nineteenth century who came with the intent establishing missions among the Mongol tribes of Central Asia and the mission was initially known as the 'Mission to the Mongols'. The Moravians were unsuccessful in their attempt to enter either Mongolia or Tibet and the mission got converted into the Himalayan Mission. They established stations at Kyelang, Poo and Leh. The region of Ladakh also witnessed the arrival of Roman Catholics between the years 1888-1898. They were the Mill Hill missionaries of the St. Joseph's Society of Foreign Missions.

The present paper will focus on the arrival of the Europeans particularly the missionaries in Ladakh and the regions adjacent to it, regions that at a particular point of time shared its history with Ladakh or were part of the independent kingdom of Ladakh.

Keywords: Missionaries; Christian; Jesuits; Moravians; Roman Catholics; Western Tibet; Ladakh; Kyelang; Poo; Leh.

I

The prevalent idea of Ladakh as a region ²distant in both space and time appears to be a contemporary narrative as historically speaking the region had

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experienced the arrival of foreigners from an early time as it was located on the crossroads of the ancient silk route. However, Europeans did not enter the region until 1601 as Cunningham mentions that there is no authentic record prior to the arrival of Portuguese in the 17th century.¹

The Portuguese and the Indians share a long history that goes back to the arrival of Vasco de Gama at Calicut in the year 1498 on 27th of May. Though he was not the first European to reach India but the route that he came from was a particularly new one as he came along the Cape of Good Hope. It is asserted that Vasco de Gama came to India in search of Christians and Spices. The Portuguese had firmly established themselves on the western coast of India with Goa being the center by the year 1540. Here the intervention of the King of Portugal requesting the Pope and the new Society of Jesus to go to India to spread the Gospel among the inhabitants led to the venture of the Jesuits towards India. It appears that the first encounter of the Portuguese missionaries with the Mughals happened at the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the year 1573² whereas the first Jesuit missionary to arrive in India was Francis Xavier in 1542.

The Mughal Emperor Akbar sent a *farman* to the Jesuits of Goa in 1578 requesting missionaries to his court and the missionaries selected for the service were Antony Monserrate, Rudolf Aquaviva and Francis Henriquez.³ Akbar was greatly impressed by the missionaries and it is believed that he was in favor of the establishing missions in his empire. It is also asserted that it was Akbar's inquisitiveness about religion and his quest to solve its mystery that led to the exploration of different religions by the emperor.⁴ The Fathers were granted full liberty by the King to preach and to convert.⁵ The mission of the Jesuits to the Mughals was known as the 'Mogor Mission'. It was a Catholic mission to provinces not only in the Great Mughal Empire but also to the regions in the Himalayas which included Central Tibet, Guge and Ladakh.⁶

It was under this 'Mogor Mission' that the Jesuits first got in touch with the Tibetans.⁷ Portuguese merchant Diogo d'Almeda was the first European to enter Ladakh in the beginning of seventeenth century during the reign of King Jamyang Namgyal of the Namgyal dynasty.⁸ He stayed in the region for about two years. When he returned to Goa in 1603 he gave the report of his journey to the Archbishop of Goa.⁹ After him Francisco de Azevedo, a Jesuit missionary along with Jesuit João de Oliveria reached Ladakh. Their main motive behind coming to Ladakh was the establishment of mission stations and spreading of the Gospels to the people of Tibet. When the Jesuit missionaries came across Kashmiri merchants, they told them that the entire region of Tibet was populated with Christians. Though it was not true but it has been described as being one of the main motives for the Jesuits to explore Tibet.¹⁰

Azevedo after being ordained in the year 1614 was sent to regions such as Diu and Africa for several years and after his return to India was appointed to the 'Mogor Mission'. The story behind Azevedo and Oliveria's arrival at Leh for the first time is rather unique. During the siege of Guge by the King of Ladakh, Sengge Namgyal some Portuguese from Tsaparang were arrested which included them.¹¹

It appears Antonio de Andrade, another Portuguese Jesuit missionary, was successful in establishing a mission at Tsaparang, then the capital of Guge, in about 1624 as he was given active support by the King of Guge.¹² He also laid the foundation for building a Church at Tsaparang, which was the first ever Church built on a Tibetan territory.¹³ The similarities that they noticed between Tibetan Buddhism and Oriental Christianity led to the belief that converting Buddhists to Christianity would be an easy task. The Tsaparang mission was one of the most flourishing missions of the Company, however, its number did not exceed 400.¹⁴ The siege of Guge by the King of Ladakh further worsened the situation for the mission. The King of Guge had to surrender to King Sengge Namgyal of Ladakh

and was taken prisoner to Leh along with the members of his family.¹⁵ It appears that the fall of Guge was accommodated by the rebellion of several military commanders who called the King of Ladakh to invade Guge and offered him the crown. The treacherous brother of the King who was a monk took the opportunity of the ill health of the king and submitted to the King of Ladakh. The brother was offered the crown on the condition that he would be allowed to retain the kingdom as a tributary state of Ladakh.¹⁶ Hence, Guge and Rudok, a province in Tibet bordering Ladakh east of the Pangong Lake,¹⁷ became provinces of Ladakh.

Andrade later on appointed Azevedo as a missionary to go to Tsaparang and take review on the situation of the mission. When Azevedo along with Oliveria reached Guge they found the desperate and hopeless condition of the mission. The new Governor of the province was not favorable to foreigners and looked upon them with enmity. The Christians of the region were slaughtered and pushed into slavery.¹⁸ With such circumstances at hand it appeared sensible to the missionaries to approach the King of Ladakh. They reached Leh on October 25, 1631.¹⁹ They visited the King of Ladakh seeking permission for the operation of the mission in his territories including Guge to which they got positive response as the king allowed them not only to resume their mission in Tsaparang but also allowed them to establish missions at Rudok and Ladakh too.²⁰ With gleaming hopes they returned to India and decided to go back to Guge in the spring of 1634 but could not do so as Azevedo died suddenly in March 1634 of poisoning.²¹ Hence they were unable to hold onto the mission at Tsaparang and it had to be abandoned by the year 1642.²²

The death of King Sengee Namgyal in 1642 resulted in the loss of power of Ladakh and the empire began to decline. The kingdoms of Guge and Rudok were taken over by the Central Tibetans by the years 1679-1680 when the forces of central Tibet under the command of Galdan Tsewang and Ladakh clashed which resulted in the cessation of the two regions from Ladakh. The 'Treaty of

Tingmosgang'²³ was signed between the Tibetan and the Ladakhi Kingdom in 1684.²⁴

In the year 1715, Ladakh witnessed the arrival of another European, Ippolito Desideri, who was commissioned with the task of restoring the old Jesuit Mission in Tibet.²⁵ Desideri started the journey for Tibet and left for India in April 1713 and reached Goa in September 1713.²⁶ He travelled from Goa via Surat, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Srinagar and Leh.²⁷ On this journey he was accompanied by Manoel Freyre, a Portuguese Jesuit who was also his superior.²⁸ Though the main motive of the Jesuits was the restoration of the mission in Tibet but Desideri seems to have formed a positive inkling towards Ladakh and wanted to stay there.²⁹ However, Manoel Freyre did not agree and declined Desideri's idea. One of the reasons behind Desideri's refusal to go to Tibet was that on his arrival at Ladakh he learned about the existence of Capuchins, Roman Catholics of the Franciscan order, in Lhasa.³⁰

The absence of proper knowledge regarding the civilizations in the Himalayas among the Europeans can be made from the fact that Desideri had never heard about Proper Tibet and frequently referred to Tibet as the third Tibet³¹ and the first and second Tibet being Baltistan and Ladakh.³² Moreover, they were not successful in establishing the mission in Tibet as by the year 1732 the Tibet Mission was exclusively handed over to the Capuchins as decreed by Pope Clement XI.³³

II

The second encounter of the missionaries with the people of Ladakh happened when on the recommendation of Dr. Karl Gutzlaff,³⁴ the Moravian Mission Board at Herrnhut agreed to send missionaries to a part of Mongolia under the rule of the Chinese.³⁵ The members of the board decided to send Br. Edward Pagell and Augustus William Heyde for the purpose.³⁶ Hence the mission

originally meant for spreading the gospel among the Mongols then the Tibetans and ultimately to the Western Tibetans was initiated.

As the approval for the missionaries to proceed towards Mongolia was granted it was decided that the two missionaries who agreed to take up the mission, Brother. Pagell and Lewis Wilhelm Heyde, will proceed towards their destination via Calcutta. Hence, they began their journey from Calcutta on 12th of December, 1853.³⁷ The two Brothers often talk about the inconveniences of the journey but at the same time remember the purpose of their journey that they are on a Missionary journey and not an excursion for pleasure.³⁸ From Meerut they continued their journey towards Kalka, where they first encountered the Himalayas. It has been mentioned throughout the reports and the letters that the two brethren were offered the services of various missionaries and their stations on their route towards the Himalayas.

On the 7th of April 1854 the missionaries arrived at Kotgur after a much difficult journey of four hours in rain where they were received very warmly by Mr. and Mrs. Prochnow.³⁹ After spending the evening with the Prochnows' they both left for their abode which was a little further from the Prochnow residence. It was here that they applied themselves to the learning of the Tibetan language most probably from a Tibetan lama who was living with Mr. Prochnow. Further they learned that in order to go to Ladakh a passport is required issued by the superior British officer at Lahore.⁴⁰

An extract of a letter dated April 14th, 1855, Sultanpur, from Brothers Pagell and A.W. Heyde to the mission board mentions, 'We received to-day another communication from Lahore, which, to our great joy, contained an unrestricted permission for us to travel to Ladak.'⁴¹ Ladakh though being an independent kingdom since its inception maintained its autonomy for a long span of time until the arrival of the Dogras in the 1830s and had to compromise their independence by surrendering to the Dogra General Zorawar Singh. Since then

Ladakh has remained an important part of the Dogra King Goolab Sing's empire and to pursue any activity in the region needed the approval of the Maharaja. Likewise the missionaries too had to seek his permission and it appears from his letter of permission that Goolab Sing did not wish for them to remain for a longer span in Ladakh.

The stay of the Brethrens in Leh turned out to be a shorter one than they had intended. They left Leh on the 19th of July, 1855 and proceeded towards the Tibetan frontier. They both parted ways at Nyoma, Br. Heyde proceeded towards Chushul whereas Br. Pagell towards Hanle.⁴² The missionaries though disheartened never let the failure get to their hearts and hoped that their travel in the provinces of Ladakh would yield some benefits like organizing the gospels and distributing tracts to the heathens whenever they got an opportunity. On the advice of Mr. Prochnow, the missionaries decided to spend the winter in Kotgarh and to set a permanent station at Lahoul.⁴³ Finally on the 3rd of March, 1856 they received the permission, to set up a permanent station at Lahoul, granted by the Unity's Elders Conference.⁴⁴

The Kyelang station was coming up at a rapid speed and Brother Heyde had also obtained a lithographic printing press from Simla for the publication of the tracts translated into Tibetan. The first work to be printed on this press was Brother Jaschke's translation of Barth's Bible stories.⁴⁵ They also aim at establishing a mission school and had engaged themselves in agricultural work as they mention the success of their garden crops, particularly potatoes.⁴⁶

It has been mentioned that the mission among the 'Buddhist dwellers in Central Asia' was the most hopeless as even after almost twelve years since the arrival of the missionaries not a single convert has been gained. Those who have expressed their wish to convert were prevented by employing various evil means. Amidst all this Br. Pagell intended to find a second station at Poo, in Upper

Kinnaur. A letter by Brother Reicler, dated June 10th, 1865, mentions Pagell's departure along with his family to Poo.⁴⁷

While the missionaries were involved at the stations of Kyelang and Poo they also aimed at establishing a permanent station at Leh, the capital of Ladakh. The brethrens also made frequent journeys to Leh and nearby regions of Ladakh such as Zaskar and Nubra, where they met people, distributed texts whenever possible. However, it appears that since the region of Ladakh came under the suzerainty of the Dogras by 1834,⁴⁸ it required certain permission to even enter the region. It has also been mentioned that few years before 1885 no Europeans were allowed a pass to enter Ladakh during the winter months.⁴⁹ To establish a permanent resident station at Leh, seemed a little difficult as compared to establishing one in the regions that came directly under the British colonial government. The aim of establishing a permanent station at Leh has been substantiated with several reasons, however, its strategic location, lying on the famous Central Asian trade route of Silk Route, gave the region a cosmopolitan character. Here traders from Kashmir, Yarkhand, Tibet and India could be found and encounter with the Mongols appeared more. Besides Leh has been described as the only region that possesses a proper bazaar.⁵⁰

The provision to start a mission station at Leh began when Brother Heyde was at Dharamsala and from there ventured towards Jammu to meet the Maharaja seeking his permission but was only allowed to take missionary journeys during the summer months for which they were no longer needed permissions.⁵¹ It appears that Brother Heyde in 1877 again went to meet the raja to seek his permission regarding the opening of the station and again had to face disappointment as the Maharaja feared it would sound offensive to the Lamas at Lhasa. It was in the 1881 that Brother Heyde decided to spend the winter months at Leh where he received the aid of Mr. Elias, the acting British official. Here it also seems important to mention that the official from Kashmir at Leh had

received the orders from the British government to provide dwelling for two Englishmen who had been appointed to make meteorological observations at Leh. Brother Heyde at this point of time was fully involved in the mission at Leh when the unfortunate death of both Brother and Sister Pagell at Poo in January, 1883 obliged him to return to Kyelang to take full charge whereas the Superintendent of the mission Brother Redslob had to rush to Poo.⁵²

In the spring of 1884, the missionaries of the Himalayas, received the good news that the Maharaja of Kashmir had given his assent to build a mission-house at Leh on the request of the then Viceroy, Marquis of Ripon. On the 18th of August, 1885, Brother Redslob along with his wife and children arrived at Leh and soon found that the English officials appointed for the meteorological observation had been recalled and the place where they had been living was given to them. It also included a ground adjoining the field and they were given permission to build a church and a school over there. Apart from the house, Brother Redslob was also handed over the responsibility of the dispensary which was earlier attended by a native doctor who was provided salary by the Indian Government.⁵³ Further an estimate was also given of the values of the property and other materialistic things owned by them. Soon they carried forward the expansion of the mission-house when the news of Goolab Singh's death in September 1885⁵⁴ disturbed the activity and they had to halt the construction for about a month. On May 7th, 1886, the foundation stone for the construction of the Church was laid.⁵⁵

Brother and Sister Redslob on their journey to Leh were accompanied by the converts of Kyelong, as most of them belonged to Ladakh and wished to return to their native place. The commencement of the mission proved to be completely in their favour as now they could go actually back to Ladakh and reside without any fear from the authorities as well as the from the community.⁵⁶ They were a family of four who moved from the Kyelang station to Leh.

Subsequently the resident missionary had planned to visit the nearby areas of Leh and see the prospect of gaining converts in those regions also. The September issue of the Periodical Accounts of 1887 gives the number of converts from all the three stations. It shows the number of converts from Kyelang to be 18, from Poo 8 and Leh 17 which adds to a total of 43.⁵⁷

III

The region of Ladakh also witnessed the arrival of Roman Catholic⁵⁸ missionaries between the years 1888 and 1898. They belonged to the St. Joseph's Society of Foreign Missions⁵⁹ and were generally known as the Mill Hill Mission.⁶⁰ The first missionary of the Mill Hill's to travel to Ladakh was Father Daniel Kilty who stayed in Ladakh for almost two years learning the language. Since Ladakh at that time was under sovereignty of the Maharaja of Kashmir it was not easy for a foreigner to go to Ladakh and settle there. Kilty had to apply for permission to stay in Ladakh as well as rent an accommodation from the government as owning of property was also not allowed. With the grant of permission he embarked on the journey to learn Tibetan.⁶¹ After him several other missionaries also arrived in Ladakh but Henry Hanlon and Michel Donsen lived the longest among the Mill Hill missionaries.⁶²

The mission station that Mill Hill missionaries founded in Ladakh was known as the 'St. Peter's' and carried out missionary work in Ladakh.⁶³ The two missionaries Hanlon and Donsen contributed towards the language and culture of Ladakh as knowing the language was of primal importance to the missionaries and acquaintance with the language helped them to learn about customs and religious beliefs of the people of the region.⁶⁴ The most significant contribution of Hanlon was the documentation of ballads, however, the records seem to be lost as they were never published. He was also the first European to give a detailed description of wedding ceremonies and the rituals associated with it. Hanlon also wrote descriptive excerpts about Ladakh which were published monthly in the

Illustrated Catholic Missions by the title 'Ladak, the Ladakis and their popular Buddhism', between October 1893 and April 1895.⁶⁵ His description of the adventures while traveling in Nubra valley of Ladakh were published as well as translated into Dutch. Whereas Donsens' contribution was a publication on Ladakh describing its geography, polity, people, customs, beliefs and rituals.⁶⁶

The Mill Hill mission in Ladakh was a short lived one as it was withdrawn in 1898 due to shortage of manpower. However, as Bray describes what remains of this mission in Ladakh is the grave of Father Kilty. Though the mission served in Leh for a short span, the contributions of its missionaries could not be ignored as they serve as sources for the history of the region.

Conclusion

The arrival of the missionaries in a region such as Ladakh in the course of history present an interesting picture as such encounters resulted in bringing about change. The Portuguese Jesuits never came with the intention of building a mission station in Ladakh but wanted to enter the larger country of Tibet to establish their stations. The Jesuits were initially successful in establishing mission in Tibet and they are credited with the building of the first ever Church in the Himalayan region at Tsaprang. However, due to certain internal feuds the mission had to be closed and abandoned by the year 1642. Initiatives were also carried on by other Jesuits to restore the mission in the eighteenth century but they were also not successful and the Tibet mission was handed over to the Capuchins.

The Mill Hill missionaries also tried their luck in establishing a station and gaining converts at Leh, nonetheless, their stay in the region was short lived as the station had to be closed in 1898 within ten years of its establishment. Though the life span of the station in the region was not long yet one cannot ignore their contributions particularly in the field of literature.

The Moravian missionaries can be attributed a special status among the missionaries that came to the region owing to the fact that they were the only ones who were able to sustain their mission in the region and gain converts. Though the number of converts they gained was meager but they were able to sustain the membership particularly at the station of Leh which led to the establishment of a permanent Christian community in Ladakh.

Endnotes

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59. members of the Catholic Church in full communion with the Pope in Rome.
They trace their history to Jesus during the period of Roman occupation in the early 30s of the Common Era.
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Radio in the Age of Social Media: Narratives from Radio Hosts

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Abstract

The ways and means by which the old media like the TV or radio responds to the new wave of social media generates lots of inquisitiveness and scholarly attention. This paper provides account/case study of three individuals, who are radio hosts, about how social media has changed the relationship of radio host and listeners and in doing so, have altered the entire experience of radio.

Key Words: Radio, convergence, social media, RJ

Introduction

The idea of coexistence between new and old media is similar to the idea of '*convergence*' proposed by Henry Jenkins (2006). The convergence is the flow of content on multiple platforms, the cooperation between several sectors of industry and the migration of public in the continuous search for new entertainment experiences. The pro-active role of consumers is considered to be central as they produce new flows of information using different platforms. Some examples offered by Jenkins are spoilers for the programme '*Survivor*' or the public voting in '*American Idol*' that contributes to the vitality of the programme. There are many further examples in which the old media (television, print, and telephone) interact with the new media (reality shows, social network, and mobile phones). This participatory media has resulted in the culture of co-creation and has affected every area of art, design, architecture, music, video, literature and other productive fields like manufacturing, urban agriculture and biotech. In the

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Indian context we have seen the emergence of reality T.V. and similar versions like the '*Indian Idol*' or '*India's Got Talent*'.

How the old media like the TV or radio has responded to this new wave of social media generates a lot of inquisitiveness and scholarly attention. Mark Poster examines that 'the magic of the Internet is that it is a technology that puts cultural acts, symbolizations in all forms, in the hands of all participants; it radically decentralizes the positions of speech, publishing, filmmaking and radio and television broadcasting, in short the apparatuses of cultural production' (Poster 2001:184).

Radio in the age of Social Media

Social media or to be precise the social networking websites has completely changed the traditional relationship between the radio and its public. Before the invention of phone the only way the radio listeners could participate was through postal mail and before that the radio and listeners shared a relationship of trust and unknowability and an imaginative world where the listener and the voice from the radio existed. This underwent a change when listeners began to participate through phone but still listeners were drawing upon an unknown terrain where they at least had a clue who the person on the other side of radio was.

The telephone, and subsequently mobile phones, e-mail, Internet streaming, blogs and social media progressively reversed the communication flow, re-establishing a balance in favour of the public. Finally, contemporary radio has become a potentially participative tool. With SNSs (social networking sites) we are facing a paradigmatic change in the relationship between radio and its audience: listeners are becoming the real content of radio. McLuhan already

understood this when he claimed, 'in electronic media user is content'. The combination between radio and social networks sites (SNS) has brought the public and the radio nearer to each other. The new communicational model that emerges from the combination of radio and social media is 'a hybrid model, partly still broadcast, partly already networked' (Bonini, 2014). The mix between radio and SNS considerably modifies both the hierarchical/vertical relation between the speaker/presenter and the public, and the horizontal relation between each listener. Also the relationship between the listeners themselves have found a new dimension in terms of the platform provided by Facebook fan pages. Fans of a radio programme are able to establish links online, exchange public comments on the programme's wall, express their opinion about the contents, exchange contents on their personal walls, write each other private messages or chat with each other. People who listen frequently to a radio programme and are its fans on Facebook have the opportunity, for the first time, to see and recognise each other, to communicate, to create new links while bypassing the centre, i.e. the radio programme itself.

The Indian Context

This paper provides an account/case study of three individuals, who are radio hosts, about how social media has changed the relationship of radio host and listeners and in doing so, have altered the entire experience of radio.

India after independence or the India of 1950's and 60's cannot be imagined without the presence of a radio. In a space where other mediums like television were totally absent, radio ruled the mind and cultural landscape of Indian people. The programmes broadcast by *Aakashwani* (public radio) had a huge listener base across India. People of my father's generation have actually grown up listening to the radio. Writing a letter to *Aakashwani* radio was one of people's wonderful activity to listen to their names being announced by the radio

hosts. It was something out of this world, an experience which people of that generation remember so fondly. My father who had been an ardent radio fan till date has many such anecdotes to share. He talked of a person named Booti Ram Handa who would write a letter daily and was so popular among radio listeners that people of Punjab knew him as a celebrity. An elder member of our family has spent most of his life listening to radio programmes not just Indian but Pakistani as well. I know of people in my own university who carry radios on their bicycle wherever they go.

If Hindi songs are so much central to the understanding and the imaginative world of a common Indian (Kakar, 1996) the credit must be given to the radio and innumerable programmes where people would ask for their favourite songs to be played. In fact even today (in the era of FM radio) songs rule the landscape of programmes. The advent of FM radio has changed the way in which the radio and its audience was perceived traditionally. Liberalization, privatisation and decentralisation led to the proliferation of these radio stations to begin with from metro cities, followed by small towns.

They are youthful and vibrant in their stylistics generally drawing on local youth serving as RJ (again a connotation new to the arena of radio in India where we had radio anchors/announcers). The proliferation and presence of other media had severely reduced the traditional listeners of radio thus now we do not come across exclusive radio listeners. It has led to the extinction of radio set manufacturing companies in India. Normally people prefer to listen to radio in their cars or the new lease of life for radio must have been the juxtaposition of mobile and the FM radio. The FM radio with their localised presence tend to be more participative. A typical FM would normally allot a two-hour slot to its RJ, where the RJ in a very hurried voice would munch out words at the audience persuading and provoking them to call or SMS and obviously join him/her on his

Facebook page. Well in this entire staple, dominated by a commonsensical information giving and playing songs, some of the programmes have carved out a niche for themselves. The following is the account of three such individuals who work as RJs with renowned FM radio stations of India. The present study is an account of these three people who have redefined the role of a host. These stories reveal the new role relationship between the radio host and its public where the listeners play an active role in creative co-creation.

- 1) The city of Amritsar, an emerging market, too saw in the year 2003 a sudden influx of few FM radio stations 92.7, 93.4 and 104.8 FM. Many of the young media students from the local colleges (it was latter half of the first decade of 21st century that media studies as an academic discipline was introduced into the colleges of Punjab) went to give interview for RJ and some of them now enjoy considerable fan following in the city. Here two stations were more popular and their target audience was mostly the youth. A station named Meow 104.8, which was a franchise of Delhi, was only for women. It had a very popular though brief stint and a programme broadcast by Raj*, created an instant connection with its female audience. His programme was participative in nature and a theme was floated in the beginning of the programme and women would tell their own stories and opinions. Some of his avid listeners recall how this programme had brought about changes in their lives making them take some life changing decisions. One of his ardent listener, Vavitha*, told me how she came out of a depressing phase in her life when she was advised by one of her friend to listen to this show. She started calling him and found solace in his words and eventually met him in person as well. Social media allows blurring of the boundaries that existed in the traditional radio environment. In fact Raj found his future spouse in the

form of his listener. This programme went on successfully for around five years and many of his listeners began talking to each other through the programme and later on one-on-one either through phone or email. They always expressed a desire to see the person behind the voice. And this wish became true with the coming of Facebook where many of Raj's listeners joined him on his Facebook page. To see Raj in person before the coming of social media seemed to be an arduous task especially for women, which has now become easy. Also the Facebook page helped listeners to form relations among themselves. The listeners having heard each other on air would now find it easy to connect with one another. Some of them have found good friends and councillors through this. Although with the passage of time the commercial forces resulted in fundamentally changing the nature of this radio channel from being only for women to a commercial song based channel, but drawing upon his earlier listener base Raj is still carrying on his new role with panache. Though some of his serious listeners have parted way with the radio but they are still in contact with him through his Facebook page. He has around 3000 followers on his Facebook page. He has two profiles one for his individual networking meant for his family and friends the other one is his official profile of a RJ on the Facebook page. In an interview with the researcher he said that his Facebook page serves as an important site for evaluating the popularity of his programme. As the messages are text based the listeners find it easy to express even their negative opinion which in most of the cases they would avoid during face-to-face interactions.

- 2) Another example of a lady in her early forties who by profession is a doctor but is a creative artist, a writer and a poetess and always loved to

be associated with radio. Her long loved passion to be a RJ was realized when she started working for an online radio in Australia named *Harman Radio* which is mainly catering to the Punjabi immigrants in Australia. Most of its employees are freelance workers who have various professions. For people like Reena* the platform provided by online media has unleashed a door to realize her long lost dreams while continuing with her job, on which she depends for her financial needs. In a personal interview with the researcher she said how her work with the Radio as an RJ and her Facebook page has given her a new lease of life and a new-found identity post her divorce and difficult domestic situation. She found a good support structure in form of many of her Facebook friends, some of whom she has never met personally. She pointed out how their long distance counselling has helped her to get out of depression. She chose Facebook as the platform to express her feelings. She feels immensely satisfied with the response she gets on her Facebook page. Her Facebook page is the forum through which she interacts with her listeners. She broadcasts her radio show live on Facebook where the listeners can see her as well. This works as a dual platform. Through these mediums she has found new friends, new connections in the form of people associated with the creative field. She regularly attends many creative events in her city and also publishes her poems in magazines. She is able to connect to her listeners at multiple levels through convergence of radio and social network platforms. The Punjabi diaspora in Australia loves to listen to *Harman Radio*. Her voice from Punjab is a voice from their own land having an intense nostalgic value.

3) The role of radio author has changed from being a producer to curator. In this age of social media there is an abundance of content creation. So today the job of producers is to filter, locate niche contents for the audience especially for the listeners who have no time to delve into this vast expanse of data. The producer's function in the age of Facebook is thus to procure contents emerging from small islands, small communities and adapt them for the public of large continents, transforming them into mass culture. Curatorship has emerged as a big job of our times. It is a task of re-evaluating, filtering, digesting and connecting together. In an age saturated with information it is the curator who is the connection maker, the new story teller, the meta-author. Radio producer has to keep an eye out for interesting material and decide what to use and what to discard. As listeners enact their tastes online, the radio author re-interprets and re-elaborates them, providing the audience with a dramaturgically constructed listening experience in which contents are mixed together. Listeners comment and supply new material to the community of listeners/producers so that the process can start again (Bonini, 2014).

One such success story is of a radio- producer- cum -presenter, Neelesh Misra. He carved a niche for himself despite deviating from the popular trends. He brought back the tradition of storytelling on radio, which was quite an important genre with the earlier public radio in India but eventually lost its charm for the listeners of FM radio. But it was Neelesh who recreated his phenomenon for the listeners of FM radio. It was not just the nostalgic element but the refreshingly relevant content that cached up with the listeners. Also the audience participation has taken this entire experience to a new level. Neelesh, in the beginning, narrated

stories written by him but eventually he opened his forum for telling stories sent by his listeners. Through his Facebook page (the page has 330293 followers as on May 2, 2016), he remains in constant conversation with his listeners and in fact it was the listeners who wanted to see him in person and listen to him live. Today he is not just a radio presenter, he organises live story telling sessions across various parts of India.

Conclusion

Social media has completely changed the way the listeners would perceive and respond to radio, especially with the coming of new forms of interaction made available by social network sites, listeners can easily interact with the radio hosts and this has brought the radio jockeys/presenters a lot closer to them. This has also redefined the role a radio host who had now to navigate various mediums and interact with his/ her listeners at multiple levels making the job of an RJ quite challenging.

- Pseudonyms, for the purpose of research ethics

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Women and the Partition: Reflection in Amrita Pritam's Literary Works

Poonam *

Abstract

This research paper describes the condition and experiences of women during Partition through studying Amrita Pritam's literary works. The basic attempt is to highlight the serious issues and problems faced by women like violence, abduction during partition and their recovery process after partition. An attempt is also made to study the impact of partition on women describing trauma, loss and double dislocation.

The Partition of the Punjab was an unprecedented event that not only created new boundaries but also echoed in deep psychological scars on the minds of people. It led to loss of many lives; millions of people migrated and came to India leaving their homes, fields and property. Thousands of people were killed in the riots. But it was the women and children who faced the intense brutalities of violence during the Partition. The historiographical trends on the partition, clarifies that major researches on the Partition relate to the questioning about the process of partition, communalism, and political aspect of partition. In fact, most works on the partition focus on the politics and economics of this great divide. That is identifying of causes and developments leading to this catastrophe. The other side of partition which includes emotional trauma, grief, violence, sufferings and experiences of common people during partition is less researched or even ignored. It was very difficult to explore this human dimension of partition i.e psychological impact of experiences of violence, abduction, migration and rehabilitation. This human tragedy was limited in some accounts which only tell us about the statistical data and some memoirs that retell the

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trauma. The voices of common people who experienced violence during partition is often silent. However, some researchers like Gyanendra Pandey, Urvashi Butalia and Ritu Menon have focused on this aspect by listening to the silent voices of women and their oral narratives. Veena Das, an anthropologist, explored the psychological impact of violence on women and the ways these women coped with it. This gave other researchers opportunity to explore new themes related to women during partition. The feminist scholars have always asserted that the experience of women during partition was different from that of man. But there was always limited access of information regarding this because women were not allowed to share their experiences by their own family members due to shame and to preserve the honour of family and that of the communities. Sometimes their voices were moulded in accordance with the male narratives of partition. Sometimes women themselves found no use of telling their stories. Hence voices and presence of women during partition were marginalized by patriarchal mindset.

The Partition cannot be understood only through looking facts and statistics alone. The human dimension of partition, human trauma, pain, loss and agony are also to be studied. The literature always reflects the society. All the literary works whether it is novel, short stories, poems etc are never written in vacuum. Literature is always moulded and influenced by the social environment. Literary works represents both the cultural and social aspects of society. It also traces the social evils that prevailed in society and their impact on population. Human emotions like anger, pain, love, jealousy, insecurity and sufferings are important elements reflected in literature. Hence, literature also helps us to understand the psyche of human mind. It reflects the human life in all its dimensions. Literature acts as a medium of expression for the writers to criticise and to present the real depths of certain events in history. To construct the histories of common people during the partition, it is important to recall the memories of that event. The oral

narratives of people who witnessed the partition are limited especially women's oral narratives which are often moulded by patriarchal mindset. It is very important to study the literary works during partition in order to understand the political and social circumstances in which they are located and re-affirm the oral narratives into historical frames. The literary works on partition provides the aspects of 'memory' in partition which was ignored before. It can act as an alternative source which corroborates the dark and hidden experiences of women during partition and their psychology in the form of characters in the stories. It can tell us untold pain and trauma that women can't express due to consciousness of the consequences she might have to face if they speak the truth. Literary sources reflects the misogyny of common people and their individual experiences in partition. The literary works related to partition have a significant value because they speak about the loss, pain, shattered dreams, broken homes, and divided families. Creative writers have graphically portrayed human pain and sufferings, fiendishness of communal violence, trauma of displacement, loss of identity, loss of honour, and disappearance of moral values in the wake of communal frenzy. They speak about the ordinary people who paid a very heavy price for the freedom. These novelists emphasise the centrality of literary narratives and address the human distress accompanying the partition in some depth and many of these writers have witnessed the event. A number of writers have contributed like Khushwant Singh, Sadat Hasan Manto, Intizar Hussain, Krishna Sobti and Amrita Pritam.

Amrita Pritam was novelist, essayist and poet, a witness to the partition who wrote in Punjabi and Hindi. She is considered the first prominent female Punjabi poet, novelist of 20th century who is loved in India and Pakistan. She produced considerable works of poetry, fiction, biographies, collection of folk songs and autobiographies. She started writing at very small age as she was motivated by her father. She was of independent nature from childhood. Initially

she wrote on religious but later on she started writing on social issues. She wrote *Lok Peer* in 1944, which was on the condition of people during Bengal famines. Before partition she wrote many works like *Kunjiyaan* in 1944, *Pathar gitte* in 1946, *Jai shrri* in 1946. After partition she had written a series of collection of poems like *Lamiyaa Wattan* in 1949, *Sarghi Vela* in 1951, *Sunehrey* in 1955 and collection of folk songs *Punjab di Awaz* in 1952. The collection of poems in *Ashoka Cheti* was written in 1957. The novel *Pinjar* was written in 1950, *Chak No. 36* and *Ek thi Anita* in 1964. She had earned praise for her novels like *The Closed Door*, *Aerial*, *Jila Vatan*, *Dil Diya Galliyan* etc. Her autobiographies *Rasidi ticket*, *Aksharon ki Chhaya mein* and *Kala Gulab* are translated into many languages. Her magazine *Naagmani* was criticised.

Amrita Pritam could identify with the pain of women in varied circumstances. She wrote about the women who were forced into marriage deprived of love, forbidden self-expression. Many novels of Amrita Pritam talk about issues like men- women relationships, forcible marriage, love, sexual violence, children produced out of wedlock, and honour killings which were considered as taboos during that period. Many of her poems like “*Breadwinner*”, “*Waiting*” were criticised at that time subjects were banned because it spoke of economic dependence of women on men and sexual violence in marriages. Amrita Pritam brought the hidden problems of women who were silent in the private sphere into public arena. She wrote many protagonist female characters in her novels like Pooro in *Pinjar*, Alka in *Chak no. 36* etc. She also faced criticism for her poem ‘*Garbhwati*’ in which she had imagined the feelings of Guru Nanak’s mother. She was honest in her writings. There was also a call to ban *Rasidi Ticket*. Her magazine *Naagmani* was called as vulgar by some critics. A reviewer even called her ‘lustful aunt’ for writing on these issues. But despite criticism, she wrote many novels, short stories and poems on women. She criticised the Sati custom, ill-treatment of widows, polygamy and child marriage

through her writings. Amrita Pritam witnessed the partition and saw the pathetic condition of women during partition. Her poem '*Ajj Akhan Waris ShahNu*' was an immediate reaction towards the women experience during partition. Some orthodox people also criticised her for addressing Waris Shah in poem '*Ajj Akhan Waris Shah Nu*' and for not addressing Guru Nanak. She highlighted the voices of women which were silenced or ignored at that time by family, communities and even the State. Amrita Pritam shared her own experience of partition in her autobiography *Rasidi ticket* and *Kala Gulab*. Her novel '*Skeleton*' was written to show the women's individual experiences during partition violence. She addressed the communal frenzy, violence and division between shared culture, brotherhood and people. Amrita Pritam witnessed partition and came to Dehradun from Lahore. She wrote whatever she saw and heard in her writings. Thus Amrita Pritam's work not only represents the partition but also as highlights as a women's voice in partition.

Amrita Pritam described the forms of violence during partition riots. She narrated the violent incidents involving burning of shops and houses, burning women and children alive, turning entire whole villages into ash. She condemned hatred and frenzy among Hindus and Muslims. She addressed the question for how this violence can be justified. Amrita Pritam literary works brings out a major difference in the forms of violence executed on women during the partition from that of men. Men experienced violence (physical) in the forms of killings, injuries and conversion. But the layers of violence executed on the bodies of women during partition were complex, intense and left a life-long trauma. The layers of violence were often silenced or ignored. It is evident in her literary works that violence against women was embedded in society even in the day to day common lives of people in the forms of sati, domestic violence and sexual exploitation of poor women. Abduction of women was understood as a method to take revenge. Amrita Pritam highlights the reasons behind the abductions during

partition. Sometimes women were abducted just because of the opportunity alone but also in order to acquire property. Sometimes, it was to take revenge from other communities. Brutalities on the women's bodies were used to insult the rival communities and to malign the purity and chastity and honour of women of other religion permanently. The violence executed on women during the partition crossed all limits and barriers of morality and humanity in society. Women experienced violence through their bodies. Women were abducted, killed, raped multiple times, passed and sold into many hands. Some women were paraded naked, their bodies were tattooed. Women were forcibly married. Historian like Urvashi Butalia, Ritu Menon, Kamla Bhasin, Yasmin Khan, Andrew J. Major among others estimated that more than one lakh women were abducted during the partition. Urvashi Butalia also stated that there is no data available on how many women were raped, passed on and sold. There is no source which can give information about how many women were killed by the men of their own families and how many women committed suicide by jumping in wells in order to save their honour. The poem 'Ajj Akhan Waris Shah Nu' points out that a large numbers of women were abducted during partition. The official records and other documents had only highlighted the physical violence but Amrita Pritam also focussed on the psychological impact of violence on women. Her literary works draw attention to the mental violence, the psychological trauma and pain women faced. Women were forcibly married and suffered a continuous pressure to accept the abductor as their husbands. Some women were kept like prisoners in their home so that they could not escape. They were made sex slaves. Unwanted pregnancies and birth of children through these marriages resulted as ultimate loss of her life and her family. Some women had even lost all awareness of the world around them after undergoing multiple rapes. Amrita Pritam expressed the confusion and continuous struggle women faced about whether to hate or accept the abductor. Women faced mental trauma during birth of children

out of rape. They were in continuous dilemma to love or to hate their own children. The partition led to varied and intense forms of violence on women, some of which could never be imagined in any society.

The women who were abducted and raped were restored to their original families by both the Government of India and Pakistan under the Recovery and Restoration 1949 Act. The State took the responsibility to bring back the 'lost honour' of the country. People were searching for their family members and Governments of both countries were deluged with requests from the relatives of 'missing' women seeking to recover them through government and military action. The alarming growth in the size of list compelled to both Governments to act. The Abducted Person Recovery and Restoration Ordinance was passed as an Act in 1949. Bringing back of abducted women into their original religion fold determined the entire recovery operation. It was total denial of rights or legal recourse to the recovered women. The number of recovered women between 1947- 52 was 20,728 Muslim women from India and mere 9,032 non- Muslim women from Pakistan. This major difference in the numbers raised questions on the success of this operation.

The recovery of women was actually a policy of regaining the 'pure' and this purity had to be emphasised and was crucial for the state and communities self-legitimization. This Act faced much criticism by female social workers and leaders. Abducted women also protested and refused to come back. Amrita Pritam also criticised this Act through her writings but also focused on the double trauma and fear faced by women. She expressed that women had to suffer double humiliation, double destruction and reconstruction of her identity. Amrita Pritam highlights the fact that although State was recovering women but their original families rejected them due to shame and guilt. The problem became so intense that the State had to publish pamphlets and leaders like Gandhi and Nehru made public appeals to accept these recovered women and claimed that

these women were pure and needed support. Amrita Pritam went deep inside the psychological condition of women who were rescued and gave insight of their emotional and psychological condition. These women lost respect in society and they were outcast from religion. She believed that Central Recovery Operation had given false hopes to abducted women and later their dreams shattered and abducted women were left alone. She expressed the thought process and the fears and guilt attached with women who refused to come back. Amrita Pritam also pointed that some women were accepted by their families but these were very few. She stressed on the fact that women were recovered by the efforts of women social workers who risked their lives. Some women were found in fields and some women were rescued from homes of abductors. Amrita Pritam stated that by the time the State recovered them it was too late, and the abducted women had got married and became mothers and that is why women refused to come back. Amrita Pritam showed concern about their condition and expressed the fear, guilt, grief, shame, insecurity and silence felt by women as the signs of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). She called them mere 'skeletons' living physically but emotionally dead.

Amrita Pritam also talked about women who were pregnant and gave birth to children out of rape. She highlighted the problem of children of mixed religion. She wrote the poem 'Majboor' on the helpless condition of women who were raped. She expressed her anger by saying that these born and unborn children were like scar or dark spot not only on the women but on the history of both countries permanently. The partition was located not only in the demarcation of boundaries but on the bodies of women. She described the trauma of rape through the metaphor of mother's womb. She believed that the Recovery Operation of Abducted Women was implemented such that a woman's identity continues to define in the terms of their religious identities alone. She raised the issue that in order to bring abducted women into the fold of their religion and their

nation, their children had to be separated from them. The children who were born out of rape were treated as illegitimate and were separated from their mothers. Amrita Pritam as well as other social workers like Kamla Patel called this inhuman as it separated a mother from her child and they wanted to stop the process of recovery. Amrita Pritam also addressed the exploitation of children who were abandoned during partition. Innocent and helpless minors who could not fend for themselves were at times abandoned by the mothers who was in no state to raise them.

Hence it can be concluded that Amrita Pritam's literary works corroborates and confirms the scattered information provided in other sources on the partition. It helps us to understand the psyche of women during partition. It also provides the link between violence against the women during pre-partition and the partition times. The literary works of Amrita Pritam help us to understand the individual experiences of women and the psychological impact of violence on the women after partition. Amrita Pritam goes into deep inside the inner thoughts of women who became silent. She also gives information about the negative attitude of society towards the abducted women. Largely women were rejected by their original families and due to the recovery operation women were once again uprooted and became homeless and forced to live their whole life in State Rehabilitation Centres. She gives a critique of the attitude of the State towards abducted women. It focus on human dimension which recognizes the trauma the women went through and gives voice to the silence of lakhs of women who bore the physical and psychological brunt of partition. It also gives the perspective of children in detail who were abandoned by the mothers and the state. These innocent children had to face the brutalities and the trauma without any fault of theirs just because they were the product of rape or had mixed blood of two communities and were considered 'impure'. Amrita Pritam stated that these children were symbols of brutalities of Partition and this was a dark spot on the

history of our nation. Her works widen the scope to understand the unprecedented events in history.

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Inclusive Education: Challenges Faced by Teachers in Mainstreaming Children with Special Needs

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Abstract

Education of children with special needs has come a long way from Special Education to Integrated Education and from Integrated Education to Inclusive Education. Education is a fundamental human right which provides every person an inherent right to education on the basis of equality of opportunity. Children with special needs are the ones who require special attention and have special necessities other than the requirements of normal children. The special needs of these children depend on the type of their disability. Those having special educational needs must have access to the regular schools which are effective in meeting their needs and by doing so inclusive education bridges the gap between the children with special needs and regular education system. Inclusive education means providing required support service i.e. special curriculum, aids and infrastructure for both students and teachers. The underlying premise of inclusion is that all children can learn and belong to the mainstream of school and community life. For implementing inclusiveness in educational system, teachers play a key role. Special training programmes are executed under 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' by Central and State Government for making teachers efficient for inclusive classrooms. While applying

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theoretical knowledge to actual field of work teachers face numerous challenges. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore those challenges which are faced by teachers while mainstreaming children with special needs (CWSN).

Keywords: Inclusive education, Children with special needs, Mainstream, Challenges, Teachers.

Introduction

Over the years education of children with special needs (CWSN) has changed a lot from special education to inclusive education to protect the fundamental rights of students with special needs so that they can have a quality education. CWSN are those who need more attention and have specific needs other than the children who come under the normal range. These special needs cover various areas or domains like physical, behavioral, cognitive, social and emotional. There are around 240 million children with disabilities globally (UNICEF, 2021). Like all children, children with special needs have aspirations and goals for their future and need quality education and opportunities to nurture their abilities.

The concept of integrated education in India came into existence in mid 1950s but the major shift can be identified with the launch of the centrally sponsored scheme of integrated education of the disabled children (IEDC) in 1974 which aimed to provide educational opportunities to CWSN in regular schools. The Salamanca statement and framework for action on special needs education urged all governments to adopt, as a matter of law or policy, the principles of inclusive education (UNESCO, 1994). As India was a signatory to the Salamanca statement it committed itself to the development of an inclusive approach of education. In 1997, the philosophy of inclusive education was added in district primary education which addressed the basic issue associated

with curriculum such as what factors limit the access of certain children to curriculum and what are the modifications for better accessibility of curriculum. Inclusive education is an attempt to provide special services (i.e., special curriculum, aids and infrastructure) for CWSN in the least confined manner. This system attempts to place children with special needs in regular classroom setting with some special services according to their disabilities. The purpose of inclusive education is to accept all children regardless of race, gender and disability and give opportunities without any discrimination.

Inclusive Education (IE) is an approach which provides education to children with disability and learning difficulties in regular classroom setting with normal children (Sanjeev and Khagendra 2007). In a broader term inclusive education is educating all students and marginalized group irrespective of any disability (Thomas, 2013). In recent years, to support the vision of inclusive education many reforms have taken place in education system like enabling environment, initiatives supporting CWSN, service delivery, measuring and monitoring quality of education which enable full participation of children so that they can meet their full potential (UNICEF 2017). Hence, the medical model which emphasized individual needs of CWSN should be transformed to the social model addressing attitudinal and environmental barriers of learning (Aladini, 2020).

Inclusive education depends upon three main pillars: curriculum, school and teachers and out of all three, teachers play a significant role in regulating the schemes and policies of inclusive education constructed by government in a successful manner by motivating and helping in building their self esteem. Under 'Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan' teachers were trained according to inclusive education strategy in workshops. In inclusive classroom, teachers work as an agent to fill

the gap between the regular classroom and child having special needs. Teachers are the most important personalities in the inclusive education which can mainstream CWSN in this education system. They collaborate more closely and spend more time practicing in inclusive environments, learning new ideas from one another, honing their abilities, and demonstrating a deeper commitment to employing more innovative techniques to address the requirements of children (Warman, 2021). Gandhi ji also underscored the importance of a teacher in the life of a disabled student by stating 'education of a heart could only be done through a living touch of a teacher'. Teachers who are willing to learn new skills, multidisciplinary work and some general knowledge about common disabilities will make a great contribution for the betterment for all those children who remain excluded from society (Winter, 2006). Educators are the prime force who determines the quality as well as execution of the policy of inclusiveness in the education system (Swart and Pettipher, 2007). According to Parsanjeet and Agarwal (2016) children are different physically and their learning abilities are also different. These should be identified by a teacher who should satisfy the needs of the students. This will make their relationship stronger.

While implementing inclusive education in a classroom setting, teachers face various difficulties in executing theoretical knowledge. The successful execution of any programme is based on the quality of trained/ fully equipped teachers who are capable of managing mixed ability groups (Hay et al., 2001). Though the teachers are being trained but still they face many difficulties in managing students in inclusive classrooms which is a serious issue as it makes them less confident and more stressed. Other than this, negative perception of teachers and parents is also a primary challenge for inclusive education.

Over the period of time, a consensus has emerged among the Indian policy makers for adopting inclusive education. It has become the primary policy

objective of education policy in India and has increased the focus on children and adults with special needs (Singh, 2016). The focus of inclusive education is on the inclusion of all the children having special needs. But some children who are having hearing impairment cannot be included in normal education system as they need to be taught with the help of sign language which is not possible in mainstream setting (Sandhu, 2001).

According to World Bank (2007), CWSN are five times more likely to be out of school than children belonging to scheduled caste or scheduled tribe. These children rarely progress after the primary level which results in low job opportunities and lower level of financial status.

Thwala (2015) found that in Swaziland, majority of teachers were not trained to teach in an inclusive class, there was a lack of competencies and concrete materials, shortage of large classrooms, problem of time allocation and assessment. The biggest issue related to inclusive set up is the lack of political will in the execution of inclusive education and challenges which create hindrance are execution of policies, unpleasant attitude towards the CWSN and the lack of awareness among the families and parents of such children (Bhat, 2017). In a workshop report of 'Making schools accessible to CWSN' (2017), it was noticed that there were major challenges and issues in education of CWSN regarding assessment of CWSN, lack of resource teachers, insufficient resource rooms and architectural barriers.

Other than this, there are various factors which create hindrance in inclusive education. The study by Kashmir, Parveen and Qounsar (2018) indicated that there is lack of human capital in schools and due to the behavioral issues of CWSN, classes get disrupted. Another big challenge faced by majority of the teachers was the lack of knowledge and skills to understand different behavioral needs of students. In the opinion of Nishan (2018) maintaining the

interest of diverse learners was a difficult task for resource teachers as they were not confident and well trained in inclusive teaching. Similarly, in a study conducted in Bhutan, problems like insufficient teaching and learning material, negative attitude towards students with special needs, unclear policy on inclusive education, inadequate support for teachers and curriculum rigidity were highlighted (Dorji,2018). Though the teachers were well qualified but were not fully equipped to manage people with disabilities as they were lacking practical knowledge (Mensah, 2021).

There is diversity of challenges which teachers deal with. Petre et al. (2019) focused on different problems like attention deficit, social inadaptability and behavioral issue of CWSN. Also, there is a critical issue of lack of diagnosis as parents are not well aware of their child situation and it is not only teachers who face challenges but the schools are not yet prepared to fulfill the needs. According to Neves et al., (2022) not all children receive early childhood education, and many parents do not value this period of schooling, due to which there is a delay in possible diagnosis of problems such as autism, hyperactivity, or attention deficit that can be diagnosed by teachers through short or long-term observations.

Teachers face challenges in dealing with the social integration of children with special needs in mainstream school environments. CWSN may face stigmatization and bullying from their peers, leading to social isolation and exclusion (Didaskalou et al., 2009). Teachers need to create an inclusive environment where all children feel accepted, respected, and valued. Teachers can promote social integration by introducing peer support programs, promoting empathy, and encouraging students to see differences as an opportunity to learn from one another. Muega (2019) discovered that insufficient teacher training and

seminars are a key barrier to adopting inclusive education, which should begin at the pre-service level of teacher training and education.

Das (2018) noticed that dealing with parents who are not supportive of mainstreaming their special child is another issue. Some parents are opposed to mainstreaming and prefer special education programs. They may not see the benefits of mainstreaming, or they may not have faith in the mainstream academic program to meet their child's needs. Teachers need to be aware of these attitudes and work with parents and guardians to educate them about the benefits of mainstreaming and how their child can thrive in this environment. Adewumi and Mosito (2019) noted that teachers experienced different challenges in the form of shortage of teaching and learning material and limited training for in service teachers.

Mensah (2021) depicted that there were adequate teacher preparation for inclusive education but the curriculum was a constrain as it did not emphasize vocational and communicational skill development of CWSN. Children with special needs require differentiated instruction wherein meaning teachers must create customized learning plans for individual students. This can be particularly challenging when the teacher has limited resources within the classroom (Tahan, 2022). It can also be difficult while creating lesson plans and activities that are relevant and age-appropriate for children with special needs. Use of individualized learning planning and adoption of personalized approach for children having special needs will support them in the learning process, and will widen access for participation.

Romos (2022) mentioned that in inclusive classroom maintaining balance between different needs of children and supporting all children in a particular setting create difficulty for the educator. Also, creating activities which include all children at a time while considering the different needs of children is a bit hard for

teachers. In doing so teachers most commonly burnout which is the outcome of several challenges faced in managing/ mainstreaming CWSN in class. This is the main reason special educators are quitting their jobs (Singhal, 2022).

Objectives

The present paper focuses on the following objectives:

- To find out the challenges faced by teachers in mainstreaming children with special needs
- To generate relevant recommendations for the betterment of children with special needs

Research Methodology

The present research is based on quantitative approach . Purposive sampling was used to select sample of 20 government teachers in Chandigarh based on the their designation i.e. Nursery Teacher Training (NTT), Junior Basic Training(JBT), Trained Graduate Teacher(TGT) and Postgraduate Trained Teachers(PGT). Five teachers were selected from each designation i.e., 5-NTT, 5-JBT, 5-TGT, 5-PGT. The targeted population was selected based on two major criteria i.e. minimum 3 years of experience in teaching and minimum two or more teacher trainings attended on inclusive education. The questionnaire technique was used to collect data from the respondents.

Profile of the Respondents

For the present research, it is necessary to understand the demographic profile of the respondents and it has been analyzed in terms of teacher's age, gender, designation, year of service and training programs attended.

Table 1: Background Characteristics of the Respondents

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Age (in years)		
Below 30	3	15
31-45	14	70
45 & above	3	15
Gender		
Female	15	75
Male	5	25
Designation		
NTT	5	25
JBT	5	25
TGT	5	25
PGT	5	25
Year of service		
Up to 10 years	8	40
11-20	9	45
More than 21 years	3	15
Training Programmes attended		
Minimum 2	13	65
3-5	4	20
More than 6	3	15

****Total number of respondents was 20 for each category/characteristic i.e. age, gender, designation, year of service and training programmes attended.***

Age is considered as one of the criteria of experience. So, it is very important to get information about the age group of teachers, which will show their level of maturity in managing CWSN in inclusive education system. Age group of teachers is divided into 3 categories. Most of the respondents belong to age group 31 – 45 i.e.70 percent. Remaining teachers belong to age group of below 30 and 45 and above, which is 15 percent in each category. It shows that most of the teachers had high level of maturity which is most needed in handling children.

Gender of the teachers revealed that there were 75 percent females and only 25 percent males who took part in the present research. This reflects that there is general dominance of females in the profession of teaching which shows that teaching profession is still considered as a role attached to females in a patriarchal society.

Designation of the respondents depicts that equal number of respondents were taken according to their designation i.e.25 percent of NTT, JBT, TGT and PGT for the purpose of the research study as it reveals the challenges faced by teachers in dealing CWSN at different levels of schooling while mainstreaming them.

It is clearly evident that 45 percent of teachers had experience ranging from 11- 20 years, followed by 40 percent of the teachers who had up to10 years of experience and only 15 percent of teachers had experience more than 21 years. It reveals that teachers had good teaching experience in inclusive education.

Majority of the teachers i.e. 65 percent had attended minimum 2 training programmes conducted by the government on inclusive education. Whereas 20 percent of the respondents had attended 3-5 training programmes and only 15 percent respondents had attended more than 6 training programmes. It clearly

depicts that teachers were well aware of the concept of inclusive education and knew about the educational and special needs of the children while mainstreaming them in regular classroom.

Results

Table 2: CHALLENGES FACED BY TEACHERS

S. No.	Challenges	Frequency	Percentage
1	Large sized classes	7	35
2	Behavioral problems of CWSN	3	15
3	Shortage of teachers	3	15
4	Large sized classes and shortage of teachers	3	15
5	Inadequate support from parents	1	5
6	Large sized classes and behavioural problems of CWSN	1	5
7	Inadequate support from parents and perception of fellows and their parents	1	5
8	Absenteeism in school and perception of fellows and their parents	1	5
	Total	20	100

In the present study, it was found that majority of the respondents considered that large class size was a major issue irrespective of their qualification and experience. 35 percent teachers were facing problem related to large sized classroom. Children with special needs require special attention of

teachers, but they were not able to get that attention as there was only 1 teacher available for 50 students. One of the respondents having experience of more than 21 years stated that “*There are too many students in the class so it is unfair for other children, if they spend more time with the CWSN*”. Though the teacher was experienced but was dealing with the problem of time management between regular students and CWSN due to large class size. Another experienced teacher said that “*class mein aur chalis bacche hain...ab hum inko hi padahate rahenge 40 minute toh un baccho ka kya hoga...hamara result kharab hoga*” (translation: we have other 40 students in class, if we invest 40 mins to CWSN then how would we teach other students; our result would also be negatively affected).

15 percent of the respondents faced challenges associated with behavioral problems of CWSN. Teachers mentioned that many children were less interactive in the class which hindered the rapport formation. Respondents found it difficult to understand how to approach these children in the process; they were not even able to make children sit in the class. Especially, children with intellectual disability did not follow their instructions and teachers found it challenging to do any activity with them especially with children having autism and hyperactivity related disorders. Respondents also reported that normal students suffer while studying with intellectually disabled students; they create disturbance due to behavioral issues like doing strange things, scratching tables, making sounds etc. Teachers reported that they were not even able to go to the washroom without leaving the class. Respondents also observed that CWSN were also being insulted and bullied by their class fellows and this behavior made them feel low in self esteem and confidence.

Due to shortage of staff, teachers were not able to work with full potential. About 15 percent of the respondents were struggling with the shortage of staff. Due to this problem JBT and NTT teachers were teaching higher classes which

increased their burden and decreased their productivity. Respondents also mentioned the requirement of resource teachers in schools as they provide assistance to class teachers and provide support to children having special needs. About 15 percent of the respondents were of the view that large sized classrooms and shortage of teaching staff were the two main problems faced by them, which acted as a barrier in the better functioning of inclusion of CWSN in the regular school. As the teachers were overburdened due to less staff and could not invest their time in different requirements of children because of large number of students.

Another challenge that was pointed out by one respondent was the issue related to lack of support from parents. Some parents were not concerned about the special needs of their child as they were not fully aware about different forms of disabilities. An Incident was reported by the teacher in which parents of the child were not ready to accept that their child had a hearing disability and they thus ignored the problem. This happens due to societal pressure of having a normal child. One of the teachers described the reaction of parents whose child had dyslexia “ *isse jaise parhana hai parhao , chahe maro jo mrzi kro*”(Just make him study, by hook or by crook). Even if the teacher notices some kind of deviation then school cannot take the responsibility of formal diagnosis of the child. Without the formal diagnosis, the child cannot avail the benefits provided by the Government to support CWSN.

There was one respondent who was of the opinion that both large sized classes and behavioral problems were difficult to manage in inclusive classroom. Being a teacher, managing so many children at a time created difficulty in teaching. Whereas, another respondent was facing problems related to the inadequate support from parents of CWSN and negative perception of fellow students and their parents related to CWSN. It was observed that normal students and their parents did not adjust to CWSN. For instance, many parents

did not understand the condition of CWSN and used to tell the class in-charge not to make their child sit with the child having special needs which used to create problems for teachers in making CWSN feel inclusive in a regular classroom.

One respondent mentioned about absenteeism in school and negative perception of class fellow and their parents as problem faced by teachers in mainstreaming CWSN in inclusive education system. In various studies, it has been seen that attendance is the main aspect which is positively related to the child's performance. Some of the teachers pointed out that children with special needs remain absent from class due to their health condition which impacted their performance at school as they were not able to cope up with other students easily.

Meticulous Observations

It came to light that the teachers' own perception towards inclusive education was creating a problem in mainstreaming CWSN in a regular classroom. Several studies found that teachers agree that inclusive education is important, but many find it difficult to apply. They perceive themselves to be inadequately trained to execute inclusive education. Specially, some older teachers expressed negative perception than their younger colleagues which can be seen by various statement said by teachers.

Statement 1 *"inn bacho ke karn hume zada kam karna parh jata hai"*

(Translation): because of these children we have to do more work

Statement 2 *"CWSN ko different class ya different school mai enroll karwana chahiye, humara and baki bacho ka time waste hota hai"*

(Translation): CWSN should get enrolled in a different class or to a different school, so that teachers' & other students' time is not wasted.

Statement 3 *"sometimes it gets really difficult for me to handle these children"*

Some teachers are not themselves willing to include CWSN in normal classrooms and are of the view that inclusive education system creates more work and burden for them.

Recommendations

Recommendations given by the respondents are as follows:

1. Government education service providers should collaborate with Institutions like AIIMS (All India Institute Of Medical Science), and PGIMER (Postgraduate Institute of Medical Education and Research) to educate both parents and teachers regarding early identification and different types of conditions related to CWSN through seminars.
2. Respondents wanted to get trainings regarding ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder), Braille and counseling techniques to handle CWSN in class as they were unable to manage the behavioral issues of CWSN.
3. Government should introduce skill development programs for CWSN as there are students who are not good in studies but can perform better in other activities, which will help them to earn well for survival.
4. There should be at least one special educator per school and monthly training/ meeting should be held for all the teachers and parents as everyone should know about the special needs of children and help to make them feel included in society.
5. One course of inclusive education should be mandatory for all the teachers in the professional degree of education.
6. Awareness programmes should be conducted regarding different types of disabilities.

Conclusion

The purpose of the present paper was to identify the challenges faced by the teachers in mainstreaming CWSN in a regular classroom. In spite of having two or more training courses on inclusive education, all the respondents agreed that they experience many challenges in inclusive education. One of the key challenges was the enormous class size, which was exacerbated by the issue of behavioral problems of CWSN and shortage of school staff. In addition to it inadequate support from parents, negative perception of fellow students and their parents, absenteeism in school and negative perception of teachers were encountered by them. Also there was a perceived demand for the requirement of fully trained resource teachers for better assistance to teachers and aid CWSN. Thus it can be concluded that challenges faced by teachers were the result of lack of proper training of the teachers and lack of proper execution of inclusive education policy. The Ministry of Education has to address the problem of skill shortage by conducting training courses for in service teachers. At least one course on inclusive education must be included in all future education studies.

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Formation of a Medieval Town: Hisar Firoza in Afif's *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi*

Taranjot Singh Bala*

Abstract

This paper attempts to view the foundation and rise of Hisar Firoza through the description given by Shams Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi*. This work is considered part of a 'literary triptych' of Persian Historiography in the Sultanate period. Afif devotes a chapter to the town's foundation. Describing how the site was selected, the construction of the fortress and the royal palace inside, the provisions made for water through the canals and the administrative arrangements made for it. A wealth of information on other aspects is also available in this text. The region of South East Punjab witnessed improved cultivation due to State's investment in canal irrigation, which had an impact on the region as well as on Hisar Firoza's growth and importance through the medieval period. Hisar Firoza thus represents itself as a suitable case study on how urban centres grew in the Medieval period, and its study becomes a vital task. Selecting the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* as our source will make us assess its usability in understanding this regional phenomenon on one hand and its usability in studying the town's history on the other.

A visible urban growth is noticed after the establishment of Turkish rule in the Indian subcontinent, and in the subsequent centuries of the Sultanate period. The institutions of *iqtadari* helped catalyse this growth and oriented the economy towards more non-agricultural production through surplus appropriation leading to an increase in demand for luxury goods, craft and agricultural

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products.¹ *Thanas*, *serais*, and *khanqahs* were structures meant for public utilities and they also catered to urban growth.² Two-thirds of pre-existing urban centres continued to survive in this period while one-third were new settlements. They transformed not only in terms of their economic and administrative functions but also in socio-cultural aspects.³ These include changes in the city aesthetic, with the addition of *minars*, *Jami* mosques, domes to the skyline and other Persian and Central Asian architectural influences. The rulers of Sultanate Delhi seem to have consistently engaged themselves in architectural and city-building activities. The spatial transformations which Delhi witnessed under different dynasties and the progressive construction of new cities like Siri, Tughluqabad, Jahanpanah, and Firozabad are examples. In addition to such projects, the state's functioning of provincial administration as well as attention and investments in cultivation also helped urban growth.

In the region of Punjab, the establishment and rise of Hisar Firoza is a testament to the process of urbanisation that occurred as a result of state policies and investments in irrigation and expansion of cultivation in the mid-14th century. These initiatives were carried out by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq. His reign saw several building activities in public utilities, gardens and cities. In this paper, an attempt has been made to understand the urban process in the medieval context with a case study of Hisar Firoza, through a text. The text here is the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* written by Shams Siraj Afif.⁴ By selecting this text, the aim is to ascertain its usefulness in understanding the broader urbanization context and also how helpful it is at reconstructing Hisar's past at the individual level. Since this text is based on Sultan Firoz's reign, the time frame would also be limited to the second half of the fourteenth century.

Shams Siraj Afif belonged to a lineage of state officials working and having close relations with the family of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq in Abohar. His father

worked for Sultan Firoz Shah as a record keeper of night duty (*Shabnawis Khwasan*) and in various other capacities. He accompanied the Sultan on several occasions as well.⁵ This proved conducive to his history writing project since his father's experiences and his personal, contemporary observations helped produce a fairly reliable reconstruction of Sultan Firoz's reign. The *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* was written after Timur's invasion when the heydays of the Sultanate were over. It is also evident that it was not written on any state impetus or patronage. Afif's motivation to pen down a history of Firoz Shah's reign is not clear although he does attempt to hark back to a 'golden past' of the Delhi Sultanate, as argued by Peter Hardy.⁶ Yet he has several other works attributed to him as well, although none of these survives today except the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi*. Afif's work is argued to be the Sultanate period's final panel in a kind of 'literary triptych' of Persian historiography, as argued by Blain Auer. Where the three works 'portray a unifying theme and mode of presentation' yet they are distinct in their own ways. The first panel of course is occupied by Juzaini's *Tabaqat i Nasri* and the second by the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* written by Barani.⁷ Afif regards his work as a continuation of his predecessor. What sets Afif's work apart is the fact that he attempted to portray his work on Sultan Firoz Shah as a '*Manaqib*'. *Manaqib* is a literary genre of biographies that describes the deeds and lives of pious holy men or saints. His application of the *Manaqib* genre to the life of a ruler is certainly a first.⁸ He intends to portray Firoz Shah as an ideal personality in a eulogistic fashion.⁹ The *Tarikh* of Afif is divided into five books (*qisms*) and each book has eighteen chapters (*muqqadamat*) although the final book only has fifteen chapters. The first *qism* relates to Firoz Shah's early life, career and accession to the throne. The second and third *qisms* include chapters on the military expeditions to Lakhnauti, Jajnager, Nagarkot and Thatta. Other chapters include his building activities, the happiness of the subjects and the installation of a gong instrument (*Tas Ghariya*). The fourth *qism* narrates the Sultan's welfare

measures, reforms and hunting activities and other themes which portray prosperity in his times. Most of the events here were personal observations of the author as well. The final *qism* covers the last phase of Firoz Shah's reign. Removal of taxes not approved by *Sharia*, the incident of the burning of a Brahman and the description of various eminent nobles and officers of the time are included in this section. The arrangement of these chapters does not follow a strict chronology although each chapter describes the respective theme in detail.¹⁰

Afif talks about Hisar Firoza's foundation in the fifth chapter of the second *qism*. Sultan Firoz Shah spent considerable time in the area of Hisar after his return from Bengal. Here he devoted his time to the well-being of the people, during which he founded the city of Hisar Firoza. Before its establishment, two villages existed there, big Laras and small Laras. There were fifty sheds (*kharaks*) in big Laras and forty in small Laras. There were no villages that didn't have these sheds. The Sultan exclaimed how nice would it be to settle a city here and was impressed by the land of big Laras. However, the aridity of the area and the land was known to the Sultan. Travellers from Iraq and Khurasan were even known to have paid four *jitals* for a glass of water in the summer. He was 'hopeful of God's kindness and mercy' in providing water for the people as he began the foundation of the city.¹¹

The Sultan also worked for the arrangement of water by the construction of canals from the rivers Satluj and Yamuna which reached the city. The Rajibwah Canal was from Yamuna and Ulughkani Canal from Satluj. Both these canals emerged from their headwaters near Karnal. To reach Hisar Firoza these canals travelled a distance of eighty *kos*. Through these canals, more water was available for irrigation, and wells could also be dug. It resulted in a lot of water getting soaked, which made it possible to find the water four yards under the

earth when digging wells. Earlier, the *rabi* crops could not grow due to scarcity of water. But this boost in irrigation enabled the two seasonal crops of *kharif* and *rabi* to flourish in the region.¹²

The Sultan encamped at the spot and supervised the foundation of the city, along with his nobles. The stones used for construction were brought from the mountains of Narsai and were mixed with hard lime. They were used for building the fortress palace which was of sufficient height and strength. Quarters and portions of the projected city were allotted to the Sultan's nobles to build their residences and palaces. After the completion of the fortress, moats were dug around the walls. The earth dug for the moats was spread on each side and battlements were made on its outside bank. Inside the fortress, a huge tank was constructed which stored water and replenished the fortress moat year to year. A palace was also built inside the fort which Afif describes as 'had no equal in the world'.¹³ It had several halls which were adorned with immense decoration and ornamentation and were constructed in such a way that if any individual entered the palace and roamed its various halls, he would reach the centre of the palace. The puzzling structure of the palace could lead people to get lost in the lower chambers, which were especially dark. A sweeper was once said to have gotten lost in the palace and stranded there for several days until being rescued by the watchman. In addition to the palace, several trees and gardens were planted by the Sultan in the city which provided varieties of fruits, flowers, oranges, sugarcane and dry fruits for all season.¹⁴

Along with Sultan's nobles and courtiers, the public is said to have cooperated with his effort and populated the city with great joy and pleasure. The importance of the new city is observable in the administrative changes that centred around it through the period, after its establishment. Afif writes that Hisar Firoza became the new *shiq* division in official records on the behest of the Sultan and Hansi, Agroha, Fatehabad, Sarsuti, Salora, Khizrabad and other

iqtas were included within its administrative borders. Earlier, this region was placed under the *shiq* division of Hansi. Malik Dilan was given the duties of *shiqdar* of Hisar Firoza. In the following chapter, Afif talks about the administration of the canals built in the region. Not just Hisar Firoza but Fatehabad, Jind, Dhatrath, Hansi and Tughluqpur alias Safdon also benefited from these canals. After consultations with the *Ullema* and the *Shaikhs*, a water tax (*Haq-i-Sharab*) was imposed by Sultan Firoz on the canal regions along with the land revenue charges. Officers were deputed to inspect the flooding of canals during monsoon season. They were to travel around the canals and estimate the overflow. Afif's father and uncle were assigned this duty on several occasions. In case any village or town was affected by the flooding, the officials posted there were interrogated.¹⁵

After the establishment of Hisar Firoza, the Sultan sought blessings and spiritual protection for it as well. In another one of the chapters in the same *qism*, Afif narrates the Sultan's visit to Shaikh Nuruddin of the neighbouring town of Hansi. The Shaikh was also the spiritual mentor of Afif. The Sultan informs the Shaikh about the establishment of his new city and that he plans to build a new hospice there for the Shaikh. Its maintenance shall be borne by the state and necessary grants delegated for it. The presence of the Shaikh in the city of Hisar Firoza would protect its people from misfortunes and hardships and thus, he requests the Shaikh to grace the city by moving there. The Shaikh wondered if it was a request or an order, to which Firoz Shah says 'God forbid if I may ever command the Shaikh. If the holy Shaikh himself opts for living in Hisar Firoza, then the city and its inhabitants would be considered fortunate.'¹⁶ The Shaikh responded that Hansi had been under the spiritual jurisdiction of his father and grandfather bestowed upon them by Chishti Shaikh Fard Ganj-i-Shakar and Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Sultan Firoz then agreed with the Shaikh's decision of staying in Hansi but believed that Hisar Firoza would be safe from calamities due

to his blessings. Afif then writes how later during Timur's destruction of Delhi, the spiritual power of the Shaikh protected Hansi and parts of Hisar which were under the Shaikh's jurisdiction.

In addition to Hisar Firoza, Afif informs us about other cities founded by Sultan Firoz. These include Fatehabad, Firozabad, Firozabad Harnikhera, Tughluqpur Kasna, Tughluqpur Mulk Makut and Jaunpur. Afif regards these as fortress towns, and in most of these a royal palace was built inside the fortress walls. Besides the one in Hisar Firoza, the Sultan also built royal palaces in Firozabad, Nazuli, Mahandwari, Fatehabad, Salora and Jaunpur. A royal palace for hunts and a royal palace for Prince Fateh Khan were also built. The building department (*Shahna-Mir*) kept itself busy with such construction projects and a hefty amount was spent on them. A chief (*Shahna*) was appointed by the Sultan for a group of masons and a varied group of workers was headed by a superintendent (*Shahna*). Malik Ghazi and Abdul Haq were two nobles of the department rewarded generously by the Sultan for their merits.¹⁷

The *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* thus throws ample light on Hisar and its foundation. Taking note from another chapter in the second *qism* of the work, a general idea about city building and settling in this period can be taken. In this chapter, Afif describes the founding of the city of Firozabad. A site was selected near Yamuna, land from ¹⁸ villages was taken, experienced masons deputed and nobles and courtiers were also told to build their houses. The common folk also build their houses made of mud and brick. Several mosques and markets were built. The city became so well populated that the distance of 5 *kos* from Indraprastha to the royal palace was fully inhabited.¹⁸ The picture in Hisar Firoza must've been similar during its early settlement. The objective behind establishing a fortress town in an arid zone like this must have been for military purposes and defence. Although Sultan Firoz was also known to conduct hunting expeditions in the area, the fort could have been a launching base for it as well.

The location of Hisar Firoza on the Delhi-Multan trade route, which passed through Sirsa, Bahawalpur towards Multan and further towards Khurasan, indicated its commercial prospects as well.¹⁹ The growing importance of Hisar Firoza as a *shiq* headquarters meant it performed several administrative functions. Yet another reference in the second chapter of *qism* four, Afif writes that Sultan Firoz enjoyed collecting slaves and insisted his officers bring them as presents to the capital. Once when the size of the number of these slaves had increased, they were dispersed and sent to Multan, Dipalpur, Gujrat, Samana and Hisar Firoza. Here the officers responsible for them would make sure of their residence. Some were given training in some special skill or employed in different vocations as well.²⁰ Hisar Firoza thus had the required infrastructure at the time to accommodate or train them. The anecdote of Sultan Firoz and Shaikh Nuruddin of Hansi helps us ascertain how important a role Sufis played in the cityscape and how the State tried to utilize their popularity. Perhaps through the inclusion of this anecdote in his text, Afif attempts at eulogising the Sultan who was in constant touch with pious men and mystics.²¹

Conclusion

The decline or revival of towns through time is a part and parcel of the urbanization process of this period. However, if we look at Hisar's trajectory through time, we notice its resilience as well as growth. The town somehow managed to survive the ravages of Timur's invasion and continued to play an important part under the Mughals, as a separate *sarkar* division under the Delhi *suba*.²² The canal projects played an important role in the spurt of cultivation and growth. This enabled the town of Hisar Firoza to sustain itself and grow although a wide region impacted by these projects, reaped its benefits. Afif lacks in giving a complete picture of the irrigation project by Sultan Firoz by only mentioning two of the canals. Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi* and *Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya Ahmed Sirhindi give additional information on the canals. Surinder

Singh has used Afif's text and other contemporary sources to understand the urban centres of the canal-irrigated region and how Tughluqs enabled a dialogue for an alliance with Zamindars and Sufis.²³ So, to understand the broader context of the urban process more sources of the period must be consulted along with the *Tarikh i Firoz Shahi*. K.N Chaudhuri believes that the history of a town can be studied at two levels. One at the individual, town level and the other at the broader level, where the town is studied within a broader context of the contemporary socio-economic processes.²⁴ Keeping this idea in mind, the *Tarikh* might not help us give a complete picture of Hisar Firoza at the broader level, wherein the town is viewed within the region and its interactions with it. Nevertheless, at the individual level, this text is almost indispensable as it provides a good account of its foundation. Additionally, since this information on Hisar Firoza was conveyed to Afif by his father, who was an eyewitness, makes it reliable and certainly, valuable.

Endnotes

- 1 *Iqtas* were transferable revenue assignments given to the nobility, in order to appropriate revenue from a number of villages within that allotment while maintaining a body of troops. Due to the demand of luxury and non-agricultural goods from the nobles, *iqtas* assisted the emergence of towns and established a commercial relationship between the towns and neighbouring villages A. Ray. (2017). *Towns and Cities in Medieval India: A Brief Survey*. Routledge, p. 33.
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Food Security in Himachal Pradesh – A Decadal Study of Agricultural Land Use, Food Grain Production and Orchards as Domestic Sustenance and Economic Backbone of the State

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Abstract

Growing concern has been registered worldwide about the availability of adequate quantities of food for poor and vulnerable communities of the population. It has been estimated that about 6 billion people of the world, suffer from hunger. The recent Global Hunger Index 2019 (GHI) report shows India has been performing poorly on food security and is ranked 102 out of 117 countries of the world. It is placed way behind its South Asian neighbours. The GHI focused on 'challenge of hunger and climate change'. Climate change has adversely affected food production, availability, access, quality, utilization and stability of food systems. Agrarian distress is a pronounced occurrence in India despite the country's granaries overflowing.

The hill state of Himachal Pradesh has been given KRISHI KARMAN AWARD for its landmark achievement for the highest food grain production in 2015-16 by the Union Ministry of Agriculture. However, Himachal Pradesh is striving hard to keep pace with the National Food Security Act., 2013 (NFSA) provisions to mitigate the food needs of its population through TPDS. This paper examines the looming concerns for food security. The objective is to look at the recent trends in land utilization for agriculture and also study the production of food grains over the decades.

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Keywords: National Food Security Act, Fair Price Shop, Food Security, Eligible households, Food grain, Agricultural land use.

Introduction

The Economic Survey of India 2000-01 reports a substantial decline in the per capita availability of important elements such as cereals, pulses, oils, and vegetables from the previous year. With an ever-increasing population, per capita food production has not kept up. While food grain output expanded at a 0.9% annual pace during the 1990s, population growth has been consistent at a rate of roughly 1.84 percent.

One of the biggest problems facing the world today is food insecurity. The food situation has recently become much worse, endangering millions of people globally due to the COVID-19 epidemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Although there are some encouraging signs, food inflation is nevertheless persistently high and is influenced by a precarious geopolitical environment. Dealing with the crisis's immediate effects has received significant funding from the EU. Sustainable agri-food systems will be the solution to food security in the long run, nevertheless.

At the UN Food Systems Summit in September 2021, Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) António Guterres warned that hunger was 'on the rise again' in recognition of the seriousness of the situation.

Food inflation is consistently high in several nations, reaching 14.1% in January in the Euro area, even though worldwide food prices declined for the tenth straight month in January 2023. This discrepancy arises from a combination of a diminished price pass from global to consumer prices and

persistent geopolitical uncertainty. The second half of 2022 has already seen a reduction in energy prices, which has had an impact on farmers and fertiliser manufacturers. Lower energy prices may affect farmers' use of fertilizers in 2023, which could have a direct impact on future crop yields in addition to controlling inflationary pressure on agri-food chains. The export of Ukrainian food products in a secure manner to foreign markets has been made possible by the EU solidarity lanes and the Black Sea Grain initiative. After the most recent extension, the agreement is up for renewal in March. As of January 2023, the program had permitted the export of over 18 million tonnes of grain and groceries (of which more than 50% went to developing nations). Russian seaborne exports could once again be in danger if the agreement is not renewed, which would have disastrous repercussions for global markets and food-insecure nations. Even if grain exports from Ukraine continued, the country's agricultural output would probably be far lower than it was in 2021–2022. In fact, a lot of the good trends are incredibly susceptible to geopolitical and environmental factors and may suddenly alter. Weather shocks in 2023 also demand extra consideration. It is anticipated that the ongoing drought would continue to negatively impact east Africa's food security. Given that the EU is a major exporter of agricultural goods, a recurrence of the water and heat stress that occurred in 2022 could result in lower crop yields this year. This would have an impact on EU consumers as well as global food security.

In a joint statement, David Malpass, President of the World Bank Group (WBG), Kristalina Georgieva, David Beasley, and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Director General of the World Trade Organization (WTO), called for continued urgent action to address the world food and nutrition security crisis.

All those impacted by the recent earthquakes in Turkey and the adjacent Syrian Arab Republic deserve our deepest sympathies. Press Release No. 23/35 stated that, 'Our organizations are closely monitoring the situation, determining

the scope of the disaster, and working to mobilize necessary support. Three times, the heads of the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank Group, and the World Food Programme have released a joint statement on the challenge of global food and nutrition security’.

In order to stop the food and nutrition security issue from getting worse, additional urgent measures are needed to:

- (i) Combat hotspots of hunger
- (ii) Promote the role of the private sector, boost market efficiency, and facilitate trade.
- (iii) Restructure destructive subsidies with precise targeting and effectiveness. As they respond to the crisis, nations should strike a balance between immediate short-term fixes and long-term resilience initiatives.

In order to improve temporary, more focused initiatives for global food security and sustainable food systems, countries could restructure and repurpose general universal subsidies, taking into account the following important factors:

- (i) Efficiency
- (ii) Costs and Financial Sustainability
- (iii) Flexibility
- (iv) Administration of Justice Complexity
- (v) Equity
- (vi) Improved Resilience And Sustainability

The per capita income at current prices in 2018–19, as estimated by the First Revised Estimates (FRE), is estimated to have been INR 183,108, up 11% over the previous year, according to the Economic Survey 2019–20. Preliminary predictions indicate that the per capita income in 2019–20 will increase by 6.6% at current prices. The daily wages of labor in agriculture increased dramatically between 2008 and 2015 for both skilled and unskilled workers. More than 23% of

rural households in the State lived below the federal poverty line between 2002 and 2007, according to data on household earnings. The State's land holdings averaged 0.99 hectares in 2010–11, with significant district-to-district fluctuation.

Table-1: Per capita Availability of Food Grains in Himachal Pradesh as compared to all India

Sr. No.	Year	All India	Himachal Pradesh
		Annual (in Kgs)	Annual (inKgs)
1	2009	177.7	201.8
2	2010	178.4	182.8
3	2011	180.1	206.9
4	2012	179.6	225.7
5	2013	179.5	225.1
6	2014	178.6	229.6
7	2015	169.8	225.4
8	2016	177.7	238.1
9	2017	178.4	185.5
10	2018	180.1	216.8
11	2019	179.6	246.6
12	2020	183.1	232.3*
13	2021	185.4	244.1**

Note: (i) Food grains include rice, wheat, other cereals and cereals plus pulses.

(ii) *Approximate, **Estimated

Source:pib.gov.in¹

The successful implementation of 'Food Insecurity Vulnerability Information and Mapping System (FIVIMS) a Food and Agriculture Organization

(FAO)' sponsored program drew some contours on the state of food insecurity in Himachal Pradesh.

Geographical Features:

The entire area of Himachal Pradesh is 55,673 km, and it shares its borders with the states of Haryana to the south, Tibet to the east, Uttarakhand to the southeast, and Punjab to the southwest to west. The state of Jammu & Kashmir is to the north and northwest, while Tibet, Uttarakhand, and Haryana are to the south. The State's overall population was 6,864,602 as of the 2011 Census, and it is expected to reach 7,542,000 by the year 2019.

Unlike the majority of plains-based Indian states, Himachal Pradesh has a unique geographic makeup. Altitudes in the state range from 350 meters to 6,975 meters above mean sea level, making it virtually entirely mountainous. Physically, the State can be divided into five zones, which are as follows:

- (a) Zone of Wet Sub-Temperate climate
- (b) Zone of Humid Sub-Temperate climate
- (c) The High Dry Temperate Alpine Lands
- (i) The humid subtropical region
- (d) The sub-tropical zone with little humidity.

Extreme elevational variations are to blame for the enormous diversity in the land resources and ways in which the land is used. The state's southern region is distinguished by its heavily farmed and somewhat forested terrain, while the northern region is marked by the existence of a greater percentage of pastures and other grazing land where the amount of farmed and forested land is constrained. The central region containing a sizable quantity of pasture and other grazing fields, is heavily forested and only marginally farmed. A maximum of 12% of the land is cultivated.

Due to the severe changes in elevation, as listed below, Himachal Pradesh's climatic conditions exhibit significant diversity.

- (i) In the southern low tract, the climate varies from hot to sub-humid tropical between 400 and 900 meters in altitude.
- (ii) Climates between 900 and 1800 meters above sea level are warm and temperate.
- (iii) The area has a cold and temperate climate between 1800 and 2400 meters.
- (iv) The climate between 2400 and 4800 meters above sea level is categorized as cold alpine and glacier range.

In the State, the year can be divided into three seasons:

- (i) The Winter Season (October to February)
- (ii) The Summer Season (March to June)
- (iii) The Monsoon Season (July to September)

Due to shorter and milder summers, more precipitation, and colder and longer winters, these seasons are distinct from those of the majority of plains States in India. In general, it can be seen that although rainfall in Himachal Pradesh increases from the south to the north, it falls in Lahaul-Spiti and Kinnaur due to the rain-shadow effect. With the exception of highland locations, July or August may get the most usual monthly rainfall. Each district typically receives more than 700 mm of precipitation annually.

Based on altitude, rainfall, and temperature, the State can be split into four agroclimatic zones. These four zones are as follows:

- (i) Sub-tropical Low Hills and Submountain Ranges

- (ii) The humid mid-hills
- (iii) High, Moist Hills
- (iv) High, Temperate Dry Hills

Agricultural Bounty of Himachal Pradesh

In the agricultural sector, Himachal Pradesh has established four departments: 'the Departments of Agriculture, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, and Fisheries. While the Department of Agriculture oversees the administration of vegetables, the Horticulture Department in this annex focuses on fruit crops, floriculture, and medicinal and aromatic plants'.

Himachal Pradesh's climate and soils are ideal for cultivating a wide range of horticulture products, such as temperate to subtropical fruit trees, mushrooms, hops, tea, flowers, as well as aromatic and medicinal plants. Other than fruit trees, numerous farmers have successfully engaged in floriculture to supply the plains during the off-season.

After the conclusion of the most recent 12th FYP in 2017, Government of India had established the goal of doubling farmers' income by 2022 as part of the National Agriculture Policy. The government places a strong emphasis on increasing commerce to give farmers a fair price in addition to agricultural diversification toward high-value crops. According to estimates, the area planted with high-value crops must rise by 4.4% a year in order to significantly contribute to the goal of tripling farmers' income by 2022. A strategic framework called 'Vision 2030' has been created to promote innovation-driven, inclusive, and sustainable agricultural growth through increased productivity and competitiveness.

Tree Fruit Production Area

Himachal Pradesh is roughly classified into four agro-climatic zones based on the agro-ecological conditions and the compatibility of a given location for the growth of different fruit trees in the concerned area:

- a) The plains' surrounding low-lying valleys and hills
- b) The mid hills
- c) Interior high mountains and valleys
- d) A dry, cold region

Thus, fruit crops grown in Himachal Pradesh can be grouped into each zone based on the respective crop features can be seen depicted in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

Table 2: Horticulture Zone-wise Suitable Fruit Crops

Zone	Elevation (m)	Rainfall(m m)	Suitable Fruit Trees
Low hill and valley areas near plains(Sub-tropical)	365 – 914	600– 1,000	Citrus, Litchi, Mango, Guava, Loquat, Papaya and Low Chilling Cvs. of Peaches and Plums
Mid hills (Sub- temperate)	915– 1,523	900– 1,000	Lemon, Persimmon, Pomegranate, Stone Fruits, Pome Fruits, Walnut, Olive, Kiwi, Strawberry, etc.
High hills and valleys in theinteriors	1,524 – 2,742	900– 1,000	Apple, Pear, Almond, Cherry, Chestnut, Strawberry, Hazelnut, Walnut, etc.

(Temperate)			
Cold and dry zone (Drytemperate)	1,524 – 3,656	240 - 400	Apple, Hazelnut, Apricot, Chilgoza, Pista Chionut, Almond, Grapes, Prune, Walnut, etc.

Source: *Department of Horticulture (DOH), Himachal Pradesh*

The Higher altitudes having elevation above 1524 to 3656 metres have favoured the cultivation of apples, almond, walnuts, hazelnut, pistachio etc., all of which are high priced fruits and feature prominently in the economy of Himachal Pradesh.

Table 3: Annual trend of cultivated area and major fruit trees Production in Himachal Pradesh:

MajorCrops	2015/16		2016/17		2017/18		2018/19		2019/20	
	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce
	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)
Apple	110679	777126	111896	468134	112634	446574	113154	368603	n.a	715253
Plum	8601	20523	8683	14324	8786	12925	8816	11389	n.a	14575
Peach	5076	8045	5090	4097	5090	7262	5042	7292	n.a	8164
Pear	6977	32039	6948	17069	6864	15658	6803	9099	n.a	16265
Almond	5105	915	4981	701	4923	758	4850	641	n.a	971
Walnut	4471	2250	4453	2142	4436	2457	4406	2872	n.a	3144

Orange/Ki now	8724	13028	8765	14687	8709	14098	8816		n.a .	15676
Mango	41523	37628	41765	48241	41989	31353	42248	43540	n.a .	31879
Litchi	5409	6071	5673	5169	5875	4605	6028	5467	n.a .	4605

Source: *Department of Horticulture (DOH), Himachal Pradesh*

Himachal Pradesh which earlier had the distinction of being an apple growing State is gradually gaining the potential of becoming a producer of several varieties of fruits. It can be seen that apple, almond, mango, and Litchi are on the decline. However, production of other fruits is increasing steadily across the year.

Table 4: District wise cultivated area and Fruit Trees

District	Apple		Other Temperate Fruit		Mango		Nuts & Others		All Fruits	
	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce
	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)
Bilaspur	4	0	751	253	3,652	3,595	1,572	624	5,979	4,472
Chamba	9,853	7,564	1,310	495	424	77	2,324	1,821	13,911	9,957
Hamirpur	0	0	402	323	2,465	941	2,014	1,136	4,881	2,400
Kangra	419	710	1,142	3,809	19,952	46,215	13,820	34,853	35,333	85,587
Kinnaur	7,720	38,066	361	557	0	0	1,235	395	9,316	39,018
Kullu	20,524	141,844	3,061	33,645	79	0	599	136	24,263	175,625
Laha ul- Spiti	533	209	30	25	0	0	7	4	570	238
Mandi	14,567	20,131	5,702	2,557	3,184	610	8,017	976	31,470	24,274
Shimla	29,029	318,449	3,312	3,763	197	44	2,428	639	34,966	322,895
Sirmaur	2,518	560	5,234	7,063	2,812	3,144	4,458	1,979	15,022	12,746
Solan	112	68	2,945	6,036	1,663	1,161	1,621	1,024	6,341	8,289
Una	0	0	977	1,016	1,787	3,952	2,087	1,542	4,851	6,510
State	86,202	527,601	25,227	59,542	36,215	59,739	39,259	45,129	186,903	692,011

Source: *Department of Horticulture (DOH), Himachal Pradesh*

Table 4 shows that there is maximum area under fruit trees across the various districts of Himachal Pradesh. The maximum cultivation of all fruits is observed in Shimla and Kullu districts. The total area under fruits is 186,903 ha while the total production of fruits is 692.011 tonnes annually.

HP's economy has shifted from agriculture to manufacturing and services. Agriculture's share of total states domestic product has decreased from 57.9 percent in 1950-51 to 8.4 percent in 2018-19. The primary sectors which have a large impact on other sectors in terms of input connections, are employment, trade, transportation, and so on, that continue to drive the growth of the state

economy. Himachal Pradesh administration has given the agriculture sector high priority for this and other reasons.

Himachal Pradesh's gross state domestic product (GSDP) at constant prices (with 2011-12 as the base year) was INR 117,750 crore in 2018-19, representing annual growth of 7.3 percent, with a growth rate of 5.6 percent in 2019-20. The expansion of the state economy is heavily influenced by public administration and the manufacturing sector, whereas agriculture and allied sectors, which employ around 60% of the population, account for only 8.2% of total GSDP.

In Himachal Pradesh, there are over four lakh economic establishments, with 81 percent located in rural areas. These enterprises employ about ten lakh people, from rural areas accounting for 76% of all employment. As a result, establishment development is critical in the State's rural economy. However, agricultural establishments account for 7.8% of overall establishments, with agriculture services accounting for only 4.5 percent.

Cooperative societies are also significant in improving the socioeconomic conditions of persons living in rural areas. Himachal Pradesh pioneered the cooperative movement in 1904, and the state now has 5,038 cooperatives of various types in operation. Cooperative societies provide a variety of services including the, 'distribution of consumer goods through the public distribution system, the distribution of fertilizers and other agricultural related inputs and implements the collection and marketing of milk through milk cooperatives, the advancement of loans through Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies (PACS) and other cooperative financial institutions, the marketing of agricultural

and horticultural produce, the production of agricultural and horticultural produce, and the production of agricultural and horticultural produce’.

Decadal Variations in Land Use and Food Grain Production

The two main cropping seasons in Himachal Pradesh are *kharif* (rainy season) from June to September and *rabi* (dry season) from October to May. The length of each season varies depending on the area and altitude. In Himachal Pradesh, food crops are farmed in two seasons: *kharif* (June to September) for rice, millets, maize, pulses, ragi (finger millet) and oilseeds and the *rabi* (November to April) for wheat, barley, gram, pulses, and oilseeds. Vegetable crops are primarily harvested from April to September. Tables 5 to 12 illustrate the trend of the cultivated area and production of the main food grains in Himachal Pradesh.

Table 5 : The 1990-91 District Wise Growth of Food Grains

1990-91 in Hectares								
District	Wheat	Maize	Rice	Pulses	Common Millets	Chillies	Ginger	Oil Seeds
Bilaspur	26401	26983	2772	1203	2	6	63	948
Chamba	19259	28267	2963	3718.2	1880	35	30	2457
Hamirpur	35504	32858	3364	1100	0	1	2	189
Kangra	91547	56472	37235	5985	0	28	9	9581
Kinnaur	656	432	29	1025	1627	0	0	38
Kullu	19805	17591	2285	3554	2234	111	0	678
Lauhal Spiti	273	38	0	21	793	0	0	12
Mandi	66310	49058	22308	4642	776	168	8	1037
Shimla	29821	19527	3610	6415	5879	191	171	756
Sirmour	29055	25966	5014	4731	435	0	0	1199
Solan	25151	24866	3418	4932	0	6	234	2210
Una	25095	29920	1609	1451	8	2	20	2202

Source: Compiled by Author

The district wise growth of food grains in 1990-91 observed that maximum contribution is made by Una, Solan and Chamba districts and the least production is observed in the district of Lahaul Spiti.

Table 6: The 2000-01 District Wise Growth of Food Grains

2001-01 in Hectares						
District	Wheat	Rice	Pulses	Chillies	Ginger	Oil Seeds
Bilaspur	27588	1849	374	12	153	379
Chamba	20005	2594	3534	55	6	2767
Hamirpur	34775	2403	134	8	7	166
Kangra	91123	38334	4264	21	26	4971
Kinnaur	479	23	1443	0	0	0
Kullu	26013	1680	3063	91	0	0
LauhalSpiti	42	0	1453	0	0	11
Mandi	65145	20083	3193	174	81	1225
Shimla	15821	2579	5118	126	189	723
Sirmour	27046	5974	4323	394	1311	1136
Solan	23237	3552	3225	15	525	1278
Una	31296	2611	753	7	1	2032

Source: Compiled by Author

The district-wise growth of food grains in 2000-2001 is reflected in Table-6. The maximum production is in the districts of Kangra, Chamba and Una. The least production is seen in the districts of Lahaul Spiti with there being no production at all of grains.

Table 7: The 2010-11 District Wise Growth of Food Grains

2010-2011 in Hectare						
District	Wheat	Rice	Pulses	Chillies	Ginger	Oil Seeds
Bilaspur	26439	1502	154	12	78	541
Chamba	20801	3507	3369	38	3	3135
Hamirpur	33496	1908	14	1	8	59
Kangra	93462	37611	3079	21	18	5175
Kinnaur	6	15	1685	0	0	0
Kullu	19278	1516	3440	63	0	695
LahaulSpiti	46	0	38	0	0	29
Mandi	67091	19481	6507	133	110	1031
Shimla	10878	1359	3768	84	193	344
Sirmour	26313	6115	1838	215	1332	1314
Solan	24714	2094	2283	144	361	1534
Una	34977	1919	252	5	2	1976

Source: Compiled by Author

After another decade the scenario changed yet again and Kangra showed maximum growth of food grains followed by Chamba, Solan and Sirmour. The least production was in LahaulSpiti and Hamirpur while Kinnaur did not have any production at all.

Table 8: 2017-2021 Food Grain Land Coverage

Crop	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21 (Tentative)
I. Food grains				
Rice	141.37	146.68	143.66	135.20
Maize	750.91	771.11	729.73	762.00
Ragi	1.92	1.82	2.06	2.55
Millet	3.36	4.12	4.77	4.50
Wheat	598.32	682.63	627.96	672.00
Barley	28.19	32.08	30.83	35.30
Gram	0.37	0.40	0.42	0.45
Pulses	56.99	53.60	54.80	62.72
Food grains	1581.42	1692.44	1594.23	1674.72
II. Commercial Crops				
Potato	198.66	186.80	196.71	196.30
Vegetables	1691.56	1722.14	1860.67	1658.00
Ginger (Green)	33.70	33.74	33.99	34.40

Source: Economics and Statistics Department, Himachal Pradesh (2020-2021)

When examining the production of food grains against the land coverage from 2017 to 2021 it is noticed that while maize production was maximum wheat followed close behind. The other grains showed marginal production but the range of grains was impressive.

Table 9: Food Grains Area and Production

Year	Area (000hect.)	Production (000 M.T.)	Production per hectare (M.T.)
2017-18	748.72	1581.42	2.11
2018-19	732.62	1692.44	2.31
2019-20	735.04	1594.23	2.17
2020-21(Target)	763.40	1674.72	2.19

Source: Economics and Statistics Department, Himachal Pradesh (2020-2021)

When looking at the overall production per hectare it was observed that it has been increasing steadily from the year 2017-2018 to 2020-2021. The area under the crops increased as did the overall production.

Table 10: Area Brought under High Yielding Varieties

Year	Maize	Paddy	Wheat
2018-19	280.69	74.32	343.62
2019-20	205.00	62.00	330.00
2020-21(Target)	205.00	62.00	330.00

Source: Economics and Statistics Department, Himachal Pradesh (2020-2021)

The growth from 2018 to 2021 shows that there is a distinctive decrease in the area sown successively for maize, paddy and wheat crops.

Table 11: Districts Wise Land Utilization (in ha)

District	Geographical Area by Village Papers	Forest Land	Misc. Tree Crops & Groves	Pastures & Other Grazing Lands	Cultivable Waste	Land Put to Non-farm Uses	Barren Land	Current Fallow Land	Other Fallow Land	Net Area Sown
Bilaspur	111,776	13,798	129	39,583	5,433	17,184	3,335	1,535	964	29,815
Chamba	692,419	272,008	130	350,882	6,628	13,649	4,854	1,779	625	41,864
Hamirpur	110,224	18,232	0	11,451	12,097	12,473	13,854	5,332	1,944	34,841
Kangra	577,681	231,518	7,474	84,365	27,187	75,084	19,758	14,111	1,384	116,800
Kinnaur	624,199	38,592	230	319,574	3,180	121,856	130,843	1,546	122	8,256
Kullu	65,475	1,627	3,629	7,081	2,210	7,120	2,733	4,155	449	36,471
Lahaul	911,195	137,376	111	211,444	568	16,857	541,313	128	1	3,397
Mandi	398,888	178,812	162	94,637	5,409	22,156	2,850	2,406	1,650	90,806
Shimla	525,327	150,349	7,644	235,760	10,735	18,717	12,149	12,289	7,160	70,524
Sirmaur	224,759	48,220	38,306	57,506	13,797	12,971	6,405	5,476	2,010	40,068
Solan	180,945	20,222	1,061	79,319	12,943	13,529	11,236	3,926	2,804	35,905
Una	154,854	14,632	7,719	16,363	21,527	20,811	29,668	3,071	2,254	38,809
Total	4,577,742	1,125,386	66,595	1,507,965	121,714	352,407	778,998	55,754	21,367	547,556

Source: Department of Land Record, Himachal Pradesh.

The land utilization seems to have changed gradually across the districts as can be seen in Table 11. The maximum net area sown was in Kangra and the least was in Lahaul.

Table 12: District-wise Agro-ecological Zones

District	AEZ1	AEZ2	AEZ3	AEZ4	Total Area
	240 m -1,000m inaltitude	1,000m-1,500 m inaltitude	1,500m-2,500 m (rainfall<1,500mm) 1,500m-3,250 m (rainfall>1,500mm)	2,500 m & above(rainfall < 700mm) 3,250 m & above(dryandsnow)	
Bilaspur	1,077	77	6	0	1,160
Chamba	288	551	2,897	2,742	6,478
Hamirpur	1,094	18	0	0	1,112
Kangra ^{*1}	3,726	360	672	887	5,645
Kinnaur	0	5	928	5,320	6,253
Kullu	18	289	2,464	2,728	5,499
Lahauland Spiti	0	0	323	13,699	14,022
Mandi	972	1,277	1,753	8	4,010
Shimla	93	574	3,683	741	5,091
Sirmaur	1,174	892	800	5	2,871
Solan	914	752	212	0	1,878
Una	1,536	1	0	0	1,537
Total	10,892	4,796	13,738	26,130	55,556

Source: Estimation by the survey team based on the Agro-ecological Zonation of Himachal Pradesh – Agricultural system information Development at Micro-level, Geo-Centre, CSK HPAU, Palampur (2020)

The Agro-Economic Zones (AEZ) are declared by the Himachal Pradesh Government. Lahaul and Spiti feature as maximum land development area while Chamba and Bilaspur are the least.

Cultivated Area and Production of Food Grains

Table 13: Trend of Cultivated Area and Production of Food Grains

Major Crops	2015/16		2016/17		2017/18		2018/19		2019/20	
	Area Produce		Area Produce		Area Produce		Area Produce		Area Produce	
	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)
Paddy	73690	129880	73830	135480	71610	141370	74000	132000	74000	134000
Maize	294220	737650	281340	736460	280810	750910	293000	742000	290000	760000
Wheat	341050	667620	338280	605180	342680	598320	345000	690000	340000	670000
Barley	19230	34330	19490	28660	19160	28190	19500	36000	19500	35300
Pulses	30170	59170	32910	50140	22900	56030	29500	62500	33380	30300

Source: Department of Agriculture (2021), Himachal Pradesh

The State produces 1,662,500 tonnes of food grains in total, of which 742,000 tonnes are maize, 690,000 wheat, 132,000 rice, and 98,500 are other grains. This demonstrates that the primary food grains in the State are wheat and maize. The population's basic food also includes other grains.

Table 14: District-wise Cropped Area and Production of Food Grain Crops

District	Paddy		Maize		Wheat		Barley		Pulses	
	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce	Area	Produce
	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)	(ha)	(ton)
Bilaspur	1,400	2,400	27,000	68,350	25,000	50,000	300	550	1,600	4,530
Chamba	2,150	3,800	26,000	65,800	20,000	40,000	3,000	5,550	2,000	1,950
Hamirpur	2,000	3,500	30,000	76,000	32,000	64,000	300	550	1,600	4,530
Kangra	36,500	65,000	57,400	144,400	94,000	188,000	2,800	5,150	4,600	9,500
Kinnaur	50	90	500	1,300	400	800	1,600	2,950	2,000	4,790
Kullu	1,000	1,700	15,000	38,000	18,500	37,000	2,400	4,450	1,800	1,750

LahaulSpiti	0	0	50	150	100	200	300	550	0	0
Mandi	19,200	34,000	47,000	119,000	62,000	124,000	3,000	5,550	3,100	6,000
Shimla	1,700	3,800	15,000	38,000	16,000	32,000	3,200	5,900	3,800	6,650
Sirmaur	4,800	8,450	24,000	60,750	26,700	53,400	1,400	2,600	3,600	7,850
Solan	2,800	5,000	24,200	61,250	21,300	42,600	1,200	2,200	2,900	7,400
Una	2,400	4,260	27,250	69,000	29,000	58,000	0	0	2,500	7,550
Total	74,000	132,000	293,400	742,000	345,000	690,000	19,500	36,000	29,500	62,500

Source; Department of Agriculture, Himachal Pradesh

Climate, particularly rainfall, has a significant impact on food grain productivity because the majority of the land is rainfed. Water logging should be avoided because maize grows best on well-drained soils. It is implied that the average production of maize in Himachal Pradesh is a little bit greater than the average yield of maize in India due to the region's superior drainage conditions. The average yield, however, is lower than the national average for other food grains like wheat and paddy. The following factors are mostly responsible for the low yield:

- Cultivation is on the slopes
- Landholdings are small and scattered
- The soil is shallow
- Irrigation is limited
- Farm mechanization is scarce
- Climatic zones are different for different crops

International Policy Framework on Food Security

With help from the IMF and the World Bank, policies and changes have focused on moving from broad-based measures to more targeted ones. Countries need their support for agriculture again and make changes. Between 2016 and 2018, countries gave about US\$639 billion per year to agriculture, and

that number has been going up since then. Only 35 cents of every dollar paid goes to farmers. As such people use resources inefficiently, mess up global markets, or hurt the environment, public health, and agricultural production. Without ignoring the trade-offs that come with large-scale policy changes, this money should be reformed and used in ways that make the agri-food system more resilient and sustainable. For example, it could be used to promote good agricultural practices, research and innovation (such as better ways to use fertilizer and alternatives to synthetic fertilizers), extension and advisory services, better infrastructure and logistics, and digital technologies.

Food insecurity is still a big problem in emerging markets and new economies. This is because of trade restrictions, bad weather, and wars, like the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The growth rate for low-income countries (LICs) is expected to be 5.1% in 2023. Even though this is what the estimate says, high inflation, tight monetary policy, and trouble with debt are likely to slow down domestic spending and investment in LICs. The rising cost of living has made it hard for many more people to get enough food, especially in LICs, which were already in bad shape before Russia invaded Ukraine.

The Global Network Against Food Crises (GNAFC) has given the 2022 Financing Flows and Food Crises Report to show, based on facts, how humanitarian development financing is changing in the setting of food crises. The study talks about food, agriculture, and nutrition sectors. It explains financial trends to help people make decisions and start policy conversations about funding so that food crises will happen less often over time.

Since the war in Ukraine started, there have been a lot more trade policy moves on food and fertilizer. Countries also used trade policy to meet their own

needs when there was a chance of food shortages at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. Table 15 shows the export limits that are currently in place for the most important food items.

Table 15: Food Trade Policy Tracker (major Food Commodities)

Sr. No.	Jurisdiction	Measure	Products	Announcement	Expected end date
1	Afghanistan	Export ban	Wheat	20 th May 2022	31 December 2022
2	Algeria	Export ban	Pasta, oil, semolina, sugar, all wheat derivatives	3 rd March 2022	31 December 2022
3	Argentina	Export taxes	Soybean meal, Soybean oil	10 th March 2022	31 December 2022
4	Bangladesh	Export ban	Rice	29 th June 2022	31 December 2022
5	Burkina Faso	Export ban	Millet, Sorghum Flours, Maize	28 th February 2022	31 December 2022
6	Belarus	Export licensing	Beet Pulp, Cake, Corn, Buckwheat, Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Rapeseed Meal, Millet, Triticale, Rapeseed, Sunflower Seeds,	13 th April 2022	31 December 2022
7	Cameroon	Export ban	Cereals, Vegetable Oil	27 th December 2021	31 December 2022
8	Georgia	Export ban	Barley and Wheat	4 th July 2022	01 August 2023
9	India	Export ban	Wheat	13 th May 2022	31 December 2022
10	India	Export licensing	Wheat Flour and Related Products	6 th July 2022	31 December 2022
11	India	Export ban	Broken Rice	8 th September 2022	31 December 2022
12	India	Export taxes	Rice in the Husk (Paddy Or Rough), Husked (Brown) Rice, Semi-Milled or Wholly Milled Rice (Other than Parboiled Rice and Basmati Rice)	9 th September 2022	31 December 2022
13	Iran	Export ban	Eggplants, Onions, Potatoes, Tomatoes	27 th April 2022	31 December 2022
14	Kosovo	Export ban	Corn, Oil, Vegetable Salt,	15 April 2022	31 December 2022

			Wheat, Flour, Sugar		
15	Kuwait	Export ban	Chicken Meat, Grains, Vegetable Oil,	20 March 2022	31 December 2022
16	Lebanon	Export ban	Processed Fruits and Bread, Vegetables, Grain Products, Sugar, Milled	18 March 2022	31 December 2022
17	Pakistan	Export ban	Sugar	15 April 2022	31 December 2022
18	Russia	Export ban	Rapeseed	31 March 2022	1 February 2023
19	Russia	Export taxes	Soya Beans	14 April 2022	31 August 2024
20	Russia	Export taxes	Sunflower Oil, Sunflower Meal	15 April 2022	31 December 2022
21	Russia	Export taxes	Barley, Corn and Wheat	8 April 2022	31 December 2022
22	Serbia	Export ban	Corn Flour and Sunflower Oil	10 March 2022	31 December 2022
23	Tunisia	Export ban	Fruits and Vegetables	12 April 2022	31 December 2022
24	Turkiye	Export licensing	Eggs, Fruits, Meat, Poultry Vegetables,	27 January 2022	31 December 2022
25	Turkiye	Export ban	Cooking Oils	9 March 2022	31 December 2022
26	Turkiye	Export ban	Beef Meat, Sheep Meat, Goat Meat	19 March 2022	31 December 2022

Source: International Food Policy Research Institute Covid – 19 Food Trade Policy Tracker and Macroeconomics, Trade and Investment Global Practice Covid- 19 Trade Policy Database for Food and Medical Products

Food insecurity, poverty, and inequality are some of the biggest problems we face today, yet reducing food insecurity alone will not end hunger and poverty as intended by SDG 2 of the sustainable development goals (Calicioglu et al., 2019). A little over 50 years ago, the idea of food security began to take shape and grow. It began by concentrating primarily on the supply of food and the production of food, then it was broadened to explicitly include the accessibility to food (physical, economic, and sociocultural), its consumption, and finally to incorporate the stability of these characteristics. The World Food Summit in 1996 provided the impetus for the task of defining the term ‘food security’, which is now

done by stating that 'food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' (Ziervogel and Ericksen, 2010).

Current Food Security and Climate Change

The Rio Declaration and the Paris Agreement brought greater attention to the connection between food, the environment, and climate change. Additionally, the IPCC took into account the importance of food by including it in both the Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5 °C and the Fifth Assessment Report (IPCC, 2014 and 2018 respectively).

The effects of climate change have mostly been perceived up until recently as an issue for the future that will benefit from foreseen planning. The fact that climate change is already having an impact on food security is one of AR5's main findings. Additionally, these effects are not equally felt throughout the world; a significant amount of the world's poor and food-insecure population lives in tropical regions, which are also those that are most subject to rising climatic risks (Vermeulen, 2014).

Global food system risks are increased by climate change and its effects on population movements, urbanization, demographic patterns, and changes in food consumption patterns (Myers et al., 2017). Through a number of channels, climate change has begun to affect food security. Crop yields are now directly impacted, while water quality, pests, diseases, and pollination are indirectly affected as well (Jahn et al., 2018). Biomass and nutritional quality have been impacted by the varying levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, and transport and storage infrastructures are also at danger.

The total distance that food travels from its point of origin to its place of consumption, or 'food miles', is a clear indicator of the impact the food system has had on the environment. Since more fossil fuels must be burned to transport

people, longer food miles are typically associated with higher GHG emissions. Consequently, a significant amount of GHG emissions are generated when food supplies are shipped internationally by air freight.

Conclusion

Since effects of food security and nutrition are intimately tied to food safety and public health, they cannot be discussed independently. Both are emergent characteristics of the food system that are brought about by the interaction of numerous dynamic elements in ways that defy straightforward linear projection.

According to the 2023 Global Report on Food Crises, which was published on May 3 and lists 58 nations and territories, 258 million people experienced food crises or even worse levels of acute food insecurity in 2022. Catastrophic levels of food insecurity, which indicate the threat of famine and extremely critical levels of malnutrition in several areas of the countries, were experienced by some affected populations in seven countries (Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Haiti, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Yemen), making them the most countries in the history of the report to experience such extreme levels of food and nutrition insecurity. Since the GRFC began publishing this data in 2017, the number of people facing crisis or worse acute food insecurity is at its highest point ever, and 2022 will mark the fourth year in a row that this figure has risen.

Despite having one of the world's fastest expanding economies and the second-highest farm output globally (FAO, 2009), India nevertheless struggles with concerns connected to hunger and diet quality. India is placed 101st out of 116 nations in the most recent Global Hunger Index survey (Jaswal, 2014), which is not surprising. It demonstrates that India is still falling short when it comes to achieving the Global Sustainable Development Goals related to hunger, such as achieving zero hunger (Goal 2), good health and well-being (Goal 3), and supplying enough food to ensure appropriate availability (Von et al., 2020).

Based on data from the National Sample Survey on household consumer spending in India from 2000, an analysis of the dynamics of food insecurity showed that while the overall rate of food insecurity has decreased, it has done so relatively slowly (Bhuyan, Sahoo, Suar, 2020). Monitoring the situation of food insecurity and implementing prompt policy changes are therefore top priorities for India's public health system.

It is recommended that:

- Public R&D spending should be increased from its current levels, with at least \$15 billion of that increase going toward innovations that will help food systems in LMICs.
- Investment in R&D should be directed toward developments that will enable sustainable intensification in LMICs, both on and off the farm.
- To encourage the technology diffusion that helps nations with low domestic research capability. Global and regional knowledge-sharing institutions, such as the CGIAR system, should be improved and strengthened.
- Governments should establish more supportive environments to draw in private sector investment for agri-food innovations and to encourage the adoption of improved technologies and procedures. This includes reversing the market distortions caused by agricultural support and trade regulations and strengthening regulations for the secure adoption and market acceptance of new technologies.

Recent efforts by the Indian government have focused on integrating national and subnational (State) level policies regarding agriculture and food with strategies, innovations, technology, and finance mechanisms that can boost sustainable growth of the agri-food sector. The 'National Mission on Sustainable

Agriculture', one of the eight missions of the 'National Action Plan on Climate Change', is at the helm of these efforts by addressing a wide range of issues related to sustainable agriculture, including but not limited to water use efficiency, soil health management, nutrient management, and livelihood diversification (MAFW, 2018). However, several reforms and programs are being implemented to boost farmer incomes and enhance rural livelihoods, making the agri-food industry more socially sustainable. Measures to make *Indian* agriculture more resistant to drought include the Agri-Infrastructure Fund and the PM-KISAN scheme, which provide direct income support to all farmer families with land holdings (MAFW 2020). The federal government sets floor prices for 24 important agricultural commodities, including both food and non-food products, and intervenes in the market to prop them up if they fall too low. In addition, the federal government runs initiatives to boost output of staple foods, edible oils, horticultural crops, reduce farmers' exposure to crop failure via the Price Loss Coverage for Market-Based Agriculture Insurance (PM-FMBY), and agricultural machinery. (MAFW 2022) Farm-gate infrastructure and post-harvest organization are two areas where the Agriculture Infrastructure Fund was created to make improvements. To increase productivity throughout the agri-food chain, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MOFPI) has initiated the PM-SAMPADA (Scheme for Agro-Processing and Development of Agro-Processing Clusters) scheme, which features numerous sub-schemes devoted to the creation of integrated cold chains, agro-processing clusters, food safety and quality assurance infrastructure, and mega food parks. Several programs have been created to promote resource efficiency and the production of renewable energy in the agricultural sector by better managing agricultural wastes and animal manures (<https://mnre.gov.in/bio-energy/schemes>). The generation of biomass and biogas is encouraged by these schemes. Pradhan Mantri Kisan Urja Suraksha evam Utthan Mahabhiyan (PM-KUSUM) is an initiative with similar

goals (MNRE 2019) that aims to solarize grid-connected pumps and build decentralized solar-powered farm pumps. National institutes, KVKs under ICAR, and State Agricultural Universities make up the National Agricultural Research System, which has been providing much-needed technology to address the supply side issues in agri-food systems. Over 2122 improved varieties were developed as a direct result of the varietal development programs, including 1752 climate-resilient types and 87 bio-fortified varieties that are rich in minerals and vitamins but free of anti-nutritional chemicals. State-level development initiatives now make use of the best practices discovered through national research projects on integrated farming systems, organic farming, and climate-resilient agriculture (NICRA). Vaccinations, diagnostics, and breeding strategies in livestock and fisheries have improved the quality and quantity of animal and fish protein available to the people, leading to improved nutritional results.

To help increase food production and tolerance to biotic and abiotic issues, India is implementing one of the largest farmer outreach projects through its network of 731 Krishi Vigyan Kendra (ICAR 2021). The value chain segment of agri-food systems can also be improved through the use of agroprocessing technologies that incorporate automation and digital precision interventions. Under the National Food Security Act (NFSA), the country operates the largest food distribution program in the world, providing for the daily nutritional needs of eligible adults and students through the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) and Mid-Day Meal (MDM) schemes, respectively (DFPD 2022). The third installment of the Aatmnirbhar Bharat Scheme funding was allocated exclusively to agricultural reforms, including the Pradhan Mantri Garib Kalyan Anna Yojana (PMGKAY)'s free grain distribution to the poor and migrant workers negatively impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic (PIB 2020a; 2020b).

The Indian states, in addition to the federal government, are making great strides toward incorporating sustainability ideas into agriculture legislation and practices. Some recent examples include the Dairy Development and Milk Products Promotion Policy (2022) announced by the state of Uttar Pradesh (UP Govt 2022a, b), the Dhanuka Agritech and Research Center opened in Haryana to support research for sustainable agriculture (PTI 2022a), and the cabinet of Odisha decided to establish solar energy powered cold storage units in all Panchayats to increase storage capacity and reduce reliance on convents (PTI 2022b). Odisha Food Processing Policy, 2022 was drafted by the state government to increase and standardize the sector's access to infrastructure, institutions, and funding (Odisha Govt 2022). The government of Haryana is also providing a minimum support price (MSP) for farm stubble (PTI 2022b) as a novel solution to the problems of crop waste and particle pollution in the state's air. This demonstrates that governments worldwide are making strides toward a more sustainable agri-food system in a number of different ways.

Launching the Sub-Mission on Nutri-Cereals (Millets) under the National Food Security Mission in 2018, India has aimed to increase the yield and popularity of millets (<https://www.nutricereals.dac.gov.in/>; Gazette of India 2018). People understand the value of millets as a food source. To promote public awareness of millets' significance in sustainable agriculture and to push policy directives focusing on millet farming, the United Nations General Assembly honored the nation's foresight by declaring 2023 the International Year of Millets during its 75th session (United Nations 2021).

The government recently announced the Digital Agriculture Mission (2021-2025). Government should concentrate on developing a strong ecosystem, such as Agristack, that will offer accurate farmer databases, information about government schemes and programs, agri-logistics and market intelligence, advisory on a real-time basis, data transparency, and market linkages through

platforms like e-NAM. For widespread use of technology at the grassroots level, government should consider bolstering FPOs. Government should also provide tax breaks and interest-free loans to encourage the creation of new agri-tech companies.

Endnote

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Buddhism and the Cult of *Hārītī* in Ancient Punjab

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Abstract

This article has, as its primary emphasis, the cult named *Hārītī*, which was widely popular in ancient Punjab as well as in other parts of India. The Goddess *Hārītī* was worshipped by lay devotees in Buddhist monasteries for a healthy lifespan. The association of Buddhist monasteries with medical facilities can be traced back to Buddha's life, the Buddha himself recommended, that the monks carry some necessary items in the form of medicine. Although, later on, this tradition brought about an enormous transformation in the Buddhist monasteries, when Buddhism emerged as a religion, which was mainly concerned with an individual's Nirvana or liberation from the material world. But with time, the Buddhist monasteries acted as a healing centre to cure physical diseases, and where deity like *Hārītī* was worshipped for the blessing of good health. The archaeological studies conducted on Buddhist monuments reveal the incorporation of numerous local cults (*Hārītī*, being a prominent one) within Buddhism and its monastic institutions. Yet, deity like *Hārītī*, that was part of Buddhism and was associated with infertility and children's illnesses, have not received much attention from scholars. This paper looks at the

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cult of *Hārītī* and its incorporation into Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries. In their interaction with the laity, Buddhist monks were expected to address the mundane problems of the daily life of the laity, who believed that monks could use their spiritual powers to aid the recovery of health concerns, and *Hārītī* is believed to be a Goddess, who immensely helped cure diseases. Hence, this paper aims at analysing the representations of *Hārītī* as a monastic protector and disease-curing Goddess in Buddhist monasteries of ancient Punjab, using certain literary and archaeological sources.

Introduction

The standard, textually derived history of Indian Buddhism begins in the fifth or sixth century BCE, with Siddhartha Gautama, a prince who renounced the world to attain salvation from the rebirth life cycle and began delivering his discourse.¹ After the demise of Buddha, his disciples continued to promote Buddha's teachings and established a community of Buddhist monks and nuns, known collectively as the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Initially, the members of the *saṅgha* were wandering ascetics, living on the outskirts of society, begging for food they consumed, and practicing meditation and other ascetic rites. In contrast to the ascetic exercise of the *saṅgha*, the Buddhist *laity* started making pilgrimages to important sites associated with Buddha's life and to *stūpas*, which housed some of his cremated remains. Over the years, the *saṅgha* steadily established itself in monasteries and eventually attracted the favour and financial support of both the elite and the non-elite Buddhist laymen.

According to standard history, it is stated, that by the end of the first century BCE., the *saṅgha* was becoming domesticated within monasteries, with ever-escalating obligations to their lay followers. With the contact that these obligations demanded, the *saṅgha* began adopting the practices of lay

Buddhism—worshipping at *stūpas* and, by the early to mid-first century CE., Buddha's images.² Historians and archaeologists have discovered several Buddhist sites (*stūpas* and monasteries) in South Asia including the northwestern area of the Indian subcontinent. The Sri Lankan text, the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, and other Buddhist textual sources record, that after Buddha's death, his disciples cremated his body, and the ashes were distributed among eight kings to place in large mounds of earth erected near crossroads.³ These earthen mounds were called *stūpas*, and burial in *stūpas* was the typical manner for interring the remains of important individuals of different religions at the time.⁴ Textual sources record that in the third century BCE, Aśoka (The Mauryan King) disinterred and redistributed relics from seven of the eight prototypical *stūpas*, to create thousands of more elaborate *stūpas*. Relying on these accounts, archaeologists have long sought to identify the original eight *stūpas* in which Buddha's remains were interred, particularly the fabled eighth intact *stūpa*.⁵

Ever since its beginning, in the nineteenth century, the study of Buddhism has been a conglomeration of investigations of early Buddhist texts and archaeological remains. Yet, it was first in the twentieth century, that new approaches and insights to the study of early Buddhism were introduced. In order to simplify the range of earlier interpretations of Buddhist monasticism, two different approaches with respect to their broader social role can be identified. The first sees monasteries as retreats where monks could conduct their observances, undisturbed by any distractions.⁶ While A. L. Basham believed that, monasteries were centres for an extended meditation and religious learning,⁷ on the other hand, by the 1960s, scholars put their emphasis on materialism, as a consequence of which, a new interpretation of Buddhist monasticism began to emerge. In simpler words, this approach shows monasteries to be as economically oriented and actively engaged in broader social relations. Romila

Thapar viewed the Buddhist centre Takṣaśilā (Gandhāra region) as fostering trade as it had access to West Asia, particularly after the sixth century BCE.⁸ In this particular context, this economic approach was extended by subsequent scholars such as H. P. Ray. Ray in her early works, for instance, discussed how the Buddhist monasteries played an active role in organizing and promoting trade, both as consumers and as direct facilitators.¹⁰ In addition to this, Ray suggested that Buddhist monasteries were actively engaged in promoting agricultural production and they served as the nuclei of agrarian communities on the peripheries of developing states.¹¹

Several scholars have articulated through their viewpoints, that the material support of the elite classes to Buddhism was a major element, which facilitated its growth.¹² James Fergusson and James Burgess believed that Buddhist monasteries were the production of gifts/donations and that these were supported by royal donations. Over the twentieth century, the perception of isolation and royal patronage gradually shifted to a view of Buddhist monasteries as more active and engaged with worldly concerns.¹³ H. P. Ray noted that much of the support for Buddhist monasteries were derived from traders, artisans, and craft guilds during their journey for trading activities.¹⁴ Moreover, Xinru Liu has shown her concern that the Buddhist monasteries functioned by facilitating complex relations between monks and traders. She informs that the *stūpas* and monasteries were decorated by traders, laymen, and rulers with the luxury goods like coral, glass, pearls, lapis lazuli, and other precious items.¹⁵ According to her, the Buddhist monasteries required silk for various rituals and the silk could be received as donations from devotees, who could donate silk and silken clothes to a monk or monasteries to have a *sūtra* recited or to have a statue carved or to have a *stūpa* built to store the relics for spiritual benefit.¹⁶ Moreover, another scholar Akira Shimada also puts forward the idea that most of the Buddhist

stūpas and monasteries were intentionally constructed near, or inside, the urban centres by the Buddhist monks to enjoy advantages, such as donations and gifts.¹⁷

Essentially, Buddhism functioned as an institutional religion in the past and it had to negotiate the presence of other religions: mostly Brahmanism, and occasionally Jainism, and the religion of the Ajīvikas. It had too also negotiated the presence of different animistic cults. To compete with other religions, it had to offer not only some unique technological tenets but also some ‘practical’ services like medicine, to attract patronage from various, segments of society. Buddhism also had to negotiate socio-economic worldly institutions in the course of its evolution in India. These negotiations assumed different contours in different parts of ancient India.¹⁸ If we look at the archaeological remains of Buddhism in the Gandhāra region (a part of ancient Punjab), the presence of numerous Buddhist monasteries is acknowledged. Gandhāra is usually assumed by scholars to be an intersection point of distinctive trade routes, including religious faiths and cultural practices of ancient times.¹⁹ Besides the sculptures of Buddha/Bodhisattva stucco heads, several images of Yakṣas, Yakṣinis, Nagas, Kubera and *Hārītī* have been discovered inside the Buddhist monasteries dating as far back as the third – second century BCE, or perhaps, even earlier. This particular paper predominantly focuses on the cult of *Hārītī*, who was popularly worshipped as a Buddhist Goddess of fertility or a protector of infants, and this study will help understand the crucial role of Buddhist monasteries in Indian society as centres for medicinal practice.

***Hārītī* in Buddhist Art and Literature**

The story of *Hārītī* is one, which attracts much attention, in the Buddhist faith. *Hārītī* is the first example of distancing through the characterization of a

local deity, which prior to its encounter with Buddhism, had been known among people, as a malevolent force. Furthermore, many other deities in Buddhist narrative literature are also capable of bringing both benefit and harm to fetuses, infants, and small children, and yet, by far, the most well-known of these is *Hārītī* – an infant phobia Yakṣi turned *dharma* protector. The Buddhist texts claimed that *Hārītī* was a horrific figure and was turned into a *dharma* protector by Buddha himself,²⁰ and later in this way, the Buddhist monks very smartly legitimised the presence of *Hārītī* in the Buddhist monasteries as a disease-curing Goddess and a monastic protector. This notion has been recorded in several Buddhist texts to provide the authenticity of this belief for the Buddhist followers. The Sanskrit text *Mulasarvastivada Vinaya* contains the most detailed account of the story of *Hārītī*.²¹ This story acknowledged not just Buddha's spiritual superiority over *Hārītī*, but also portrayed people's faith in her. According to I-Tsing (Late 7th century CE), a renowned Chinese traveller, her image was installed under the porch or in a corner of the refectory in the Buddhist monasteries.²² *Hārītī* is, in that respect, a paradoxical figure who embodied both the demonic ogress and the nurturing mother. Furthermore, she represented destructive power as an ogress, devouring children, but after being converted by Buddha, she became a protective force, ensuring fertility and prosperity (especially as one of those unpredictable spirits, which rule over the dangerous processes of pregnancy and birth).²³ As a consequence of this, Buddha saved *Hārītī* and the Rajagiha people by neutralizing *Hārītī*'s negative traits, emphasising her only positive trait (her strong maternal love), and forever subjugating her to the *saṅgha*'s superior authority.²⁴ The seventh-century monk Yi Jing recounts the story of how Buddha restrained *Hārītī*, by enlisting her to protect the *saṅgha*, by recommending her worship to lay people as well as in monasteries. 'The sick and those without children', he directed should, 'offer her food to obtain their wishes'.²⁵ The Buddhist pilgrim Xuan Zang (Circa 629 – 646

CE.) reported that Childless Gandhāran women offered sacrifices to *Hārītī* at the *stūpa* built on the site, where Śākyamuni is believed to have converted her.²⁶ Upinder Singh has also, with the aid of archaeological shreds of evidence, showing the prevalence of fertility cults in urban centres; and archaeological remains from Shonkh near Matura and Gandhāra region, show the prevalence of the cults of Yaksha/Yakashini and Naga/Nagis, as a part of Buddhist and Hindu religions.²⁷

Hārītī is almost exclusively portrayed as horrific prior to her assimilation into Buddhism as a minor deity in Buddhist literature. *Hārītī* has her own distinctive iconography, which has been studied by a few in the 20th century. D. D. Kosambi points out first that like the Goddess *Hārītī*, many regional Goddesses in the state of Maharashtra were incorporated into Buddhism. Kosambi is not alone in making this observation. For example, Gail Hinich Sutherland also talks about the assimilation of many folk legends of many local Goddesses into the Buddhist mythology of Yakshini.²⁸ According to her, *Hārītī* was originally a fertility figure and a protector of the city of Rajagṛha, whose demonic side was tamed by Gautam Buddha. Sutherland also mentions that *Hārītī* in sculpture not only symbolizes fertility but that in some representations, she seems transformed into an auspicious and gentle Goddess like Bhadra, Lakshmi, or Vasudhara. Anand K. Coomarswamy asserts that *Hārītī* originally resided in Rajagṛha and had been a Magadhan tutelary Goddess, wife of Pāñcika. She was called even in Xuan Zang's time the mother of Yakṣas, and the people prayed to her for offspring.²⁹ When I-Tsing visited India between 671 and 695 CE., he gave a detailed description of the ceremony on the Upavastha-day in the Buddhist monasteries. I-Tsing has also discussed, how the Buddhist Goddess *Hārītī* was offered food first, and after that offerings were made to *arhats* and monks. The figure of *Hārītī* also appears regularly in Indian Buddhist

art during the middle period (third-century BCE. – second-century CE.), especially in the regions of Gandhāra and Mathura. Archaeological evidence suggests that the famous cult of *Hārītī* became popular only with the appearance of Mahayana Buddhism. Likewise, the image of *Hārītī* was also present in other parts of Buddhist India during the Kuṣāṇa period. The early images of this fertility cult were often placed on the entrance of Buddhist monastic complexes.³⁰ In Mathura, what were taken to be representations of *Hārītī* often resemble other locally popular Goddesses associated with fertility, especially the *matṛkas*, who are sometimes shown sitting with wide-planted feet and babies in their laps. Doorjambes and other panels from Mathura depicting tutelary couples are also usually taken to be the representations of *Hārītī/Pāñcika*.³¹

Moreover, dozens of Gandhāra Sculptures of *Hārītī* have survived, each of them showing a Goddess standing with children all around her and these were placed in Buddhist monasteries.³² *Hārītī*'s most remarkable standing figure (belonging to the *Kuṣāṇa* period based on its art and style) was discovered at Skarah Dheri (Sahri Bahlol Mound C) and is now housed in the Chandigarh Museum (See Figure No.1).³³ Another grey schist sculpture of Goddess (*Kuṣāṇa* period), which shows her seated with a legs pendant (*palambapadāsana*) on an elaborate throne with a footstool and seven children, has now been recovered from Shaikhan Dheri and is placed at the Abdul Museum in Peshawar.³⁴ Moreover, one grey schist sculpture statue of *Hārītī* with some infants of the *Kuṣāṇa* period is found at Shaikhan Dheri (Charsada) and is now kept in the Abdul Qayyum Museum, Peshawar.³⁵ A graceful standing image found from Sakrah Dheri is on display at the Lahore Museum, and it depicts the Goddess with three children it is dated to the *Kuṣāṇa* period. A fact, that portrays the strong belief in *Hārītī* among the Buddhist pilgrims.³⁶ The figure of *Hārītī* depicted with the four arms (holding a trident, wine cup, water pot (*kamandala*), and a

small child) has been recovered from Skarah Dheri (Sheri-Bahlol Mound C) and is now displayed in Peshawar Museum.³⁷

The iconography of *Hārītī* mainly depicts her with infants; but some of the places covered in the archaeological reports, show her with a male figure (Pāñcika/Yakṣa) at the entrance of Buddhist monasteries. Most scholars suggest that *Hārītī* and her consort Pāñcika were popular deities in Gandhāra. Both of them had been assimilated into Buddhism during its expansionary phase, approximately in the second century BCE. Prior to this, they might have been regarded as semi-divine beings or at times, even as demons.³⁸ The inclusion in the *Hārītī sūtra* of a passage in which Sākyamuni instructs *Hārītī* to answer the prayers of the childless is evidently a concession to a popular cult, which had already been established. Several early examples in which *Hārītī* is linked with Yakṣas have been found at prominent monastic sites, positioned on one side of the entrance, with the male figure on the opposite end. The impressive schist *Hārītī*'s image from Gandhāra shows her alone or accompanied by her Yakṣa husband Pāñcika, either seated or standing and bearing a variety of auspicious symbols.³⁹ *Hārītī* was one of the early Goddesses to appear in the emerging Indian Buddhist pantheon of deities and she was considered a disease-curing Goddess and a monastic protector.⁴⁰



Figure 1: *Hārītī* with Infants found in Skarah Dheri (Circa, 2nd Century CE) and currently placed at [Government Museum and Art Gallery](#), Sector 10 C, Chandigarh (U.T.)

Source: Author

***Hārītī* in Ancient Punjab**

If one observes the region of ancient Punjab and its surrounding areas, it is evident, that the region was under the political control of Bactrian Greeks/Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, *Kuśāna*, and the Sassanids at different times during the post-Mauryan period.⁴¹ The region of ancient Punjab has been demarcated by different scholars through cultural influences,⁴² as it was not always politically united, although culturally, it was very much a part of India. Surinder Singh suggested that the entire land located between the Indus and Yamuna is considered to be the region of ancient Punjab.⁴³ For the purpose of this paper, this geographical area has been taken as ancient Punjab, where not only Brahmanical, Buddhist beliefs and indigenous cults exist but also Iranian faiths, and later on, a few Hellenistic cults exerted influence and found lay support in varying degrees.⁴⁴

We learn, from the archaeological findings of these Buddhist monasteries in ancient Punjab and the adjacent areas, about numerous cults of deities, that had been assimilated into Buddhism. The presence of these deities within monastic complexes shows that Buddhist monasteries had been precariously balancing their public and private religious obligations with their need to provide for and sustain the resident population.⁴⁵ When comparing the newer and older interpretations of Buddhist monasticism, an interesting contrast is formed—religious disengagement versus economic engagement. What follows is an

argument for a third permutation—religious engagement.⁴⁶ The changing nature of Buddhist monasteries reflects that the tension was most clearly shown in the monastery's economic relationships with local populations. The integration of *Hārītī* in Buddhist monasteries in the form of the Goddess of child protection and infertility provides strong evidence of the monk's negotiation with the laymen. As monasteries converted themselves into healing centres, the cult of Goddess *Hārītī* functioned to establish close bonds between laymen and monasteries.

If we look back, as society flourished and developed with the formation of numerous urban centres, medical centres became an immensely important need of society. Initially, in the Buddhist monasteries the Bhikkhu *Saṅgha* was peripatetic, but eventually Buddhist monks (*bhikkhus*) and nuns (*bhikkhunīs*) settled down in fixed residences and temporary rain retreats (*varsa*) that evolved into permanent establishments, providing the necessities of life.⁴⁷ Buddhism was already very conscious of human ailment, at Buddha's time. This is made explicit, by the fact that Buddha based his key teachings of the four noble truths on a medical paradigm. The four noble truths *viz.*; suffering, its cause, its suppression, and the method for its elimination, correspond in medicine, to disease, its cause, health, and the remedy.⁴⁸ The Master Physician Jivaka, who was a close associate of Buddha, had among his patients' powerful kings, like Bimbisara of Magadha and Pushkarasarin of Gandhāra and other influential and prosperous people.⁴⁹ In the later Buddhist texts, Buddha appears as a King of physicians (*vaidyaraja*), who cleared the membrane (*patala*) of the eye of the cataract – like ignorance with a golden needle.⁵⁰ Some of the inscriptions of the post-Mauryan period (200BCE.– CE300.) throw light upon the healing houses, which constituted a part of the Buddhist monasteries.⁵¹ Such donative records are found in over-dispersed areas of the subcontinent and are related to Buddhist monastic establishments.⁵² A large number of inscriptions of these five centuries

are small in size, but they record the inimitable information of pious acts of charity or donation by individuals or groups of individuals, including women, Buddhist monks (*bhikkhus*), and nuns (*bhikkhunīs*).⁵³

Consequently, a large number of donated records demonstrates the interest of both the public and monks, in sustaining a give-and-take relationship between them. The term 'give and take' in this retrospect, refers to monasteries assisting the lay devotees in the fulfillment of their material and spiritual requirements, in exchange for donations and gifts. Monks portrayed the worship places of monasteries as shelters for traders, healing centres for ill, and sub-deities like other *Hārītī* for infertility or children curing diseases, and as a result, the very act of donation (*dāna*) to the Buddhist *Saṅgha* began to be considered a meritorious act, which had the potential to fulfill the donor's wishes, as well as to simultaneously confer good health upon the donors, her family and even the regional kings.⁵⁴

Buddhist Monasteries as Healing Centres

Buddhist literature provides us with a detailed account of the medical materials used by the *saṅgha*. The Buddha initially, prescribed five medicines to monks that they could keep with them: clarified butter (*sappki*), fresh butter (*navanita*), oil (*tela*), honey (*madhu*), and molasses (*phanita*). Eventually, with the evolution of the *saṅgha* and the development of *vinaya* rules, the medicines grew into an entire pharmacopeia including numerous food items and incorporating culinary traditions, derived perhaps from the laity. Fats, roots, extracts, leaves, fruits, gums or resins, and salt were added to the medical materials according to need.⁵⁵ Buddhist monks were no longer only begging for alms; herbs and medicines had also become a part of the donation tradition. Several types of items were given to Buddhist monasteries in the form of gifts. The *Jātaka* tales

also have some references to offering medicine to Buddha by rich merchants along with other offerings.⁵⁶ With such donations, this charitable and pious act, which was clearly affiliated with a Buddhist monastery, appears to have accorded to the physicians and their respective families a noticeable social position i.e., the status of a patron.⁵⁷ The patrons, who gifted tangible (a portion of their resources) material to *Saṅgha*, received in return, something intangible, in other words, prestige, merit, and status associated with the donative act.⁵⁸ With the expansion of the *Saṅgha*, there was an expansion, in the kind of care adopted and in the nature of medicine used by the *Saṅgha*.⁵⁹ Food and medicines were obtained in donations from pious laity, as monks and nuns were forbidden to buy these items and also to produce them.⁶⁰ Now, the practice of begging for alms was generally replaced by the acceptance of offerings brought to the monastic communities. Foodstuffs were collected in monasteries and divided into substantial and non-substantial materials, and the latter was further classified into medicines for the use of the monastic community.⁶¹

Gradually, medicine and healing became an integral part of Buddhist monasticism and medical activities focused on the care and treatment of monks by their fellow or by pious lay devotees, but from around the mid-third century BCE, there is evidence that the monk-healers and the monastery extended medical care to the population at large.⁶² The special system of the monastic ordinance in the early Buddhist *Saṅgha* provided a codification of medical knowledge and led to the development of the monk-healer, who treated both his brethren and his lay devotees as well as. To a certain extent, provided care to the sick in special monastic structures or houses established and supported by the laity. It was actually Buddhism's involvement with medicine, which also gave rise to the teaching of medicine in the Buddhist monastic establishment after the beginning of the common era.⁶³ In the Takṣaśilā's excavation, John Marshal

discovered many surgical instruments from the Bhir Mound e.g., a decapitator spatula. In addition, from the Dharmarajika *stūpa*, some surgical instruments were also discovered.⁶⁴ From the Bhir mound, three specimens of copper needles (*Circa the* third-century BCE. to first-century BCE.) have been recovered.⁶⁵ At Takṣaśilā, some pestles and mortars were found, which were made of hard stone and could be used for crushing mills made of quartzite, belonging to the Saka and Parthian periods.⁶⁶ At the Kunala monastery (fifth-century CE.), grinding mills made of Tasaki grey sandstone with a slightly big diameter were found. Significantly, a grinding mill has been discovered at the Pippala monastery, and likewise, a circular grinding stone of limestone was found at the Dharmarajika monastery.⁶⁷

Takṣaśilā is considered to be the largest Buddhist settlement in North-West India,⁶⁸ and at the beginning of the Common era, Takṣaśilā acted as the educational hub and perhaps the most renowned principal centre of medicine/medical studies as well as the education of arts and science and Brāhmaṇic learning.⁶⁹ Hsüan Tsang, in his account, describes the eighteen schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism (spread in the Gandhāra region) and the study of medicine at one of them.⁷⁰ The famous lay Buddhist Physicians Jīvaka Kamārabhacca achieved his medical education at Takṣaśilā by studying for a span of seven years as an apprentice to a physician who, according to Sanskrit and Tibetan account, was the legendary Ātreya and his teachings formed the basis of the *caraka saṃhita*.⁷¹ Moreover, the *Kāma Jātaka* discussed the story of the King of Banaras, who was cured by a Bodhisattva's detailed knowledge of all branches of learning including medicine.⁷² The Buddhist monasteries at Takṣaśilā show a sort of symbiotic relationship between medical education and Buddhist monasticism.⁷³ As H. P. Ray and Xinru Liu and other scholars have described in their writings,⁷⁴ the expansion of Buddhism and its monasteries

across India, generally followed the existing trade route, the Buddhist establishments were built close to the actual avenues of trade and received funds largely from wealthy merchants, who found the monasteries convenient 'parts of call' and resting places, while on their long and wearisome treks across vast stretches of land.⁷⁵ So medical care and facilities were provided at monasteries to travellers who would reciprocate with donations to the *Saṅgha*. This strategy proved extremely successful as the *Saṅgha* and its monastic establishments grew and flourished significantly.⁷⁶ Jīvaka Komāra is known to have provided free medical care to Buddha and other monks and he donated his mango grove Jīvākārāma at Rājagaha for use to a monastic community.⁷⁷ His free medical service to monks is said to have attracted large numbers of people to join the *Saṅgha*. Jīvaka's fame as a healer was widely known, and legends about his life and medical feats can be found in various Buddhist scriptures.⁷⁸ Another instance expands on the information regarding the healing house within a Buddhist monastery (*viḥaramukhya*), which was located in an urban setting and offered facilities for medical treatment to the inmates.⁷⁹ The second instance comes in the form of a seal from the Kumrahar (Patna; ancient Pāṭaliputra) excavations, and it provides information on the congregation and monastery of Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu samghasya*) and a hospital (*arogyavihara*).⁸⁰

Conclusion

Whereas early Buddhism has preached to its followers (*upāsakas*) to acquire spiritual liberation (*mukṭi*, *nirvāṇa*) through meditation (*dhyāna*) and inner awakening (*parjñā*),⁸¹ as well as preached the truth and emphasised the self-discipline culminating into 'arhatship', which constituted the foundation of Buddhism,⁸² yet with time, as certain changes occurred in other religions like Hinduism, Buddhism also shifted its emphasis towards the solutions of the challenges of daily life, hence establishing Buddhist monasteries as the healing

centres, since the beginning of the third century BCE. Whereas earlier, only Buddhist cults were embraced or worshipped in Buddhist monasteries, with respect to the concerns and worries of day-to-day life, several other demi-Gods and Goddesses became a constituent in the Buddhist rituals. The projection of the cult of *Hārītī* in the Buddhist monasteries signifies, that it was depicted as a deity to placate the people and their woes related to infertility and child-cure diseases. Some of the Buddhist stories also depicted monks negotiating with infertile laypeople, using their spiritual powers, to cure the illness, but demanding a high price in the form of a child, in exchange.⁸⁴ So the paper reflects that the invention of the cult of *Hārītī* Goddess further strengthened the popular belief in the healing practices at the Buddhist monasteries, where laymen could visit for the solution to their routine life problems and medical facilities.

Endnotes

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Role of Punjabi Muslim Women in the Making of Pakistan

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Abstract

Women play a decisive role in various movements and the Pakistan movement was no exception. After the historic Lahore Resolution (1940), Muslim women propagated the idea of Pakistan and conveyed the Muslim League message in the far-flung areas. The Muslim League appeared on the centre-stage, making Punjab the battleground for political one-upmanship. In this context, the central and provincial elections of 1945-46 assumed significance of historic proportions. The women played a significant role and wrested two seats that were reserved only for Muslim women. In the Punjab Assembly House, they raised their voice on different social and political issues. They played a great role in dethroning the coalition ministry and organized themselves to stimulate the Punjabi Muslims for the 'Direct Action Day'. Women in the politics of Punjab excelled as speakers, marchers, campaigners and tireless volunteers. The last phase of the Pakistan movement was the first time when Muslim women appeared in public in such large numbers. During the blood bath days, they undoubtedly suffered mentally and physically but served the Muslim people with first aid treatment. Therefore, Muslim women's contribution to Punjab politics is truly remarkable and significant. An attempt has been made to evaluate the role of women in the making of Pakistan.

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The All India Muslim League, which claimed to be 'the champion of Muslim cause' had not become important till the late 1930s and early 1940s. There was no blueprint for future Pakistan and Rehmat Ali's scheme was an illustration of obscurantist political eccentricity, thus, it was dismissed as 'chimerical' and 'impractical'.¹ The elections of 1937 depressed Mohammad¹²d Ali Jinnah so much that he called the Punjab, 'a hopeless place' and never wished to come to the Punjab again.² Mohammad Ali Jinnah once considered an 'ambassador of Hindu Muslim unity', after taking the command of the All India Muslim League in the 1930s, left no stone unturned to achieve his sole aim of creation of Pakistan as a separate nation for the Muslims. Muslim League, no doubt, had travelled a long journey from 1906 to 1930 but still, it was struggling hard to gain political legitimacy as the sole representative of the Muslims, and despite the echoing slogans of Two Nation Theory, an exclusive Muslim identity was yet to crystallize. If Pakistan was still a pipe dream, the Muslim League was little more than a paper organization.³ "For the Muslims, yearning to have an all-India figure to lead them in the testing days found in Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as President of the Muslim League not just as 'sole spokesman', but in reality, the sole saviour".⁴ The task that awaited M.A. Jinnah was anything but easy. The Muslim League was dormant having no primary branches; even its provincial organizations were, for the most part, ineffective and only nominally under the control of the central organization. Undismayed by this bleak situation, M.A. Jinnah devoted himself with singleness of purpose to organizing the Muslims on one platform. He embarked upon country-wide tours. He exhorted the Muslim masses to organize themselves and join the Muslim League. He was, it seemed, struggling against time to make Muslim India a power to be reckoned with.⁵ 'For Jinnah, the real and ultimate challenge was to translate his otherwise

nebulous idea of a Muslim state into territorial acquisition'.⁶ M.A. Jinnah breathed new life into the moribund Muslim League and organized it methodically from top to bottom. In particular, he extended its support base to encompass the entire sub-continent; he made its policies and programme coherent and viable; he infused enthusiasm and confidence in the rank and file.⁷ In 1940, M.A. Jinnah raised the war cry at Lahore, the city with a glorious history of cultural synthesis and integration. The mild, moderate statesman, tutored in the liberal traditions of Dadabhai Naoroji, spoke angrily and defiantly sending out alarm signals all around.⁸ After that, the Muslim League broadened its mass base. By May 1945, it could boast of a membership of 1.5 lakhs.⁹ By November 1945, its membership swelled up to 5 lakhs.¹⁰ Apart from structural overhauling, it was the initiation of Muslim women into the party fold which helped the Muslim League emerge like a 'sphinx'. In these crucial years, Muslim women not only took part in the elections but also mobilized the people in favour of Pakistan.

Earlier Muslim reformers had advocated the cause of women but that was not practised in actuality. Despite all claims, these reformers could not transcend the established patriarchal and male chauvinist framework. 'Social and religious reform and the imposition of orthodox Islamic values on the private sphere (which previously had been regarded to some extent as beyond the pale of *Shariat* control) came to be seen as how Muslim civilization could be saved in India'.¹¹ The various attempts aimed at women's participation during the early 20th century could not terminate the segregation of sexes. Khilafat Movement was a peculiar case. During the Khilafat Movement, some Muslim women participated in the public political arena despite the restrictions of *purdah*. These women were able to develop considerable organizational skills amongst themselves, and even, as in the case of Bi Amman, mother of the Ali Brothers, addressed all-male gatherings as long as they remained veiled.¹² Mohammad Ali also co-opted his wife into speaking at public meetings in his place when he was under detention

for his anti-Raj activities. His memoirs recall the male audiences who had 'their enthusiasm whipped up by the stirring address of a veiled Muslim woman'.¹³ Thus, even in rare instances that Muslim women crossed the boundaries between the separate female and male spheres and spoke in public, the veil was still retained as a symbol of their segregation from male society. It served as an indication that the women were privileged guests in the public sphere rather than equal partners.¹⁴

M.A. Jinnah made a major contribution towards strengthening the legal position of Muslim women through social reform legislation. He played an important role in bringing Muslim women under the Child Marriage Act of 1929. Whereas orthodox sections opposed this legislation on the pretext that the British were interfering in their religious matters, M.A. Jinnah was totally in favour of the Act. He said, 'I am convinced in my mind that there is nothing in the *quran*, there is nothing in Islam, which prevents us from destroying this evil.... I make bold to say that my constituency is so backward as to disapprove of a measure like this then I say that you should have better-asked someone else to represent you...'.¹⁵ Similarly, M.A. Jinnah played a commendable role in the enactment of the Shariat Act of 1937.

In the Punjab electoral institutions with a substantial elected element were first introduced in the early 1880s at the district and municipal levels.¹⁶ The Act of 1919 widened the electoral space and scope of political and legislative activity at the provincial levels. Though the electoral arena was confined to the educated and propertied classes, elections became a ground for political contestation. Women had started their new struggles for demanding the right to enfranchisement. They succeeded in this direction and got this opportunity in 1921. In the twentieth century, women organized themselves under the banner of different organizations. Muslim women were also part of these organizations. Jinnah's takeover of the party leadership in 1934 not only brought Muslim women

into the fold of the party and organised them all over the country but also mobilised the students and youth. He made a special effort to visit girls' schools and colleges in an unprecedented step. Fatima Begum, the Principal of Islamia College for Women, Lahore invited him to come and address the students. In his ringing voice, he is quoted to have addressed the audience saying: 'I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. No nation can make any progress without the cooperation of its women. If Muslim women support them, men, as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal'.¹⁷ On the same occasion, he made his most definite statement on the role that he envisaged for women in the country he was struggling to create. He said, 'No nation is capable of remaining a strong nation, unless and until its men and women do not struggle together for the achievement of its goals'. He went on to tell his female audience that they were faced with a great political movement and asked them to participate in the struggle till it met with success.¹⁸

The Government of India Act of 1935 opened new vistas for women as it granted them the right to vote, of course with certain qualifications. Now six million women could vote and stand either for elections to general seats or seats reserved for women.¹⁹ Under the Act, about 11.5 percent of the population was enfranchised. Four seats (Muslim 2, Sikh 1, and General 1) were reserved for women in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.²⁰ However, Muslim League fared very badly in these elections in the Muslim-majority provinces and it could not form the government on its own in any of these provinces. Thus, the future did not appear very promising for Muslim League as it had failed to capture a majority of the Muslim votes.²¹ M.A. Jinnah, however, was never a man to humble himself.²² The Muslim League after its poll debacle in the elections of 1937 revised its strategies and did everything to make the Pakistan movement a broad-based mass movement in which the participation of every constituent of

the Muslim population was ensured. Afterwards, M.A. Jinnah primarily focused on three constituencies: women, students and religious leadership. M.A. Jinnah recognized that his opening move had to be a revitalization of the Muslim League.²³ Moreover, as identity became a key element in power politics, mobilising women was crucial for the Muslim League.²⁴

Thus, Muslim League leaders further diverted their attention towards women's political rights after 1937. It was M.A. Jinnah who broke away from the traditional view of the role of Muslim women in society and brought about a radical transformation in it. It was an outcome of the initiatives of M.A. Jinnah that women were brought into Muslim League politics in the All India Muslim League.²⁵ In December 1938, therefore to give an opportunity to Muslim women to play a positive role, a session of the All India Muslim League was held in Patna. It was proposed in the session, to enable them to play an effective role, to constitute a women's sub-committee of the All India Muslim League.²⁶ Thus, the All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee was formed in 1938. Before this, Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz had organized the All India Muslim Women's League with Begum Mohammad Ali as President and Begum Hafiz-ud-Din as Secretary, but it remained dormant.²⁷ From Punjab Begum Shah Nawaz, Mrs Rashida Latif, Lady Jamal Khan and Lady Abdul Qadir were nominated as the members of the Central Sub-Committee.²⁸ It was for the first time that an Indian Muslim political leader had asked Muslim women to come and join a political movement. They were asked to spread political consciousness through each district and recruit members.²⁹ The Sub Committee of All India Muslim League started its membership campaign in 1938.³⁰ The League's declared goal was to stimulate the political consciousness of Muslim women.³¹

Afterwards, 'as mothers of the nation', women were represented in the narrative of the Pakistan movement as the possessors of a special kind of power.

The Muslim League's agenda for women seems to have been mainly a case of identifying an obvious and distinct constituency which could be readily exploited for rhetorical purposes and politically mobilised to good effect. The League was in effect appropriating a self-contained social discourse to add social meaning to the nationalist politics of the Pakistan movement.³² M.A. Jinnah was very much aware of the nature of the constituency (Muslim community) that he was going to represent. He had to address two opposing segments: first, the orthodox Muslim leadership and the emerging women's power within the League due to their electoral weight (the former being opposed to women's liberation and their equal participation as this section was not ready to accept the leadership of any *khatun*). Thus, he had to tread very carefully and adopt a compromise formula.

The issue of *purdah* was very much integral to the Muslim female hood and consequently, it had some bearing on women's participation in politics. Thus, the question of *purdah* put the League in a precarious situation several times. In 1938, a resolution was moved at the annual session of the All India Muslim League for the participation of women and condemned the *purdah* as a hindrance to their social progress and political participation.³³ This invited the wrath of conservatives and Jinnah had to pacify them by saying that the resolution simply stated that women should be allowed to organize themselves under the League to support it.³⁴ The resolution was subsequently passed by an overwhelming majority.³⁵

M.A. Jinnah's recognized the potential of women as they had contributed to the propaganda and popularization of League politics. Thus, he said: 'No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you; we are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live'.³⁶ The League encouraged Muslim women to participate directly and

indirectly in the Pakistan movement as Lady Haroon, one of the prominent women Muslim Leaguers, is reported to have said: 'It is the women who can mould and un-mould their men-folk, and it is to their sense of responsibility that I make this appeal not only to vote solidly for the women candidates of the Muslim League but also to influence their men-folk, their fathers, brothers and husbands to stand united, solidly and under one green banner of the crescent and star of the Muslim League'.³⁷ Women responded eagerly to this appeal and Pakistan became a household name.

On March 23, 1940, Muslim League passed the 'Pakistan Resolution' and demanded a separate nation for the Muslims. M.A. Jinnah said that it was only a dream that Hindus and Muslims could ever evolve into a common nationality.³⁸ He asserted that the Muslims were a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.³⁹ M.A. Jinnah asserted that Pakistan has been there for centuries and will remain till the end of the world.⁴⁰ Talking about the role of women, M.A. Jinnah said: 'If political consciousness is awakened among our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about'.⁴¹ It is perhaps no mere coincidence that M.A. Jinnah made this statement at the same session at which the demand for Pakistan was made the official League policy. He had stated in categorical terms that in the struggle for Pakistan, Muslim women were to participate as equal partners. He practised what he had preached. This is evident from the participation of his sister in all public activities. Otherwise, Muslim women were confined to the household and secluded from political activities during this period. As a result of these initiatives on the part of Jinnah, general militancy and radicalism spread through the ranks of women activists participating in the Pakistan movement. A young student of the Lahore College for Women, addressing a meeting at the Town Hall in honour of M.A. Jinnah, called upon Muslim women so that they could take their rightful place alongside men for the achievement of Pakistan.

She urged that Islamic history was replete with instances when Muslim women had fought the battles of Islam side by side with them, and the idea of Pakistan would become a reality once the Muslim women were also involved in the struggle.⁴²

In 1942, M.A. Jinnah had taken a direct interest in women's committees. A large number of women started to participate in the Pakistan struggle. They had composed songs like 'Pakistan is our birthright; we will pass through many storms; we will live or die for Pakistan.'⁴³ Mausarrat Jahan Siddiqi had written a prayer for the creation of Pakistan:

Say this, O Muslim woman, and keep on saying,
We will achieve Pakistan,
O dear sister, now for God's sake,
Wake up, do not remain unmindful,
It is hard time on your nation,
In every direction there is a storm,
We will achieve Pakistan,⁴⁴

Salma Tasadduq Hussain acknowledged the role of M.A. Jinnah by saying that it was Jinnah who took women out of the seclusion of their homes and brought them to the forefront to tackle the hard realities of life. He invariably urged in his speeches that women should be made active participants in the struggle because they are the second arm of the nation. Life without them would be uncompleted.⁴⁵ M.A. Jinnah's 66th birthday was celebrated in Lahore, with great enthusiasm. In a meeting, staff and students expressed their confidence in M.A. Jinnah and dwelt on the essential need for more rigorous efforts for the attainment of Pakistan.⁴⁶ In a single day, 500 girls were enrolled as a member of

the Federation. According to other information available, students of this college consolidated the organizations and enrolled about 1,000 members within a short span of a few months.⁴⁷ Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, speaking at a women's fair on December 25, 1945, on Lahore, said: 'Muslim women are fully alive their responsibility today and are more impatient than men'.⁴⁸

The elections of 1946 were a litmus test for Muslim League to prove its mettle. A few months before the elections of 1946 in the Punjab, a journalist had observed that their results would determine 'not only the future course of politics in the province but also to a large extent the future of India'.⁴⁹ In 1946 there were total 2,40,338 women voters.⁵⁰ A deputation of the Shimla Women League toured Ludhiana, Ambala, Kalka and Lahore. They had contributed Rs.41.40 lakhs to the election fund.⁵¹ M.A. Jinnah appealed for election funds. According to an estimate, Rs.15 crore had changed hands during the elections; hence, it was not a poor man's show. In some constituencies, the cost was near about Rs. 7 to 10 lakhs.⁵² Many candidates spent less than 7500 pounds (Rs.1,00,000) and many spent twice as much.⁵³ Begum Jahan Ara appealed to the Muslim ladies of Lahore to vote for Begum Tasadduq which would prove to the world that the Muslim women stood behind the Muslim League.⁵⁴ Begum Jahan Ara and Begum Razia Bukhari toured Kalka, Ambala City, Ambala Cantt, Ludhiana, Lahore and other places. Muslim women's committees were formed. Muslim women of Ambala city contributed ornaments and Muslim women of Ambala Cantt collected five hundred rupees for the provincial organization.⁵⁵

Muslim women visited those constituencies in the area where the League candidates could not visit and the canvassing was done by the primary committees of the Muslim League, the Punjab Muslim Girl Student's Federation and the Women National Guard. During the final phase of the elections, they organized themselves into several groups and supervised the work at the polling

stations.⁵⁶ During the election days, Fatima Begum arranged several gatherings of Muslim women and urged them to vote for Pakistan.⁵⁷ M.A. Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali declared that 'they have fought the elections not to establish Muslim League ministries but to establish Pakistan'.⁵⁸ M.A. Jinnah in his election speech to the Muslim masses declared that 'Pakistan is a question of life and death for us. We shall live and die for Pakistan. The moon for Pakistan is shining and we shall reach it. The verdict of the Muslim voters would decide the fate of the community whether they should live or perish'.⁵⁹ Every vote against the Muslim League candidate meant Hindu Raj.⁶⁰ Begum Fatima made an extensive tour and popularized the ideals of the Muslim League and their demand for Pakistan. She enrolled women workers in the women's section of the Muslim League.⁶¹

Thousands of young volunteers offered their services to carry the message of Pakistan to the length and breadth of India. Women of noble parentage went door to door preaching to their fellow women to cast their own votes, as well as to persuade their husbands, brothers and sisters and other relatives to vote for Jinnah and Pakistan.⁶² On January 18th, 1946, Begum Iftikhar-ud-Din, Begum Daultana, Lady Vicky Noon, Lady Zulfiqar Ali, Begum Abdul and Begum Rashid Ali attended a meeting in which Jinnah appealed for funds for the provincial Muslim League stating that 'if we unite under the banner of the Muslim League, as we have already shown in the Central Assembly elections, I assure nothing in the world can stop us from achieving our cherished goal of Pakistan'.⁶³

Mrs Tasnim appealed to the women voters to vote only in favour of the Muslim League and said, 'The election work started at once, the message of the *Quaid-i-Azam* should be carried to every woman in every house. If we convert one woman into a true Muslim League member, we will win the whole family'.

⁶⁴Muslim League women members did not lag behind and held meeting all over

the Punjab in support of the League candidates and a comprehensive programme for elections was chalked out in the meeting of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committees held on 4th January 1946 at Lahore. The meeting was presided over by Begum Bashir Ahmad. A plan to conduct elections successfully at the polling station was worked out. In one of the resolutions, about 9,000 Muslim voters of Lahore were appealed to cast their votes in favour of Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Salma Tassdduq Hussain. In another meeting, they expressed their resentment against the Unionists for threatening the voters.⁶⁵ Threats and coercion through false cases had become quite a common practice among influential candidates. For example in Shahpur, a Mohammedan constituency, the Unionist workers openly threatened the Muslim League, that whosoever voted or worked for the Muslim League would be severely dealt with and made to suffer injury, loss of property and life.⁶⁶ The malpractices during provincial elections became well established, as in 78 out of 161 contested seats election petitions were filed on the charges of 'corrupt practices'.⁶⁷ Begum Shah Nawaz had given the permits to the students for five or six hundred gallons of petrol for the elections.⁶⁸ Vicky Noon, Fatima Begum and many other women in Pindi helped at the polling stations.⁶⁹

A few days before the polling, Vicky Noon finally reported to M.A. Jinnah that, 'we are told that the position in Muslim constituencies is becoming better and better. Altogether, the progress of the Muslim League has been a wonderful and gratifying experience. The situation in parts, thinking only of the rural areas still remains fluid but we are heading for a good majority'.⁷⁰ The Muslim League emerged like a sphinx. It captured 73 seats out of 84 Mohammad seats.⁷¹ In Mohammadan women's constituencies, it got 77 per cent of the total polled votes. Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain and Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz won the elections from Inner Lahore and Outer Lahore constituencies.⁷² The election provided the Muslim League with the first

opportunity to test its strength in the Punjab.⁷³

With the election results out, there appeared the question of the formation of the ministry in the Punjab. The Muslim League leaders expected an invitation for forming the ministry. However, the other political parties did not cooperate. Lady Vicky Noon wrote to M.A. Jinnah that the Muslim League had a fear that if the other parties succeeded in forming a ministry they would use money and power to reduce and crush the Muslim League's strength.⁷⁴ On March 11, 1946, the formation of the coalition ministry under Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana was announced from the Government House.⁷⁵ Against the coalition government, the Muslim League observed *hartal* throughout the province on March 7th and again on March 9th which was observed as 'Traitors Day'.⁷⁶ The Muslim League leaders launched a campaign against the ministry. The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee held a meeting on 8th March at Lahore and passed a resolution condemning the unconstitutional and unjust action of the Governor to impose the non-Muslim ministry.⁷⁷

The Muslim Leaguers wanted Pakistan at any cost and they had fears in their minds that in united India they would be slaves of 'Hindu Banyas'. Feroze Khan Noon said, 'If we find that we have to fight Great Britain for placing us under one central government or *Hindu Raj*, then the havoc which the Muslims will play will put to shame what Chengiz Khan and Halaku did'.⁷⁸ In this battle of Pakistan, Muslim women did not lag behind men. Begum Shah Nawaz said that 'I have given my son to the nation'. Muslim women called upon their husbands, and sons to take up arms for Pakistan if the British tried to establish *Akhand Hindustan* against the will of the Muslims. These Muslim women would play full part along with men in the struggle for Pakistan.⁷⁹

When the communal situation deteriorated in the Punjab, Begum Tassaduq Hussain (MLA), requested the Muslim women of Lahore not to take part in any fair on the Id day and pray instead at their houses for the success of

the Muslim nation.⁸⁰ The Nawab of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League announced the renunciation of his title of Nawab.⁸¹ All the 80 Muslim League MLAs and office bearers addressed public meetings and called upon the Muslim nation to stand by them during the Direct Action Day.⁸² The Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee at its meeting at Lahore expressed full confidence in M.A. Jinnah's leadership and congratulated those Muslim Leaguers who had given up their titles.⁸³

To prepare the Punjab Muslims for the 'Direct Action' programme, the Nawab of Mamdot the President of the Punjab Muslim League had appointed a Committee of Action. To the Muslim women, he said, 'It is not for you to go into the battle, but you must prepare yourselves now to protect and heal the war scared. Today the period of preparation is over our leaders have given the long-awaited signal for the final struggle in which we much either win or perish'.⁸⁴ The mass Muslim movement of 'Direct Action' triggered off the worst rioting in India after the Second World War.⁸⁵ The Punjabi *burqa* women were raised as a first aid squad by the provincial League as a part of the Direct Action Day.⁸⁶ Begum Salma Tassaduq Hussain, M.L.A., inaugurated a women's first aid training camp in Mozan Lahore. It was the 9th centre of its kind. She said that 'the cry of the hour is a nurse and more nurses when the Muslim Nation has decided to embark on a struggle for independence through Pakistan. Muslims should not look for help from any other party or power other than inherent in our faith and belief in God. We all know the lessons of Calcutta and Bombay'.⁸⁷ A Committee of Action was formed to carry out the instructions of the Muslim League in connection with Direct Action Movement in Lahore under the presidentship of Begum Bashiz Ahmad. Begum Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Begum Tassaduq Hussain and Mumtaz Shah Nawaz were appointed members. Five women were appointed as organizers of the five divisions: Begum Iftikhar-ud-Din for the Lahore Division, Baji Rabia Sultana for Jullundur Division and Begum Jahan Ara for the Ambala

Division.⁸⁸ In a political conference of Muslim women of Patiala state, Begum Tassaduq Hussain MLA expressed complete confidence in Jinnah's leadership.⁸⁹ On 24th January, the Punjab government was alarmed at the collection of arms by quasi-military organizations.⁹⁰ The Punjab government issued an order and banned the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Muslim League National Guards.⁹¹ The police raided the Muslim National Guards' and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh's headquarters.⁹² Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Kamal-ud-Din, along with the other leaders of the provincial Muslim League, were arrested by the Punjab police and were subsequently released without any conditions.⁹³

The female Leaguers played a very effective role in anti- Khizar demonstrations in Punjab which expedited the process of the creation of Pakistan. This mobilization was evidently so successful that the British Governor of the province, on seeing the crowds of *burqa*-clad women, was reported to have declared that 'Pakistan is made'.⁹⁴ Muslim women, including some college girls, came out in the streets, shouting slogans like *Pakistanzindabad, haqhayhamaraPakistanlaykeyrahaigePakistan, Khizrwazarattod do, hamarayleaderchhorhdo*.⁹⁵ Even *purdah*-observing women came out to take part in the demonstration.⁹⁶ The Punjab Premier on 27th January in a statement announced the withdrawal of the ban imposed on 24th January. Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza gave the victory credit to the women. It was a great victory for Muslim women and the Muslim League. The Union Jack, the powerful emblem of the empire was replaced by the Muslim League flag. It opened a new chapter in the history of Muslim women.⁹⁷

The Premier refused to lift the ban on public meetings and processions. About 13,000 persons⁹⁸ and 70 Punjab Muslim MLAs were arrested during these days.⁹⁹ Begum Tassaduq addressed a gathering of the Muslim League's struggle for civil liberties. She said, 'we are fighting for the restoration of our fundamental rights in the Punjab and the struggle transcends all communal consideration'.¹⁰⁰

After the long agitation of the Muslim League, the Punjab Premier, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan resigned on 2nd March 1947 one day before the budget session.¹⁰¹ On 3rd March, the Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins invited the Muslim League to form a ministry. The Governor observed that the Muslim League could not form a Ministry. He issued a proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 and suspended the Constitution on 5 March 1947.¹⁰²

The Punjab Muslim League Committee of Action pointed out that bloodshed and civil strife would solve nothing and appealed to Hindu and Sikh leaders to sit down with them and discuss the problems.¹⁰³ On 11th March, Salma Tasadduq Hussain and Fatima Begum visited the communally disturbed area.¹⁰⁴ Jahan Ara Begum organized Muslim victims of the Lahore area.¹⁰⁵ Fatima Begum, President of the Muslim League Sub-Committee advised Muslim women not to come out of their homes during communal disturbances and said that 'Give no chance to your enemies to attack you'.¹⁰⁶ The people cried only one thing 'Get back our sisters, mothers and wives'. In many villages, all members of the minority communities were locked in a single house that was set on fire and all of them were roasted alive.¹⁰⁷ Muslim women also took up the task of providing medical relief to the sick, wounded and maimed refugees in the camps. They issued appeals for the donation of blood and it was mainly due to their continuous efforts that a large quantity of blood was stored in the Blood Bank. A free hospital had been set up and the duties of nursing had been performed by women volunteers and girl students.¹⁰⁸

Thus, Punjabi Muslim women played a crucial role in the Pakistan movement, particularly in its last stage. The journey of Muslim women from the 'veil to vote' was the beginning of a new chapter. Once, they were brought into the public sphere, they galvanized huge support for the idea of Pakistan. Thus, they lived up to the expectations of the League leadership in materializing the idea of Pakistan. These women established emotional contact with the masses,

particularly the Muslim voters who were given the idea of a better future in the new nation of Pakistan. The contribution of girl students and the wives of politically engaged individuals was paramount. They devoted themselves to the cause of Pakistan. When Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared that this was a life-and-death struggle, Muslim women contributed in all possible capacities. Even the elite Punjabi Muslim women came out of their comfort zones and toured different parts of the province. The spectacular success of the Muslim League in the elections of 1946 was a result of, apart from other strategies, the total engagement and involvement of Muslim women. Once Muslim women were brought out of the walls of domesticity, they were able to transform the slogan of Pakistan into a domestic entity which, for long, remained an alien one.

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Tripartite Analysis of a Udemy MOOC on Rumi's Poetry: Ideology, Pedagogy and Market

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Abstract

This paper introduces Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) and discusses their efficacy for teaching literature. A detailed critical analysis of the literature MOOC *The Caravan of Spirit: Poetry as Contemplative Practice* has been done in terms of its ideological underpinnings, pedagogical implications and market compulsions. In the chosen MOOC, Jalal-ud-din Rumi's poetry is taught by Reverend Nathan DeMay on the Udemy website. Rumi was a 13th-century Persian poet and Islamic Sufi scholar whose poetry touches a chord cutting across barriers of space and time. The various free-verse English translations, mainly by Coleman Barks, of Rumi's poetry have gained wide readership in the past few decades. Rumi has been ideologically appropriated by pop culture, divorcing him from his religious and geo-political roots. The pedagogical analysis assesses the course according to the quality of its information, instructor, learner and educational system. The market compulsions of the Udemy platform forces the watering down of the course content to tap into a more significant consumer base, unlike the Indian government's Swayam platform, which is free and open for all. The paper ends with a balanced critique of the literature MOOCs in terms of their potential as an emergent pedagogy.

Key Words: MOOC, Pedagogy of Literature, Educational Technology, Rumi.

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Introduction to MOOCs in the Context of Literature Teaching

A massive open online course (MOOC /mu:k/) is an online course aimed at unlimited participation and open access via the web. The course incorporates multimedia materials like recorded lectures, simulations, and interactive discussions among students and professors, as well as instantaneous feedback on quizzes and assignments. In the recent past, the Indian government had started offering MOOCs through the Swayam web platform, which also includes courses on English Literature. To bridge the gap in quality and access to educational infrastructure, Swayam engages experienced and qualified professors to prepare and teach online courses.

The readiness of the Indian public for new means of digital education can be judged by Sugata Mitra's (2003) famous experiment, which proved the efficacy of self-organised learning systems by installing computers in a 'hole-in-the-wall' in Delhi's slum areas and demonstrating that within a few days, 'most of the slum children were able to use the computer to browse, play games, create documents and paint pictures'. In Rajasthan, on the other hand, local guides are using the transformative potential of tailor-made MOOCs to learn foreign languages to serve the enormous inflow of tourists better.

Especially in the higher education sector, the present Central government is focused on providing education through online courses. The BJP Manifesto for the 2019 general elections promises to increase the number of seats in educational institutes. Still, in the same breath, it also says that 'we have given due emphasis to online courses as a medium of delivering education... we will take it to the next level and make it a major resource for imparting higher education' (2019).

Rather than an ontological or empirical definition of MOOCs based on the meaning of 'massive', 'open' or 'course', Jonathan Haber (2014) suggests a

teleological definition based on the MOOC's unique aim of innovation and commitment to research, experimentation and evolution. In other words, a MOOC is different from the traditional classroom by departing from the closed-loop dialectic of teaching and learning, and introducing the component of pedagogical research for constant, iterative improvement in the delivery and implementation of courses. It wholeheartedly embraces the new and fledgling even as it squarely rejects the old and failing. One way in which it is similar to orthodox education is its commitment to educational altruism.

Canadian host of the EdTech Talk webcast David Cormier coined the term 'MOOC'. His compatriot Stephen Downes' 'Connectivism and Connective Knowledge' MOOC of 2008 is considered the first ever MOOC which, interestingly, followed the connectivist pedagogy it was professing in its coursework. A connectivist MOOC, or cMOOC in short, avows a more community-based approach to knowledge production over the epistemology of the isolated hermetic learner (ibid.).

One important point to remember is that a MOOC is not simply a traditional classroom digitally delivered. It is a paradigm shift since there is an epistemological repositioning of the media of instruction. The massive enrolment itself has ripple effects over pedagogical aspects, like the language, assessment strategies and course complexity. Though it is made up of the same course elements as the brick-and-mortar classroom, a virtual learning environment (VLE) has its unique ethics, aesthetics and praxis.

Components of the Massive Open Online Course:

I. Massive

(i) High enrolment figures (though entirely arbitrary), as compared with the traditional classroom

(ii) Connectivist edge - To take a neuroscience analogy, the more the number of nodes (neurons ~ students) and connections (synapses ~

peer assessment/discussions), the better the system

II. Open

- (i) Free of charge to learners
- (ii) No formal entrance, educational or experiential requirements

III. Online

(i) In contrast with an on-site classroom, it is an anytime-anywhere classroom

- (ii) Requires a desktop, laptop or smartphone
- (iii) Moderate to high internet speeds, especially needed to view decent-quality video lectures
- (iv) Online pedagogies require higher levels of self-motivation and self-direction as the student lacks paralinguistic peer interaction or teacher-emulation
- (v) Virtual construction enables a highly modular course with limitless types and combinations of materials, viz. audio, video, text, graphics, simulations or games

IV. Course

- (i) Video Lectures
- (ii) Readings
- (iii) Subjective and creative assignments, Summative Quizzes
- (iv) Discussion Forums
- (v) Grant of certificates / academic credit/degree

The rise of the MOOC captured the imagination of Ed-Tech academia and the general public alike in the second decade of the twenty-first century. In September 2012, a mixed group of graduate and postdoctoral students specialising in digital pedagogy (called edX fellows), along with movie editors and code writers, came together to create MOOCs. The edX (earlier

OpenCourseWare or simply OCW) was jointly started by Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a nonprofit enterprise with an initial investment of a whopping \$60 million. It is one of the best-known Open Educational Resource (OER) initiatives. Incidentally, the 'X' in edX stands for 'extension'. Within a matter of months, MOOC providers like edX, Coursera and Udacity (collectively called 'The Big Three') reached enrolment figures in the hundreds of thousands. Coursera, for example, grew faster than Facebook, reaching 1.7 million enrollees in less than two years.

As the teaching of literature aims to reflect and dramatise the human situation creatively, it entails the presence of embodied performativity, human empathy and imaginative contextualisation. Subjects involving mere reduplication of facts and concepts, like mathematics or history, can arguably be handled by automatic process-based mechanisms. However, in the teaching of literature, the focus is more on the integrative and the cultural rather than on the instrumental and the technical. A MOOC does not supplant a literature teacher but reframes him within the technological context. The most engaging online pedagogical experiences still rely on human interaction. The lecture, leadership, technical expertise and guidance of an able teacher at the initial stages remain crucial to the MOOC's success. Teaching becomes a recordable act and its embodied affect can be digitally shared. Short videos replace prolonged classroom lectures. Teaching as an inter-subjective process directed and scrutinised by an external body is replaced by cost-effective student autonomy. Overall, digital media leads to the decomposition of many traditional binaries like personal/professional, teacher/taught, entertainment/intellectual, K-12/Higher Education, and pedagogy/scholarship.

A MOOC stands in sharp contrast to the filial relationship of *guru-shishya parampara* in which disciples imbibed a whole worldview from the idolised spiritual mentor. It is also equidistant from the ideological conceptions of the

social classroom as valorised by contemporary educationists Henry Giroux and Paulo Freire. Both the personal and the political are transcended in the regaining of textual autonomy and learner control of online pedagogy. Teachers who act as moralists, therapists, political counsellors, and agents of global change have been admonished by Julien Benda (2007) as 'the spiritual militia of the material'. The cultural labour invested in hermeneutic work by an e-learner is drained of extra-literary impositions in the MOOC pedagogy.

A MOOC does not aim to imitate the classroom experience, but rather, it seeks to optimise educational massification. Rather than simply amplifying classroom learning through blended technologies, MOOCs provide multimodal streams of pedagogic participation which carry social sanction as well as an economic opportunity. E-learners can overcome the stimulus deprivation of a classroom by interacting with multimedia texts through Web 2.0 affordances. MOOCs exist in a dialogical relationship with classroom teaching rather than a hierarchical one, especially since the former reflects the best practices of the latter. There is just a strategic pedagogical shift from direct whole-class instruction to cognitive development and cooperative learning. The micro-lecture, which is a short video on a single, tightly-defined topic, is deployed to ensure student engagement in a MOOC.

Analysis of the Udemy MOOC on the Rumi's Poetry

The Caravan of the Spirit: Poetry as Contemplative Practice is a MOOC elaborated upon by Reverend Nathan DeMay on the Udemy website. The course has been categorised under 'Religion and Spirituality', which is itself subsumed under the larger category of 'Personal Development'. The category 'Religion and Spirituality' has further sub-categories like 'Spirituality', 'Mindfulness', 'Tarot Reading', 'Akashic Records', 'Chakra', 'Psychic' and 'Witchcraft'. The present course has been placed under the 'Spirituality' sub-category. Udemy provides an open platform for all kinds of rarefied belief systems as long as they have a

spiritual market that can be tapped. In the context of Rumi, such rampant commercialisation cheapens the authentic 'Mevlevi Order' that still exists today to carry forward the teachings and practices of Rumi. In the publishing industry, book titles falling under esoteric categories are generally tagged as 'New Age'.

Historically, 'New Age' refers to the counter-cultural religious and spiritual movement that proliferated in the 1970s in Western society with diverse beliefs and practices. The movement was marked by esotericism, ritualism and solipsism of various religious and ethnic hues; hence the adjective eclectic describes it best. *The Caravan of Spirit: Poetry, as Contemplative Practice* can be categorised as a New Age MOOC wherein Coleman Barks' translations of Rumi's poetry are taught as an esoteric episteme. The instructor suggests that the poems be painted, worn, and prayed upon. They are to be mystically embodied with chanting, vicarious visualisation, and reflection.

Reverend Nathan DeMay, the instructor of the MOOC, is an ordained Interfaith Inter-spiritual minister, and graduate of One Spirit Seminary in New York City. The online course on Rumi can be understood as an extension of the real-life ministerial services that he offers to people of all faiths. As he says, 'The mystic poets of the world's traditions have timeless wisdom that can deeply feed our souls'.

The following poem by Rumi inspires the name of the course:

Come, Come Whoever You Are
"Wonderer, worshipper, lover of leaving.
It doesn't matter.
Ours is not a caravan of despair.
Come, even if you have broken your vow a thousand times
Come, yet again, come, come."

It signifies the shared 'spiritual journey' that students will take as part of the course.

This paper has been divided into three sections: Ideology, Pedagogy and Market. The Ideology section discusses the ideological leanings of the course in terms of its religious character and how far that has been transmogrified into a palatably urban spirituality. The Pedagogy section throws light on the educational features of the MOOC. This is the main section, and it discusses how successful DeMay has been in communicating the prominent themes and concerns of Rumi's poetry in terms of the pedagogy employed. The Market section discusses the course's moorings to a cut-throat market logic whereby the success and failure of a course rests' purely on its return on investment for the Udemy MOOC platform.

I. Ideology

Jalal-ud-din Rumi was a 13th-century Persian poet and Islamic scholar. Still, the latter description of him is often not known by the majority of his modern-day readers as they come to enjoy his poetry in various free-verse English translations, mainly by Coleman Barks. Rumi's poetry is represented in the free-verse tradition of Walt Whitman rather than as having a solid connection to Islamic theology. It is precisely for this reason that Rumi's poetry sold just as well, even after 9/11 (Dalrymple 2005).

Rumi has become part of pop culture as his translated anthologies have become bestsellers. His poems have been sung by Madonna, Martin Sheen and Demi Moore on a CD produced by Deepak Chopra, the bestselling self-help author (Aviv 2007). His quotes like 'Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and right-doing there is a field. I'll meet you there', are used as bumper stickers (Ciabattari 2015) and have even been used as the last dialogue of the popular Hindi movie Rockstar. Andrew Harvey, another of Rumi's translators into English, emphasises the 'rigorous, even ferocious austerity' of Rumi while deriding Rumi's New Age construct: 'Rosebud Rumi, a Californian hippy-like figure of vague

ecstatic sweetness and diffused warm-hearted brotherhood, a kind of medieval Jerry Garcia of the Sacred Heart' (Dalrymple 2005).

In effect, Nathan DeMay has tried to bridge a much-needed gap by tracing the origins of Rumi, the person. Still, he has not critically evaluated his poetry in terms of its Islamic lineage, its political underpinnings or its philosophical theme. Any discussion of the present state of Islam or the region from where Rumi's poetry arose is also conspicuously missing. The issue of whether what is being taught is the work of the 13th-century Muslim Persian poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi is never raised. Such pertinent questions that may further the project of inter-religious harmony have not been paid any heed.

DeMay has focussed on the affective aspects of the poems as they appeal to each reader's subjectivity. This drains Rumi's poetics of any radical understanding and limits it to individual contemplative practice. The aim of the course seems to be to provide some spiritual consolation in the larger ideological space of spiritual consumption. These courses are mass-produced artefacts of the culture industry, which are delivered globally in a strictly homogenised pattern. What Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) said of Christianity can be said about the Islam of Rumi as well: 'But by virtue of the same moments by which it lifted the spell of nature religion, Christianity is producing ideology once again, in a spiritualised form. To the same degree as the absolute is brought closer to the finite, the finite is made absolute'.

Rumi, meaning 'from Rome', had a mystical experience when he met Shams of Tabriz and turned into a Sufi poet. Sufism is less concerned with the heavily codified and ritualistic Islam but with establishing a direct relationship with God. Nonetheless, Sufism does not displace the centrality of traditional Islamic texts but seeks to recover their living core. 'I am the slave of the Quran and dust under the feet of Muhammad', Rumi writes. 'Anyone who claims otherwise is no friend of mine' (Aviv 2007). His magnum opus *Masnavi*, an extensive poem is

known as the 'Quran in Persian' (Mojaddedi 2004) and Rumi himself has described it as 'the roots of the roots of the roots of religion', — meaning Islam — 'and the explainer of the Quran' (Ali 2017).

In India as well, there have been reformatory movements in Hinduism and Islam to rid them of the adumbrations, rituals and intellectual arrogance of the orthodox and priestly class. The Bhakti and Sufi movements emphasised direct realisation through intense devotion and inner purity. The intense devotion of the Bhakti and Sufi saints led to the outpouring of great literature through poetic ecstasies and mystical revelations. Their deep contemplation of the state of humanity led them naturally towards social service.

Seers like Guru Nanak and Kabir gave the message of the transcendental unity of humankind, breaking the rigid social hierarchies of caste, class, religion and gender. They emphasised the control of the baser instincts to be able to do good for oneself and others. Their stress was on developing inner purity for social good rather than the performance of rituals for selfish gains. These saints have also shown us a liberatory path out of the purely market-centred neoliberal ideology that rules our present times. They have demonstrated, by their example, a human essence that is above the greed that ravishes fellow human beings and the blind lust that ravages the entire ecosystem of our planet.

The course by Nathan DeMay, who is an Inter-Faith Ministries graduate, attempts to teach the usage of the English translations of Rumi as prayers or chants that can deepen the 'spiritual' experience of the students. Several New Age motifs like 'doorways ... to inner life', 'religion of the heart, not head' and 'individual soul connects to the Great Soul, the Universal Spirit, in an act of loving communion' are used without ever defining or explicating as to what the terms mean. The meanings are taken to be self-evident. He further states during the course: 'I invite you to join the Caravan with me where human and Divine meet, dance, laugh, love and connect'.

II. Pedagogy

The course can be analysed according to the following educational quality factors mentioned in the Multidimensional Conceptual Model for Evaluating E-learning System Success (EESS model) in a seminal article by Dimah Al-Fraihat and others (2020).

1. **Information Quality:** It is commonly stated that a revolution in information access, speed and usage defines the present age. A lot depends on the design, clarity, accessibility and relevance of the syllabi presented as teachable material in a MOOC. The MOOC under analysis is a rather short course, as the 'Udemy Course Quality Checklist' only mentions a minimum requirement of 30 minutes of video content and five separate lectures. The course videos consist of narrated slide shows, and the automatic subtitling in the English Language is faulty at times. Lectures notes have been compiled into a single workbook.
2. **Instructor Quality:** The co-presence and physicality of the teacher have been shown to improve online engagement. However, MOOCs employ an asynchronous mode of learning even though synchronicity has become available and affordable in technological terms. In the present MOOC, the teacher's (Nathan DeMay) face is only visible in the introductory video. How can the audience be expected to 'deepen their spiritual experience' if they can't even share the same time dimension as their 'Master'? Aren't synchronicity and harmony necessary conditions for each other to exist, especially for a mystical course such as this? On top of the asynchronous nature of this MOOC, DeMay does not even appear on the videos after the introductory lecture. The audience only hears his voice-over narrating the slide show. The slide show re-emphasises the verbal emphasis of the course on Rumi's poetry. The students are never given an example of a painted or worn poem, even by DeMay himself.

It's a kind of 'shoot and scoot' pedagogy where the instructor shoots a few videos and vanishes from the pedagogical space, thereby stunting the learning process. Even if the learner accommodates that DeMay is not a specialist on Rumi, at least DeMay should have demonstrated a few actual spiritual practices on video or image to make his message clear. However, the slide shows only display representative metaphorical pictures related to the text written or narrated. Even the Spiritual Practice Questions asked during the course are not answered anywhere – just internalised by the student. Three of the six course reviews praise DeMay in glowing terms using phrases like: 'excellent teacher who knows his subject thoroughly', 'guides the user through a thought-provoking journey of spiritual existence' and 'the instructor does a great job'.

3. **Learner Quality:** An e-course can be judged by the attitude, behaviour and experience of the learner. The Udemy course on Rumi could find a market of only 32 paying students. The students only know each other as fellow consumers and the instructor as the producer of the knowledge commodity. The human element in the course is conspicuously absent, as DeMay does not make an appearance in the recorded lectures after the introductory speech. There is no space for semantic negotiation and verbal interaction with the instructor or among learners. The discussion and Q&A forum are inactive. However, the course has received a 4.3 rating (out of 5) from 7 students. Such a non-specific rating system has ensured that the 'ratings tend to be heavily skewed towards the positive side. 85% of the ratings are 4–5 stars. 1–2 stars represent only ~4% of all the ratings' (Shah 2023).
4. **Educational System Quality:** Effective communication of learning and assessment materials that pander to different learning styles is

quintessential to the success of an e-course. The pedagogic aim for this course is spelt out as non-academic by DeMay. Still, as has been shown previously, it suffers from some fundamental communication lacunae even if it were to be analysed in terms of its original aim to ‘deepen the spiritual experience’. The course has five sections, namely:

- I. Introduction
- II. Overview of Mysticism
- III. Rumi
- IV. The Drowned Book
- V. Review

The section on Rumi is overloaded, while the introductory and review sections are minuscule. The overview of mysticism is cursory and does not include its various nuanced shades, which have been personified by a broad swathe of mystics all over the world. The section on The Drowned Book refers to the book by Rumi’s father. All the lectures are 1 to 7 minutes long and focus on a single topic. However, it does not pay heed to the well-established notion in video engagement that ‘videos that intersperse an instructor’s talking head with slides are more engaging than slides alone’ (Guo et al. 2014).

Other quality factors include Support System Quality, Technical System Quality and Service Quality, which depend more on the platform on which the course is hosted. For this course, the platform is Udemy, to which we turn our focus.

III. Market

Udemy has over \$3 billion valuation and is listed on the NASDAQ stock exchange. It was conceived as a skill-sharing training marketplace for career enhancement. It is a corporate-owned for-profit MOOC platform for user-generated courses (You + Academy = Udemy), which the course-makers can

choose to sell online or provide for free to other consumers. However, 90% of the Udemy courses remain paid (Shah 2023). The name Udemy is a portmanteau word formed by you and the academy, suggesting an open, crowd-sourced academic platform. It is similar to the ideology of YouTube, which is formed by the words you and the slang word for television, tube, suggesting a crowd-sourced entertainment platform.

Of the total course fees paid by the student less taxes, Udemy pays just 37% of the revenue share to the course instructor. It is besides the 30% revenue that Apple and Google directly take if the purchase takes place through iOS or Android mobile platforms. Only in special circumstances where the instructor is forced to promote the Udemy course on social media or his website can he earn a substantial share of the net revenue. The instructor's share is 97% of the net revenue if the student uses the instructor's coupon or referral link to enrol in the course.

Udemy has over 157,000 courses, 425 million enrolments and 32 million ratings as of January 2021. The profit-oriented motive of Udemy has led to a proliferation of 'Business' and 'Technology' courses on its platform, which account for 70% of all enrolments. English maintains its linguistic hegemony, as 63% of all courses are in English. Meanwhile, the rest of the courses are composed of 69 other languages (ibid.).

Critical Theory has very little space on the Udemy platform. A search on Udemy for the word 'critical' shows tens of results of courses on 'Critical Thinking', which demonstrates its proclivity towards hosting skill-based courses which students can use for better business communication. It is only by the fifth page of the search results that one finds a genuinely critical course on Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' by a former Associate Professor Dr Masood Raja. Still, it only has 12 students enrolled.

Meanwhile, another so-called critical course titled *Master your Decision-Making, and Critical Thinking Skills* which seeks to improve the return on investment (ROI) of business leaders and managers, has an enrolment of 22,792 students. The main point question to ask is whether a critical pedagogy is even possible on such a commercialised platform as Udemy. Isn't it a contradiction in terms? The politics of visibility that rules the commercial web spaces cannot ensure an egalitarian space for courses such as Raja's.

On the other hand, the Indian government has launched the Swayam e-education web portal wherein it is free for everybody to join the course making the platform genuinely open. All courses get equal space, visibility and representation, as there are no vested commercial or corporate interests. In effect, it is a genuinely democratic platform owned by the people of India through their elected government. It maintains quality control through its most prestigious world-class institutes like the IITs and IIMs.

The videos of the Swayam courses have been freely uploaded on YouTube for wide publicity and viewership. There are minimal copyright restrictions as the aim is to widen access to quality higher education for all the citizens of India and the world. It is a perfect demonstration of India's standing as a Vishwa-Guru in the global arena.

Conclusion

The chosen MOOC can be called an educational commodity that has been put on sale for student-consumers who upgrade their spiritual knowledge and gain mystical insights through imbibing Rumi's poems. Even though the delivery through the Udemy platform is market-based, the course offers the transcendental philosophy of a Sufi poet as an emancipatory paradigm.

Primary Source

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Factors Responsible for Substance use Disorder among the Youth: A Study of Punjab (India)

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Abstract

Punjab's proximity to the 'Golden Crescent'- Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, makes it one of the most vulnerable states in India as far as drug abuse is concerned. Punjab consistently ranks among the states with the highest rates of drug-related crimes and quantities of drugs seized by authorities. There is a general perception that cause of substance dependence is simply the power of substance over the human brain. This idea was also used to lay down the foundation of present drug control laws at the national as well as at the global level. There are various risk factors and protective factors leading to addiction. These factors play an important role in shaping a person's health and are responsible to shape psycho-physical development and behaviour of an individual. Therefore, it is important to evaluate the socio- economic and cultural environment of a person to analyse the risk and probability of getting into drugs. Any delay in intervention can lead to drug addiction in a person. The present study has been carried out on 170 substance users in Punjab to find out the various factors leading them to substance use disorder.

Key Words: Addiction, Socio-Cultural Factors, Substance Abuse, Youth

Introduction

Drug menace has become the global public health issue. It was estimated that in the year 2020, globally 284 million of people between the age group of 15-

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64 years have used drugs at least for once. It states that 1 in every 18 people have used drug in a year under 15-64 years age group. The increase was estimated to be 26 percent from the previous decades (2010-2020) (UNODC, 2022). The National Survey on the Extent and Pattern for Substance Use in India (2019), conducted on the population comprising of 10 to 75 years of age, found that a substantial number of people in India use psychoactive substances. Amongst the total cases of substance use estimated in India, more than half were reported by the states like Punjab, Assam, Delhi, Haryana, Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim and Uttar Pradesh (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, 2019).

Punjab is most affected state in India as far as drug abuse is concerned. Its proximity to the 'Golden Crescent'- Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan as well as with states such as Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan, where Charas, Hashish, Opium and Poppy Husk are produced, makes it more prone to easy supply of drugs. Punjab consistently ranks among the states with the highest rates of drug-related crimes and quantities of drugs seized by authorities. The Punjab Opioid Dependence Survey (2015) found that 230,000 individuals in the state used illicit drugs – a prevalence of 836 drug users for every 100,000 people. This was very high as compared to the national average of 250 illicit drug users for every 100,000 people (Government of Punjab, 2015). A study undertaken by Government Medical College, Chandigarh and National Institute of Mental Health & Neuro Sciences (2019) revealed that out of the survey of 719 households in four districts of Punjab, 251 households had at least one person suffering from substance use. It further stated that the age group between 30 to 39 years was the most affected (Chaven et al., 2019).

It is a misconception that cause of substance dependence is simply the power of substance over the human brain. The same idea was also used to lay down the foundation of present drug control law at the international level. Even at

the national level, law and policies related to drug control, treatment and rehabilitation of drug users have been based on a common notion that addiction is drug induced. Many studies have proved that mere exposure to substance does not make a person an addict. In fact, if a person become an addict that mean such person was already at risk.

Factors leading to addiction can be divided into risk factors and protective factors. The factors that have greater potential and are responsible for substance abuse are known as *risk* factors. The factors which have less potential for substance abuse are known as *protective* factors. However, it is not necessary that someone at risk factor will start using drug. Also, a risk factor for one person may not be for another. The table 1.1 has given a framework comprising of risk and protective factors in five domains or settings.

Table 1.1: Risk and Protective Factors

DOMAIN	RISK FACTORS	PROTECTIVE FACTORS
Individual	Early Aggressive Behaviour	Impulse Control
Family	Lack of Parental Supervision	Parental Monitoring
Peer	Substance Abuse	Academic Competence
School	Drug Availability	Antidrug Use Policies
Community	Poverty	Strong Neighbourhood Attachment

Source: *National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2003.*

The risk and protective factors are potential factors to decide a child's risk development path. The path indicates that how risk become evident at different

stages of a child's life. For example, aggressive behaviour at early age, if not addressed by parents, can lead to greater risks when a child enters school life. This will lead to rejection by peer, punishment by teachers and academic failure. Even at this stage, if the problem is not addressed, it will expose a child to drug abuse, skipping school or getting engaged with peer who use drugs(National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2003). Thus, the risk factors to drug abuse are the challenge to an individual's emotional, social and academic development. Delaying intervention meant that it will become more difficult for a person to overcome risks at later stage of drug abuse.

Thus, it is important to evaluate the socio-economic and cultural environment of a person to study such factors. These factors play an important role in shaping a person's health and are responsible to shape psycho-physical development and behaviour of an individual. The present study endeavoured to find out the factors responsible for rising drug addiction in Punjab.

Research Methodology

The database of this study is drawn from the interviews carried out on 170 respondents from four sampled districts of Punjab i.e., Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Kapurthala and Tarn Taran in the year 2022 over a period of six months (March, 2022 to August, 2022). The respondents considered for the study were either seeking treatment from Government or Privately run De-addiction and Rehabilitation centres of sampled districts of Punjab. Out of 170 respondents there were 160 male respondents (94.1 percent) and 10 female respondents (5.9 percent). One reason for having lesser population of female drug users in centres was the stigma prevalent in society related to substance dependence. The second reason was the infrastructural constraints. Kapurthala was the only district of Punjab which had a government de addiction centre for women. In the other sampled districts, there were centres which only catered primarily for men as no separate unit for female drug users was constructed in these centres.

II Factors responsible for Drug Menace in Punjab

The words such as *bio- psycho- social- neuropsychiatric* and *neurobehavioral* have been commonly used in various models of addiction while describing the concept of addiction. This states the fact that understanding addiction means understanding the complex interaction of multiple factors which could be the reason of substance use by a person. These factors can be genetic, psychological, life's experiences, social history, childhood traumas of a person dependent on drugs and impact of a culture a person lives in (Foote, Wilkens & Kosanke, 2014). Thus, there are various factors that contributes to substance dependence. The present study has thrown a light on the factors responsible for drug menace in Punjab under four main domains: Peer, Community, Individual and Family (Table-1.2).

Table 1.2: Factors Responsible for Drug Menace in Sampled Districts of Punjab

Reasons (MR*)	Amritsar		Gurdaspur		Kapurthala		Tarn Taran		Total no. of Responses
	Male N=60	Female N=NA	Male N=70	Female N=NA	Male N=48	Female N=18	Male N=44	Female N=NA	N=240
	Peer Domain								N=149 (62.08%)
Friends insisted/ peer pressure	22 (36.66%)	NA	18 (25.71%)	NA	19 (39.58%)	04 (22.2%)	12 (27.27%)	NA	75 (31.25%)
For enjoyment & fun	15 (25%)	NA	18 (25.71%)	NA	12 (25%)	04 (22.2%)	13 (29.54%)	NA	62 (25.83%)
Curiosity/ experiment	04 (6.66%)	NA	04 (5.71%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	04 (9.09%)	NA	12 (05%)

Community Domain									N=80 (33.34%)
Stress or Pressure of work	16 (26.66%)	NA	22 (31.42%)	NA	15 (31.25%)	03 (16.66%)	12 (27.27%)	NA	68 (28.33%)
Cultural norms	02 (3.33%)	NA	05 (7.14%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	03 (6.81%)	NA	10 (4.16%)
Religious practices	0 (0.0%)	NA	02 (2.85%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	02 (0.83%)
Individual Domain									N=06 (2.5%)
Behavioural & Personal Issues	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	06 (33.33%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	06 (2.5%)
Family Domain									N=05 (2.08%)
Imitation of siblings or family member	01 (1.66%)	NA	01 (1.42%)	NA	02 (4.16%)	01 (5.55%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	05 (2.08%)

Source: Data Computed from the analysis of the study

MR* Multiple Responses given by respondents

1. Peer Pressure/ Influence:

To understand the influence of peer on drug users, the present study has classified the respondents into five age groups i.e., 18-27 years, 27- 37 years, 37- 47 years, 47-57 years, and 57 years and above. As per the findings of the study (Table 1.3), amongst the 170 respondents in total, 42.94 per cent of the drug users were from the age group of 18 to 27 years followed by 31.76 percent respondents were from the age group of 27-37 years, 08.82 percent respondents were from the age group of 37-47 years, 13.52 percent respondents were from the age group of 47-57 and only 02.94 percent respondents were of more than 57 years.

Table 1.3: Distribution of Respondents according to their Age

Age Group	Amritsar		Gurdaspur		Kapurthala		Tarn Taran		Total No.
	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=10	Male N=40	Female N=NA	N=170
18-27	21 (52.5%)	NA	15 (37.5%)	NA	16 (40%)	07 (70%)	14 (35%)	NA	73 (42.94%)
27-37	13 (32.5)	NA	13 (32.5%)	NA	13 (32.5%)	03 (30%)	12 (30%)	NA	54 (31.76 %)
37-47	01 (2.5%)	NA	07 (17.5%)	NA	01 (2.5%)	0 (0.0%)	06 (15%)	NA	15 (08.82%)
47-57	05 (12.5%)	NA	04 (10%)	NA	06 (15%)	0 (0.0%)	08 (20%)	NA	23 (13.52%)
57 and above	00 (0%)	NA	01 (2.5%)	NA	04 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	05 (02.94%)

Source: Data Computed from the analysis of the study

The study suggested that most of the respondents who were drug users belonged to the productive age groups. The maximum number of users were from the age group 18-27 years. It is also important to mention here that the respondents in each case came for treatment after the prolonged use of substances. Therefore, it shows that the respondents belonging to 18-27 years age group were exposed to substances at their early age. It was found that respondents stated that they started taking drugs at the age of 12 years. Similarly, out of total number of female respondents, 70 percent of female respondents were from the age group of 18-27 years and remaining 30 percentage of respondents were from age group of 27-37 years. 62.08 percent respondents admitted that peer pressure was the main reason to fall into the trap of drug dependence. Most of them were those who started taking drugs in their adolescent years. 31.25 percent stated that mere imitation of a friend or to impress the peer group or to get fit into the friend circle, they ended up taking

drugs. The same was substantiated by another study conducted in five states including nine districts of Punjab. The study found that 70 percent drug users started their habit of drug use due to peer pressure (Verma, 2019).

The adolescents have curiosity to experience what once has been heard or seen by them. The party culture amongst youth during school, college or university days also attracted them to start using substances for fun sake. Under peer pressure, they started using drugs for fun and enjoyment. In the present study, while 25.83 percent respondents in sampled districts of Punjab stated that they have consumed drug for enjoyment and fun, 05 percent were simply curious to use drugs and wanted to experiment with drugs to experience the effects of drugs on their body.

2. Community Factors

(i) Occupational Factors:

An individual's occupation significantly impacts his/her standard of living. The type of work an individual does and substance use are closely associated with each other. For instance, working conditions, work environment, behavior of employer and co- workers have direct effect on substance use. People since long have used alcohol or other substances to overcome their exhaustion or weariness after work. This is more so in the case of people involved in hard labour jobs, such as agricultural labour and daily wager in non- agriculture sector.

Easy availability of these drugs further made the use of drugs more prevalent. The use of opium was always present in history of Punjab. It is considered healthy even today to consume opium in *Malwa* belt of Punjab. With the coming of Green Revolution, the demand for opium and poppy husk has increased. The opium and poppy husk were being supplied to the labors by big farmers. It worked as fuel for them since the labors had to work for hours in the field. Similarly, poppy husk and opium helped the truck and taxi drivers to drive for longer hours. The respondents who were working as drivers narrated that

whenever they had to drive for longer hours, they took drugs such as opium, cannabis and poppy husk from few *Dhabas (shops on roadside to eat)* mainly on the highways in the border areas of Punjab. They slowly got dependent on substances due to nature of their work and sometimes shifted to lethal drugs such as Heroine and other synthetic drugs.

Table 1.4: Distribution of Respondents based on their Occupation

Occupation of Respondents	Amritsar		Gurdaspur		Kapurthala		Tarn Taran		Total Number of Respondents
	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=10	Male N=40	Female N=NA	N=170
Temporary Occupation	12 (30%)	NA	11 (27.5%)	NA	16 (40%)	02 (20%)	14 (35%)	NA	55 (32.35%)
Cultivation	06 (15%)	NA	09 (22.5%)	NA	10 (25%)	0 (0.0%)	16 (40%)	NA	41 (24.11%)
Daily labour in non-agriculture sector	08 (20%)	NA	06 (15%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	04 (10%)	NA	18 (10.5)
Agriculture Labour	04 (10%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	04 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	08 (4.70%)
Masson/ Carpenter/ Painter	04 (10%)	NA	04 (10%)	NA	03 (7.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	11 (6.47%)
Service (Govt./ Pvt.)	02 (5%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	01 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	03 (1.76%)
Student	02 (5%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	02 (1.17%)
Unemployed	02 (5%)	NA	10 (25%)	NA	07 (17.5%)	07 (70%)	06 (15%)	NA	32 (18.82%)

Source: Data Computed from the analysis of the study

The majority (32.35 percent) of respondents were involved in temporary occupations such as providing mobile repair, AC repair, catering and salon services, working temporarily as driver or cook. Many respondents (24.11 percent) were involved in cultivation on their own land, 10.58 percent were working as daily labour in non- agriculture sector, 4.70 were agricultural labour, 6.47 percent were working as mason/ carpenter/ painter. Only 1.76 percent were involved in regular service (government or private) and 1.17 percent were students. Amongst the total population of female respondents, 70 percent were unemployed, 10 percent worked as nurse in private hospital and remaining 20 percent were involved in other type of occupations such as sweeper and working at salon etc. The study found that 28.33 percent of the respondents started consuming drugs under stress or pressure of work. Most of them were either agricultural labor or daily labor in non- agricultural sector. The truck drivers and taxi drivers also asserted that they started taking drugs because of the long working hours and lack of proper rest. Though it was a casual habit in the beginning, they soon became dependent on these substances.

(ii) Unemployment:

As per the Economic Survey 2021, Punjab is one of the top five states with a high unemployment rate. The unemployment rate in Punjab was 7.4 percent (urban and rural), while the national rate was 5.8 percent (Chaba, 2021). Unemployment amongst youth led to dissatisfaction, causing stress in the family. Many times the stress led to drug dependence. For instances, a study was conducted on 996 drug users of the Punjab Red Cross Saket Hospital, a drug rehabilitation institution of Patiala in 2018 revealed that more than 79 percent of the 996 abusers were either jobless or partially employed (Parkash, 2019). Thus, unemployment was one of the major causes of substance abuse amongst youths of Punjab. In the present study (Table 1.4), a significant number of respondents (18.82 percent) were found to be unemployed. This is very difficult to identify the

correlation between drug use and unemployment. On one hand unemployment can be a factor leading to drug use among the respondents, on the other hand, substance adversely affect employment as it reduces productivity, affects physical and mental health and relationships with co-workers and employers etc. As the person became unfit (physically or mentally) to do any regular work, he/she consequently became unemployed. The discussions with the respondents revealed that during their stay at centre for treatment, the respondents had to leave their respective occupations due to their regular absence at workplace. In case of service in private or government sector, the workplace did not provide leave for 3-6 months required for treatment and rehabilitation. Therefore, they had to leave their jobs to get treatment. The situation was worse in case of daily wager or agricultural labour, as they were without any earning during their treatment.

(iii) Socio- cultural factors:

The traditional notion of masculinity has taught boys and men that expressing emotions and admitting to being uncertain in some situation was a sign of weakness and therefore should be avoided. It creates stress amongst men and puts them in high risk of drug dependence (Redmond J, 2019). The men who were highly committed to their male role were at higher risk to experience stress. The similar concept of masculinity amongst people of Punjab may certainly be one of the factors for rising drug menace in Punjab. In the present study (Table 1.8), 4.16 percent of the male respondents admitted that they had taken drugs to prove their masculinity in one or another way. There was an urge in them to increase body's capacity by consuming drugs to gain strength. They believed that it was fine for them to take drug as they behaved more like a man under the influence of drugs. They never knew that their habit of consumption would turn into problem of drug dependence.

Besides the masculinity being one of the factors for drug dependence, certain religious norms also played an important role in identifying the types of drugs used by a community in a region. Consumption of some forms of drugs have been religiously accepted in many parts of India. For instances, liquor is being served as *prasad* at Kaal Bhairav temple of Madhya Pradesh. Similarly, Marijuana is being served as *prasad* in an annual fair at Mouneshwara temple of Karnataka to the devotees. There are few places in Punjab where the liquor or *Bhang* is being served as *prasad*. These practices legitimizing the use of drugs, led to drug dependence amongst some drug users. In the present study (Table 1.8) the 0.83 percentage of respondents stated that they started taking drugs assuming that it is accepted in their religion and gradually got dependent.

3. Family Issues:

Family is the first school of a child. It is here where a child feels safe and loved. However, many times, the conduct of family members can lead to an adverse impact on the child. In the present study (Table 1.4), 2.08 percent respondents stated that they started consuming drugs while imitating their family members. A child who has an addictive parent or a family member has chances to adopt addictive behavior by imitating them. Though family can play an important role in the journey of recovery for a person dependent on substances, the family many times ignored the visible traits of addictive behavior of a child at early stage of addiction that made a person harden drug addict. One of the factors can be the changing nature of family structure in Indian society. In the joint or extended family system, there were elders in the family to keep an eye on the teen agers in their critical years of growth. However, with the concept of nuclear families becoming more common in India, with both the parents working, the early identification of various causes of drug dependence: peer pressure, heartbreak, social influence became very difficult.

The present study found that the majority of children started taking drugs such as cigarettes and alcohol at an early age. However, their treatment was always delayed due to misinformation and denial by parents despite of the visible signs of addiction in children such as skipping school, habit of stealing, or isolation from the community etc. Thus, parent's failure in taking quick action and/or hiding the problem without providing proper treatment made a child a hardened drug addict. In the present study, the respondents were taken for the treatment at centres after prolonged years of drug abuse. In few cases, parents just ignored and blamed the victim of drug abuse for his/her condition. The study found that (Table 1.5) majority (41.75 percent) of the respondents in the sampled districts of Punjab belonged to nuclear families followed by joint families (29.41 percent), and extended families (24.70 percent). 4.11 percent respondents were living alone. As far as female respondents were concerned, 30 percent were living alone.

Table 1.5: Distribution of Respondents based on Family Composition

Family Composition	Amritsar		Gurdaspur		Kapurthala		Tarn Taran		Total Number
	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=10	Male N=40	Female N=NA	N=170
Nuclear Family	17 (42.5%)	NA	18 (45%)	NA	20 (50%)	07 (70%)	09 (22.5%)	NA	71 (41.76%)
Extended Family	13 (32.5%)	NA	13 (32.5%)	NA	10 (25%)	0 (0.0%)	06 (15%)	NA	42 (24.70%)
Joint Family	10 (25%)	NA	09 (22.5%)	NA	10 (25%)	0 (0.0%)	21 (52.5%)	NA	50 (29.41%)
Living alone	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	03 (30%)	04 (10%)	NA	07 (4.11%)

Source: Data Computed from the analysis of the study

Like family, marriage is also an important institution of Indian family system. While unhappy married life can cause substance abuse, being unmarried made person more vulnerable as in nuclear families, they failed to get required emotional support. It was revealed by the present study (Table 1.6) that majority (54.70 percent) of the respondents in the four sampled districts were unmarried, 37.64 percent were married, 5.88 percent were divorced or separated and 1.76 percent respondents were either widower or widow. Majority (50 percent) of the female respondents were found to be unmarried, 30 percent were separated from their spouses but not divorced. In each case, the cause of separation was their substance dependence. Thus, it is evident from the present study that for a person dependent on drugs, it was difficult to get married first and those who were married had a troubled married life. The spouses of respondents found it difficult to deal with them so they preferred to stay away from them.

Table 1.6: Distribution of Respondents based on their Marital status

Marital Status of Respondents	Amritsar		Gurdaspur		Kapurthala		Tarn Taran		Total number of Respondents
	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=NA	Male N=40	Female N=10	Male N=40	Female N=NA	N=170
Married	10 (25%)	NA	15 (37.5%)	NA	15 (37.5)	01 (10%)	23 (57.5)	NA	64 (37.64%)
Unmarried	30 (75%)	NA	25 (62.5%)	NA	20 (50%)	05 (50%)	13 (32.5%)	NA	93 (54.70%)
Divorced/ Separated	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	03 (7.5%)	03 (30%)	04 (10%)	NA	10 (5.88%)
Widower/ Widow	0 (0.0%)	NA	0 (0.0%)	NA	02 (5%)	01 (10%)	0 (0.0%)	NA	03 (1.76%)

Source: Data Computed from the analysis of the study

4. Individual Factors:

Various models (Psychological or Character Logical Model, The Coping Model and Social Education Model) have highlighted that drug abuse can be caused due to various individual factors. In the present study, the 2.5 percent respondents stated that they started consuming drugs in their schools or colleges to cope up with stress caused by heartbreak in relationship/ breakup/ failure of relationships. Few of them on further probing admitted that they had anxiety issues since childhood, which was considered to be normal by the family. They could not handle the little tension and stress in studies, career or personal life and started taking drugs.

Conclusion

The study clearly indicated that addiction is not drug induced. In fact, there are multiple socio-cultural factors which makes an individual more vulnerable to substance abuse. Therefore, early identification of these factors is very important. Recognising the importance of peers and peer support, Punjab government implemented the Buddy program in all its educational institutions to educate children about the ill-effects of drug abuse and generate positive peer influence to promote safety and prevent harm (Sharma, 2021).

Besides identifying various risks and preventive factors responsible for substance use, it is also important to break the supply chain of these drugs in Punjab as easy availability of these drugs increases the probability for already vulnerable person to go for drug abuse. There has been easy availability and accessibility of drugs near the border districts of Punjab. In the present study, majority of the respondents revealed that they had easy accessibility to substances. They had made contacts with drug smugglers to procure drug for personal consumption. In fact, many respondents admitted that they themselves had sold drugs to fulfil their drug needs when they ran out of money.

Therefore, a concentrated effort is required to identify the reasons and to find solution to the problem of substance use disorder among the youth in Punjab. It requires a collaborative and continuous engagement among all stakeholders: government agencies, academic institutions, religious institutions, non-governmental organizations and community at large. Once it is done, we hope that youth will increasingly become self-reliant and actively reject the drugs to lead a Healthy and Happy life.

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Exploring Cultural Subjugation and Resistance in Githa Hariharan's *The Thousand Faces of Night*

Ravinder Kaur*

Repudiating "basely feigned content," this figure arises like a bad dream, bloody, envious, enraged, as if the very process of writing had itself liberated a madwoman, a crazy and angry woman, from a silence in which neither she nor her author can continue to acquiesce.

Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "Towards a Feminist Poetics" 126

Abstract

What does it mean to be a woman in a culture where the fundamental definition of womanhood is determined by patriarchy? If the literary and cultural traditions glorify such women who feel proud of their subordination and worship their male counterparts rather than seeking a position of equality, can we expect to have empowered women in such a society? What does empowerment mean to Indian women in a globalized world? And lastly, is the idea of a 'modern' woman a myth or reality? The present paper aims to deal with such questions while analyzing Githa Hariharan's novel *Thousand Faces of Night* that builds a powerful critique of the cultural subjugation of women and forges a trajectory leading to their agency and empowerment. For the purpose of analysis, feminist thinkers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Virginia Woolf, Elaine Showalter, Susan Gubar, and Sandra Gilbert are invoked.

Introduction

Githa Hariharan is a towering figure among Indian English women writers. She is known not only for her writings centering on women's issues but also for

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her significant contribution towards women's empowerment. Like many of her contemporaries, Githa has focussed on the representation of Indian women as victims of age-old traditions, set and perpetuated by the male-dominated society. She is of the opinion that women through centuries have lived in dark times; they have been silenced and muted, and through her writings, she intends to lend voice to those who were hitherto looked at as spectators to their own subjugation. In a number of her novels such as *Ghosts of Vasu Master*, *The Thousand Faces of Night*, *In Times of Siege*, *When Dreams Travel*, and *I have become the Tide*, she has upheld the rights of women and has tried to foreground the problems faced by them. The novel *The Thousand Faces of Night* especially focuses on the plight of Indian women. They have been portrayed as the victims of regressive, orthodox, and demeaning patriarchal culture in which women are just expected to behave as mute subjects following their male counterparts. However, Githa in this novel re-reads the mythological stories from women's perspective and deconstructs the myths of fragile, weak, and docile women. In this way, the paper attempts to analyze the novel *The Thousand Faces of Night* by focussing on the literary representation of Indian women and enquires how literary traditions becomes instrumental in the subjugation of women. For the purpose of analysis, feminist thinkers such as Simone de Beauvoir, Virginia Woolf, Elaine Showalter, Susan Gubar, and Sandra Gilbert are invoked.

The Thousand Faces of Night represents the plight of three generations of Indian women through the characters of Mayamma, Sita and Devi. It is with the help of stories of these women, that Hariharan highlights the age-old practices of discrimination against women. It represents all the female characters as victims of the patriarchal structure and the traditional rituals that are used as instruments for their oppression. The novel, in a way, is a cultural history of women in India. It foregrounds that even the literary and mythical accounts are molded to

perpetuate the male domination in society. The generation, background and education that a woman attains, does not make any difference to her fate. Moreover, the idea of an ideal daughter, mother, and wife is forced into their minds. The Indian society, constantly, demands them to obey centuries-old routines. The society's expectations and the taboos laid by patriarchy are vividly portrayed in the novel. It takes us on a journey in the past to the dark ages of women's history when they were not given the right to choose their partner, the right over their bodies, the right to bear children, or the right to walk out of a marriage. The only role assigned to a woman was that of 'angel' or 'devi' in the house. A woman was labeled as a 'Devi' if she submitted and followed the instructions of her husband meekly and a Devil, madwoman, low-woman or ill woman if she trespassed the given standards of the society.

... images of women are often represented as tending to fall into two antithetic patterns. On the one side are idealized projections of men's desires— the Madonna, the Muses of the arts, Dante's Beatrice, the pure and innocent virgin and the "Angel in the House." On the other side are demonic projections of men's sexual resentment and terror—Eve and Pandora as the sources of all evil, destructive sensual temptresses such as Delilah and Circe, the malign witch and castrating mothers. (Abrams 90)

Moreover, no heed was paid to her sexual needs as well as her need for emotional intimacy. Bearing children is not considered a matter of choice for women even today. But what is the reason behind this kind of treatment of women? Why do they comply with a tradition that subjugates them? Simone de Beauvoir a feminist critic states that gender is a 'cultural construct,' answering this question, she asserts, "One is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (15). It is through cultural conditioning that women are convinced into roles that they perform all through their lives. This is done through, bed-time stories, folk-songs, rituals in child-birth, marriage and even during last rites. Women are

systematically excluded from performing certain cultural rituals such as attending prayers, on the excuse of their biological functions. It is from this perspective Githa Hariharan seems to portray her women.

Women's Subjugation and Oppression

Githa traces the cultural roots that lead to women's subjugation and oppression. The character, Devi reveals that she grew up among the stories and myths narrated to her by her grandmother which had formative influences on her psychology. As a curious child, she often wondered about the conditions of women around her. But her grandmother always satiated her inquiries through her stories of women goddesses, and even simple women from various Indian sacred scriptures. As mentioned by Beauvoir, story-telling is one of the methods to perpetuate cultural conditioning, therefore, Devi feels that she owes the rebellious streak present in her nature to her grandmother and to the kind of stories she used to tell her:

My grandmother's stories were no ordinary bedtime stories. She chose each for a particular occasion a story in reply to each of my childish questions. She had an answer for every question. But her answers were not simple: they had to be decoded. A comparison had to be made, an illustration discovered, and a moral drawn out. (27)

These stories, in a way, become instrumental for Devi to achieve the idea of ideal womanhood. At the same time, it is through her grandmother that Devi comes to know about passions, desires and protests of those mythical marginal figures such as Gandhari, Amba and Ganga who are almost forgotten and often rendered silent and invisible in the patriarchal version of myths. Along with it she realizes her own role as a daughter, a wife and a mother and required traits to fulfill those gender roles. Beauvoir also deliberates upon the idea of cultural conditioning,

The little girl observes that child care falls to the mother, that is what she is taught; stories told, books read, all her little experience confirms it; she is encouraged to feel delight for these future riches, she is given dolls so she will already feel the tangible aspect of those riches. Her “vocation” is determined imperiously. (344)

Devi also realizes that her cousin who comes to stay with them for a while is sent back because of her so-called non-traditional behavior. She laughs loudly, climbs trees, plays with Devi’s father, and also wears a skirt. Such symptoms make Sita feel that she is not suitable to live in her house and sends her back. In this way, Githa highlights that despite being educated Sita is not able to tolerate the presence of a girl in her house. She is considered a threat by Sita due to her open, bold and natural temperament. Her only fault is that she does not conform to the gender role assigned to her.

Myamma is another victim of patriarchal society. She is married off at an early age, to an alcoholic and abusive husband who does not pay any attention to her emotional fulfillment, physically forces himself on her and even her mother-in-law supports him. One can see the patriarchal machinery at work, when she is tortured, abused and beaten up by her mother-in-law as she is unable to bear a child. Her mother-in-law constantly abuses her for being beautiful but ‘barren’. Mayamma shares one such episode with Devi:

What has your beauty done for you, you barren witch?” And she (the mother-in-law) pulled up my (Mayamma’s) sari roughly, just as her son did every night, and smeared the burning red, freshly ground spices in to my barrenness. My burned thighs clamped together as I felt the devouring fire cling to my entrails. (113)

She is made to fast and do penance so that she can have a male child which she finally does after ten years of her marriage. Later, her husband deserts her and runs away with all the money. She then becomes a victim of her son who

abuses her for money. When he also dies after some time, she cries and burns her horoscope that had promised her good luck and prosperity. In this way, the novel highlights that, motherhood or bearing children is imposed on women. Their choice is not even a matter of concern. If she is not able to bear a child, she is considered useless and a waste. It seems reproduction is her function.

Busting the Beauty Myths

Beauty myths prevailing in society are generally dominated by perfect physical depictions through the eyes of men. Sita's character can be discussed in this context. She can be seen as a victim of beauty myths prevailing in Indian culture. She is depicted as a dusky, beautiful and talented girl. She knows how to play *veena* and is good at household work. But all her qualities are sidelined because of her dusky complexion. Githa questions the idea of beauty in Indian culture where only fair-complexioned and slim-bodied girls are referred to as beautiful and feminine. Even in mythology, fairness is the first parameter of a woman's beauty. The most significant trait of all beautiful Goddesses is their white complexion. Even a strong woman like Sita who has all the qualities of a perfect housewife is looked down upon due to her complexion.

The character of Sita helps in understanding how the roles for women are delimited and boundaries are set for them; they can be daughters, wives, mothers, daughters-in-laws but they cannot be individuals with passions and desires of their own. The society plays a significant role in imposing virtues that epitomize ideal womanhood. It gives all the freedom to men to develop their self but women have to struggle at different stages while also bearing responsibilities of home and family. A woman who thinks for herself more than her family is called selfish, self-centered, or unwomanly. This kind of social conditioning creates hurdles in her self-development. The impact of such an oppressive social system can be clearly seen in the life of Sita.

Sita had wanted to become a *veena* player since her childhood and also becomes one with great efforts and hard work. She makes up for her dark complexion and plain looks, by excelling in music and other domestic chores. But after marriage, nobody cares for her dreams, aspiration and desires. Rather she finds herself in a different world where different duties are assigned to a daughter-in-law. Rebuked by her father-in-law, Sita breaks the strings of *veena* in order to achieve the so-called ideal womanhood. She suppresses her desire and devotes all her time to save family's honor with order, reason and progress.

Sita proves herself as an ideal daughter-in-law as even after her husband's death, she keeps the family together. When Devi returns home from America, she invites everyone from the family and organizes a pleasant lunch. Later, she arranges a grand wedding for her daughter in a very organized manner. She gives her daughter lessons on living a realistic life and not an imaginative one portrayed by the fairy tales. As she learns that Devi is not able to bear a child, she writes a letter to her telling pleasures of being a mother as if she knows that Devi is not interested in bearing a child. In the end, she is seen playing her *veena* again, maybe in an effort to find her real self.

The Myth of Modern Woman

The stronghold of culture does not even spare the modern woman Devi; an educated girl with an 'American experience.' Through her, the novelist portrays the condition of women in contemporary times. In the times, when the world has become a global village when women are given opportunities to get an education, interact with men, and also choose their profession. But despite the so-called freedom, when it comes to marriage, her opinion is considered secondary. As we all know caste, religion, and financial status of a man are given more attention. Devi is a typical modern woman who has studied in America. She also developed an intimate relationship with a young Black American man, Dan during her stay in America. She has enjoyed the freedom that the foreign land

allowed but knew that it was short-lived and she will have to go back to her rigid, traditional family. Therefore, any possibility of marriage between her and Dan is spurned by Devi at the outset.

Sita invites a number of families to arrange the marriage of Devi after she returns from America. During this time, it is seen that her 'American experience' becomes the biggest hurdle in finding a suitable match. People usually consider women with foreign experience of loose character and hence unfit for marriage. Mahesh, is the only one, who agrees to marry her. He is a regional manager of a multinational firm in Bangalore. However, he prepares Devi for a life full of struggle. He tells Devi that his job demands a lot of time and he will have to stay away from home for months together. He asks her whether she will be able to accept this kind of life to which she agrees. Devi accepts him for his straightforward nature and also because, like other prospected grooms, he did not enquire much about her experiences in America. Finally, she is married off to Mahesh.

However, this marriage does not empower Devi in anyway. Though Mahesh is an educated man, he does not have much to offer to Devi. He does not want Devi to work, he wants her to manage the house and bear a child. Not only this, her emotional and physical needs are not taken care of. She becomes utterly lonely as she has no one to talk to except her father-in-law who is a retired Professor of Sanskrit. She enjoys listening to the tales of ideal women from him and tries to learn Sanskrit for understanding his stories. But the pleasure of his company is also taken away from her, when he has to fly to America to take care of his daughter's newborn child.

Devi starts feeling lonely and alienated. She now tries to develop friendship with Mahesh's colleagues' wife and even tries to learn painting from her. But nothing works for her. Mahesh's visits to Devi become shorter with the passage of time. She passes time cleaning the old house and during this time,

learns a lot of stories about her mother-in-law, Parvathi. She learns from Mayamma that she had left home and never returned back. Devi is appalled by such details. On the other hand, the emotional and physical distance between Mahesh and Devi keeps widening. To ward off her boredom, Mahesh asks Devi that they should now plan a baby. But despite their best efforts, she is not able to get pregnant. She takes advice from the best of the doctors, but nothing works for her. She thinks of adopting a child, but Mahesh rejects this idea immediately. Even after ten years of marriage, her relationship with Mahesh is marked by loneliness, silence and discontent. She realizes that Mahesh is more of a businessman than an ideal husband. Lack of communication stifles and chokes her voice and disintegrates her sensibility. At this stage of her life, Devi happens to meet Gopal, a musician who has come to meet his sister living in Devi's neighborhood. While listening to his music, she is transported to another world and forgets her worries. After meeting him, she is fascinated by his sincerity and devotion to work. One day, she elopes with Gopal in order to take revenge on Mahesh. The decision seems to be taken less for love than to show her rage of rejection of a demeaning marriage that had crushed dignity, individual aspiration and mocked her emotional imaginative refinement.

But the time of happiness with Gopal is also brief. She gradually develops the same sense of void as he does not recognize her individuality. She realizes that this is not her destination and she yet needs to carve out a niche for herself. Once again she protests and craves for survival on her own. Therefore, she leaves Gopal when he is sleeping and decides to go to her home. She realizes that she was merely drifting between two worlds like a floating island searching for props and that she should find her own authentic 'self' and put down deep roots. She goes back to her mother. Thus, she passes through variegated relations till she establishes contact with her real self and takes a step to attain equipoise. Thus *The Thousand Faces of Night* is the story of Devi's quest for a

self-image. Having failed to define her identity as a wife or even as a rebellious lover, Devi finally returns to her mother, — to stay and fight, to make sense of it all ...(139) and to start from the very beginning. It is in her relationship to her mother that Devi hopes to carve out an identity for herself.

Cultural Subjugation of Women

Significantly, Githa Hariharan takes us on a mythical exploration and traces the roots responsible for women's suppression and discrimination. By invoking mythical characters such as Amba, Gandhari, Damyanti and many others, she highlights the fault lines of Indian culture and literary tradition. The references to the ancient literary texts by Devi's Father-in-law, expose the misrepresentation of the roles of women where their only duty is to serve the husband. Virginia Woolf underscores misrepresentation of women in literary productions by men when she posits that prejudiced accounts by male authors are "written in the red light of emotion and not in the white light of truth" (34). In this context, Githa brings forth comparatively less prominently mythical figures such as Amba, who had been rendered mute in men's narratives. Amba, a victim of a man's pride and ego, is abducted from her *Swayambar* and is then rejected by both Bhishma and the man she had loved. She finally does penance and takes birth as a half-male to take her revenge.

Then, she also mentions Gandhari, a woman who pledges to keep her eyes covered, bandaged because her husband cannot see. It is an act undoubtedly of protest but at the same time, the woman can be seen as a victim of society where she is married off to a blind man and all her desires to embellish for her husband are forsaken. One can observe the towering influence of myths on Indian culture;

Within women themselves, polarisation is established as a "natural" order, through the creation of white and black images in the categories of wife or whore, ideal woman or sorceress and mother or temptress. In order to

earn respect in society, it is essential for a woman to belong to the preferred category of wife or an ideal woman and be oriented towards being obedient, devoted, self sacrificing as the mythical figures of Sita, Savitri and Draupadi. (Kaur 49)

Therefore, though Devi is seen as a product of modern education, has had a taste of freedom, but after her return to India, she too is entangled in the clutches of patriarchy. She is looked down upon by her husband for not being able to produce a child and also for her lack of interest in household work. Moreover, till the end of the novel, she struggles helplessly to sip the taste of freedom. She tries to find it in the arms of her lover Gopal who disappoints her as she is not able to carve out an identity of her own. She feels that he is carrying her around as a piece of art, something to feel proud of. Devi's quest for identity settles when she leaves Gopal, and returns to her mother. She crosses all barriers-socio, cultural, religious and economic to discover herself.

Conclusion

The novel is a powerful critique of patriarchal culture and by taking recourse to Indian mythology, she has tried to trace the roots of women's oppression and subjugation. At the same time, through Devi's character, the text indicates that not much has changed for women. A woman can meet a man before marriage, but choosing a husband is still not in her domain. She cannot decide whether to bear a child or not. She cannot pursue a career without the consent of her husband and her emotional needs are not considered a priority. Gita Hariharan has touched upon the larger issues of gender exploitation embedded in pedagogic discourses. The condition of women is depicted in a changing scenario through Devi's eyes. The plight of women characters in the novel presents a realistic picture of our so-called 'modern' society. Hariharan has deliberately selected less prominent figures from the Indian Epics and Puranas

such as Gandhari, and Amba and in order to foreground the narratives of women who have been wronged and are rendered mute in those texts.

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The Issues and Concerns Regarding Menstrual Hygiene Management

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Abstract

Although menstruation is a natural process, it is considered as a taboo in our society. A lot of misconceptions and practices have been attached to it. This issue has always been inadequately recognised and not given due attention while planning and implementing programmes to improve the health status of women. The present paper discusses women's reproductive and sexual health and menstrual hygiene practices backed with some important data. It also tries to highlight the various initiatives taken by central and state governments to provide them with adequate knowledge and awareness and improve the existing facilities regarding safe and proper menstrual hygiene management keeping in mind their health and the environment.

Keywords: Women, health, health status, menstrual hygiene management.

Introduction

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of a disease or infirmity. Education and literacy, physical and social environment, income and social status, gender, personal hygiene practices, culture, availability and accessibility of good health care services etc. are the key factors involved in determining the health status of an individual (World Health Organisation, 2017).

The Alma-Ata Declaration adopted in 1978 was the first international declaration highlighting the importance of primary health care. It conveyed the

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need for urgent action by all governments, all health and development workers, and the world community to protect¹⁷ and promote the health of all people. It came out as a major milestone of the 20th century in the field of public health, and it identified primary health care as the key to attain the goal of 'Health For All' by the year 2000 around the globe. After this, an idea of improving the delivery of health care was brought about through the introduction of National Health Mission in 2005. It covered a number of initiatives such as Accredited Social Health Activists, united grants to sub-centres, health care contractors, mobile medical units, ambulance services, mother and child health wings, free drugs and diagnostic services, etc. Another such initiative is Ayushman Bharat Yojana launched in 2018 with the objective of strengthening primary care through health and wellness centres. But, even after all these efforts, the Indian healthcare system is faced with some challenges such as availability and accessibility of adequate health care services and medical infrastructure in accordance with current requirements, shortage of medical staff, low budget for health care, among others.

Women's health refers to the health of women, which is different from that of men in a number of ways which includes menstruation, pregnancy, problems related to reproductive organs, breastfeeding etc. Their health suffers due to reasons such as family responsibilities, dominance of male counterparts, lack of education and restrictions in accessing health care services. Therefore, it is necessary to provide for women's health so that they are able to realize their full potential and contribute equally to society in all aspects.

Reproductive and sexual health means a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being in matters relating to the reproductive system. It means that people are able to live a safe sex life, have the capability to

reproduce and the freedom for decision-making about it. In developing countries, reproductive and sexual health of women suffers leading to ill health and serious complications such as unintended pregnancy, unsafe abortion, infections, gender-based violence, among others. To maintain a healthy and reproductive sexual health, both men and women should be aware of sex education, family planning, antenatal and safe delivery care, postnatal care, sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS, early diagnosis and treatment for reproductive health illnesses including breast and cervical cancer.

The Menstrual Hygiene Alliance of India (MHAI), an organisation working on research and advocacy on menstrual hygiene management, estimates that there are almost 336 million women in India in the menstruating age group, of which only 36 percent get to use or have access to disposable sanitary napkins. Menstruation is the regular release of blood and mucosal tissue from the internal lining of the uterus through the vagina. Menarche, the first period, starts somewhere in the range of 12-15 years of age, varying from female to female. The gap between two periods is usually 28-31 days and bleeding lasts around 2-7 days. Menopause, the last period, occurs in the range of 45-55 years of age. The menstrual cycle happens because of the ascent and descent of hormones. This cycle brings about the thickening of the lining of the uterus, and the growth of an egg, which is required for pregnancy. The egg is discharged from an ovary around 14th day in the cycle; the thickened lining of the uterus gives supplements to the embryo after its implantation. If pregnancy does not happen, the lining is discharged in what is known as menstruation. Menstruation is considered as a social-cultural taboo in our society. Menstrual blood is regarded as impure and several restrictions are further attached to it such as exclusion from social and religious events, denied entry into temples and places of worship, kept out of kitchens, not allowed to reside in regular rooms, etc. among others. This forces young girls and women to be discriminated and they do not to speak

openly on matters related to menstruation. Also, these taboos make sanitary products difficult to come by and women are compelled to use harmful alternatives.

Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM) includes a number of aspects such as awareness and education related to menstruation, accessibility to safe and affordable feminine hygiene products, menstrual waste disposal practices among others. Hardware aspect of menstrual hygiene management can include water and soap access, toilet and disposal material access, menstrual absorbent access, proper drying space, etc. while software aspect can include knowledge, privacy, dignity, convenience, security among others.

Menstrual Hygiene Day is observed worldwide on May 28th every year, to break taboos related to menstruation and to generate awareness about the importance of keeping good menstrual health by adopting good menstrual hygiene practices. It was started in 2014 by an organization called WASH (Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene) United, which works with a wide range of NGOs, National & State governments, UN agencies, and private sector partners, including United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Water Aid, the World Bank, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Procter & Gamble and others. The theme for year 2021 was 'Action and Investment in Menstrual Hygiene and Health'. Although UNICEF is a partner organisation of WASH United, the day is not kept in observance by the United Nations.

Menstrual Hygiene Management can be a tough task for those women and girls in developing countries due to lack of adequate toilet facilities, clean water, inability to access menstrual hygiene products due to low-income levels, cultural restraints, etc. in comparison to those in developed countries. This hampers their health, social and educational development. Therefore, it is important to open up about menstrual hygiene management and to find solutions

to the problems faced by girls and women so that they are able to realize their full potential in every aspect and feel connected to mainstream society.

Major Initiatives Taken in Context to Menstrual Hygiene Management

- 2018 India removed tax on sanitary pads, which were earlier being taxed at 12%.
- 2020 Scotland becomes the first country in the world to provide period products including pads and tampons to those in need at free of cost.
- 2021 New Zealand announced to provide period products free at the state level schools in the country.
- 2021 France offered to provide free and environment-friendly sanitary products at schools and health service centres.

Menstrual Hygiene Management in India- Some Facts and Figures

- ✚ 10% of the girls in India believe menstruation is a disease (Water Aid 2013, Menstrual Hygiene Matters).
- ✚ Only 13% of the girls are aware of menstruation before their first period (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 56% of the girls –in and out of school- did not know about menstruation (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 66% of the Indian girls do not know about menstruation before their menarche (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 87% of the women and girls are completely ignorant about menstruation and do not possess any knowledge about menstruation as a biological

process (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).

- ✚ 28% of the students in India do not attend school during their period, due to lack of facilities and materials (United Nations Children's Fund).
- ✚ For the absorption of menstrual blood, 89 per cent use cloth, 2 per cent cotton wool, 7 per cent sanitary pads and 2 per cent ash (Rutgers).
- ✚ Of the women using cloth as absorbent, half of them use the same cloth for more than a month (Water Aid).
- ✚ 75% of the girls do not have any idea about what material to use to absorb the flow (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 75% of the girls use cotton cloths during their period (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 27% of the girls in schools do not use any material at all (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ Only 16% of the girls use sanitary napkins (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 43%-88% percent of girls in urban India use reusable cloth, yet they are often washed without soap or clean water. Only 12% of schools have soap available (United Nations Children's Fund).
- ✚ In India, 14% of the girls get infected from menstrual infections (Rutgers).
- ✚ Women of reproductive age account for about 52% of the population, with a majority of them menstruating on a monthly basis and they do not have access to safe and clean sanitary items (Sustainable Sanitation and Water Management).
- ✚ Inadequate facilities and sanitary products can force menstruating girls out of school (Sustainable Sanitation and Water Management).
- ✚ 60% of girls change their menstrual clothes once a day only (Rutgers).

- ✚ High price and unavailability of sanitary napkins is the main reason for women and girls in India for not using them (Water Aid).
- ✚ Poor menstrual hygiene affects physical health, social and mental wellbeing. This is a violation of the human right to health (Menstrual Hygiene Day, 2015).
- ✚ In rural India, many women and girls use unsanitary materials such as old rags, husks, dried leaves, grass, ash, sand or newspapers because they do not have access to affordable, hygienic and safe products and facilities (Menstrual Hygiene Day).
- ✚ Shops in villages or neighbourhood often do not have sanitary napkins for sale, because there is no demand for it (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 41% of adolescents hide their menstrual cloth in room, 22% in roof and 11% share it with others (United Nations Children's Fund- Menstrual Hygiene Management).
- ✚ 58% of Indian women mostly use sanitary pads, which was 12% in 2010 (National Family Health Survey-4, 2015-16).
- ✚ Majority of women were unaware of menstrual hygiene practices, 79% in Tamil Nadu, 66% in Uttar Pradesh, 56% in Rajasthan and 51% in West Bengal (United Nations Children's Fund, 2014).

Menstrual Hygiene Management Initiatives in India

With the beginning of initiatives at the global level, Indian government also took some initiatives at the central and state level to help in shedding the stigma attached to menstruation and creating awareness for the same along with the provision for availability and accessibility of sanitary products to the target population in the country.

Different ministries under the Government of India started various programmes. Menstrual Hygiene Management National Guidelines (2015) released by Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, Government of India highlights what is required to be done by state governments, district administrations, technical experts, and school teachers. Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls- Sabla program initiated by the Ministry of Women & Child Development in 2011 is focused upon nutrition, health, hygiene, and reproductive and sexual health. It also covers the installation of vending machines and incinerators in schools. Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram started by the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare in 2014 is focused upon enhancing menstrual health knowledge, provide subsidized sanitary products, improve hygiene practices, raise awareness about menstrual health management in schools. Gender Issues Guidelines in Sanitation started by the Ministry of Drinking Water & Sanitation in 2017 focus on gender equality and the empowerment of girls and women in relation to sanitation. Ministry of Rural Development program National Rural Livelihood Mission started in 2011 provides support to Self-Help Groups and small manufacturers engaged in the production of sanitary pads. Swachh Bharat: Swachh Vidyalaya launched in 2014 is focused upon functioning and well-maintained water, sanitation and hygiene facilities in schools.

Accredited Social Health Activists instituted under Ministry of Health & Family Welfare provide subsidized sanitary napkins in villages at minimal prices. 100% oxy-biodegradable sanitary napkins 'Suvidha' priced at Re. 1 each available at Pradhan Mantri Bhartiya Janaushadhi Pariyojana stores opened by Government of India across the country. These napkins have a special additive added in it, which makes it biodegradable when it reacts with oxygen after it is used and discarded. Kerala's Kumbalangi became country's first sanitary-napkin

free village in January, 2022. A total of 5,000 menstrual cups will be distributed to women aged 18 and above in the village as part of the Avalkayi scheme.

Review of Literature

- ✚ **Devi DK, Ramaiah VP (1994)** concluded that majority of girls had accurate knowledge about menstruation but were practicing poor menstrual hygiene.
- ✚ **Bhatia, J. and J. Cleland (1995)** observed that in rural areas, such issues are not discussed with parents. Menstruation, therefore, is considered to be a taboo in most cultures. Also, poor personal hygiene and unsafe sanitary conditions became the causal factor for gynaecological problems.
- ✚ **Paul, D. (2007)** stated that vaginal infections are caused by micro-organisms, which grow due to repeated use of unclean sanitary napkins or improperly dried cloth napkins.
- ✚ **Dasgupta, A. and M. Sarkar (2008)** found that using menstrual hygiene materials in an improper way can increase the risk of developing Toxic Shock Syndrome, Urinary Tract Infections, and Pelvic Inflammatory Disease.
- ✚ **Report of Water Aid (2009)** observed that hygiene practices were unsatisfactory because girls got inadequate opportunity and time to clean and change timely during school hours.
- ✚ **Shabnam Omidvar, Khyrunnisa Begum (2010)** noticed that 19.1% of girls used cloth as menstrual absorbent. 80% of the girls changed pads/napkins at night and only 20.6% changed them during school hours because of ignorance and lack of facility in schools. Also, the practice of reusing soiled napkins was common among the girls. The reason for this

could be attributed to lack of knowledge about healthy menstrual practices among young girl students. Refraining from bath, poor genital care, and other such attributes were commonly found among them. Poverty was a major factor responsible for choosing unsanitary materials during menstruation by the girls.

✚ **Misra Puneet, Upadhyay RP, Sharma Vinita, Anand Krishnan, Gupta Vivek (2013)** found that 62% of the women respondents were ignorant of the reason for menstruation and the role of health worker in providing information to women was low as only 1.5% of the women had got any such information. For majority of women, routine activities did not suffer during menstruation but faced some religious prohibitions. Also, only 28.8% of the women were using sanitary napkins.

✚ **Abhijit V. B, Shib Sekhar Datta, Karthiga V (2014)** reported that 77% of the girls used sanitary pads and all the girls took bath daily. 43% of the girls washed their genitalia with soap and water during menstruation. All such menstrual hygiene practices were a result of a number of factors such as the majority of the families living above the poverty line and high literacy rate among mothers.

✚ **Sathyamurthi K. (2014)** found that majority of the girls used cloth to absorb the menstrual fluid, the used cloth was washed with soap and water and was disposed off after using it for 4-5 months by burning it. Sanitary napkins were used by very few girls due to varied reasons such as low socioeconomic status, lack of awareness and less availability in rural areas. Cloth was being used by 46.67% of the girls and only 15.67% of the girls were using sanitary napkins. Amongst the cloth users, 65.7% of the girls were suffering from genital infections in comparison to 12.3% of the girls using sanitary napkins.

- ✚ **Channawar K, Prasad VSV (2015)** found that 91.2% of the respondents used pads and 6.8% of them used clothe. The higher usage of sanitary pads by the respondents was due to the high availability of pads in urban areas and also due to increased awareness regarding its availability and use communicated to the people through the help of television. The most commonly practiced method for disposing menstrual waste was house dustbin, counting to 74.1%.
- ✚ **Haftu B, Dr. Alemayehu B, Rozina U (2016)** revealed that 4.8% of the participants disposed off their used sanitary material in an open field, 61.1% disposed it in toilets, 24% disposed it into dustbins, and 9.5% recycled them by burning or washing.
- ✚ **Kaur Rajinder, Kaur Rajanbir, Kaur Kanwaljit (2018)** found that many women practised cultural beliefs and restrictions of varied nature because of their perception regarding menstruation as dirty and polluting. Education of women plays an important role so as to make them aware about the right practices. Teachers can play an important role in creating awareness regarding menstruation and menstrual waste management.
- ✚ **Balat MS, Sahu SK, Patel M (2019)** observed that 46.9% of girls had good knowledge and 48.1% practised menstrual hygiene. Their mothers were the main source of information about menstrual hygiene accounting for 54.8%. Sanitary pad was used by 56.2% of girls. Only 8.1% of girls knew about the source of blood during menstruation and only 7% of them changed pads or clothes more than three times a day.

Discussion & Conclusion

After going through the related literature, it can be stated that lot of studies have been conducted on knowledge, awareness and practices related to menstruation in different parts of the country which highlight the situation of

menstrual hygiene management in our country. Women's reproductive and sexual health should be given equal importance as any other dimension of health so that they are able to realize their full potential and contribute to society in all aspects.

The government-central and state, civil society, non-governmental organisations, media etc. are all playing their part in shedding the stigma attached to menstruation and creating the required awareness among the people. Padman, a 2018 movie based on the life of Arunachalam Muruganantham, was successful in bringing up the issues related to menstruation thereby creating awareness about the same. Social media runs campaigns related to menstruation and related short films have also been filmed. Government is coming up with programs specially designed for making sanitary products affordable and accessible. Non- Governmental Organisations are working at local, national and international levels to create awareness and efforts are made to shed the stigma.





Another perspective besides availability and accessibility of sanitary products, is their proper disposal. Tampons, menstrual cups and reusable cloth pads can be used as eco-friendly alternatives to sanitary pads. Even if sanitary pads are being used with other options being not feasible to a women, they should be used and discarded in the best possible manner. The waste generated should be minimised so that it does not cost us our environment.

To conclude this, it can be said that different factors can be attributed to generating such a mindset among the members of the society such as socio-cultural, psychological, religious, economic, educational, infrastructural among others. Women themselves play an important role here in bringing about

behaviour change in the society because the women have to first change their attitudes and perceptions about menstruation and only then other people can do so. Socialisation at an early age will help in shaping the mindset of the people in the required direction.

Breaking the silence about menstruation and promoting good menstrual hygiene management is the need of the hour so that we are able to make sure that girls and women have necessary provisions. Knowledge and awareness has to be generated not only among the female population but also among the male population so that we are able to bring about holistic change in menstrual hygiene management in a healthy and environment friendly manner.

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Drug Trafficking in Punjab: A Study of Daulewal Village, District Moga

Dr.Upneet Kaur Mangat * and Sukhjeet Singh **

Abstract

Drug trafficking is a global illicit trade involving the cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws. UNODC is continuously monitoring and researching global illicit drug markets in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of their dynamics. In recent years the State of Punjab both in urban areas and rural areas has been engulfed in menace of drug trafficking which remains unabated as well as increase in persons into drug abuse. This paper tries to explore the menace of drug trafficking in Punjab, for which an analysis of various academic sources has been made to trace the research studies on drug trafficking and allied areas. The paper gives a comprehensive overview of problem of drug trafficking in the village Daulewala Mair, Block Dharmkot, District Moga (Punjab). Daulewala, 17km from Moga is known for drug peddling. The inhabitants of the village are mainly small time workers who had been involved in illegal sand mining in past and how they have ventured out unabated in flourishing drug business, especially that of (popularly known as 'chitta' in Punjab), poppy or smack, with the result the village has earned the title of being the 'Drug Capital' of Punjab. Though half of the population of the village is illiterate and are mostly landless working classes, their palatial houses are testimony of the fact they are into the notorious drug trade. Half of the youth of this village is drug dependent on substances such as heroin (chitta in Punjab), bhukki, dhodey etc. The Drug De-Addiction centre run by Red Cross 10 km away from the village is lacking

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basic human rights standards. Furthermore, the paper gives recommendations to Stop Combat Drug Abuse and Trafficking menace in this village.

Introduction

Both globally as well as in the Indian context a lot of efforts have been initiated to combat drug trafficking. In recent years the State of Punjab both in urban areas and rural areas has been engulfed in menace of drug trafficking which remains unabated as well as increase in persons into drug abuse. Yet, it seems that the drug problem has continued to worsen in Punjab. Till date there has been no comprehensive survey of the number of drug users in Punjab, but several academic studies have shown that drug abuse is quite rampant. A 2004 survey by the Social Security Department of Punjab reported that 67 percent households in Punjab have at least one drug addict. An affidavit filed by the Government of Punjab in 2009 stated that 7 out of 10 college students were hooked on drugs of some kind, every third male and every tenth female student has taken drugs on some pretext, and 66 percent of the school-going students were consuming tobacco and gutka. As per a survey conducted by the Guru Nanak Dev University, some 73.5 percent of the state's youth between 16-35 years were drug addicts.

Review of Literature

An analysis of various academic sources has been made to trace the research studies on drug trafficking and allied areas.

Mahi , Sharma and Sidhu (2011) has stated in their research that the prevalence of substance abuse in this rural population was 39.3% out of which single substance abuse was 32.1%, two substances 4.9%, three substance 1.3% and four substances 1% of the surveyed population. 17.9% of population

were single substance dependent while 3.7% of population was two substance dependent. 0.4% and 0.6% of the population were dependent on three and four substances respectively. Average age of onset of substance abuse was during the age 15-24 years. Maximal substance abuse was seen in illiterate patients. Socio-economic status was also a determinant of the type of substance abused with lower classes showed a preference for alcohol and tobacco, while opium was favored by the higher classes. Duration of use was 6-10 years for both alcohol and opioids. As a lot of development and changes have occurred in last two decades in terms of newer substances and newer routes of consumption, the findings of old studies may not be of much relevance in the present scenario. Hence the present study was carried out to assess the prevalence and pattern of alcohol and drug dependence in rural areas of Punjab.

Das (2012) in his book opines that India has been enduring the scourge of drug trafficking for three decades. The country's proximity to two of the world's largest illicit opium growing areas as well as various external and internal factors have contributed to it becoming a transit, source and a destination for drugs. The trends and patterns of drug trafficking in the country demonstrates that there is a gradual shift from traditional/natural drugs towards synthetic drugs that are being trafficked and consumed in the country. In the 1980s, a large quantity of heroin and hashish was smuggled in from the source areas into the country through various borders. While these drugs are still trafficked, albeit in lesser quantities, the share of synthetic drugs such as ATS and codeine based pharmaceutical preparations has gone up tremendously. Persistence of drug trafficking over the years implies that the sanctity of the borders is being breached and their security compromised. Various studies and newspaper reports indicate that drug consumption and trafficking are in fact showing an increasing trend. To deal with the problem of drug trafficking and to protect the country's borders against such

infringements, India has employed a mix of measures. On the one hand, it has enacted stringent anti-drug laws, co-opted various voluntary organizations and sought to strengthen the physical security of its borders by various means, on the other hand it has been seeking the cooperation of its neighbors and other countries through several bilateral and multilateral agreements. These efforts have only been partially successful in dealing with the problem.

Kaur & Gulati (2007) states in her research that “Farm Labour, Teenagers are worst hit by drug abuse”. She describes when villages receive coded message “Jahaj aa gaya hai” it brings cheer to drug addicts who live in small village in the Malwa belt. Bordering Rajasthan, villages have nearly 70 per cent of its population, including men, women and boys, addicted to bhukki (poppy husk). Immediately after the word spreads, the addicts make a beeline for the venue from where they are going to draw their daily or weekly quota of bhukki. To avoid detection by the police and other government agencies, the venue is changed frequently. The couriers bring the supplies in either trucks or tractor-trailers concealing the bags of bhukki among those of vegetables, fruit or farm inputs. Bhukki has been the poor man’s addiction. Its main source of supply in Punjab is Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, where the cultivation of poppy is licensed. Addicts take either “chura” (ground husk) with water or boil bhukki in water and drink the “karah” (concentrate).

According to Singh (2006) a recent study by the Chandigarh-based Institute of Development and Communications revealed that the percentage of households affected by drug abuse was 61 in Majha, 64 in Malwa and 68 in Doaba. In Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, opium and bhukki are sold at authorized shops.

Sawhney's (2014) edited book is compilation of the menace of drug abuse in Punjab. In various articles of this book it is stated that the spread of drugs across Punjab has grown to such proportions that some term it “narco-terrorism” and others “narco politics”, pointing towards the illicit involvement of state and non-state actors. The Punjab Government has tried several initiatives to tackle the problem, including drug de-addiction centres and “employability allowances” to train unemployed youth. These have had limited success because they are department-driven rather than coordinated across ministries. Panchayati Raj Institutions should be the main backbone for implementation of drug abuse prevention programs in all rural areas. Incentives should be provided for pursuing the goal of drug free villages through awards. The Project for Awareness and Education for Prevention of Drug Abuse and Alcoholism in Punjab is a good example of an out drug abuse drive. Schools and colleges in Punjab must have counsellors as part of the school’s non-teaching faculty. Drug de-addiction centres can train counsellors and teachers in early identification of vulnerable school children as well as children addicted to drugs. With respect to sources of drug supply, the Government will need to coordinate with other agencies. Cross border smuggling is already being tackled and the rising number of seizures by the BSF, Customs and the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence suggest there is a greater alertness on the part of these agencies. However steps should be taken to incentivize border villages not to indulge smugglers.

Mohan & Sehgal (2004) has in his research work combined field of drug abuse and child work. The study shows that the majority of users among child workers were younger predominantly Hindus and Scheduled caste OBC and in comparison to the nonusers in the same working condition. They have started working at very young age. The study also shows that about 50 percent of the users had no education and 40 percent had only education upto primary levels whereas ,the non users included 7.5 percent educated upto metric and 25

percent upto middle level. The study also shows that the main difference between users and non users lie in their place and working hours. The study also shows that 70 percent are rather new starters. Smoking and alcohol are consumed by majority of these children. Drug abuse was introduced by their friends(60 percent), co-workers(30 percent), and fathers (10 percent) the 40 percent users and 37.5 percent non-users would like to study, if given a chance.

Advani's (2013)paper explores the phenomenon of drug abuse among the youth of Punjab, India. In aiming to identify the factors influencing the problem, the paper focuses on the importance of the exceptional aspects of drug abuse in Punjab, including the core demographic of users and the types of drugs being commonly used. These unique characteristics point towards the contextual factors that have possibly influenced the scale and character that the state's drug problem has taken on. For example, the rural background of Punjab's drug-user demographic hints at the influence of factors including historical developments in the state's rural economy and the Punjabi culture of masculinity which is deeply tied to images of strength and physical labour. On the other hand, their relatively-affluent class background suggests that the impact of unemployment, the cultures of consumption and aspiration and the modernity associated with inject able drugs are all particularly powerful in driving them to use drugs. The literature referred to in this paper includes both quantitative and qualitative studies of drug abuse in Punjab and throughout India, the history of Punjab's rural economy, unemployment, participation in higher education, masculinity, as well as ethnographies of young men in Punjab

Singh's (2010) study was partially descriptive and partially explorative in nature and centred around males of age group 20-25 years. 50 drug abusers from six villages were interviewed. Snowballing sampling technique and information from

village elders were used to identify drug abusers. The study revealed that drug abuse among rural youth is multifaceted problem. Peer pressure or influence, addiction in family history and exposure to drugs were found to be main instigators for youth to indulge in drug abuse. Factors responsible for continuation of drug abuse were mainly withdrawal symptoms and social labelling of addicts. The main consequences of addiction among youth were found to be negative impact on health, loss of social reputation and broken families.

It can be inferred from the literature reviewed in the aforementioned paragraphs is that there are dearth of studies pertaining to growing dimension of drug abuse in Punjab among rural youth. Hence, the significance of the study was to explore the drug abuse in Punjab and how its engulfing the youth into this menace particularly in rural areas. This study gives a comprehensive overview of problem of drug trafficking in the village Daulewala Mair, Block Dharmkot, District Moga (Punjab). Daulewala, 17km from Moga is known for drug peddling. The inhabitants of the village are mainly small time workers who have been involved in illegal sand mining in past and how they have ventured out unabated in flourishing drug business , especially that of (popularly known as ‘chitta’ in Punjab),poppy or smack ‘,with the result the village has earned the title of being the ‘ Drug Capital’ of Punjab.

Objectives of the Study

- i) To assess the menace of drug trafficking in Punjab.
- ii) To study the drug menace particularly drug trafficking in village Daulewala, District Moga particularly among families of drug traffickers.
- iii) To give possible remedies and solutions.

Research Methodology

The methodology adopted for the study has essentially been qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. Primary data has been elicited through unstructured and semi-structured interview schedules for interviewing the people of village whose family members were arrested for being involved in drug trafficking cases. The sample has been drawn through snowball sampling due to the sensitive area of the research. Secondary data is collected from books, articles, acts, journals, online resources, government notification etc.

The universe of the study is Punjab – the land of prosperity and entrepreneurship which is facing a grave challenge today from the spread of drugs. The sample area is Daulewala , a small village close to Moga, which epitomizes the problem. It is a village of drug traffickers, all the men, women and children of this village are involved in this trade. News reports claim that drugs are easily available in this village and sold by children as young as 14 years.

Profile of Sample Area, Village Daulewala

Daulewala, 17km from Moga is known for drug peddling. The inhabitants of the village are mainly small time workers who had been involved in illegal sand mining in past and how they have ventured out unabated in flourishing drug business , especially that of (popularly known as ‘chitta’ in Punjab),poppy or smack ‘,with the result the village has earned the title of being the ‘ Drug Capital’ of Punjab.

The total population of this village is approximately 4000 with about 800 houses. About 30-35 percent population falls between general and 65-70 percent population between Scheduled Classes /Other Backward Classes.

The literacy rate of this village shows a dismal picture with more than 50 percent of men and women being illiterate whereas only 10-15 percent person are graduates. This shows in term of level of literacy this village is very backward.

Table 1.1 gives the brief demographic profile of the Daulewala village situated in block Dharmkot of District Moga (Punjab).

Table 1.1
Gram-panchayat profile

State Name	Punjab
District Name	Moga
Block Name	Dharmkot
Panchayaat Name	Daulewala Village
Total Population (01/04/2014)	SC: 2181 ST: 0 GEN: 1030

Source :<http://punjabcensus.gov.in/>

Drug Peddling in Village Daulewala : Voices from the Field

It is reflected in Table 1.2 that among persons arrested under NDPS Act in Daulewala during last six years among 400 persons arrested 100 are proclaimed offenders and 330 male offender. It also shows 70 are female offenders which points out growing gender dimension of this menace.

Table 1.2

Person arrested under NDPS Act in Daulewala During Last Six Years

Person Arrested	Proclaimed offenders	Male	Female
400	100	330	70

Source: <http://indianexpress.com/tag/daulewala-village/>

Furthermore, to assess the problem of drug trafficking in village Daulewala, the village Sarpanch Nirmal Singh was contacted for interview who was himself reluctant to meet and talk on the issue and further referred to two panchayat members Harbans Singh and Harbhajan Singh who also refused to talk on the issue. But another panchayat member Tara Singh upon convincing got ready to share the problems confronted by the village due to drug trafficking. He arranged a meeting with families of few persons who had been arrested by police few days back. The general profile of the respondents interviewed are given in latter paragraphs.

Case Studies of Respondents whose family members were arrested under NDPS Act

Due to sensitive nature of the study undertaken and reluctance of the inhabitants of the village to talk on the issues and paucity of time, few case studies were collated which are discussed below:

Case Study 1

The respondent revealed that his mother a 70-year-old female was working as agricultural labourer and had been arrested many times under the charge of drug smuggling. She was illiterate and lived in a joint family. Presently, she was in jail under the offence of smuggling.

Case Study 2

The respondent stated that his brother a 23-year-old male was working as labourer and had been arrested second time under the charge of drug smuggling. He was educated up to primary level only. He was married and was living in nuclear family. At present was on bail but is still dependent on this trade to support his family.

Case Study 3

The son of the respondent was 17 years old and a shopkeeper. He had been arrested second time. He was illiterate and unmarried. He revealed that his son got into this trade by youth from the neighbouring village.

Case Study 4

The respondent informed that his son was 29 years old male working as a farm labourer and had been arrested second time under the charge of drug smuggling. He was married and having a joint family. He was illiterate. He was into this trade since eight years and started himself taking drugs in school.

Case Study 5

The respondent informed that his brother-in-law was a 25-year-old working as a labourer and had been arrested second time under the charge of drug smuggling. He was married and having joint family. He was educated up to primary level only.

Case Study 6 – Respondent's son was 30-year-old working as a labourer and had been arrested second time under the charge of drug smuggling. He was married and having joint family. He was educated up to the middle level only.

Case Study 7 - The respondent's wife was a 40-year-old female working as farm labourer and had been arrested first time under the charge of drug smuggling. She was married since eight years and having nuclear family. She was in jail now and was illiterate.

These cases show that both men and women are involved in the illicit trade of drugs. The villagers on anonymity also revealed even school going children acted as couriers for supplying drugs.

The villagers interviewed gave shocking revelations of the police atrocities committed upon them including torture, false cases, custodial violence, extortionist demand for money and confiscation of cell phones. It was further disclosed that how their women are picked up by the police on the charges of drug trafficking and were verbally abused and sexually harassed by the police personnel. They also gave an account of plight of children who had been arrested for being drug handlers and consequently being tortured by the police.

Though half of the population of the village is illiterate and are mostly landless working class, their palatial houses are testimony of the fact they are into the notorious drug trade. Half of the youth of this village are drug dependent on substances such as heroin (*'Chitta'* in Punjab), bhukki, dhodey etc.

The Drug De- Addiction centre run by Red Cross 10 km away from the village is lacking basic human rights standards.

Stigma Faced by the inhabitants of the Village

The inhabitants of the village have been facing stigmatization as their village has been reported as 'Drug Capital of Punjab' by the media in recent past. With the result , some of the respondents during the interviews reported that *'since this village has been notorious for drug trade in the region'*, it has been difficult for them to find prospective matrimonial matches for their sons and daughters.

Further, stigmatization of the village inhabitants happened when the Punjab Police (Moga) erected a sign board depicting the notorious drug business activities of the villagers. This was objected by the panchayat as this was further deteriorating the image of the village and board was finally removed after their intervention.

Figure 1.1



Source: www.tribuneindia.com/

The problem of drug trafficking in village Daulewala needs serious intervention by the government as instances are reported that half of the village population is involved in this menace. The following recommendations have been put forth :

Firstly, the Government can envisage a skill development, training and placement program which will target unemployed graduates. For the rural and semi-skilled labour, the Government can implement a model of skill-building based on individual need assessment. Recovering addicts can opt into the program while residing in drug rehabilitation centres so that their special needs can be catered to.

Secondly, the Government should establish drug de-addiction centres which comply with internationally accepted best practices such as the WHO's Principles of Drug Dependence Treatment.

Thirdly, the mental health of the addicts and family members get severely affected. The government should start mental health intervention programs for the drug addicts and their families.

Fourthly, the Panchayati Raj Institutions can be the main backbone for implementation of drug abuse prevention programs in all rural areas. Incentives should be provided for pursuing the goal of drug free villages through awards. The Project for Awareness and Education for Prevention of Drug Abuse & Alcoholism in Punjab is a good example of anti- drug abuse drive, it has envisaged an inclusive institutional set up right from the village level which can proactively prevent drug addiction as well as help reintegrate recovered addicts.

Lastly, the schools and colleges in Punjab must have full-time counsellors who can carry out periodic workshops on health impact of drug addiction. Drug de-addiction centres can train counsellors and teachers in early identification of vulnerable school children as well as children addicted to drugs.

In the interest of Punjab's people, the government must recognize the need to intervene in this area and back it with political will. There is a need for lobbying, pressure groups and advocacy forums, which can place drug abuse higher on the agenda.

Drug awareness programs, job opportunities, educating the people regarding the effects of narcotic drugs may create the prosperous future of the villages entrenched in this menace. Steps should be taken by the government to provide best health care services to the people of Punjab at affordable cost.

Punjab has been enduring the scourge of drug trafficking for three decades. The country's proximity to two of the world's largest illicit opium growing areas as well as various external and internal factors have contributed to it becoming a transit, source and a destination for drugs. The trends and patterns of drug trafficking in the country demonstrates that there is a gradual shift from

traditional/natural drugs towards synthetic drugs that are being trafficked and consumed in the country. In the 1980s, a large quantity of heroin and hashish was smuggled in from the source areas into the country through various borders. While these drugs are still trafficked, albeit in lesser quantities, the share of synthetic drugs such as ATS and codeine based pharmaceutical preparations has gone up tremendously. Persistence of drug trafficking over the years implies that the sanctity of the borders is being breached and their security compromised.

Various studies and newspaper reports indicate that drug consumption and trafficking are in fact showing an increasing trend in Punjab. To deal with the problem of drug trafficking and to protect the country's borders against such infringements, India has employed a mix of measures.

To conclude, an analysis of the factors responsible for this death trap for the people of Punjab reveals that it has been rooted in several factors – economic, political, geographical and social, each contributing in their own way to destroy the fabric of the state. But one thing that surprises me is that the rulers who are responsible for the welfare of the State and its people, are patronizing the poisonous business and ruining the lives of millions. Political patronage given to drugs during elections is shameful. At a time when drug abuse should have been a raging social issue, the leaders from the ruling parties use it to swing votes. Official corruption has worsened the problem. Anecdotal evidence indicates Indian police and lawmakers are complicit in drug smuggling and distribution, netting millions of dollars in ill-gotten proceeds. The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (NDPS) Act 1985 is not being implemented in Punjab to control drug abuse.

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Emergence of Temple Towns in India with Special Reference to Udhampur District, Jammu and Kashmir

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Abstract

Religion has been an integral part of every society. Its evolution from nature worship to a structured belief system led to the development of temples, monasteries, mathas, and other religious institutions. Built under the patronage of the rulers and merchant community, the religious spaces aided in the economic development as well and became the backbone of the society. These religious institutions were the nucleus of a society around which the town settled. Thus, leading to the emergence of temple towns all over India. Various factors led to this, one of them being, the temples being situated on the ancient trade routes. This paper looks at these criteria with special reference to the temples of Udhampur district in Jammu and Kashmir, which also lie on the northern trade route. To study if these were also thriving temple towns.

Keywords: Temple towns, Trade routes, Babor, Krimachi

Introduction

Religion has been the focal point of all civilizations right from pre-historic times. Its evolution from nature worship to a structured belief system led to the requirement of built structure²⁰s that evolved into various architectural forms and elements in the subsequent centuries. These transformed into religious institutions in the form of *mathas*, *agharas*, *chaityas*, temples, and monasteries which flourished under the patronage of the ruling class as well as the merchant

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community. Many inscriptions and records are available that give evidence of land and monetary grants made by the rulers as well as by the merchant class.¹ Temple-building activity by the kings was primarily to impose their imperial power by equating themselves to God, for gaining religious merits, and to win the support of their masses. Building shrines to the God of victory as well as temples in the centre of the city, and grant of land to Brahmanas, teachers, and *purohita*s (those in religious practices) were the assigned duties of the king as given in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.² The merchant class and those belonging to a group of powerful communities undertook these activities not only to gain religious merits but they were an important source of funding to the ruling class with whom they usually had good relations.

The religious spaces soon became the backbone of society and their growth cannot be studied in isolation as many factors contributed to this. They evolved with the changing social, economic, and political conditions as all three factors are interdependent and influenced by each other. In the social context, society evolved in conjunction with the political setup, this got reflected in the belief systems, rituals, and practices. During the ancient period, the rulers were tolerant towards all religions and encouraged the establishments of all faiths. However, the religion followed by the ruler often gained more patronage, as seen during the Mauryan period in the reign of Asoka. Buddhist monasteries and stupas gained popularity throughout his kingdom, though Jain temples also existed. A large cluster of Buddhist and Jain rock-cut caves can be seen in the region of Western Ghats. While the Gupta dynasty patronized Brahmanical temples which evolved over time. In South India the Bhakti movement between the seventh and ninth century C.E. saw a rise in Vaishnava *alvars* and Saiva *nayanars*, leading to the temple building of both sects.³

Trade Routes and Temple Towns

One of the significant factors that propelled the spread of religious institutions was trade and commerce. Panini in his work *Asthadhyayi*⁴ mentions an established economy of commerce, banking, traders, and trade routes. The merchants were referred to as *vanik* and *vanija* who indulged in the trading of various goods and services. A large network of trade routes existed throughout India leading through forests (*kantarapatha*), jungle-thickets (*jangalapatha*), land routes (*sthalapatha*), and sea routes (*varipatha*). Among the land routes two major arterial routes, *Uttarapatha* (northern route) and *Dakshinapatha* (southern route) existed with their multiple feeder routes connecting the entire country.⁵ (Fig. 01). These probably existed from pre-Mauryan times and were improved upon by the subsequent rulers. *Arthashastra* also assigned the king the responsibility to keep the trade routes safe and maintained.⁶ It is known that Ashoka during his reign had provided many amenities such as water tanks, trees for shade as well as fruit-bearing trees, and rest houses.⁷ The concept of rest houses, known as *nimisdhayas* was prevalent since the earliest times. Subsequently, the temples and other religious institutions that came up along these routes in a way, acted as religious centers as well as resting places. The growth of religious ideologies and sects motivated the people to undertake long pilgrimages called *tirthas*, which became an integral part of the Hindu belief system.⁸ Such movement led to cross-cultural religious dispersion. The transmission of religion through these trade routes can be seen in the vast spread of Buddhist Temples that are to be found on the major trade routes, from Taxila (Pakistan) to Andhra Pradesh (South India) The Buddhist stupas at Taxila, Kalawan, and Julian, the cluster of rock-cut caves on the Western Ghats, Ajanta caves being one of them, and the *stupas* at Amaravati and Nagrjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh are a few examples.⁹

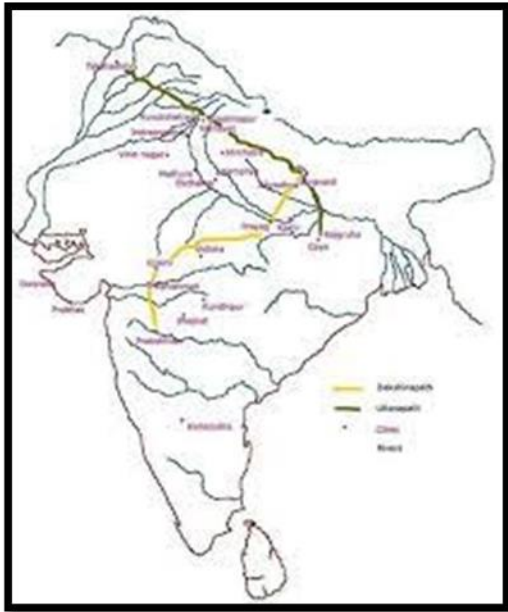


Fig. 01, map of ancient trade routes.

Source: <https://www.google.co.in>

The southern part of India also had a flourishing land and maritime trade and had many temples on the trade routes which later flourished into bustling towns. The Chola towns of Kudamukku (present Kumbakonam) and Palaiyattai in Tamil Nadu, ¹⁰ temples at Pattadakal, Aihole in Karnataka, Mathura, Varanasi, Ujjain, and Vidisha in Central India, and Jagannatha Puri in Orissa are few other examples of temples on trade routes.¹¹

Role of Temples

A cosmos within itself, the role of temples and religious institutions were not restricted to imparting religious merits to the society and being a place of worship, it also acted as an educational institution, market places, and center for cultural activities. Their purpose was holistic in the development of society. Being on the trade route they slowly developed into great centers of learning, like Nalanda University, Taxila University, Hampi in Karnataka, and the various

mathas. Kalhana in *Rajatarangini* mentions the *mathas* serving as educational institutions where students from different parts of the country came to study.¹² The area around these religious establishments grew into towns and cities. As per *Arthashastra*, the temples were to be built at the center of the town. Thus, the towns grew around them, and settlement was based on caste and occupational hierarchies. The priestly class/ Brahmins settled in the first layer, around the temple, followed by the merchant community, and lastly the Shudras or those employed in allied jobs such as blacksmiths, carpenters etc. The entire settlement, with the temple at its center, was incorporated into ritual space and blessed by the deity.¹³

This character of the temples was one of the contributing factors to the urban growth of many regions like Orissa and Tamil Nadu to name a few. These regions had strong land as well as sea networks. The flourishing Kalinga trade owed its progress to many religious sites around the seaports. The construction of huge temples such as Sri Jagannath temple at Puri and Sun Temple at Konark and display of sculpture panels on double mast boats, pilgrims Martand Bhairava and establishment of several shrines of Mangala, Ramachandi, Baliharchandi, Kalijai (goddess), etc., provide much evidence on continuity of sea trade on the coast.¹⁴ The rural trade was mainly carried out by the *hattas* (weekly markets). There is epigraphic evidence of such *hattas* being organized by the administration. One such inscription is of the Hameshvara temple, dated between ca. seventh and eighth century C.E. This gives an account of the *hattas* being organized within the temple premises.¹⁵

On similar grounds, the imperial Cholas have a rich legacy of temple architecture which also served as temple towns. Two such examples are seen in the settlements of Kudammuku (Kumba Konam), and Palaiyarai urban complexes from the Sangam period, dated around the seventh and ninth century C.E. respectively. Their growth as urban complexes are attributed to the rise in

temple settlements around the area as well as it being on one of the trade routes of *Dakshinapatha*; the Kaveri-Arisilam River basin.¹⁶ Rajasthan had a cluster of temples located between Jodhpur, Sirohi, and Pali. Further, many *mathas* were constructed by the Siva ascetics who were actively involved in the construction of temples.¹⁷ The Baijnath temple situated in the Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh, is another example, and is said to have been built by two merchants and is dedicated to Siva.

Temples and Temple Towns of Jammu and Kashmir

The region of Jammu and Kashmir has a rich history of temple building, which is amply covered by Kalhana in his treatise *Rajatarangini*. But this is specific to the Kashmir region and has no information on the temples of the Jammu region. There are numerous accounts of Kashmir Kings, their queens, and other royalties undertaking temple-building activities. Some of them are; The Marthand temple built by the ruler Lalitaditya Muktapida (724-760 C.E) and the Avantipura temple built by Avantivarman (855/6-833 C.E.), and the Simhaswamin temple built by Queen Didda (924-1003 C.E.) are among the temples of great heritage importance.¹⁸ Besides these, many *mathas* were built and patroned by rulers as well as merchants. King Nandigupta and King Kalasa as well as their queens patroned and renovated the *mathas*.¹⁹ A merchant by the name of Nona, built a *math* by the name *Nonamatha* to provide accommodation to the pilgrims.²⁰ The *mathas* served as an educational center as well as a place for refuge for travelers.²¹ Though the religious institutions were supported by the administration and they earned revenue by selling ritual commodities.²²

Jammu and Kashmir was an important region in the trade routes along *Uttarapatha*, as it connected the rest of the country with the silk route. Its major halting places were Srinagar, Rajouri, Poonch, and Jammu. Various routes and marches existed from Jammu to Kashmir and Kashmir to Leh-Ladakh. The

Jammu-Banihal route was said to be the chief commercial route. Jammu, Krimachi, Kishtwar, Billawar, Chenani, Bhadarwah, and Udhampur were all on different routes. Thus, making them other small important halts and towns.²³

The temples in this region were situated on the trade routes, The Marthand temple, and Avantipur were capitals so they had to be major halts. Besides these, Varahamula (present Baramulla), was one such town of importance, and trade, where existed an ancient Varaha temple.²⁴ A robust economy with a strong banking community and commerce industry existed with trading in commodities like silk, spices, precious stones, saffron, and salt trade.

Temples of Udhampur

While there is enough literary evidence about temples, trade routes, and economic activity of Kashmir region in accounts of *Rajatarangini*, *Nilamatapurana*, and others, the only mention regarding Jammu in *Rajatarangini* is the territory of Durgara, which is the ancient name of Jammu, and the mention of 'lord of Babbapura' (present-day Babor) along with many other kings of the hill territories like Champa (Chamba) and Trigarta (Kangra) which proves that the southern region of present Jammu and Kashmir had many small kingdoms which were in political alliances with the rulers of Kashmir.²⁵

Among the ancient temples of the Udhampur district, those in Babbapura (present-day Babor) and Krimachi exist on the ancient trade route. So far, no literary or epigraphical evidence has been found to ascertain the genesis of these temples. As they lay on the trade routes, they are assumed to have been built by the merchant guilds. Another reason could be their architecture as it is stylistically different from the rest of Kashmir while showing similarities with Central India and Orissa. At both places, there is a cluster of temples. While Krimachi has seven temples on a common platform, the Babor group of temples is situated close by.

Babor Group of Temples

Babor group of temples comprises six temples belonging to the period between the tenth to eleventh century C.E. Situated about 40 to 45 km towards the northeast of Jammu, on Dhar road Udhampur, these temples are nestled within the small towns of Manwal and Thalora. Historically, the only reference to Babor is found in *Rajatarangini*, and as per that it appears that Babor was a small kingdom whose ruler's name was perhaps Vajradhara as mentioned by Kalhana.²⁶ The group consists of five temples; Devi Bhagwati temple (Fig. 02), Kala Dera-I, (Fig. 03) Kala Dera- II, Dera Mandir, and Nande-Babbour temple. They are dated between the tenth to eleventh-century C.E. and are situated within the vicinity of each other. These temples were made of sandstone, which was locally available at that time. Currently, only partial structures are standing. Devi Bhagwati temple, dedicated to Kali, is the only living temple among the group. Kala Dera I and II are Siva temples, Dera temple is larger in area compared to the others and has multiple *garbhagrihas* and the presiding deity is not known. Architecturally the temples seem diverse in style but have some exquisite sculptural reliefs which resemble that of Chamba temples of Himachal Pradesh.



Fig. 02. Devi Bhagwati Temple, 10th century C.E, Babor, Udhampur District



Fig.03, Kala Dera I, 10th – 11th century, Babor, Udhampur District.

Krimachi Group of Temples

Located at 12 km from the district headquarters Udhampur and approximately 65 km from Jammu City are the picturesque temples of Krimachi. As per local legend, this was once supposed to be the kingdom of Raja Kichak from the *Mahabharata*. It is also said that the Pandavas stayed here during exile and built these temples. Hence, they are also known as ‘Pandava temples’. Hutchison and Vogel, and SDS Charak have stated that Krimachi was the capital of Bhoti state, an ancient principality of Udhampur *tehsil*. Situated on the banks of Birunala, these temples fall on the ancient trade route where Krimachi was one of the marches or halts to Jammu-Kashmir through Banihal.²⁷ Dated between the eighth and ninth century C.E. this group consists of seven temples dedicated to Shiva, Ganesha, and Shakti. (Fig 04)

Architecturally, Krimachi temples share stylistic similarities with temples in Kashmir and temples of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty. All are placed adjacent to one another on a high-raised platform. It is stated by the locals that this area was larger than what remains now, it also had a large *baoli* (water body) nearby, which is not visible at present.



Fig. 04, Krimachi Group of Temples, 8th -9th century CE, Udhampur District.

Temple towns in Udhampur

Despite sparse literary and other evidences, the temples if studied in the framework of the temple towns like of the rest of India, fulfil the primary criteria of being situated on the trade routes. The second criterion, of religious institutions and flourishing trade also holds good as is seen from accounts in *Rajatarangini* and *Nilamatapurana*, which speak of a flourishing and well-established economy, banking system, and trade in expensive goods. Jammu being a princely state and a feudatory of Kashmir, the economic prosperity would have aided in the establishment of temples in the entire region, which includes Udhampur, and Krimachi as well. Though accounts of the economic role of the temples are not seen, they must have functioned in the same pattern as the rest of India.

The Babor group of temples has five temples that vary in style and are situated near each other. The placement of a cluster of temples is indicative of settlement in the area. The contemporary town suggests that these temples were a nucleus of a previously existing settlement. These settlements would have catered to the needs of the merchants, and travelers on this route. The merchants under the patronage of the ruler aided in temple-building activity.

With respect to Krimachi, this group of temples is intriguing and fascinating. Situated just 12 kilometres from Udhampur it is sparsely populated at present.

Earlier the capital of Bhoti/Buti state was a small kingdom that was absorbed into the Jammu kingdom after the accession of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Being a capital there would have been a flourishing town especially due to its proximity to Udhampur and it being one of the halts on the Jammu-Banihal-Srinagar route. The vast layout of the temple indicates it to be a place of worship as well as a resting place. As per the locals, the temple area was very vast and had many other structures as well as a *baoli* within. Unfortunately, these do not exist any longer. The present layout itself is vast, if the local information is considered then this place must have played a larger role than just a place of worship.

Considering the above factors, it can be concluded that Babor and Krimachi were once thriving temple towns. The scarcity of records denies them a place in the list of temple towns as the rest of India. They were not only places of worship and center of learning but contributed to the economic development of the region as well.

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Increasing Role of Technology in Art Spaces During COVID-19 Pandemic and After

Anantdeep Grewal*

Abstract

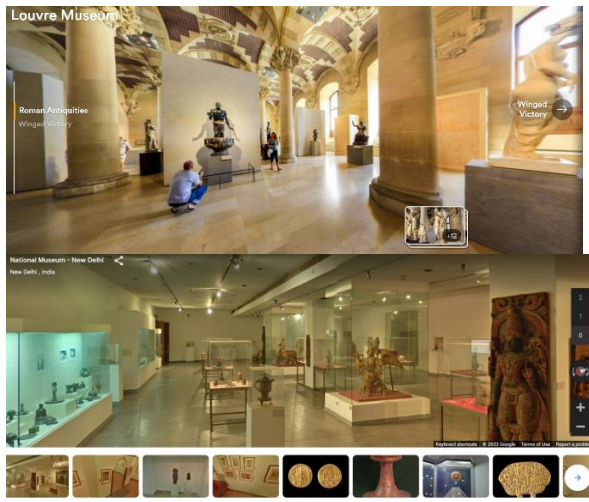
COVID-19 pandemic affected our day-to-day life profoundly. Art being an important part of life, and also seen as its reflection, was no exception. However, art spaces like museums, galleries and academies around the world adopted unique ways to engage with their viewers and global art enthusiasts. Technology played an important role during this period. While most of these places have continued with some of the new changes made during the time, hence making them permanent in nature, some have gone back to pre-pandemic ways. Keeping in mind such changes and involvement of technology in art spaces, a need is felt for a closer study not only to understand the effect of these changes but also to understand the future trends in this regard. Aim here is to study the incorporated changes, especially based on technology, both on global and local levels and tentatively predict the changes that might be seen in the future museums and galleries. The focus, however, will be on organizations and local art spaces in India especially in the city of Chandigarh and their efforts to stay at par with rapidly changing face of art world. The study will include various events organised during and post COVID-19 pandemic by these museums and organisations.

Key Words- Virtual Tour, Online Exhibitions, Webinars, Digital Resources,

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Introduction

Fluidity in art has been witnessed from time immemorial and various novel mediums have been incorporated during the course of time to further the development of art. Scientific approaches in the form of measurement, perspective and even visual presentation along with other such elements have become an integral part of art. In modern times technology has also been incorporated as a medium of visual art. It was in the 1960's that technology entered artistic sphere¹ and steadily its growth can be seen even in contemporary times. Technology as a medium means 'application of practical or mechanical scientific methods'² for creating art. Although artists have been embracing technology since a long time, or since the dawn of modern period, but Post-COVID-19, art organizations around the world had to adapt to the new challenges and restrictions imposed by social distancing measures and lockdowns. Many of them turned to technology to continue engaging with audiences, creating and sharing art, and generating revenue.

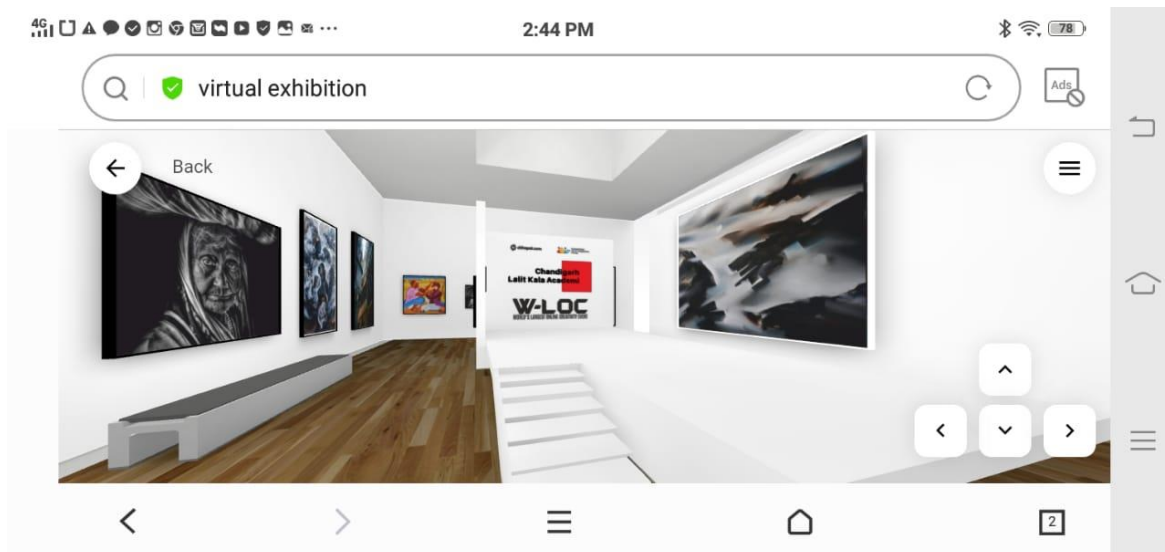


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Screen short of virtual tour of Louvre Museum, Paris (Left)³ and National Museum, New Delhi (Right)⁴

Virtual Tour and Online Exhibitions

Many museums and galleries around the world developed virtual tour platforms, allowing visitors to explore their collections remotely. Using high-resolution images, 360-degree views, and interactive features, these tours provide an immersive experience accessible from anywhere in the world. Top museums of the world accelerated incorporation of technology in this regard and museums like Louvre⁵, Paris and National Museum, New Delhi⁶ added such gallery tours on their websites, which are still accessible. In March 2020 India was under lockdown and throughout the year situation did not change much. Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi usually organises their annual exhibition in March and due to the lockdown it was a challenge that year. Following the lead of prominent museums like Louvre and National Museum, Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi in November 2020 also used the online platform to exhibit the submitted works for their Annual Art Show. They collaborated with W-LOC Chhapai, International Art & Imagination Forum for the exhibition, which later on included a curatorial art walk to it and presented it on a global platform.⁷ Never before such an opportunity had been bestowed on the artists of Chandigarh where their works were showcased at such a grand platform. However, this was not the only online exhibition by the Akademi but many more were put up during the pandemic period, which included both solo and group exhibitions. However, when the situation started to improve, the Akademi reverted back to the old system. The reason cited for this decision was due to lack of technically efficient staff and also loss of interest on the part of their audience for online events.⁸ Such moves, although satisfied the local audiences but have robbed local artists of global exposure and platform.



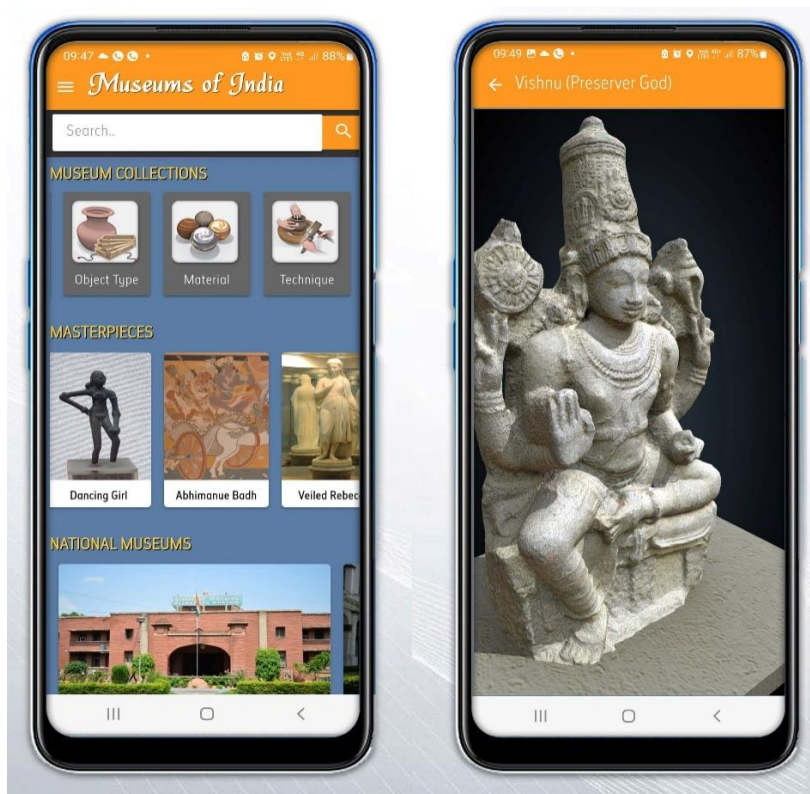
Screen short of Annual Art Show 2019 of Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi, Nov 2020⁹

Open Digital Access to Resources

Many museums and galleries offer mobile applications that act as guides, providing detailed information about exhibits, audio commentary, and additional multimedia content. This practice was already prevalent even before the pandemic hit in 2020, but it was adopted by more museums and galleries than before post COVID-19 pandemic. Social distancing during COVID-19 pandemic was a major issue in public places. Hence, to minimize touchpoints and maintain hygiene standards, museums had implemented touchless interfaces. Gesture-controlled displays, voice-activated systems, or QR code scanning allowed visitors to access information without physical contact. Use of these interfaces continued even after the post-pandemic period. Various museums, library and archives expanded their digital presence by creating online exhibitions and digitizing their collections and also sharing images of the artworks and books in high resolution on their websites for educational, artistic, and research purposes.

Researchers could now download images and books free of cost from their official websites. Cambridge Digital Library (University of Cambridge) is one such example from where books on art can be downloaded. Although the project had started in 2010 but during the pandemic the access was made free and open to public.¹⁰ National Museum, New Delhi also made some informative videos on different artifacts and art works from their collection. All these videos are available on their website. Museums now maintain digital libraries with high-resolution images of their collections. These libraries may include advanced features like zooming and image comparison tools, enabling users to closely examine the artwork's details and make artistic or scholarly observations. National Archives, New Delhi also made their material available online. Government of India launched a Museums of India mobile application, developed by Pune-headquartered Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC), on International Museum Day on May 18, 2023.¹¹ The application is meant to give information on various artefacts in collections of national museums of India with 3D interactive viewing feature. Minister for Culture and Tourism, Shri G. Kishan Reddy, on its launch stated that the app was made keeping in mind difficulties faced by students, teachers and researchers during the pandemic time when educational institutions and museums had to be closed for several months. Through this app India's rich history, heritage, antique artworks like rare paintings and sculptures and also archaeological remains can not only be viewed but information can also be retained about them. This initiative is especially helpful for students and researchers as it will not only give them access to rare artefacts but save time and money as they can explore artworks remotely. Another benefit of such an app is protection of precious artefacts from damage like rare paintings and manuscripts but yet making them accessible to a larger number of people. More than ten leading museums of India have already contributed by uploading images and information of their artifacts on this app. The aim is to bring free

information to our fingertips which will help in spreading India's art and heritage in the world. Apps such as this is a direct outcome of the COVID-19 pandemic, and a shining example of inclusion of technology in art spaces.



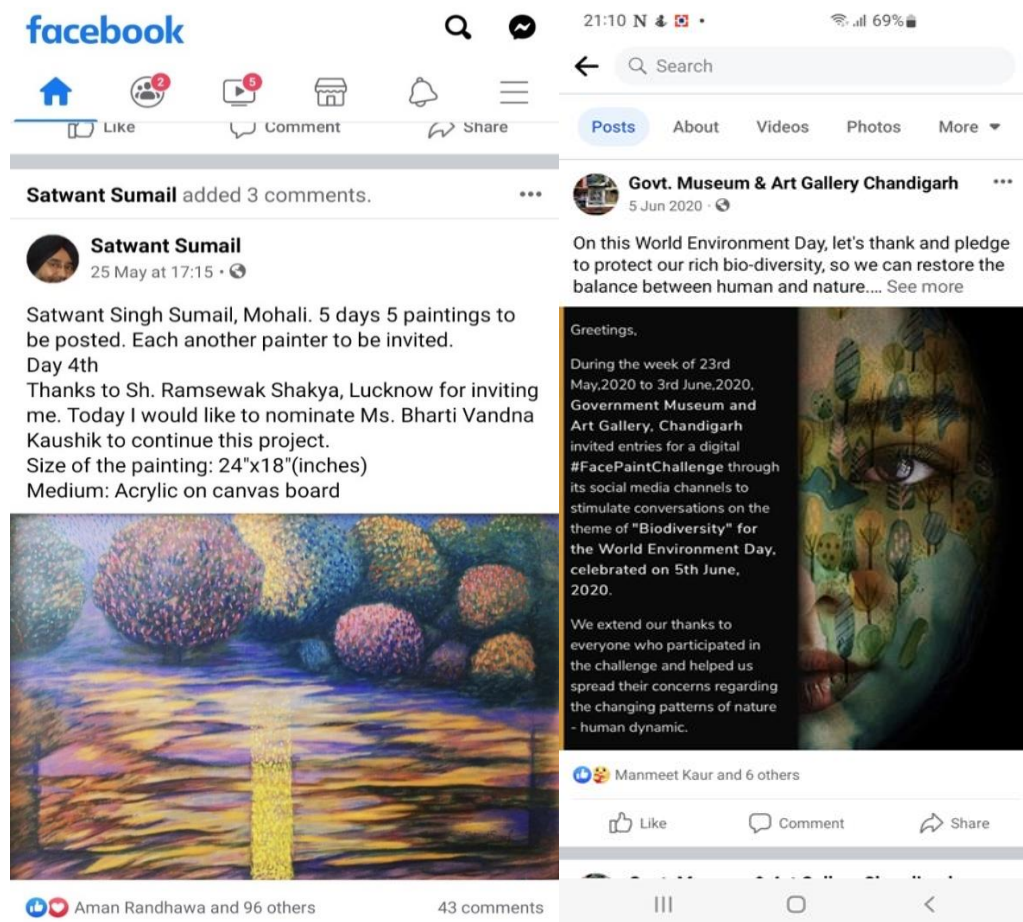
Museums of India Mobile App designed and developed by C-DAC¹²

Active Engagement on Social Media

Art organizations leveraged social media platforms to engage with their audiences. They shared art challenges, live Q&A sessions with artists, virtual studio tours, and interactive art activities. Social media became a vital tool for maintaining connection and fostering a sense of community. Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi, Punjab Lalit Kala Akademi, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh organized various events online. Groups of artists' took initiative to invite each other to post their works on social media as part of a social media

challenge. Such challenges became very popular due social distancing as they gave people an opportunity to engage with each other. In May-June of 2020, Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh organised #FacePaintChallenge on Facebook. These kinds of efforts were initiated to continue to engage with people and also to validate their presence in the virtual world. The museum on social media became more active and even post-pandemic retains this trend. Posts sharing, various events, book launches and images of paintings and artworks from their collection have become a regular feature on the Facebook page. Videos of lecture by eminent art historians like Professor B.N. Goswamy, which was organised by the museums, is also posted on their page. Interestingly, this lecture was live telecasted on the platform giving

a chance to their followers around world to see it in real time.



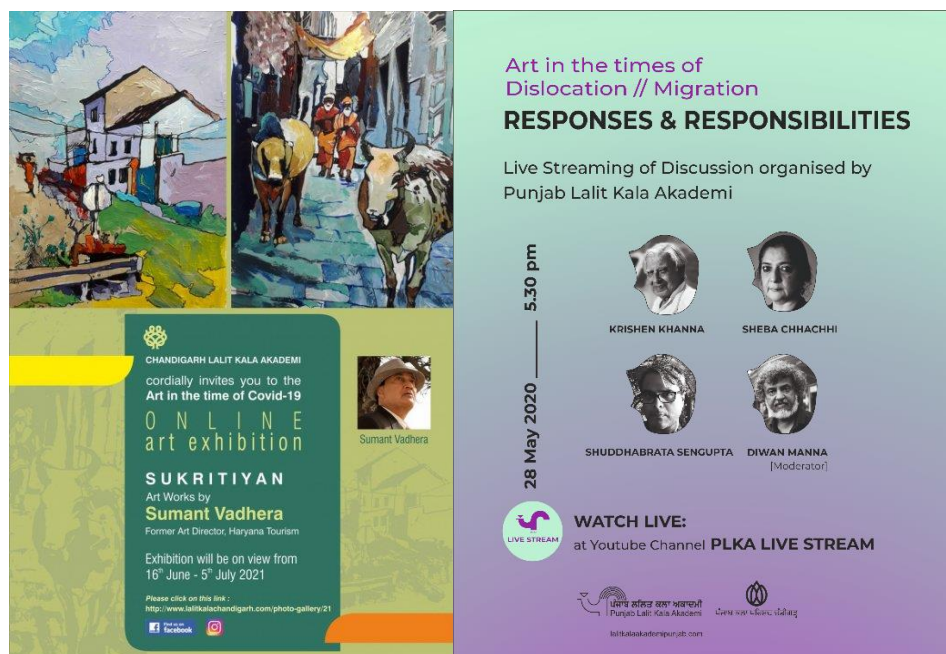
A Facebook post of artist Satwant Sumail from Mohali, Punjab, India accepting 5 days 5 paintings from a fellow artist Ramsewak Shakya, May 2020 (Left). A post by Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh (June 2020)¹³

Webinars and Live Streaming Interactions

Museums and galleries expanded their educational outreach through online workshops, webinars, and virtual learning programs. These digital platforms offered interactive sessions, demonstrations, and discussions on

various topics related to art, history, and culture. Residents of Chandigarh also benefitted immensely from such interactive programs as they were able to listen to some of the best minds from the field of art without having to travel to the venue or in a different city of the country. In July 2020 renowned art historian Partha Mitter, who was in United Kingdom at the time, gave an online lecture titled 'Kerala & Guercino' for Raja Ravi Varma Heritage Foundation, which is located in Bangaluru (Karnataka). It was viewed by people from around the world, including Chandigarh. This kind of opportunity was not possible for global audience without the initiative taken by an art organisation to adapt technology to reach out to them. Likewise, Asia Art Archive, commonly known as AAA, on 17th September 2020, organised a talk 'Art Criticism for the People', which was also the title of the book on selection of Oscar Ho's art writings around which the talk centred. This too gave an opportunity to local audience of Chandigarh to listen and interact with the speakers. Events like this gave a global exposure to the scholars, artists and students, helping them to understand art and art related philosophies from other cultures. Both Punjab Lalit Kala Akademi and Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi organised online lectures and interactive sessions with artists and scholars which attracted audiences from India and abroad. Punjab Lalit Kala Akademi invited eminent artists of India to an online discussion held on 28th May 2020 on the topic of responses and responsibilities of art. The discussion was live streamed on Youtube. Likewise, Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi on 9th August 2020 organised an interactive online slide show and lecture by Prem Singh, one of Chandigarh's senior artists.¹⁴ This lecture was attended by people residing not only in different states of India but also by residents of Australia, Canada, United Kingdom and United States of America. Educational institutes like Department to Art History & Visual Arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh seized the opportunity and invited scholars from different parts of the country to give online lectures on art practices from their region. Dr

R.H. Kulkarni from Bangaluru is an expert on mural tradition of the region. He gave a presentation to the students and scholars of the department on the 'Mural traditions in Karnataka: Vijayanagara & After', on 16th June 2021. The students were able to interact with best scholars in their respective fields and expand their understanding of art from different regions of the country. Such events eliminated distances and no distinction remained between local and global audiences, making them part of a 'Global Village'. Online programs benefitted the art fraternity of smaller cities like Chandigarh both way i.e, in presenting their work to the world and also exposure to art related activities happening in other parts of the world.



Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi organised an online art exhibition (Left)¹⁵ and Punjab Lalit Kala Akademi organised webinars (Right)¹⁶

Conclusion

The use of technology in museums and galleries post-COVID-19 has transformed the visitor experience by providing remote access, interactive engagement, and personalized encounters. By sharing high-resolution images of artworks free of cost, museums promote inclusivity, facilitate learning, and encourage artistic and scholarly endeavours. Pandemic made art organisations realise that continuity of engagement was necessary for both, organisation as well as the viewers, so they turned to platforms like social media and their websites for this engagement. This could be seen as a matter of survival for the art organisations. The art organisations also recognize the importance of providing resources that support the growth and development of students, artists, and researchers worldwide and also protect their artefacts from getting vandalised and damaged due to rough handling. Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, although became more active on social media but they still have to make their rare collection available in digital format on their website. Many artefacts and paintings from their collection are stored and are inaccessible. By putting images of these items on the website they will be helping students and researchers around the world and will also earn goodwill in the process. This act will also bring to fore the rich and rare artworks that are part of their collection. An important development that took place during the COVID-19 pandemic was influx of online webinars, lectures and interactive sessions with artists and art scholars, which opened opportunity for both audiences and organisations to connect remotely and share and learn from some of the best minds in the world of art. Post-pandemic too this practice is being continued by most of the organisations although some of them have moved to a hybrid form. This opened floodgates to easy accessibility to diverse and quality learning. Internet became a melting pot of world for art and culture, uniting the art world. Department of Art History & Visual Arts, Panjab University embraced this concept

and have been organising various online lectures. By doing so they are able to invite scholars from different part of the world and country to interact with their students. This practice is widening the intellectual horizon of their students. It should be noted that despite some organisations reverting back to the old practices, most have retained their understanding their importance in the new world. Looking at the benefits, which outweigh its shortcomings, organisation such as Chandigarh Lalit Kala Akademi should make efforts to train their staff and continue with online events. Even basic training in organising events online will benefit the cause immensely. Artists of Chandigarh should not be deprived of such global platforms. Post-pandemic the measures born out of necessity have become the practiced norm. By embracing technology, art organizations managed to adapt and continue engaging with audiences, nurturing creativity, and exploring new ways of experiencing and appreciating art, even in challenging times.

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16. Image source <https://punjablalitkalaakademi.com/events/page/4/>.

Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha*: An Account of Guru Gobind Singh

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Abstract

Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha*, composed in the first decade of the eighteenth century, is regarded as the first work in a new literary genre called the *Gurbilas*. It is a narrative of the life and work of Guru Gobind Singh and a reaffirmation of the faith of Guru Nanak. As the only true Guru, Guru Gobind Singh's commission of extirpation of the wicked and protection of the sants had divine sanction. For the early life and battles of the Guru Sainapat depends on the *Bachitter Natak*. It is followed by an account of the institution of the Khalsa as the central issue in the Guru's life along with the prescribed conduct (*rahit*) for the Khalsa which is based on the older Sikh norms and practices. Thereafter, Sainapat gives the post- Khalsa battles of Guru Gobind Singh, evacuation of Anandpur and the martyrdom of the four Sahibzadas. The author emphasizes that martyrdom was built into Khalsahood. He refers to the vesting of Guruship by the tenth Guru in the shabad-bani (Granth Sahib) and the Khalsa Panth. The work ends on an optimistic note and reaffirmation of the Sikh religion.

The *Gurbilas* appeared as a new form of Sikh literature in the eighteenth century. It narrates the life and exploits of Guru Gobind Singh in a broad chronological sequence. The *Sri Gur Sobha* (hereafter *Gur Sobha*) is an extension of the *Bachittar Natak*. A narrative (*katha*) of the events (*sakhi*) of Guru Gobind Singh's life, *Gur Sobha* was written in his praise (*sobha*, *upma*) to highlight his wondrous deeds (*chalitar*, *kautak*). It is generally regarded as the

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first work in this *genre*. Its author is Sainapat, a court poet of Guru Gobind Singh. It is believed that he stayed at the Guru's court for nearly fifteen years. Sainapat's original name was Chandra Sain, and he was a Mann Jatt. He was a resident of Lahore, and he later settled in Wazirabad. Sainapat wrote three works: the *Chanakya Niti Shastra*, the *Sukhsain Ram Binod* and the *Sri Gur Sobha*. At the end of the *Chanakya Niti Shastra* he uses the name 'Sainapat Mann'.¹

Regarding the date of this work, Akali Kaur Singh had argued in 1927 that the year *athavan* (Sammāt 1758, 1701 CE) in the text should be read as *athanav* (Sammāt 1798, 1741 CE) to account for the events of Guru Gobind Singh's life up to 1708 CE. The year 1741 remained acceptable till the publication of new editions of the *Gur Sobha* by Ganda Singh and Shamsheer Singh Askok in 1969. Ganda Singh rejected 1741 on the argument that there was no reflection in the text of any event after the death of Guru Gobind Singh for over three decades. He refers to the works of Baba Sumer Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha besides a later work that mention Sammat 1768 (1711 CE) as the year of completion of the *Gur Sobha*. Henceforth, the year 1711 became increasingly acceptable.² J.S. Grewal and Surjit Hans accept 1711 as the completion date of this work.³ However, this date remained unacceptable to W.H. McLeod for many years. In 1997, McLeod could see a strong probability in favour of 1711. In 2003, he finally accepted that the claims for 1711 were much more substantial.⁴

It seems, Sainapat began his work in 1701 and completed it soon after Guru Gobind Singh's passing away in October 1708. The *Gur Sobha* consists of 20 chapters: in praise of manifestation of the Panth; stay at Paunta, the battle of Bhangani; the battle of Nadaun; the battles of the Khanzada and Husain; creation of the Khalsa Panth; the injunctions of Guru Gobind Singh; the manifestation of the Khalsa way of life; the battle of Anandpur, the first with the Raja; the battle of Nirmoh; the battle of Basoli and the conquest of Kalmot; the

second battle of Anandgarh; the battle of Chamkaur; manifestation of power, the Guru wrote the *Zafarnama*; the battle of Bhagaur; Bahadur Shah became Emperor; meeting with the (New) Emperor; the Sahibzada's battle and the Guru's travel; the amazing absorption in the Divine Light; in praise of the manifestation of the future; emphasis on religious life of the Khalsa.⁵

At the outset of his work, Sainapat invokes the aid of the true Guru who is no other than Guru Gobind Singh. The other names of the true Guru are: Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan, Hargobind, Har Rai, Har Krishan and Tegh Bahadur. Furthermore, Guru Tegh Bahadur saved the whole universe; he sacrificed his life for the sake of *karam-dharam*. He saved *sarab dharam*, especially *tilak-janju* and *dharamsal*. Sainapat uses the expression world's protector (*jagg chadar*) for him. After him, Gobind Singh became the true Guru. Sainapat reinforces the unity of Guruship by thus addressing the Master (*prabhu*): You are Guru Nanak, you are Guru Angad, you are Guru Amar Das, Ram Das are you; you are Guru Angad, you are Guru Hargobind, you are Guru Har Rai, Har Krishan are you; as the ninth Patshahi you demonstrated your power in the Kali Age, and Tegh Bahadur *jagg-chadar* are you; as the tenth Patshah you are Sri Guru Gobind Singh, who has come to save the world. Guru Gobind Singh is commissioned by God to ensure the propagation of true faith through the Khalsa Panth. The Guru's mission was to protect the *sants* and to destroy the enemies. The pure Panth of the Khalsa was created for this purpose. This Panth is the source of liberation and sovereignty, says Sainapat.⁶

Sainapat refers to God as Parm Purkh and Kartar. Vishnu, Brahma, Mahadev and Chandi are His creation. Another epithet used for God is Akal Purkh which refers to His eternal existence. He was in the beginning, in all cosmic ages, and will be in the end. His light is there all the time in everything and everyone. He is referred to as 'Vaheguru'. He is called Gobind, Par-Brahm, and Parmesar. His names are many but He is One. He is the only true creator

and sustainer of the universe. His power is expressed through *hukam* and his kindness through his *kirpa*. His limits cannot be known, and he cannot be adequately praised. He is the only lord who does everything and no one else. He is manifest everywhere in all four directions, and no one else exists. The unity of God is emphasized through 'ek' and 'ek onkar'.⁷

For Sainapat, Guru Gobind Singh is the king of kings. Redemption of the world was as much his purpose as that of his predecessors, from Guru Nanak to Guru Tegh Bahadur. The epithets *prabhu* and *kartar* are used for the Guru as well as God. There is the explicit statement that Guru is Gobind and Gobind is Guru, the only doer who has come to redeem the world. It is followed later by the statement: 'Parbrahm Parmesar Guru Gobind *hai*'. The emphatic assertion that Gobind Singh is the only true Guru denies by implication the claim of any other person to Guruship. The Guru's *darshan* is the source of blessings, and leads to liberation.⁸

The author does not refer to the early life of Guru Gobind Singh. There is a reference to Guru Gobind Singh's stay at Makhawal for several years before he moved to Paonta. The pre-Khalsa battles and expeditions are given in three chapters. The battle of Bhangani was fought towards the end of 1688. The battle is given in detail, celebrating the martial prowess and triumph of the tenth Guru. Sainapat affirms that Guru Gobind Singh left Paonta after the battle of Bhangani, returned to Kahlur and founded Anandpur.⁹ It seems, the *Bachittar Natak* is the basis for the account of Guru Gobind Singh's return to Kahlur and the founding of Anandpur as well as the battles which followed: the battle of Nadaun in which he fought against the Mughal *faujdar* Alif Khan on the request of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur for help; the unsuccessful campaign of Dilawar Khan's son (the Khanzada) against Anandpur; and the participation and death of Sangatia and seven other Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh in the battle of the hill chiefs against Husain Khan. Sainapat merely alludes to the other wonderful deeds (*kautak*).

The pre-Khalsa account is covered in less than fourteen pages, and there is hardly any information in this part of the work which is not there in the *Bachittar Natak*.¹⁰

The conception of Guru Gobind Singh's mission too is drawn from the *Bachittar Natak*: 'to extirpate the wicked and to protect the pious' (*dusht bidaran sant ubaran*). As in the *Bachittar Natak*, the *Gur Sobha* also refers to the divine sanction for the mission entrusted to Guru Gobind Singh. Sainapat's presentation of the mission is of crucial significance. In the *Bachittar Natak*, there is no mention of the Khalsa; in the *Gur Sobha*, the mission is presented through the Khalsa. What was implicit becomes explicit. The 'Nirmal Panth' created by Guru Nanak and his successors manifests as the 'Khalis Panth' of Guru Gobind Singh. The Keshdhari Singh served as the cornerstone of this stable and everlasting structure. The 'Khalis Panth' was not to be concealed after its manifestation. It was to suffer no diminution. Those who sought refuge in it shall suffer no sorrow. They shall attain liberation.¹¹

On the day of Baisakhi, the entire *sangat* was gathered at Anandpur. Guru Gobind Singh told the *sangat* that the mediacy of the Masands was over; they were not to be followed; their followers were to be shunned, and no offerings were to be made to the Masands or sent through them. The Khalsa should take the initiation of the double-edged sword (*khande di pahu*), keep unshorn hair (*kes*), add the epithet 'Singh' to their names and bear arms. They were to discard all Brahmanical ceremonies connected with tonsure (*bhaddan/ bhaddar*) which according to him, became the primary cause of dispute among the Sikhs of Delhi. The Khalsa were not to associate with those who did not regard Guru Gobind Singh as the only living Guru of the Sikhs. They were not to smoke tobacco. Sainapat assumes that a call had been given for sacrifice, and five Sikhs responded to the call. The Guru initiated them, and they initiated the Guru and other Sikhs. The parties of five Singhs were authorized to initiate all others at

Anandpur and then at other places. The movement spread, and Vaheguru ji ka Khalsa triumphed everywhere despite initial opposition.¹²

The *rahit* (way of life) given in the *Gur Sobha* is the *rahit* of the Khalsa Singhs. Direct affiliation with Guru Gobind Singh is the first step. On this criterion, five categories of Sikhs were not included in the Khalsa, and the Khalsa were not to have any association with them. However, only two of these categories are explicitly mentioned. As noted earlier, one of these is that of the Masands and their followers. The second category, however, consisted of those who cut off the hair of their head (*sirguman*). The other three categories were almost certainly the followers of Prithi Chand and his descendants, popularly called Minas, the followers of Dhir Mal and his descendants, and the followers of Ram Rai and his successors. The Khalsa should not go to them for mourning or other such social occasions. These are obviously the categories of people who have not joined the fold of the Khalsa. Sainapat is emphatic about the ex-communication of the 'five reprobate groups'. Sainapat refers to the wedding of Guru Gobind Singh before he left for the Deccan. This may not be factually correct, but it is interesting to note that the 'Anand' is mentioned in this context, and there is no reference to any Brahman. Similarly, there is no reference to any Brahmanical rite at the time of the cremation of Guru Gobind Singh.¹³

As a result of the removal of Masands whatever was due to the Guru is to be sent directly to him, like *dasvandh*, *golak*, *bhet*, *kar* and *mannat*. The injunction against *hukka* (tobacco smoking) is as strong as the injunction favouring *kes*. Here a general idea of *tankhah* (penance) for defaulters of the prescribed *rahit* is given. The Khalsa are referred to as *Vaheguru ji ka Khalsa*. For salutation, the words '*Vaheguru ji ki fateh*' are added. Significantly, the religious practices recommended for the Khalsa are the older Sikh norms and practices. The purpose of life remains liberation which comes through the faith of

the Khalsa. In other words, the Sikh *sangat* of yesterday becomes the Khalsa *sangat* of his day.¹⁴

For Sainapat the most crucial category of Sikhs is the Khalsa. They are the Sikhs who are directly linked with Guru Gobind Singh. More than any other Sikh writer, Sainapat is emphatic that the primary connotation of the Khalsa is this direct link: the removal of the Masands was meant to establish this direct link. It may be added that the *hukamnamas* issued by Guru Gobind Singh before and after the creation of the Khalsa are emphatic that no recognition was to be given to Masands.¹⁵ Furthermore, as we go through the *Gur Sobha* we find that Sainapat uses the terms Sikh, Khalsa Sikh, Khalsa Singh, and Singh, for the Khalsa of his definition. The equation of the Khalsa with the Singh implies reference to the Khalsa (or the Sikh linked directly with the Guru), who has been initiated afresh through the initiation of the double-edged sword. Ethically, a Sikh of the Guru should love the Khalsa *sangat*. He should practise kindness and righteousness and discard all greed. Sainapat suggests that a Sikh of the Guru should have no pride; he should never commit evil deeds or be oblivious of God. The Khalsa should not be deceitful. He who discards pride and takes refuge with the *sant*, his body becomes pure. Sainapat regards penance (*tankhah*) a remedy for ethical failure.¹⁶

The post-Khalsa period saw some more battles over Anandpur, beginning in 1701. The chief of Kahlur was worsted in these battles, but he resorted to a stratagem and asked the Guru to leave Anandpur as a 'grazing ground for the cow' (*gau-bhat*). Guru Gobind Singh did leave Anandpur but on the understanding that he would not be attacked. The hill chiefs did not keep their promise and approached the Mughal *faujdar* for help. A few battles were fought away from Anandpur. Finally, Guru Gobind Singh demonstrated his superior strength and re-occupied Anandpur. Sainapat refers to the five arms used by the Khalsa in these battles: the matchlock, the bow and arrow, the spear, the sword

and the dagger. Sainapat says that after the re-occupation and rehabilitation of Anandpur, the followers of Guru Gobind Singh 'conquered' the neighbouring villages. A cannon was fired from the fort of Anandgarh at this time. Sorties from the fort obliged the hill chiefs to lift the siege. They decided to return with the added strength of the Mughal *faujdars*, making an appeal to the Mughal emperor as their suzerain for help against the common enemy. Finally (in 1704), the combined forces of the hill chiefs and the Mughal *faujdars* laid siege to Anandpur. The place was cut off from the countryside, not allowing ingress or egress. Food ran short, and even water became scarce. The Mughal commanders promised safe evacuation, and Guru Gobind Singh asked them to give a written agreement for evacuation. Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa left Anandpur. Everyone was carrying whatever he could over his head. The treasury was distributed among the Khalsa, and all other articles were burnt. The Mughal *faujdars* and the hill chiefs broke the truce. They attacked and pursued Guru Gobind Singh. Sahibzada Ajit Singh (his eldest son, born to Mata Sundari in 1687) died fighting in the battle of Chamkaur (in 1705). He was followed by Sahibzada Jujhar Singh (born to Mata Jito ji at Anandpur in 1690). The younger Sahibzadas, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh (born to Mata Jito Ji at Anandpur in 1696 and 1698) were captured, taken to Sirhind, and martyred. The younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh did not care for their life and preserved their *dharam*, following the example of their grandfather, Guru Tegh Bahadur. The statement about Guru Gobind Singh's eldest son is more telling. When he drank the cup of love and died fighting on the battle field, Guru Gobind Singh said: 'He has today become the Khalsa in the court of the true Guru'. For Sainapat, it seems, martyrdom was built into Khalsahood. Elsewhere, it is stated in connection with the death of Sahib Singh in the battle of Nirmoh that he, who is perfectly fortunate, gives his life to become 'Khalsa'.¹⁷

The word '*gurdwar*' is used metaphorically for the Guru's door: 'they who forget the Guru's door find no other place'. After the institution of the Khalsa when the Singhs returned to Delhi to tell the *sangat* gathered in the *dharamsal* what had happened at Anandpur, the Sikhs present in the *dharamsal* are said to have accepted the Guru's decision by taking initiation of the double-edged sword (*khande di pahul*) from five Singhs. The *dharamsal* was the Sikh sacred space where *pahul* was administered. The *sangat* meets in the *dharamsal*. The term *sangat* is used for the collective body of the local Sikhs. Though the term *dharamsal* is mentioned only thrice, references to congregational worship are quite frequent. The praises of God are sung in the true congregation (*sat-sangat*); this boon comes through good fortune. Another term used for congregational worship is *sant sabha*. The Sikhs are enjoined to appropriate *satsang*. A Sikh should join the *sangat* with love in his heart. There is no peace without the *sangat*. Matters religious but other than collective worship could also be discussed in a congregation of the Sikhs. In the true congregation, one meets the *sants* and suffers no sorrow (*dukh*). All one's desires are fulfilled through *ardas* in the congregation. There is also a reference to *ardas* being performed by an *ardasia*.¹⁸

The term *nam* (Name) for God figures frequently in the *Gur Sobha*. Meditation on the purifying *nam* is done with love and devotion. Here *nam* is equated with Gurbani. In any case, there is no liberation without reflection on *nam*. The *nam* cannot be found if one remains attached to the world's pleasures. There is no alternative to *nam*. It is received through the grace of the Guru and God. They who receive the gift of *nam* live by the divine order (*hukam*). The unstained Name (*nam niranjan*) is the Lord Himself, whose light shines in all the seven continents and all the nine regions of the earth. He who meditates on the *nam* day and night attains liberation. There is nothing so efficacious as the *nam*; it fills life and is in whatever we see. The poet prays that he may meditate on the

nam, which is more helpful than kith and kin and all other earthly goods. There is a whole *savvayya* in the *Gur Sobha* with the refrain, '*nam Gobind Gobind kaho*'. It refers to various aspects of the *nam* as the source of liberation. Thus, on the whole, *nam* is equated with God and the Name of God but much more so with *shabad-bani*.¹⁹

The term *shabad* occurs less frequently than *nam*. The *shabad* of the Guru for the Sikh is like water for the fish. He who hears the word of the Guru but does not care is a fool. He who concentrates on the *shabad* and lives in accordance with it attains liberation. The word *shabad* is used in the context of *bhagti*. It is generally equated with Gurbani. In one place, however, there is a reference to the Guru assuming the form of *shabad* (*shabad rupi*). The term *bani* is used in connection with the vesting of Guruship, and it is equated with the *shabad*. Thus, though *nam* has more than one connotation, *shabad* is often used for Gurbani.²⁰

The term *sangat* is used by Sainapat also in the sense of the collectivity of the Sikhs and a local congregation. It is clear that Sainapat is talking of the Khalsa *sangat* or *sangats*. The Khalsa *sangat* is now the true *sangat*. The Sikh who does not come to the true *sangat* is not a Khalsa. There is no difference between the Guru and the Khalsa *sangat*. The local Khalsa *sangats* have the authority to make decisions regarding the defaulters. Sainapat tells that the true Guru and the *sangat* are one; like the Guru, the *sangat* can forgive or punish, but no one else can. The Singhs meet as the true *sangat* to resolve issues faced by the Sikhs. From the equation of the *sangat* with the Guru, the vesting of Guruship in the Khalsa later on was only a small step.²¹

Talking of liberation, Sainapat uses terms like *gat* and *khalasi*. Another expression used is 'to discard the fear of the ocean of life'. The liberated person becomes Khalsa. The mingling of light with light is yet another metaphor used for liberation. What is important to us is the association of liberation with the Khalsa.

Just as in the earlier Sikh tradition, liberation-in-life is the supreme purpose of life, so it is for the Khalsa. If anything, the social commitment of the Khalsa whose duty is to bear arms, to fight, and, if necessary, to die fighting in the field of battle for the sake of *dharam*, is more pronounced.²²

Sainapat says that a day before his passing away, the Singhs asked Guru Gobind Singh about his successor. They were told that the eternal *shabad-bani* shall be the true Guru. Even when Sainapat does not talk of the Granth, the term *shabad-bani* here is used for the Granth. Furthermore, the tenth Guru declared that henceforth Guruship was vested also in the Khalsa, and that he was concerned only with the Khalsa, and has bestowed his robe (*jama*) on the Khalsa: 'The Khalsa is my form, and I am close to the Khalsa. In the Khalsa I abide from the beginning till the end'.²³

Towards the end of his work, Sainapat visualizes the reappearance of Guru Gobind Singh when he rides with the Khalsa, holding the sword in his hand, and destroys the hosts of the wicked enemy. The refrain of the *savvayya* that follows is: *Garh Anand pher bassavengay* (they will re-establish Anandgarh).²⁴ This occurs eight times in the chapter and the mood is upbeat, full of confidence and optimism. For Sainapat, Anandgarh is a symbol of sovereign power. Elsewhere, I have argued that the idea of *raj karega khalsa* (the Khalsa shall rule) became current in the lifetime of Guru Gobind Singh.²⁵ Furthermore, two *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh written from Agra in October 1707 to the Khalsa *sangats* of Dhaul and Khara, refer to his satisfactory meeting with Bahadur Shah on 23 July 1707 and express the hope that he would soon return to Kahlur.²⁶ He does not say 'Anandpur', but we may be sure that the Guru was thinking of returning to 'Anandpur', to re-establish himself at that place. Incidentally, Guru Gobind Singh's meeting with the emperor is recorded on 4 August 1707 in the *Akhbarat -i-Darbar-i- Mu'alla*.²⁷

At the end, Sainapat reinforces religious aspects of the Khalsa way of life. The last chapter of the *Gur Sobha* reaffirms the core beliefs of the faith of Guru Nanak. At its beginning Sainapat bows to Gurudev, who is equated with God. The light of God shines in the whole universe and within everyone. There is great emphasis on the unity, power and grace of God. Many of God's attributes are mentioned throughout the chapter. Next in importance to God is the true Guru whose guidance is indispensable. There is great emphasis on *bhagti* through *nam simran* and *nam japna*, combined with the singing of God's praises. At one level, the *nam* is equated with the *shabad*. Congregational worship is offered in the true *sangat*, the source of peace and knowledge. God is present in the *sangat*. His *bhagti* leads to the state of liberation in which no fear or illusion exists. The term used for the devotee of God is *sant*. Sainapat appears to equate the Khalsa with the *sant* whose primary concern is to pursue liberation. Thus, in a sense, one has to be a true Sikh before one can become a true Singh.²⁸ The faith of Guru Nanak thus gets reinforced by Guru Gobind Singh. The Khalsa of Sainapat is a fraternity armed to fight for temporal power as an extension of its religious beliefs and practices.

In retrospect, *Gur Sobha* can be treated as a valuable text for the reconstruction of Guru Gobind Singh's pontificate. The broad chronological order in which the events are presented in the *Gur Sobha* is indicated by mentioning the number of days, months, or years between two events. The major events, both before and after the institution of the Khalsa, are the battles which depict the martial prowess of Guru Gobind Singh and the bravery of his warriors. However, the central event of his life is the creation of the Khalsa. Sainapat attaches great importance to the Guru's mission as spelt out in the *Bachittar Natak*. The two works complement each other and become the bases of the later *Gurbilas* literature on the tenth Guru and the tradition evolving around his eventful life.²⁹ The *Gur Sobha* is also concerned about the Khalsa way of life and gives

injunctions regarding what is expected of the Khalsa and also what they should not do. Sainapat's work has particular importance for the reference it makes to the vesting of Guruship in the Granth and the Panth a day before Guru Gobind Singh's passing away. Like the Granth Sahib, the Khalsa become the tenth Guru's heirs. This eventually crystallized into the doctrines of Guru Granth and Guru Panth. The ultimate triumph of the Khalsa as a sovereign entity is built into their creation and divine sanction. At the same time, the *Gur Sobha* was meant to inspire the reader and the listener with firm faith in the path of Guru Nanak as the instrument of universal redemption, with heightened emphasis on martyrdom.

Endnotes

1. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Shamsher Singh Ashok, Amritsar: Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, 1967, pp.1-2.
2. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha*, ed. Ganda Singh, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967, p.22. Simultaneously, this view was confirmed by Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Shamsher Singh Ashok in his introduction to his edited version of the work. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.3-5.
3. J.S. Grewal, *From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikh History*, Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1972. The fourth edition and enlarged version of this collection was published as *Sikh Ideology Polity and Social Order: From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2007, pp.107-10. See also, Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature*, Patiala: Madaan Publications, 2005 (first published in 1987), p.228.
4. McLeod gives important arguments in his own works on the assumption that *Gur Sobha* was composed in the 1740s. In 1984, he refers to this work as 'variously dated 1711 and 1745. Five years later, he reiterates that its actual date is yet to be finally settled: The two contending dates

are 1711 and 1745. He goes on to say that the importance of the work would be greatly enhanced if 1711 was definitely established as the date of its composition which would then be very close to the death of Guru Gobind Singh. In 1997, McLeod sees a strong probability in favour of 1711. See, W.H. McLeod, trans. and ed., *Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984, pp.11-12; *The Sikhs: History, Religion, and Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, p.63; *Sikhism*, London: Penguin Books, 1997, p.59; *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

5. Sainapat, *SriGur Sobha* ed. Ganda Singh, pp. 1-138. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 9-155.
6. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha* ed. Ganda Singh, pp.9-13.
7. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 10-13, 33, 35, 38-40, 49-50, 95, 117.
8. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 9-15, 22-23, 30, 32, 35, 96, 101, 137.
9. The founding of Anandpur was therefore placed early in 1689. Koer Singh also places the foundation of Anandpur after the battle of Bhangani. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, Swarup Singh Kaushish places the foundation of Anandpur before the battle of Bhangani. See, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10* (Punjabi), eds. Shamsheer Singh Ashok and Fauja Singh, Patiala, 1968, p.100. See also, Bhai Swarup Singh, *Guru Kian Sakhian* (Punjabi) ed. Piara Singh Padam, Amritsar, 1999, 4th edn., pp.92-93.
10. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.14-28. For a perceptive analysis of the *Bachittar Natak* see, J.S. Grewal, *History, Literature, and Identity: Four Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp.161-76.

11. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.10-13.
12. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 29-41, 43.
13. Much of the *rahit* is found in two chapters of Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 29-33, 39, 41, 42-3, 105-6.
14. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.12-13, 42-43, 47, 51-54, 105, 131.
15. *Hukamname: Guru Sahibaan, Mata Sahiban, Banda Singh Ate Khalsa Ji De*, ed. Ganda Singh, Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967, pp. 47-60.
16. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 29-36, 37-41, 43, 47, 51-55, 73-78, 83, 100, 111.
17. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.56-98.
18. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp.10-11, 35-37, 42–43, 46, 98, 101, 104.
19. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 36-39, 48, 71, 132-33.
20. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 48-49, 130-32.
21. Sainapat, *ShriGur Sobha*, ed. Ashok, pp. 30-31,33-34,37,43-45.
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26. *Hukamname* ed. Ganda Singh, pp. 63, 64.
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