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About the Journal

The research journal has been a tri-annual publication of Panjab University, Chandigarh since 1976. It is a peer-reviewed initiative that publishes articles, review articles, perspectives, and book reviews drawn from a diversity of social science disciplines. Each of the pieces published is of a very high standard, and lays the groundwork for a systematic exchange of ideas with scholars across the country and the world. The prime objective of the university has, therefore, been to initiate and stimulate debate on matters of contemporary socio-political significance, a vision that the journal endeavours to carry forward.

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From the Editorial Desk

This special issue of Panjab University Research Journal of Social Sciences contains a selection of papers first presented at the VIIIth Chandigarh Social Science Congress (CHASSCONG) held in March 2018.Over the years, the annually held Congresses had covered a fairly wide spectrum of themes within the parameters of mainstream social sciences. The VIIIth Congress was different in that it crossed over the narrow, and somewhat artificial, division between social sciences and humanities.

The decision was based on an explicit acknowledgement of the fact that social and cultural issues were often inseparable in nature. This was so in the past as well, but such inseparability had become a dominant factor in more recent years, given the increasingly intermeshed world created by cyber and satellite technologies, globalized economies, massive migrations, and cultural hybridity. There was little merit therefore in continuing to maintain the artificial divides in our academic ways of grasping this complex reality. Such divides had been already bridged to some extent by the multi-perspectival academic field known as Cultural Studies, but the initiative had come mostly from the direction of humanities while social sciences remained stuck in their overzealous scientism.

With this perspective in mind, the theme chosen for the Congress was 'Discourse of Citizenship in Contemporary India.' This was a particularly apt theme because in recent years it has deservingly drawn a lot of attention from scholars in both social sciences and humanities circles. It is true that historically the concept had merely juridical connotations, referring to a set of exclusive rights and obligations, which bound with the state those it designated as citizens. The rise of this juridical concept was indeed a big gain over earlier periods when states treated populations as either 'subjects', aliens or slaves, granting them no rights but holding them in complete subjugation. Under the new juridical arrangement, once they had fulfilled their well-defined minimalist obligations to the state, free

citizens could engage in free interaction among themselves in the free space of civil society, which the liberal democratic state was expected to hold as sacrosanct and was obliged to respect and protect.

However, the actual experience shows that the lofty ideals of citizenship have often been violated by many states. Driven for example by puritanical and majoritarian forms of nationalism, these states have threatened and marginalized the poor and vulnerable minorities, pushing them out, or making life so difficult for them that they crossed borders and became stateless refugees.

Social scientists have also pointed out that viewed as entailing inalienable rights, citizenship could be undermined even in less extreme looking circumstances. Widespread poverty, unemployment, and lack of basic health and education could prevent citizens from effectively exercising the rights formally granted to them. The state therefore had to be not merely democratic and nondiscriminatory, it also had to ensure social security and welfare of its citizens. In a world where global capitalism and neoliberalism hold sway, states are abandoning these responsibilities, thereby eroding the essence of citizenship.

Scholars from the fields of literature and cultural studies have added further dimensions to the discussion of citizenship. Many of these had been overlooked by mainstream social sciences. Delving into the psychic, spiritual, cultural and personal experiences of being a citizen (or of suffering its denial), these scholars have brought into focus the condition of diasporas, displaced communities, subalterns, refugees, women, hybrid ethnic identities, and so on. As many papers included here would show, what is different about these scholars is not merely the themes they choose but also the sources on which they base their analyses. Literature and arts – be it poetry, fiction, drama, dance, cinema, or other visual and plastic arts – rather than mere archival material and field data are their sources. Their methods are qualitative rather than quantitative. Hermeneutics and deconstruction are their principal analytical strategies.

The VIIIth Congress was coordinated by Prof Akshay Kumar, Department of English and Cultural Studies, and Professor Pampa

Mukherjee, Department of Political Science, Panjab University. The Congress attracted scholars from various departments of social sciences, humanities and fine arts of the University. Besides, outstation invited delegates included those from the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research (Mohali), Indian Institute of Technology (New Delhi), Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad, Kashipur and Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla.

Given the leadership role played by Professor Akshaya Kumar in the Congress, it was only proper that he be requested to act as Guest Editor for this issue. The PURJSS is grateful to Professor Kumar for agreeing to our request. The papers published in this special issue went through a rigourous selection process. The process started with a call for abstracts for the Congress. A core committee comprising of senior faculty members from social sciences and humanities reviewed the 180 abstracts thus received, and shortlisted 30 of them for presentation. The selected authors were given a deadline for submission of papers. The submitted papers underwent another round of internal evaluation and were sent for double blind peer review as per the requirement of the Journal. Finally 10 papers being presented here were selected.

As Congress Coordinators and Editors for this issue, it is matter of great satisfaction for me and Professor Kumar that we are able to present these papers to our readers.

Pampa Mukherjee
Editor-in-Chief, PURJSS

Citizen as 'Subject' of Poetry: In Lieu of an Editorial

Akshaya Kumar*

I

As I sit down to write the guest editorial for this special issue of Panjab University Research Journal Social Sciences on the 'Discourse of Citizenship in Contemporary India', four poems – W. H. Auden's 'The Unknown Citizen', A. K. Ramanujan's 'Death and the Good Citizen', Jeet Thayil's 'Rules for Citizens' and Meena Kandasamy's 'We are Not the Citizens' – ring in my mind. I intend to invoke these poems to map the predicaments of citizenship in contemporary times. Auden's oft-anthologized poem 'The Unknown Citizen' becomes my compelling point of entry into the debate. Written way back in 1939, at the stroke of World War II, the poem profiled the predicaments of a modern citizen in a world that was increasingly gravitating towards ultra-nationalism and the politics of radical right. It is significant to mention that Auden had married Erica Mann, the daughter of Nobel laureate Thomas Mann, to help her save from the clutches of the Nazis. Erica Mann

*Professor in the Department of English and Cultural Studies, Panjab University Chandigarh.

had written in 1938 *School for Barbarians*, which offered a trenchant critique of Nazi education system.

Right at the outset it might be asked as to why a 'dated' poem is resurrected to flag issues of contemporary citizenship. One may fiercely argue that 2019 is not 1939, and that any easy over-arching argument forged to relate two widely placed temporal markers would be at the cost of (emancipator) history that human beings have experienced in the intervening eighty years. There are two arguments to counter these self-imposed questions: one, a poem howsoever topical it may be, carries an after-life, and that literature often exceeds its immediate historical matrices; two, history as a discourse of the evolution of lived culture in itself could be a fallacy and that innate human tendencies keep re-visiting us in new ecologies not as much atavistically but rather too regularly with an uncanny continuity. The poem 'The Unknown Citizen' has a resounding after-life as the discourse of 2019 is increasingly defined and understood in terms that reverberated in 1939. These terms were– nationalism, dictatorship, information, obedience, patriotism, militarism and surveillance.

The very title of the poem sends a saturnine signal, as the citizen it promises to portray is 'unknown' with his identity reduced to a code 'JS/07 M 378' inscribed on the marble monument erected by the state presumably on his grave. A host of questions begin to loom large. Is citizenship a numerical code or is it a function of human empowerment in terms of his inimitable subjectivity? It is true that an individual draws a sense of security by way of seeking a relationship of reciprocity with his community or state. The normal expectation is that the state or the community shall look after the individual as much as the individual will respond to the call of the state or the community he belongs to. This kind of quasi-organic, quasi-contractual affiliation does lend a productive tension into the relationship of both the subject (in our context citizen) and the state. It implies that there has to be a perpetually creative, re-inventive relationship between the citizen and the state so that both evolve in dialectical way towards each other's benefit.

Can a citizen claim distinct identity to allow him the honour or at least freedom of being 'known', as someone different from the anonymous crowd of people? Or is 'known citizen' an oxymoronic proposition – that is if one is known one cannot be just a citizen, or if one is citizen, one cannot be known? Auden's title in a way suggests that modern citizen is destined to live a life of effacement and diffidence. A known citizen could be an informed citizen, an enlightened individual, or an individual with some opinions that place him/her beyond the faceless crowd. A known citizen can as well be disobedient citizen, a defiant being who dares to stand outside the rubric of the normal. A known citizen is a not an average citizen, one who easily fits in the given templates of the good citizenry as prescribed by the state or nation.

How is the fidelity of citizens towards the state or the nation ensured? In Auden's modern times 'Bureau of Statistics' recorded the (mis) deeds of the citizen; in contemporary times of Information and Big Data, the apparatuses of surveillance have become much more invasive and invisible. The tracking mechanisms have acquired rare bureaucratic intrusiveness. In 1939, the outer acts of citizens (i.e., acts performed in the public sphere) were recorded, but in 2019 it is the inner unconscious of a citizen that is under state-siege. The discourse of culture of control in 2019 does not depart fundamentally from that of 1939, it only becomes subtler, more penetrative and perhaps total. A good citizen in 1939 was the one who did not have any history of official complaints against him; now a good citizen is the one who does not conceal his intimate personal details from the electronic eye of the government. The 'modern' and the 'contemporary' differ in degree, and not in kind. The contemporary citizen is an accentuated version of the modern citizen.

Auden's citizen is a saintly figure, and his sainthood lies in his unflinching obedience to his masters. He never interferes and harbours 'proper opinions':'When there was peace he was for peace; when there was war he went'. The modern citizen is allowed laxity or some occasional deviance (a drink once in a while) provided it is done in a calibrated manner. A dedicated

department called 'Social Psychology' coordinates his reactions and affective responses. Another dedicated department 'Public Opinions' keeps a check on the opinions of this modern citizen. The state in times of crisis of its moral legitimacy acts as a panopticon that Bentham described as 'a new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind'(31). In 1939, the surveillance was physical and spatial involving centralized mechanisms of watching over subjects. In contemporary times of 2019, the citizens are born into what Deleuze terms as 'societies of control' (3). So the questions of the happiness of the citizen or his freedom are rendered redundant. In this state of control from within, the citizen just surrenders himself to the will of the state without resistance; in fact there is a sense of fulfillment in internalizing the disciplinary dictates of the state.

<div align="center">II</div>

Jeet Thayil's 'Rules for Citizens'(14) can be read as a sequel to Auden's 'The Unknown Citizen'. Written in 2015, the poem prescribes rules for contemporary citizens in the age of post-truth and the so-called civilizational clash. The tone of the poem is unmistakably ironic and subversive. Right at the outset, the poet warns us (the citizens) about the insurrectionary value of telling stories. U. R. Ananthamurthy, who himself was a great storyteller, wrote in his last book that 'A damaged India needs the therapeutic of authentic storytellers'(xxi). Jeet Thayil however forbids citizens to stay away from the bad influence of storytellers. Therefore he stipulates Rule 1 for citizens that calls for 'govern[ing] those who undertake the telling of stories'. Under Rule 6, the poet repeats his assertion about the dangers of storytelling: 'But the better they [story-tellers] are, the less we wish our children and men to hear them'. Stories often stray into forbidden zones, and citizens must stay within the realm of the state-allowed limits.

Rule 2 points towards the increasing internalization of censorship: 'Censorship is good governance. Self-censorship is an attribute of the highest civilization'. The citizens deny themselves

'the right to look' (Mirzoeff, 473), as they see things which they ought to see. From an outer mechanism of control, censorship increasingly becomes an inner reflex foreclosing the possibility of any mutually engaging relationship with the state. Instead of positing self-criticism as a necessary condition of civilization maturity and growth, the poet with his sardonic humour, chooses to valorize self-censorship. Rule 7 reiterates the role of silence with the solemnity of a biblical decree: '*Where of one cannot speak, thereof one must remain silent*' (italics not mine). Under Rule 4, if the citizens have to speak at all, they are can talk more about 'the next world', and not as much about the affairs of this world. This again is an inversion of the whole idea of citizenship. Citizenship is an immensely this worldly function; it is a legal right, and not a metaphysical state of transcendence.

Citizenship is a discourse of civic co-existence in which the emphasis is more on arriving at mutually agreeable terms of the discourse of negotiation than on combativeness and hostility. Jeet Thayil's Rule 5 reads: 'Our best recourse is to be warlike'. The hysteria of narrow nationalism that seems to overtake globe in the age of post-globalization has inverted the whole idea of congenial citizenship. Being warlike is the new way of vindicating one's belongingness to the nation. The new world order post-9/11 is driven by the poetics of 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington, 22), and not of 'epistemic cooperation' (Mohanty, 829); the polarities of 'us' versus 'them' are the sharpest ever. The contract of citizenship, which entire humanity once celebrated as cultural advancement, suddenly appears too tenuous to hold the communal/ civilizational conflicts.

In Jeet Thayil's grim rule book, the citizens are not allowed to travel. Travelling entails a dialogic encounter with other cultures, and also leads to openness to alternative points of view. Rule 10 reads: 'We shall disallow travel and the mingling of songs.' Such a rule would ensure a committed, pure and uncontaminated citizenship. Re-mixed songs like stories upset the seriousness of state-bound citizenship. Citizens are allowed to rehearse anthems,

but remixed songs only breed disrespect towards the sacred original. Other rules, enunciated in the poem, seek ban on things that are sentimental, fearful or terrific – such experiences can cause emotional morbidity in the citizens, detrimental to the stable health of the state. If Auden's poem reduces a citizen into an inert piece of information, Jeet Thayil's rules circumscribe a citizen into a helpless subject sans any freedom or imagination.

<div align="center">III</div>

There is one more stark possibility about the state-citizenship relationship. Driven to utmost subjugation, the people refuse to become citizens; they denounce their citizenship, and thus free themselves – physically, politically and perhaps metaphysically – from the clutches of mundane this-worldliness of state regulations. Meena Kandasamy's poem 'We are Not the Citizens' is based on lines– 'naamaarkumkudiyallom, namanaianjom⁄ naragathilidarpadom, nadalaiillom' – taken from the classic Tamil poetry of bhakti poet Thirunavukkarasar (Appar). The context of the lines is explained in the footnotes by the poet reads thus: 'Thirunavukkarasar (Appar), … was persecuted for his faith in Shaivism by Mahendravarman, the Jain Pallava emperor. It's widely believed that these lines were sung when efforts were made to arrest him and produce him in Mahendravarman's court.' (40) The dalit woman poet uses the bhakti context to correlate the predicaments of dalits in India. She re-writes the Tamil lines in her poetic English thus:

> We are not the subjects of anyone
> We do not fear the god of death
> We shall not suffer, were we to end in hell
> We've no deception, we've no illusions.

This is a slogan of total protest – death-defying protest. While Auden's citizen caves in before the might of the state, and even Thayil's citizen evinces an ironic or stoic acceptance of the draconian decrees of the state, Kandasamy's citizen is audacious and belligerent. Citizenship as subjecthood is vehemently rejected.

Tamil lines are re-written further with more energy and venom against the culture of lynchings and beheadings sponsored – overtly or covertly – by the 'brahmanical' state. The next stanza retains the candour thus:

> Nobody's citizens and nobody's slaves
> Fearless of lynchings and beheadings
> Unscathed by the torrent of hell-fires
> We do not tremble at certain death.

Even the fear of some karmic repercussions fails to deter the dalit as 'nobody's citizen'. The rejection of citizen leads to an automatic dismissal of the state. Dalits and other marginal sections of Indian society often evince this kind of defiance where so-called civil, cultural norms are just given up. The nakedness of Mahasweta's skinny dark-colored Draupadi immediately comes to mind. Raped repeatedly by the white-clad army officer Senanayak, Draupadi refuses to wear the clothes; she decides to stay naked, exposing the moral masquerades of the state and society, both.

The poem ends with a loud and unequivocal reiteration of the operational verb 'refuse'. The citizens in the earlier poems seek refuge under the canopy of state, Kandsamy's citizens just 'refuse' to accept the dark shadows of the canopy thus:

> As people, we refuse to be ruled
> As people, we refuse to die
> As people, we refuse to suffer
> As people, we refuse to be deceived.

To Kandasamy, citizenship is a deception. It yields perpetual suffering and therefore has no useful purpose in the lives of the people. The poem thus offers a rather radical version of citizenship that resonates with the sense of cultural alienation depicted in the writings of Dalit Panthers such as Namdeo Dhasal, Saran Kumar Limbale, Daya Pawar and others. Dhasal in his one of the many vitriolic poems – 'Man, you should explode', also tends to propose that all that we have achieved in the name of civilizational excellence – which includes scriptures, philosophical writings,

literary works – should be thrown into the dustbin to start afresh culture where 'man should sing only the song of man' (36)

IV

The three poems discussed above tend to suggest that instead of empowering its citizens, the state invariably subjects them into submission or perhaps obliterates them into anonymous absences. The overwhelming intervention of the state in the intimate matters of its citizens indeed point towards its oppressive hegemonic presence. But can citizens exist without the state – the epitome of what Gandhi terms as 'Satanic civilization' (37)? Or if they do, what would they lapse into? Let us not forget that the state only gives a sense of legal affiliation, the primordial identities based on principles of kinship and territoriality lend a surcharged sense of organic filiation. The state is a secular formation; the pre-state or even the post-state could be ethnic, racial or downright communal. Here the fourth poem –A.K. Ramanujan's 'Death and the Good Citizen' – becomes important because it does offer us a different perspective. The poem suggests that at times what the 'emancipatory' state seems to concede to its citizen, the regressive tribal ancestors refuse, and in the process the larger aim of the general good of the people is either lost or seriously compromised.

The poet observes a government lorry collecting drippy night soil through the town to the municipal gardens of the city to 'make the grass grow tall for the cows/ in the village, the rhino/ in the zoo:/ and the oranges/ plump and glow, …'. What impresses the poet is the astute management of the city's waste by the state. He is inspired to act as a 'good citizen' in much the same manner. The poet thinks of donating parts of his 'biodegradable' dead body to alien needy citizens. As a self-reflective 'perfect citizen' he *wills* his 'body to the nearest/ hospital, changing death into small/ change'. Instead of decomposing as a waste 'like the rest of us', he prefers the dismantling of his body into spare parts. Not only does he ensure a secular post-life for himself, he grants much-needed legitimacy to the state as an agency that will help him realize his

idea of perfect citizenship. This is how he seeks to reside partially in the bodies of his fellow citizens post-death:

> Heart
> with your kind of temper
> may even take, make connection
> with alien veins, and continue
> your struggle to be naturalized …

The poet, who lived a considerable part of his later life in US, is happy to undergo another struggle of naturalizing himself in the alien body/bodies. The idea of 'naturalized' citizenship is important in the sense that it allows a foreigner to reside in another country with the same rights as that of an organic citizen. Naturalized citizenship is granted by the state within certain constitutional parameters.

But the poet finds that his Sanskrit tribe (the brahmanical forbears) impedes his desire for post-life. He almost caricaturizes the whole practice of cremating the dead in Hindu way thus:

> But
> you know my tribe, …
> …:they'll cremate
> me in Sanskrit and sandalwood
> have me sterilized
> to a scatter of ash

It is not that the poet is unhappy with the Hindu way of cremating the dead; even Christian or Islamic way of burying the dead in the grave comes under same critical lens:

> they'll lay me out in a funeral
> parlor, embalm me in pesticide,
> bury me in a steel trap, lock
> me so out of nature
> till I'm oxidized by left-
> over air, …

The traditional way(s) of cremating the dead, across religious denominations deny the modern rational poet the opportunity to

donate his body organs to fellow citizens. In the poem, while the state – as legal constitutional authority – allows the poet to decide about the fate of his body after his death, it is the religious structures or identitarian discourse– with in which one is born into – that forbids him to go against the set practices of cremating the dead. The idea of good citizenship is thus defeated. The poet laments that 'my [his] tissue will never graft,/ …/ never grow in a culture,/ or be mold and compost/ for jasmine, eggplant/ …'

<div style="text-align:center">V</div>

If the state as a legal body encroaches upon the inner space of its citizens in the name of their protection, the other (non-state / pre-state) primordial forms of affiliations do not offer any comfort either. The four poems thus map the tensions of citizenship. As an individual, contemporary citizen is caught between the state, his own religious or caste identity, and very intimate personal desires. Citizenship is thus a mixed function as it involves a perpetual negotiation between the self, the state and the religion. As a citizen is tossed around these three possible axes of belonging and affiliation with varying degree of pulls and pressures, the dynamics of citizenship remain always open-ended and debatable. Poetry as a field of tensions remains the best bet to inhere the discursive dimensions of a subject as volatile as citizen(ship).

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Question of Economic Citizenship of Workers under Capitalism: From the Earlier Phase to the Neo-Liberal Era

Amandeep Kaur*

Abstract

The problem of unemployment in a demand constrained capitalist economic system is ubiquitous. In the dual reserve army model, due to the push and pull of industrial development, technological advancement, and mechanization of the agricultural sector, the displacement of unemployed labor becomes a serious economic issue. In the new phase of capitalism (called imperialism) where capital is globalized and centralized in a few hands, based on laissez-faire, and where existence of unemployment is a pre-necessary condition for its existence, a very few workers get temporary jobs at low wages, while others are unable to find employment. In this process, an honorable economic, social, and constitutional citizenship seems a distant possibility for the laborers, through and because of which they can demand basic rights from authorities. This paper is an attempt to focus on the persistence of the problem of unemployment in an era of capitalism, which in turn leads to an inherent insecurity that affects

*Research scholar, Department of Economics, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

the economic citizenship of the unemployed, and even other vulnerable employed laborers.

Keywords: economic citizenship, unemployment, economic theories, capitalism, imperialism

The 'neo' in Neo-liberal era reveals how far the meaning of the term has travelled across the time gap between the classical liberalist idea and the neo-classical perception of it, which emerges after the destruction of Keynesian viewpoint. The term enfolds the waves of globalization, privatization, and deregulation under the regime of imperialism. Though it builds upon the classical liberal ideal of the self-regulatingmarket, the term has garnered multiple variations. It differentiates itself from the earlier phase of liberalism by adopting its own ideology, mode of governance, and policy packaging.

Neo-liberalism is rooted in the classical liberalist ideas provided by the British philosophers Adam Smith and David Ricardo. According to them, theself-regulating free market secures efficient allocation of resources. In favor of this, Herbert Spenser's argument states that free market economies represent the most civilized form of human competition in which efficiency and intelligence would automatically determine the economical hierarchy. However, by using classical liberalism's ideology of laissez faire as a backbone, capitalism extends its own principle of striving to attain maximum profit. With the transformation of the capitalistic era from merchant capitalism to industrial capitalism, and furthermore, to financial capitalism, the exploitation of the marginalized class gets aggravated. With regard to this paradoxical situation, the state plays the role of assuring and promoting private ownership and entrepreneurship to make endless profit. Economic inequality makes an even more severe impact when exerted midst other intersectional forms of inequality like class, caste, and gender discrimination and racism (Saar, 2016).

In such a situation, the citizenship of the marginalized becomes a major issue asserting its inevitable influence on all three (social, economic and political) grounds in the existing politicaland economic structure.

Kesssler-Harris (2001) suggested that Marshal's typology of civic, social, and political citizenship can be expanded to citizenship at work. He stated that the industrial citizenship is incorporated by market citizenship. The citizenship at workspace should extend the entitlement of citizenship beyond regular employment and recognize a wider range of work like the socially necessary labor, including caring for family members, as a contribution to the community. By enlarging the scope of such citizenship, with special focus on social and civil entitlement that is associated with economic independence, a holistic economic citizenship comes into existence (Brodkin, 2014: S116-S125). The notion of economic citizenship refers to the rights and rules through which people are incorporated into the labor market, and to the expectations and obligations that employees, employers and societies have for work and employment relationships (Hann and Teague, 2012: 623-637). It includes the full time job with its appropriate level of wages including health insurances, home ownership, retirement benefits, and other economic securities as well as the recognition of the skills, efforts, and responsibilities falling outside the formally stated preview of the job duties.

The neo-liberal and capitalist economic system limits the economic citizenship, which further has an impact on social, cultural, and political citizenship. However, prior to analyzing the question of economic citizenship under the regime of neo-liberal era, this paper strives to inspect the inter-connections among the distinct forms of citizenship. This section is followed by a brief description about the different economic schools on questions of citizenship, and finally by a discussion on the question of citizenship in some earlier forms of capitalism.

Inter-linkage of political, economic and social citizenship

Political citizenship brings with it civil rights; however, economic citizenship provides a sense of basic security by striving towards offering the rightful opportunity to the citizens to make a living.(Persons, 1954: 21-31). Political citizenship can be secured without economic citizenship because once a state comes into existence and its members become enfranchized, the citizens retain their political status. However, economic citizenship can be undermined by entrepreneurs and capitalist owners without state interference which causes a lack of efficient employment opportunities that exploits the political well-being of citizens as well. Therefore, it is not wrong to state that political citizenship can be secured without economic citizenship for short while, but cannot survive without it. Social citizenship gets affected by economic background though social capital in its own way as caste, class and gender also play a role in reinforcing or deteriorating the social citizenship.

Indication of economic citizenship in economic theories

Many classical theories deny the concept of economic citizenship. David Ricardo, the prophet of the rich class, considered the peripheral class none other than the capitalist slave in his theory of distribution. For slaves, the fundamental need to survive comes before the question of economic citizenship. According to classical economists, wages at subsistence level ensure that laborers can be put to work again. In accordance with laissez-faire, classical ideology believes that assistance should be given to entrepreneurs to invest more and more. However, the depression period of 1930s gave birth to the Keynesian notion in which public expenditure and promotion of private investment were brought to the limelight to raise effective demand. This, indirectly, revived the status of the working class on an economic ground by providing some public assistance. However, the Keynesians' controlled capitalist reforms came on the edge when stagflation position occurred in 1970s. This in turn propelled the neo-classical perception that brought forth

neo-liberalist policies. This 'neo-liberal' imperialistic era brought new challenges to the notion of economic citizenship of laborers of both peripheral nations and central countries. On the other hand, Marxian and Neo-Marxian ideology expounded the functioning of capitalism, in which practice, social, economic and political identity of the peripheral class were completely neglected.

Economic citizenship with respect to the ancient form of capitalism

The merchant capitalism of 16th century targeted the colonies for making profit through their long distance trading ventures. The monopoly of East India Company on foreign coasts encouraged its owners to capture the markets of foreign nations. Since the birth of industrial capitalism, the situation has become even more pathetic because the direct regulation of all markets including labor market is in the hands of capitalist owners. To reduce the wage cost from the total profits, entrepreneurs did not just bring the wage rates down but also replaced craft workers with less skillful and cheap laborers. High supply of slum workers encouraged capitalism to exploit them even more.

In the initial decades of 19th century in Europe, organized strikes, which are considered to be the pillar of economic citizenship, were repressed by employers with the assistance of the state. Disciplining the working class in both working and non-working spaces with low wage rate and unlimited working hours were part of the workers' exploitation. Corporal punishments for children, fines, and threats of dismissal were used to control the laborers. Robert Owen introduced 'silent monitors' at his New Lanark mills as a moralistic and sophisticated way of monitoring. In this, a painted piece of wood with its color would determine the status of each worker at the workplace. Each branch had its owntome to record the daily color for each worker as black for bad work, blue for indifferent, yellow for good, and white for excellent work (Fulcher, 2015). Owen controlled their right not only at the

workplace, but also controlled the workers' community by patrolling their streets to check cleanliness and other matters.

The first success came with the union of skilled and craft workers in 1802 in the form of Health and Morals of Apprentices Act. This act was passed to limit the working hours for children. However, effective legislation was established in 1833 in the form of the Factory Act. The amendments to this act were marked by multiple struggles undertaken by many trade unions, which ultimately brought partial success to the labor class. Workers' rights won some theoretical ground when the framework of United Nations and ILO included the freedom of association and the rights to collective bargaining; the elimination of forced and compulsory labor; the abolition of child labor, and the elimination of discrimination to the conditions of the workplace (Georgina, 2005: 792-816). However, with the emergence and transformation of the capitalist era, the demands of labor unions were also transformed. The reason behind this was the expansion of the exploitation of the working class.

From 1850 to 1970, some nations started to talk about the rights of a particular portion of labor (white labor) but ignored the other (black labor). Non-white labor part of the working class were only given jobs which were undervalued, underpaid, and had relatively little employment commitments. After the First World War and the depression period of 1930s, the European state focused on the situation of the Western working class. The workers were provided industrial citizenship with rights of self-governance through legislative protection along with the facilitated freedom of association and collective bargaining (Fudge, 2005: 631-656). The European state took the responsibility of people's welfare by providing them public health assistance, unemployment assistance, maternity benefits, free medical treatment, and free secondary education. However, the situation of workers in Southern and African nations was not similar to the Western nations. The workers of these nations were unable to get efficient wage rate and the rate of unemployment was too high.

Due to the stagflation position in the 1970s that resulted from the oil price crisis, inflation and high unemployment, the Western government started to demolish the Keynesian strategies for development and adopted neo-liberal policies. The direct control of market on the economic functioning came with a high risk of unemployment. Until the end of the 20th century, almost all major developed and emerging nations adopted neo-liberal policies according to which privatization would prevail without government assistance. Neo-liberal globalization promoted the free flow of private capital, goods, and services without national boundaries and protectionist policies.

Situation of the working class in the era of neo-liberal capitalism

With the rise in the organic composition of capital, the absolute as well as the relative demand for laborers declined. On one hand, the comparatively higher wages in urban industrial sector were able to attract labor from the countryside; on the other, the increase in the use of labor saving mechanism in the agricultural sector pushed the labor to the capitalist industrial sector. However, the growth of capital goods industries in urban sector already started releasing urban labor from factories. This expansion of the reserve labor pool due to the emergence of capitalism helps entrepreneurs to cut down wages of employed labor working constantly under the threat of being driven out from jobs. Brodkin (2014) argued that the undocumented immigrants due to their civil and economic invisibility become extremely vulnerable subjects of exploitation and unrealistic policy practices.

By focusing more on neo-liberal policies, the state allowed capitalism to take an even more dangerous shape in which concentration and centralization of capital converted the competitive market into a monopolistic market. This enlarged the demand of more constant capital over variable capital. In neo-liberal globalization, the export of capital in Southern nations was enhanced because of the availability of abundant labor at a cheap rate. This created a kind of reverse auction for labor costs, where

working people of Western nations could see their wages driven down as they were forced to compete with the cheap labor of peripheral nations. This equalization of wages on world scale indicated that the imperialistic phase of capitalism captured the world market to make profit for itself at the cost of the working class of both types of nations. Xing and Detert (2010) in their working paper revealed that major parts and components of iPhone are made by factories set up in Japan, South Korea, Germany, and U.S.. However, all these major parts and components are then shipped to Shenzhen, China for assembly and then exported to the United States. The reason behind the assembling of all components of iPhone in China is the lowest unit labor cost (with availability of technology and other production requirements). Despite the massive labor inputs of Chinese workers in assembling the final product, their low pay implies that their work amounts to only 3.6 percent of the total manufacturing cost of the iPhone, whereas, the overall profit margin on iPhones in 2009 was 64 percent. If iPhone were assembled in U.S. where it can be assumed that the labor costs are ten times higher than that of China, the cost of production then would increase many fold. However, the profit margin would still be greater than 50 percent. Due to this neo-liberal and capitalistic economic system, the Chinese workforce experiences significant exploitation and extremely hazardous working conditions. As if China, India and many other South, Southeast and African nations are facing the problem of social exclusion, growth of poverty, and inequality with which environmental degradation becomes a major economic concern (Moghadan,2007: 77-104). This directly affects the living situation of the workers because of their direct connection with economic situation.

Beside the questions of the rights of workers, the economic citizenship of self-employed population and of small handicraft industries came under threat due to the emergence of neo-liberal capitalist economic system. The export of capital from North to South with the help of neo-liberal policies, implemented by international institutions such as International Monetary Fund

and World Trade Organization, increased the level of competition on world level. This directly affected the employment assurance of domestic handicraft skilled labor.

The absence of government interference in the process of financialization of capital, big corporations have set up their centers in peripheral countries. Office work such as typing, answering the telephone, data processing, software development, et cetera, has shifted to emerging nations. Due to competition and high supply of skilled labor, entrepreneurs have started to transfer the centers of their banks, insurance companies, travel agencies, telecom, and rail companies from Britain to China, India, and Malaysia. Bangalore, in India, became a major center of software production such as IBM, Motorola, and many others. They hire workers in these nations at very low packages compared to those employed in Western nations. They are not provided with any employment assurance, health insurance, or other economic securities. The reason behind the exploitation of these skilled workers is not only because of competition within countries but also because of competition among emerging countries.

Capitalism, availing the benefits of neo-liberal policies, not only exploits the labor of peripheral nations inhabiting those very nations, but also exploits them in the form of immigrated labor. For example, the U.S.A does not have labor shortage but from the corporations' standpoint, it has a shortage of cheap labor for certain industries that support more immigration. During the mid-1980s until late 1990s, there was a huge migration of people (laborers), caused by the promise of jobs in some areas. Economic and political turmoil compelled many workers to migrate, especially from Asia. United States and Europe accepted tens of millions of immigrants. Even Western Europe came to rely more and more on immigrant labor (Spector, 2007: 7-26). A massive number of people are seeking immigration to these nations for cheap labor, thereby changing these nations while also creating a feeling of discomfort concerning the possibilities for social disturbance, especially due to strong religious and cultural beliefs

of the immigrant settlers. The difference in social and religious beliefs further weakens the social citizenship of the immigrants.

The state of vulnerable employment problematizes the issue of economic citizenship in a more severe way, which has been empirically documented in the next section of the paper.

Citizenship for vulnerable employed labor

Employment in vulnerable condition is a cause of concern in itself, which is characterized as inadequate earnings, low productivity, and difficult condition of work that undermines workers' fundamental rights. Informal sector employment in urban centers and subsistence agriculture in rural sectors largely constitutes vulnerable employment. Female workers are the more visible' vulnerable employed labor' in subsistence sector as unpaid family

Table 1.1:
Vulnerable Employment as a Share of Total Employment among the
Different Regions of the World (in Percentage)

Region	1997[1]	2000[1]	2005[1]	2010[2]
World	52.8	52.2	50.9	49.6
Developed Economies and European Union	11.0	10.3	9.5	10.0
Central and South-Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	20.1	22.1	19.7	20.9
East Asia	63.2	60.4	57.2	49.6
South-East Asia and the Pacific	63.4	63.5	60.7	62.3
South Asia	80.0	80.5	79.1	78.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	31.4	32.0	32.6	31.9
Middle East	39.7	37.2	34.5	29.8
North Africa	36.9	32.9	33.5	37.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	77.2	76.0	74.9	76.9

[1]Source: ILO (2008), Global Employment Trends.

[2]Source:ILO (2012), Global Employment Trends, Preventing a deeper jobs crisis.

Table 1.2
Vulnerable Employment Rate among the Different Regions of the World
(in Percentage)

Region	2016	2017	2018
World	42.9	42.8	42.7
i. Developed Countries	10.1	10.1	10.0
ii. Emerging Countries	46.8	46.5	46.2
iii. Developing Countries	78.9	78.7	78.5
Arab States	17.8	17.9	18.0
Central and Western Asia	29.7	29.5	29.2
Eastern Asia	30.9	30.6	30.3
Eastern Europe	11.2	11.3	11.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	31.9	31.9	31.9
Northern Africa	32.4	32.1	31.8
Northern America	6.6	6.6	6.6
Northern, Southern and Western Europe	11.3	11.2	11.2
South Eastern Asia and the Pacific	50.8	50.2	49.5
Southern Asia	74.8	74.1	73.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	68.0	67.9	67.8

Source: ILO (2017), World Employment and Social Outlook.

workers. International Labor Organization (2012) data reveals that about 50 percent of total world employed labor is vulnerable employed. In 2017, though, the total percentage rate went down to 42.8 percent. However, the situation in South Asian nations is still worst with 74 percent of total employed labor comprising the vulnerable employed. In South East Asian countries (including emerging nations) and Sub Saharan African nations, about 50 percent and 68 percent of total employed labor is vulnerable employed.

The reason behind the stagnant situation in these regions is the privatization and neo-liberal set up because of which the public-organized labor share in these nations is declining. However, the private organized sector is unable to provide employment opportunities because their ultimate aim is not to provide employment but to garner profit at any cost In such a situation, even employed laborers are excluded from the category of laborers who have access to economic citizenship.

Citizenship of laborers as consumers in the neo-liberal era

Market citizenship for laborers as workers and as consumers is also under risk in the neo-liberal and imperialistic economic regime. Market based individualism, anti-collectivism and anti-welfarism forces emaciate the economic citizenship of workers as consumers. Clark and his co-authorsincorporated with the transformation of citizenship into consumerism in their book (Clark, 2014: 57-106).In neo-liberal economic system, the concept of citizenship is replaced with the concept of consumerism. The market captures state phenomenon in which private ownership dominates over public performance. The dominancy of financial economic functioning over public political system converts the ideology of collectivism into individualism. In this scenario, all goods, services and even laborers are commoditized. The discussion on social, civil and political rights is replaced by the discussion on exchange.

Concluding remark

The emergence of the new wave of capitalism has a common desire to reshape the societies according to the neoliberal formula of deregulations, liberalization, and privatization. In this process, political fronts help them and ignore the concept of citizenship of peripheral class on the political, social, and economic grounds. The actual challenge before the labor organizations in the new wave is to demand amendments and innovations in institutions. However, to remove exploitation in long the run, we ought to resist and reject

the reformist agenda pronounced in form of globalization and privatization. On the other side, there is a need to understand and be aware of the economically and socially downtrodden class about the existing empirical power positions and their mal-functioning on social, political and economic grounds. This will be helpful to unite the citizens to bring down the imperialistic regimes and support to build an actual pro-people state.

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Forgotten Citizens
of a Lesser Punjab

Simran Kaur Dhatt*

Abstract

One of the most persistent problems faced by the country at present is that of 'farmers' suicides' due to the agricultural crises in the nation state. Victims of suicide due to this crisis, leave behind families comprising of grandparents, widows, children, un-wed sisters and unsettled brothers. Responsibilities fall on aging parents, widows, or the eldest male child to fend for the family in addition to dealing with the harassment of private money lenders and banks. This paper, by citing multiple cases of such farmers and their families, is an attempt to bring visibility to this exceedingly pertinent yet widely ignored crisis. The paper attempts to study the challenges faced by the families of farmers and landless laborers who have taken their own lives.

Keywords: agrarian crisis, small scale farmers, marginal farmers, landless laborers, suicide, widows, families

*Research scholar, Department of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Introduction

One of the most pressing issues faced by the nation today is that of 'farmers' suicides' due to 'agrarian crises' in the country. Confronted by political, bureaucratic and civil apathy, farmers feel helpless and neglected. The decision to take their own lives, seems to them, as the only solution for their problems. The states affected by the crises include - Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Punjab (Padhi, 2009: 53). Time and again the plight of farmers has been reported by, not only national, but also international media (Ghunnar and Hakhu, 2018: 47).

Suicides by farmers became a major concern for Punjab in the mid-1980s (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2764). After the Green Revolution, small scale and marginal farmers, in their relentless pursuit to practise 'environmentally and economically unsustainable agrarian practices' have been left with 'high debts while lacking alternative sources of income'(Kaur, 2010: 42). Punjab has witnessed the tragic phenomena of suicide among small scale and marginal farmers over the past three decades. Agrarian crises in the state have not only affected farmers but also the landless laborers. Debt traps, reduced workdays and stagnant wages have also compelled landless laborers to commit suicide (Bharti, 2011: 35). Victims of suicide due to agricultural crisis, leave behind families comprising of grandparents, widows, children, un-wed sisters and unemployed brothers. Responsibilities fall on aging parents, widows, or the eldest male child to fend for the family in addition to dealing with the harassment of private money lenders and banks (Padhi, 2009: 53).In the view of Sidhu and Jaijee, these families are neither on the state nor central governments' radar; they have been 'forgotten' by the state (Sidhu and Jaijee, 2011: 236).This paper is an attempt to study the challenges faced by families of farmers and landless laborers who have taken their own lives.

Literature review

Over the past few decades a number of studies have been carried out to analyze the agricultural crisis in India, including the state of Punjab. Studies also give comprehensive insights into the phenomena of suicide among farmers and landless laborers. Gill and Singh have examined the emergence of agrarian crises in Punjab during the post liberalization regime(Gill and Singh, 2006). They explained the multidimensional crises faced by the agricultural sector post green revolution in great detail. Combinations of economic and social factors that compel farmers and landless labourers, to take their own lives, were analyzed. Unemployment, mounting debts, lack of alternative sources of income and declining social support mechanisms were cited as some of the reasons for agrarian related suicides. They also recommended various policy measures that could help in preventing such suicides and suggestions to rehabilitate the families of victims of suicide. Gill attempted to study in detail the nature, extent and causes of suicide amongst agriculturists in the state. The shortcomings of existing policies related to the agrarian crisis in Punjab were discussed in detail and alternative policies were suggested as remedies for this crisis.

In comparison to the above mentioned studies, a few researchers undertook the task of looking into the lives of the family members of suicide victims. Padhi interviewed 32 women in three districts of Punjab, belonging to families that had lost one or more members to agrarian related suicides in the state(Padhi, 2009). These women included mothers, wives, sisters and daughters who had been left behind to fend for their families and themselves. These women faced the challenge of looking after the elderly at home, dealing with private money lenders and banks, paying for the education of children and also marrying off young daughters. Kaur interviewed 31 suicide affected families in a village located in Punjab's worst affected district(Kaur, 2010).

The state of agriculture in Punjab from the colonial era to the era that followed the Green Revolution that led to the strained

relations between Punjab and the Central Government of India has been studied in detail. The detailed account of the challenges that are faced by mothers, sisters, and daughters from the families of the farmers and laborers delineates the psychological, social, and physical health related traumas faced by ageing parents and children. Bharti discussed in detail the plight of landless laborers and their families in 20 villages located in Sangrur, Bathinda, Barnala, and Mansa districts of Punjab(Bharti, 2011). The write-up mentioned that landless laborers of Punjab, about 14.9 lakh in number, were also among the vulnerable group of people prone to committing suicide along with the small scale and marginal farmers in the state. The struggle for survival of widows and the plight of orphans from such families was dwelled upon by the author. In the article, consequences of this social calamity, including mass weddings, changing employment patterns among the children of landless laborers and their right to claim land, were also focussed upon.

Sidhu and Jaijee (2011) studied suicide among farmers in Punjab, from mid-1980's upto 2008. The authors examined the interplay of political and economic factors that led to the miserable condition of agriculturists in the state. They recommended monetary relief to the effected families by paying back loans, providing crop insurance, reduction of interest on agricultural loans and better infrastructure as some of the measures to help improve the condition of farmers. Paramjit (2011) analyzed in detail the economic benefits and ecological costs of Green Revolution in Punjab. During the initial stages, the Green Revolution led to rapid development in the agricultural sector. But soon afterwards the ecological costs that the state would have to pay in the long run became apparent. These ecological costs, to name a few, included infertile soil, exhaustion of ground water, pest-ridden crops and discontentment among the agriculturalists. Singh and Manisha (2015) analysed in detail the agrarian crises in the Malwa Region of Punjab. The authors argued that the government had concentrated on urbanization due to which the rural sector had been marginalized. In the view of the authors,

farmer suicide in post-conflict Punjab was a manifestation of frustration among agriculturalists, due to unfulfilled socio-economic rights.

Dandekar and Bhattacharya (2017) presented their findings from surveys conducted in two districts of India - Yavatmal in Maharashtra and Sangrur in Punjab. These districts were witnesses to very high rates of suicide among farmers. The authors further analyzed preconceived similarities and dissimilarities, between both the two areas. Credit from family members and faulty cropping patterns were cited as some of the reasons for high rate of suicide among farmers in these districts. Pandit Rao and Hakhu (2018) conducted 30 in-depth interviews with 30 families, who had lost family members to agrarian related suicides in Nanded district of Maharashtra. The struggles for survival along with economic and social challenges faced by these families were discussed in detail. The authors also deliberated upon the failure of existing government policies and administrative apathy which have led to further deprivation of the families.

Shiva and Jalees (n.d) discussed the impact of liberalization policies on farmers and agriculture since the implementation of New Economic Policy in 1991. They argued that non-sustainable and un-workable trade liberalization policies have led to an 'agrarian crisis' and consequently suicide among farmers in India. The studies highlight the fact that new policies need to be made and the existing ones improved upon to deal with the agrarian crisis in the country. These studies bring out the negligence of the state in trying to prevent suicide among farmers and landless laborers. They also unearth the ground realities and struggles of the families left behind.

An overview of the agrarian crisis in Punjab

The picture of the content and happy Punjabi farmer in calendar art as the propaganda of the Green Revolution was an illusory one. In

fact, that very image was laying the seeds of the wide-spread agricultural crisis that unfolded 20 years later (Padhi, 2009: 58).

Almost half a century after the Green Revolution, Punjab cannot be called a land of 'peace and prosperity' (Singh, 2011: 68). In the view of Shiva, by going against the principles of Mother Nature, Green Revolution has instead left the state with a number of ecological and socio-economic problems (as cited in Singh, 2011: 69).In the view of Padhi, Punjabi farmers are faced with dilemmas of high cost of fertilizers and seeds, state withdrawing its support, unpredictable rainfall, loss of soil fertility, lack of presence of alternative employment opportunities, and financial indebtedness at the hands of institutional and non-institutional sources (Padhi, 2009: 53). Multi crop pattern of Punjab was replaced by mono crop culture of wheat and paddy cycle during the 1970's as HYV (High Yield Variety) seeds were only available for a few crops (Singh, 2011: 69). This led to an increase in the costs of production and diminishing profits (Sharma, Kaur and Chawla, 2017: 69). Mono crop culture also led to decrease in fertility of soil, as farmers no longer grew pulses which are a source of free nitrogen (Singh, 2011: 70).

Waters from the rivers of Punjab have been diversified into other states which has led to an excessive dependence of farmers on ground water (Kaur, 2010: 49).Ground water levels have been severely diminishing in Punjab to meet agricultural needs. This has led to a rise in the cost of production as small scale farmers and marginal farmers have had to install expensive submersible pump sets in place of traditional pump sets (Singh, 2011: 70). Excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides has had serious consequences on the health of farmers and laborers; fertilizers have also led to the contamination of ground water (Sharma, Kaur and Chawla, 2017: 97). Mechanization of agriculture (Sharma, Kaur and Chawla, 2017: 97) and the slow rate of growth in secondary and tertiary sectors have led to increasing un-employment in the state (Padhi, 2009: 54). In the view of Gill, the cost of production in agricultural sector has increased many folds, but the minimum support price (MSP) provided to the farmers for their produce, by the state, has

not been in their favour. At times, certain situations have also arisen, when farmers have had to sell their produce below the minimum support price (Gill, 2005: 229). Agrarian related suicides in Punjab are a result of compromises that are being made in the rural sector to meet the demands for the proliferation of the urban sector (Kaur, 2010: 55).

Poverty and the inability to pay back loans to institutional and non-institutional sources are some of the main reasons for suicide by small scale farmers, marginal farmers, and landless laborers (Singh and Munisha 111). In the view of Sidhu and Jaijee, when mounting debts bring a Punjabi farmer to 'absolute penury, he is more likely to take his own life rather than beg'(Sidhu and Jaijee, 2011: 132).In the view of Gill, peasantry in Punjab has come under mounting debts due to commercialization of agriculture and the sharp increase in the cost of production. The author further attributes crop failure, decrease in levels of income, and exorbitant expenditures on celebrations as other reasons for mounting debts (Gill, 2005: 226).

According to Bharti, not only farmers but landless laborers are also victims of agrarian crisis in Punjab. A study carried out by Punjabi University, Patiala, in 2007 reveals that almost 70 % of laborers in the state are under debt (as cited in Bharti, 2011: 35).The author further states that landless laborers get loans from landlords and shopkeepers at a high rate of interest. The study goes on to explain how landless laborers get caught up in the 'chain of slavery' in an attempt to pay back the loans and the principal amount (Bharti, 2011: 35).

Research design and methodology

The following steps were followed for the collection of data and methodology design:

Sample for data collection

A study was conducted in Sangrur District of Punjab in March 2018. The profile of district Sangrur is best described by Sidhu and Jiajee who state that the 'economy of the district is dominated by agriculture; there is absence of heavy industry and almost negligible existence of small-scale or light industry' (Sidhu and Jiajee, 2011: 28). Sangrur is one of the relatively backward and poorer districts of Punjab (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2764). Studies reveal that Sangrur is one of the districts in which a high number of suicides are reported among small scale farmers, marginal farmers, and landless laborers (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2764). Southern Punjab based NGO called the Movement against State Repression (MASR) has reported 1,738 suicides in 91 villages of Sangrur district between 1988 and 2014 (as cited in Singh and Munisha 109). Sangrur based NGO, Baba Nanak Educational Society, monitors a cluster of 135 villages in the subdivisions of Lehra, Moonak, Sunam (district Sangrur), and Budhlada (district Mansa). Between 1st January and 31st December 2017, the society has documented the suicides of 70 farmers and agricultural laborers from these villages.

In the view of Singh, high levels of commercialization of agriculture, decline in traditional family support system, lack of the existence of formal safety system, indebtedness to institutional and non-institutional financial sources along with social and family pressures are some of the reasons for suicide in the district (Singh, 2011: 219). According to Gill and Singh, indebtedness to institutional and non-institutional financial sources, economic distress, crop failure, alcoholism, marital and domestic discord, drug addiction et cetera, have led to a high number of suicides among small scale farmers, marginal farmers, and landless laborers in Sangrur (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2765).

Research design and interview data

For the purpose of data collection, a Sangrur based NGO named

'Baba Nanak Educational Society' was contacted. The society has been working with families of victims of suicide (Victims-Small Scale Farmers, Marginal Farmers and Landless Laborers) in the district for the past few decades. A study was conducted among nine families in three villages of Arkwas, Chotian, and Balran. Case study and observation methods were employed in the study. Semi-structured questionnaire was designed with the help of experts in the field. Oral consent was taken from all participants. To maintain privacy of those interviewed, names have been changed.

It was observed that it would be incorrect to categorize the nuclear families into water tight compartments, as in one of the cases, two of the widows along with their children lived just a few feet away from their in-laws and other relatives' houses; though one of the widows received more support from her in-law's family

Table 1

Families interviewed in each village

Name of the Village	Number of Families Interviewed
Arkwas	3
Chotian	4
Balran	2
Total	9

During data collection it was observed that there were both joint and nuclear families.

Table 2

Type of family

Type of Family	Number
Joint Family	6
Nuclear Family	3
Total	9

than the other. In-laws of the other widow had put up a semi-pacca wall dividing the courtyard between the two houses into two parts. Another widow, Joginder Kaur, living with her three adult sons, revealed in due course of the interview that she had not been able to marry off her sons due to extreme financial constraints. In one of the joint families, the widows of two brothers, Aman Kaur and Baljit Kaur, lived together with their children. The elder brother in the family took his life in 2001 and the younger brother in 2016. As the families lived together, they had six acres of land and a common live stock of buffalos. This way they act as a support system for each other. While speaking to the interviewer, the younger widow used the term 'bank-defaulter' with reference to her family. Her husband and brother-in-law had not been able to pay back the bank loans. She hopes that in the near future, children in the family will get good jobs and pay back the loans.

Among the families interviewed it was observed that it was generally the families of landless laborers who lived in semi-pacca houses, while the families of small scale farmers and marginal farmers had pacca houses.

Meet Kaur, a young widow of a landless labourer, lives in a semi-pacca house with her two children. The family took loans from banks, private money lenders, and relatives to renovate their house and meet other expenses. Unable to pay back the loans, Meet Kaur's husband ended his life by hanging himself to a Neem tree in the courtyard. The young widow's husband did his best to renovate the house. In-spite of his hard labor and the loans that he took, he was not able to renovate it completely. Washroom in the

Table 3
Type of house

Type of House	Number
Pacca House	6
Simi-Pacca House	3
Total	9

house needed renovation; it did not have a door or a roof. It also needed a gate at the entrance. He took his own life before he could raise the level of the living area to the level of the courtyard in the house. During rainy season, rain water entered into the living area, flooding it. Research scholars from India and abroad visit Sangrur to interview the families. In 2017, a young researcher from United States spent a considerable amount of time with one of the surviving families of a small scale farmer. On-going back to the State, she got in touch with the family in India and sent them enough money to renovate their house.

As stated by one of the social workers, 'Some years back most of the families enjoyed better economic status.' Six families interviewed had decent sanitation facilities available in their house. A trend that was noticed was that families of the landless laborers and those living in a nuclear set up, had insufficient sanitation facilities available in the house. Charanjit Kaur, widow of a landless laborer, lives with her three daughters and one son in a semi-pacca house. Although they had bathing facility in the house, but for other purposes the women had to go to the Kikkar forest near their house. Out of the nine families interviewed, seven families reported of having bore wells at home through which they had access to drinking water. But they revealed that the water was affecting their health as it was not purified water. Only one of the families had a water purifier installed in the house. Meet Kaur, a widow in Ark was who did not have a bore well at home, had to make do with the water from the hand-pump in her house, even though it was not healthy for her children. There was purified drinking water available at the Government RO. But she could not afford to buy it for Rs. 100 per month for a ration of fifteen litres of water every day. Another concern relating to water in the district of Sangrur was falling ground water levels. As a social worker explained, the ground water tables were falling at a rapid rate in Sangrur. This put added pressure on the bore well, leading to constant breakdown of the motor. Joginder Kaur from village Balran lost her husband a few years back. The bore well in their fields was constantly breaking down. Her husband put in a lot of

effort and money into repairing it. This was one of the reasons he decided to take his own life.

All the families complained that Government Hospitals were not good, that there were not enough doctors, and the facilities provided needed improvement. They chose to go to private doctors instead of visiting governmental hospitals. One reason for the mounting debts against the family of a deceased landless laborer Sant Singh, were the expenses that were being incurred to pay for the treatment of his ailing wife at a private health care centre.

A positive note that came out of the study was that none of the children and young adults of the families interviewed were school drop outs. In Chotian village, Daljit Kaur, widow of a landless labourer, has two sons. She works for the local Muslim artisans in the village. Her thirteen years old son wanted to leave school and start working at the same place. But Daljit did not let him do so, even though that would have brought in much needed extra income. She made him continue school. All the children and young adults of the families were going to government or private

Table 4
Level of education being perused by children and young adult

Class / Level	Number of Students
VI	1
VII	2
IX	1
X	4
+1	3
+2	3
B.C.A	2
Total Number	16

Table 5. Mode of schooling opted by student

Mode of Schooling Opted by Student	Number of Students
Regular School	12
Open School	2
Total	14

educational institutions and were pursuing their education through regular mode or distance education / open board. Table 4 throws light on education perused by the children and young adults.

Two of the older children of the families interviewed choose to peruse their education through Open School as Table 5 would bring to focus.

Daljit Kaur's elder son was pursuing Class X through open board. He did odd jobs in the village so that he could contribute some money to the house hold. He chose to do so, so that he could take care of his mother and younger brother. Meenu Kaur in Class XII also opted for the completion of her education through open school. She, along with her family, took this decision as they were of the opinion that education in the government school near their house was not good. Also, the school did not have enough teachers. Private schools in the area were too expensive. Meenu stayed at home and helped her mother in house-hold chores. She missed going to a regular school because she met her friends there every day and also got an opportunity to play games.

None of the families sending their children to government schools were satisfied with the educational services offered. Government schools were the last resort for these families to educate their children because the private schools were too expensive. Out of the eight students studying in private schools,

Table 6
Type of school attended

Type of School	Number
Government School	4
Private School	8
Open School	2
Total	14

seven were receiving financial aid from a Sangrur based NGO and the eighth student was being provided education free of cost by the private school itself. One of the girls pursuing education from open school was also receiving financial help from the Sangrur based NGO for continuing her education. The two graduate students pursuing B.C.A were being provided education free of cost by the private college they were enrolled in.

The families interviewed found it very hard to keep up with expenses being incurred in educating their children. Many agreed that if they had more resources, their children would have been able to have access to better educational opportunities and professional training. Satwant Kaur in the village Ark was had two sons and one daughter. Her children wanted to prepare for competitive exams but, she did not have enough resources to make them join coaching centres. One view that was unanimously voiced by all the families interviewed was that, they would delay their daughters' marriages, till the time their daughters completed their education and had good jobs. All the families interviewed consistently agreed that they did not want their children to take up agriculture as the only means of livelihood. They wanted a better future for their children, as they themselves had lived extremely difficult lives because of their dependence solely on agriculture as a means of earning. All the families wanted their children to receive higher education and get well-paid jobs. While some spoke of despair, others were of the opinion that their children had no other option but to diversify into other professions. Baljit Kaur in

village Chotian explained that agriculture was no longer a viable profession for her children as the returns were very less. Her children would have to take up other jobs along with agriculture to pay back the family debts and also meet other expenses.

There were some who had lost all hope about the future and were of the opinion that their children might end up as laborers on bigger farms. Gian Kaur, who was interviewed in Village Chotian, had lost her son in 2014. She was concerned about the future of her grandson, because after losing her son, there was no one in the family to teach him how to cultivate the land. As all the children were continuing their education, most of them knew what they wanted to do in the future. While some wanted to become teachers, others spoke about working in banks or becoming doctors. Improving language skills in English, learning skills like stitching and embroidery were also popular among the girls. As already mentioned above, Meenu Kaur a student of Class XII, was of the view that it was unfortunate she had to do schooling from open board, while her brother went to a private school. She was of the opinion that there was no difference between boys and girls. Both boys and girls should be given equal opportunity to higher education so that girls could also have access to well-paid and decent job opportunities. Just like boys, girls could also help in contributing money to the household income.

In the view of Kaur, 'While the agrarian debt and suicides do not create gender biases, they reinforce these biases, stacking odds heavily against women and girls.'(Kaur, 2010: 49) In an already existing patriarchal set up, women and young girls become more vulnerable to domination and subordination to men in their families. During the course of interviews, it was observed that the surviving brother-in-laws (whether elder or younger) themselves assumed the position of being spokesperson for their widowed sister-in-laws. They had to be pacified so as to give a chance to the widow, to express her views during the interview. Widows living with their in-laws did not have any of the property to their names. The property either belonged to the father-in-law or the brother-in-law. In Ark was village, the family of a small-scale-farmer who was

no more, did not qualify for farm loan waiver as the farming land was still documented with the surviving father-in-law's name. Widow of a small-scale farmer, Geet Kaur, had twin daughters aged fourteen years. She had been sent back to her parents' house after her husband's death. At the time, her daughters were only two years old. Her father-in-law and brother-in-law refused to give her, her share of her husband's property or compensation received from the government. Even on persuasion from the village panchayat, her in-laws refused to give the twin daughters their due share in property and compensation.

All the women interviewed, excluding one, were of the view that it was inappropriate for them to work in the fields, even under the present circumstances. They felt guilty that after they lost their husbands they had to send their young sons to work in the fields. But all of them had a livestock of buffaloes which helped them to earn some money by selling the milk. In the family of landless laborers with three sisters, their only brother had to forgo any job opportunities that he got away from the village, because of safety concerns for his sisters and mother. He had to make do with odd jobs that were available within the village. Young girls interviewed during the course of study revealed that they felt unsafe to go out of their houses at night because of the lurking presence of drug users and those drinking alcohol. In the families of the victims of suicide related to agrarian crises, the task of marrying daughters and arranging for wedding expenses including dowry, which included *gold, utensils, fridge, sofa, bed, motor-cycle, cooler, television, et cetera,* fell on the mothers and brothers. During interviews it was noted that brothers were deeply concerned about the dowry that had to be provided for their sisters. Their mothers mentioned that it was taking a toll on their respective sons' health. In Village Chotian, two of the daughters, Sunita and Reet, belonging to a family of land less laborers, had been sent back to their parent's house as their family had not been able to provide enough dowry to meet the demands of their respective in-laws. The family was constantly under threat by families of the in-laws of their daughters. Both the sisters, unlike their own circumstances,

wanted their younger sister to finish her education, get a job, and then get married.

Interviews with families revealed failure of the state to do away with pending loans to be paid by these families, lack of compensation as promised in the governmental policy, and the lack of support in dealing with the private money lenders. As one of the widows put it, the government only remembered their concerns during election times. Once elections were won, the party in power always failed to deliver all that had promised in their respective election manifestos. Interviewed widows had different experiences to report. One widow had a grievance about families whose loans had been waivered while the bread winners of the families were still alive. She failed to understand the comparative lack of consideration for her case. Another widow revealed that in other districts of Punjab, farm loans had been waivered, but a number of farmers in Sangrur including her family, were still under the burden of farm loan distress. Only one of the families of a small scale farmer spoke about receiving compensation in the village of Ark was. While being interview, the widow in the family revealed that present government had stopped giving her ration under *Atta Dal Scheme* and reduced pension that she was receiving under previous government from ? 2200 to? 1500. None of the other families claimed to have received compensation or any kind of support from the government. Families that had taken loans from private money lenders were constantly being harassed for paying back the loans. In Chotia Village, a widowed mother of two children said that most of the time she borrowed money from private money lenders to pay back debts she had previously owed to other private money lenders, and did the same to pay off newly incurred debts. That is how she managed her life through this vicious circle of debts.

Solutions

Before reviewing the recommendations presented by various authors on how to help the families of the victims of suicide, it becomes essential to find solutions to the root cause of the crisis. To

begin with, farmers should be encouraged to follow indigenous cropping patterns that are in alliance with the soil and climate of the area (Dandekar and Bhattacharya, 2017: 83). Diversification into other economic spheres and creation of alternative employment opportunities should be undertaken by the government (Thatai, 2015: 91). Strict laws pertaining to the supply of seeds should be implemented so as to protect farmer rights (Shiva and Jalees 49). Policies pertaining to the diversification of waters of the rivers of Punjab should be revised in favour of the state (Kaur, 2010: 55). Simplification of institutionalized credit systems and penalization of money lenders charging exorbitant rates of interests should be put to effect (Shiva and Jalees 49). Minimum Support Price (MSP) for crops should be increased in proportion to National Price Index, which will help to counter balance inflation (Kaur, 2010: 54). To minimize the cost of pesticides and fertilizers, organic farming should be encouraged (Shiva and Jalees 49). Pension fund and crop insurance should be provided so as to offer a security net to those who are vulnerable to agrarian related suicides (Kaur, 2010: 54).

Victims of agrarian related suicide leave behind a family of traumatized survivors who are in a state of depression and dejection (Ghunnar and Hakhu, 2018: 51). In the view of Padhi, women who are usedto a hetero-patriarchal set up, are suddenly left behind with children and elderly of the family. They have to deal with un-paid loans, expenses of the family, and cope up with various agrarian issues which were previously dealt with by their husbands (Padhi, 2009: 53). Mothers report of behavioural changes in their children due to the trauma caused by such incidents (Ghunnar and Hakhu, 2018:51).According to MASR, 'the elderly display signs of deteriorating health, including depression' (as cited in Kaur, 2010: 49). Ageing parents of the victims of suicide felt unfortunate to be alive (Ghunnar and Hakhu, 2018: 51). They were completely dependent on their farmer sons to take care of them during their old age (Kaur, 2010: 49). In light of such circumstances, it becomes essential for the government and civil society to rehabilitate these families.

Kaur suggests that the civil society should help in changing social norms to curtail excessive spending on weddings and dowry. The author further suggests that state government needs to ensure regular teacher attendance in schools, implement school programmes to retain the children of such families in school, and start vocational training centres to provide income generating skills other than agriculture (Kaur, 2010: 55). Younger children can be provided free of cost skill-oriented education, while older children can be provided jobs which will help in rehabilitating families (Gill and Singh 2766). Central government needs to provide relief packages to such families as it has done in other states (Thatai 91). NGOs and voluntary organizations can also provide financial assistance to the families (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2766). Shiva and Jalees suggest that the financial aid provided to the families should be made into fixed deposits with a provision for quarterly payment of interest (Shiva and Jalees: 49). Instalments and interests paid on loans should be substantially lowered (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2766). On losing the only earning member, widow / old age pension schemes should be provided to such families. A moratorium on debts of the deceased person's family should be put to immediate effect. Lastly, the writing off debts on the deceased person's family should be made a part of the rehabilitation package (Gill, 2005: 236). Non-partisan organizations need to be constituted which will identify such aggrieved families so that timely compensation can be provided to them (Gill and Singh, 2006: 2766).

The interviewed families themselves gave some recommendations on how they could be rehabilitated. Firstly, the families wanted financial assistance or free of cost education to be provided to their children. Secondly, they wanted secure jobs for their children which would help in uplifting the financial status of the family. Thirdly, the families wanted state government to put farm loan waivers into immediate effect. Lastly, they recommended the timely and fair distribution of compensation packages, which were in accordance with present rate of inflation in the economy.

Conclusion

Economists and human rights activists attribute aggressive policies of Green revolution and urbanization to the state of agrarian crisis in Punjab. Small farmers, marginal farmers, and landless laborers have been pushed to socio-economic peripheries of our society. To meet household and agrarian demands, they become trapped in the vicious circle of institutionalized and non-institutionalized debts. Dejected and depressed, the farmers and laborers choose to put an end to their lives. The number of suicides is very high in places like the district of Sangrur due to various reasons like excessive dependence on agriculture as a source of income, lack of alternative employment opportunities in secondary and tertiary sectors, and falling ground water levels.

The families of victims of suicide are left behind to take care of themselves. As studies indicate, the victims of suicide are in most cases the only earning members of the family. Families left behind consist of ageing parents, young children who are still dependent on their parents, and wives as well as sisters who have been previously bound by the hetero-patriarchal set up. Such circumstances leave the families in a state of social, psychological and economic trauma. The need of the hour is for the government to prevent such suicides in the first place, and secondly, design and effectively implement rehabilitation policies for the families. Civil society and NGOs can also help in bringing about relief to the distressed families.

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Exploring the Tibetan 'Dreamland' through the Literature of their Diaspora in India

Gursaya Grewal*
Prakriti Rana**

Abstract

The existence of Tibetans as unique people and as a culture in themselves continues to be challenged and the socio-cultural as well as political identity of the Tibetan diaspora in India remains complicated. In light of asserted occupation by China, it is no longer the physical manifestation of a free, sovereign nation that Tibetans can identify themselves with. This paper explores the idea of Tibet and how it exists in the collective imagination of Tibetans-in-exile, particularly those in India, through an examination of their contemporary literature. Literature plays a significant role in the articulation and assimilation of their ideas, thereby helping them to establish an integrated identity that seeks to reclaim their traditional homeland. This paper draws upon both primary and secondary contemporary sources in the form of original creative writing, personal accounts, memoirs, interviews, etcetera. The aim of this paper is to provide a selective review of the

* Student of BA Hons, 3rd year, PU-ISSER. Email: sayagrewal23 @gmail.com

**Student of BA Hons, 3rd year, PU-ISSER. Email: prakritirana25 @gmail.com

literary landscape of the Tibetans-in-exile, the sociological and political circumstances that inform this body of work, and how it deals with the various contemporary concerns regarding their 'Dreamland'.

Keywords: Tibetan diaspora, Tibetan identity, Tibetan literature

Introduction

Socio-political relations between (unified) Tibet and China have been subjected to a myriad of fluctuations ever since their first encounter in 7th century CE. While there have been periods of relative peace between the two countries, they have, more often than not, shared mutually suspicious diplomatic ties, midst China's claim of an ancient right of suzerainty over Tibet and the latter's repeated assertions of autonomy. As a result of these political frictions, the two countries have often been at war.

After the end of the civil war in China and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Communist Party of China under Mao's orders began encroaching upon Tibet's borders in 1950 under the pretext of 'liberating' Tibet from its backwardness. The Seventeen Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed between China and Tibet and it affirmed Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. Though the Chinese assert that the document was signed mutually, their claim is contrary to the stance opted for by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) which stresses the fact that Tibetan delegates were forced to sign under duress. Though the control of External Affairs and Defense were to be in the hands of the Chinese Government, it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with the Tibetan religion, customs, and her internal administration.

Simmering discontent among the Tibetans (especially in Kham and Amdo) with regard to Chinese actions (subjection to socialist reform) and the precarious position of the fourteenth

Dalai Lama culminated in the Lhasa Rebellion of 1959,the events which triggered his flight to India. Following this, the PRC established full control over Tibet and began executing its socialist program much to the dismay of the natives who found themselves subjected to atrocities and racial aggression. Such dire conditions prompted a steady flow of Tibetan refugees to India encouraged by the residence of the Dalai Lama in India.

Negotiating and constructing identities in exile

For the Chinese, territorial colonization of Tibet went hand in hand with its mental subjugation. Literature, under Mao's rule, was primarily meant as an apparatus for the state to disseminate its relentless ideology. With the flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959, Tibetans came in contact with formal education which helped to crystalize their ideas of liberty and also to galvanize the exiled population for the Free Tibet movement. English was warmly welcomed in this case as it served the purpose of introducing the culture and history of Tibet to the world and consequently, in garnering international support for the Tibetan cause. Moreover, it allowed them access to the works of writers belonging to other countries and nationalities and brought them in contact with Western political thought. This can be seen especially in the imbuement of the ideals of democracy as the Dalai Lama announced his retirement in 2011 from the 'assumed...spiritual and temporal rule over Tibet'. He insisted, 'The leadership democratically elected by the Tibetan people should take over the complete political responsibilities of Tibet'.

However, their geographical relocation has introduced complexities to the consolidation of their identity with the varying interpretations of what constitutes 'true' Tibetanness. While the Tibetans inside Tibet have been consistently subjected to a sinicization of their culture, the Tibetans-in-exile in India have had to deal with the forces of acculturation. The acculturative stimuli bring in new aspects to this Tibetan identity thereby inducing fundamental modifications to this construct that is subjected to

unceasing reconstructions and negotiations. The narrow view of the Tibetan culture that is a part of the exile community's collective consciousness has been subjected to fluidity, hybridity or change but within permitted boundaries, that is, only so long as they are helpful in advancing the Tibetan cause. This stringent 'cultural revitalization' in exile has not only been formulated to maintain an authentic Tibetanness but also to take a stand against the rigorous cultural genocide carried out by the PRC in Tibet proper.

In conjunction with the issue of a unifying identity, their problems of citizenship can also be looked into. The Central Tibetan Administration has categorically maintained that Tibet with its unique culture, religion, and language has been an independent nation (from at least 1912 onwards) and this according to them is testified to by a number of treaties that the country has signed with foreign sovereign states. Their status in India remains that of glorified guests.(India does not recognize Tibet as a sovereign state). Theoretically, Tibetans-in-exile are allowed to apply for Indian citizenship but they refuse to do so as their status as refugees not only counters China's occupation of Tibet but also stands as a testimony to distinct political identity.

Citizenship is defined as 'the status of a person recognized under the customs or law as being a member of a state.' Thus, individuals who do not possess citizenship status of any state are said to be 'stateless'. Much of the Tibetan diaspora can be considered as stateless diaspora –'those dispersed segments of nations that have been unable to establish their own independent states' (Dawa, 2016: 44).

Literature has been used quite effectively to articulate and portray such issues of the Tibetan Diaspora in India. A distinct literary body started consolidating itself with the transmission of the Buddhist canon into English. In addition to this, exiled Tibetans from laypersons to aristocrats wrote (auto)biographies in English with the help of sympathetic Western friends. According to Heather Stoddard, these modern biographies represent 'one of the earliest and fullest expressions of a new kind of awareness

concerning Tibetan identity'. This becomes even more imperative in galvanizing the Tibetan youth 'who inherit a lost history and walk towards an uncertain future' (Bhoil, 2011: 760).

Expressing political and cultural contradictions through the literary medium

As Tibetans-in-exile become increasingly torn between dual loyalties (to 'Tibet' as well as the host nation), an instrumental role is played by spiritual and social leaders in importing and unifying the behavioural, organizational, and cultural ways of the homeland into the host country. These leaders play a crucial role in inspiring a Tibetan sensibility or a distinct sense of 'Tibetanness' amongst the scattered diaspora. His Holiness, the fourteenth Dalai Lama by the name of Tenzin Gyatso, remains a unifying symbol for the Tibetans-in-exile as not only their political and spiritual leader but also as a living embodiment of what is Tibet and additionally, a spearhead for the Free Tibet movement. As Serin Houston and Richard Wright argue, 'He symbolizes Tibet; he represents a grand narrative' (Serin & Wright, 2003: 218).

Dalai Lama creates images of Tibet, builds community through alliances among the residential and exiled Tibetan populations, sustains non-Tibetan and Tibetan Buddhist believers, works towards Tibetan self-determination and functions as the central locus of power and identity within the Tibetan diaspora (Serin & Wright, 2003: 218).Tenzin Seldon, a Tibetan student at Stanford and a Free Tibet Activist remarked, in conversation with reporter Zoe Levitt, that Tibet is often viewed through the Dalai Lama (*Articulation and More*). Echoing similar sentiments in his poem *Desperate Age*, Tenzin Tsundue writes, 'Kill my Dalai Lama ⁄ That I can believe no more' (Tsundue, 2017: 10)Similarly, Tsoltim N. Shakabpa, poet and political activist, in his poem *Happy Birthday, Your Holiness* addresses the Dalai Lama and wishes for his 'agelessness'. This is suggestive of perhaps a collective notion that the cause of Tibet is alive as long as the Dalai Lama is alive. Dalai Lama's position as the spiritual head of all Tibetans reinforces the

cause with morality. Thus, as Bhuchung D. Sonam wrote in his essay *Articulation and More*, the Dalai Lama 'not only represents Tibetans, but remains the most visible symbol of their struggle for freedom'.

Dawa Dolma, while confronting the Tibetan paradoxical problem of strengthening nationalism by maintaining stateless citizenship but also wishing to overcome disempowerment inequalities and curtailed freedom, writes about dual loyalties in *Survival and Revival of Tibetan Ethnic Identity in India. Dolma writes that these divided loyalties consist of 'a collective state of mind such that Diaspora feel they owe allegiance to both the host country and homeland.'* The consciousness of dual loyalties is acknowledged in Tsundue's poem *Losar Greeting* as he opens the piece by writing, 'Though in a borrowed garden you grow, grow well my sister.' (Tsundue, 2017: 10).

Benedict Anderson in his *Long Distance Nationalism* argues that it is only when home is far away that 'home' manifests itself (Falcone & Wangchuk, 2008: 190). It is the loss of the geographical identity that is Tibet and the consequent desire to be there again that leads to an explicitly romanticized reconstruction of its Shangri-la version – it becomes an evocative imaginary concept that can be used to rally the Tibetans-in-exile and also sensitize the international community to the Tibetan cause. A sense of shared history, a common literary language, aspects of genealogy, myth and religion and folkloric notions are what help in formulating a Tibetan identity – one that is imagined as authentic, pure and geographically undifferentiated (Yeh, 2007: 648, 650).

Whereas concepts such as 'nation' are political ideas, the concept of a 'homeland' is an emotional one. It deals with the human experience often neglected by popular discourse while referring to a native land. It invokes memory and consequently, nostalgia. However, when the native land is replaced by a perceptual region (as in the case for later-generation exiles) and emotion is invoked without situating nostalgia in real memory from this region, a 'Homeland' becomes a 'Dreamland'. The

Tibetan Dreamland can be viewed as an imaginative geography superimposed over a physical geographic space. When this dreamland is perceived of, it provokes a yearning to 'return', to situate oneself within the 'distant' realm responsible for creating a 'binding' identity. These yearnings often exist in the future – in the eventual 'One Day'.In *My Tibetanness*, Tenzin Tsundue writes: 'I am Tibetan./ But I am not from Tibet./ Never been there./ Yet I dream/ Of dying there' (Tsundue, 2017: 13). This is reflective of a hope that Tibet will achieve sovereignty within the lifetimes of those who fight for it. Similar hopes of return manifesting in the future are seen in *Losar Greeting*:

> This Losar
> When you attend your Morning Mass,
> Say an extra prayer
> That the next Losar
> We can celebrate back in Lhasa.
>
> When you attend your convent classes
> Learn an extra lesson
> That you can teach children back in Tibet.(Tsundue, 2017: 10)
>
> The poem *Exile House* begins with the lines:
> our tiled roof dripped
> and the four walls threatened to fall apart.
> But we were going home soon. (Tsundue, 2017: 25)

     This image of a dilapidating house is symbolic of the crushed spirit and discomfort of living in a host country and the acceptance of this discomfort as transient, which also invokes the ideas of Buddhism. Tsering Wangmo Dhompa's poem *Home, a transitive* also expresses the longing for a home that only exists in memory. She writes: '… We were sitting in a room fused/ of desire, not for the other but for the one/ from the past whose lashings/ we scratch in our dreams, as salve' (Dhompa, 2017).

Tsoltim Shakabpa's poem *I Pray* is an extended expression of the hope to return and again captures how the Tibetan diasporic community in India lives in the future. He writes: 'I Pray, in unison╱ With our people╱ For the day when we will╱ Sing and dance, sleep and awake╱ In a land we can call our own' (Shakabpa, 2007).Bhuchung D Sonam closes his poem *A Song from a Distance* with the lines:'One day╱ You and I will have╱ A bowl of *thukpa*╱ In that dingy Lhasa hotel╱ You and I will be╱ Snow lions roaming╱ In the mountains of Nyenchen Thangla' (Sonam, 2008).

Often, the second generation Tibetans-in-exile perceive Tibet only as a 'Home away from Home'. As they engage in a process of romanticizing only what they have heard about, but never seen, they render this nostalgia perceived by them questionable (Dawa, 2016: 46).This vicariously-infused nostalgia is easily weakened by increasing assimilation into the host country. Tsundue's *Exile House* is a quintessential representation of such a scenario.

> Our tiled roof dripped
> and the four walls threatened to fall apart
> but we were to go home soon,
>
> We grew papayas
> in front of our house
> chillies in our garden
> and c*hangmas* for our fences,
> then pumpkins rolled down the cowshed thatch
> calves trotted out of the manger,
>
> grass on the roof,
> beans sprouted and
> climbed the vines,
> money plants crept in through the window,
> our house seems to have grown roots.
>
> The fences have grown into a jungle,
> now how can I tell my children
> where we came from? (Tsundue, 2017: 25)

The diasporic sensibility of being a second-generation Tibetan-in-exile is also explored in Tsundue's poem *Refugee which states:*'When I was born/ My mother said/ You are a refugee […]/ On your forehead/ Between your eyebrows/ There is an R embossed/ My teacher said' (Tsundue, 2017: 14). This throws light upon how some aspects of diasporic identities are acquired by inter-generational transfers. Even confusion about the word 'refugee' has been expressed by the poet Tsering Wangmo Dhompa:

> I understood the word to signal a feature of a sentient being, so I thought my classmates were Indian 'refugees.' The word 'refugee,' announced and used in English, signified fixed images of despair, displacement, and death. It did not contain the swirling and de-centred world, where every day– despite the losses deeply embedded within its structure–resorted to occasional adjustments and 'situations. (Dhompa, 2017)

In adjusting to India, the Tibetan diaspora deals with the weight of carrying around an unbalanced hyphenated identity. While the first generation diaspora turns distinguishing factors of their homeland culture into symbols for their 'Tibetanness', (such as food, clothing, etcetera), second generation diaspora let go of these obvious symbols to better assimilate the dominant culture. 'At every check post and office/ I am an 'Indian-Tibetan'./ My Registration Certificate/ I renew every year with a *salaam.*/ A foreigner born in India.' (Tsundue, 2017: 13)Tsundue's *My Tibetanness* points to his hyphenated existence and the unbalance of it as well. The use of the word 'Salaam' here is instrumental in the portrayal of a Tibetan assimilating in India.

In an interview for *Daily Star* in December 2003, Ajit Baral asked Tsundue whether his 'Tibetanness' increasingly asserted itself as he grew older (Tsundue, 2017:51). Tsundue responded by saying:

> I see my birth as being thrown off the cliff. Somehow I got hold of a root to hang on to. I can neither climb up, nor am I willing to let go and fall down. This is the struggle I fight every day.

Tibetans-in-exile are stateless. We would be labelled '*splittists'* in Tibet; and in exile, except for the Dalai Lama and the Karampa, no one is granted official asylum. We are not even refugees by law. Tibetan youngsters born in exile are so passionate about Tibet, but they have never seen Tibet in their life. We are living in limbo. (…) The more I am aware of these realities, the more I am conscious of it. I feel the anxiety. I want to belong somewhere. All that is available are the tiny cultural roots the Tibetan elders are offering us. (Tsundue, 2017)

Dandelions of Tibet by Bhuchung D. Sonam reads as follows:

They were in full foliage
The dandelions of Tibet,
When the hail stormed
Maiming all that there was,
Each yellow petal estranged
From the mother bud,
Roam aimless in strange meadows
Where they rot unknown and unclaimed. (Sonam, 2008)

This poem by Bhuchung D Sonam is an extended metaphor poem where the traditional folk of Tibet are seen as 'Dandelions'. This could be seen as a reference to the peaceful nature of Tibetans who largely follow the compassionate and non-violent teachings of Buddhism. At the same time, it is important to ask why the poet picked Dandelions out of all the possible flower varieties available to pick from. The imagery of dandelion wings breaking free from the stem and scattering in the air when a strong gush of wind blows could be seen as Tibetans being forced to flee, being displaced by the 'blow' of strong forces of militant China. This is to say that China has blown them away in the wind. 'Each yellow petal estranged from the mother bud' could pertain to the Tibetan individuals displaced from their traditional motherland who now roam in 'strange meadows', or the foreign lands of host counties.

A common narrative of the Tibetan stateless diaspora is the 'myth' of returning to their homeland (Dawa, 2016: 43). Much of the diasporic literature produced by Tibetans who once lived in their traditional homeland, traces the transformation of memory into nostalgia.

In exile is a poem by Bhuchung D Sonam in which he sets the scene of an old reminiscent man sitting under a symbolic Weeping Willow. He goes on to write: 'He is somewhere, somewhere else./ A windswept pass,/ A flutter of prayer flags,/ A nodding field of barley in his home./ Images valid only his memory'(Sonam, 2008). The poem closes with the lines:

> 'An old man below a weeping willow is
> hope submitting to memories
> hope submitting to memories'(Sonam, 2008).

In his poem, *Song of an old Tibetan*, he writes: 'I sing for […]/ The Promised Land/ The snow sunk upland/ Closer to where I want to die.'(Sonam, 2008).

Conclusion

Tibetan diasporic literature produced in India can thus be seen as a medium through which this diaspora remains personally and vicariously related to their traditional homeland. For a community of peaceful people governed by non-violent ideologies, this body of work also becomes instrumental in asserting a voice of opposition to China, in mobilizing sentiments globally, in passing down Tibetan roots, preserving the culture and exploring what it means to be Tibetan in today's world. In fact, the act of bringing into creation such literature is in itself a decisive attempt to shape a distinct cultural identity. Tibetan diasporic literature is fuelled with an ancestral impulse as it navigates a new literary perspective through diasporic mindscapes of longing, identity, unsettlement, cause, and socio-cultural landscapes of dislocation, statelessness,

and struggle. A broad statement could be made to say that Tibetan diasporic literaturein India is the literature of reclamation.

Though Tibetan disaporic writing has been impactful in the sensitization of non-Tibetans to the freedom movement, some writers point to the issue of a majority of this work being written in English. Tenzin Dorjee writes in his essay *The Revolution will be Tweeted in Tibetan*that:'Language is a cornerstone of nationhood. The Tibetan people's collective ability to communicate ideas, share stories, conduct business, and express opinions in a unique language all our own is one of the strongest arguments for Tibetan sovereignty.'

Dorjee illustrates how Tibetans are strengthening their linguistic bond at the grassroots level by making conscious efforts to print signs in Tibetan wherever possible and to discontinue conversing in Chinese with each other. Bhuchung D Sonam writes:

> An appeal signed by 27 Tibetan writers living in exile also clearly expresses this concern. As Tibetan writers, we consider language as the core identity of the Tibetan people. The survival of our identity depends on our language and to destroy a language is to destroy people and their identity.(Sonam, 2008).

It is suggested therefore that a greater body of diasporic writings written in Tibetan will account for an even stronger assertion of identity. Such literature should be supported and encouraged at all costs. Ringdol and Bhuchung D Sonam write in *Let Tibet be Tibet*: 'You are China of the Red Regime/ I am Tibet of the Zone of Peace/ No lane to pace along together/ Please, let Tibet be Tibet'(Sonam, 2008). 'I have a culture/ It is called Tibet/ I have a name/ It is called Tibet./ I have a future/ It is called Tibet'((Sonam, *Losar*, 2008).

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Subject/Abject: Citizen in a Post-disaster Society in Indra Sinha's *Animal's People*

Jaidev Bishnoi*

Abstract

The liberating potential and apparent neutrality of citizenship becomes untenable when one takes it out of the legal domain to the social contexts in which it is actualized. In the context of a society afflicted by disaster, it becomes all the more difficult to retrieve the 'citizen' from the preponderance of eventualities post facto. In fact, disaster destabilizes and disrupts the normative that makes citizenship realisable. The paper attempts to elaborate on the instability and slipperiness of the category of 'citizen' in a society afflicted by an industrial disaster as represented in Indra Sinha's novel *Animal's People*. The novel is set in the backdrop of the Bhopal Gas tragedy which caused thousands of deaths and left many more crippled from the after-effects of the deadly poison. The denizens of the post-disaster city in the novel regard themselves not as national subjects or citizens but as 'the people of the Apokalis [apocalypse]'. The apocalypse breaks the normal

*Senior Research Fellow, Department of English and Cultural Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. Email: jaibish@gmail.com

iterative patterns of subject formation and creates conditions for the 'abject' to take place which tends to remain outside the domain of citizenship.

Keywords: citizenship, post-disaster, abject

Disasters are usually understood as catastrophic events that cause large-scale loss of life and property. The Oxford Dictionary defines disaster as 'a sudden accident or a natural catastrophe that causes great damage or loss of life' (en.oxforddictionaries.com). These definitions are event-centric[1] and hence inadequate to understand the experience of the disasters in the long-run and various socio-political factors contributing to that experience. In the long run, disasters are conceived mostly as events of the past and the post-disaster phase is remembered more often than not as a return to normalcy or equilibrium. However, in the context of contemporary techno-toxicdisasters—like Bhopal and Chernobyl, for instance—the post-disaster normalcy remains marred in contradictions galore. These disasters tend to create 'corrosive communities'[2] involving long-term social, psychological and ecological impacts (Freudenburg, 1997: 26). Post-disaster in such cases need not only be a phase of recovery and rehabilitation, it might as well be a period of persistence of crisis instead. The paper is attempted to elaborate on the predicament of *citizen* in such a context with reference to Indra Sinha's novel *Animal's People.*

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[1]The definition focus mainly on the physical occurrence of the disaster and its immediate impact calculated in terms of human and material loss.

[2]Corrosive community is a term used by disaster researchers to refer to a tendency of community behaviour which emerge in relation to technological or toxic disasters. Characterized by anger, uncertainty, loss of institutional trust, collective stress, self-isolation and litigation, it makes difficult for the community to recover from the disaster and hence the effects of the disaster continue to negatively affect individuals and communities over a long period of time.

Animal's People by Indra Sinha can be a useful text to understand the quandaries of the post-disaster 'recovery' phase of a toxic disaster. A novel is arguably well suited to understand such a scenario in terms of disaster's manifold implications and impacts spread across temporal and spatial scales beyond the immediate physical event[3]. Also, *Animal's People* draws upon the author's research on the fallouts of the Bhopal disaster of 1984 which was caused by a leak of huge amount of extremely dangerous toxins like methyl isocyanate (MIC) from the pesticide plant of the Union Carbide India Ltd. (UCIL) in Bhopal into the air of the city. Estimates vary but it is assumed that the toxins caused the death of around 7,000 people within days and a further 15,000 in the following years and left many more affected by chronic disabilities caused by the after-effects of the poison (Amnesty 2004; Broughton 2005). While fictionally recasting one of the world's worst industrial disasters (Mukherjee, 2010: 134), the novel offers significant insights into the heterogeneity of disaster experience ranging from the individual trauma to socio-political contingencies and ecological repercussions in the long run.

The novel is set in Khaufpur[4] which is apparently a fictional equivalent of the disaster affected Bhopal[5]. It was hit by a disastrous accident in a chemical factory situated at the centre of the city twenty years ago. Khaufpur. The accident left an unending trail of horrors which remain etched in the collective memory of the people of the town. As the novel recounts, it was in the wee hours of a December night that a cloud of poisonous gas engulfed the town. People were caught unawares while sleeping. The scenes after the accident were shocking and horrible, 'On that night it [the

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[3]Though the built-in particularity of a novel, *Animal's People* discloses temporal and special webs of violence on a vast scale (Nixon 2009).

[4]Khaufpur literally means 'the dreadful city'.

[5]Though it should not be considered as an exact replica of Bhopal which it is not. It need not be so as the novel is not an entirely realistic fiction. Sinha remarks in a newspaper article that, 'Khaufpur shares things with, but is not, Bhopal…Khaufpur is every place in which people have been poisoned and then abandoned'.

road leading towards New Delhi] was a river of people, some in their underwear, others in nothing at all, they were staggering like it was the end of some big race, falling down not getting up again…the road was covered with dead bodies' (Sinha, 2008: 31-32).The story is narrated by a nineteen years old street urchin named Animal, who was born a few days before the accident. He survived the accident but all the members of his family perished by the poisonous gas. His own body was permanently crippled by the after-effects of the poison when he was six years old. Hecan't stand upright due to his crooked spine and moves on all four, hence the name 'Animal' given to him by fellow children. The toxins released during the fateful night continue to upset people in Khaufpur, however, the responsible transnational corporation, simply called *Kampani* in the novel, manages to persistent lyevade accountability and culpability for the disaster. Life in Khaufpur remains impacted in various ways by the toxic disaster long after the disaster. The novel exhibits manifold conundrums of a post-disaster society. This paper dwells on the dilemmas of citizenship in such a scenario. The main source of reference is of course the novel *Animal's People*, however, various writings on the fallouts of the Bhopal disaster which the novel is based on are also used.

Citizenship and disaster

Citizenship is said to be the foundational idea on which modern democratic sovereign states are built up. It entails a relationship between the state and its citizens in which the latter are endowed with equal civil, political and social rights which the former must ensure without any discrimination (Marshall, 1950: 28-9). In case the state fails in protecting these rights, the status of citizenship also ideally offers the citizens what Hannah Arendt calls 'right to have rights' which allows them to reclaim their rights through legal or political means. However, the formal status of citizenship does not automatically translate into rights in any substantive form. The emancipatory potential and apparent neutrality of

citizenship arguably become untenable when one takes it out of the legal domain to the social contexts in which it is actualized. In these contexts, citizenship as a camaraderie of the equals may remain fettered in social hierarchies and structural vulnerabilities (Roy, 2010:xii-xiii). In the time of contemporary neoliberalism, while a global plutocracy increasingly encroaches upon the power of sovereign nation-states (Hardt and Negri, 2001: xi-xii), the republican ideal of citizenship has almost become redundant (Balibar, 2016: 67). The flows of global capital and market-oriented developmentalism create new types of exclusions in the form of impoverished rural farmers, fishermen and tribal people, people displaced by developmental projects, urban poor and industrial workers. Such marginal or second-rate citizens are left with little political power whatsoever to have any effective intervention in the matters which decide their present and future. Upendra Baxi suggests an appropriate typology of the 'hierarchies of citizenship' with reference to a country like India in which certain groups, he argues, enjoy the status of 'super-citizens' and are beyond the law, while majority of the impoverished people are reduced to the level of 'subject-citizens' on whom the law applies relentlessly (Baxi, 2006: 59).

Such disjunctions in the realm of citizenship are specifically pronounced in a society afflicted by a disaster. In fact, disaster—natural or industrial—is 'an extraordinarily revealing sort of affliction' which exposes social vulnerabilities, corruption and political loopholes (Alexander, 2005: 25). Since disasters cause large-scale social disruptions which the affected people are not able to cope up with on their own, an immediate intervention by the state is expected for providing relief to the aggrieved. Such eventualities compel the state to become active in arranging the relief work for its citizens. However, the momentary relief provided by the state to the citizens in the time of distress cannot be the final indicator of a state's performance as an upholder of the rights of its citizens. The whole disaster scenario turns out to be far more complex, especially in the context a techno-industrial or toxic disaster such as Bhopal gas leak. Such disasters are not just isolated

events but related to a gradual build-up of a situation which then blows off. The policies and performance of the state certainly impinge on the build-up of these disasters. These disasters reveal a long trail of infringement of citizenship and basic human rights.

For instance, the Bhopal disaster exposed not only state's inability to protect the rights of the citizens but also instances of complicity of the government officials and policy-makers in making of what was to become a disaster of huge proportions. The approval to the hazardous UCIL factory in the heart of a populous city was in itself an instance of disregard for the people's civil rights such as right to life and security. The place within the city was initially marked for light industrial and commercial purposes and not for a hazardous chemical factory (Broughton). But in no time, a giant chemical manufacturing factory was raised at the same place surrounded by crowded colonies. The original plan of the UCIL was to formulate the pesticides from component chemicals imported from elsewhere, but under pressure from competition in global chemical industry, the company started manufacturing intermediate materials such as methyl isocyanate (MIC) at Bhopal itself, which was an extremely dangerous process for a factory situated in the heart of a city. Moreover, at the time of accident the company operated far below the standard safety mechanisms followed in the sister plants in the Western countries. The local government had the information of these safety loopholes, but could not impose strict regulations on the factory[6].

In fact, the global market dynamics and local compulsions for economic growth pushed the Indian state to a position where it was unwilling or unable to protect the citizens' right to life against the hazardous UCIL factory. Upendra Baxi points out in the context of the developmental policies which paved the way for the transnational industries like the UCIL in Bhopal, that the 'obligations to facilitate the flows of global capital, trade, and

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This account is based on Broughton (2005) and Srivastava (1987).

investment command a degree of priority over the order of constitutional obligations owed to Indian citizens and people'(Baxi, 2006: 41).The double standard vis-à-vis the safety measurement adopted by the company in India as compared to the same in the Western countries also points out the redundancy of the state regulatory capacity to fight the hazardous transnational corporations in parts of the global south. Such dynamics undoubtedly jeopardized the citizenship rights of large chunks of people in these countries and rendered them vulnerable to Bhopal like situations.

The vulnerability in effect is also related to the structural neglect by hierarchical socio-political systems. The urban labour which provided cheap workforce to the factories such as UCIL in Bhopal consisted of the large chunks of rural population migrating under distress towards cities. In case of Bhopal disaster, there are clear instances of the fact that the constitutional rights of these people mattered less for the state supposedly racing ahead on the path of economic development. As various reports point out and also hinted in the novel, it was the impoverished people from the slum colonies adjacent to the UCIL factory who were worst affected by the accident. These people were entirely uninformed of the dangers of living in the vicinity of the UCIL factory. An old woman in the novel shouts at one of the lawyers representing the Kampani, '…we lived in the shadow of your factory, you told us you were making medicine for the fields. You were making poisons to kill the insects, but you killed us instead' (Sinha, 2008:306). The pre-disaster phase of the Bhopal tragedy thus is replete with instances of indifference towards the very basic rights of the people of Bhopal, especially the impoverished who were compelled to live a precarious life near the factory for their livelihood.

'Citizen' during the post-disaster

The predicament of the *citizen* continues in the post-disaster phase also. The post-disaster phase of a technological or toxic disaster is

characterized by the emergence of what is called a 'corrosive' community[7]—that is, 'a consistent pattern of chronic impacts to individuals and communities'(Picou, 2004).Unlike the 'therapeutic' community which follows natural disaster whereby individuals tend to pull together and support one another to rebuild, the corrosive community is highly divisive and disruptive and deters smooth recovery from the disaster (Freudenburg, 1997). Toxic disasters are likely to be 'conflict-prone' and 'never-ending' because the contamination caused by such disasters often remain imperceptibly effective for a long time causing uncertain risks for individuals and communities. Moreover, toxic disasters often lead to a protracted litigation and recreancy[8] which undermine the credibility of various social and political institutions and also contribute to the long-term psychological strain and harm to the community (Picou, 2004). The causing factor of such disasters is undeniably related to human action; however, it is not easy to fix accountability as no one readily accepts responsibility for a particular disaster. Usually, a blame-game ensues after the disaster which instead of offering respite, does more harm to the victims. Compensation is often inadequate and delayed. The ongoing and uncertain consequences of the disaster lead to frustration and anxiety. The rehabilitation after a toxic disaster thus is never entirely complete.

The novel unambiguously highlights the quandaries of a post-disaster corrosive community which tend to impede the realization of citizenship in any meaningful way. Different forms of precarity which exist in such a context are detrimental to the processes which strengthen citizenship. In the first place, the life itself of people of Khaufpur is in danger due to the ongoing contamination. A character remarks at one point in the novel about

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[7]The natural disasters are often followed by what is called 'therapeutic' community whereby individuals tend to pull together and support one another to rebuild.

[8]Recreancy is a kind of institutional inadequacy or malpractice where a person in specialized position, fails to carry out a duty that is expected of her (Freudenburg 1997).

the pervasive contamination in Khaufpur, 'Our wells are full of poison. It's in the soil, water, in our blood, it's in our milk. Everything here is poisoned' (Sinha, 2008:108-109). The toxicity which percolates invisibly without a clear end causes extreme dread among people, 'they don't know what horrors might yet emerge in their bodies' (Sinha, 2008:283). Animal's ironical remark that, 'Wonderful poisons the Kampani made, so good it's impossible to get rid of them, after all these years they're still doing their work' (Sinha, 2008:29) captures the wretchedness which the people of Khaufpur are perpetually trapped in. The unceasing effects of contamination is one concern, the other is the pervasive poverty and hunger especially in the slum areas worst affected by the accident like the Nutcracker. Here, sanitary conditions are miserable and health facilities inadequate. People are suffering and dying from horrible diseases. Rehabilitation and recovery are incomplete. Such precarious existence leaves little space for healthy citizenship to take place; even right to life remain untenable.

The poisoned surrounding and perpetual impoverishment are not the only reasons of the chequered rehabilitation of the denizens of Khaufpur. They are also victims of legal and political entanglements which, as Zafar—the chief anti-kampani activist in the novel—points out, 'drag on and on' and therefore 'justice continues to be delayed and denied' to them (Sinha, 2008:52).The 'big bosses' of the Kampanior their lawyers could not have been made even to show up in the local court for eighteen years (Sinha, 2008: 52) which according a character is like 'a lifetime' (Sinha, 2008:50).The people of Khaufpur are highly apprehensive that to evade a fair trial, the Kampani resorts to legal and political machinations of bribing politicians, lawyers and administrators. Kampani is 'powerful' and 'has armies of lobbyists, PR agencies, hired editorialists', warns Zafar (Sinha, 2008:282). By means whatsoever, the Kampani remains beyond the reach of the law of the land, maintaining what Rob Nixon calls an 'oceanic distance' from the place permeated and plagued by its poisons (Nixon, 2009: 449).

The people have little faith in the political and legal institutions of their country because of prevailing corruption and lack of genuine concern for the cause of the victims. They are dismayed by the handling of their cause by their own government which has made them languish for so long without any effective redressal. Zafar makes a straightforward point in front of the judge who is hearing the case against the Kampani in a local court—

> … thousands in this city have died since that night, for them was no justice. The factory is abandoned full of chemicals which as we speak are poisoning the water of thousands more. Must all perish before these Amrikan defendants appear? Speaking plainly, with no disrespect to you, I think in no other country would the law be allowed to become such a farce, if the will existed to resolve the matter, it could have been done long ago (Sinha, 2008:53).

Distraught by the continuous denial of justice, a desperate character remarks, 'This struggle, it's going to go on and on and on. It will outlast all of us. If our children grow up here, it will blight their lives too'(Sinha, 2008:285).

Nevertheless, local activists led by Zafar and the people of Khaufpur keep going their struggle for 'justice' through means like sloganeering, demonstration and court cases. They fight for the demands that the Kampani officials be brought to justice and the Kampani be made to clean the soil and water it had contaminated and pay full compensation to the victims(Sinha, 2008:227).To boost up the moral of the people, Zafar says—

> The Kampani and its friends thinks to wear us down with a long fight…however long it takes we will never give up. Whatever we had they had already taken, now we are left with nothing…armed with power of nothing we are invincible, we are bound to win (Sinha, 2008:54).

Zafar also undertakes an indefinite hunger strike to stall a suspicious 'deal' between the government and the Kampani officials. People vandalize the premises of the abandoned factory in outragecaused by Zafar's suspected death.'I want to rend the bastard Kampani in bits', says Animal (Sinha, 2008:310).Battle lines are clearly drawn for the demonstrating multitude of angry people with the Kampani and its local sympathizers, the police and corrupt politicians all in their firing range. 'Go lick the arse of your Chief Minister, who licks the hole of Peterson', the peoples creamat the police (Sinha, 2008:310).

The Kampani, sometimes also referred to as *Amrikan Kampani* and which is the major cause of the woes of the Khaufpuris, in fact alludes to the United States based transnational corporation Union Carbide Company (UCC), which owned majority shares the Union Carbide of India Limited (UCIL). The chemical factory in Bhopal belonged to UCIL, but it was the parent company which was in full control of decision-making about the operation of Bhopal factory before the 1984 disaster (Baxi and Paul, 1986: vii). However, the UCC had denied acceptance of the legal responsibility of the accident[9]. On the moral basis, the company paid $470 million in compensation calculated on the basis of gross underestimation of the number of affected people and the long-term health consequences of the disaster[10]. Immediately after the disaster, the UCC, instead of taking responsibility, started to dissociate itself from the accident by shifting culpability to the UCIL and by fabricating fake stories of sabotage by local miscreants, overlooking the fact that the parent company grossly compromised on the safety procedures to generate more profits

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[9]The available documentary evidence shows that UCIL had very little say in the designing and functioning of the plant. Almost everything was dictated from the UCC headquarters in US or its South Asia office in Hong Kong (Baxi and Paul 1986).

[10]According to an estimate, the disaster caused the death of 7,000 people within days. The immediate effect apart, a further 15,000 people died in the following years and around 100,000 people continue to suffer from chronic and debilitating illnesses caused by the poison.

before the disaster (Nixon, 2009). After the accident, the UCC withdrew from Bhopal without completely cleaning up the stockpile of the poisonous waste at the factory site. The plant was closed after the disaster, but dangerously contaminated water has remained a permanent legacy of the factory in Bhopal (Broughton, 2005). The UCC ceased to exist as an independent company in 2001. Since then, it operates as a subsidiary of the Dow Chemical Company which is again a clever tactic of keeping the major chunk of the UCC's assets out of the legal reach of the affected people (Broughton, 2005).

The fallout of the case against the UCC is apparently related to neoliberal globalization. The processes of neoliberalism lead to erosion of 'national sovereignty and turn answerability into a bewildering transnational maze' (Nixon, 2009: 444). Hence, emboldened transnational corporations operate, particularly in the global south with near impunity by easily bending the legal and political systems of the host country in their favour; and in case of an eventuality like Bhopal, the culprits escape through the likely route available in the global institutional networks. One of the reasons, the UCC was able to escape without even adequately compensating the victims, was uncertain jurisdiction of Indian courts over the company incorporated and headquartered in the United States. Whereas, the possibility of implicating it in an American court of law was diverted through legal and political manipulations by the powerful corporation. These corporations function according to the simple logic of internalizing profit and externalising risks, especially in the Third-world countries; and while doing so, a secrecy of functioning is maintained which leave little scope for the vulnerable people to challenge these

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[11]Both the arguments have been refuted by several independent studies (Fortun 259). Upendra Baxi in a book based on the documents of litigation against the UCC points out that the catastrophe on all available accounts was 'a result of several acts of omission and commission by the UCC (1986, ii). However, the UCC website still flashes that the Bhopal disaster was caused by 'deliberate sabotage'. http://www.bhopal.com/Cause-of-Bhopal-Tragedy

corporations in the court of law. This happened in the case of Bhopal disaster. Even after the accident, the UCC did not disclose the composition details of the toxins it used for the manufacturing of the insecticides, caring little of the fact that the lack of information about the precise nature of toxin exposure complicated the process of medication to affected people. The double-standard of the UCC also comes to fore in the context of the compensation (just US $470 million) which it agreed to pay for the Bhopal victims in an out-of-court settlement. It was a miniscule amount as compared to what the company could have compelled to pay in the US for a similar eventuality. According to an estimate, the amount would have been more than US $10 billion—whichthe company was worth in1984—, had the compensation for Bhopal disaster been calculated at the rate which asbestos victims were paid in the US (Castleman and Purkavastha, 1995).Compensation and rehabilitation thus remain stuck in contingencies which are beyond the hold of the victims.

The fate of *citizen* remains mired in various fallouts of post-disaster and related contingencies. It is not easy to retrieve a rights-bearing and rights-exercising citizen from the preponderance of eventualities created by a toxic disaster. Widespread socio-cultural disruption and institutional malfeasance which follow a toxic disaster (Freudenburg, 1997) tend to damage the iterative patterns which strengthen the social contract of citizenship. Moreover, the neoliberal ideology and the profit-oriented commercialism which go hand-in-hand in the making of these disasters are corrosive to the existence of a sovereign citizen. Instead, the scenario of toxic exposure or radiation creates what Adriana Petryna calls 'biological citizens' whose injured bodies become the basis of their main identity and socio-political recognition. Such recognition, which makes the victims eligible for compensation or charity, is not self-evidently given as the facticity of injury has to be verified by scientific knowledge and methods which remain manipulatable by economic and political interests (Petryna, 2004: 261-262).With reference to Hiroshima, Chernobyl, and Bhopal, Petryana points out that many survivors of these disasters remain

'caught in a long-term and vicious bureaucratic cycle in which they carry the burden of proof of their physical damage while experiencing the risk of being delegitimized in legal, welfare and medical institutional contexts' (Petryna, 2002: 216). In Khaufpur, or in Bhopal, thus one of the battles the affected people have to fight is to get official recognition of their poisoned bodies. As there are many stake-holders other than the victims, it remains a contentious matter. In the novel, when an American doctor wants to open a charitable clinic in Khaufpur, the people oppose it suspecting it as one of the clever designs to the Kampani to pilferage medical data of the disaster-affected people of Khaufpur. A number of people, claiming to be suffering from the after-effects of the toxic contamination caused by Bhopal gas leak, complain that they had been denied the status of disaster-victims or their injuries had been downplayed on grounds unknown. Since, huge differences can be found in the numbers of death and disabilities caused by Bhopal disaster in the estimates given by the ICC, governmental agencies and independent studies, there must in all probability exist invisible sufferers of the disaster.

'The people (demos[12])'/'Animal's people'

Khaufpur epitomizes a city condemned by corporate contamination. A city is ideally a place of hope inhabited by aspiring citizens, but the contamination has turned the hope into despair and dread, hence Khaufpur, the 'dreadful city'. Animal's remarks at one point in the novel, 'Hope dies in places like this, because hope lives in future and there is no future here, how can you think about tomorrow when all your strength is used up trying to get through today?' (Sinha, 2008: 185). In fact, Khaufpur is a city inhabited not by aspiring citizens but by 'Animal's people' whose fate is permanently sealed due to the vulnerability produced by invisible toxins, persisting impoverishment and prolonged

[12]Derived from the ancient Greek city-states, 'demos' represent the people of a democracy as a political unit, i.e. citizens.

litigation. In contrast to 'the people (demos)' who constitute an abstract collective representing equal, sovereign, political subjects of a democracy, 'Animal's people' represent the countless people whose basic rights are frequently infringed upon in the name of development. Upendra Baxi calls such people 'the PAPs-citizens'—'the project affected peoples who remain subjects of state practices of lawless development' (Baxi, 2006: 59). 'Animal's people' also embody the 'disposable citizens' of a neoliberal state who 'remain on the margins in terms of visibility and official memory' (Nixon, 2009: 461).

In the body politic, 'Animal's people' are reduced to what Giorgio Agamben calls 'bare life'. Agamben distinguishes two aspects of life in the context of the ancient Greeks: *bios,* the human specific form and manner in which life is lived, that is, the political and ethical life, and *zoe*, the biological fact of life common to all living creatures. He argues that the contemporary forms of biopower tend to separate the *bios* from *zoe* which produces 'bare life' which is neither *bios* nor *zoe*, but rather exists in an excluded position within the political sphere (Agamben 1998).Animal's state of existence approximates the 'barelife'. A human child reduced to a state no better than that of an actual animal. His twisted body caused by the Kampani poisons does not let him stand and walk upright, so he moves around like a four-footed animal. With no proper home to call his own, he is used to living on the street where 'a yellow dog, of no fixed abode and no traceable parents' just like him, becomes his companion and also competitor for the bits and pieces of left-overs on which both of them survive (Sinha, 2008:17). He is despised by the privileged classes as foul and filthy and chased by journalists as specimen of 'the really savage things, the worst cases' (Sinha, 2008:4) created by Kampani poisons. Often beset with such recognition only, heroams the fringes of Khaufpur. He has no family as he lost both his parents in the kampani explosion. He, as Rob Nixon points out, 'serves as a symbolic condensation of the vast army of the economically orphaned, abandoned to their fate by the merciless logic of the neoliberal marketplace' (Nixon, 2009:450). His warped shape is a

'bodily shorthand of Khaufpur's transnational plight'(Nixon, 2009: 450).

Conclusion

In the apocalyptic narrative of the novel, all hopes of retrieving the *citizen* in its normal sense evaporate. However, the novel is not only a narrative of suffering and victimhood. It offers an incisive subversion of hegemonic citizenship. If citizenship is a written code, Animal floutsitscredibility. He says—

> …many books have been written about this place, not one has changed anything for better…You'll talk of *rights, law, justice.* These words sound the same in my mouth as in yours but they don't mean the same… On that night it was poison, now it's words that are choking us (Sinha, 2008:3).

'I no longer want to be human', he insists (Sinha, 2008:1). While rejecting any desire to be human, Animal actually rejects the codes of humanity which have become redundant in his world. Rob Nixon observers insightfully, 'From his vantage point on humanity, Homo looks neither sapiens nor erectus, but a morally debased species whose uprightness is mostly posturing' (Nixon, 2009: 453).

Animal is no meek victim who seek mercy and pity from others. He becomes acerbic at the hollow sympathy poured at him and Khaupur by outsiders who according to him come 'to suck our stories from us, so strangers in far off countries can marvel there's so much so much pain in the world' (Sinha, 2008:5). Despite his precarious existence, he shows remarkable capacity for survival. He is a contemporary 'picaro' (Nixon, 2009: 451), a scheming outlier, existing on his own on the margins of affluence. To derive from Julia Kristieva, he is an 'abject' who cannot be assimilated, but nor can he be entirely eliminated. Abject represents an ultimate form of exclusion which never ceases to challenge the normative from its 'place of banishment' (Kristeva, 1982: 2). It remains

ineffable but at the same time irrepressible too. Animal wields such agency, 'the power of zero'(Sinha, 2008:214).His deformed body, coarse utterances and beastly existence produce an unsettling grotesque for the liberal idea of a hale and hearty citizen. His presence is a destabilising reminder of everything that has gone into his making and the making of many others like him. His final proclamation is in a way prophetic, 'All things pass, but the poor remain. We are the people of the *Apokalis.* Tomorrow there will be more of us' (Sinha, 2008:366). This echoes a sense of what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri calls, 'multitude' of 'all the exploited and the subjugated' which can become a 'political subject' in the emerging contexts of oppression (Hardt and Negri, 2001: 393-394).

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Tracing Subaltern Citizenship: A Study of Bhimayana

Harleen Kaur*

Abstract

The paper proposes to bring forth the emerging narrative of the tribal arts and artists transported in the print media through graphic narratives, and how the choices of their subjects have for the first time asserted the subaltern citizenship in literature. In particular the paper will focus on Pardhan Gond art of central India which got the opportunity of establishing itself as a narrative on the map of literature through the distinctive text of *Bhimayana: Experiences of Untouchability,* illustrated by Durgabai and Subhash Vyam. The paper will discuss how this text has proved to be a tool of empowerment not only in its subject, detailing oppressed Dalit citizenship, but has also managed to engage the subaltern tribal art. The unlettered Vyams who were initially unfamiliar with the subject of Ambedkar, were given the opportunity to creatively involve the depth of their cultural heritage of tribal art to voice out the history of the 'Body of a community'. This paper thus strives to

*Research scholar, Department of English and Cultural Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

draw a distinction between the empowered citizenship of the artists on one level and the complex and evolving citizenship of the community of Dalits through the illustrated character of Ambedkar.

The title of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar's graphic biography, *Bhimayana: Experiences of Untouchability*, reflects the inextricable link between Ambedkar's life narrative and the opaque conundrum of caste system that he aimed at unveiling, to reach a knowable understanding, so that an 'emancipatory politics' for its dethroning could be established (Best, 2003: 186). The biography of Ambedkar emerges as a document that cannot be studied in isolation, out of the context of the functionality of caste system, whose mechanism and genesis he tried to locate after a critical inquiry of the subject, early in 1916. Born as a Mahar in the town of Mhow, Ambedkar went through many ordeals that untouchables were inflicted with, but his painful experiences acted as a stimulus for his critical mind to register them as representative anecdotes. Arundhati Roy in her essay, 'The Doctor and the Saint', elaborates upon the algorithm of the caste system, highlighting statistically the damaging subjugation, by the privileged castes over the so-called lower castes now substituted with the Marathi word 'Dalit' (Roy, 2014: 20). Her study resonates with the contempt that Ambedkar professed all his life against the social discrimination and his role as a social activist as he unflinchingly declared, 'There cannot be a more degrading system of social organization than the caste system. It is the system that deadens, paralyses and cripples the people from helpful activity.' (Roy, 2014: 25).

Bhimayana as a graphic narrative is being witnessed as a collaborative work which has successfully synthesized the history of an individual, which is representative of a '[b]ody of a

community…a body with a long past, a present of many voices', through a medium that has provided a multi-faceted vision to the narrative (Berger 9). Undoubtedly, the text from its very title communicates the presence of the discourse of caste, which eventually can be read as a political project that problematizes not only the curtained struggles of Ambedkar as a Dalit, but also the issues of everyday experience of caste in contemporary India (Vanisree, 2017: 92). The text opens with the conversation between two young figures, each seated on the oppositely stretched limbs of a bench erected in the stencil of a human form. The frustrated young non-Dalit male complaining to his female counterpart about the waste of his credentials in light of the 'job quotas for Backward Scheduled Castes' is cited by Vyam (Vyam, 2011: 11). The split of the bench clearly indicates the two different states of knowledge, the high caste educated urban youth against the other, who is trying to re-school the first about the performativity of caste in the Indian democracy. This graphic text performs through a narrative where it tries to bridge this gap, where most of the citizens still live with an understanding that the Reservation System in India was meant for poverty alleviation, whereas it was meant to enhance citizenship of the oppressed classes (Gupta 45). The importation of a tribal art form to render a political subject becomes the opportunity for the tribal artist to finally move outside the margin as an emancipated citizen, with the power of his organic art of subsistence. On the other hand, the publication of this verbally and visually political narrative on the subject of caste, on a large scale, successfully fulfills the objective of re-educating all those citizens 'who are suffering from selective historical amnesia and ignorance' (Vanisree, 2017: 104). The multiple performativity of the text, highlighting the tribal, the Dalit, the emancipated citizen, has been feasible because the medium has rendered the collective destiny of Ambedkar's caste people as an organic whole, thereby de-iconizing an individual personality cult (Chandra, 2011: 23).

The rendering of the narrative through the imagery of tribal Gond art, which in spite of being a wall art has been utilized as a

sequential art in print, has highlighted not only the 'plasticity of the medium' of graphic narratives but also their expanding and inclusive capacity of assimilating non-fictional subjects (Groensteen, 2007: 24). The subject and the object of this diegesis perform a symbiotic function where the biographical tone of the text visually voices out the horror of untouchability through the inconspicuous yet unique tribal language of PardhanGond art. S. Anand, one of the co-authors of the text, states that the need of re-performing the old subject through new medium is essential not only because 'it is an attempt to conscientize people about Ambedkar' but also because 'it still rings true for a lot of Dalits.' (Anand and Vellanki, 2015: 271). Nandini Chandra in her review of the text, also views this re-performance as some kind of hopeful healing touch for the unheard Dalit, where the blending of the Dalit psychosphere with the tribal ecology is at least at distance from the Hindu anxiety of pollution and purity (Chandra, 2011: 22).

The furnishing of the facts borrowed from the auto-biographical notes by Ambedkar titled *Waiting for a Visa* into a graphic narrative which maintained the pre-requisite of 'iconic solidarity' even by rupturing the conventions of panels and gutters of the popular western comics, has bought *Bhimayana* under the category of an evocative phenomenal narrative (Groensteen, 2007: 23). This paper aims at studying the conceptual abstraction of tribal Gond art which was so far limited geographically and did not receive cognition as a language of the unlettered tribal until it was provided the platform of a political subject. The text acts as a median between the identity of the tribal and the negated voice of the untouchable, surprisingly the unlettered subaltern speaking for the unheard subaltern.

With the publication of texts such as *Bhimayana*, a visible mechanism of globalization has penetrated the channels of indigenous art productions where 'the politics of the postcolonial state's relationship to tribal or adivasi art and the aesthetic challenges of interpreting adivasi art in today's world' can be

studied (Varma, 2013: 749). The Gonds along with Korkus, Kols, and Baigas are the prominent tribal groups of the Central Tribal Zone of Madhya Pradesh, a state where the tribal population forms 21.1 percent (2011 census) of the state population, making MP the home of the biggest portion of the tribal population in India (Manohar, 1996: 16).The Gond art used in the narrative is traditionally a form of painting done on mud walls and floors, which present a richness and variety of colors in vivid shades marking their ritualistic nature. Most of the paintings and bas relief work done on the inner walls is undertaken by the women of the household exhibiting motifs of geometric patterns, foliate form, lotuses, elephants, horses, other animal figures and human figures (Kejriwal, 2003:112). The visual grammar of *Bhimayana* is replete with animal imagery where the human characteristics metamorphose into the anatomy of animal and plant figures, establishing the hidden meaning of the expanded and the hybrid figures. The horrific massacre of Khairlanji of 2006, is the first anecdotal atrocity against a Dalit family that inaugurates the text, where the victims of Bhotmange family members, who were murdered, are depicted as conjoined figures of a human and a calf's head being axed by a beast, and their dead bodies afloat as bodies pleated with fish-scales on human heads (Vyam, 2011: 12). The young Bhim while travelling with his brothers from Satara to Masur, comes across different towns and landscapes. The movement of the train across the page is pictorially rendered by giving the compartments a reptilian shape and the wide eyed serpentine hoods projected as the wheels giving movement to the locomotive. The space of the page is outlined in the shape of an animal's hide rather than being stifled by the margins of panels, where the skin of the animal is colorfully carpeted across the page containing the petite figures of other animals, birds and trees (Vyam, 2011: 32). The distinct shape of the panels 'enhance or inherently frame the meaning of the sequence', as in here an animal outline describes the richness of the wild that young Bhim is being exposed to, for the first time (Cohn, 2013: 91). These vivid impressions of the Gond art in the text are the autobiographical

visual anecdotes of the illustrators, who may not be delivering a textual narrative of their own, but the meaning of the visual belongs to them. Here the pictures emerge as a simultaneous autobiography of the tribal artist, which has 'the potential to be the text of the oppressed and the culturally displaced, forging a right to speak both for and beyond the individual' (Swindellsqtd. in Beaty, 2007: 229).

The pictographic tribes' painting breathing closer affinity with the nomad's art consisting of simplified anatomy and composition, has very seldom been understood as the 'writing' of the tribal (Jain, 2009: 24). It was in 1980s when J. Swaminathan institutionalized the potential of the art by founding Bharat Bhavan and bought recognition to Jangarh Singh Shyam's talent as a professional artist, to whose memory the text of *Bhimayana* is dedicated. It was with him that 'the mural tradition could be prolonged in portable paintings' as he used paper, canvas, and paints to paint *bhittichitra* (Chaitanya 50). One of the illustrations of an exercised agency of the tribal beyond some kind of appropriation is the nourishment of the Gond art as a constructed tradition brought forward with a precarity in the capitalist world by the unique style of Jangarh Singh Shyam (Varma, 2013: 754-55). *Bhimayana* as a graphic narrative is the first of its kind which has brought forth this 'writing' of the tribal in print and made it a literary vehicle, representing their existence not just as a subaltern history confined to their respective regions. The ancient tradition of pictorial art here can be seen as a gesture language which is different from the 'literally' visible language in the medium of writing but which is not bereft of a discourse, as any descriptive writing is implicit of a visuality (Mitchell, 2009: 120).

The artists of this graphic narrative, DurgabaiVyam and SubhashVyam did not let their illiteracy count as an impediment to make this text a channel for the exploration of a subject they were unaware of and through a visual language they were most prolific in. While transporting the art into the print it was taken into strict consideration that the Gond way of thinking and imagining is not done an injustice, and as a result the narrative's pictorial space does

not become unifocal at any point, it also prohibits the claustrophobic asymmetry and symmetry of panels by the judicial use of *dignas*, which provided a compositional sense with elegance to the visual anecdotes (Chaitanya, 1994: 48). Another salient feature which cannot be subtracted from the paintings is the recurrent use of animal figures, conceiving them as multi-colored, overlapping of one figure into another. 'They are exceptionally sensitive to nature, animals and trees in particular… a Gond painting would portray even a machine, an aeroplane…with same affectionate hand as an animal or a toy for his child.' (Jain, 2009: 24-25). The textual elements of the narrative do not seem to thwart the notion of purity associated with paintings, where the illegible visuality of the visual arts is believed to be contaminated by language and cognate or conventionally associated media: words, sound, time, and narrativity (Mitchell, 2009: 119). The title of the first segment of the book 'Water' is drawn as an imitation of fishes carved from wood which are arranged to suit the design of the alphabets of 'water' and this intricate pattern of fish scales is retained throughout the narrative as the skin of all human figures and few other figures as well (Vyam, 2011: 17). The draping of the fish scales over the skin of the figures is significant in more ways than one. It is sustained throughout the narrative indicating the absolute absence of fundamental rights that the untouchables had to strive for and also delivers their cryptic humiliation through animal imagery, as a fish is projected on the two-dimensional figure of young Bhim when he begs around for water as a thirsty fish, not allowed as an untouchable to drink it along with others.

The exclusion of colors on some pages, also acts as another narrative scheme against the painted pages where the architecture of the page becomes a highlight, multiplying the meaning and the space of the page, as in page number twenty-four of the text where the page consists of four frames drawn in the shape of a skeleton outline of a fish (Fig. 1). The center of the page which connects the mouths of the fishes is a circle with only two gestural hands guiding the sequence of the anecdote. The empty space in the circle

signifying a vicious circle of inescapable humiliation, connecting the four fragments indicate the lack of a definite answer from his aunt when Bhim is troubled with his curiosity of receiving repeated discrimination when in need of water. It is intriguing how the artists who were unacquainted with the institutionalized literature of the Dalit and unaware of their current legal status, have been able to comment about both, by using the subject of Ambedkar as the focal point of various unheard disintegrated narratives, which become nodes themselves. In the discussion of calculating the agency of the subaltern, an interesting question has been framed by scholars like Gopal Guru to identify the possibility of a Dalit articulating some kind of universal position to escape from the margins, it has always been associated with. The subject of *Bhimayana* by travelling through the medium of tribal language of the unlettered has re-framed to some extent the 'constitutive marginality' that the Dalit as a subaltern has been titled with and can be seen as a dynamic move in 'rearticulating universality itself', as Ambedkar's experiences are re-performed (Skaria, 2014: 342).One of the schemes that the text undertakes to justify its re-performance is by simultaneously chronicling incidents on the scale of physical time. The end of Book 1 concludes with a newspaper report from 'Tehelka' dated 26th Jan 2008, titled 'Shackling Water', a reference from Namdeo Dhasal's poem 'Water'. It states the sad plight of bairwas (who are Dalits) of Chakwara village near Jaipur, who were boycotted by the caste Hindus after they asserted their right to use water from the large pond of the village (Vyam, 2011: 55.

Malik Sajad's*Munnu: a boy from Kashmir* is another graphic novel which utilizes the bleakness of grey sketches to draw out the narrative of the contested and conflicted land of Kashmir. This semi-autobiographical memoir presented through the vision of a seven-year old Kashmiri boy unfurls a narrative of not just one polarized position, thus opening a space for an understanding of an identity which still struggles with everyday atrocities to remark its ambiguous 'self' as a legal citizen of the State it belongs to. The text painfully measures out the need to look into the re-furnishing
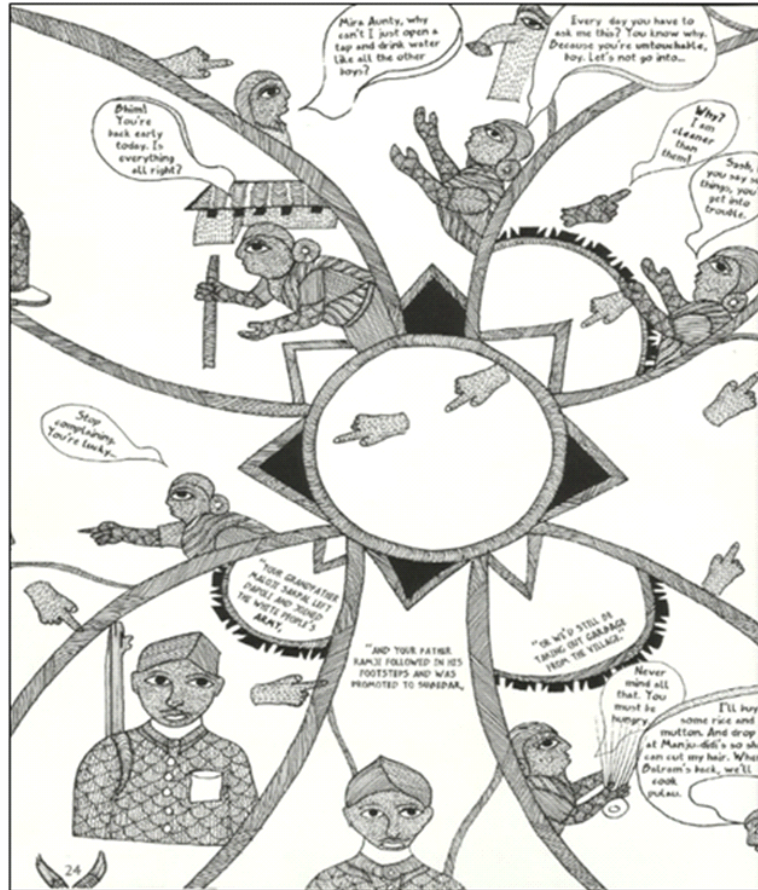
Fig. 1. Art by DurgabaiVyam and SubhashVyam in *Bhimayana*.

of the constitutional definitions imposed upon a section of people, who have not been able to march towards their citizenship. Sajad boldly problematizes 'the Indian army's atrocities, the Pakistani leaders' opportunism, and the Kashmiri militant's corruption', boxed into panels resembling Kashmiri artisan work (Ghosal, 2016: 128). The graphic language incorporating the designs of *chinar* leaves and paisley, signifies the strange cordiality and

inseparability, that lies between the aesthetics of Kashmiri art and the shattering personal narrative of the speaker. The most significant visual tool incorporated by the author is the outlining of the Kashmiris as humanoids of the Hangul deer, with large diamond shaped eyes, which become the epicenter of all expressions. The anthropomorphism undertaken by Sajad generates a different vocabulary than what is delivered by Spiegelman in his popular holocaust fiction, titled *Maus*. Spiegelman's rendering of Nazis as cats and Jews as mice, critiqued the horror of the colonizer and mocked at its dehumanizing supremacy. Whereas, Sajad explains his choice of the Hangul, Kashmir's national animal, in the narrative itself, as he draws the butchered decorated heads of the Hanguls and marks underneath 'Endangered Species' with the narration (fig. 2) 'India, Pakistan,

Fig. 2. Art by Malik Sajad in Munnu: a boy from Kashmir.

The Dogras, Britain, The Sikhs, Afghans, Mughals or Huns, whosoever invaded, bought or sold Kashmir…' (Sajad, 2015: 215). The use of this humanoid Hangul throughout the narrative to symbolize the Kashmiris and every other non-Kashmiri individual as human, highlights the ever-expanding non-negotiable territorial conflict, where the natives becoming the victims of mass homicide and thus endangered, lack the right to self-determination.

The author weaves the national history with the personal, where the former always overshadows the little pleasant nuances of an individual's personal life, which is penetrated by the regular crackdowns by the army. The text seems to carry a künstlerroman tone, where strangely the ecology of the individual's growth is informed by a continuous parallel interference of the State; the escalating violence in Kashmir (Ghosal 129). The semi-autobiographical tone of the author covers a larger political dimension of the State and the self, as he discovers the cartoonist in himself and eventually inserts the text with interesting political cartoons on Kashmir, based out of his real-life experience as an employee of the *Greater Kashmir* newspaper.

One of the dream analogies that Sajad draws, asleep as an adult and dreaming as a six-year old Munnu, is a dark patched landscape strewn with white broken stippling marks over a black canvas, where two dark figures march upwards a hill towards a 'thick cloud of grey smoke' (Sajad, 2015: 242). Munnu's fear is vocalized against the muted grey scenery and the silence of his mother who does not respond to any of Munnu's queries as he fearfully observes, 'those silhouettes, now not very far away, were dumping corpses in the dried-up river'. The next panel with its left corner piled with rotten Hangul carcasses, to be perceived as human corpses, filling up the womb of the river Jhelum, becomes the site of the 'barbaric space' that Nayar invents to define the voices of those victims, who cannot speak, but appear to us through the 'window' of the illustrator (Nayar 132).

Bhimayana executes this technique of bringing the unheard to the picture, where a collage of the newspapers reporting on the everyday caste atrocities of contemporary period as well as of the past appear with titles such as 'Tension after Dalits Draw Water from Well', 'Just Another Rape Story', 'Dalit Killed for Demanding Wage' and the like (Vanisree, 2017: 99; Vyam, 2011: 13). The artists alter the temporality of the printed page by providing it an illusionary depth executed through the rich color scheme exhibiting communal harmony, and the plurality of *dignas* which provide a free movement to the subjects and objects alike. The representation of the subaltern anonymity has been executed by different imagery for different incidents; the earth-moving machine which belonged to a Dalit farmer from Satara and got damaged when the farmer was hacked to death, has been animated with a face of an expression of a slain guinea pig with a wide tearful eye being beaten by humans (Vyam, 2011: 46). The pictures at many places in the text through their representative nature and easy distinctions convey complete meanings even in the absence of lengthy supportive texts. The Gond art in *Bhimayana* and the tones of Kashmiri artisanship in *Munnu,* prove that 'a drawer does not only depict something, but expresses in his drawing at the same time a philosophy, a vision…a definition of the real in visual terms' (Rawson qtd. in Lefevre, 2009: 159). The graphic narratives become a conjugating space for the artist as a representative, the art as an evocative language and the space of the print as the new site for the analysis of the 'constitutional and developmental vision of social democracy' (Chandra, 2011: 23).

Against the realism of these artistically expressive graphic novels, lies the dystopian fiction by Sarnath Banerjee titled *All Quiet in Vikaspuri.* This text gains its currency in the genre of contemporary fiction as it projects itself as some kind of televisual drama on a topic as new and as alarming as the grave water wars in Delhi. This text puts the torch in the hands of a middle class displaced citizen, Girish, who as a psychic plumber is given the task of digging his way to the mythical Saraswati, to end the problem of water shortage. Delhi as the focus of the narrative

eventually unearthing its villains, acts as the microcosm of the State, where the larger degree of the approaching ordeals is to be imagined by the reader. The experimentation with the contemporary verifies that graphic texts whether operating on the fiction or non-fiction genre, are able to generate some kind of 'graphic dissonance', 'something that disrupts the pedagogic and official narratives of the nation' (Nayar, 2015: 130).

The Gond artists, Durga and SubhashVyam, as published illustrators, through *Bhimayana* have become the first encouraging signs of a participatory representation, which raises the question of the interpretation of the 'thickness' of such identities in the emerging discourse of cultural citizenship (Isin and Turner, 2016: 4). The text performing through the medium of Gond art is embedded with the original motifs that have maintained the cultural distinctiveness of the art of the PardhanGond tribe in spite of its transition to the print. 'This contemporary expression of Gond art has been termed *Jangarh Kalam*'and has become a means of livelihood for many Gonds who work as visual artists, surviving on the brink of exploitation due to their relegated position as 'craftspersons' working for daily wages. The status of a 'purely subaltern voice' establishing their 'abrogated, abridged and violated' identity as citizens has still not surfaced because of the narrative of the modern 'learned' (Spivakqtd. in Isin, 2016: 190;Jayal, 2013: 2). The failure of the new republic of applying a universal citizenship on the heterogeneity of Indian population was one of the first instances which demanded a legislative consideration and protection of the cultural distinctiveness of various tribal groups (Jayal, 2013: 236). But to this day they have been the victim of developmental interventions, where an understanding or recognition of their culture still seems a complicated task, encountered in the process of assimilating these groups as a part of the larger governance. Sajad's narrative, through the character of Munnu, also becomes representative of the unheard voices of the conflicted land which have not been able channel their art to the masses. By crafting a narrative from the perspective of a young boy, the text debates about the position of

the youth of Kashmir, where they survive the conditions of an open-prison environment. The visual of the Hangul being traumatized, inflicted with and played with, repeatedly brings into question the respectable status being denied to the Kashmiris and the dilemma of their identity being constantly perplexed with that of an endangered animal.

The text *Bhimayana*, in the emerging nexus of citizenship connecting culture, depth and identity, can be studied as an annulment of the description of tribal as a community lacking 'any political sense' (Ambedkar and Roy, 2014: 237). The vastness of the unbridgeable gap between them and the affluent modern is perhaps an imagined one, only to further secure the latter. The right of authorship of the two artists on a large scale, their potential of comprehending the subject of Ambedkar and their success of delivering the story in sync with the significance and composition of a nomad's art, corroborates their underestimated perceptiveness even in the absence of an academic qualification. The text as a part of the university syllabi confirms the new authority that the writers and the illustrators of the novel aimed for, by simultaneously exposing literature as the means for exploiting 'thick citizenship as practice and performance' for the unlettered and the unheard (Jayal, 2013: 84). The text by pinning itself on the literary map has become 'a political agent supporting…social struggles' where the impossible prospect of utilizing the tribal indigeneity has been proved, which was so far bracketed out of all due considerations (Isin, 2016: 191). The reading of the text can be seen as a means of communicating with multiple identities, which have managed to speak without the frameworks of a definite thin citizenship, are endeavoring for thick citizenship through self-sustainable experiments and are delivering a message beyond the prevailing discourses, only to be received for a more democratic participation.

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The Dichotomous Integration of the Migrants in the Socio-Political System in Ancient India

Jappen Oberoi*

Abstract

Attracted by the Indian opulence, foreigners, whether they were *Yavana* immigrants or were part of the Scythian Diaspora from the Eurasian Steppe, took up permanent residence in ancient India. A glaring juxtaposition can be witnessed in the way they were accepted in the religious and the political system in ancient India. While the upholders of the Brahmanical faith designated the migrants as '*mlechchhas*', they found their niche in the political and administrative apparatus. The social framework forced them to seek contentment in the lowest tier, whereas in polity they rose to the greatest heights. The present paper shall conduct a scrutiny of the plethora of available textual and archaeological sources to accentuate the dichotomous integration of the migrants in the socio-political set-up in ancient India.

*Research scholar (JRF), Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India.

The 2017 International Migration Report disclosed that during this century's period of rapid globalization, the number of Indian migrants doubled from 7.98 million in 2000. India, presently, tops the world in the number of individuals sent abroad at 17 million being trailed by fifth-placed Bangladesh at 7 million, while Pakistan recorded 6 million migrants. The Indian subcontinent the ancient period enjoyed a near monopoly with regard to the desired destination for the itinerants on exodus from their homelands in Eurasia. The geographical impediment was counter-balanced by the appeal of the Indian opulence and many of foreigners took up permanent residence in the subcontinent, whether they were *Yavana* immigrants or were part of the Scythian Diaspora from the Eurasian Steppe. The earliest migration, albeit uncertain, can be traced to the prehistoric epoch. A combination of archaeological and genetic evidence has lead many anthropologists to believe that anatomically modern humans first moved rapidly out of their cradle in Africa along a huge arc of coastline around the shores of the Indian Ocean that eventually took them to the then-exposed continental shelf of South-east Asia (Fagan and Durrani, 2014: 102-103). The populations of India exhibit, in varying degrees, characteristics from the four major stocks of mankind: negroid, australoid, mongoloid, and caucasoid. Some speculate that the four aforementioned races formed a part of the Harappan populace while others see the influx due to an *Aryan* ingress. From the uncharted territories of protohistory, we shall sidle to the recorded migrations in the historical period.

In chronological order, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians, the *Kushanas*, the *Hunas*, and finally the Arabs made inroads into the subcontinent and consequently into the ancient Indian history. These invaders were, at one point or the other in the timeline, designated as '*mlechchha*' in Sanskrit

and as '*milakkha*' in the Pali canon (Thapar, 2010: 138). *Mlechchha*, and its equivalent *milakkha*, are usually translated as 'foreigner' or 'barbarian' (Gode and Karve, 1958: 1296), a translation which is inadequate in so many ways but not least because it implies that it was a word used by Indians to describe non-Indians. In fact, it was an umbrella term used by some of the Brahmanical clergy to label people foreign or even native to India but failing the litmus test of those criterias (like religion, language, geographical location etc.) which the writer felt established his own cultural identity. Predominantly, this designation was assigned to those who were ignorant, intransigent or incongruous to the orthodox cultural apparatus defined by the class based *Varna* system, the use of the pietistic Sanskrit language, and performance of Vedic sacrifices. The manner in which the term *mlechchha* has been referred to in the *Satapatha Brahmana* tends to suggest that it was used by the Vedic *Aryans* in the sense of a language which was unintelligible to them (Thapar, 2010: 139). *Patanjali* used the term in the same sense (Thapar, 2010: 139). The import of the term *mlechchha* underwent radical changes in the succeeding ages. Derogatory remarks are made with regard to their conduct in the Brahmanical texts. The *Mahabharata* is replete with opprobrious language throughout. It states that men of sinful conduct yielding to the influence of cupidity and stupefaction take birth as *mlechchhas* (Bandyopadhyay, 1990: 123). They are labelled as illiterates who live a libidinous life (Bandyopadhyay, 1990: 123). In characterizing the symptoms of the *Kali* age, it is apprehended that all men would follow *mlechchha* manners, become omnivorous and cruel; sacrifices and religious rites would no longer be performed; and the entire world would be ruled over by *mlechchha* kings addicted to false speech and adhering to false principles (Bandyopadhyay, 1990: 123).

Gautama categorizes the *mlechchhas* with profane and unrighteous men of the society (Bhattacharyya. 2003: 40). He forbids a *Brahmana* to converse with these people (Bhattacharyya. 2003: 40). The *mlechchha* developed a pejorative sense in the early historic period with the rise of militant Brahmanism, an

impression that dominates throughout the ancient Indian narrative. 'The fanaticism of the Hindus,' according to AL Beruni, 'is directed against those who do not belong to them-against all foreigners. They call them *mlechchha*, that is, impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby, they think they would be polluted' (Sachau, 1910: 19-20). Despite the derision and a near ostracism, we find indigenous ruling dynasties securing matrimonial ties with the migrant monarchs. Fragmentary Kanheri inscription of the queen of *Vasishthiputra Satakarni*, born in the *Kardamaka* family and the daughter of *Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman*, offered an olive branch to the strained *Saka-Satavahana* relationship (Sastri, 1998: 74). A *Nagarjunakonda* inscription of the time of King *Virapurushadatta of Ikshvakus* records the charitable activities of his chief queen *Rudradharabhattarika* hailing from Ujjain (Chattopadhyaya, 1974: 84). A sealing of *Prabhudama*, sister of *Rudrasena* and chief queen of some unnamed king has been found at the famous Buddhist site of *Vaisali* (Spooner, 1917: 136). *Daivaputra shahi shahanushahi saka murunda* made offerings of maiden in marriage (*kanyopayana-dana*) to Samudragupta (Thaplyal, 2012: 120). *Uchchakalpa Maharaja Jayanatha* married *Murundadevi / Murundasvamini* according to the Khoh copper plate inscription of *Sarvanatha*, dated G.S. 193 (Fleet, 1888: 125). The Khairh plates of king *Yasahkarnadeva*, dated to the *Kalachuri* year 823 say that king *Lakshmi-karna*, his father, was married to the *Huna princess Avalladevi* (Niyogi, 2015: 122). The Atpur inscription from Udaipur of *Guhila Saktikumara* dated V.S. 1034 says that king *Allata of Guhila* family(Brahmana) married *Hariyadevi*, daughter of a *Huna* king *(Niyogi, 2015: 126)*. The Ajmer stone inscription of *Vigraharaja* belonging to the dynasty of the *Chahamanas* describes *Bhaskara* as the grandson of the learned Govinda who was born in the family of the *Huna* princess and was on account of his manifold excellences a favourite of king *Bhoja* (1153 AD) (Niyogi, 2015: 127).

In the *Manusmriti*, the king is advised to exclude the *mlechchhas* at deliberation time (Sharma, 1978: 151). *Dharmasastras* assert to

avoid *mlechchhas*, their speech, area of habitation and above all mixing with them (Parasher, 1979: 111). The political narrative was not dictated by the religious prescriptions as far as acceptance of the migrants was concerned. *Kautalya*, in his magnum opus follows a more pragmatic approach. The *Arthasastra* suggests that *mlechchha* would make valuable mercenaries and the king is advised to secure their help for his own personal needs (Parasher, 1979: 111). Their services were to be deployed in inflicting harm upon the enemy (Parasher, 1979: 111). In another context, leaders of *mlechchha* forest troops are to be used to assassinate a weak King (Parasher, 1979: 111). As spies, men and women of *mlechchha* communities are used to destroy enemies by poisoning them and thereby protecting the four varnas against the unrighteous (Parasher, 1979: 111). The use of such groups, as recommended by Kautalya, went totally against Dharmasastra injunctions.

The *Puranas* warn that *Yavanas*, by reason of ambition and plunder, will massacre women, children, cattle, *brahmanas* and ravish other people's wives and riches and will kill one another (Pargiter, 1913: 74). They will be destitute of righteousness, affection, and wealth (Pargiter, 1913: 74). Mingled with them will be *arya* and *mlechchha* folk everywhere. As they will prevail, in turn, the population will perish (Pargiter, 1913: 74). *Manusmriti* lists the *Yavanas* with the Scytho-Parthians and *Abhiras* and regards them as degraded *Kshatriyas* (Majumdar, 1940: 103). *Mahabhashya* regards the *Yavanas, Abhiras,* and *Sakas* as *Anirvasita* (pure) *Sudras* (Majumdar, 1940: 103). *Yajnavalkya's* and *Kamandaka's* advise against the appointment of *Sudras* as ministers (Sharma, 1990: 269) must have theoretically applied to the *mlechchhas* as well and it is safe to surmise that consequently they too would have remained bereft of this opportunity. There are numerous instances where due to political expediency, these rules were ignored and *mlechchhas* ended up enjoying dignified positions in the administrative apparatus. The *Sudarsana* dam built in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya was endowed with conduits for *Asoka* Maurya by the *Yavana* king named *Tushaspha* (Sastri,

1998: 158). The Bangarh Grant of *Mahipala* I dated in his 9th regal year mentions the *Hunas* among the officers of the reigning monarch (Thakur, 1967: 208). The plate of *Lalitasuradeva* recording the grant of land also mentions *Hunas* in the administrative staff (Niyogi, 2015: 118). Inscriptions of *Pala* monarchs provide ample evidences that a *Huna* contingent adorned the *Pala* army for centuries. *Mudrarakshasa* by *Visakhadatta* as well as the Jaina work *Parishishtaparvan* refer to Chandragupta's alliance with Himalayan king *Parvataka* (Mookerji, 1966: 27). This Himalayan alliance gave Chandragupta a powerful composite army made up of the frontier martial tribes of the *Sakas*, *Kambojas*, *Yavanas*, *Parasikas*, *Bahlikas* etcetera (Mookerji, 1966: 27). The presence of foreigners in different capacities in royal courts and harems is obvious from the Ajanta frescoes and Bharhut sculptures (Sangwan, 1996: 145). A Chinchani grant(Sircar, 1959: 45ff) of AD 926, belonging to the period of *Rashtrakuta Indra* III, refers to *Madhumati* of the *Tajika* (Arab) community who had received the entire mandala of *Samyana*, on Western coast, from *Kishnaraja* II (878-915). *Madhumati*, obviously a Sanskritized form of Muhammad, was the son of *Sahiyarahara*, and he had another name *Sugatipa*. This Arab governor made a grant of a village and land for a *matha* (Hindu temple) built by a friend of *Puvvaiya* named *Annammaiya*. The governorship of a *Tajika* or Arab over *Samyana* under *Rashtrakuta* kings *Krishna* II and *Indra* III supports the writings of Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhri that musalman governors of cities were employed by the *Rashtrakutas*. More importantly, the calendars inaugurated originally by or in the name of a *mlechchha* king viz., the *Saka* and *Vikrama* samvat were integrated into the political framework by the indigenous kings as well as the *brahmanas* who dated many of their works in the two aforementioned samvats. The *brahmanas* were clearly aware of the rule of foreign dynasties but ignored their *mlechchha* origins as it suited them (Parasher, 1979: 115). Political expediency may have been one of the reasons for this, as court *brahmanas* could not have maintained their position without royal support (Parasher, 1979: 115).

The *mlechchhas* had been allotted a very low and despicable position in the social hierarchy, their social gradation being inferior to the *Sudras*. This failed to provide any hindrance to their financial footing in ancient Indian economy. The inscriptions from Karle, Nasik, and Junnar mention generous donations by *Yavanas*, who were probably Greek and Italian merchants from the Roman empire (McLaughlin, 2010: 47). Many of the Romans(*raumakas*) at Karle paid for pillars in the *chaitya* relic chamber and the inscriptions reveal that a community of Yavanas were living at a nearby trading settlement called *Dhenukakata* (McLaughlin, 2010: 47). *Indragnidatta*, in 110 CE, donated substantial funds and paid for an entirely new hall of worship to be established at the monastery (McLaughlin, 2010: 47). Three inscriptions are known from *Yavana* donors at Sanchi, the clearest of which reads '*Setapathiyasa Yonasa danam*' (Majumdar, 1940: 308 and 348).

Even though the Brahmanical clergy tried vehemently to prevent the migrants from leaving a positive impression on the annals of ancient Indian history, some dynasts succeeded in creating a niche for themselves. Whether they were the *Yavanas* who adopted the higher titles of *Maharaja* or the *Kushanas* who attained Imperial status and through their ingenuity in their own way impacted the art and numismatic tradition of the subcontinent or the kings of Scytho-Parthian origin who ruled as governors and independently, they all left an indelible mark on the ancient history of the subcontinent proving that when there is a dichotomy between the political and socio-religious set-up, the political exigency and martial robustness is able to upstage social norms and religious prescriptions.

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Dilemmatic Anglo-Indians of 1947: To Stay Back or to Progress Towards a Foreign Future[1]

Kmakshi Rathaur*

Abstract

The paper delineates the dual affinity that was inherent in the origin, demarcation, and socio-cultural life and choices of the Anglo-Indians over the span to pre-colonial to post-colonial eras. The paper charts the colonial origin of the Anglo-Indians and cites the political definition of the term 'Anglo-Indian'. Furthermore, the paper goes on to establish the reasons for the mass emigration of the members of this community before and after the facilitating governmental policies for the Anglo-Indians in an independent India.

Keywords: Anglo-Indian, hybrid community, dual affinity, mass exodus

[1]Foreign is a pun symbolizing both: future in an unfamiliar land (abroad) and an unknown future in a known land (India).

*M. Phil., Panjab University Chandigarh.

The East India Company encouraged the intermarriages between Europeans and native Indians. British soldiers who had Indian wives were presented with a premium of £10 for every hybrid child born (TOI, 'Anglo Indian Problem' 1927). This hybrid progeny were initially called Indo-Britons. Later the term Eurasian was coined for people belonging to the mixed race, globally. However, gradually this term gained a derogative meaning and was used to stigmatize people as symbols of racial impurity.

In order to avoid this humiliation the Eurasians in British India started calling themselves Anglo-Indians which was initially used by the Britons working in the British colony. This was unwelcomed by the Britishers as they were unwilling to broaden the term 'Anglo-Indian' by including the mixed race. They were not in favor of letting the hybrid community become a part of their nomenclature. Despite this opposition, it was under Lord Hardinge the then Viceroy, that the name Anglo-Indian was sanctioned officially to be used for the mixed community in the census of 1911.Therefore, finally the Anglo-Indians were defined in relation to Europeans through their paternal ancestry and domicile, as encapsulated by the first legal definition in the Government of Indian Act of 1935 in Article 366:

> An Anglo Indian is a person whose father or any of those other male progenitors in the male line is or was of the European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only. (2)

But the Britons living in British India were constantly against this and the opposition flamed when an official statement was released in 1946, according to which Domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians both were to be treated as Statuary Natives of India (NAI, 'Public'). The condemnation of this declaration was seen in the statement given by Dr. Wallace, the founder of the Imperial Anglo India Association. 'Britishers we are and Britishers we ever must

be. Once we relinquish this name Anglo-Indian and permit ourselves to be called as Eurasian or Statutory Natives of India, we become estranged from our proud heritage of Britishers'(Anthony, 1969: 2). Therefore, it can be gathered that this mixed community had to go through a period of changes in names midst constant opposition. But the proclamation of Lord Hardinge provided them a permanent name by which they are known worldwide today as'Anglo-Indians'.

Hence, the term 'Anglo-Indian' that would be referred to in this paper is the hybrid progeny with a father's line that was of an European origin and mothers who were Indian women, born in India and unlike most Europeans, expected to die here. A greater part of population of this community worked mostly in railways and lived mainly in the railway colonies throughout India. The Anglo-Indians, with time, had become the trusted community of the British Raj that preferred the Anglo-Indians over the Indian populace. Hence, the Anglo-Indians occupied a significant number of job posts during the Colonial period. Anglo-Indian men were usually employed in jobs that were protected under the British rule: railways, post offices, and telegraphs. The Anglo-Indian women from the first part of the twentieth century were working as nurses, teachers, secretaries, and stenographers.

Dual affinity

Taking their cultural life into consideration one could notice that the Anglo-Indians were more inclined towards being the European than Indian. They were a Christian Community that wore Western dresses, spoke English, and were educated at schools modeled on British parameters. Counter argument to the statement of Anglo-Indians being more Anglo than Indian, Reginald Maher points out the amalgamation of the two. According to him, the Indian elements are basic to the culture of this community just like oxygen is to water and that by removing the Indian element the result would be the culture of the European. Analyzing the food of the community, he points to the hybrid

nature of the menu which takes some influence from the East and some from the West. *Jhalfrazee* is one such dish whose name is a combination of Hindi for chilly and the English frizzle and the other being the Curried Steak, which is as much occidental as the curry is oriental (Maher, 1962: 18). The dual nature of existence is deeply embedded in the culture and thinking of the people of this community. If England represented heritage, memory and tradition; India on the other hand was the backdrop of their daily life, present meaning and the location of home. The dual affinity was shaped in the iconic figure of Britain as the fatherland and India as the motherland (Blunt, 2002: 51). This dual affinity had been a result of the mixed connection with the two and it is self-evident that the sense of belongingness is a difficult issue for people of mixed heritage. Observing the political scenario of the community in the Round Table Conference held in London, Mr. Gidney's speech not only suggested the sense of belongingness to both the countries but also claimed that it is a unique community in itself and could act as a bridge of faith between both nations. Another argument presented by him in the Minorities Sub-Committee in 1930 points out his idea of deep affinity shared with the motherland but politically secured within the British Empire. He claimed to have a deep love for their motherland and was ready to accept any kind of implications of his Indian nationality. However, he was very certain about one thing and that was an inexpugnable loyalty to the Crown of England in his political life (Blunt, 2002: 58).

Despite the significance provided to the British, the Anglo Community had to deal with disappointment in the Cripps Mission of 1942 that denied its representation in the proposed Constituent Assembly. In words of Mr. Gidney, 'we have been betrayed by the British at the altar of political expediency' (Anthony 119). This episode was followed by the death of Mr. Gidney. Subsequent to him in the ladder of leadership Mr. Frank Anthony had by now realized the fact that, 'the community could no longer stand on two stools' (Anthony 150). This very clearly put a question mark to the feeling of kinship with the British, at least at

the political forefront after 1942. Hence there was a change in the political approach since Mr. Frank Anthony took over the political responsibilities. In his first speech made for the Annual General Meeting of Bombay branch in September, 1942, he had addressed the community by stating, 'We would take our place along with our fellow Indians in India's March to progress and self-determination'.

Mr. Anthony gives reasons for this shift in his book, *Britain's Betrayal in India.* He talks about the indifference faced by the community at the hands of the British Government: Their representation was denied in the proposed constituent assembly during the Cripps mission, they were excluded in the Simla Conference, and also the Cabinet Mission- three instances that were like landmarks in this context (Anthony, 1969: 197). Mr. Anthony blamed the British Government for destroying the future of Anglo-Indians in India by not allowing them to be a part of the Cabinet Mission as well as the Interim Cabinet. He lamented that the representatives of this nation had gone out of their way to destroy a particular community, fighting for its rights after tremendous odds, for whose existence the nation was responsible (TOI, 'Anglo Indians and their Future' 9). It was later through the recommendations posed by the Congress Party that the Anglo-Indian community came to hold three seats in the Constituent Assembly and achieved official recognition in the Indian Constitution of 1950. Mr. Anthony was delighted by the efforts put up by the Indian Government and conveyed his gratitude to the government for providing the minority with special weightages and concessions (TOI, 'Congress Pledge' 5).

From the political picture as shift to a local one and try analyzing the people of the community we notice that although Anglo-Indian leaders increasingly described their community as Indian by nationality, many Anglo-Indians challenged this in their everyday life. Their psychology was dominated by the memory of a British forefather that continued to exert influence in the home and in political debates (Blunt, 2002: 64). Despite the shift of the

political spotlight, from fatherland to motherland and an emphasis on developing the affinity with India; many Anglo Indians felt like vegetables in a basket of fruits. The general view was that if the Britain guaranteed to help Anglo Indians with the means to migrate with jobs and homes to other lands of the empire, the majority of them would move irrespective of how deep their roots had sunk in the Indian soil (The Statesman, 'Anglo Indian Future' 6). That could be one of the possible reasons why, even against the public advice of Mr. Anthony, approximately one-third of the people of the Community had immigrated after Independence to places like Britain, Canada and Australia.

Main events of 1947

Taking into consideration the important event of 1947, that is, Partition and its impact on the community it can be stated that partition riots did not really affect the community at large. Anglo-Indians were involved yet excluded from violence. Mrs. Berkley, an interviewee (84 years old) was in her late teens during the partition. She confirms it stating, 'they did not harm us'. This is further supported by the statement of an interviewee of Dorothy Mcmenamin who had to patrol between the mosque and temple that were situated facing each other, during the Calcutta riots of 1946. He said, 'The Hindus and the Muslims were taking pot shots at each other over us'. Each of the factions called these Anglo-Indian men to have 'kedgeree'(khichdi) at the mosque and 'mithai' at the temple (Mcmenamin 93). The second proof is that during the partition, the trains that carried the passengers from one dominion to the other had Anglo-Indian drivers. The drivers of these trains which reached their destinations but with corpses inside it, were left unharmed. However, there was a different kind of inconvenience that this community faced, of which Reginald Maher talks about: the plight of the Anglo-Indian of the late 1940s, of which he sketches out a very sad figure. He claims that due to the emigration, Anglo-Indians were abandoned by their own community members who were wealthy enough to afford the

travels. The other communities (Indians) were too preoccupied with their own political difficulties to give the Anglo-Indian figure much attention. The ex-friends and patrons now ignored him and abandoned him (Maher, 1962: 70). These lines describe the condition of an ordinary member of the community, how he felt emotionally and psychologically during the event of Independence, and simultaneously, at the time of the retreat of the British Power.

Some Anglo-Indians did migrate. The reason behind it is the drastic change it brought about in the numbers of the people of the community which was already minuscule. The motives behind the emigration may be varied but one cannot deny the fact that this community which was already a 'microscopic community' further noticed a reduction in numbers in post-independence era of the 1950s and thereafter. The all India population of Anglo Indians was numbered as 1, 40, 422('Census of India 1941' 99). However this figure has been debated by Frank Anthony and many other scholars who suggest that the all India population of the community was approximately between 2, 50,000 and 3, 00,000(Anthony, 1969: 9). There is a huge discrepancy between the recorded figure and that stated by scholars. The all Indian population of the community in 1951 census report is 1, 11,637 ('Census of India 1951' 27). Considering the numbers given by the census report of 1951and comparing it to that of 1941, the debatable figures of census or that of Mr. Anthony we notice the numerical diminution. It may not be much in the case of the former but, nonetheless, should not be underestimated; firstly, because we are studying the people of this community who were already numerically smaller in mumber; and secondly because it was important to trace the reason why a community that had a long history in the Indian sub-continent was migrating suddenly in1947. There can be other reasons for the decline in population like death, but more than one-third of the population of a particular community vanished. Hence, one cannot evade the possibility of a massive exodus during a period when the status, identity, and future of this community were precarious.

The emigration had started as early as 1946 to Australia, however it began to be discussed widely in mid-1947(NAI, 'Grant'). The emigration had started a few days before Independence. The first batch of Anglo Indians that left India for Australia numbered more than 600, though a figure above 4000 had registered themselves for the immigration to Australia. The people of this community were found outside the banks on the Chartered Street of Bombay eagerly waiting to convert their money into Australian pounds. There were three vessels that were to take them to Australia, the first being the Manoora that left the Indian shores on 21st August, 1947(TOI, 'Anglo Indian Exodus' 6). These people leaving the country had no intention to return back, the reasons for which they did not specify.

Reasons for migration

The fact that mass emigration happened cannot be overlooked as it was a massive exodus and that too during the period when India was about to add a brand new page to its history. The Hindu-Muslim riots of 1947 and its consequences were discussed at length in history, yet this paper brings the spot light to this community and the reasons for emigration that had started soon after independence.

Though the Muslims had Pakistan and other communities had India, this community that had shown its dual affinity towards both the Raj and India did not have a singular strong foothold in the country anymore. Their food, their claim of Britain being the fatherland and India the motherland, and the early politics of Sir Gidney- all portray this dual kinship. A letter written by Sir Gidney suggests that not only he but his people were perplexed as to what their fate in future India would be. The nebulous state of the future of the community was well expressed by Mr. Anthony who was worried about the problems faced by the minority. He claimed that in 1947 a part of the community was anxious for they were not certain about whether they would be treated with understanding and with real fairness in New India (Anthony,

1969: 265). Mr. E.H.M. Bower, the former member of the Madras Legislature claimed that many Anglo Indians had left the shores of India in the past twelve months for Britain and Australia. He suggested that the reason for the same was the lack of effective democracy in India and in Pakistan. The new government in India was issuing orders that were sweeping away much of what the old government had done (TOI, 'Why Anglo Indians have migrated' 7).During the early 1948, Mr. Anthony had advised the Anglo-Indians to avoid migration and rather stand by the country that had faced and overcome unprecedented difficulties (TOI, 'Anthonys Praise' 5). Nevertheless, Anglo-Indian migrations happened and it was a phenomenon that was inexorable.

The communal riots of 1947 were not the reason why the Anglo-Indians could have possibly left India which has already been discussed. The removal of the employment privileges- and not the circumstances of partition- had raised a concern for their future prospects in the country. This Indianization in terms of employment opportunities left them with a sense of insecurity. The dominance of the prevalent Hindu-Muslim rivalry had forced them to think that the interests of these two groups were likely to be highlighted in an independent India and Pakistan. With the independence achieved, a large number of Anglo-Indians lost their privileges and jobs. Some had taken to begging or crime due to this phase of declining job prospects (Mcmenamin, 2006: 70).

Another reason could have been the cultural atmosphere that left many with no option but to migrate. The Anglo-Indians were under a socio-cultural influence that grew as a tendency to leave India which was so engrained that it had become a part of their culture (Andrews, 2008: 33).There can be several reasons behind the existence of a culture of migration of the community: their cost-benefit calculations, better job prospects, and possibilities of reunification with family (Andrews, 2008: 35). Some of these reasons and others discussed above led to the three major waves of migrations. Soon after independence some immigrated to England as they had grown up hearing stories and imagining life in that

country. English as a dominant language started to lose its relevance by 1947. In Benaras most telephone operators were using *sankhiya* for number, *koi uttar ni* for no reply, and *ji* for hello. Several lawyers had decided to argue their cases in Hindi. Hindustani had become the medium of instruction in UP University (The Statesman, 'English' 6). However when this gained ground and Hindi slowly became prevalent by the 1960s throughout India, the second wave of migration happened. Finally the third wave of migration started from the 1970s and continued. It was generally denoted by the family reunion wave which forms a part of the policies of immigration of countries like New Zealand (Andrews, 2008: 37-38). The Anglo-Indians wanted to leave India in order to reunite with their family members abroad. This wave of migration could be a delayed one since now they had the means to travel which they lacked back then.

Emigrations eventually turned into an ongoing process that is being continued even now. One of the interviewee, Mrs. Philomena Berkley suggests that it as nothing more than an act of curiosity to see if the grass was greener on the other side . However, there are cases like hers, and that of Hazel Cross and Valerie Beecham, who chose to stay back and not only spent their whole life in India but also want to die in India. Valerie Beecham in this context suggested that leaving the country was not her cup of tea. Since her daughters were married here, going abroad never cropped up in her mind . But the fact that the majority of Anglo-Indians chose to live abroad rather than in India would not be an overstatement. The wave of migration that started since late 1940s never stopped.

Conclusion

It is important to question, as to why a community that had a century old history in a country suddenly decides to leave that country, midst questions of nationalism and the spirit of citizenship. Further more it is debatable whether it is the active daily commitment as an expression of their nationality (which in

the words of Renan is the 'daily plebiscite') that the community was not ready to show towards independent India, or was it the absence of the cultural concept, which binds people on the basis of shared identity (that in Benedict Andersons formulation is referred to as an 'imagined community'). The Anglo Indian community somehow either lacked or was unable to relate to the feeling of cultural oneness. Looking at the circumstances around independence and Partition, it leads the researcher to gather that this was the time when the members of the community were questioning themselves regarding their future, while simultaneously, they were looking for a place where they could relax and feel at home. Hence, it is explicitly evident that there is a very strong association between Anglo-Indian migration and their individuality. Anglo-Indian identification as culturally more European than Indian could be another reason they were and still are motivated to leave India for a place where they are sure they will feel more 'at home'. Where 'home' was England in the past, it is now any English speaking country (Andrews, 2008: 44).

This cultural chasm between Anglo Indians and Indians accounted for a social chasm. However it would be wrong to generalize this for the whole community, because there were also some who willingly decided to stay back whether the reasons to stay included financial incapability or something else is a different matter.

Taking the present scenario into consideration, Anglo Indians have special rights of citizenship in India. Politically they are equal to other Indians. Those who stayed back left no stone unturned to value their Indian citizenship. Roger Binny made it to the Indian cricket team and brought home the 1983 World Cup. There were some Anglo-Indian fliers who fought bravely in the 1965 war with Pakistan and brought not only respect but a sense of hope to their community. Those who left during the eventful year of 1947 were the ones who could not have torturously waited to see how independent India would treat them. One of the Anglo-Indian interviewees who had settled in Australia, for example, said if she

had to stay [in India] then naturally would have had to make the best of it, and assimilate and lose her identity (Andrews, 2008: 45). This aspect of losing one's identity is somehow the case of Anglo Indians world over, whether abroad or in India. The exclusive hybrid culture of the Anglo-Indian identity is expiring and diluted through intermarriage . As the younger generations are merging into the mainstream of the society or rather the country they reside in, the culture and identity of Anglo-Indian Community is being lost. Mrs. Hazel Cross exclaims that migrations have decreased their number and their culture is fading away due to intermarriages. But they are satisfied as long as they can live happily with peace . Another aspect related to their identity in the 1940s was the stigma attached to being an Anglo-Indian. The most apt example of this was Merle Oberon the renowned Hollywood actress, nominated for Academy Awards. Throughout her life she concealed her Anglo-Indian lineage. She was born in Bombay and studied in Kolkata. It was only in the late 1970s she revealed her Anglo Indian roots just before her death (Muthiah and Maclur 162).

Nevertheless one should not ignore the efforts made by the Indian government around this crucial period of late 1940s and early 1950s. One thing comes out clearly that the community was given support and consideration to survive as an independent community with special rights and representation for their voices to be heard like any other citizen of independent India. The present situation of Anglo Indian Community in India looks quite well. They proudly claim themselves as the only community in India which has the word 'Indian' in its name. They have attached their affinity strongly with the nation which is very clear from the statements of its leaders of today and in late 1940s'where Mr. Frank Anthony does not like the word assimilation and rather stresses on the individuality of the community; Mr. Neil O' Brien stated they have integrated into the society and live in India as a proud community'. Their integration in India as well as the change in their culture is evident from Mr. Neil O'Brien's Presidential Address at the Joint Annual General Meeting held at Bengaluru:'

this community who loved to be tenants is nowadays investing in their own houses in the country'. Mrs. Berkley claims that just like the Howrah Bridge, the community is the legacy of the Raj that has now become a part of the Indian mosaic .Possessing a clear affinity for India, they are organizing reunions nationally and internationally in order to revive and rejuvenate the fading Anglo-Indian culture. Joining hands with India, they look for a prosperous future in the country.

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Crisis of Citizenship in Pakistan: Predicaments of Being a Christian Woman in Mohammed Hanif's Novel *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti (2011)*

Dinesh Kumar*

Abstract

Pakistan is a Muslim-majority nation-state. Its foundation laid in the name of religion makes it a problematic place to inhabit for its minorities like Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, et al. Even some sects of Islam itself do not feel at ease with the perpetual changes in policies favouring Sunni (dominant sect of Islam in Pakistan, both politically and demographically) cultural mores. Pakistan's dithering statehood on account of regular military coups and unsuccessful democratic stints keeps minorities' rights on tenterhooks. The selected text *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011) by Mohammed Hanif presents a telling fictional narrative of commonplace violation of minorities' citizenship rights. The paper endeavours to study the predicaments that a Christian woman (Alice, the titular character) has to undergo in contemporary Pakistan. Alice's pathetic condition from beginning to last compels readers to empathise with her despite her rather belligerent

*Research scholar, Department of English & Cultural Studies, Panjab University Chandigarh. E-mail: dineshnaino@gmail.com

attitude towards life in general amidst prevalent inimical ambience of theologically-driven state. Alice's lively spirit challenges the normative discourse of citizenship cushioned in ideological structures of state, and thus portrays the crisis of citizenship in Pakistan trumpeting a clarion call.

A contemporary observer, political or otherwise, can easily profess a claim about Pakistan's non-committal functioning as a state. Struggling amidst multilayered volatilities, Pakistan seems to elude basic characteristics associated with being a stable state in the present world. Politically, it keeps fluctuating between being a democratic state and military dictatorship;[1] Socially, it paradoxically holds dear both conservatism and modernity; culturally, it remains ambivalent to theocracy and secularism; economically, it remains debt-ridden, perpetually seeking financial support from various institutions; and geopolitically, it lies crucially situated, bearing possibilities for myriad alliances and dispensations at different times from among contradictory ideological sets[2]. Moreover, like other post-colonial countries, Pakistan stands midway in its upward mobility on the mounting

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[1] The elected governments and the military regimes have almost equally ruled Pakistan. The regular change in the guard has so much entrenched the military influence in the system as Pakistani state seems glued with the 'deep state' forever. Frequent military coups from General Ayub Khan in 1950s through General Zia ul-Haq in late 1970s to General Pervez Musharraf at the turn of millennium only distanced Pakistan from the goal of an egalitarian and democratic state.

[2] Pakistan has been an ally of the USA-led national organizations for long, and played a major role especially during the crucial Soviet-Afghan War which saw the end of the USSR regime. Lately it has strengthened its relations with China which does not have a smooth relationship with the USA and other allied Western nations. Besides, its location in the South Asia makes it a close ally of the Islamic Arab peninsula.

ladder of the developing states, in its efforts to reach to the privileged status of the developed states. Yet, this goal seems to be categorically elusive in near future. Terrorism evokes a connection with Pakistan world over, especially after 9/11. All these dynamic variables render Pakistan as a difficult state without an iota of doubt.

Christophe Jaffrelot, perhaps rightly so, terms the present state of the country as a unique 'Pakistan Paradox' subsuming various contradictory and volatile policies and practices simultaneously[3]. Regular military coups in the name of saving Islam from un-Islamic democratic/elected forces long ago paved the way for Pakistan's fluctuating political, and by extension, socio-cultural character. This unconstitutional and unwanted policy of chasing the dream for a 'land of the pure' and/or a holy land (*paksthan/* Pakistan) would prove quite dear to its minorities in the long run. Despite having a dream, Pakistan has not yet fully overcome the dilemma of the times of its foundation whether it should be a Muslim homeland or an Islamic state. Pakistan creates an unrivalled spectacle for the outsiders as, on the one hand, it was the first nation-state in the modern times to be founded along religious lines as a negative premise for saving Muslims, but, on the other, even after seventy years it remains stuck and undecided on the cross-road showing two distinct and opposite signboards, namely a modern state and a religious one. However, this ambivalence is not only limited to Pakistan but the entire South Asia intermittently reels under the pressure of generating a constant synthesis of the two contradictory viewpoints. In this ambience citizenship-worth of all the subjects begins varying contingent to the majority factor in a particular state[4].

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[3]Christophe Jaffrelot, a French political scientist with specialization on South Asia, discusses many dilemmas like religion, modernity, geopolitics of Pakistan to establish his point (also, the title of his book) for the unique 'Pakistan Paradox.'

[4]In India, Hinduism has the upper hand; in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Muslims dominate the spectrum. In the entire South Asia, minorities may happen to enjoy equality in constitutional terms but in practical terms the discrimination remains evident.

The issue of citizenship for the underprivileged is one amongst the most prominent issues that Pakistan faces today[5]. Here, the underprivileged people refer to women and minorities living in a staunchly theological state founded seventy years ago in the name of preserving the rights of the 'then' minority (Muslims in undivided British India)[6].With minority rendering into majority, others started feeling deprived and dispossessed of basic civilian and citizenship rights. In plain terms, in Pakistan, the discourse of citizenship revolves around the religious identity of the subject. Constitutionally, all residents claim an equal status of citizenship, but in practice, it operates in skewed measures, diluting the worth of non-Muslims. While analyzing the selected text, the paper is an endeavor to discuss the crisis of citizenship in Pakistan which makes some sections of the Pakistani society feel and live as lesser beings in a state which officially claims to protect, as once its founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah had famously avowed, the rights of all, irrespective of their gender, caste, creed, or religion in a Muslim-majority nation (Jalal, 2007: 22)[7].Contrary to that, when

[5]By the concept of citizenship, I intend to suggest it's very basic dimension enshrined in the legal protection and gradual evolution of the individual and social rights in a given political system which strives to promote the sense of identitarian self-respect, both individually and collectively, in its members (*Citizen Encyclopedia n. p.*). Theories postulated by the citizenship thinkers like T. H. Marshall, Michael Mann, and Bryan Turner clearly state that citizenship has its dimensions spread into legal, political and identity-bound spheres; however, the worth of citizenship works variably contingent upon the cascaded situatedness of the person in a given context. Hence citizenship remains visible and elusive at the same time.

[6]Pakistan became the first such nation founded on religious lines (Islam) in modern era. However, it would itself be divided further after twenty four years bringing a new nation Bangladesh into existence. The making of Pakistan though had to see the deaths of millions along with collateral damages caused by mass migration of millions of people. The Partition of British India remains a crucial event in twentieth century. Israel is another, however more complicated, example of such establishment along religious lines.

[7]Jinnah declared 'the idea of Pakistan' in his famous 11 August 1947 speech. This speech is proposed as a model instance of religious tolerance by secular thinkers against snowballing fundamentalism in Pakistan. See Ayesha Jalal's *The Sole Spokesperson* (2011) for Jinnah's coming-of-age as a Muslim leader in colonial India.

Jinnah is no more than a symbolic echo in the Pakistani state, minorities such as Hindus, Sikhs, Parsees, Jews, and Christians have borne the brunt of ire in the hands of fundamentalist powers unleashed specifically in the Zia era and afterwards. However, Hussain Haqqani traces the insidious entry of the conservative strand of Islam at the cost of minority faiths right from the foundation of the nation (ix-xvi). Not only the non-Muslims, but the non-majoritarian Islamic sects themselves, like Shias and Ahmadiyyas had begun to be treated discriminatorily. Regular attacks on these groups explicitly show the discriminated state of citizenship. Religious minorities in Pakistan have always paid the price for living in the El Dorado devised for the majority Muslims. Let alone basic developmental issues like power (a chronically severe issue in Pakistan), water, housing; survival itself stands as a major concern for the minorities in Pakistan, seeing their decline from 23% demographic share in 1947 to only 3% in 2015 (Ispahani, 2015: 4). At present, Christians only comprise 1.6% of Pakistani population like the Hindus, followed by a rather small number of Sikhs and Parsees. Such a steep decline blatantly exposes the simmering crisis of citizenship prevalent in Pakistan.

With Pakistan seriously lacking the space of a guiding and progressive civil society, the crisis of state citizenship remains unresolved and helplessly directionless. The paper would study the predicaments faced by a Christian woman in an Islamic state as portrayed in Mohammed Hanif's novel *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* (2011) which, in turn, proves to be a qualified commentary on the position of other religious minorities too. The study would also engage with the legal, social, economic, and psychological dimensions of citizenship surrounding and influencing the protagonist. The novel deals with the atrocious fate incurred upon a young and ambitious Christian woman, Alice Bhatti, trapped ideologically in a place like the ever expanding and deteriorating Karachi, which seems not to hold any space pertaining to equal rights and opportunities for people, unlike the common ilk (read Muslims, much better Muslim males). The setting of the narrative in metropolitan Karachi presents the ordeal of Alice in a rather

symbolic way[8]. Alice Bhatti, who is just in her early twenties, wants to *restart* her life as if she has already lived for centuries. Actually she has experienced far more hardships than her age would normally allow one to undergo. She has spent a few years in a Borstal for her responding back, rather violently, to a male molester who happened to be her teacher in the nursing college. She has seen her mother being raped and murdered with impunity. After having managed to get a job as a junior nurse in a Christian hospital, she marries a semi-employed secret police helper named Teddy Butt, a Muslim. This nuptial affair would toll her life when her husband attacks her with acid just after a few months into their marriage. She is killed for no other reason but to confront her Muslim husband about his irregular job despite being a *Christian Choohra woman*[9]. The irony is that Alice had married Teddy, however not fully consciously, outside her own community and by going against her father's wishes for the sake of protection itself.

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[8]Karachi, largely a *mohajir* city made up of the refugees migrated from India during Partition, remains bedeviled by communal and ethnic violence even today; but it is often termed as the commercial capital of Pakistan, and so a crude microcosm of the nation holding fast to both development and exploitation. Ironically, a city of outsiders does not hold any space for insiders as Christians had not changed sides during the Partition. They had assumed that both Hindus and Muslims would treat them equally and so continued living wherever they happened to be placed then.

[9]Christians have not originally been the inhabitants of South Asia, but they are the converted people from the lower castes of local religions, Hinduism and Islam. The roots of Christianity in Indian Sub-continent are attributed to Saint Thomas's sea voyage to this far-placed land with the very genesis of Christianity in the world, i.e., the first century CE. However, the significant conversion transpired in as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially when the Christian missionaries were given the license to propagate the religion under 1813 Charter Act by the British Parliament. And it was, by and large, the marginalized communities like Chamar and Choohra who were easily allured to transforming their lives for better under the aegis of the rulers' faith. Unfortunately, the rulers were to depart one day leaving them behind at the mercy of their original co-religionists. Also, in spite of conversion the caste-markers continued to be attached with them showing their so-called lower position on the basis of birth, a practice prevalent in the Sub-Continent.

Unfortunately, this is not a one-off Alice Bhatti in Pakistan who meets this sort of fate, but this denouement resonates within the whole gamut of drama, peopled with minority characters. Abduction and forceful conversion of the minority girls for marriage by Muslim men has become an outrageously common practice in Pakistan in recent times[10]. The split between the constitutional citizenship and day-to-day life for minorities in Pakistan seems brazenly irreparable, especially when religion has recently sought different pretexts to enter into rather secular state institutions. The 'return of religion' in worldwide politics, especially in South Asia, in the last few decades seems to have stalled the progress of minorities' and women's rights for an egalitarian society (Jodhka, 2013: 136).The interface of religion and state has almost always paralleled the decline of heterogeneous and democratic practices in the given land. States built upon or driven by religious ideology more often than not carry the possibilities of granting differentiated rights to their citizens on account of their adherence or preference to a particular religion/s. Also, there is nothing new and revealing about the patriarchal structure of almost all religions negatively affecting women's status across the globe. Honor killing has been a rampant practice in South Asia which severely affects women's position in society. Hanif highlights this nuisance wrapped in a satire as 'no parliamentary subcommittees discuss ways of saving this endangered species' when women in Pakistan are attacked by their own relatives for one reason or another (Hanif, 2011: 143). And it

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[10]Surinder Jodhka has passionately argued about the return of religion and ethnic unrest in Indian Sub-continent in the last few decades. Golden Temple attack and Anti-Sikh riots (1984), Jammu and Kashmir conflict (1989 onwards), Babri Maszid demolition and subsequent bomb blasts and riots across the nation (1992) in India; regular Baluchistan and Pashtun revolts along with the genesis of terrorism in Pakistan; Bangladesh liberation (1971) and subsequent military coups; and Tamil Tigers' rebellion in Sri Lanka (1983 onwards) stand as clear examples of his hypothesis. However, this trend can be traced in world politics too during almost same time period.Abduction and conversion of teenage girls and women have led to a horrible decline in the population of minorities, especially of Hindus and Christians. See https://thewire.in/rights/pakistan-minorities-girls

applies to almost all women in Pakistan irrespective of the identity insured by majority or minority. Tribal areas in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan are worse affected from this social problem where women still can be traded for domestic or civilian quarrels. Majority of women seem to lag behind in the race of full citizenship due to their being an issue of *honor*. Traditional societal codes do not allow women in Pakistan to equally share the rights enjoyed by men in normal circumstances. A character in the text, Hina Alvi alias Hannah Massey, appropriately describes this conundrum: 'A married Muslim nurse is not much better than a single Christian nurse. You just become a slave multiplied by two' (194). This advice given to Alice, however, would not yield the required results.

Both elected leaders and military dictators in cahoots with *mullahs* (religious clerics) have undermined the state constitution and establishment time and again, while degrading the citizenship rights of women and non-Muslims. Ironically, it was the self-acclaimed secular leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who first declared Islam as the state religion in 1973 and then next year unabashedly pronounced Ahmadiyyas (also spelled as Ahmadis) as non-Muslims putatively under the pressure of Islamic forces getting stronger in the post-1971 era when Bangladesh had become a separate nation-state following a horrible and humiliating civil war. Right after the Bhutto government, Pakistan under the Zia regime introduced many such rules that were highly regressive in nature as far as the state of women was concerned, such as the introduction of the Hudood Ordinances[11]. These religious sanctions along with the establishment of the Sharia courts cut short the optimistic flight, not only of Pakistan as a democratic and

[11]Muhammad Zia ul-Haq—a self-claimed soldier of Islam—was a military dictator and subsequently established himself as the President of Pakistan from 1977-1988. He is assumed as the most controversial figure in Pakistani political history after Jinnah. He imposed many sanctions in the name of religion converting Pakistan's secular approach into an Islamic discourse. Hanif's most famous book *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008) is a riveting satire on Zia.

modern nation-state, but also of women as an equal partner of social development[12]. Farahnaz Ispahani in her book *Purifying the Land of the Pure: Pakistan's Religious Minorities* (2015) avers that under the influence of the Deobandi school (conservative and Sunni), sharia courts during Zia's regime started giving different weight to the testimony of Muslims, non-Muslims, and Muslim women in civil and criminal proceedings. A woman's testimony only had the half value to that of a man's (85-89). These legal practices simply overturned the formula of equal rights of citizenship for women before the law. Since then, Pakistan has not observed any significant turn in the state of women in their pursuit of citizenship of equal measures.

Focusing upon the minority issues, one can unambiguously point out that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan does not sufficiently allow its minorities to politically enrich the canvas of citizenship by, contrarily, recognizing them as just a group of people to be protected by the legal system of the state, which unfortunately seems quite unwholesome in Pakistan, considering the peculiar juxtaposition of its permanently looming political instability and intermittent emergence of the ticklish fundamentalist powers. Pakistan only extended the rights to its minorities to also fight an election, both for national and provincial assemblies, on a general (unreserved) seat as late as in 2002. Earlier they could only contest an election in their reserved constituencies feeling like a pariah for the rest of Pakistan. Muslims (as a majority) did not have to canvass the support from the minorities, and thus neither did they themselves feel accountable, by the same token, to the latter regarding their problems. Bina Shah, a renowned writer, summarizes this just in a couple of sentences. 'For some reason, electricity stops before it gets to them [Christians]. The same for roads. Somehow development stops where Christian communities start' (Shah, 2010:11-12). Markus Daechsel fairly

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[12]*Hudood* laws applied mainly for the four offenses: intoxication, theft, adultery, and false allegation. Women and poor were most brutally hit by these laws.

reviews Theodore Gabriel's study titled *Christian Citizens in an Islamic State: The Pakistan Experience* (2008) summarizing that 'No section of Pakistani political society seems currently willing or able to reverse the creeping denigration of Christians from full citizens to legal scapegoats and subordinates' (Daechsel, 2009: 578).

Islam can also be provoked to settle the personal scores in Pakistan. Blasphemy and desecration laws in the state are often used to frighten the minorities for one reason or another including the poaching of their property and the settlement of the personal or political vendetta. For example, in 2009, Asia Bibi, an illiterate Christian woman, was charged with blasphemy by her Muslim co-workers just because she had dared to drink a cup of water, while working at a farm, from the same pitcher as her Muslims fellows would drink from. She was later sentenced to death for the incident; however, the case is still pending in the Supreme Court and has drawn a significant amount of sympathy from the first world.[13] Former Punjab Governor Salman Taseer and Cabinet Minorities Affairs Minister Shahbaz Bhatti, the only Christian member of the Pakistani cabinet, were assassinated to speak on behalf of Asia Bibi and support the petition against the notorious blasphemy laws. Christians' buildings remain perpetually at target to be attacked by a huge mob just waiting for a cue from the local leaders associated with right-wing political parties and *mullahs*. Amidst such a hostile ambience, religious minorities cannot hope much regarding their human rights. Suicide bomb attacks on the shrines of religious minorities, including those of within Islam, have become the norm in recent times in Pakistan. Khaled Ahmed opines that almost all the accused of blasphemy are likely to get severe punishments from the court/s even when the prosecution (police) do not have solid evidences to support the cases because the lives of the judges themselves remain

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[13]The case of Asia Bibi has drawn attention from the United Nations and Western countries, especially Christian institutions like the Roman Catholic Church. She has subsequently been the subject of a book, with a ghost writer, titled *Blasphemy: A Memoir: Sentenced to Death over a Cup of Water* (2013) and a film in Polish.

endangered if they pronounce the decision otherwise[14]. Justice stays biased and individuals are made scapegoats to teach lessons to the whole community once in a while. All this itself speaks for their position as citizens in the state.

Coincidentally, Pakistan celebrates 25 December as the birthday of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah but totally ignores Christmas, which is worth demanding attention in lieu of its Christian minorities. Instead, the celebration of events like Christmas and Easter draw attention from militants, reminding them about the status of Christians as non-Muslims. Recent terrorist attacks on Christians, mainly by the young suicide bombers who barely get any secular education at madrassas funded by the foreign Islamic organizations, testify the anathema both for the minority and minority festivals in the fundamentalist circles in Pakistan. Raising the voice for the beleaguered Christian community, Bina Shah observes the cultural alienation imposed on the Christian women when they are made to wear *burkas*; but paradoxically refrained from celebrating *Eid*, much less Christmas.

Braving all the odds, Hanif in *Our Lady of Alice Bhatti* dares to laugh at his own religion, Islam, in a rather conservative land to bring to the surface the plights of other subaltern groups like religious minorities, women, and homosexuals which remain affected within the purview of majoritarian religion. But the situation of Alice as a lapsed Christian also works like a mouthpiece for Hanif to comment upon the negative sides of Islam. Here, Alice Bhatti, the protagonist of the novel, posits before the reader an enigmatic but poignant spectacle that has become the part and parcel of her life. Being a Christian, Alice gets the diminutive share from the already diminished and compact role ascribed to women in the larger part of Pakistan. Minority women have to bear the brunt of human rights' violation more than their

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[14]Khaled Ahmed is a Pakistan-born US-based writer and journalist. He continues to raise minority issues of Pakistan by writing in leading dailies across the world, and his physical distance helps him do so rather more trenchantly.

male counterparts. For example, Alice's mother, a maid in a Muslim landlord's house, is raped and killed, and the matter is hushed, ironically with the help of the local pastor, to avoid unnecessary attention to the deceased's daughter Alice in particular and to the whole local Christian community in general. Patriarchy, class and religion intertwine to neglect the state of Christian women in an Islamic state.

Christians in Pakistan are expected to do only menial jobs irrespective of their education. Almost all employees in the big cities of Pakistan working as sweepers and sewer cleaners belong to Christianity in the same way the so-called lower castes people do in India. Both Alice and her father, Joseph Bhatti, are maid and sweeper respectively. Then Alice tries to elevate her status (as a junior nurse) backing it up with her educational and technical qualifications. Fluency in English and a diploma in the basic medical education would suffice for anyone else regarding the job, but not for Alice, not even in a Christian Missionary hospital. Despite being the owner of the Sacred Heart Hospital for All Ailments, a Catholic establishment, Doctor Pereira finds himself helpless, with his hands tied when it comes to helping Alice to get the job which too does not make any significant progress career-wise. Misogynist and racial attitudes prevail in the interview where Alice is consistently made to feel humiliated about her sexual and religious identities. The very first question appears as 'So are you Alice or are you Bhatti?' (Hanif, 2011: 8). Muslim doctors want to make it clear whether they are recruiting a Muslim or a non-Muslim. Christians doctors themselves are derogatorily addressed by their colleagues as the 'Choohra/bhangi doctors'—a reminder of their supposedly lower caste in the past and of the state of their brethren as sweepers in the present—and 'dogs' by powerful Muslims characters like narrow-minded Police Inspector Malangi, a police official (Hanif, 2011: 18, 30). Also, the practice of untouchability is not something that is unheard of in these corridors, but this practice becomes selective when it comes to molest otherwise untouchable Christian choohra women. Alice is abused in such a way that '…the same people who would not drink

from a tap that she has touched have no problem casually poking their elbows into her breast or contorting their own bodies to rub against her heathen bottom' (Hanif, 2011: 140). Lower-caste and -class Christians are segregated like the Hindu untouchables in India in the most polluted part of the city which is disparagingly called French Colony. Unlike Muslims, Christians, regardless of their education and caliber, are not provided with equal opportunities to play their roles as equal citizens in Pakistan.

Besides the discrimination in the employment process for higher and prestigious positions they are exposed to on the daily basis, Christians along with the Ahmadiyya community are the cultural groups most likely and easily to be abused constitutionally in the names of sacrilege and blasphemy.[15] More often than not the blasphemy cases are false and impulse driven. Alice recites *kalima*, a Muslim prayer, to the persons who are about to die at the hospital where she works. She has studied it at school as the military dictator Zia had made it compulsory for all Pakistanis irrespective of their faith and belief to study Islamic teachings at school level. Christians and other religious minorities have to act against their wishes in the Muslim majoritarian state which deliberately overlooks the rights of its citizens concerning their spiritual beliefs. Likewise, Alice's father Joseph Bhatti, who is a 'typical' Christian sewer cleaner, has memorized the Holy Quran, and occasionally reads some parts of it as holy mantras to cure patients across the religious affiliations (mostly poor Muslims). On the one hand, it shows the ideological domination of the majoritarian religion through Althusserian state apparatuses; on the other this *surplus* knowledge carries the threat to their lives. One is never sure when this benevolent act could translate into a blasphemous charge which cannot be spoken against even by a provincial governor, let alone the afflicted group.

[15]Ahmadiyya community is often repudiated as an Indian stratagem to spoil the 'true' Islam. They are the worst hit group among the minorities in Pakistan and it is the only nation-state where this community has been declared non-Muslim by the state constitution.

Along the same lines, the Ahmadiyya community, perhaps the most targeted minority in Pakistan, has not only been declared unwanted from the Islamic cloak, but also made permanently susceptible to rigorous blasphemy laws if they even happened to identify themselves as Muslims or recite anything from the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*. They cannot even visit *masjids* and have to surreptitiously practice their belief in temporary and ever shifting prayer houses. Their belief has been literally converted to an underground religion. Abdus Salam, an Ahmadiyya and the first Pakistani Nobel laureate (Physics), left Pakistan in 1974 when Bhutto government declared Ahmadiyaas non-Muslim. Many Ahmadiyyas have all along since their excommunication been charged on the blasphemous acts and some of them were even sentenced to death by the courts to please the religious fundamentalists. Most of such cases take place in far flung rural and tribal areas, and remain unrecorded legally, leaving the victims helpless and devoid of justice forever. Mob decides the fate of such 'sacrilegious' cases with immunity.

Islamization has entered the most personal activities of minorities in Pakistan like naming a child. It has become a common practice in Pakistan that non-Muslims, to a good extent, adopt Muslim names to hide their real identity and so to avoid any unceremonious and unwanted attention. Joseph Bhatti has seen many Christian youths 'tak[ing] on Musla names, move out of French Colony [a shoddy suburb area in Karachi where most of the Christians are ghettoed] and become members of some other species' (Hanif, 2011: 70). Having a name of one's own choice is considered one of the most basic rights as a citizen across the world, but this innocuous looking practice remains embroiled amid the sectarian violence in Pakistan and culminates in becoming banal, sterile, and hopeless in lieu of being a celebratory act. Under such circumstances, a person starts reflecting upon existence as such rather than prove her essence as being a free individual. Alice Bhatti recurrently confronts the question: 'So are you Alice or are you Bhatti?' (Hanif, 2011: 8). Bhatti surname being quite common among Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, remains

elusive as an identity marker at first encounter between two persons but her first name Alice would soon expose her vulnerability as an unprivileged Pakistani citizen.

Like Alice Bhatti, Hina Alvi, another major character in the novel, too has to hide her real identity (née Hannah Massey) to parry off unwanted disadvantages emanating from a non-Muslim identity. Alvi was married to a Muslim man and after becoming a widow at a rather young age covered her insecurity with suffixing her husband's surname for good, but this only came with her hegemonically subduing to an alien culture to the extent that she makes herself known as a disciplined and conservative Muslim woman. She knew it very well that socially it was better to be a Muslim widow in Pakistan than to be a Christian one. Invoking Saadat Hasan Manto's Partition tales of killing people right after knowing their name, Tariq Rahman, a renowned Pakistani scholar, argues that in Pakistan 'Names may be changed with a view to flagging the desire to take up a new religious identity' voluntarily or involuntarily (Rahman, 2013: 239). Such forced metamorphosis, though, can lead to psychological disorder in the affected person. The two seminal rites of passage—naming and wedding—in a Christian woman's life are determined by a system that devalues and reduces them to the status of a maid and a marriage prospect for a Muslim man, either by force or by *consent*. These practices also justify the steep decline in minority numbers. However, Christian women have more freedom to get married to a person of their choice—no matter howsoever limited it is—than a vast section of Muslim girls (except a small group of urban liberals) who need their *wali*'s (guardian) permission for a valid *nikah* (Muslim marriage contract). A long battle, which is fought to get Saima Waheed's love marriage within community legally validated, had shown the immense control of patriarchy (and heteropatriarchy too) in Pakistan which could become possible just because of support provided by formidable women right activists like Asma Jahangir[16]. At some point all women become equal in Pakistan with regards to their treatment in society irrespective of differences in their other privileges.

The practice of involuntary homogenization supplants the urge for affirming one's distinct identity but not without some resistance or circumvention on the part of the affected subject trying hard to uphold at least a sliver of her increasingly thinning religious or cultural distinction. Mohammed Hanif has himself underscored the juxtaposition of fear and hope in context of minorities' faith in Pakistani society in an interview: 'Many Christians over the past forty, fifty years have given their children Muslim names so that they won't have to give their identity so easily. But there are others who haven't. They insist on having proper Anglophile or Biblical or Christian names'(Bila1, 2016: 25). Despite all odds, the *Muslim* Alvi continues to pray to Jesus Christ in private, but the cross always needs to be kept hidden in her wardrobe. Alice, on the other hand, even as a lapsed Christian wears her identity on her sleeve inviting free-flowing disadvantages and abuses as a *kafir*. She thwarts all endeavors on the part of her husband to convert her to Islam, but eventually she is killed for her defiance. Both Alice and Alvi adopt different ways to sustain their belief and hence psychological citizenship in Pakistan no matter what the external circumstances are. They stick to their subjective identities even in ~~such~~ an ambience where not only established Churches are attacked in Pakistan, but the possibility of erecting a new Church is thwarted, despite the need for a place of worship felt by a significant number of people—on account of their ghettoization, not for any increase in population. Christianity, like other minority faiths, has become an *individual* choice in Pakistan in the absence of state safeguards. Pakistani state has not proposed any solution to curb inhuman practices threatening minorities which has left them tottering under two per cent from twenty three per cent just seventy years ago.

Besides the events of naming and wedding, minority women

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[16] The case had been the front page news for many days (1996-97) which changed, to an extent, the perspective of conservative Muslim patriarchal system in Pakistan. Asma Jahangir (recently deceased), one of the most prominent right activists of country, was Saima's lawyer.

have to face multidimensional restrictions and sanctions in their daily life. Islamic dominance has, without needing any legislation, bleached out cultural diversity in many ways such as sartorial choices, education, etc. Farida Shaheed depicts the pain of minority for having been forcefully homogenized as 'Harassed and under societal pressure, Parsees and Christians abandoned skirts and dresses' just to pass for native Pakistanis (Shaheed, 2010: 859). Alvi does not hesitate in wearing *burka* in public life and Alice prefers playing demure to lessen the risk of looking like an Other. 'Lewd gestures, whispered suggestions, uninvited hands on her bottom are all part of Alice Bhatti's daily existence' (Hanif, 2011: 14). Alice Bhatti is abused twice at work places besides regular eve teasing; first as a student in her college by a teacher, and then, in a brutal manner by a wealthy *zamindar* who had accompanied her ailing mother at the hospital[17]. These were not the ordinary cases of habitual sexual abuse in a male dominated society, but they draw attention due to her being a minority woman and so an easy target even in the rather safe places. She was conveniently made a scapegoat by a senior (Muslim) doctor for his own 'medical malpractice,' that took the life of a patient for his casual approach in the operation theatre, for which Alice had to spend a few years in a Borstal (Hanif, 2011: 260).

Stereotypes about minorities worsen their real experience. Being a *kafir* (infidel) in a 'pure' land (*paksthan*, used neutrally) is enough to relegate one to a position unequal to their fellow citizens. But irony is that majority people do not often know about minorities and brand them together. Strong bias of school

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[17]The man who drove a large gaudy Sports Utility Vehicle belonged to an aristocratic family. He had tried to perform oral sex on Alice—who was on duty as a personal nurse deputed for the rich patient-- in the very room his mother was being treated into. More brazenly, he had done it in a completely nonchalant manner. Being a Christian, Alice was supposed to comply with the demands of a rich Muslim man (a sort of unwritten diktat, a class-cum-religious issue), which, however, she did not. Instead she chopped off his private organs with a surgical knife. Then she would hide herself from imminent reaction on the part of *zamindar* family.

education in Pakistan exclusively towards Islam deprives Muslim majority of acquainting with other religions and cultures. Alice also faces this enigma when some Muslim girls, her own class mates, attack her for sticking the posters of Jesus Christ on the dormitory walls calling her simultaneously both 'a Yassoo slut' and 'a Yahoodi spy' despite the obvious difference in respect of their religious practices (Hanif, 2011: 253). Moreover, the discourse of individual dignity and entitlement for Christians gets muddied when it is juxtaposed with class rather than just placed in a religious context. It is poor Christians who actually are at the receiving end in Pakistan instead of their privileged brethren. Both Muslims and comparatively prosperous Christians do not have any place for those Christians who are engaged in menial jobs like sweeping and scavenging. Joseph Bhatti narrates his predicament as "These Muslas will make you clean their shit and then complain that you stink,'…'And our own brothers at the Sacred? They will educate you and then ask you why you stink" (Hanif, 2011: 1).

In short, Pakistan under various kinds of pressure from within and without nation-state has lost the opportunity to really make it a holy land. Neither Muslims nor minorities have found the way to deal with each other in a traditional society but marred with globalization and modernity. The crisis of citizenship demands a sincere approach of Pakistani state and society. Minorities cannot be allowed to be prosecuted in front of state standing as a mute spectator. Though despite the dismal image Pakistan betrays regarding its treatment of minorities, one can yet see the rays of hope radiating from the movements like the Okara (a small city in Pakistani Punjab) tenant movement in which Muslims and Christians rejected to fight against one another on religious lines while making a consensus that, 'they would drink from the same cup, eat from the same plate' (Zia, 2018: 175). Had Asia Bibi or Alice Bhatti been that fortunate!

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Article

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Citizenship and Children with Special Education Needs: Stretching the limits of Inclusive Education

Puneet Sandhu*
Dr. Dazy Zarabi**

Abstract

There has been a growing interest and increased attention towards the education of children with special needs as a result of international mandates and policy proclamations. In India, the movement towards special education gained impetus under the purview of 'inclusive education'. It was only in 2002 that education of children with disabilities was formally included for the first time in the Universal Elementary Education (UEE) policy through the 'Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA) programme across the country. This made the admission and provision for children with disabilities in government schools mandatory. This paper discusses the various elements of the policy as a whole within the larger framework of the citizenship discourse. It also aims to critically review the Universal Elementary Education or inclusive education policy,

*Sr. Research Fellow, Department of Community Education and Disability Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. E-mail:pntsandhu@gmail.com

**Assistant Professor, Department of Community Education and Disability Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. E-mail:dazyzarabi@yahoo.co.in

study some of it's parameters, and gain insight from the studies undertaken. In light of this, it aims to sketch out the ground that needs to be covered for it to be an effective, fruitful, and meaningful policy in the times to come.

Keywords: special education, inclusive education, children with special needs

Introduction

Any analysis of the discourse on citizenship in India must inevitable start with stating the importance of the role played by independence. The British sociologist, T.H. Marshall, and India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, were close contemporaries. The main task in front of both of them was that of national integration though in hugely different contexts. Marshall was preoccupied in formulating a theory of integrative citizenship rights that would counter the growing inequalities and class divisions in England. On the other hand, Prime Minister Nehru was soaked in the task of debating the principles and articles of India's draft constitution (Schoettli, 2013).

All over the world, there has been a movement of increased focus and attention towards the management and rehabilitation of persons with disabilities in general and education of children with disabilities in particular. This has been the outcome of numerous international mandates and policy proclamations. One such landmark among them is the 'Salamanca Statement on Principles, Policy and Practice in Special Needs Education', adopted in 1994 to which India is also a signatory (Singal, 2008). The year 2002 is a historic one for India as education of children with disabilities was for the first time included across the country in the Universal Elementary Education (UEE) policy.

Citizenship as vision and strategy

The discourse around citizenship in its theoretical underpinnings has a vision. However, making this vision a reality in various spheres requires a strategy. Firstly, it becomes imperative to study the discourse on citizenship. The Universalist or unitary model defines citizenship primarily as a legal status through which an identical set of civil, political, and social rights are accorded to all members of the polity. The foundation of this model of citizenship rests on T.H. Marshall's seminal essay 'Citizenship and Social Class' which became progressively dominant in liberal democracies after World-War II. Recently, there has been a shift or perhaps a reorientation with respect to this perspective. According to Granville, the emergence of citizenship is not dependent merely on the distribution of material power but can result from the shifting of ideas, beliefs, and values (Granville, 2000). This is precisely the point where a strategic vision in our discourse on citizenship can be a crucial element and negotiator in enforcing the rights mentioned in the definitions of citizenship. It has been recognized that while citizenship is a universal ordering device, it varies in meaning, manifestations and even the way it is contested according to context.

Inclusive education

'Schools should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, emotional, social, linguistic or other conditions' (Article 3, UNESCO 1994). The concept and idea of inclusive education has recently become part of a globally converging discourse in both developed and developing countries. For instance, in his recent book, Sachs very pointedly writes, 'The goal of social inclusion is unfinished business in almost all parts of the world' (Sachs, 2014). Though inclusive education has a universal appeal, it is interpreted and put to practice in a number of different ways and in varying contexts.

The international mandate of UNESCO emphasizes on inclusive education to articulate its commitment towards 'Education for All' (EFA). In the specific context of special education, inclusive education has assumed meaning and importance in relation to the 'inclusion' of students with disability into the mainstream classroom. In the words of Evans, who explains it very succinctly:'at an international level, the concept of inclusive education carries a wide variety of meanings. It is self-evident that the guiding philosophy is one of human rights and social justice, but the goals for each country would be different' (Evans, 1999). The concept of inclusion is subject to multiple interpretations both within and amongst nations. The term itself is an embodiment of multiple ideologies and practices which may even be conflicting. One view that has broadened the term is that rather than few students being seen as having 'special needs' inclusion must regard the need of all students as a part of the fabric of human experience (Christensen, 1992). In the words of Kunc, 'the fundamental principle of inclusive education is the valuing of diversity within the human community' (Kunc, 1992). Looking through a philosophical and pragmatic lens, inclusive education stands for belonging, membership, and acceptance. From a more practical standpoint, inclusive education has different connotations in varying contexts or settings. In the developed world (the West, the North and industrialized countries), the issues are mainly about deconstruction of segregated services for children with disabilities and making them a part of the general classroom. Whereas, in the developing countries, the issues are many and complex as a large population is struggling to get a square meal and the basic amenities of life.

Historical roots of the movement towards inclusive education in India

The historical roots of the inclusive education movement in India can be traced back to the colonial period and modern Indian thinkers like Vivekananda, Aurbindo, Gandhi, Ambedkar, Azad, and Tagore. The varying social location and personal experiences

of these thinkers gave a different reasoning to their objective of promoting inclusive education. However, philosophically, they were all oriented towards the social inclusion of the marginalized of the Indian society through education.

Various developments took place in the post-colonial era. In the post-independence India, social and economic rights were not included in the fundamental rights in the Indian constitution as were civil and political rights. However, progressive Supreme Court rulings recognized social rights as an extension to the fundamental right to life as guaranteed in Article 21 of the constitution. The 93rd Constitutional Amendment Bill in 2001 was followed closely by 86th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2002 as elementary education became a fundamental right of every child with the guarantee of eight years of elementary education for each and every child (Juneja, 2003). The latest among these developments was the Right to Education (RTE) Act of 2010. This policy mandate was considered revolutionary by many scholars to end 'economic apartheid' since education within the Indian context had been mostly socioeconomically segregated (Juneja, 2014, Govinda, 2011, Nambissan, 2010).

Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) and its Universal Elementary Education (UEE) policy

Taking the emergence of the Indian nation-state in a post-independence era as a starting point, education for all at primary level emerged only as a directive principle of state policy in Article 45 of the constitution, to be realized over the subsequent period of ten years (Basu, 1987). It was not until the global declaration of 'Education for All' (EFA) that the Indian Government finally established its flagship EFA programme 'Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA) which became operational in 2002.

The key objective of SSA has been Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) with the aim of providing useful and relevant education for all children in the age- group of six to fourteen years by 2010. The specific objectives of SSA at its outset

were

- All children should be sent to school, 'Back-to-school' camp by 2003; extended to 2005.

- All gender and social category gaps should be bridged by elementary education level by 2010.

- Universal retention by 2010.

- Focus should be on the elementary education of satisfactory quality.

Its three important aspects have been access, enrolment, and retention of all children in the six to fourteen years age range. Let us now discuss specifically the children with special education needs in the SSA policy framework. Based on the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act(2009), SSA revamped its framework of implementation.

Children with special needs (CWSN) are an important group covered under equity issues in the SSA framework. It adopts zero rejection policy and covers in its ambit every child with special needs irrespective of the kind, category, and degree of disability. It also supports a wide range of approaches, options, and strategies for the education of children with special needs. The inclusion of CWSN under the SSA framework is envisioned to be realized under the terms stated in Table 1.

Table 1

Parameters for the inclusion of Children with Special Needs under the Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan Framework

S.No	Physical access	Quality of access	Social access
1.	Mapping of CWSN	Support Services	Parental training and community mobilization
2.	Assessment of CWSN for mapping needs	Teacher Training	Peer sensitization
3.	Educational Placement	Resource Support	
4.	Aids and Appliances	Curriculum	
5.	Removal of architectural barriers	Individualized Education Plan (IEP) Building synergy with special schools Research	

Physical access

One of the first steps under physical access is that the mapping of children with special needs should be part of micro-planning and household surveys. Surveyors, enumerators, and government functionaries must be trained for this. Further, a team at the block or cluster level must carry out assessment in order to ascertain the extent and type of disability, development level, and nature of support services required. As regard educational placement, the Act envisages facilitation to acquire skills so as to access elementary education. There is emphasis on school readiness of children with special needs which could be residential, non-residential, or even home-based depending on the child's requirements. The act remarks about providing an enabling environment to students with special needs in schools. It talks about designing institutions with an inclusive lens.

Quality of access to CWSN

The quality of access to various facilities for CWSN covers many aspects. The access and retention of CWSN needs continuous support services specific to the needs of a child. This would include specific accommodations such as upgrading of aids, technological support, and universal design in school or institutional infrastructure. Teacher training programmes must focus and include components on the education of children with special needs.

The next most important aspect is resource support for CWSN. This would require the services of specially trained special educators. Multi-category training must be provided to all resource teachers in order to strengthen academic support for CWSN. Another very critical area is that of curricular access. Curricular adaptations in the form of creating a learning friendly environment, appropriate learning approach, flexibility in evaluation, etcetera, is an indispensable part for the learning that takes place in the classroom. The aspect of building synergy with

special schools is a factor of the greatest importance in an inclusive set up. This would be beneficial for teacher training, development of material and appropriate teaching-learning methods, and providing support services. SSA lays special emphasis on research in all areas of special education.

Social access to CWSN

Providing social access to CWSN poses a far greater challenge. It requires an in-depth understanding of the various needs of CWSN, bringing about and sustaining attitudinal change, which is an on-going process in itself. Some of the efforts towards providing social access may include parental training through counseling and training in bringing up and teaching children basic survival skills; community mobilization through advocacy and awareness programmes. Peer sensitization holds the key to bringing about and sustaining social access for CWSN.

The 'Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan' policy framework highlights the various types of access provisions that must be made available to children with special needs. However, the real challenge is bringing these to fruition and making them a reality for the children. The need is to create a vision of goals and action so as to realize them for the sake of a better future for the children with special needs.

Drawing a link between citizenship and children with special needs

Perspectives on citizenship can be broadly divided into two: an individualist approach and a structuralist approach. In the individualist approach, it is the individual's capacity to make choices that determines the nature of citizenship. In the words of Pattie et al, 'Choice based theories are exemplified in their purest form by economics... In this world, individuals seek to maximize their utility by obtaining the highest return at the minimum cost from any course of action which they

undertake'(Pattie et al, 2004). On the other hand, in the structuralist approach, there is more emphasis on social norms and values, and on individual behaviour being shaped by social and economic forces. According to this approach, citizenship is rooted within communities and society.

There are three concepts of the current debate on citizenship that are relevant to the different ways of viewing citizenship and the children with special needs who would later become adult citizens:

- Self-determination

- Participation

- Contribution

Self-setermination

Simply put, self-determination is about making decisions for yourself. The concern regarding self-determination for people with special needs echoes the concept of autonomy within the literature of citizenship. This concept puts forward a vision of citizen as an individual who is empowered by the availability and exercising of choice. However, the argument for self-determination is not only about the removal of barriers in the way of self-determination but also the provision for assistance which makes self-determination possible.

Participation

The idea of participation rests on the view that citizens are free only when they participate in shaping the decisions that affect their lives. Participation and responsibility go hand in hand. Participation by the people or community concerned can help shape policies in the long run. In the words of Barnes, 'Communities are no longer only a target for policy, but are also seen as a means of delivering it' (Barnes, 1999). Inclusion cannot be fully realized unless participation becomes a fundamental pillar. This means disabling barriers must be removed and the special

needs must be met. Participation both requires and gives expression to self-determination.

Contribution

The present debate on citizenship focuses on the need of individuals to fulfill certain responsibilities. The assumption behind this is that the fulfillment of these responsibilities qualifies them for a full citizenship. This makes participation an important element of citizenship and it is also a form of contribution of fulfilling the responsibilities of citizenship. In the case of children with special needs who would later be adults, the focus must be more on the responsibility to contribute than on the value of the contribution itself. David Blunkett states very clearly 'a citizen cannot truly be an equal member of the community if he or she is reduced to a state of permanent dependency on the support of others. If a person is simply reliant on income transfers, he is not genuinely free and enabled to participate' (Blunkett, 2003).

Thus, self-determination, participation and contribution are the three pillars to realize true citizenship. The three concepts are in fact related and deeply intertwined. For instance, if at the onset a child is provided opportunities for full participation, it would enable him to feel self-determined. The combination of participation and self-determination over a period of time would enable an individual to become a contributing citizen. The three must therefore not be seen in isolation as each factor organically plays an important role in the realization of another.

Inclusive education in the Indian scenario

There has been a growing urgency for providing education to all children in the recent past in India. The term 'inclusive education' is being commonly used in various forms of literature: academic, governmental, and popular media (Singal 2005). Though the term as such has gained huge popularity, there is a lot that needs to be discussed about its aims and practices. In the words of Booth and Ainscow (1998), the term 'inclusive education' has gained much

Table 2

GOI Allocations for Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

Year	Budget Allocation(in Rupees Crore)
2011-12	21,000
2012-13	23,645
2013-14	26,608
2014-15	24,380
2015-16	22,015
2016-17	22,500

Data Source: Union Expenditure Budget, Vol. 2, 2010-11 to 2017-18.

currency that it 'poses the danger that wishful thinking about the way it is used or applied may distract people from exploring the realities of practice' (Booth and Ainscow, 1998). Table2 depicts some of the national parameters related to inclusive education and children with special needs.

Table 2 shows the budget allocation for Sarv Shiksha Abhiyan over the last few years. A look at the table reveals that the budget allocation for SSA has been declining since 2013-14. The last two years' allocation has been quite similar. In a system where the inclusive education machinery is still being put in place, a declining budget allocation may create many obstacles at the outset.

As per the Census 2011, the number of children with special needs in the 10-19 age group is bigger as compared to the earlier ages. The reason for this could be that by the age of ten years, even

Table 3

Number of Children with Special Needs by age group as per Census 2011

Age Group	Persons	Percentage Distribution	Male	Female
0-4	12,91,332	5	6,90,351	6,00,981
5-9	19,55,539	7	10,81,598	8,73,941
10-19	46,16,050	17	26,10,174	20,05,876

Data Source: Census 2011

Table 4

Distribution of Children with Special Needs by type of disability (%) in India

Type of Disability	Percentage (%)
In seeing	18
In hearing	20
In speech	9
In movement	13
Mental Retardation	8
Mental illness	2
Any Other	21
Multiple Disability	9

Data Source: Disabled Persons in India: A Statistical Profile 2016 by
Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

the hidden disabilities become more noticeable. Disabilities often hamper growth and development and as the child grows, these become even more apparent.

Table 4 clearly shows that there is a huge percentage of children with special needs who are under the 'Any other' category. This means there may be many hidden disabilities which have not even been counted singularly as yet. For instance, among the others, there are a lot of children who suffer from impaired hearing.

From Table 5, it may be inferred that over the last few years, the enrolment of CWSN witnessed an increasing trend till 2013-14. Thereafter, there has been some decline which may be attributed to the dropping out of these children from school. This means that merely including them will not help in retaining them. Including may be the first step but their progress too has to be ensured if we are to fulfill the aims of inclusive education in its true spirit.

Let us now discuss the insights gained from a large study which was conducted in eleven schools in Delhi that had adopted

Table 5

Percentage of CWSN to Total Enrolment in the last few years

Year	Primary (I-V)	Upper Primary (VI-VII)
2011-12	0.87	0.83
2012-13	1.18	0.90
2013-14	1.30	1.20
2014-15	1.20	1.12
2015-16	1.18	1.13

Data Source: DISE Reports entitled 'Elementary Education in India: Progress towards UEE' for the subsequent years.

the label of inclusive schools (Singal, 2004). These schools had been making efforts towards inclusion for a minimum of two years. The range of themes that emerged from the data gathered in the study conducted in capital of the country is enumerated below.

Understanding 'inclusion'

Though all teachers had heard about the term inclusive education, they were unfamiliar with the full nature and meaning of the term. They expressed their dissatisfaction about the way the management had introduced changes without consulting them. Interestingly, they were willing to cope with the new demands being placed which could be out of professional obligation and preservation of career.

Perception of who gets included

A recurrent aspect that stood out in the teachers' perception of inclusion was their usage of terms such as 'really weak' and 'little brains' for some children. The kind and degree of disability was a strong criterion and children with severe disabilities were not welcome. Children with visual and hearing impairments were considered easier to include. Teachers regarded IQ as an important factor but had no understanding about the concept.

Perception of special education

Another view that was supported by most of the teachers was that of the continuation of special schools. They felt that special schools could give individual attention to the students as they have lesser number of children and were more responsive to the individual needs of the students. They also expressed their own inability to give children individual attention.

Characteristics of the mainstream education system

It was opined by many of the teachers that the present mainstream system placed a lot of importance on examination results and that the results further determined the parents' perception of the school's efficiency as a body. This scenario and mindset of parents also proved detrimental to their efforts in setting up an inclusive system. It was further noted that as the class sizes were big, duration of class periods was short to take up activities and give individual attention, and that teaching the mandatory syllabus was a task in itself for them. All the above mentioned characteristics of the mainstream classroom made it difficult for them to take up inclusive practices whole-heartedly and with rigor.

Teaching practices in the 'inclusive classroom'

Most of teachers reported making no changes in their teaching practice. The reasons stated were the complexities involved though they did agree to make small modifications. Teachers reported making small adjustments such as doing more written work with hearing impaired children and oral work with visually impaired. Adjustments such as giving individual attention, reducing syllabus, setting separate question papers and giving extra time to children with disabilities were also reported. Changes were made in the seating arrangement and support was taken from other children in the class. Some even reported making a child with disabilities sit in the front of the class or pairing them with a 'good' student. One important highlight that came from this study was that the primary responsibility for the 'included' child

rested either with the special educator or the teacher from the NGO. Teachers had varied opinions about the role of parents too. Some felt parents must play a consultative role and must help in teaching their child; others were of the opinion that parents have a supportive role and must work with the child at home. Though teachers held such opinions, there was no system of collaboration between the parents and teachers.

Bangladesh experience in inclusion

Bangladesh is a friendly neighboring country of India which also has an education system which is quite similar to India's. It has a three-tier formal education system: primary (from grades I to V), secondary (from grades VI to X), higher secondary (grades XI and XII), and after that is the higher education. It is to be noted that the primary and higher education institutions are almost entirely financed by the government, while secondary education is only partially funded by the government.

Let us now turn towards the system of inclusive education in Bangladesh. The department of education is looked after by two independent ministries in Bangladesh namely, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. However, the education of children with disabilities, as well issues related to disability are under the purview of the Ministry of Social Welfare. Educational services for the children with disability are provided through the following programmes (Munir & Zaman, 2009):

- Special school: These focus on a single disability (Intellectually disabled, visually impaired, hearing impaired, et cetera).

- Integrated school: This implies education of children in the mainstream school but under separate arrangement following special curriculum and occasionally integrating children with disability with other children.

- Home-based education: Education and training provided at home by parents, care givers trained by special educators.

- Inclusive education: A recent development in Bangladesh practiced by a limited number of NGOs.

Successful inclusion practices from neighboring Bangladesh

Model 1: Bangladesh Protobondhi Foundation (BPF)

Bangladesh Protobondhi Foundation reversed the inclusive process by enrolling all children without disability into the six special schools which the BPF is running. It is based on a collaborative and co-teaching model in implementing its programmes. The special education teacher and the regular teacher work together as a unit. The features of the BPF inclusive model are:

- Child-centered approach: Providing children opportunities to learn through active participation in their environment.

- Peer teaching: Training students to work one-to-one with their peers and assist them as needed.

- Supported placement: When students from the BPF model move to mainstream schools, teachers from BPF help and advise the regular mainstream classroom teachers.

- Family-focused approach: The programmes offered by BPF take the family as a unit into consideration as well. Attention is paid to family guided decision making, family issues, and needs concerning their child's participation.

- Community preschool programme initiative: Under this initiative, preschool age children with disability belonging to marginalized families are provided early stimulation so as to prepare them for school enrolment.

- Staff in-service education: Training programmes for staff are held throughout the year and are even open to parents.

- Parent-teacher partnership: Parents are kept well informed and involved as partners in programmes for their children.

- Networking with mainstream school teachers: A close connection is maintained with the teachers and management of mainstream schools so as to create conditions to accommodate children with special needs later.

Model 2: Underprivileged Children Education Programme (UCEP)

Underprivileged Children Education Programme has been working in the field of child labor and children's education since 1972. UCEP initiated an Inclusive Education pilot project by including different categories of children with disability recently. Some of the features of the UCEP are:

1. Learners: There are children with visual, hearing, physical and intellectual disability. The children are taught up to grade 8.

2. Accessibility: Special care has been taken to provide access by building ramps, broadening the classroom door, user-friendly toilets.

3. Teachers: Teachers have been trained and specially motivated to work with diverse populations.

4. Curriculum and learning materials: The curriculum is modified for children with disabilities and the teaching materials are provided according to the needs of the children.

5. Teaching-Learning Process: The teaching-learning process is accomplished through group learning, peer tutoring, project work, and role plays.

Bangladesh as a country did not come into existence very long ago. Though the country is fighting many other issues and the inclusive

education models are a recent phenomenon, yet we can always learn some lessons from Bangladesh's implementation of these practices. The Bangladesh Protobondhi Foundation model can be a good model to look up to regionally in India. The exact application and specific modalities will need to be worked out but it can be a good starting point. While mainstream education looks at education from a macro-level perspective, inclusive education- in order to be a reality- must adopt a micro-level approach. The Bangladesh experience can be good example for the micro-level approach.

Conclusion

The movement towards inclusive education is at an early stage in India. At present, it demands changes in the existing practices at schools (pedagogy, assessment, relationships, and working in harmony with others) but it also needs a shift in the existing beliefs such as one's professional identity, teaching, learning and the learner. This makes the efforts towards setting up inclusive schools and providing inclusive education for all children a systematic and ongoing process. Spillane et al. (2002) have explained it very succinctly that unless the implementers of policy have a clear image of what a new initiative means for their professional practice, appropriate practice is unlikely to occur. Similarly, the development of an inclusive system of education will not fructify with the framing of policy statements alone. It needs a shared framework of ideas, goals, beliefs, understanding, and experiences at the school level.In the words of Fullan 1994, education is, after all, a 'socio-political process' (Fullan, 1994). Any reform to become meaningful must become a fabric of the set up or else it will end up as a passing fad. The schools need to develop firstly a vision to become inclusive and then work out a road map to ensure practical implementation, and hence, overall benefit to the school machinery.

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