

Mahatma Gandhi Central University Journal of Social Sciences

A Biannual Journal

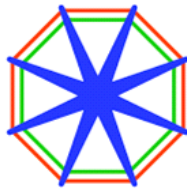


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Mahatma Gandhi Central University Journal of Social Sciences (MGCUISS), is a biannual, double-blind peer-reviewed Journal published by Mahatma Gandhi Central University (MGCUI). The Journal seeks to publish articles written in English that study with scientific rigour and academic zeal any aspect pertaining to human society. Theoretical, explorative or empirical works on either traditional or contemporary issues are welcome. The Journal welcomes articles pertaining to, but is not limited to, the following disciplines viz Applied Social Sciences, Commerce, Economics, Education, Gender Studies, Geography, History, Literary Studies, Management Studies, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Social Work, and Sociology.

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FOREWORD

The institutions of higher learning have always been acknowledged platforms of dissemination of acquired knowledge and constant research. Modern methodologies of research have introduced the idea of academic journals in order to facilitate wider publications of research works. I am indeed very happy to see that the final outcome of the team deputed by me has been able to bring out the first issue of the Journal titled 'Mahatma Gandhi Central University Journal of Social Sciences,' well within the time schedule. On behalf of the university community, I am extremely happy to introduce this inaugural issue (Volume I, Issue 1, April -September 2019) to world of academia and researchers. Being well aware of the multiple limitations, I must congratulate the editorial team for having brought the first issue in concrete form and meeting the deadlines all the time for its publication. Initiation must be encouraged as taking the first step is always important to cover thousand of miles and therefore, I must appreciate all efforts of the entire team.

I am happy to learn that in order to maintain the quality and academic ethos of the journal it has been kept under biannual frequency and double-blind peer-review is also being done to ensure the standards.

I wish 'Mahatma Gandhi Central University Journal of Social Sciences' a great success. Being the head of the institution, I owe the responsibility of all shortcomings, if any, and give due credit to the entire team for success.

Best Wishes



Prof. Sanjeev Kumar Sharma

EDITORIAL

Mahatma Gandhi Central University (MGCU) came into being in 2016, materialising the dreams of the people of Champaran in particular and Bihar in general, with the mission to provide quality education in diverse fields of study accessible in the vicinity. As a part of the larger initiative of the Government to develop the scenario of higher education in the country, MGCU is relentlessly pursuing its goal of creating a culturally vibrant and discursive, learner-oriented environment conforming to the global standards, yet rooted in the tradition of the land. With the gradual opening of various study programmes in myriad disciplines ranging from BTech. in Computer Science to PhD in Gandhian Studies, the campus became hub of polyphonic academic voices. This Journal is a spontaneous product of scholarly debates and deliberations echoing in the corridors of the University. Under the broad umbrella of Social Sciences, the Journal seeks to encourage original thinking and scientific research in various aspects of human life and society. The research papers included in the inaugural issue of this journal discuss many relevant and contemporary concerns such as literary studies, status of humanities in the current scenario, education, cross-cultural studies, social work and others.

The first research paper titled “The Humanities, the Idea of a University, and a Bit of Higher Education Plain Speak” by Jibu Matthew George traces the origin of the humanities in the western academic domain, and follows its current predicament worldwide. The author states that humanities, due to its amalgamation of various academic disciplines, has a greater than actualised potential in the university as an institution. The author also expresses his concern over the present state of stagnation of research in humanities, despite the output of a staggering number of academic journals, articles, conferences etc. and is optimistic that the mist over academia could be lifted through a practical stocktaking of the affairs.

The second article titled “Exploring Gaps in the Professional Preparation of Rural Teachers in Bihar” by Chandan Shrivastava studies the state of professional preparedness among teachers in rural areas of Bihar. Through this qualitative study, the author dwells upon the existing challenges associated with the programmes meant for the quality enhancement of the teachers. While showcasing the huge disparity between the theory and practice of such training programmes, the paper suggests a number of remedial measures directed towards the policy makers for the overall development of education scenario in Bihar.

The third paper titled “Secondary School Students’ Misconceptions in Algebra Concepts” by Chandra Tiwari and Roohi Fatima is the result of a larger case study conducted in Kendriya Vidyalayas in Delhi/NCR region. The paper explores the reasons behind the fear of algebra especially among secondary and higher secondary students in India. Among other findings, the author claims that the provision for learning algebra, divorced from the real-life scenario, taught through English medium of instruction, are the major causes of such crisis. The author posits hope that the scenario will change through certain innovative practices in the teaching-learning process, the signs of which are present the current approach of the National Council of Educational Research and Training.

The fourth article titled, “Transformation and Significance of Sanskrit (*Tatsama*) Words” by Bipin Kumar Jha discusses the contribution of *tatsama* words to the vocabulary of Hindi and other modern Indian languages. The writers also show a path forward for sophistication in machine translation of Indian

languages by taking into cognisance the changing nature of *tatsama* words in these languages. Nishu Sharma and Rajeev Kumar, in their article titled "Sardar Patel's Vision of the Contemporary World: Ideas on Geopolitical Environment" revisits Patel's contribution to the solidarity of India and, through the study of letters and historical documents, proves the astuteness of his vision concerning the international relations of India with its neighbouring and far countries.

Shaktipada Kumar, in his paper titled "Tracing the Cultural Tradition of Jangalmahal through Bandna Parab and Jawa-Karam Parab", discusses the instances of what he terms a mnemocultural tradition of India in the interiors of Jangalmahal plateau. Through evocative pictures and vivid description, the author documents the subtle nuances of the living traditions of this region carried from generation to generation through various art traditions. In his paper titled "Revisiting Gender Historiography in the Specific Context of Shudraka's *Mrcchakatika*" Kaluram Palsaniya investigates the issue of women in the specific context of *Mrcchakatika* and attempts to present an alternative to how the status of women should be viewed.

Kshipra Vasudeo in her article, "Dimensions of Federalism in Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis of India and Ethiopia (1991-2017)" elaborately discusses historical emergence of federalism as a form of government and the current federal structures across the world. The author minutely discusses the similarities and differences between the federal structures of India and Ethiopia, and states how each is suited to the social, cultural and geographical requirements of the respective nations.

In his article titled "Internship practices in the Hospitality Sector (India): A career benefit or precarious experience", Pralay Ganguli studies the role of internship programmes in management studies in India. The study underlines the importance of well-structured internship programmes which would cater to the employment needs of the growing hospitality and tourism sector of the country. Reena M Cherian, in her article "Using superheroes in Art Therapy through Aounselling for Adolescent Boys in Conflict with Law: Illustrations from Juvenile Home in Ernakulam, Kerala" presents the finding of an innovative case study, illustrating the possible use of superheroes for counselling. She enumerates the therapeutic use of the imagination of adolescent boys that gets materialised in the image creation, identification with and then detachment from the persona of the superheroes.

The inclusion of these articles in this issue prove that the main objectives of the Journal have been substantially achieved. The articles will, no doubt, stimulate interest in the areas discussed, and will lead to further research in the vast areas of social sciences which is the domain of the Journal. The conceptualisation and the materialisation of the idea of this Journal, has been a gratifying experience for the entire editorial team. I am thankful to all the authors who have submitted their manuscripts to the Journal and my entire team who dexterously worked on each of them. I must express my gratitude to Prof. Sanjeev Kumar Sharma, Vice-Chancellor, Mahatma Gandhi Central University, for his proactive initiatives to launch this Journal in a time-bound manner. Lastly, I urge the research community to share their feedback on the papers in this Journal and contribute to academic enrichment.

Prof. Anil Kumar Rai
Chief Editor

The Humanities, the Idea of a University, and a Bit of Higher Education Plain Speak

Jibu Mathew George

Abstract: This article is premised on the idea that the humanities, with the features that are outlined here, have a larger-than-usually-recognised say in the way the university as an institution and higher education in general ought to operate towards actualising its full potential. Beginning with a historical background, traced back to the liberal arts of Graeco-Roman antiquity and Renaissance humanism, it examines the possibilities that are innate to the humanities as a disciplinary spectrum, as well as its predicaments. It discusses, among other things, issues related to a general versus specialised higher education, the rationale for and methodology in the humanities, and the contrastive relationship that it has articulated vis-à-vis what it is not. The article goes on to argue and demonstrate, in the third section, that literary studies, being a meeting point of several disciplines, is equipped to serve as a humanistic meta-discipline. For illustration, it takes up issues pertaining to the East-West debate in literary studies, a case in point for the humanities in general, scientism, and the possibilities of cross-fertilisations among literary, religious, and philosophical studies. The last section candidly raises pertinent questions concerning knowledge production and dissemination in the humanities, in the context of contemporary higher education scenario, and probes the hardly discussed reasons behind stagnation in research.

Keywords: Humanities, University, John Henry Newman, Literary Studies, Meta-discipline, Meta-questions

Back to Some Precedents

In 1852, John Henry Newman (1801-1890), poet, priest, theologian, educationist, and a leading light of the Oxford Movement, published a volume of lectures entitled *The Idea of a University*. In the context of secularisation of major Catholic universities on the Continent, *The Idea of a University* sought to navigate a middle way between 'free thinking' and religious-moral education, one that acknowledged the claims of knowledge (research and publication free from Church censorship) as well as those of revelation (here, promoting the teachings of the Catholic Church). The present article is not about the challenges associated with the secularisation of universities, though for those of us who were part, as mentors or mentees, of

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the recent *Deeksharambham* student induction programme, and its emphasis on cultivation of values, Newman's work might evoke thoughts of cross-cultural resonance. To have advocated education in the liberal arts, as Newman did despite objections, might seem too stale an espousal today. Similarly, in a climate that emphasises cultural conditioning and, at least implicitly, views cultural production as a function of received codes and (collective) discourses, his assertion that literature is "essentially a personal work" (Newman, 2008, p. 3) might sound obsolete. Nonetheless, that is, regardless of its original context and content that is representative of old school ways of doing the humanities, for over a century and a half, Newman's title and many of his observations have become emblematic for those who would like to reflect on the state of the university, of higher education, and of the humanities.

Newman's endorsement of an "education [that] should aim at producing generalists rather than narrow specialists" and of "non-vocational subjects – in arts or pure science – [that] could train the mind in ways applicable to a wide range of jobs" (Anderson, 2009) is a point of departure for reflections on higher education, especially in the contemporary context. As I have put it bluntly elsewhere,

The subjects, authors and texts whose loss was lamented then [in the background is J. H. Plumb's collection of essays entitled *Crisis in the Humanities*, published in 1964], no longer prepare ... students for a career in the larger world, with only a few acquiring, or feeling the need for acquiring, the specialised acumen needed to deal with these in a university or college setting. The nature of experience has inevitably changed. Repertoire of the quotidian has changed.... resources for mental and moral formation have also changed in character and availability. So have values. Today, many consciously work to develop the qualities which Arthur Miller's Willy Loman might have admired. Perhaps more important than this historical change (the question is not exactly whether you teach about the past or the present) is the still valid difference between the 'general' student in higher education and the would-be academic 'specialist' – in today's globalised context, that between a would-be content writer for the web or a call-centre executive on the one hand and a wannabe professor on the other. Do you want to join an accent neutralisation course or study Heidegger? Obviously, none can underestimate the value of job-fetching, income-generating 'life-skills.'... Learning of preferred accents, fashionable idioms, presentation skills and even a sophisticated body language (the right way to shrug your shoulders!) will land you a job in the higher echelons of the economic hierarchy. Reading Heidegger will not, unless you are on the lookout for openings in the philosophy departments of colleges and universities. (George, 2019a, pp. 6-11)

The distinction made between skills and knowledge is obviously not new. As early as 4th century BCE, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle had made a distinction among *episteme* (theoretical knowledge), *technê* (craft), and *phronesis* (practical wisdom and ethics). But perhaps the first 'modern' thinker to discern a distinction of the above kind was Immanuel Kant. To Kant (1997), "education" was different from "training," the former focusing on reason, character, and moral maxims, and the latter concentrating on skills. Such discernment also underlines the emphasis of Educational Perennialism upon reasoning and wisdom as opposed to facts and technical proficiency. How does this background knowledge aid a rethinking in the present?

The Humanities: A Retrospect (and a Prospect)

As we know, the modern concept of the humanities takes off from the seven Graeco-Roman *liberal arts* (as opposed to *practical arts*, such as medicine and architecture): the trivium

(grammar, rhetoric, logic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music). The *umanisti*, humanist scholars of the Renaissance, taught *humanitas* (subjects of secular knowledge) as opposed to *divinitas* (which dealt with God and divinity). They lay particular emphasis on the classics of Graeco-Roman antiquity, which, to them, embodied what historian Will Durant (1953) called the “mental and moral heritage of the race” (p. 47). They saw in these texts a fruitful basis for education and for the moulding of a perfect individual – a man of action, contemplation, and passion. Books were credited with infinite power to teach a virtuous life. As Maurice Evans (1967) observes, “learning and the good life [came to be regarded as] almost synonymous; to know the best is to pursue it” (p. 14). The Renaissance idea of the complete man (*l'uomo universale*) consisted of the health of the body, the strength of character, and wealth of mind (Durant, 1953, p. 250). The idea of the Renaissance man is envisioned in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby as *The Courtier* (1561). The book defines a ‘gentleman’ (a public servant at an Italian court, in particular) of refined culture, inner beauty of spirit, gentle birth, and chivalric values.

It would be a lacuna to not consider these proto-humanities in the context of the Renaissance *Zeitgeist*. The Renaissance embodied a new philosophy – reaffirmation of life and a zest for its marvels. It was characterised by freedom of thought, limitless ambition, love of splendour, aesthetic sensitivity, respect for the healthy human body (as evident in Leonardo Da Vinci's interest in human anatomy), a keen appreciation of beauty, meticulous scholarship, and a new and broader acquaintance with the world. Whereas the Christian theologians of the mediaeval period propounded the fallen character of man, the Renaissance scholars, drawing upon Platonic ideas, believed in the nobility and possibilities of the human mind. An ambience of exuberance and intelligence permeated every endeavour. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486), quite rightly called the “Manifesto of the Renaissance,” emphasised human capacity for achievement, man's quest for knowledge, and the role to be played by liberal arts in both.

The superlative claims of the Renaissance have been, however, disputed in recent times with critical revaluations of European cultural history. It is pointed out that due to the hierarchical organisation of the respective societies that witnessed the movement, it was only a small section of the population, namely male members of the political and intellectual elite, who benefitted from the cultural revival (Hiscock, 2008, p. 117). Renaissance affirmations were not a ‘disinterested’ phenomenon either – it was part of the “Renaissance self-fashioning,” as theorised by Stephen Greenblatt (1995), intended to secure employment in the court. The contemporary “learning of preferred accents, fashionable idioms, presentation skills and even a sophisticated body language,” mentioned earlier, perhaps has an uncanny precedent in this “self-fashioning.”

What is of import to us here, and as hinted at by the dichotomy of *humanitatis* and *divinitatis* and of liberal and practical arts, is the fact that the humanities articulated for itself a contrastive position vis-à-vis what it was not. Originally, the entities in this contrastive relationship were *studia humanitatis* and *studia divinitatis* (The Renaissance saw the beginning of a secular culture in European history).¹ Today the humanities have come to define themselves in contrast to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) disciplines. Do contrastive such

self-definitions suffice for a discipline (or disciplinary spectrum)? Many encyclopaedias call the humanities a study of human culture. Certainly, this is not only acceptable but can also be given a big thumbs up if “culture” is seen as an inclusive category. Stanford Humanities Center defines the humanities, and rightly so, as a “study of how human beings process and document experience,” experience being an inclusive term like culture when it comes to dealing with the human world. I have myself endeavoured to understand the humanities in terms of what I have proposed to call “the human world process” (George, 2019a, pp. 12-20).

A glance at a representative reader of the so-called New Humanities will apprise us of the current trends. Take, for example, *The New Humanities Reader* (5th edition, 2015) edited by Richard E. Miller and Kurt Spellmeyer. This invaluable compendium presents, besides an introduction to reading and writing about the New Humanities, essays on topics as diverse as religion (religious studies is regarded as part of the humanities), sexual freedom, Google, classroom makeover, love, urban crime, global warming, junk food, styles of imprisonment, telling war stories, disability, rent seeking and the making of an unequal society, gender and geometry, neighbours, and depression – a fairly comprehensive assemblage of contemporary concerns. It may be objected that this only brings together the concerns of multiple disciplines (e.g., religious studies, gender studies, literature, and psychology). For instance, it may be argued that cultural studies already takes up some of the issues listed here in its own way. It is a different matter altogether whether cultural studies would like to consider itself part of the disciplinary spectrum called the humanities – at least in a non-traditional sense. But cultural studies does not profess to deal with a fixed subject matter of its own. It can study any phenomenon or practice under the sun, but using certain specific tools and concepts (e.g., representation and discourse). Will cultural studies be open to studying the spatial configurations of a rural community in India using Heidegger’s idea of being? Very unlikely. If *instauratio de studibus humanitatis* (renewal of the humanities) is our objective, what we need, at the moment, is a clear blueprint for a holistic humanities – one that is accommodative enough to deal with a multiplicity of concerns through an open-ended, pluralistic, participative, dialogical, and self-conscious expansion of the academic discourse across previously excluded spaces, groups, and cultures, while at the same time working towards a framework that can address meta-questions.

But why do we need the humanities at all?² Effective teaching, learning, and research in any discipline depend upon being able to understand its *raison d’être*, the modes of reasoning possible in it, and a rigorous appreciation of the knowledge hitherto produced. Let me deal with the first: the *raison d’être* or a rationale for the humanities. Martha Nussbaum, in her book *Not for Profit: Why Democracy Needs the Humanities* (2010), assigns a four-fold responsibility to the humanities: “searching critical thought, daring imagination, empathetic understanding of human experiences of many different kinds, understanding the complexity of the world we live in” (p. 7). These could be relevant for the study of problems that we might not even have imagined. Take, for instance, the question of marginality, which enjoys much academic and experiential currency in India. Why do we need critical thought? We need it because “assumptions ... underlie the way we think, speak and act. In our day-to-day lives, we take many things for granted. We socially inherit notions, and lead our lives assuming that these are ‘eternal verities.’ The result is subservience to habit. Something appears

good because we have been doing it for a long time" (George, 2019a, p. 7). Imagination, as J. K. Rowling (2011), who took this faculty to the heights of unprecedented glory, reminds the audience in her Harvard Commencement Speech, enables us to empathise with the plight of those who go through experiences we have not. This again is closely related to Nussbaum's third point, namely empathetic understanding of human experiences of many different kinds. The fourth - understanding the complexity of the world we live in - is even more significant. Often we tend to think of the human world in black and white (If we truly understand this world, its inhabitants, and their life worlds, we will be able to appreciate the fact or possibility that there are not fifty but five thousand shades of grey!), in terms of binaries, in terms of "us" and "them." As social psychology would tell us, behind prejudice, especially of a racial or ethnic kind, is the assumption of an in-group heterogeneity (we have a lot of internal differences among us) coupled with that of an out-group homogeneity (they are all same!). As is evident today in social discourse, the capacity of participants therein to see the system as a whole - holistic thinking on a social scale - is on the decline. The intellectual, discursive position you take depends upon which side of the table you are on. Ultimately, it is a matter of intellectual good faith.

As regards the method of the humanities, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), German psychologist, historian, and hermeneutic philosopher, made a distinction between the methods of natural and physical sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*) and those of the humanities and social sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) - *Erklären* (law-governed causal explanation) for the former, and *Verstehen* (interpretive understanding) for the latter. Even today, interpretation (*Auslegung*) is a derivative of *Verstehen*, especially post Heidegger (1962). Today, it is a commonplace that the hard sciences use empirical, experimental methods whereas the humanities take recourse to critical, speculative 'methods,' if any. No one could have any objection to the critical method. But speculation? Is knowledge based on speculation a valid form of knowledge? The humanities are not only critical and speculative but also *integrative* (Courtesy: Homi K. Bhabha, 2013). It is due to this integrative character that they can take on larger roles vis-à-vis society and its issues, and to have a greater say in the way the university as an institution, its organisation, and its praxis take shape. The observations included in the final section of this article flow from this premise.

For the modes of reasoning possible in a discipline, an understanding whereof I have listed as a prerequisite for effective teaching, learning, and research, let me give the example of literary studies. By and large, literary studies follow what can be called "analogous reasoning," not a cause-and-effect one. This understanding has a bearing on the kind of research that is done and can be done in the field. But in a classic case of stagnation in literary research, seventy-five percent of the output here, including dissertations, articles, books, and book chapters, merely recirculates three popular tendencies: ideological criticism (a subtype of what Paul Ricoeur calls "hermeneutics of suspicion"³), textual deconstruction, and unravelling the 'constructed' character of one concept or the other (e.g., gender, sexuality, nation, and disability).

Literary Studies as a Meta-Discipline

Literary studies, being a meeting point of several disciplines, has the potential to be a meta-discipline.⁴ It has emerged as a disciplinary space for engagement with concerns that

are not exclusively its own. As a representative case, let us take up the effervescent East-West debate in the humanities. It is widely held that many Western concepts, paradigms, and perspectives fail to capture the singularity of experience in non-Western cultures. For instance, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's concept of "epistemic violence" (1988, p. 280) in the essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" is premised on the idea that the norms of discourse among the First World intellectuals render it difficult to understand the cultural subtleties of practices and problems in the so-called Third World. To begin with, advance of knowledge does not stop at disciplinary boundaries. Can it stop at national boundaries? However, there is something more to the question than what the answer implies. What we know today as Western discourse, which furnishes concepts, paradigms, and perspectives to academia, and is, upon the above view, falsely circulated as a universally valid one, operates on *two different planes*. On the first, the lower, it is a partisan one. For example, the human of Western humanism has been traditionally a short hand for white European male. But on the next and higher plane, the so-called Western discourse – on this plane it is not exclusively Western but has elements from everywhere – has a meta-character with ample scope for self-critique and cross-cultural engagement.⁵ The meta-discursive resources on this higher plane can be utilised for cross-cultural 'translation' of life worlds and their conceptual repertoires.

Literary studies and the humanities in general are also equipped to deal with an issue they have not engaged that effectively, namely that of *scientism*. Merriam-Webster's dictionary defines scientism as "an exaggerated trust in the methods of natural science applied to all areas of investigation." For our present purpose, we may adopt Sir Roger Scruton's simpler but immensely fruitful definition. According to Scruton (2013), scientism is "pretending to apply scientific method to a question that is not scientific." His example is the application of the theory of evolution to the question of sexual morality. A pertinent question for us here, which Scruton also raises, is whether the purposes of art (e.g., 'enhancement of life') can be understood in terms of "functional" explanations, which he critiques as inadequate. A response need not be restricted to stating that every discipline has its own canons of reasoning. It is more about whether the phenomenon in question is amenable to a 'scientific' explanation. Deciphering the sources of imaginative enchantment, or an endeavour towards a theory of subliminal effect in art, is again not a project whose relevance is restricted to literary-critical studies. Advocacy of interdisciplinarity, a prerequisite in this regard, would sound rather tautological, though.

Before substantiating the claim of literary studies to the status of a meta-discipline further, let me state the case of philosophy: "Philosophy, which apparently has the aura of a meta-humanistic discipline that looks into the [human world] process as a whole and attempts to understand it, has diversified into studies of the micro-logic of [its] parts. Hence, we have a philosophy of almost everything: a philosophy of walking, a philosophy of cooking, a philosophy of boredom and what not" (George, 2019a, p. 21). More on the state of philosophy will follow in the next quote. Advisedly, my work on religion has been part of an attempt to establish literary studies as a meta-discipline (the example of religious studies here is more illustrative than representative), in the place of philosophy or psychology, and tap into its possibilities:

When it comes to research on religion, on the one hand, we encounter popular micro-empirical studies ... that often does not work out the implications of findings, and raises the question "So what?" [To bring in the spirit of the final section here, this is also the unraised question which members of the audience have on their faces at many a doctoral defence] On the other, we find a *narrow philosophising restricted to linguistic nitpicking and checking the logical validity of propositions*. While retaining the rigor of both, one needs to eschew their exclusivism and usher in well-considered cross-fertilisations among historical knowledge, philosophical reasoning, and hermeneutic possibilities. Far from being a pragmatic eclecticism, this approach [could] facilitate ... an interface between history and philosophy, between interpretation and empiricism, between concepts and texts. The approach [could] open ... up philosophical reasoning (which, to a great extent, means taking a thought to its logical conclusion with an eye for implications) from mere "language-games" to lived history. (George, 2019b, p. 106; emphasis added)

Even in literary studies, a good dissertation blends insightful textual analysis, effective historicisation, and some conceptual contribution.

Literary studies has a large repertoire of concepts and methods, many of which come in handy for an onto-hermeneutic analysis of religious narratives and doctrines. I have suggested an *ontological criticism* of religious narratives and doctrines, which a literary critic can perform efficiently. From literary studies, one may employ the recognition that narratives can draw into the vortex of their internal dynamics the distinction between the real and the unreal, and transmute them into another binary: what is aesthetically (or formally) efficacious and what is not. Such an ontological criticism of religious texts can reveal boundaries between a purely narrative/formal unontological discourse (a *fabula-matrix*; not fabulism) and a discourse with uncompromising ontological claims (an *onto-matrix*) to be porous. Same words and devices – e.g., metaphor, personification, antonomasia, and allegory – can be used in both. These narratives and doctrines can become ontologically ambivalent or self-conscious, or even get de-ontologised (as it happens to the image in cinema; there need not be a figure to produce the image), thus diluting their claims. Though purportedly guided by 'logic' (or epistemological convenience), even philosophico-religious concepts such as "the unmoved mover" and the unviability of "infinite regress" are subtype of a free ontology, restricted only by historically limited notions of 'possibility.'

Moreover, literature and religion have been viewed as discourses in which one can look for *meanings* instead of *referents*. Although the examples given below, unlike the earlier ones, might not necessarily establish literary studies as a meta-discipline for the study of religion, strong affinities are evident in George Santayana's *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, Kenneth Burke's *The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology*, the Chapter "Religious Naturalism in Literature" in Jerome A. Stone's *Religious Naturalism Today*, the widespread allegorical interpretations of religious narratives (e.g., Euhemerus, Giambattista Vico), and the ambivalence of religious systems about, as well as switch between, *realistic and symbolic conceptions* of its (supernatural) object, facilitating a *two-plane engagement*. According to Santayana (1989), religion differs from poetry and other products of the imagination in its pragmatic effect. Religion "differs from a mere play of the imagination in one important respect; it reacts directly upon life; it is a factor in conduct. Our religion is the poetry in which we believe" (p. 20). Similarly, Sallie McFague, the author of *Metaphorical Theology: Models of God in Religious Language*, even observes that "theological models are closer to literary models than to scientific models: the model of God the father, for instance, is an initial metaphor that

has become a model through its extensive use and increasing explanatory usefulness" (Diller and Kasher, 2013, p. 975). Further, groundbreaking research has brought to light the theological basis of Western humanities and social sciences.⁶ Conceptual research of the above kind on religion can complement this.

Higher Education Plain Speak

In a blog provocatively entitled "Why Professors are Writing Crap that Nobody Reads," published on 26 October 2016, Daniel Lattier reveals that:

82 percent of articles published in the humanities are not even cited once.

Of those articles that are cited, only 20 percent have actually been read.

Half of academic papers are never read by anyone other than their authors, peer reviewers, and journal editors.

Lattier asks: "Why does the world continue to be subjected to just under 2 million academic journal articles each year?" According to him, the reasons behind the "pretty bleak" "numbers" given above are as follows: "many academic articles today are merely exercises in ... 'creative plagiarism': rearrangements of previous research with a new thesis appended on to them." It is generally said in a lighter vein that 'stealing from one source is plagiarism, stealing from several sources is research.' Lattier continues:

Another reason is increased specialisation in the modern era, which is in part due to the splitting up of universities into various disciplines and departments that each pursue their own logic.... One unfortunate effect of this specialisation is that the subject matter of most articles make[s] them inaccessible to the public, and even to the overwhelming majority of professors. (... most academics don't even want to read their peers' papers.)

Lattier concludes with the following observation: "Ideally, the great academic minds of a society should be put to work for the sake of building up that society and addressing its problems. Instead, most Western academics today are using their intellectual capital to answer questions that nobody's asking on pages that nobody's reading."

Indeed the above data pertains to the so-called Western academic world. It is for us to introspect how things stand in the intellectual takeout India edition. The University Grants Commission (UGC) is clamping down on predatory 'pay-and-publish' journals that have thrived on the 'publish-or-perish' fears of academia. The UGC has also initiated a review of the doctoral dissertations produced in the last ten years - not to penalise, but to ascertain what has gone wrong. According to some sources (reports from the field!), less than ten percent of the doctoral dissertations in the humanities produced in India have made any solid contribution to the existing body of knowledge, which is after all the objective of research. In literary studies, as earlier discussion demonstrates, seventy-five percent of research is merely a recirculation of just three critical clichés (an oxymoron). What could be the reasons for these? An anti-plagiarism software is only a means of post-fact scrutiny. But why are scholars compelled to plagiarise? Why is research stagnant? When it comes to doctoral research, the reason is often the exact opposite of what Lattier claims. A lack of specialisation is the Achilles heel of research in India.

Foremost among the reasons for stagnation in knowledge production is a generalist approach to research. Only specialised research can breed further research. PhD participants sometimes get to know, if at all, about key works in their field of research only in the later stages of their research. The purpose of not only literary criticism but also of academic discourse is, to borrow Matthew Arnold's words, "to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and ... in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas" (1880, 2009; emphasis added). A lack of this, at least in literary studies, is compensated for, by the circulation of a readymade critical idiom. More often than not, the use of such an idiom is hardly an indicator of critical intelligence. On the contrary, such use betrays a lack of critical understanding and a non-attempt at nuanced reasoning. The result is a bunch of clichés, truisms, and platitudes that passes off as scholarship – tropes and trappings of scholarship rather than scholarship itself. Inculcation of language proficiency is necessary but insufficient for research. Contrary to popular perception, the latter has much more to it than speaking English with skewed mouths and puffed cheeks (a colonial hangover?)!

The second reason, mentioned earlier, is a lack of understanding concerning the calculi of reasoning in the disciplinary field (e.g., analogous reasoning in literary studies). The fundamental questions for a researcher are: What kind of argumentation is possible in the field? What kind of claims is permitted? Choosing what kind of research topics will lead to a solid addition to the existing body of knowledge? Does originality in literary research, for instance, merely mean researching on less-worked-on texts? Are the advantages of a first-generation critic the sole criterion for the choice of topics/texts? Indeed, everyone chooses to work on what makes sense on one's cognitive-affective continuum, what one is able to 'cathect' – sometimes, something that makes one's blood boil. Over the years, a gross sensationalism has taken over in the name of 'engagement.' A topic, or any concern for that matter, that does not involve squatting in protest in front of the administrative complex of an institution is somehow deemed irrelevant!

Evidently, matters are much more complex. A precondition for both knowledge production and knowledge dissemination, especially in the humanities, is a refined, sophisticated academic discourse that enables participants to make subtle distinctions and connections and articulate these in the form of higher-order statements. The unpleasant aspect of this plain truth is that not even one percent of the country's populace – it is not much better even within institutions of higher education – has access to this discourse. As is widely known, huge disparities pervade higher education in India. While the sociological dimensions of this phenomenon make news, its intellectual aspects are not only overlooked but also dismissed as 'elitism.' One does acknowledge that much talk of 'merit' is a camouflage for social exclusion. However, this does not mean that there is no such thing as intellectual excellence.

A forum that apparently creates and nurtures a discourse of the above-mentioned kind is academic conferences. Indeed, some of them are nominal exercises (A well known academic, when I emailed him saying that I saw him at a conference venue but was unable to meet and greet him, replied that he generally avoided conferences like the plague and was there only because an acquaintance had invited him). A more serious problem is that many of these conferences are not *cumulative* in their impact (even research is cumulative). Ideas are not carried to their logical conclusion through a follow-up (One is reminded of J. K. Rowling's

statement in hindsight that she could not “remember a single word” of what the distinguished philosopher Baroness Mary Warnock said at the former’s graduation ceremony). This is more or less the case with journal articles too. Of course, the other extreme is when two authors carry on an endless conversation in print, through several issues and sometimes volumes.

The sad fact about the higher education scenario is that the intellectual cause has no priest, prophet, advocate, or brand ambassador – especially in the case of the humanities, which has had the reputation of being a ‘soft’ discipline. A corollary is the absence of any well-thought-out criterion for ascertaining intellectual merit, or reflection thereof. More often than not, rhetorical efficacy is mistaken for critical intelligence. All these have a bearing on the way in which students are admitted to various academic programmes (granular questions in entrance tests do not necessarily test the research aptitude of applicants) and they or candidates for faculty positions are evaluated. Though the figure of the ‘intellectual’ has been widely burlesqued in popular culture, after one has entered the arena of higher education, one no longer has the luxury of uttering the word, noun or adjective, with irony! This ought to be axiomatic for those who still think that matters that actually matter are ‘high funda’ and are subsidiary to routine exercises in institutional self-perpetuation. On the other hand, those who are engaged in labours that matter might wonder, as John Milton (1638) did, three-and-a-half centuries ago, in the idiom of a pastoral elegy, against the backdrop of a studious Edward King’s death off the Welsh coast, whether burning the midnight oil was worth it:

*Alas! what boots it with incessant care
To tend the homely, slighted shepherd’s trade,
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
Were it not better done, as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra’s hair?
Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights and live laborious days.... (emphasis added)*

Regardless of whether we agree with the last three lines quoted here, or even the rest, the implications are quite clear. It is time for stocktaking, an invite to which is already in the air.

Notes

- 1 Of course, the Renaissance did not sever the otherworldly connections of this world but recognised the place due to the temporal earthly existence of mortal beings beside eternity, in the divine scheme of things. The theocentric conception of the universe, however, yielded place to an anthropocentric philosophy called humanism, by which man became the measure of all things.
- 2 For a detailed discussion of the humanities, its rationale, and the salient features of knowledge therein, see George, 2019a, Chapter 1, “The Humanities: An Ugly Duckling among Alma Mater’s Pets.” Here I have observed, among other things, that “in the long run we shall move towards a qualified generalisation which places the sciences in the ‘means’ column of knowledge, and the humanities in the ‘ends’ column (provided they make use of their innate possibilities)” (p. 8).
- 3 “Hermeneutics of suspicion” is a term coined by the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur. It is a mode of interpretation which aims to reveal disguised meanings: “This type of hermeneutics is animated by ... a skepticism towards the given, and it is characterised by a distrust of the symbol as a dissimulation of the real” (Ricoeur, 1981, p. 6).

- Ricoeur contrasts this kind of hermeneutics with the “hermeneutics of faith,” concerned with the “restoration” of meanings.
- 4 For a three-fold rationale for literary studies, along with a historical survey of justifications given in this regard, see George, 2019a, Chapter 2, “If Literary Studies Were to Disappear from the Spectrum of Academic Disciplines...”.
 - 5 Tony Davies (1997) traces the tradition of internal critique and dialectical contention that mark Western discourse back to the Renaissance humanists, whose hospitable argumentation and often “acrimonious fallings out” testify more to heterogeneous, eclectic, open-ended, and ironic intellectual cultures than “allegiance to a shared ideological or intellectual programme” (p. 70) or common values – *coincidentia oppositorum* or harmonious opposition, as Renaissance men called it.
 - 6 Cf. M. H. Abrams’s thesis, in *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature*, that Romanticism is secularised theology.

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Exploring Gaps in the Professional Preparation of Rural Teachers in Bihar

Chandan Shrivastava

Abstract: Bihar is a rural state with more than ninety percent of its population dwelling in villages. Therefore, providing education to the rural areas is always a key agenda for the State. But it is evident that the quality of education being provided in government schools of rural areas is always under criticism due to many reasons. The rural teacher is one of the prime focus of such criticism, being blamed as unprofessional and inefficient to teach. However, there are deeper reasons for such conditions of imparting education among rural teachers in Bihar. The schools in rural areas have very distinct needs due to their unique socio-cultural contexts. But there is huge gap in the way rural teachers are prepared in the ongoing training programmes and the role they have to play in such rural schools. This paper is about exploring the gaps in the professional preparation of the rural teachers in Bihar and to suggest a framework for their effective professional development.

Keywords: Rural Teachers, Professional Development, Teachers' Identity, Education in Bihar

Introduction

In the light of recent National Achievement Survey (NAS) report released by NCERT in 2018, the teachers' professional preparedness has become a central issue of academic discourse because children's learning has an indispensable link with the quality of teachers. According to National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education (2009), "teacher quality is a function of several factors: teachers' status, remuneration, conditions of work and their academic and professional education". This new discourse lays emphasis on understanding the complexity and contextual reality of a teacher's world for a comprehensive reform in teachers' professional preparation. Going back, the National Policy on Education (1986) has underlined the significance of the status of the teacher and its reflection on the socio-cultural ethos of the society (MHRD, 1986). The Education Commission (1964-66) has also urged to treat the professional preparedness of teachers as a key area in educational development (MHRD, 1966).

For understanding the present scenario of teachers' profession, various policy documents and academic discussions have stressed on research studies of current trends and features of teachers' professional development. The National Curriculum Framework, 2005 expects a

teacher to be the facilitator of students' learning in a way that would create space for knowledge creation and acknowledgement of personal experiences (NCERT, 2005). But all attempts to improve education – through the provision of better facilities, better curriculum and better textbooks – can prove effective only if the teacher is kept professionally alert and academically sound. Therefore, the professional development of teachers must be addressed effectively for meaningful education in schools.

Many steps have been taken to reform the professional preparedness of teachers in Bihar, but the recent National Achievement Survey (NAS) Report reflects a dismal picture of learning in the schools of the state (NCERT, 2018). With respect to learning outcomes, the performance of state is very alarming and unsatisfactory. According to the data of NAS, the learning performance of children is deteriorating as they move from early grade to upper grades. For instance, in Pashchim Champaran District, the learning outcome of children for Mathematics in class-3 is 63.95, which decreases to 53.97 in class-5 and is further reduced to 44.97 in class-8 (NCERT, 2017). The situation becomes worse in class-X with an outcome of just 31.65 (District Report Card-NAS, Class-X, Cycle-2: 2017-18). This kind of situation is prevailing in almost all districts of Bihar with the same trend of gradual decrease in learning outcome from lower grade to upper grade. This shows that the teaching-learning processes in rural schools are not addressing the real learning problems of the learners. There can be many reasons, but the professional preparation of the rural teachers would always be recognised as a prime reason for such conditions. Therefore, the basic objective of this paper is to identify and understand the gaps between the professional needs and professional preparation of rural teachers and provide a suggestive framework for the professional development of rural teachers. The paper is informed by a research study undertaken by the researcher to capture the experiences of rural teachers concerning their professional development programmes.

Methodology of the Study

The study has been conceptualised as a qualitative study with grounded theory approach. The researcher has undertaken interviews and conducted focus group discussions (FGD) with the rural teachers of West Champaran district. Here the term 'rural teachers' is taken for 'Panchayat Teachers', appointed in rural schools by the Gram Panchayats. Purposive sampling was used to select the participants for this study. Only such rural teachers were selected as participants who were trained and had undergone at least one short in-service programme at the district level. In total, 51 rural teachers participated in this study. The questions of FGD and interview were focused on capturing the experiences, learning and opinions of the rural teachers about their learning from the training programmes attended by them and the condition of teaching in their schools. The responses were then categorised under different themes for analysing the gaps in their professional preparation.

Conceptualising Teachers' Professional Preparation

The concept of teaching is itself in a process of transformation. The atmosphere of rapid change sometimes compels teachers to modify their professional approach. So, more and more teachers have to teach in ways they were not themselves taught (Hargreaves 2000, p. 151). With respect to this, there is a growing concern in the field of teaching on refining the

approach to teacher preparation by shifting from 'teacher training' to 'teacher education' to 'teacher development'. In the conventional notion, teacher training comprised unidirectional transfer of a set of patterns and behaviours from the experts or the trainer to the teachers. But with the change in perspective, teacher education programmes are the medium for exposing the teacher to various possible and desirable ways of amplifying the use of the learning environment. The professional development of teachers must also consider that teachers themselves undergo professional evolution and experience different phases and cycles in their lives, in which they often adopt different perspectives on life and work.

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005 advocates preparing teachers to play enhanced roles in the education system as reflective practitioners, researchers, resource persons, and head teachers, etc. The National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education (NCFTE), 2009 reiterates that teacher development should be considered as a continuous process of developing and maintaining professional competence in teachers through pre-service, induction training, in-service training and on-going professional development programmes. Teachers would be able to explore, reflect on and develop their own practices. They would be able to break out of intellectual isolation and share experiences and insights with others in the field, both teachers and academics working in the area of specific disciplines as well as intellectuals in the immediate and wider society.

Complexity of teachers' work has also got wider recognition. Translating new strategies, approaches and pedagogy from theory to practice within individual classrooms is a tough task for teachers (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). To enable the teachers for the new changes in education, Andrew Pollard (2002) has highlighted the importance of reflection for their professional development. Here, reflection is the process through which teachers become aware of the complexity of their work and can take actions positively.

It is also imperative to understand that teaching, apart from being a practical and intellectual activity, is also, in many ways, a socio-emotional and moral endeavour. It involves caring for children, considering their interests, preparing them to deal with the difficulties and challenges in their life situations, and grappling with inequalities of caste, gender and social class, at least in the classrooms and schools where they work. The 'ethic of care' is in many ways the central facet of teaching, especially in the present humanistic tradition in education, which locates the 'child' at the centre of all educational processes (Noddings, 1992; Carr, 2000).

Several moral dilemmas confront teachers in the form of decisions which show their professionalism and ethics of teaching. The teachers have to decide how to allocate time in the classroom, how to cater to the individual needs of children needs, how to maintain equality of opportunity, how to deal with heterogeneity, how to augment learning levels, enhance retention in schools and bridge gaps between home-school discontinuities. Such issues influence the teacher's mind and work and must be addressed in their professional development programmes. Knowledge, skills and dispositions to work with children of diverse cultural, social and linguistic backgrounds become important while creating any professional programme for teachers (Gay & Howard, 2000). The teachers should also be exposed to understand the social, economic, and political realities of the profession. This will situate their professional practice with contextually rich knowledge.

Teacher empowerment is another dimension which is a prerequisite for any substantial change in the condition of teaching in schools. The professional preparation of teachers should

also be linked to the voice and agency of the teachers. A teacher with an empowered identity can only be able to perform his or her task efficiently (Batra, 2009). With the researches in the last three decades, the professional identity of a teacher has emerged as a key area of research in the field of teacher education. Several researchers (Nias, 1989) have noted that teacher identities are not only constructed from technical aspects of teaching (i.e. classroom management, subject knowledge and pupil test results) and their personal lives, but also as the result of an interaction between the personal experiences of teachers and the social, cultural, and institutional environment in which they function on a daily basis. Beijaard et al. (2004) have noted the significance of pupil agency in the process of professional development of teachers' identity. He proposed that pupils' attitudes and behaviour may have profound effects upon the teacher's 'self'. So, it can be inferred that the teachers' identity is not something one possesses, but, rather, something that is developed over the course of life in which the role of their professional experiences is very crucial.

In Indian context as well, the issue of professional identity of a teacher has been discussed extensively with reference to their professional role in schools. Drawing its legacy from the colonial era, teacher as a 'meek dictator' is seen as a deep-rooted feature of the Indian teachers' profession whose identity is full of conflicts and contradictions (Kumar, 2005). It has also been pointed out that, despite all prescribed works and goals, the teacher's profession stands at the receiving end of all decisions and is only confined to government or corporation. Even, the capacity building of teachers is done only to enable them as 'deliverer' of state goals and policies with their own voice and agency undermined (Govinda, 2002). With the new vision of National Curriculum Framework 2005, the concept of teacher as a 'reflective practitioner' is promoted widely for understanding the diversity among children and creating active learning spaces. In the emerging trend of community schools, teacher's role is being emphasised to act as a link between the child, the school, and the community to evolve participative-shared framework of pedagogical and other activities. Teacher's historical image as an 'ideal for society' and 'creator of knowledge' is also informing their current professional practices in the school.

The above discussion asserts that the professional preparation of teachers has multiple dimensions i.e. personal, social, cultural, professional and many others. A holistic professional development acknowledges the development of all these dimensions.

Analysing Gaps in Professional Preparation of the Rural Teachers

It was inferred through the FGD and interview of participants that there are several gaps at various levels in the professional preparation of the rural teachers. Even after being trained for many years, they are facing various challenges in their schools. This has also come out that the gaps are not just limited to their professional preparation, but are related to the overall school culture. The unfavourable condition of learning in their schools, lack of community support, no incentive for good performance, no support from colleagues, corruption of school management committee etc. are many other significant factors which deeply influence their professional functioning in the schools. Here in this paper, only the gaps in their professional preparation programmes are taken for analysis. By analysing their responses, the following critical issues have emerged about their professional preparation.

Inflexible Nature of the Professional Preparation Programmes

The participants talked about their two-year diploma courses and a couple of short capacity building courses attended by them at the district level such as five days training workshops on learning outcomes, special education, language teaching etc. This has emerged from their responses that those programmes were more prescriptive in nature, with little flexibility and space for any creativity. The short programmes have a combination of academic, practical and technical aspects but they were not well interconnected and merely dealt in a mechanistic approach. The concept of child-centred learning was taught in a formally prescribed manner in such a way that it only remained a rhetoric. The prescribed nature provides little scope to go beyond the stated goals and objectives. The instructions of the programmes were never questioned in a manner to create a free space of boundless thinking. Even modules concerning critical thinking and reflection were dealt in a set prescriptive manner. The impact of the prescriptive nature of the professional programmes was visible in the responses of the rural teachers. In response to any question, they would hesitate to deviate from the fixed norm and would apologise if they were unable to match that notion in their responses. It is possible that the same prescriptive nature could be reflected in the pedagogy of the rural teachers in their schools which would render them incapable to address the diverse learning challenges of the children. As stated by many participants, their schools were full of children from marginalised community who only spoke in their mother tongue and couldn't talk in Hindi in classroom. Since, the teachers generally use Hindi as the medium of instruction in their classrooms, language becomes the prime barrier for these children in learning. The rural teachers have little understanding about how to bridge this gap between home language and school language.

Overstress on Skills Development

Another finding was that the training programmes of rural teachers were basically limited to the enhancement of their teaching skills. The objectives as well as given activities were mainly addressing the skill development of rural teachers. With reference to the skill-oriented nature of the programmes, two basic gaps were identified. First, the programmes were designed with the assumption that teaching skill development is equivalent to pedagogical enhancement. The teaching skill and pedagogy were treated as same in the programmes. Second, the teaching skills were isolated from the basic disciplines. The approach was to learn a teaching skill and then apply that skill to teach a subject. The interrelatedness between the teaching skills and the nature of the subjects was hardly acknowledged. However, efforts were made to do so but insufficient understanding of pedagogy restricted a wider impact. Due to over-orientation of teaching skills, the rural teachers were unable to think beyond this boundary of mechanistic model of teaching skills.

Insufficient Space for Critical Thinking and Reflection

Developing the abilities to reflect or think critically was not the central agenda of these programmes. The terms like reflective teaching and critical pedagogy were rhetorically used in between but with little clarity and insufficient attention. It seems from the responses of the participant rural teachers that the process of reflection and critical thinking was reduced to teaching skill. It is also very crucial to understand that the concept of reflection and critical thinking can't be understood through definitions and explanations. A practical approach is

actually needed to induct the teachers in the process of reflection and not a mechanistic approach. The classroom reality of Panchayat teachers as well as their level of engagement have remained unaddressed in this programme.

Missing Contextual Concerns

The profession of teaching is not just limited to delivering subject knowledge in the classroom. An ideal teaching links the classroom with the context of the learners and proceeds towards a wider understanding. This can be only possible when a teacher's knowledge is situated in the wider social context. Especially in the rural context, the issues like gender discrimination, inequality in education, health and nutritional problems of children, impact of media on children, marginalisation on the basis of class and caste are very prominent. Sensitivity towards gender issues is highly relevant since the schools in the rural areas are witnessing a twofold challenge. At one side, the schools are struggling to reduce the gender gap in enrolment whereas on another side many schools have majority of girls' enrolment since parents prefer to send their boy child to private schools. The agency of a rural teacher must have such potential to deal with these challenging issues effectively in their classrooms. The professional development programmes for rural teachers have only touched some of these issues in a way to do cosmetic change in their contents. An engaged and active association with these issues was out of the framework of the programmes.

Neglected Identity of Rural Teachers

In order to professionally develop the rural teachers for teaching, it is necessary to understand their personal beliefs, values and assumptions. This will provide a base to frame a professional development programme accordingly. The space to address personal and social dimensions of the rural teachers is completely missing from such programmes. In teacher training programmes, there is need to treat the teachers as participants or as recipients of certain prescribed knowledge. Their personal experiences should be treated equally important for the discussions. The training programmes for the rural teachers were completely silent on the issue of acknowledging teachers' identity and building an agency of rural teachers. The neglected and unacknowledged attitude towards teachers led them to show low interest in their professional development programmes.

Unprepared Teacher Educators

The transaction of the training programmes is also reliant on the quality of the resources and the resource persons available. According to the participants, the resources used during the programme are traditional and lack creativity. The participants raised concern that training is not only necessary for themselves but for the teacher educators as well. In the in-service training programmes, the role of master trainers is very crucial. It was inferred from the responses that the master trainers involved in the trainings were not professionally qualified as teacher educators. Basically, they were the senior teachers of government schools on deputation. The situation of faculty at the training institutions was more critical than the master trainers. They have very little understanding about the content knowledge as stated by the participants. Many of them were not able to use ICT resources or any other innovative

strategy of teaching in their classrooms. This led to disinterest of the participants in many training programmes.

Discontinuity Within

According to NCFTE 2009, teacher development should be considered as a continuous process of developing and maintaining professional competence in teachers. So, continuity between the professional programmes is also expected for the professional growth of teachers. Along with this, the career cycle of teachers should also be taken into concern while designing any professional education programmes (Fessler & Christensen, 1992). The in-service programmes available to the rural teachers in Bihar lack this concern. The contents of the programmes have been provided to the rural teachers in an isolated manner because of which they face problems in linking them together in their classroom practices. For instance, the training on learning outcomes at district level was not able to give them clear understanding of its utility for classroom teaching. During training workshops, the learning outcomes were discussed very superficially without linking them with textbooks, as reported by many participants.

Neglect of Assessment

Effective assessment was missing at both levels, viz. a) how to do one's own assessment, and b) how to assess others. The professional programmes had not dealt with these levels of assessment adequately and seriously. In the programmes, teachers were assessed in the same traditional approach of examinations, assignments and supervision. Their active participation in their own assessment was neglected. Along with this, the assessment of others i.e. students, was also not at the centre of the training programmes. The latest development in education has brought up the idea of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) and it demands from a teacher to do the holistic assessment of their students. The process of assessment requires a prepared teacher and a favourable condition. The training programmes have not devoted enough attention on this issue. All the programmes lack an effective process of assessment of the rural teachers. These issues need to be addressed seriously.

A Suggestive Framework for the Professional Preparation of Rural Teachers

In recent researches, it is advocated that the professional development of teachers is highly correlated with the holistic development of learners. It is a question of both academic and practical interest as to what is the reality of teacher professionalism in India (Khora, 2011). It is evident from the recent documents and reports that rural teachers have very limited opportunities for professional development. In this situation, professional development programmes have to provide such space which can strengthen the understanding of rural teachers and enable them to deal with their contextual challenges of learning in schools. Therefore, the nature of the professional development programmes and their role in building teachers' understanding must be framed after exploring the status and context of rural teachers. Instead of training them with universal programmes, there is need to develop specific programmes for their ongoing professional development.

Therefore, the professional programmes should acknowledge the sensitivity to the context of rural teachers and their schools. It should provide flexibility and practical use of learning and scope for self-reflection. To enable the teachers for the new changes in education, Pollard (2002) has emphasised the importance of reflection for the professional development of teachers. Developing critical as well as creative thinking skills should be encouraged in different activities of professional development programmes. Discussions on the kinds of challenges that novice teachers are expected to face should also be an integral part of the programmes. In this way, the programmes should be designed with ample scope for self-reflection by the rural teachers.

Second, the rural schools with their network can be the most effective medium for the professional development of rural teacher. The schools' space is to be utilised efficiently to provide the opportunity of collaborative learning among the rural teachers. Events of academic interaction among rural teachers should be frequently organised in schools. The role of Cluster Resource Centre (CRC) and Block Resource Centre (BRC) is also very significant in networking the schools of a region together. This is also important to understand that the rural schools have a distinct demand from the teachers. Beyond providing literacy, the schools are also a medium to address current social issues of rural society. Gender differentiation, class and caste division, inequality of opportunities, health and nutrition problems, and there are many more grappling issues in rural societies. An interdisciplinary approach needs to be followed in order to address the current concerns of the society such as inclusive education, adolescence education, gender sensitisation, role of constitutional values and environmental education in the training of the rural teachers. The scope of knowing the community around must be an integral part of the programmes.

Updating the knowledge of the rural teacher must also be an important aim of any professional preparation programme. This could be achieved through multiple ways. The programme should be informed through the recent researches in education. Rural teachers should be given some challenging situation during their professional programmes to test and enrich their knowledge. Technology is one of the missing and challenging elements from the space of a rural teacher. So, the professional programmes should incorporate basic useful technology for the rural teachers. It will not only advance their teaching skill but also act as a medium of contact with the outer world. The rural teachers should be exposed to diverse pedagogical approaches of teaching. Innovative teaching practices should be encouraged. Addressing classroom issues, such as handling multicultural classrooms and multi-grade teaching, should be addressed through the programmes.

The teacher education programmes should also include components that empower the rural teacher and make them aware of their agency for change (Batra, 2009). How is the teacher's role reflected in the programmes and how are these programmes addressing the personal and social dimensions of a teacher, are also important questions to be addressed. The programme should provide space to teachers to share their own values and beliefs about the teaching learning process. The programmes should enhance the ability of rural teachers to evaluate and assess their teaching learning process. The programmes should reflect an attitude of comprehensive and continuous evaluation. It is required to move ahead with the continuing professional development (CPD) model where the inner knowledge, judgment

and wisdom of the professional teachers are seen as the greatest resources. CPD acknowledges the existing experiences, practices, perspectives, insights and, most usually, anxieties about the highly complex nature of teachers' work.

In conclusion, this is to be understood that the professional preparation of rural teachers is a very challenging area which has gained very little attention till now. There are many ways through which the professional preparation of rural teachers can be accelerated such as teacher education programmes, school environment and community participation. Especially, the professional development programmes should be reviewed in the light of the contextual professional needs of the rural teachers. Even with all the expected changes in the professional preparation programmes, their own effort to learn is the key for their professional development.

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Secondary School Students' Misconceptions in Algebra Concepts

Chandra Tiwari & Roohi Fatima

Abstract: This paper aims to study the problems in students' understanding and misconceptions in algebra concepts, and their implications on word problems. Cognitive difficulties and conceptual misunderstandings acquired at this stage hamper the learning and interest in Mathematics. The study is significant in the contemporary school scenario in India, especially in teaching and learning of elementary school algebra, and their implications for other topics of secondary school such as probability and trigonometry. This paper is part of a larger project titled "Study of Algebraic Misconceptions of Secondary School in Delhi/NCR. As a sequential exploratory study, it employs a mixed method research, and process of triangulation. Data collection is guided by quantitative method which includes preparation of test instrument. Its validity and reliability are ensured by the investigator before proceeding to refine the test instrument by conducting a pilot study. The data gathered here leads to the qualitative phase which employs case study method to gain insights into thinking process of students, which leads to misconceptions in learning of algebra concepts at secondary stage.

Keywords: Mathematisation, Cognitive Difficulties, Secondary Mathematics, Word Problems

Introduction

Mathematics, as a discipline, holds an important place in school curriculum in India. It is an important branch of knowledge, necessary for human growth and to make day-to-day life easy. It develops new concepts and a meaningful symbolic language. The characteristic features of mathematics are abstraction, precision, generality, logic, analysis and systematisation. Mathematics has always been considered as a very important subject in schools and the emphasis on teaching and learning of mathematics has been immense for both the school and parents at home. Apart from contributing to one's personal growth, it is considered a gateway to many lucrative professions in the world. Mathematics education is a relatively new area of study. According to the National Curriculum Framework (NCF), "The main goal of Mathematics Education in schools is Mathematisation of child's thinking. Vision of Excellent Mathematical Education is based on twin premises that all students can learn Mathematics and all students should learn Mathematics" (NCERT, 2005). In the Indian context, mathematics

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has been a dreaded subject with a large number of student failures. Taking note of the low level of mathematics learning, it was decided to reform the curriculum following NCF, 2005. The new curriculum was to be child-centred and ensured that the overall learning, including mathematics, would be an enjoyable experience for the students. New textbooks for grades 1-12 following the NCF, 2005 were brought out by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) through a collaborative process involving educators and teachers. The NCERT textbooks in mathematics have undergone several important and noticeable changes in teaching approach, particularly in the primary grades. The presentation of algebra has changed considerably following the NCF, 2005. A look at the mathematics textbooks indicate that algebra has changed from what it used to be i.e. learning to simplify algebraic expressions, using algorithms and word problems far removed from the context of the students. There is an effort today to understand the idea of a variable, functional relationships, and the use of letter numbers in different ways. The attempt is to understand algebra as a generalization of many of the ideas that are seen as patterns. One of the issues that remains in the new textbooks is the introduction to symbolic algebra in the middle grades, which follows a largely traditional approach focused on symbol manipulation. Algebra is an important part of the secondary curriculum, bringing mathematics to wider sections of the student population, legitimately requires that more thought be given to how algebra can be dealt and developed in a manner that uses students' prior knowledge.

Algebra in Secondary School Mathematics according to NCF, 2005

At the secondary level, mathematics comprises different topics such as algebra, geometry and probability, but all these topics stand disconnected. The interconnections among the topics are a must for efficient and resourceful teaching. A well-designed comprehensive curriculum helps to construct and integrate important mathematical ideas to build meaningful conceptual structures. The objective of secondary mathematics curriculum is to equip students with important mathematics needed for better educational/ professional/ social choices. It empowers students to investigate, understand, and make meaning of new situations.

Students experience a slow and difficult transition from arithmetic to algebra when they encounter the latter at the upper primary stage. Treading to numerical patterns after numbers, seeing relationship between numbers and forming generalisations lead to the understanding of algebraic identities. Necessity for solving daily life problems using mathematical language leads to introduction of 'variables' or 'unknowns' which in turn lead to algebraic expressions, polynomials, linear equations and their solutions. Here, students get a feel of abstract nature of mathematics for the first time. (NCERT, 2016)

Statement of Research Problem

In the Indian context, mathematics is seen as a major hurdle to cross. It is a cause of alarming number of school dropouts at secondary level (Annual Status Report on Education, 2016). In an attempt to investigate systematically the possible reasons for the 'fear of Math', algebra featured as one the most difficult to understand and hence the apprehensions about mathematics. There is a desperate need in India especially in Mathematics to explore the reasons as to why students find mathematics so difficult. To address these concerns, the

researcher framed the following research questions. Algebra in the upper primary and secondary school curriculum provides a foundation where the higher mathematics concepts rest. An understanding of why and how of the misconceptions acquired at this stage will inform teachers to better design their teaching-learning process in classroom.

Research Questions

- (i) What kind of errors and misconceptions secondary school students make when working with variables, algebraic expressions and linear equations?
- (ii) What are the implications of these acquired misconceptions in problem-solving particularly word problems?

Theoretical Framework

Since the secondary school students have already encountered algebra at upper primary stage, they are aware about the abstract nature of it. Taking cognizance of the fact that a lot of them are struggling with the arithmetic algebra transition, constructivism was taken as the most suitable framework for this study. Constructivism emphasises that concepts are formed during the learning process when students incorporate new information in their existing schema and modify it. Thus, a collection of previous knowledge, beliefs, preconceptions and misconceptions help us to look into students understanding of new knowledge. The constructivist framework asserts that students' efforts to construct knowledge may involve explaining their thinking and reasoning, which is an important part of the learning of algebraic concepts that motivated the construction of the research instruments such as the written tests.

Research Method and Procedure

A sequential exploratory design was chosen by the researcher for the study. The initial quantitative phase would aid in the selection of the students for detailed interviews in the qualitative part in the later part of the study. At the same time, the results obtained in the qualitative part would explain the why and how of the students' responses to the questions. The purpose of the research was more exploratory than descriptive, therefore mixed method research strategy was used by the researcher.

Population and Sampling

Systematic random sampling was used to draw one hundred forty-five participants from a population of two hundred twenty-three students at Kendriya Vidyalayas and Government schools at Delhi/NCR. The schools were selected because the students there had the necessary background study of algebra. All participants had passed primary school mathematics. The participants were adolescents in the 15-17 age range. English language was the medium of instruction of learning mathematics at school. The researcher selected class 10 students because it is at secondary school level of learning that students are expected to develop a strong foundation for understanding the algebraic concepts that are for studying mathematics at Senior Secondary level, or even pursue it at higher education level.

A sample is characterised by a group of subjects or people selected from the target population and has the same characteristics. For this study, class 10 students were selected

(75 from Kendriya Vidyalayas and 65 from Government schools in Delhi/NCR) using purposive sampling method. Each of the four schools allowed me to take test for the students who were free in the Zero period. This group of students made for the quantitative sample of the study. The purposive sampling technique was used to select sixteen students to be interviewed. Four students were selected from each of the four schools. However, since this paper reports only a part of the main study, the results discussed here are from the two Kendriya Vidyalayas in Delhi/NCR.

Data collection procedures

A pilot study is required to reveal any problems in the test instruments and the procedures to be used in the main study. Researcher selected the questions under the required areas of studies using the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) syllabus which is used in all Kendriya Vidyalayas and most of the government schools all over India. The areas selected were algebraic expressions, variables, algebraic equations, and their implications on word problems. The researcher made a test instrument based on 8, 9 and 10 class curriculum (CBSE) followed in schools across India. The test items were based on two criteria. The first criterion was based on the conceptual understanding of the students, involving identification of patterns, relationships, and algebraic representation. Some other questions dealt with algebraic manipulations, problems involving simplification of equations, rational expressions, and word problems. The other type of questions was designed to study the use of the understanding acquired in the above concepts in problem solving. The word problems were provided in simple English. Questions included justification or reason to be provided by the students, so as to be able to gauge their logic and reasoning. Validity of the content tested was ensured by consulting the same with two experienced math teachers in each school and teacher educators. The table illustrates the categorisation of questions into the four areas of study. Table 1 shows the category of questions in the each of the four areas of study.

Table 1: Category of questions in the four areas of study

Concept	Sub-concept
Variables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • as unknown • as a generalised number • non variable
Algebraic Expressions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • simplifying expressions • equivalent algebraic expressions • comparing algebraic expressions • forming algebraic expressions
Equations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • simultaneous equations in different formats
Word Problems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • everyday Language • mathematical symbolic language

The facility value of the questions was calculated using the formula, Facility Value = $\frac{C}{N}$ where C represents students who answered the questions correctly and N represents the total number of students. Questions having a reasonable facility index were selected to be included in the main study. Too easy and too difficult questions were of no use to give any insight into the misconceptions and students' understanding, therefore, such questions were not used for the study.

Reliability

The reliability of the test instrument speaks for its worth and is an important prerequisite as it indicates, how well the test items correlate with one another. "Measurements are reliable if they reflect the true aspect and not the chance aspect of what is going to be measured" (Gilbert, 1989) The researcher used the Split Half Reliability in the study to get the reliability coefficient.

$$r_{\text{total test}} = \frac{2r_{\text{split half}}}{1 + r_{\text{split half}}}$$

After the first trial of the test, the errors were categorised and a rubric was prepared. This would give an idea of the structure of the content tested and the errors students committed due to misconceptions. The errors under the concept variables were grouped and the most commonly occurring errors were identified. The secondary school teachers at Kendriya Vidyalayas and Government schools helped in this categorisation process. With discussions and deliberations on the category of errors, a rubric was created with consensus for each of the four error categories.

Validity

The test instrument was tested for its content validity. The teachers in the four schools approved of the content as well as appropriate difficulty level. They also scrutinised the test paper with regard to the prescribed curriculum of the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). The teachers also had a lot of discussions amongst themselves regarding if a particular concept was relevant to be asked, if it is there in the prescribed NCERT text books, whether it has been taught in the class or not. The test instrument was also seen and approved by two senior mathematics teachers, and two teacher education experts in the field of mathematics education.

The pilot stage was used to modify the test instruments and avoid other possible problems that might show up during the main investigation. Some of the questions were deleted because of either very high or very low values. High facility value questions indicated that most of the students could attempt it, and very low facility value indicated that very few students would even attempt it. Both the cases were not relevant for this study as the misconceptions can be studied only when a student attempts the question and struggles through problem solving. The researcher then administered the Main test to a group of 140 students. After evaluating the answer sheets thoroughly and categorising the errors in the same way as in Pilot study,

four students from each school were selected for interviews in the final study. Since this report is only a part of the main study, the interview results are not mentioned here.

Results and Discussions

Students' errors and misconceptions on variables

The results are drawn from the analysis of students' errors from the answer sheets of the Main study. The data of the test was compiled and tabulated. Focus was mainly on students' understanding of algebra, the kinds of errors, misconceptions and their origins. The twenty test items were classified into one of the four conceptual areas: variables, algebraic expressions, algebraic equations, and word problems of complexity in lingual as well as contextual levels. The errors and possible misconceptions in each question item were noted and put into various categories. However, this classification was non-exhaustive as there was disagreement among teachers on some answers given by the students. The percentage is calculated for a total of 75 students.

Table 2: Errors and possible misconceptions in each question item

Questions	Type of Misconception	Expected Answer	Incorrect Answers	Frequency of incorrect Responses	Percentage
Q1 a)	Does not identify variable	Y is a variable	M is a variable	05	7
b)	Assigning 'x' name to variables	3y is the other variable	Another variable is x	18	24
c)	Is not able to identify constant	Cost of one mango 10 is constant	Does not have a constant or C is a constant.	12	16
Q2	5x=0 Trying to make every expression an equation	5x is a generalised number	5x=0 X=0	15	20
Q3	Not familiar with product of two variables	xy means x multiplied to y	X y are two different variables which cannot be multiplied	09	12

Students see 'x' as some kind of universal variable. They use it to answer any question which is about variables and they are unsure of the answer. Though most of the students could identify the variable in this case, their wrong answers to part b) indicates that their understanding of the concept is only superficial, and most of them could only answer direct question on identification. When it came to analysis of the questions, understanding of constant was better compared to identifying a variable. The answers to Q3, related to understanding of product of variables, showed that they did not see the product of two variables feasible. Instead they wrote "xy" cannot be multiplied.

Table 3: Students' misconceptions in algebraic expressions

Questions	Type of Misconception	Expected Answer	Incorrect Answer	Frequency of Incorrect answer	Percentage
Q7a)	Rational expression error	1	Not possible	06	08
b)	Expression as fraction error	1	2y	07	09
c)	Zero error	0	a	05	06
d)	Factorisation error	$(x+y)(x+y)$ or x^2+y^2+2xy	$2(x+y)$	06	08
e)	making equation out of expression	$\frac{1}{4}(q+2p-24)$	$9q+2p-24=0$	25	33
f)	Error with bracket opening	$\frac{xa}{b}$	$\frac{xa}{xb}$	05	07
g)	Inappropriate cancellation ,x/x taken as 0	$\frac{a+b}{1+d}$	$\frac{a+b}{d}, 1+\frac{b}{d}$	08	11
Q6	Equivalence error in Rational Expression	$\frac{x-3}{2x} \cdot \frac{3}{2x}$	$\frac{x-3}{1}=2x$	20	27
Q8	Inappropriate cancellation due to lack of understanding of distributive law	$\frac{A(C+B)}{BC}$	$AC+A/C$	07	09
Q12	Giving values to x and comparing magnitude of denominator instead of whole fraction.	$\frac{1}{N}$	I/N is a Natural Number. It is inversely proportional	06	08
Q13 a)	Converting Expression to Equation error	$(x+y+z)$	$(x+y+z)=0$	31	41
b)	Lack of closure property for algebra letters	$7+4x$	Not Possible	32	43
c)	Like terms error	$2x+2c+5p$	$x^2+2c+5p$	05	07

Students made mistakes when they multiplied algebraic fractional expressions. For instance, for the question Simplify (ax/b) , the major error observed was that the students multiplied

both the numerator and the denominator of the fraction by the letter to get ax/bx . Sometimes they did not take cognizance of the denominator. It happens when it appears that there is no denominator. They have difficulties in realising that a single letter can be represented by an algebraic fraction with 1 as the denominator. Students think that both numerator and denominator of the fraction should be multiplied by the letter. Errors occurred when previous learning interfered in new learning. Table 3 shows the most prevalent errors among the students. These were adding unlike terms and formulating, and subsequently solving irrelevant equations. Forming of illegal equations confirms Wagner and Parker's (1984) equation-expression problem when students force expressions into equations and solve instead of simplifying. The error of adding unlike terms, that the students failed to realise that an algebraic expression $7+4x$ can be the final answer cannot be simplified. Simplify $ax+xb/x+xd$. Common incorrect answers were $a+bd$ or $a+bd$ or that emerged from processes in which the students correctly factorised out x in both numerator and denominator but failed to divide denominator and numerator by x leading to incomplete answers such as $x(a+b)/x(1+d)$ and $(a+b) \div x(1+d)$. In other solutions they just crossed out x .

Table 4: Student's Misconceptions in Solving Equations

Questions	Type of Misconception	Expected Answer	Incorrect Answer	Frequency of Incorrect answer	Percentage
Q16	Procedural	$X=-1$	$X=0$	12	16
Q17	Wrong operations in substitution method	$(0,4)$	$X=-4$	19	25
Q18	Added the equations most of the where subtraction was required. Ignored the denominator in $2y/3$ and added $2y/3$ and $2y$	$(4, \frac{-1}{2})$	Several wrong due to incorrect transposing and sign errors.	41	55
Q10	Did not understand structure of the subtraction statement. "Subtract" was taken as an order to minus	$10-2b$	$2b-10$	07	09
Q20	Was trying to solve the equation and not understand the balance role of "=" symbol	Balancing equation with values of m and n	$m-n=2$	29	39

Students' solution attempts to the task: Use the elimination to solve the simultaneous equations $x+y=4$; $y=2x+4$. The students' answers revealed that procedural errors occurred when students were, in the process, eliminating the unknown from the two linear equations. The students added the two equations to eliminate x instead of subtracting. This misconception is due to incomplete understanding of simplifying integers and manipulating signs. They failed to realise that they could still obtain the solutions by adding or subtracting two equations.

Table 5: Pupils' Misconceptions in Word Problems

Questions	Type of Misconception	Expected Answer	Incorrect Answer	Frequency of Incorrect answer	Percentage
Q14	*Language errors. Direct translation of Key words to symbols. *Number of times mathematical operations occurred interferes with forming expressions	$x=5$ here the emphasis was also on *the reasoning and *formulating an equation after reading the word problem. *Solving the equation errors were observed Minus sign errors occurred	15 and various incorrect answers	09	12
Q15	Linguistic errors, The relational word error. Use of two Variables C for coffee and D for Dosa.	$4d=5c$	$4c=5d$	25	33
Q19	Inability to understand relational words and hence fails to represent relationship mathematically.	$G=B+3$	$B=G+3$	28	37

The questions asked on the word problems wherein the students had to attempt problem solving were in accordance to the requirements set by NCF (2005) and National Curriculum Framework of Teacher Education NCFTE (2009). The problem-solving process in the math classroom should view students as active participants and not just recipients of knowledge. Problem solving situations provide an excellent opportunity for students to construct their knowledge and reject misconception acquired earlier, if any. This is also an opportunity to apply classroom knowledge to the real world and their immediate context. Here the word problems are treated as a subject on their own. It will also indicate how the understanding acquired in the concepts of algebraic expressions, linear equations, and variables facilitates or interferes with the ability to solve word problems. The problem-solving process here involves the following routes.

- (i) make sense of word problem
- (ii) to represent the mental diagram of the problem.
- (iii) to identify the given and the unknowns in the word problems
- (iv) to retrieve the required known knowledge for the specific word problem.
- (v) to establish a mathematical relationship between the unknowns and knowns
- (vi) to solve the mathematical equation.

(vii) to translate the mathematical variable to the original unknown.

Figure 1: Ways of solving a word problem

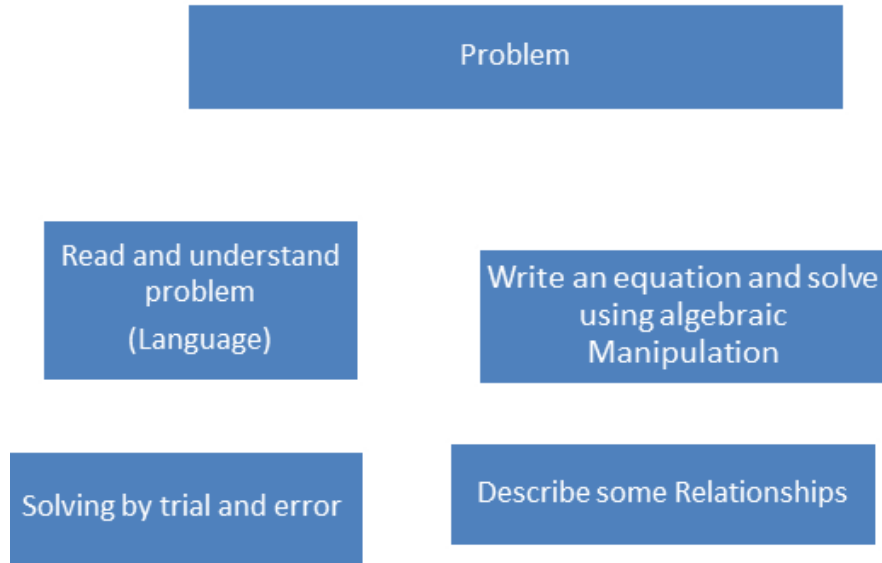


Figure 1 shows that there are different ways to solve a word problem with algebra or by simplifying through trial and error methods. A word problem is presented as a story problem in normal language. It has to be read and understood clearly first, and the given and unknowns are to be identified clearly. Therefore, using unambiguous language is as important as situating the word problem in the context of the students. Then the structure of the word problem has to be identified and the relation between the given and unknown sorted. Then follows the process of finding the solution which can use different methods as shown in the figure above. It came to light after detailed interviews that the students who were taught how to attempt and solve the story sums in different steps could successfully arrive at the solution.

Conclusion

It appears from the discussions of the students' responses that students' ability to do word problems is affected by the language they use. Indian classrooms are multicultural and students from different cultural backgrounds, and with different mother-tongues, are sharing space in the classroom. The teaching-learning process in the classroom takes place in English, which is not their first language. Therefore, the inability to comprehend a word problem at the first place demotivates them from further attempting to solve it before changing into mathematical equation or expression. For effective algebra learning, especially in Indian Classroom, the two levels of language barriers have to be addressed by the teachers in the upper primary level itself. An elaborate discussion of mathematical symbols and signs, when and where to

be used, is imperative as it makes the students comfortable to converse in mathematical language. This also adds to their confidence level and instills liking for the subject, which is a necessary requirement for effective-learning. A basic principle behind constructivist teaching learning is to understand that students' responses to the activity are meaningful to them, no matter how wrong it seems to the others. It is very important for the teacher to interpret the students' thinking and rationale behind the response and correct it in agreement with the student. So, one should not look at students' errors as road blocks, but a stepping stone to make the concept clear. Errors provide an opportunity to the teacher to look into students' thinking and plan their teaching learning to suit students' needs. This approach to errors and mistakes committed by the students will definitely replace drill and endless practice of questions with more meaningful learning.

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Transformation and Significance of Sanskrit (*Tatsama*) Words

Bipin Kumar Jha

Abstract: Many Indian languages are believed to have originated from Sanskrit. This language has contributed immensely by supplementing words to many Indian languages. Such words generally are known as *tatsama*. The word *tatsama* is made by the combination of two Sanskrit words “*ta*” and “*sama*”. Literally, it means ‘similar to that (Sanskrit)’. *Tatsama* words do not undergo any change in their forms or meanings. *Tatsama* words can be found in the grammatical form of noun, adjective, indeclinable and pronouns. Although *tadabhava*, *deshaja* and *videshaja* have become an integral part of Indian languages, *tatsama* enjoys a significant position by virtue of its origin from Sanskrit. Article 351 of the Indian Constitution states that it is the duty of the Union to protect Hindi language and its vocabulary base, drawing wherever necessary or desirable primarily from Sanskrit. This has facilitated the promotion of use of *tatsama* and preserving it in original form. After viewing the importance of *tatsama* in Indian languages, a question may arise whether there is any direct influence of Sanskrit on Hindi. What are the methods of standardisation of Hindi through *tatsama* words? What is the nature of changing of meaning of *tatsama* words? With these questions, the necessity of categorisation of *tatsama* can be made more effectively. Based upon aforementioned causes and rules of Sanskrit grammar presently in vogue, this paper takes into account the classification of *tatsama*. Further research shall help not only in identifying ambiguities in Hindi but also other Indian languages.

Keywords: *Tatsama*, Sanskrit, Grammar, Hindi, Indian Languages

Introduction

Most of the Indian languages have evolved from Sanskrit, Pali, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa etc. Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada, which are languages of Dravidian origin, were recognised as languages of residents of south India (Pandeya, 2003) Although Sanskrit was not directly related to languages of the *Dravidian* family, scholars of south India made a significant contribution to Sanskrit, and created a substantial body of literature in their own languages by translating Sanskrit epics in their languages. The reason behind adoption of Sanskrit words in *Dravidian* language was chiefly spiritual. These rituals like *pūjā-pāṭha* (worship ceremony), *karmakāṇḍa* (ritualism) were conducted by chanting the mantras of Vedas.

After Vedic period, the origin of medieval and post-medieval Prākṛta language can be traced. Prākṛta gradually evolved into Apabhraṃśa. The main period of Apabhraṃśa language was 8th to 13th CE. Muslim rulers established their empire in India in 11th CE. Along with their rule, their languages i.e., Persian and Arabic, predominantly influenced the Indian society. In this way, Indian languages got amalgamated with them and a new composite language came to existence, known as *Hindavi* (united form of Hindi and other languages). The older form of Hindi was developed in 11th CE from Apabhraṃśa. The *dānapatra* (a gift-deed) and *śilālekha* (inscription) of

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1172 CE prove the existence of Hindi in that period. The punched coins during the reign of Mahmud Ghazni also have Hindi inscription in *Devanagari* script. Many Modern Indian languages (MILs) came into existence from Apabhraṃśa. When Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1325-1351 CE) shifted his capital from Delhi to Devagiri, which was renamed as Daulatabad in 1326-27, (Shrivastava, 1998) *Hindavī* travelled to South India. The *Hindavī* was influenced by regional Indian languages like Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Tamil, Telugu, and it further transformed to a new dialect i.e., *dakkhiṇś*. Thus, with the passage of time, form, tone, and style of Hindi also underwent many changes in South India. However, the fundamental core of Hindi, inherited from Sanskrit grammar, remained unchanged. Due to the pan-India nature of Hindi, Indian Constitution emphasises Hindi as the Rajbhasha¹.

Tatsama words got inducted in other Indian languages and got established with the development of all languages over a period of time. This development can be perceived in the following sequence. Indo-European languages developed as Indo-Iranian languages. Vedic Sanskrit came after Indo-Iranian languages and was followed by what is known as “Classical Sanskrit”. The growth of Pāli and Prākṛta languages can be traced afterwards. Then Apabhraṃśa came to existence and lastly the Modern Indian Languages (MILs) flourished across the country (Singh, 2006).

The most ancient Indian text is the *R̥gveda*. Other vedas such as *Brāhmaṇa*, *Āraṇyaka*, *Upaniṣad*, *Śikṣāgrantha*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nirukta* were composed later. Study of the vedic texts proves that the vedic words were adopted by classical Sanskrit. These words have percolated into the MILs with some changes. After gradual changes, some of these words can be seen in contemporary parlance e.g., *ākāśavāṇī* (radio), *dūradarsana* (television). Many of them have retained their original forms such as e.g., *jala* (water), *bala* (power), *putra* (son). On the other hand, many words have been shifted out of Classical Sanskrit as well MILs an illustration of which-in case of Hindi-is provided in Table 1.

Table 1: List of Vedic Words, which have lost their meaning

Sl. No.	Vedic words, which have lost their existence in Classical Sanskrit	Respective Meaning	Meaning in English
1	<i>Atka</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.20)	<i>vajra</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.20)	adamant
2	<i>apas</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.36)	<i>rūpa</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.7)	Look
3	<i>Andhas</i>	<i>anna</i> (Shastri, 2000, 1.14)	Grain
4	<i>arvā</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.20)	<i>ghoḍā</i>	Horse
5	<i>avaṭa</i>	<i>kūpa</i> (Shastri, 2000, 2.23)	Well

Some of Vedic Sanskrit words had two or more meanings in Vedic Sanskrit period but they lost some of their meanings and acquired new meaning in Classical Sanskrit. The same can be observed in Table 2.

Table 2: Vedic Sanskrit Words, which have two or More Meanings

Sl. No.	Vedic words	Meaning 1 (Not available in Classical Sanskrit.)	Meaning 2 (Available in Classical Sanskrit also)
1	<i>Asura</i>	<i>svāmī</i> (lord) (Satwalekar, <i>R̥gveda</i> 1.24.14)	<i>megha</i> (sky), <i>daitya</i> (demon)
2	<i>Āpa</i>	<i>antarikṣa</i> (sky)	<i>jala</i> (water)
3	<i>Oja</i>	<i>jala</i> (water)	<i>bala</i> (power)
4	<i>Kratu</i>	<i>prajñā</i> (intelligence)	<i>karma</i> (work)

There were many other Vedic Sanskrit words which held a different meaning in the Vedic Sanskrit which were lost as these words were incorporated in Classical Sanskrit. The same can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3: Vedic Words, with Changed Meaning in Classical Sanskrit

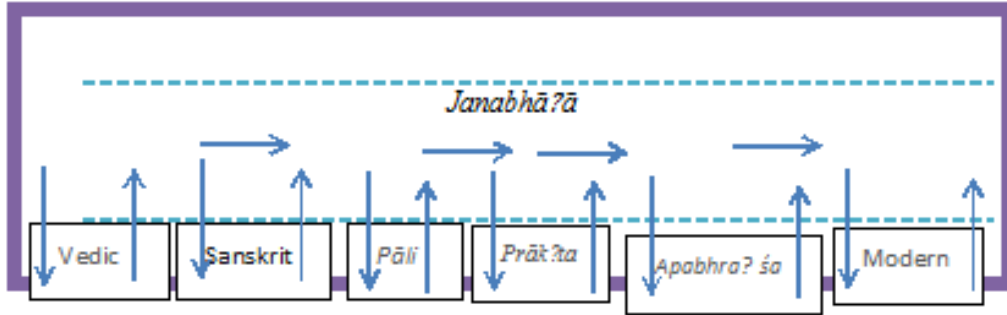
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2	<i>Āpa</i>	<i>antarikṣa</i> (sky)	<i>jala</i> (water)
3	<i>Oja</i>	<i>jala</i> (water)	<i>bala</i> (power)
4	<i>Kratu</i>	<i>prajñā</i> (intelligence)	<i>karma</i> (work)

Thus, it is an established fact that while some of the Vedic Sanskrit words carried over the same meanings into Classical Sanskrit, others adopted different semantic meanings. A well-known treatise on Prākṛta grammar *Siddha-Hema-Śabdānufāsana*, of Hemacandra (Hemachandra, 2016) (1088 CE) gives a scientific module i.e., a set of rules to ‘convert’ Sanskrit into Prākṛta. The tripartite rule is as follows:

1. *Tasama* or *Sanskritsama*, - ‘the same as that’, or ‘the same as Sanskrit’.
2. *Tadbhava* or *Sanskritbhava*, - ‘of the nature of that’, or ‘of the nature of Sanskrit’
3. *Deśī*, *deśaja*, ‘country-born’, i.e., ‘local’.

Majority of Sanskrit scholars have used this well-known traditional classification of Prākṛta words in their texts. Tendency to identify *tadbhava* words with words inherited from Old-Indo-Aryan by Middle-Indo-Aryan has developed with the help of this classification. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE) (Dwivedi, 2001) of Bharata is the first text where the oldest example of Prākṛta grammar can be found, which deals with phonic rules for the conversion of Sanskrit words into Prākṛta. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, words, which are used in drama, can be classified into three categories, viz. *samānaśabda* (same as Sanskrit), *vibhva*-a (of the nature of Sanskrit) and *deśīgat* (country-born). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the first text to divide Prākṛta words into this three-fold classification. This classification is slightly different from the schemata of Hemacandra. On the other hand, the classification of Prākṛta words mentioned earlier in the form of *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *deśī* can be noticed in *Kāvyaadarśa* of Daṇḍī (6th & 7th CE). Daṇḍī states that the *vāsmaya* (literature) has four aspects: Sanskrit, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃṣa and *Mīśra* languages (Sharma, 1999). Daṇḍī states that Prākṛta was developed from Sanskrit and was used by common people. There were several kinds of Prākṛta spoken in India. *Tatsama* was described as the similar form of Sanskrit while *tadbhava* was viewed as derived form of Sanskrit and *deśī* was country-born (non-Sanskrit). Thus, others accept this tripartite in a variety of forms.

Ācārya Dhanika, who is the writer of *Daśarūpaka* (974-96 CE) is of the similar opinion concerning Prākṛta. But, Nāmīsādhu (commentary on *Kāvyaalankāra*.) did not accept the aforementioned view of Daṇḍī on Prākṛta. He advocates that Prākṛta stands for natural language, which is not based on appropriate grammar rules. Vākpatirāja (author of *Gauḍavaho* 845-865 CE) also supports this view in his well-known text *Gauḍavaho*. He says that water goes to the sea, evaporates, condenses and finally rains and joins the sea again. In the same way all languages rest in Prākṛta-which is a *Janabhāṣā* (common language)--and comes out of it. See figure 1.1.

Figure 1: Place of *Janabhāṣā* and Development of Languages

The figure shows *Janabhāṣā* flowing as a river, while vedic languages and others were like tubs. When *Janabhāṣā* flows like a river, Vedic language joins it and gets mingled in it with it some words from Vedic Sanskrit language mixed up with *Janabhāṣā* which later got mingled with Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākṛta, Apabhraṣā and MILs. In all phases, the same process was repeated and words from each language mentioned above were added in *Janabhāṣā*. The dynamic process of this continuity can be observed in the contemporary society as well. Thus, *Janabhāṣā* develops with the effect of time, space and other causes.

Articles of Indian constitution like **120, 210, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, and 351** deal with languages. Department of *Rājabhāṣā* in government institutions are meant for the proliferation of Hindi. For the same purpose, a glossary of Hindi *śabdabhaṇḍra* (a glossary for scientific and technical terms) is developed which has endowed Hindi with a new avatar, namely, *prayojanamūlaka* Hindi (functional Hindi). Meanwhile, *Samskrita Bharatī*, a well known non government organisation plays a vital role regarding simplification of Sanskrit language by minting new and simple Sanskrit words.

It is illogical and a herculean task to categorise all words in our common parlance in the tripartite structure i.e., *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *deśī*. There is a need to modify the types of category with the evolving trend and pattern of lexicography. Therefore, it is attempted to present a new category of *tatsama* words which will be discussed in following sections. Hindi and *tatsama* are inseparable as composition of Hindi words is quite dependent on Sanskrit. The Indian Constitution recognises this aspect of Hindi and states:

It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

With the development of *prayojanamūlaka* Hindi, a remarkable change in *tatsama* words can also be seen. Their original Sanskrit meaning is hardly retained in the new usage of the words devised to meet the 21st century requirements. In the digital world, it is necessary for a language to attain a digital presence, which can be possible by seamless translation to and from other languages.

Ambiguity is the main problem in the efficient machine and speech translation among Indian languages. Pluralities of interpretation of meanings create a complex situation. Word-sense-disambiguation (WSD) is required to eradicate ambiguity. For this purpose, a database is required which would contain the words along with their meanings, their roles as part of speech, and contextual connotations. This whole exercise is based on effective

computing that will make the way of human-computer interaction effective. It will make the nature of languages computer friendly and will aid in machine translation. There are certain abstract components of language like emotion, attention, feeling which are predominantly guided by human brain, they are easily accessible to humans but are insignificant for computers. There is need for developing a system which should enable computers to understand those components of language too.

To resolve the ambiguity related problem of *tatsama* words in Hindi is a staggering task because *tatsama* words change not only their meanings but sometimes the parts of speech (POS) too. In this regard, a certain class of scholars emphasise that Pāṇini's theory can be useful for machine aided translation (MAT) program in the context of Indian languages. In this MAT program core parser is an essential part, in which *lakshana* chart is needed for proper output.

Development of Hindi went through four stages i.e., 1. Pre *Bhāratenduyuga* (1800-1850 CE), 2. *Bhāratenduyuga* (1850-1900 CE), 3. *Dwivedīyuga* (1900- 1920 CE), and 4. *Rāmacaṇdra Śukla* and *Premacaṇdayuga* (1920-1936 CE). It is commonly accepted among the scholars of Hindi literature that after *Bhāratenduyuga* the uses of *tatsama* word in *Khaḍibolī* increased drastically in prose and poetry. *Tatsama* words became the primary lexical component of *Khaḍibolī*. Many poets used *tatsama* dominated Hindi in *Chāyāvādayuga* (period from 1920- 1936 CE) like Jayaśaṅkaraprasāda; Ayodhya Siṃha Upādhyāya 'Hariadha'; Mahādevī Varmā; Sūryakānta Tripāṃhṣ 'Nirālā' among others. A lot of *tatsama* words like- *ākāśavāṇī* (radio), *dūradarśana* (television), *pradhānamantrī* (prime minister), *mukhyamantrī* (chief minister), *nausenā* (navy), *pratidhvani* (echo), *vārtālāpa* (discourse), *samānāntara* (parallel), are directly borrowed from Sanskrit to Hindi, but they are not directly available in Sanskrit dictionaries.

Table 4: Words, Unavailable in Sanskrit Dictionaries but used as *Tatsama* in Hindi

Sl. No.	Word	Meaning in English	Meaning in Sanskrit	Meaning in Hindi
1	<i>ākāśavāṇī</i>	radio	<i>aśarīṇī vāṇī</i>	<i>yantraviśeṣa se prāpta dhvani</i>
2	<i>dūradarśana</i>	TV	<i>Dūradarśana</i>	<i>Dūradarśana</i>
3	<i>pradhānamantrī</i>	Prime Minister	<i>pradhānamantrī</i> (in general)	<i>Pradhānamantrī</i>
4	<i>mukhyamantrī</i>	Chief Minister	<i>Mukhyamantrī</i>	<i>Mukhyamantrī</i>
5	<i>Nausenā</i>	Navy	<i>Nausenā</i>	<i>jala senā</i>
6	<i>pratidhvani</i>	Echo	<i>gūṃja</i>	<i>gūṃja</i>
7	<i>Vārtālāpa</i>	Talk	<i>Bātacīta</i>	<i>Bātacīta</i>
8	<i>samānāntara</i>	parallel	<i>samāna aṃtara para vidyamāna</i>	<i>samāna aṃtara para vidyamāna</i>
9	<i>vācanālaya</i>	reading room	<i>Vācanāsthala</i>	<i>patra-patrikāyem ādī paḍhane kā sthāna</i>

In the contemporary phase, standardisation of Hindi is important. It is obvious that the way to achieve standardisation of Hindi is through its incorporation of *tatsama* words which have enriched our lexicography a great deal. *Tatsama* words are available in unique form while *tadbhava* words are not found in a specific form due to variation in pronunciation etc.

Tatsama words lose their synonyms over a period of time. For example *tatsama* word ‘agni’ contains 34 (Jha, 2011) synonyms which are *agnih*, *vaiśvānarah*, *vahniḥ*, *vītihoṭrah*, *dhanaṭṭjayah*, *kṛpīmayoniḥ*, *jvalanaḥ*, *jātavedāḥ*, *tanūnapāt*, *barhiḥ*, *śuśmā*, *kṛṣṇavartmā*, *śociṣkeśaḥ*, *uṣarbudhaḥ*, *āśrayāśaḥ*, *bṛhadbhānuḥ*, *kṛśānuḥ*, *pāvakaḥ*, *analaḥ*, *rohitāśvaḥ*, *vāyusakhaḥ*, *sikhāvān*, *āśuśukṣaṇiḥ*, *hiraṇyaretāḥ*, *hutaḥ*, *dahanaḥ*, *havyavāhanaḥ*, *saptārciḥ*, *damunāḥ*, *śukrā*, *citraḥ*, *vibhāvasuḥ*, *śuciḥ*, *appittam*. Meanwhile in Hindi example *tatsama* word ‘agni’ contains 93 synonyms which are *āga*, *agni*, *pāvaka*, *hutāsana*, *anala*, *agana*, *agiyā*, *agina*, *aganī*, *agira*, *dāhaka*, *ātaśa*, *ātiśa*, *anilasakhā*, *viṃgeśa*, *dāhā*, *vahni*, *dhvāntafatru*, *dhvāntaśatru*, *dhvāntārāti*, *dhvāntārāti*, *paśupati*, *vaiśvānara*, *amitāsana*, *dharuṇa*, *viśvapsa*, *pavana-vāhana*, *jagannu*, *somagopā*, *Śikhi*, *Śikhṣ*, *vṛṣṇi*, *Śukra*, *Śuci*, *tanūnapāt*, *tanūcēnapād*, *aya*, *tapurjambha*, *tapurjambha*, *tapu*, *tamohapaha*, *tamonuda*, *arka*, *bāhula*, *jalha*, *citraḥ*, *kālakavi*, *ardani*, *bahani*, *nīlapṛṣṭha*, *malinamukha*, *dyu*, *aśira*, *āgī*, *āgi*, *parijanmā*, *agiā*, *ājyamuka*, *āsara*, *varhā*, *vasuṣṭha*, *vasu*, *hemakelī*, *āśuśukṣaṇi*, *parparika*, *laghulaya*, *āśrayāśa*, *yaviṣmha*, *rājanya*, *hṛṣu*, *agnideva*, *agni*, *anilasakhā*, *Śāṃḍilya*, *Śāṅḍilya*, *piṃgeśa*, *vasuvida*, *vasuprāna*, *dharuṇa*, *somagopā*, *vṛṣākapi*, *vṛṣṇi*, *śikhi*, *śikhṣ*, *dyu*, *jambhāri*, *basamḍara*, *citraḥ*, *parijanmā*, *pacata*, *vasunītha*, *mitravimḍa*, *mitravinda*.

The number of meanings exceed in this list due to adding *pacata*, *bahanṣ*, *āga*, *agana*, *agiyā*, *agina*, *aganī*, *agira*, *āgī*, *āgi* like *tadbhava* words as well. With the analysis of these words, the nature of change of *tatsama* words can be seen; it is found that several types of changes occur when *tatsama* words are used in different societies. A study of the *tatsama* words reveals the nature of *tatsama* words i.e., exceeding or decreasing meanings, meanings and part of speech. In this way it is tried to restructure the the order of tripartite and make it more relevant towards computational tools.

Note

1. Articles 343 and 351 of The Constitution of India

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Sardar Patel's Vision of the Contemporary World: Ideas on Geopolitical Environment

Nishu Sharma & Rajeev Kumar

Abstract: Sardar Patel was a person of strong character and diligence in varied areas of national interest. His vision and ideas on India's long-term security and the emerging geopolitical environment were both pragmatic and prognostic. His thoughts and approach to India's international challenges were shaped, to a great extent, by the historical setting at that time and also by his role of a nation-builder. He was aware of the 'cold-war' phenomenon and the effect it was having on the geopolitical rivalries between great powers. Patel was a champion of democracy, and was against Communism. This paper seeks to analyse the world-view of Sardar Patel in his time when the geopolitical environment, in the neighbourhood and far, was very influential and instrumental in shaping India's overall foreign policy. In fact, his role in the creation of India's foreign policy was decisive for the consolidation and the very survival of India as a nation. One who follows his writings and his views on international relations would definitely conclude that whenever Nehru, who had a global vision and who cared for the international image, ignored the advice of Patel on global affairs, the entire country had to suffer. In his own words, 'India today is surrounded by all sorts of dangers and it is for the people today to face fearlessly all dangers'.

Keywords: Sardar Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Foreign Policy, China, Tibet.

Introduction

History is replete with influential personalities who have contributed in myriad ways in the making of their nation-states. India, while gaining its independence in the 20th century, was also teeming with such dominant personalities. Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, better known as Sardar Patel, was one such towering figure in 20th century India. He was one of the most revered personalities who fought for independence and contributed to Indian politics in significant ways post-independence as well. With his sharp political acumen, he played the most crucial role in the integration of around 562 princely states into the Indian Union, barring Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad. He was the first Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of independent India, and his uncompromising efforts towards consolidation of the country earned him the sobriquet 'Iron Man of India'. He was the key

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force in establishing the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service as well. On his demise, Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs observed, "We meet today to mourn the loss, and to pay tribute to the memory of a great patriot, a great administrator and a great man. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was all three, a rare combination in any historic epoch and in any country" (Press Information Bureau, 1950).

Patel, to most readers of history, has been one of the greatest freedom fighters in the Indian national movement whose contribution to the unity of India was indisputable. However, one who follows his writings and his views on international relations, would definitely agree to the fact that he had a pragmatic vision of the global affairs. His ideas on the then geopolitical environment were not only timely, but also realistic as opposed to the quixotic views of Prime Minister Nehru. Nehru was always in the limelight, but at times Sardar Patel gathered more prominence and garnered more support than Nehru did. Even during the freedom struggle, Patel commanded more support in the Congress Party compared to Nehru (Godbole, 2014, p. 1). In his book, D.V. Tahmankar has stated that "in 1929, the provincial Congress committees had voted Gandhi, Patel and Nehru, in that order, for the presidency of the Lahore Congress. Again, in 1946, twelve provincial Congress committees had nominated Patel for the presidency; and only three [had nominated] Nehru. But on both the occasions, Gandhi intervened and made his loyal follower Patel retire" (Tahmankar, as cited in Godbole, 2014, p. 2).

Sardar Patel was not interested in mere visions and ideals. To him, the first pre-requisite was a strong, united and prosperous India. It was only after this was achieved that India could afford to have visions or ideals. This thinking was clearly visible in his ideas and views on the contemporary times, on India's foreign policy and the emerging geopolitical situation in the region. V.P. Menon has quoted Vallabhbhai Patel saying, "It will be folly to ignore realities; facts take their revenge if they are not faced squarely and well" (Patel, as cited in Menon, 1956, p. 494). Very soon Patel was proved right.

Patel's World-view and the then Geopolitical Realm

Ill-informed observers and narrators assume that Patel was an excellent organiser, but not an expert of foreign affairs and, thus, focus on Patel's record in India's domestic sphere only. But a perusal of some of Patel's correspondence shows that he had a very pragmatic approach towards the country's security, and a very cautious approach to foreign policy. Sinha and Roy (2019) state that, in his letters, and in the Cabinet meetings, Patel pointed out, time and again, that in relations with different countries, India should adopt policies that suited its national interests. As a member of the Government, and later as the Deputy PM, he was exposed to discussions on foreign affairs at Cabinet meeting. He presented his well-considered views while dealing with the questions of the Commonwealth, Tibet, China, Korea, Pakistan, Indonesia etc. and they bear the imprint of his far-sightedness and serious understanding of these questions from an unpretentious national perspective.

Patel had a strong world-view. His ideas on India's long-term security and the emerging geopolitical environment were not only sound, but also prophetic in sharp contrast to those of Nehru's idealism. Patel was well aware of the fact that apart from the Hindu-Muslim factor, the geopolitical rivalry between the Western countries, led by the United States and

Britain on one hand and the then Soviet Union and China on the other, was an equally contributory factor towards the partition of India. Nanda (2014) has, in fact, beautifully summed up the views of Patel:

As it was, London always suspected Moscow to be nurturing an ambition for having an access to a warm-water port in the Indian Ocean. Besides, the discovery of oil in the Arab countries and the global economy's increasing dependence on oil made it imperative that Britain, or for that matter the US, must have a strong military presence, whether direct or indirect, in a part of India so as to control and secure the oil production in and oil supply from the Middle East. After all, it was from India that the imperial Britain was mastering the waves east of Suez Canal. An undivided, independent and democratic India would not have played such a role. So Pakistan had to be created out of India at any cost. In fact, in one of his letters to industrialist G D Birla, he had clearly linked the creation of Pakistan to the unhindered access of the Western powers to oil in the Gulf region.

For this reason, Patel wanted the Indian relations be developed beyond UK and USA and he strongly recommended the free India to be part of the Commonwealth maintaining self-respect.

Patel's Ideas on Foreign Policy: Realistic and Tactical

The official correspondence and epistles released by Patel's daughter Manibehn serve as the best source of understanding Patel. The Patel commemorative volumes include some of his public speeches which provide further insight into his personality, and his views on India's foreign policy. Patel's foreign policies were often fundamentally opposed to Nehru's policies. Patel was, in fact, often critical of Nehru's foreign policies.

The Question of Israel: Demystifying the 'Communal'

India's policy towards the West Asia in the late 1940s and early 50s, particularly Israel, can be seen in the light of domestic politics influencing the foreign policy. Patel rightly questioned the legitimacy of India's policy in delaying recognition to the state of Israel only to placate the sentiments of its Muslim citizens (Patel to Nehru, 1950). It subsequently turned out to be a genuine fallacy and Patel advised Nehru to keep religion away from the making of the national policy.

Patel wanted to recognise Israel as a nation. He felt that India has been making delay in recognising Israel because of the fear that that it would cause anger among the Muslims of India. He made no secret of it, and in a letter to Nehru on 28th March 1950, he wrote candidly, "... the delay in the recognition of Israel because of the feelings of our Muslim citizens on this question probably cost us of the goodwill of Israel and countries interested in it. I also pointed out that even some of the Muslim countries had recognised Israel, but we had not out of difference for the views of our Muslim brethren" (Kumar, 1991, p. 19).

The 'delay' and the 'appeasement' continued to be the policy even after the demise of Patel. Brecher had remarked:

The "sudden change of mind" in the spring of 1952 was due to the forceful intervention of Maulana Azad, intimate friend of Nehru.... Until his death in 1958, the Maulana exerted great influence on India's Middle East policy.... *As a Muslim, Azad was naturally pro-Arab.* He was also fearful of the consequences of diplomatic relations with Israel on India's position in the Arab world. An unstated but bitter rivalry

with Pakistan for Arab support on the Kashmir dispute was then at its height..... Azad [and Nehru] was also concerned about the possible impact of a welcoming gesture to Israel on India's large and insecure Muslim minority. Pakistan would probably have fanned the flames of communal hatred in India by reference to Israel....At any rate, Nehru yielded to Azad's advice (as cited in Kumaraswamy, 2010, p. 149).

More than a decade later, Nehru's other biographer, S. Gopal, gave credence to Brecher's assessment. Gopal admitted that Nehru had informed Israel that there were no major objections to normalisation and that Israel would have to wait for the formation of a new Indian government after the elections. But then Gopal adds, "Even then nothing was done. This inaction has been attributed to the influence of Azad" (Brecher, as cited in Gopal, 2014, p. 129). The deafening silence ironically calls for serious introspection into the subject-matter.

Patel's views on the delay in recognising Israel was deemed communal. However, his secular credentials can be gauged from several instances. At least two studies – one by writer-journalist Urvish Kothari highlighting Patel's views on the communal question, and the other by sociologist Prof Ghanshyam Shah on caste and social order – do suggest where he actually stood. It suggests that even though the Sardar may have developed a little attraction towards Hindutva, he was a 'practical' Gandhian, whose governance didn't suggest an iota of antipathy towards any particular community (Counterview, 2013). Kothari gives several instances to prove his point. He writes, "One of the biggest misconceptions about the Sardar is that he was anti-Muslim. During the Bardoli Satyagraha, the British rulers, in an effort to break Hindu-Muslim unity, hired a few Pathans to ensure that at least Muslims pay up a higher land revenue tax, against which the farmers had protested. The Sardar did not let the Hindu-Muslim unity break. He ensured that Muslims became the chief complainants against the Pathans' divisive tactics" (Counterview, 2013). In another instance, Kothari recalls how, during the communal holocaust in the wake of Partition, the Sardar personally reached Amritsar to convince the Sikhs to allow vulnerable Muslim groups to pass by (Counterview, 2013).

Patel's message to Hindus in the Constituent Assembly was:

It is for us who happen to be in a majority to think about what the minorities feel and imagine how we would feel if we were treated in the manner in which they are treated.' And in one of his more important speeches, made on 6 January 1948 at Lucknow, Patel himself said: 'I am a true friend of the Muslims although I have been described as their greatest enemy. I believe in plain speaking. I do not know how to mince words. I want to tell them frankly that mere declarations of loyalty to the Indian Union will not help them at this crucial juncture. They must give practical proof of their declarations (Patel, as cited in Akbar, 1988, p. 494).

H.M. Patel, former finance secretary and union finance minister, has also stated: "He was not a hypocrite to say that secular meant being pro-Muslim.... It is because he refused to be unfair to Hindus in order to win Muslim applause that he has been attacked by some as being communal" (Nandurkar, 1974, pp. 293-98). His stance towards Israel, must, therefore, be gauged from this broader perspective.

The Kashmir Question and Pakistan

With regards to Pakistan, Nehru and Patel's disagreements were further accentuated. Gandhi, himself, was a key player against Patel in this show. He went on an indefinite fast in protest against Patel withholding the payment of Rs 55 crore to Pakistan (Basu, 2014). Patel

had judiciously deferred payment until the issue of Kashmir, and the plight of its Hindu minorities was resolved to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. India was under no obligation to pay the entire sum all at once. However, Gandhi's fastidiousness and his failing health compelled Patel to yield to his demands.

The disagreements with Nehru on the Kashmir issue have not found sufficient attention since Patel had deferred to Nehru's wishes in not interfering in Kashmir (Basu, 2014). Nehru's 'genius' in handling the Kashmir issue allowed the state to maintain an Islamic identity. Nehruvian apologists were quick to tarnish the name of the liberal but Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of Kashmir valley for his alleged procrastination in signing the instrument of accession to India (Basu, 2014). However, nothing could be further from the truth. For it was Nehru's precondition that the Maharaja could accede to India only by first transferring power to Sheikh Abdullah, a man, who by no stretch of imagination represented Hindu or Sikh populations, and even among Muslims of the entire valley it was doubtful if his popularity exceeded that of the Maharaja, even in the highly vitiated and communalized atmosphere to which Abdullah's demagoguery had contributed in no small measure (Singh, 2011, p. 242). However, for Nehru, as Harbans Singh states, "*Sheikh Abdullah was the key to first exposing the fallacy of the two nation theory and then establishing the secular credentials of new India*" (Singh, 2011, p. 242).

Nehru was also guilty of taking the Kashmir issue to the UN and internationalizing it only for the sake of enhancing his personal esteem in Western eyes. Moreover, the promise of a plebiscite was also entirely unwarranted. Again, it was left to Patel to save the day. General Sam Manekshaw, who was a colonel during the first Indo-Pak war of 1948, was privy to how Nehru was seized with indecision until an infuriated Patel himself passed the order to carry Indian troops through air which prevented the fall of Srinagar and redeemed the situation (Jha, 1996). Later, Patel confessed to Baxi Ghulam Mohammad that he was unable to resolve the Kashmir problem since he did not enjoy Nehru's confidence (Chopra, 2002, p. 274).

China Proved Patel Right: The Question of Tibet

Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru differed on their perspectives on China and Tibet affairs as well. Jawaharlal Nehru, in order to realise his dream of Asian unity, was always in favour of appeasing China. And that is why immediately after Indian independence, he legitimized Chinese 'sovereignty' over Tibet in 1954 (Nanda, 2014). Little did he know that as Tibet's boundary with India was never a settled issue, China was bound to exploit the flaw. But this was very well realised by Patel. He envisaged that China's possession of Tibet in future could put India into a perilous position. Unlike the British policy of imperialism, Sardar was not interested in colonising Tibet because imperialism was never a characteristic feature of the Indian civilisation. Nonetheless, it was important to take precautions against China's future plans. Sardar had sent messages to Jawaharlal about China's possible intrusions but Jawaharlal had different views over the matter. He believed that China would never adopt the policy of expansion and that China would always remain a friendly neighbour to India because together they could give a strong fight to the western countries. The government of China had already sent official messages to the newly formed government of India that it would take peaceful measures to release Tibet. Nehru thought just as India had become free from the British rule

in the same way; China would release Tibet because it had suffered enough under British administration. While Patel took this as a warning, Nehru took it as a friendly move.

Keeping this in mind, on November 7, 1950, Patel wrote a letter to Nehru pointing out how the Chinese troops' entry into Tibet earlier that year resulted in a situation that "for the first time, after centuries, India's defence has to concentrate itself on two fronts simultaneously" (Patel's letter to Nehru, 1950)¹. Patel had suggested, "we have to consider what new situation now faces us as a result of the disappearance of Tibet as we know it, and the expansion of China up to our gates" (Ibid). Continuing in this prophetic vein, he had noted:

Chinese irredentism and communist imperialism are different from the imperialism of the Western powers. The former has a cloak of ideology which makes it 10 times more dangerous. In the guise of ideological expansion lie concealed racial, national and historical claims... While our western and north-western threats to security are still as prominent as before, a new threat has developed from the north and north-east. Thus, for the first time, after centuries, India's defence has to concentrate itself on two fronts simultaneously. Our defence measures have so far been based on the calculations of superiority over Pakistan (Ibid).

Sardar Patel could not have been more clinically precise and more right as quite by coincidence, the same day as Sardar Patel wrote to Prime Minister Nehru on Tibet, the Tibetan Government appealed to the United Nations for its intervention through a letter to the Secretary General on November 7, 1950 as follows:

Though there is a little hope that a nation dedicated to peace will be able to resist the brutal effort of men trained to war, we understand that the United Nations has decided to stop aggression wherever it happens (Mehrotra, 2000, p. 23).

India sanctified the Chinese military occupation of Tibet by accepting it as a region of China in the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on trade with Tibet. As that Agreement enunciated the principles of Peaceful Co-existence, the Panchsheel, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, said in the Rajya Sabha:

Our Prime Minister is depending on the Panchsheel which has been adopted by Comrade Mao and the Panchsheel which is one of the clauses in the No-Aggression treaty on Tibet. I am indeed surprised that our Hon'ble Prime Minister is taking this Panchsheel seriously. Hon'ble Members of the House, you must be knowing that Panchsheel is one of the significant parts of the Buddha Dharma. If Shri Mao had even an iota of faith in Panchsheel, he would have treated the Buddhists in his country in a different manner (Ambedkar, as cited in Mehrotra, 2000, p. 25).

Dr. Ambedkar then warned the Prime Minister in no uncertain terms:

.....Prime Minister will realise the truth in my words when the situation matures further. I don't really know what is going to happen. By letting China take control over Lhasa (Tibet's capital) the Prime Minister has in a way helped the Chinese to bring their armies on the Indian borders. Any victor who annexes Kashmir can directly reach Pathankot, and I know it for sure that he can reach the Prime Minister's house also (Ibid).

Thus, Patel's assessment was acknowledged by others as well. It is understood that Patel had made up his mind to oppose Nehru's foreign policy in a Cabinet-meeting scheduled to be held on November 21, 1950. According to Manibehn, he had the support of Rajagopalachari

and K M Munshi (cabinet colleagues) and that he 'expected support' from other colleagues such as Baldev Singh, Jagjivan Ram and Sri Prakasa, 'in the event of a showdown in cabinet with Nehru's China policy'. Unfortunately, Patel could not attend the scheduled meeting. Had he attended the meeting, India's military humiliation in the hands of China in 1962 may have been averted.

He was also perturbed by the approach of Nehru towards the Chinese and was deeply anguished in India being unable to defend the right of the Tibetan people who had reposed 'faith in us, who chose to be guided by us' but who became victims to Chinese 'perfidy'. He said:

The Chinese Government has tried to delude us by professions of peaceful intention. My own feeling is that at a crucial period they managed to instill into our Ambassador a false sense of confidence in their so-called desire to settle the Tibetan problem by peaceful means. There can be no doubt that during the period covered by this correspondence the Chinese must have been concentrating for an onslaught on Tibet. The final action of the Chinese, in my judgement, is little short of perfidy (Patel's Letter to Nehru, 1950).

Patel presciently warned Nehru that '*while we regard the Chinese as friends, they do not regard us as their friends*' (Patel's Letter to Nehru, 1950). Nehru, taking a different approach, confidently predicted that such a situation was 'unlikely' in the '*foreseeable future*'. Nehru ruled out any such intention on Chinese part. Moreover, he rejected Patel's advice of modernizing the army and making adequate security provisions since it would "*cast an intolerable burden on us, economic or otherwise and it would weaken our general defence position*" (PM Nehru's note, as cited in Krishna, 2015, pp. 230-34).

V.N. Gadgil concurred with Patel's view on China when the Cabinet met to discuss the issues related to China and argued that there is always a lurking danger of China taking away Tibet and moving ahead to acquire the north east regions of India. Sardar Patel knew that the weak spots, from the point of view of communication, i.e. Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim presented an unlimited scope for infiltration. He was sure that the Chinese would not miss any opportunity of exploiting these weak spots, partly in support of their ideology and partly in support of their ambitions. He sounded an alarm by saying, "Any faltering or lack of decisiveness in formulating the objectives or in pursuing the policies to attain those objectives is bound to, as he felt, weaken us and increase the threats which are so evident" (Patel's Letter to Nehru, 1950). The looming threat to internal security was also brought out when he suggested that the Communist Party of India would now have a comparatively easy means of access to Chinese communists and through them to other foreign communists.

Had Patel been the decision-maker, he would have adopted the policies which would have safeguarded India's security interests. He would also not have pursued the advocacy of China's entry into the UN as doggedly as Nehru did. In fact, on the question of Chinese entry into U.N.O., Patel said: "In view of the rebuff which China has given us and the method which it has followed in the dealing with Tibet, I am doubtful whether we can advocate its claims any longer. There would probably be a threat in the U.N.O. virtually to outlaw China, in view of its active participation in the Korean War. We must determine our attitude on this question also" (Patel, as cited in Godbole, 2014, p. 50). The 1962 conflict made it amply clear that Nehru was living in his own make-believe world so far as China was concerned and that

his method of cultivating friendship with China as the best way of moderating the Chinese thinking proved of little or, in fact, no avail. Patel's prophecy proved to be true and had Nehru seriously considered the suggestion of Patel to explore the possibility of declaring Tibet an independent state to checkmate Chinese designs, the geography and geopolitics of Asia would have been different today.

Patel's Ideas on the Commonwealth, USA and Korea

Patel's views on other matters relating to the Commonwealth, the USA, Korea and even Nepal were also significant. While on the one hand, Nehru wanted to cleave all the ties with the Commonwealth, Patel was keen on having a strong association with Commonwealth with the caution that India's status as Sovereign Republic must not be affected (Desai, 2018). It was to his credit, ultimately, that he persuaded Nehru, who was opposed to the idea, to agree to be a member of the Commonwealth (Chopra, 1995, vii). Though Patel's stint as the Deputy PM and Home Minister was short-lived, one can suggest that the growing differences between Nehru and Patel in foreign affairs would have brought Patel in clear alignment with the West against Nehru's non-alignment. He, as part of his general attitude to Communism, dismissed the USSR and leaned more towards the USA. Showing the necessity of a marked shift in policy towards the USA, he wrote on 6th May, 1948:

The USA holds the key to the international situation today. We ourselves have to depend upon the USA probably more than on the UK. Without the USA's support in men, money and machinery, I am very doubtful, notwithstanding Asaf Ali's (India's Ambassador at Washington) views to the contrary, whether we shall ever succeed in our industrial policy and it is on that policy that so much of the future of this country depends. For some years, therefore, whether we like it or not, we have to depend on the USA for our progress (Patel, as cited in Kumar, 1991, p. 19).

His faith in the USA again came through the speech he made at Ahmedabad in November, 1950: "Many people say that we should not take the help of America because we will lose our prestige and we will be blamed for joining one bloc. We are not so ignorant as not to realise our own position and interest" (Ibid).

Patel's views regarding the developments in Korea were in total sync with the views of Nehru. In a letter to Nehru on 3rd July, 1950 he wrote:

I feel that we need not have reiterated our foreign policy. Such reiteration implies that this step could be construed as a departure from that policy and we were being apologetic or on the defensive about it. After all, the step which we have taken fits in with our policy of supporting the UNO and invoking the various remedies mentioned in the charter against aggression (Ibid).

Patel was, at the same time, eager to see India's relations with the neighbouring countries being strengthened. After a meeting with the Ambassador of Nepal on 1st December 1950, he wrote:

... I told them that they had to come to important decisions in the light of the delicate international situation prevailing in the world today. The situation was such that neither they nor we could afford to have instability and insecurity in Nepal. There was no doubt that in Nepal's difficulties it was India and no other power which could assist it. Britain's role in Asia or South Asia is no longer decisive...None of us desired to encroach on Nepal's independence; indeed, it was everybody's concern here to preserve it.

It was therefore in our mutual interests to see that the present difficulties were settled to our mutual satisfaction and advantage (Vijay, 2015).

He further said:

....There was no point in suggesting or achieving a solution which would leave a trail of bitterness behind. That would be no lasting situation...in Nepal -there was every advantage in being liberal rather than niggardly and in doing things with a good grace... (Ibid).

Patel was, thus, realistic in his approach towards foreign affairs. He wanted to make newer friends in consonance with the exigencies. He was well aware of the cold-war situation but even then, he did not shy away from siding with the USA as was the need of the hour. Sardar Patel was also a great supporter of the African unity and wanted India to forge strong ties with African nations. After examining his views on different international issues, it can be said that Patel had a pragmatic world view encapsulating the geopolitical changes that were taking place in those days. He concerned himself almost exclusively with those aspects of foreign relations, and those countries of the world, which concerned the security of India, or threatened it or could threaten it. Patel's interest and his association in India's foreign politics were born and conditioned entirely by the geopolitical considerations of India's security. He fully weighed the national interest in his stands on foreign policy matters such as, when he favoured the Commonwealth membership, opposed China's intervention in Tibet and supported UNO's recommendation regarding Korea. His recommendation to maintain friendly relations with the neighbouring countries and also with Indonesia and Israel etc. were also inspired by the most practical consideration of national interest. He never concealed his conviction that India's position as a world power would be recognised by all when she was able to defend her external security.

Conclusion

Talking of Indian perception of the world beyond its borders, K.M. Panikkar contended that India has, throughout history, had trouble arousing much interest in the world beyond its borders. Contrasting Indian heedlessness beyond its borders with British attentiveness to developments all around India during the Raj, he once remarked: "They carefully studied the conditions across the borders, developed a large body of experts who studied the geography, language, political conditions, and economic structure of the areas which bordered on India or which were considered to be of vital importance to the defense of India" (Malone, 2011, p. 1). Even after independence, Nehru echoed the same feelings but remained blind to the developments around Indian borders. In the Nehru era of 'misguided trust' over China, Sardar Patel was a bold exception. He was very articulate in summing up the geopolitical environment of the day.

Sardar Patel, a pioneer in Indian history, played a very significant role during British colonial rule and especially between the critical periods of transition from 1947 to 1950. R.K. Murthi rightly states that Nehru could have not been able to redefine India's future without the support of Sardar Patel (Murthi, 1976, p. 136). Patel's speeches and his work during the

freedom movement and after the Independence as the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister reflect the coordination between speech and action.

The Nehru coterie has largely been engaged in creating Patel's image as if he was against Nehru and knew little about the international affairs, whereas the fact was otherwise. He did give his judgement on the future actions of China. Patel was proven right after 12 years when China attacked India after grabbing Tibet. He preferred to "create history rather than wasting time writing it" (Patel, as cited in Desai, 2016).

India's foreign policies were never synced under Nehru. Nehru was of the opinion that Pakistan was the only imminent threat to India's security and that China's aggressions could be curtailed by friendship. Nehru's policies, unlike Patel's, based more on idealism than reality was, however, immune to China's foreign policy completely based on deception and guile to hide its ambitions of expansionism behind the charm of pacifism.

Patel provided critical suggestions to Nehru in the making of the foreign policy. Sardar Patel, a better judge of geopolitics; was strongly against communist China. He knew that in the long run it would be the Chinese who would present the major threat to India and not Pakistan. Hence, he never approved of Nehru's legitimization of China's sovereignty over Tibet. Patel also did not favour Nehru's endorsement of the 'One China policy' and over a Permanent Seat at the UNSC to China. Influenced by the Chanakya school of thought, he was against internationalising Kashmir by taking it to the UN.

PM Nehru's belief in Pan Asian Unity and Anti-imperialism and his ignorance of Sardar Patel's warnings came back to haunt him in the years leading up to 1962. The 1962 War shaped the world order in many ways. It shaped China's destiny as the dominant power in South and Southeast Asia. The Indo-China conflict was a geopolitical cornerstone in South Asia as well as the larger Asia-Pacific. PM Nehru's delusion about China's pacifism has, thus, resulted in a complete encirclement of India.

Finally, in the era of internet transmission, arguments and counter-arguments over matters with no common opinion presents some sort of intellectual churning which ultimately culminates into 're-imagining' of the whole idea. Current debates among the analysts of India's foreign policy and particularly on Sardar Patel's world-view are constant and exciting and present 're-imagining' of the same kind. In the current scenario, when India and China face each other over Doklam and other issues, Patel's ideas and his views on foreign policy becomes all the more relevant. The centrality of national interest in making relations with other countries, i.e. the making of foreign policy is, thus, one of the parts of his legacy. India faces numerous contemporary security challenges today of which few can certainly be attributed to the historical mistakes committed soon after the independence. Patel's writings and correspondence are living proof to those mistakes which could have been averted had his suggestions been given serious consideration.

Note

1. *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru on 7 November 1950 not only deploring Indian Ambassador KM Panikkar's action but also warning about dangers from China.* Retrieved from <http://www.friendsoftibet.org/main/sardar.html>

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Tracing the Cultural Tradition of Jangalmahal through *Bandna Parab* and *Jawa-Karam Parab*

Shaktipada Kumar

Abstract: The idea of the festival is related to human culture. People celebrate festivals to relax from the busy life schedule, and these festivals predominantly revolve around agricultural cycles and seasons. Does the festival create a space for a reversal of roles? In what ways, viewed through this prism of the festival, does the re-telling of the human-animal relationship occur? Is it just a show of mere gratitude or something more than that? Jangalmahal is the name given to Purulia, Bankura and West Midnapore districts of West Bengal and is a part of Chhotanagpur plateau. Bandna parab of Jangalmahal or, broadly, the Chhotanagpur plateau is a famous festival which celebrates the end of a hard-agricultural season. The celebration is principally for the cattle used during agriculture. Men play with animals, bathe together and worship them as their gods. This cattle festival illustrates the human-animal relationship and possible ethnographic reasons behind the festival when people first used animals in their agricultural work. It is a rerun of our entire prehistoric origins – the advent of agriculture, domestication of wild animals, grazing, and community life. Performing traditions of India are fundamentally mnemocultural where generationally imparted memories get articulated through embodiment and enactment. Indigenous belief and supernatural traditions are not just for the sustaining of culture, creed, and custom but simultaneously have deeper meanings toward all these. Why are people continuing these practices? What is the significance of such doings? There is an unknown and unexplored knowledge behind every indigenous belief, superstitions and supernatural traditions. This paper also aims to find out the beliefs and plausible meanings of the indigenous festival named Jawa-Karam parab in Purulia, Bengal. These performing traditions are medium through which culture and region articulate its distinctiveness and qualitative cultural singularity even today.

Keywords: Agriculture, *Bandna*, *Chhou*, Culture, Festival, Heritage, *Jawa*, *Karam*, Tradition

Introduction

Indigenous culture is the reverberator of a society, race, country and the overall progress of human civilisation. The growth of the common people is the real development of a nation. Festivals are very much interrelated to human culture. People celebrate festivals to get repose, relaxation from the busy life schedule, to enjoy the artistic aspects of life, to release repressed energies, to do something different from the mundane life. The Chhotanagpur region in eastern India has a distinct colour and culture, sight and sound, taste and tradition, life and livelihood.

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Like the circle of the seasons, they have a cycle of cultural practices which come and go all round the year. The festivals in Purulia, a city in the Chhotanagpur plateau in West Bengal is rich with myriad forms of cultural practices. The ample number of festivals celebrated in Bengal expressed aptly by a Bengali proverb, i.e., "*baro mase tero parbon*" meaning 'thirteen festivals in twelve months.' If we go deep and analyse these songs, dances, festivals then we would be able to see how close the people are to nature, how they live with nature, how they share their feelings with the animals and plants, how grateful they are toward these plants and animals. In this connection, the observations of W.W. Hunter (1868) about the region in his famous book "The Annals of Rural Bengal" are worth mentioning.

I have endeavoured to delineate the inner life of those distant Asiatic nations over whom a branch of the Anglo-Saxon Family has been called to rule. Separated from us by half a world, their vicissitudes, social necessities, and religious cravings are nevertheless pregnant with interest to all who would contemplate the picturesque yet painful stages, through which lies man's route from barbarism to civilisation and assured faith. The grand problems of life are everywhere the same. It is the solution of them that races differ. (p. 12)

Jangalmahal, a district in West Bengal, has a variety of cultures, and has many festivals throughout the year. Most of the celebrations are more or less related to agriculture. Every festival has different genealogies and rituals. The spirit of indigenous culture is to retain and rerun the tradition. In this paper, I will be dealing with *Bandna* and *Jawa-Karam* festival to trace, revisit and rearticulate the cultural cosmos of this area. An attempt has also been made to connect rituals with the performance of the area. The most popular performance of the region is the Chhou dance performance which is now listed among the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO since 2010. One of the aims of this paper is to show how rituals are incorporated and accommodated into the Chhou dance performances. The Chhou dance not only includes stories from the Indian epics like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and Puranas but also addresses sociopolitical issues, and thus creates a space for the age-old rituals and contemporary problems simultaneously.

Bandna Festival

Bandna is a widely celebrated festival of Chhotanagpur plateau of Eastern India which covers much of Jharkhand and some parts of West Bengal, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, and Bihar. The festival is all about celebrating the winding up of hard agricultural work with animals used at the time of cultivation. The festival is also known by several other names which include *sohorai*, *badhna*, *gohail puja* to name a few. The most popular name for this festival is *Bandna*, a word which carries the meaning of this festival and will be discussed in detail in the subsequent part of this paper. This festival is deeply associated with agriculture like all the other festivals of the region. Animals like cow and buffalo used during farming are at the central position of the festival. These animals' power is mostly used during the agriculture, but the usage is not confined to agriculture alone. When there was no vehicle, carts were drawn by bullocks and other animals. Bullock carts and other such animal-drawn vehicles were used for general transportation as well. Animal power is still used in agriculture. The appropriation of animal power in other sectors of life has considerably decreased due to the availability of modern machines and vehicles. These domestic animals are always given special treatment and

considered as part of the family in the area. Some families prepare special food for the animals. The kind of human-animal relationship that exists in the Chhotanagpur region can be observed and perceived well in the *Bandna* celebration. This is a fascinating festival where men share everything with the animals. Men play with animals, bathe together and worship them as their gods. This cattle festival shows the man-animal relationship and illustrates the moment when men first used animals in their agricultural work and tells us about the tricks taming wild animals. How did the wild animals become domesticated? How did men produce their livelihood at the beginning of human civilisation? How did men start reducing their challenging tasks using their brains? All these are demonstrated during the festival.

The animals used in agriculture are worshipped during the *Bandna* celebration. The animals are fastened with a strong thick rope to a wooden pole which is implanted into the ground. This fastening of animal is the most exciting and vital part of the festival. The act of fastening has a prehistoric significance to the human civilisation; this clasp is locally known as *gorukhunta* (when fastening a bull) or *karakhunta* (when fastening a buffalo). The Sanskrit word *bandana* (worship) or *bandhan* which seems to be the origin of the name *Bandna* literally means 'to fasten'. This fastening is a significant part of the festival. Another substantial and pragmatic point of the festival is the renovation and repair of the mud houses which can directly be connected to the mythology behind the celebration of the *Bandna* festival. According to the local beliefs, in the ancient period when human civilisation was in its very formative stage, Lord Shiva used to provide food for a long time. When the number of humans multiplied, He advised human beings to produce their food through cultivation. In this period, people used to produce their food by their own effort but later they realised that the work of farming is too hard to do, so they requested Him for assistance. Then Lord Shiva provided some cattle on the condition that they would take care of the animals. In the beginning, the relationship between humans and animals was good, but with the passage of time, it degraded, and the animals were subjected to cruelty. When the animals couldn't endure the amount of pain inflicted by men they complained to Lord Shiva who then secretly decided to come to the earth on the new moon in the month of Kartik to see the condition of the animals. Narada gave this news to the humans, and then the intelligent men started clearing the courtyard, their houses, and the cowsheds. This is the time when people of the region repair and renovate their mud houses with several types of soils. Two-three layers of diverse kinds of soils are applied to the wall, and finally, walls are colored with natural colours directly extracted from natural elements. The courtyard and walls are painted with a kind of painting which is the peculiarity of this celebration. The appearance of the mud houses after repairing and renovation would be incomplete without the following images.

Figure 1: Renovation of the mud wall (Mandal, 2016, October 25).



Figure 2: Wall Painting of Bandna Festival (Patra, 2014, November 13).



Figure 3: Floor Painting of Bandna Festival (Mandal, 2015, December 7).



Figure 4: (Mandal, 2017, October 15). Wall Painting of Bandna Festival.



Before the day of *amabashya* (new moon), men start washing their animals and smearing oil and vermilion on their horns and foreheads providing enough grass and diwa (earthen lamp) in the dwelling place of the animals throughout the night. The day after the new moon, Lord Shiva saw that men were worshipping the animals with different offerings and sacrifice

and that the next day animals were playing with humans accompanied by various musical instruments with *ahira* songs. Therefore, the complaint against men couldn't be proved. The following year also, the same claim was made, and the same procedure was followed, and thus the *Bandna parab* continues to retain its tradition

Jawa-Karam Parab:

This part of the paper aims to find out the views and plausible meanings of an indigenous festival named *Jawa-Karam parab* in Purulia, Bengal. The festival is a kind of training of motherhood for unmarried girls who are the future mothers in the form of an indigenous celebration. These maidens are ingrained with motherly affection and conduct through *Jawa* and *Karam* festivals of Purulia. Songs are an integral part of the native celebration, and this *Jawa* festival is no exception. All these indigenous performing traditions are primarily mnemoculture, i.e., cultures of body and memory. Here the importance is given to the body to articulate generationally imparted knowledge. Now let us see what happens when *Jawa* and *Karam* festivals are celebrated in Purulia.

Jawa geet, performed by women, is an essential part of the festival. This festival takes place in the Bengali month of *bhadro* (*mid-August to mid-September*). Though *Jawa* is a ritual in Purulia, the celebration is an indigenous process to examine the germination power of seeds; seeds are examined before being sowed in the field. Unmarried girls celebrate this festival eleven days before another local festival named *Karam*. Girls plant different sorts of seeds in bamboo baskets; sand, soil, turmeric powder, oil, etc. are put in the bucket (local name for this bamboo basket is '*tupa*'). Those who plant these *Jawa/Jawa pata* have several social customs, practices, and rituals. There are six different types of *Jawa* having six different purposes viz. 1. *Sanchi Jawa*, 2. *Machhi Jawa*, 3. *Raja Jawa*, 4. *Bon Jawa* and 5. *Bagal Jawa*. 6. *Goram Jawa*

Bon (forest) *Jawa* should be left in the woods only. *Goram Jawa* should be kept near the village deity named *goram than*. *Bagal Jawa* should be kept in the area where cows and bulls rest after grazing named *bathan* or *gotthoir*. *Raja Jawa* is meant for would-be husband of the maidens, and *Sanchi Jawa* is for the *God Karam/Dharma devata*. I have tried to find out the prohibitions and meanings of such practice in this part of the paper. There are some prohibitions for girls participating in the festival, and the *Jawa* is produced out of 11 different seeds. On the 11th day of the lunar cycle (*ekadasi, shukla paksha*), they worship the *Karam God*.

1. From the very beginning day of *Jawa*, they should not sleep on cot/ bedstead. If they do so, their *Jawa* or saplings will grow in a bending position.
2. Girls should not take a bathe bending heads backwardly or else their *Jawa* could collapse to a landslip.
3. They should not eat any burnt things because sunshine might tingle their *Jawa*.
4. They should not eat leaves because their *Jawa* might get grassier.
5. If a *Jawa* participant requires salt while having a meal, she should not take the salt on her own hand; someone in the family puts the salt in her food. She should not touch the salt directly. The *Jawa* participants believe that if they touch salt, then their *Jawa* might get melt.
6. They do not eat sweet things as they attract ants. They think so because it increases glucose in the body and at the time of death, the body will be surrounded by lots of

- ants in case of the late funeral process.
7. They do not defecate in a wet place because in that case, a kind of worm (*gobor poka*/ cow dung worm) in the soil might fortify soil on that area.
 8. Urination in a standing position is prohibited to them as it creates a hole in the earth. If they do so, then *Jawa* might get affected and fall.
 9. Eating curd is also prohibited because they think that it produces fungus in their *Jawa*.
- Following are some of the images where unmarried girls are celebrating the *Jawa* festival

Figure 5: Children learning Jawa songs (Mandal, 2015, September 25).



Figure 6: Unmarried girls singing and dancing encircling the Jawa Idol (Mandal, 2016, September 19)

Figure 7: Unmarried girls learning Jawa songs from aged women (Mandal, 2014, September 5).





It is implicated that the girls should know all these rules like the back of their hands. This is a kind of self-training of the girls who are yet to marry. All these restrictions apply to a mother to keep her baby healthy. This is not just a practice, and a mere ritual, but a way of transferring knowledge generationally.

Karam:

Jawa parab is followed by *Karam puja* (worship). In the time of *Karam puja*, girls make a baby boy of cucumber, but they never make a baby girl. If a girl's marriage is fixed, then all the material of *Karam puja* will come from the in-law's house since this is going to be the last *Karam puja* for her. Every festival has different genealogies and rituals. Most of the celebrations are associated with agriculture. This *Jawa-Karam* ritual is incorporated into one of the *Chhou palas* (episode). *Chhou* dance is essentially a dance drama where stories are usually choreographed from the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and *Puranas*. The theme of this dance is not limited to these epics and *Puranas* only but have incorporated socio-political, historical and contemporary events and issues as well. A contemporary *Chhou* episode named *Kurmi Somaje Bhaigna Purohit* (Sister's son is the priest in Kudmi community) has incorporated this *Jawa-Karam* ritual in the *Chhou* dance performance as part of the various performing traditions of this community. These rituals are not peculiar and performed by a singular community only but performed and observed by almost all communities inhabiting the *Chhotanagpur* region. Heterogeneous communities come together and generate such cultural forms. D. Venkat Rao (2014) in his book *Cultures of Memory in South Asia* has rightly pointed out the significance of performing traditions and the very basic nature of mnemocultural circulation

and proliferation as:

When mnemocultural speech and gestural acts name and demarcate elements and entities, the very modes of utterance and the diverse forms of address that disperse from these cultures of memory require attention. Their archivability and representability cannot be reduced; but the fact that the mnemocultural traditions made such possibilities of reproducibility entirely contingent upon the acts/articulations of the body marks the singular difference of mnemocultures. The centrality of the body here must not be measured in terms of the content of these compositions of image, music, text – but in the very performativity of the body symbol in each instance. Mnemocultures circulate and proliferate through performative reiterations and not by way of archival accumulations and representations. (p. 56)

Mnemoculture which connotes “cultures of memory” manifests through such paintings, rituals, song cultures and performances. Ritual and performance in the context of Indian cultural heritage, in general, cannot be rigidly separated from one another. In case of the above-mentioned festivals, the rituals take the form of performances which are ‘performer-oriented’ in nature, that is to say, the audience is secondary, unlike the ‘other-oriented’ performances. Thus, we can see that the mnemocultural impulse cannot be replaced and obliterated entirely and they continue to exist despite the digital dominance in today’s world. The primordial communication system, i.e. speech and gesture in the form of image, text, music, and performance are still considerably prevalent to communicate with the memories imparted generation after generation. Ritualistic performance is one such instance where memory gets articulated through bodily engagement. Consequently, it can be said that performing traditions are equally crucial to the inscriptional culture. Cultural traditions of Purulia can prove that writing is not superior; rituals and performative traditions are similarly important. Performing traditions of Purulia are one of the examples of guardians of a culture’s memory.

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Revisiting Gender Historiography in the Specific Context of Shudraka's *Mrcchakatika*

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Abstract: The historical texts hold that Gupta period is the 'Golden Age' of Hindu society. Most criticisms of the period are based on the social-economic and material conditions of the society of that era. However, to analyse every aspect of social life, it is important to undertake a deep analysis of the society of that particular age. There are very few writings available which analyses the condition of women of that era. But the available evidence reveals that the status of women during Gupta period is a big source of critique for the 'Golden Age' hypothesis. This paper will bring the subjectivity of women as a historical character by tracing her position in society from the well-known play of the period, '*Mrcchakatika*'.

Keywords: *Mrcchakatika*, Gender, Historiography.

Introduction

To understand the nature of women in the Gupta period, it is necessary to grapple with the texts (historical and literary) of that period. It should be noted that in different time periods, status of women varies. This variance can be attributed to the social and cultural practices. Historical writings, of course, have created space for women but only within clearly defined parameters. This paper is an attempt to study the role of gender in one of the most significant plays of the Gupta period, namely *Mrcchakatika*. Even though the text is a work of fiction, it can add to our understanding of the status of women in that era, albeit, in a limited manner.

Before delving into the text, it is necessary to talk about the text's author and the text itself. Here, it is also necessary to have a look on the contemporary writers and similarities and dissimilarities in their writings. Theatre had a unique place in the cultural history of classical India. In one manner, it straddled several language barriers in northern India with an ease which seems to deny that there were barriers, and yet became the loftiest expression of a typical Sanskrit literature. Theatre attracted educated population and it was the image of civilization itself. India had a unique and sophisticated tradition of theatre much before the West had conceived a coherent idea of literary aesthetics. The *Natyashastra* was the oldest and the most elaborate treatise on theatre, attributed to Sage Bharata composed somewhere

around 2500 years ago. This treatise touched on every aspect of theatre production. Its antiquity dates to the Indian time of Treta Yug when Indra himself, accompanied by the deties, went to Brahma with a request to provide men and women of that era with a *Kridanaka* (plaything) which would bring back the straying masses to the path of righteousness. Natyashastra, also known as Natyaveda, was the Pancham veda (fifth veda) that was composed of the union of all the four extant vedas. The treatise had a huge influence on the theatre of that period and the subsequent eras. Playwrights chiefly depended upon the stories of the Indian epics for their subject matter and the techniques in the Natyashastra. By 4th century, the genre of the plays had developed completely into a distinctive form and it flourishes for the next millennium (Buitenen, 1968).

***Mrcchakatika*: An Insight**

Shudraka inaugurates a new period in the political and social history of India. When *Shudraka* was writing, *Kushana* empire was on the verge of decline. Satavahana empire had collapsed completely. Lots of new empires came into being in place of these. These activities were a clear indication of the break from the past in terms of feudal revolution. In the next couple of years, new changes produced a society whose outlook was very different from the earlier one. Changes in the social ideas of the society were reflected in the literature, traditions of India were reinterpreted and then reaffirmed, although, there was an extensive rewriting of *Puranas* and new production of theistic scriptures (Warder, 1990). Now the Indian literature was expressing many different views, various in outlook and not subjected to any oppressive orthodoxy (p. 2). In the new political situation where central power became weak, writers always had a choice of patrons and could never be subjected to any single all engulfing censorship and direction.

Debate arose about *Shudraka*'s identity; who was he and where he came from, his caste, class, and dynasty came to be inquired about (p. 4). In *Skandapurana*, he is identified as *Andhrabhrtya* i.e. vassal of the *Andhras*. *Skandapurana* dates his period in the kali period of 3290. On the other hand, *Bana* and *Kadambri* regarded him king of *Vidisa*. According to the *Jaina* traditions, *Satavahana* gave him half of his empire. According to *Dandi*, his name was *Indranigupta* and he belonged to *Asmaka* class. Same story relates with *Jinaprabha* story (p. 5). Some scholars regarded him as one of a great royal authors of *kavya*. *Rajasekhara* in *Kavyamimamsa* notes that *Shudraka* was a famous patron who presided over a literary circle.

In the contemporary period, examples are found of similar works as that of *Mrcchakatika* which gives an impression that the name *Shudraka* has to serve as a convenient designation for the author of a set of plays, marked by an individual and brilliant style, for example, *Vina Vasavadatta*. It was popular with dramatic critique and eight acts were intact.

Shudraka and *Bhasa* were contemporary writers and *Shudraka* took up *Bhasa*'s character *Charudatta* and extended it in his play. He produced the fiction in ten plays (p. 21). *Shudraka*'s acts are longer and contains more incidents than that of *Bhasa*'s plays and presents more characters than *Bhasa* in corresponding plays. In this new phase of drama, aesthetic theory of the *Natyasastra* is more consciously and literally applied (p. 21). *Clay cart* is unique in actions, and the aesthetic experiences are sensitive, comic, compassionate, furious and the heroic.

Play has the great variety of the *prakriti* dialects in Mahrastri, Avantika, Pracya, Magadhi, Sakari, Candali, and Dhakki.

First four acts of the play correspond exactly to Bhasa's play. Charudatta and Vasantasena are dominant and Vasantasena plans to visit Charudatta's place but in the meanwhile, gambler Samvahaka, who lost in gambling is followed by another gambler, who won the gamble. Samvahaka reaches Vasantasena's house and is rescued by her because he lied that he is the servant of Charudatta and she thinks of fetching some information from him concerning Charudatta.

In the Fourth Act, Palaka imprisons the cowherd Aryaka, who is supposed to become the next king. Sajjalaka was Aryaka's friend and determined to start an insurrection to liberate him. Maitreya went to return Vasantasena's necklace and is bedazzled after seeing the golden and jewelled stairs and found her abode attractive. He crosses eight courtyards and described each of them in an impressive way. In the act five, Shudraka defines the necklace received by Vasantasena and in the same manner, Bhoja also defines the act and named it *prapanca* 'ironically flattery' as a limb of the street play. Before receiving the necklace, Vasantasena acquired a respectable place in Maitreya's perception but as she accepted the necklace, her impression turns as that of a prostitute, who does not have any place in the society and she is not considered respectable. Maitreya here says that, I am a learned Brahman and how someone can talk to me in a manner inappropriate to him. According to him, they did not treat him with respect. In the fourth and fifth act, the power and knowledge hegemony has been broken by Vasantasena.

The Fourth Act begins with the scene which gives Shudraka's play its name. Charudatta's son, Rahul, was playing with clay cart but as his friends had golden carts, he was unwilling to play with the clay cart. Vasantasena came and gave him her ornaments and decorated the cart. Then, she proceeds in a bullock carrier to meet Charudatta in the old Puspakarandaka park; she thought the carrier was Charudatta's but actually, by mistake, has been shuffled with Sakara's bullock carrier. Meanwhile, by Sarvilaka's help, Aryaka escapes from the prison and hurries past. In the Seventh Act, Charudatta meets his carriage at the park and found Aryaka in it and is shocked. He helped him in his escape.

In the Eight Act, Sakara is shocked to find Vasantasena in his cart and mistook her with a ghost, but his parasite came to know that she is real Vasantasena who thought that she came here to meet Sakara, which made him enquire about the situation. Whether or not she came here to meet Sakara, if it is so, then why is he not understanding her feeling? Later, he came to know that she came here by mistake. After knowing this fact, Sakara got angry and tried to kill Vasantasena (pp. 26-27). He induced his servant and slave Sthavaraka to commit the murder. Sagarandin notes it as the limb 'enticement' *pralobha* of the *silpaka*. After some time, when everyone left, Sakara beats and strangles Vasantasena and leaves her dead. Sakara now mediates his plan to accuse Charudatta of the murder. However, Vasantasena was not dead, and monk Samvahaka upon finding her unconscious body, revives her and takes her to be looked after by a nun.

In Act IX, Charudatta got accused by Sakara for Vasantasena's murder to acquire her jewellery and was later brought to trial. Everyone came to know that Vasantasena spent last night with Charudatta and in the morning also she went to meet with him in the park. On the

same day, police found a corpse of a woman and confused her with Vasantasena. The judge knows Charudatta's character and hesitates, but Sakara accuses him of being partial. Maitreya comes to the court room and accuses Sakara but Vasantasena's ornaments, which she gave to Charudatta's son, Rahul, falls down, that were given to Maitreya to return to her. Thus, Sakara now got an excuse to strongly blame him. Possession of the ornaments finally is regarded as conclusive evidence against Charudatta and he is sentenced to death.

In the Final Act, Charudatta is led through the streets of Ujjayini by two executioners. He felt embarrassed as the executioners publicly announced his name maligning his ancestral pride and prestige. Maitreya comes to him with his son, Rahul; Charudatta says that he is going to die and that he does not have anything to give to his own son. Nonetheless, he gives him his *Janau* (sacred thread). In the meanwhile, Sthavaraka hears proclamation in the imprisonment and heroically throws himself out from a window and cries that Charudatta is innocent and that he is not being heard. Simultaneously on the other hand, the Buddhist monk who rescued Vasantasena, was escorting her to Charudatta's house, on reaching there, they came to know the whole story. They rushed through the crowd to save Charudatta. They reached there just in time and after seeing Vasantasena alive, Charudatta's executioners released him.

In a parallel scene in the story, Palaka is dead and Aryaka has been consecrated as the king. Aryaka rewarded all those who helped him reach this place with posts and grants. At the end, Charudatta accepts Vasantasena as his wife.

A Critical Analysis of *Mrcchakatika*

We can find new insights into the play by studying how dialogue delivery is making identity and how it is creating the gender image. In Charudatta's role, how his character is divided and how gender relation made him work in relation to the circumstances. If there was resistance, then, what type of resistance and against whom? What type of monogamous patriarchy is there? From where is the subjectivity of character coming? Is it coming from power relations in those he is situated or is it coming from social value? I will try to analyse these points.

In the first act when Sutradharah came home after the music practice he was very hungry so he asked the Nati whether there anything to eat or not? *Nati* then replies that there is sugared rice, ghee, curd, boiled rice and his favourite remedy – everything's here. Sutradharah on it replies that you must be joking. *Nati* in a resistant voice replies, "alright then, I'll joke (aloud), No, it's in the shop, my dear". After this incident Sutradharah replies to her in an angry and patriarchal manner, *Nati* is frightened and comes under his patronage taking back her resistant voice.

When *Nati* told the actual story of fasting then Sutradharah said: *pekkhantu pekkhantu, ajja missa mamakerakena bhatta parivvaena paraloio bhattaannesadi* (look, gentlemen), look! A good husband in the next world is being sought at the cost of my food. In the above-mentioned lines, dialogue delivery is making the gender image. Here, Sutradharah is exercising power and power is coming from the society because society taught him that being born as a man you are superior and that a man has domination over sources. Man has the legal authority to

exercise the power because of patriarchy. Nati throws herself to *Sutradharah's* feet and says that I am fasting because I want you as my husband in the next birth as well.

In the play *Charudatta* is not only the lover of *Vasantasena* but he is divided into characters, such as in the first act when Maitreya came back and asked him that why are you worried then he said:

*Sukham hi duhkhamy anubhuya sobhate
ghan'andhakareshv iva dipa darsanam
sukhat tu yo yati naro daridratam
dhrtah sarirena mrtah sa jivati*

In this above-mentioned passage *Charudatta* said that poverty is like hardship after a comfortable life and it gives trouble. So here his character is also of a poor person. All earlier meta-narratives describe him as the lover of *Vasantasena* but he is also a trader, who became poor which is prolonged. Another very remarkable incident happened when conversation was taking place between *Charudatta* and *Maitreya* about offerings to the Goddesses. *Maitreya* said:

*bho na gamissam anno ko vi paujjiadu.
mama una bhamhanassa savvam jjeva vipardidam paarinamadi
adamsa gad via chaa vamado dakkhina dakkhinado vama.
Annam aedae padosa velae idhi raa magge gania vida ceda raa vallaha a purisa samcaranti.
ta mandua luddhassa kala sapassa musio via ahimuh avadido vajjho denim bhavissam
tumam idhi uvavittho kim karissasi?*

Here, dialogues show the time of the scenario in which *Maitreya* pointed out that he cannot go out in the mid-night because prostitutes, libertines, slaves and favorites of the king are roaming on the highway. In subsequent part of the story, he goes with *Radanika* and it breaks the hierarchy of man's power imagination, which in the later period was glorified. Man was not brave as represented in the later manipulations. Story is closed and gives impression of city life in which not more than five characters arose. The main importance in the story has been given either to *Vasantasena's* house or *Charudatta's* house.

Subjectivities of the characters are constituted by several identities. *Charudatta's* character is the most complex one as he is a husband, father, respectable citizen; but here overall image of *Charudatta*- the identity of lover seems to over-weigh all the other strands while on the other hand *Sravalik's* (*Madanika's* lover) occupation as a thief is dominant over his being a lover. *Maitreya's* Brahmanical values and his friendship with *Charudatta* comes in conflict with each other when he returns back the necklace to *Vasantasena*, and she accepts it; he comes back and complains that she did not even offer him water. After sometime he manipulates the story in different way because he doesn't want to see any relation between *Vasantasena* and *Charudatta*. There is a scene in which *Vasantasena* meets *Charudatta* and he is accompanied by *Maitreya*. At this moment he refuses to go away after knowing that *Vasantasena* came here to meet *Charudatta*, but after a while, *Vasantasena's* maid takes him away with her.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to discuss how gender historiography got manipulated in its course. I have also tried to provide an alternative philosophy that how we should look at the status of women. If we compare the contexts, it is clear that the forms of urban structure were quite similar but amidst similarities, acceptance of prostitution seems to be surprising from today's position; It is hard to conceive how a prostitute was capable of influencing the state. The text presents a cross-section of society with its value system, emanating from and reinvigorating the power social relations in the society which are simultaneously power relations. How resistance is being posed (as seen in the case of *Nati*, *Madanika* and *Dhuta*) and how it is reconstituted in the societal power. It is a text full of analytical possibilities which are to be explored with suitable tools.

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Dimensions of Federalism in Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis of India and Ethiopia (1991-2017)

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Abstract: Federalism in literal sense means the division of power between the central government and the constituent states. The changing patterns of global political phenomenon have also changed the concept of political system and therefore in this regard the concept of federalism has also been changed from time to time. The newly independent countries like India and Ethiopia established federal system to maintain their diversity and cultural identity which can be distinguished with the traditional federal system. The understanding of federal system is not universal as different countries have different patterns of Federalism. Hence, developing countries like India and Ethiopia defined federal system in different ways. For instance, Ethiopian federalism acknowledges ethnic federalism, while India is quasi-federal and has co-operative federalism, but they follow basic features of the federalism. This paper seeks to understand the concept of federalism and its dimensions in the developing countries like India and Ethiopia with a comparative analysis.

Keywords: Federalism, Ethnic Federalism, Quasi-federalism, Co-operative Federalism.

Introduction

The modern federal system of governance, with its roots in United States of America, originated after the constitutional convention of 1787, popularly known as American Revolution. Beyond geographical fault lines, this line of structural governance tradition is followed by many countries, albeit in their own ways in different parts of the world, for instance, Australia, Canada, Switzerland, and India. Fundamentally, federalism is best understood as a method of promoting 'self-rule' and 'share-rule', establishing balance with the interests of a nation and the regional power equation (Mitra & Phel, 2013). This federal structure enables a country to bolster its ability in spheres of decision making and in other important areas, without being opposed by larger sections of society. This mechanism of governance divides powers between the central government and its regional constituent parts like provinces, states and cantons where the national minorities are regionally concentrated,

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under one umbrella of federal system. Usually, the distribution of power and authority for national and its regional units have similar sources, which is the Constitution of the country. The Constitution is the source of power and sovereignty of the states. Sometimes scholars find it difficult to determine the exact nature and concept of “federalism”¹, and that is why they depend on the practice of federalism. The classical example of federalism of the United States defines its own features of the federal system which is not applicable to other prevailing governance systems of the world. However, it is customary with scholars on the subject to start with a model of the United States, the oldest (1787) of all the federal constitutions in the world, which is also known as classical federalism.

Federalism: A Conceptual Framework

There is a clear distinction between ‘federation’ and ‘federalism’. A federation can be defined as a type of state, and federalism as a means to promote it (Burgess, 2006, p. 47). Federalism is instrumental in the distribution of powers and responsibilities, for providing an appropriate political stage, proper representation, and authority between the central and the regional governments. The concepts of federalism are varied in nature. Its extension in practice makes it more difficult to define. That is why it can be defined in various ways. The classical sense of federalism implies the grouping of many separate states in a single sovereign state. This type of federation is practiced by the governments of the USA, Canada, and Switzerland. After the Second World War, the political scenario of the World got changed to a large extent in which federalism evolved with lots of variations among the newly independent nations in European, Asian and African countries. In such countries, a new kind of federal structure was introduced. The African and the Asian countries like India, Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia, Nepal, Pakistan, Malaysia, West Indies and Myanmar have established a federal governance system in a different way.

The classical theory of federalism tries to explain features and symbols of a federal state. The noted exponents of the classical theory are Dicey, Harrison Moore, Jethrow Brown, Bryce, Robert Garran, and K.C. Wheare. The Australian scholar Robert Garran, who is an expert on federalism of Australia, defined federalism as a form of Government in which power and sovereignty is divided between the Central and local Governments, and each of them, being within its own sphere, is sovereign of the other. Similarly, Lord Bryce described the Federal and State Governments as separate and distinct in their own actions. Additionally, he states that “this system regulates like a factory where two sets of machinery are at work, their revolving wheels apparently intermixed, their bonds crossing one another, each doing their own work without any disturbing or harming to each other.” Wheare (1963) tried to test whether any constitution is federal or not (p. 33). The test was based on analysing whether in a federal system of government, the nation and regional authorities coordinate with each other or are independent of them? Wheare stresses that federal government embodies divided powers and works and coordinates with each other without any interference. Similarly, Birch has emphasised that in a federal system of government, there is a division of powers between general and several regional authorities, each in its own sphere, coordinates with each other and directly interacts with the people by its own administrative system. The classical theorists have articulated some main features of federalism like constitution should be written, it should

be rigid, it should have an independent judiciary, have dual government, and should have provision for allocation of adequate sources of revenue for the government at regional and central level. (Palekar, 2006, pp. 303-310).

Apart from the afore-mentioned classical definition, there is an emphasis on the independence of the states to represent the federal structure. The critics of the classical theory suggest independent words for both regional and general governments so that they may be isolated from each other. Instead, the concept of federalism means every component should be coercively accommodated with federal. Wheare explained that the modern federation has a sense of military insecurity and of the consequent need for the common defence system and also desired for the independent foreign power and realisation for the economic development from union.

After the Second World War, the classical federal concept has been replaced by the new federal concepts but the core definition of federalism remains with the new trends being added according to requirements. New explanations of the federalism by normative scholars like Burgess and Daniel Weinstock emphasised more on values, norms, identity representation and every aspect of the society through the federal system. Federalism entered a new phase called "cooperative federalism"; another new aspect of federalism also introduced in this phase is called "Ethnic federalism". These new concepts have defined federalism by territorial (geographical base), ethnic and economic base. According to Parekar, there is an increase in popularity of federalism in recent years as a model of political system of governance. However, new challenges posed by changing circumstances like economic crisis and global wars, globalisation and international terrorism and has resulted in the addition of new features in federalism, for instance functional federalism which provides a strong justification for a re-examination of the different approaches to the definition of federalism (Palekar, 2006, pp. 303-310). The post war period after decolonisation, the newly independent countries had to face different circumstances to deal with their political structure, and that is why they adopted a new type of federalism which was suitable for their situations. Even developed nations have adopted new trends of federalism for improving their socio-economic and political system which is called "cooperative federalism".

The merit of political theory is that it has been able to explain federalism in different times and different situations. The theory explains the origin of older federations like the United Nations, Australia, Switzerland, and Canada as well as new federations like (since 1947) India, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, and Ethiopia. Although there maybe differences among scholars over the definitions of the federalism but there is consensus over some essential features of federalism: dual government, the supremacy of the constitution, distribution of powers and authority of courts (Basu, 1976, pp. 46).

The theories explained one or other aspects of federalism, but not all aspects. Every federal system has its own features, but the core idea is the same. Most of the explanations of federalism focused on legislature, administrative and financial relations between the centre and the states. This study will research on how federalism has been changed in different times in the Ethiopian and Indian political systems.

Background and Evolution of India's and Ethiopia's Federalism

The non-western countries like India and Ethiopia reflect completely different phenomenon of federal system of governance, according to their respective social, political and cultural requirements and their own legacy of historical traditions along with geographical conditions. All federal systems maintain basic relation between the centre and its regional organs which results in smooth functioning and unity of a nation. However, the method of practicing and distribution of powers are different. For instance, the structure of Ethiopian and Indian federalism is different from that of American federalism because of their respective social, political, historical, and geographical preconditions. Each federal system is unique in the sense that the relationship between federation (national) and state (region) is not only determined by the constitutional rules and provisions, but also by the complex political, historical, geographical, cultural, and social circumstances. Although, there are different approaches for practising federal structure, but there are some common features and practices, viz. the supremacy of the government, independent judiciary, distribution of powers, and diarchal governments.

The Ethiopian federalism is known for its special character identified as "Ethnic federalism"² wherein centre and states are divided on the fault line of ethnicity for managing and balancing the interest of all ethnic groups. Yet, they all are united as one nation. It is also called multi-ethnic federalism; this type of federalism was introduced by Ethiopia during the period of Males Zenawi in 1990s, which is also known as "Zenawism"³. In other parts of the world, some constitutions embodied ethnic federation as well, for example, Nigeria, South Sudan, Pakistan, Nepal, and former Yugoslavia. Such other aspects of ethnic federal system are also considered in a nation where the ethnic group is concentrated on basis of geographical division which are called "ethno-territorial federation" (a compromise model) that has largest ethnic groups divided among more than one sub-units; for example, Canada, India, and Spain. The non-western countries followed completely different trajectory of federal growth from the classical model of U.S. Federalism. For instance, Indian and Ethiopian federalism can be traced on the same timeline, but both have adopted peculiar features of federalism according to their needs. This uniqueness facilitates them to survive in a complex environment. The plan of Ethiopian federalism came in 1991, the country which had an ethnically divided society and had just emerged from authoritarian rule and brutality of civil wars. On the other side, India had thoroughly centralized rule till the Government of India Act, 1935, introduced the "diarchy-federal system" for the first time. The Indian Constitution adopted a federal system on 26 January 1950, and also experienced that the relationship between the state and centre was not cordial during the colonial time. Constitution makers suggested that the diversity should remain under the system of federal structure. It is found that both Federal Republic of Ethiopia and Republic of India have a huge diversity of people on the basis of language, ethnicity, religion, culture, and history. Keeping these facts in consideration, the constitutional makers of Ethiopia and India had decided to opt for unique federal structure of governance. Some sceptics opined that the ethnically divided country would not be able to sustain their federal structure for a long time. Tension remained among the ethnic groups. But Ethiopia has experienced federalism for twenty years without any ethnic violence or brutal attack on

its fundamental governing structure. And on the other hand, India has also experienced 70-years of federalism without any deviation from federal system.

However, India holds a longer experience of federalism despite being the largest democracy in the world, while Ethiopia has shorter living experience of federalism, despite being one of the ancient civilisations of the world. Both countries have faced a big political turmoil and transition post 1990s, Ethiopia has officially introduced 'ethnic federalism' whereas India had also introduced the 'co-operative federalism'⁴. Hence, the timeline and trajectory of political transition is quite similar, but the acting factors behind these changes are completely different. For instance, Ethiopia provided a living example of "ethnic federalism" to manage "ethnic conflicts" and India provided living example of "Co-operative federalism" to resolve centre and states' conflicts. Hence, the objective was same but the methods to resolve conflicts were not. This paper seeks to explore the differences between Indian and Ethiopian federalism. They have many similarities such as parliamentary system, parliamentary democracy, independent judiciary system, fundamental rights, cooperation and coordination between state and centre and others. There are also some dissimilarities between them as well. For consideration, one should pick unitary tendencies of Indian federation, Judicial Review and the President's veto power etc. Although, the purpose of federalism in Ethiopia and India is same i.e. to manage diversity and increase inclusiveness, their methods of practicing it are different.

Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Realising Inclusiveness and Managing Diversity

The first time Ethiopia introduced "ethnic federalism", it was based on ethnicity. This is a new concept of federalism, not just for Ethiopia but for whole Africa. Ethiopia is multi-ethnic, multilingual, and a diverse country. When Ethiopian People's Revolution Democratic Front (EPRDF) took over power after overthrowing the military rule, it introduced the "self-determination for nationalities" which included secession and transfer of political, administrative, and economic power. The Ethiopian federalism ethnically defined regional states. That is why some scholars use the term "tribal federalism" for Ethiopia. According to Fessha (2017, p. 243) the new development not only marks a new political milestone in the postcolonial Africa, but also represents a major breach from the age of the centralisation that the Ethiopian State knew for most part of the its history.

The concept of the ethnic federalism is also considered in a nation where the ethnic group is concentrated on geographical localities which are called "ethno-territorial federations" (a compromise model). These are largest ethnic groups divided among some subunits. The same can be found in Canada, India, and Spain. The ethnic federalism is actually used as an instrument for uniting the diversity, and it helps reduce the ethnic tensions. It provides a larger representation and identity to those ethnic groups which have been suffering from suppression for a long time. According to Keller (2002), there are various types of federalism, but the basic line is that fundamentally all include self-rule and shared-rule. For Gurr and Harff (1994), ethnic federalism is a method to reduce ethnic group's differences and prevents secession of regions. It gives self-rule to ethnic groups and thus brings ethnic harmony. On the other hand, Wondwosen (2008) argues that, the "ethnic federalism emphasizes ethnic conflicts, increases secession, suppresses individual citizen's rights and eventually leads to

the disintegration of countries". According to Stephen, federalism can be achieved through two ways:

"Coming-together federations" and "holding-together federations". The first one, "coming together federation" appears when sovereign states decide to form a federation voluntarily due to various reasons such as security purposes, governmental efficiency and so on. The second one, "holding together," mostly emerges after consensual parliamentary decisions to maintain a unitary state by establishing a multi-ethnic federal system largely to avoid or settle ethnic, regional and other type of group conflict (Stephen, 2001, pp. 320-323).

In May 1991, the EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party) established a federal constitution in Ethiopia, based on ethnic line. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia adopted a new constitution in 1995. It introduced a federal system of governance and established the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Article 1 of the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution reads, "This constitution established a federal and democratic state structure". Federalism has not only maintained the unity and peace among the diverse ethnic groups, but also enhanced public participations in national affairs. Moreover, it prevented the dominance of the ruling party.

The federal government is responsible for national security, foreign relations, inter-state commerce, currency, immigration, communication, inter-state water resources and general policy of common interest and benefits. The State Council has the powers of legislation on subjects under the state jurisdiction. It has power to make draft, adopt, and amend the state Constitution. Ethiopia has nine member states established on the basis of settlement pattern, language, identity and consent of the people concerned.

Ethiopian federalism has a dual governance system, there is central government, and state governments; dual judicial system, state judicial system and the Supreme Court. There is a written constitution which is important feature of federalism. Moreover, Ethiopians federation has organs of judiciary, executive, and legislative equally distributed between the federation and state. Ethiopian federation has many peculiar features as well, for instance the Article 39 Ethiopian Constitutions states, "every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has right to "Self - determination", including the right to secession".

Although there is a provision for right to secession, it requires approval by two third majorities of the members of the state parliament. Secondly, the federal government should arrange a referendum within three years after receiving the demand for secession. Third, demand for secession should be supported by majority vote in the referendum. According to Article 47 of the Ethiopian constitution, "member States of the federal democratic republic states of Ethiopia shall have equal powers and rights". Article 3(03) states, that each member state of the federation may have their own flag and shall be responsible by their respective parliaments. Ethiopian federalism has supremacy of constitution and equality of the states. It also provides human right and democratic rights, has separation of the state and religion.

Co-operative Federalism in India: Strengthening Federalism and Inclusiveness

The process of Indian federation started since Government of India Act, 1935. Under the rule of British Government, the regions were divided as provinces. The Indian Constitution has continued the federal system with some certain changed to fulfil the requirements of the

situations. Rao and Singh (2004) argue that India has federal system with a strong centrality to hold together the diverse economic, linguistic and cultural entities. Centrality was also found when the British ruled directly over to 216 princely states and territories. Hence, Article 1 of the Indian Constitution states that, "India that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States". Even though the word "Union" does not connote the sense of a federation, India holds an essentially federal structure. The Indian federalism faces scepticism because it has a multi-ethnic society, structural asymmetry of constituent units, mass illiteracy and poverty, regional differences and many such issues (Mitra & Phel, 2013). Burgess (2006) is of the view that the accommodative or secessionist capacity of asymmetrical federal arrangement is actually based on the specific cultural and historical contexts of India.

The constitutional system of India is basically federal with some unitary features. According to Mitra and Phel (2013), Indian constitutions clearly guaranteed sharing of power between the Central and State governments, effectively established an independent Supreme Court, Supremacy of the Constitution, separate, direct election to the central and states legislature by an independent Election Commission. However, Indian Constitution has also embraced a large number of unitary features, like a strong power of Central Government, a single Constitution, single citizenship, flexibility of the Constitution, integrated judiciary, and appointment of the State Governor by the Centre, all-India services, and emergency provision. Since India has cooperative federalism some scholars called Quasi-federalism, it means federal in form with unitary spirit. Wheare (1963), defines Indian governance as, "a system of Government which is quasi-federal, a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal State with subsidiary unitary features" (p. 63). According to Durga Das Basu "the Indian constitution is neither purely federal nor purely unitary but is a combination of both" (Basu, 1976, p. 46). In India, federalism is quite similar with Canadian model of federalism, not the USA federalism which is often referred to as an "indestructible union of indestructible States". In the case of India, the Union is indestructible, and the states are not.

Since 1990s, Indian governance system took recourse to "co-operative" federalism in the wake of information boom and globalisation. It adopted such a measure to resolve conflicts. Nayar says that, "Co-operative federalism or marble cake federalism emphasises the value of co-operation". The U.S. federalism also adopted co-operative federalism since the early stages when U.S. constitution gave residual power to states. The conflicts in India are not ethnic, like Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Canada, but political in nature (Nayar, 1992, pp. 1-13). India had also been facing major conflicts between Union and States as well as demands for the more representation of local and states in the political system.

Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia and Co-operative Federalism in India

The context of establishment of the Indian federations is different from of the Ethiopian federation. India had experienced colonial divide and rule. Ethiopia never experienced colonial rule, but did undergo military-based on authoritarian centralised rules in the past. Learning from the past experiences, the Ethiopian people decided to change their political system, and increase more representation from every ethnic group. They established the Federal Republic of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) overthrew the military rule, and established federalism on the base of ethnic lines. According to Malakar,

the Ethiopia was the first African country to give recognition to the ethnic groups as the sole factor of political formations. People are grouped and addressed on the basis of their ethnic identities, the administration is also based on ethnicity; “multi-party” politics is the based-on ethnicity; and parliament is made of ethnic parties etc (Malakar, 2006, pp. 53-58).

The case of Indian federation is very different. The Indian Constitution does not regard ethnicity as a factor in the formation of the political system. However, the Constitution gives equal right to each and every section of the country. To enhance public participation, and strengthening the inclusiveness, the Indian governance adopted “Co-operative” federalism. According to Rao and Darasa (2015, pp. 15295-15298), there are some key similarities between Federal Republic of Ethiopia and India. The similarities are: first, both have written constitution and supreme constitutions; secondly, both federations have followed the Montesquieu theory of “separation of power” – there are three basic divisions: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary with the clear separation of the power. Thirdly, both constitutions have provided fundamental rights of its people. Fourthly, Ethiopia and India have Parliamentary form of the government, the procedure of forming the cabinet and electing the Prime minister is same in both countries. Fifthly, the mechanism of checks and balance has been maintained in both countries.

The following are a few dissimilarities between the two. The Ethiopian constitution is younger and shorter than the Indian; the EPRDF constitution was established by 1995, whereas the Indian Constitution was established on 26th January 1950. Originally, the India Constitution had 395 articles in 22 parts with 8 schedules. At present, it has 448 articles in 22 parts with 12 schedules. In comparison, the Constitution of Ethiopia is very short. It has only 106 articles. The Indian federation has total 29 states and 8 Union territories whereas the Ethiopian federation has founded only 9 states. The Ethiopian Constitution guaranteed right to self-determination up to secession, which is not the case with India. EPRDF has consisted 9 states and each has their own constitution, no Indian states have their own constitutions, even though they have own laws with include concurrent list given by constitution. The Indian federation has judicial review by the courts; courts do not give power of judicial review in Ethiopian. According to Fessha (2017, pp. 232-245), the most distinguishing feature of Ethiopian federalism is its organisation on the basis of ethnicities which is not the case in India. The process of amendment of the Constitution of India is easier comparable to Ethiopia. Another key dissimilarity is that the Ethiopian Constitution’s character is more federal than India’s.

Conclusion

In 21st century, federalism has become more relevant subject because this is an era of assertion of by different ethnic groups in the public participation which is mainly fulfilled by this mechanism. Both India and Federal Republic of Ethiopia are governed by the federal structure. Although both have some similarities and dissimilarities, but the purpose of the adopting ethnic federalism by Ethiopia and co-operative federalism by India is quite similar that is to manage diversity and bringing inclusiveness. Despite the failure of implementation of a federal structure in many countries in Asia and Africa, India and Ethiopia have maintained their ethnic diversity through the mechanism of the federalism but in different ways. Indian federalism as well as an Ethiopian federalism has their own advantage being a better model

for developing countries by holding together and giving new idea of ethnic federalism for multi-diverse ethnic countries respectively.

Notes

- 1 Ethnic federalism is a federal System of national government in which the federated units are defined according to ethnicity.
- 2 Ethnic federalism introduced by Males Zenawi in the early 1990s in the Ethiopia, which sometimes known as Zenawism is Scholarly.
- 3 Cooperative federalism, is a concept of federalism in which federal, state, and local governments interact cooperatively and collectively to solve common problems, rather than making policies separately but more or less equally or clashing over a policy in a system dominated by the national government. It is also known as marble-cake federalism.

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Internship Practices in the Hospitality Sector in India: A Career Benefit or Precarious Experience

Pralay Ganguli

Abstract: An internship is a phase of work experience offered by an organisation for a stipulated period. In present academic system, a student earns academic credit through internship, considered as a major tool for increasing academic grade rather than just experiential learning. The stakeholders/hospitality industry professionals are directly involved to offer experiential learning for the students however, may alter/change or break the schedule/program which in turn the actual objectives of overall learning may get hampered subsequently could mislead the students to know the authentic practice and idea of selection related to their trade/department. The objective of this research is to find out the role of internship for career benefit of students and their attitude towards internship. This research also suggests the strategic interventions required for solving current problems and future needs on stakeholders' approach to develop internship practices as career-oriented experience. In this process the researcher reviewed various articles, discussed with research scholars and collected primary data from 148 respondents (Hospitality management students) from four leading colleges of India and analysed through statistical tools (t test, percentage method, multiple regression) to come to the conclusion. The study findings suggest that the cooperation and change in stakeholders (Hospitality establishments and professionals engaged) approach on internship program is necessary to make the students development more effective for their career advancement/ employability.

Keywords: Hospitality Program, Internship, Academic Credit, Experiential Learning

Introduction

For hospitality education, internship is one of the major components. Nowadays, internship in hospitality education is more structured and career oriented, may be paid or unpaid but strictly under proper supervision of subject/trade experts by authorised hospitality professionals from the leading hospitality establishments. Internship programme in hospitality education is beneficial for the students for their career advancement with skill-based experiential learning (Petrillose & Montgomery, 1998; Neuman, 1999; Ko, 2008). It provides a practical sense of working in any hospitality establishment with responsibility and commitment to complete a particular job as per the need of the stakeholders. In this process, interns are able to identify the issues/problems related to their job and learn how to handle

those through experience without depending only on the theory taught. Right designing of the internship program and proper training is one the important parameters for hospitality establishment. However, the interns are not much satisfied with their experience and consider it as a precarious journey within their management course due to unprofessional approach by many hospitality establishments resulting in drop out from this profession. Working environment, long working hours, poor interpersonal relationship, lack of supervision, poor remuneration, lack of motivational approach, lack of benefits etc. are the factors which contribute to students' decision to change the trade or industry upon graduation (Pavesic, and Brymer, 1990; Busby et al., 1997). Many studies have been conducted on the efficiency of internship programmes which have pointed out the trend of its deterioration over the years (Cannon & Arnold, 1998; Lee & Chao, 2013). The short-term training or outdoor catering is another area, which needs to be schedule as per the preference and proper understanding of interns in their course curriculum where selection and assignment should be based on proper trade knowledge, training and department/area specialisation. The regulatory body and the stakeholders involved in policy and planning should value the internship programme and its importance in hospitality and future employability rather a precarious experience for the interns.

Problem Statement

Internship program is one of the beneficial assignments for hospitality interns where interns could gather knowledge and experience from skill-based experiential learning under proper guidance. There is a gap between the knowledge acquired in an educational institution and proper execution of the same in an industry. Due to lack of supervision and unprofessional approach from related stakeholders, this much-needed experiential learning is viewed as a redundant perilous journey for the interns.

Background

In 1970s and 80s, many universities and colleges all over the world started offering internships in a variety of fields including hospitality for the experiential learning of the students and made this more attractive by including internship as course credits (Spradlin, 2009). Hospitality and tourism have been a key factor in employment generation. One in 15 jobs accounting for 6% of world output and 7% of capital investment is generated by these sectors and counting (UNWTO, 2014). The growth of Indian hospitality industry was experienced 8.8% between the years 2007-2016 and considered the second growing hospitality market in the world. The Union Ministry of Tourism, Government of India has projected that there is a prerequisite of about 2.03 lakhs of hospitality specialists in the industry but only approximately 22,000 hospitality graduates pass out annually from various colleges (Alok, 2014).

Recognising the importance of hospitality education in India, Ministry of Tourism, Government of India started Institutes of Hotel Management (IHMs) and Indian Institutes of Tourism & Travel Management (ITTMs). While IHMs could fulfil the work force demand in catering and hotel sectors, ITTMs fulfilled the same demands in the travel and tourism sector. Further, National Council for Hotel Management and Catering Technology (NCHMCT) established under an Act of Parliament, started its journey as autonomous body from 1982.

This council coordinates the growth and development of hospitality education in India, and drafts education module and systems for sponsored/affiliated organisations. There are total 21 Central Government affiliated Institutes, 25 State Government affiliated Institutes, 01 Public Sector Undertaking (PSU) affiliated institute, 25 affiliated private Institutes, 14 food craft Institutes and many private colleges and universities offering hospitality management education in India (nchm.nic.in). There are total 733 organisations offering hospitality education in India, among which, most are situated in Delhi NCR (96). As per Ministry of Tourism, Government of India (2017-18) there are 1,333 hotels in the star category (along with approved projects) and 57 classified heritage hotels operating in India. Other than hotels, there are various hospitality establishments like, airline industry, cruises, hospitals, restaurants, malls, catering services in Government and private sectors which need hospitality graduates. All these organisations also provide internship to students for their experiential learning.

Objectives

1. To study existing status of internship and its role on career benefits of interns.
2. To examine intern's attitude as per their profile towards internship.
3. To suggest the strategic interventions required for current problems and future needs on internship program.

Review of Literature

Various studies identified internship as one of the important skill-based experiential learning, having many advantages for the course of hospitality management along with providing career advancement for hospitality students (Brooks et al., 1995; Petrillose & Montgomery, 1998; Neuman, 1999; Tackett et al., 2001; Callanan & Benzing, 2004; Ko, 2008; Bukaliya, 2012). There are different research views on internship programmes in terms of the benefits from the perspectives of three main stakeholders; students, institutes and internship providing organisations (Cook et al., 2004; Lam & Ching, 2007). For some authors this internship is just a basic course requirement for students to complete their graduation, and an opportunity to gather knowledge and experience (Seymore & Matthew, 1997; Aggett & Busby, 2011). This internship is also a platform for networking and interacting with the students of other institutes and the same could be beneficial for future study and job search for the students (Beard, 1998). For students, internship is a supervised work experience where qualified supervisors guide the students during the training (Pauze et al., 1989). Parent institutes offering internship also benefited from industry by rapport building, which help in next engagement, industry support and final placement of students (English & Koeppen, 1993). Industry or employers also benefited from internship programmes as they get new ideas, inexpensive help and potential future-ready employees as they could check the performance and capabilities of interns (Cannon & Arnold, 1998; Cates-McIver, 1999; Neuman, 1999; Rothman, 2007). Universities and internship providing organisations benefited both through this internship arrangement by updating of requirements from both the sides, build industry academia relationship (Knouse et al., 1999; Collins, 2001). Internship is generally offered by hospitality institutes after completion of basic study related to field or department, and accordingly students could apply these learned theories in real work situations, which

would lead to a synchronisation in thinking and action (Davies, 1990). Due to the changing demands of the market, there is a need to update the programme as students feel that this skill-based training is beneficial than teaching, right supervision is helpful to learn things properly and proper internship help then to find right job (Cannon & Arnold, 1998; Abdullah et al., 2015). There are differences between stakeholders involved in this internship process due to different needs, expectations and outcomes of internship where these differences bring dissatisfaction amongst interns as the programme is instrumental for their career (Knouse et al., 1999). This internship is not always properly structured and planned as per the need for the interns that results in a bad internship experience and leads to drop out from the trade or change of the industry or trade (Waryszak, 1999; Jenkins, 2001).

Many researchers have identified problems with internships regarding negative attitude of interns. Attitude of interns (Spann, 1994), difficulties in accepting new challenges due to poor supervision (Levine et al., 2006), lack of placement opportunities (Kelley, 1986), long working hours (Pavesic & Brymer, 1990), poor working environment and interpersonal relationship (McMahon & Quinn, 1995), low remuneration and benefits (McMahon & Quinn, 1995), excessive workload (Huyton, 1991) demotivate the interns and affect their career advancement. Studies have suggested that the employers are taking undue advantages from the interns where they are engaging the interns for their cost saving purpose and sometime using interns as casual labours for their benefits rather to train the interns for their career benefits (Huyton, 1991). Number of studies expressed that the internship experience may lead the dropout of interns/ students from hospitality industry, as their expectations are not met properly (West & Jameson, 1990; Barron & Maxwell, 1993; Callan, 1997; Waryszak, 1999; Zopiatis, 2007; Richardson, 2008). There have been several demographic factors, identified by different researchers like gender, family income, education, type of establishments which influencing students' attitudes towards hospitality internship (Gardner, 2012; Rigsby et al., 2013; Higgins & Pinedo, 2018). There are students who love this hospitality profession and possess an affinity on certain subjects. They also scored well in class/examination, but due to poor exposure/internship they lose their interest from the trade (Jenkins, 2001). In many cases, students' perceived status about the hospitality industry didn't match the actual experience which forced them to leave the industry due to unfulfilled expectations (Raybould and Wilkins, 2005).

Studies suggested that despite some negative aspects of internship programme, it could be beneficial for the students if it is structured and planned properly, ensuring that students are able to strengthen their passion, learn efficiently and are motivated effectively for their career (Ju et al., 1998). A good internship in a particular organisation ensures a job in the same organisation only (Collins, 2001). Good internship program in hospitality industry helps to shape the career of hospitality graduates and ensures lower attrition and greater retention of students in this industry that is beneficial for hospitality industry and national aspiration (Tse, 2010).

Research Methodology

Research Design

The scope of the study is adequate to know the attitude/opinion of hospitality management

students towards internship program as a part of their experiential learning. In this process four colleges from India; one private college approved by All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) from Durgapur, one college under IHMCTAN from Kolkata, one college affiliated to a foreign university from Mumbai, and one private university from Bangalore were considered based on the affiliation status and students' diversity. Selection of colleges was done as per research scholar's judgement and their rankings based on different surveys. For the survey, data was collected directly from the students of above-mentioned colleges as they are engaged for internship programmes with various leading brands in hospitality sectors in India. Data on students' opinions/attitudes on different impacts like working environment, remuneration and benefits, industry supervision and learning experience was collected from questionnaire through enquiries, interviews and meetings.

For this survey, the researcher followed random sampling in a systematic manner (different strata from India) and a total of one hundred sixty students (40 students from each colleges) were selected. After applying filters and adopting other appropriate techniques to reduce response error researcher managed 148 (92%) usable completed questionnaires for this research. The observation was focused on students' involvement, participation and opinion (negative) on internship programmes and their outcome. An in-depth interview was conducted with students on four main aspects of internship like working environment, remuneration and benefits, industry supervision, and learning experience to know the impact of internship on career development. The survey was self-administered and the questionnaire was divided into three main parts. The first part includes profile base of the students (respondents) in terms of their social demographics. Second part had open ended questions on four areas viz. working environment, remuneration and benefits, industry supervision and learning experience. The last part was on overall internship experience. Many studies (McMahon & Quinn, 1995; Chen et al., 2011; Marinas et al., 2018) had demonstrated the same factors/ sub factors (positive/negative aspects of categories).

In this study, research investigator considered three-opinion index (negative) for each four categories considering internship program and outcome on career advancement. The last part includes 4 variables to examine the role and contribution of internship for the resolution of the current problems to address future needs of the interns. For each item, respondent used five-point Likert scale to rate their opinion and attitude, where '1' indicates strongly disagree to '5' indicates strongly agree (1-Strongly Disagree, 2- Disagree, 3- Undecided, 4- Agree, 5- Strongly Agree). Test on research instrument (questionnaire) was done through reliability test and the values for four factors (working environment, remuneration and benefits, supervision, and learning experience) ranked within 0.71 to 0.82, (Cronbach's Alpha on the same set of questionnaire for pilot survey for the responses of students on internship impacts by SPSS) considered satisfactory. Andy Field (2005), any value "between" 0.7 to 0.9 considered as highly reliable and satisfactory. Finally, the data was systematically arranged, tabulated and analysed by statistical software SPSS (version 16.0).

The 't' test has been used to know the significantly different scores of overall opinion/ attitudes of students towards internship impacts. Multiple regression techniques have been used to study the joint influence of selected group variable of students' attitude on overall attitude.

Findings and analysis

The study was confined to students' attitude on hospitality internship in India. The profile of respondents (students) is represented in Table 1. Out of total 148 respondents, 102 (68.91%) were male and 46 (31.09%) were female as there were a smaller number of female students engaged in hospitality education especially in hotel management courses. In terms of medium of education, English medium students (60.81%) outnumbered vernacular medium students (39.19%) as English is the official language of communication in hospitality industry and majority of students nowadays come from English medium background. More than the half of the surveyed respondents' (51.35%) monthly family income was above Rs. 50,000 INR per month, 32.43% students hailed from family with an income between Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000 per month, and a small number (14.86%) came from families with a monthly income below Rs. 25,000. Respondents reported more from urban places (56.75%) than from city/town (43.25%). Majority of the students (60.81%) were good in college education and secured more than 60% marks in their examination. Majority of respondents' internship preference was hotels (80.40%) than other hospitality sectors.

Table 1: Profile of Respondents (Students)

Description		Number of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Gender	Male	102	68.91
	Female	46	31.09
Medium of Education	English medium	90	60.81
	Other medium	58	39.19
Family income	Below 25,000	22	14.86
	25000 -- 50000	48	32.43
	Above 50,000	78	51.35
Residence	Urban	84	56.75
	Town/city	64	43.25
College education before internship	Less than 60% in examination	54	39.19
	More than 60% in examination	94	60.81
Types of establishments	Hotels	119	80.40
	Other than hotels	29	19.60

Table 2 presents the attitudinal measurement of hospitality students towards internship impacts in terms of 13 items broadly grouped under four categories of working environment,

remuneration and benefits, industry supervision, and learning experience impacts with three statements within each subhead. The last statement measures the overall attitude towards impact of internship experience on experiential learning and career development. Of the total 12 variables, 11 statements have recorded mean value more than mid value (3) on five-point scale, along with the overall attitude having mean value above 4. This points to the acceptance of importance of internship on experiential learning and career development. The one impact statements, which reported mean value less than 3 but more than 2; 'the role of supervision during internship which was not made the interns ability to perform as per the need of the industry'. The review outcome from various literatures and below mentioned table shows clearly the status of hospitality internship and its effects on hospitality students in India.

Table 2: Students' Opinion Towards Hospitality Internship

A. Working Environment (W.E)		Mean	SD
W.E 1	I felt demotivated because, as an intern, I was treated unequally during internship	3.88	1.02
W.E 2	The internship made me condemn the working atmosphere of the hospitality industry	3.16	0.98
W.E 3	I felt unpleasant as an intern to be ordered by others always	3.72	1.11
B. Remuneration and benefits (R.B)			
R.B 1	The internship made me feel that I was low-cost labor, which made me feel uncomfortable	3.68	1.16
R.B 2	The internship made me disapprove the status of payment and fringe benefits of hospitality industry	3.74	1.08
R.B 3	I felt unpleasant as an intern for not being allowed any medical facilities, overtime payment and required leaves during internship	3.32	1.14
C. Industry supervision (I.S)			
IS 1	Insufficient supervision during internship made my impression that it was simply a work, and I could not learn proper knowledge or sufficient skill from it.	3.37	1.07
IS 2	I felt the supervision of my work during internship could not meet the need of industry standard and require further practice.	2.87	0.97
IS 3	The internship made me feel that devoting time to interns by seniors/supervisors was difficult due to time constraint for busy nature of the industry	3.78	1.09
D. Learning experiences (L.E)			
L.E 1	The job structure and content of internship failed to make me acquire more	3.47	1.12
L.E 2	The internship made me feel that I still lack the capability to enter workplace	3.29	0.99
L.E 3	I felt that the internship altered my work standards	3.80	1.09
Overall Attitude			
OA	Overall impact: Internship experience impacts employability and career development of hospitality students	4.02	0.93

The demographics for which overall attitude has more impacts on internships (on career development) were female (4.23), urban students (4.32), and students who have done internship from hotels (4.34). There is less impact on male (3.94), students from city/town (4.01) and students who completed internship from establishments other than hotels (3.93). The t-value for all significant at 0.01 & 0.001, i.e. $p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.001$. In terms of the family income

as demography related with internship impact, mean value of students’ family income more than Rs. 50,000/pm (4.14) is higher than, students’ family income was less than Rs. 50,000/pm (3.93) with $t=1.79$. From the above table, it is clear that profile base of the students has impact on internship and affects their career development as “t” value reaches to significant level in most of the cases which satisfies the second objective of the study.

Table 3 shows that the Overall Attitude (OA) on the profile base of respondents (students) witnessed statistically significant difference (hospitality students) by applying ‘t’ test.

Table 3: Based on demographics significantly different scores of Overall Attitude of respondent

Demographic profile		S	Mean	SD	t-value	P Value
Gender	Female	46	4.23	0.94	2.37*	0.02
	Male	102	3.94	0.91		
Family income	Above Rs. 50,000/	78	4.14	0.92	1.79	0.13
	Below Rs. 50,000/	70	3.99	0.89		
Residence	Urban	84	4.32	0.84	-2.59**	0.01
	City/town	64	4.01	0.96		
Types of establishments	Hotels	119	4.34	1.02	2.78***	0.00
	Other hospitality establishments	29	3.93	0.87		

$p \leq 0.05$ (*) $p \leq 0.01$ (**) $p \leq 0.001$ (***)

Moreover, multiple regression techniques have been applied to know about joint influence of selected independent variables of students’ attitude on hospitality internship based on overall attitude. All the accepted variables of hospitality internship were gathered into five major sets on the link/ relationship with each other i.e. working environment (W.E 1-3), remuneration and benefits (R.B 1-3), industry supervision (I.S 1-3), learning experiences (L.E1-3) and students Overall Attitude (OA) on hospitality internship. Finally, with the help of “t” test regression coefficients have been tested.

Table 4 illustrates the strength of relationship and its measure between the dependent variable, overall attitude, and all the independent variables like working environment, remuneration and benefits, Industry supervision, learning experiences. The coefficient of determination (R2) for the perceived overall attitude indicated that 61.1% of the variation in guests’ perceived impacts (OA) demonstrated a statistical correlation with the determinants (independent variables). Overall attitude (OA) was indicated by the value of R square- 61.1%. Approximately 61.1% interest in overall attitude is influenced by the different independent variables (W.E, R.B, I.S, L.E) while the remaining approx. 49% are caused by other factors that were not taken into account in this study. When hospitality internship component, such as working environment related impacts, is increased by one unit, the overall attitude (OA) also increases by 0.363, which is significant at 1 percent level. Impacts related to remunerations and benefits, if increased for one unit, then overall attitude (OA) increases by 0.303 which is also significant. Industry supervision related impacts, if increased by one unit, then overall attitude (OA) increases by 0.298. Impact related to learning experiences, if increased by one

unit, then overall attitude (OA) increases by 0.307, which is also significant. With the help of multiple correlation co-efficient, it has been established that overall attitude is influenced by independent variables. This has also been established from the value of $R^2=0.611$ of variation in overall attitude (OA) accounted by joint variables of working environment, remuneration and benefits, industry supervision and learning experiences. There is a positive relationship between independent variables (Hospitality internship impacts) and overall attitude (suggested by R^2) but in this study, it is a function of a number of variables other than selected group variables.

Table 4: Regression equation of Overall Attitude (OA) on design elements like; Scale, Materials, Furniture and its arrangement and Daylight access

Variables	Regression Coefficients	t-value	Multiple Correlation
Working environment	0.363	3.714***	R= 0.717
Remunerations and benefits	0.303	2.897*	(R^2) =0.611
Industry supervision	0.298	3.412**	Adjusted R^2 =0.601
Learning experience	0.307	2.954*	

$p \leq 0.001$ (***), $p \leq 0.01$ (**), $-p \leq 0.05$ (*)

Below are the mean values for four variables of effective hospitality internship (ID1, ID2, ID3 & ID4) collected from the respondents through response mechanism (5-point scale) where these variables address the challenge of the impacts caused by hospitality internship. In view of the resulted research findings, the following conclusion is drawn based on the responses of surveyed sample.

Table 5: Students opinion towards hospitality internship (experiential learning & career

Sl. No.	Variables of Hospitality Internship	Mean
1. HI1	Good internship under right supervision brings satisfaction to hospitality interns.	4.17
2. HI2	Industry-academia cooperation and coordination make the internship program more beneficial for hospitality students.	3.82
3. HI3	Good structured hospitality internship proves to minimise negative impacts on interns, maximising positives that resolves the current problems addressing futuristic needs of hospitality students.	4.31
4. HI4	Interns' opinion and preferences during internship help them to select the right department/trade in future.	3.97

It is clear that HI1 and HI 3 & ID4 statements have measured mean value more than 4 on 5-point scale and the same indicates that good and structured internship with proper supervision plays a major role on benefits of hospitality students for their career development. Interns' opinion and preferences (HI 3, mean value- 3.97) on selection of trade during internship and scheduling the work accordingly will bring more satisfaction and success for the hospitality interns. Finally, HI 2 variable recorded the mean value more than 3.5 (more than the mid value) agreeing the Industry-academia cooperation and coordination would make the internship program more beneficial for hospitality students.

Conclusion

The findings indicate that the impact of internship having differences on the profile base of the hospitality students where the impacts are more in female, urban based and those who opted their internship in hotels than male, city based and those who opted internship in other hospitality establishments. Under four major impact parameters, working environment in hospitality industry affects the interns more where unity of command and division of work is not maintained properly for interns. Insufficient supervision also made the students nervous and stressful and in turn, the internship experience was not very satisfactory for the students that effects the overall learning experiences. Hospitality students experienced poor remuneration and benefits offered during internship and experienced the low wage structure of industry, which also made them further frustrated. Students are confused about internship due to lack of understanding of the value of experiential learning.

Hospitality industry is always service oriented where high standard of grooming, honesty, discipline and effective communication is required as a part of organisational culture. This should not be the motto for the academic institutions to organise and complete the internship as a part of module containing academic credits only. They need to prepare the interns with proper theoretical knowledge and industry culture. Working atmosphere, benefits, safety and security (especially for girls) should be paid adequate attention so that the internship experience will be more effective. All policy makers should participate in the structure and design of hospitality internship and at the same time there should be monitoring system for its execution and effectiveness. Good structured hospitality internship with proper supervision prove to minimise negative impacts on interns, maximising positives that resolves the current problems addressing futuristic needs of hospitality students.

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Using Superheroes in Art Therapy through Counselling for Adolescents Boys in Conflict with Law: Illustrations from Juvenile Home in Ernakulam, Kerala

Reena Merin Cherian

Abstract: Art based therapies have proved to be effective for diverse issues related to mental health among children in conflict with law. Artistic expression and art-based therapies are found to stimulate self-awareness regarding latent fears, trauma, anxiety, affection, fantasy and desire. One of the multiple techniques falling under the ambit of art-based therapies is the application of the super hero metaphor in counselling and other therapeutic intervention. The present study is an illustration of a series of activities based on superhero introduced to a group of youths in a juvenile home in Ernakulam district of Kerala. The paper traces the steps used in the activities and discusses the hero as the symbol used by the youths in diverse ways. Grounded Theory and Visual thinking Strategies (VSTs) are employed to understand the nuances of the reproduction of the hero image by the youths. The VSTs are applied to the outputs generated by the client groups followed by detailed analysis of each elements emerging from the narratives of the superhero activity along with stage wise description of the therapeutic alliance.

Keywords: Art Based Therapies, Children in Conflict with Law, Superhero

Introduction

The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act (2000) states that children in conflict with law are to be treated as a special constituency keeping in mind the principles enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). This includes facilitating quality care and working towards the need for ensuring effective and right based justice system for children in need of care and protection and juvenile offenders or children in conflict with law. Therefore, there is a need to establish juvenile homes in each district of the country in order to provide a specialised systems for engaging adolescents in correctional services. The specialised system includes protectional services, both physical and mental health support, education and vocational development to ensure a period of genuine introspection.

While in India, the state is catalyst for strengthening this support system, there are several non-profit and voluntary efforts to strengthen the efforts of the state. Narrowing down to the context of Ernakulam district in Kerala for illustration for the present study, the Bristol home receives up to hundred adolescent boys through the Juvenile Justice Board (JJB) who are at the juncture of conflict with law. While the system has placed the role of psychologists and counsellors, there are several organisations that work in tandem with these agencies to help the youths to positive change¹.

While art and play therapies are seen as allied yet crucial aspects of therapeutic engagements, there are only a few specialised professionals and agencies that work in this domain. One such specialised agency is "The Art Outreach Society" which conducts a series of art based therapeutic engagements with the youths in conflict with law. These engagements encourage the youths to relate their inspirations of superheroes and apply the same for countering their fears, inadequacy, insecurity and trauma etc.

This therapeutic plan acknowledges the influence of social-economic factors in determining the actions of juveniles/children who are in conflict with law. The conflict or offence, therefore, is assessed on a spectrum based on the broader socio-economic context in which the offence had occurred (such as poverty, marginalisation etc.) rather than looking at it in isolation. Within this structure grows the need for expression and innovative practices to help children work towards genuine introspection and self-efficacy. Studies indicate that children in conflict with law are exposed to a multitude of psychological and social issues common across institutionalised children. In such a scenario, there is a need for providing them platforms for emotional expressions. The therapists/social workers who practice and facilitate art-based therapies are dedicated to work with emotional expression through art. The engagement with children in conflict with law is crucial from various standpoints of mental health like anxiety, anger, frustration, guilt and trauma.

While working with the youth from the contingent situation, especially those falling under the domain of children in conflict with law, the broad objectives are to facilitate and introduce a medium of expression of diverse impending issues and to positively and constructively channelise their energies through artistic expression. When understanding children's anxieties and emotions becomes difficult for mental health professionals, several methods were suggested including comic books, analysing the way children used comic books to build their perception and more importantly vice versa, children's fantasies influencing the media and popular narrative on the whole. Psychoanalysts Freud and Jung have essentially stressed on symbols and individual's engagement with these symbols to reproduce an image or visual schemes of power and identity emerging from inadequacies and insecurities (Campbell, 2003). In defence of the comic books and fantastic recreation of the reality as perceived by children, Jones (2006) asserted that: 'children are not merely consumers of media texts, they are actively engaged in a range of activities - fantasies, make believe play, drawing, writing and other forms of meaning-making, reflecting, incorporating and commenting on these media texts' (p. 4). The assertion here is that children actively engage in creating these perceptions which the media borrows. Children are to be seen as active story tellers and the stories are inspired by their archetypes (Rubin, 2006), fears, fantasies, imaginations, anxieties, wishes. The imagery of superhero is largely an exaggerated version of children's perception

of themselves or an external entity as a 'protector', 'benefactor', 'hero', 'liberator', 'messiah' etc. who are endowed with super powers and special characteristics (Campbell, 2008). Early archetypes had inspired Stan Lee, Archie and Marvel Universe and others to create *Spider-Man* (1962), *The Hulk* (2003), *Star Wars* (1977), and *The Fantastic Four* (2005), Harry Potter (2000), *Superman* (1938) and *Batman* (1939) to name a few. Narrowing down to Asian cultures, the archetypes are largely influenced by representations in religious texts which are sedimented through oral traditions. In the context of the present study, *Lord Krishna*, *Lord Rama*, *Lord Hanuman*, among others have been ingrained in the minds of the children through the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Other popular narratives such as *Amar Chitra Katha*, *Panchtantra* and more recently the televised series such as *Shaktimaan* (1997), and *Chota Bheem* (2008) have influenced Indian children and youth. In the current context, the superhero imagery is an amalgamation of those from the religious texts as well from the Indian cinema.

Power is a key aspect of the superhero imagery, the feature that segregates them from the rest of the society and makes them 'invincible'. Rubin (2006) is of the view that, the notion of 'power' stems from their own identity. Especially evident in at-risk children, it could be seen that adversity leads to assumption of certain powers which enhances self-efficacy and most importantly helps in building resilience. Frandkin and Yunes (2016) have identified Comic Superhero Strategy (CHS) as an approach to help children at risk, empower themselves, and work towards resilience. Campbell (2003) and Frandkin and Yunes (2016) mention the use of *invincibility suggestion*, a counselling technique introduced to children through play and art therapy to help them understand that like super heroes, anybody to acquire 'special powers' to adjust to and change the adverse situation they are in. Frandkin and Yunes (2016) list the context of several heroes and their contexts of abandonment and neglect to draw an image of how parallel comparisons with heroes can accentuate self-efficacy.

Further in the case of at-risk children and youth, narrowing to the case of juveniles in conflict with law, creative approaches and therapies have proved to be effective in providing space and opportunities for release of guilt, introspection, de-individuation (especially through drama therapy), release of anxiety, using guilt in a constructive manner, release of anger, understanding the importance of forgiveness and develop confidence.

Objective

The aim of the study is to understand the application of the concept of superheroes in enhancing self-efficacy of juveniles in conflict with law.

Methodology

To understand the impact of the activities facilitated with a group of 80 boys in the Juvenile Home in Kakkanad, Ernakulam, Kerala; Grounded theory and specifically Visual Thinking Strategies⁶ were used to capture the perceptions of the youth regarding their creation. The methods used for studying the impact and the analysis of the outputs are qualitative. AtlasTi was used to understand the dominant themes and their inter-relationship using code association. The verbatim or narratives collected from the youths during the sessions were in Malayalam and Hindi, and are translated to English. All the boys in the particular juvenile home were included in the therapy sessions and therefore in the study, the respondents are a

heterogenous group of eighty boys of the juvenile home within the age range of 15-18 years. They belong to different linguistic and regional backgrounds namely Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, West-Bengal, Assam and Haryana. The range of crimes includes civil and criminal cases.

Activities	Objectives	Process Involved	Group/Individual	Intended Outcome	No. of Sessions and duration
Probing into individual's superhero perception	Initial understanding of the superheroes, construction of self and society	Reflective questions and discussions on what superhero means to them, using 'why', 'how they were constructed'. Encouraging everyone to participate in whatever language they can.	Individual	Sharings on perception of 'superhero', 'extension of self', etc	One session of two hours
Constructing the superhero image	To help the youth translate their superhero imagery to picture, explaining the construct through messages and words and work on team building and cohesiveness as auxiliary objectives.	To help give a form to the mental imagery of superheroes and understand their characteristic features, using team building as a medium to encourage discussions and use fo verbatim. The sessions included conversations about the outputs and intended messages and superpowers.	Group	Images of superheroes- Depicted in plate 1, 2,3 and 4	Two sessions of 2 hours each
'I am a superhero' - Role Playing	To personalise the image of superhero using role-play	Enactment through role-play, developing key features into props and making clear statements of their character's role	Group	Role plays by members of each group on their creation	One session of 2 hours
Note: The impact of the three mentioned activities/sessions are assessed in the present study, while the module on superhero is continued for ten sessions and used intermittently and appropriately in other sessions.					

The activities planned over a period of two-months with process are as listed:

Application of Visual Thinking Strategies (VSTs) to outputs of activities

This section discusses the application of VSTs to the four significant outputs created by the participants. The first superhero image is that of "Damu". Superhero Damu knows King-Fu which he learnt from the Shaolin Temple in China, he believes in meditation and mind reading, he need not use any weapon. His weapon is his strong mind though which he controls everyone. He like to wear orange because it is the colour of courage. Just because he does not use weapon does not mean he is weak, he does not need them. He kills the enemies of justice with his kung fu and with his mind. Damu's eyes are closed as he is meditating, if he opens it means destruction.

The second image is that of "Don Marley". There is so much violence the world, this hero is Don Marley, he goes to gym regularly and uses his compass to locate enemies if they are hiding. He carries his dumbbells which is a symbol of strength and health. The Nunchuka is also used to fight against those create problems in the society. The third super hero is that of a Swamiji who is simple in his lifestyle but is highly powerful. His symbol is peace and he fights for the innocent. He is also the protector of children. Swamiji knows everything through the meditation and he can hear the cries of the people, reach on spot and fight for them.

The fourth image is that of the *Jinn* or *Ginn* (spirit). He is armed with dangerous weapons but he attacks only those who are enemies of innocent people. He has three eyes, one located on his chest which can burn his adversary when he is angry. He smokes but he makes it a point to tell youngsters not to smoke as it is injurious to health. He can fly and take different forms.

Use of Weapons as Props or Symbols of Power

Almost all the depictions of the superhero by the youths in the juvenile home have certain common elements and the most common among them is the weapon, a key symbol of power. Of the two outputs presented by the groups, two of them have evident use of weapons. Rubin (2005) gives examples of cases of children with behavioural disorders, and says that the children reported that weapons yield power, security, and a feeling of protection. Discussing the case of Dorothy, Rubin adds that the cat woman is her superhero, who, holding an iron rod, defends herself and protects the people she is fighting for. The pictures of the juvenile home also show use of weapons. Even where the message was clear that they want to reinstate peace, justice and order in the society, their heroes were equipped with weapons.

A member from the group which created a picture of Don Marley shared, *"without his weapon, how is he going to punish the offenders, he keeps himself strong by gymming regularly (pointing to the dumbbells he carries as an accessory), the Nunchaku was even used by Bruce Lee, Don Marley knows how to use it, and the axe helps him cut his enemies into two, the compass helps him locate enemies even from the corners, and he is able to kill them by locating them"*. The sixteen-year old believed that the hero commanded respect with his complete outfit with the weapons and accessories, and his powers are limited without his complete outfit. Even in the role enactment activity, the participants carried make-belief objects with them to depict weapons and often used the same to complete their presentation. Jones (2016) was of the view that weapon and their use in the superhero activity hinders the therapeutic process by increasing the tendency for violence. He also termed the use of weapons as a sexist feature by raising concerns about its application in calming children. However, Holland (2003) and Boyd (1997) clearly stated that allowing children/youth to develop their own weapons was organic, and it will facilitate more space for them to explore their motives and use of weapons.

Holland shared that children often engage in creation of their own weapons, and it is an indication of their imagination and creativity at work, rather than a product of any gender bias or violent tendencies. With regard to the image of the Jinn, smoking a cigarette, a seventeen-year old remarked, *"...he wanted to take a break so lit a cigarette, he knows when it is correct and when not, it is a city that he is trying to save, he might be engaging in several wrong doing, but he knows when to do it, when nobody is watching, because he tells people that cigarette smoking is*

not acceptable." The impetus is that even though heroes have their own dark side, they are aware as to when to bring that side.

Masculinity and Gender in Images of Superheroes

Jones (2016) stated that gender is a key determinant of the use of weapon. However, Rubin (2006), explaining Dorothy's case, states that regardless of gender, weapons are seen as a part of the costume, grants a completeness to their hero schema. This imagery is to be seen as an accessory of powerful hero, and not just a symbolism of the angry hero.

Along with the image of heroes as alpha males, there are a few female representations like cat woman, wonder woman, super woman, and black widow among others. The outputs presented by the boys are all masculine with beards and moustache to reinforce their gender. Masculinity as a common theme could be attributed to the fact that they were all boys, and they are able to transform and translate their identities to a male more comfortably than a female.

Angry Young Hero?: 'Use' of Anger

When the participants were asked if their superheroes were angry, all of them said that through their heroes have a 'very bad temper', they would know when to use it. Nobody reported a Hulk Syndrome which is characteristic of Hulk (2003). In the popular culture, angry superhero is presented in a context where children who have been raised in adversity, insecurity have undergone trauma, loss or deprivation often channelise their frustration and anger when growing up through vetting out injustice and hurting offenders or villains as evident in the case of Hulk (2003), Wolverine (2013), Batman (1939) etc. The youths in the present study shared that their heroes are easy to be provoked to anger, while drawings of the superheroes were 'peaceful', the dramatic representations through role enactment were more 'aggressive' and 'angry'.

The anger was used constructively by the hero. When asked about their own anger, most reported being easily provoked to anger, some shared that they have learnt to control at times, but it is extremely difficult to do so. In the first activity of sharing about their superhero fantasy, anger was a key factor, one of the participants shared, "*...yesterday Rajesh (name changed) was angry at the dinner table because Vishnu (name changed) sat on his place. It led to some verbal duel and arm wrestling, despite Rajesh winning and getting to sit in his place, he punched Vishnu and hurt him, I think he does not know how to control his anger*". This was later used after the third activity and Rajesh was asked how he feels about his hero. The figure of Don Marley was created by his group, and Rajesh, being a good at drawing and sketching, was instrumental in deciding the imagery of Don Marley. Rajesh also revealed later that Don Marley is his role model, and he displays anger only when he is provoked, and even then he will not hurt anybody.

The Seeker of Justice

While there is an assertion on routing anger through an acceptable manner such as 'against adversary' by the participants, the goal is to seek justice. The 'seeker of the justice' or the 'altruistic' hero is another common theme across the superheroes created by the participants. In the discussions with the children, it was observed that many phrases such as 'fight against

evil, '*protector of the world*', '*war against injustice*' were in abundance in their speech. It indicates that they were fighting against injustice and everything '*wrong*' and '*evil*', just like their superheroes. '*The-end-is-not-defined-by-means*' approach is evident in the outputs created by them. The societal goals range from peace and order in the society to communal harmony as shown in the case of Don Marley. However, in the two key outputs by two groups, the heroes are seekers of justice. They seem to be harbinger of peace, and are depicted either meditating or using their '*psychic powers*'. The figure of Damu depicts meditation as a medium of power and the use of mind reading as a technique by the superhero to gain victory over the enemies. This, according to the group members, is one of the non-violent methods which uses the mind as a weapon. The following table shows some of the probing questions raised during, or at the end of each session and the corresponding targeted behaviour and beliefs of the youths.

Activities	Probing questions	Targeted behavioural aspects
Probing into individual's superhero perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you understand by superhero? • Who is your superhero? • What are the characteristics of you superhero? • How does your superhero looks like? • What are their super-powers? • Where do they come from? • Are they loving and caring? • Do they lie? • Do they hurt others? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding how they are translating their own identity into their superhero • Use of self and extension of self • Latent or manifest anger • Masking of real self • Stimulating self awareness • Tendency for aggression and harmful behaviour • Guilt and low-self esteem • Internal or external locus of control
Constructing the superhero image	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who is the person in the picture you have drawn? • What is the significance of the their costume? • What is the significance of those colours? • What are their accessories? • Do they have weapon? If yes what do they do with the weapon? • Do they have a vehicle? • What is their symbol? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of self and extension of self • Creativity and imagination and using self through symbols • Symbolism • Anger management • Relationship management
'I am a superhero' -Role Playing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the message that your superhero has for the society? • Is he angry? If yes why? • Will he hurt anyone? If Yes why and whom? • Why is he here today? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of self and extension of self • Self-awareness • Creativity and imagination and using self through symbols • Symbolism • Anger management • Relationship management • Identity formation • Use of aggression and violence

Key assertions and the conclusion emanating from the therapeutic introduction of super heroes are as explained in the following stages:

First stage focuses on the formation of the therapeutic alliance with the youths. It includes

rapport formation and asking probing questions, and using reflective statements to explore their fears, anxiety, trauma, and, on the positive side, exploring their self-efficacy, self-esteem and resilience. The rapport formation between the individual/group and the social worker builds trust, and helps reflective questions to be sedimented and thought upon by the individual/group. Based on the assessments made in the first stage, the intervention plan is prepared. For instance, the first stage of super hero engagement was informal conversation and a scribbling activity which helped in breaking the ice and attempted to build a trusting relationship with the social workers(s).

The Second Stage of Narrative Identification is identifying oneself with an existing or imagined hero with special powers. The aim of the stage is to overcome the conflict and dissolution of the resistance by the relationship just formed. The activities could be initiated in the stage with short-term and long-term goals which would culminate in ample discussions and probing on both sides. The social worker has to carve a space for the client/group to discuss. Each superhero activity would culminate with presentation of the work and discussion on reflective questions and probing. Further issues with individuals in the group would surface, for instance, anger issues in Rajesh was a revelation, and the social worker could address them covertly and overtly in discussions later.

Narrative transformation is the third stage, which is characterised by conscious projection and reflection of one's negative and positive feelings and energies to the identified superhero. In this stage, there is increased involvement with art supplies, art activities, clients finding time for the activity, and taking keen interest in it. This could also be the stage where confrontation with more conflicts could happen. In case of group therapy, there is a need to address individual issues by worker's intervention.

The fourth stage is the concluding stage where resilience is key, and there would be attempts to reinstate calmness and acceptance along with anger management. Increased self-awareness and detachment from the hero image would set in, so that the clients would understand the difference between the real self and the imagined. Follow-up and revisiting when required is a significant aspect as it will help the super-hero association play a vital role when clients encounter newer conflicts.

The role of the counsellor/art therapist/worker is summarised as follows:

1. The regularity and frequency of the interventions are important and one should plan interventions at adequate intervals to help them attach and detach with the heroic imagery.
2. The youths must enjoy the artistic expression, and the activity must be the one which does not require skill and expertise but could induce catharsis and emotional well-being.
3. When group therapies are to be initiated, and there is an evident heterogeneity in the group. Team building activities can be applied to enhance cohesiveness.
4. The youths look forward to engage with more tools and for longer duration of their engagement which forms the foundation of art-based therapies, therefore, social workers to facilitate the same.

Note

Section 1 (Article 19), The Juvenile Justice (Care and protection of Children) Amendment Act 2006

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