

SEARCH

A Journal of Arts, Humanities & Management

Vol-IX, Issue-II July, 2015



DDCE
Education for All

DDCE, UTKAL UNIVERSITY, BHUBANESWAR, INDIA

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ISSN 0974-5416

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Published by :

Director,

Directorate of Distance & Continuing Education,

Utkal University, Vanivihar,

Bhubaneswar – 751007.

India.

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91-674 –2376700/2376703(O)

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NEW EDUCATION POLICY

Ever since the beginning of 19th Century the Governments of India have felt the need for a laying an education policy. It may appear that the classic debate of two points of view, Macaulay and Elphinstone is long dead. In fact it constantly reappears. The answer that we should accept the best of west and India does not satisfy any deep thinking and reflective Indian. There are many fundamental counters.

- Science is not necessarily the gift of west
- India cannot go back to Sanskrit tols and live in a fool's paradise
- Education is today global international and national characteristics no longer determine contours of education.
- East shall remain east, west shall remain west both shall never meet.

One may add to the counters yet counters also counter each other. The coming of BJP, a right wing party, to power with it's own majority at the centre has again fueled the debate. The Radhakrishnan, Kothari, Mudaliar, NEP 1986, Birla-Ambani and host of other commission and committee reports need re-examination, feels the new government . As a whole the neo-nationalists, rightists and the corporate houses feel India has moved to the left in Education and this needs to be corrected. Against this background, in this short editorial let us examine few issues.

- In the past we have emphasized numbers, more specifically Gross Enrolment Ratio at all stages. We have compared ourselves with developed countries and finding us at a very low position we have emphasized number. We have no quarrel with number yet numbers with total disregard for quality has landed us in this mess. Quality should be our focus.
- Quality require a twofold focus . The quality of manpower, more specifically teachers and educational administrators needs a great improvement. The existing teachers need to be forced to improve their quality. In India it is the blind who are leading the blind. Reward and punishment need to be judiciously used to improve the situation. Educational Administrator lack domain knowledge and leadership quality at all level. Their main job is to act as facilitator, they behave like inspector yet are so much burdened with administrative work they seldom inspect. The second most important requirement is quality of the infrastructure. Just to give one example of many, one may cite construction of lakhs closets in school without septic tank, is sufficient. Basic requirement demand heavy investment in Education which is not coming through.

- Technology , more specifically ICT, is touted as panacea for all our ills. ICT is indeed the most powerful tool in our kit, yet let us remember men not machine/ technology is more important. ICT in regional languages not English is only helpful. The mobile phones not PC, Laptop, Tab or any other instrument, is the only technology which has been democratized. We have to emphasize on regional language and mobile phones for educating India. Tab have to made as competitive as mobile, say being made available for a thousand rupees only to facilitate universal reach and overcoming the limitation of screen size. We must not stop at regional language we have to cover even tribal language. Presently roman script is widely used to communicate in regional language through mobile and computer. This is possibly the short cut which we need . Of course there is the fear of bogey of regional chauvinists who all use English. Choice of cost effective technology and democratization of the same is the key.
- Skills, the 4 'Cs' – Communication, Critical Thinking, Collaboration and Creativity are emphasized. All these need to be developed right through school education. Our love for centralization – CBSE or BSE at several stages have prescribed text books, defeating free thinking and our entire examination is driven by rote methods. These cannot be achieved at higher level without foundation of schools. We have to look into our attitudes and change them. Skills of school, secondary and higher secondary, poly-techniques, Colleges and professional colleges need to be identified. Everyone needs skills. Even student of modern history should be able to make sense out of a demographic table. An English major student should be able to copy edit, translate or say at least write. Like English and history major need appropriate skills related to their subjects, everyone need skill.
- Education must bake bread. Unless it bakes bread it cannot liberate people from ignorance, servile attitude, close thinking and a host of other limitation. Education policy has to go hand in hand with economic policies. Unless the economy grows, education cannot. Of course education also prompt economy to an extent. It is best to link education with economy. We welcome the debate on NEP-2015 and hope for better days. Education is indeed the only panacea for our ills and can be lone harbinger of good days. We have a simple solution let students learn and teachers teach and let us have the material condition for this teaching-learning to happen. If this happens and everything will fall into its place.

S.P. Pani

(S.P. PANI)
Editor



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6. In the main body place logical facts, figures, ideas and concepts etc.
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CORPORATE CRIMES: THE NEED FOR A CORPORATE PENAL CODE

Gyanendra Kumar Sahu

Madhu Sudan Dash

ABSTRACT:

Corporate crimes form a separate category of criminal offences. The terms Corporate crime and 'Economic Crime' are more often than not, used as synonyms in fact, both the terms need to be used to define different categories of crime. Corporate Crimes not only victimize individuals with pecuniary loss but can also have serious repercussions on the national economy. Corporate Crimes, such as financial scams, fraud, money laundering, etc. are crimes which evoke serious concern and impact on the Nation's security and governance. This paper seeks to present a perspective on the trend of Corporate crimes and legislative measures to deal with such crimes in India. The paper is divided into two sections. The first section gives different dimension of corporate crimes and the second section deals with relevant legislation to prevent Corporate Crimes.

Key words: Non-performing assets, Corporate Crime, money laundering, Economic offences, Insider Trading

INTRODUCTION:

There is a growing recognition in the world that the economic offences are part of other serious crimes posing serious threat to the security of the nation. Since the early 90's India has witnessed a spate of major economic scams in different sectors of the economy. The millions of small investors have lost thousands of crores of rupees, the economic crimes have caused havoc in the government managed institutions like Bank, Public Sector Undertakings, Telecom Department, Insurance Companies, etc. The magnitude and the new methods of committing economic crimes have been a cause of serious concern to the government as well as to the people. It is important in the first instance to understand

the nature of White Collar Crime¹ or Corporate crime, as it is generally referred to, is a crime committed by a person of a certain social status in the course of his occupation. The economic crime occurs as a deviation from the violator's occupational role. Also, most of the laws involved or violated are not part of the traditional criminal code. Such crimes are corruption, corporate fraud, public fraud, tax evasion, goods smuggling, stock manipulation, currencies forgery, credit card fraud, environmental crime, intellectual property infringement and the more recent phenomenon of cyber crime. Economic Crimes are not a new phenomenon in our country. Even one and a half century ago, when the Indian penal code 1860 was enacted,

punishment was provided for cheating (Sec. 420)², Criminal Breach of Trust (Sec-409)³, Counterfeiting of Coins (Sec-232)⁴, making and selling of Adulterated Drugs (Sec.274⁵ &275⁶),fraudulent use of Weights and measures (Sec.265)⁷, counterfeiting Govt. stamps and their sale (Sec, 255⁸ and 258⁹), making and selling of Fake Goods (Sec.481¹⁰ to 489¹¹), soon after the introduction of currency notes in our country, counterfeiting of the currency led to addition of section 489-A¹² and B in the Indian Penal Code in the year 1955. But what has changed in the past few decades is the magnitude and enormity of economic crimes owing to the development in technology and improved means of transport and communication and their use by the perpetrators of these crimes.

The modus for Corporate crimes are varied. The offend committed crimes in the present day societies are:

- A. Fraud: Cheque Fraud, Insurance Fraud and Master Card Fraud.
- B. Money Laundering: Money stolen is taken to asset management firms and financial institutions where it is deposited to earn interest or alternatively the money is used to buy assets.
- C. Corruption :Public officers misuse their offices by accepting rewards and corruptly doing some undue favours, also some violate the Tender Board procedures by offering tenders to their friends or relatives.

- D. Insider Trading In the Financial Markets: Money market shares are sold privately without public knowledge.
- E. Tax Evasion: Some companies avoid paying tax to the government or they understate their business transactions.

Different structure of Corporate Crime:

Economic offenders have exploited weaknesses in almost all areas of economic activity and siphoned off thousands of cores. Their depredations will continue till the law makers plug loopholes in the affected system. But the economic offenders, as they have the knack of exploiting weaknesses in any system either traverse a new territory or subvert the system which is their specialized field. In the recent past alone, scams have cost the exchequer and millions of Indians, astronomical sums of money. Some major corporate scams / economic offences, which have adversely affected out national economy in the recent past, are:

(i) Money Laundering:

Money Laundering has a close nexus with organized crime. Money laundering is the process by which large amount of illegally obtained money (from drug trafficking, terrorist activity or other serious crimes¹³) is given the appearance of having originated from the Legitimate source. But in simple terms it is the conversion of black money into white money¹⁴. This takes one back to cleaning the huge piles of cash. If done successfully, it allows the criminals to maintain control over their proceeds and ultimately to provide a

legitimate cover for their source of income.” Whosoever directly or indirectly attempts to indulge or knowingly assists or knowingly is a party or is actually involved in any process or activity connected with the proceeds of crime and projecting it as untainted property shall be guilty of offence of money laundering” Money laundering has an adverse impact on economy and political stability of country and hence such an activity must be curbed with an iron hand. Therefore, nations of the world must join hands and adopt measures to dismantle syndicates engaged in money laundering by resorting to aggressive enforcement of law.

According to Robinson:

“Money laundering is called what it is because that perfectly describes what takes place – illegal, or dirty, money is put through a cycle of transactions, or washed, so that it comes out the other end as legal, or clean money. In other words, the source of illegally obtained funds is obscured through a succession of transfers and deals in order that those same funds can eventually be made to appear as legitimate income.”

By way of money laundering could contaminate and corrupt the structure of the State at all levels, this definitely leads to corruption. Further, this adds to constant pursuit of profits and the expansion into new areas of criminal activity.

(ii) Insider Trading:

Corporate insiders are defined as a company’s officers, directors and any beneficial owners of more than 10% of a class of the company’s equity securities. Trades made by these types of insiders in the company’s own stock, based on material non-public information, are considered to be fraudulent since the insiders are violating the fiduciary duty that they owe to the shareholders. When the insider buys or sells based upon company owned information, he is violating his obligation to the shareholders¹⁵. However, “insiders” are not just limited to corporate officials and major shareholders where illegal insider trading is concerned but can include any individual who trades shares based on material non-public information in violation of some duty of trust. This duty may be imputed; for example, in many jurisdictions, in cases of where a corporate insider “tips” a friend about non-public information likely to have an effect on the company’s share price, the duty the corporate insider owes the company is now imputed to the friend and the friend violates a duty to the company if the corporate insider trades on the basis of this information¹⁶. Insider trading has been quite rampant in the recent past. Regulatory efficacy is often questioned when insiders are caught while exploiting private information through insider trading. Emergence of new cases of insider exploitations, even under tight insider trading laws, resonates the mixed empirical evidence in the literature.

In the case of United states of America vs Rajat K.Gupta : The Court is called upon to impose sentence on Rajat K.Gupta, who on June 15, 2012, was found guilty by a jury of one count of conspiracy and three counts of substantive securities fraud, in connection with providing material non-public information to Raj Rajaratnam.

(iii) Market Frauds:

The Stock Market Scams of 90's affected millions of small investors across the country. Fly-by-night operators entered the primary markets and through initial public offers (IPOs)¹⁷, collected hundreds of cores and vanished! The irony is that the whereabouts of over 100 companies are still not known either to SEBI or to the other investigating agencies. Even those companies, which did not vanish, used the people's money for purposes other than for which it was collected. As a result, the value of their shares plummeted resulting in heavy losses to the investors¹⁸.

Case Law:

Sahara India Real Estate Corporation Ltd. (SIRECL) and the Sahara Housing Investment Corporation Ltd. (SHICL) vs SEBI

"Initially to incorporate the company SIRECL and SHICL, The company offered fully convertible debenture of Rs 24,400 crores in 2008-2009. The offer was made to "friends, associates, group companies, workers/ employees and other individuals associated/affiliated or connected in any

manner with Sahara India Group of Companies" But The total no of persons in reality turned out to be nearly 2.21 crores and address of these investors were not traceable. In fact no of Bogous A/c was opened and issued the debenture and these debenture subsequently issued to the Innocent investors. But finally on 31st Aug, 2012 Honorable Supreme Court delivers the judgment against Sahara and asks the above mentioned two companies to pay the collected amount i.e. Rs 24, 400 Crore + 15% Interest to its 2.21 Crore investors."

(iv) Secondary Market Fraud:

Insider trading has the dangerous potential of market manipulation and misuse of unpublished price sensitive information by a privileged few insiders who are in possession of such information. This kind of malpractice defeats the very principle of fair and ethical business practices, besides spelling a doom for the common and small investors¹⁹. The capital markets in India have been victims of this malady for years and more particularly when liberalization attracted small investors to the markets. Instances of artificially jacking up prices of shares and there by inducing gullible people to buy them are also common²⁰. People have lost heavily on account of frauds of this nature committed by unscrupulous market players.

(v) Bank Frauds:

Economic offenders have targeted nationalized and cooperative banks and siphoned off thousands of cores by having criminal nexus with the managements of the

banks. The big borrowers alone are responsible for the huge non-performing assets of the nationalized banks. In the 90's unscrupulous economic offenders set up large number of UCBs (Urban Cooperative Banks) in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and collected thousands of cores by offering unsustainable high rate of interest and later siphoned off hundreds of cores either by sanctioning loans to themselves, or to the borrowers with whom they had criminal nexus. Naturally such banks collapsed, which caused havoc to the millions of small investors.

(vi) Import / Export Frauds:

Money laundering operations by under-invoicing imports and over-invoicing of exports have been resorted to by unscrupulous traders in a big way and thereby converted their black money into white and, obtained liberal incentives given by the Government in the form of exemption of income tax on the earnings, etc. this is in addition to import/export frauds being committed based on forged and fictitious documents.

(vii) Insurance Frauds:

Insurance companies have been victims of frauds perpetrated by unscrupulous claimants with or without the active connivance of insurance officials. Instances of deliberately setting fire to the insured goods, go-downs, factories, making more than one claim on the basis of same accident, inflated claims supported by corrupt surveyors, are quite common.

(viii) Intellectual Property Crime/Theft:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of USA has estimated that in 2003 alone, \$3 billion (Rs. 13,500 Cores) worth money was lost world wide as result of criminals swiping copyright protected digital copies of music, movies, software and games and distributing them through websites, chat rooms, mass e-mails.

According to a music and film market survey, the Indian Music and Film industry is losing around Rs. 1800 Cores because of piracy, since some unscrupulous people are making copies of DVD movies and MP 3 songs illegally without obtaining permission and paying royalty to the concerned producers. Some internet sites are offering free of cost latest music from hit movies by uploading to the internet which can then be downloaded by people anywhere in the world without paying anything to the original producers of the music. Thus, the original producers of movies and songs as well as exchequer lose heavily on account of this new type of economic crime committed with the help of technology.

(ix) Non-Banking Finance Companies (NBFCs) Frauds:

NBFCs engaged in wide range of activities like hire-purchase finance, hiring finance, equipment leasing finance, loans and investments have been performing an important role in our financial sector. However, unscrupulous market players targeted NBFCs in big way in the early 90's. As a result, the number of NBFCs which were 24,009 in 1990,

rose to 55,995 in 1995 with deposits of Rs. 45,000 cores. By offering very high rate of interests and commissions, which were commercially unviable in the long run, thousands of cores of rupees were collected from investors across the country. However, the bubble burst, when the scamster C.R. Bhansali, who alone floated over 130 companies, was arrested for the frauds committed by him, in which the investors and the nationalized banks lost a staggering amount of Rs. 1200 cores.

In the wake of CRB scam, the Reserve Bank on India introduced compulsory registration of NBFCs with the RBI. It is interesting to know that of the 37,880 applications received by the RBI as on 31st March, 1994 for registration, only 9000 were found eligible. As many as 28,500 NBFCs did not have the required net owned funds of Rs. 25.00 lakhs, but they were collecting cores of rupees from the investors. Consequently, many of the NBFCs failed to repay the amounts to the depositors and finally they collapsed. And hundreds of NBFCs vanished, leaving investors in financial crisis. Unfortunately, till date, non-repayment by NBFCs is still a non-cognizable crime. The financial Companies Regulations Bill 2000, which seeks to protect the interest of investors, introduced in the parliament on 13th December, 2000, has not yet received the attention it deserves.

(x) Fake Currency:

Large scale circulation of fake currency can undermine the economy, as well as national security of any country. In India, the

problem is age old, but with the development in technology, high quality fake currency notes have been recovered from terrorists, who had come from across the border. Fake currency printed abroad is generally channelised into India through Nepal and Dubai. Besides high quality fake currency notes being pumped into the country from across the border, criminal gangs and individuals within the country an remaking use of computes and sophisticated printers in making fake currency notes. Since the problem has national as well as international dimensions, it needs to be tackled effectively by the RBI, CBI and State Police Forces.

(xi) Fake Stamps Scam:

A multi core fake stamps racket operated by Abdul Karim Telgi throughout the length and breadth of the country for many years with the active collusion of Police, Security Press and officials of banks and insurance companies exposed vulnerability of the system. The extent of the revenue loss caused to the exchequer by this gang alone is being estimated to the tune of Rs. 25,000 cores. Since there are many other gangs also engaged in different parts of the country, the problem needs to be dealt with in a pro-active and holistic manner.

Legislative Measures to prevent White Collar Crimes:

There are a number of regulations in place to control Corporate criminal activities. These are:

1. Prevention of Corruption Act, 1988
3. SEBI Act, 1992
4. Insurance Act, 1938

5. Banking Regulation Act,1949
6. Reserve Bank of India Act,1934
7. Code of Criminal Procedure act 1973
8. The telecom Regulatory Authority of India Act 1997
9. Value Added Tax Act,2005.
10. Indian Companies Act, 1956
11. Public Accountants and Auditors Act,
12. Indian penal code:1860
13. Prevention of money laundering Act 2002.
- 14 Right to Information Act 2005
15. Central Vigilance Commission Act
- 16 Lok ayukta Acts of the state

Despite a slew of measures taken by the Governments there is neither decline in overall volume of economic crimes, nor reeducation in the number of major scams that are occurring with regular frequency in the country. In fact, the menace of economic crimes has assumed serious proportion, which needs to be addressed with a holistic approach. The following measures are recommended:

(i) Revamping Of Laws Governing Corporate Crimes:

The Laws governing economic offences are soft as compared to the laws enacted to deal with violent crimes like murders, dacoities, etc. Moreover, the laws have not kept pace with time, as a result, they have lost their efficacy. In fact, many of the laws seen in the

present context have become obsolete. For instance, frauds in telecom sectors are costing exchequers hundreds of cores of rupees annually, but the action against the culprits has to be taken under the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885. The highest punishment provided under the Act is three years imprisonment with a maximum fine of rupees for one thousand only! Imagine a culprit sentenced to a fine of one thousand rupees or causing loss of a few hundred cores! The Drugs & Cosmetics Act too has become anachronistic. The fine provided for selling spurious drugs (Section 275 IPC) is a meager one thousand rupees, even when the offender would have made cores of rupees by making and selling fake and spurious drugs. Therefore, all the laws relating to economic offences need to be reviewed and revamped to create necessary deterrence as has been done for dealing with the menace of terrorism, smuggling of psychotropic substances, etc.

(ii) Deprive Economic Offenders of the Proceeds of Crime:

Though thousands of cores of rupees are siphoned off by economic offenders every year, they continue to enjoy a luxurious life. Since the proceeds of crime in most of the cases continue to remain with them. Therefore, enforcement agencies dealing with the economic crime should make all out efforts to ensure that the fruits of crime are taken away from the economic offenders. Unless this is done, economic crimes will be a paying proposition to criminals.

(iii) Tightening of Bail Provisions:

Economic offenders are able to engage the best legal brains to defend them and obtain bail, though they would have duped lakhs of investors causing unimaginable agony to the investor. The state should also engage prosecutors with sound knowledge of law and impeccable integrity, to ensure that the economic offenders are not released on bail and thereafter secure strong conviction. The Ruling of the Supreme Court of India in Narendrjeet Singh Sahni v/s Union of India, needs to be followed by the courts in dealing with economic offenders.

“The White Collar Crime are akin to ECONOMIC GENOCIDE and considering for bail of such accused, would be misplaced sympathy of the Court because accused have deceived millions of countrymen who had invested their entire life’s saving in fictitious and frivolous companies.”

(iv) Creation of Exclusive Courts:

For a variety of reasons, the inordinate delay in conducting trial, investigation, inquiry, appeal, revision, retrial, lost of evidence, lapse of time and other factors Whatever may be the reason, it is justice that becomes casualty. the courts in India are not able to dispense justice promptly. One of the principal reasons is heavy backlog of cases. Therefore, there is need to create exclusive courts to bring offenders to book quickly.

(v) Need to Simplify Court Procedure:

Speedy trial and timely justice are integral parts of right to life and liberty under Article

21 of the Constitution of India. That is why, the popular saying goes “Justice delayed is justice denied”. Economic offenders with their huge ill-gotten wealth are known to have taken the criminal justice system in India for a ride. Either they corrupt it or derail it by procrastination of trial. The end-result is that hardly any economic offender is punished in a reasonable time frame. For instance, the cases against late Harshad Mehta the biggest scamste of 90’s and his associates, are still pending trial for more than a decade, whereas in the case of Lesson, who committed a similar type of crime in Singapore at the same time, was convicted swiftly within a year. Hence, there is need to simplify court procedure and ensure that economic offenders are not allowed to subvert the system. They need to be nailed within a year or two, which will definitely create necessary deterrence among their fraternity

(vi) Notify Economic Offenders On The Internet:

Economic offenders target different financial institutions like banks, etc., and also people at different place in the country and abroad. Therefore, the known economic offenders along with their photographs need to notified on the internet, which will help financial institutions and the public to take note of their modus operandi so as not to fall prey to their designs.

(vii) Need for Coordinated Action:

There are a number of Indian enforcement agencies / departments dealing with economic offenders, via. Police, Income

Tax, Customs, DRI, Serious Fraud Investigation Office, Enforcement Department, Commercial Tax's Department, SEBI, etc., but there is hardly any coordination among them. Every corporate crime of significance needs to be examined by all the agencies dealing with Corporate crime.

(viii) Make Diversion of Funds / Loans a Specific Offence:

The financial institutions including banks are saddled with non-performing assets (NPAs) of over Rs. 1,00,000/- cores. Many of the big borrowers use them for the purpose other than for which the loans were sanctioned. Therefore, there is needed to make diversion of funds a specific offence, with a punishment of over 10 years or more. It is also suggested that the loanees should submit an end-use certificate to the financial institutions.

CONCLUSION:

National strategies are inherently inadequate for responding to challenges that cross multiple borders and involve multiple jurisdictions and a multiplicity of laws. The rapid growth in global Corporate crime and the complexity of its investigation requires a global response. At present, the measures adopted to counter these crimes are not only predominantly national, but these measures differ from one country to another. It is absolutely imperative to increase cooperation between the world's law enforcement agencies and to continue to develop the tools, which will help them effectively counter global corporate crime. The Government noting a

number of deficiencies at one of the country's more important crime prevention agencies . These deficiencies related inter alia to a lack of clarity as to what the agency covered in the area of prevention work and to the absence of explicit methods for how

such work should be conducted. Therefore the Government establishes a special Economic penal code for preventing Economic offence.

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1. The terms “white-collar crime” and its offshoot, “organized crime,” reflect a half-century-old movement to remake the very definition of crime. Professor Edwin Sutherland, a sociologist who coined the term “white-collar crime,” disagreed with certain basic substantive and procedural principles of criminal law. In his landmark book, *White Collar crime*, first published in 1949, Sutherland dismisses the traditional mensrea (criminal intent) requirement and the presumption of innocence.
2. Section 420. Cheating and dishonestly inducing delivery of property.—Whoever cheats and thereby dishonestly induces the person deceived to deliver any property to any person, or to make, alter or destroy the whole or any part of a valuable security, or anything which is signed or sealed, and which is capable of being converted into a valuable security, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine. Of fraudulent deeds and dispositions of property
3. Section 409. Criminal breach of trust by public servant, or by banker, merchant or agent.—Whoever, being in any manner entrusted with property, or with any dominion over property in his capacity of a public servant or in the way of his business as a banker, merchant, factor, broker, attorney or agent, commits criminal breach of trust in respect of that property, shall be punished with 1[imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.
4. Section 232. Counterfeiting Indian coin.—Whoever counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting 3[Indian coin], shall be punished with 5[imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.
5. Section 274. Adulteration of drugs.—Whoever adulterates any drug or medical preparation in such a manner as to lessen the efficacy or change the operation of such drug or medical preparation, or to make it noxious, intending that it shall be sold or used for, or knowing it to be likely that it will be sold or used for, any medicinal purpose, as it had not undergone such adulteration, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.
6. Section 275. Sale of adulterated drugs.—Whoever, knowing any drug or medical preparation to have been adulterated in such a manner as to lessen its efficacy, to change its operation, or to render it noxious, sells the same, or offers

- or exposes it for sale, or issues it from any dispensary for medicinal purposes as unadulterated, or causes it to be used for medicinal purposes by any person not knowing of the adulteration, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.
7. Section 265. Fraudulent use of false weight or measure.— Whoever, fraudulently uses any false weight or false measure of length or capacity, or fraudulently uses any weight or any measure of length or capacity as a different weight or measure from what it is, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.
 8. Section 255. Counterfeiting Government stamp.— Whoever counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting, any stamp issued by Government for the purpose of revenue shall be punished with 1[imprisonment for life] or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine. Explanation.- A person commits this offence who counterfeits by causing a genuine stamps of one denomination to appear like a genuine stamp of a different denomination.
 9. Section 258. Sale of counterfeit Government stamp.— Whoever sells, or offers for sale, any stamp which he knows or has reason to believe to be a counterfeit of any stamp issued by Government for the purpose of revenue, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.
 10. Section 481. Using a false property mark.— Whoever marks any movable property or goods or any case, package or other receptacle containing movable property or goods, or uses any case, package or other receptacle having any mark thereon, in a manner reasonably calculated to cause it to be believed that the property or goods so marked, or any property or goods contained in any such receptacle so marked, belong to a person to whom they do not belong, is said to use a false property mark.
 11. Section 489. Tampering with property mark with intent to cause injury.— Whoever removes, destroys, defaces or adds to any property mark, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may thereby cause injury to any person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.] 1[Of currency- notes and bank- notes
 12. Section 489A. Counterfeiting currency- notes or bank- notes.— Whoever

- counterfeits, or knowingly performs any part of the process of counterfeiting, any currency- note or bank- note, shall be punished with 2[imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine. Explanation.- For the purposes of this section and of sections 489B, 3[489C, 489D and 489E], the expression” bank- note” means a promissory note or engagement for the payment of money to bearer on demand issued by any person carrying on the business of banking in any part of the world, or issued by or under the authority of any State or Sovereign Power, and intended to be used as equivalent to, or as a substitute for money.
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REACHING THE UNREACHED THROUGH FINANCIAL INCLUSION: AN ANALYSIS OF MICRO INTERVENTIONS

Sabat Kumar Digal

ABSTRACT

India's GDP growth is all set to overtake China and Indian stock market is touted as one of the best performing markets in Asia. Number of millionaires and billionaires are on rise. But, at the same time, number of poor living below the poverty line is also on the rise. Various initiatives such as subsidy, easier credit, etc. and policy interventions have failed to yield desired result. Gradually, there is a growing consensus that the overall growth of India will be possible only when there is development of its base i.e., poor and marginalized population. And, that will be possible through financial inclusion. So, the Government has taken up many steps like No-frill Account, JDY, Mudra Bank, DBT, etc. to plug the leakages and provide trickledown effect to the last mile. So, this paper attempts to analyse various interventions and its relative success. Paper argues that focus on financial inclusion will not be successful without equally developing other support systems that are key to its success.

Key Words: Financial Inclusion, Priority Sector Lending, Skewed Growth, Corporate-Led-Development Model, Job Less Growth, Financial Literacy,

Introduction

Celebration of eightieth year of the inception of Reserve Bank of India has blown the hornets' nest of India's growth models and its success. It has come at a time when India's growth rate, with change in the method of calculation, is projected to overtake China, making it one of the fastest growing economies in the world. What is more interesting is the fact that just few weeks earlier, the same forecast had painted a different picture of India's growth story. Amidst ecstasy of higher growth rate, it is also sensible to relook at the growth at the base and those who are socially marginalized and excluded groups living at the base of the country. This seems more imperative and logical when one relates the

urge of the Prime Minister to the apex bank to prepare a twenty year road map, with periodic goals, to see that all the unbanked are banked and there is last mile financing. Further, this assumes importance with the fact that the 'corporate-led-development' model has given minimal success and resulted in 'skewed growth'. There have also been many complains that this is leading to the jobless growth and benefits only those in the top of the pyramid and, not the people at the base. Therefore, the approach and focus of the policy makers and the Government is also changing where the large number of people, who were once touted as the guzzlers of national resources, are now considered to be

the untapped business opportunity and future growth potential.

Statement of the Problem

The Indian economy has come a long way since the ideas of Priority Sector Lending (PSL) guidelines were conceived. The idea of PSL and providing formal financial services to the 'unbanked' has a long history in independent India. In the years immediately after 1947, the formal banking sector was underdeveloped – the bank branches to population ratio was one branch per 1,36,000 people in 1950 compared to 13,000 in 2011, while the population of the country increased slightly more than threefold in the same period (Ananth and Oncu, 2013). According to the All India Rural Survey Committee Report, 1951-54, farmers received a measly 0.9% of the total credit by the commercial banks in 1951-52 as against the 24.9% by agriculturalist money lenders and 44.8% professional money lenders. This was even when the contribution of agriculture was 55% to the GDP in 1950.

Present size and reach of the Indian banking is impressive (Table 2) as compared to the 5,012 bank branches in 1961. Bank nationalization saw the rapid expansion of bank branches from 8,262 in 1969 to 60,220 in 1991. The growth slowed down after the economic reforms in 1991 to 68,355 bank branches in 2005. But, the renewed focus on the financial inclusion has led to the accentuation of bank branches. Increased in bank branches also resulted in the deposit and credit growth of more than 1,300 times between 1969 to 2012 (Gine, et al, 2011). There is success but either

it is concentrated in one area or community or locality. This got coincided with the process of liberalization which saw decline in the rural branches and an increase in the semi-urban and urban and metropolitan areas (Ananth & Oncu, 2013 and Karmakar, et al, 2011).

Many efforts by the Government have yielded no desired result owing to plethora of problems. Successful big bang exotic models proved dud or non-starters. Series of failures and changing times have made them think of new models for India. There is growing consensus in their realization that India can grow not only with the formal sector led by corporates but also with the informal sector led by the micro units. Because, focusing only on one stratum defeats the very purpose of the models quintessence of being broad based and inclusive in nature. This is more so due to the fact that the small and marginal farmers, micro enterprises and the weaker sections, that constitute the base of the economy, are not given due importance and, at the same time, do not form the national priority. It is obvious that India cannot grow without focusing on sectors such as agriculture infrastructure, social infrastructure, renewable energy, exports and medium sized enterprises but, barring recent years, these have often been out of the ambit policy planning. The most important financial challenge that the country faces today is to bring financial services to every doorstep and to every small enterprise. It's because, the poor are still too far away from, or too uncomfortable stepping into, bank branches. Therefore, there is a need to relook and realign PSL guidelines and other models

of growth towards today's inclusive agenda. Internal Working Groups constituted by the Reserve Bank, Government of India, etc. have been mandated to revisit the existing guidelines and suggest revised guidelines which will be in alignment with the national priorities as well as envisaged financial inclusion goals of the country.

Objectives of the Study

Amidst this backdrop, the present paper tries to:

1. Have a conceptual understanding of the changing trends of the Financial Inclusions;
2. Study the various initiative undertaken by the Government and the extent of its success; and
3. Analyse the challenges ahead.

Research Methodology

Present study is based on the secondary data collected from various journals, websites, RBI websites, Government records, etc. Collected data have been used to compare the progress in the financial inclusion process and draw meaningful inferences.

Genesis of Financial Inclusion

Financial Inclusion (FI) which is the buzz word today has had many connotations and interpretations. It can be said as the process by which the financial benefits are percolated downward to the people not having formal banking or financial channels. It can be defined as the process of ensuring access to appropriate financial products and services needed by all sections of the society in general

and vulnerable groups such as weaker sections and low income groups in particular at an affordable cost in a fair and transparent manner by mainstream institutional players. According to RBI, the role financial inclusion encapsulates the essence of renewed national focus on financial inclusion, promoting financial education and literacy and making credit available to productive sectors of the economy including rural and MSME sector.

Need for Financial Inclusion

With a billion plus population and six lakh villages, India has huge business and growth opportunity. But this is marred by various structural, social, cultural, financial, political and functional factors. Therefore, providing banking services to six lakh plus villages and to create an enabling environment for banks to do so, to further financial inclusion in a mission mode is a gigantic task. India has gone past more than sixty five years of independence and achieved distinctions in varied fields but it has also failed to provide basic necessities to millions. Country is poor not only in physical infrastructure but also in social infrastructure and ranked almost on par with the Sub-Saharan African countries in many indexes.

The Economic Census Survey, 2012 revealed that the scale and magnitude of what we have been ignoring for several decades. Of the 460 million people working in 57.7 million enterprises in informal sector, 262 million are self-employed. This sector accounts for about 90% of our non-agricultural work force, 50% of the gross GDP, and 40% of the non-farm GDP. Above all, this sector is almost completely out of the tax net and lacks

any formal access to credit or risk capital to grow and join the mainstream. Some estimates project that Indian GDP can be raised by about 15% if informal sector data is incorporated to GDP series. This will also expand the tax-GDP ratio, number of tax payers and also turn Government revenue. Given the potential of this sector to drive up jobs and taxes, it has force multiplier impact on the economy Yet only minuscule percent of this sector have access to institutional credit, forcing them to go to money lenders. Therefore, concerted efforts are required to bring in those millions excluded into the growth

path and inch them closure towards inclusive growth. Moreover, financial inclusion is not unique about India. Rather, it is at the centre stage of international policy discourse under the G-20 umbrella. More than fifty countries have set formal targets and goals of Financial Inclusion. Even, it is one of the Millennium Development Goals which was to be achieved by 2015. So, the colossal task of this magnitude needs strategies ranging from relaxation of regulatory guidelines, provision of new products and to supportive measures to achieve sustainable and scalable financial inclusion.

Table No – 1 Progress of Microfinance Programmes								
(As at End-March)								
Item	Self-Help Groups							
	Number (in Million)				Amount (` Billion)			
	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Loans disbursed by banks	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	145	165	206	240
	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(25)	(26)	(22)	(35)
Loans outstanding with banks	4.8	4.4	4.5	4.2	312	363	394	429
	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.3)	(78)	(81)	(86)	(102)
Savings with banks	7.5	8.0	7.3	7.4	70	66	82	99
	(2.0)	(2.1)	(2.0)	(2.3)	(18)	(14)	(18)	(25)
	Microfinance Institutions							
	Number				Amount (` Billion)			
Loans disbursed by banks	469	465	426	545	76	53	78	103
Loans outstanding with banks	2,176	1,960	2,042	2,422	107	115	144	165
	Joint Liability Groups							
	Number (in Million)				Amount (` Billion)			
Loans disbursed by banks	0.09	0.19	0.20	0.21	7	17	18	22
Notes : Figures in brackets indicate the details about SHGs covered under Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY)/NRLM/Other Govt. Sponsored programmes.								
Source: NABARD.								

Entrepreneurial Opportunity

Of all the developmental models, promotion and development of entrepreneurship is found to be more stable and rewarding. Most of the developed and the developing nations are the beneficiaries of sustained entrepreneurship. But, it is still at a nascent stage in India and majority of the population prefers to go for a fixed salary jobs than take risk and do something on their own. Considering more than half of our country's population was to be financially included and permitted to move from the marginal level to the main stream as producers and consumers of goods and services, FI has tremendous entrepreneurial prospective which would unleash the multiplier effect on the economic growth of the poor and the nation. Spur in entrepreneurial activity will exploit local resources, hone local skills and develop them too. Increased business activities in turn will propel the payment, savings and insurance services.

Increased Cost to Informal Sector

Although, various channels financial services are available to poor people and inaccessible in India, due to their geographical locations and yet to be linked to formal financial system, they are compelled to pay many times more for the same product which the rich people can access at a lower rate. This results in the financial distress of the people and the institutions too. Cases of farmer's suicide, SHG issues, etc. are glaring examples of this.

Financial Inclusion Initiatives

Government of India has initiated many schemes. Continuous efforts are on to make

it reach to the target group and derive the intended benefits. Some of the initiatives are as following:

1. **Branch Expansion:** Keeping in mind the business strategy of the banks, operating both in the public and private sectors, and comparative advantage of making it an integral part of their corporate plans, all the domestic commercial banks have been advised to draw up Board-approved Financial Inclusion Plans (FIP) till 2016. This is hoped to result in banking penetration and financial inclusion. These plans broadly include self-set targets in respect of rural brick and mortar branches opened; business correspondents (BC) employed; coverage of unbanked villages with population above 2000 as also other unbanked villages with population below 2000 through branches / BCs / other modes; no-frill accounts opened including through BC-ICT; Kisan Credit Cards (KCC) and General Credit Cards (GCC) issued; and other specific products designed by them to cater to the financially excluded segments. Further, the domestic Scheduled Commercial Banks are also required to open at least 25 per cent of their total number of branches during a year in unbanked rural (Tier 5 and Tier 6) centres.
2. **Relaxed Know Your Customer (KYC) Requirements:** To facilitate easy access to bank accounts and make making more people friendly, KYC requirements have been simplified in a

manner that small accounts can be opened with 'Aadhaar' card, or by self certification in the presence of bank officials.

3. **Correspondent Banking:** Given the difficult terrains and lesser number of branches, intermediaries are permitted to provide banking services as business facilitators and business correspondents (BC). The BC model allows banks to do 'cash in - cash out' transactions at a location much closer to the rural population, thus addressing the last mile problem.
4. **Combination of Branch and BC Structure:** To bridge the trust gap and bring in renewed confidence on the financial system, combination of Brick and Mortar structure with BCs have been allowed to further financial inclusion especially in geographically dispersed areas with a Core Banking Solution (CBS) terminal linked to a pass book printer. This is done for safe retention of cash for operating large customer transactions.
5. **Electronic Government Payments into Bank Accounts:** The recent introduction of direct benefit transfer (DBT) for validating the identity of the beneficiary through Aadhaar is to help facilitate delivery of social welfare benefits by direct credit to the bank accounts of beneficiaries. The government has plans to route all social security payments through the banking network using the Aadhaar based platform.
6. **Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (PMJDY):** With the launch of PMJDY, touted to be one of the largest inclusion programmes in the world, financial inclusion has got the status of national priority. It is based on the strong premise that if every Indian household is connected to the financial system, it will result in increased financial savings, which in turn can be used for the economic development. Coupled with this, it is hoped that the DBT will lessen leakages and price distortion and bring in more empowerment. Cash less economy will also reduce the incidence of corruption benefiting the beneficiaries.
7. **Mudra Bank:** Bringing the informal into formal sector is a challenge. Some estimates show that there are about 12 crores of people employed in informal sector. Despite its potential, it has no access to formal credit. Therefore, this sector is devoid of social security, and its potential is grossly untapped. So, the Government has launched the Mudra Bank to 'bank the unbanked' and 'fund the unfunded'. But, the challenge is to provide the certain amount of social security to the holders of these accounts and co-ordinating between the banks and insurance companies.
8. **JAM Trinity:** In the Union budget 2015-16, it was emphasized that the success of financial inclusion will depend lot on the success of the JAM (Jan Dhan Yojana, Aadhaar and Mudra Bank) trinity. India being one the fastest growing mobile markets in the world, mobile can be used to its full potential.

Table No – 2 Financial Inclusion Plans and All SCBs (including RRBs)			
Variable	Mar-13	Mar-14	Absolute Change
			(2013-14)
Banking Outlets in Villages - Branches	40,837	46,126	5,289
Banking Outlets in Villages – Branchless Mode	227,617	337,678	110,061
Banking Outlets in Villages – Total	268,454	383,804	115,350
Urban Locations covered through BCs	27,143	60,730	33,587
Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (BSBDA) through branches (No. in million)	101	126	25.2
Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (BSBDA) through branches (Amt. in Rs. billion)	165	273	108
Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (BSBDA) through BCs (No. in million)	81	117	35.7
Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (BSBDA) through BCs (Amt. in Rs. billion)	18	39	20.7
BSBDA Total (in million)	182	243	60.9
BSBDA Total (Amt. in Rs. billion)	183	312	129
OD facility availed in Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (No. in million)	4	6	2
OD facility availed in Basic Savings Bank Deposit Account (Amt. in Rs. billion)	2	16	14.5
KCCs-Total (No. in million)	34	40	6.2
KCCs-Total (Amt. in Rs. billion)	2,623	3,684	1,061.0
GCC-Total (No. in million)	4	7	3.8
GCC-Total (Amt. in Rs. billion)	76	1,097	1,021.0
ICT A/Cs-BC Total Transactions (No. in million) during the year	250	329	-
ICT A/Cs-BC Total Transactions (Amt. in Rs. billion) during the year	234	524	-
Note: Absolute change could be slightly different as numbers have been rounded off to million/billion			
Source: rbi.org.in			

Challenges of Financial Inclusion

Though the idea of financial inclusion has many benefits, a country of 1.25 billion populations has major challenges too. Therefore, the RBI appointed Dr. Nachiket Mor Committee on Committee on Comprehensive Financial Services for Small Business and Low Income Households to examine the challenges to Financial Inclusion. The Committee recommended that universal bank account to all Indians above the age of eighteen years be provided and Vertically Differentiated Banking System with Payments Banks for Deposits

& Payments and Wholesale Banks for credit outreach with relaxed entry point norms be established. NBFCs are to be allowed to work as BCs, and distance criteria of 30 kms. for BCs be done away with.

Non Performing Assets (NPA): NPA has been a major deterrent in the credit programmes of the banks. But, contrary to popular belief and claim by the banks, the amount of NPA in priority sector is more than the priority sector. Increase in terms of percentage and also in quantum, it is more than the priority sector.

Table No – 3 Advances and NPAs of Domestic Banks by Priority and Non-Priority Sectors *
(Amount in ` Billion)

Bank Group	Priority Sector			Non-Priority Sector		
	Gross Advances	Gross NPAs	Gross NPAs as Per Cent of Total	Gross Advances	Gross NPAs	Gross NPAs as Per Cent of Total
Public Sector Banks						
2013	12,790	669	42.9	27,769	890	57.1
2014	15,193	792	36.5	30,712	1,375	63.5
Nationalised Banks**						
2013	8,891	405	42.2	19,170	554	57.8
2014	10,711	530	37.7	21,249	877	62.3
SBI Group						
2013	3,899	264	44.0	8,599	335	56.0
2014	4,482	261	34.4	9,463	499	65.6
Private Sector Banks						
2013	3,157	52	26.0	7,309	148	74.0
2014	3,831	61	27.0	8,287	167	73.0
All SCBs (Excluding Foreign Banks)						
2013	15,947	721	41.0	35,078	1,038	59.0
2014	19,024	852	35.6	38,998	1,542	64.4

Notes: 1. *: Excluding foreign banks.

2. **: Includes IDBI Bank Ltd.

3. Constituent items may not add up to the total due to rounding off.

Source: rbi.org.in

Technology: Given the large number of illiterate population, optimum use of technology to reduce asymmetric information is a challenge. So, the innovations like Bio-metric authentication to reduce leakages of DBT and increased use of mobiles for banking functions

is being envisaged. This is expected to have a deep penetration of outreach and leap frog the barriers of geography for sustainable, scalable financial inclusion. But, installation of technology and its use is more costly.

Table – 4 Indian Banking Sector at a Glance (Amount in Billion)				
Items	Amount Outstanding (As at End-March)		Percentage Variation	
	2013	2014	2012-13	2013-14
Sectoral Deployment of Bank Credit #				
Gross bank credit	49642	56572	13.6	14.0
Agriculture	5899	6694	7.9	13.5
Industry	22302	25229	15.1	13.1
Services	11519	13370	12.6	16.1
Personal loans	8976	10367	14.7	15.5
Technological Development				
Total number of credit cards (in million)	20	19	10.8	-1.7
Total number of debit cards (in million)	331	394	19.1	19.0
Number of ATMs	114,014	160,055	19.2	40.4
Customer Services*				
Total number of complaints received during the year	70,541	76,573	-3.2	8.6
Total number of complaints addressed	69,704	78,745	-4.4	13.0
Percentage of complaints addressed	92.7	95.9	-	-
Financial Inclusion				
Credit-deposit ratio (Per cent)	79.1	78.9	-	-
Number of new bank branches opened	7,757	10,738	-	-
Number of banking outlets in villages (Total)	268,454	383,804	47.7	43.0

Notes : 1. * : The number of complaints received and addressed are inclusive of RRBs and co-operatives. Total number of complaints addressed during the year are from the complaints received during the year as well as those pending at the beginning of the year.

Source: rbi.org.in

Financial Literacy: Finance literates can read and decipher the meaning between the lines. Therefore, financial literacy is an important step in protecting consumer from exploitation or exclusionary practices. But, though not sufficient, without the effective regulation, financial literacy alone cannot achieve the desired result. Financial literacy along with legislation can work as a medium between financial inclusion, consumer protection and financial stability. Efforts are on by the banks and they have set up around 942 FLCs by March 2014 and are also conducting outdoor Financial Literacy Camps.

Numbers vs. Quality: Unprecedented success of PMJDY in terms of number of accounts opened is heart-warming. But, it has thrown open many questions like why were earlier initiatives not that successful, is the number more important than the speed, what if these accounts are duplicate and full coverage is not done, what if the opened accounts remained non-operational, etc. These have opened up the pandoras box of questions as to who will work with banks to ensure effectiveness and make the financial inclusion programme a success.

Grievance Redressal: Redressal of customer grievance is as important as financial inclusion. It's because of the fact that most of the customers are poor, illiterate and stay in far flung areas. Non redressal of their grievances will widen the existing trust gap, jeopardizing the entire initiatives.

Code of Conduct and BCs: BCs being the point of contact for the customers and banks,

the success of the programme depends lot on their intention and aligning of their objectives with the inclusion initiative. As a result, there is a need for code of conduct for BCs for control and ethical dealing with the customers.

Collaboration with Other Institutions: Given the mammoth task, collaboration with NGOs, NABARD, and educational institutions is required. There must also be closure engagement with other stakeholders to inculcate savings, investment, security habits and basic business sense among the people.

Financial Framework: Though more number of institutions is eager to lend and there is credit uptick, yet many sectors in the economy, even today, are getting too little credit. Therefore, a broad financial framework based solution needs to be developed. Further, schemes like interest subventions, loan waivers, easier credit and loan in PSL have become less effective. So, alternative but viable models must also be innovated.

Restriction on the ATM Transactions: RBI has limited the number of ATM transactions spooking debate if it is in favour or against financial inclusion. Central bank has its own logic that rich customers with more number of transactions are subsidized by the poor customers with fewer transactions. But, it is going to be the norm.

Innovation: Innovation without security is worse than no innovation at all. Unscrupulous calls and cross selling to gullible customers is a major hurdle needs to be overcome before financial inclusion is made success.

Synergies: Financial inclusion can thrive only when other support services are in place. Therefore, the involvement of all stakeholders and the commitment from all the people is necessary. To bring in economic efficiency, infrastructure be used to the maximum.

Financial Inclusion and Bank Performance

There is a growing debate that the mindless opening of accounts in pursuit of financial inclusion will end up stressing the already stressed banks more. But, other view is that once the accounts are opened and people develop the banking habits, it is the bank that will derive more benefit than the beneficiaries themselves. Considering the more than 50% of the population without bank account, even a 50% of account holders can give banks enormous profit. But, this will require huge investment in infrastructure and financial literacy. Complains of the banks that the PSL have added to growing NPA has been proved wrong. Contrary to popular belief, annual reports show that the high ticket borrowers are the major contributors to the growing NPAs of the banks.

Results and Discussion

Ever since the idea of financial inclusion was conceptualized and given a big push, it has come a long way. Many say it is a roaring success and many dub it as a mega failure. The success or failure of the programme should not only be judged from the point of view of only the numbers but also the level of intent behind the prevailing socio-cultural

conditions. Except for the mammoth success of PMJDY and many SHGs, very few other initiatives have seen success to the hilt. There has been impressive growth in the number of branches and the total capital outlay (Table 1), but given the sheer size of intended coverage, it has miles to go. This will require establishment of more number of branches and credit disbursement. This might result in the growing NPA of all the banks. But, to the satisfaction of the policy makers, loans extended to Non-priority sectors has more incidence of NPA than priority sector (Table 3). So, it is time to break the myth that the priority sector is the main reason behind growing NPA and bank loss and move on with the renewed focus on the priority sector. But, this warrants a proper policy in place to ensure that the sector does not become a NPA behemoth and all the symptoms of stress are dealt deftly.

Moreover, more number of branches will require huge capital and recurring expenditure. It is more so in case of rural and inaccessible areas. But, this tradition of opening branches only in business viable areas needs to be dealt sternly by the apex bank. Banks must be made to adhere to the 25% branch opening norm. Current achievement of banks in usage of technology must be enhanced to provide low-cost, affordable and seamless services to the last mile customers (Table 4). Deeper use of mobile has to be encouraged and at the same time its safety and security aspects need to be taken care of. Customer service in terms of grievance

redressal has to be made a priority to retain the existing customers and bring in new customers to the banking fold. Sectoral deployment has to increase in agriculture (Table 4) to benefit the real needy.

Though due to sheer size and reach, public sector banks have a bigger role to play, yet instead of making only public sector banks spend more on inclusion initiatives (Table 2), all the banks operating in India are made equal partners in the drive. This will help achieve the objectives faster and reduce the burden of few banks shouldering the entire responsibility. Since, challenge of financial inclusion is more of structural than functional and regulatory, banks need to revamp their structure for carrying out incremental banking operational measures well aligned with their competitiveness, comparative advantage and business strategy.

Conclusion

Financial Inclusion is an idea whose time has come and it is here to stay. With increasing pyramidal growth and very few sections of the society getting benefit, financial inclusion is going to play a pivotal role in percolating the benefits to the last mile and thereby resulting in the inclusive growth. If implemented in true spirit, it can transform the entire society. But, it cannot be successful on its own. It needs lot of support system to become functional and effective. Therefore, to realize its full potential, basic infrastructure must be in place. Government initiatives like Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, the

MUDRA Bank, Direct Benefit Transfer along with technologies, new institutions, and new processes, albeit slowly, is moving in the right direction. Continuous efforts to plug loopholes coupled with greater consumer protection and consumer literacy will surely fructify sooner than later empower the poor and the small with both choice and opportunities. Besides, there is also the need for disruptive innovation and out of the box thinking. But, innovation for the sake of innovation will kill the very spirit of financial inclusion and distance the people from the financial fold. This will defeat the very intent that it aims to bring in the informal sector to the formal sector. But, successful implementation will help revive the dwindling savings rate, and channelize the amount to the needy and putting into productive use.

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TRANSFORMATION OF CORPORATE THROUGH SUSTAINABILITY LEADERSHIP: A CASE STUDY

Giridhari Sahoo

ABSTRACT

The present paper endeavors to study the concept of sustainability leadership, challenges faced by the corporate leaders, implementation of strategies for corporate leadership and a case study of a global corporate Wipro Ltd. The present society needs committed and creative leaders leading for organizations to promote a world in which economic development is attained for the benefit of all simultaneously conserving the planet's natural capital and improving people's living conditions. Corporate sustainability requires a powerful corporate leadership culture where employee energy, passion, and intellectual capital can flourish to support objectives of the organization. Sustainable leadership and improvement are about the past and the future. They do not treat people's knowledge, experience and careers as disposable waste but as valuable, renewable and re-combinable resources. In this context, Sustainability leadership plays a vital role.

KEYWORDS: Sustainable leadership, Sustainability, Corporate, Business.

INTRODUCTION:

Sustainability may be *Business leaders and companies which are able to restore growth create jobs and increase access to products, services and livelihood opportunities in a resource-constrained and low-trust world.* Today society needs creative leaders to promote a world in simultaneously conserving the natural capital and improving people's living conditions. Corporate sustainability requires a powerful corporate leadership culture where employee energy, passion, and intellectual capital can flourish. 'Business as usual' is totally inadequate to meet this challenge, so too is incremental change at the margin. Transformational or systemic change is necessary, and in its absence our shared prosperity and stability are at risk. Future generations will look at today's

business leaders as having failed dismally in their core responsibility of creating long-term wealth; the kind of wealth in which financial capital is only one asset alongside human, natural and social capital, and short-term profit is a means not the end.

Sustainable leadership and improvement are about the future and the past. They do not treat people's knowledge, experience and careers as disposable waste but as valuable, renewable and re-combinable resources. In this context, sustainability leadership plays a vital role for the growth, development and survival of an organization.

The achievement of transformational change will be impossible without substantial innovation in business models, science and

technology, financing mechanisms, market incentives and governance institutions. These will require new types of business leadership, alongside political leadership.

Corporate Sustainability Leadership at the edge describes three mutually reinforcing levels of business leadership that have the potential to harness the wealth creating capabilities and global networks of private enterprise to deliver long-term value for both shareholders and society.

CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY LEADERSHIP:

According to a survey of 766 United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) member CEOs (Accenture & UNGC, 2010), 93% of CEOs view sustainability as important to their company's future success. But this leads to the question: what do we mean by sustainability leadership?

“A sustainability leader is someone who inspires and supports action towards a better world.”

The Sustainability Leadership Institute's (2011) offers another definition, suggesting that sustainability leaders as “individuals who are compelled to make a difference by deepening their awareness of themselves in relation to the world around them. In doing so, they adopt new ways of seeing, thinking and interacting that result in innovative, sustainable solutions.” The paper is based on a case study of Mr. Anil Agarwal, Chairman, Vedanta Group.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY:

The study is based on secondary data which is collected from the published reports of corporate, newspapers, journals and websites, etc. The following are objectives:

- To critically examine the challenges faced by the corporate leaders for sustainability leadership.
- To study the implementation of strategies for corporate leadership and measuring sustainability outcomes.
- To make the case study of a global corporate Wipro Ltd.

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CORPORATE LEADERS:

- **Living with uncertainty and complexity:** Leading companies tend to have a more sophisticated appreciation of complexity developed through their interest in long-term, mega-trends and by engaging with a broad range of stakeholders. They make a greater effort to involve a range of perspectives in risk assessment and strategy making, including from those stakeholders representing a great diversity and conflicting interests.
- **Valuing difference:** Being able to listen to and truly hear “different voices” from inside and outside the company, is a key feature for future success. Meeting dissent with an open mind is a challenge.

- **A relational enterprise:** Successful companies go beyond stakeholder consultations and surveys designed to underpin a CSR report, and engage in dialogue and collaboration. Stakeholder engagement may not be limited to awareness. It should also become a source of new ideas and practices.
- **Stepping outside the system:** Creative companies are not content to simply respond to a shifting landscape. They also experiment with new ways of working, including by using technologies and developing products that have the potential to transform markets through the power of example.
- **Leaders developing leaders:** Great organizations are not driven by just one great leader at the top. At every stage it fosters leadership quality and respects initiative, new thinking and innovation.
- **Recruiting and Retaining Employees:** Job seekers today are very demanding in view options available. Dubbed as the entitlement generation face issues like work life balance, virtual workplace, working hour flexibility, employee benefits, workplace culture, and upward mobility. Employers who aim to satisfy these demands have higher expectations about the caliber of employees they hire, which makes recruiting and retaining employees a growing challenge.
- **Impact of Technology and Social Media:** Managing social media has emerged as a major challenge. Social media contributes to cost cutting on service head and it also threatens the retention of customers and reputation.

Constant development in technology facilitate cost cutting and also involves periodic high capital cost. In fact developed countries retain update technology and even sale outdated technology and equipment. In the process they retain their edge in cost and quality.

IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIES FOR CORPORATE LEADERSHIP:

The following five issues are among the top strategic challenges that business leaders must tackle head-on today:

- **Globalization:** Today, almost any company can have a global reach. Even if they choose not to operate globally, they will likely have global competition and will be forced to deal with globalization issues at some level. Cultural diversity among employees and customers also pose a challenge.
- **Short-term vs. Long-term Strategy:** Perry Ray, “If companies are to survive and thrive in such a challenging landscape, they need to be able to create a meeting point where short and long-term needs connect. Abandoning short-termism for the longer horizon has been exhorted as the antidote to the recent crisis.

But what is really needed is a return to perennial principles of good business practice, with short-term operational actions that are congruent with the long-term vision.”

- **Adaptability and Change Management:** Market changes are occurring much more rapidly, and product life cycles are much shorter than in the past. This demands the ability for leaders to manage change effectively and adjust business models and practices rapidly enough to keep up with the competition, while balancing the management of change with rapid growth potential.

MEASURING SUSTAINABILITY OUTCOMES:

Given the broad sustainability construct and its multiple components, a firm’s sustainability performance may be measured in many ways. A “balanced scorecard” approach to sustainability has been suggested, addressing the perspectives of financial (shareholders’ interests), customer (creating customer value), internal business processes (performance on key internal dimensions), and learning and growth (meeting future challenges) performance. In addition, Epstein and Roy (2003) propose nine dimensions of sustainability performance: ethics, governance, transparency, business relationships, financial return, community involvement/economic development, value of products and services, employment practices, and protection of the environment.

According to the balanced scorecard approach, these multiple dimensions must be considered in assessing a firm’s sustainability net impact. Comparing firm performance may be difficult, because the sustainability research to date has clearly shown that sustainability initiatives—and matrix vary across corporations and industries (Reilly, 2009). For example, manufacturing companies may emphasize reducing emissions, decreasing water consumption, and recycling by-products, while service firms may focus on customer relationships, employee development, and community service.

Many sustainability matrixes are reported on a voluntary basis, and till date most measures are not standardized (unlike GAAP, generally accepted accounting principles). Furthermore, organizations communicate their sustainability initiatives through multiple media and approaches. About two-thirds of U.S.-based global firms issue some form of stand-alone corporate social responsibility (CSR) report including sustainability matrixes (Sustainable Life Media, 2008). Many companies are active users of social media as well (blogs, Facebook, Twitter).

A CASE STUDY ON WIPRO (WESTERN INDIA PRODUCT LIMITED) Ltd.

“If people are not laughing your goals, your goals are too small”

-Mr.AzimPermji, Chairman, Wipro.

Brief History: Azim Hashim Premji (born 24 July 1945 in Bombay Presidency) is the

founder of Wipro and has been its Executive Chairman and Managing Director since September 1968. Currently with a wealth of \$13.8 billion (as of October 2013) he is the fourth richest Indian as per the Forbes magazine. Considered to be one of the pioneers of the Indian software industry, he is widely acknowledged for transforming his company “Wipro Limited”, which was a FMCG firm during the 80s, to one of the leading blue chip technological organizations in India. Premji has been honoured with several awards and honorary doctorates including the “Padma Vibhushan”, India’s second highest civilian felicitation in recognition of his life time achievements in the business world.

Premji was born in Karachi, to an affluent Gujarati, Shia Nizari Ismaili Muslim entrepreneur MH Hasham Premji who owned the Western India Products (which later became Wipro) which made hydrogenated vegetable oils and fats. It was listed in Bombay Stock Exchange in 1945. His grandfather too was an entrepreneur and popularly called the rice king of Burma.

Premji was forced to leave his studies in electrical engineering from Stanford University, California, USA at the age of 21 to take over the family business when his father suddenly died in 1966. Soon after taking charge of the company, it went into diversification spree, including products like bakery fats, ethnic ingredient based toiletries, hair care soaps, baby toiletries, lighting products, and hydraulic cylinders. Thereafter

Premji made a focused shift from soaps to software.

The Amalner-based vanaspathi manufacturing company, the Western India Product later became Wipro Products Ltd, Wipro Technologies and Wipro Corporation. Premji soon led an ambitious expansion into manufacturing light bulbs with General Electric and other consumer products including soaps, baby care products, shampoos, powder etc.

In the 1980s, Wipro entered the IT field, and got involved in making computer hardware, software development and related items, under a special license from Sentinel. This led to the company growing within a few decades to a \$6 billion diversified, integrated corporation in services, medical systems, technology products and consumer items with offices worldwide.

Azim Premji is married to Yasmeen, the couple have two children, Rishad and Tariq. Rishad is married to Aditi and is currently the Chief Strategy Officer of IT Business, Wipro. Premji has been recognized by Business Week as one of the Greatest Entrepreneurs for being responsible for Wipro emerging as one of the world’s fastest growing companies. In 2011, he has been awarded Padma Vibhushan, the second highest civilian award by the Government of India.

Awards & Recognition:

- Wipro is recognized as member of Dow Jones Sustainability Index (DJSI), World for the sixth time in a row. Wipro is also a member of the DJSI Emerging Markets Index.

- Wipro won the Parivartan award in Sustainability Disclosure Leadership at Annual Summit of the Sustainable Business Leadership Forum in 2012.
 - Channel NewsAsia, Sustainalytics and CSR Asia, have ranked Wipro as 1st among the 100 most sustainable corporations in Asia in the 2015 Channel NewsAsia Sustainability Ranking.
 - Wipro is selected as a member of the Euronext Vigeo Emerging Market Sustainability Index (the 70 most advanced companies in the Emerging Market Region)
 - Wipro is named as a 2015 World's Most Ethical Company by the Ethisphere Institute for the Fourth Successive Year
 - Wipro Wins Seven Awards At CIO Choice Honor & Recognition 2015
 - Wipro is named a 2015 Best Outsourcing Thought Leadership Awards (BOTL) winner by The Outsourcing Institute
 - Wipro is accredited as a Young up-And-Coming Innovative companies by Boston Consulting Group (BCG) in their 2014 global innovators survey
 - Wipro recognized as 2014 Asia IP Elite for the progress made in developing and rolling out world-class IP strategies
 - Wipro is recognized as the Top 26 Most Innovative companies for the year 2014 across all service sectors and industries by Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)
 - Wipro won Gold Award for 'Integrated Security Assurance Service (iSAS)' under the 'Vulnerability Assessment, Remediation and Management' category of the 11th Annual 2015 Info Security PG's Global Excellence Awards
 - Wipro won Bronze Award for 'Smart Grid Security Solution' under the 'New Products and Services' category of the 11th Annual 2015 Info Security PG's Global Excellence Awards
 - Wipro Honoured as World's Most Ethical Company by Ethisphere Institute for the Fourth Successive Year, 2015
 - Wipro won 7 awards, including Best Managed IT Services and Best System Integrator in the CIO Choice Awards 2015, India
 - Wipro won 'NASSCOM Corporate Award for Excellence in Diversity and Inclusion 2014', recognised for outstanding work in the Persons with Disability (PwD) category
 - Wipro Ltd. was ranked 8th in the Best Companies for Leaders 2015 list in a study conducted by Chally Group in partnership with Chief Executive magazine.
- Case Analysis for Corporate Leadership:**
- **Contribution towards Globalization:** Wipro Limited (Western India Products Limited) is an Indian multinational IT consulting and System Integration Services Company headquartered in Bangalore, India. As of March 2015, the company has 158,217 employees

servicing over 900 of the Fortune 1000 corporations with a presence in 67 countries. On 31 March 2015, its market capitalization was approximately \$ 35 Billion, making it one of India's largest publicly traded companies and seventh largest IT Services firm in the World. (Source: Audited Annual Report 2014-2015)

- **Recruiting and Retaining Employees:** Wipro conducted Employee Perception Survey (EPS) on

biennial basis through which it captures employee engagement & feedback. A shorter EPS Pulse survey is conducted in the interim period to provide a stock-take on actions implemented as a result of the main EPS survey. With 66% participation, EPS Pulse 2014 showed an increase of 1% in participation over EPS 2013, and also an increase of 2% in the overall engagement score. (Source: Audited Annual Report 2014-2015)

Age Split of Employees:

Age Group	2014-15	2013-14	2012-13
18 - 20	0.5%	0.3%	0.4%
20 – 30	61.0%	61.7%	63.4%
30 – 40	29.9%	29.4%	28.5%
40 – 50	6.7%	6.8%	6.0%
> 50	1.9%	1.8%	1.7%

From the above table, Retention of 20-40 age group of employees are more, which indicate thatn employees like to work along with the work culture of Wipro Ltd.

Gender Diversity of Employees:

Gender	2014-15	2013-14	2012-13
Male	69.8%	69.3%	70.0%
Female	30.2%	30.7%	30.0%

In a conservative country like India, female employees are more than 30% since last three consecutive years. So it refers that Wipro Ltd. is female friendly & safe working

environment. (Source: Audited Annual Report 2014-2015)

- **Impact of Technology and Social Media:** Wipro Ltd. always managing the

social media in a well manner. Some head lines of Print media are as follows:

- o Improving the Broadband Fulfilment Practice (Monday, September 28th, 2015 Source: Mobile Enterprise)
- o Why the energy industry should go digital (Monday, September 28th, 2015 Source: Energy Central)
- o Next Gen Pharma Takes Smart Strides with IoT (Monday, September 28th, 2015 Source: Pharmaceutical Processing)
- o Looking beyond the ‘liberating’ philosophy, the principles of open source can create immense business value (Friday, September 25th, 2015 Source: IT Next)
- o Perspective: Emerging Trends in Enterprise Network (Thursday, September 24th, 2015 Source: Communications Today)
- o Employer of Choice (Tuesday, September 22nd, 2015 Source: Hindustan Times)
- o Open Source as a Launch Pad for Scaling (Monday, September 21st, 2015 Source: IT Next)
- o 68,000 people take part in Wipro Marathon (Sunday, September 20th, 2015 Source: The Statesman)
- **Short-term vs. Long-term Strategy:** Wipro’s change is enabled by innovation in technology and rapid adoption of advanced technologies or ‘Digital’ technologies. These Digital technologies

are redefining user experiences and influencing individuals and enterprises. It leads to transformation of technology. The long term strategy of the company be a part of sustainable development and hence adopt all sustainability measures to attain the same. (source: Chairman’s Statement, 2015)

- **Adaptability and Change Management:** As change is the only constant in today’s world, to cope with the changes Wipro always involves in innovation and transformation of technology.
- **Leaders developing leaders:** As on today Wipro has developed more than five leaders who have proven their potential on their own fields. Mr. Sobroto Bagchi is one of them who is the founder of Mind Tree Technologies Ltd emerging as IT company of India.

CONCLUSION:

Sustainability leadership matters, spreads and lasts. It is a shared responsibility, that does not unduly deplete human or financial resources, and that cares for and avoids exerting negative damage on the surrounding environment and community environment. Sustainable leadership has an activist engagement with the forces that affect it, and builds an educational environment of organizational diversity that promotes cross-fertilization of good ideas and successful practices in communities of shared learning and development. All organizations need

sustainable leaders in order to be successful. Talent management practices implemented with robust technology applications can effectively identify and develop from all levels of the workforce the leaders who will best drive business performance.

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THE MOVEMENT - A BRIEF INTRODUCTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOM GUNN

Ram Sharma
Archana

ABSTRACT:

The Movement by 1950's became cognizant of its aspirations. Gunn admired the poetry of Jennings. What made Gunn's name appear in the list of the Movement poets were the similar ideas he shared with other Movement poets. The teachings of Leavis provided a link between Davie, Gunn and Enright. Economy of expression is an important characteristic of Thom Gunn's poetic style. He can express a profound idea in limited words. Thom Gunn is endowed with a very keen modern sensibility and his poetry dwells on those aspects of the Modern life which are prevalent but not noticed, observed and analyzed sensitively. Certain trends brought Movement poets together, but all of them grew out of it after 1956, they are and wanted to be considered separate, as they happened to adopt the trends that they thought had stood for Movement. Gunn as a poet developed tremendously and he succeeded in rooting his new ideas about human existence. Gunn was occasionally linked with poems on subjects like mental breakdown, suicide, violence and drugs. Gunn dwelt however, upon the pain and violence of psychic disturbance.

The Movement by 1950's became cognizant of its aspirations. The chief factors of this school of thought were anti-Romanticism, high-lighting the texture of poetry of the Movement in contrast to that of 1940's. Earlier, it presented an indistinct picture of its decade but later it succeeded in molding itself as a solid base with the publication of *Lucky Jim*; which is the key work of the Movement. Larkin and Amis alliance prejudiced the world of writing by their individual styles. But Larkin-Amis-Wain triangle can be pertinently justified as the core of the Movement. But it was Elizabeth Jennings who developed a poetic style more analogous to the Movement. Another step forward was edition of *Essay in Criticism* by

F.W. Bateson, which intended to supplement the work of Leavis's *Scrutiny*. Another poet Thom Gunn through his involvement in the undergraduate Cambridge magazine *Granta* received support from a group of associates. Especially Karl Miller among all gave special attention to Gunn's poetry, "When I wrote a new poem I would give it to him for criticism, and he would pin it to the wall above his desk for several before days he told me what he thought of it...he matured my mind amazingly." (1) Gunn's involvement with *The Spectator* and *New Stateman* drew, Miller's preference for Movement work Gunn's work has always been found to be marked by 'toughness' and 'hardness.'

Another Movement writer D.J. Enright made solemn contributions in the *Times Literary Supplement*. He made a positively harmful effect on contemporary writings; in order to save the Movement against it. Enright did what he could to promote the individuality of the Movement along with Robert Conquest. They together edited two Movement anthologies: *Poets of the 1950's* and *New Lines* and by 1952 reviewers started talking about this new kind of poetry. Gunn admired the poetry of Jennings. But amazingly no Movement poets actually ever met, if then by chance, as Gunn himself says, "The big joke, about the Movement was that none of the people had ever met each other and certainly never subscribed to anything like a programme. There were a few chance resemblances, but they were pretty chances." (2) What made Gunn's name appear in the list of the Movement poets were the similar ideas he shared with other Movement poets. The teachings of Leavis provided a link between Davie, Gunn and Enright. Gunn was a keen fan of Leavis who not only made him a better poet but even a better critic. Gunn said:

He attracted me as a few other teachers at Cambridge did....And his discrimination and enthusiasm helped teach me write better than any creative writing class could have. His insistence on the realized, being the life of poetry, was exactly what I needed. (3)

Leavis's actually influenced the poetry of the Movement. There has been a sense of resemblance also found between Ted Hughes and Gunn, as they followed more or less the

same track. These two poets are known as Poets of Violence. Critics held back upon this image of Gunn.

A name further added to the Movement was of John Lehmann. During the World War II, in order to popularize this new kind of poetry, the poets like Davie, Gunn, Jennings, Wain and Holloway started a radio programme – *New Soundings*. Later Lehmann succeeded Wain as new editor and his programme was broadcast under the title *First Reading*. About First Reading Wain himself said, It "was a chance to move a few of the established reputations gently to one side and allow new people their turn ...the result was the birth of what later became known as the Movement." (4)

Poems of fifteen Movement poets were read over the radio including Gunn's. Thus, the promotion of the Movement continued throughout the series. G.S. Fraser's anthology *Springtime*, Amis, Enright, Jennings's *P.E.N. anthology* (1953), *The Listener*, the *Spectator New Lines Times Literary Supplement* (1954) all these emergences had a large part to play in the development of the Movement. The Movement does not glamorize backwaters, far from being picturesque, they are hideous and dreary. Their works usually bear the mark of industrial life. Texts like Gunn's 'lines for a book' portray an image of a typical Movement person as a tough insensitive rather as a soft-hearted hero.

In *My Sad Captains* (1961) Gunn deliberately drew attention by dividing the collection into two halves: sixteen poems using standard metrical forms in part-one, thirteen syllabic poems in part-two. Gunn chose a more

relaxed tone of voice. As Gunn himself said, “The second half consists of taking up that humaner impulse in a series of Syllabic poems which are something new in my work. Syllabic were really only a way of teaching myself to write free verse.”(5) The poem *Considering the Snail* is a Movement poem rather than an attempt to honor a small object concerned with non-human world yet more human than his earlier ones.

Considering the Snail is a short poem which deals with a significant idea. Gunn observes the snail ‘pushing through a green night;’ and making a ‘bright path,’ ‘Where rain has darkened the earth’s dark;’ the movement of the snail is not merely a movement through a physical and natural wood but through ‘a wood of desire.’ The poet finds passionate determination and purpose in the difficult, slow movement of the snail through a difficult terrain.

The poet wonders about the mysterious power at work in the movement of the snail and about the purpose which impels it. The following lines of the poem are very emotional:

If cannot tell
What power is at work, drenched
there
With purpose, knowing nothing.
What is a snail’s fury?
The poet catches the mystery of the snail’s
life in the last three lines of the poem:
I would never have
imagined the slow passion
to that deliberate progress.

The poem testifies to Thom Gunn’s power of minute observations of the phenomenon of nature. It is indeed remarkable that he chooses to write a poem on a snail, one of the smallest of creatures, and can see and depict the sense of purpose, determination bordering on fury in the slow movement of the snail. The movement may be slow but not the passion and fury behind it. And the snail’s progress is no mean progress; it has made a bright path on the grass and the ground which has been darkened by the rain.

Some of the images employed by the poet are very vivid and striking, ‘Where rain has darkened the earth’s dark;’ is a much heightened image of darkness. The rain has enhanced the pervasive darkness. Similarly the ‘Wood of desire’ is a concrete image leading to abstract idea. The focus of the poet’s imagination is on the physical wood, darkened and drenched with rain, and also on the wood of desire. The snail’s progress through the wood has a purpose and desire behind it.

The poem has been written very economically. Economy of expression is an important characteristic of Thom Gunn’s poetic style. He can express a profound idea in limited words. The poem has been divided into three stanzas of six lines each. The lines are of varying length and are unrhymed. But we find a unity introduced into this compact structure of the poem. The last line of each stanza runs into the next stanza, carrying the thought over to the previous stanza and thereby lending remarkably a unity of thought also to the poem.

We find that Thom Gunn gives a wide expanse to the images in the poem. ‘The snail

pushes through a green night,' conjures up a wide landscape of green grass hovering over which is 'The earth's dark.' So the greenness of the patch of grass through which the snail crawls becomes the green of the whole night and the darkness of that spot becomes the darkness of the whole earth. The 'Slow passion' and the 'fury' again are words which lend a kind of grandeur to a small creature that the snail is.

Gunn's another poem, *On The Move* 'Man, you Gotta Go' deals with a phenomenon of modern life: the restlessness and aimlessness of the youth and a constant yearning for movement and motion. Thom Gunn is endowed with a very keen modern sensibility and his poetry dwells on those aspects of the Modern life which are prevalent but not noticed, observed and analyzed sensitively. The opening stanza of the poem presents a beautiful, calm and serene scene of birds 'scuffling in the bushes,' 'the wheeling swallows,' that 'have nested' in the trees and undergrowth and take their flight in the sky. The birds in their flight are guided by their instinct. It is natural to them. It is also the purpose of their existence. But in contrast with them the young bikers, riding their motor-cycles thunderously and hurling through dust have no purpose and no defined destination to arrive at.

They are introduced into the poem immediately after the scene of the birds nesting, chirping and flying delightfully. The sense of contrast is immediate and impactful in contrast with the self-assurance and almost aesthetic movement of the bird, is the 'uncertain violence' of the bikers coming up the road:

under the dust thrown by a
baffled sense

Or the dull thunder of approximate
Words.

Baffled sense characterizes the aimless futile life of the bikers who represent the modern restless, aimless generation. Wearing goggles and 'gleaming jackets trophied with the dust,' the biker assumed a strange impersonality; almost total negation of self identity and are poised 'in doubt' as they halt for a while, balancing their motor cycles between their calf and thighs and then 'almost ear a meaning in their noise' and ride on. They have no idea where they are going and why they are going, 'They ride, direction where the tires press.' The very striking lines in the poem are:

Men manufacture both machine and soul,
And use what they imperfectly control.
To dare a future from the taking routes.

Motor cycles are machines manufactured by men but the same machines have shaped an influenced on the soul of men. Modern man has failed to control both the machines and his soul. The motor-cycle is used by him to undertake aimless long rides suggesting lack of control on his and his incapacity for choosing a purpose and goal of his life. Birds follow their instinct and are conscious of their purpose but man who is 'half animal,' 'lack direct instinct,' because one wakes. Afloat on movement that divides and breaks. Man appears inferior to animals in his lack of 'direct instinct.' He is merely floating on movement which divides his world from

the world of animals and also introduces a break or barrier between him and the animals that live by their natural instinct. The poet presents the tragedy of modern man and his world in very poignant words:

One joins the movement in a valueless world,
Crossing it, till, both hurler and the hurled,
One moves as well, always toward, toward.

This aimless and restless movement which he is condemned to join is a feature of his 'valueless world.' The baffled biker has nothing valuable and substantial purpose to aim for. He is damned because he 'lacks direct instinct,' and is condemned to move 'always towards, toward.' The bikers 'have come to go.' They represent 'The self-denied astride the created will.' The poet says that:

The towns they travel through
Are home for neither birds nor holiness,
For birds and Saints complete their purpose.

In these lines the poet suddenly introduces the idea of the un-holiness of their life and their world. 'These bikers, representatives of the modern generation,' are neither animals, nor human beings of any significance nor saints. They are mere ciphers, a mere floating cloud of dust or a dirty spot in space stretched intricately almost dissolving in a void. But they cannot keep still, as the poet says in the last line:

One is always nearer by not keeping still.

Gunn's *The Man with Night Sweats* is perhaps one of the most moving poems of Thom Gunn as it draws on his personal suffering and experience on the onslaught of

AIDS on his body and the ravages it is making on his life. As is well known, Thom Gunn became a homosexual at some stage in his life and unfortunately contracted the injection of HIV. The title of the poem, *The Man With Night Sweats*, is highly appropriate and evocative. It is common knowledge that in the early phase of the disease the patient suffers from excessive sweating at night. Apart from this aspect, the title is also painfully indicative of the unknown and lurking fear of the disease.

The poet uses the personal pronoun I as is the persona of the poem. He narrates and presents his own suffering and tragedy most sensitively. The first stanza presents the image of the poet suffering from night sweat, his body all wet and the sheet clinging to it. He wakes up 'cold,' he 'who prospered through the dreams of heat.' Heat symbolizes the warmth of life and energy whereas cold symbolizes death and the negation not only of heat but of all the dreams of life through which it prospered.

He always had great confidence in his body that was his shield against all strain and harms. If it was 'gashed,' it healed. The poet explored his body and his physical strength and 'adored' it, never fearing the risk to his body. Every strain or threat to his body was a challenge that he faced bravely and with utmost confidence. But now when the poet looks at the same body ravaged by the disease, he cannot 'but be sorry' as; 'the shield' has cracked. Even his mind is 'reduced to hurry.' This phrase is highly evocative and rich in its suggestions. Time is suddenly reduced and everything is urgent and a matter of hurry. Time is running out fast for him to achieve what he always dreamt of achieving. Wet as

his bed is with sweat, he has to change it. He falters, hardly able to balance himself to keep standing on his feet as he has to hold his body, hug it:

As if to shield it from

The pains That will go through me.

His helpless and pathetic gesture of holding his body in order to support it is likened, to his body 'an avalanche off' with his bare hands. What is remarkable is that Thom Gunn has treated the tragedy of his own life as the subject of his poem. It is a great example of the artist transcending his personal suffering and creating art out of it. It testifies to the old dictum that great art is born out of suffering and not out of contentment.

There is no lamentation in the poem. There is an undercurrent of sadness, but no maudlin tears. There is a strong note of resignation. The poem definitely reflects the poet's resolve to go through the further pains. There is a tinge of calmness, of calm acceptance in the poem throughout. When we look at the structure of the poem, are struck by the symmetry and order the poet has introduced into it. The poem comprises four quatrains; each followed by a couplet there is alternate rhyming pattern in the quatrains which are followed by rhymed couplets. The vocabulary employed is remarkably simple very few polysyllabic words and no complexity of imagery at all which has been the characteristic of many of his poems, particularly those like *Moly*.

The image of the 'shield' suggesting his physical strength occupies a central place in the poem. The symbols of heat and cold are extend throughout the poem. More than loss of life is the loss of the dreams of the poet that constitutes the main tragedy of the poet's life. Certain trends brought Movement poets together, but all of them grew out of it after 1956, they are and wanted to be considered separate, as they happened to adopt the trends that they thought had stood for Movement. Gunn as a poet developed tremendously and he succeeded in rooting his new ideas about human existence.

Gunn was occasionally linked with poems on subjects like mental breakdown, suicide, violence and drugs. Gunn dwelt however, upon the pain and violence of psychic disturbance .Gunn and Davie went under considerable change, on the other hand Larkin and Amis remained largely faithful to the Movements aims. After 1956, the impact of the Movement though diminished yet the story of the Movement is still not complete.

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THE CRISIS OF IDENTITY IN ORHANPAMUK'S SNOW

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ABSTRACT:

This paper analyses the OrhanPamuk's novel Snow in the context of Turkey's social and political context. Pamuk employs real political and social events to tease out the tension between eastern way of life and the effects of Kemalist westernisation on Turkey, currently the nation is headed by an Islamic government and bidding to become a member of the European Union. Turkey started with modernisation programme but it was not a very organic process, using the leitmotif of taking on somebody else's identity as metaphor for this change, Pamuk implies that this has led to tensions and schisms in identity. Erasure of past, adoption of Roman alphabet, banning of fez, banning of headscarves- these events are questioned and discussed. Snow expounds the clash between secularism and Islam, tradition and modernity. The paper primarily dwells on this crisis of identity through the incumbent dialogue between the forces of east and west.

Keywords: Identity, Turkey, Crisis, Politics

The question of identity and a need to understand it in relation to changing political and cultural scenario has acquired great urgency in today's world. The quest for identity becomes more pertinent in a country like Turkey, which forms a cusp between Europe and Asia. From the Ottoman Empire ruled by aristocratic Sultans to the formation of the Republic of Turkey, individual and cultural identity in this country has seen a world of change. OrhanPamuk, Turkey's first Nobel Laureate delves in to the intricacies of protean identities and the question of east and west, tradition versus modernity through the art of the novel.

The process of secularization in Turkey began around the 1840's under the Ottoman Empire. A group of reform minded administrators were able to pursue their

policies under the rule of Sultan Mahmud II so as to be at the par with the rising power of Europe. These policy reforms included legal equality for all subjects of the empire, extension of private property rights, reform of the educational system, and the restructuring of the military and bureaucracy. Following Ataturk's coronation as the first President of the Republic, he followed a model of extreme modernization, with 'staunch secularism as its mainstay where religion controls the inner aspect of the individual and secularism controls the outer aspect' (Ozel 20).

Kemal Pasha was the leader of the resistance movement in Anatolia after Turkey's surrender to the allies in 1918. After the office of the sultan was abolished in 1922, Turkey was proclaimed a republic in 1923. The

reforms included the discontinuation of religious and other titles, the closure of Islamic courts and its replacement with a secular civil code, equality between sexes, replacement of the Ottoman Turkish alphabet with the one derived from the Latin alphabet, and the dress law which outlawed the fez. After the end of World War I, Turkey faced a crisis and according to it had three choices before it. First choice would be the continuation of the Ottoman Empire, second option was acceptance of an American mandate or third was to resist the first two in the name of national sovereignty. Turkey surrendered to the allies in 1918, and Mustafa Kemal was the leader of the resistance movement aimed at 'the retention of the Turkish homeland'. Resistance in the name of national and popular sovereignty, abandonment of imperial ambitions, acceptance of the limitations of national frontiers, demand for complete independence and a decision to establish an enduring political structure became the dominant characters of the Turkish war of independence as led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Kili 382).

Period of national struggle continued from 1912 till 1922. Although reforms had begun much earlier, during the Tanzimat period in the 1830's, these were called as 'defensive modernisation'. In that period new institutions were created, but some old ones were also kept which led to a kind of dualism and these attempts were made in self-defence – to maintain the Empire. But these reforms were not fully realized because of "wars, foreign aggression, separatist ambitions of the subject

nationalities, other domestic troubles, the reaction of the conservatives, the general apathy and indifference of the masses and above all the enormity of the task of modernizing a vast empire with a polyglot population" (383) all of which led to the downfall of the Empire. This struggle, opines Kili was instrumental in defining the national identity of Turkey, these Kemalist reforms were seen as a concerted movement towards modernization, which put an end to the dualism constituted by the earlier reforms (Kili 198).

Along with the changes in the religious realm, Turkey replaced its alphabet from Turkish to English, it made changes in civil law and its style of dressing was also reformed. Religion could not be suppressed to private realm for too long, the ruling Republican party was defeated and religion returned with a strong force in the 1970's. Thereafter the military took it upon itself to safeguard the secularist principles laid down by Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

In an essay, Institutionalising Nationalism, Zoltan Kantor stresses that the nation state received a legitimation after the institutionalization of nationalism and due to modernization, states have set agendas to 'ethnically homogenize their societies' (Kantor 60). "States, societies and cultures have become ever more institutionalised, and the standardisation of language, the creation of high culture, the introduction of compulsory education, and the nationalisation of culture have served the titular nation." (Kantor 60). Thus, the Turkish administration through the use of one official language, mass education,

ethnic cleansing of the Kurds tried to create an official national identity and culture. Kantor stresses the importance of nationalism as an important organizational principle aiming at the strengthening of national boundaries and a certain politics of hostility against national minorities (62).

“Turkish modernity, long a top-down phenomenon directed by the heirs of Atatürk, is being reshaped and redefined at the societal level. Inevitably, tensions, contradictions, and disagreements over the nation’s direction abound. The Turkish debate over westernization has never been a winner-take-all contest between supposedly pure Westernizers and retrograde Muslims”(Ozel 62). In a book of essays about his hometown, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (2005), Orhan Pamuk writes “when I the empire fell, the new Republic, while certain of its purpose, was unsure of its identity; the only way forward, its founders thought, was to foster a new concept of Turkishness, and this meant a certain cordon sanitaire to shut it off from the rest of the world. It was the end of the grand polyglot multicultural Istanbul of the imperial age”. The theme of the effects of westernization of Turkey illuminates all his fiction. In *Istanbul*, he notes that “with the drive to Westernize and the concurrent rise of Turkish nationalism, the love-hate relationship with the Western gaze became all the more convoluted”.

‘In Pamuk’s fictional world, East and West are not static categories of thought. Rather, they are provisional concepts that are constituted differently throughout his works,

each of which explores the idea of difference in terms of a specific historical context’ (Erol 7). His fiction is coloured by the themes recurrent in almost all novels include the cultural changes in the wake of western influences, identity formations and double identity. Pamuk is of the view that “when we in Turkey discuss the East-West question, when we talk of the tensions between tradition and modernity, or when we prevaricate over our country’s relations with Europe, the question of shame is always lurking between the lines”.

Some critics have associated his book *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (2005) with a sense of nostalgia and melancholic loss for the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish equivalent for this has been called *Huzun*. However, he denies the sense of yearning and loss for the past and stresses that it rather signifies a criticism of the ‘the limited way in which the ruling elite—meaning both the bureaucracy and the new rich—had conceived of Westernization. They lacked the confidence necessary to create a national culture rich in its own symbols and rituals’. He is also an outspoken critic of the government regarding its human rights records in Turkey. In an interview given to a newspaper in 2005, he mentioned the Armenian Genocide of 1915, for which he was charged for denigration of Turkish Identity, the charges were dropped in 2006. Pamuk envisions a world where the practices of both the east and the west come together organically. In an interview, he confesses that it is better to have two spirits and a sense of belongingness to two different

cultures, 'schizophrenia makes you intelligent' (Paris Review).

The novel *Snow* traces Ka's journey to Kars as a journalist who comes there to investigate the problem of suicide of a number of young girls. He is a poet whose poetic wellspring hitherto dried up finds a sudden trigger after coming to Kars. He has been in exile for twelve years and returns to Istanbul for his mother's funeral and then decides to go to Kars. His real motive in visiting the city is to find Ipek, a college friend now divorced and living with her father and younger sister in the Snow Palace Hotel. During his stay in Kars, he encounters a number of characters bringing in a range of voices from radical Islamists to Secularists, Leftists and Kurds.

The headscarf girls constitute the generation caught in the crossfire between religious dictum and state policy. For them the veil becomes a symbol of political Islam. Among many reasons as to why the girls were committing suicide, one was the barring of girls wearing headscarves from entering educational institutions. The director of education is assassinated for his stand against the headscarves worn by girls. A tape containing a recording of his conversation with his assailant is recovered. The conversation raises questions about the place of religion in a secular state. The assailant quotes Quran stressing the importance of headscarves for women, and questions "how can you explain why the state is banning so many girls from the classroom in the name of secularism, when all they are doing is obeying the laws of their religion" (SNOW 40-41), whereas the director

thinks that women are being "used as pawns in a political game". The director is murdered because the assailant thinks that girls have been driven to commit suicide because of this policy to ban headscarves. The Islamist faction believes that asking women to take off their headscarves is a kind of degradation. Clearly, there is a divide between the demands of religion which are contrary to the norms of the secularist state. Modernity and traditional elements collide head on and the tragic victims that emerge from this divide are headscarf girls and students of Islamic school. One needs to look in to how modernity and secularism are seen by the state in the Turkish context as opposed to the "pious self making social imaginary" of religious practices competing for a place in the public sphere (Gole 222).

Ka voices Tselime's state of mind before she committed suicide, "When she saw some of her friends giving up and uncovering their heads, and others forgoing their headscarves to wear wigs instead, the girl began to tell her father that life had no meaning and that she no longer wanted to live"(SNOW 17).

The general opinion is that the banishment of girls wearing headscarves is the motive behind their suicides. "The Islamic headscarf is deliberately appropriated, not passively carried and handed down from generation to generation". According to Gole, the young women repudiate the secularist principles of woman's emancipation; they strive for a difference in dress and appearance which creates 'disturbances in modern social imaginaries' (Gole 222).

Another character Kadife, took up the headscarf issue more as a defiance of the state and not because she had any sympathy with the headscarf girls, she does understand that “when a girl has accepted the headscarf as the Word of God and a symbol of faith, it’s very difficult for her to take it off” (SNOW 123). All their lives they have been told to put on the scarf and suddenly the State’s anti headscarf verdict causes a schism in their identity which leads them to commit suicide. Tselime was a devout Muslim who was forced by her parents and authorities to take off her headscarf. She wilts under pressure and commits suicide, which according to Islamic principles is a sin. Where SerderBey seems to think that there is Islamic conspiracy “that wants to turn Turkey in to Iran” (SNOW 27), Ipek feels that men are overly engrossed in religion and women kill themselves, religious students think that the girls are killing themselves to preserve their faith in Islam. There seems to be multiplicity of voices, a simultaneous presence of different narrative voices, each giving a reason for the girls’ suicides which in Bakhtinian terms is called Heteroglossia.

“I can’t imagine myself without a headscarf. Whenever I try to concentrate I turn in to an evil stranger like ‘the agent of persuasion’ or a woman who can’t stop thinking about sex” (125), says Hande, as she tells Ka about the lady from Aankara, an agent sent by the government to persuade women to give up the headscarf. “She was a very stylish woman-painted nails, dyed hair, no headscarf, of course, she wore the sort of clothes you see

in magazines- but at the same time she was-how should I put this? – plain” (SNOW 124).

Pamuk presents both sides of the argument. It is pertinent for the state to prevent the appropriation of the headscarf by Islamists as a political tool, but at the same time, the women who have associated the headscarf as an integral part of their identity cannot repudiate it without a loss of selfhood. It is apparent in the case of Hande. She is Kadife’s friend who after being forced by her family, let go off her veil, but suffers from guilt pangs because she thinks she is becoming someone else. Hande’s dreams of being a western woman symbolizes a split between desire for modernity in dressing and religious conditioning which regards them as sinful. “In my mind’s eye I’m as stylish as she is, wearing stilettos, and dresses even shorter than hers. And men are staring at me. I find this pleasing- and at the same time shameful” (SNOW 125).

Moghissi points out that veiling is not ‘empowering’ as it is projected in the debates defending the Islamic gendered practices, because it is an enforced order and non-compliance brings persecution from the authorities. (Moghissi 5) In this novel, this argument is turned on its head as women who refuse to take off their headscarves are subjected to coercion by the secular authorities.

Fatima Mernissi traces the origin of the word Hijab according to the Koranic verse and as defined by a religious preacher, Al-Tabari as “descended” from heaven as a sign of division of space between two men. The

Koran is a book about the life of the prophet and he wrote verse in response to a given situation. And this verse about Hijab came about on the day of his marriage, to 'protect the intimacy of the married pair and exclude a third person' (Mernissi 85). The three concepts of Hijab as defined by Mernissi are defined as three-dimensional. First, comes from its root verb hajaba which means "to hide." The second dimension for separation of space, and the third dimension deals with the ethics where it belongs to the realm of the forbidden. Al-Tabari's explanation, hijab is drawn to separate space between two men, and its symbolic meaning which has a negative connotation can mean a person who is excluded from spiritual grace. But later on the hijab became institutionalised in response to prevent sexual aggression on the female body which was said to be 'awra'- a vulnerable defenseless body(Mernissi 182).

"Bryan.S.Turner's thesis proposes that Islamism is a reaction against post-modernity. Post modernity challenges faith and reorganizes belief through social transformation in everyday life brought about by the consumption of commodities in which there is a sense of inauthenticity of culture. From this perspective, hybrid forms of religious identity are seen as inauthentic and a confirmation of the triumph of globalization and post-modern consumerism (21).

The reasons for adoption of veil vary. They include economic, social, religious and cultural motivations. To counter the 'uncertainty and openness' exemplified by the modern age,

fundamentalism seeks to pick out a few alternatives from their 'uncritically examined tradition' and enforce these on individuals as absolute values so as to provide 'renewed support and security, assurance of orientation, firm identity and truth' by making these as unassailable tenets which ought to be followed by one and all (Meyer 21).

"Although cynics have predicted a clash of civilizations and battles over ideological differences, there seems to have continued a subtle dialogue between systems of thought apparently opposed by their epistemic differences" (11) and dialogics brings about a disorientation for both the questioner and the one being questioned. (Sura 15). The book questions the secularism of the authorities which is based on coercion with regard to the practice of wearing a scarf.

At the end of the novel, SunayZaim, a cultural bureaucrat stages a play 'A Tragedy in Kars' and as Sunay describes it, the play depicts a woman's emancipation from religious repression. Kadife is given an option to save Blue, if she agrees to play the part of a rebel heroine, baring her head before the students from religious school who would be part of the audience, Blue would be released from custody.

When Kadife does bare her head, the narrator points out how embarrassed she was, 'like a woman whose dress had come undone in a crowded public place' (412). Pamuk refuses to seize simplistic solutions. The narrative voice pushes forward the argument that secularist principles should be the mainstay

of a nation, and that Islam as a political Identity should take a backseat, yet there are other voices which present other agendas.

Ka comes across as the authorial voice, siding with the secular authorities and yet the simultaneous presence of other voices like those of Muhtar, Necip, Kadife, SerderBey and Hande- all problematize the issue of identity based on religion.

Muhtar, before he joined a political party had a desire to become a 'westernized, self-possessed individual' which could not be realized (SNOW 55). For Muhtar, being westernized means being an atheist, he is struggling between his desire for a western identity and a Turkish identity which is in flux due to westernization. This causes a schism in his personality, and under the influence of raki, he goes to the lodge of a revered Sheikh, but still at odds with 'the reactionary sheiks and their disciples' (56). The company of Sheikh has a calming effect on Muhtar. Even as an atheist, he wants to be brought back to religious fold but the next day, after the effect of raki wears off, he repents going to the Sheikh. He visits him again, and shares his sorrows, the exercise seems cathartic and he feels at peace in Sheikh's company. "By day I would keep the secrets of the lodge by carrying around the Republican, the most secular newspaper in Turkey, and rail against religious revivalists who were taking over the country as enemies of the republic" (SNOW 57). He talks about the simplicity of spiritual side, and yet his discontentment with Sheikh's message of keeping the heart pure and full of

love for God, which would provide deliverance leaves him wanting for more. Thereafter, he joins the Islamic party for "a deeper and more meaningful life" than at the lodge.

In a discussion between Muhtar and Ka's views on religion Ka points out "the idea of a solitary westernized individual whose faith in God is private is very threatening to you. An atheist who belongs to the community is far easier for you to trust than a solitary man who believes in God." Ka argues that one can only enjoy the luxury of religion if others things like "managing the west and all other aspects of worldly business" are taken care of by the secularists (SNOW 63). "Fundamentalist religion is seen as a public and communal activity. It is some which demands positive action, obedience, communal involvement, moral and social regeneration and certainly in the last 20 years, political mobilization" (Vincent 277).

Another character named Blue is an Islamic militant. He is wanted by the state for the murder of a television anchor earned a bad name for his indecent remarks about the educated and he even once made an inappropriate remark about Prophet Mohammad. He was found murdered in his hotel room and Blue was accused for it although he managed to find an alibi. Blue was criticized by both the Secularist and the Islamist press. In Ka's description as he says, he is nothing like the radical, 'scimitar wielding' (71) hardliner that he was projected to be. Blue's experience in Germany makes him question his own identity and thoughts not about the

western gaze, but his own perception of the western gaze as degrading. “Most of the time it’s not the Europeans who belittle us. What happens when we look at them is that we belittle ourselves. When we undertake the pilgrimage, it’s not just to escape the tyranny at home, but to reach to the depths of our souls” (75).

Blue forbids Ka to write about the suicide girls in the newspaper as he believes that it will encourage other girls going through the same dilemma to follow suit. He stresses that the girls are not taking a stand on headscarves. Muhtar tells Ka the story of Rustem and Sohrab from Firdausi’s *Shehname*, feels that because we are so influenced by the West that we have forgotten our own stories. One recalls the Amie Cesaire’s coinage *Negritude*, which means the salvaging of one’s identity which due to the sustained presence of the colonizer has been subdued. Here, it is not the presence of the colonizer, but the adoption of western ideals which makes Blue question if the persistent influence of the West has caused them to forsake their own culture.

Ka wants religion as part of his identity, but there are certain tenets which he does not adhere to.

“I wanted to be like the Europeans because I couldn’t see how I could reconcile my becoming a European with a God that required women to wrap themselves up in scarves. But when I went to Europe I realized there could be a God who was different from the God of the bearded provincial reactionaries” (98).

Fanon in his book *Wretched of the Earth* talks about the three stages which cultural national is achieved. In the first stage, the native emulates the white culture. In the second stage, the native returns to study his culture but there is no critical engagement with his own culture. In the third stage, he does a careful analysis of culture takes place and he abandons those elements which seem dated or oppressive.

Ka is lost in a world where he wants to belong to religion, “I want to believe in the God you believe in and be like you, but because there is a Westerner inside me, my mind is confused” (99) and yet this belonging never comes easy. Bhabha’s concept of *Hybridity* questions the unitary and fixed identity and a preference for multiple identities. This can be seen as an answer to the dangers of cultural binarism (Nayar 179). Thus, Ka exhibits an identity which is not stable, it is a compound of both the east and the west, which enables to him to straddle different opinions and engage in a dialogue with views different than his own.

Ka’s visit to Sheikh Saadetin Efendi is initially one of revulsion, going back to ‘reactionary sheikhs and their disciples’ (56), but soon a feeling of equanimity and a spiritual feeling engulfs him. There are parallels in the characters of Ka and Muhtar, both have embraced modernity and yet Ka finds a certain solace on visiting the Sheikh, and Muhtar has embraced religion. Failed by the sheikh in giving answer to his anguish he took repose in politics. “People like me find peace only when fighting for a cause in a political party” (SNOW 58).

Muhtar, Blue and Zaim represent the three political forces prevalent in Kars, representing Political Islam, extremist and radical Islam and the militaristic forces launching a coup to prevent the previous two forces from making political headways in the city. It is pertinent to note that all factions are bickering about identity, but mainly women are at the receiving end of this struggle for a stable identity. The only way they find expression of their desires is by killing themselves.

The army takes over the city, and a curfew is announced. The army steps in to stop the Islamic faction from seizing power in the upcoming elections. It highlights the atrocities committed by them in the wake of this coup. SunayZaim, a veteran actor with a military training and the brain behind the coup feels, “our future lay with Europe. To see that whole world destroyed, to see my sister forced to wear a headscarf, to see poems banned for being anti-religious, as we’ve seen already in Iran- this is one spectacle I don’t think you would be prepared to take lying down” (SNOW 206). Sunay is a westernized fellow who feels that even a slightly westernized person would not be safe in the country unless the army kept in check the Islamists. ‘His job in Kars is to be a kind of public relations man for modernity, for the Enlightenment, for secular humanism’ (Berman 3)

He sees the dilemma in Ka’s nature when he says, “what are we to do with this poet of ours, whose intellect belongs to Europe, whose heart belongs to the religious high-school militants and whose head is all mixed up?”

(210). SunayZaim is one of the few characters in the book who are convinced regarding their identity.

“We will spend the rest of our days here arguing about what sort of scarf women should wrap around their heads, and no one will care in the slightest as we ‘re eaten up by our own petty, idiotic quarrels. When I see so many people around me leading such stupid lives and then vanishing without a trace, anger runs through me because I know then nothing really matters in life more than love” (SNOW 294) says Fazil, which seems to be the message Pamuk is sending across to the readers.

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PERFORMATIVITY AND SITES OF AMBIVALENCE IN AMOL PALEKAR'S *DAAYRAA* AND SANTOSH SIVAN'S *NAVARASA*

Nipun Kalia

Films that feature transgendered characters often problematize the traditional theories of the spectatorial gaze. The theories of the male gaze posited by Laura Mulvey and other feminist film critics break down when gender identity of the subject on the screen is unfixed and shifting, since the transgendered subject poses a potent threat to the conventional dynamics of sex and gender power and this doesn't allow 'fetishization'¹ and 'voyeurism'² (emphasis is mine) to function properly. The questions that I have tried to explore, deal primarily with the manner of perception adopted by the society and the mainstream audiences with regard to queer and transgender characters within film and the way in which the gaze and queer theory associate with the ideals of ideological edifice and the prevailing patriarchal order.

In relation to these questions, I have looked at and analysed Amol Palekar's *Daayraa* (1996) and Santosh Sivan's *Navarasa* (2005) in order to understand how they try to rework and generate a different perspective regarding the ideas of traditional hetero-normative spectatorship. Amol Palekar's *Daayraa* and Santosh Sivan's *Navarasa* not only present a 'queer gaze' but a transgender mode of 'looking' and identification. The transgenders in these films reveals the ideological content of the male and female gazes, and it disarms temporarily, the

compulsory heterosexuality of the romance genre.

In 1975, writer and film-maker Laura Mulvey "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" deployed the theory of psychoanalysis to put forth the view that it was in fact, the patriarchal unconscious that was responsible for configuring the conduct of popular narrative cinema, by placing women represented in films as objects of a male gaze. Mulvey made use of the body of work credited to Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan to develop her thesis of the male gaze, starting with Freud's idea of scopophilia³. Mulvey also explains the role of mainstream film in programming the erotic (and hence scopophilia and the gaze) into the semantics of dominant patriarchal order, a conclusion that was supported by Clifford T. Manlove who said that scopophilia was one of "several drives making up the patriarchal sexual order" (Manlove 86).

The Gaze theory has been fairly explored in and researched on, in a queer context as well. Contemporary visual culture is inclusive of a highly composite array not only of images and spectators but also of gazes. Steve Neale ascertains the gaze of mainstream cinema in the Hollywood tradition as not only 'male' but also 'heterosexual' in the course of his observation of a voyeuristic and fetishistic gaze directed by some male characters at other

male characters within the text. Neale argues that in a heterosexual and patriarchal society the male body cannot be marked unambiguously as the “erotic object of another male look”; that look must be “motivated, its erotic component repressed”⁴. Both Neale and Richard Dyer also challenged the linearity of the notion that the male is never sexually objectified in mainstream cinema and argued against presuming the male to always be the looker in control of the gaze.

It is widely noted that since the 1980s, the arenas of mainstream cinema, television and advertising have been witness to an increasing display and sexualisation of the male body. Gay and lesbian theorists have also contributed significantly to the ‘rereading’ of film spectatorship. For example, Judith Mayne in one of her works entitled “Lesbian Looks: Dorothy Arzner and Female Authorship,” argued in favour of the need to account for the lesbian spectator in the gaze (Mayne 123). On the other hand, certain critics find any notion of gay spectatorship as a distinctive form, by definition, “essentialist ... which turns on a deformative logic of exclusion and normalisation” (Farmer 33). According to them, speaking of gay spectatorship is to endorse the “disciplinary pretensions of the hegemonic hetero/homosexual binarism” (Farmer 33) and, by so doing, to decline the plurality of differences that inevitably frames and works through social practices and experiences like cinematic reception.

Instead of initiating a premise with predefined categories of sexual identity and

seeking how those categories concur with or influence spectatorship, many film critics suggest to look at the ways in which pleasures and forms of spectatorship triggers a displacement of sexual identity- a rupture of its disciplinary system. Not surprisingly, ‘queer’ has been widely upheld in this context as a fecund ground for theorizing the sexual displacements and vacillations of spectatorship. Within film studies, many critics have heartily accepted queer as the perfect corrective to the supposed limitations of theorising spectatorship through categories of sexual identity.

New Queer Cinema’s impact upon mainstream cinema can be measured not only in terms of the greater inflow of lesbian and gay film-makers, or of rebellious characters or queer themes, but in terms of the audience’s agreeable entanglement with gender and sexual ambiguity within some of the most popular texts. New Queer Cinema has surfaced as the result of queer theory and queer theorists whom have broached this new theory of spectatorship because there was no way of identifying or even recognising a queer gaze before they did so. Queer theory and queer cinema have downrightly dismissed the hitherto prescribed theories of straight-jacketed, linear heterosexual forms of ‘looking’ and has introduced a fresh concept of the ‘queer gaze’.

Within mainstream cinema, according to Judith Halberstam, “the queer characters...or any and all lesbian characters in films about homo triangulations...will function only to

confirm the rightness of the heterosexual object choice” (Halberstam 85). Apparently, some mainstream films that feature homosexual characters are allowed to contain them, either by rendering them harmless or by punishing them, for example:

Sometimes the masculine character will be a woman...and the narrative thrust will involve her downfall or domestication. Sometimes the feminine character will be a man... and the narrative will compel him to either become a male hero or self-destruct. And sometimes, the transgender character will be evoked as a metaphor for flexible subjecthood, but will not be given a narrative in his/her own right. (Halberstam 85)

Here, I would like to reiterate that the traditional spectatorial gaze is problematized in films featuring transgendered characters as owing to the indeterminate gender identity of the on-screen subject, theories of the male gaze by Mulvey and other feminist film critics disintegrate as the agencies of fetishization and voyeurism are not allowed to function properly because the transgendered subject threatens the conservative gender and power dynamics.

Set in Orissa, a part of India where it is common for men to play the part of women in street theatre, Amol Palekar’s *Daayraa*, as the name suggests, signifies boundaries - in this case social codes of behaviour. The story centres around one such man, who now that his profession has become almost obsolete, cross-dresses and lives as a woman. During one of his travels, he comes across a young bride-to-be who had been kidnapped and

subsequently raped by some hooligans targeting her for work in a brothel. He takes her under his wing and persuades her to dress as a man. On the road, they (both are nameless characters in the film) realise that their feelings for each other have grown. When they finally reach her village, she is spurned by her family and friends and driven out to be rescued by her transvestite friend. They realise that what they feel for each other transcends issues of gender.

Navrarsa deals with the story of a young girl Shwetha, on the threshold of adulthood, and her coming to terms with the complex and amorphous sexuality of her uncle, Gautam, (played by a real life transgender, Khushboo). She comes to know that her uncle transforms himself into a woman every night to lead a totally different life and this perplexes her. Upon being confronted by her, Gautam confesses his desire to run away and marry Aravan at a local festival, the Koovagam Festival. He consoles his own self:

[I am] ...by birth a man, by instinct a woman...The woman in me will surface one day...filling the deadly silence, breaking all shackles. (*Navarasa*)

Koovagam is, thus, his haven. The festival is an annual affair and is a kind of a congregation of people belonging to the third gender, where they regularly meet to re-enact the ancient myth of Aravan, a character from the epic Mahabharata. Shwetha decides to find her uncle and bring him back home, and along the way, she makes new friends of the third gender, and discovers a whole new culture.

By presenting a crossed-dressed man (played by Nirmal Pandey) trying to pass as female, Palekar provokes an even more complex argument about sexuality, identification and gender. Although the films have given mainstream viewers access to transgender modes of looking, the films also convey a homophobic society's resentment to gender ambiguity and cross-dressing in order to pass as a different sex. In *Navarasa*, we look at the character of Gautam through Shwetha's eyes. In Shwetha's journey from revulsion to acceptance of her uncle's sexual ambivalence, lies the film's integrity and sensitivity. Similarly, throughout *Daayraa* the viewer observes how Sonali Kulkarni begins to notice Nirmal's manly features such as when she watches him shave his facial hair or sees him bare-chested but she decides to ignore what she had seen and denies Nirmal's masculine attributes. This is especially reflected in the scene where he is seen shaving and the scene is important because it sets the stage for how we as spectators are asked to view gender in the film. As Judith Butler says:

Gender norms operate by requiring the embodiment of certain ideals of femininity and masculinity, ones that are almost always related to the idealization to the heterosexual bond ("Imitation" 310).

The juxtaposition of the act of shaving with the interrogative comment brings us to the theme of biology, providing a sort of confirmation to the viewer that it really is a man. It further sustains the idea that his identity

is only a performance and reinscribes the dominant idea that one can only be what one's sex denotes. Therefore, to us, Nirmal is a man 'acting' or 'performing' like a woman. We are introduced to the performative element of Nirmal's gender portrayal from the outset as a result of the 'makeover' scene. Our attention is immediately drawn to the components that make up his gender performance as he embarks on a mission of 'substitution' and 'concealment'. The fact that we actually witness Nirmal replacing body parts associated with one gender with those associated with another and concealing body parts which might be seen to conflict with the intended gender display is effective in demonstrating that the female garb is essentially a costume.

In a similar fashion, the audience in *Navarasa* becomes a voyeur to the process of Gautam's transformation into a woman (Gautami). Clothes, objects and gestures contribute to his changed persona as a woman, urging the audience to look at the constructed nature of gender. The audience, a part of the heterosexual cultural hegemony, is made to confront their own anxiety to locate Gautam's 'true self' as his sexuality or gender cannot be categorically placed within the binaries. The films therefore play on the narratives of sexual disguise where misidentification is ultimately exposed bringing about an order affirming the audience's knowledge of the truth. If gender is the cultural meaning that the body assumes, then gender does not necessarily have to follow from sex.

In accordance with the ideas of Butler, it can be argued that in putting on drag and acting like how he supposes woman to act, Nirmal 'does' the female gender as it is defined by heteronormative society and presumes that the self he feels himself to be accords with this physical depiction of woman as society purports man to be, essentially supposing an inherent link between being genetically female and female gender performance.

Butler writes:

If gender is drag, and if it is an imitation that regularly produces the ideal it attempts to approximate...then gender is a performance that produces the illusion of an inner sex or essence or psychic gender core; it produces on the skin, through the gesture, the move, the gait, (that array of corporeal theatrics understood as gender presentation), the illusion of an inner depth.⁵

If gender is an illusion, as is suggested by Butler, then Nirmal's and Gautam's confusion lies in his acceptance of that illusion and of the heteronormative assumption of a 'true' and 'natural' identity. In opposition to Butler's proposal of gender being an imitation that creates the very impression of the original as an effect and consequence of the imitation itself, Nirmal arguably subscribes to the idea that his mimicry is the imitation of something that has an original, that there is an origin of unambiguous truth in his female gendering; admittedly it is problematic to accept the idea that there is no performer prior to the performed. We are programmed by society

to accept that gender is illustrative of some pre-existing self-hood that is inherently linked to our biological sex.

Butler asserts however, that this denial of the "priority of the subject" ("Imitation" 318) is not the denial of the subject but instead, the rejection to combine the subject with the psyche marks that the psychic, which surpasses the sphere of the conscious subject. It is this extra which then explodes within the "intervals of those repeated gestures and acts that construct the apparent uniformity of heterosexual positionalities, indeed which compels the repetition itself and which guarantees its perpetual failure" ("Imitation" 318) Thus, in her proposal that imitation only serves to reinforce an illusion of an original, Butler exposes the instability of the heterosexual identity, suggesting that the original only maintains its validity through repetition.

If an identity is only valid through it being constantly instituted again and again then that identity is extremely precarious as it vulnerable to of become de-instituted at every interval. This is illustrated in *Daayraa* through the constant reminders of Nirmal's biologically male sex. Reminders are a common element of films involving drag. In film like *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993), *Tootsie* (1982) and *Some Like it Hot* (1959), we are constantly reminded that the actions of the protagonists are in fact gender performances and that these components of performance do not correspond to their biological sex and are therefore 'unnatural'. This is illustrated in the scene in

Mrs. Doubtfire where Mrs. Doubtfire (played by Robin Williams) is caught going to the loo by his son who in turn grosses out or when his leggings fall down to expose hairy legs.

In *Daayraa*, we are deliberately made to recall Nirmal being biologically male both when he shaves and the scenes in which he appears bare-chested. Nirmal questions the spectator's need to be constantly retold of the characters biological sex, asserting that such reminders only strengthen the essentialism of gender even if the protagonist's (relatively) easy disguise confirmed its performativity. The reminders make the gender play and especially the homoerotic implications arising from it 'safe and valid'; they exploit transgression only to heighten the return to order; in other words, they problematize gender identity and sexual difference, only to endorse the absoluteness of both. Essentially then, these reminders serve to undermine the notion of performativity in their assertion that the persons biological sex constitutes their identity. We suspend our disbelief in imagining that Nirmal is biologically female, as that's what he wants to be and could be, if he had the money. These reminders spoil the illusion and set up the gender performance as somehow being false.

In the scene where Nirmal is dancing/performing on the street, Sonali (along with other men on the street) shares the scopophilia that the medium of cinema enables. Laura Mulvey in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" declares that the male gaze projects

its fantasy onto the female figure, marking the women as erotic objects of the characters on screen as well as for the spectator in the audience. In *Navarasa*, Asha Bharti, the founder President of the Tamil Nadu Aravanigal Association is fast and clear to correct the photographer who addresses her as "Mr. Asha Bharti,,"; "I need a small correction. Address me as Miss...do not misspell it." Thus, the image on screen necessitates a 'masculinisation' of the spectator, irrespective of the actual sex or gender.

Nirmal's presence in this case becomes an ambiguity in the fabric of male bourgeois cinema where the woman is always an object of desire and consumption; he is evidently a disruption in the pro-filmic audience and the spectator watching the final event and his own performance resists the masculinisation of the camera or the audience at the street he is already playing out her multiple identities as a man, a cross dresser and a woman. Hence, by not fitting into the 'imaginary signifier' 'safe' of the film structured by the unconscious of patriarchal society, Nirmal's punishment becomes inevitable as he intrudes into the heterosexual world of the narrative. The film brings out these nuances of the form as it teases the questioning viewer's notion of gender in a heterosexual economy of which the film is also a part. Nirmal's 'masquerade' disables the construction of the female object, the 'other' who is the subject of the gaze of camera in an imagined masculine space.

The transgenders in *Navarasa* also narrate and depict a poignant tale of how they are 'looked at' differently. While Bobby Darling is harassed by some young men from the village more than once in the film (the title of Miss Koovagam seems to add to her misery rather than honour), Revathy recounts how being a subject of a continuously judgmental heteronormative gaze makes them miserable denying them even the choice of being rightfully angry. She says:

...[the eunuchs] are frustrated and angry. Because their parents thrust them out of their homes...when they come to the city, they are ill-treated. They can't even rent a room; they have no means to earn their livelihood. So they take to begging...when not granted the minimum, they retaliate with violence....I have been beaten and tortured, sir...Have you been made fun of? People always make fun of us (*Navarasa*).

This is reiterated by Asha Bharati in her concluding speech at the festival:

In Bihar, when a eunuch dies, before the burial slippers are flung at the body and slogans fill the air saying "no one should be born this way." Problems are a part of everyone's life but for us, life itself is a problem (*Navarasa*).

By using the transgender gaze⁶ and tethering it to an empowered female gaze in *Daayara* (Nirmal's introductory scene that the film opens with), director Amol Palekar for most part of the film makes the viewer believe in the gravity of Nirmal's femininity and the authenticity of his appearance as opposed to its components of masquerade.

Daayara establishes the rightfulness and the resilience of Nirmal's gender by not only narrating the heartrending story of his death but also compelling the spectators to assume, if only tentatively, his gaze- the transgender look, which exposes the ideological content of the 'male' and 'female' gazes. Nirmal's gaze, naturally and unfortunately perishes with him at the end in the film's brutal close and Palekar's failure to sustain a transgender look unleashes a volley of questions regarding the inescapability and authority of both male/female binary in narrative cinema.

Thus both *Daayara* and *Navarasa* unlock the possibility of a non-fetishistic approach of 'seeing' the transgender body- a manner that looks with, rather than, at the transgender body and fosters the multidimensionality of an unquestionably transgender gaze. Within the films the directors establish a 'transgendered gaze' which evolves through various characters and reveal the ideological content of the male and female gazes, allowing the audience to examine both the male/female and the hetero/ homo binary in narrative cinema.

The potentiality of the body to change, shift, alter and become fluid is a compelling fantasy in modern cinema. In films like the ones chosen, the transgender character carries in itself a sense of astonishment, with his/her ability to remain striking, appealing and gendered at the same time as presenting a sense of self that's not a derivative of the body, a gender at odds with sex, and an identity functioning within the heterosexual compendium without endorsing the

inescapability of that system of dissimilarity. Creating a different future while rewriting history, is the dilemma that the transgender character is constantly subjected to. Engaging in several ways of looking into one, the films use certain formal techniques to allow the viewer to access the transgender gaze, thereby proving the chance for us to look ‘with’ the transgender character instead of ‘at’ him.

In remaining committed to the transgender gaze unlike other transgender films that steadfastly support the straight gaze, the films unlock a fresh style of visualizing gender mobility and demonstrates its ability to takeover male and female gazes, replacing them stealthily with “transgender modes of looking and queer forms of visual pleasures” (Halbestam, 83). To the extent that cinema depends on the power to activate and attract desiring relationships (between characters, between on screen and off screen subjects, between images and subjects, between spectators), it also depends on a “sexual and gendered economy of looking, watching and identifying” (Mulvey qtd. in Halbestam 85).

Notes

1. Fetishization is the erotic attachment to an inanimate object or a nongenital body part whose real or fantasized presence is necessary for sexual gratification. See Sigmund Freud, “Fetishism,” Vol. 5 of *Collected Papers*. 5 vols (London: Hogarth and Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1927): 198-204.
2. Voyeurism is the practice of obtaining sexual gratification by looking at sexual objects or acts, especially secretly.
3. Scopophilia means pleasure in looking. For details on Freud’s work on scopophilia, see Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, ed. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1975.) For Laura Mulvey’s definition/ work on scopophilia, see Laura Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (London: Macmillan, 1989.)
4. See Steve Neale, “Masculinity as Spectacle: Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema,” *Screen* 24.6 (1983): 8.
5. See Judith Butler, “Imitation and Gender Subordination,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (London: Routledge, 1993): 307-320.
6. Transgender gaze is “a look divided within itself, a point of view that comes from (at least) two places at once.” See Judith Halberstam (2005: 78).

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF PITY: MORAL DILEMMA IN GRAHAM GREENE'S *THE HEART OF THE MATTER*

Alipta Jena

ABSTRACT

The Philosophy of Pity: Moral Dilemma in Graham Greene's The Heart of the Matter explores the disastrous effects of compassion on Henry Scobie, the lonely protagonist caught up in religious, moral and emotional dilemmas.

A desire to do right by everyone around him and an overwhelming desire to please God takes Scobie down the path of what, according to the dictates of his faith, can be called eternal damnation.

Greene's philosophy highlights that only the man of conscience carries within him the seeds of despair.

In his futile attempts to keep everyone happy, he finds himself being alienated from every human emotion and ends up being entangled in a series of dilemmas from which death seems to be the only release.

*The "heart of the matter" is thus the innate helplessness of man and his need for divine mercy. Greene had reportedly meant the story of Scobie to enlarge a theme which I had touched on in *The Ministry of Fear*, the disastrous effect on human beings of pity as distinct from compassion. He had written in *The Ministry of Fear*: 'Pity is cruel. Pity destroys. Love isn't safe when pity's prowling around.' The character of Scobie was intended to show that pity can be the expression of an almost monstrous pride."*

However, mercy is hard to come by and the denied succour by religion and the love of his fellow beings, the compassionate man is driven to despair. However, whether the protagonist is led down the path of salvation or damnation is left for the reader to ponder upon.

"If one knew, he wondered, the facts, would one have to pity even the planets? If one reached what they called the heart of the matter?" (111)

Graham Greene's *The Heart of the Matter* explores the conflict between human decency and theological virtue, between moral intention and irreligious act. Good intentions at the humane level are shown to be out of tune with

the demands of a sordid, gross and materialistic world.

Every deed of the protagonist, Henry Scobie, is accompanied by a moral, religious or personal turmoil. This essay explores Scobie's

dialectical experience and the dynamics of compassion.

The doubt inherent to our human condition, as Kierkegaard and Sartre expressed it in their writings, influenced Greene and his portraiture of his protagonists. His novels explore such existential themes as alienation, betrayal, the absurdity of existence, infidelity, the instability of love, the impermanence of happiness and a lack of communication between human beings and their infinite capacity for despair.

The novel is set in an unnamed colony in colonised Africa, towards the end of World War II. Scobie is the deputy commissioner of a colony where he had been passed over for promotion and life was largely stagnant. He, however, loved the place:

“Nobody here could ever talk about a heaven on earth. Heaven remained rigidly in its proper place on the other side of death, and on this side flourished the injustices, the cruelties, the meanness that elsewhere people so cleverly hushed up. Here you could love human beings nearly as God loved them, knowing the worst: you didn’t love a pose, a pretty dress, a sentiment artfully assumed.” (26)

He says in the preface, “I had meant the story of Scobie to enlarge a theme which I had touched on in *The Ministry of Fear*, the disastrous effect on human beings of pity as distinct from compassion. I had written in *The Ministry of Fear*: ‘Pity is cruel. Pity destroys. Love isn’t safe when pity’s prowling around.’

The character of Scobie was intended to show that pity can be the expression of an almost monstrous pride.”

The Heart of the Matter explores the facets of the human mind, particularly its propensity for compassion.

Scobie is a sincere policeman who works in Africa during World War II. His wife Louise is a cribbing, and ambitious woman whose hopes are smashed when Scobie is passed over for promotion. She feels left out and bitter. Scobie feels responsible for her misery and blames himself. Their only child had died in England a few years before.

Although they are both devoted Catholics, Louise’s going to church every Sunday does not seem to ease her pain at all so her husband tries to arrange for her to go on a holiday to South Africa. He tries to borrow money from the bank for the trip but he is turned down. Yusef, a Syrian trader believed to be involved in illegal trade with diamonds, offers to lend him the money and Scobie although aware of his benefactor’s corrupted nature, after initially declining, finally accepts the offer, for her sake.

Shortly after his wife’s departure, the survivors of a shipwreck arrive in the colony. Matters are complicated further a named Helen Rolt arrives. After she recovers, Scobie, who spends a lot of time in her company falls in love with her. Although being painfully aware that they are committing the sin of adultery, they start a passionate love affair. Later on, a letter Scobie writes to Helen trying

to convince her of his love and loyalty finds his way into Yusef's hands and he uses it to blackmail Scobie.

When Louise unexpectedly returns from her trip, Scobie struggles to keep secret his relationship with Helen. But his wife has heard rumours of his affair and indulges into a subtle torture of her husband as she insists that he should accompany her to Mass as a good Catholic ought to do, knowing well that doing so will lead him into mortal sin. Scobie is aware that he will be unable to receive communion in a state of mortal sin.

He develops feelings of insecurity and suspicion about his servant Ali and commits the error to confess this to Yusef. Shortly after, Ali is killed and our beleaguered protagonist blames himself for this, too:

Scobie thought; if only I could weep, if only I could feel pain; have I really become so evil? Unwillingly he looked down at the body. The fumes of petrol lay all around in the heavy night and for a moment he saw the body as something very small and dark and a long way away – like a broken piece of the rosary he looked for: a couple of black beads and the image of God coiled at the end of it. Oh God, he thought, I've killed you: you've served me all these years and I've killed you at the end of them. God lay there under the petrol drums and Scobie felt the tears in his mouth, salt in the cracks of his lips. You saved me and I did this to you. You were faithful to me, and I wouldn't trust you. (231)

Finally, a guilt-ridden Scobie decides to free everyone from himself and commits suicide.

His dilemma is that he cannot decide whether to be a good Catholic and obey the dictates of religion, or to be true to himself and try to take responsibility for the happiness of those around him. In his futile attempts to keep everyone happy, he finds himself being alienated and ends up being entangled in a series of dilemmas from which death seems to be the only release.

The "heart of the matter" is thus the innate helplessness of man and his need for divine mercy and the love of fellow beings.

Commenting on Scobie's sense of alienation, Graham Martin writes:

The Heart of the Matter is about loneliness: a lonely man in a lonely place, cut off by his religion from the only love he has experienced since the death of his daughter (which, though not part of the novel, is the defining moment of Scobie's life). As loneliness and alienation play an important role in modern life, *The Heart of the Matter* is truly a novel for our times. (110)

Scobie's sense of isolation results precisely from his sense of being moral in a world which is profoundly immoral. And yet, he is deemed to be immoral when placed against the Catholic ideal of morality. "He is, in a sense, an Everyman, the voice of the moral man's complaint against the nature of life itself." (David Pryce Jones, 85)

Significantly, the epigraph of the novel, taken from the French writer, Charles Pierre Peguy, when translated into English, would read: “The sinner is at the very heart of Christianity. Nobody is as competent as the sinner in the matter of Christianity. Nobody, if it is not the saint.” Through the epigraph, Greene conveys the idea that the true meaning and significance of Christianity can be understood by the sinner or the saint.

“Only the man of goodwill”, wrote Greene, “carries in his heart this capacity for damnation.”

He published the novel in 1948, at a time when Fascism had just been put down at an enormous cost and Communism was ascendant throughout Eastern Europe. It is his response to those who put forward atheistic solutions to human suffering. In the absence of God, human compassion alone is inadequate to heal the wounds we inflict and incur, Greene believed.

Scobie observes: “What an absurd thing it was to expect happiness in a world so full of misery. Point me out the happy man and I will point you out either extreme egotism, selfishness, evil — or else an absolute ignorance.”(141)

Apart from the key theme of man confronting God, and in particular the ritualised suffering of guilt-ridden Catholics, Greene also delineates the petty snobberies of British Colonial administrators. This is mainly seen in the marginalisation of Henry Scobie by the other officers.

At the outset, when Harris first meets the newly arrived Wilson (Scobie’s antagonist), he repeats a rumour that Scobie sleeps with native women. The fact sets apart Scobie as an outsider from the start. Discovering that they are alumni of the same British public school, Wilson and Harris form a strong bond and become housemates. The “old school tie” is a potent motif in English literature and enough to sideline Scobie.

It is a painful book on every level, with the niceties and difficulties of British Colonial life encountering brutal human instincts and struggling spirituality. The confused wasteland of Scobie’s mind is harrowing. Part of the heart of the matter is literal, not metaphorical, for Scobie has angina.

Though believing himself honour bound to make both women in his life happy and to present himself as a happily married man, there are cracks in the surface through which doubt and anguish peep through. It is almost as if a cloud of locusts follow him around as he passes his days in a fever of unknowing. Aware that he has no way out of his dilemma, he reaches out to God:

O God, I am the only guilty one. I have preferred to give you pain rather than give pain to Helen or my wife because I can’t observe your suffering, I can only imagine it. I can’t desert either of them while I am alive but I can die and remove myself from their bloodstream. I have longed for peace and I am never going to know peace again. (315)

God seems very far away and indifferent and the lies start coming fast and furious. Upon Scobie's mental dilemmas, hang a whole tragedy of misunderstanding and meanness, with deep spiritual implications. Scobie has only goodwill towards those he cares for but, in the catholic sense of the term, he commits the sin of pride. In his attempts to cure the sufferings of others, he usurps, unknowingly, God's role. These attempts are doomed to fail because Scobie, unlike God, cannot foresee the consequences of his actions.

Consumed by guilt, Scobie's attempts to reconcile the affair with his Catholic beliefs eventually lead him to descend rapidly into a profound spiritual crisis to his final damnation, revealing along the way an intense, unrelenting inner hell seemingly devoid of God's love.

Only one way of escape presents itself to Scobie and he believes that eternal damnation awaits him because of it. He wonders if Christ's death might be understood as an act of suicide, as He allowed himself to be sacrificed. He convinces himself that by sacrificing his own life, he can spare his wife Louise and mistress Helen the misery: "They are ill with me and I can cure them. I can't make one of them suffer so as to save myself. I am responsible and I'll see it through the only way I can. A sick man's death means to them only a short suffering — everybody has to die. We are all of us resigned to death, it's life we aren't resigned to." (317)

The worst thing that Scobie does, perhaps, is the way in which he connives in the death of Ali. True, Scobie wasn't to know

that Yusuf had violent death on his mind: Scobie probably thought Ali would be warned in no uncertain manner, threatened or bribed or perhaps, at the worst, receive a severe beating — so when, towards the novel's end, the awful thought strikes Scobie that Yusuf's reassurances presage a terminal fate for Ali his shock is as strong as the reader's.

The most crucial question in the novel is: how far should one go and sacrifice oneself for the happiness of others? Henry Scobie provides his own answer but the novel itself leaves the question open for its readers to ponder on.

In spite of one's best efforts, happiness might still prove elusive and in Greene's words, "an impossible aim". Scobie is broken by the impossibility of proving his love for God, because God's love has set the standard out of his grasp as an ordinary man.

The lives and events in the novel set up the importance of *The Heart of the Matter* as an inverted moral fable. With its absence of poetic justice, it is, in fact, "a novel based on an abstract concept as to the nature of existence". It illustrates the concept that the real heart of the matter is man's relationship with God and his need for His love and compassion.

Greene believes in the original sin of man. Greene's novels deal not only with man in relation with society and himself, but fundamentally in relation to God. Therefore, the novelist preoccupies himself with man's innate capacity for sin, his awareness of this capacity and his consequent search for God and salvation.

This takes us back to the basic question at the heart of humanity, the heart of the matter, as it were. Is there a God? And if yes, is he the merciful God who gave his life to save humanity or is he the wrathful God of the New Testament? Scobie's condition in *The Heart of the Matter* suggests the failure of a rigid and limited faith to minister to the needs of a new age and disillusionment that awaits those who believe they can cope with the world and their personal dilemmas merely by following the dictates of their faith.

Scobie does fail, it is true, but the faith that he turned to for succour, as he understood it, failed him as well. Greene says sadly that Scobie had, "somewhere between the Nissen hut and home, mislaid his joy".

The disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the prevalence of pain, evil, mental anguish and the intensity of sin comprises a veritable web, which seems to be beyond the grasp of humans to get out of. "They had been corrupted by money, and he had been corrupted by sentiment. Sentiment was the more dangerous, because you couldn't name its price. A man open to bribes was to be relied upon below a certain figure, but sentiment might uncoil in the heart at a name, a photograph, even a smell remembered." (45)

A dreary and hopeless religion, as depicted by Greene, leaves no scope for solutions.

Scobie can be said to be a textbook case of a judge destroyed by his own sentences. As well as a soul lifted by compassion and destroyed by the knowledge that there are so few bridges between love and reality.

He makes every attempt to understand and take up the responsibility for others' happiness and moves with slow steps towards his own destruction. Scobie's search for reprieve in the humid darkness is presented with great clarity and compassion.

William Du Bois, in a *New York Times* book review, describes the heart of the matter as he saw it, and Scobie's overriding compassion:

The novel never labours that bitter parable: Mr. Greene's triumph is not that he makes his doomed policeman human but that one sympathizes with his rogues and weaklings as well. The novel offers a varied gallery of both. We meet, and understand, Scobie's pneumatic, whining wife (who has all but drained his energy when the story opens); we learn to know, and pity, the stringy mistress who completes the process after he has mortgaged his future to send his Louise on a holiday. We even pity the thin-lipped, romance-ridden "intelligence officer" — and the Gargantuan Yusuf, who is a bloodsucker of quite a different sort. ... Understanding all these febrile, unhappy people, explaining them with each slow step to his own destruction, is Commissioner Scobie: and Scobie's search for a light in this humid darkness is presented in masterly terms, with no bit of drama overlooked, no symbol wasted. The heart of the matter, of course, is all too simple. Man's heart, the optimists insist, is in the right place; man's brain, the novelist reminds us, was both a misplaced and misshapen organ — long before it could be stultified by an overdose of

envy, boredom, greed. Scobie, who was all heart, was merely the victim of his own acute kindness — a disease that destroys its victims no less cruelly than angina. (3)

The novel explores the basic malaise of mankind with great depth and compassion. Greene has the last word, however.

Father Rank, the wise, tired, jaundiced priest, is paying the widow his visit of condolence:

“He was a bad Catholic.”

“That’s the silliest phrase in common use,” Father Rank said.

“And in the end, this — horror. He must have known that he was damning himself.”

“Yes, he knew that all right. He never had any trust in mercy — except for other people.”

“It’s no good even praying ...”

Father Rank clapped the cover of the diary to and said, furiously, “For goodness’ sake, Mrs. Scobie, don’t imagine you — or I — know a thing about God’s mercy.”

“The Church says ...”

“I know the Church says. The Church knows all the rules. But it doesn’t know what goes on in a single human heart.” (253)

A good man brought down by circumstance — faced with decisions whose solutions themselves constitute dilemmas — a virtue that turns out to be a fatal flaw — such is the story of Scobie. We might as well reminisce about Shakespeare’s immortal lines from *King Lear*:

“As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods, they kill us for their sport”

R.W.B. Lewis observes about the novel:

Here in short is a traditional, almost conventional novel that is yet a novel by Graham Greene and something the nineteenth century could scarcely have imagined. For what the actions serve to expose is not the habits of the society, but, going beyond all that, the absolute mystery of the human destiny. (16)

Unlike the corrupt man, who always has hope, and who “never reaches the freezing point of absolute failure”, the man of goodness, the one concerned about general welfare, is always the sufferer.

Despair is the price one pays for setting oneself an impossible aim. It is, one is told, the unforgivable sin, but it is a sin the corrupt or evil man never practises. He always has hope. He never reaches the freezing-point of knowing absolute failure. Only the man of goodwill carries always in his heart this capacity for damnation. (60)

T.S. Eliot’s words from Baudelaire, regarding Man’s salvation and damnation ring true for the novel: “It is true to say that the glory of man is his capacity for salvation; it is also true to say that his glory is his capacity for damnation” (*Selected Essays*, 377).

In psychoanalyst Roland Pierloot’s opinion, Scobie’s need to bring happiness to anyone who is helpless and vulnerable around him can be associated with an obsessive tendency towards reparation.

“In other words, what Graham Greene describes as being pride in religious terms, in a psychological reading is seen as a form of narcissistic omnipotence. This entails an overwhelming need to undo every form of evil or unhappiness. The author wanted to express the essential difference between feelings of love and pity, between loving someone and being corrupted by pity or by sentiment as the author himself marvellously notes in the following excerpt from *The Heart of the Matter*:”

“They had been corrupted by money and he had been corrupted by sentiment. Sentiment was the more dangerous, because you couldn’t name its price. A man open to bribes was to be relied upon below a certain figure, but sentiment might uncoil in the heart at a name, a photograph, even a smell remembered. (45).” (105)

Scobie drowns in existential angst. Cut off from his faith, all his actions seem meaningless to him. The testing time for a man comes when he finds himself in a situation where the normal codes of conduct that he had hitherto subscribed to, no longer hold true. He is faced with very little choice — either to find strength and recovery out of self-knowledge and loneliness or to descend to the depths of destruction in the heart of darkness.

Paradoxically, Scobie accepts that he is damned according to the rules of Catholic faith. Yet, at times, his faith wavers. He is unable to understand reality and to reconcile that with the love of God. However, we hope to assume that he received mercy and grace at the end of the tunnel.

Almost every major character in Greene’s novels is at some point confronted with an extreme situation, being forced to make a choice, which is going to radically change his life.

As A.A. De Vitis points out, Graham Greene was deeply influenced by Sartrean existentialism, at the heart of which lies the doctrine of the individual’s freedom of choice.

Scobie in *The Heart of the Matter*, Pinkie in *Brighton Rock* and the whiskey priest in *The Power and the Glory* are lonely, conflicted people, caught between pain and despair, the victim of their own choices. They make their choices, fully conscious of the path that will bring them pain or despair or lead them into mortal sin.

Greene’s heroes are essentially men tormented by their search of themselves and the meaning of life, alienated characters in an absurd universe. A bitter and murderous teenage gang leader, a mild-mannered colonial policeman lulled by his compassion into suicide, and a priest caught between duty and survival are studies in pain and despair shaped in some other world.

The dilemma Scobie goes through might be said to be true of any man’s life when he tries to take responsibility for another’s happiness. Reconciling faith and reality and searching for a creed to believe in becomes an existential problem for man.

Scobie’s inability to break off his affair with Helen recalls the feeling of Pinkie in *Brighton Rock* having gone too far with no way back. “He felt as though he were turning

his back on peace for ever. With his eyes open, knowing the consequences, he entered the territory of lies without a passport for return” (199).

Boyd links Scobie’s inner turmoil to Greene’s own tussle between faith and despair and his religious ideals:

Scobie’s dilemma, the crown of thorns he bore, was Greene’s. I believe that *The Heart of the Matter* was, in its own way, a working out of Greene’s own stricken conscience (but just how stricken is a matter for debate: when he wrote the novel he had moved on from Dorothy Glover to Catherine Walston: mistress and wife were now betrayed for a new mistress). In the same way as, for example, Evelyn Waugh’s *A Handful of Dust* is fundamentally an act of revenge on his unfaithful wife, Evelyn Gardner, so *The Heart of the Matter* is Greene’s semi-anguished confrontation with his own double standards and hypocrisy.

One is reminded of Greene’s own feelings in Liberia as he describes in his *Journey Without Maps*: “And yet all the time, below the fear and the irritation, one was aware of a curious lightness and freedom; one might drink, that was a temporary weakening; but one was happy all the same; one had crossed the boundary into country really strange; surely one had gone deep this time” (132).

Greene had professed unhappiness at the way *The Heart of the Matter* turned out when he looked back on it in *Ways of Escape*, published in 1980:

It was to prove a book more popular with the public, even with the critics, than with the author. The scales to me seem too heavily weighted, the plot overloaded, the religious scruples of Scobie too extreme. I had meant the story of Scobie to enlarge a theme which I had touched on in *The Ministry of Fear*, the disastrous effect on human beings of pity as distinct from compassion. I had written in *The Ministry of Fear*: ‘Pity is cruel. Pity destroys. Love isn’t safe when pity’s prowling around.’ The character of Scobie was intended to show that pity can be the expression of almost monstrous pride. But I found the effect on readers was quite different. To them Scobie was exonerated, Scobie was ‘a good man’, he was hunted to his death by the harshness of his wife.

Further, it’s the innocents of the world who do most damage because they cannot imagine that any ill might derive from their actions.

In all his novels, Greene challenges the idea that God is a cruel, unrelenting rule-keeper and if any of the people in the universe challenge or break his rules, they must suffer the consequences without mitigation.

The Heart of the Matter shows what havoc the forces of destiny and character together wreak on an individual who is lost in his search for belief. In the contemporary world, man is utterly forsaken by the loss of faith in the absence of a creed to believe in. When the ideals and dictates of humanity and religion come into conflict, it is inevitable that the individual is flung into a dilemma from which

there appears to be no release but death. Redemption and release can only come through the mercy of God.

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN

Anita Sabat

ABSTRACT

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a term with wide connotations. In today's global environment, CSR is a buzzword and commands special importance as it addresses the needs of society and business. Through their CSR initiatives, Companies try to prove that they are good 'Corporate Citizens', responsible for their actions and positively impact social welfare and environment. Sanitation and hygiene are in the spotlight with India's biggest ever cleanliness drive- the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. On 2nd October, 2014, Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan to mark the 145th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. The mission of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan campaign is to attain a Clean India by the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi - 2nd October 2019. Now Swachh Bharat is also in the list of CSR initiatives of companies. CSR can help to make Swachh Bharat Abhiyan a success.

The present paper endeavors to study the concept of CSR, the need and advantages of Sanitation, the objectives of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, its impact and managing challenges.

Key Words: Corporate Social Responsibility, CSR, Sanitation, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, Clean India

INTRODUCTION

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a term with wide connotations. In today's global environment, CSR is accorded special importance as CSR helps address the needs of society and business. CSR is the initiative of a company to be responsible for its actions and impact on social welfare and environment. As firms adopt self-regulating mechanism and responsible practice, profitability and

commercial success is enhanced and survival with future pay-offs is ensured. Apart from 'Profits', Corporates now boast of 2 more Ps- 'People' and 'Planet' too. Good corporate citizens adopt CSR with the triple bottom-line of 3 Ps - Profits, People and Planet. Fig.1 shows that Economic growth is sustainable only if business activities are integrated with social and environmental priorities.

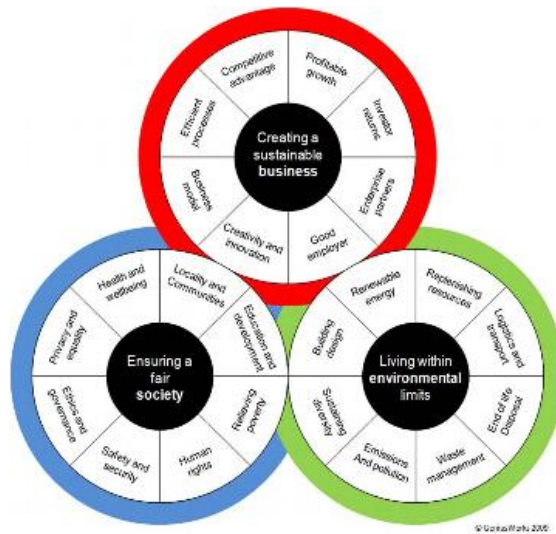


Fig.1 People, Planet and Profit

Source: *GeniusWorks*. <http://www.peopleandplanetandprofit.com/>

Corporate sectors need to fine-balance CSR, Corporate Interests and Philanthropy. As most companies are focusing beyond philanthropy, CSR targets sustainability. As per the recent Companies Bill mandate on CSR spending, there is a legal motive as companies must “ensure” that they spend at least 2 per cent of their net profit towards CSR activities. India now has CSR in its statute – India’s 56-year-old omnibus Companies Act has been spruced up with the Companies Bill, 2011, that brings the management of the corporate sector in tune with global norms. There was an Amendment in Clause 135: The Board of every company shall ensure that in every financial year the company spends, at least two per cent of the average net profits of the company made during the three prior financial years, in pursuance of its Corporate Social Responsibility Policy. From 1 April 2014, under

the new law, every company which has a net worth of Rs.500 crore or more or revenue above Rs.1,000 crore or a net profit above Rs.5 crore needs to spend at least 2% of the average net profits for the past three years on CSR activities. The father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi, has shared his philosophy about Trusteeship, Volunteering and service. A Company is a Corporate Citizen that ought to adopt CSR as a service for others and also for self. CSR can prove to be a win-win situation for all. India’s biggest ever cleanliness drive- the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan was launched on Independence Day 2014 to mark the 145th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Corporates have joined in this mission of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan campaign to help attain a Clean India by the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi - 2nd October 2019.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has the following objectives:

- To make a conceptual study of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)
- To present the benefits of Sanitation, Hygiene and Swachh Bharat (Clean India)
- To study the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, its status and impact.
- To identify how to manage the key challenges of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The study is based on secondary data, mostly collected from newspaper articles, websites, books, magazines, journals, the published reports of different corporate houses etc.

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The study has limitations in terms of the data available and collected. No field-study with socio-economic-cultural survey is included in this study. Thus, limited implications can be drawn. Also, as the companies have recently started spending their CSR funds towards Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, the actual impact of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan can be gauged after some time.

SCOPE FOR RESEARCH

The study establishes the need for a wider survey. There is scope for further research. A detailed survey would help planners, policy makers and CSR Officers to gauge the effectiveness, usage and perception about CSR and Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. The

negative and positive effects can be gauged. The end-users can be surveyed and a beneficiary study can be done. The difficulties faced by the general public and their suggestions can be taken into consideration to make the CSR initiatives more effective.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Business for Social Responsibility (2007), CSR can help companies secure their social license to operate, contribute in a meaningful way to sustainable development, and ultimately add value not just for shareholders but also for all of their stakeholders- for the communities and others who are affected by the companies operation. "Corporate" is the key word in the phrase Corporate Social Responsibility as the aim is to ensure the position and success of the sponsor. They aim at making business profitable. Milton Friedman opined that increasing profits is *the social responsibility of business*. Profits are dependent on many factors including the attitude of the stakeholders. Now CSR is considered as "*good for our business*." Jobber (2004) in his book *Practice of Marketing* observed that with CSR deployment there is business recognition that there is operation in social context amidst varied forces- political, regulatory, economic, technological and competitive and that there is much to be gained from a supportive and conducive environment. Appreciably, there are many companies supporting diverse issues such as health-care, education, arts, culture, rural development, sanitation, conservation of nature etc (Arora and Puranik 2004). There are four phases of CSR development in India pertaining to- namely Philanthropy during Industrialization,

Social Development during struggle for Independence, Mixed Economy & Globalized world (Sundar, 2010).

According to the report of the UN Secretary General - implementation of the International Year of Volunteers (2001), the idea that all people have a right to development needs to be accepted. Volunteerism and active CSR participation is an important means to exercise that right. The benefits are: a) Good impact on society, b) Citizens are engaged and build trust and reciprocity, c) Integration of marginalized sections, d) Employment promotion. All citizens must have the right to spare/spend their time, talent and energy to others and to their communities. With CSR, the Companies volunteer and support important societal causes. With Swachh Bharat Abhiyan also included under CSR activities, companies are supporting Clean India. Dean Spears (2015) expressed his opinion in "Needed: Quantitative Evidence of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan" in Livemint that a quantitative evidence of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan is needed. The Companies Act (2013) strives to implement CSR in an "explain or comply" model hoping that "comply" would be followed by most. Initially only a handful of Indian Corporate groups such as the Tatas practised CSR. With the Companies Act 2013, CSR is mandated by law. India is the first country in the world to have CSR provisions in the statute itself. As per the Human Development Index report (2014), India's HDI rank in 2014 was 135 amongst 187 countries. India is amongst the "medium development" countries. A measure of socio-economic progress is the Human Development Index (HDI) computed annually

by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The basic components of HDI are- life expectancy, literacy, standard of living and gender development index. A developed India is possible with a good standard of living with the help of CSR and success of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.

Defining CSR

World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2010) defines CSR as "the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large to improve their quality of life". The organization Business for Social Responsibility (2010) defines CSR as "operating a business in a manner that meets or exceeds the ethical, legal, commercial, and public expectations that society has of business." CSR relates to "ethical values, legal requirements, as well as respect for people, communities, and the environment."

CSR inspires firms to improve the economic and social standards of the community and transform society rather than just maximise profits. CSR is the additional commitment by firms to improve the socio-economic status of all the stakeholders involved while complying with the necessary legal and economic requirements. Fig.2 shows a representation of the relationship between the three pillars of sustainability- Economy, Society and Environment and suggests that both economy and society are constrained by environmental limits.

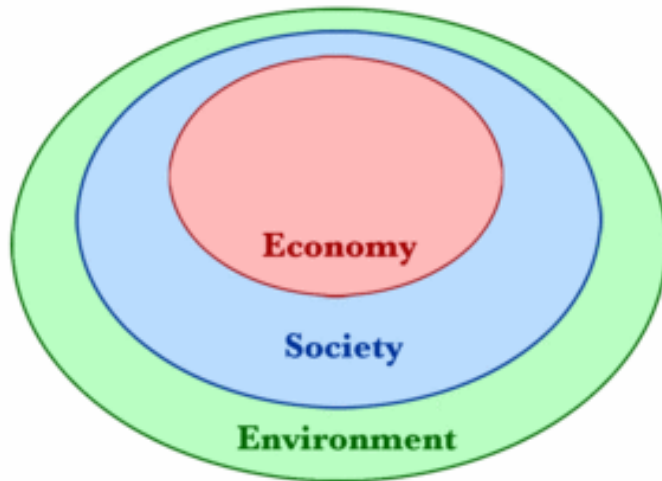


Fig. 2 – TBL - Source: Scott Cato, M. *Green Economics*

CSR Focus

With CSR initiatives of Companies integrating social objectives in their products, people and processes, our country and world gets the benefits. Doing well and doing good are two sides of the same coin. CSR activities address different realms: Workplace, community, environment and marketplace. They focus on education, healthcare and infrastructure. The CSR umbrella is yet to cover the total workplace, community and environment. Indian companies begin with the goal of doing good—for poor consumers, for greater India—and then making money. Doing good is an intrinsic part of their business strategy. There have been many varied CSR initiatives from simple philanthropic activities to community development by the Indian companies. CSR is an opportunity to prove sincere do-good intentions and to fulfill

corporate interests. Corporates feel CSR is “good for our business” and have their own ideas and reasons to deploy it. The Economist (2010) supported that CSR is “just good business”.

CSR activities have increased over the years though the limelight was on three broad areas namely- 1. Education, 2. Health and Sanitation, including safe drinking water and 3. Agricultural entrepreneurship and livelihood. Being socially responsible, efficiently balancing CSR expectations and priorities and effectively communicating CSR involvement and achievements, yield rich dividends. Having graduated from ‘doing social good’ to a ‘business necessity’, CSR is no longer just a choice. Rather, CSR is an action-word that gives a chance for Corporates to prove themselves, hear the voice of stakeholders and also make their voice heard. Then, everyone

will have reasons to rejoice. Companies, the government and the civil society must brainstorm on the role of CSR for everyone's upliftment and development. It is complex to implement CSR in the heart of corporate culture while preserving core business objectives, and avoiding the traps of paternalism and philanthropy. CSR requires clear-sighted analysis and detailed implementation. Companies will be judged more by their social policies than on their delivery of products and services. CSR has now been accepted as a necessary continual activity in tune with business rather than a rare or occasional affair to enhance branding or reputation.

As per the Companies Act, now the activities that can be undertaken by a company to fulfill its CSR obligations include the following-

- 1 Hunger, Poverty, Malnutrition Eradication, Healthcare, Sanitation, Safe Water
- 2 Education/Training – Schools, Skill, Employment enhancement projects
- 3 Women's Empowerment, Gender Equality, Inequality reduction; Old age homes
- 4 Environment Conservation, Protection of Flora & Fauna, Soil, Air, Water
- 5 National heritage, Art, Culture, Handicrafts protection; Libraries setup
- 6 Armed forces veterans, War widows & Dependents benefits
- 7 Training for Sports- rural/nationally recognized/Paralympic/Olympics

- 8 Contribution to PM's National Relief Fund or other Central Govt. Funds
- 9 Contribution/funds to technology within academic institutions
- 10 Rural development projects

The Companies can take up activities in any of these broad CSR areas. Irrespective of which category the CSR budget is spent, India wins.

SANITATION AND HYGIENE

Sanitation refers to the facilities and services that enable the collection & disposal of wastes safely. **Hygiene** means the conditions & practices necessary to maintain health and prevent diseases through cleanliness. Sanitation maintains the hygienic conditions.

Advantages of Better Sanitation and Hygiene-

- Prevention of diseases & infections
- Lesser flies & mosquitoes- As per the World Malaria Report 2014 by the World Health Organization (WHO), "*111 crore Indians are at a risk of getting infected with Malaria.*"
- Dignity of life & better life & quality of living- A World Bank report states- "*absence of toilet is one of the important contributors to malnutrition*" & "*access to improved sanitation can increase cognition among children.*"(Spears, 2013)
- Reduced Rape-cases- There will be lesser rape incidents as women are at

tacked when they go to the field to answer nature's call.

- Education for all including girls- Girls drop out of schools owing to poor sanitation facilities. Proper sanitation can help education.
- Fewer kids fall sick
- Better Health, Healthcare & Immune India

SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN

On 2nd October, 2014, Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi launched India's biggest ever cleanliness drive- the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan to mark the 145th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Shri Modi led by example as armed with a broom, he himself cleaned a road. Millions of government employees, school and college students, Corporates and general public have joined in. The mission of this Swachh Bharat Abhiyan campaign is to attain a Clean India by the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi - 2nd October 2019. Citizens need to take the Swachhta Pledge and remain committed to cleanliness and devote time and neither litter nor allow others to litter. Mahatma Gandhi had said, "*Sanitation is more important than independence.*" He dreamt of a free and clean India where cleanliness and sanitation are a way of life and everyone serves Mother In-

dia by helping her to be neat and clean. Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA) vide notification dated October 24, 2014 made an amendment in the Schedule VII of the Companies Act, 2013, relating to Corporate Social Responsibility and the words- "*including contribution to the Swachh Bharat Kosh set-up by the Central Government for the promotion of sanitation*" were inserted in item (i). CSR can also focus on Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.

Objectives of the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan-

- Elimination of open defecation
- Eradication of manual scavenging
- 100% collection and scientific processing/disposal/reuse/recycling of municipal solid waste
- Behavioural change in people regarding healthy sanitation practices
- Generation of awareness among citizens about sanitation and its linkages with public health.

Companies must spend at least 2 per cent of their net profit towards CSR programme initiatives. With proper implementation of CSR, there can be cleanliness solution and the success of the Swachh Bharat mission as shown in the flowchart in Fig.3.

Vision-> Intention-> Discussion-> Information-> Mission-> Participation-> Action->
 Implementation-> Solution-> Inspiration for Generations ->
 Continuation...

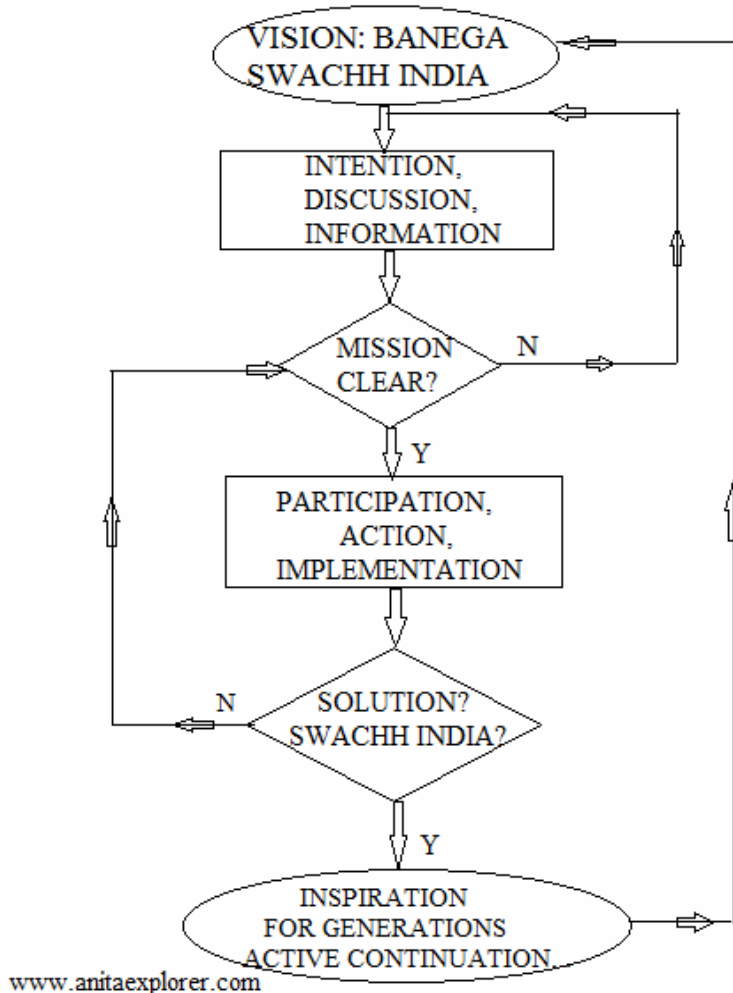


Fig. 3- #SwachhIndia Flowchart Source: www.anitaexplorer.com

Impact of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan

Schools and villages now have toilets, constructed with CSR funds. When the Swachh Bharat Abhiyan was launched in

2014, many companies committed themselves to it. The following table gives the names of the Public Sector Undertaking (PSU), breakup of the states and the target number of toilets to be constructed in the schools:

	Name of PSU	States	Number of Toilets to be constructed in the Schools
1	NTPC	Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, MP, Odisha, Rajasthan, UP & West Bengal	240
2	Power Finance Corporation (PFC)	Rajasthan	72
3	SJVN Limited	Himachal Pradesh	21
4	POWERGRID	AP, Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, MP, Odisha & Telengana	90
5	National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC)	Assam, WB, J&K, HP, Uttarakhand, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur & WB.	56
6	Rural Electrification Corporation Limited (REC)	UP	90
7	Neyveli Lignite Corporation Ltd (NLC)	Tamil Nadu	25
8	THDC India Limited (THDCIL)	Uttarakhand	05
9	Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency (IREDA)	Chhattisgarh	04
10	North Eastern Electric Power Corporation (NEEPCO)	Assam	06
11	Coal India Limited (CIL)	Jharkhand, WB, Odisha, MP, Chhattisgarh, UP & Assam	400

Table-1- Source: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Govt. of India

The above figures may look heartening, but the real impact is different. As per the Swachh Vidyalaya programme review details in June 2015, since August 2014, the Government has constructed 1,22,140 toilets or 45 per cent of its target till mid-June 2015, while the public sector undertakings have completed construction of 18,520 toilets, or just 11 per cent of their target of 1,63,986. The private corporate sector has completed construction of just 424 toilets or 8 per cent of its commitment of 5,134 toilets. The Swachh Vidyalaya programme review reveals that eight companies including TCS, Mahindra Group, Infosys Foundation, ITC Ltd etc are yet to commence work on 2,925 toilets, and work is in progress in 1,134 toilets. 68 per cent or 2,98,458 toilets are yet to be built. Work has been completed in just one of every three toilets to be constructed across India. A lot more needs to be done.

There are posters, hoardings, wall-advertisements and awareness programmes in local language about the benefits of sanitation and toilet-usage and prohibiting open defecation. Recently, Kashinagar in Gajapati district in Odisha has become the first 'open defecation free' revenue block in Odisha. With 12,300 households living in 140 villages under 12 panchayats, now every family of Kashinagar block has a toilet of its own, apart from community toilets. March 2016 is the target to make the whole district 'open defecation free'. There are seven blocks

including Kashinagar with 129 panchayats in Gajapati district. Building 1,50,000 new toilets will make Gajapati district totally open defecation free. In March 2015, the launch of '*Mo Swachh Shauchalay*' (my clean toilet) campaign in the district aims to end open defecation completely. Companies can help the Government by channeling their CSR funds for such initiatives to better the lives of the citizens. Good hygiene and cleanliness ensure a healthy society and a safer world.

MANAGING KEY CHALLENGES

Guidelines have been developed with the purpose of achieving Swachh Bharat Abhiyan. Despite the unique circumstances and prevailing issues, a uniform "one size fits all" approach can be practical only with proper planning and implementation.

To overcome the challenges associated with the implementation of CSR for Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, the principal areas where Companies need to invest resources and effort include:

- Achieving clarity in relation to CSR vision and Swachh Bharat Abhiyan objectives.
- Changing the attitudes associated with sanitation and hygiene e.g. changing toilet habits as many practice open defecation.
- Changing attitudes towards manual scavenging
- Addressing the basic needs first as many homes are yet to access pipe-water for basic tasks like washing hands apart from proper sanitation, sewerage & drainage-systems

- It is not enough to just build toilets without taking care of the necessary infrastructure like septic tanks and water-supply. Such toilets are redundant as they cannot be used.
- Generating awareness about the benefits of cleanliness e.g. washing hands using soap or handwash can help prevent 40% of diarrhoeal diseases & 30% of respiratory infections.
- Addressing relevant issues concerning Swachh Bharat Abhiyan
- Understanding the requirements of key stakeholders with respect to CSR and Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- Determining the key indicators of measurement of environmental, social and economic performance with regard to Swachh Bharat Abhiyan.
- Though Companies have committed themselves regarding their investment in Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, proper audit about their actual CSR investment is required.
- Though public sector companies have focused on CSR and shared information, more information about the private sector is required.
- It is not enough to make grand plans, implementation is needed.
- Further research is needed to investigate if there has been a judicious implementation of the CSR projects and whether the planned CSR funds have reached the intended beneficiaries.

CONCLUSIONS

From the study, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- Many companies have committed themselves to spend their CSR funds by undertaking Swachh Bharat Abhiyan initiatives.
- However, companies need to do a lot more than simply construction of toilets or one-time cleaning of ponds etc as the subsequent maintenance is required too.
- The quality of work and reach of funds needs further improvement and research.
- There is a need for a wider research on toilet-infrastructure requirement, construction and usage of toilets to find out the difference across villages/towns/cities, gender divide, rural-urban divide, and age divide.
- Companies must keep further requirements of the general public in their CSR plans regarding Swachh Bharat and must join the government to attain synergy.

A survey by India Today found that 41 percent believed that the Swachh Bharat initiative is good and will make India cleaner. 29% percent felt that it though it is a good idea, it is impractical. Corporates recognize CSR as “an essential part of their business”. CSR is the engine for change. Selfless service and collective consciousness can ensure sustainability. In the past, many companies had no mention in their Annual Reports of the CSR amount spent, while others just listed their CSR activities while spending minimal amounts on

CSR. Only 14 NIFTY Companies spent 2% netgain on CSR in the year 2015. With CSR being mandatory and as many companies focusing and implementing Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, the service will improve. All companies must efficiently balance CSR priorities and effectively communicate their CSR involvement for CSR excellence and India's cleanliness, progress and success.

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REVIVAL OF ODISSI FORM IN TWENTIETH CENTURY

Reena Ghadei

ABSTRACT

In the tenth century AD dance was introduced as a devotional practice in Odisha. In the 11th century AD when Chodagangadeva employed Devadasis in the temple of Jagannath the dance form came to be known as mahari dance, as the temple dancers were known as maharis.

The tradition of dance-rituals spanning an unbroken period of approximately nine hundred years and executed by the maharis and Gotipuas (boy dancers dressed as girls), point the vitality of the tradition.

This tradition declined during the last decades of the nineteenth and the early decades of the 20th century.

In the 50's of 20th century the dance practitioner like Guru Panjaj Charan Das, Mayadhar Rout, Kelucharan Mohapatra and Debaprasad Das and some scholars like Kalicharan Patnaik and D.N.Patnaik were instrumental in reconstructing the Odissi dance.

Sanjukta Panigrahi, Minati Mishra, Guru Mayadhar Rout being trained in Kalakshetra played crucial role in reviving Odissi.

Indrani Rehman was the first dancer to carry Odissi outside India and put it on the dance map of the world.

Odissi dance recital that we see today is an attempt of reconstruction from the fragments of the mahari tradition, Gotipua tradition and martial art of Chhau tradition.

Key word

Mahari, Gotipua, Batu, Pallavi, Moksha, Vadya, Sakhinata, Bengapatia, Rekamukha, Lasya, Tribhanga

The twentieth century can rightly be termed as a century of cultural renaissance, as it saw in all dance forms, in all parts of India, re-emergence from obscurity or from the confines of temples and court. It provided an atmosphere which allowed acceptance of dances and their performers in society with full measure.

Truly this period saw a conscious effort by artists, and historians, and lovers of music and dance to trace the roots and states of

development with a sense of pride and awareness of the rich cultural heritage inherited by them.

Odissi, one of the classical dance form in India, having originated as a regional variant in Odisha has now established itself firmly, not only in the dance map of India but also of the world. According to Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, an eminent dance scholar, Odissi may well claim to be the earliest classical Indian dance style on the basis of archeological evidence.

The historicity of Odissi is irrefutable for, even the *Natya sastra* mentions 'Odra Magadhi' as one of the four regional dances. This dance constituted a form of professional entertainment, interweaving dimensions of the secular and the sacred.

In the 10th century AD, dance was introduced as a devotional practice in Orissa, performed to honour the Hindu divine. This temple dance was called *Mahari Naach*. But this dance ritual was stigmatized by British imperialists and indigenous elites for its ties to prostitution, and *Mahari naach* was forced underground in the nineteenth century era of the British Raj.

Earlier in the 16th century, with the advent of the Bharti monument in Eastern India, another lineage emerged the *Gotipua* tradition of young boys embodying the feminine in public dance performance. This tradition escaped colonial scrutiny and survived into the early decades of the 20th century. The dances were passed down in the case of *Mahari's* from mother to adopted daughters, in case of *Gotipuas*, from teachers to dedicated boys.

But lack of patronage made it difficult to continue the *Gotipua* dance tradition in Orissa and financial duress drove the young *Gotipuas* to *jatra* or roving theatre groups. Thus *odissi* had begun its move back from temple to stage.

Since early twentieth centuries the *Odissi* dance has risen like the phoenix from being a skeletal remnant of history to reincarnate as one of the most sought after classical forms – and one has a remarkable instance of cultural recovery in art history.¹ Classical *Odissi* dance

today is a superstructure crafted about 60 years ago, erected on the foundation of lean pickings.

The dance remained as an oral tradition through the beginning of the twentieth century. It was in possession of Semi-literates who were not aware of the existing Sanskrit texts on dance. Consequently the body movement patterns, body positions and hand gestures existed in diluted, even debilitated form without the technical terminology that structure is a dance form.²

By the 1930s, the dance scene in Odisha aligned with a new cultural environment. As *Mahari naach* diminished in stature, concert dances crafted in indigenous idioms began to merge in the context of Indian nationalism. Inspired by prominent Choreographers like Uday Sankar, an innovator in modern Indian dance and Rukmini Devi, a pioneering figure in classical *Bharatnatyam*, dances in Odisha began to develop their own novel style for the stage.

In the early 1940's the dance of Odisha was known as oriental dance. The traditional dance recital was an un-interrupted ten-fifteen minute sequence comprising elementary movement and music. The restructuring was the work of scholars and dance practitioners, the latter men of humble origin not born to any dance tradition as such, but who through talent, powers of acute observation and assimilation, and unstinting effort revitalized the art form – evolving into *Gurus* in the truest sense of the term, what was in most dances a journey from temple and court to the proscenium, became a monument of the

disintegrating dance finding a foothold in theatre, where the first seeds of the new dance were sown.³

Contemporary Odissi, embodying the Mahari and the Gotipua sensibilities, had its real beginnings in Orissa theatres, with which each of the main Gurus Pankaj Charan Das, Mayadhar Rout, Kelucharan Mohapatra and Debaprasad Das were involved in the crucial forties.

It was the open-air roving drama groups who performed forms like Jatra or Ram/Rasa/Krishna leela that proved to be the most influential in shaping the history. Most accounts of the above said four architects of Odissi dance describe their childhood fascination with these drama troupe or the local akhadas. Both Mohan Sundar Goswami and Kalicharan Patnaik operated Ras leela troupes that included Kelucharan Mohapatra and Mayadhar Rout as performers. Kali Charan then began Orissa theaters in 1939/40 and ushered in a revolution of modern Odishan theatre with a fixed proscenium stage, complex lighting and décor, and high acting standards. Other theatres sprang up, such as Annapurna theatres and New theatres and the best minds in music and dance migrated to these new opportunities. Annapurna theatre was the first to present young girls from the theatre Communities on stage for dance numbers.

In the late 30's and late 40's, adopted and trained by a Mahari (Harapriya), with dance and music in his veins, Guru Pankaj Charan Das, floated one jatra to another until he landed with the Annapurna theatre B.

The second and third dancers, Kelucharan Mohapatra and Mayadhar Rout were in Kabichandra Kalicharan Patnaik's Orissa theatre in 1944. At that time Mayadhar Rout was learning a dance form known as Dakhhini Dance from Yudhistira Mahapatra. In 1947, Mayadhar joined the Annapurna Theatre in Cuttack. By this time the term "Odissi Dance" had already come into vogue."⁴ (The name Orissi from Odra Magadhi, was coined by the late Kavichandra Kalicharan Patnaik in 1948. Since then, this name has been applied to both the dance and music forms of the state of Orissa.⁵

In 1949, Kelucharan Mahapatra joined the Annapurna Theatre, and a young Brahmin girl, Sanjukta Mishra, was allowed by her parents to start training in dance.

In 1950, the fourth dancer and the last of the principal gurus, Deba Prasad Das joined the Annapurna Theatre.

Another Guru of Odissi, Guru Mahadev Rout, trained by the great Chandrasekhara Patnaik, eventually went to Cuttack, trained young dancers, teamed up with a great actor-director-scholar of Jatras, Sri Dhiren Dash and choreographed Odissi for stage presentations, as a precursor to the revival.

Amidst the public awakening and interest, it was Annapurna Theatre, that became a key host in the formation of modern Odissi dance. A momentous development for Odissi occurred when Pankaj Charan Das choreographed the famous Mohini-Bhasmasura dance taking on the role of Bhasmasura himself with Kelucharan

Mahapatra as Mahadev and Laxmipriya (wife of Kelucharan Mahapatra) as Mohini and Mayadhar Rout on Vishnu Narayan. The simple ten-beat rhythm of Kelucharan Mahapatra's dance of Mohini, created history with the Kelucharan-Laxmipriya duo becoming a popular pair. This acclamation launched Kelucharan Mahapatra into a carter that had brought him international reputes.

Pankaj Charan Das, with his creative vision, continued to reconstruct an acceptable dance form for the state from the traditional style of Maharis and called it Orissi (or Odissi) to divorce it and himself from the censure attached to the Maharis.

Guru Deba Prasad Das, though trained in the Gotipua style, was insistent in support for "tradition" which he identified with the "Tantric" aspect of the style and with the legacy of the Maharis. Even he preferred odia lyrics to Sanskrit ones in abhinaya items. While Guru Kelucharana's dance style is the most acknowledgedly widely practiced style today.

In the late 40's young girls of high caste broke the traditions of the past and being fascinated and inspired by the dance sequences, particularly the graceful movements of Laxmipriya more girls from privileged background began to learn the dance form despite the negative attitudes still prevalent towards dance. Among them some of the big names in Odissi dance were Sanjukta Mishra (Panigrahi) the first girl to pursue odissi as a life long career, Minati Das (latter Mishra), Jayanti Ghosh, Priyambada

Mohanty (Hizmadi) and Kukum Das (Mohanty).

Thus the first stirrings of new dance in Orissa had been set in motion. Around that time Guru Dayal Sharma a student of Uday Sankar, visiting Odisha with his performing troupes, was impressed with Kelucharan Mohapatra and provided him some choreographic insight. He taught Uday Sankar training techniques and introduced the usages of Shastric Mudras for the Annapurna Theatre.

Familiarity with Shastric hasta abhinaya enabled Guru Kelucharan to later discover the neglected aspects of the expressive gestural language of the mudras of Odisha. Over the years to come, he delved into the forgotten texts of Odisha, visual depictions on temples and the classical Sanskrit text on dance, Abhinaya Darpan and Natya Sastra. His young students Sanjukta Panigrahi and Minati Mishra introduced these texts to him in the late 1940's and early 50's in their summer holidays from Ruknani Devi's school, Kalakshetra, near Madras, for teaching Bharat Natyam, the reconstructed classical dance of Tamil Nadu.

According to D.N.Patnaik, As there were no professional gurus available all these dance teachers and dancers came out of the theatres and started teaching in the cultural institutions. In Utkal Sangeet Samaj, Cuttack and Sangeet Parishad, Puri, Guru Pankaj Charan Das, in Kala Vikas Kendra, Cuttack Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra and Sri Mayadhar Rout, in National music Association

Guru Deba Prasad Das and in Smruti Kala Mandap, Sri Batakrishna Sen started teaching dance”.

By 1950, dance had played an essential part in the burgeoning theatre movement in Odisha. Odissi had began to expand and gain its identity and Cuttack became the centre of Culture and changing attitudes towards dance. The arts training centre Kala Vikas Kendra which began in 1952 and was supported by Babulal Doshi, became a critical centre for the codification of Odissi dance and music training and all the big names like Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra, Guru Mayadhar Rout of Odissi associated with it at one time. Interestingly, among the first three students of the Kendra was *Sadhana Bose* (who danced in Raj Nartaki and other films) and her cousin Basanti Bose.

Organisations, such as the utkal Sangeet Samaj, promoted Odissi dance and by 1952, an annual festival, the Kumar Utsav, had begun in Cuttack. By 1954, the queen of Odissi, Sanjukta Panigrahi, was then the child prodigy, Sanjukta Mishra, with Kabi Chandra KaliCharan Pattnaik, emceeding performances and her teacher Kelucharan Mohapatra, a great percussionist, accompanying her, danced all evening in the Odissi style, on out- of-state stages. Even a 6 year old Minakshi Nanda had won a gold medal in Allahabad. However, it was not until November of that year (1954) when Priyambada Mohanty (Hemadi) went as a delegate of Utkal University to the youth Festival in New Delhi that Odissi caught the eye of the national.⁶

This major national breakthrough came with Dr. Charles Fabri's rave review in *The Statesman* after witnessing Priyambada Mohanty's performance at the Talkatora Garden of New Delhi. That article led to a resurgence of interest in the lost art form in Odisha. By 1956, in the third Inter-University Youth Festival, Odissi performed by Priyambada Mohanty (Hezmadi) had been classified as a separate dance form. She won first prize representing Lucknow University. Odissi being unknown then, the style had been mentioned as classical dance (oriya) in her certificate.

In 1957, supposedly provoked by Rukmini Devi's casual dismissal of Odissi as a still evolving art, came the Jayantika effort with a group of gurus and scholars, Pankaj Charan Das, Mayadhar Rout and scholars Raghunath Patta, Dayanidhi Das and Dharendra Pattnaik taking a joint oath to collectively rebuild the dance and codify an agreed-upon odissi dance style. It must have been a do or die situation because most other classical dance forms in the country had already been fully revived by then and they were in a hurry to do their bit for odissi.⁷

One of the significant gurus in this group was Mayadhar Rout. He was a versatile dancer and had learnt gotipua dance from his elder brother Harihar. He also learnt odissi from Pankaj Chanan Das. In 1955 he left for Kalakshetra and learnt Bharatnatyam from Rukmini Devi Arundale and Kathakali from T.K.Chandu Paniker. His exposure to Bharat Natyam and Kathakali helped the revivalists

to reconstruct odissi. He helped the gurus to reshape odissi dance in the classical canons he had mastered at Kalakshetra. He taught Mudra Viniyoga (use of mudras) and Sanchari Bhava abhinaya to all of the gurus, other than Guru Pankaj Charan Das. As one of the primary players in Jayantika, he helped create the repertoire of neo-classical odissi as it is presently performed. Sabda Svarapata and Dakhinata were later added to the repertoire.

Sanchari Vaba Abhinaya and mudra viniyoga remain his land mark contributions to the reconstructed neo-classical odissi. Besides, he choreographed ashtapadis from the *Gita Govinda: pasyati disidisi, priye carushila, Chandana Charchita* in 1961. These choreographies came at a time when Orissa was not ready for the Gita Govinda or the Sringara Rash.

Guru Mayadhar Rout left Odisha for Delhi in 1967 and in 1970 he joined the Sree Ram Bharatiya Kala Kendra. Subsequently, he continued choreographing dance dramas, pure dance items and above all, that which has made him famous, the ashtapadis: *Sakhi he, Nindati Chandana, yahi madhava*, and others.

The Guru has also to his credit the choreography of several mangala charanas and pallavis as well as dance direction in oriya feature films, besides the scripting of dance dramas in Odia. He received the “Natya Shiromani” from the centre for Indian Classical Dances, the Orissa Sangeet Natak Academy Award in 1979, and the Sangeet Natak Academy Award in 1986.⁸ His

daughter, Madhumita Rout, continues her father’s legacy in Odissi dance. Guruji also can lay claim to students who are now gurus, Hare Krishna Behera, Surendra Nath Jena, Ramani Ranjan Jena, and Dibakar Khuntia. His students include Kum Kum Das, Sonal Mansingh, Alik Panikar, Ranjana Gauhar, Kiran Segal, Geeta Mahalik, Anne Marie Gaston and many others.⁹

Not only Guru Mayadhar Rout but Minati Das (Mishra) and Sanjukta Mishra (Panigrahi) too received training at Kalakshetra and their experiences added to the splendor of Odissi. Scholars like Kalicharan Patnaik, conducting research on the theoretical aspects with the aim of establishing clear-cut parameters for the odissi style as per guidelines of Natya Sastra did not approve the idea of borrowing elements from the south.¹⁰ He presented his findings at the 1958 All India Dance Seminar in New Delhi where Jayanti Ghosh demonstrated odissi dance – a historic event of the dance form.

The late 1950 and 1960s saw odissi expanded and codified into its modern format. The dance was refined and sanskritized and the costume and jewellery was standardized. The *Puspa Chuda* style of arranging the hair in a bun surrounded by the pith circle and tahia was designed in 1959 and the distinctive silver *bengapatia* belt was first donned by Sanjukta Panigrahi in 1963. This ornament confirmed to the description of *Rekamukha* of Abhinaya Chandrika.

All the gurus, dancers and scholars present at Jayantika discussed the designs of

the dress and got it stitched by Bhagirathi of Chandini Chowk, Cuttack. (Patnaik, Kalavikash Kendra, 1997:28).

Meeting in the Raghunath temple in Telenga bazar, Cuttack or in the living room of Loknath Mishra, a consensus was worked out on the syllables (Bols) composed by Balbhadra Sahu and Agadhu Moharana, and dance by Kelucharan Mohapatra and Pankaj Charan Das. The dance began with floral offerings to Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Odisha and salutation to Bhumidevi in the manner of Mahari.¹¹

Pallavi, previously known as Tarijhom, has undergone the maximum evolution amongst all the divisions. Being an item of pure dance, pallavi as the visualization of a musical composition of notes and rhythmic syllables set to a particular raga emerged as the mainstay of an odissi recital.

The original pallavis, by Balakrishna Das, like the Basant Pallavi, were patterned on tunes of traditional odissi lyrics and succeeded by some of the most evocative compositions by Bhubaneswar Mishra along with others like Shyama Sundar Kar. The emphasis was on *lasya* and *tribhanga* as are used profusely in this item.

Abhinaya is the interpretation of the lyrics by facial expressions and hand gestures. Abhinaya was the forte of the Gotipuas and therefore, had a vast heritage of poetry by mediaval poets like Kavisurya Baladev Rath, the most musical, Gopal Krishna Patnaik, the most poetic and Banamali, the most devotional.

Incorporation of Gita Govinda started with the popularization of the songs through the play Jayadeva by Late Kabichandra Kalicharan Patnaik. Of course, the odissi medium has been so suitable and Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra's choreography so apt, that many believe odissi to be synonymous with Gita Govinda.¹² With non-oriya girls learning odissi, Gita Govinda was used more frequently.

The final dance number is the *mokshya Nata*. *Mokshya* is reintegration with the absolute. The dance attuned to this ideal is known as *Mokshya Nata* and obviously it always remains the concluding item. This is an item of pure *nritta* and typical variations of odissi – *tala pahapata* and *Sariman* are used in an intricate varying tempo.

The item *batu* that follows *mangalacharan* became a bone of contention among the Gurus, some interpreting it etymologically as coming from *vadu* meaning bondage with reference to the *mahari* and others connecting it to the *Batuka Bhairava* cult with the item created with statuesque postures reminiscent of temple sculptures. *Batu* is a redefined version of the *thei Ghara nata* of the Gotipua tradition. *Thei Ukuta* was predominant in the rhythmic syllables of the tale and therefore the opinion on whether to call it *thei*, *thai* or *sthai nata* or give it a completely different name like *Batunata* was divided in opinion.¹³ This was unacceptable to Pankaj Charan Das and Debaprasad Das each creating his own version of what is known as *sthai*. Each guru had his stylistic preferences reflected in the individual creations.

Pankaj Charan was rooted deeply with mahari tradition which had links with Vaishnava bhakti. He therefore, thought that, batu in the sense of a ritualistic performance was a repletion of Ganapati Vandana, a deity of Siva's family. He later replaced Ganapati Vandana with Sankaracharya's Jagannathastaka-kadachit Kalindi tata vipina etc.

Debaprasad Das had affiliations with the Akhada tradition that included Sakhinata of South Odisha and therefore he preferred to sing-Tandava nrutyakari Gajanana from Prahallada nataka music repertoire in mangalacharana. Since Sakhikata boys were substitutes to mahari dancers, Debaprasad had no difficulty in supporting Pankaja Charan.¹⁴

On the other hand, thai nata or thai bhangi, which was equally traditional, emphasized the visual plasticity of the sculpturesque form by the way of providing elements of classicism to the dance. In batu Nrutya, precisely this is done without calling it thai. Since most of the dancers want to relate odissi dance to the temple of jagannath, they could do jagannathstaka in mangalacharana and follow it up later with dedication to shiva, the primordial dances god and then switch over to Tai and Pallavi.¹⁵

In the Orissa Sangeet Natak Akademi Seminar on odissi dance conducted by Kalicharan Patnaik (Seminar 1975), Guru Pankaj Charan Das had suggested a clear cut dividing line between jayantika style and Mahari style. Later, in opposition to svarya pallavi (the

Jayantika-structured pallavi today popularly means this) Pankaj Charan compared a vadya pallavi as a repertoire component. Vadya meant percussion and the vadya pallavi was an elaboration of rhythmic syllables offering the revivalists an opportunity to understand the underpinning of this compositions.¹⁶ According to him, the first position of a Mahari dancer in the temple of Jagannath is not a chauka as followed in the present odissi dance. It happens to be inswabhaba bhangi-avery at ease posture with the entire body weight resting on the left leg – the right foot slightly bent forward and resting at ease on the toes with heel-up. The left arm slightly raised with left palm holding the waist and the entire torso lightly tilted to the left.

During his primary claim to fame in dance creation, Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra and Bhubaneswar Mishra had continued to form an excellent twosome, the musical compositions of one with the defence choreography of the other as if made for each other, known for the lyricism of his style and ability for matching movements perfectly to the musical mood, Kelucharan emphasized the non-use of the hip, all deflections of the upper body being dictated by the isolated torso or the Udvahita Movement.¹⁷ Guru Kelucharan's Gita Govinda Choreography has remained a masterpiece in the world of dance-art. At a seminar on Gita Govinda in Delhi in 1967, odissi abhinaya (expressional dance) as rendered by Kum Kum Das (Mohanty), Guru Kelucharan's student, was adjudged as the most interpretive of all classical styles of India.

The repertoire which was mostly prescribed by Kelucharan Mohapatra and danced by a majority of the dancers today is (a) Mangalacharana, (b) Batu, (c) pallavi, (d) Abhinaya (e) Mokshya.

Credit must be given to the dance use Indrani Rehman, who with the co-operation of Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh and Charles Fabri and her Guru Debaprasad Das, has been first to carry Odissi out side India and put it on the dance map of the world.

It was after the performance, at the Delhi Seminar on April 8th 1958 that, the Sangeeta Natak Akademy “purportedly” accorded national status to a fifth school of Indian classical dancing.¹⁸ (The other four recognized classical styles of dance were Bharat Natyam, Kathakali, Kathak, Manipuri). According to Dhiren Dash, when he saw her dance performance in Bombay (Mumbai) the repertoire was (1) Ganesh Vandana, (2) Batunrutya, (3) Nartana, (4) Pallavi, (5) Natangi. He pointed out that of the ten phased formula of Guru Mahadev Rout, the present five phased repertoire of Jayantika seemed to be slightly different. The names such as nartana and natangi had been derived from chhau dance and are used for abhinaya and moksha. The order of the performance of pallavi and Abhinaya had been interchanged (Dhiren Dash 2003:35).

However, Jayantika’s contribution in reconstructing odissi dance was considerable. It was a timely effort and it brought benefits to the state. It was unfortunate that, with Pankaj Charan opting out, a lyrical, feministic

style of odissi rooted in the Mahari tradition was denied to the revivalists.

The maharis, female temple dancers, who could have been potential teachers of the dance in the early stages were excluded from the process of odissi dance revival, as has been stated by Frederique Marglin and Ratna Roy.

Odissi dance recital that we see today is an attempt of reconstruction from the fragments of the mahari tradition, Gotipua tradition, martial art of chhau tradition known to Odisha and an of course the inspiration drawn from the sculptural reliefs of temple and pictorial images.

Odissi dance owes its existence to the outstanding gurus who not only perpetuated but also developed the tradition to the codified and sophisticated present form. The origin may have much to do with the mahari and gotipua system but the development of its present form depended heavily on the popular Rasa Leela and jatra tradition during the early part of 20th century. Two people deserve mention who played an active role in training the next generation of dancers and musicians were Singhari Syamasundar Kar and Sri Durlav Chandra Singh.

With training in both Odissi and Hindustani, he dominated the field of music and dance from pre independence to post independence period. He also learnt dances related to Gotipua and Sahi Jatra tradition. He was the consultant for music and dance for all the theatres in Cuttack. According to Durlav Chandra Singh, who acted as Jayadeva, Singhari contributed significantly to

the music and dance compositions for Jayadeva drama written and produced by Late Kabichandra Kalicharan patnaik, under the auspicious of Orissa theatres in the early 1940's.¹⁹

Durllav Chandra Singh not only excelled in acting but also contributed significantly to the music and dance compositions in Orissa theatre. It is noteworthy that Kabichandra and Durllav Chandra, with the help of Singhari, had composed a mahari dance for Hemalata who danced in front of a replica of Kalaghata Dwara of Jagannath temple in the play. This is of historical importance and perhaps the only attempt in using a mahari dance in theatre. Amongst his many students, the most famous were Kelucharan Mohapatra and Shrimati Laxmipriya Devi.²⁰

After 1950's, three people had tremendous influence in the shaping of dance into three distinctive styles with the framework of Odissi. They are Pankaj Charan Das, Kelucharan Mohapatra and Debaprasad Das. According to Priyambada Mohanty Hezmadi they were the trinity of Odissi.

Guru Pankaj Charan Das was raised in a family of mahari dancers. Thus he had acquired a sound background in both mahari and gotipua styles of dance and music. A fact of historical significance for Odissi was, when he taught dance to Kelucharan Mohapatra and Laxmipriya Devi (later married to Kelucharan Mohapatra), who were then young artists employed in the Annapurna theatre. Guru Pankaj Charan had choreographed Bhasmasura episode where he acted as

Bhasmasura with Kelucharan and Laxmipriya playing Nataraja and Mohini, respectively. He also choreographed Dashavatara with Durllav Singh as a duet for Kelucharan and Laxmipriya and used *mudras that he picked up from Projesh Banerjee's "Dances of India"*.

According to Priyambada Mohanty Hezmadi Dashavatara was the first work of modern Choreography in Odissi and it was a landmark which started a new trend in Odissi dance till then had employed traditional mudras only in a limited way, for the first time in Odissi tradition, he and Durllav Singh had used different mudras for each of the avatars. Being the most innovative and adventurous of the three gurus, Pankaj Charan introduced Sankaracharya's Jagannathstaka – jagannath Swami Nayana Pathagami bhabatume" in mangaacharan, deviating from the custom of beginning a performance with Ganesh vandana. As a choreographer, Pankaj Charan excelled in solo as well as group items or mela nrutyas.²¹

Some of his popular items are the pallavi's in ragas Shankarabharana, Arebhi, Kalyan, Deshakhya etc. His sthayi is sculpturesque in which transitions are very smooth, with assertive Chauka penetrations. His style in abhinaya, especially in the delineation of Sancharibhava is extremely lyrical. His elongated body frame was eminently suitable for languorous moods in abhinaya. While doing abhinaya he never opted for ornate footwork but dwelt at length on the pervasiveness of the mood. He has choreographed some really perky gotipua-style

piece like “*Radharani Sange nache or Nachanti Range Srihari*”. His famous production of a series of thematic dances on ‘Panchakanyas’ (Ahalya, Draupadi, Kunti, Tara and Mandadari) reveals a very liberated approach to women, an attitude imbibed from the mahari association.

The untiring work of Guru Pankaj Charan Das, for the cause of Odissi came to the limelight through his disciples, such as well-known exponent of Bharat Natyam, Yamini Krishna Murthy Sumati Kausal, Rita Devi and later settled in New York. Ratna Ray, now settled in United States, is the only dancer to have trained exclusively under this Guru. All of these women, from upper class and middle class families, educated, most often Brahmin women, were able to effectively mobilize the movement of the “revival” of the Odissi through their immaculate performances which tapped into all resources of modern staging, such as effective lighting, publicity, and were accompanied by clear programme notes in English.

At the age of 30, he joined the newly established Kalavikash Kendra of Cuttack. It is the premier institution in Orissa, which helped to establish Odissi on a sound footing. It was here that he formally established himself as a dance teacher, pakhawaj player and choreographer. At the Kalavikash Kendra, he trained hundreds of students some of whom are our present day teachers. He choreographed a number of dance dramas – Sakuntala, Gita Govinda, Meghaduta, Urvashi, Champu etc.²²

Guru Kelucharana’s Gita Govinda Choreography has remained a master-piece in the world of dance-art. At a seminar on Gita-Govinda in Delhi in 1967, Odissi abhinaya (expressional dance) as rendered by Kum Kum Das (Now Mohanty) was adjudged as the most interpretive of all classical styles of India. He went on creating more dance dramas, including the duet from the Bhagavad Gita for Sanjukta Panigrahi and Kum Kum Mohanty and the Chandrabhaga for the first Konark Festival. His other prolific choreographies, include Nava Rasa and Ekalavya for Illiana Citaristi and Choodamani Pradhan for his son, Ratikanta Mohapatra and daughter-in-law, Sujata Mohapatra, to perform as a duet. He also choreographed Sitaharana for Ratna Ray, which still remains an inimitable gem, after all of these years.

After working at Kalavikash Kendra for 15 years, he left the institution mainly to devote more time to choreography. He worked closely with Bhubaneswar Mishra who set to music many of his pallavis which are notable items in the Odissi repertoire today (Kalyan, Arabhi, Sankarabharana, Mohana, Khamaj, Bilhari etc.). His Batu has the stamp of exactitude and a sculptural quality, his pallavis are woven-in with complex tala patterns, his abhinayas are extremely well balanced. He has inspired dancers all over India to take up Odissi.²³ Among his later dance students, Madhavi Mudgal does the most justice to the guru’s master pieces in rhythm. On the other hand, the sculptural accentuated hips of Sutapa Talukdar did justice to the developing style with frozen poses of the guru. A constant

creator, Guru Kelucharan continued to change the face of Odissi dance, the basics of body postures, positioning of feet, combination of rhythmic movements, and upper torso movements. In the body memory of dancers such as Sanjukta Panigrahi and Madhavi Mudgal were/are frozen the past history while the chiseled beauty and exacting movements of Sujata Mohapatra Capture the guru at his light of glory and his final years. She embodies his style par excellence.²⁴

He had taught at the Nritya Niketan in Delhi for some time. Many awards and honours including that of the central Sangeet Natak Akademy Award and Fellowship in 1966 and 1967 respectively were conferred on Kelucharan who was already a famous guru and his all-pervading influence was recognized on the Odissi dance scene. The govt. of India honoured him with padmashree in 1972 and later on with padmabhusan and padmabibhusan in 1989 and 2000 respectively. He received Kalidas Samman in 1989. He is also a recipient of the ITC Award from Sangeet Research Akademi, Kolkata, 1982. In addition, he received the Upendra Bhanja Award for his life time contribution to dance in 2000. He has also received an honorary doctorate from Utkal University in 1996.²⁵

He conducted several workshops regularly at Kolkata, Delhi, Bombay and Cuttack. He was the senior guru at the Odissi Research Centre, Bhubaneswar (1984-94). The extensive research projects on the Notation of the Odissi dance technique were progressing at the centre under his guidance.

Guru Kelucharan has given innumerable performances in India and abroad and has participated in the festivals of India in the U.K., the USA, and Japan. His performances whether of nritya or abhinaya were of a high standard and left an indelible impression on the audiences. His sanchari bhabas were imaginative and his playing the pakhwaj as an accompaniment had an extra diminution to the dance performance. His choreography inspired by the sculptures and patta paintings is a sheer visual delight. He has enriched Odissi with his inimitable touch and imagination. The contemporary repertoire of Odissi bears his signature and some of his pallavis and Astapadis have become classics. His style can be discerned immediately and has acquired a distinct character of its own. There is sophistication, beauty and all permeating aesthetic in his style that stands out as its hall mark. His contribution to Odissi is indeed outstanding and lasting. He continued to work in his own institution, Srjan, founded in 1994, until his death on April 7, 2004. A legend in the field of Odissi was lost to the world. His son Ratikanta follows in his father's footsteps participating actively in performing teaching, choreographing and major dance programmes.

Guru Deba Pdrasad Das was the most conservative of the three gyurus and had a southern predilection keepin in tune with the waist movements of Sakhhi nata, and gotipua nata. Deba Prasad was in favour of using waist swings. He emphasized that such swings were of a local origin and were normally not

adhered to in other classical dances. In Odissi it was known as Samachhinna Udvahita. His abhinayas are totally devoid of Sancharis, adhering strictly to the Bhavas of the lyrics. He liked oriya lyrics more than the Sanskrit ones. One can see in his style flashes of Odissi practiced in forties and fifties. On one hand he was extremely popular for his direct, bold and less ornamented expressions, simple but meaningful gestures, sharp and targeted feelings; on the other, for his uncompromising attitude he was branded a traditionalist and conservative. His traditional outlook and conservation did not limit him to the Jayantika repertoire but induced him to search for compatible motifs in odishan folk and tribal performing arts. He went back to the roots to make odissi authentic and saved it from the commissioned touristic styles. Debaprasad's Odissi has a strong Gotipua flavor and some of his early students like Vijayalaxmi Mohanty had started off as excellent Bandha Nritya dancers. His dance drama, "Manini", was the earliest in this genre of work, created for the National music Association.

A distinguishing feature of Debaprasad's style was his application of Shavda Svara pata sounds to dance numbers in mangalacharan as like. Dungastaka, Devi Mahatmya, Shiva Tandare and other Tandara dominated danced choreography's. This added heroic and vigorous dimensions to otherwise lasya-oriented Odissi dance. To day his principal students like Durga Charan Ranbir, Sangeeta Dash, Sudhakar Sahoo, Dhuleswar Behera. Gajendra Kumar Panda and Niranjan Rout

dance in this style and have preserved this tradition.

Ramli Ibrahim of Sutra Theatre, Malyasia has refined his master's style to a considerable extent. He uses his upper torso, shoulders, arms and hands in pure abstractions creating dance spaces charged with vibrant dynamism.²⁶

Guru Surendranath Jena has developed a unique style of Odissi that focuses on the Alasa, or soft lassitude, aspect of Odissi, which has a small but significant following outside of Orissa. The best exponent of his style is his daughter Pratibha Jena.

Sanjukta Panigrahi, one of the disciples of Guru Kelucharan Mohapatra, popularized the dance form in India and abroad by enthralling audiences with her nimble and graceful movements. She was a great crowd puller where ever she performed.

Of all, Sonal Mansingh excels as a creative dancer who has been able to evolve a style of her own. "Widely travelled, with an exposure to various cultures, she had imbibed a sharp and prospective understanding of various dance forms and over the years has evolved her own art of aesthetic presentation." (Sunil Kothari and Avinash Pasricha, 1990:115). According to Kothari, Sonal's approach has been both artistic and cerebral and she has shed light on the close relationship between poetry and dance. She has also a heightened awareness of aachitya in her presentations.

Guru Gangadhar Pradhan, was one of the most dynamic “second generation” gurus, with disciples around the world, whose teaching and choreography reflects individuality honed on training by Guru Kelucharan as well as Guru Pankaj Charan Das and Guru Debaprasad Das.

Odissi schools like Srijan (Guru Kelucharan), Guru Gangadhar Pradhan foundation, Guru Pankaj Charan Odissi foundation, Orissa dance Akademy and Guru Debaprasad Dance Institute have succeeded in providing global platform to Odissi dance. These institute paved the way for several Odissi dancers to have their skills.

In most recent publications on dance, four styles of gharanas of Odissi, have been mentioned. These are Pankaj Charan Gharana, Kelucharan Gharana, Debaprasad Gharana and Mayadhar Gharana. Their able disciples, strong both in practical and theoretical aspects, should prepare separate manuals with clear cut instructions for imparting training in each of the four Gharanas.²⁷

The Odissi Research Centre, under direction of Kum Kum Mohanty, conducts research and documentation of Odissi dance and music while training students and creating new repertoire.

Pratima Gauri Bedi’s Nrityagrama village centre for dance near Bangalore carries on with dancer/ choreographer, Surupa Sen and Bijayini Satpathy. Innovative choreographers and teachers around the

country include Sharmila Biswas in Kolkata, Jhelum Paranjape in Mumbai.²⁸

Iliana Citarist, an Italian dance enthusiast who perfected her Odissi skills under Guru Kelucharan displayed extra ordinary devotion towards the dance form and made Bhubaneswar her home town and went on to absorb local culture and ethics. She played a stellar role in popularising Odissi in foreign countries. She herself runs an Odissi school in Bhubaneswar.

Apart from these dance schools, the fairs and festivals organized by the govt. of Odisha have played a very important role in revival and evolution of Odissi. The dance festivals, Mukteswar dance Festival and other festivals are the annualized events that attract dancers and enthusiasts from far and wide. Thanks to the efforts of the performers and with ample encouragement from the govt. Odissi is today a dance form that gives us our own identity.

Revivalists, no doubt, were people who prized authenticity, but the dance they created or fabricated was not authentically traditional but authentically contemporary. A living tradition constantly changes and can be fitted into a contemporary mode. It would not therefore be improper to think that the revived Odissi dance has traditional, modern and contemporary components built into it.

The Odissi dance revivalists of 1950s and the mindset that engineered the change from dormancy to vibrancy without its authors, is now detrimental to the growth of the dance form.

Homage must be paid to those great men and women who revived the dance form and succeeded in establishing it in an international arena. According to Mohn Khokar, an eminent dance critic, "Before the transfer of power from British to Indian hands, the world knew nothing of Odissi dance. But today, thanks to the pioneering efforts of a few individuals and certain institutions, this art is again beginning to find its rightful place on the dance map of India. Scholars like Kabi Chandra Kalicharan Patnaik, Dhirendranath Patnaik and Sadashiva Rath Sharma, Gurus like Mohan Mohapatra, Pankaj Charan Das, and Kelucharn Mohapatra, Maharis like Haripriya and Kokila Prabha and institutions and organisations like Kalavikash Kendra and Utkal Nritya Sangeets Kala Parisad have all, in their own way, helped to further the cause of Odissi.

Mention may be made of Saroj Vaidyanathan's book classical Dances of India and those people who contributed to the growth of the dance form. They are, Dayanidhi Das, Dhruvacharan Panbir, Gangadhar Pradhan, Geeta Mahallik, Harekrushna Behera, Jiman Pani, Kiran Sehgal, Kfishnachandra Mahapatra, Kum Kum Mohanty, Madhavi Mudgal, Mayadhar Rout, Pratima Gouri Bedi, Janjukta Panigrahi, Raghunath Datta, Ramani Ranjan Jena, Sanjukta Panigrahi, Shareon Lowen, Sonel Mansingh, Surendra Nath Jena, Vijaya Laxmi Mohanty.

The most eminent dancers who contributed a lot to further the dance form are

Minati Mishra, Priyambada Mohanty, Hazmadi, Sudhakar Sahoo, Dhuleswar Behera, Ritha Devi, Yamini Krishnamurthy, Ramli Ibrahim, Ganendra Kumar Panda, Ratikatha Mohapatra, Sujata Mohapatra, Aruna Mohanty, Illiana Citasisti.

The early champions of Odissi revival are now dead. We must not forget the significant works, a few intellectuals have done through their writings and discourses to sustain Odissi in the national and international arena. They include Kapila Vatsyayan, Susil Kothari, Shanta Serbjeet Singh, Leela Venkataraman and Ashis Khokar.

Odissi's claim as one more form of Indian classical dance is now established beyond doubt. The dust raised over the criticism that Odissi is a poor imitation of Bharat Natyam or Kuchipudi has now settled down. Academicians, dance teachers and dancers should therefore take it upon themselves to go beyond the boundaries set by revivalists and enlarge the scope of Odissi dance, and create conditions for a renewal and reinvigoration of the dance form.

In the present context, Odissi dance is no longer limited to its strictly prescribed repertoire. In their attempt to market Odissi dance globally, the new generation of choreographers have come up with a number of innovative choreographies. These days, one hears of Odissi choreography on "Leelavati" based on Bhaskaracharya's 12th Century Mathematical treatise, choreographed by Jhelum Paranjape from Mumbai, "Yagnaseni" based on Prativa Ray's ward

winning novel choreographed by Kum Kum Mohanty from Bhubaneswar; ‘Sri’ based on a contemporary interpretation of the Savitri-Satyavan myth essentially focusing on a traditional exploration of female energy within the framework of Odissi, choreographed, though intensely creative, have not managed to displace the traditional ones. So there is a simultaneous co-existence of both the old and the new choreographies.

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CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF ANANTAVARMAN CHODAGANGADEVA

Girija Shankar Bal

ABSTRACT:

The article attempts to reconstruct the early life and political and cultural achievements of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 A.D.). Epigraphic And literary sources as are the basis of this work. The important findings of the scholar include: the early life of Chodagangadeva, his military conquests, his shifting of capital form the south to Cuttack and its significance, his role behind the geo-political and cultural, linguistic, literary, art, architecture, music and dance identity of Odishan territory and his achievements on the fields.

KEYWORDS:

Utkalapati, Utkalesa, Bhavas, Nisacharas, Kalingadhipati. Sakalotkala, Samrajya, Padavi, dharani, digvijaya, Kongudesa, Odhraraja, Janhavi, Rajachakravartin, Paramesvara, ParamaBhattacharaka, Parama Mahesvara, Parama Vaisnava, Parama Bhramanya, Chudanga Sahi, Pokhari, Navanavati Sahasra Kunjaradhis' vara, Prasasti, nipunata, Sastra.

Anantavarman Chodagangadeva was the eldest son of the Imperial Gangas being Rajaraja Devendra Varma and Raja Sundari. His mother Raja Sundari was a Princess of the powerful Chola dynasty of south and the daughter of the illustrious Kulottunga Rajendra Chola. The term 'Chodagangadeva' has some symbolic and extraordinary meaning. In fact, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva was the son and successor of a Chola mother and a Ganga father, for which he is well-known as Cholaganga or Chodagangadeva through the ages. The blood of both the Gangas and the Cholas was flowing in the vein of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva.

It is probable that Chodagangadeva was consecrated as the successor of his father Rajaraja, I when he was a minor. It is known

from different sources that Chodagangadeva ruled for a long period of 76 years. The Asankhali copper plate of Narasimha Deva II and Kenduli plates of Narasimha Deva IV assigned a period of 70 years for the reign of Chodagangadeva which is quite evident from the verse, "Varsani Saptati Virah Kshauni Sambhoga Macharet". All these evidences make us to conclude the reign of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva in S999 + 70 = 1069 Saka Era which corresponds to A.D. 1147.

It may be pointed out that Anantavarman Chodagangadeva not only recovered his kingdom but also added additional glory to it in the subsequent phases of history.

As a conqueror of high rank, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva has a unique

place in the annals of Odishan history. The imperial expansion under him was facilitated by the extinction of Somavamsis of Utkala in the east and the Cholas of Vengi in the west. The Mukhalingamgrant dated S' 1030 i.e. A.D. 1108, the grants of ChodaGanga issued before the Temburu grant dated S' 1051 and the Korn copper plate grant i.e. A.D. 1112 are corroborating the view about the two achievements of Chodagangadeva. It is to be pointed out that Chodagangadeva had two opponents in the names of Jayagonda Choda and Kamarnava, having taken part in two wars in the respective directions. The vanquishing and subsequent restoration of the Utkalapati in the east and Vengi in the west were accomplished before Saka year 1030 i.e. A.D. 1108, the date of the Mukhalingam grant. To get a clear idea about the above queries a review of the political condition of the period under review will be helpful.

In fact, the fallen lord of Utkala has been identified with Karnakesari or the Utkalesa Karnakesari mentioned in the commentary of Ramacharita. Mahasivagupta Karna Deva or Karnakesari is known to be the last king of the Somavamsi dynasty who might have lost the glory of his independent rule after A.D.1112, the very date of the Korn grant of Chodagangadeva. The recently discovered Ratnagiri plates of Somavamsi Karnakeshari place him as an independent ruler in Utkala until his sixtieth regnal year as reviewed by his assumption of independent and imperial titles. Also he seems to have granted land in Uttara Tosali. It may be believed that these plates might have been issued before

the Korn grant of A.D. 1112 of Chodagangadeva. Therefore, the independent rule of Karnakesari may be fixed between Cir. A.D. 1106 to A.D. 1112.

The Somavamsi kingdom became a bone of contention between the Palas of Bengal and the Imperial Eastern Gangas of Kalinga. It was during the reign of Karna Deva that Utkala was attacked by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva more than once. Ramapala, the great ruler of Bengal C.A.D. 1077-A.D. 1120) became a helping hand of the vanquished king of Utkala who belonged to the lineage of Bhavas ornate (i.e. the dynasty of the moon or Somavamsi) and saved the world from the terror of Kalinga after killing the Nisacharas (robbers) of that place. Jayasimha, the subordinate and feudatory ruler of Dandabhukti (Mednapore) under Ramapala is said to have lifted with his hand Karnakeshari, the lord of Utkala.

It is quite clear from the above account of Ramacharita, that Ramapala the last great king of the Pala dynasty of Bengal extended his sway towards south and intervened in the politics of Odisha. During the reign of Ramapala of Bengal, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, the gigantic ruler of Kalinga meddled from the south into Odishan politics and wanted to establish his supremacy over the rich soil of the Mahanadi delta. Ramapala might have considered the growing influence of the Gangas over Odisha to be a menace to his security and safety and hence planned to resist it. Ramapala is appeared to have entered into the dual power politics of Odisha and promptly supported the cause of the

Somavamsi king, Utkala Kesari or Karna Deva and became successful in placing him (Karna Deva) in the throne of Utkala.

As could be easily foreseen, this was the first step of Chodagangadeva for the annexation of Odisha which actually took place in A.D. 1118. The Ratnagiri inscription of Karna Deva reveals that the independence, solidarity and integrity of Utkala was protected by the heroism and wisdom of Krishna Deva, the minister of Karna Deva. The first invasion of Chodagangadeva against Utkala might have taken place before the sixth regnal year of Karna Deva. The Gangas continued their attack on Utkala even after the first invasion with great vigour as shown by the Korni copper plates of Chodagangadeva dated in the Saka 1034 i.e. A.D. 1112. This proves that Utkala came under influence of Kalinga by A.D. 1112 and Karna Deva, the ruler of Utkala remained as a vassal king under Chodagangadeva. Utkala which became a pawn in the political game between the Gangas of Kalinga and the Palas of Bengal was finally annexed and subjugated by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva sometimes about A.D. 1118. The Vizagapatam grant dated in the Saka 1040 i.e. A.D. 1118 describes Chodagangadeva as decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala. Henceforth, the king of Ganga dynasty enlighten themselves in their records as the lord of Utkala along with their title of lord of Tri-Kalingadhipati.

The Korni copper plates of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva imply upon the fact that he reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala. Giving importance to the Korni plates

it can be presumed that Ramapala after establishing his control over Utkala might have helped Karnakesari to regain his lost throne. The help and assistance rendered by the Ganga king Chodagangadeva to Karna Deva, the minister of Karnakesari was based mainly on political ground rather than humane consideration. He was awaiting for opportunity to annex the entire Somavamsi kingdom. When the Somavamsi power was counting its last days and became feeble and weak, Chodagangadeva availed the opportunity to annex the entire Somavamsi kingdom. The opportunity seems to have come when Vasu Deva, the commander-in-chief of the last Somavamsi king, invited Chodagangadeva to occupy Odisha. In fact, the last Somavamsi king Karnakesari seems to have been very weak and unpopular and therefore, Chodagangadeva did not get much opposition while occupying his kingdom. The exact date of occupation of Odisha by Chodagangadeva cannot be ascertained but it appears to have taken place in about A.D.1110.

The Kamalpur charter was issued by a feudatory chief named Jayarnama, in the 7th regnal year of his overlord Karna Deva of Utkala. A fragmentary inscription of Karna Deva is discovered from Gandibeda in Balasore district. It is engraved on the backside of the image of a Sun god in the 13th regnal year of Karna Deva. It suggests that the second campaign of Chodagangadeva was concluded in or after Karna Deva's 13th regnal year. The Vizagapatam plates dated S'1040 and the Yembaram grants dated S'1039

describe Chodagangadeva as decorated with sovereign over the entire Utkala (Sakalotkala Samrajya Padavi Viraja Maniah). A stone inscription of Chodagangadeva is found in Lingaraj temple of Bhubaneswar. The date of this inscription is read as S'1034 by K.C. Panigrahi and S'1036 by D.C. Sarkar. An inscription dated S'1035 of one Padala Katama belonging to the reign of Chodagangadeva is found in the temple Killeswar of the village Khillore in the Puri district. Subsequently, a number of inscriptions are found in the Puri district and north Odisha. The discovery of these inscriptions after A.D. 1108 indicates that the Ganga power was got consolidated in the land of Odisha in a steady process.

The outcome of Chodagangadeva's victory over Utkala was for the political supremacy of the Gangas of Kalinga. According to Nagari plates of Anangabhima III dated S'1151 and 1152, Chodagangadeva became victorious and as a result of his victory he is said to have obtained 'dharani', most probably new territories in Utkala (Verse 26). They further inform us on the fact that he used to levy tribute from the land between the Ganges (Bhagirathi) and the Gautami Ganga or Godavari (verse 2). The Kendupatana Plates of Narasimha II dated S'1213 imply upon the fact that Chodagangadeva got thousands of elephants, ten thousands of horses and innumerable gems, as a result of his victory.

After the death of Ramapala, one of the powerful rulers of Bengal, the Pala Empire started losing its vitality. He was succeeded

by Kumarapala, Gopala III and Mandanapala who reigned for a period of 35 years beginning from A.D. 1120 to A.D.1155, during which the disintegration of the Pala rule became visible. Vaidyadeva, the favourite minister of Kumarapala declared himself an independent ruler of Kamarupa and Vijayasena of Radha declared his independence during his reign of Madana Pala. King Anantavarman Chodagangadeva of Kalinga who had already annexed Odisha further carried his victorious arms upto Radha.

Chodagangadeva thought it wise to subdue the ruler of Dandabhukti (Mednapore), who is supposed to have helped Karnakeshari, the lord of Utkala. Chodagangadeva appears to have subjugated Dandabhukti.

In the next course of his conquest, Chodagangadeva directed his war-machine towards further north against the fortified city of Aramya and destroyed the city walls and gateways of the city, as we know from the Kendupatana plates of Narasimha II and the Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III. He is said to have fought with the king of Mandara on the bank of the Ganges. The king of Mandara was defeated. According to Kendupatana plates, "Hotly persued by Gangesvara, the king of Mandara first fled from his capital whose ramparts had already been destroyed by the forces of Kalinga and then again from the battlefield on the bank of the Ganges. Hence, it can be assumed that the king of Mandara being defeated severely fled from his capital city of Aramya⁷⁴ and Gangesvara Chodagangadeva had chased the ruler of Mandara.

Giving due weightage to the actual place of war raised against the lord of Mandaradri (near the bank of the Ganges) and to the proper identification to the place Mandara (with Garh-Mandaran now known as Bhitargarh, 50 miles from the Ganges), we may conclude that the Ganges must have changed its course and receded about fifty miles from the town. Chodagangadeva is said to have defeated the lord of Mandaradri and not merely of Mandaran or Mandara.

During the invasion of Chodagangadeva against West-Bengal, Kumarapala was the ruler. His minister Vaidya Deva checked the advance of Chodagangadeva for sometimes, but soon he went to Kamarupa to put down the revolt of Timgya Deva. The absence of the valorous minister facilitated the victory of Chodagangadeva. Hence, Chodagangadeva became victorious over Mandara and incorporated it into his empire and fixed the border line of his empire up to the river Hooghly.

After subjugating Aparā-Mandara into his empire, Chodagangadeva seems to have appointed his nominee as a ruler for the administration of that part of his kingdom.

Chodagangadeva, who is believed to have completed his eastern digvijaya by the Saka year 1034 or 1036, performed Sivapuja in the commemoration to his great victory.

The stone inscription of Chodagangadeva found in the Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar, dated in the Saka year 1034 or 1036, has decorated Chodagangadeva in different titles.

Telugu Chodas were ruling then over Dakshina Kosala which can be identified with the western part of Odisha. Under the leadership of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, the material prosperity and increasing glory of the Gangas became a matter of problem for the Kalachuris, who were also known as the Haihayas of Ratnapur as the western neighbors of Kalinga. The Kalachuris didn't remain as a passive onlooker to the aggressive ambitious designs of Chodagangadeva. In anticipation of danger from Kalinga, the Kalachuris became prepared, alert and vigilant to safeguard and strengthen their position in the frontier regions of border states. Being frightened at the subjugation of Utkala by Chodagangadeva, the powerful Kalachuri king Jajalla Deva I is said to have defeated the Telugu Choda king Somesvara III in about A.D. 1113-14. Somesvara III's last known date is A.D. 1113. This war brought to an end the long drawn struggle between the Kalachuris and the Telugu Chodas both of whom were claiming to be lord of the entire Kosala. It was after the war that south Kosala upto Suvarnapura came under Jajalla Deva I. This area can be identified with the Sonapur-Bolangir-Sambalpur region of Odisha. In the Ratnapur Inscription of Jajalla Deva I dated A.D. 1114, he boasted of having defeated the Telugu Choda king Somesvara III.

Thus, the situation became very cordial for the Ganga king of Kalinga. In order to give fresh vigour to his conquest and ambitious designs, Chodagangadeva must have taken counter action to resist the movement of the

Kalachuri inroads of Ratnapur. Afterwards Chodagangadeva directed his warfare against Jajalla Deva I and Ratna Deva II (the son of Jajalla Deva I) to recover the Bolangir-Sambalpur region from the Kalachuris. But, Ratna Deva II badly defeated Chodagangadeva in the War. The Mallhar Inscription of Jajalla Deva II dated A.D. 1167 states that Ratna Deva II defeated Chodagangadeva. The Pendrabandhplates of Pratapamalla dated A.D 1214 refer to the discomfiture of Chodagangadeva and Gokarna. The battle was a fierce one and was fought in the Talahari Mandala near Sheorinarayan. Jagapala, a general of Ratna Deva II and Vallabharaja, a feudatory, distinguished themselves in the battle by their bravery and ability. Chodagangadeva sustained an ignominious defeat in this battle.

In token of his victory over the king of Kalinga Ratna Deva II is known to have taken a number of elephants, horses and gold coins from Chodagangadeva, the father of Kamarnava which is proved by the Kharod Inscription dated A.D. 1181-82. Jatesvara, the son the Ganga king was also taken captive.

Vallabharaja, the feudatory of Ratna Deva II is also known to have led an army into Gauda and defeated the king of Gauda. Purusottama, the Sandhivigrahin (general) of Ratna Deva II is credited with the conquest of Khijjinga (modern Mayurbhanj region), Dandabhukti (modern Midnapore region) and Gauda . It is probable that Vallabharaja and Purusottama marched into Gauda after defeating the Ganga king.

No further information regarding the results of the war has been handed down to us except certain creditable achievements of Ratna Deva II which is revealed from the inscriptional evidences of the Kalachurirecords. In this connection it may be pointed out that the areas invaded by the Kalachuri king Ratna Deva II is marked to have been under the possession of the successors of Chodagangadeva. It implies upon the fact that although Chodagangadeva faced political reverses in the west by Ratna Deva II, he could be able to recover those territories with renewed vigour by defeating the Kalachuris.

The expansion of Kalachuri kingdom towards east might have prompted Chodagangadeva for shifting the capital from Kalinganagari to Yajatinagara to cheek the advance of the Kalachuris. The transfer of capital might have been affected in or before A.D. 1114 , because by that time, the western portion of the country was already occupied by Jajalla I.

Chodagangadeva's next attention was perhaps towards Vengi in the south. Although Vengi was incorporated into his empire with the annexation and occupation of Utkala and Sumha territory by A.D. 1110-02, it may be believed that the incorporation of Vengi into the kingdom of Chodagangadeva must not be considered as final. Vikrama Chola, the last and fourth son of Kulottunga was still there at Vengi as viceroy till up to the death of his father in A.D. 1118. It may be that the Chola administration in Vengi by A.D. 1112 became

ill-organized and weak and Vikrama Chola was a formal ruler of that place up to A.D. 1118 . At the death of his father Kulottunga in A.D. 1118, Vikrama Chola left Vengi and rushed to occupy his paternal throne¹⁰⁵. Soon after Vengi was captured by the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI, he died in A.D. 1126. After his death Vengi became a problematic province. Over the throne of Vengi diplomatic ambitious designs of Western Chalukyas and the Cholas started. Somesvara III, the son of Vikramaditya VI had inherited the kingdom of Vengi. During this period Chodagangadeva was awaiting an opportunity to prey over Vengi. He is said to have brought the Western Chalukya king Somesvara III to his side through friendly alliance. The combined armies of the Gangas and the Western Chalukyas fought against the Cholas vigorously. But both of them were defeated by the energetic Cholas by A.D. 1133.

In fact, Chodagangadeva had paid one religious visit to the temple of Bhimesvara at Draksarama in the east Godavari district along with his brother Paramardi Deva and many of his queens in the saka 1050 i.e. A.D. 1128 and all of them issued a number of grants to the God Bhimesvara . An inscription at Mukhalinagam dated Saka 1054 i.e. A.D. 1132 says that Chodagangadeva had a Brahmin minister named Erudora Chamupati who belonged to Draksarama. However, the circumstances leading to the visit of Chodagangadeva to Bhimesvara temple, issue of grants in favour of the God, and the appointment of a minister representing Draksarama at once lead us to

believe that Godavari region was under the control and supervision of the Ganga Empire prior to A.D. 1132. Besides, the Dasagobaplates of Rajaraja III, the grandson of Chodagangadeva, says that Chodagangadeva was collecting taxes from the regions extending up to the Godavari. Hence, the references of the Srikakulam inscription, the Dasgoba inscription, the Nagari plates and the other grants of Anangabhima III and the Chinabadamu plates are to be taken into consideration to come to a conclusion that he was successful in the Godavari region, the Dakshina Kosala and Bengal.

We have a surer ground to explain about the victory of Chodagangadeva over Kongudesu. Long before the Kadambas rose to power several other minor kingdoms were in existence in south India along with Kongu country which has been identified with Coimbatore and Salem districts. It seems none of them ever attained any political importance in the pages of history. But it may be told without doubt that Kongudesu passed successively into the hands of the powerful dynasties like the Gangas and the Cholas as and when time favoured the respective powers. We are getting no name of the lord of Kongu country defeated by Chodagangadeva, but he was possibly a subordinate ruler of Kulottunga Chola.

Chodagangadeva is said to have defeated one Odhraraja. The term Odhradesa or Odhra Visaya can be applied generally to Odisha. Odradesa or Odhra Visaya seems to be different from Utkala originally. It seems

to have been the mountains or upland country in the modern Odisha. The said region is said to have limited to a small tract till 9th century A.D. It may correspond to Mayurbhanj. This may be believed on the ground that a town called Silabhanjapati, founded by Silabhanja of the Bhanja dynasty is appeared to have situated in Odhradesa. Hence, the OdhraVisaya was under the possession of the Bhanja rulers during the 11th century A.D.

One Sumha was crushed by Chodagangadeva. Sumha may be believed to be one of the later Somavamsi kings. According to Madala Panji, Suvarna Kesari, the last king of the Kesari dynasty was defeated by Chodagangadeva for the betrayal of his minister Vasudeva Vahinipati who played treachery for the fall of his master. Since the Ganga dynasty was built upon the ruins of the weak kings of the Somavamsi line we are supposed to believe the fact corroborated by Madala Panji. It may be that it was only after the victory of Chodagangadeva over Sumha, he (Chodagangadeva) is said to have enjoyed the rank of the entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala as stated by Vizagapatam grant of the Saka 1940 i.e. A.D. 1118.

The inscription under review mentions Janusilochchaya or Jahnvitira Silochhaya. Its meaning may be a mountain situated on the bank of Janhavi. Janhavi which denotes the other name of the Ganges has been named after Jahna Mahadevi, whose hermitage is situated at Sultanganj, to the west of Bhagalpur in Bihar. Here is the place where the temple

Gaibanath Mahadeva has been situated especially in a rock which comes out from the bed of the Ganges . This is the sacred place where Chodagangadeva believed to have washed his weapon in the waters of the Jahnavi (the Ganges) after becoming victorious in his northern campaign and also issued this Chinabadamu plates in favour of his commander Gangana Chamupati for his brilliant achievement in the battle field.

The Dasgoba plates state that Anantavarman Chodagangadeva ruled for seventy years. The Ragolugrant , the Nagari copper plate inscription and the undated Odisha Museum plates of Anangabhima III also record the total reign period of Chodagangadeva as seventy years. The Kottam inscription also supports the seventy years rule of Chodagangadeva. The Arsavalli inscription contains the date both in regnal year and S'aka year as 72nd and 1068 respectively of Chodagangadeva. The Mukhalingam inscription mentions his 75th regnal year and S'aka year 1072. The above noted epigraphs record the date of accession of KamarnavaII, the son of Chodagangadeva as S'aka 1069 i.e. A.D. 1147. A copper plate grant of KamarnavaVII was discovered in November 1994 from Choudwar which informs that Kamarnava ascended the throne in the S'aka 1069. Since the mention of the date of coronation of KamarnavaII as S'aka 1069 is confirmed by the stone inscriptions of Chodagangadeva dated in the regnal year 70, 72 and 75, the total period of rule of Chodagangadeva would be 69 years plus some months of his 70th year.

Thus, the above lithic records confirm the statement made by Ragolu, Nagari and other grants that Anantavarman had already left the throne for his son Kamarnava as early as S'aka 1069 though his grants were being issued in his 72nd and 75th regnal year. It suggests that Chodagangadeva was alive as the grants after the coronation of his son also record the date in his regnal years. His last known date is S'aka 1072. As no inscription of Chodagangadeva is found beyond this date it is reasonable to think that he breathed his last in or about S'aka 1072 i.e. A.D. 1150.

The extensive conquests of Chodagangadeva made him the master of a vast tract of land. In all entireties, he was one of the greatest conquerors in Odishan history and was fully justified to use imperial titles like Rajachakravartin. Being a real successor to the throne of Kalinga Chodagangadeva inherited an extensive area from his father as a legacy. By his expansionist zeal he added considerable prestige to his empire through new conquests. As evident from different sources, Chodagangadeva during his long rule assumed the entire administration of the Ganga territory extending from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Eastern Ghats in the west.

That Chodagangadeva was the most famous and powerful king of his dynasty has been attested to by his assumption of different independent and sovereign titles, names and decorations. "Anantavarman" and 'Chalukya-Ganga', etc. Seems to be his family surnames

while Gangesvara, Gangesvara Deva, Bhupa, Gangesvara Vira Rajendra Chodagangadeva and VikramaGanga, etc. are his special surnames. The resurgence of the family under him as a rising power is denoted by his adoption of the superior and superhuman royal titles like Maharajadhiraja, Tri-Kalingadhipati, Sri Ganga-Chudamani, Raja Paramesvara, ParamaBhattaraka, Parama Mahesvara, Parama Vaisnava and Parama Bhramanya. All of these titles enjoyed by Chodagangadeva is gleaned from the Ronakiinscription.

It may be said that some of the titles enjoyed by the Gangas were bombastic and high sounding. But it cannot be denied that Chodagangadeva did derive these titles due to his kingly qualities. These decorations did not only signify the independent and sovereign status of the emperor but also did reveal the real picture of the empire and his personal religion.

With regard to the project of the transference of the capital by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva from Kalinganagara on the Vamsadhara either to a place in central Odisha or western Odisha on the Mahanadi, most of the scholars and historians opine with mere speculations. No regional source is there to corroborate this theory. Thus, Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam on the river Vamsadhara about twenty miles from modern Paralakhemundi, was the main capital of the Ganga kingdom during the rule of Anantavarman Chodagangadeva. At the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the kingdom of the Eastern Gangas under Chodagangadeva rapidly expanded and

comprised the area of ancient Kalinga stretching from the Ganges to the Godavari. Hence, it may be presumed that Chodagangadeva might have become anxious to have a secondary political headquarters which should not only be situated at a place having strategic importance but also be in the centre of his far-flung imperial kingdom. The fort at Sarangagada, a place of strategically importance near the base of the rich Mahanadi delta situated towards the south of Cuttack and north of Bhubaneswar was most possibly the secondary political head-quarters of the Ganga kingdom during Chodagangadeva from where he used to administer Odisha.

Although a foreigner, Anantavarman Chodagangadeva was aware of the pulse of the Odishan people within a short span of time through the establishment of a well-organized government and by the introduction of the policy of toleration and fair play. He elevated the foundation of his empire by promoting the material prosperity and spiritual well-being of the masses through the execution of various humanitarian and welfare projects. Traces of his name and fame may still be found in 'ChudangaSahi', a quarter in Puri town, in 'Chudanga Pokhari', a tank about six miles south-west of Cuttack town and in the temple of Gangesvara, in Jajpur town of Jajpur district.

Chodagangadeva was a powerful king, wise statesman and a veteran military general. He came as an invader and became the first citizen of the invaded country. A long rule of more than seven decades without any marked internal disturbances speaks of the efficiency

of the Ganga administration. The victories over the enemy countries exhibit the irresistible might of the Odishan army. Chodagangadeva improved the military system and enhanced its power by constructing a number of strong forts at strategical places of the kingdom. Famous among these were at Jajpur, Amaravati (near Chhatia), Chaudwar, Kataka, Varanasi Kataka, Sarangagada (near Baranga), Kasiagada (near Village Dalua on the road from Chandaka to Khurda).

The Ganga army was famous for its elephant corps. Having been possessor of thousands of elephants, Chodagangadeva adorned himself with the lofty title "Navanavati Sahasra Kunjaradhis' vara" . The Dasgoba plates of Rajaraja III, the Ragolu plates, the Nagari plates and the Odisha Museum plates of Anangabhima III narrate his personal as well as the statesmanship qualities of Chodagangadeva in glowing terms. These grants in their Prasasti portion proclaim his proficiency in the Vedas, Kavyas and Sastras. His excellency (nipunata) in Sastra probably relate to his proficiency in polity.

Chodagangadeva himself was a great fighter. Regarding his heroism Kendupatanaplates speak "before a drop of blood from his body could fall on the ground as a result of the enemy's weapon-stroke, he would see that the enemy was prostrate on the ground with his limbs severed into so many pieces".

Chodagangadeva has been described in the Nagariplates as the foster-child of the Goddess Saraswati which suggests his deep inclination towards learning and literature. His

inscriptions may be taken as the representatives of the fair knowledge of Sanskrit, Telugu and Odia literature. In his reign the cultivation of science was represented by Bhasvati, a manual of rules for determining the position of the heavenly bodies composed by Satananda. Chodagangadeva was a good conversionalist.

At last it can be concluded that Anantavarman Chodagangadeva was the first ever ruler in Kalinga who not only achieved his military success but also proved his excellence in other fields.

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CREATION-ORIGIN MYTHS OF KONDHA TRIBES IN UNDIVIDED KORAPUT

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ABSTRACT

The article attempts to present the creation-origin myth of Kondhas of undivided Koraput District. Creation origin myth of a tribe provide a layered culture fossil. This enables us to understand the intellectual tradition of a tribe and their world view. The Kondha creation –origin myth bear strong similarity with the story of original flood and the boat. This was influenced by myths of others and it also influences others.

Keywords: *Kuwinga:Origin name of Kondha, Dhangda/ dhangdi:Boys and girls , Penu : God, Dharma : supernatural power, Ada: hills , Semili : Bombax Cebia, Lekka mara : Bombax Cebia tree, Dharini penu: Mother god earth , Satrabeta : meeting for festival, Miniyaka Konda: clans hill of Kondha tribes and Chaitiparab : the festival of Kondhas (March/April).*

The Kondhas are a major tribe of Odisha. The Kondhas reside in the undivided Koraput, Kalahandi, Phulbani, Bolangir and also in few other districts of the state. Today they also live in large towns and cities like Bhubaneswar and others. They have distinct mannerism, traditions, customs, beliefs and faith. They see themselves, quite simply, as one of the main races or divisions of mankind. In their myths, Kondhas are usually the first human beings to emerge out of the earth, and have a special relationship with the Earth Goddess.

Kondhas call themselves *Kuwinga* or *Kondh*.¹ This name is probably related to the Telugu word for hill, *Konda*. Perhaps in the eyes of their non-tribal neighbors, Kondhas are the people of the hills. In Koraput district Kondha live with other tribe like ‘Koya’, ‘Gond’ and *Konda Dora*. Their names connote ‘first people’ or ‘humans’, like so many of the

names by which tribal peoples call themselves, in India as well as in other countries.

Among the existing tribes of Odisha the Kondhas are numerically the largest. They live over a wide area of south-west Odisha. Racially, the Kondhas are related more closely to the *Proto-Australoid* stock with considerable *Mongoloid* admixture. There are various sections among Kondha.² Each section is endogamous though originally they hail from the Kondha community. *The Dongria Kondha of Rayagada* district, the *Desia Kondha of Koraput* district and the *Kutia Kondha of Phulbani* district represent the primitive sections. They speak a language of the *Dravidian* family like Telugu and Tamil. Two main forms have been officially identified as separate languages, *Kui and Kuvi (Dravidian)*. Though these are not always mutually intelligible, they seem to be close

enough to be considered as dialects. Most of Kondhas also speak some Odia, the language of Odisha, an *Indo-Aryan* language like Bengal and Hindi.³

Kondha villages have a distinctive form, with rows of houses joined under a continuous roof, one row on each side of a wide street-very different from the villages of most other tribes, where households are more separate and dispersed. In the centre of this street there stand wooden poles and piles of large stones which form a shrine of *Dharani Penu* and other village deity. In the more traditional Kondha villages, the older boys and girls sleep apart from their parents in 'youth dormitories (*dhangda/dhangidi*)', one for each gender. Today mostly dormitory exist for boys only. This is a meeting ground for boys and girls, singing, dancing and romancing is the order. Kondha women have patterns tattooed on their faces and arms. Often they wear a mass of heavy metal ornaments, and dress in bright cloth.

The Kondha have syncretism beliefs combining animism. Their pantheon has both the common Hindu Gods and Goddess attributed to various natural phenomena, objects trees and animal etc. And they have a God or deity for everything and anything. The Kondha recognise different principal Gods and Goddesses like *Dharti* or *Dharni* the mother goddesses of Earth, *Dharma Pennu*, *Saru Pennu* and *Taru Pennu*. *Dharma Pennu* is worshipped in case of illness or at the birth of a first child; he may be described as the god of the family and of the tribe itself.

Saru Pennu is the god of the hills, and is a jealous god, disliking trespassers on his domain, and the chief object of his worship, is to induce him to protect people from the attacks of wild animals and also to procure a plentiful yield of forest produce which the Khonds use so largely for food. *Taru Pennu*, is the earth god.⁴

Scholar having broadly introduced the Kondha tribes now tries to focus on the creation-origin myth of the Kondhas society. The Kondha believe that the earth did not exist at the time of creation. The Kondha believe strongly in the existence and impact of supernatural being or "*Pennu*" or "*Dharmu*". He who "*Talare dharti tayamane, up're dharmu dutha mane*". It means he who pressed the earth and lifted the sky above, otherwise both the sky and the earth would have dashed each other, so it is the God, who made it possible for us to live on the earth. It is the separation of earth from the sky by God which created favorable condition for life on earth.

The Kondha believe that at the time of creation the earth did not exist. There were no hills, forest and animal life. All these and human beings emerged from the bowels of the earth with difficulty. As per their myth, the original place of their birth was below "*Sapangade*" or the cosmic hole from where all life evolved. It is believed that '*Jamarani*' the ancestral mother of Kondhas, led them out.

The myth runs like this. Long back earth was heavily populated and due to over

population there was chaos. Mutual killing become the order of the day. Seeing such condition God decided to destroy all living creature including men and woman. It centers round the theme of Semili Boat story. Long back, the earth became heavily populated. Sacrifices and crises were the order of the day. For this reason the God planned to destroy the entire universe including every living creature on it. The God decided to create a new one in place of it. Long back, all the villagers were ordered by the village council to go for hunting in the month of *chaitra* (March-April). This was known as the “*Satrabeta*” in the Kandha area. In obedience to the decision of the village council, the entire village gathered and entered into the forest. They roamed around the forests and covered hills like-*dumba-adu*, *paridi Ada*, *pipdi Ada*, *Basu beti sua* and *Lodni sua*. When they arrived at *Lodni Sua* hill, the sun was about to set in the west. While a hunter was passing through a river ghat, he saw an antelope drinking water from the stream. He took an arrow from his quiver aimed to shoot at the animal. When he was about to shoot he heard a scream. A voice requested him to spare the animal. He looked around but could see nobody. He suddenly realized that the voice was coming from the animal itself, the kid in her womb was talking to the hunter. He raised his bow and arrow in order to provoke the animal to speak again. The unborn kid then said; “Why do you want to kill my mother and myself? ” Again the unborn kid said. ‘This creation of which you are part will be destroyed soon.’” The unborn kid continued. “My mother and I have known it. After few day crops, houses, sheds and people will thus

be destroyed. This we have listened from the *Dharma Devata*.”

After hearing this, hunter trembled with fear. He asked the antelope whether there was any way to escape from the destruction. The kid replied “If you will not kill us; then listen-make a boat using the wood of *Semili* tree and hide.” The kid again said; keep it a secret under all circumstances. The boat will float when the heavy flood comes. Take enough food and other necessities with you to last for a longtime.” The kid stressed. The exact time of disaster was also mentioned by the kid. The *kondha* hunter returned to home and narrated his experience to his sister. They searched for a big “*Lekka Mara*” or *Bombox Cebia* (locally known as *semili* tree) tree and constructed the boat and made the required arrangements. After it, both the brother and sister stepped into the boat. They also took sufficient food items and other necessities for them.

Then the disaster occurred on the destined Saturday night, heavy rain continued for seven days and seven nights by *Sarga Bhima* (God of heaven), *Patala Bhima*(God of nether world), *Mindi Bhima*(God of earth) and *Bada Bhima* (God of rain) were the cause of such rain. After heavy rain for seven days they leveled the earth like a corn field and destroyed it by flood.

During this time the sun god suffered from unknown disease and pus fell from his wounds. The sun god realised, this is due to his deeds and promised not to destroy and decided to create again. The rain god *bhima* rushed to the god and prayed for rescue. Then after listening from *bhima* the god tore some

hair of his head and created a crow and give life to the crow and sent her to search for human beings. The crow flew far and wide and searched restlessly, and then it spotted the boat where the *Kondha* brother and sister were inside and reported it to god. God inquired as what was happening inside the boat. Then the god created a fly and sent it with the crow; the fly made a hole in the entrance of covering of the boat which were closed by the brother and sister with the leaves.

The crow took these leaves to god by its peak by the order of god. These leaves were burnt and the soot (formed due to smoke) on it rescued *bhima's* son from the disease. God was happy when he found that human beings were alive and wished that more of them should live on earth. When god realized that they were brother and sister, he planned to make them the first man and woman for creation.

God ordered "aath ray" to inflict measles in them, inflicted with measles both were disfigured and were unable to recognize each other. After that both of them were sexually attracted to each other and stayed as a couple. They gave birth to twelve children who formed different tribes. Children who suffered from measles and small pox were also disfigured, some of them were black complexioned and some were reddish in color. As the number of couples increased, God changed their language.⁵

After that by the mercy of sun all water dried-up and became cloud. The moon god

created other creatures such as trees and plants. By the stool of the crow, grass grew-up everywhere. Different couples with different colors and languages were now scattered all over the earth and as a result different communities have been created. Likewise different communities with different colors of people led to procreation over generations. So the *Miniyaka Kondha* brother and sister became the first man and woman of the present civilisation.

It is interesting to note that the *Kondha* myth bears similarity to other myths of the world. This refers to the proverbial flood and a saving boat. It also refers how a brother and sister unable to recognize each other become the first couple.

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BUDDHIST IMAGES OF AYODHYA(BALASORE-ODISHA)

Alaka Sarangi

ABSTRACT

The paper attempts to survey the Buddhist images found in and ground ayodhya, a small village located under the foot hills of Nilagiri (part of eastern ghats), Balasore District on the east coast, Bay of Bengal. The images described include Lokesvara, Avaloketesvara, Bajra Tara, Khadirarani Tara, Manjusri, Kurukulla, Padmapani, Akshobhya, Vajrapani and Marichi. The scholar has based the description on field visit and study at the earlier works at N.K. Sahu, K.C. Panigrahi, N.N. Vasa, TE Donaldson, B. Bhattacharya and P. Acharya

Keywords: *Varada, Alidha, Dhyani, Padma, Lalita, Vajraparyanka, Upasika, Kinaris, Thakura, Gaja-simha, Kirtimukha*

Buddhism as a major religion in ancient India played a vital role for social transformations. The contact of Buddhism with Orissa is as old as the Buddha himself. The two merchants of Utkala (Orissa), Tapasu and Vallika brought this religion to Orissa, even though Buddha had never visited to this land in his life time. This faith was strongly patronised by King Asoka and Bhumakara rulers of Orissa. Balasore, being the coastal district is strongly influenced by this religion and its major centres are located at various places like Ayodhya, Avana, Soro and others. The site Ayodhya is rich in Buddhist sculptures like Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani, Khadiravani Tara, Manjusri and many others. It indicates the strong association of Buddhism with this region. In this paper an attempt has been made to survey the Buddhist images of Ayodhya with their iconographic features.

In Orissa, Buddhism has its long history. The genesis of earliest contact of Orissa with Buddhism is obscure. The history of Buddhism

is the history of upward growth of religious thought of this land since the 6th century B.C¹. Asokan period is termed as the golden period when obscure history of Buddhism in Kalinga became sure with the accession of Asoka². The cultural interaction helped the growth of Buddhism in other parts and Orissa became a prominent centre of Hinayana Buddhism proved by the scripture like *Dipa Vemsa*.³ Thereafter in the 7th century A.D., with the patronage of Bhumakara rules, Mahayana Buddhism spread over Orissa,⁴ when Udayagiri, Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri became flourishing centres of Buddhism.

There are evidence of Buddhist influence in various parts of Mayurbhanj and Balasore District. It is difficult to say at what period Buddhism entered into these areas. However, Buddhist remains are very rich in Ayodhya which have been studied by different scholars. N.K. Sahu,⁵ opines that Ayodhya was a flourishing centre of Buddhism during

medieval period and it is at present one of the richest sites of Buddhist antiquities in Orissa. P.Acharya writes that at Ayodhya in Nilgiri State there were vast ruins of town where there were large number of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina temples.⁶ But not a single temple is there now in its former grandeur. From the inscriptional evidence, Ayodhya can safely be assigned to 10th Century AD, if not earlier.

There are various Buddhist images found from Ayodhya which are fairly artistic in their execution . Few images are described below.

Avaloketesvara

The principal deity worshipped by Buddhist of *Mahayana* school is Avalokitesvara or Padmapani, which is reported from Ayodhya⁷. This deity was so popular that its name was taken by the Buddhist at all times in all adversity.⁸ The images of Avalokitesvara are found abundantly in India and Nepal and such images are popular in both Tibet and China⁹. Avalokitesvara assumed no less than hundred and eight forms which have been painted on the walls of the temple at Kathamundu in Nepal with inscription.¹⁰

Lokesvara

At Ayodhya a four armed image of Lokesvara have been found and kept in a small room in front of the temple of Marichi.¹¹ Several types of image of Lokesvara have been found from Ayodhya K.C. Panigrahi, himself took one of the images to Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.¹² Besides Ayodhya, Lokesvara images have been found

at Khiching, Bhubaneswar and other places of Cuttack and Puri districts.

Of the four arms, only the right lower, which is held in the posture of *Varada* is intact. The first half of the upper right hand is broken. There is a small figure of Amitava on its crown on each side a *chaitya*. On the right side of the image stand Tara with folded hands while in the left stands the four-armed Bhrukuti. Below each goddess are figures of female devotees worshipping with folded hands. N.N. Vasu and K.C. Panigrahi¹³ are of opinion that two images of Manjusri and Lokesvara were originally placed in the both sides of the goddess Marichi, inside the temple. These images are without doubt grate treasure of Buddhist art and they indicate the ascendancy of *tantricism* in religious affairs at that time.

Vajra Tara

The image of Vajra Tara is now placed in Uttaresvara temple at Ayodhya and locally she is called *Chandi thakurani*.¹⁴ The image was found in the ruins of an ancient Buddhist structure at Ayodhya and then placed in the temple. K.C. Panigrahi remarks that the Tara images of Ayodhya are most remarkable in their size, number, variety and artistic decoration. It is mostly four armed and in some cases she is eight armed. Vajra Tara of Ayodhya is richly ornamented. Her face is graceful and represent blooming youth and each of the head has pyramidal crown with an image of *dhyani* Budha. She is shown in a *Vajra –paryanka* pose. She carries in her right hands the *vajra*, the noose, the conch and arrow while in the left she carries

Vajrankusa, the *nilotpala*, the bow and the *tarjani*. She is surrounded by four Tara images placed in four directions. They may be identified with *Puspa Tara*, *Dhup Tara*, *Dipa Tara* and *Gandha Tara*.¹⁵

Another Tara image has been found in the temple of Maninageswara. This image is known in both Buddhist and Hindu *tantra* as that as Tara.¹⁶ A few images of Tara from this site have found their way to Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar, but the most and exquisite of them are reported to under private possession of some local people and one such image is now under the custody of Hadibandhu Raj.¹⁷ Thus scholars like Biswarup Das, K.C. Panigrahi and N.K. Sahu are of opinion that several Tara temples at Ayodhya existed.¹⁸ This particular and graceful seated image of *lalitasana* is shown like modelling on her limbs, rhythmic hand and fact reveals the artistic sensibility. She wears a complete set of jewellery displaying divine grandeur. Two lotus stakes are resting on both of her sides and carries on it a miniature stupa. Her graceful face revealing finer expression disclose her concern both for the inner and outer world. The *Upasika* who is probably the doner of the image kneels down with folded hands underneath the lotus throne worshipping with fine pots and sweets, while *Vidyadhars* are seen to floating above the sky with garland of flower, meant for the goddess.

Vajra Tara and other Tara images are very rarely found and her representations at Ayodhya are the most perfect specimen of India.¹⁹ Biswarup Das in his book "Buddhist Kings of Orissa and their times" assigns the

beautiful images of Tara of Ayodhya to Bhaumakara period on the basis of stylistic considerations.

Khadiravani Tara

Khadiravani Tara unearthed in the Southern part of the village, is now under the possession of B.Bagudai. Tara is a common name applied to large number of feminine deities in the Buddhist pantheon.²⁰ Different Buddhist *tantras*, the description of Khadiravani Tara is illustrated. This image has two hands showing the *varada mudra* in the right and *utpala* in the left. She can be recognized by the figure of two attendant deities. She is commonly known as *Syam-Tara*, because of her green colour and as *Sadhana* does not mention any particular *asana*,²¹ she may be represented in any attitude, whether sitting or standing. Image of Khadiravani Tara are found in Tibet and China. It is a rare image found at Ayodhya.

Manjusri

The image of Manjusri obtained from the ruins of Marichi temple and is now placed in the left side of present Marichi temple. It is remarkable both for its execution and artistic decoration.²² The Mahayanist considers him to be one of the greatest Bodhisattva.²³ The image is two armed and is decked with princely ornaments and stands on the lotus throne in graceful *tribhanga* pose. The image was discovered in 1860 and since then preserved in the present Marichi Temple. The figure stands on a lotus. Below these and on the either side of the head of the central figure are *Kinnaris*. The image Manjusri is of two

armed having lotus in left. He points the heaven with fore-finger is his right hand. This figure flanked by two images, i.e. Sadhana Kumara in the right and Yamini in the left. At the background of these image may be observed a beautiful *torana* pillar of which decorated with *gaja-simha* figure and both ends of its architraves are seen the figures of *kinnaris*-Vidhyadharas figures playing with the musical instruments.

Kurukulla

The image of Kurukulla also has been reported from Ayodhya, but now it is missing. The female deity that emanate from *dhyani* Buddha Amitava are three in numbers, the most important and popular among them is Kurukulla. Kurukulla is said to confer success in the tantric rite of *vasikarana* or the rite of enchanting men, women and even kings. Image of Kurukulla are found in Tibet and China and she is very popular in these countries.²⁴

Padmapani

The image of Padmapani is found amidst the bushes and jungles on the western part of the village Ayodhya, near a tank named *thakura*.²⁵ It is difficult to measure this image as the shape of this image has been damaged by sun rays and rain. Padmapani is the Boddhisattva attached to the padma (lotus), which is presided by *dhyani* Buddha Amitava. The Padmapani has red colour and a full blown lotus as his symbol.

Akshobhya

The *dhyani* Buddha Akshobhya has been attached on the southern side of the Marichi temple. There are several types of *dhyani*

Buddhas, which are lying fragmented here and there. Another image of *dhyani* Buddha is also lying in the Uttareswar temple at Ayodhya. Akshobhya regarded as second *dhyani* Buddha by Nepalese Buddhist.²⁶ He is two armed, exhibiting the *bhumisparsa* (earth touching) *mudra* and sits in the *vajraparyanaka* pose. His recognition symbol is *vajra*.

Vajrapani

The Buddhist Vajrapani with *vajra* symbol is the spiritual son of *dhyani* Buddha Akshobhya.²⁷ Vajrapani is represented either standing or seated and usually carries a lotus. Sometimes he holds the vajra against his chest in one of his hands. The image of Vajrapani located near the tank of *thakura*, in the western part of the village. This is also missing at present.

Marichi

The presiding and the principal deity of Ayodhya is Marichi which is renowned and attracts devotees and scholars not only from home but also from outside India.

The original home of Marichi was located in the southern part of the village²⁸ where the huge masses of architectural remains, carved structures are scattered all-around. The goddess Marichi is three-faced, eight-armed and stands in *alidha* attitude on the chariot drawn by eight pigs instead of seven. The face facing the left is that of a pig. The image is greatly resemble with the image found at Kendrapara, but with minor variation. This image is however, better preserved than that

of Kendrapara and its weapons are almost discernable. Sixteen sadhanas in the sadhanamala (*tantra*) describe the eight distinct forms of the popular Buddhist deity, Marichi. Marichi which is an emanation of *dhyani* Buddha Vairocana, has affinity with Brahminical god Surya.²⁹ It is now preserved in the modern Marichi temple at Ayodhya, along with other Buddhist images. His major right hand is broken at the elbow is uplifted and originally holds *vajra*. The major left hand is in *tarjani*, but does not hold the noose. But the lowest set of hands at thigh in *ardhachandra* holds a needle and thread with the end of the later forming a noose. The third set of hands mostly missing hold bow and arrow. The fourth set is more broken, but hold an *ankusa* and *asoka* bough. Mariachi is richly ornamented wears large *patrakundala* on her centre face.

Marichi is surrounded by four companions, i. e. Varatalli, Vadalli, Vardi and Varahamukhi. They are all with sow faces and four-armed in their proper placement correspond closely to description in the *Sadhana*, but the only minor deviation being their respective pose. The top face of the chariot is *pancharatha* in design with the face of Rahu, spreading out like a *kirtimukha* in the centre with his hands holding Sun and moon. The base of the chariot is *saptaratha* design with sow standing above each façade. The sows are in all four legs, but radiate outward like spoke rather than moving straight forward. Beneath the centre sow, on upper edge of the back slab is inscribed the popular

Buddhist formula, “*Ye dharma Hetu Prabhabe*” in character ascribed to the last 10th century A.D.³⁰

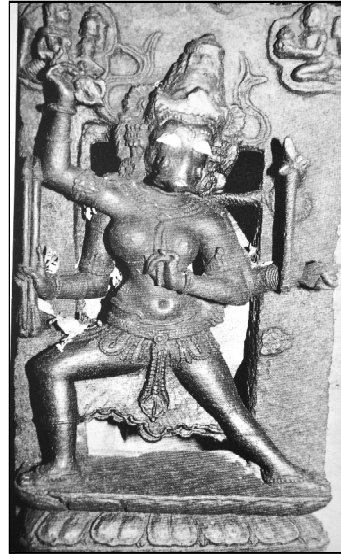
Besides the above mentioned images, there are other art fragments and images found in Ayodhya. The Buddhist remains in Ayodhya represent rich heritage of India. Historically, with the development of *tantricism*, some *matrika* images with their iconographic features developed and worshipped which convey the religious intensity of the age. A number of beautiful sculptures are in possession of the private people of the village. The villagers with the collaboration of Orissa State Archaeology has built a museum collecting the scattered antiquities of this area. To conclude, it can be said that Ayodhya needs a further exploration and systematic excavation. System excavation will throw greater light and enrich our understanding.

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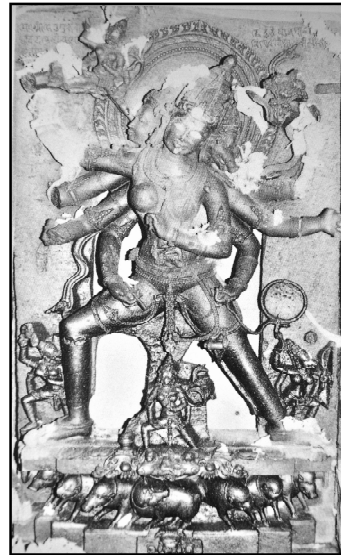
Seated Tara



Varaha mukhi



Vajra Tara



Marichi



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