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CONTENTS

Vedic Thought and Eco criticism A Study of Kavery Nambisan's *The Scent of Pepper* and *Sarah Joseph's Gift in Green*

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Abstract

The Hindu approach to ecology is largely shaped by the philosophical views of the Vedas, Upanishads and Vedanta, as well as the Hindu religious and customary conventions. The Hindu thought talks of a pantheistic spirit which pervades the cosmos embracing the human, the non-human and even the inanimate. The idea of "Everything is Brahman," *SarvamKhalvidam* Brahma in the Chandogya Upanishad 3.14 translated into Hindi language as 'सर्वंखल्विदंब्रह्म' teaches that 'All this is indeed Brahman' defining the Vedic concept which inheres the Hindu thought on Nature. Contrarily, the Western concept is based on a dualism which perceives a chasm between Nature and humans. But no such polarity is observed in the Vedas and Nature is an extension of the omniscient. This does not imply an illogical and superstitious outlook towards nature. The Hindu thought envisions an assimilative, celestial and pervasive energy that binds and sublimates all creatures. Eco criticism, an interface between literature and ecological concerns, incorporates these diverse perspectives.

Keywords: Ecology, Vedas, Legacy, Eco criticism, Balance.

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Introduction

The *Vedas* are sagacious, philosophical and idealistic chronicles pertaining to the various ways life can be lived in a fructifying and gainful way. They have a message for all stages of life, suggesting how the rare gift of life needs to be celebrated and revered in consonance with Nature. Nature references abound in all the four Vedas as Nature worship has been integral to Hinduism in all its manifestations. The "Bhoomi Suktain" the *Atharva Veda* 12.1 eulogizes the Earth as an eternal presence and a chronicler as well as a seer of all past, present and future times.

सत्यंबृहदृतमुग्रंदीक्षातपोब्रह्मयज्ञःपृथिवींधारयन्ति ।

सानोभूतस्यभव्यस्यपत्न्युरुंलोकंपृथिवीनःकृणोतु ।।

Bhoomi is upheld by Divine forces and Penance:

Bhoomi is the Witness of our Past, Present and Future:

It goes on to proclaim:

Satyam Brhad-Rtam-UgramDiikssaaTapo Brahma YajnyahPrthiviimDhaarayanti |

Saa No BhuutasyaBhavayasyaPatny[i]-UrumLokamPrthivii Nah Krnnotu ||1||

Salutations to Mother Earth, the Truth (Satyam), the Cosmic Divine Law (Ritam), the Spiritual Passion manifested in Mighty Initiations, Penances and self-dedications to the search of Brahman (by the sages), these have sustained the Mother Earth for ages, who in turn have supported these in Her Bosom.

It also avers:

विश्वंभरावसुधानीप्रतिष्ठाहिरण्यवक्षाजगतोनिवेशनी ।

वैश्वानरंबिभ्रतीभूमिरग्निमिन्द्रऋषभाद्रविणेनोदधातु ।।

(Salutations to Mother Earth). She is Vishwambhara (All-Bearing), She is Vasudhaa (Producer of all Wealth), She is Pratishtha (Foundation on which we live), She is Hiranyavaksha (of Golden Bosom) and the Dwelling Place of the World, She holds the Vaishvanara (The Universal Fire) within Her, the Fire which empowers Indra and Rishabha; May the Mother Earth bestow on us (the splendour of that Fire and make us strong).

Approbation for Nature being a part of the religious faith, Indian traditions attribute supernatural powers to the flora and the fauna as manifestation of the Divine. Practices such as animals as mounts of deities, preservation of sacred groves or sacred forests and ponds tell about the ancient ecological concern being integral to religious and cultural practices. It is known as the Pantheistic Culture and the sacred natural objects, both animate and inanimate, are considered as Pantheistic Gods. This is the sanctity of the traditional Indian culture that made human beings enjoy a close rapport with Nature and

relish as well as absorb the very soul of Nature. The deference for the beings of Nature has been part of the Indian ethos. The preservation of certain spaces such as sacred groves, tanks and forests for religious traditions in hinterlands, small towns and agrarian clusters has contributed to maintenance of ecological equilibrium. Many of such preserved sites lie along the Western Ghats, the west coast, and in various parts of South India. These are not just precincts for the believers but also facilitators for biological diversity and conservation. They are examples of how religious faith and environment conservation have been in tandem. A large number of sacred water bodies near temples have contributed to preservation of certain endangered species of aquatic life.

In a way, most of the conservation movements in India have a spiritual and philosophical connect with the teachings of the Vedas, reiterating the essential harmony between various components of Nature - the quintessential Vedic message. Some instances in recent times are listed as following: the world renowned Chipko Movement (1973), wherein tree hugging symbolized the importance of a tree, the Silent Valley Project (1978) in Kerala when people opposed a hydroelectricity project to be built on Kunthipuzha river, submerging the entire biosphere reserve and destroying the whole range of rainforests, the Tehri Dam Andolan in the 1980s, the Navdanya Movement of 1982 which emphasized ecological farming, the Narmada Bachao Andolan of 1985 when activists such as Medha Patekar and many others observed fasts or the Jal Satyagrah which started in 2012 in Madhya Pradesh, where villagers stood submerged in water, seeking compensatory and rehabilitative steps for those who faced the deluge resulting from excess water released from the Omkareshwar dam.

Many critics have deliberated upon the eclectic and humanitarian thought of the Vedas. Meera Nanda discussed the concept of "Dharmic Ecology" in a paper presented at the 18th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies at Lunds University, Sweden in 2004, critiquing the preponderance of religious motifs in Movements related to environment. Though skeptical of conflating religious symbols with environmental themes and branding it 'Religious Environmentalism,' she refers to the yatra undertaken by District Collector at Osamabad in Hyderabad, to drive home the importance of water resources. The 'Navdanya' movement by Vandana Shiva is also based on conservation of biological and cultural diversity, so that conserving knowledge of bio diversity becomes synonymous with conserving culture. So, the Indian ecological thought leans heavily on religious and philosophical sources. However, it does not imply the state of being a 'noble savage' exulting in primitivism and archaic knowledge. The thought expressed in the ancient texts has a pragmatic aspect as well so that efforts of conservation are complementary to religious beliefs as well. This is due to the unified and holistic concept of humans as part of Nature

and not the masters or users of natural resources. Lynn Townsend White, Jr. in his oft quoted essay "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis" talks about how Christianity promoted the idea of Man being a superior creation of the Lord, claiming that all the natural resources were available to him for use:

Our science and technology have grown out of Christian attitudes towards man's relationship to nature…Despite Darwin, we are not in our hearts, part of the natural process. We are superior to nature, contemptuous of it, willing to use it for our slightest whim. The whole concept of sacred groove is alien to Christianity and to the ethos of the West… More science and more technology are not going to get us out of the present ecologic crisis, until we find a new religion or rethink the old one. (White, Jr., 1967, p.1204).

White suggests a radical transformation in our belief by adopting Saint Francis of Assisi as the new icon as he had moderate view of ecology. He "tried to depose man from his monarchy over creation and set up a democracy of all God's creatures" (White, Jr., 1967, p. 1205) minimizing some of the harm done by the earlier hardliners. This was a remedial view to rectify the anthropocentric tilt of the Western (Christian) version of environment conservation which had also propagated a kind of androcentric norm. The Hindu philosophy, on the other hand, reiterates the idea of oneness and 'yoga' which (when translated) means addition as well as disciplined living. Contrarily, the western world view upholds '*bhoga*' or consumption and utility.

The Vedic thought is more conducive to environment conservation as it is based on the idea of unity and oneness. Nature is looked at as an extension of human life and exploiting Nature is akin to disfiguring a fellow human being. One cannot forget how worship of animals, stones, trees and so on, has been integral to the Hindu way of life. In fact, this humanitarian and piteous approach makes the Hindu religion assimilative, adaptable and dynamic. Each object, animate or inanimate, has its unique place in the biological chain, so that, if all life forms are considered equal, it would facilitate a harmonious human life on this planet. Hence, what the Vedas preach should not be dismissed as transcendental gibberish or spiritual jargon. Their basis is pragmatic and empirical as well.

Indian writers have since always employed themes from Nature as literary expression. Women writers have a special penchant for such themes. One is reminded of the poems of Sarojini Naidu, the novels of Kamala Markandaya, Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande, Arundhati Roy, to mention just a few. The present paper also engages with two texts by women writers in order to explore the Vedic interpretation of Nature with reference to two novels, namely, *The Scent of Pepper* by Kaveri Nambisan (1996) and *Gift in Green* by Sarah Joseph (2013).

Nambisan is a renowned Indian writer hailing from the Coorg (Kodagu) region, a hilly district of Karnataka. She is well versed in the language and culture of the Coorgis, depicting an authentic picture of the Kodagu culture. She has six novels to her credit namely *The Truth about Bharath (Almost)* (1992), *The Scent of Pepper* (1996), *Mango Coloured Fish* (1998), *On the Wings of Butterflies* (2002), *The Hills of Angheri* (2005) and *The Story That Must Not Be Told* (2010). Nambisan is a physician by profession tending to the deprived sections of society. As she was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau, her views amalgamate the philosophical and the pragmatic which is the gist of the Vedas as well. The novel is a fictional visit into the world of Kodavas, a confident and self-assured martial race owning vast coffee estates. The story describes the Kaleyanda clan who are owners of large tracts of coffee plantations in Coorg. The writer's sense of place vividly etches the hills inhabited by the coffee growing clans and communities, recording how their lives have been shaped and defined by the environment they reside in. The work chronicles various religious and cultural practices of the people of Coorg, tracing the saga of Nanji, the female persona, a young bride at that time, betrothed to Baliyanna, a thriving land owner from the Kaleyanda clan. He also has the advantage of western education as a veterinary doctor. It is the remarriage of the widow Nanji who had been previously married at thirteen years of age and was widowed within a year. The writer draws an enchanting backdrop of Coorg with its lofty hills and valleys. Coorg is famous for its coffee plantations and bounteous Nature where people live in sync with their surroundings, giving due respect and care to what the Earth bestows on them. One is reminded of Wordsworth's Lake District and Hardy's Wessex and even more of Narayan's Malgudi. The lives of the protagonists were inflected by these places. Coorg, is known for its austere landscape, variegated flora and fauna and coffee plantations. The hilly terrain is inhabited by a martial clan who revere nature. But as winds of change herald in capitalism and material concerns, these simple folk too grow acquisitive and self-centered. There is a tug of war between contrasting life styles and priorities, coaxing them to forsake indigenous practices for material gains. This forced miscegenation of cultures results in ludicrous practices when the Kodavas not only give up their rites and rituals but also adopt western names, lifestyles, attire, eatables and farm products. The novel records bemusedly this funny imitation of the western practices in all walks of life by the beguiled Kodavas.

Nambisan offers a debate between the refined, artificial and synthetic modes of modern living and the time tested, pristine and relaxed life in the vicinity of Nature. The novel suggests that life in the benign care of Nature has a smooth, even and nuanced pace. When the natural balance is disrupted by over indulgence in ostentatious life style, it creates disharmony and fragmentation. The reader visualizes the picturesque surroundings of the Coorg region where tranquility reigns and the idyllic surroundings entice even the Britishers

who are overpowered by the natural charisma of the locale. The novelist is familiar with the native language and uses it with flourish, peppered with local anecdotes about the tribal people, their cultural practices, rituals and   customs, "As the red blush in the west merged with the violet darkness, the lamps inside the house were lit. The festive sounds of kombu, kottu and dudi filled the house. Bride (Nanji) dropped a pinch of saffron rice into the copper pitcher at the doorway and bent down to touch his (RaoBahadur) feet" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 3). For the Kodavas, marriage is a momentous occasion. Baliyanna arranges a huge stock of soda and whisky during Boju's marriage considering it as an essential expense. Kodavas follow Kudiya tradition in marriages, attire and other customary practices and at the 'muhurtam', it was a custom that the bridegroom should seek blessings of the village elders. In dressing too "the free flowing end of the sari was brought beneath the left arm across the back and knotted over the right shoulder. The straight, no-nonsense fall of the sari over the front accentuated curves and enhanced the beauty" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 26).

Nambisan contextualizes the plot delineating the characteristic cultural and religious practices of the people of Coorg. She focuses upon the fortuitous incidents in the life of the woman protagonist, Nanji, who is married into the Kaleyanda clan. "After two days of forced hospitality, her (Nanji's) stepmother subjected her to a meager diet and coffee without milk, though it was established Kodava custom to overfeed pregnant women. That was not mindless pampering but wise tradition" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 11). Some other proscriptive cultural practices have also been mentioned in the novel. "Tradition demanded that pregnant Kodava women eat eggs laid by red hens, two ladles of ghee a day and *rotis* with honey, in addition to a lehyam made of jaggery, sesame seeds, cashew nuts, almonds and sunflower seeds in the morning" (Nambisan,1996, p. 12). "Women who could read were given the *Mahabharatha*, *Ramayana* and the *Gita* in hope that they could bear a son who could be a saint or a scholar such as Kodaku had never produced" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 14). Such instances give the reader a glimpse of the cultural ethos of the Kodavas. Similarly rites and rituals at death are observed with grave attention and meticulous precision. A figurative reference is made to such practices when, at the eleventh - day death ceremony of Rao Bahadur, Nanji Chambavva calls out Ka..Ka…Ka and steps into the backyard with food ceremoniously covered in banana leaves and places it near the well. Her gesture was an initiation of food being distributed to all and sundry. "The family followed the age-old Kodava custom of pilgrimage to Talakaveri at the top of the Brahmagiri hill. There they scattered Rao Bahadur's ashes in the river" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 16). The novel refers to many such ceremonies performed posthumously.

The celebrations at agricultural festivals have been joyously recorded signifying how these herald the advent of festive occasions and ceremonies of the Kodavas. Kalipodh,

Puthari and the Shankramana are festivals to pay obeisance to Nature and its bountiful spirit which invigorates the clansmen. Puthari is a harvest festival indicating fructification. Performed during the night of full moon when the crop is ripened, the first strands of paddy are cut and tied to the doors and bedposts symbolizing offerings to the celestial beings and ancestors. Garlands of Rose and Tulsi leaves are prepared to spread the message of love and faith. *Tula* is the month of rejoicing and *Sankramana* is celebrated to mark the departure of the monsoon season. The Kodavas festivities include traveling to Talakaveri at the top of the Brahmagiri hill to bathe in the sacred waters. "Coconuts dressed in red, jeweled and garlanded, are floated upon the river. It is the time of promise" (Nambisan, 1996, p. 69). A resplendent variety of traditional food such as *puttu, nooputtu, pork, mutton pulav, payasam, mango chutney, jeerige-sanna rice, thambattoo* mark the event.

Despite a rich cultural heritage, the Kodavas imbibe and imitate many practices of the foreigners, except their religion. The Kodava gods namely Lord Igguthappa and Bhadrakali have been revered for ages along with the Kodava ancestors who constantly keep vigil and protect them. With the passage of time, the Hindu gods have also been accepted by the clan. In all other matters, Kodavas follow the British, taking English names, clothing, food habits and mannerisms. Despite being a martial tribe, they lack enthusiasm for participation in the Indian freedom struggle as they are rather complacent and self-willed people.

Nanji embodies qualities of simplicity, diligence, perseverance and spontaneity. Truly nature's child, she lives in close proximity to natural surroundings and looks optimistically at nature for various bodily and mental cures. Her second marriage at the age of seventeen as a young widow to the foreign educated veterinarian Baliyanna ushers her into the Kaleyanda clan where she takes up the entire responsibility of running an extended household. Due to her caring and unassuming demeanour, she is appreciated by the mother-in- law, Chambavva and other members. The tribal labourers, the yeravvas, consider her a matriarch as she tends to their needs and provides help in their distress. Akin to the mythical kamdhenu, she signifies plenitude. Her maternal care is reciprocated by nature as the fields and coffee plantations yield good harvest, the river gives plenty of fish and the pepper vines are laden with scented pods. Nanji bears more than a dozen children making Clara, the childless wife of English planter Rupert , marvel, "Such a frail-looking creature and she had borne thirteen children, her skinny body was the site of so much achievement." (Nambisan, 1996, p.57).

Nambisan portrays women of four generations, each epitomizing remarkable virtues, strengths and dignity. Chambavva, the mother-in-law is the first generation matriarch who

is benevolent, firm yet affectionate. She is progressive enough to accept a widow as the daughter-in-law. Nanji epitomizes the second generation woman, who is the pivot of the household, the manager of home, hearth, business and clan. Plain-looking, uneducated, and from a poor family, Nanji is wise, pragmatic and deft in all personal and business matters. Mallige, the third generation woman, the daughter-in-law of the family, is well-educated and refined with modern tastes. The fourth generation Neelu, the daughter of Mallige, is a city-bred lass yet has caring concern towards her culture. Her bonding with the land is so strong that after completing her education she decides to return to the village in order to improve the life of the village folk.

The novelist highlights another innate feature of the women characters in the novel. Most of them are self-assured yet dedicated to familial values. The streak of depression prevails amongst the Kaleyanda men and Rao Bahadur, Nanji's father-in-law is the first victim. His self-respecting and independent wife, Chambavva, discards all comforts and decides to reside in the Crystal Palace, the house of the widows. When Nanji comes as a young bride, she is carefree and uninhibited. Even the loss of many kith and kin, including her husband, children, father-in-law, and all other trials fail to dampen her spirit. In the face of umpteen personal losses, Nanji remains composed and devices natural cure for many maladies. For her lame son Subbu, she prepares indigenous concoctions as treatment and manages a cure. When her husband Baliyanna, recoils within in a state of depression, Nanji continues to offer cure and hope. She may not be literate but experiences have shaped her into a mature and pragmatic woman.

The Scent of Pepper suggests that despite the hurried pace of civilizational ventures, the virtues imbibed from nature are the mainstay. Humans have to learn to consider earth as an extension of nature and not just a commodity or a resource. Living in harmony with nature will bestow many benefits on both the earth and the earthlings. After going through the rigmarole of life, many of the characters come back to their roots to seek rejuvenation. Nanji faces many trials and tribulations but never gives up on nature. She is a constant companion in nature's sojourns through the passage of life. Her relaxed and contended life with the son Subbu and the gentle mutual care they share, makes their days happy and satisfying. Nambisan expresses it poignantly, "Subbu was not in a hurry to cremate his mother. He followed her like a shadow, helped her out of bed and into it. (In the evenings) he would talk about old times and the present, and Nanji would listen without hearing. It got easier all the time because their thoughts had begun to flow in one unending stream." (Nambisan, 1996, p. 119). She stays an impressive presence even in her infirm condition. Having withstood a harsh and exacting life of a well-rooted rustic woman, Nanji carves out a niche for herself that is beyond time and age. Visitors come to have a look at the

formidable Kaliyanda matriarch sitting next to the window fronting the road. She may be aged and infirm but her resolve continues to inspire the next generation. Neelu, the granddaughter comes back to the village as a symbol of regenerated and hopeful future.

The second work taken up for Eco critical analysis is *Gift in Green* a novel by Sarah Joseph (2011) which was originally written in Malayalam, and was translated into English by Valson Thampu (2013). Joseph has an illustrious corpus of works which comprise short stories, plays, essays, Autobiography and novellas on diverse themes such as ecology, children's literature, culture and society. The setting of this novel is Aathi, which is described as an idyllic place with a lush "green bangle", which nourishes the people. It has pristine pure water and air, just as it was in the earlier times, when man had not got a chance to pollute nature. The natural beauty of the backwaters of Aathi and the loveliness and serenity of the place has been graphically described by Joseph. The landscape bears a lot of resemblance with the bountiful Coorg region evoked in the previous work by Nambisan. Noor Muhammad, the story teller loved to feel the sensuous beauty of, its forests, especially the mangrove forest that the people of Aathi affectionately called the Green Bangle. The following extract describes the scenic beauty lyrically:

> It encircled Aathi, an enchanting world in itself, its waters cool and serene. Sitting in that rare world of impregnable silence, immune to the noise of men and machines, Noor Muhammad would listen intently to the subtle voices of the cosmos and enjoy their variety and the soothing sweetness of their harmony. Watching the sallow leaves fall noiselessly on the water, then float towards and accumulate at the bank, he would weave the tapestry of his life-interpretations. He would listen to the blossoming of flowers, watch the moss dance, the glow-worms emerge from their hideouts, and read the trails of tiny worms. His mind would clear, his lungs fill with a new vitality and his stomach with heavenly happiness. 'Rejoice, O my heart' he would tell himself (Joseph, 2011, p. 25).

Water is the primary metaphor in the novel as it lends color and vibrancy to the life of the residents. Their lives had been lived in harmonious co-existence with water. There is a jocund felicity and playfulness to the way water fills their paddy fields. The free and pure flow of water embodies the spirit of freedom, serenity and eternity. "Flow was of her essence; it was her essence; it was her being. Flowing ceaselessly in earth, in trees, in animals, in human beings, coming down as rain, flowing along as river, rising and roaring as the sea" (Joseph, 2011, p. 157). However, all this gets changed by Kumaran who has a disdain for the unwritten code of the river and had left for the city to seek success and pace. He returns with a grand plan to convert the lush green land and the free water into an urban hub of commotion and advancement. Unscrupulously, he lures the residents to

partake in his project of urbanizing Aathi, destroying the 'Greenbangle' and the water life of Aathi, and transforming the happy people into labourers for his project. The overtones of Vedic knowledge are apparent here which advise humans to rein in acquisitive pursuits for vested gains. This tendency of exploiting Nature, distorting and disfiguring its very core finds echo in the process of modernization when in the name of development, forests are erased, dams are constructed over mammoth rivers and concrete jungles are erected. Mies and Shiva in the essay "The Myth of Catching-Up Development" observe that environment problems are the result of rejection of the indigenous culture and life style and the hankering after the mirage of development in the hope of an improved and advanced life. But in fact humans worsen their life along with their surrounding environment. She avers, "This process of acceptance of the values, lifestyle, and standard of living of 'those on top' is invariably accompanied by a devaluation of one's own: one's own culture, work, technology, lifestyle and often also philosophy of life and social institutions" (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 56).

Showing scant concern for Nature and her resources, Kumaran persuades the men of Aathi with riches and gives them 'earth work' for his project, and ironically now the men work against the earth and the water that sustained them and their generations, with the result that their lives turn sterile. With their own hands they pollute the pure water of Aathi with garbage and chemicals, leading to various ailments. When things turn almost hopeless and it appears that the pure and blissful life of Aathi has come to an end, nature reacts violently in the form of a storm and incessant rain, which causes Aathi to be flooded and completely inundated with water, sweeping away Kumaran's work and garbage. The flooded water purifies nature, and restores Aathi to its original pristine surroundings.

Many developmental projects endanger the fragile ecosystem as well as indigenous practices of tribals and those living in remote areas. These people are well equipped to tackle their own problems with age-old knowledge systems. Their unique culture and intimate knowledge of Nature, as well as their thorough understanding of the forest plants and their specific healing powers have helped them live in harmony with Nature. The process of development tries to force a hurried, unregulated life-style on the natives ruining their indigenous resources as also the equilibrium of the environment. The novel mentions many cases when the simple, uncomplicated knowledge brought succor to the ailing people. Billy can not only predict the advent of rainfall in the drought-stricken district, but can also heal Romi's wife of migraine. Nature has a therapeutic effect on the people of Aathi and acts as a balm for ruffled souls. Gitanjali's daughter, Kayal, who had left Aathi and become a patient of depression, returns with her daughter to Aathi, and joyfully says, "It is Aathi that returned Kayal to me. I now know that water is the synonym for peace. Peace is healing, and healing, peace" (Joseph, 2011, p.154). Another singular thing about the people

of Aathi is their indigenous knowledge of growing rice in salt water. The novelist maintains that there is a need to understand their intimate knowledge of nature, her unique medicinal and healing powers, which they had acquired through accumulated knowledge of generations.

Similarly, the developmental model represented by Kumaran is discordant and imbalanced. It comes into confrontation with the natural and happy water-life of Aathi with tragic consequences. Earlier, there was plenty to meet the needs of all and life was simple yet contented. People lived with Nature as a lofty part of themselves, having a reverence and complementarity with Nature. In turn, Nature gave them plenty of oysters, fish and an idyllic surrounding in the lush green backwaters of Aathi. This is the cherished and benevolent equation that should exist between humans and nature. A critic, Greg Garrard is of the view that undisturbed ecosystems have a natural balance and harmony. Thereby, "in a balanced harmonious, steady-state nature, indigenous people reproduced balance and harmony" (Garrard, 1993, p.134).

Gift in Green goes a step further in making a case for Eco criticism. The retribution incurred by Nature, flooding the land of Aathi and sweeping away everything that Kumaran had concocted, is suggestive of natural justice which operates in a ruthless and aggressive way to show how puny and insignificant the designs of humans are in the face of angry Nature. The water claims its rightful place. This is reminiscent of the Biblical flood sent by God to destroy the old order to construct a new.

In the two texts discussed above, there is a difference in perspective of both the writers. Joseph seems to suggest that ethical obligations and humanism are at times insufficient remedies to human avarice. Aathi may have been a nurturing haven for its people but they are compulsively greedy and callous. So a complete overhauling of the system is desired which is brought about by the raging flood. These views have affinity with the Radical branch of Eco criticism which rejects moral standing as the cure to all ills. Radical ecologists oppose the ethical supposition of Nature as an extension of human life. Such a thought is fraught with scales tilted in favor of humans who consider themselves as the primal and central point of argument. This essentialism delimits itself to human interests that are rather self-centered and parochial. Besides, Radical ecologists are not solely concerned with ethics, instead, they insist upon basic changes in society and its institutions so as to contain the environmental crisis by relooking at how humans live and function, both as individual and group entities. *Gift in Green* offers radical choices to cleanse and rearrange the system.

On the other hand, the former text bears traits of Deep Ecology as it emphasizes holistic living through a relatively smooth transition from chaos to calm and from commotion to contentment. Nambisan advocates this Deep Ecology stance as the protagonist Nanji

leads a life in complete harmony with Nature and disseminates this message around. She embodies the virtues and happiness which Nature bestows on humans. Nanji is the sole character whose life is not stalled by hard luck and travails as she draws sustenance from the roots. Deep ecology expostulates and questions the anthropocentric insistence and takes a "total-field" perspective. According to Arne Naess, the Norwegian philosopher who propounded the shallow-deep binary in environmental studies, the concept of 'ecosophy' or ecological philosophy according to Deep Ecology is based on one primary hypothesis: "Self-realization!" Hence it implies "giving up a narrow egoistic conception of the self in favor of a wider more comprehensive Self" (Naess, 1973, p.97). It further connotes that as human beings we are not severed from nature, but are aligned and connected with it. The Australian philosopher Warwick Fox in his book *Towards a Transpersonal Ecology* asserts that environmental ethics are not only about forming a moral guidebook about the environment, instead about the realization of an "ecological consciousness". This would ask for the widest possible acceptance and acknowledgement of the non-human world. This in turn is not based on formulating an ethical code of conduct for nature, "for once the requisite awareness and consciousness is generated within, one will naturally protect the environment and allow it to flourish, for that will be part and parcel of the protection and flourishing of oneself" (Fox, 1990, p.56). Humans need to reassess their understanding of Nature as well as their own place in the expansive universe which comprises an unimaginable variety of species.

To conclude, a prayer to Mother Earth from "Bhumi Sukta" (Ode to Earth) in the *Atharva Veda* declares "This land is the mother of all trees, shrubs, plants and creepers. It is here that truth, learning, bravery and righteousness flourish. This land will bring us welfare and happiness. May we always serve our motherland." (Khanda 12). These traditional values bestow an enlightened sense of awareness towards Nature. Such an attitude is not necessarily religious or ritualistic. It is more equalitarian and integrative, involving questions of ethics. It interrogates the assumed superiority and self-prioritization of humans at the cost of Nature. Contrarily, the Vedas are documents about just and cooperative co-existence. They describe a world where all beings exist in collective harmony and concordance. It is not an idyllic past or an illusory primitivism which they conjure up, it is in fact an alternative world view that counters human avarice and looks at the possibility of life according to one's need but not according to one's greed. Contemporary concerns may differ in their approach to environment conservation. They may propound assimilative model of Deep Ecology or the Radical idea of complete overhauling of the prevalent worldview. Both highlight the need to be more sensitized and enlightened to the environment and to consider Nature holistically. The Vedas reiterate these views in a more authentic and effective way.

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Exploring Transgender Sexuality and Agency in A. Revathi's Autobiography *The Truth About Me*

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Abstract

A. Revathi, South India's prominent face of the transgender community, was born physiologically male but felt and behaved like a female right from her childhood. Haunted by a deep unease of being trapped in a wrong body, and a 'growing sense of irrepressible femaleness', her candid and courageous autobiography, A *Truth About Life*, raises some of the most pertinent issues related to the sexuality of a 'hijra' (male to female transsexuals) , the pain of belonging nowhere and being considered as 'queer', 'deviant' and 'unnatural' by many, in spite of legal acceptance of third gender and constant literary and social discourses on fluid nature of sexual orientation and choices. My paper, through this insider's account of hijra community, this autobiography being the very first of its kind in India depicting a hijra life story, would attempt to interrogate the crucial issues related to the sexuality of a transgender and the agency and courage depicted by Revathi in countering and resisting the horrors that a 'hijra' has to go through which include violence by family members, sexual assaults and tortures by police and anti-social elements and repeated displacements in an effort to find real love and lead a life of dignity. It would also focus on the urgency to protect the rights of the sexual minorities so as to enable them to fight an endless battle against deep rooted malice, ridicule, persecution and violence present in the society as well as within the homes for expressing their real sexual needs and transgender identities.

Keywords: Transgender, sexuality, sexual minority, violence.

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"We can't ever live if we fear being teased. Or dare express our feelings. We must then reconcile ourselves to a life that is neither here nor there." (Revathi 20) A. Revathi, South India's prominent face of the transgender community, was born physiologically male but felt and behaved like a female right from her childhood. Haunted by a deep unease of being trapped in a wrong body, and a "growing sense of irrepressible femaleness" (14), her candid and courageous autobiography, *The Truth About Me: A Hijra Life Story*, raises some of the most pertinent issues related to the sexuality of a 'hijra' (male to female transsexuals), the pain of belonging nowhere and being considered as 'queer', 'deviant' and 'unnatural' by many, in spite of legal acceptance of third gender in many countries and constant literary and social discourses on fluid nature of sexual orientation and choices. Revathi, in one of her interviews asserts that her life story needed to be told millions of times so that people with 'similar experiences' and in 'similar situations' could "take a leaf out of my book to deal with their lives", and made to realize that they are not some "twisted species". (Vijaya Mary, 2014)

My paper, through this insider's account of hijra community, this autobiography being the very first of its kind in India depicting a hijra life story, would attempt to interrogate the crucial issues related to the sexuality of a transgender and the agency and courage depicted by Revathi in countering and resisting the horrors that a 'hijra' has to go through which include violence by family members, sexual assaults and tortures by police and anti-social elements and repeated displacements in an effort to find real love and lead a life of dignity. It would also focus on the urgency to protect the rights of the sexual minorities so as to enable them to resist deep rooted malice, ridicule, persecution and violence against them present in the society as well as within the homes for expressing their real sexual needs and transgender identities.

The term transgender gained popularity in the academic world during the last decade of the twentieth century, as an umbrella term describing a wide range of people, who cross over or trans conventional gender roles. In other words, it is used to describe people whose gender identity and sexual expression/ orientation differs from conventional norms and expectations based on their assigned biological sex at birth. Trans men and trans women are individuals identified as trans genders, whose gender identity corresponds to that of a male and a female. Virginia Prince, a transgender-identified author, is credited with coining this term in 1969 when she used the word 'transgenderal' to distinguish herself from transsexuals- that is- hijras or eunuchs who physically alter their sex from male to female through surgery. Although one can find earlier instances of the use of the term 'transgenderism' in medical context to denote an "urge for gender ('sex') change", her use of the term denoted a clear distinction between sex and gender , thereby highlighting a difference between trans-ing sex (male or female) versus trans-ing gender (masculine or

feminine). In present times, the term transgender is generally taken as a broad category with many gender identities and expressions that include transsexual, genderqueer, bisexual and cross-dresser, among many others. Whatever is the origin of the term, it is alarming that the term is considered as a deviance from the established gender roles and identities since it intends to defy the binaries of good and bad or wanted and unwanted sexualities.

The term hijra, within the broad ambit of transgender, is given to eunuchs, intersex people who are predominantly male-to-female transsexuals, who, in their urge to live and be defined as females, undergo a surgical removal of the genitals. Eminent anthropologist Serena Nanda, in her article '*Life on the Margins: A Hijra's life story*' defines hijras as "an organized social community with local, regional and national structures." (124) She goes on to add that "basic elements of Indian society such as the extended joint family, the caste system, the hierarchical relationship in Hinduism between gurus (spiritual mentors) and chelas (disciples) and local caste and neighbourhood councils, are all part of hijra social structure." (124-131) A. Revathi , in her present autobiography, dwells at length on the 'guru-chela' traditions, various customs and rituals associated with hijra culture that they have to strictly follow in their day-to-day lives so as to remain an integral part of hijra community. Revathi writes that it is "important to learn the ways of the hijras, follow rules, respect elders…and do all that an elder asks. This is what is expected of those who want to be part of the hijra community." (47) She uses the term 'aravani' in place of hijra, as they are often called in Tamil Nadu, and when she is accepted as 'aravani' by the hijra clan after her 'nirvaanam' (sex change operation), she is categorically warned by her guru that "You have to respect and abide by the codes that hijras live by. You're a woman now and so must learn to act like one. Cutting your hair, running away to your home- none of this is allowed…We were subject to hundreds of such homilies." (89)

Though alternatives to male female binaries have always thrived across all ages and cultures, yet due to non acceptance of 'difference' or 'others' in the societies and banned until 1918 when Supreme Court scrapped Section 377 (on September 6, 2018, Supreme Court annulled its own previous decision and declared homosexuality as a 'completely natural condition.') by law and traditional custom, transgenders or LGBT/ queer have long been a target of violence, persecution, and humiliation of the worst order by people, state governments, as well as religious and even medical authorities, resulting in their public trials, exiles, incarcerations and other kinds of violence and torture. Around 150 years of homosexual social movements from 1850 to almost the end of 20th century witnessed all kinds of violence and struggles to address different concerns and identity issues of sexual minorities. Onset of democratic governments and institutions, along with growth of mass media and advocacy of human rights by the 20th century led to gradual growth in the

awareness and movements for recognition of transgender identities and rights to dignified life. Though some minor concessions were provided to them during two world wars, yet throughout the 1950s and 60s, people considered to be queer had to face tremendous risks to their life, jobs, and child custody since they were seen and defined as unnatural, sick and criminal or immoral. Civil rights movement in 1960s ultimately led to a new legislation that outlawed racial discrimination and paved the way for first gay rights demonstrations in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C under the leadership of Frank Kameny and Barbara Gittings. The violent protests against the oppression of LGBT by the Police that erupted in the form of Stone Wall riots in June 1969, proved to be a turning point in the history of transgender, when patrons of the popular Stonewall Inn in New York's Greenwich Village fought back against ongoing police raids of their neighborhood bar. The LGBT 'pride marches' held every June since then across the United States go on to establish the event as a watershed moment of the transgender history. The gay liberation movement of the 1970s witnessed the rise of many gay groups but with the issues of the lesbian women still under the carpet, and under the influence of post structuralism and feminist movement of the 1970s, lesbians formed their own groups and political organizations, including publishing houses which demanded lesbian rights within mainstream feminist groups. The incident of mass shooting during LGBT Pride weekend in 2016 in a popular gay dance club in Orlando, that left at least 49 transgender dead and 50 injured, led to a major shift in the public attitude towards them, since it was perhaps for the first time that perpetrators of violence were widely condemned and the victims were seen with compassion.

Many eminent theorists and writers have also contributed significantly in deconstructing the sexual binaries and challenging heteronormativity. These include, among others, the post structural writings of French theorists Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, which along with questioning the binaries, also argues against the given fixed nature of sexuality, rather than it being constituted by socio-cultural, political and economic discourses. Monique Witting's book *The Lesbian Body* (1973) looks at heterosexuality as a complex matrix of different circumstances and discourses, thereby naturalizing its fluid nature. Eve kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of Closet* (1990), Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) and Gayle Rubin's *Thinking Sex* (1994) are some of the seminal works in this regard. Sedgwick in *Epistemology of Closet* (1990) while distinguishing between the 'minoritizaing' and 'universalizing' aspects of same sex desire, writes: "The persistence of the deadlock itself has been the single most powerful feature of the important twentieth century understandings of sexuality whether hetero or homo…what we can do is to understand better the structuring, the mechanisms, and the immense consequences of the incoherent dispensation under which we now live." (91)

Indian mythology is full of characters and tales that relate to LGBTQ community. Currently the most illustrious author in this field is Devdutt Patnaik, who, in his works, dissects the old Indian mythological tales to provide with the proof that queerness is as much the part of Indian culture as it is of any other culture. In his works such as *The Pregnant King* (2008) and *Shikhandi: And Other 'Queer' Tales They Don't Tell You* (2014) he delves into many Indian mythological tales such as Mahabharata, Puranas and many other oral tales to explore queer culture of ancient India and gives his readers an interesting source to clear their misconception and learn about the unexplored parts of the culture. From Shrikhandi in Mahabharata to Shiva who is known as 'Ardhnarishwar', Patnaik has written extensively about queer literature from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and China among others. Ruth Vanita, one of the greatest of the queer theorist and thinker in India, along with Saleem Kidwai, has come up with the work *Same -Sex Love in India* (2000) which indicates towards the presence of same sex love practices in Indian tradition since ancient times and negate the view that homosexuality is not a native concept. In one of her articles called "Homosexuality in India Past and Present", Ruth Vanita clarifies: "The popular belief persists that homosexuality is an aberration imported from modern Europe or medieval West Asia and this was non existent in ancient India. This is partly because same sex love in South Asia is seriously under researched as compared to East Asia and even West Asia." (10) Laxmi Narayan Tripathi's memoir *Me Hijra, Me Laxmi* (2001) is a powerful primary narrative of the life of Hijra and sturdy enough to become a mouthpiece of those other than heterosexuals. Ruth Vanita, a distinguished scholar on transgender, Arvind Narain, LGBT rights activist, Gopi Shankar, Commonwealth youth Workers Award winner and A. Revathi have contributed significantly in breaking various stereotypes around LGBT community.

It is important to recognize and appreciate the fact that gender and sexuality are not fixed but fluid entities. Sexuality is often confused with the term sex and used interchangeably. However, sex is biologically determined and often categorized as male and female on the basis of human anatomy. But defining sexuality is difficult because everyone has its own perception about it and the passionate feelings of love, physical and emotional attraction that people have for each other keep changing. As a result the fixed form of sexuality cannot be determined, more so, because, sexuality, apart from being biologically shaped and determined, is also "socially derived" and various social, political and cultural forces identify their true gender identity and remain in constant conflict with the gender assigned to them at birth.

In the light of the above history and fluid nature of gender and sexuality, my paper would examine some of the most pressing issues related to transgender sexuality and identity raised by A. Revathi in her path breaking autobiography- *The Truth About Me*. As

she confesses in the preface, her aim is to "introduce to the readers the lives of hijras, their distinct culture, and their dreams and desires." (v) Simultaneously, it is also her endeavour to be able to create through her book a little more social space and acceptance for her category of sexual minorities and make people realize that "hijras are capable of more than just begging and sex work." (v) In her interview with S.B.Vijaya Mary from *The Hindu,* Revathi makes it clear that she intended to write this autobiography "so that people with similar experiences and who are in similar situations will take a leaf out of my book to deal with their lives." (2014)

Revathi's autobiography, through her expression of the pain of being neither 'wholly male' nor 'wholly female' and through the endless agony faced by her where one cannot afford to be what one really feels from the core of one's heart, throws open some of the most basic questions related to one's sex at birth. Is it the biology of a person that alone defines his or her destiny? Should one's body at birth decide once for all what it means to be a man or a woman? Why should binaries of sex and gender deny people who they really are or who they feel to be at the core of their heart? Why shouldn't the alternate ways of looking at sex and gender be encouraged so as to pave the way for dignified survival of various categories of queer people and respect all kinds of 'differences" related to caste, class, sex and gender? These are some of the primary issues in the light of which the present autobiography would be analyzed. The issue of sexual minority and the resultant struggle would be dealt in close tandem with agency and activism exhibited by Revathi in the process of overcoming various taboos and barriers against the hijras in personal and public space.

Born and brought up in a small village in Namakkal taluk in Salem district of Tamil Nadu, in a modest peasant family, as a youngest son in a family of five siblings, Doraisamy (as Revathi was called till she changed her name and sexual identity) got much attention and affection from his parents as a child. Yet, right from his early days, he had a craving to live and behave like a girl. He liked to go to the village school along with girls, return with them, wanted to play only girl's games and enjoyed helping his mother in household chores. No wonder then, that he soon began to be teased as a 'female thing': "Boys at school as well as people outside her home would call out: "Hey number 9!, 'female thing', and 'female boy'" (4) and he felt 'painfully shy' hearing this more and more often. He was even punished at school for speaking 'like a girl', and was badly beaten for 'not being brave like a boy.' Yet, in spite of constant teasing, and being "regular source of amusement and curiosity", Doraisamy , "could not stop being a girl." (7) The irresistible urge of femaleness in him could not be suppressed even after worst kinds of humiliation and insults. He was immensely pleased to act the role of 'chandramathi' in a play called 'Harischchander' while

he was in class 7 because that gave vent to his core feeling and identity as 'a real woman.' As a gay man, his confusion grows when he begins to feel drawn to boys.

Unable to understand his inner feelings and desires, he soon begins to cut classes. He wanted to assert his female identity in public but was afraid of not being accepted by the society: "A woman trapped in a man's body was how I thought of myself. But how could that be?"(15) He begins to question the mercy of God for inflicting upon him such peculiar state of torture where he was neither 'wholly male' nor 'wholly female': "Why am I a flawed being, I wondered often. I might as well die, I thought. I could not study…I was obsessed, confused and anxious." (15) This endless agony, where one can't afford to be what one really feels from the core of one's heart crushes one's individual identity. Further, the pain of gender being constantly teased, bullied or even policed is so intense that it hardly leaves any space for being able to live and behave as per one's inner urges.

Doraisamy faces this isolation for quite some time till he comes across a group of young gay men in a town near his village who addressed each other like girls and cherished indulging themselves in feminine activities. The fact that these young men had to come to the fort that loomed over the town every evening after it is dark to give vent to their feminine selves, makes it evident how there is no space for these individuals in the mainstream life and society. Doraisamy calls these men as not merely his friends but his 'female comrades'- his '*thozhis*' in fact. They arrived at the hill fort after sunset when everybody else had left the fort and gave full expression to their hidden female instincts: "since there was no one around then, felt we could be women and do as we pleased." (18) In the company of his newfound friends, Doraisamy, for the first time, felt that he was not alone in this world and that there are many other boys like him who felt and behaved like a girl. He also discovered from his friends that it was physically possible for a boy to change sex and become a woman, more precisely a transsexual through an operation and that there was an 'amma' in Dindigul who could help him with this during the time of the Goddess festival.

Hence Doraisamy, unable to bear the daily tortures from his family, friends and strangers alike, decided to board the bus to Dindigul along with his friends who addressed each other as women now and behaved similarly. They meet more of their kind at amma's place and learn many things related to the tradition of the hijras' like saying '*paampaduthi*' (touching the feet) to the elders which was an important part of their culture that required a feminine man to "offer respect to the sari-clad and earn their goodwill." (21) It was here that one of the elders told Doraisamy that she "looked like the actress Revathi" (22) This becomes a defining moment for Doraisamy since he gets an idea of a new name and the fact that he looked 'like a woman', gave him 'a glow of pride'. Doraisamy here finds himself in a

completely different world and for the first time, is appreciated for his womanliness. As one of the elders exclaims: "If this one (Doraisamy) were to undergo *nirvaanam*, (operation for castration) she'd look like a real woman." (22) Doraisamy, now under the patronage of hijra *jamaat*,(community), henceforth begins to live as a member of hijra household, doing all the women's work and observing various customs and rituals of the community.

Living in Delhi as a hijra and asking money from the shops like beggars was not an easy job for Doraisamy and so one day, without his guru's knowledge, he wrote a letter to his parents asking for forgiveness and expressing his desire to come back to them. His return to home, however, was met with brutal beating by his middle brother who nearly killed him with his hard blows, so much so that his "skull cracked, and there was blood all over flowing, warm." (55) No family member could understand his feelings; they were rather bothered about the 'shame' that they had to face due to Doraisamy's actions: "How can someone from a good family do that? Do you know who we are and what caste we belong to? How could you forget all that and do what you did? How did you have the heart to do all this?" (56) These lines not only reveal utter lack of understanding of the lives and desires of the hijras but also the callous attitude adopted by the family members who are only bothered about their own perceived notion of family honour and dignity and do not make even the smallest attempt to relate to the reality of one of their own family members. As if the beating was not enough, they force him to shorn off his hair, which was more painful to him than his brother's thrashing. Unable to bear the shame and hurt of the family, Doraisamy again decided to return to the *pottais* (eunuchs) he knew, in order to "have the operation and become a woman."(58) The head guru of the hijras in Mumbai clan arranged for Doraisami to have 'nirvaanam' or operation by a doctor in a regular hospital at Dandigul (Tamil Nadu) so that finally "the female in her would be freed from her male body." (67) This was a major operation that involved the removal of the 'very core' of his life and could even prove fatal yet Doraisamy opted for it since he wanted to 'live as a woman' even at the cost of danger to his life. Unmindful of the excruciating nature of pain that he had to go through during the operation, Doraisamy, now Revathi, was 'ecstatic' that she was 'at last a woman' even in her body. In Revathi's own words: "I felt like I had been born again" (75) Having undergone a surgical excision and having observed all the rituals for forty days, Doraisamy, christened Revathi by the guru, is initiated into the hijra community as a full fledged member on the fortieth day in a public ceremony with all hijra codes and customs. Describing her feelings on this occasion, Revathi writes: "I felt like a flower that had just blossomed. It seemed to me that my earlier male form had disappeared and in its place was a woman. I felt exultant." (88)

Revathi, however, soon realizes that life as a hijra was not easy even after 'nirvaanam'.

All the teasings, bullying, street brawls, even constant quarrels within hijra community with her gurubais and fellow hijras made life painfully difficult and above all, there was sexual and economic exploitation of the worst kind, which included constant abuses, threats and violence from men in the streets. Horrible tales of everyday suffering made Revathi wonder: "Why must hijras suffer so'? (95) Living with fellow hijras and begging from shop to shop invited lot of harassment and unending barrage of insults, but, at the same time, living alone for a hijra was also not easy and "brought with it a host of new problems." (99) Moreover, now that Revathi felt like a complete woman, there arose in her heart an intense desire to marry, settle down and lead a normal life. Her sexual desires made her shift to Mumbai to take up sex work with other hijras and adopting a new guru, in the faint hope of finding a man who can understand her desires and love her as wife: "I became a chela to my new guru because of my desire for sexual happiness, in order to fulfill my sexual longings." (104) Life as a hijra sex worker proved to be more brutal than all the earlier sufferings and she had to undergo most horrid kind of degradation at the hands of her own clan members as well as outside rowdies and police. In an unending series of torments, she was repeatedly abused and insulted, raped by a rowdy, robbed off her possessions, threatened for life, hauled to a police station and sexually assaulted. Consequently she sought refuge in bars and turned into a compulsive drinker.

When it got too much to bear, she once again escaped back to her home in Nammakal, full of doubts and confusions. Her family, who had taken her to be dead, had nothing else to offer her than scorn and cruelty but this time she did not accept all this lying down and retorted back: "Look! I've had an operation and I'm a woman now. From now on, I'll live as I wish. You can't beat me as before, you have no right to". (113) The family members were, however, in no mood to accept her as a woman. They were more worried about "what will the world say" rather than trying to cope up with the feelings of one of their own blood. She tried to impress upon them that she had come back only because of the love that she bears for them and it was none of her intention to bring shame to them or to demand her share in property. Finally, her father accepts her fate as a destiny and makes it clear that since nothing can be done about it now, Revathi should be left alone to be able to lead her own life. Meanwhile, her mother and brother laid down a set of rules for her restricting her from making any kind of public appearance and from hanging around with men. They continued to call her Doraisamy and though she felt bad about it, yet accepted it without any resistance. Her sister's and mother's family even grew supportive of her later and she gradually began to feel her 'usual self.' The people in her village, however still found her 'curious' and whispered amongst themselves. She felt deeply pained that she was reduced into "a thing to be looked and laughed at, an oddity, a comic figure." (123) People stopped at the streets to stare at her and her eyes scanned the roads restlessly

trying to notice as to who was staring at her and who was whispering what.

Under the circumstances, Revathi again resolves to go back to her own kind so as to be able to earn and stand on her own feet. She believed that: "Once I had money, all other things would fall into place- respect, consideration.." (128) Her earlier guru in Ghatkopar arranges to send her to her gurubai's family to Crane Road which was famous for sex work, on the condition that she wouldn't hang around with other hijras, drink, fight or look out for a husband. Here, working for a time selling her body, she got used to an entirely new set of experiences that enlightened her on various kinds of distressful things hijras were compelled to take up because of poverty and the burden of looking after their families, the sufferings caused to eunuchs because they had been "abandoned by their husbands, cast away by their lovers; because they had been raped and left unchaste." (132) The lost dreams, tears and sorrows of her own people 'melted' her heart and she developed a deep affinity with them.

Revathi was aghast to see how these eunuchs, in spite of repeatedly being cheated, beaten, bruised, abandoned, yet stood on the streets 'with powdered faces and painted lips' trying to lure their customers and facing the police brutality for no fault of their own. She felt that her own sorrows were nothing compared to her fellow eunuchs and this compassionate sharing of sorrows makes her more determined to 'journey in this world.' Though there were everyday fights and troubles but she had to tolerate whatever happened because this was the place of her work. This lands her up into bars to drink her sorrows away. She begins to drink so that she could share her troubles and 'forget them temporarily. She was once even beaten up badly by her mistress on being found drunk during the day and unable to return her blows, she, instead, picked up one of the glass shards and slashed her own forehead. Unable to take out her vent on others, her hurt and anger thus ended up in causing injury to her own self.

Torn by her inner conflicts, Revathi, once again decides to come back to her family. Fortunately for her, this time, she was no longer looked at as a 'strange creature' and was accepted by her family as well as the village folks. Her father and her mother even advise her to insist on her share of ancestral property. During the Marriamman temple festival, she was fondly asked by her sister to bring the lamp to the temple. Her sister's children now addressed her as aunty and Revathi was thrilled at this positive change of attitude in her family members, particularly her sister and sister's family. Her dance at the temple was also widely appreciated. Her brothers, however, were not ready to give her share in the property and they did not even like her staying in the house with the parents. So she rented herself a room outside in an old woman's house. As she had often to travel in a bus for all kinds of household works, she was often teased as 'number 9' and for having a

'man's voice.'

Her humiliation by her brothers over a man who used to regularly visit her house, Revathi's again decided to shift to Bangalore, and join a *hamam* (bath house) run by hijras in Bangalore. She could meet her earlier chela, Mya there, who had now become her gurubai. Mya tried to discourage her from staying there since the place was constantly invaded by rowdies who threatened them with knives and regularly pelted stones at them but Revathi had nowhere else to go. Sex workers here were not imprisoned, like at earlier place in Kamatipura and she was also not expected to run errands for others, besides all were provided with food. So Revathi decided to stay there and wished to be again made a chela to Mya's gurubai. Her third guru was happy to receive her as her 'chela'. Her sufferings in the sex work continued as she was often caught by the rowdies and the police while walking on the streets and face beating in full view of the road. On one occasion, she was forcibly taken to police station, put behind the bars in a cell, kicked mercilessly, made to strip and shiver in the cold throughout night and sexually assaulted: "That night I cried silently to myself. ..I felt intensely ashamed and enraged." (208)

Unnerved by such repeated incidents, Revathi craved for a life where she could get a decent work and self respect but that did not seem possible under the given circumstances. She wanted to switch over to other works since her profession is considered 'unacceptable' by society and law. Unfortunately, the world that cursed and abused her, did not provide opportunities to her to bring out her talent and prove her worth. In order to survive in such a world, she had no other option but to 'adjust to its demands.' She has no hesitation in claiming that it is the social conditions that compel the eunuchs into sex work: "It is not so much that we are abducted into sex work, rather we are the reasons for the very existence of sex work and that is no exaggeration. Society and law not only think we are doing wrong but are violent towards us." (221) She questions the double standards of the various organs of the state, especially police, and dares ask that if people like her are called 'hookers', what should the police be called then: "they who use us and snatch money from us?" (221)

However, now there was a clear change in her attitude. Being more aware of her rights now, she began to resist and protest against the various kinds of discrimination practiced against them by the authorities. When she is denied a license by the driving School Inspector, she is angered by his action and openly expresses her resentment: "Why fling these papers and show so little respect? Doesn't your law allow you to give licenses to people like me?" (225) She even threatens the Inspector with going to the press and television to tell the people that "the government only issues licenses to men and women, not to people like me." (226) Not ready to surrender, she does finally succeed in getting

her license which referred to her as "Revathi, who is Doraisamy." She now even begins to confront with people who teased her on the road. In one such incident when a group of auto-rickshaw drivers wanted to conform if she was a man or a woman, she got off her scooter and openly challenges them in the middle of the road: "So you want to lay bets on who's a man and who's a woman? What do you fellows get out of talking like this? Listen, I am a pottai! I was a man who changed into a woman." (229) Her shouts on the road attracted a huge crowd and she was amazed to see that many in the crowd supported her.

It was now that she realized how unsafe the world is for women at large and that she was merely going through what all women have to suffer all along: "At least I had taken to the middle of the road and yelled back at my tormentors. Which woman would dare do so?" (229) It is this strength and urge in Revathi to fight against whatever is wrong in society, that makes her a real heroine. Her shift in female body could make her realize the situation and condition of women in society, especially their vulnerability to violence. Such insulting incidents, however, make it impossible for her to stay for long in her village and impel her to seek out refuge amongst people 'of her own kind.' It appeared to her that in spite of all the hardships, she was perhaps 'better off' with her own people rather than the outside world. This goes to show the humiliating process of 'othering' that the eunuchs have to undergo day in and day out.

During her stay in Bangalore, Revathi was visited by three educated young friends who had come to seek her guidance so that they live a life like her. They insisted on being adopted as her daughters and Revathi, after some hesitation, agrees to become a guru for them according to the traditions and customs of the eunuchs. As their guru, Revathi did not want them to undergo the same kind of pain that she had to repeatedly bear and did not want to stand in the way of their freedom also. She neither wished her chelas to earn for her, nor wanted to exercise her authority over them in order to extract money. While Revathi herself lived "in the world of hijra community with all its particular sorrows and joys" (237), she gave full freedom to her chelas to live as they wished in the wider world with their own homes like other women and their lovers too. This again shows how Revathi's own torments had made her understand the problems of her ilk and turned her into an extremely broadminded and compassionate human being. In Revathi's own confession: "I liked the way my chelas lived (in their own homes and as per their wishes) but I also liked living in the hamam with my own kind." (237) Her three chelas, who were born and brought up in Bangalore itself, were educated and lead a free independent life like other college girls, wearing clothes of their choice that included jeans and even skirts. Revathi had not seen or heard such a thing earlier and was happy to be their mother to the outside world. The kind affection of her chelas in the form of daughters 'warmed' her heart: "It had a healing effect. I never ceased to be surprised by their friendship." (238) Revathi

confesses that, Famila- one of her three educated chelas, was the first woman in Karnataka, perhaps even in India, who openly declared in media that she was a sex worker and that sex work is also a profession. Others were afraid to speak openly in the media for the fear that they might be looked down upon and might face unseen problems.

Her relationship with her young educated chelas in Bangalore proved to be a major turning point in her life as she was introduced, in the year 1999, by Famila to an NGO called Sangama which was set up to help people of third gender. The organization collected information on all those who were transgender which included gay, lesbians, bisexuals, eunuchs and every other category not included in the gender binary. Revathi, who was warmly welcomed there, was amazed to see how third gender people were treated as ordinary individuals with so much love and respect and there was no hierarchy or work division as such between the young and the old. Three months later, she was offered a job in the organization as an office assistant with a pay of 2500 rupees. The amount was not important for her, she just craved for an opportunity to go to work like other women and 'do something for society.' She readily grabbed the offer even though it was modestly-paid, so as to finally escape her fate as a sex worker. Though her guru did not approve of her decision and failed to understand it altogether, yet Revathi was very clear about her intent and objective: "Amma, people like us have done this forever. For generations, all we have been able to do is begging or sex work. How much longer should we have to do this?... hijras of my generation want more. We want to acquaint the world with our lives, and we wish to live like others. That's why I am going to work." (242)

It is this unquenchable thirst in Revathi to go beyond the life of sexual minorities and mingle with larger human community that paved the way for her liberation and emancipation. Her dedication and commitment to all kind of work in the office soon endeared her to all the senior staff and she began to learn about the plight of all minorities in general that included dalits, adivasis, Hindu-Muslim differences, impact of war by stronger nations and the like. She began to attend workshops and seminars and was soon entrusted with greater responsibilities within the organization. As she began to grapple more and more with the aim to challenge various 'stereotypical and incorrect perceptions of sexual minorities,' there underwent a deep change in her attitudes and personality. She gradually began to realize that it is indeed possible for sexual minorities like her to lead an alternate life which is more inclusive and respectable. She started participating in the various events as a third gender activist and speaking about "hijra culture, hijra ways of living, and the violence and discrimination that we faced. I also spoke about hijras and property rights." (244) What was significant here was that Revathi did not want to limit her fight only to her own community but against general violence faced by women at large, transcending all caste and class barriers. She asserts: "it was not enough for me to merely challenge the violations

suffered by sexual minorities- I wanted to fight against sexual violence as such." (244)

Sangam provided her the unique opportunity to realize her 'vocation as a social worker.' In the course of her organizational work , she realized that things were gradually changing- that there was less violence involved in sex work now than during her times and the attitude of general public and police too has undergone a positive change in the sense that they were less inclined to harass the eunuchs now. Revathi's fight was not an individual fight; she was fighting to claim respect and honour for all hijras. The fact that a eunuch was going to colleges and universities to conduct classes for students on sexuality, identity and culture was not merely an individual success: "It was a matter of pride for all hijras." (246) She wanted equal rights for her community and wanted the state to recognize them as equal citizens of this country. They deserved the same rights and opportunities as other marginalized communities, in every sphere of life- be it health, education, employment or right to vote and contest elections. She began to mobilize her fellow hijras on these issues because she was well aware that: "Alone, I could achieve nothing, we had to somehow pull together." (247)

Her fight at the home front was not easy either and the fact that she could no longer afford to send money to her father along with her activist work as a public figure, led him to threaten her with rewriting his will and denying her share of property in the house, that he had earlier promised. This betrayal of trust leads to a bitter fight with her father who now even began to deny receiving any money from her which she had all along been giving to him. In a moment of anger and anguish, Revathi even poured kerosene over her body to burn herself alive, but since she could not find a matchbox around, she changed her mind after a while. As Revathi says, it was not a matter of money or property as such that troubled her but she felt 'cheated and emotionally drained.' A week later, her father realized his mistake and was ready to register the house in her name. Revathi managed to get the deed written in such a manner that it would not create any problem for anyone and made sure that all the bills and receipts were issued in the name of Revathi.

Meanwhile, while working in Sangama, Revathi grew intimate with a senior staff member and it took her a lot of courage to finally confess her love to her senior colleague who claimed to be a bisexual. He reciprocated her with equal warmth and the two formally decided to enter into a relationship and eventually marry. They offered to leave their job at Sangam in case it might create a problem in their work at the organization but Sangam board met and decided that the organization should not intervene in personal matters and should leave it to the individuals concerned to make sure that their relationship did not cause any disturbance in their work. Revathi was in a state of 'pleasant shock.' It was a dream coming true for her and she felt 'blessed' to be marrying a person who understood her so well. Her gurubais also agreed to her marriage which was solemnized in a simple

ceremony inside a temple with just exchange of garlands and distribution of sweets. Both were happy to inform their friends and companions over phone of their marriage. The Sangam office staff along with various women's groups celebrated their marriage. When her mother came to know of her marriage, she was afraid that her husband would now lay claim on her property, though after Revathi's assurance that he has not married her for her property, she, along with other family members, was satisfied. Revathi was happy and relieved that her family and society at large had accepted their marriage but this happiness proved to be too short-lived. Just a year after her marriage, the relationship had come to an end. To add to her misery, she was struck by another thunderbolt when she learnt that both her guru and her own chela were brutally murdered by some thugs. Revathi felt a huge sense of loss and sometimes even wondered whether she should continue to live but her gurus and gurubais offered her consolation. Feeling sad, confused, pained and exhausted, she finally left for Tamil Nadu for her research on *aravanis* (eunuchs) for her book. As various eunuchs shared their endless tales of sorrows with her, Revathi realized that she was not alone who was 'singled out for sorrow' and that her difficulties were nothing compared to many others of her community.

Despite her sufferings and huge losses, Revathi managed to complete writing her book in Tamil as "*Unarvum Uruvamum*" (Feelings of the Entire Body), which is a collection of interviews with hijras, called as 'aravanis' in Tamil Nadu. Having finished her book, she decided to go back to her village to assist her ailing mother, but was sad that she couldn't find any work or job there in the local NGOs despite all her activism, rich experience and dedicated public life. After three months of intense care of her mother in the hospital, she got a job offer from an AIDS prevention group in Karnataka for fifteen days a month, but the organization failed to provide her work for more than just a single day. Pushed back into poverty, she decided to return to hamam to do sex work. She was old now and clients preferred younger women and additionally she felt anxiety over the condition of her mother. All this made her feel terrible, especially when she had worked for years for the rights of sexual minorities and her heart craved for social work and social change. No longer feeling fully comfortable in her 'aravani culture', she finally went back to work at Sangam and went on to become its director and now an advocacy Co-ordinator.

Her autobiography has been translated in multiple languages and is a primary source on Gender Studies in Asia. Many universities have included her autobiography as part of research projects and as part of the syllabus as well. The book, far from pleading for any kind of pity for eunuchs, is a fervent plea for recognition and treatment of hijras as normal human beings and citizens of the country, with same hopes and desires as cherished by any other individual or minority category. The book, apart from describing the terrible journey of a hijra life in a most fearless and intimate manner, simultaneously presents a

most authentic critique of social constructions of gender and dominant notions of masculinity. The autobiography makes a powerful appeal to radically reconsider what it means to be a man and a woman and urges the readers to look at gender identity in a way other than rigid binary divisons of male and female and good and bad or normal and deviant sexuality. It needs to be understood that there are and there always have been such individuals who do not feel comfortable and secure with their given sexual and gender identity at birth and feel inherent need to express it in a manner which is more intimate to their heart. This inner need to be able to express one's sexual and gender identity and orientation in a different way should neither be denied nor mocked at. This alternate or third way of looking at gender would go a long way in defying the rigid norms of sexuality and paving the way for dignified survival of various categories of queer or transgender.

Revathi's autobiography and activism in life, thus, is an appeal for recognition of hijras not only as normal individuals but also as respectable citizens of the society, who, like any other category of people, have the right to live in this society with love, dignity and with equal rights and opportunities. She boldly fights against the discrimination and oppression at various levels in personal as well as public sphere. She becomes a target of worst kind of violence by the family members as well as by various organs of the society which include police and administration. The cruel attitude adopted by family members who are only bothered about their own perceived notion of family honour and dignity and do not make even the smallest attempt to relate to the sexual reality experienced by one of their own family, compels her to leave her home repeatedly, yet it goes to her credit that she still continues to maintain ties with the family members and it is she who takes care of her parents during the old age. She is subjected to teasing, bullying, street brawls, and above all, there is sexual and economic exploitation of the worst kind, which includes constant abuses, threats and violence from men in the streets as well as by police and other authorities. She had to run from pillar to post to get her gender marked identity cards, driving licenses, passports and other public documents from concerned authorities. She is forced into prostitution. Decent work with self-respect is not available to her till the very last phase of her life, yet she does not give up. The book, in a most forthright and honest manner, traces the proud journey of Revathi's life from being a helpless third gender victim to a fearless survivor and ultimately ending up as a tireless activist and a bold champion of transgender rights. To conclude it could be said that Revathi, through her writing and activism, has given voice to the rights of the sexual minorities, especially in the South. She continues to fight for the social acceptance of the third gender and for creating conditions where people could respect the choice of their gender. Revathi, through her tireless work in social organizations working for sexual minorities, hopes to realize a society that has no region, religion and sex barriers.

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Competitive State Anxiety: A Study of Athletes

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Abstract

Sports psychology manages feelings and limiting impacts of damage and expands execution sports psychology additionally gives aptitudes like objective setting, unwinding, perception, self-talk, self-assurance, mindfulness and control and focus etc. Anxiety is a drawn out condition of dread. This study investigates competitive state anxiety among athletes of district Rohtak and differences among them according to gender and their respective area. For this, a sample of one hundred and twenty athletes (sixty female and sixty male) belonging to both urban and rural areas was taken by applying random sampling method. To collect the information, Anxiety Inventory given by Sud and Sud (1997) and Modified Competitive State Anxiety Inventory-2 (CSAI-2) given by Martens et al., (1990) were used. Further, for analyzing the collected data, along with basic tools - mean and standard deviation, t test has been used. The author finds- (i) no significant difference in competitive state anxiety among female and male athletes belonging to district Rohtak; and (ii) Rural athletes have less competitive state anxiety than urban athletes.

Keywords: Competitive state anxiety, Athletes, Anxiety Invertory, Gender.

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Introduction

Sports psychology is part of psychology that examines different mental elements that are helpful in cooperation and execution in sports. By understanding different mental/mental variables that makes impediment in sports, physical exercises, sports psychology expels each obstruction and expands individual and group execution. It manages feelings and limiting impacts of damage and expands execution sports psychology additionally gives aptitudes like objective setting, unwinding, perception, self-talk, self-assurance, mindfulness and control, focus and so on. Anxiety is a drawn out condition of dread. "Apprehension" is often used synonymously with anxiety. Anxiety assumes a significant job in the obtaining of engine expertise just as in athletic execution. Anxiety can either improve or repress execution. Individuals with low and abnormal amounts of anxiety have been known to perform poor and there is additionally a positive connection among high and low degree of anxiety. In any case, moderate degree of anxiety appears to be best for the procurement and execution of motor skills.

Analysts have revealed that more than fifty of interviews among competitors during an Olympic celebration were identified either with pressure or anxiety issues (Murphy, 1988). Fiasco Model all around depicted the connection between psychological anxiety and game execution (Ampofo-Boateng, 2009; Weinberg and Gould, 2011 and Cox 2012). As indicated by this hypothesis, accomplishment of best game execution results can get just when there is low degree of subjective anxiety. When a competitor experience abnormal state of psychological anxiety as in a circumstance where a competitor is stressing and it joins with increment of excitement past and ideal level, there will be a brisk or cataclysmic abatement in execution.

The connection among performance and anxiety in game has been identified for quite a while and managing anxiety effectively is a significant normal for the elite athlete.

Review

Cloninger et al. (1993) proposed that "each temperament dimension is controlled by neurotransmitter in a complex network of brain connections: Novelty seeking is regulated by dopaminergic activity and Harm Avoidance and Reward Dependence are controlled by serotonergic and noradrenergic activity." Martens et al. (2008) concludes that self-confidence and anxiety are important factors which causes psychic energy and psychic pressure. Moreover, anxiety is the negative form of excited state accompanied by feelings of uneasiness, nervousness and discomfort. Singh, Singh and Yadav (2011) on the basis of investigation on interuniversity players of basketball, find a significant difference in pre and post-competitive anxiety among the male and female players. Lal (2014) revealed that "there was significant difference in sports competition anxiety between North Zone and

West Zone Kho-Kho Players of All- India Inter University." Parnbas, et al. (2015) reveal the existence of negative correlation between sport performance and somatic anxiety among football players. Ramaprabou (2016) finds that high level of competitive anxiety causes for lower the sport performance and it was found in the study of the student players in Puducherry. Manna and Pradhan (2018) revealed that there was no significant difference found in trait anxiety between inter college and inter university male Kho-kho players. The findings also revealed that significant difference was found in state anxiety between inter college and inter university male Kho-kho players. The present study is a deliberate attempt to study competitive state anxiety level in athletes of district Rohtak.

Statement of the Problem

Competitive State Anxiety: A Study of Athletes

Objectives of the Study

This study is mainly undertaken to study competitive state anxiety of athletes and following specific objectives are set forth:

1. To compare the competitive state anxiety of athletes on the basis of gender;

2. To compare the competitive state anxiety of athletes according to area- rural and urban

Hypothesis

1. Competitive state anxiety of athletes is not different significantly according to their gender.

2. Rural and urban athletes do not differ significantly with regard to their competitive state anxiety.

Sample

A sample of 120 athletes (60 male and 60 female) belonging to rural and urban area were randomly selected from district Rohtak. The subjects' ages ranged from 18 to 25 years. The purposive sampling technique was used to select the participants.

Scales Used

Anxiety Inventory given by Sud and Sud (1997) and Modified Competitive State Anxiety Inventory-2 of Martens et al., (1990) were used by the researcher to collect information.

Statistical Tools Applied

For analyzing the collected data, the researcher has applied basic tools/techniques- Mean (average), Standard Deviation and t test.

Analysis of Data And Results

In the light of the objective and hypotheses of the study, tale 1 and 2 reveal the results regarding competitive state anxiety between male & female athletes and then as per area of athletes of Rohtak reported in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively.

Table 1:   Competitive state anxiety of athletes of district Rohtak: Application of t test for Gender Impact

	Number	Mean	S.D.	't'	Level of Significance
Male Athletes	60	16.97	5.946	0.875	Not significant
Female Athletes	60	17.93	6.159		

Source: Primary Survey

In this regard, the mean scores of male and female athletes pertaining to their competitive state anxiety are 16.97 and 17.93 respectively. As per t value given in table 1, it can be concluded that male and female athletes don't differ with regard to this said anxiety. Hence, hypothesis i.e. "no significant difference in competitive state anxiety of male and female athletes of district Rohtak" is retained.

Table 2: Competitive state anxiety of athletes regarding their area of residence: Application of t test

	No.	Mean	S.D.	't'	Level of Significance
Rural Athletes	60	15.77	5.337	3.163	Significant (at 0.01 level)
Urban Athletes	60	19.13	6.285		

Source: Primary Survey

The mean scores of competitive state anxiety of rural and urban athletes of district Rohtak are 15.77 and 19.13 respectively. As per the values of t test, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference in competitive state anxiety between rural and urban athletes. Hence, the null hypothesis of "no significant difference in competitive state anxiety of rural and urban athletes of district Rohtak" is not retained. It shows that rural athletes have less competitive state anxiety than urban athletes.

Findings

1.   No difference was observed statistically in competitive state anxiety of female and male athletes belonging to district Rohtak.

2.   A significant difference was found in competitive state anxiety of rural and urban athletes belonging to district Rohtak and it was also observed that rural athletes have less   competitive state anxiety as compared to urban athletes.

Conclusion

Competitive state anxiety of players deserves to be studied particularly to understand the sports psychology of players. In the present study, the researcher has taken athletes of district Rohtak as sample. After analyzing the collected facts, it can be concluded that no significant differences were found in male and female athletes in the level of competitive state anxiety, while rural and urban athletes of district Rohtak differ significantly regarding competitive state anxiety. Rural athletes have less competitive state anxiety than urban athletes. The insights being provided by this study may serve the base for making some changes in sports policies by the authorities of the State.

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Struggle for Survival and Dignity: A Study of Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* and *Gather Together in my Name*

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Abstract

The present paper has explored how racial, class and gender oppression affect the experience of a black woman in the United States of America through the two works of Maya Angelou, an African-American writer. Through *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969), Angelou reflects upon how a young woman becomes a victim of racist and sexist ideology in her tender years developing a diminished self-concept leading to identity crisis. *In Gather Together in my Name* (1974), Angelou presents a teenage mother, an unprofessional and unskilled black girl to whom only the most menial jobs are available. For her survival, she tries her hand at all sorts of jobs. Maya's work experience shows how the socially, economically and politically oppressive climate of the United States excludes this woman from the constructive economic engagement and its impact on her as an individual. But what is more commendable on the part of this woman is how she survives all sorts of odds by displaying profound strength and tenacity and emerges as a self-reliant and an independent person.

Keywords: Afro-American Literature, Racism, Sexism, Womanhood, Survival.

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Introduction

Maya Angelou's contribution to the literary tradition in America remains unsurpassed. She reconstructs the story of her past. Her first work *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969) presents Maya (the main character) a black girl, leading a segregated life in Stamps in the early years of her life. In this town, there was a clear cut division on the racial lines. Angelou avers, "In Stamps, the segregation was so complete that most black children didn't really, absolutely know what whites looked like" (25). This work gives an account of her formative years spent in Stamps, Arkansas and describes her bitter sweet experiences of rural Arkansas, until the birth of a son when she was seventeen fighting against all odds. For a young black girl in the late 1930s and early 1940s, growing up in the South of the United States was a horrifying experience. She seriously deliberates upon the issue of gender as well. She speaks of the countless disturbing experiences and the ugliness of white prejudice thus "living inside a skin that was hated or feared by the majority of one's fellow citizens or about the sensation of getting on a bus on a lovely morning, feeling happy and suddenly seeing the passengers curl their lips in distaste or avert their eyes in revulsion" (*Singin' and Swingin' and Gettin' Merry Like Christmas* 260). Through her works she doesn't articulate her individual experiences but the concerns of the collective.

The Great Depression (1929-1942) stirred the whole of United States. This economic crisis hit the small towns like Stamps as well. There were not many jobs in Stamps at that time. African-American men earned their living by farming whereas some women worked on the cotton plantation farms and others took in washing and ironing in the houses of the white people. As a child she witnessed the abuse faced by the members of her community who in spite of working hard in fields, picking cotton, could never get ahead in life nor come out of their debilitating financial positions. The afternoons, in cotton picking time, present the real harshness of Black Southern life as "in the dying sunlight the people dragged, rather than their empty cotton sacks" (*I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* 8). All this gives Maya a first-hand knowledge of the condition of Blacks. Here, this perceptive and sensitive child Maya and people of her community experience closely America's troubled legacy of racism, intolerance, violence and cultural divide against the African-American community. Blacks face many other challenges while living in a White dominated society. Angelou's autobiographies vivify the Southern life as a trouble spot with harshness and brutality incurred by the whites. White dominance opens the eyes of Maya to the harsh reality that she is the member of an oppressed and deprived class. Through her first work Angelou demonstrates the life of South as full of violence and despair. Growing up in Arkansas, living under the terror of Ku Klux Klan - a white supremacist group, where unwarranted murder of black folks was a regular feature, and every egregious form of

racism was rampant, a black person could remain safe only when he stayed away from the white people. The cruelty of whites makes the existence of blacks difficult in the society.

Angelou recounts many such episodes where she comes across racist characters who try to victimize her and members of her race in one way or the other. She recalls an incident of her childhood when she was just ten years old but later on it proved to be a pivotal experience of her life for it taught her how to survive and live with dignity even in unfavourable conditions. This episode involves three 'powhitetrash' girls who visit their store. They taunt Maya's grandmother Mrs. Henderson (Momma), imitate her posture and her mannerism. Leaving aside all decency, they even address her insolently by her first name. But Mrs. Henderson stands undisturbed like a rock, humming a hymn and smiling throughout the scene. When Mrs. Henderson does not give in, they devise other ways of irritating, imitating her, doing handstands and calling dirty names. Young Maya, feeling sorry for her grandmother, wants to retaliate and teach them a good lesson by confronting them literally. But soon Maya realizes that she is "as clearly imprisoned behind the scene as the actors outside are confined to their roles" (30). Grandmother taught Maya "how to act around Whites without losing their dignity" (Cox 3). While interpreting this episode, Dolly McPherson in *Order Out of Chaos* (1990) finds the confrontation as an example of Powhitetrash girls using their "power to treat Black woman like another child" (32). In this scene the black woman and her granddaughter adopt the dignified course of silent endurance. This scene recaptures the black/white tension in the South of United States in 1930s. Whites have full sanction of White community to practice power to belittle blacks which can be noted on other occasions as well.

Angelou gives many instances to vivify the precarious condition of the blacks. Maya notices how vulnerable his Uncle Willie is in spite of being crippled. His lameness offers him no protection and he too has to hide in the potato bin to protect himself from the wrath of Ku Klux Klan. Other incidents also provide a proof of a ritualistic violence of the White world against Blacks. Maya's brother Bailey gets horrified when a local white asked this just fourteen-years old to help him in disposing-off the body of a dead and rotten black male. On another occasion, he started asking questions when he happens to see the emasculated body of another black man. This incident makes Maya reach the conclusion that "the Black woman in the South who raises sons, grandsons and nephews had her heartstrings tied to a hanging noose" (*I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* 114).

The description of the Graduation Ceremony in Maya's school is one such episode. Maya and her brother Bailey study in Lafayette County Training School meant only for the black children. Marguerite remembers her school which "distinguished itself by having

neither lawn, nor hedges, nor tennis court . . . its two buildings . . . were set on a dirt hill . . ." (170). Education means much to the blacks. They believe that only through education a social change in the white dominated society is possible. Their boys and girls can come out of white man's kitchen. They see in higher education the possibility of personal and racial liberation. People engaged in the black liberation struggle emphasized the importance of education for this very reason. That is why the tradition among Negroes to give present to the children going from one grade to another was much popular. The Graduation day was so important to them that "parents who could afford it had ordered new shoes and ready-made clothes for themselves . . . which would be pressed to a military slickness for the important event" (171). Graduation Ceremony, a momentous occasion for the graduates as well as the whole community, is marred when a white guest speaker, Mr. Donleavy, from Texarkana, tells the graduating class about the possibility of career opportunities available to young black men and women. Promising the white students a future full of advanced educational opportunities and praising the black community for producing good sportsmen, he shatters the hopes of blacks gathered there to have a bright future. Angelou's racial awareness grows and she puts forth her thoughts into words to share with everybody be it white or black audience: "the white kids were going to have a chance to become Galileos and madam Curies and Edisons and Gaugins, and our boys (the girls weren't even in on it) would try to be Jesse Owenses and Joe Lousies" (179). She further remarks, "We were maids and farmers, handymen and washerwomen, and anything higher that we aspired to was farcical and presumptuous" (180). At this stage the pain is evident in Angelou's words, "It was awful to be Negro and have no control over my life. It was brutal to be young and already trained to sit quietly and listen to charges brought against my colour with no chance of defence. We should all be dead" (180). By extolling the whites and demeaning the blacks this guest speaker turns the sunshine into a cloud of ugliness by delivering a racist speech meant especially for this occasion. He succeeds in dampening the spirit of black students to some extent for some time. Maya loses her sense of identity after Mr. Donleavy's address. She feels, "My name had lost its ring of familiarity and I had to be nudged to go and receive my diploma" (180). The white society negates her identity.

In her movement from childhood to adolescence, that is, from innocence to awareness, Angelou records certain social barriers she confronts and tries to overcome in order to assert a sense of self and relative freedom. Her first experience with a white person catapults her into the realization of her social reality and into a growing consciousness of self-worth. The encounter with Mrs. Viola Cullinan, a wealthy, Virginian settled in Stamps for whom Maya works as a domestic help proves to be a major turning point. With all the pretensions of a Southern white woman, this woman has no respect for the individuality of a black person. She rudely calls Maya 'Mary' rather than 'Marguerite' (childhood name), a

name that Mrs. Cullinan finds too complicated to pronounce. It was the tradition of White Americans to change a black person's name for convenience. A name is generally considered the symbol of one's identity. By mispronouncing Maya's name, Mrs. Cullinan rejects her humanity. Maya who is sensitive, intelligent and alert comprehends the nature of this insult. Mrs. Cullinan's episode in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* is quite salient as it points towards the significance of the realm of the 'personal'. This leads Marguerite to seek revenge on her by breaking some of her treasured heirlooms thus asserting herself as an individual. Maya Angelou aptly remarks:

> Every person I knew had a hellish horror of being "called out of his name." It was a dangerous practice to call a negro anything that could be loosely constructed as insulting because of the centuries of their having been called niggers, jigs, dinges, blackbirds, crows, boots and spooks. (109)

The episode in which Maya and her grandmother go to a dentist for Maya's treatment and the dentist refuses to put hand in Maya's mouth saying "I'd rather stick my hand in a dog's mouth than in a nigger's"(189). The way derogatory word like "nigger" is used for a black person points towards the clashes between whites and blacks and whites attitude towards blacks. African-American literature is abounding with this theme of dehumanization where a black person is seen as devoid of basic human attributes. The hero of Richard Wright's *The Man Who Lived Underground* (1944) behaves like a dog. *If We Must Die* (1919), a poem by Claude Mc Kay, uses a series of animal references to convey the brutal attitude of whites towards blacks in America as hogs, barking dogs, and pack of dog-like men.

If seen historically, the black women in America have been doubly oppressed, caught in the slugfest of racist and sexist groups. They always feel ashamed of their black colour as if it is an albatross hanging around their neck. W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) has rightly observed: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour-line - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea" (41). American society accorded white colour of skin as a positive attribute and a pre-requisite for success. Possibly no other social group has ever become a victim of such an unedifying spectacle of human debasement and moral depravity. As a result black women developed the neurosis of self-hatred and self-censorship, both individually and as a part of a group. They have made constant efforts (though largely in vein) to assimilate themselves in the white culture through internalizing white beauty ideals. It is a peculiar sensation which can be called a "double consciousness", a phrase devised by Du Bois which means "always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (3). Such a condition leads to loss of self-esteem and results in self-hatred. Calvin Hernton

in *Sex and Racism in America* (1965) makes the following observation:

> The attempt to become white intensifies rather than mitigates the Negro woman's frustration in White world. No amount of paint, powder and hair straightener can erase all the things in the black woman's background that make her femininity and aesthetic appreciation of herself as a beauty capable of attracting men. The Negro woman feels ashamed of what she is. (133)

The society in which young Maya lives not only defines beauty in terms of standards set by white people, but also makes one internalize these notions. Afro-American writers talk about many such black women characters in their works who pursue the white beauty ideals. Pecola Breedlove in Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, Maud Martha in Gwendolyn Brook's *Maud Martha*, Selina Boyce in Paul Marshall's Brown Girl, Florence in James Baldwin's *Go Tell it on the Mountain*, Marguerite in Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* are among some of them who fly on the wings of white fantasy. Marguerite fantasizes:

> Wouldn't they be surprised when one day I woke out of my black ugly dream, and my real hair, which was long and blond, would take the place of the kinky mass that Momma wouldn't let me straighten? My light blue eyes were going to hypnotize them. (*I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* 2)

Later in conversation with her friend Rosa Guy, Angelou observes, "My belief as a child that I was ugly was absolute, and nobody tried to disabuse me--not even Momma. Momma's love enfolded me like an umbrella but at no time did she try to dissuade me of my belief that I was an ugly child" (Elliot 235). This letter shows the repercussions of social conditioning on a sensitive child growing up in an uncongenial environment. Black psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobb in their seminal work *Black Rage* (1992), through various case studies, reflect upon the psychological effect of perpetual confrontation between a debased self-image of a black girl/woman and an elevated self-image of a white woman can have on the psyche of a black girl/woman:

> Her blackness is the antithesis of a creamy white skin, her lips are thick, her hair is kinky and short. She is, in fact, the antithesis of American beauty. However beautiful she might be in a different setting with different standards, in this country she is ugly... There can be no doubt that she will develop a damaged self-concept and an impairment of her feminine narcissism which will have profound consequences for her character development. (41)

The non-realization of these internalized dreams generally leads the black women to self-deprecation, undermining themselves. This sense of loss of self-worth leads to self-doubt and low self-esteem which ultimately makes the person develop a damaged self-concept

and a fragmented image. Sidonie Ann Smith in the article, "*The Song of a Caged Bird*," comments:

> Maya Angelou's autobiography... opens with a primal childhood scene that brings into focus the nature of the imprisoning environment from which the self will escape. The black girl child is trapped within the cage of her own diminished self-image around which interlock the bars of natural and social forces. (6)

The way Angelou envisions herself in her childhood days, fighting for identity, epitomizes the plight and trial of the black community as such. In *Black Rage* (1992) psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobb describe this "imprisonment":

> If the society says that to be attractive is to be white, the Black woman finds herself unwittingly striving to be something she cannot possibly be; and if femininity is rooted in feeling oneself eminently lovable, then a society which views her as unattractive and repellent has also denied her this fundamental wellspring of femininity. (49)

Racial prejudice and economic depression can be held responsible for this diminished sense of self of an individual as well as the entire black community. Angelou's Maya also becomes a victim of this 'identity crisis' as she runs after ideals of white feminine beauty. She too becomes victim of ideologies which propagate and accept white colour as the mark of real beauty. Afro-American literature is abound with such women characters who testify to the black women's quest for white beauty ideals. Having internalized these false ideals, the black woman fully ignores the psychological aspect of her true self. She isolates herself from the 'whys' and 'hows' of her own existential conditions. This quest makes them the culturally alienated pariahs. Pathetically divorced from their own cultural system, the black woman runs after the white bourgeois ideals and finally land into the quagmire of delusion. The person who denounces his own cultural or racial self and adopts other's mandates always remains in a suspended position. The culture which would accept him he rejects and the culture which rejects him, he accepts. Thus rejected by both the cultures he remains in a state of cultural limbo. The person who internalizes alien cultural value system becomes a victim of darkness within his own psyche. Instead of asserting, such a person sometimes chooses not to say anything and in a way support his own oppression.

Through this work Angelou demonstrates the manner in which any black female is violated by "masculine prejudice, white illogical hate and black lack of power" (*I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* 231) in her tender years and it also demonstrates the "unnecessary insult" every southern girl faces in her growth to adolescence. After living several years in Stamps, Arkansas and even after suffering all sorts of insults and shame delivered by White people from all walks of life, Maya has been taught by the members of

her community and extended family to feel proud to be the member of this race and assert her identity.

Gather Together in my Name (1974) is the second Angelou's work. Maya the young child has become a mother now and her struggle to survive as a black woman in white America has been portrayed in this work. Angelou states the conflict Maya faces at the beginning: "I was seventeen, very old, embarrassingly young, with a son of two months, and I still lived with my mother and stepfather" (5). Maya's character passes through this ambivalence where she finds herself too old and too young simultaneously, too responsible (she is a mother) but too dependent. The place is San Francisco and the time is just after the end of World War II, mid 1940s leaving soldiers hang around "the ghetto corners like forgotten laundry left on a backyard fence" (5). The illusion of racial equality, with which Blacks migrated to North in search of better job opportunities and less racial discrimination, begins to vanish after World War II.

The job market crashes and flow of easy money stops. Maya, now seventeen with the responsibility of a child looks for a job but unfortunately she is a black girl who is bound to face discrimination because of her colour. This is how Maya begins her journey where in order to support her son and herself she takes up all sorts of menial jobs. She serves as a short order cook, a nightclub dancer and a waitress. She runs own house of prostitution. This long list of menial jobs (which includes even those on the fringes of society) that she pursues do not ensure her financial security. In this post war milieu, evil abounds. She comes in contact with pimps, drug addicts, con men and street women, gamblers, black-marketeers, boosters and a lover who steals for his living. At one point in the book she herself works as a prostitute to help her perfidious boyfriend, to whom she is planning to marry, her "sugardaddy" (a pimp known by this name) from debt. This situation demonstrates how black women are abused not only by whites but also by blacks. Black men try to victimize their women in every conceivable way. They value their women only because of their bodies. Their bodies provide emotional strength to them when they are lost, lonely or bewildered. Calvin Hernton in his work *The Sexual Mountain and Black Women Writers: Adventures in Sex, Literature and Real Life* (1990) observes succinctly: "Although black and white men stand on opposite sides of racial mountain in America they tread on common ground when it comes to the mountain of sex" (82).

In such a situation where a young black mother wrestles with the need to provide for her baby and is herself quite vulnerable, she is bound to make easy choices keeping aside the moral values learnt in the South. The alienation and fragmentation of the urban north overpowers dignified and ethical manners of the rural South. These are the conditions that Maya encounters when she tries to situate herself and struggles to survive in California.

The stage of life that Maya Angelou depicts in *Gather Together in My Name* is full of uncertainties. She does not know who she is or what role is most conducive and appropriate for her. Her quest for her place in the scheme of things, as a black woman in America, still bothers her. In this state of restlessness, frustration, trying-on of roles, Maya undergoes various experiences and through self-education moves from innocence towards maturity and adulthood. This work presents the conditions in which the unemployed, drug addict, blacks and others become criminals and the situations in which they are bound to live, "Most of the friends, funny and bright during schooldays... sparkling young men who were hopes of the community had thrown themselves against the sealed doors set up by a larger community" (131) and this scene which presents chaos and destruction, shows a black person's slide into iniquity in a white society. The white society acts villainously and criminally as it reduces all Negro men to nothingness and impotence and women to lead lives of whoredom and destitution.

For Maya this milieu becomes a point where her struggle to restore the sense of dignity and personhood starts which is a necessary prerequisite for expressing any sense of womanhood or racial identity. Maya, with the strength of her mind, manages to survive in this world which is otherwise full of filth, without dignity and purpose especially for a black woman. The themes that recur throughout all her works are courage, perseverance, persistent effort against overwhelming obstacles and moving on the path of attaining selfhood in spite of all hindrances and the last but not the least 'Survival'. Angelou in one of her works, *A Song Flung up to Heaven* (2002), poignantly remarks:

> How did it happen that we could nurse a nation of strangers, be maids to multitudes of people who scorned us, and still walk with some majesty and stand with a degree of pride? I thought of human beings, as far back as I had read, of our deeds and didoes. According to some scientists, we were born to forever crawl in swamps, but for some not yet explained reason, we decided to stand erect, and despite gravity's pull and push, to remain standing. (211)

African-American women learnt to assert themselves by protesting against this discrimination. They struggled for equal wages for equal work, better working conditions in laundry, garment, service industry. Instead of remaining passive victims of oppression they became pillars of strength for their families and worked incessantly and remarkably for the upliftment of their race. Black feminist critic Patricia Hills Collins in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990) says, "the voices of these African-American women are not those of victims but of survivors" (109).

Angelou too realises that a self-defined and well-articulated woman's voice is the first step towards women's survival. Her greatest achievement lies in her ability to transcend her personal pain and stand up for what is right. Her stories of courage and perseverance encourage others also. Blackness and womanness were things beyond control, yet she strove to break these stereotypes to some extent and emerged victorious. She survives all sorts of odds by displaying profound strength and tenacity. In such a situation a weak willed person would have plunged into depression but young Maya falls back on her diligence, her inner strength and emerge as a self-reliant and independent African American woman, emboldened by her long suffering and oppression.

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Classroom Assessment Techniques to Improve Teaching Learning

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Abstract

A teacher should be able to measure what she expects her students to learn. Not only this, but it is the duty of the teacher to help the students to learn. All this involves much more than just providing knowledge in the specific discipline. In higher education, it is believed that a teacher is the friend, philosopher and guide of a student. A teacher who believes in this philosophy tries level best to know the learners and also to make teaching learning an exciting and interesting process. Classroom Assessment Techniques (CATs) are simple, flexible, non-graded assessment techniques which provide not only ongoing feedback to teacher and students but also make the teaching learning process exciting and interesting. This article discusses with examples about how to use CATs while teaching courses in the discipline of Education. It also talks about how to use the findings of the assessment techniques for the betterment of teachers and students.

Keywords: Classroom Assessment Techniques, Formative assessment, Education, Background knowledge probe, Memory matrix, Misconceptions check.

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Introduction

A million dollar question that comes to the mind of a teacher during the teaching learning process is "*Are my students getting what I think I am teaching?*" The depth of this question depends on various factors like the nature of subject taught, the nature and the level of students in the classroom, the learning experiences that a teacher provides in the classroom, the learning outcomes that need to be achieved etc. In the classroom environment, there always exists a gap between a teachers' expectation and student's knowledge (Craig, M. et al, 1997). This gap further reinforces the question that is raised above.

In a discipline like "Education" which is multidisciplinary in nature, the relevance of this question increases further. The students from various discipline backgrounds i.e., sciences, social sciences, humanities etc. come into this discipline. Diploma in Elementary Education (D.El.Ed.), Bachelors of Education (B.Ed.), Master of Education (M.Ed.), Master of Arts in Education (M.A. Education) are some of the important programmes offered in this discipline.

These programmes are preparation for professional practice and consist of both theoretical and practicum courses. While the relevance of the practicum courses can be reflected directly in their professional practice, the relevance of theoretical courses cannot be reflected immediately and hence, teaching of these courses becomes a more challenging task to the teachers. Also, students who come to pursue these courses come from various disciplines and hence there exists a huge gap between teacher's expectations and students' knowledge. Sometimes, students enter into this discipline after an academic gap in their educational career. This also increases the gap between teacher's expectations and students' knowledge and creates many barriers not only in teaching learning process but also has a negative impact on the learning outcomes. Further, the nature of the courses in this discipline demands more intellectual skills like getting information, manipulating information, presenting information, problem solving etc. from the students. Hence, a teacher along with the discipline knowledge also has to assess the development of these skills among the students. Hence, frequently the question "*Are My Students Getting What I Think I'm Teaching?*" arises in the mind of a teacher.

In the classroom teaching learning process, there exists a triangular relationship between learning outcomes, learning experiences and assessment(Koul. Lokesh, et al., 2017). Unlike the earlier days, where the assessment practices used to focus on identifying what the learner does not know, now, the focus of assessment practices is on what learners understand and can do and how best a teacher is able to perform in the class. Hence, "Assessment for learning" is gaining importance in all stages of formal education and is a

hot topic now (Kathleen & James, 2010).

Classroom Assessment Technique (CAT) for the purpose of formative assessment are simple, flexible, non-graded during class activities which give ongoing feedback to both teacher and student and can be very useful to answer the above mentioned question. They not only help in assessment but can easily and slowly take the learners towards the development of higher order thinking skills (Adams, 2004; Angelo & Cross, 1993; Cross & Angelo, 1988; Shaffer, 2013; Steadman, 1988). Unlike the other interventions for which a teacher needs to take prior approval or there need to be collective acceptance from other faculties, CATs are fully the choice of a teacher and it does not require adoption across a department or acceptance from other teachers. There are a wide range of CATs which help in assessment of all round development of a learner and not just the cognitive domain. Angelo and Cross (1993) in their book on "Classroom Assessment Techniques: A Handbook for College Teachers" wrote about a wide range of classroom assessment techniques that a teacher can use to assess learners soft skills, performance skills, values, attitudes, interaction in the classroom, involvement in teaching-learning process etc. CATs vary in their uses, their complexity, and the time they take to prepare, administer and analyze (Adams, 2004).

Use of CATs not only adds a variety in the teaching learning process but it continuously informs the teacher and the learner about their performance. However, the planning, implementation and analysis of CATs is a time demanding activity and hence, a teacher needs to be very careful in its selection, implementation. A teacher should never use such CATs which will increase her burden and also which does not fit the nature of content and level of students (Cross & Angelo, 1988; Angelo & Cross, 1993). The present paper will focus on three important CATs which are very useful to a teacher to know about her learners.

Classroom Assessment Techniques

Background knowledge probe, Memory Matrix, misconceptions checks etc are some of the CATs useful to assess cognitive domain aspects as given by Blooms Taxonomy. A teacher who wishes to answer the question "*Are My Students Getting What I Think I'm Teaching?*" should first try to know the background knowledge of the students.The most important single factor that influences learning is "to know what the learner already knows" (Ausubel & Hanesian, 1968). Knowing this background knowledge will help in reducing the gap between the teacher's expectation and students' knowledge. This will also help the teacher to plan the learning experiences accordingly. The CAT "Background Knowledge Probe" can be used aptly to know the level of prior knowledge and level of prior experiences of the students (Cross & Angelo, 1988; Angelo & Cross,1993; Adams, 2004).

This technique can be used by the teacher at the beginning of a new unit. It can be a short simple questionnaire (Adams, 2004) prepared by the teacher and can consist of both supply type and selection type questions. It can include variety of questions like, fill in the blank, multiple choice questions, circle the correct response, match the items etc. The main objective of such assessment is not to grade the students but to know about their level of readiness for the topic that they are going to study and hence, this should be clearly communicated to the students. Students should also be given freedom to maintain their anonymity if they wish. A teacher can also list few basic terms or concepts related to the topic to be taught and use a rating scale to know the awareness of students regarding those terms or concepts. Example, if teacher has to discuss about "Social Stratification and Role of Education", she can list all the important terms and concepts of the topic (like class, power, status etc.) and frame rating scale items like "Have never heard of it", "Have heard of it, but do not know what it means", "Have some idea about it, but not very clear", "Have a clear idea of it and can explain it". Thus, the probes used to know the background knowledge of students can be both fact based and experience related and should be such they motivate the students to think about their prior knowledge.

The analysis of the students' responses helps the teacher to know if the students have no relevant background knowledge,or some relevant background knowledge, or significant relevant background knowledge and the teacher can plan about the starting point for the lesson and the learning experiences accordingly. Further, from the information that is obtained, a teacher has to take care to discuss the terms or concepts of the topic as soon as possible (Adams, 2004). A teacher can ask the same or similar probing questions at the mid or end of the unit to assess the changes in students' knowledge about the topic being taught. This will also indirectly give the feedback to the students regarding their own performance.

The two important problems that may arise as a result of using the background knowledge probe technique are: when the gap between the teachers' expectation and students' knowledge is more a teacher may get discouraged or face difficulties in planning the learning experiences. Also, on the basis of the findings there are chances that a teacher may develop permanent pre-conceived notions regarding students which may not be correct. Thus, only when a teacher has confidence that she can provide or bring changes in her teaching learning activities according to the level of students she has to use this background knowledge probe technique.

Another important CAT that will help to convert high information content into a pictorial image in the mind of students is the memory matrix. Memory matrix is one the best classroom assessment technique that a teacher can use to assess both the teaching of the teacher and the learning of the students. This technique helps the students to bring clarity

in the topics where they find there is overlapping. A memory matrix is a specially designed table (two by two or three by three two by three etc.) to assess the learning of students after the completion of a lecture or lectures that focus on clearly categorized information (Angelo & Cross, 1993). To get the maximum benefit of this technique, a teacher while developing it should keep in mind to categorize the row and column headings properly and provide enough blank space in the cells to cater to the needs of all types of learners (low achievers, high achievers etc). Teachers before using this technique in the classroom have to first test it on themselves to ensure a good fit between the row and column heading and make necessary revisions accordingly. Factors like, lack of good fit between row and column headings, lack of sufficient space in the blank cells, lack of clear instructions to students (to write only words or brief phrases) mayreflect the performance of both students and teachers in a wrong way. This assessment technique is useful to assess students' recalling and organizing skills (Angelo & Cross, 1993) in such courses which are information loaded.

Students from the discipline of Education have to study about various education commissions and committees in various courses like "Contemporary Indian Education", "Policy Perspectives in Education" etc. The learning experiences that a teacher has to provide regarding these topics are highly informative and theoretical and often there are chances for the students to get confused about the recommendations and suggestions given by various committees. Use of memory matrix assessment technique can be very useful to the teacher to assess the level of students learning in such topics. A teacher can develop a memory matrix like the below (table 1) and provide sufficient time to students to fill the gaps in the table. Initially she can start with just two education commissions or committee's recommendations and gradually she can increase the number of rows. Depending on the nature of task to be completed, a teacher can even encourage for a group work among the students. To begin with a teacher can set a lower limit on number of words or phrases that a student has to write in each cell and can gradually increase this lower limit as the content and students interest progresses (Angelo & Cross, 1993). This will encourage the students to recall more rather than restricting to one single best answer.

Table 1: A sample memory matrix for Education Commissions and Committees

	Elementary Education	Secondary Education	Teacher Education	Higher Education	Examination reforms
National Policy on Education - 1986					
Education Commission 1964-66					

From the data that is collected in the form of memory matrix from each student, a teacher can use simple statistics like frequencies, total, average to calculate the number of correct answers and wrong answers and identify the patterns in it. A teacher can further match those results with her teaching learning activities and analyze if there are still imbalances between what she taught and what students learnt. Higher imbalances indicate either a failure from side of student to successfully recall or categorize the information or it may indicate less instruction or improper teaching learning experiences from the side of teacher.

Memory matrix is a simple and easy to assess formative assessment tool. However, the categorization scheme of it will enable to assess only the knowledge level aspect (Angelo & Cross, 1993) and a teacher cannot assess the comprehension, skills or application abilities of students.

Another important CAT that is very useful to the teacher is misconception/preconception check. It is an assessment tool to know about the preconceived notions or misconceptions of students regarding various aspects which are usually hidden in the mind of the students and are not reflected easily. It is an accepted fact that, students build their new knowledge and understanding on the basis of what they already know and believe (Schuh, 2003). Education is multidisciplinary in nature and the courses offered under it are also in one or the other way linked with other subjects. Students coming into this discipline from various disciplines come with a set of informal beliefs to class-not necessarily conscious, lucid, consistent, or accurateregarding aspects like meaning of education, nature of a child, nature of teaching learning process, learner's characteristics, pedagogy etc. To quote a few, many of the students come with misconceptions like education means that which happens in the four walls of school/institution; the main aim of education is only to earn livelihood (i..e, a good white collar job) etc. They also have preconceptions like students in the class are like blank slates and a teacher has to write on it; same teaching method or technique fits to all students etc. These misconception/preconceptions if not corrected or checked at the correct time may hinder the further learning of the students and also may develop a wrong perception about the discipline. Existence of misconceptions among students can prove to be a larger obstacle than lack of background knowledge and it will increase the gap between the teacher's expectations and students' knowledge (Adams, 2004).

At the beginning of a new topic, a teacher can carefully identify the misconceptions/ preconceptions that may exist in students regarding the topic to be taught using self-designed tools like a questionnaire consisting of various types of items like multiple choice questions, short situational questions. A teacher can also use a likert scale to know about the extent of misconceptions/preconceptions using a scale like "I am absolutely certain that this statement is correct, "I have no idea whether it is true or false", "I am absolutely

certain that this statement is false" etc (Adams, 2004).

A teacher can also give a set of statements and ask students to classify them into categories. Example a teacher can give a set of sentences related to "gender" and "sex"; or "gender sensitivity" and "gender bias"; "equity" and "equality" etc and ask the students to classify them. This will reflect not only the knowledge of students regarding these aspects but also will help the teacher to rectify their misconceptions/preconceptions. For the proper achievement of the learning outcomes, a teacher should take care to rectify their misconceptions/preconceptions as early as possible before going indepth into the topic.

Moving further, recalling is considered to be at the lowest level in the cognitive domain (Blooms Taxonomy) and every student in the classroom has the ability to move towards higher order thinking skills. Students from the Education discipline just like students of other disciplines need to be good not only with content knowledge but also should be good in skills like reading, ICT, academic writing etc. Academic writing unlike the writing skills, demands that students use their own words and present the content. "Directed Paraphrasing" assessment technique gives the opportunity to students to write in their own limited words about what they understood and internalized from the lecture/s, assignment or discussion etc (Angelo & Cross, 1993, Adams, 2004). It is directed in the sense, students are given clear directions about what to paraphrase, how much to paraphrase, for whom to paraphrase, for which purpose to paraphrase. The success of this technique depends on the ability of the teacher to select appropriate topic for paraphrasing and appropriate audiences. In the initial stages of using this technique, a teacher has to be more specific in giving the instructions and as it becomes her regular practice it does not require many instructions.

Directed paraphrasing is one of the best friends of a teacher. Even though it is time consuming and demands individual feedback, it helps a teacher to reduce the complexity of teaching point. It not only acts as an assessment technique but also helps to improve the comprehension ability of students, presentation skills of the students and encourage students to think in multidimensional ways. It can also act as one of the best technique for peer teaching.

A teacher initially may also get discouraged to see the gap between what she taught and what students understood. However, when it is made a continuous practice in the teaching learning process, it will help both students and teacher. This technique helps the teacher to identify the individual differences among the students and acknowledge them. The best advantage of this technique is, students will start writing in their own words, the practice which they are losing slowly. Moving forward, this can develop academic integrity among students.

To ensure that students do not get bored, a teacher has to occasionally change their

audiences (same class students, students from other sections/division etc). Also a teacher can ask the students to maintain their own journal of paraphrases which would not only act as a summary notes which they can refer in future but also will act like a self feedback device. Further, to have a variety in the class, teacher can assign the paraphrasing of different lectures or assignments to different students and then ask them to present it in the classroom.

Teacher may ask students to paraphrase about what they understood about "role of society in Education", "importance of individual difference in the classroom", "their own philosophy of education"etc and direct it to their juniors or other colleagues.

A teacher has to review the performance of students and give them feedback continuously. She can also discuss the common patterns of clarity and confusions. If the students give their performance in written form, she can highlight both the clearest and muddiest points and provide written feedback to them.

Conclusion

Based on above discussion, CATs are very useful to a teacher who wishes to improve herself and her students. These techniques not only make the teaching learning process active but also alert. Using these techniques a teacher can keep the students involved and engaged in teaching learning process. It is important to note that these techniques are meant to supplement and complement and not to replace the summative assessments. Infact, they act like both teaching techniques and assessment techniques. In the courses offered in Education discipline, where students come from various age groups, various disciplines, CATs are very useful to teacher not only to understand the students but also to modify the teaching learning process according to the level of students and thus make the teaching learning process lively and successful.

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Khaps and Village Panchayats: The Interface

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Abstract

The research paper is designed to explore the interface between Khaps and constitutionally elected village Panchayats in Haryana. An effort is also made to explore the perceptions of the members of the constitutionally elected village Panchayats towards the diktats of the Khap Panchayats, which are often contrary to the constitutional spirit of the country. The interference of Khaps and their effects on the election, working and functioning of the constitutionally elected village Panchayats in the rural area of Haryana, are also examined. Finally, an attempt is made to understand the interface between these two bodies with the help of cases of honour crimes where such meetings were held. The role of Sarpanches of constitutionally elected Panchayats has been critically analyzed with the help of case study of honour killings. An attempt has also been made to examine how the caste of a Sarpanch affects the relationship between both Panchayats, i.e. Khaps and constitutionally elected Panchayat. The qualitative research methodology was adopted in order to obtain data from the field. Method of triangulation has been used in order to capture reality in the natural setting.

Keywords: Khap, Elected Panchayat, Sarpanch, Interface, Diktat, Honour Killings.

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Introduction

The journey from Khap Panchayats to Elected Panchayats

Khap as an institution has been in existence since ages. However, it is very difficult to point out the specific period in which this institution originated. In Haryana, the institution of Khaps has existed ever since villages came into existence. The analysis of various records and studies also led to the inference that Khap in some form has always been in existence ever since human beings started living together in groups of their clans, initially for the safety and security of the group and later for resolving day to day internal issues of the clans. The groups became bigger and finally got disintegrated from the main group to form different groups that chose to settle at different places. These places of settlers were to be known as *Thollas*[1] and *Panas*[2] and together they formed villages. The head of this institution has always been an elderly male member of the dominant clan. A Khap performed the remarkable task of systematically organizing the clan into a disciplinary group living and protecting it from internal and external threats. Each clan, as an organized social group has always named its own head. The function of this body of collective clans has invariably been to settle disputes of various kinds and to provide protection against internal and external threats (Pradhan, 1966)[3]. Though Khaps are known to have played quite a positive role during primitive times, yet a careful analysis indicates that these were guided more by the principle of '*Might is Right*'. Inhabitants living together frequently had internal as well as external conflicts, administrative issues, threats and disciplinary matters that required being resolved, acted upon and decisions taken. Such a role of conflict resolution was handled locally by some elderly and influential people of these villages and harmony was maintained among them for co-existence. These elders and important people of the villages usually gathered at a central place to discuss the pertinent issue and then they communicated their decision acceptable to all. Thus this meeting was called Khap, which played a very important and positive role in order to maintain harmony among the community and law and order among the villages. They also observed certain strict sanctions relating to marriages. The decisions of Khaps were binding on all and the violators were strictly taken to task. The decisions of the Khaps were announced as diktats and anybody who violated the diktats had to face social boycott. Regular meetings were held within the village by these village level Khap. Whenever there was a larger issue that affected several villages and a larger community, Sarv Khap was held in which 40-80 Khaps

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[1]   *Tholla* comprises of extended families living in the village, based on the name of male elders who has a reputed position in the area.

[2]   A combination of several '*Thollas*' constitutes a '*Pana*' or '*Patti*'.

[3]   Pradhan, M. C. (1966). *The Political System of Jats of Northern India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

participated. In ancient period, it performed the functions of maintenance mechanism, safety, security, defence, protection of people falling under its jurisdiction, protection of its people from theft, robbery, dacoity, loot, protection from external threats, providing help to local kings, fighting against the atrocities of the kings and conversion of Hindus to Islam and also fighting against the British in the revolt of 1857 (Sangwan, 1986)[4]. These Khaps fearlessly faced internal and external threats and gave a stiff opposition to powerful kings and emperors. The British were also aware that members of Khaps belonged to martial race having strong cohesion (Tyagi, 2009)[5]. The policy of '*divide and rule*' adopted by British to weaken the system in India also had a major impact on the authority wielded by Khaps. The British appointed Nambardars, Chaukidars and local Headmen and officially empowered them to exercise control over the villages. These officials collected land revenue from the villagers and took the responsibility of the keeping up of the security forces for defense and internal administration of their villages. Some of the members of the Khaps, who were appointed as Nambardars, Chaukidars and local Headmen got aligned with the British and supported the British. The Khaps like Meham *Chaubasi* Khap (District Rohtak) and Bawal *Chaurasi* Khap (District Rewari) however revolted against the British and formed a part of the mutiny of 1857 but got defeated (ibid, 1986). The empowerment of some selected local people by the British weakened the unity of the Khaps and therefore weakened the very institution of Khap. The weakened authority of the Khaps resulted in a divisive fissure in their unity and it dented the confidence among locals. This fissure was seen by the British as a suitable opportunity to attack the authority of Khap. Hence Panchyati Raj System, as an administrative body elected by villagers themselves, after the revolt of 1857 was established. The British sanctioned the authority and supremacy of the newly appointed Panchayat members over Khaps.

The attempt to reduce the authority of Khaps by the newly introduced Panchayats was however not very effective at the local level because the Panchayats were mainly busy in the day to day maintenance and administrative matters of the villages, and the decision making power continued to rest with these Khap Panchayats, which were headed by local elderly, powerful, influential, landholders on whom the villagers were dependent for their living. After India got independence the local level statutory Panchayats were established. These were democratic administrative bodies elected by villagers themselves. Functions of statutory Panchayat included collection of house tax, proper use of the collective land of the village and taking care of the developmental activities of the village

4   Sangwan, K.S. (1986). *The Rural Elite and Multi-village Panchayats in Haryana: The Case of Chaubisi in District Rohtak.* Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology Panjab University, Chandigarh.
5   Tyagi, V. P. 2009. *Martial Races of Undivided India*, New Delhi: Kalpaz Publication.

(Sangwan, 1986)[6]. Initially the state of Haryana was part of Punjab till 1966, so Punjab Panchayati Raj Act, 1952, was applicable to the villages of Haryana. Though Panchayati Raj Institutions have been in existence in the country for the last many years, yet these were not able to work effectively.

In light of the earlier experience and shortcomings, a new part IX relating to Panchayats was added to the Constitution of India by the Constitution Amendment Act (73rd Amendment), 1992, which came into force with effect from 22nd April, 1994. The States were directed to amend or repeal their existing laws, which were inconsistent with the provisions of the said amendments within one year of the commencement of the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992.

According to the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992, the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 was framed which came into force on April 22, 1994. On lines of 73rd Amendment Act the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act provided representation to women, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Castes, on the basis of their population. The reservation for women (including Scheduled Castes women) was equal to one third seats of the total seats at each level of Panchayati Raj System. The functions and responsibilities of constitutionally elected Panchayats have been clearly defined, after the enactment of 73rd Amendment Act, 1994.

Thus it was very important to explore Khap's role after 73rd constitutional amendment Act 1994 which has given constitutional status to the village Panchayats[7]. In this part, the main emphasis shall be on the functions performed by the Khaps as well as elected Panchayats in Khap belt of Haryana. An in depth understanding of the relationship between both the institutions at village level has been the main focus of the paper. An effort is made to examine whether the constitutionally elected Panchayats actually performed all the functions laid down in the Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994 and if there was any interference of Khap in the working of constitutionally elected Panchayat or vice versa. Thus the focus of the study will remain on the interface between both the Panchayats and to analyse whether both Panchayats are complementary to each other or not. Study was undertaken because literature highlighted that the interface between Khap Panchayat and constitutionally elected Panchayats, remain an area completely unexplored.

Research Objective

1. To study the interface between Khaps and constitutionally elected Panchayats

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6   Sangwan, K.S. (1986). *The Rural Elite and Multi-village Panchayats in Haryana: The Case of Chaubisi in District Rohtak.* Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology Panjab University, Chandigarh.
7   SLA (Singla Law Agency). (2014). The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. Chandigarh: Singla Law Agency

2.   To explore the role of Sarpanch during the proceedings in cases of honour killings

Research Methodology

The phenomenon of Khaps was studied with the help of qualitative and intensive methods. Respondents in the present study included members of selected Khaps, Sarpanches and other members of the constitutionally elected Panchayats, men and women of different age groups from respective village communities, social activists, police officials and academicians, as per availability. Conversational in-depth interviews were conducted with diverse kinds of respondents in order to extract in depth and authentic information, with the help of Interview Guides specifically designed for different kind of respondents. Data was collected mainly by using qualitative techniques such as group discussion, observation, narratives, conversational interviews, case study, etc., Narratives were procured with the help of recorders as well as with the help of researcher's field notes. Further, in order to explore the role of Sarpanch in the cases of honour killings, case study method was used. Cases were selected with the help of snowball sampling. Method of theoretical sampling was used due to non-availability of sampling frame. Interaction with the respondents continued till the time responses started getting repeated.

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Section-II

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Election of Village Panchayat

The Panchayati Raj system, which is based on the 73rd Amendment Act, 1994, of the Indian Constitution, gives village Panchayats a constitutional status[8]. The Amendment has ensured reservations for SCs, OBCs and women at all levels of these bodies which are meant to be proportional to their population. There are five stages of the election of constitutionally elected Panchayats as under:

a)   Date of Nomination

b)   Date of Scrutiny

c)   Date of Withdrawal

d)   Date of Election

e)   Date of Counting

The date of filing nomination is declared by the State Election Commission. On the nomination day, all candidates file their nominations. On the date of scrutiny of nomination, all forms are scrutinized and if any discrepancies are found in the forms, the candidature is rejected. A date of withdrawal is declared, so that if candidates want to withdraw they can. On the specified date, the elections are held and all the members of village above 18 years of age

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8   SLA (Singla Law Agency). (2014). The Haryana Panchayati Raj Act, 1994. Chandigarh: Singla Law
       Agency

have the right to vote in Panchayati Raj Elections irrespective of caste, class, age and gender. On the said date, the counting is done and the candidate who scores the maximum number of votes gets elected to the respective post.

Active Involvement of Khaps in Election

When the elections of both constitutionally elected Panchayat and Legislative Assembly take place, members of Khap Panchayats take keen interest and actively participate in the election process, i.e. campaigning. Invariably, in the past, most of the candidates, who had contested elections, were directly or indirectly supported by the members of Khap Panchayats. In case of the reserved seat, for Scheduled Castes/women also, candidate is fielded by the Khap Panchayat and such a candidate is economically supported by the Khap. All the family members of these Khaps and their whole clan are made to vote in favour of such a candidate so that he remains obliged to the members of the Khap. This results in keeping the influence of Khap alive in the village and maintaining complete control over the elected Sarpanch. During an interview with an educated woman respondent from 'Kadyan Khap' it was found that there is a mutual understanding among both, the elected and the Khap Panchayat. The Khap Panchayats in fact have greater influence over constitutionally elected Panchayats due to the former having a stronger following besides being economically stronger. The members of Khap Panchayats actively participate in the elections of Panchayat and represent Sarpanch and other members. They have mutual links. Ex-Sarpanch or active members participating in politics are members of Khap Panchayat as well. This clearly indicated the nexus existing between members of Khap Panchayats and constitutionally elected Panchayats. In both the Panchayats the members belong to the same dominant groups/caste/clan, with the same ideology. Hence the members of Khap Panchayat enjoy over all supremacy in its area of jurisdiction and members of the larger community also accept their authority.

Special Treatment to Scheduled Castes during election

During the fieldwork, it was observed that the members of the Khap, who generally turned a blind eye to the presence of the members of the Scheduled Castes, somehow during the elections acknowledged their presence and even try to please them (even against their own wish), so that they may vote for their candidate. While interacting with the Scheduled Castes population, residing in the villages of Khap Belt of Haryana, it was found that the Khap members do not interact or socialize with them. Only during elections, members of Khaps, in order to gain their support, give importance to Scheduled Castes population and approach them. Only during the elections, they visit them, help them financially, and attend to their problems and also persuade them to vote in their favour. Khap members pretend to make them feel important and desired, only during election time. During discussion with

one of the respondents from a Scheduled Caste community said whenever there are elections, they talk to us properly; otherwise they don't even observe any consideration for the age also. It was a well known fact that during the time of the election, the members of Khap behave properly with the Scheduled Castes population. It was observed during interaction with respondents.

Functions of Elected Panchayats: Field View

Although the constitutional elected Panchayats are endowed with many functions, but on the ground, it was found that only the civic functions were being performed by the constitutionally elected Panchayats. During one of the visits to a joint meeting of Khap organized by Baran Kalan Khap of district Jind in village Bibipur on 14th July 2012, it was noticed that more than 200 Khap Panchayats from all over India had assembled on a common platform to discuss the issues of female foeticide, honour killing and rape. The researcher observed the proceedings and held discussions with community members, Sarpanches and members of Khap Panchayats[9]. Questions like what functions were performed by the Khaps and elected Panchayats were asked. Their immediate reply was "*Our work is only limited to the repair and maintenance of drainage and streets*" said Sarpanch of the village. Social issues are handled by Khaps only in Khap belt. They further told that all Governmental developmental works come under the purview of elected village Panchayats. The social issues are looked into by the Khaps. The members of elected Panchayats have no say in it. Members of the Khaps take decisions on these social issues. Further the members of Khaps informed that there was a clear cut demarcation in the functions of both the Panchayats. In villages, a Sarpanch of the constitutionally elected village Panchayat is seen as a person who will provide facilities/ conveniences to the members of the community. His role is just to provide services to the members of the community. The Sarpanch is seen as a person who facilitates the infrastructural work like the construction of streets, upkeep of drainage system, to get grants from government etc. All other functions come under the purview of the Khap, which has greater powers than constitutionally elected Panchayats of the villages. Sometimes, the opinion of Sarpanch is taken only if he is Jaat, but the decision is taken collectively by the members of Khap Panchayat only. Thus, it can be concluded that elected Panchayat is viewed as a government body for making infrastructural provisions. Overall authority in the village rests with the Khap which holds supremacy in Khap belt of Haryana.

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[9]   Maha Khap Panchayat on female foeticide organized by Kandela Khap Panchayat at village Bibipur on 14th July 2012.

During discussion, the Sarpanch of the village, which comes under *Aath Gama* (Part of Meham *Chaubasi* Khap) from district Rohtak said elected village Panchayat is for the developmental work only. Any matter that arises in the village, is first resolved at the village level only, by the members of 'v*illage level Khap Panchayat*' and if it could not be resolved within the village, then the matter is sent to the higher level Khap Panchayat, i.e. '*Aath gawa Panchayat*'. Pradhan of Baran Kalan Khap from district Jind remarked elected Panchayats get funds and their work is to utilize those funds for the development of that village. Khaps and elected Panchayats have different spheres of activity. The Khap Panchayat organizes work without any money. It is like an NGO for the betterment of the society. Both Panchayats remain separate and do not interfere in each other's affair as claimed by Pradhan of Baran Kalan Khap.

Though it was told that both the Panchayats do not interfere in each other's sphere, but it was noted that both are hand in glove with each other. Khaps have a dominating role in their area and the elected Panchayat act as per the requirement of Khap. The Pradhan of Dahiya Khap negated/undermined constitutionally elected Panchayats and said in Gram Panchayat, Sarpanch is connected with the Government; he is a representative of Government. He (Pradhan) is in league with a minister or an M.L.A. The Khap members feel that they are even above Ministers. It is a known fact that Khaps have a strong following in their jurisdiction and at the time of elections the politicians directly approach them for vote bank. In one of the meetings, the Pradhan of Baran Kalan Khap, was posed a question as to if Sarpanch of the village had any role in organizing the meeting, he replied Sarpanch of the elected village Panchayat has no role to play in it. 'Who will come on Sarpanch's call? Position of Khap is higher than the Sarpanch. The role of Sarpanch is only to get grants from the Government. It was observed that the Sarpanch of the village was from the same community and with the same ideology as members of the Khap and thus he remained under the control of Khap Panchayat. It is a matter of common understanding that elected Panchayats have role only in the administration of the village, development of the village etc., whereas other social functions are performed by the Khaps which have support of the larger community.

Role of Sarpanch in the proceedings of Khaps

The interface between Khap and constitutionally elected Panchayats can be substantiated with the help of cases of honour killings, social boycott and caste clashes in Haryana. It will be very interesting to examine the role of a Sarpanch during the proceedings of Khaps on such issues. His/her role shall be examined in view of the caste, class, gender and power politics of that particular village or area. It was found during the fieldwork; the Sarpanch of the village is only invited to participate in the meeting of Khap if he is a male

and from Jaat caste. But in most of the cases it was found that the Sarpanch of the village too remains a silent spectator in the meetings of Khaps. In one such case of village Ballah, Karnal, the sarpanch of the village was invited to attend the meeting of Khap Panchayat, but the sarpanch did not abide by his constitutional duty and supported the killing of the couple.

"*In 2004, an honour killing took place in village Ballah, district Karnal. It was a unreported case of honour killing in which the entire village was aware of the whole issue. In this case, both boy and the girl eloped from the village. Both belonged to Jaat caste and have same gotra and native village of both girl and boy was same. The girl was from an influential family of the village and the boy's family was economically weak. They remained missing for 10-15 days and no one knew about their whereabouts. Ultimately they were hounded by the community members and were forcibly brought to the village where both of them were ruthlessly killed. Prior to the killing, the Panchayat comprised of 20-25 persons in which all the prominent leaders, along with the Sarpanch of the village, participated. They took this decision and the entire village agreed to abide by this decision. The entire village knew about the incident, but remained quiet. The Sarpanch too attended the meeting of Bhaichara Khap Panchayat, being a member of Jaat community. He was present and went along with the 'caste dominated' verdict, announced by the elderly persons*". (Devi, 2017)[10]

[Source: Community Members from village Ballah narrated this case during the time of Ph.D Fieldwork in Khap Belt of Haryana]

Similarly in media hyped case of honour killing of Manoj and Babli, the Sarpanch who was a Jaat, was invited for the meeting held by the Khaps. However he too, remained silent spectator and supported the social boycott of the groom's family.

In this case, both Manoj and Babli, eloped from the village Karora and got married at Chandigarh. Manoj and Babli belonged to the same gotra and same village. In the Khap belt of Haryana, a boy and a girl of the same village were considered as brother-sister. Marital relations were prohibited within the village as well as neighbouring villages. In this case too, it was noticed that the entire village supported the killing of the couple. In this particular case, Gangaraj an influential person, who was a member of Khap, announced the social boycott of the boy's family and further announced that any villager found to be maintaining any relation

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[10]   Devi, N. (2017). Khap Panchayat in Haryana: A Study of Change and Continuity. Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of sociology Panjab University Chandigarh.

with them would be fined Rs. 25000 and would also be out-cast. In this case also the Sarpanch of the village remained silent and support the diktat of the khap Panchayat. It was further analyzed that the ideology of Khap over shadows the principles of the Constitution and undermines the authority of elected Panchayats (ibid, 2017).

In another case of declaring husband-wife as brother-sister in village Meham Khedi, a Scheduled caste woman Sarpanch was not even invited and consulted in this matter. The meeting of Khaps pertains to male Jaat members only and Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Castes have no place in the meetings of the Khaps. Secondly, if the Sarpanch happens to be a woman, then she is not at all consulted. Khap is a patriarchal institution headed by elderly patriarchs of the family. The study by Chowdhary 2006 too substantiated the findings. Later on in the third or fourth meeting held for this particular case, a male from Jaat caste with influential background was a Sarpanch, therefore he was invited for the meeting. In the meeting, he tried to intervene and stressed that they have been married for the last three years and had a two year old child also from wedlock. It was not proper to give such kind of unconstitutional diktats. He was not heard by the elderly members of the Khap and nobody cared to pay any heed to him since all dominant persons of the village (members of Khaps) reached a consensus and declared both Satish and Kavita as brother and sister. Community members revealed that the members of Scheduled Castes did not attend these Panchayats. These meeting are attended by male members of Jaat caste only. In this case, later on when the administration and the media got active, the son of SC woman Sarpanch attended the meeting but did not voice anything. What could a poor and helpless person do in that Jaat dominated environment? The son of SC woman Sarpanch was physically present and remained a silent spectator.

In village Meham Khedi of Meham Chaubii Khap, there were 800 households with approximately 500 households of Jaats, clearly indicating that the village was dominated by Jaats. There were other castes also residing in the village, i.e. Dhanak, Luhar, Kumhaar, Khati and Muslim which all together held a minority status. In the year 2009, a boy belonging to Berwal gotra (Jaat) married a girl of Beniwal gotra (Jaat), which was incidentally another gotra of Jaats of the same village. A marriage of this type is not accepted by the community at large. The Jaat Sarpanch of the village (term, 2010-2015) shared that the news of their gotras became public because Seema, daughter of the village Meham Khedi was married in district Bhiwani. After her marriage, it came to light that the daughter-in-law, (Kavita) is from the same gotra residing in the village. This information spread like fire and got ruffled. As per the social norm of Khap Bhaichara, both of them were brother and sister. Such kind of union is not accepted by the rural communities. When the issue came into the

limelight, the dominant persons from the Jaat community assembled in a fit of anger. When public attention was drawn towards this issue, the dominant and influential persons present in the village became aggressive, and extremely annoyed. The meetings of the Khap were held at the village level, the Nambardar of the village also participated in these Panchayats. They took the decision that both of them should be declared as brother and sister as both of them were from same gotra. They went to the extent of declaring that they should tie the pious thread of Rakhi to accept their relationship of brother and sister. Thereafter, Kavita would be bound to leave the village, and family members of the boy would take care of their son. At that time a Scheduled Castes woman was the Sarpanch, who was not even consulted in this matter. Firstly, it was all Jaat caste meetings. Non-Jaat and Scheduled Castes were not allowed to attend the meeting. Secondly, according to the unwritten rules of the Khap Panchayat, women were not allowed to sit in the Chaupal of the village which is a Public Space, accessible only to the male members of the society. It is mostly dominated by elderly male members of the village. In Khap Belt of Haryana, public spaces were all male dominated with men sitting around bubbling hukkahs and playing cards. This is a more common sight seen in Haryana. Therefore, in such an environment women would not dare to enter Chaupals where male dominated meetings of Khaps are held.

In yet another case of social boycott, in village Dharana, of Kadyan Khap, the Sarpanch was invited because he was from Jaat caste having large landholdings and influential background. He too, remained a silent spectator in all male dominated Khap panchayat.

A boy and girl got married in 2009. The boy belonged to village Dharana, district Jhajjar. The girl was from village 'Siwah' in district Panipat. Boy was staying in Delhi with his aunt. The problem arose when he came to visit his village Dharana in July 2009. Kadyan is a dominant gotra in his village and as per 'Bhaichara' norms he could not get married to the girl of this gotra from the village. Hence the community members objected to his marriage to a Kadyan girl. Girl was not acceptable as a daughter-in-law to the village since she was from the same gotra of their village, as per Khap Bhaichara norms she was a sister to the boy. On 14th July 2009, Kadyan Khap Panchayat at the village level organized a meeting in which the Pradhan declared their marriage null and void and served ultimatum to boy's family to leave the village. His parents left the village and after a few days came back with police protection. Once again the local Panchayat met and decided to ask girl's parents to

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6   Chaudhary, D.R. (2014), 'Khap Panchayat and Modern Age', New Delhi: National Book Trust of India.

file divorce of their daughter as their marriage was not acceptable to people of Kadyan gotra in the village Dharana. They approached girl's parents, but they too refused to dissolve the marriage at that late stage. Now 'Kadyan Khap Panchayat' met again and issued 'diktat' to the parents of boy. The boy went into deep depression because the diktat of the Kadyan Khap Panchayats declared that his parents should leave the village after disposing off their property. The boy could not bear this and tried to commit suicide by consuming poison. He was admitted to PGIMS, Rohtak. The police registered two cases under section 306 (abetment to suicide) and parallel sections against 18 residents of village Dharana. In the beginning, the case was tackled at the village level by local Khap Panchayat but when it made headlines in both print and electronic media, the case took a serious turn. Kadyan Khap was severely criticized by the different sections of the society (Chaudhary, 2014[11] & Devi, 2017[12]). Now to avoid criticism Kadyan Khap Panchayat partially revised its decision. They allowed the Gehlaut family to stay in the village, but boy and girl were still not allowed to stay in the village.

[Source: Dr. D. R. Chaudhary and Community members irrespective of caste, class and gender from the village Dharana narrated this case]

It was observed that the role of the Sarpanch in such matters was virtually negligible. The duty of the Sarpanch is to keep silent because his tenure is of 5 years, whereas the tenure of the office of Pradhan of Khap Panchayats is not defined and he serves as a Pradhan till his death. It is very clear that the members of Khaps were handling those community affairs ever since the villages came into existence; hence the decisions of Khaps are acceptable to the villagers. Even after attaining constitutional status the Elected Panchayats in the state of Haryana have not yet been able to establish their authority. It is explained with the help of another case, which is discussed briefly.

In village Talao, district Jhajjar, Haryana; a Jaat girl had an affair with a Scheduled Caste boy. Both knew that their relationship would not be accepted by their elders. Both of them eloped and the younger sister of the girl accompanied them, fearing that she would be killed by her own parents. When the issue came into limelight, meeting of Khap was organized by 20-25 'Jaat' members of Gehlawat gotra. The 'Chaupal of Khap Panchayat' was full of only Jaat men. A male Sarpanch, who was Scheduled castes, was not even allowed to sit in the 'Chaupal'. He sat reclining against neem tree while the Khap proceedings were being carried on. In

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[11]   Chaudhary, D.R. (2014), '*Khap Panchayat and Modern Age*', New Delhi: National Book Trust of India

[12]   Devi, N. (2017). *Khap Panchayat in Haryana: A Study of Change and Continuity*. Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of sociology Panjab University Chandigarh.

the proceeding of Khap, he had no role to play. His presence was required, hence he was called, but he was merely a spectator. He was not in favour diktat in the proceedings of Khap but he had to follow the instructions of elderly men from Jaat community. The community, teachers of the government and private schools and social activists revealed that the role of Sarpanch was not considered important during the proceedings of Khap meeting. (Devi, 2017[13] and Gill, 2019[14]).

Thus it can be inferred that the 'Sarpanches' had absolutely no say and acted as a non-entity. It was found Khaps were superior to constitutionally elected Panchayats as claimed by community members. Constitutionally elected Panchayats were practically found to function under the control of Khaps. Member of SCRIYA, an NGO said: "Khap Panchayats sometimes do not have direct influence on the elected Panchayats. Even the elected Panchayat just takes a back seat and vacates the chair for Khap Panchayat to take decisions. Many a times the Sarpanch quietly leaves home and remains elusive till the meeting lasts. No member of any elected Panchayat gets involved in the meetings of Khaps. As and when any social issues come to the limelight, the Sarpanch of the village leaves his position as a Sarpanch and becomes a member of the Khap. He leaves his constitutional position of a Sarpanch and behaves like a common member of the village in order to favour a particular side. Whenever he is called for an investigation, he would excuse himself and pretend that he was out for an urgent work. In such kind of Panchayats no representative of any elected Panchayat would come to the meeting and if anybody did come, at that time he would behave like a member of the Khap."[15] [As revealed by Respondents from Khap Belt].

Further it was inferred that both a Jaat and a non-Jaat Sarpanch, accept the superiority of Khaps willingly or unwillingly. If in case a Sarpanch intervenes and gives his opinion quickly the khap members say '*ki tu Ghana chowdhry bana se*'. These were the commonly used phrases used by the Khap/community members, to cut a person to size in a sarcastic way. It was also very surprising to find out woman has no participation in meetings what to talk about their role in decision making? The community at large too acknowledges the influence of Khaps over the elected Panchayats. As they all mingle around with each other for their day to day work and develop a close knit working relation. The members of Scheduled Caste also work in their field and are dependent upon them for all their basic needs. It was further elaborated by the villagers that whenever there is such a case of elopement or marriage, then community (Biradari) plays an important role and the Sarpanch

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13   Devi, N. (2017). Khap Panchayat in Haryana: A Study of Change and Continuity. Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Department of sociology Panjab University Chandigarh.
14   Gill, R. (2019). Gender, Culture and Honour. Jaipur: Rawat Publication.
15   SCRIYA- Social Centre for Rural Initiative and Advancement

takes a back seat as they believe his role is limited to civic functions only. The Sarpanches, who were interviewed, too followed the same ideology and strongly believed that social norms were more important than any statute. The finding was substantiated by an earlier study done by Gill 2012, where she too emphasized that social norms and values are more important than any statute. She further felt that it wields much greater power in the life of an individual as compared to law. She highlighted that this kind of situation is prevailing in rural part of north India, especially Rajasthan and Haryana where both men and women are in a dilemma whether to follow the social diktates of Khap Panchayats or to abide by law. It is clearly observed that social norms are more important than any statute. For this reason it has been noted that there is resurgence of Khap Panchayats even after the establishment of constitutional bodies.

Conclusion

It may be inferred from the qualitative data discussed above that the constitutional elected Panchayats in Khap belt of Haryana have failed to possess an independent entity and are only a parallel administrative system, completely dominated by the Khaps. Moreover, the village Panchayats are completely under the control of Khaps during elections and thereafter. Ironically, the role of elected Panchayats has seen reduced to merely maintaining the physical infrastructure, while it is the Pradhan and the members of Khaps who enjoy the authority over the whole community. Due to this continuity, caste plays a very prominent role, making a mockery of reservation for Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Castes and women in the Panchayats. A Sarpanch, duly elected, hardly has any role to play, especially if he is Scheduled Caste, a poor villager or a woman. Such is the supremacy of Khaps over elected Panchayats that the elected Sarpanch is very conveniently and without any inhibition, used by the Khaps to provide legitimacy to their verdicts, despite being a violator of the constitutional provisions.

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Teacher's Effectiveness and Self-esteem of High School Teachers Teaching in Jammu and Kashmir

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Abstract

In the present investigation, a modest attempt has been made to study the association between Teacher's Effectiveness and Self-esteem of high school teachers teaching in Kulgam district of Jammu and Kashmir. Teacher's Effectiveness Scale (TES) and Self-esteem Scale-constructed and validated by the investigator (2018) were employed to gather the necessary data from a sample of 450 teachers (305 males and 145 females) teaching in schools of district Kulgam. The normative survey method was employed and stratified random sampling method was used in administration of research tools. The collected data were analyzed by using appropriate statistical methods through SPSS. The outcomes of the analysis showed that there exists a positive and significant association between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of high school teachers and teacher's effectiveness significantly differs with regard to gender and type of management but do not significantly differs in marital status. Where as in self-esteem teachers differ significantly in marital status but do not significantly differ in gender and type of management. This investigation may surely fill the gap in the literature and provide a few valuable inputs which possibly direct the policy makers and administrators to increase the teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of teachers to the optimal level.

Keywords: Self-esteem; Stratified random sampling; High school teachers; Effectiveness; Kulgam.

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Introduction

Education is vital for the advancement of the individual and the civilization. It is only education which provides opportunities to the individual to develop according to his own abilities, attitudes, capabilities, interests and innate powers. Education is everybody's business as it impinges on the lives of everybody all the time we are all in it educating others and being educated ourselves. It is the process of learning how to live. It has many facets; learning how to gain a livelihood, to enjoy necessary recreation, to become decent private individuals, friendly group members, efficient workers, professionals and responsible citizens etc. It is a process of facilitating people not simply to live but to live a very dignified, prosperous and satisfied life.

We all know it that no two children are alike, they differ by reason of differences of upbringing, languages, abilities, interests, aspirations, and temperament vary very much in their capacity and behavior; classroom conditions, the size of the class, the age of the pupils, the tone of the school, all must be taken into account while teaching to students because education is the birth right of all individuals and undoubtedly very important for the development of the individual and the society. None can deny this fact that the job of changing nation lies in the hands of the teachers. We believe teachers are as much instruments of educational change as education could be of social change. The shortcoming of any organization can be largely overcome by the efficient teachers and without the efficient teachers even the most excellent system will go down. Thus excellence of education to a great level depends on the eminence of teachers. Truly it is only the teachers who can make education a thing of delight and success or a matter of aggravation and despair.

To make it clear by citing the Indian Education Commission 1964-66 also known as Kothari Commission had clearly affirmed that fortune of our nation is being formed in our classrooms. Only the effective teachers can help in realizing the proper educational outcomes. The most important change that is needed to be brought in order to advance the standard of education in our country is recruit teachers who have high Self-esteem. Teaching needs a person with hunger for knowledge and social service, a sense of determination and endurance, assurance, commitment, and dedication and most importantly the confidence on one's abilities. The personality of a human being is multifaceted, appealing and vivid. Self-esteem forms a key part of the same. It to a great extent determines the nature and social behavior of an individual. Self esteem is the affirmative or pessimistic state of mind that an individual possesses for himself. It is the judgment which the person makes and usually keeps with regard to himself. It shows to what extent an individual feels that he is capable, worthy, intelligent, smart and successful.

Concept of Teacher's Effectiveness

Teacher's effectiveness refers to the influence that the teachers performance has on pupils. It symbolizes the perfection in teaching and the potential of a teacher to bring out the desirable changes in student's behavior. The origin of the word 'effective' comes from the Latin word effectivus, which means creative or effective. It may be labeled as the special quality of a teacher who with his knowledge, experience, potential, tactics and skills leaves a positive impact on student learning, behavior and attitudes. "Effective teachers use everything they know about productive-and unproductive- practices to develop strategies that capitalize on their students' diverse backgrounds, using diversity to enrich the learning environment for every student. An effective teacher does not see his teaching job simply in terms of isolated material to be covered instead he views the schools over all function as it changes with changing society, and works creatively to relate his teaching purposes to the objectives of the school. Effective teachers are those who accomplish the targets which they fix for themselves and teach according to the requirements and expectation of the child.

An effective teacher gives intelligent direction (sublimation) to student's emotions like extreme anger, anxiety, stress etc. Effective teachers are quite familiar about their students. They are fully acquainted about their learning approaches, their strong and weak areas. Teacher's effectiveness is of crucial importance as each classroom situation is distinctive and challenging. An effective teacher is one who is creative, productive or effective. He/she changes the world not by themselves but by sparking the brains of his/her students. An effective teacher is one who might be called experimental in nature. His/her motto in teaching is," be not the first by whom the new is tried, nor yet the last to lay the old aside," and has a wide range of outlook both in purpose and methodology. Besides, the classroom teaching they sponsor student's activities, counseling pupils, working towards curriculum development, and improving home school relations.

'Effectiveness' may be referred as the mark of being successful in producing a planned outcomes' (Collin's English Dictionary, 2017). It has rightly been said, to be proficient: "the teacher must have knowledge of child development, of the culture of his pupils and of some interest of his own, his skills must enable him to teach, advise, and guide his pupils, community and culture with which he is concerned, his approach should be positive without being aggressive, so that his example is likely to be followed as he transmits and implicitly the national aims, ideas and moral and social values." Pritam Singh (1998) said that, effective teachers don't tutor rather they teach, curbing mal-practices in exams rather letting them happen, commanding reverence in place of demanding it from learners, examining professional principles in place of defying it.

Anderson (1991) has said that "effective teachers directly or indirectly focuses on the education of the pupils and always achieve their educational goals. " The most important aspects which influence the standard of schooling and its input to national advancement are the excellence, proficiency and personality of educators. A good combination of knowledge, tactics and individuals personality is the source of teacher effectiveness.(katz, 1993) similarly (Gupta & Jain, 2017), illustrates that the uniqueness which are related with effectiveness are high-quality comprehension of subject matter, capability to systematize learning resources, ability to converse well with students and to deal successfully with classroom situations. S Mangla, (2001), "Good teachers show a balance of qualities - continuous growth for excellence, readiness for guidance, set high value standards so that they can equip the children wisely and effectively, they are purposeful whose energies and values are organized and focused on their teaching work; they are thinkers and constructive workers with intellectual bent for achievements; they warm up the students, appreciate their efforts and encourage them to work harder; they have a hunger for vividness, for wholeness and completeness in their ideas, they are sensitive and responsive, they have a conscience and patient and persistently curious. "Parihar (2011)" viewed that effective teaching is the outcome of effective teachers who always accomplish their goals that are either directly or indirectly related to student learning and the strategies executed for attaining this purpose needs orientation and reorientation with changing needs and priorities in teacher education." therefore we may conclude that an effective teacher provides adequate feedback to students and assesses their understanding level and creates a positive environment for the teaching and learning process. Effective teachers possess all the characteristics that are required for the attainment of the educational and national goals. They are optimist tic, updated, responsible, successful, and creative in teaching and learning.

Concept of Self-esteem

The word "esteem" has come from Latin aestimare, meaning to "evaluate, value, rate, weigh, and estimate". Our thinking, feeling and acting show how we value ourselves. The initial concrete definition of self -esteem has given by James in 1890. According to him, self-esteem may be described as to be the ratio of success and pretensions in vital life areas. The individual processes has been focused to a stronger degree by James as that forms self-esteem afterwards symbolic interactionism approaches focused the societal factors on self-esteem. Self-esteem is a psychological feature associated to an individual's picture of self-importance and self-assurance in entire aspects of individual's doings. It is a potent strength inside each one of us. It is the belief in one's capability to think and to manage the primary tests of life bravely and smartly. It is the feeling of being valuable, praiseworthy, and free to express his /her needs and wants to enjoy the fruits of his /her hard work. Korman et al. (1974) explained the role of self esteem in work outcomes.

People holding high self-esteem is motivated to do well on tasks in order to maintain their self images of competence. Whereas people with low self-esteem lack confidence and motivation to do well since poor performance is consistent with their self image of relation incompetence. Rosenberg (1965, 1979) defined that self esteem is "a global positive or negative self assessment". Self esteem is now a household concept and high self-esteem is regarded as something that cause a fruitful result in life in general and in specific situation.

Peart, et al. (2005) said that it is the assessment of self within the framework of the individual's occurrences and the surroundings in which he/ she lives. It refers to individual's self-significance. (Macek & Lacinová, (2006), Self-esteem shows person's emotional part and his/her adjustment to life's complexities, connected with subjective welfare and contentment and is associated to positive self-determination, leadership, adjustment, and stress management; besides, it is associated to health care activities. it may be described as a set of attitudes and faiths that an individual has got with him or herself while confronting the world. Such a set of attitude and faiths include a person's conviction about whether he\she can anticipate success or failure, how much of endeavor he\she should put forward, whether failure at a task will hurt him\her, either he\she becomes further accomplished due to build-up of diverse experiences. Thus it provides a mental frame which tempts one to respond according to anticipation to perform well as being motivated on success, failure and one's personal strength. Self esteem is an integral part of all kinds of performance whether alone a group performance or a competition or a cooperation one's feeling of considers and self respect is important in any performance. Donnelly (2001) defines Self-esteem as to what extent we think ourselves to be capable, successful, important and worthy or having like for oneself. A lot of consideration has been given to self-esteem from researchers in the USA. Ability and self-worth are two key parts of self esteem. One should believe in one's abilities and skills and should have a sense of love and respect for one-self. High self-esteem gives a confidence to an individual to achieve his goals of life. All the institutions and organizations need people with high self-esteem as it is correlated with knowledge, performance, productivity and effectiveness.

Need and Importance

Quality of education must be the main goal of all state education system. Thoughts and hopes, when faced with existing conditions of education, it seems still far from the expectations that exist, because the results of various classes has marginally decreased and the quality of teaching has not been in accordance with the needs and abilities of the students. We know intuitively that effective teachers can have an elevating effect on the daily lives of children and their lifetime education and career goals. As Fredriksson (2004) examined, educators are liable in improving the school efficiency as they have genuine

faculty to make a change in student's advancement right all the way through teaching and learning process. The role of a teacher is vital and without a positively oriented teacher, education system would crumble. The success of any educational institution is basically determined by its effective teachers. To make actual education possible, to keep hold of enrolled students in the classroom, to raise the level of achievement, to bring out the hidden potentialities of the students, to shape the students into ideal democratic citizen with competence and skill and to improve educational standards remarkably there is a need to have efficient teachers without them it is not possible

The situation is not far from this even today when teachers need to have concern about their Self-esteem as it affects to a large extent on the performance of a worker. Moreover, quite a few researchers have reported that the poorer educational performance by pupils have reflected negative self-assessment of educational capability of teachers. To put it more clearly, self-esteem has been found to be extensively linked with a number of important facets of human behavior like adjustment, nervousness and recognition of other people. It has implications for both parents and teachers. Our self-esteem is affected the way we look at ourselves and the way other people perceive us. In order to have high self-esteem, we need to build our own self-esteem by realizing we need to be our self, not what other people think about me what I should be. Negativity from others only lowers our self-esteem and makes us less confident. We should always freely express our likes and diskless in front of others.

People who have high self-esteem give much to society by getting things done and promoting a happier environment. They are always open to learn. Whereas, low self - esteem people always look depressed, in a state of anxiety, anger, shame or guilt and also have relationship problems. They don't rely upon themselves and are fearful of criticism and new challenges. James (1890) has rightly stated that a direct feeling of regard is fundamental to humankind. Likewise Maslow (1943) viewed that self-esteem to be the second highest category within the hierarchy of human needs. The foundation of Rogers's (1951) stated that it is the fundamental need to uphold and develop the self. Brown (1986) articulated the requirement to keep up self-esteem as an "urge so deeply human that we can hardly imagine its absence" (p. 534). Solomon et al. (1991) reminded us, "It is difficult to conceive of an area of behavior that has not been linked in some way to a need for self-esteem" (p. 107).So the full strength is only possible when we have a high self-esteem as it gives confidence to perform many tasks efficiently and superbly.

Statement of the Problem

The problem chosen for the current investigation is "Teacher's Effectiveness and Self-Esteem of High School Teachers Teaching in Jammu and Kashmir."

Hypothesis of the Study

1. Teacher's effectiveness of high school teachers is low.

2. Self-esteem of high school teachers is low.

3. There is no significant difference in the teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of high school teachers with regard to

   a) Gender - Male / Female

   b) Type of Management - Government / Private

   c) Marital status - Married/ Unmarried

4. There is no significant association between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of high school teachers.

Method of the Study

Normative survey method was used.

Sample of the Study

The current study has been restricted to a representative sample of 450 high school teachers. The sample has been selected from 44 high schools located in kulgam district of Jammu and Kashmir state. Stratified random sampling method has been employed for the selection of the sample with randomness and representativeness.

Tools Used in the Study

The below given tools have been administered in the current study for the collection of the data.

1. Teacher's Effectiveness Scale (TES) and Self-Esteem Scale (SES) - Constructed and standardized by the Investigator (2018).

Delimitation of the Study

The investigator made every attempt to make the present study as precise and objective as possible, but due to practical considerations certain delimitations had crept into the study. Considering the limitation on resources the study has been delimited in terms of content and sample as given below:

1. The present investigation has been confined to district Kulgam of Jammu & Kashmir State, India.

2. The present investigation has been delimited to government and private high schools only.

3. Restricted to Forty-four high schools.

4. The sample is restricted to 450 high school teachers.

Data Collection Procedure

The data were gathered after getting the authorization of the chosen schools. The research instruments used viz. Teacher's Effectiveness Scale (TES) and Self-Esteem Scale (SES)-Constructed and standardized by the Investigator (2018) were given to them after proper instruction in order to get the accurate and reliable data.

Statistical Analysis of the Data and Interpretation

Ho$_1$

Teacher's effectiveness of high school teachers is low.

Table-1.1 Mean and Standard Deviation Scores of Teacher's Effectiveness of High School Teachers

S. No.	Variables	Number	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	Teacher's Effectiveness	450	222.60	14.55

From table -1.1 it is observed the calculated mean and standard deviation scores for the teacher's effectiveness were found to be 222.60 and 14.55, respectively. One can get a maximum score of 270 on teacher's effectiveness scale. The mean score falls between the average value range (185-244) thus, the given hypothesis (1) is discarded and it got verified that the teacher's effectiveness of high school teachers is average.

Ho$_2$

Self-esteem of high school teachers is low.

Table-1.2 Mean and Standard Deviation Scores of Self-Esteem of High School Teachers

S. No.	Variables	Number	Mean	Standard Deviation
1.	Self – esteem	450	140.65	9.37

From Table 1.2 it is observed the calculated mean and standard deviation scores for the teacher's effectiveness were found to be 140.65 and 9.37, respectively. One can get a maximum score of 160 on self-esteem scale. The mean score falls between the high value score (134-160). Thus, the framed hypothesis (2) is discarded and it was revealed that the self-esteem of high school teachers is high.

Ho$_3$ - Teacher's Effectiveness

There is no significant difference in the teacher's effectiveness of high school teachers

with respect to

  a) Gender - Male / Female

  b) Type of Management - Government / Private

  c) Marital status - Married/ Unmarried

Table-1.3 Mean Difference of Teacher's Effectiveness of High School Teachers with regard to Gender, Type of management and Marital status

Teacher's Effectiveness		N	Mean	SD	't' Value	LS
Gender	Male	305	223.01	15.59	3.01	S
	Female	145	220.24	14.88		
Type of Management	Government	181	221.58	14.35	3.91	S
	Private	269	223.42	14.88		
Marital status	Married	262	222.46	14.15	0.99	NS
	Unmarried	188	223.96	15.35		

  Gender). The above table-1.3 shows that the mean and standard deviation of teacher's effectiveness of male teachers (N=305) and female teachers (N=145) are 223.01, 15.59 and 220.24, 14.88. Moreover, computed 't' value is $[t_{(450)} = 3.01 > p]$ is significant. Consequently, the framed hypothesis is discarded.

  Type of Management). The above table-1.3 shows that the mean and standard deviation of teacher's effectiveness of government teachers (N=181) and private teachers (N=269) are 221.58, 14.35and 220.24, 14.88. Moreover, computed't' value is $[t_{(450)} = 3.91 > p]$ is significant. So the framed hypothesis is discarded.

  Marital Status). The above table-1.3 illustrates that the mean and standard deviation of teacher's effectiveness of married (N=262 and unmarried teachers (N=188) are 222.46, 14.15and 223.96, 15.35. Moreover, computed't' value is $[t_{(450)} = 0.99 < p]$ is not significant. So, the framed hypothesis is accepted.

Ho$_3$-Self-esteem

There is no significant difference in self-esteem of high school teachers with respect to

  a) Gender - Male / Female

  b) Type of Management - Government / Private

  c) Marital status - Married/ Unmarried

Table.1.4 Mean Difference of Self-Esteem Scores of High School Teachers with respect to gender, type of management and marital status

Self-Esteem		N	Mean	SD	't' Value	LS
Gender	Male	305	141.56	9.69	0.94	**NS**
	Female	145	140.67	8.61		
Type of Management	Government	181	140.35	9.05	0.13	**NS**
	Private	269	139.23	9.57		
Marital Status	Married	262	141.49	9.80	2.41	**S**
	Unmarried	188	143.12	9.04		

Gender) Table 1.4, shows that the computed 't' value for the mean scores of self-esteem of male and female high school teachers $[t_{(450)} = 0.94 < p]$ is not significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis 3 is accepted and it is understood that no significant difference has been found in self-esteem with regard to gender.

Type of Management) Table 1.4, shows that the computed 't' value for the mean self-esteem scores between government and private high school teachers $[t_{(450)} = 0.13 < p]$ is not significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis 3 is accepted and it is realized that no significant difference has been found in self-esteem with regard to type of management.

Marital Status) Table 1.4, shows that the computed 't' value for the mean self-esteem scores between married and unmarried high school teachers $[t_{(450)} = 2.41 > p]$ is significant. Hence, the set hypothesis is rejected.

Ho$_4$

Table-1.5 Showing the relationship of Teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of High School Teachers based on Entire Sample

Variables	N	'r' value	LS
Teacher's Effectiveness and Self-esteem	**450**	**0.371****	**Significant**

Table-1.5 shows that, the 'r' values between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem is established to be [N = 450, r = 0.371] at the 0.01 level which points out that a positive association exists between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem. Consequently, hypothesis 4 is rejected due to the positive and significant relationship between the two variables.

Findings of the Study

1. Average level of teacher's effectiveness was found among high school teachers.

2. The teacher's effectiveness was found high for the Male teachers than female teachers, Private high school teachers than government high school teachers, M.Phil or PhD teachers than their counterparts and Unmarried teachers than married teachers.

3. There is a significant difference in teacher's effectiveness with respect to following sub-samples,

    a) Gender

    b) Type of Management

4. No considerable distinction was found in teacher's effectiveness with respect to marital status.

5. The level of self-esteem was found high among high school teachers.

6. The self-esteem was found high for the

    a) Male teachers than female teachers.

    b) Government high school teachers than Private high school teachers.

    c) Unmarried teachers than married teachers.

7. Considerable distinction was found in self-esteem with respect to marital status. But there is no significant distinction in Self-esteem with respect to gender and type of management.

8. There is a positive and significant relationship between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem of high school teachers.

Conclusion

The excellence of education to a great level depends on eminence of teachers. Truly it is only the teachers who can make education a thing of delight and success or a matter of aggravation and despair. Teacher's effectiveness in relation to their self esteem plays a key role in achieving the desired objective of the teaching and learning process. Every fraction of our life is affected by self-esteem. People with high calibre will not always succeed in their life, but people with high self-esteem will as they have got resistance, power, and a capacity for renewal. From the present study it is found that the high school teachers considerably differ in their effectiveness with regard to gender, type of management and educational qualification but do not considerably differ in marital status. Whereas in Self-esteem the high school teachers differ significantly in marital status but do not significantly differ in gender, type of management and educational qualification. Moreover,

the study revealed that there is a positive and significant relationship between teacher's effectiveness and self-esteem. So the self-esteem at professional level is very important and that should be stressed in all the institutions and organization as it is highly correlated with knowledge, performance, and productivity, capacity for renewal and effectiveness which will ultimately advance the effectiveness of teachers.

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Predictive Analytics Adoption by Airlines for Better Business Decisions: An Exploratory Study

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Abstract

Airlines or air travel business has always been in focus for right or wrong reasons. Sometimes it is for the safety of the passengers, sometimes it is for the profitability or rather non-profitability of the business, and at times it is how the passengers are treated by the staff. People still use and will continue to use air travel for saving time and energy. Most of the travelers know that the airfare changes, especially it is very high if you are booking at the last hour. In fact, it is possible that two passengers sitting next to each other would have paid amounts different to the tune of 30-40%. Why do airlines do that is not in the scope of the current paper but how do they do it? What factors do they use to achieve such changes in the ticket pricing is what we are discussing in this paper.

In this paper, we will discuss the level of usage of predictive analytics in airfare and few other operational or functional areas of the airline industry where predictive analytics is in major use and how it helps taking business decisions based on the insights provided by predictive analytics.

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Introduction

Airlines are an integral part of today's world with billions[1] using air travel across the world every year and the number is likely to increase. The fast-paced world that we live in today demands for such high-speed travel and airline industry is also trying hard to meet customers' increasing expectations. These expectations are not limited to taking them from boarding point to their destination but include many other things such as comfort, in-flight entertainment, meals, inflight connectivity, inflight shopping, airport lounges, and best value for their money. These are genuine expectations and airline industry is also well aware of these. Their struggle is two-fold, 1. to increase the number of passengers and 2. to retain the existing passengers from their competition. Predictive analytics is one of the many technological weapons that the airlines are using to fight in this competitive war.

Airlines by far and large have not been a very profitable business; only over 50%(out of the 5000 with ICAO - International Civil Aviation Organization codes) of the airlines have been profitable since inception of this industry in 1909 (consultancy.uk, 2017). From 1978 to 2001, nine major airlines went under, and hundreds of small carriers went out of business as well (Custora U, n.d.). The top 150 airlines groups were not into profit till 2009 (Dunn, 2017). They will use any new technology that promises of keeping their customer base intact and help them gain more ground and become profitable. The researcher believes there is a direct one-to-one correlation between number of loyal customers and profitability in airlines business. More number of customers, more repeat business and thus profitability. This is also because once the airline has booked a flight, they are bound to take their passengers to their destination even if they have to fly with 20% vacant seats. That is also the reason, why so many airlines have gone into what is called "code share" in which airlines combine their passengers and one of the partners operate the flight giving each of the partners huge savings.

Airlines use Predictive Analytics for many areas from **ticket pricing, to decision on the in-flight entertainment content, the decision on the meals (even ingredients), temperature in the flight, airport lounges and other options to give their customers best value for money.** "The travel industry is one of the most technologically advanced markets in the world, adopting big data and predictive analytics (PA) when the tech was still in its early days." (Shane Long, n.d.). "Most major airlines have been using customer segments for 30 years." (Drummond, 2015). One of the most important area that is used by airlines to keep their customers and ensure repeat business is through their loyalty programs. However, with the changing dynamics in the market and with new competition

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[1]   3.8 billion in 2016 according to the International Air Transport Association (IATA)

bringing in better loyalty programs or better customer experience, the businesses need to be in an always improving mode.

Airlines and Predictive Analytics

Predictive analytics has been in use in most of the industries with 'a strong customer focus' such as retail, ecommerce, communication, and marketing. The companies in these sectors have been collecting a lot of customer related data for getting insights from it. Data such as spent pattern, customer browsing history, conversations with call center staff, inquiries into different products and plan, and where they are spending their money. According to TDWI Research, the top 5 reasons why companies want to use predictive analytics are; to predict trends, understand customers, improve business performance, drive strategic decision-making, and predict behaviour (Kishore, n.d.). Few of these areas are similar if not exactly the same in the airline industry.

There are many areas where airlines can use and are using predictive analytics to take business decisions. Decisions that impact their customer experience, customer retention, operational efficiency, increase the effectiveness of online marketing and advertising campaigns, revenue optimization and profitability.

"Industry studies reveal why a "tougher competitive environment" is the strongest reason for companies to adopt predictive analytics." (Cognizant, n.d.).

Ticket Price or Airfare

Most of the customers are happy if they have to pay minimum for a travel, while others are happy when the travel is comfortable. So, airlines have been using Predictive Analytics to find the perfect balance between what customers will happily pay for and also help companies earn the profit.

Airlines have been applying predictive Analytics for many years to find the right price for each particular segment of customers, that will keep them competitive by reducing the price and yet be profitable without overcharging. While it might sound like "*The Solution*" for the airlines, it is not, as so many other areas are still to be managed by the airlines and Predictive Analytics has been coming forward as the most trusted partner to lend them a helping hand.

One of the systems used by the airlines using predictive analytics is collecting more than 150 parameters, a few of which are given below:

Departure time and Arrival time

Checked in luggage

In flight food preferences

The number of people you're travelling with

Number of points earned in the credit card

Destination place

Departure time

Shopping, in the flight and at the airport

Hotel accommodation

Car rentals and cab transports

Activity on social media

This system is able to make decisions simply based on booking of the ticket by combining these parameters and giving other offers to the customer (Williams, 2018).

Operational efficiency and reliability

Running an airline business is highly competitive and every penny counts towards bringing the business to profit. Operating costs are the highest in the overall expenses and accounts for roughly 75% of all non-fixed costs (Beers, 2019). Operational efficiency, thus, is one of the most crucial business decisions to be made and airlines try their best to keep a check on the operational costs. Not only do they try to keep the operational costs minimum, but they also try to be as reliable and efficient in their operations as possible. This includes reducing fuel usage and minimize the flight time by selecting best possible route, doing the maintenance on time to avoid any major breakdown due to which the aircraft might spend long duration in hanger, reducing the duration from landing to getting airborne for the next flight, and making sure that the flights are on-time or at least the customers are well informed about any possible delays.

Predictive analytics is helping the airlines in achieving the operational efficiency targets, however, there is still scope for a lot of improvements. Even airports are using big data and predictive analytics to help the airlines be efficient as any delays lead to bad reputation for the airlines and airport alike.

Using predictive analytics, airlines are predicting the appropriate time to take an airplane for regular maintenance, thus avoiding keeping passengers onboard while fixing a problem.

Decision, whether to hold a flight while waiting for more passengers or leave the passengers who are late, is another case where predictive analytics can help. Based on the data available, it is possible to predict the time the remaining passengers will take to reach the flight and a decision could be taken based on cost-benefit analysis of leaving few passengers vs. spending fuel and causing missing of connecting flights for passengers already onboarded. A real-time decision is made possible by using predictive analytics in such a situation (Gregory, 2016).

Fuel savings by fine-tuning engines is another example of using analytics as mentioned by Joe Locandro, director of information technology for Cathay Pacific in an interview to MIT Sloan Management Review (Kiron, 2015).

Three critical benefits of predictive analytics as reported on the Aviation Pros are following (Miller, 2016):

Reduced Unplanned Fuel Burn - With better taxi time, configuration and airport congestion predictions, carriers are able to burn less fuel during taxiing and carry less contingency fuel during the operations. As a result, carriers can reduce unplanned fuel cost.

Reduce Excessive Flight Time - With better taxi time, configuration and airport congestion predictions, carriers are able to avoid unnecessary taxi out delay by taxiing toward the right departure runways. In addition, airlines are able to select the routes aiming toward the predicted arrival direction to avoid vectoring in the terminal airspace. For example, by acquiring better situational awareness at JFK airport, Delta saved an estimated 228 hours in excessive taxi time in just one quarter.

Reduce Delay Propagation - Carriers can reduce initial flight delays by taking proactive actions using insights from predictive airport analytics, further mitigating the downstream delay propagation impact.

Customer Experience and Personalization

Another area of high concern, for a segment of customers, is experience which is a collective noun for factors such as comfort, greetings, choice of in-flight entertainment, access to airport lounge, choice of seats, seat comfort, meal options and others. These bunch of passengers are ready to pay the premium that the airline might ask for, provided they get the experience that they can rejoice and return to the same airline as a loyal customer. Then they will spend more and more as long as they get better and better customer experience. Let us understand how Predictive Analytics will help in this area.

Predictive Analytics is used to analyze the data such as location of stay, meal preferences, drink preferences, seat preferences, content watched on in-flight entertainment system, time of travel, number of stops, most frequently traveled destination, number of people traveling together, their age, gender, ticket class, and many others. Based on the insights from the analysis, airlines are able to provide personalized offers in seats, meals and other amenities to enhance the customer experience, making them to stay loyal to the airlines for a longer period of time. Another area is baggage handling, which requires high compliance as well as might lead to major customer dissatisfaction is also helped by Predictive Analytics which allows unmarked baggage matching to the loss descriptions. "US $22 billion - The

air transport industry has saved over $22bn in the past nine years, thanks to improvements in baggage handling and a big reduction in lost or mishandled bags." (Airlines & Analytics | How The Airline Industry Uses Data To Fly Higher, 2017) Though 65% of airlines executives believe they are yet to device a system that would give the most personalized experience to their most revenue generating customers (TravelWireNews Editor, 2017).

Marketing Campaigns

Airlines are good marketers and make very good advertisements, however, with the proliferation of digital and social, sometimes they are not as effective as they thought to be. With their marketing efforts affected by bad reviews and negative word-of-mouth feedback on social media platforms from their unsatisfied customers leading to poor outcomes and overall loss.

With the help of predictive analytics, airlines can create different advertisements targeting different customer segments and publish and broadcast these ads in the respective medias highly used by their target customer segments. For example, they can target their highly paying customers with ads offering more comfort and luxury destinations in high end magazines while have another advertisement through mass-media for discounts, extra baggage and freebies or co-branded credit cards for more reward points (Agost, 2016). Airlines are also using predictive analytics to give personalized advertisements to individual customers through different digital and social media based on the data collected from them for their previous purchase and travel history. "$762 billion - Worldwide Digital Travel sales is predicted to reach $762 billion by 2019." (Airlines & Analytics | How The Airline Industry Uses Data To Fly Higher, 2017) .

Good reviews, feedbacks, and recommendations from customers are also shown or highlighted to their social connections for additional business and revenues. Few of the players in the travel industry provide social platforms to their customers for free, to share their reviews and feedback comments which give multi-fold benefits, a) they increase their reputation for being an open culture company listening to their customers, b) they have the negative feedback from most of their customers readily available to them to take corrective measures before these customers go to any other medium to rant out their discomfort or inconvenience, c) they can selectively highlight the better ones to others and collective boast of great feedbacks received rather than relying on feedback forms or additional surveys thus saving huge costs. "US$25 Billion - Airlines and Airports can save annually from flight disruptions by harnessing artificial intelligence, cognitive computing, predictive analytics and other progressive technical capabilities." (Airlines & Analytics | How The Airline Industry Uses Data To Fly Higher, 2017).

Predictive Analytics is the key to better business decisions

"It costs 10x more to acquire a customer than to retain, and 100 times more to win back one already disillusioned with the company" (Whitepaper: Unlocking the Customer Value).The number of happy passengers staying with an airline for a long enough period is the ultimate goal for any airline to stay in business and be profitable. "What would a customer expect from the best airline?" If that question could be answered, then the airline will try to meet most of these expectations as long as it is giving good return on investment (ROI) and keeping the customer stay with them for a duration long enough.

Predictive Analytics has been helping airlines with providing the answers to such questions. We will try to find few of the areas which are of high concern for any customer and where airlines could adopt Predictive Analytics for achieving customer delight and create a niche for their business.

Objective

Objective of this paper is to study the areas in which airlines have adopted predictive analytics to improve their profitability and to meet customer expectations. The objective is to study the data from the following perspectives:

Customer service areas in airline industry which directly have high impact on customer satisfaction or business growth

Customer services areas in which airlines have adopted predictive analytics to meet customer expectations

Customer service areas in which airlines can adopt Predictive Analytics to improve customer satisfaction and achieve better ROI

Research Methodology

To better understand the adoption of predictive analytics across airlines, the study of various customer service areas, in which airlines use predictive analytics, was important. These
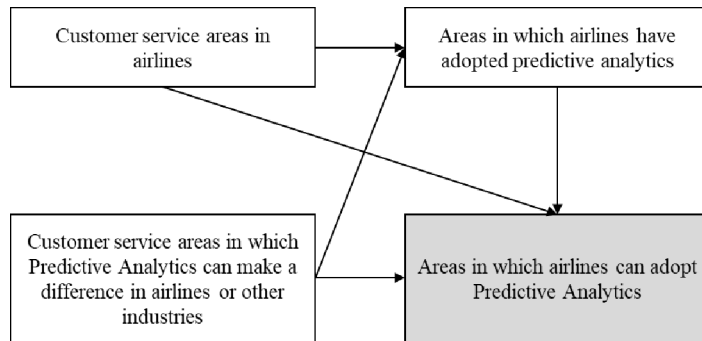

Figure 1: Research Methodology

areas of importance gave insight into the how to best utilize the predictive analytics in other areas as well. Thus, the methodology as depicted in *Figure 1* was proposed:

The components of the research methodology are explained below:

Table 1: Components of Research Methodology

#	Component	Description
1	Customer service areas in airlines	Customer service is vast subject so to identify the areas specific to airlines were identified from this phase.
2	Areas in which airlines have adopted predictive analytics	Different industries have adopted predictive analytics in different areas, so this phase was required to identify the areas in which airlines have adopted predictive analytics
3	Customer service areas in which Predictive Analytics can make a difference in airlines or other industries	Predictive analytics may or may not bring substantial improvements in all areas in which it is used. This phase helped in identification of the customer service areas in which usage of predictive analytics can make a difference in airlines or other industries
4	Areas in which airlines can adopt Predictive Analytics	The research components described above will lead to identification of areas in which airlines can adopt predictive analytics. This will help achieve the objective of this study.

To identify the service areas in the airlines industry a survey was conducted and was shared with people living in major metropolitan cities in India such as Delhi-NCR, Bangalore, Mumbai, Hyderabad etc. who are likely to have used the airline services recently.

The survey was sent to a population of 500 selected for the survey out of which 242 responses were received. All 242 responses received were considered for the analysis based on completeness and correctness of the data.

Results and Analysis

From the data analysis, following observation were made for each of the research methodology components.

Component #1: Seat selection, drink options, baggage handling, time of travel, in-flight entertainment are the top 5 service areas that are used by the respondents. The percentage of respondents using these services is 16.91%, 13.20%, 10.52%, 10.31% and 9.07% respectively, amounting to 60% of the respondents.
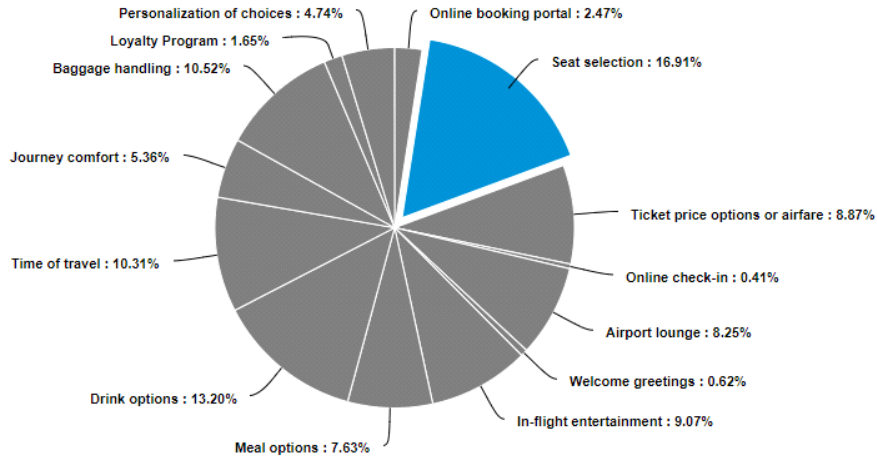
Figure 2: Distribution of Customer service areas used by the respondents

Table 2: Airline services used by respondents

Answer	Count	Percent
Online booking portal	24	2.47%
Seat selection	164	16.91%
Ticket price options or airfare	86	8.87%
Online check-in	4	0.41%
Airport lounge	80	8.25%
Welcome greetings	6	0.62%
In-flight entertainment	88	9.07%
Meal options	74	7.63%
Drink options	128	13.2%
Time of travel	100	10.31%
Journey comfort	52	5.36%
Baggage handling	102	10.52%
Loyalty Program	16	1.65%
Personalization of choices	46	4.74%
Other	0	0%

It is interesting to note that on-line check-in has been selected as one of the least used services despite availability of such options.

Component #2: Adoption of predictive analytics in different areas by airlines is as following as per the respondents. Customer Experience and personalization (Comfort, Greetings, Choice of in-flight entertainment, Access to lounge, Choice of seats, Seat comfort, Meal options) is the major area in which airlines have adopted the use of predictive analytics as per the respondents and comprises of 33.05% or 1/3rd of the total responses received. The second service area is Ticket price or airfare (Best price, with most value) and is 24.46%. These 2 together form more than 50% of the service areas. The remaining are Baggage handling (Minimum number of errors), Operational efficiency and reliability (Reduced Unplanned Fuel Burn, Reduce Excessive Flight Time, Reduce Delay Propagation) and Marketing Campaigns (time of travel, number of stops, most frequently traveled destination) with 21.89%, 18.03% and 2.58% responses respectively. It is noteworthy that there are no responses other than these areas despite given a choice to enter details.

Figure 3: Distribution of Service areas in which airlines have adopted Predictive Analytics

Table 3: Service areas in which airlines have adopted Predictive Analytics

Answer	Count	Percent
Ticket price or airfare (Best price, with most value)	114	24.46%
Operational efficiency and reliability (Reduced Unplanned Fuel Burn, Reduce Excessive Flight Time, Reduce Delay Propagation)	84	18.03%
Customer Experience and personalization (Comfort, Greetings, Choice of in-flight entertainment, Access to lounge, Choice of seats, Seat comfort, Meal options)	154	33.05%
Baggage handling (Minimum number of errors)	102	21.89%
Marketing Campaigns (time of travel, number of stops, most frequently traveled destination)	12	2.58%
Any Other (provide details)	0	0%

Component #3: Survey respondents identified the most important service areas for them in which they expect the services from airlines, and adoption of predictive analytics in these areas will be beneficial for the airlines. The top 5 service areas in which predictive analytics may support airlines are choice of seats, Choice of in-flight entertainment, Loyalty Program, Personalization of choices, and Access to lounge with a score of 2.64, 2.54, 2.46, 2.43, and 2.36 respectively out of 5.
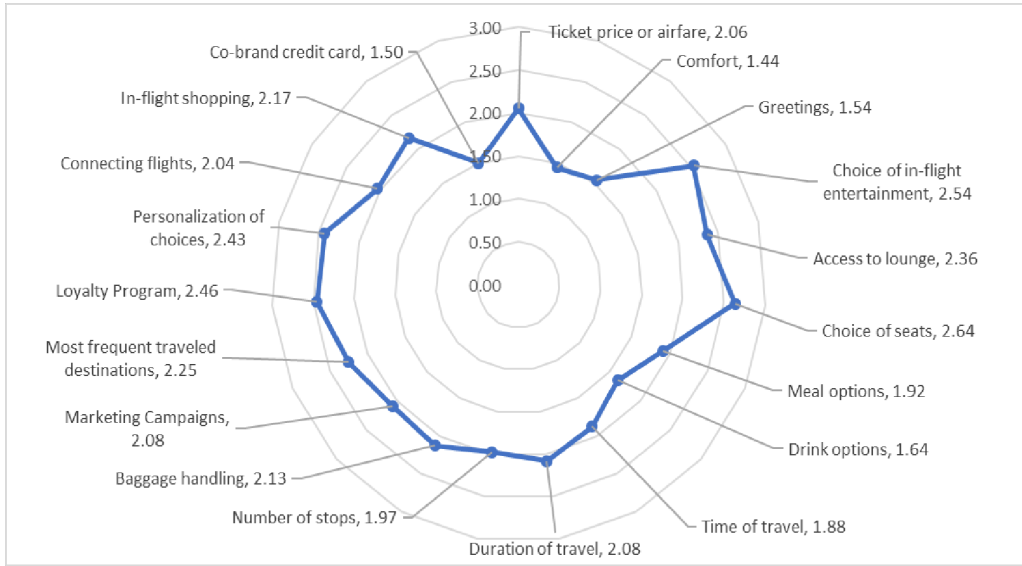
Figure 4: Important service areas for airlines

Table 4: Important service areas for airlines

Question	Score	Percent
Ticket price or airfare	2.06	41.12%
Comfort	1.44	28.88%
Greetings	1.54	30.84%
Choice of in-flight entertainment	2.54	50.84%
Access to lounge	2.36	47.22%
Choice of seats	2.64	52.78%
Meal options	1.92	38.34%
Drink options	1.64	32.78%
Time of travel	1.88	37.50%
Duration of travel	2.08	41.66%
Number of stops	1.97	39.44%
Baggage handling	2.13	42.50%
Marketing Campaigns	2.08	41.66%
Most frequent traveled destinations	2.25	45.00%
Loyalty Program	2.46	49.16%
Personalization of choices	2.43	48.62%
Connecting flights	2.04	40.84%
In-flight shopping	2.17	43.34%
Co-brand credit card	1.50	30.00%

Component #4: According to the responses, the top 5 areas in which airlines can adopt predictive analytics are choice of seats, choice of in-flight entertainment, drink options, comfort, and access to lounge. These options have been selected by 12.32%, 12.32%, 10.90%, 9.48%, and 9.48% respondents respectively. It is surprisingly interesting to note there are 2 equal choices made on this. The choice of seats is considered equally important to the choice of in-flight entertainment and similarly, comfort and access to lounge are also considered equally important services areas for the airlines in which they can adopt Predictive Analytics. Combined together these service areas are selected by 54.50% of the respondents.
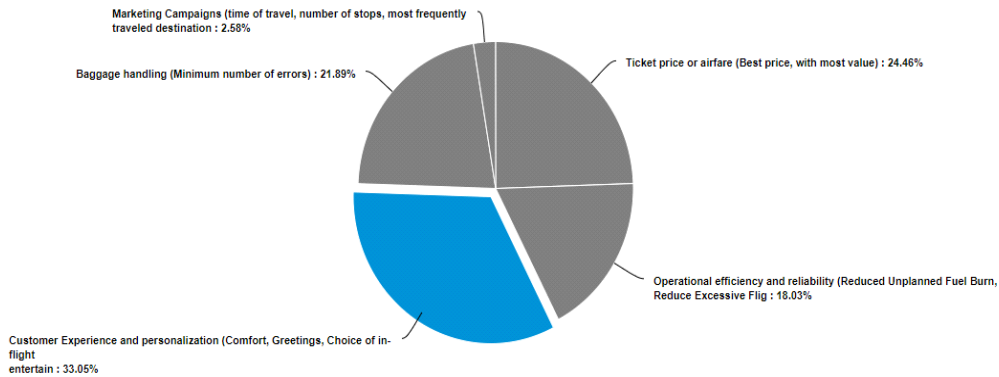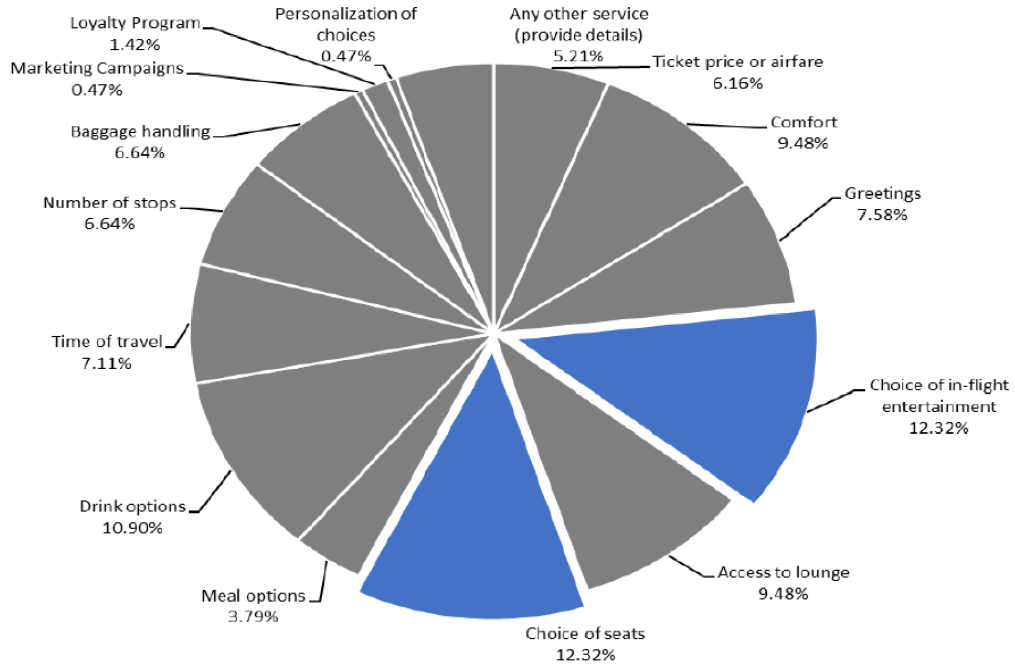
Figure 5: Distribution of service areas in which airlines can adopt Predictive Analytics

Table 5: Service areas in which airlines can adopt Predictive Analytics

Answer	Count	Percent
Ticket price or airfare	26	6.16%
Comfort	40	9.48%
Greetings	32	7.58%
Choice of in-flight entertainment	52	12.32%
Access to lounge	40	9.48%
Choice of seats	52	12.32%
Meal options	16	3.79%
Drink options	46	10.90%
Time of travel	30	7.11%
Number of stops	28	6.64%
Baggage handling	28	6.64%
Marketing Campaigns	2	0.47%
Loyalty Program	6	1.42%
Personalization of choices	2	0.47%
Any other service (provide details)	22	5.21%

Other insights

Survey respondents were also requested to select the percent of airlines, in their opinion, that are using Predictive Analytics and 45.59% of them selected it to be less than 20%. It can be observed from the responses that 67.65% of them consider that the adoption is less than 40%. 7.35% of respondents, in their opinion, consider Predictive analytics adoption in airlines is more than 60%.
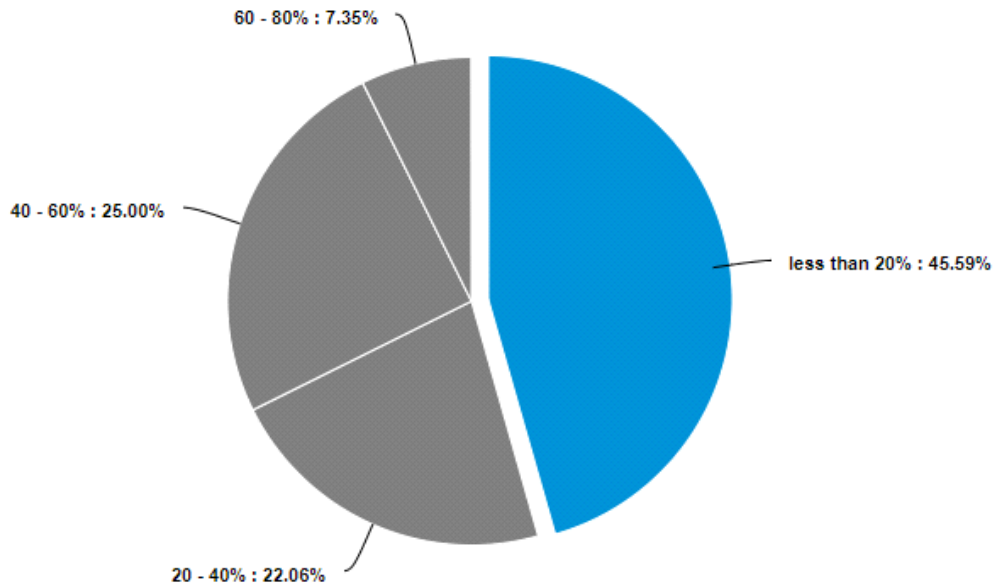
Figure 6: Distribution of % of airlines adopting Predictive Analytics

Table 6: % of airlines adopting Predictive Analytics

Answer	Count	Percent
less than 20%	62	46%
20 - 40%	30	22%
40 - 60%	34	25%
60 - 80%	10	7%
more than 80%	0	0%

It is evident from the data analysis above and various reports and articles(as per references) available for the airlines industry that the usage of Predictive analytics is at its nascent stage. Airlines have adopted Predictive analytics for few key areas (as per Component

#2) to meet or deliver more than the customer expectations. However, based on the data analysis for the airlines industry, there are additional areas that are getting clearly highlighted as the areas where predictive analytics could be adopted to improve customer satisfaction (as per Component #4), create value for the customer and take decisions to grow their business to get better financialresults.

Conclusion

Airlines industry is infamous for single digit net profit margins despite having huge Capex and Opex costs. Predictive analytics supported by other related technologies such as Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning etc. can help the airlines take business decisions to improve the customer experience that will result in loyal customers and repeat business, improve operational efficiencies to reduce cost and give better pricing options to maximize on the revenue. Few of the areas discussed are the major areas of improvement and support for the airlines.

As we see that Predictive analytics is definitely supporting business decision makers in increasing revenue, improving ROI and getting repeat business. This paper has discussed the airlines industry as an exploratory study to identify the areas where Predictive analytics can further help to improve the business. This will also help them continue operating the business which is always on the ice-thin margins to provide the best services to millions of people worldwide as flying is not going to stop any time soon. Predictive analytics will provide the wings to support them continue with their flight of better businesses.

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Poverty Measurement: An Analysis and Comparison of Different Approaches

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Abstract

The concept of poverty has seen transformation with time since its inception. It is a global issue which, in conceptual terms, is defined as lack of resources or opportunities or as lack of choice and freedom or deprivation of basic capabilities. The new definitions of poverty are in contrast to the earlier definitions which only focused on the monetary aspects and ignored the multidimensional perspectives of poverty. The measurement of poverty levels and identification of poor is crucial for the success of poverty alleviation programmes as well as for sustainable growth of the nation. The paper intends to study the different approaches devloped for poverty measurement.

Keywords: Poverty, Monetary approach, Social exclusion approach, Capability approach, Participatory approach.

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Introduction

Poverty is a prevalent threat and a challenge to economic development, as well as a compelling reason for economic under-development.It is a global issue and is generally considered as condition in which resources are not enough to take care of essential needs such as food, clothing and shelter. There exists a never ending debate on this definition of poverty. The definition has gone through various transformations and is now being defined as lack of access to resources and opportunities as well as lack of choice in contrast to earlier definition of income inadequacy. The transformation reflects the academic and intellectual conceptualization of the concept of poverty. "People are poor when they cannot lead a productive and creative life in accordance with their needs and interests" (Titumir & Rahman, 2013). The world poverty clock data indicates that in 2019, 593 million people in the world are poor and out of those, around 13.7 million people are living in India under extreme poverty. India is placed at rank three in world poverty.

In Indian context, the earliest efforts for identifying the poor was made by Dadabhai Naoroji in 19th century. Since independence, the task of identifying the poor has been carried out by the Planning commission, Government of India. Various expert groups have been appointed to carry out the task of identification of poor.

It is also evident from global experience that the inclusion of poor in the growth process and the trickle-down effect of the development process requires effective formulation and implementation of poverty alleviation and eradication programmes. But, formulation of such plan requires an important prerequisite i.e. knowledge about 'who is poor'.

Different approaches have been formulated by the experts for identification of the poor. Different approaches have varying underlying philosophies regarding definition and identification of the poor. Broadly, four approaches are defined for identification i.e. monetary, social, capability and participatory approach (Laderchi et. al., 2003). With differences in underlying principles and philosophies, different people may be identified as poor by different approaches of poverty measurement. The process of quantification of poverty in terms of identification of the poor has crucial implications on the effectiveness of poverty eradication programs. The study is focused on analysis of the underlying basis, based on parameters such as definition and reason for poverty and policy actions, of the above mentioned four approaches, which despite having the same objective, differ in terms of principles.

Analysis of Differeent Poverty Measurement Approaches

The Monetary Approach: It is the oldest approach formulated by Booth and Rowntree (1887, 1902) for identification of poor. Booth (1887), in his study in London, distributed and classified people in eight different social classes. Out of the eight classes, four represented different degrees of poverty measurement. His view added social dimension to the monetary

approach such as "conditions attaining in the home, and the nature and regularity of employment" (Marshall, 1981). Rowntree's provided scientific dimension to the study of poverty in 1902. He described poverty line as monetary requirement for adequate nutritional diet along with clothing and rent. People which are below this defined poverty line were put in the category of "primary poverty". "The households, who were seen to be living in "obvious want and squalor" instead of being above the defined poverty line, were categorized as being in "secondary poverty" (Rowntree, 1902)". This approach refers to expression of poverty measurement in monetary terms. Individuals in particular or households in general with consumption or incomes below a defined poverty line are identified as poor. Poverty under this approach is considered as shortfall in income or consumption. The underlying principle of this approach is based on utility theory. Income or expenditure done by the individuals can act as a proxy for satisfaction levels, which they try to maximize. The "FGT (Foster-Greer-Thorbecke)" indices are generally used to estimate poverty line under this approach. These indices provide information about head count ratio, poverty gap index and severity index (Kumar 2017). This approach provide basis for two types of poverty lines. The first one is absolute poverty line that considers the minimum level of subsistence required for an individual. It also includes nutritional requirements and essential items (Dessallien 2000). The second one is defined as relative poverty line which is based on comparison between the segments of the society.

Although, the validity of the approach depends on the factors such as justification of utility as a measure of well-being and the adequacy of expenditure as utility measure (Laderchi et al., 2003). The approach is criticized as expenditure cannot be considered as a sole criterion for identification. Welfare of individual is a multidimensional concept and includes various socio-economic factors. It can also be defined as absence of welfare, and needs to be analyzed as a multidimensional concept.

The perfect markets, as assumed by the monetary approach in poverty line estimation, are frequently absent in developing economies. Also, the approach suffers from issues associated with approximation in value of public goods. Poverty is also considered as a multifaceted concept and cannot be defined on the basis of a single factor i.e. income or expenditure(Sen 2000a). This approach also ignores the other dimensions and perspectives of well-being such as health and education. Despite such limitations, the approach is used widely because of its simplicity.

The Social Exclusion Approach: Lenoir pioneered this approach in 1974. The approach is based on exclusion of groups or individuals from the mainstream society. Exclusion could be based on race, caste, class, gender or ethical dimensions. The social exclusion is a "a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded

from full participation in the society in which they live" (European Foundation, 1995). The definition also refers to the earlier works of Townsend. He defined poverty or deprivation as referring to those people who "are in *effect excluded* from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities" (Townsend, 1979).The term social exclusion refers to those who are deprived because protection is not provided by the state (Saith, 2001). The concept of poverty under this approach is used to describe those who are not able to participate in the society and the exclusion leads to their marginalization. It differs from other approaches as it is relative measure where assessment of poor is done on the basis of 'norms'. It also focuses of different dimensions that could lead to deprivation in the societyi.e multidimensionality is an intrinsic feature of the approach. Social exclusion of individuals or groups could be categorized as active or passive (Sen, 2000) or as economic, political or cultural (Franco, 2003). The approach is in contrast to the other earlier approaches, which considers social perspective as a central idea i.e. social exclusion is defined socially and is considered as group characteristic rather than being an individual one. This provides a new idea and different policy agendas as compared to individual centric approaches, for example, discrimination eliminating policies and froms of affirmative action. In context of these considerations, the social exclusion appraoch plays a constitutive role.The concept can be defined broadly on the basis of characteristics of a group rather than an individual (Laderchi et al., 2003). The approach is also vital for designing of policies and for implementation of affirmative actions.

This approach has been criticized as it lacks the clarity in definition. Also, the concept of exclusion as a whole can vary a lot across different countries and regions. It also suffers from issues like relevance, relative importance and stigmatization of groups due to categorization (Levitas, 2006).In context of developing countries, this approach raises several issues regarding identification of poor. Identification of norms is quite difficult which is essential to form the basis of exclusion approach. Exclusion is a complex concept and exclusion from one dimension may not necessarily imply exclusion from other. It suffers from another serious problem regarding decision about appropriate exclusion characteristics. It can be considered as least well-defined concept with complex interpretations.

The Capability Approach: This approach for identification of poor emerged in 1985. It was propounded by Sen. The approach is based on the view that improvement in basic capabilities is vital for development and poverty is defined as deprivation of certain minimal or basic capabilities. It rejects income as a measure of welfare. This approach puts emphasis on freedoms regarding health, education, public goods provisions, rights etc., as in contrast to earlier approaches which focused income or expenditure based evaluation and utility

maximization. It addresses much wider concerns of poverty as compared to other approaches. To strengthen this argument, it also put emphasis on other dimensions that are crucial to enhance the capabilities of the individual. The income or expenditure is considered a means under this approach for enhancing well-being and not an end. The emphasis is on the idea that adequate income or expenditure and other resources are necessary to attain certain capabilities but are not sufficient, externalities and social goods are vital because of their influences on capabilities. Also, when choices are considered, they are influenced by expectations as well as by strategic interactions, which makes the observed market behavior of dubious value for social valuation (Sen, 1985). It emphasizes on "the freedom of individual to live life that is valued" (Laderchi et al., 2003).

Like other previous approaches, this also suffers with certain limitations. There exists certain operation issues in identifying the poor using capability approach, such as definition of basic capabilities. It is difficult to identify what minimal essential capabilities are required to eradicate poverty. It is synonymous with problem of identification of basic needs. Another issue related to measurement of such capabilities relates to translation of capabilities concept into something measurable (Ravallion, 2011). The capabilities may not be quantifiable. There also exists an issue regarding determination of cut-off of various capabilities which can differentiate poor from non-poor.Despite such limitations and issues, this approach exhibits major importance in poverty estimation. This approach puts emphasis on wider range of causes of poverty.

The Participatory Approach: The earlier three approaches were widely criticized as they did not put any emphasis on the view of poor. Chambers pioneered this approach with the aim to factor in the views of the poor. The objective was to indulge people in decisions about "what it means to be poor" and to estimate the degree of poverty (Chambers, 1997). It provides "more voice to the intended 'beneficiaries' of development programmes, and so greater opportunity to shape what is done in their name" (White & Pettit, 2004). Poor, themselves, lays down the criteria for identification under this approach. Chambers defined the participatory poverty assessment (PPA) as "a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act" (Chambers, 1994).

The participatory approach can be differentiated into three broad categories viz (1) association with empowerment and self-assessment, (2) association with increasing efficiency of programs and (3) emphasis on mutual learning (Cornwall, 2000). Various tools of measurement have also been devised such as seasonal calendars,participatory modelling, well-being ranking. Existence of such tools make this approach a different one as compared to past approaches, it has a more rigorous methodology and framework.

Although, to carry out this approach is very difficult because it includes large scale studies. It is also important to apply this approach with great care and in right manner. There also exists limitation in operationalizing of PPAs. "In principle, people themselves conduct PPAs but inevitably it is nearly always outsiders who conduct the assessments and interpret the results" (Laderchi et al., 2003). The approach emphasizes on inculcation of poor's view in the development process and strategies. The approach faces other forms of challenges also, like community heterogeneity which questions 'whose voices should be heard', structural exclusion of people from communities. Also people's own assessment could lead to biased results because of limited information and social conditioning.

A Comparison of Different Approaches of Poverty Measurement

The different approaches, as known by different names, to measure poverty includes human capital (capability), economic growth, livelihood, human resources, human rights based, basic needs, participatory and social exclusion approaches. From an analytical standpoint, as has been asserted by Stewart et al. (2003), these distinct names of poverty measurement could be compressed into four approaches: 1)"Monetary approach" which focused on the human resources and economic growth of an economy; 2) "Capability approach" which focused on basic needs, human rights and livelihood; 3) "Social exclusion approach" which focused on individuals or groups who are excluded from participation in the society; and 4) "Participatory approach" which focused on the perception of the poor people.Each approach of poverty measurement is derived with a different perspective. Furthermore, policy implications are different for different approaches, as examined below.

All the approaches, with underlying differences in their perspectives, aim at acceptable, efficient and transparent identification of poor. The monetary approach is considered as an orthodox one with underlying perspective of considering poor on the basis of low productivity and focus on individual level only. The other approaches, as in contrast to monetary approach, considers poverty as a multidimensional concept and have perspective of going beyond the income based identification for framework designing of anti-poverty measures. These approaches put special emphasis on consideration of social dimensions such as health, education, infrastructure etc.There exists similarities among capability approach and social exclusion approach where both have "idea of enhanced role of state in welfare policy designing and implementation" at their center. The participatory approach is also based on social dimensions with enhanced emphasis on poor's role in decision making. (Dinni & Lippit, 2009)

Discussion

The existence of different approaches for identification of poor makes one thing clear that there does not exist any unique objective way for measuring poverty. The selection of

approach, prior to the identification of poor and estimation of poverty, is crucial as it has vital effects on formulation and outcome of the policies. Different approaches identify different households and individual as poor and different levels of poverty. The identification of poor through different approaches is also contingent upon the 'construction' element in the poverty measure. There are certain arbitrary and subjective elements imposed by the outsiders in monetary approach, social exclusion approach and capability approach, while in PPA, people themselves participate (Laderchi et al., 2003).

The monetary approach measuring poverty in monetary terms may not provide appropriate picture as it poses a false impression of being objective and an accurate measure while having inadequacies in conceptualization.The monetary approach suffers with limited empirical consistency when intermixed with capability approach and poses problems.It suggests focus on enhancing of money incomes while the capability approach draws attention towards provision of public goods. The Social exclusion approach puts special emphasis on anti-discrimination policies. With different underlying principles of different approaches, it becomes essential to have awareness about conceptual apparatus before adoption of any approach. Also, a combination of approached must be used for identification of poor.

Definition of poverty and conceptualization and measurement methods of different approaches have vital implications on policy effectiveness and implementation. Lack of overlapping among different approaches could lead to serious errors when targeting is done using only one type of approach. A comprehensive, extensive and transparent definition of poverty is fundamental for effective policy development.

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An Empirical Analysis of Working of Groups Under SHG- Bank Linkage Programme of NABARD in Rural Areas of Rajasthan

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Abstract

The SHG-Bank linkage programme is an effective approach in reducing the poverty, generating employment and empowering women in the country. Initiated in the year 1992 by NABARD, this is the largest micro-finance programme in the country. This study empirically analyses self help groups under this programme in rural areas of Alwar district of Rajasthan covering four blocks with 100 respondents. The paper examines the functioning of SHGs with various perspectives such as motivational factors to join SHGs, functioning and management of groups, training and capacity building, savings and credit utilization and repayment patterns etc. The paper also discusses some problems such as complicated formalities, inadequate skill development training, rigid repayment schedule, high rate of interest, delays in sanctioning loans, membership of undeserving candidates, lack of awareness in group, heterogeneity in the group members etc in the study area. The study also suggests some policies and practices for improvement in the functioning of SHGs.

Keywords: Self Help Groups, NABARD, Management, Savings, Credit

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Introduction

In India, Self Help Groups (SHGs) have been proving as a powerful instrument for achieving the target to reduce poverty and empowering poor to increase their income opportunities and generating self-employment (Ghosh, 2012). SHG is an informal association of members with business and social objectives in their minds. One of the objectives of formation of SHGs is to build and strengthen trust and cooperation among its members. This concept is participatory in nature, where it allows each member to participate regularly in meetings and decision making. The SHG-Bank Linkage Programme in India was started by National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) in 1992. The Programme developed at a very fast rate and has become a predominant model of microfinance in terms of both numbers disbursed and loan outstanding (Tankha, 2012). SHG programme has a significant role in encouraging microfinance in India. There are three important models in the SHG-Bank Linkage Programme of NABARD. Under model one, it is the responsibility of banks to form and promote the groups along with financing and capacity building. Under Model two, SHGs are formed by Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in their respective areas but are directly financed by the banks based on the capabilities of these groups. The groups are promoted, nurtured and trained by these types of agencies and Banks provide financial help in terms of loans to SHGs. It is the responsibility of these agencies to enhance the capabilities of the groups. In Model three, SHGs are financed by NGOs and other formal and informal financial intermediaries and act as both facilitators and microfinance intermediaries for groups. With the participation of various NGOs, bankers, other formal and informal organizations and direct or indirect involvement of government functionaries, NABARD is playing important role in capacity building of all stakeholders such as Banks, Micro Finance Institutions, NGOs, Gramin and District Central Co-operative Banks, Farmer's Clubs and Individual Rural Volunteers (IRVs). Creation of awareness and organization of sensitization programmes for all stakeholders are some of the regular features of this linkage programme.

In India, few SHGs and federations have been able to achieve substantial growth, but various studies indicate that women SHGs face challenges such as lack of skill, awareness, poverty and lack of entrepreneurial skills. It is pertinent to mention that it is very important to identify the factors behind willingness of women to enter SHGs. It is established by various studies that participation in SHGs not only enhances productivity of women members but also helps to create social capital through working together, proper coordination, leadership and trust building. This paper examines the role of NABARD and NGOs for these objectives in Alwar district of Rajasthan.

SHG-Bank Linkage in Rajasthan

The SHG programme was introduced in Rajasthan by Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD) of Government of Rajasthan and it is being implemented in all districts of the state since 1997-98. The SHGs are promoted by Anganwadi workers of Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) under DWCD in Rajasthan state. "Approximately 1,50,000 women SHGs were formed in Rajasthan by various government departments and developmental schemes like DWCD, Swaranjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), District Rural Development Agency (DRDA), NABARD and NGOs. Around 50 percent of these SHGs were promoted by DWCD, NGOs and other government programmes and schemes (NABARD 2015-16)".

Table 1: Progress of SHG-bank Linkage Programme in Rajasthan

(Loan Outstanding in lakhs)

Year	No. of SHGs		Loan Amount	
	During the Year	**Cumulative**	**During the Year**	**Cumulative**
2007-08	72,599	2,10,436	25,004.45	28,899.79
2008-09	97,957	3,08,393	36,654.63	65,554.42
2009-10	96,206	4,04,599	46,328.65	1,11,883.07
2010-11	90,393	4,94,992	44,540.04	1,56,423.11
2011-12	1,34,961	6,29,953	71,490.25	2,27,913.36
2012-13	1,29,571	7,59,524	63,294.45	2,91,207.81
2013-14	1,29,830	8,89,354	64,229.04	3,55,436.85
2014-15	1,19,607	10,08,961	1,08,019.05	4,63,455.90
2015-16	98,107	11,07,068	65,183.06	5,28,638.96
2016-17	86,484	1,19,3552	52,954.25	5,81,593.21
2017-18	99,286	1,292,838	49,689.03	6,31,222.24

Source: Status of Microfinance in India (Annual report of various years).

The growth and progress in terms of number and amount respectively of the SHG-Bank Linkage Programme in Rajasthan state, from 2007-08 to 2017-18 period with the loan outstanding is presented in table 1. It is clear from the table that the number of self help groups continued to increase upto the year 2017-18, except one year i.e. 2011-12. The cumulative numbers of SHGs during the year 2017-18 were 1292838 in Rajasthan. The amount of outstanding loan of SHGs with banks also increased from Rs. 28899.79 lakhs in 2007-08 to Rs. 631222.24 lakhs in 2017-18.

Review of Literature

Nirbhachita, et al. (2008) studied the linkages between SHG-bank and other financial institutions. The study highlighted issues, which become constraints between SHGs and financial institutions working in the area. The authors have tried to establish cause and effect relationship between the functioning system of SHGs and the linkages with concerned banks and other funding agencies. The study highlighted its strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat implementation process in accordance with the prevailing local conditions and in implementation problems faced by beneficiaries of SHGs in different parts of India.

Singh, et al. (2009) examined the experiences and sustainability of SHG-Bank Linkage Programme in India in Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh. The results show that SHGs were unable to reap full benefits of this programme. The study suggested that federation of all SHGs working in blocks and district is very important for the sustainability of SHGs and all efforts should be made to provide technical, managerial and financial assistance to SHGs.

Mani and Sudheer (2012) found in their study that SHG Bank Linkage Programme is promoting voluntary saving to generate resources at Self Help Group level so as to reduce the dependency on external funding resources. The study also discussed the current status of SHG Bank Linkage Programme in terms of its outreach over time and highlights the impact of SHG-Bank Linkage Model on social and quality of life of rural poor. Some issues related to future roadmap of the linkage programme were also highlighted in the study.

Wagh (2013) studied various aspects of the problems and prospects of micro finance in Udaipur district of Rajasthan including pattern of growth and relation in strengthening of formal financial system for building the capacities of rural poor. According to the study, the development through MFIs has brought significant changes in the living standard of rural poor people and reduced the poverty of poor people in rural areas. It also enhanced the self confidence of members of SHGs.

Praba and Shanmugam (2015) evaluated the progress of microfinance through SHG-Bank linkage model. The study found that the SHG-Bank linkage programme not only focused on providing formal financial services to the poor, but it also focused on education and health of poor people. The study also revealed that only 20 percent of low-income people have access to formal financial services. Therefore, it is very important to expand the scope and outreach for the scale of financial services to reach the people especially in rural areas.

Mathur and Mathur (2016) analysed the functioning of SHGs and their effectiveness

in rural development of Udaipur district, Rajasthan. The study found that SHGs are playing a significant role in socio-economic development of rural people. Therefore, the efficiency of SHGs should be increased to help poor rural masses comprising of women, artisans, peasants labourers, unemployed rural youth etc. The study also suggested the ways to strengthen the effectiveness and efficiency of SHGs.

Bansal et al. (2017) did an in-depth analysis of the profile of SHGs of Rajsamand District of Rajasthan. According to the study, 50 percent SHGs were promoted by the department of women and child development, 25 percent from SGSY, Watershed development and other development department of governmental schemes and around 25 percent by NGOs. Almost 57 percent SHGs were linked to bank. The study found that 53.33 percent groups were involved in income generation activities, and those members have started income generative activities at individual level after joining the SHGs in the district.

Kumar and Sharma (2018) reviewed the progress of SHGs at national level under the linkage approach. The study observed that this linkage approach had a strong policy intervention for the financial inclusion of poor. From simply a tool of financial inclusion, it has transformed itself into a programme for promotion of livelihoods and poverty alleviation. Moreover, the study also highlighted the rapid growth of SHGs from one million in 2003 to nearly 40 million year 2017.

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine the motivational factors to join SHGs
2. To understand the functioning of groups and measures taken for capacity building
3. To study the savings and credit utilization patterns in SHGs
4. To analyse the repayment patterns of SHGs
5. To identify the problems faced by SHGs and provide suggestions for improvement

Data and Research Methodology

The study is empirical in nature based on primary data collected from Alwar district of Rajasthan. The study area covered four blocks of Alwar district of Rajasthan state, which are Allawara, Bansur, Kishangarh, and Mundawar. The blocks were selected on a random basis amongst the existing 14 blocks of Alwar district. The respondents are selected on random basis in twelve villages from these blocks. A total of 100 female respondent were selected from 25 SHGs (four females from each group), who have taken loan from NGOs under NABARD SHG-Bank Linkage Programme. All the samples are randomly selected and personal interview method was adopted to conduct the survey. Simple statistical techniques such as average, percentage, graphs and frequencies are used for interpretation

of the data.

Results and Discussion

Motivational Factors Encourage to Join SHG

Motivational factor is an important aspect, which encouraged the people to join SHG groups. The study shows that 31 percent members join the group to contribute to their household income, 26 percent to spend on children education, 13 percent respondents to increase their saving and to promote social solidarity and 9 percent respondents to access cheaper credit. Moreover, the NGOs workers in these areas and group members were main promoters who encouraged them to join self help groups. According to the data it is clearly shown that 40 percent respondents were suggested by the NGOs workers, 24 percent by the group members. However, 21 percent joined the group by self-motivation and 15 percent were suggested by the relatives/neighbour and family members. Moreover, NGO workers and group members are most helpful promoter in this regard. While, 64 percent of respondents were motivated by the NGOs workers and members of existing SHGs, 21 percent were self motivated.

Table 2: Motivator and Factors of Motivation to Join the SHG

Motivator and Motivational Factors	Factors	Number
Who suggested to Join the group	Self-motivation	21
	Family member	3
	Relative/Neighbour	12
	NGO worker	40
	Member of the group	24
Factors behind Motivation	To contribute in household income	31
	To increase savings	13
	To spend more on children	26
	To access cheaper credit	9
	To promote social solidarity	13
	To fight against social evils	5
	Others	3

Source: Field Survey

Functioning and Management of Groups

Function and management of groups are very important components for growth of SHGs. Here, the functioning and management of group is evaluated by the numbers of meetings held, attended and issues discussed in the meeting and consensus of members of groups in taking decision. Table 3 analyses data related to the functioning and management of the group. It was found in the study that 81 per cent meetings were called by the group leader and in remaining cases, only in case of absence of the leader, meetings were called by group secretary. The details about frequency of meetings are also represented in the table. Meeting of the group under NABARD-SHG programme was held on monthly basis. Majority of the respondents claimed that they attended every group meeting. The information related to the decision making in the group is also revealed in the table. The study found that all decisions were taken by all the group members. To reveal another detail about the functioning and management of group, it is very important to know what kinds of issues were generally discussed in the meetings. The survey shows that 29 per cent respondent discussed the income generations related issues, followed by saving issues (17 per cent). Apart from these issues, other aspects such as training, social development, credit lending and issues related to the education and marketing were also discussed. Majority of the respondents claimed that records were maintained by the leader of the group.

Table 3: Issues Related to Functioning and Management of the Groups

Function & management	Particulars	Number
Meeting called by	Group leader	81
	Group secretary	19
	NGO	0
Frequency of meeting	Monthly	100
Normally member attend meeting	100 %	12
	90%	84
	80%	4
Decision holder	All member	100
General issues discussed in the meetings	Credit lending	8
	Saving issues	17
	Repayment issues	06
	Defaulter issues	00
	Income generating	29
	Training	13
	Marketing	05
	Education	08
	Political issues	04
	Social issues	07
	Development	03
Who maintains the record?	Group leader	80
	Group secretary	12
	One of the members	8

Source: Field Survey

Training and Capacity Building

Training is one of the important components of SHGs for its growth as this may also help to create human capital, which in turn helps to enhance productivity. In table 4, the information regarding IGA related training provided by authority and types of training in the group is presented. In order to enhance the skills of SHG members and improve the access of financial services, group members require various kind of training, such as exposure tour, skill development, orientation, market linkage, health and literacy and so on. In the survey, 52 percent respondents replied that they were imparted training by the government officials of NABARD and 48 percent reported that the NGOs activists and representatives provided training to them. A total of 26 percent respondents were provided

skill development training and 20 percent of respondents attended health and literacy awareness programmes. Other areas of training were orientation programme, social and general issues, financial management, exposure tour marketing linkage and other. The respondents claimed that they experienced improvement in their skills and lifestyle and became more confident after joining the group.

Table 4: Information related to Self Help Group Training

Training Details	Particulars	In number
Institutions which provided training	NGO's activists & representatives	48
	Government officials	52
Types of training to members	Orientation	12
	Exposure tour	7
	Skill development	26
	Marketing linkage	4
	Financial management	8
	Social issues	13
	Literacy and health	20
	Micro enterprise development	3
	Other	7

Source: Field Survey

Pattern and Purpose of Savings

These are very important issues in the SHGs as pattern and purpose of savings help to meet out the objectives of groups. Table 5 deals with the information related to savings i.e. purpose of savings, source and frequency of savings and amount of savings. According to the data collected and presented in the table, all respondent saved the money on monthly basis. 52 percent of the members in the group saved Rs. 200 and remaining 48 percent saved Rs. 100 per month. The main purpose of the saving of respondent is the education of their children with majority (32 percent), followed by for agricultural development, assets building, marriage and other events. Majority of respondents saved this amount from their personal income. The study found that the saving system in the group made the women financially strong, confident and independent and also helped to got their families free their families from moneylenders.

Table 5: Information Regarding Saving Issues

Saving Details	Particulars	In number
Purpose of saving	To meet emergency	7
	Agricultural development	21
	To meet medical expenses	6
	For children education	32
	Marriage & other events	11
	Assets building	19
	Festivals	0
	Any other	4
Source of saving	Personal income	84
	Household income	6
	Old savings	10
Frequency of Savings	Weekly	0
	Monthly	100
Saving Amount	200 Per Month	52
	100 Per Month	48

Source: Field Survey

Purpose of Loan in Various Activities

One of the main objectives of group based credit system is availability of loan on easy terms. Proper utilization of loan is very helpful for the groups and its members as it sustains and strengthens the income generation activities. Table 7 presents the information regarding purpose of availing loan and their uses. Data shows that 32 percent respondents availed the loan to invest in live stocks followed by assets building, agricultural activities and for their existing IGA related consumptions. It was found that 21 per cent of respondents acquired loan for health and education of members of their family. Loan was also utilized for the purpose of family business, purchase of fodder and repayment of old debts.

Table 7: Information Regarding Purpose of Loan Used in Various Activities

Particulars	Sub Categories	Number
	Investment in live stock	32
	Family business	06
	Agro activity	9
	Purchase of fodder	03
	Assets building	11
Loan amount used	Health related activity	07
	Marriage/ other social events	05
	Consumption expenditure	08
	Education for children	14
	Repayment of earlier debts.	01
	Other	04
	Total	100

Source: Field Survey

Table 8: Information regarding use of Loan for IGA and Collateral

Particulars	Sub Categories	Number
Collateral used to secure loan amount	No collateral	0
	Guarantee by group members	100
The loan amount used for a group activity	Yes	4
	No	96
How the loan amount utilized for IGA in your HH	Used by me for self-employment	87
	Used by husband alone	9
	Used by all member as common activity	4

Source: Field Survey

Table 8 also shows the information regarding use of loan for IGA and collateral. The study found that no items were deposited by the members as security and collaterals for loan, however in case of default and in case a member was not able to pay the loan, the remaining loan amount was paid by all group members. All respondents claimed that the loan amount was not used for any group activity. It was found that 87 percent member used their loan amount for self-employment generation. Only 9 percent respondent said that the loan amount was used for their husband's employment and 4 percent used the loan as a common economic activity by all family members.

Repayment Patterns in SHGs

Repayment is a very significant parameter of success of SHGs. The study also focused on the repayment system and schedule of the group. It was found that in the study that all lenders repay on time. It was found that no one failed in the repayment of their loan amount. Table 9 reveals 77 percent respondent repay the loan from their self-employment profits, 23 percent use their husband and household income to repay the loan. All respondents said that they repay the loan instalment monthly. When the question asked to the respondents if the loan amount was sufficient as per their requirement, a majority of members (68 percent) said that the amount was manageable and 13 percent respondent replied they were satisfied and 19 percent were not satisfied with the amount.

Table 9: Information Regarding Repayment of Loan

Particulars	Sub Categories	Number
Repayment of loan	Profit from loan/ self	77
	Husband income	23
Repayment instalments	Monthly	100
Repayment on time	Yes	100
	No	0
loan sanctioned to you was sufficient as per your requirement	Adequate	13
	Manageable	68
	Inadequate	19

Source: Field Survey

Problems Faced by Respondents

Complicated Formalities

The complicated formalities were the main problems of the members. This type of issue created problem in the proper functioning and sustainable growth of the SHGs. A total of 27 percent respondents claimed that the bank formalities to get the loan were very complicated and uneducated members were unable to fulfil these formalities easily.

Inadequate Skill Development Training

Training improves skill and efficiency of the trainee. Thus, skill development training to leaders and other members of the groups is essential to improve their efficiency, so that they can execute their works smoothly and effectively. Keeping in mind the importance of the training, NABARD extends financial assistance to various SHPIs for providing proper training to the leaders and other members of the SHGs. But, this initiative of NABARD was not implemented properly in the study area. 18 percent respondents reported that no

skill development training had been provided to them, and they were not trained to conduct groups and other economic activities.

Rigid Repayment Schedule

The study has been found that the rigid repayment schedule had increased the workloads and pressures of the SHG members with respect to repayments of loan on time.12 percent respondent reported that they had faced problems in respect of repayment of loans on time. They viewed that shorter repayment period had increased extra pressure on them and in many cases, they had to sell their products at cheap price for repayment of loans. Death of livestock, meagre income, extravagant family expenditure etc. had adversely affected the repayment of loans on time.

High Rate of Interest

The SHG members mainly belong to the BPL families. By joining the group, they can enable themselves to get formal credit and reduce the dependence on moneylenders. The loan obtained from the moneylenders is expensive because they charge exorbitant rate of interest on loans. But, the finding of the study revealed that most of the SHG members felt heavy burden of higher interest rate. Out of the total, 19 per cent respondents expressed high rate of interest charged was high and created extra burden on them in respect of repayment of loans.

Delays in Sanctioning Loans

The SHGs are entitled to get credit from the banks, if they attain required maturity. Generally, after six months of the date of formation, if the resource handling capacity, repayment behaviour, accounting system etc. is satisfactory, the SHG is eligible to get credit from the banks. But in the study, it has been found that unnecessary delay on the part of bank in sanctioning loans created serious problems among the SHG members. 29 per cent members reported that bank had taken unnecessary time in sanctioning loans. Hence, they were not able to start any income generating activities on time with more amount investment.

Membership to the Undeserving Candidates

In few groups, there were members who were well off and above poverty line (APL). They were not interested in doing any income generating activities and were against SHGs availing bank loan. Their involvement created confusion and reduces self confidence in the needy candidates who belongs to less income grant.

Lack of Awareness in Group

Higher level of awareness ensures the higher level of efficiency of any development programme. The participation of people increases in the development programme when the information is available. NABARD spreads the information about the benefits of the

programme and the procedure. But, the information about these Programmes were not provided to all group members in the study.

Heterogeneity in the Group Members

In some groups heterogeneity creates problems. APL-BPL members, members coming under different age groups, members with different tastes and attitudes towards income generating activities have different views and opinions, which was not proved productive for the sustainability, functioning and management of the group.

Uneven Power Equations in the Group Members

It was observed that during the survey, the members were not empowered equally in the group. It was due to non-homogeneous social and economic background, uneven education level and age group, and lack of confidence in the group members. It was negatively affecting the confidence of the members and their skills and abilities.

Conclusion

The study identified functional aspects of groups such as motivational factors to join SHG, functioning and management of groups, training and capacity building, saving and credit uutilization and repayment patterns. It also highlighted various issues raised by the members. For the better functioning and management of the group, it is essential to organise meetings at regular interval so that they can discuss various issues such as common problems, income generative activities, savings, training, group activity and socio-economic development related awareness. To establish and sustain any kind of economic activities the person should be trained. So, it is also important to provide a required skill development training to SHGs. Proper training and guidelines should be prepared to enhance their skill quality and develop the income generative activities. An educated foundation or group can perform better and make people understand the policies. For the smooth functioning of the SHGs, it is important all group members understand the basic knowledge of finance and working of SHGs. In order to achieve the goals, the group record book maintenance is the priority of SHGs. To enhance the effectiveness of SHGs, record maintenance is most important step to be followed by the group. The proper monitoring and evaluation of the group is required for better functioning of SHGs. To identify the various aspects such as management of group, requirements of the group members, information about IGA, uses of loan and repayment or saving pattern monitoring should be a must in the group. It can make every meeting, setting the interest rates, hundred percent recoveries of loan amount and appropriate employment related guidance to the group members which are very helpful in group development. To improve the capacity of the SHGs, the formation of federations at a regional level is very important for monitoring, training and evaluating the groups.

Moreover, the SHG federation provides a big platform to the members to fight against gender and other social issues, and makes them more empowered. Attractive saving schemes also enhance member's thrift habit. Under the circumstances, such policies are required to be foumulated which have greater role of government, NGOs and community.

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A Study on Civil Service Aspirants Who Refuse to Quit Chasing Their Dreams

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Abstract

Grit involves "perseverance and passion for long-term goals" (Duckworth, et al., 2007). The present research work comprises two studies conducted on different samples. Study one was conducted to investigate grit, self-efficacy, internality and coping strategies in civil service aspirants. Young adults from Chandigarh and Delhi with unsuccessful attempt/ attempts in Central/State Civil Service exam, who refused to quit and continued with their preparation in full swing, formed the sample for the study. Short Grit Scale (Duckworth & Quinn, 2009), General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995), Internality subscale of the Internality, Powerful Others, and Chance Scales (Levenson, 1981) and Coping Strategies Inventory 32 Item (Tobin, 1995) were administered to the participants. Correlation and regression analysis were performed on the data obtained. Self-efficacy, internality and problem solving coping strategy were found to be positive predictors while problem avoidance and self-criticism emerged to be negative predictors of grit. Overall the predictors explained 33% of variance in grit. Self-efficacy was found to mediate the effects of internality on grit. Study two compared civil service aspirants with non-Civil Service aspirants of Punjab. Factors of group (Civil Servant aspirants and non-Civil Service aspirants) and gender were found to have no effect on grit, self-efficacy, internality, engagement and disengagement coping strategies. Implications of the findings are discussed in the context of Civil Service aspirants and Civil Servants.

Keywords: Grit, Self-efficacy, Internality, Coping strategies, Civil servant aspirants

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Introduction

Indian Civil Service examination, the toughest examination of India is conducted by Union Public Service Commission once in a year. The examination is conducted in three phases viz., preliminary examination, mains examination and interview (personality test). Considering the difficulty level of the exam and the limited number of seats for every cadre under it, very few aspirants clear all stages in the first attempt. Some of the aspirants crack it after giving multiple attempts while a huge number never make it through. As reported by India Today "four out of every 10 Indians (21-32 years) aspire to become an IAS officer and competition is so intense that only 5 percent of that massive number gets through" ("Things you must know before you start preparing for UPSC", 2016).

Not many studies have been conducted on Indian Civil Service aspirants and particularly on the variables taken in the present research. Also unequivocal results have been obtained on the relationship between grit and internality and coping (Celik & Saricam, 2018; Holtby, 2018; Lovering et al., 2015; Steinfort, 2015). This exploratory study was therefore undertaken to study grit in a sample of passionate civil service aspirants of India who refuse to quit chasing their dreams. An attempt was made to identify the level of grit and its predictors in aspirants who were undeterred despite facing career-related setbacks in their attempt to crack the exam.

Grit

Duckworth et al. (2007) have defined grit as "perseverance and passion for long-term goals." (p.1087). A gritty individual exhibits continued interest in the task undertaken by him, works diligently to achieve it, does not get easily distracted from his goals, believes in finishing his goals and in the face of obstacles and setbacks does not experience loss in motivation levels (Duckworth et al. 2007; Duckworth & Quinn, 2009). Robertson-Kraft and Duckworth (2014) studied performance of school teachers through the indicators of 'teacher retention' and 'teacher effectiveness'. 'Teacher retention' was described as teachers who did not leave teaching assignments in the middle of the year but continued to provide services till the end of the academic session. 'Teacher effectiveness' was determined based on students' yearly progress. Teachers who were retained for the session scored higher than the ones who resigned in the middle of the year. 'Effective teachers' were found to be significantly higher on grit than their less effective counterparts. Rimfeld, Kovas, Dale, and Plomin (2016) studied a sample of twin pairs from United Kingdom. 'Perseverance of Effort' factor of grit was reported to be positively related to conscientiousness. Chen (2018) proved empirically that performance of a person high on grit is influenced by the fact whether he is intrinsically motivated towards it or not. It was explained that gritty people show continued efforts towards a task provided it is of interest

or importance to them. In the absence of intrinsic motivation they are reportedly equivalent to their less gritty counterparts. Grit has been found to be related to high ambition, good physical and mental health. Gritty people score higher on the positive dimensions of hardiness (Lovering et al., 2015).Relationship between grit and mental health has been confirmed by some recent research studies (Datu, Yuen & Chen, 2018; Jin & Kim, 2017). People high on grit have been found to have greater positive thinking skills (Celik & Saricam, 2018).

Steinfort (2015) found grit to be related to performance in professional football players. According to Steinfort (2015), "grit increases an individual's likelihood of reaching flow in a given task due to their tendency to engage in more deliberate practice, whilst flow is likely to increase an individual's passion, and therefore perseverance and grit, in relation to that task."

Self-efficacy

Perceived self-efficacy refers to an optimistic belief about one's self (Schwarzer, 1992) that one can handle new or difficult tasks or deal with adversities. "Self-efficacy represents individuals' expectations and convictions of what they can accomplish in given situations" (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003, p.5). Bandura (2005) argued that self-efficacy is a judgement of personal capability and is different from self-esteem which is a judgement of self-worth. Self-efficacy determines whether people think methodologically or arbitrarily and whether they have a positive or negative outlook towards life. They influence to what extent one is affected by significant stressors in their lives and the adaptive strategies utilized by them in the face of challenges and threats (Bandura, 2006). Self-efficacy is the perceived operative capability i.e., beliefs regarding not what one 'has' but what an individual 'can do' with his/ her available resources (Bandura, 2007).

Perceived self-efficacy influences an individual's behaviour directly, as well as indirectly, by effecting one's goals and aspirations, outcome expectations and perceptions of sociostructural factors such as facilitators and impediments. Efficacy beliefs determine how high one sets one's life goals/targets and with what attitude (positive/negative) he/she accepts the failures. Likewise, high self-efficacy people believe in doing well and achieving favorable outcomes. Self-efficacy also impacts the extent to which individuals make the best of their lives' opportunities and cope with the obstructions faced by them (Bandura, 2009). High self-efficacy beliefs are related to greater level of engagement at work, greater vigor to do work, higher personal initiatives and a higher level of work performance (Lisbona, Palaci, Salanova, & Frese, 2018).

Internality

Rotter (1966) regarded internal locus of control as beliefs involving one's control over his/ her life. People with high internality do not engage in attributing outcomes to factors outside

one's control. In 1981, Levenson gave a three dimensional model of locus of control comprising of internality, power and chance and developed a measure for the same. As the author did not mandate computing a total score, in the present study only the internality subscale has been made the focus of the study. Internality has been described by Levenson (1981) as attributing success or failure to one's abilities and actions. A person high on internality, after formulating plans, works towards their fulfillment, when successful attributes his achievement to his hard work, believes he has significant control over his life and manages to protect his interests. Such people regard an individual's nature responsible for the number of friends he/she has and chance accidents a matter of one's driving skills. Bandura (2005) opined that internal locus of control is a belief determined by whether outcomes flow from behavior or from extraneous forces. Agarwal, Mulani, Mehta, Kaur, and Munshi (2018) found that people with high internality have greater general well-being. According to these researchers, having control over one's life leads to enhanced self-confidence and consequently greater well-being.

Coping

Frydenberg and Lewis (2012) posited that coping is "a set of cognitive and affective actions that arise in response to a particular concern. They represent an attempt to restore the equilibrium or remove the turbulence for the individual" (p.1). An individual's frame of reference, motives, competencies and stress tolerance determines the kind of coping strategies he/she employs. Coping may be regarded as task-oriented or defense-oriented. Task oriented-response refers to bringing changes in one's self or one's environment. "The action may be overt, as in showing one's spouse more affection, or it may be covert, as in lowering one's level of aspiration". In case of a forest fire, running is the appropriate task-oriented coping response. The second category of coping strategies is defense-oriented coping, which is primarily used when an individual's feelings of adequacy are seriously threatened by a stressor. In this type of coping, "behavior is directed primarily at protecting the self from hurt and disorganization, rather than at resolving the situation" (Carson, Butcher, Mineka, & Hooley, 2007, p.150). Lazarus and Folkman (1981) gave a theoretical perspective on coping and derived a transactional model of stress and coping. Coping strategies are considered as specific efforts, behavioral as well as psychical, which people use to master, decrease or handle stressful events. Lazarus and Folkman suggested two types of coping strategies viz., 'problem - focused coping' and 'emotion focused - coping'. When an individual deals with a stressful situation proactively and makes efforts to control the stressor, it is referred to as problem-focused coping. On the other hand, if his attention is centered on handling and managing the emotions created by the stressor, it is called emotion-focused coping (Nolen-Hoeksema et al., 2009). Tobin (1984) distinguishes between

engagement and disengagement coping. Engagement coping refers to active involvement in dealing with the stressors in the environment. Engagement coping can be 'problem focused engagement' or 'emotion focused engagement'. 'Problem focused engagement' refers to cognitive and behavioral initiatives directed at changing the stressful situation. 'Emotion focused engagement' on the other hand, refers to emotion-based attempts made to deal with the problem at hand. 'Disengagement coping' is said to occur when one makes no attempts to ameliorate the effects of the stressors. 'Disengagement coping' too may be further categorized into 'problem focused disengagement' and 'emotion focused disengagement'. 'Problem focused disengagement' refers to cognitive and behavioural initiatives taken to circumvent the situation. 'Emotion focused disengagement' refers to emotionally disengaging from the stressors in the environment by avoiding others and by finding fault in one's self.

Literature Review

Wolters and Hussain (2015) studied two aspects of grit, namely, 'perseverance of effort' and 'consistency of interest' with self-efficacy. 'Perseverance of effort' was found to be positively related to self-efficacy while 'consistency of interest' was found to be insignificantly related to self-efficacy in college going students. Earlier, grit was found to have a positive relationship with self-efficacy in school students (Rojas, Reser, Usher, & Toland, 2012). Research done by Holtby (2018) which examined the relationship of grit with 'self-efficacy for regulated learning' highlighted a positive association between the two. 'Self-efficacy for regulated learning' has been defined as directing one's self towards their goal by showing commitment and involvement in one's work, sustained attention and finishing tasks or projects on time and being motivated to do it.

Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, and Kelly (2007) opined that it would be meaningful to study the relationship of grit with internality, another important determinant of achievement and success. Celik and Saricam (2018) found a positive relationship of grit with internal academic locus of control in a sample of nearly three hundred adolescents. Further, regression analysis revealed internal academic locus of control to be a significant positive predictor of grit. Steinfort (2015) administered Attributional Style Questionnaire (Dykema, Bergbower, Doctora, & Peterson, 1996) and Short Grit Scale (Duckworth & Quinn, 2009) to a sample of professional footballers. Grit was found to be insignificantly related to internality.

Lovering et al. (2015) studied grit and coping in a sample of U.S. Marine recruits. Bivariate correlations revealed grit to be positively related to active coping, positive reframing and planning. Grit was found to be negatively related to self-distraction, denial, venting and self-blame. Grit was insignificantly related to emotional support, instrumental support,

humour, acceptance and religion. Holtby (2018) found a positive relationship of grit with proactive independent coping which involves adaptive coping strategies of devising strategies to attain one's goal and staying committed to it in a sample of school students. Grit, however, was found to be insignificantly related to the adaptive coping strategies of self-encouragement, comfort-seeking and help-seeking.

Based on the review of literature and conceptual understanding of the variables taken in the present study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H1 It is expected that grit is positively related to self-efficacy.

H2 It is expected that grit is positively related to internality.

H3 It is expected that grit is positively related to problem solving, cognitive restructuring, social contact, express emotions and negatively related to problem avoidance, wishful thinking, social withdrawal and self-criticism coping strategies.

Method

Participants

The sample for the present study comprised 200 male civil service aspirants in the age range of 25-30 years residing in Chandigarh and Patiala. Young adults with unsuccessful attempt/attempts in central/state civil service exam, who refused to quit and continued with their preparation in full swing, formed the sample for the study.

Measures

Grit. Short Grit Scale (Duckworth & Quinn, 2009) contains 8 items rated on a five point likert scale with response alternatives ranging from 1 = Very much like me and 5 = Not like me at all. Half of the items on the scale are reverse scored. Sample items include "Setbacks don't discourage me" and "I finish whatever I begin". The scores range from 1 to 5 points. In the current sample, internal reliability coefficient came out to be 0.76.

Self-efficacy. General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) is a unidimensional measure of perceived self-efficacy. It contains 10 items rated on a four point likert scale with response alternatives ranging from 1= not at all true, and 4=exactly true.The scores range from 10 to 40 points. In the current sample, Cronbach's alpha for General Self-Efficacy Scale came out to be 0.69.

Internality. The Internality subscale of the Internality, Powerful Others, and Chance Scales (Levenson, 1981) was used in the present research. The subscale has 8 items which are rated on a six point likert scale with the response alternatives ranging from -3 = strongly disagree and +3 = strongly agree. Sample items include "When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work" and "My life is determined by my own actions". The score on the subscale range from 0 to 48 points. Cronbach's alphafor this scale in the

present study came out to be 0.72.

Coping. Coping Strategies Inventory 32 Item (Tobin, 1995) is a multidimensional measure of coping strategies. The inventory is made up of eight primary subscales: problem solving, cognitive restructuring, social contact, express emotions, problem avoidance, wishful thinking, social withdrawal and self criticism. The thirty two item coping strategies inventory has four items under each subscale. Items are rated on a five point likert scale with the response alternatives ranging from a = not at all and e = very much. The score on each subscale range from 4 to 20 points. The internal consistency reliabilities in the present study came out to be 0.71 for problem solving, 0.69 for cognitive restructuring, 0.65 for express emotions, 0.74 for social support, 0.68 for problem avoidance, 0.71 for wishful thinking , 0.73 for self-criticism, 0.74 for social withdrawal.

Alongwith obtaining scores on these measures, participants were enquired "what keeps you going despite your career-related setback(s) in one or the other stage of the examination".

Procedure

Purposive sampling technique was used to identify those aspirants who had been unsuccessful in any of the three stages of the civil service examination. Despite failure these aspirants were not ready to quit and wanted to continue appearing in the exam till they ultimately succeeded. The link to the questionnaires for the present study was forwarded in multiple civil service aspirants' pages and study groups searched online. The aspirants were briefed about the purpose of the study and requested to participate. They were assured regarding the confidentiality of their responses. Only those participants' responses were retained who had given a committed attempt. Participants who had given an attempt without preparation and/or only to obtain an idea of the pattern of the examination were excluded from the final sample. SPSS version 21 was used to compute all statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics followed by correlation analysis was performed on the data obtained. Further, multiple stepwise regression analysis was performed with grit as the outcome variable and self-efficacy, internality and coping strategies as predictor variables. Alpha level of .05 was kept as the criterion for significance for all analysis.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations of all variables. Grit was found to be positively correlated with self-efficacy, $r(200) = .34$, $p<.001$. Self-efficacy also emerged to be a positive predictor of grit as shown in Table 2. Self-efficacy was found to be the strongest predictor of grit. Thus, **Hypothesis 1** that grit is positively related to self-efficacy is supported by the findings of the present study. Bandura (2006) had opined that self efficacy beliefs impact sense of purpose in one's life, career choices

made, ambitions, plan of action, extent of risk to be taken in life; passion, perseverance and dedication towards one's goals; how hard one strives to achieve these goals and to what extent they are successful in achieving them.

Table 1 *Means, Standard Deviations and Bivariate correlations*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	M	SD
1.G	-	.34**	.23**	.33**	.32**	.03	-.07	-.32**	-.26**	-.29**	-.17*	3.56	0.60
2.SE		-	.36**	.45**	.50**	.15*	.25**	-.04	-.09	-.12	-.20**	33.13	4.07
3.INT			-	.13	.22**	.00	.01	.24**	.18**	.07	.09	34.40	7.14
4.PS				-	.54**	.18**	.26**	.05	.01	.03	.02	15.01	2.83
5.CR					-	.32**	.26**	.01	-.01	-.15*	-.25**	15.32	2.67
6.EE						-	.71**	.20**	.19**	-.14*	-.06	12.38	3.70
7.SC							-	.20**	.09	.01	-.09	12.96	4.04
8.PA								-	.49**	.43**	.26**	10.44	3.34
9.WT									-	.35**	.26**	11.57	3.47
10.SCr										-	.45**	11.79	4.56
11.SW											-	11.96	3.10

Note.*= significant at 0.05 level ** = significant at 0.01 level
G=grit, SE=self-efficacy, INT=internality, PS=problem solving, CR=cognitive restructuring, SC=social contact, EE=express emotions, PA=problem avoidance, WT=wishful thinking, SW=social withdrawal and SCr=self-criticism, M=mean, SD= standard deviation

Table 2 *Predictors of Grit*

Predictors	R	Beta Coefficient	t	R^2	R^2 Change	F-value
Self-efficacy	0.34	0.343	5.132**	0.12	0.12	26.34**
Problem avoidance	0.46	-0.306	-4.836**	0.21	0.09	23.35**
Problem solving	0.51	0.242	3.497**	0.26	0.05	22.65**
Internality	0.55	0.245	3.671**	0.31	0.05	21.43**
Self-criticism	0.57	-0.172	-2.625**	0.33	0.02	19.04**

Note. *= significant at 0.05 level ** = significant at 0.01 level

Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1995) argued that perceived self-efficacy facilitates setting of goals, effort investment, persistence when faced with obstacles and recovery from failures. A positive relationship between grit and self-efficacy has also been reported earlier by various other researchers (Holtby, 2018; Rojas et al., 2012; Wolters & Hussain, 2015).

Grit was found to be positively correlated with internality, r(200)=.23, p<.001. Internality also emerged to be a predictor of grit. Thus, **Hypothesis 2** that grit is positively related to internality is supported by the findings of the present study. This implies that the passion for a goal and the sustained efforts made to convert that goal into reality is linked to the belief that one's life is determined by his/her actions. These results are in line with a recent study conducted by Celik and Saricam (2018) in which grit was reported to have a moderate positive relationship with internality.

Grit was found to be positively correlated with problem solving, $r(200)$=.33, p<.001; cognitive restructuring, $r(200)$=.32, p<.001 and negatively correlated with problem avoidance, $r(200)$= -.32 , p<.001; wishful thinking, $r(200)$= -.26, p<0.001; self-criticism, $r(200)$= -.29, p<.001 and social withdrawal, $r(200)$= -.17, p=.015. Grit was found to be insignificantly correlated to express emotions, $r(200)$= .03, p=.696 and social contact, $r(200)$= -.07, p= .313. **Hypothesis 3** was supported for all coping strategies except express emotions and social contact. Regression analysis revealed problem solving to be a positive predictor and problem avoidance and self-criticism to be negative predictors of grit. These findings indicate that grittier civil servant aspirants in a stressful situation had greater chances to employ cognitive strategies and actions directed at changing their unpleasant situation for the better (problem solving) and made conscious efforts to analyze the situation from an altogether different perspective(cognitive restructuring). Additionally, aspirants high on grit when in a stressful situation were found to have a lesser likelihood of a) avoiding the stressor (problem avoidance), b) hoping for things to get better on their own (wishful thinking), c) blaming themselves for their situation (self-criticism) and d) withdrawing from peers and family. Grit a non-cognitive trait (Duckworth et al., 2007) was found to be related to cognitive restructuring in the present study. DiMenichi and Richmond (2015) maintained that in times of failure people "reframe their experiences" productively which make them work harder, increasing their level of grit. Lovering et al. (2015) had earlier reported positive relationships between grit and active coping, positive reframing and planning and negative relationship with self-distraction, denial, venting and self-blame. Holtby (2018) had obtained a positive relationship of grit with proactive independent coping which is a composite of strategies to attain one's goal and remaining committed to them. These studies lend support to the findings of the present study.

Mediation Analysis

Regression analysis was performed to investigate if self-efficacy mediates the effect of internality on grit. In order to test if the data met the requirements for mediation analysis proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986), simple regression analysis with internality as the independent variable and grit as the dependent variable was run. Internality (β=.23, t=3.31, p<.001) was found to be a significant predictor of grit. It explained 5.2% of variance in grit (F= 10.94, p<.001). In simple regression analysis with internality as independent variable and self-efficacy as the dependent variable, internality (β=.36, t=5.42, p<.001) emerged to be a significant predictor of self-efficacy explaining 12.9% of variance (F=29.41, p<.001) in it. A third simple regression analysis was done with self-efficacy as the predictor variable and grit as the outcome variable. Self-efficacy (β=.34, t=5.13, p<.001) was found to be a significant predictor of grit (F=26.34, p<.001) explaining 11.7% variance in it. Lastly, a

multiple regression analysis with internality and grit as predictor variables was performed. Internality (β=.12, t=1.7, p=0.09) was no longer found to be a significant predictor of grit after controlling for self-efficacy. Self-efficacy (β=.34, t=5.13, p<.001), however, was found to be a significant predictor explaining 11.7% of variance (F=26.34, p<.001) in grit.
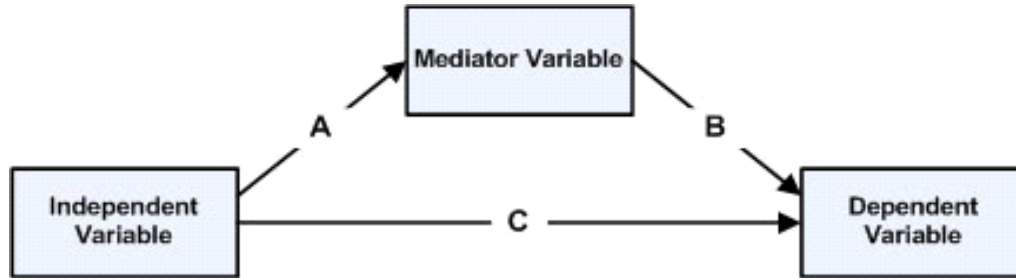

Fig. 1 depicting the mediation pathway

Based on the above findings bootstrap method, with 5000 bootstrap samples was employed to check significance of indirect effect of internality on grit. Process v3.2 for SPSS was used to run the proposed mediation pathway. Simple mediation analysis model number 4 (Hayes, 2018) as depicted in Fig. 1 was performed on the given data. Internality was not found to be significant predictor of grit after controlling for the mediator variable, i.e., self-efficacy (b=.010, se= .006, p=.090). The indirect effect emerged to be significant (b=.009, se=.0026, 95% CI=.004, .014) confirming full mediation by self-efficacy.

The responses of the open ended question "what keeps you going despite your career-related setback(s) in one or the other stage of the examination" were analyzed. These responses were categorized into: a) internal factors (eg. hope, self-belief, a desire to work for the betterment of the weaker sections, passion to serve the country and contribute to the society, patriotism, internal motivation, patience, positive attitude, an attitude which treats setback as a challenge, determination, desire to fully explore one's potential, desire to finish the task one has taken considering the amount of time and energy that had already been invested, desire for power and status, strong will power, an unfulfilled dream, self-confidence, introspection that the strategy used to crack the exam was flawed and requires modifications (cognitive restructuring), a self-reminder as to what made me take up this goal, an inherent ability to bounce back, a strong vision, growth/progress made during the whole preparation provides the necessary motivation, a focused mindset, acceptance that setbacks are a part of life and comes to all at one point or another, "no pain, no gain", visualization of future achievement and the happiness associated with it; b) external factors such as expectations of loved ones, family and peer support, inspiration from success

stories of great personalities; c) spiritual factors such as belief in god and/or supreme power, prayer, meditation, faith in a just world that hard work ultimately pays off.

Study 2

Study 1 examined the psychological attributes of civil service aspirants, in particular grit. An exploratory study, Study 2 was designed to investigate differences in grit, self-efficacy, internality and coping strategies in civil service aspirants and non-civil service aspirants.

Study 2 also examined gender differences between civil service aspirants and non-civil service aspirants on the constructs of grit, self-efficacy, internality and coping strategies. Documented evidence suggests gender differences on all the aforementioned variables. Holtby (2018) had reported a positive link between grit and gender of students. Rojas et al. (2012) provided empirical evidence of girl students being grittier than boys. Tamres, Janicki, and Helgeson (2002) in a meta-analytic study found significant differences in coping strategies used by males and females. Females in contrast to males were found to be making greater use of 'self-talk' coping in order to stay motivated. Female participants were more involved in rumination and exhibited greater support seeking behaviour to cope with their stressors. Hampel and Petermann (2005) also reported significant gender differences in coping behaviours of early adolescents.

Method

Participants

The sample for study 2 comprised 200 participants in the age range of 25-30 from Punjab. The sample consisted of two groups: 100 of these were civil service aspirants while remaining 100 were non-civil service aspirants. Half of the participants in each group were males and other half were females.

Measures

Grit. Internal consistency reliability for Short Grit Scale was found to be 0.65.

Self-efficacy. Cronbach's alpha for General Self-Efficacy Scale was found to be 0.68 for the present sample.

Internality. Cronbach's alpha for The Internality subscale of the Internality, Powerful Others, and Chance Scaleswas obtained as 0.67.

Coping. Tertiary subscales of engagement and disengagement coping of Coping Strategies Inventory 32 Item were used for the purpose of the study. The internal consistency reliabilities came out to be 0.78 for engagement coping and 0.79 for disengagement coping.

Procedure

Purposive sampling technique was employed for data collection. Participants were personally contacted and requested to be a part of the study. SPSS version 21 was used to compute

all statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics followed by 2 Way ANOVA was performed on the data obtained.

Table 3 *Means and Standard Deviations of all variables*

Group	Gender	Grit		Self-efficacy		Internality		Eng Coping		Diseng Coping	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
CS	F	3.36	.58	31.28	4.67	30.94	7.71	54.14	6.81	45.40	9.29
	M	3.54	.65	33.54	3.36	34.10	7.98	53.38	8.69	46.64	12.21
NCS	F	3.54	.58	32.80	4.10	33.60	6.30	55.90	8.59	46.38	9.58
	M	3.62	.57	32.68	4.36	33.98	7.42	53.22	9.95	45.32	10.04

Note. CS= Civil servant aspirants, NCS= non civil service aspirants, Eng Coping= engagement coping, Diseng Coping= Disengagement coping

Table 4 *Two-Way Analysis of Variance on all measures*

	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
	(Intercept)	2468.94	1	2468.94	6897.95	.000
	Group	.83	1	.83	2.33	.129
	Gender	.86	1	.86	2.40	.123
Grit	Group * Gender	.11	1	.11	.31	.579
	Error	70.15	196	.36		
	Total	2540.89	200			
	(Intercept)	212226.13	1	212226.13	12316.15	.000
	Group	5.45	1	5.45	.32	.575
	Gender	57.25	1	57.25	3.32	.070
Self-efficacy	Group * Gender	70.81	1	70.81	4.12	.044
	Error	3377.38	196	17.23		
	Total	215737.00	200			
	(Intercept)	219850.81	1	219850.81	4036.870	.000
	Group	80.65	1	80.65	1.48	.225
	Gender	156.65	1	156.65	2.88	.091
Internality	Group * Gender	96.61	1	96.61	1.77	.184
	Error	10674.30	196	54.46		
	Total	230859.00	200			
	(Intercept)	586661.12	1	586661.12	7880.65	.000
	Group	32.00	1	32.00	.43	.513
	Gender	147.92	1	147.92	1.99	.160
Engagement Coping	Group * Gender	46.08	1	46.08	.62	.432
	Error	14590.88	196	74.44		
	Total	601478.00	200			

|						
	(Intercept)	422004.85	1	422004.85	3945.07	.000
	Group	1.45	1	1.45	.01	.908
	Gender	.41	1	.41	.00	.951
Disengagement Coping	Group * Gender	66.13	1	66.13	.62	.433
	Error	20966.18	196	106.97		
	Total	443039.00	200			

Results and Discussion

Means and standards deviations were computed for scores obtained on all the measures (**Table 3**). The scores were subjected to two-way analysis of variance with two groups i.e., civil service aspirants and non-civil service aspirants and two levels of gender (females and males). **Table 4** shows that the main effect of group and gender and the interaction effect on scores obtained on grit came out to be non-significant, $F(1,196)=2.33$, $p=.129$; $F(1,196)=2.40$, $p=.123$ and $F(1,196)=.31$, $p=.579$. These findings indicated that participants, who were not aspiring to be civil service aspirants and had different career goals, were not significantly different from civil service aspirants in levels of passion and perseverance. Similarly, gender was not found to effect grit scores of the data. The main effect of group and gender on self-efficacy scores came out to be non-significant, $F(1,196)=.32$, $p=.575$; $F(1,196)=3.32$, $p=.070$. However, the interaction effect was found to be significant $F(1,196)=4.12$, $p=.044$. This implied that there were no overall significant effects of factors group and gender on self-efficacy scores but there was a crossover interaction. The main effect of group and gender and the interaction effect on internality scores came out to be non-significant, $F(1,196)=1.48$, $p=.225$; $F(1,196)=2.88$, $p=.091$ and $F(1,196)=1.77$, $p=.184$. The main effect of group and gender and the interaction effect on engagement scores also emerged to be non-significant, $F(1,196)=.43$, $p=.513$; $F(1,196)=1.99$, $p=.160$ and $F(1,196)=.62$, $p=.432$. The main effect of group and gender and the interaction effect on disengagement scores came out to be non-significant, $F(1,196)=.01$, $p=.908$; $F(1,196)=.00$, $p=.951$ and $F(1,196)=.62$, $p=.433$. The graphical representation of the interaction effects are as follows:
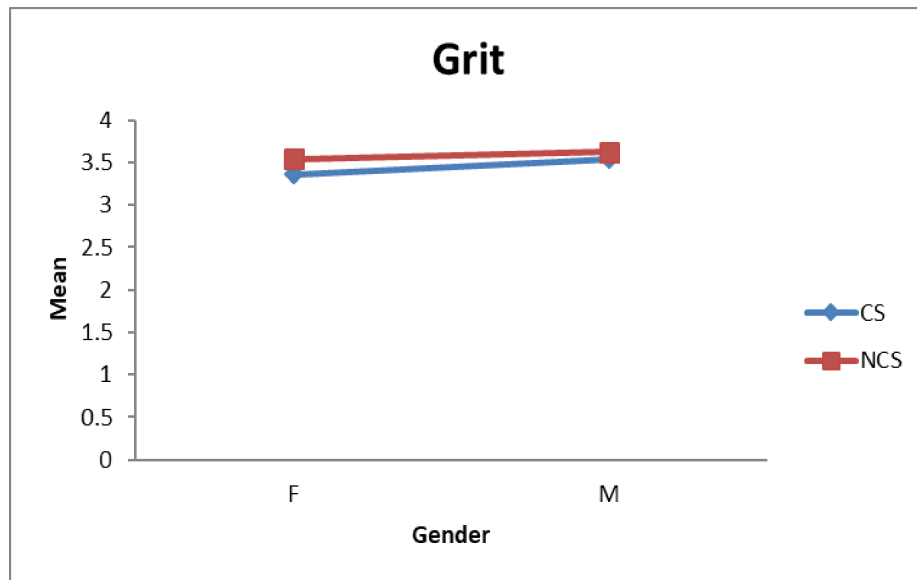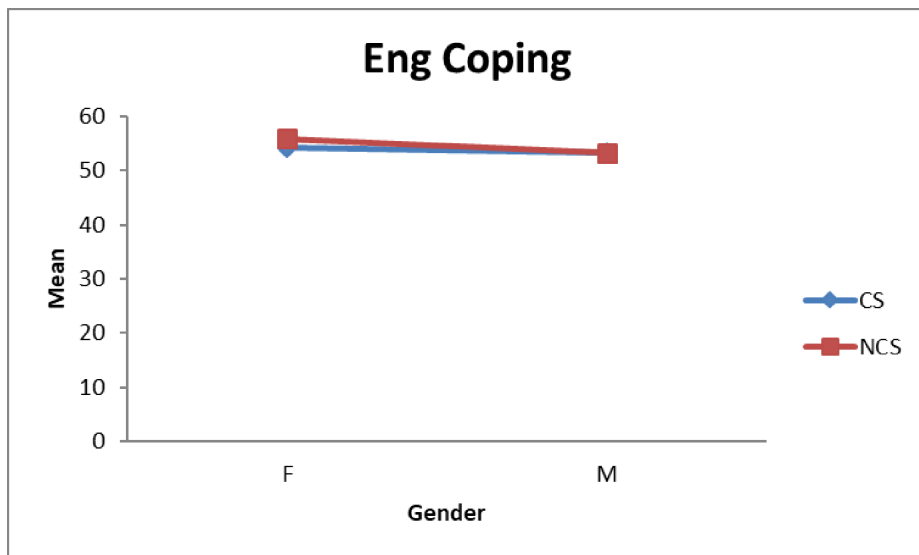
Graph 1 depicting interaction effect of group and gender on scores obtained on grit.
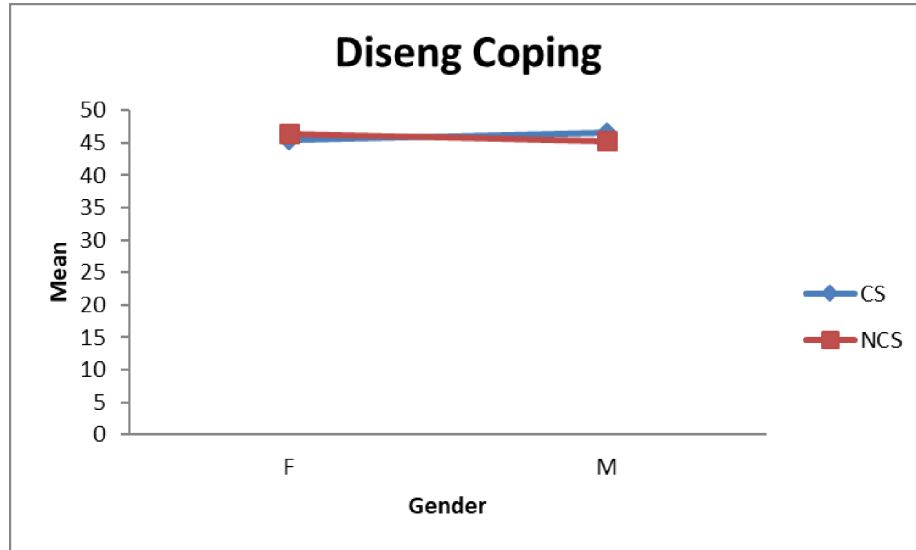

Graph 2   depicting interaction effect of group and gender on scores obtained on self-efficacy.
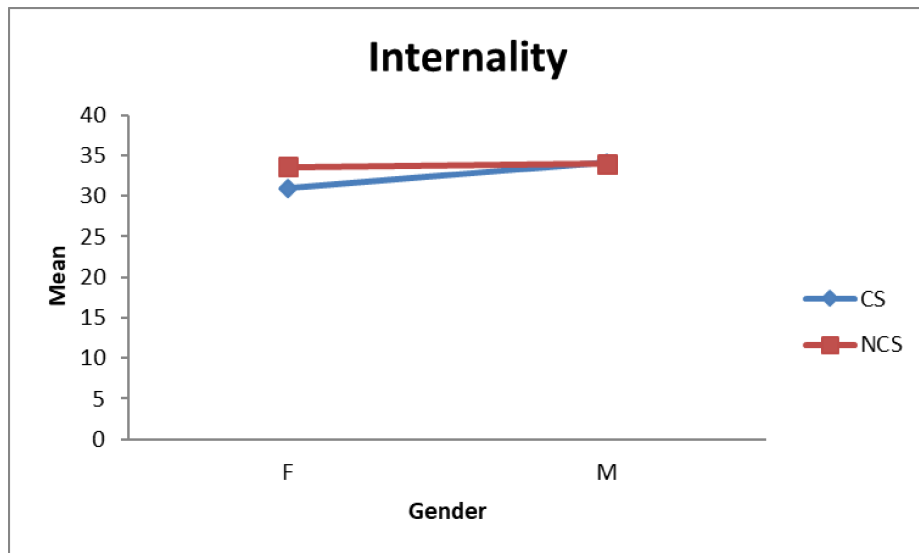
Graph 3 depicting interaction effect of group and gender on scores obtained on internality.

Graph 4 depicting interaction effect of group and gender onscores obtained onengagement
        coping

Graph 5 depicting interaction effect of group and gender on scores obtained on disengagement coping

Conclusions and Implications

Self-efficacy, internality and coping strategies of problem solving, problem avoidance and self-criticism emerged to be determinants of grit. Civil service aspirants with high self-efficacious beliefs, who give internal attributions to their success or failure, employ adaptive coping strategies such as problem solving to resolve daily hassles and avoid the use of maladaptive coping strategies such as avoiding the problems or criticizing one' self are grittier by nature. Self efficacy was found to mediate the effect of internality on grit. Special programs directed at increasing self-efficacy, internality and adaptive coping strategies and managing maladaptive coping strategies may help young aspirants in achieving their goals.

Newly recruited civil servants are provided training to educate them about the administration, law, politics, economics etc. of the country. As grit has been reported to determine success (Datu, 2018; Duckworth,2007), it may be meaningful to initiate training on increasing grit levels of the civil servants. Based on the findings, this may be achieved by enhancing perceived self-efficacy, converting externality of civil servants to internality, encouraging use of functional coping strategies and making them aware of the consequences associated with dysfunctional coping behaviours.

Study 2 findings highlighted that factors such as group (civil servant aspirants and non-civil service aspirants) and gender had no effect on grit, self-efficacy, internality, engagement and disengagement coping strategies. Non civil service aspirants are not statistically different

than civil service aspirants on the variables studied. Similarly, there emerged no gender differences on levels of grit, self-efficacy, internality and coping.

Limitations and Future directions

In both study one and two, civil service aspirants with one unsuccessful attempt were studied with those with 2, 3 and even 4 unsuccessful attempts. It is possible that number of unsuccessful attempts in the exam influences aspirants' level of grit and its relationship with the variables studied in the current study. Employment/unemployment was not taken as a factor in both studies. There is a possibility that employment status and thus having a job backup affects participants' level of grit and its link with other variables studied. Research planned in this area taking into consideration these limitations may bring meaningful results. Future research conducted by taking into account factors which emerged in the responses given by the participants may yield significant results. Relationship of grit can also be studied with 'sisu', a concept related to but different from grit, an exceptionally powerful construct embedded in Finnish culture. Sisu refers to being extremely courageous, determined and hopeful despite all adversities and odds (Lahti, 2013).

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Contemporary Conflicts in the *Saas Bahu Saga* (*Mother-in-law, Daughter-in-law Relationship*) in Urban Delhi

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Abstract

Traditionally the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is one which is characterized by a lot of conflict. There is never a simple set of dynamics at play as the underlying patriarchal and traditional settings ensure that gender and generational hierarchies add complexities to how this relationship plays out in the real life of the concerned women. Studies on Mental health of Indian married women have also emphasized several (and at times severe) mental health issues emanating in the institution of marriage and perpetrated by the ritualistic and orthodox role expectations harboured by the institution. - particularly vis-a-vis the mother-in-laws. However a parallel discourse in modern times of modernization, globalization and liberalization has tried to empower the women to open their lives and horizons to bigger and better opportunities and lifestyles. But has it been successful in some what reducing the conflicts or alter its nature between a 'new age' married woman and her mother-in-law? What are some of the contemporary issues of conflict between the new age daughter-in-law and mother-in-law - particularly as seen from the women's own perspective(s)?

Keywords: Mother-in-law, Daughter-in-law relationship, Conflict, Contemporary times, Urban Delhi.

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Introduction

The importance and centrality of the Indian mother in law in a daughter in law's life can never be over emphasized (referred to as mil and dil for convenience). As the young dil starts her journey in her husband's home and tries to get attuned to her new roles and responsibilities, conflicts often emanate from the unknown expectations of 'overbearing' matriarch, the mother-in-law - who is the head of the home. A closer look reveals that both the women are positioned in the gender and generational hierarchies by larger forces of patriarchy. Popular culture - in its multifaceted forms- is replete with accounts portraying the power dynamics between the two women. The stereotypical pattern of mil dominance, causing high level of distress to the dil, in the traditional patriarchal setting could be challenged by the macro and micro level socio-cultural changes in the society. In this changing context, young dil come into the husband's home empowered by advantages of equality in education and status in society. Have these changes affected the nature and quantity of conflict between the mil and dil over time? Has the battle of the in-law changed? This article tries to understand the changing nature of conflicts between the two women in the context of the changing societal scenario.

Family as an all encompassing structure and marriage as an institutional phenomenon pervades an Indian individual's socio-cultural life and requires a lot of inter-personal adjustment. The whole upbringing and socialization is geared to prepare a girl to successfully adapt and negotiate the spaces within the 'new family' and its members for the rest of her life. Within this web of relationships, especially in a joint family, the one that she has to confront most frequently is with her mother-in-law. No relationship has been discussed as much or put through as much scrutiny and analysis as the one between the mil and dil in films, television serials, newspapers, books, narrations of hard core existential realities, dramas, folklore and other media platforms that are the many facets of popular culture. At the outset it is also important to understand that both the women simultaneously engage with two levels of the organized setting that can be at various stages and levels of change. One is the macro level of socio cultural norms and societal pressures. The other is intra and inter personal dynamics within the immediate family which includes the perpetual identity formation and transformation that marks the journey of an Indian woman in her husband's home. Inevitably, change in one affects the other and as Ranadive (2008) discusses in his work on 'Gender Equity in the Family', how 'through the impact of interventions upon the macro environment, the domestic environment alters.'(ibid, p. 216). Conversely he goes on to state how expansion in the socio-cultural space is more contingent upon the expansion in mental space. It is this very mental space that gets pruned through socialization to don its various roles - that of a young girl, a new bride and a seasoned

woman and dil and finally a mil. It is also this very construct which guides the nature of the relationship between the two women and determines whether it will be predominantly conflict ridden or comparatively smooth.

Popular media - whether folk songs, television or films - have highlighted the difficulties of women's lives as they negotiate the spaces of domesticity within both traditional as well as modern spaces. They have emphasized the perpetual and all pervasive conflicts between the mil and dil. In his thesis of stereotypical portrayal of Indian women, Nandkumar (2011) emphasized how often 'the depiction of social reality is in tandem with the dominant discourse that conforms to the social- cultural framework and power structures of the society.' The predominant voice that emerges in all these mediums is that of extreme angst, distress and disillusionment of a woman's life, post marriage. Thus whether it is the folk songs (which according to Satyarthi (1951), represent India's 'innermost voice and the threads that sew the past to the present and prophetically throw their shadows into the future) - that find the young brides complaining about their mil's behaviour and gross injustice in terms of the burden of household work that the young entrée is heaped upon; or movies that have highlighted the draconian mil committing all kinds of atrocities on the meek and submissive dil (till the female protagonist frees the latter from the clutches of injustice and oppressiveness represented by the mil) or television serials - which have been the latest entrant in representing the dynamics between the two women, yet are deemed to represent the most repressive version; the general consensus amongst the various researchers is that the 'overall traditional attitude to women remains the same.' (Chakravarty. S, S. (1989), Gokulsing & Dissnayake (2004). In effect the 'stereotypical notions of women are perpetrated and encouraged on day to day basis (Misra & Roychowdhary, 1997) .

It is also important to trace the origin of these popular portrayals in the socio cultural realities at the ground level. The last decade of the 20th century witnessed massive changes with integration of India into the world economy, by means of various economic policies and reforms. In a radical shift of cultural ideology, the entire social and cultural fabric of society saw an unprecedented transformation which resulted in two major changes. 1) New information and communication technologies increased connectivity to, and awareness of, western cultures. This instilled a desire in the middle class to emerge as global citizens. 2) The shift to a globalized and consumerist society necessitated the youth to acquire better skills through education which further became 'the hallmark of individual modernity' (Ghadially, 2007). Further these processes intensified the divide between the contradictory (and perpetual) discourses of tradition and modernity- as production of global goods and culture held ramifications for contemporary urban life, 'particularly in relation to young men and women'. These transformations form the backdrop against which the current

generation of dil's have been socialized and in which they have grown. In this changing context, educated young women are acknowledged as being of 'substance' with endless range of opportunities in terms of career choices and professions that are available (Thapan, 2001).

While reflecting on the psychology of globalization, Arnett (2002) has illuminated certain issues. The first lies in development of an individual identity in the wake of different pulls from the varied local, national and global forces. This unconsciously propels young adults to develop a 'bicultural identity' - one rooted in their local culture and other in relation to global culture (Arnett, 2002). This has resulted in 'identity confusion' as the youth of the non-western nation gets challenged by various conflicts and confusions. Though the middle class has the best opportunities for education, the latter in itself does not either resolve or facilitate in identity formation or ease family, media and peer pressures. In fact, analysing the (privileged) urban educated women in the context of the changing society in India, Thapan (2001) has closely scrutinized how the growing emphasis on modernity, in the new middle class, has helped transcend the earlier 'perceived place of women in the domestic world'. The changing discourse, however, is not without its own set of challenges. The ambivalence in the development of 'Indian womanhood', no matter how contemporary, continues. The earlier ambivalence, in the social construction of gender identity, was the manner in which women were both 'revered and oppressed, worshipped and molested'; a simultaneous characteristic of a 'powerful' deity (precisely because of the (fear of) propensity of her powers exploding unchecked) combined with the need to 'tame and dominate the shrew'. The contemporary ambivalence arises in the continued expectation of her being the 'harbinger' of culture, traditions, rituals and customary practices on one hand; and her current exposure to education and diverse images and texts through visual and print media. These combine to present an altogether radical image of a global and 'equal' citizen. Thus a novel dichotomous situation arises, based on the young woman's perceptions and lived experiences in relation to the different worlds of their families and peer groups, schooling and aspirations (Gilligan,1995).

The dilemma brought on by the role of education of women, was by no means novel. Mehta (1970) notes that educated women in India generally wanted to retain some of the traditional values of Indian family life and women's roles. Doing so often entailed major personal conflicts in reconciling the ideas gained through their education and the traditional precepts about women's conduct. Thus the ongoing debate had been around for several decades. The intensity, however, has been exposed more recently. Simultaneously, the early construction of gendered identity was firmly embedded through the process of socialization in the family and community. Thus in the Indian scenario, the structures and

values of the patriarchal society, have continued to dominate the acculturation process of its young (no matter whether elite or educated) women. It is thus not surprising to see the modern, more educated and urban young women struggle with social and familial definitions and expectations, and experience 'conflict and dilemmas as they struggle to redefine and shape their identities in different contexts and situations' (Thapan, 2001). What is equally significant is the fact, that although the realization of the contrary discourse and socialization process (dominated and defined within the patriarchal hegemony) has always been there, it is the current generation of women that is coming out with the articulation of this struggle. The overriding purpose of this entire enterprise is to find an individual identity, a construction and definition of one's identity as a woman, even if one has to be a homemaker, which balances the traditional and modern discourse and makes the educational process meaningful in some way. This forms the dilemma of the 'modern' dil's of the present research.

With all these factors as the backdrop the concern is to understand the contemporary tussle in a holistic manner.

Theoretical Framework

The basic perspectives and framework help establish the structure within which these women become the subjective voices. The overarching fundamental setup is dominated by the patriarchal ideology where women have mostly been relegated to the realms of domesticity. The cultural framework tried to assign an indigenous understanding to the various phases of an Indian married women's life. In their study of Oriya women, Menon and Shweder (2000) have tried to shed the white man's burden by highlighting how mature adulthood - on account of being enabled to dictate and take up domestic chores and assert power on the daughter-in-laws - made that phase a very satisfying period in an Oriya mid age adult woman's life. The second perspective is brought in by the psychoanalytic one. It tries to understand the crucial role of childhood experiences in shaping the adult personality. The psychoanalytic perspective has tried to understand the development of female identity - especially in North India. Kakar (1974) pioneered this understanding from an Eriksonian psychoanalytic perspective. According to Kakar, both male and female psyches were formed in the cocoons of the joint family system. A patriarchal culture leads to preference for a male child, which naturally affects the way the family responds when a girl child is born as well as the way she is nurtured. Yet, there are several protective factors that enablethe survival of the young girl. One of the major factors is the unconscious identification of the mother and other maternal figures - with the daughter. The childhood years leading to puberty intensify the training process to be a good woman. By now, as a young woman, she incorporates the 'Sita ideal' the unconscious equation of woman with chaste wife, an ideal that ' helps' her retain a sense of loyalty to the husband's family despite difficult

experiences. The mother forms the bridge between the girl's childhood and her entry into a new life amidst strangers. In fact a very special relationship develops between an Indian girl and mother, before her departure for her husband's family and household. The mother at this time becomes her daughter's confidant and counsellor in the bewildering turmoil of adolescence and the newness of the prospect of marriage. Kakar (1974) gives an empathic account of the difficulties encountered by the girl in renouncing ties with the mother and family and establishing an often dissatisfying, overwhelming encounter with sexuality and a new set of relationships. It is motherhood, particularly of sons, that becomes the cornerstone of the Indian woman's identity. In the absence of other satisfying relationships, Kakar argues that the son becomes the primary source of narcissistic gratification for the mother. This produces a viscous cycle of a fused mother-son relationship with ensuing difficulties in the formation of a sexual intimate bond between husband and wife.

The feminist perspective further augments the understanding of distress that the women go through. Johri (1999), in her research on the cultural conceptions of maternal attachment for the girl child, has deconstructed the intense paradox with which the Indian culture conceptualizes the status of woman and the expectation it harbours from the role to be lived out by the woman in general. So wide is the gap and so steeped in patriarchy, that the woman is cherished and honoured only when she can live upto the particular role assigned to her. According to Wadley (1995), the idea of Indian womanhood rests on a dual character of femaleness; the two roles of mother and wife are significant with the wife being associated with goodness and the mother with fertility and a certain power. Although oppression is still not a totally obsolete concept in a woman's domestic sphere, however the physical aspect is getting diminished and marginalized. With increasingly educated dil's, the traditional power equations have been altered considerably (Kakar, ibid). They are able to educate their children better and generally be more assertive in the household. The older generation is more accepting of change and have made place for the changing times in their own conscious, however much conflicting the situation sometimes spell out to be.

Thus the conflicts in the contemporary times would find their roots in the theoretical frameworks that fall back on the cultural-psychosocial and feminist underpinnings to understand the holistic scenario.

Methodology (Data and Method)

The conflicts in the mil and dil relationship have been considered to be paradigmatic in the North Indian patriarchal culture. To encapsulate its aspects in a holistic manner, the data was collected at two levels. The first was the medium of popular culture. The depiction in popular culture is often seen in tandem with the dominant discourse that conforms to the socio-cultural framework and power structures of the society (Nandkumar, 2011). In India,

we see a wide spectrum of representation in the media. Whether it is folk songs, cinema or television serials, the theme (relationship of the mil and the dil) have been portrayed mostly as a stereotypical and conflict ridden relationship. Some portrayals of these mediums which capture the essence of these conflicts are briefly touched upon here.

The qualitative feminist tradition of this research further used the tool of Responsive Interviewing Model (RIM) developed by Irene and Herbert Rubin in 2005. What made the endeavour worthwhile is that the individual occupied the central position in the research process. The structuring of the interview was contingent on the responses of the research participant. Moreover, analysis of the emerging data and explanation further fed into the research design to formulate further questions so that the topic was understood *in depth*. This also involved flexibility on the part of the researcher, to incessantly reframe questions so that thoroughly credible and profoundly convincing results emerge, which either further the theory in which the research was embedded initially or gave rise to a new paradigm that helped to advance our understanding of specific social interactions, processes and/or individuals themselves.

Characteristics of the Research Participants (sample)

The research utilized purposive sampling and snowballing method to generate data. Few essential criteria of the research participants are as follows:

Mothers-in-law

The age of the mil's ranged from early 50's to early 70's. They were residents of Delhi for a minimum of 15 to 20 years. It was ensured that they have been a part of the changing cultural cauldron of the city.Married for the past 25 - 30 years and lived at least 5-10 years with their own mils.

Daughters-in-law

The age of dils ranged from 20's to 40's; preferably the dils of the mils interviewed. For reasons mentioned above, they too were from middle to upper middle class Punjabi families. Since education is considered an important precursor of change, the dils were graduates at the least and home makers at the time of the interview. (The preference for non working mil-dil was based on the fact that working women tend to spend much less time with each other).

Analysis was done according to the steps and phases described in the RIM.

Discussion and Conclusion

In India, family (with its structure, hierarchies, functions and relationships) is one of the three pillars on which society rests (Karve, 1965). Within the realm of relationships, conflicts often find their origin between expectations and reality. The theoretical frameworks including

the cultural, psychoanalytic and feminist considerations have reasoned and elucidated the indigenous values of submission and acculturation into the husband's home, post marriage, in the North Indian setup that is steeped in patriarchal values. It is within these constraints that both the women try to find their footing to better their deals within both their microcosms of their immediate home dynamics, as well as the macro cultural inheritance. Before analyzing the responses to understand the contemporary conflicts, a quick review of how the various popular culture mediums have portrayed the conflict(s) between the two women.

Popular culture, research and conflicts depiction

In his article on 'Folk Songs' of India, Devendra Satyarthi (1951) has appointed a functional concept for folk songs, i.e. of 'India's innermost voice' - the threads that sew through it are the past and present; and the past and present prophetically throw their shadows into the future. 'One of the folk song deplores the mother-in-law in asking for her son all the time despite him being married - (3)

Na Kar Sassey Puttar Puttar

Hun Tey Maiya Mera Vey

Jadkar dasi mummy mummy

Ta tey puttar terasi-

Hun karda eh darling darling

Hun tey maiya mera vey

(Don't keep calling your son all the time mil, now he is my beloved partner - earlier when he was small he belonged to you, now that he is grown up and married, he is mine - so don't keep calling him all the time).

Similarly a famous dialogue from one of the popular serials (Diya Aur Baati Hum) refers to the expectations from the young women -

Chhoriyon ka kya hai, unko to jis bartan main daal do woh ussi bartan ki ho jaati hai. Jis bhi ghar main jaaen, uske hisaab se dhalna bhi padta hai aur uske kayda kanoon ke hisaab se chalna bhi padta hai. (Every young bride has to mould herself and take the shape of the utensil she is put into - in other words follow the traditions and norms of her husband's house.) In one of the very popular television serials, the mil makes it amply clear *'aurat ki zabaan saas aur pati ke saamne haaji aur naaji ke liye hi khulni chahiye...isse zyada main bardaasht nahin karoongi.'* (a woman's voice should be heard and opened for only yes or no in front of her husband and mil, I will not tolerate more than that). The mil-dil relationship is compared to *ek miyaan main do talwaar*(two swords in one case) where they would continuously strike against each other

and produce sparks.

Whether in reel or real life- the vast spectrum of potential conflicts encapsulates the minutest details of cooking, home care and personal hygiene and habits to the larger ones that include handling all relationships in perfect harmony and equipoise without hurting anybody's ego -especially the husband or mil; making sure each and every ritual is followed and her own needs and comforts are sacrificed at the altar which harbours the gratification of everybody else's needs. All of this not only instigates and encourages the idea of the 'ideal' dil staying mute in the light of allegations and personal fragilities but also promotes the right of the mil to dominate and challenge her virtuosity till the former is able to prove otherwise -no matter how much time it takes. The whole concept of equanimity and 'patience' required by the dil is to help her to balance herself between her husband, who's always shown to be a mumma's boy, and the ever domineering, highly suspicious and immensely insecure mil. This makes it very difficult for her to thrive and contribute in real life.

The following two studies deserve special mention as they deal with the modern day dynamics of the mil and dil. The first is a research paper published by Penny Vera-Sanso in 1999. Between 1990 -1992, she gathered sufficient data that challenges the age old prototypic pattern of the dominating mil and submissive dil. She further comments on how cultural factors are being overridden by social and economic positioning (along with family demographics) in ascertaining the mil-dil relationships. She even comments on how 'economic developments can have a deleterious effect on older women's capacity to support themselves or secure the support of their family' (Penny Ver-sanso, 1999). No wonder the mils are reverting to strategies to garner support from their dils.

The second study that was also conducted in the early 1990's was researched by Myung Hye Kim in 1996. Her research was also based on the changing relationships between mil and dil in urban South Korea. In the same vein the traditional setup has seen the dominance of the mil and submission of the dil as part of the gender and generational hierarchies patent to the entire area.

This then brings us to the aim of this research paper - in the true spirit of qualitative research - the search for contemporary conflicts as seen by the research participants themselves.

Contemporary conflicts as seen by the research participants

While the patriarchal nature of the Hindu joint family espouses the daughter's adaptation in her second home, the narrative locates the relationship between the mil and dil as embedded in conflict. The psychoanalytic feminist lens elucidates how patriarchies prevent the formation of strong bonds between women. The saas (mil) is therefore the feared malevolent

mother figure who each young woman must win over through being an perfect good daughter to her new mother. In many ways the cultural portrayal is of a fundamentally ambivalent relationship where the younger woman must win over the bad mother figure through denial, sacrifice and obedience. In effect this results in a considerable degree of conflict between the two women figures within the new family.

In her book on analysis of the conflict ridden side of relationship between the two women, Venugopal (2014) has specifically found the dominant, egoistic - bordering to torturous evil side - of the mils in question. Prodding over the narratives given by several dils she finds the authoritative and absolute need to overpower their dil's lives and their relationship with their sons (dil's husband) spilling into all kinds of deviant and absurd behaviours. At one place Venugopal even warns against being forced to accept the 'baggage of unconditional maternal love' (P 10).

In our narratives - the bones of contention were equally vivid and multifarious.

Authoritarian Mother-in-law - Lack of Autonomy/Forced Compliance

This aspect can be found in both the mil and dil generations- although the pattern is not general across all cases (or generations for that matter).

In Vimla's (75, mil) narrative there is explicit understanding that the conflict was primarily against the authoritarian mil and though she could not express the difference or refusal to oblige openly - yet a lot of internal conflict would arise in the young minds building up the revolt and stubbornness against compliance.

The other aspect which some of the dil's felt was genuinely unfair was how their careers were looked upon as secondary to their household roles and responsibilities. The education and subsequent careers of these young and comparative progressive dil's were only useful if the family needed the surplus economic help- other than that it was frowned upon if it was, in any manner for the dil's own sense of achievement, self worth or self esteem (cases of Kavya,45; Bina,63). Further, as 36 year old Geeta narrates -

'from the time I returned from my honeymoon, it's been extremely stressful - my husband developed arthritis and despite me topping my first year in college - I had to conceive because he had to be put on steroids. Anyway, it was a new family altogether - I had to cook, take care of my husband and do so many things; yet my in-laws blamed me so much - ' iska to padai main man hi nahi lagta.'(she doesn't feel like studying at all). How could I possible study with so much going around? And there was so much interference from my mil - being the youngest in the family to the eldest dil - at 19 I was loaded with responsibilities. I even went into depression then , I was taking anti -depressants in my pregnancy also - it was very difficult to handle everything together - my relationship with

her was very bad and the constant taunting would get impossible to bear.' (Geeta, 36, dil)

Pihu's (47, dil) journey is an extremely painful one. She breaks down at various places while narrating it.

Pehle ki saas sochti thi ki maine beta paida kiya hai to jo aa rahi hai wo bahu nahi naa rahi, woh ek maid aa rahi hai.'(the earlier mil's used to think that their sons are not getting dil's but maids who will just do the entire household's work and just look after everyone else's needs)- '*main to ghar main thi kaam karne ke liye, bachcha sambhaalne aur daant khaane ke liye.* (I was in this house to just do all the household work, raise my child and get scolded all the time) (Pihu, 47,dil).

Running the house

Past researchers in this field have pointed to spaces of intense differences, conflict and even quarrels (Kapadia, 1955) in maintaining the household order. Many instances and complaints on behalf of the mil's generation have been found in the contemporary narratives of this research, where they attribute the lack of responsible and smooth domestic skills and basic cleanliness of the house to lack of initiative, participation and active responsibility on behalf of the dil's. Thus, Sujata (68, mil) complains that all her dil's are not able to maintain the house in terms of cleanliness. Similarly, Geeta (36,dil) felt that her mil was perpetually after her to keep the house and kitchen neat and in perfect order - even though she would get very tired of her constant nagging. Megha (60, mil) would also end up getting extremely upset whenever her mil would try to painstakingly and obviously try to put down her household management skills in a 'hypocritical' manner. She narrates going on a shouting spree every now and then with her mil. The women who are currently mil's feel an acute lack of willingness on the dil's part to take up household responsibilities independently (Mandira, 56, mil). Another mil adds -*"kuch bhi kare koi rok tok nahi hai .... par jab mujhe aas paas khalera dikhta hai na ya kapde bikhre hue tab mujhse tolerate nahin hote."* (The only real point where I have a huge complaint with them is that they do not keep the house neat, clean and well maintained) (Sujata, 68, MIL)

Cooking

Both generations of women interviewed for this research had different viewpoints with regard to the conflicts associated with the culinary domain. Several mils and some dils even lamented how their cooking was compared (with other dils) and criticized for the style and flavor (Bina, 63, mil; Aasha, 62, mil; Megha, 60, mil; Pihu, 47, dil; Geeta 36, dil). While the older generation felt traumatized under constant taunts and criticisms, the younger generation complained how their mils felt they were inadequate in handling kitchen responsibilities independently. Working in the kitchen and the taste of food became the

bone of contention. If the relationship was not directly conflict ridden, the taunts were still very hurtful. There were high expectations regarding cleaning the kitchen once the food was prepared. '*Rasoi simti hui honi chahiye'* (the kitchen should be in proper order and clean.)(Bina, 63,mil)

Even the current generation finds that the kitchen can be a huge bone of contention creating rift between the two generations. "Kitchen is one place because I have my own ways of doing things and my mil will have a different way so she may say to me - *'ye aise nahin aise kar lo'* (Do it this way and not that way)… if I agree then its fine but if I feel my way is better she may feel offended. We are a different generation - certain old ways of cooking may not go well with me - so maybe from her point of view she is right but it will definitely create issues (Mansi, 32,dil).

Unrealistic and extreme expectations (emotional support/finances/dressing restrictions)

As in previous sections, one can understand this within the framework of contrary theoretical considerations. The cultural study (Shweder & Menon, 2003) reveals the satisfaction of young dil's as completely contingent on them 'assimilating with the husband's family'. This, in a nutshell includes the requirement that they adapt to their roles and responsibilities in the hierarchal duty order mostly set by the mil's. The psychoanalytic viewpoint also points towards the rigorous socialization process (of young girls) that demands the young bride to brace to take up her roles and responsibilities as she embarks on her journey into her in-laws house. It is within the feminine critique of these traditional patriarchal structures that the protests of the young generation can find a platform. Thus Arunima (37,dil) finds her change of identity from an unmarried or single, successful professional to a married homemaker - extremely disconcerting. To develop and take up a skill set like cooking and domestic chores as part of responsibilities laid out for her - and in a competitive spirit with other sister-in-laws - got her extremely stressed out at times. Restrictions on the choice of apparel as well as financial independence have been a major core of conflict for other young dil's as well (Geeta, 36, dil; Pihu, 47, dil). Too much workload - whether in terms of constantly entertaining guests, being engaged in the kitchen and cooking from morning to evening without any due consideration or appreciation were other major areas of conflicts reported by the dils. Aasha (62, dil and mil) went to the extent of expressing how she would often feel like a mere 'servant' in her marital house - a sentiment echoed by both Pihu (47,dil) and Geeta (36,dil). Moreover, she (Geeta, 36, dil) felt, that as the first dil she had to bear every kind of restriction. These included restrictions on her finances, on her outings, on wearing western clothes, on buying too many clothes - something that wasn't levied on the dil after her. (The younger dil had, in fact, once commented on the dil's

treatment in their in-laws house, saying that the in-laws, in the garb of a dil just needed a servant for the house and a driver for themselves!) In general and as a couple, Geeta never got the love and affection she always yearned for.

The other side of the coin is when mil's feel that certain even 'reasonable' expectations -in keeping with the contemporary times - are not met. Megha (60, mil), attributes the initial problems that she faced with respect to her dil's demeanour and behaviour, to the immaturity of her dil. She did get offended by her Madhu's reluctance to mix or talk much to her, or adhere to her advice. She still gets hurt by her sometimes childish behaviour. However what makes up for it is the fact that in totality, Megha finds her dil to seemingly try to be a loving wife and dil.

Husband v/s son

Within the psychoanalytical framework, Kakar (1974) has often projected the fantasy of the conjugal unity which often goes unfulfilled in the pragmatism of domesticity. The son v/s husband tussle is often at the epicenter of the traditional turf war between two women where each claims more power directly proportional to the affection that each can gather from the man of the house. Venugopal (2014) in her book has been stringently categorical in involving the 'fleeting' husband directly in taking decisions in favor of his wife (usually) against the 'draconian' mil. Several narratives of current research are also replete with examples of how the mil tried to confront the son to 'complain' against the dil's 'misdeeds' (Megha, 60, dil and mil). In Pihu's case (47,dil) the atrocities seem to extend further as she is not able to forget how her husband was reprimanded every single night and they could never form an affectionate bond in her youth because of her in-laws tactics and relentless domination.

Need for 'personal space'

This area of conflict has emerged as part of a more recent and contemporary discourse in the narratives of the younger generation of women (mostly the dil's). Mansi (25, dil) fundamentally yearns for personal space. Having lived abroad and managed a tough childhood she does not advocate the grand joint family system. She is happy in a space where there is a combined joint family but on different floors. As she says, "see till 25 years I have developed my thoughts and mannerisms in a certain way. Now you (referring to the mil) have a different way. So she would often tell me do like this and not like that. I may agree, or I may feel that my way was a better way and if I do not follow, there is an issue altogether. Over time, lifestyles have changed. It is a different generation so what I think maybe right and what she thinks may be right too, from her own perspective. Like this is healthy for her and not for me, but can I change her? No I can't, because she has that emotion for the past 50 years. If I cannot change that emotion, how can I expect her

to change? Then there will be ego clashes." Kareena (27, dil) further adds to the contestation of personal autonomy and resistance to change or freedom to be - 'I was very surprised because that is the way I am. I can only greet and say hello to someone, so I really didn't know how to react, though I didn't like this. This is the way I am. I don't expect anyone to change for me, so this is the way I am.'

Inability to vent out through proper channels.

Except for a few pampered initial years of her life, Pihu (41,dil) has not only seen progressively tougher times at home and in her in-laws home, but the hypocrisy and duality of women's nature has left an undeniable imprint on Pihu's psyche. Since the beginning she has been exposed to two different and striking contrasts regarding the nature of women in general. The first was her mother, who despite being educated, was always extremely docile, *'Mummy har samay chup kar ke sab ki sunti thi kyunki naani ne yeh sikhaya tha ki kissi ko palat ke jawaab nahin dena; sab ki baat manni hai, chahe tum theek ho tabh bhi aur tum galat ho tab bhi. Shayad ye galat tha naani ka sikhana, itna extreme main, wahi cheez mummy ne humain sikhayi.'* (Mummy would always stay quiet and listen to everyone's instructions because her mother had told her to always remain silent; never answer back - whether you are correct or not. This was extremely wrong on my grandmother's part -but this was exactly what our mum taught us). Moreover the sisters in law visiting their natal home meant more and more work for the young dil - cooking and taking care of all her wishes. Her narrative comes across as a life where the dil has a body ridden with constant pains and ailments for the sheer amount of work and burden that she has taken and a mind that had been numbed and traumatized by fear and repercussions of not fulfilling her duties and responsibilities.

'main din bhar kaam karti thi aur raat ko roti thi. Depression ki dawaiyaan shuru kar deni padi, pain killers khaati thi. Itne maine painkillers khaaaye, mere papa ne kasam de de kar chuday. Ab bhi kai baar raat ko lene padte hain. Do teen baar meri surgery hui, poora mera sharer khatam ho chukka hai... dar darke.. dar darke .... dar darke ... .kuch bhi nahin raha andar...ab main thak gayi hoon.. shareer se bhi... sabki baton se bhi... ab mere se nahin hota.' (ibid). (I used to work the whole day and cry at night. I started anti depressants and painkillers. My dad forced me to get off them permanently but I still have to take them occasionally. I've constantly lived in so much fear that my entire body and mind have become totally hollow. There is nothing left inside. I can't do anything anymore.'); *saas kabhi bhi nahin badal sakti, ye mujh se likhwa lo.* (An mil will always be an mil and will never change.)

In yet another narration, a young dil states:

I married young and was sick of my in-laws constantly taunting me - the smallest of issues

would become a bone of contention. Despite being in the kitchen the whole day I was questioned on my cooking and housekeeping skills. The smallest of decision I made, my mil wanted her way and that would really put me at loggerheads with her. The interference and domination was so persistent that much later I decided I just had to move out of that house - I couldn't survive one more day. Now my mil feels I was wronged to a certain extent but why can't they value us when we are doing so much? I was constantly picked up upon - why are you wearing westerns? Why are you buying so many clothes?....making me wake up 4:30- 5:00 in the morning - using my washroom, entering without knocking or asking- even though I was newly married - or banging the door so hard that the latch broke. This attitude I just could not take. Usually my mil and I would just sulk and then start talking - I never felt like sharing anything with her till much later. . (Geeta, 36, dil)

Daughters and mothers' interference

In recognition of the difficulty of the smooth relationship between mil and dil - there is an intense awareness to understand and avoid people, relationships and situations that may act as a deterrent to their efficacy. One such factor that is echoed through the voices of a lot of mils - as cause of conflict - is the dil's own mother. Sushma (50, mil) for example is very clear that *maaon ko bilkul bhi beti ki life main interfere nahin karna chahiye* (dil's mother should never interfere in her daughter's life). In the same vein, a lot of dil's complain about the problems and rifts caused between their mil and them because of interference by their sisters-in-law' (mil's daughters). This trend has been seen across the generations (Mahima, 25, dil; Piu, 45, dil; Megha, 60, mil). In Bina's (63, mil) own words

> *"conflicts was also because of unmarried sister - in -laws - 'thoda jab sister-in-law ke saath main thi to mil unki side letithi - chaahe sahi ho ya galat…meri side nahin leti thi…mere husband bahut achche the jo balance karte the"*. (conflicts were also because of my unmarried sister-in-law. Irrespective of whether they were right or wrong, my mil always took their side…it was only because of my husband and his understanding ways that the balance could be maintained.)

In retrospect Megha summarizes the situation extremely succinctly - 'my experience as a mil and dilis that when I was a dil, it was very clear that I can never be my mil's daughter. And when I'm a mil, I can never be my dil's mother. The place that her daughter or her mother has in her heart, nobody can take it'. But she shows that by working at it you can come second-best, and the relationship can be genuinely pleasant, loving and cooperative if both parties are willing.

In nutshell - the patriarchal order can no longer dictate the lifestyle of the younger generation/couple. Though girls are still brought up with the notion that they would eventually get married, marriage does not determine the absolute finality of their lives. An affluent

home that keeps domestic workers and domestic help does not require the girl to engage in daily household chores. As a result, the girls are totally unaware of the functioning of kitchen or cooking for that matter. But the difference, especially in the current case, is in the attitude and expectations of the matrimonial home- previously and currently.

The issues of conflicts seem to have shifted in nature. While earlier it was the resistance to complete authority manifested in frustration of division and fulfilment of daily chores; there was also an intense resistance to the conjugality and allowing the husband - wife affection to grow. There is also protest against the sister-in-law interference by the dil on one hand and the dil's mother's interference by the mil on the other. Each wants to claim their rightful place without too much noise or conflict. The younger dil's seem to be affected by these factors as well, although there is a huge change in the elder women's attitudes and willingness to give greater space and autonomy to the conjugal pair.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

The following are some of the limitations of this study.

(1) Authenticity of the narratives - The primary source of data gathering is the first person narrative accounts of the women themselves. Often the participants project more of a desirable story, than an authentic one.

(2) Choice and size of sample - The voices and sample was purposive and limited to urban Delhi. The narratives were in-depth although the sample size was not very large. As a result the analysis and understanding could only be extended to a specific socio-cultural setting which provided a limitation for our capacity to think about other communities.

The following suggestions can be made for further studies

(1) Mental Health of women living in contemporary joint families - A study of how adapting and living in the contemporary joint family system is affecting the mental health of women at ground level - post marriage. The nature of problems and conflicts has a great bearing on the mental well being of women of all ages.

(2) Implications of patriarchy, empowerment and various dyads in a changing generation. - Is education and technological advancement empowering women to enable them to cross certain restrictions of the archaic and all pervasive patriarchal structures or the changes are merely at superficial level?

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