



AL-SHODHANA

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- ❖ Parsi Community and the Modernity Challenges: A Dialogue with the Insiders - **Vincent Alva**
- ❖ Monarchy to Democracy: *Kranti Veera* as Cinematic Representation of Transition - **Vijayakumar M Boratti**
- ❖ Multiple Narratives in Vaidehi's *Just a Few Pages : Some Memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade* - **Prasad Rao M
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Editorial

I'm immensely pleased to place before you the latest issue of *Al-Shodhana*. I profusely thank the Principal of St Aloysius College (Autonomous), Rev Dr Praveen Martis SJ for entrusting me with the responsibility of editing this bi-annual, multi-disciplinary and refereed research journal. The objective of this journal is to encourage faculty members, research scholars and students of the college in particular and the teaching and research community in general for disseminating their research findings to a wider audience. The journal invites original research articles in the disciplines of Humanities, Social Sciences, Commerce and Business Management.

The present issue features five research papers varying across Literature, Film Studies, History and Sociology. The first paper by Dr Vincent Alva examines the aspirations and desperations of the Parsi community through the novel *Family Matters* written by Rohinston Mistry. With a close study of the novel, the author evaluates the challenges of modernity faced by the migrant Parsi community in India and the cultural negotiations it had with the larger communities around them while trying desperately to retain its exclusive identity.

Dr Vijay Kumar Boratti examines the film *Kranti Veera* as an attempt to document the pan-Indian movement for responsible government and a call for the democratization of pre-colonial political institutions. Boratti analyses the film as a visualization of despotism of monarchic governance and problematizes the cinematic representation of it in the postcolonial Karnataka as more or less a form of professional entertainment basking in the glory of exaggerated heroism, democratic idealism and far-fetched notions of revolution.

Prasad Rao and Dr Nagya Naik analyse the complexities involved in the discussion on "Life Writings." *Examining Just a Few Pages: Some Memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade*, they argue that the meaning of 'life' in the Life-Writings

has been elusive, because the boundaries between historical re-presentation and humanist perception of 'life' are permeable. The paper develops the politics of authoring the life as an interplay between the subject and the object positions, the past and the present and the life of narrator and that of the narrated.

Dr Ramdas Prabhu studies social formations of megalithic age in south India and argues that the megalithic society was also a stratified society. Based on the archeological study of burial grounds, the paper establishes the distinctive ways in which clan chiefs, heads and warriors and ordinary people were buried. The study assumes that an individual's treatment of death bears some predictable relationship to the individuals state in life and to the organization of the society to which the individual belonged.

The paper authored by Rushila Rebello brings in the ways in which gender identities are systematically formed and fixed in the minds of children at a very young age in the families. The study traces the influence of parents and family in the process of gender socialization at multiple levels, in early childhood, ranging from children's play and participation in sports, division of labour within the family, type of media exposure, knowledge of/exposure to social norms, gender stereotypes and other social-structural forces.

I'd like to thank all the contributors, all the members of the editorial advisory board and the editorial board for their continuous support in publishing this issue.

Girish N
Editor-in-Chief

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PARSI COMMUNITY AND THE MODERNITY CHALLENGES: A DIALOGUE WITH THE INSIDERS

Vincent Alva

Abstract

The Parsi community is one of the most successful minority and migrant groups in the world. In India this small migrant community gave a newer edge to banking and business. Parsis such as Tata, Godrej, Wadia families and others are among India's top business dynasties. Their influence on Indian economy is unmatched. But this small community remained small and even is facing the fear of extinction in India. With their unique and rare rituals and culture they remained always away from the mainstream. Their social and religious practices always made them remain foreigners though they were the citizens of the country in which they were living. It was easier for them to identify themselves with the colonial masters than the colonised. This also became one of the reasons for their aloofness. The strict family customs and caste barriers they followed never allowed them to associate with other castes. They never allowed their members to marry a person outside the caste. This is one of the major reasons for the dwindling number of Parsis in India. The plight of the Parsis has been a subject for literature. Particularly, being a Parsi himself, Rohinton Mistry has extensively dealt with the predicament of Parsis in India in his fictional works. This research article is an attempt to analyse the subtleties of Parsi community in the light of Mistry's novel Family Matters.

Keywords: colonialism, modernity, inter-caste marriage, tradition, religious fanaticism.

Modernity has not left anyone untouched. Individuals, institutions as well as communities have come under its sway. There has been an enormous change in everyone and everything concerned due to its impact. The modernity that came to India through the colonial vehicle got rooted so deep that every walk of life came under its influence. Being colonized, Indians had no choice, but to emulate the masters and incorporate their cultural mores in their lives. The colonized, in fact, found it rather a blessing to imitate and practice the lifestyle of their masters.

The imitation of the masters did not make the natives enjoy the same respect and power enjoyed by the masters. The colonized remained as second grade citizens in their own country. Though modernity had its impact on the society and

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individuals, the marginalized communities and the marginalized people chafed under the challenges of modernity. It may be mainly because of the lack of self-awareness or the callous attitude of the masters and the rich class in the society. Modernity gave more scope to the rich class to grow economically, socially, and politically, whereas the status quo of the marginalized communities and individuals remained unchanged or worsened.

One of the major claims of modernity is economic, social, and political equality. Modernity gained meaning because of these gifts that it had to offer to the world. But, in a country like India, this claim remained a mirage for the marginalized. Whatever modernity assured remained only an assurance to them. The larger communities and the rich classes started growing vertically in all these three fields. On the other hand, the marginalized communities and the poor had to struggle hard to maintain their horizontal standard of growth. Their struggle to face the challenges posed by modernity was made all the more difficult due to the social sufferings they were made to endure with. The smaller communities, the migrant communities, and the marginalized individuals were always looked down upon by the larger indigenous communities and the socially and economically rich individuals. In India numerous examples to such variable discrimination could be cited. Since India is known as a land of multitudinous castes, sects, groups, and communities, this kind of discrimination was conspicuous everywhere. During the colonial period too this discrimination continued. Though the colonizers found it strange and inhuman, it was not in their interest to wipe out this discrimination for political reasons. Historiography gives ample reasons for this indifferent attitude of the colonial masters. It was not easy for the British to rule a vast country like India without the help of the natives. They adopted the master policy of divide and rule for this purpose. As long as there was division in the society and class distinction was maintained, it was easy for the British to administer. However, due to the keen interest and insistence of social reformists like Raja Rammohun Roy and others, some evil practices in the society were forcefully eradicated, but the gulf between the classes, communities, and the rich and the poor remained as rigid as ever. The education system too did not contribute much to eradicate the inequality.

On the whole, smaller and migrant communities in particular, and the socially and economically marginalized suffocated under the pressure of modernity.

The Parsi community is one such example in India. The Parsi community, which is a migrant social unit and under the fear of extinction, has been encountering problems with the challenges of modernity. The reason behind this is their distancing from the indigenous culture and too much identification with the colonial masters. Even after centuries of their stay in India, they do not have a sense of belongingness with this country. Their distinct cultural, traditional, social, and religious practices have singled them out as outsiders. The cultural and traditional stubbornness practiced by them could be another reason for their aloofness. Under these circumstances, it has become extremely difficult for them to cope with the challenges of modernity.

The purpose of this paper is to have a close look into the modernity challenges faced by Parsi community through a dialogue with the insiders. Insiders for the purpose are Rohinton Mistry, a prominent novelist from the Parsi community and the characters from one of his novels *Family Matters*.

Rohinton Mistry is a writer from the diaspora. Being a Parsi, Mistry, in all his novels, punctiliously presents the desperations and aspirations of the Parsi community living exclusively in Mumbai. A close study of the novels of Mistry will help us to evaluate the challenges of modernity the migrant Parsi community faces in India and the cultural and traditional negotiations it makes with the larger communities while trying desperately to retain its exclusive identity. Though the entry of the Parsis into India dates much earlier to colonization, it is the pre and the post-colonial period that brought this community to limelight in this country. The economically well-off Parsi community, regarded the entry of the British as a blessing since they could identify themselves with the masters. Before getting into a discussion of the problems faced by the Parsis, a brief study of the community and their practices will help us to understand the analyses that are made later in this chapter.

The Parsis came to India in A. D. 766 fearing persecution by the Muslim rulers of Iran. They travelled East in search of shelter and chanced to land at Sanjan in Gujarat, and the erstwhile ruler Jadhav Rana agreed to accommodate them in Gujarat, provided they agreed to the following conditions:

- The Parsi high priest should explain the religion to the king.

- The Parsis should give up their native Persian language and speak the local language.
- The Parsi women should give up wearing Persian robes, and instead, put on Indian costumes.
- The men should lay down their weapons.
- The Parsis should hold their wedding processions only in the dark.¹

An acceptance of these conditions meant that they had to forget their innate culture and embrace India as their land, not only in words, but also in deeds. These conditions presupposed that they had to change their life style entirely. Sujata Chakravorty says that due to this situation “The Parsis in India are thus in Diaspora – all Parsi sensibility is informed and influenced by this memory.”²

During the colonial period, the Parsis were at ease with the colonizers. They claimed themselves to be superior to the natives, and most of the time, identified themselves with the privileges enjoyed by the masters. Sujata Chakravorty says:

With the British coming to power in 1770, the Parsis made Bombay their stronghold and are concentrated there in majority more than any other place ever since. The Parsis were also greatly impressed by the lifestyle of the British and emulated them in manners, customs and costumes. They greatly identified with the colonizers and became very westernized which in turn increased the animosity of the Indian mainstream towards their community.³

Novy Kapadia who also holds similar views says:

In the pre-independence era, many Parsis availed British patronage and enjoyed other prerogatives granted by the rulers. Believing that the English rule was here to stay, they became ‘progressive’ with their belief in English education and were liberal in everyday secular practices. Their belief in modes of progress and in British rule made them more progressive as compared to the rest of the nation reeling under the foreign rule.⁴

The departure of the British from India destabilized the existence of the Parsis for the second time. Indian independence created a vacuum in them. They felt more and more marginalized and threatened by the 'dominant Hindu Community'.⁵ This fear of marginalization and identity crises dislocated them once again. Some of the Parsis relocated in countries like Australia, USA, UK, and Canada. It served two purposes. Firstly, it gave them a chance to escape from the threat of majoritarian, Hindu dominant fanaticism and, secondly, it gave them an opportunity to become economically stable. The novelist, Rohinton Mistry is an example of the second type of diasporic movement.

Not all of the Parsis, who had migrated to India from Iran, moved towards the West for the said purposes. Many of them stayed back and tried to negotiate with the indigenous culture. But, those who wanted to stay back were in a minority. Commenting on the dwindling Parsi community in India, Nilufer Bharucha says; "the Parsis are a miniscule minority in India and number only 80,000 today".⁶ No doubt, at present, Parsi is an ethno-religious minority community in India. But, their contribution to the Indian society, economics, commerce, science, politics, and literature has been remarkable. It was due to the attention they attracted from the colonial masters during the colonial period. But after independence, during the post-colonial period, certain economic and political policies weakened the importance of the Parsis in all these areas. Mistry, in his novels, comes down harshly upon certain government policies for pushing the Parsis to the periphery. The Parsis were considered kings of the banking sector. They were the owners of the private banking sector in the post-independence era. It was in India, they felt, that a tradition was followed for a respectable lifestyle. But the decision of the then Prime Minister to nationalize all these private banks was a major blow not only for their identity, but also for their existence in India. They felt their backbone broken. Mistry in his novel *Such a Long Journey* makes Dinshawji, an employee of the bank, to voice his dissatisfaction. Dinshawji tells Gustad, the protagonist of the novel:

What days those were, yaar. What fun we used to have ... Parsis were the kings of Banking in those days. Such respect we used to get. Now the whole atmosphere only has been spoiled. Ever since that Indira nationalized the banks.⁷

Various factors could be held responsible for the dwindling ethno-religious Parsi community. One of the major reasons could be the traditional rigidity they continued to practice even after their arrival to India. This not only made their community a secluded one, but also became a reason for stagnation of population in their own community. Factors such as late marriages, low birth rate, high rate of divorce, children of Parsi females who married outside the community not accepted into the original faith, etc. have contributed to the low growth rate of the community.

In his novel *Family Matters*, Mistry shows how rigid the Parsi community or a Parsi family could be when it comes to inter-caste marriages. Nariman Vakeel, a Professor of English, wanted to marry his long standing love Lucy Braganza, a Goan Catholic. But, the traditional parents of Naiman Vakeel could not digest the modern bend of mind in their son. It was very difficult for them to face the modernity challenge posed by their son. Ultimately, their son, who was highly educated had to yield to the traditional thinking of his parents. During his seventy-ninth birthday celebration, when Nariman annoys his step daughter Coomy, she blames him for ruining the entire happiness of the family for the sake of Lucy Braganza. For the grand-children it was a strange name in their family. So Roxana, Nariman Vakeel's direct daughter and her husband Yezad explain to their sons, Jehangir and Murad, how rigid the Parsi community is towards inter-religious marriages.

Reluctantly Roxana explained that Grandpa had wanted to marry Lucy, but couldn't, because she was not a Parsi. So he married Uncle and Aunt's mother. "Who was also my mother, I was born to her."

For Jehangir, the answer did not explain his aunt's anger. He asked if there was a law against marrying someone who wasn't a Parsi. His father said yes, the law of bigotry....⁸

In the epilogue, there is a heated argument between the college going son Murad and his religio-eccentric father Yezad, who has now turned a Parsi fanatic. The question of tradition when it comes to the older generation or the younger generation remained as rigid as ever. There might have been changes in the lifestyle due to the impact of modernity. But to the Parsis, religion and tradition

always remained outside the purview of modernity. The topic remains the same, only the characters change. Now it was Yezad, the father telling his son Murad:

I'm warning you, in this there can be no compromise. The rules, the laws of our religion are absolute, this Maharashtrian cannot be your girlfriend.

... you can have any friends you like, any race or religion, but for a serious relationship, for marriage, the rules are different.

... Because we are a pure Persian race, a unique contribution to this planet, and mixed marriages will destroy that.

.....

Inferior or superior is not the question. Purity is a virtue worth preserving.⁹

Sujata Chakravorty says, "His (Mistry's) novels record not only the history of the Parsis before their arrival in India, but also faithfully record their rich cultural heritage, customs, religious practices, their Towers of Silence, Cuisine and their idiosyncrasies".¹⁰ At the same time, like any other Parsi, he also voices his worries over the shrinking number of Parsis in India and around the globe as well. He is so worried by this fact that he does not hesitate to disclose the real reasons in the novel *Family Matters*. In this novel, he makes Mr. Masalavala, Dr. Fitter, and Jal discuss this very problem without sparing the crudeness involved in the present generation Parsi attitude:

"Just before you came, Jal," said inspector Masalavala, "we were chatting about the future of the Parsi community."

"Yes? The Orthodox and reform argument?"

"That's only one part of it. The more crucial point is our dwindling birth rate, our men and women marrying non-Parsis, and the heavy migration to the West."

"Vultures and crematoriums both will be redundant," declared Dr. Fitter, "if there are no Parsis to feed them. What's your opinion?"

“I’m not sure,” said Jal, reluctant to be drawn into a debate over this explosive topic. “We’ve been a small community right from the beginning. But we’ve survived, and prospered.”

“Those were different times, a different world,” said Inspector Masalavala, not in a mood to tolerate optimism. “The experts in demographics are confident that fifty years hence, there will be no Parsis left.”¹¹

Their discussion continues and ends up blaming too much of ‘*Westoxication*’¹² of the Parsi younger generation, which has had its direct impact on the Parsi populace. The inspector says:

“Take the falling birth rate. Our Parsi boys and girls don’t want to get married unless they have their own flat. Which is next to impossible in Bombay, right? They don’t want to sleep under the same roof as their mummy and daddy. Meanwhile, the other communities are doing it in the same room, never mind the same roof, separated by a plywood partition or a torn curtain. Our little lords and ladies want soundproofing and privacy. These Western ideas are harmful.”

“Indeed,” said Dr. Fitter. “The funny thing is, we used to pride ourselves on being Westernized, more advanced.”¹³

As a culturally and traditionally secluded group, the Parsi community gives importance to their Zoroastrian tradition and values. It is interesting to note that though they are very rigid in their adherence to the Zoroastrian values, they could not survive the onslaught of modernity.

The Parsis are the followers of Prophet Zarathustra and their religion is known as Zoroastrian. It is believed that by the time Zarathustra was born, the teachings of the Mazdayasni religion, which was followed until then was forgotten by the people. This pained Zarathustra. Seeking enlightenment, he renounces all worldly pleasures at the age of fifteen and devotes himself day and night to the worship of Ahura Mazda, the God. His teachings are so simple and attractive that people returned to the fold of God. These people came to be recognized as Parsis. His thoughts and teachings, collected in the *Avesta*, are the

basis of Zoroastrianism. *Avesta* and *Zend-Avesta*, the prayer books of Zoroastrianism, form the sacred books of the present-day Zoroastrians, known as Parsis. The doctrines of this ancient belief and a record of the customs of the earliest period of Persian history are preserved in the *Avesta*.

John R. Hinnells summarizes the Zoroastrian teachings in the following words:

When men are judged at death, it is their thoughts, words and deeds that are weighed in the balance. Men's as well as women's own lives are the only basis on which they are judged. Unlike in Christianity, there is no idea of one man dying to save all, or of salvation by faith. In Zoroastrian belief man has free will to think, speak and do as he pleased. It is how he uses that freedom throughout his life, which will cause him to go to heaven or hell. The person who goes to heaven is the one who has cared for and expanded the Good Creations – both spiritual and material and who has been truthful, wise, and generous. In addition to these positive duties, there is also the reverse, the rejection of evil. Zoroaster taught that men should render evil to evil. To 'turn the other cheek' as Christians advocate is wrong in Zoroastrian thought. Evil should be vigorously opposed in every possible way; from cleaning a house to overcoming suffering or misery. The middle Persian teaching on man's duty to repel evil has one particularly important and interesting detail. If the material world is the Good Creation of God, it follows that the devil cannot have a material form. Evil can only live in the world like a parasite in men's bodies. If men would reject the demons such as greed, anger and the lie from themselves, then evil would be expelled from the world, so that creation would be restored to its original ideal perfection.¹⁴

Traditional values like truth, charity, purity, and dignity of labour set a tone to the austere Parsi life. The very first prayer a Parsi child has to learn is *Ashem Vohu* – "Truth is the greatest virtue. It is happiness. Happy is he who is truthful for the sake of truth." The second prayer a Parsi child has to learn is *Yatha Ahu Vairyo* – "He who gives assistance to the poor acknowledges the kingdom of God." Zoroastrians also hold the purity and dignity of labour very high.

One can find a lot of paradoxes within the Parsi community when it comes to the discourse on tradition and modernity. Modernity is not accepted easily by this community. Their association with the colonial masters might mislead us to take them as modern as the colonizers themselves. But, Vibhuti Wadhwan very clearly points out the basic problems of the Parsis in accepting modernity, and the resistance to modernity within the community itself:

The situation of Zoroastrian community in any pan-Indian nationalist discourse is fraught with paradox. Though the Parsi community prides itself on being modern by the virtue of it being a staunch believer in Western rationalist principles in everyday secular life, the community does not allow conversion into its folds, and is also regressive in terms of its rigid patriarchal mind set which does not allow children of non-Parsi fathers to be inducted into the religious system, even though it has always treated women equally. This makes them fundamentally incompatible with the idea of social and cultural progress where their religion itself is guided more by sociological necessity than by faith.¹⁵

These and other strict tenets of Zoroastrianism made them appear socially a different class. For example, in the formation of the Bombay Parsi Panchayat in 1728, they tried to maintain their ethnic purity by arbitrating the disputes within their community. The role of this Panchayat was to regulate the social and religious consciousness of the Parsis. Though their intention was to create a niche of their own identity, this internal structure set them apart from the mainstream culture. This type of myopic attitude became a reason for the many crises they faced in India.

Religious fanaticism is yet another reason for the troubles the Parsis faced in modern India. The fear of the conservatives regarding the liberalism inside their religion drove them to define the entire community on its religious beliefs. Any venture by the liberals to introduce new facets to the Zoroastrian religion was viewed by the conservatives as against the purity of Zoroastrianism. So, though they seemed modern in their lifestyle, they were more conservative in their social and religious beliefs. Wadhawan says:

Any change initiated in the Parsi religion, such as accepting converts, would be taken as detrimental to the purity of Zoroastrianism. Therefore, traditions, more aptly religious traditions, are the only credible source of practical religious knowledge that makes conservatives cling to them so dearly to resist change. Though acculturation via tenets enabled Parsi ancestors to positively interact with other cultures, they always believed in preserving their precious religion which they left their homeland to protect. Today, clearly perceived as 'more modern' than other communities, it is only in terms of its religious tenets that one finds Parsi community lacking in 'modernity'; where they align neither with the Eurocentric or modernist perspective, but have produced a distinct understanding of their own.¹⁶

The more the Parsi community tries to bind their people through religious conservatism, the more it loses its identity in the globalized modernity of the present times. The present generation of Parsis walk their individual path instead of merging with the religious community. As is the case with any other community, the Parsi community too is fighting to find a central binding force for themselves.

Wadhawan feels that the balance between tradition and modernity is always compromised under Parsi tradition. While the traditionalist Parsi attitude tries to counter the influence of modernity by sticking to conservatism, the progressive Parsi thinkers positively reflect the changes in modern life. The progressive Parsi thinkers feel that the traditional Zoroastrian social and religious teachings are antiquated and so change must be introduced to keep Zoroastrianism as lively as any other religion. The division between the conservatives and the liberals within the Parsi community has caused it to crumble from its roots. More than strengthening the religion and community, this friction has shaken the very identity of the Parsi community.

The self-division within the Parsi community has made traditional religion its grist. In their encounter with modernity, religion becomes more about ritual practices to preserve faith than faith itself. The clash suggests the crumbling rootedness of the Parsi community, which it desperately tries to re-orient using religious dogmas. The

submergence of Parsi narrative through changing equations in traditional religion has created a sense of loss for the Parsi community that has modern forces of change to account for it.¹⁷

In his (Mistry) entire writings, one can find his total involvement with the community he belongs to. Being an insider, it was not difficult for Mistry to understand the Parsi culture and traditions and, at the same time, he was very much at ease in identifying and codifying the privileges as well as the problems faced by his community. As a writer, he registers the peace and turmoil faced by the members of his own community. The major issues he deals with in all his novels, is the placement of Parsi identity in the modern world and the negotiation of this identity with modernity. While doing so, he critically presents his views on the effect of modernity on the socially, economically, and emotionally marginalized communities.

Apart from this, Mistry also tries to examine the recent political history of India, particularly that of the period of Emergency, in his novels. Contemporary political events are one of his major concerns. His novels explore the relationships among self, community, place, and identity, validating the local and embracing the syncretic nature of post-colonial experience in India.

The deeper you move into the modernity issues among the Parsis, the more will trepidations be revealed. On the whole, as it has already been told, nothing is untouched by modernity. The impact of modernity had everlasting dent on the rotundity of Parsi community. Certain dents were repaired by them in the course of time and some still remain the same.

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MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY: KRANTI VEERA AS CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF TRANSITION

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Abstract

A significant historical development in colonial India was a pan-Indian movement for responsible government and democratization of pre-colonial political institutions. It assumed a very critical phase all over India in the early 20th century, producing a good amount of empirical and theoretical literature on democratic transition and consolidation. The movement for democracy, responsible government and role of citizens, after India's independence, paved way for cultural and aesthetic articulations. A Kannada period movie Kranti Veera (1972) is an example for such an articulation in post-colonial India. The present article examines this movie and tries to understand the portrayal of democracy, responsible government and despotic bureaucracy in monarchic government. It tries to understand how this movie visualizes despotism of monarchic governance, bureaucracy and becomes politicized with concerns for democracy. It argues that while the discourse of and demand for 'responsible government' in Kannada literature was born out of and conditioned by colonial circumstances in the Old Mysore princely state, the cinematic representation of it in the post-colonial Karnataka seems to be more or less a form of professional entertainment basking in the glory of exaggerated heroism, democratic idealism and far-fetched notion of revolution.

Keywords: *responsible government, representative assembly, autocracy, democracy, parallel text*

One of the significant historical developments in colonial India was a pan-Indian movement for responsible government and democratization of pre-colonial political institutions. It assumed a very critical phase all over India in the early 20th century, producing a good amount of empirical and theoretical literature on democratic transition and consolidation. The movement for democracy, responsible government and role of citizens, after India's independence, paved way for cultural and aesthetic articulations. A Kannada movie *Kranti Veera* (1972) is an example for such an articulation in post-colonial India. The present article examines this movie and tries to understand the portrayal of democracy, responsible government and despotic bureaucracy in monarchic government. The

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purpose of the article is to understand how this movie visualizes despotism of monarchic governance, bureaucracy and becomes politicized with concerns for democracy. Since the movie reminds us of similar political situation in colonial Karnataka, a brief comparative perspective of colonial and post-colonial political circumstances is in line with reference to the old Mysore princely state. While the discourse of and demand for 'responsible government' in Kannada literature was born out of and conditioned by colonial circumstances in the Old Mysore princely state, the cinematic representation of it in the post-colonial Karnataka seems to be more or less a form of professional entertainment basking in the glory of exaggerated heroism, democratic idealism and far-fetched notion of revolution. Before embarking on examining the film, it would be fruitful to know what historical events contributed to the making of the film with a focus on political scenario in the Mysore princely state specifically and general outlook towards slowly disappearing monarchy in late colonial India.

Responsible Government, Democracy and Mysore

During the British rule, along with the Nationalist Movement against the British by the Indians, there was a parallel movement by the people of the Princely States (also known as Indian India). While most of the territory of India had passed into the hands of the British by the beginning of the 20th century, some parts of the country were still under the princely rulers/Nawabs¹. This parallel movement in the beginning of the 20th century was, for a long time (until 1930s), a thin voice. Those who started this movement struggled hard to project it as a pan-Indian movement and they were greatly influenced by the Nationalist Movement of Gokhale in the beginning, Tilakite in the next stage and later Gandhian type. Organizations like the "Prajamandal Movement" and "All India States' and People's Conference" came to the fore. It was during this time that the political discourse of *javabdaariyuta sarkara* (responsible government) was put forward. The discourse was a part of democratization of administration and politics in the British India which gradually gripped the consciousness of some leaders and scholars in princely states, chief among them being the Mysore princely state. The nationalists (small portion of population constituted of the Brahmins, educated and other professional elites) believed that since there was no immediate alternative to replace the Princely state, beset with excess use of power and autocratic rule by the bureaucrats, the Diwans and centralization of administration² without "adequate" participation of the people, they propagated

the discourse of 'responsible government' within the limits of the state. Several Kannada and English newspapers of the time criticized the dominance of the Diwan at the expense of the king and other members. *Karnataka Prakashika*, for instance, was very vocal in denouncing the Diwan in 1910s. Several articles in the newspaper exhorted the Mysore king that he should assert his power instead of leaving it to the Diwan³. The public sphere, during this period, was asked to raise questions related to excessive bureaucracy under the control of the Diwan and his associates. The intellectuals, constituted mainly of Brahmin middle class,

...asked for introduction or widening of the franchises for representative assemblies; elected members of legislative councils selected as ministers, particularly after the popularly elected ministries had taken office in the British Indian provinces in 1937; privy purses for rulers; and increased funding for social, especially educational and medical facilities" (Ramusack, 2008: 221)⁴.

The call for responsible government or democratic impulse in the state governance was a part of nationalist movement which demanded the British government to transfer more and more power to the people of India. Though this call did not intend to curtail the absolute power of the king and the Diwans/ ministers, it sought to channelize more power, both legislative and executive, to the elected members of the councils and assemblies.

In the Mysore princely state, the king, the Diwan and his council of ministers had developed centralized power-system and bureaucracy despite boasting of the earliest Representative Assembly (1881, *Praja Pratinidhi Sabha*) started by C. Rangacharlu, the first Diwan after the reinstatement of the Wodeyar family by the British paramountcy as the rulers of Mysore. Added to this centralist-power system, the Diwans of the state were from outside the Mysore until the arrival of Vishweshwaraiah in 1912. There was disquiet at the domination of the Madras-imported bureaucrats and it led to the cry of "Mysore for Mysoreans" by the Mysore Brahmins. The Diwans and their subordinates had assured the continuation of the centralized-administrative system. Without much public intervention, initiatives on administrative, political or social reforms were taken by the bureaucracy itself. In real sense, the Representative Assembly was not truly representative of the large section of the population as its members were from elite background and it held its meeting once in a year during the 'Dasara festival'. Such scenario existed in other princely states too. Many political leaders

of nationalist movement called for restrained power and authority of bureaucracy and the Diwans⁵. *Kranti Veera* takes up the issue of movement for democracy as its plot. It was made at a time when the old Mysore princely suzerainty had become a tokenism for its past glory. It was also a time when Mysore was rechristened as Karnataka. The film symbolically and contradictorily turns out to be nostalgia for the disappearing glory of the Mysore king who was defied as God on the Earth (*Raja Pratyaksha Devata*) and a demand for an inevitable transformation of monarchy into democracy.

The Prince as Hero, the Diwan as Villain: Transition from Monarchy to Democracy

By 1972, the Kannada cinema industry had several historical films to its credit. *Ranadhira Kantirava* (1960), *Kitturu Chennamma* (1961), *Vijayanagarada Viraputra* (1961), *Virasankalpa* (1964), *Amarashilpi Jakkanaacharya* (1964) had set a trend for historical films in Kannada. This trend of the commercial Kannada cinema converted history into pageantry and spectacle. The historical characters in such movies had already formed a part of popular memory thanks to colonial constructions in literature, folklore and professional dramas. In these films, characters drawn from history reinforce themes of patriotism, and their actions are woven into narratives of romance, emotion, intrigue or conflict. As Sumit S. Chakravarthy has rightly noted, “Notions of historical accuracy or attention to detail are subordinated to the larger imaginative sweep of legend and heroic sentiment” (1996:158)⁶. The film, *Kranti Veera* (*Brave Man of Revolution*), very well fit into this scheme of imagination, exaggerated heroism, unconstrained emotional drama, vengeful rebellion against the establishment and uncomplicated popular consent to rebellion. Though the film is not inspired or based on any specific colonial circumstances and though it does not make any direct reference to historical facts, it reminds us of Mysore princely state and “excessive” power of the Mysore Diwans. The film attempts to inflate memories of colonial nationalism, high patriotism and fight for the ‘kingdom of people’.

Written by R. Rangarajan, with screenplay by K.V. Shrinivasan, *Kranti Veera* was directed by R. Ramamurthy and it was released in 1972⁷. The film begins with Vijay (Dr. Rajkumar, a famous matinee idol in Karnataka), one of the revolutionaries who is riding a horse in a desolate place, singing a song. His song moralises that nothing wrong will happen to him as long as he breathes Kannada; that honesty is the best policy; that man should learn how to be human and he

should not be devilish; that man should not be too ambitious and should never exploit others for his selfish motives.

After the song, the scene shifts to a house in Indrapuri, a fictional place. Lakshman, a revolutionary and his father are killed by the police who are under the firm control of Marthanda (Dinesh), the bad Diwan. The father, before dying, takes a promise from Tara, his daughter (Jayanti) that she should join the revolutionary group and avenge his death to end Marthanda's despotism. Marthanda continues to suppress and exploit the common people unabatedly in order to quell the revolutionaries. Many common people are suspected of rebellion and are killed by his soldiers in the process. Revolutionaries, in reaction to Marthanda's violence, increase their activities to spread their ideas of 'end to atrocities' and fight for people's governance. They demand freedom from the exploits of Marthanda. They urge the establishment of *Praja Rajya* and peace in the land. They insist the king to remove Marthanda from his post. Most of the time, these revolutionaries are underground. They loot the treasure of the palace and help the poor which reminds us of adventures of Robin Hood. In one of such attempts to loot the palace under the supervision of Tara and Madhav (Rajesh), an accomplice, the revolutionaries are virtually outwitted by the soldiers of Marthanda. But the timely arrival of Vijay saves the life of the revolutionaries and the treasure worth lakhs of rupees. This scene reveals that Vijay is one of the members of the revolutionary group for a long time. In course of time, love blossoms between Vijay and Tara which is disliked by Madhav as he suspects Vijay as a mole. Once, Vijay and Madhav are found in duel over the former's "surreptitious" activities. But they are stopped by Tara. Tara advises Madhav to think judiciously before suspecting Vijay.

Meanwhile some anonymous people try to kill the king. Marthanda suspects that the revolutionaries are behind such plots and seeks more power for himself to suppress them. On the permission of the king, he announces a cash prize of Rs. 10,000 for those who catch the revolutionaries either alive or dead. In addition to this, the soldiers of Marthanda spread wrong messages about the revolutionaries and urge the people not to heed to their voice. To counter this, the revolutionaries employ folk songs and *Hari Kathe* to enlighten the people about autocracy of Marthanda. Vijay, Tara and Madhav go from one place to another disseminating their ideals. Vijay gives a long *Hari Kathe* (folk narrative form) to illustrate atrocities of power and authority, indirectly castigating

Marthanda, and necessity of people's rule. Amidst this crisis and conflict, the cousin (Dwarakish) of Marthanda and also a comedian in the film keeps leaking out the palace secrets to his beloved who happens to be maid servant in the palace and a secret member of the revolutionary group.

Once Arjun, a good Diwan in the palace, is sent by the king to invite John Dunns, the diplomat of foreign affairs, to come to Indrapuri and solve political crisis in the state. Arjun is arrested by the revolutionaries on the way before an attempt is made to kill him by the spies of Marthanda. When the leader of the revolutionaries, Gangadhar, decides to kill Arjun as he is the emissary of the palace, he is prevented by Vijay. This shocks the other revolutionaries whose suspicion about him intensifies. Insisted by them to reveal why he prevented Arjun's killing, Vijay tells the truth about him. Vijay has been with the revolutionaries in disguise. His real identity is that he is the son of the king and his real name is Chandrakumar. He is a foreign-returned and English educated prince. Symbolically he represents a generational shift in monarchic state. Imbued with modern and liberal ideas, he represents freedom and equality for the people. Very soon, after his arrival from foreign country, the prince is disillusioned to see poverty, illiteracy, heavy taxation and suffering of the people. Inspired by the democratic and socialist ideals, the prince, unable to sustain himself in the palace due to the king's prohibitions on his ideals, joins the revolutionary group to achieve the ideals of democracy and freedom. Despite these revelations an iota of suspicion still remains among the other revolutionaries, except Tara who is in love with Vijay. But, on insistence of Tara, they all decide to wait and watch.

Ill-advised by Marthanda, the king decides to impose military rule in the kingdom to reign in the rebellion of the revolutionaries. Just before signing the declaration, the king is shot dead by the leader (Gangadhar) of the revolutionaries. Later Vijay succeeds his father. Assuming that Vijay is still inexperienced and young, Marthanda hatches a plan to assume supreme power by overtaking Vijay. On the other side, a revolt against the new king is designed by the revolutionaries. Marthanda's plot is spoilt by Vijay who kills the former in a fight. Vijay, after assuming the office of the kingdom, tries to reach out to the revolutionaries and convince them about his plans of *Praja Rajya* and socialism. Before that happens, Tara, convinced by the fellow revolutionaries about Vijay's betrayal, decides to kill Vijay. When she goes to the palace in disguise, she learns that Vijay has

genuinely decided to abdicate the power and hand it over to the people. Tara realizes the truth about Vijay and regrets her suspicion about him. Witnessing the reunion of Vijay and Tara, Madhava attacks Vijay in the palace. A duel ensues. Vijay, ultimately, succeeds in convincing Madhav about his sacrifice and the declaration of freedom and *Praja Rajya*. Convinced of this, both Madhav and Tara praise Vijay as the *real* revolutionary man. The film ends with the establishment of people's government and an end to monarchy.

History Re-enacted

The historical source of the film can be traced in the colonial period. If one is aware of political history of Mysore in the first half of the 20th century, the film makes sense with regard to post-1937 political changes in the state in which large scale national movement for responsible government picked up pace. In the film, there are many scenes which corroborate this point. Once, Dwarakish as a comedian in the film, with a Gandhian cap on his head and along with children, holds Indian national flag and sings a patriotic song. They uphold freedom from foreign yoke and dignity of life. Though he is the cousin of Marthanda, he is never anti-national in the film. Several times he is seen mocking the bad Diwan. Once he, in the guise of a revolutionary, tries to steal the treasure of Marthanda. Though he is ultimately overpowered by Marthanda, his act clearly shows that the comedian agrees with the ideal of the revolutionaries and he too wants to contribute to their cause.

In all these circumstances and scenes, social profile of the freedom fighters in the film (both Gandhian and the revolutionaries) is overlooked as if it is non-existing and insignificant⁸. Similar to nationalist mode of the colonial period which called for shedding their parochial identities and fight for the nation, this film echoes the sentiment in the larger interest of the region and nation, thereby eclipsing the socio-political conditions in the princely states of India prior to India's independence. The film successfully draws a common, uncomplicated and simplistic history for the Kannadigas who witnessed transition from monarchy to democracy.

Prince, as a Harbinger of Transition

To a great extent the plot of the film revolves around Vijay, the prince. It conforms, in addition to select history, to cinematic logic of privileging an actor

who has already become a “hero” in the eyes of the spectators. The title of the film is attributed to him with admiration in the end by Madhav for his sacrifice of the throne. Abdicating power, on the part of Vijay, is contrary to “our hackneyed view of the princes as a bizarre assortment of spendthrifts, torturers and voluptuaries” (James Manor, 1975: 31)⁹. Vijay exhibits willingness to give up power which reminds us of the princely states’ readiness to accept federal system in India during 1930s owing to large scale pressure on them to be part of the mainstream India. The entire film takes preventive measure to avoid castigating the king or the prince and spends its energy in reprimanding Marthanda, the bad Diwan. Perhaps, such portrayal owes largely to the prevailing devotion to the Mysore kings on the part of the general public in the old Mysore region or elsewhere in India.

The song in the very beginning of the film gives several hints about Vijay’s position and situation. His costume is designed to look like Hollywood’s cowboy but firmly grounded in *Kannada Nadu*. The song achieves two goals at a time: a) moral values that one should cultivate and b) portrayal of Vijay as virtuous. The tone of the film is set in the beginning itself as the song gives several clues about some noble cause at his hand and the possibility of hardships in achieving it. The fulsome praise for mother Kannada in the song is intended to inform that the subsequent scenes happen in the land of Kannada. It gives regional specificity to the prospective revolution in the film.

The film extols Vijay as a Kannada prince who is ready to sacrifice his power and abdicate authority for the sake of Kannadigas. Identical to the king of old Mysore princely state, who initiated social and political reforms, it is Vijay, the prince, who declares political freedom for the Kannadigas and not the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries who wanted to overthrow autocracy by means of rebellion are muted in the course of the film¹⁰. The film gradually becomes Vijay-centric and turns him into a true freedom fighter. It gives him an advantage of being in contact with the common people; appealing to them for calmness and reason as well as counseling the king against anti-people policies. In this sense, he is pervasive in the movie. He becomes a “parallel text” (quoted in Sumit S. Chakravarty, 1996: 201)¹¹ within the film. As his name suggests, he becomes victorious in establishing the government for people, of the people and by the people. The revolutionaries in the film are relegated to background slowly

and steadily. Vijay's dual role as a revolutionary in the beginning and the prince later denies any credit to the revolutionaries as a collective force.

Works Cited and Notes:

¹Altogether there were more than 500, large and small, princely states in India during the first half of the 20th century..

²See James Manor's article for more information on centralization of power with the Diwans at the helm of affairs. "Princely Mysore before the Storm: The State-Level Political System of India's Model State 1920-1936", in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, (1975), p. 35-39.

³K Veerathappa's article drives our attention to the dominance of the Diwan as portrayed in the then newspapers. "Growth of Public Opinion on Administration in Mysore State" in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LXX, No. 1-2, 1979.

⁴"Princely States: Society and Politics" in *The New Cambridge History of India III. 6, The Indian Princes and Their States*, CUP: UK.

⁵The editorials 'Mysore for Mysoreans' (16th November, 1910), 'Wake up Mysore' (22nd June 1910), 'Nationalism for Mysore' (23rd June, 1910), 'Political Rip Van Winkles' (3rd August 1910) in *The Mysore Times* (sub-edited by D.V. Gundappa) denounce the unrestrained power of the Diwan and his bureaucratic machinery.

⁶"The Recuperation of History and Memory" in *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema (1947-1987)*, Sumit S. Chakravarty, Delhi: OUP, 1996.

⁷In terms of box office or popularity, according to K. Puttaswamy, a noted Kannada film critic, the film did not make any great impact. Telephonic conversation with him on 1st, June, 2012.

⁸Social profile is significant because movement for responsible government in Mysore princely state and elsewhere in India was determined by the social forces. The movement for responsible government in Mysore, for long time until 1930, was a low voice expressed by a few Brahmin intellectuals. It was later that the Lingayaths and the Okkaligas, two dominant castes in Karanataka, joined the movement. Historical circumstances leading these two communities to the movement call for more research.

⁹James Manor holds pulp journalism for such hackneyed views. See "Princely Mysore before the Storm: The State-Level Political System of India's Model State 1920-1936", in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, (1975), p. 35-39.

¹⁰The film makes a contradictory gesture of distinguishing the revolutionaries (who remind us of the Russian revolution) who believed in violent method of achieving freedom and the Gandhian freedom fighters who advocated non-violence for the same. It also portrays both forces as overlapping and interchangeable.

¹¹"The National-Heroic Image" in *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema (1947-1987)*, Sumit S. Chakravarty, Delhi: OUP, 1996.

MULTIPLE NARRATIVES IN VAIDEHI'S *JUST A FEW PAGES:* *SOME MEMORIES OF SARASWATIBAI RAJWADE*

Prasad Rao M
Nagya Naik B H

Abstract

Vaidehi's Just a Few Pages: Some Memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade narrativizes the life of a writer in Kannada who gave up writing and confined herself to religious life. Rajwade had considerable visibility in the print medium during 1940s and 50s. She had written stories about the oppression of women and had also undertaken a publication of a woman's magazine. But in her later life, she abandoned the creative phase and resigned herself to a life of religiosity. The 'few pages' of the printed text *Just a Few Pages* offer diverse narratives of Rajwade. These multiple narratives do not allow the reader to reduce Rajwade's identity to a singular identity. In their attempt to explore and understand the life, these narratives mystify the life further. This research paper argues that the simplicity in the seemingly meandering narrative style hides a careful and nuanced ideological position about the ways in which local identities of women are reconstituted. *Just a Few Pages* explores the narrative strategies in the representation of Rajwade and the reconstitution of her identity.

Key words: *life writing; modern Kannada women writers; Vaidehi*

Narratives which are commonly known as biography, autobiography or memoirs are also called Life writings. However, the generic distinctions among these narratives and their relation to history and literature have become increasingly problematic because of the issues of authenticity and subjectivity in the narratives. Further, the generic conventions of biography, autobiography or memoirs accentuate their narrativity rather than the historical facts that go into their making. The meaning of 'life' in the Life-writings has been elusive because the boundaries between historical re-presentation and humanist perception of 'life' are permeable. Further, it is to be noted that while narratives of life deal with 'life of the other' they may treat life as 'the other.' That is, the politics of authoring the life involves interplay between subject and object positions, and the past and the present. Therefore, it may be said that in the Life-writing, narrative is the interplay between the life of narrator and that of narrated. It is

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interesting to note the narrative choices - in the selection and arrangement in the text, of the experiences/impressions of the life in language - which frame the life being narrated. The present study deals with the text *Just a Few Pages: Some Memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade*. It considers the ways in which Vaidehi, a prominent Kannada writer, textualizes the life of another well-known writer in Kannada, Saraswatibai Rajwade.

Susan Green observes that Life-writing is “an open term that more adequately expresses the crossing and blurring of the traditional generic borders of autobiography, biography and fiction, and the different ways of inscribing the self in literature” (50). The study of Life-writing as literature, focuses on narrative strategies and generic conventions. It explores the meaning of, as well as the relationship between, ‘self’ and ‘life.’ Linda Anderson says that narrativising the self is a way of reclaiming the agency of the self, of authoring the past in the present (41). Life-writings gain significance because the past-self is constructed in the present and rendered relevant through the narrative. The issues of identity are privileged in the reading of Life-writings. The narrative is commonly held as the authentic representation of the self. The fictional narrative is believed to be the ‘truth’ about the represented life. Though the narrative obfuscates the facts and chronological details, it is held that it has the ability to represent truth in the same way as literature. In the words of Ira Bruce Nadel, biography is fundamentally a narrative which has the primary task of the enactment of character and place through language - a goal similar to that of fiction. Nadel argues that “A biography is a verbal artefact of narrative discourse. Its tool, figurative language, organizes its form. A biographer constitutes the life of his subject through the language he uses to describe it and *transforms his chronicle to story through the process of emplotment*” (Nadel 8; my emphasis). An autobiography or a biography is basically a ‘plot’ which constructs ‘a self’ through different narrative strategies which establish the authenticity of the life represented. Life-writing is at once fictional and factual. Therefore, Life-writing has a curious relationship with literature and history. The politics of Life-writing manipulates the historical and fictional elements in different ways.

Nigel Hamilton, a prominent biographer, feels that “Biography in the western academic world has become a volleyball, punched between History and Language and Literature faculties” (Hamilton x). He advocates a separate discipline called

Biographical Studies for discussion of 'serious' biographies. A study of biography cannot be restricted to the study of only its historical or literary or linguistic elements. Hans Renders and Binne de Haan, the editors of the volume *Theoretical Discussions of Biography Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life-writing* do not approve of the view that biographies can be read like novels or fiction. According to them biography as a research area belongs to history. It is 'micro narrative' of history. They argue that those who study Life-writing as fictional narratives "are averse to the 'facts' which the biographer collects painstakingly." (Renders 3) According to them, those who study Life-writing as a narrative do not have a sound theoretical frame work to the study of biography (3-4). Therefore, biography cannot be included under literary studies.

It may, however, be observed that biography, autobiography or memoirs are widely studied not so much for their historical authenticity as for the humanistic representation of life. Several life narratives deal with the lives in quite different ways from the historical, factual representations of lived life. They do not reject the historical value completely, yet factual details do not play a significant role in the study of Life-writings. These studies resist the historical/factual constructions of the lives and challenge the common perception of 'life'.

The age old distinction between truth and facts apart, it must be noted that modern life is dominated by the claims of the discourse of truth and that of facts. Therefore, the claim that biography is a historical reconstruction which deals with facts of life cannot be ignored as a traditional perspective. The debate shows that there are other factors which determine the narratives in language as truthful or authentic or factual. It also points to the inadequacy of the institutionalized practices of literary readings of Life-writings.

It may be observed that the term 'Life-writing' becomes popular with the change in the very conception of history. The understanding of history as a post-Enlightenment development besides the awareness of the constructed nature of reality and its limitations has influenced the Life-writings and their study as well. The early modern writers, for example, who wrote about the lives, do not consider life historically. The changing boundaries of Biographies have, to some extent, justified multiple approaches in the study of these works under Life-writing. (Sharpe and Zwicker 3-26).

One of the important areas of focus in reading Life-writing is the exploration of formation of the self. There are subtle differences between the self that is narrated and the “self” that is being described from the past. Susan Green refers to the intersections of the texts with the generic boundaries as the sites of the representation of the multiple selves. Susan Stanford Friedman explores the textual relationships and the representation of female subjectivity in the narratives of women (Susan 51). It is generally observed that the expression of the female subjectivity is suppressed in different cultures. The two volumes of women writing in India by Susie Tharu and Lalitha may be regarded as an attempt to privilege the women narratives obliterated by the canonical literature. The print medium of literature is a contested site for the expression of female identity in the modern societies. The life narratives by women in the print culture, in the form of books, may be seen as the assertion of the Self of the woman. Since construction of the female subjectivity is a culturally significant aspect in any society, the life-writings, especially by women, implies the ways and means of writing not only the self, but the culture itself. Therefore, the writings by women on women display was a rare site of formations of modern culture at multiple levels.

II

Vaidehi’s *Just a Few Pages: Some Memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade* (2017) helps us to explore the issues raised in the earlier section. The text was originally published in Kannada as Rajwade’s Memoir: *Muntada Kela Putagalu* in 2008. Deepa Ganesh, a journalist with *The Hindu*, has translated it to English under the present title.

The different parts of the printed text narrativize the life of Saraswatibai Rajwade. Vaidehi is a contemporary writer in Kannada who rose to prominence through her stories which predominantly deal with woman’s life. Saraswatibai Rajwade is one of the women writers whom she adored in her youthful days (Vaidehi 2). As noted by Susie Tharu and Lalitha, during the mid twentieth century, Rajwade “wrote on broad range of themes; there were articles on health, inter-caste marriage, and the problems women faced in different walks of life as well as on aesthetics, language, and literature” (506). Rajwade’s short stories appeared in several magazines and journals in Kannada for almost a period of

forty years between 1930s and 1960s (Vaidehi 42-43). Though she used to write under different pen names, Rajwade is widely known as Giribale (Tharu and Lalitha 506). As Vaidehi notes, the collection of stories *Ahuti Itadi Kathegalu* (1938) and *Kadamba* are published with her full name viz, Saraswatbai Rajwade. She adopts the pen name 'Giribale' following the advice of a seer from Udupi, in the 'sixties from whence she started composing devotional songs. (Vaidehi 7). She spent her wealth on offering three 'seven-day-festivals' to Lord Krishna of Udupi Sri Krishna Mutt- the religious centre of the Madhwa sect and a pilgrimage centre. She built a temple for the idol of goddess Sharadamba with her own money. Then onwards, she transformed completely into a *bhakti* poet (Vaidehi 7-8). Apparently, the religious orientation in these writings renders them different from her stories and journalistic writings. The life of Saraswatibai Rajwade seems to have two divergent phases: as a reformist writer, she uses the modern print media to create an awareness regarding woman's life; but later, as woman given to religious devotion, she leads a life of spirituality.

The stories and journalistic writings of Rajwade construct her identity as a modern woman writer with a desire to reform the condition of women. Vijaya Dabbe, a feminist writer in Kannada, has noted that Rajwade is a progressive writer in Kannada. (Tharu and Lalitha 505). The women writers in Kannada felicitated her in State Women Writers meet in 1988 (Vaidehi 14). The 'tribute' to Rajwade in *Lekhakhi*, the journal of All India Women Writers Association, notes that Rajwade established herself as a writer at a time when women had no identity of their own. Then it goes on to say, "Without trumpeting her achievements, she disappeared quietly into the pages of history. She moved towards spirituality, breaking away from the normal life – she cut herself off from her writing as well" (Vaidehi 19). In the end of her long introductory note, "The *Viragi* who loved this world," Vaidehi suggests the need to research on the question why women like Rajwade axe their writing career (Vaidehi 19-20).The 'shift' from the writer Rajwade to the spiritualist is one of the enigmas Vaidehi could not solve even after her repeated attempts at it in her six year long association with the life of Rajwade, the subject of *Just a Few Pages*.

The "Translator's Note" offers specific details about Rajwade's works and the issues that are present or absent in them. Deepa Ganesh gives comprehensive

details of the works of Rajwade: she had published 72 stories, 54 essays, 7 plays, 24 poems, 100 devotional songs and 3 novels. She is called the pioneer of women's writing in Kannada (Vaidehi iii). According to the translator of *Just a Few Pages*, Rajwade's stories and writings represent a modern outlook, reformist zeal and unwavering concern for woman (Vaidehi iii). She discerns Gandhian influence in the way Rajwade deals with the crises in her life. She evaluates the feminism Rajwade's work exudes with, and says that Rajwade upholds benevolent patriarchy. Deepa Ganesh observes that "She believes in the power of the pen, just as she evinced faith in a spiritual outlook to society in her later years" (Vaidehi iii-iv).

The text of *Just a Few Pages* constructs in different ways the life of Saraswatibai Rajwade. The opening remarks by K.V.Subbanna ("The New Sadarama: Saraswatibai Rajwade") give a sketch of the events in her life, place her in the Progressive Movement in Kannada literature, and note the shift to religious life. The attribute "New Sadarama" suggests the physical beauty and the daring which Rajwade loved and exhibited in her life (Vaidehi 1-2). The idea of surrender to the spiritual, and the rejection of the self seem to be alien to the assertion of identity of the modern woman of progressive outlook. However, the identity of 'the new Sadarama' challenges the modern identity in the context of Rajwade's life.

The title of the second part of the text, the narrator Vaidehi's account of Rajwade, "The *Viragi*: who loved the World," further emphasizes the amalgam of contradictions in the experiences of Rajwade. She is seen as an unsullied source of mystery, happiness and enthusiasm in everything, including the way she meets death (Vaidehi 3-20). However, the author addresses the reader directly, "Reading about Rajwade is only half the experience. You have to listen to her and see her to make it complete. You have to understand her by seeing her and by talking to her" (Vaidehi 4). The printed words cannot represent Rajwade's life *completely*. This may be regarded as a commonsensical statement about the limitation of the words on the printed page. But the text skillfully incorporates the voice of Rajwade to enable reader's 'listening' to Rajwade, and, it also offers the reader the privilege of 'seeing' her photos in the third and the fifth part of *Just a Few Pages* respectively. The fourth part consists of a story and the letters which compliment the image of the writer Rajwade.

The third section of the narrative, the central part of the text, contains the first person narrative of Rajwade's life, authored by Vaidehi under the title "Just a few Pages..." (Vaidehi 21-62) in around forty pages. The sub-heading reads: "Some memories of Saraswatibai Rajwade (Giribale)" The similarity between the title of the book and the central section merge the identity of the text with the identity of the narrated subject- Rajwade. The author, who explored the life of the subject and then narrated the experience in the preceding twenty pages of *Just a Few Pages*, chooses to narrate the life of Rajwade in the first person in the central section. In other words, Vaidehi merges her memories of Rajwade with the memories of the subject. The episodic side headings to the different memories bind the narrative. Yet, the narrative hides its constructedness in the referential autobiographical self.

The life of Rajwade, as represented in the previous sections, is seen as having two parts-the creative and the religious or the spiritual- chronologically falling in a sequence. However, there is no rupture between the past and the present in the memories that are narrated. The 'present' self of Rajwade looks at its past literary career, without being dismissive about it, though it does not share the desire to 'relive' the past. The memories of the initial attempts at story-writing and the later success as well as the unexpected end of the journal *Suprabhata* are narrated with remarkable detachment (Vaidehi 42-43; 47-56). The subject/ object relationship in the self of Saraswatibai regarding its past is similar to a third person narrative, though the narrative is constructed in the first person. One of the exceptions to this dispassionate narrative of the 'resigned-self' is the admiration and respect shown to Gurudeva, Manjeshwara Govind Pai, a literary stalwart in Kannada (49-50). At another place the narrative stops to think about the past, and the illusory nature of its accomplishments: "-Che How immature! What was the use of all that? I feel amazed and amused by the speed with which my imagination used to work. *It all seems like one mad dream*" (50; emphasis mine).

It is noted that the self conscious title of the text draws attention to the textuality of the memoirs, and therefore, its fictionality. The narrative self of Rajwade, constructed by Vaidehi emphasizes the fictionality of its literary career. "Now I can no longer write like that. My mind has changed completely" (50). However, the self present in the narrative does not forget or forgive easily those

who insulted its past literary achievements, as seen in the instances of accusation of plagiarism or of the writer who remarked insolently about her being alive. Nor does it hesitate to acknowledge with gratification the news of death of a man who cheated her in the past (50; 57). That is, the self does not dismiss its past, though it does not seem to live for it. "My writing did not take place in vacuum. What I saw, I heard, came in that form. It appeared as truth to me then. It came from a context and there was a need for it then" (50). There is an acceptance of the past as a fact, and yet there is a conscious obliteration of the facts which led to the transformation from the literary career in the print medium to the subjective spirituality. The reasons for 'axing the literary career midway' are mysteriously absent. It is one of the questions the narrative refuses to answer. As noted earlier, the question is foregrounded by the narrator Vaidehi too in the end of her introductory remarks (20).

However, the narrative does not mince words to show that the dream of a woman's journal *Suprabhata* was stopped only because of the promise extracted by Manjeshwara Govinda Pai. He had repeatedly advised Rajwade against the idea, which coming from her Gurudeva, compelled her to wind it up in a year after its inception. The reasons offered by him, according to the narrative, are two-fold. One, he could not bear with the suffering of Rajwade who burdened herself with the work related to publication, publicity and subscription. Two, it was his conviction that literary career cannot bloom under the demands of modern industry of printing.

Read closely, both of these reasons point to the changing relationship between the author and the public. Govinda Pai wrote to Rajwade "Let publicity be taken care of by agents. Don't step out of the house for that." And "Those who are creative must not enter the industry" (55). These quotes highlight the customary gender implications of the age about women in the public sphere of publication. But more importantly, the words betray a distrust of involvement in the industry- the print media- as an impediment to creativity. The public sphere of journal publication and the private sphere of creativity are regarded as in conflict with each other. The author's freedom and creativity are curtailed by the demands of timely publication and financial considerations. This is clearer in the words regarding the ideal time to stop the journal, "Till such a time, work with commitment, like a mother..."(55).

The argument put forward by Govinda Pai is that the creativity of the subject is qualified and restricted by the modern print culture. It may be observed that the conscious retention of the self is one of the urges in Rajwade too, an ideal which attracted her to Gurudeva (47-48). She is all praise for his 'sage-like demeanour'(51). She was "amazed by his belief in the divine, his strong faith in the power of prayer, and wondered if he was seeing God constantly within himself..."(55). The love for inner happiness, the spirituality is a part of Rajwade even during her literary career.

Rajwade evaluates her 'self' as seen by others in the past and what she is at present:

They called me adamant. Fear, hesitation, weeping... these were not my traits at all. Why should we fear human beings? Fear God, I would say. This is something I would say even now. In those days, people thought that I was an atheist. I used to be like that... When I grew up I believed that I was an atheist. It takes a while for feelings to mature. That is perhaps what they call the auspicious moment. (49)

In one of the rare moments of the rationalization of the self Rajwade touches upon her belief in god and human beings. She considers her atheist past as a part of her growing up. But with the so called maturity her literary career comes to an end.

While it is true that her public expression of the self turns away from the modern print medium, it signifies neither rejection of the subject nor resignation to a secluded life of soulful spirituality. She offers 'seven-festivals' to Lord Krishna for three consecutive years. The narrative describes how she could prevail upon the seer of the Mutt to accept her offering in the last minute (58-60). It also exudes with her confidence that the seers of the Mutt would oblige her wishes. It may also be that renunciation of her wealth is a strategy of resisting the contempt of the local community as well as the modern commercialism.

The last significant act is the construction of temple for Sharadamba. On the experiences she has described in the booklet about the temple she says, "That is how I am from my childhood. Without emotions, I do not exist" (60). The

temple gives her a new medium, questionable though, by modern standards. In this temple, “no one is lord and no one is servant” (61). She turns the devotees to the Goddess, and preaches that she is not superior to anyone of them. As the priestess of Sharadamba, she continues to advice, reform and helps the people, as it was her vocation as a writer. The temple occupies the centre of her narrative. In fact, it takes shape in the temple, and in the casual chats she has with Vaidehi as she makes garlands or wicks or lightens the lamps. Rajwade’s identity is built around the temple which she built with her own money. In the introduction to Rajwade, Vaidehi observes that the charming oratory in Rajwade finds its full expression in her chats with the visitors to the temple (10). Rajwade loves to be heard and enjoys the company of good listeners even after the shift away from print medium. Vaidehi also observes that Rajwade takes on the role of ‘divine mediator’ quite unusual for women in the region. She converses with the Goddess on behalf of the devotees and gets the blessings for them (10-11). In a time when temples have become commercial centres, Rajwade’s free ‘darshan’ (a medium between God and the devotee) can be regarded as an impressive performance of the agency which challenges the male bastion of priesthood. As Vaidehi has noted about the Friday ‘darshan’.

The manner in which she entered other person’s mind, her mercy, compassion, imagination, feminist outlook and her worldly wise self –you could see it all. At that time she was writer, friend, critic and a forthright devotee... (11).

The Sharadamba temple, the centre of Rajwade’s identity as a guide to the devotees, is in the vicinity of, around three kilometers away from, the Udupi Krishna Mutt, a powerful religious centre that has eight Mutts with pontiffs who practice celibacy and preach orthodox Bramanism and Vaishnavism. Rajwade, born near Udupi, married at 15 to a rich man of her father’s age and widowed at 29, returns to her native town to spend a life of letters and riches. Udupi seems to be the community she is bound to. The acceptance or the condescension of the local community seems to be of great concern to Rajwade. The print medium could bring her a different modern identity, but it seemed to threaten her identity in the conventional religious center. Rajwade’s life is an attempt to renegotiate the community codes and retain her identity as a free agent. Her spiritualism is a continuation of the search for identity in the local community

where she has chosen to live. It may look like an escape from the modern, but it is in fact a manipulation of the traditional religious order through an assertion of the gender and the self.

Saraswatibai Rajwade's move away from visibility in the print medium may be regarded as a way of reclaiming the self in its local context of living. She shuns the homogenizing 'public' identity of the modern writer, and tries to attain the personal and the localized identity by infusing the traditional religious identity with a liberal spirit of the modern. The new identity privileges the person to person and the oral relationship over the mass media. Her tireless performance and retellings of the story of Rantideva, as narrated by Vaidehi (12-13), shows that 'being spoken about,' and the speech itself, is a strategy of resisting the homogeneity. The modern writer restricted by the printed words is definitive, restricted and unchanging. But the speech celebrated in Rajwade's narrative of Rantideva offers newer ways subject formation and accepts the fluidity of its identity.

The narrative self of Vaidehi and the self of Rajwade merge not only in the central section of the Life-writing titled "Just a Few Pages" (21-62) but also in the parts scripted by the author Vaidehi. It is not possible to distinguish between the self of Rajwade and that of Vaidehi. Vaidehi admits in the beginning of her narrative that the printed words do not represent the self of Rajwade as effectively as the 'seeing' her, listening to her and talking to her. (4).

Just a Few Pages is conscious of its limitations as 'a written narrative.' Yet it tries to represent multiple voices in each of the different sections. As shown in the discussion above, the author orders the narrative in the different sections so as to enable listening and seeing Rajwade. The politics of the written narrative undermines its own objective- that of physical presence for effective understanding of the self. There is also awareness that the desire for narratives in the modern times can be fulfilled only through the use of the mass medium of print and visual representation. But the compulsions of the modern medium fixate identity and self in the inscribed words. The multiple narratives in *Just a Few Pages* may be seen as an attempt to resist the singular construction of the self.

However, the merger of the author/narrator Vaidehi with first person narrative of Rajwade's life in the central section of the text contradicts the multiplicity of

voices. The analysis of the narrative's distrust of the modern print medium or its acceptance of the past has revealed the uniformity between the narrated self and the self of the narrated. It may be noted that the identification of the lives of the narrator, the author and the life of Rajwade infuses the narrative with high emotive effect. There are a few instances where the narrative takes an emotional turn. One such instance is the author's memories of the last days and the funeral of Rajwade (17-19). Similarly in the central section the hesitation and struggle to reveal the betrayal by a man evokes pity and admiration for the helpless woman (56-57). The childhood sufferings, the marriage that turns into imprisonment are a few other instances where the narrative is emotional. (28-30; 31-33; 41) The emotional component in the narrative gains the lost ground. It humanizes the printed pages and relives the life of the past. In the instances mentioned, the narrative evokes emotional experience. It represents the larger world of experience of the girl child or a woman.

The contrapuntal forces of the multiple voices and the narrative identity in *Just a Few Pages* render it a unique narrative which is capable of transforming the definitive, written self in to the liberated realm of human experience. It is an instance of Life-writing which is historical, factual and also experiential.

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SOCIAL FORMATIONS OF MEGALITHIC AGE IN SOUTH INDIA

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Abstract

Reconstructing past societies through a study of their mortuary practices has become popular. Based on the study of South Indian megalithic burial practices the author comes to the conclusion that megalithic society was not simple egalitarian and undifferentiated society. It was a stratified society. Examining the size of the megalithic monuments and nature of the mortuary valuables found in burials this paper suggests that differentiation in status and ranking of individuals were the hallmarks of megalithic society. Monumental burials were reserved for the higher strata of the society and those who laid their life in war. Study of archaeological burial grounds show distinctions in the way clan chiefs, heads and warriors were buried from the ordinary people. Heroic cult was vogue in megalithic societies.

Keywords: Archaeology, Burial, Differentiation, Megalithic, Sangam.

It is very difficult to reconstruct megalithic society. Unfortunately literary sources are not available for this period. We have to reconstruct megalithic society only on the basis of archaeological sources. Nowadays reconstructing past societies through a study of their mortuary practices is popular. The central theme of this study is the assumption that an individual's treatment of death bears some predictable relationship to the individual's state in life and to the organization of the society to which the individual belonged¹.

The enormous labour involved in constructing a megalithic stone circle is always a subject of enquiry. In order to estimate the labour input required for building a moderate sized megalithic stone circle, a small-scale experiment was carried out at Bhagimohari by R. K. Mohanty and S.R. Walimbe. The burial which is selected for experiment, had a diameter of 13.5 meters with an average deposit of 0.82 meters and was surrounded by 22 peripheral boulders of various sizes. The internal structure had two types of filling. The dead bodies rested in pits were covered by black cotton soil having a diameter of 8 meters with an average deposit of 0.35 meters. This was covered by small pebbles, boulders and red soil. In order to reconstruct this burial R.K.Mohanty and S.R.Walimbe came to the conclusion that 70 to 80 individuals should work for one day. The population of 400 to 500 would provide the work force

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of 70 to 80 young adults and adults. This shows that megalith building was a community effort².

No serious attempt has so far been made to estimate the population size for megalithic occupations. R.K.Mohanty and S.R.Walimbe on the basis of a very conservative figure of approximately suggested 75 to 100 persons per hectare. If this number is accepted a settlement of 5 hectare is expected to accommodate 400-500 people at any given time. If these sites are occupied for 400 to 500 years and if the life expectancy of the people is taken to be of 35-40 years, then at least 10-15 generations of people might have lived at a site. This would account for 4000-5000 deaths in the total habitation period. But megalithic sites have given less number of burials. This study shows that burial monuments were not erected for all the deceased persons³. If not all, then who? Among Central Indian tribes it is found that distinction is made in the funerary treatment of certain classes of persons like persons dying in warfare, or during pregnancy and at the time of child-birth, infants, honoured persons are tribal chiefs⁴. The memorial stones found in Southern India in the later period in most cases indicate deaths out of warfare, fighting with wild animal's etc. After considering this it seems that probably megalithic monuments belong to tribal chiefs, warriors who died in warfare or at the time of hunting etc. Definitely megalithic monuments belong to elite's in society.

U.S. Murthy's age-wise analyses of 184 skeletons shows that infants are not all represented, 11 skeletons belongs to child categories, adolescent were only 5. Adults were 99 and only 2 belong to middle aged category. Data is not available for 67 skeletons⁵. There are no individuals above 32 years of age in the megalithic skeletal series. The above evidence shows that mortality was very high during the young adult phase. This probably indicates higher risks during this age in megalithic phase. The possibility of traumatic injury during warfare or hunting cannot be ruled out. Sharp cut marks preserved on the human bones indicate intentional human activity on the bone. The breakage pattern on bone suggests deep wounds, penetrating the muscle tissues, possibly a result of the blow from sharp weapon such as a sword⁶. Probably these young adult males were constantly engaged in warfare.

The burial furniture throws some light on the social organization of megalithic people. In order to understand the social organization, archaeologists have divided the megalithic artefacts in to three groups.

They are as follows:

Technomic Artefacts: They are useful in agriculture and craft. E.g., axes, adzes, chisels, sickles, hoes, plough Shares, points, fishhooks, wedges etc.

Sociotechnic artefacts:

- A) All the status goods come under this category. Ex: Horse, horse ornaments, golden rings, chains, spiral rings, wire, necklace, beads of semi precious stones, lids with finials having different motifs, bangles etc.
- B) All the weapons of offence and defence like spearheads, arrowheads, daggers, javelins, swords, tridents etc.

Ideotechnic artefacts: They carry a symbolic value. Sarcophagus rim with a figure of buffalo, horn shaped vessels, figure of animals etc. form part of this.

On the basis of the amount of the above artefact found in the burials, they are divided into rich burials and ordinary burials. Rich burials are very few in number but they contained prestige goods like gold, copper, semi precious stone, horse remains and enormous number of weapons. Ordinary burials are more in number but contained few objects. Prestige goods are absent in ordinary burial⁷.

Table
Classification of Burial Types⁸

| Site | Excavated Burials | Rich Burials | Ordinary Burials |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|
| Bhagimohari | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Khairwada | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Naikund | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Mahurjhari | 26 | 6 | 20 |
| Gangapur | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Takalghat- Khapa | 9 | 2 | 7 |
| Yelleshwaram | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Peddamarur | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Maski | 10 | 0 | 10 |
| Brahmagiri | 9 | 1 | 8 |
| Terdal-Halingali | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Tadakanahali | 4 | 0 | 4 |

Rich burials contained 9.4 % technomic artefacts (per burial), 16.0% socio-technique A artefacts (per burial), 3.9% socio technique B artefacts (per burial) and 0.1% ideotechnic artefacts (per burial). This is significantly more as against the ordinary burials.

Where it is 1.7% (per burial) in the case of technomic artefacts, 0.7% (per burial) in case of sociotechnic A artefacts, 1.1% (per burial) in the case of sociotechnic B artefacts and 0.03% (per burial) in the case of ideotechnic artefacts⁹.

This inequality in megalithic burials reflects the existence of inequality in megalithic society. Persons belonging to the upper strata of society or 'Chiefs' received more ceremonious burial than the others. Another important thing is that the number of socio technic artefacts shows a marked increase from child age to middle age group¹⁰. It seems that megalithic society was a ranked society in which priorities were given according to age, sex and status in society.

The society of the period was characterized by incipient division of labour. The evidence of different crafts such as stone dressing, metal working, pot-making, bead making, bangle making suggest various categories of skilled workers. The payment for the services and for goods must have been made in kind.

It has been argued that the megalithic oral poetry preceded the ancient Tamil poems¹¹. If this is so then Sangam literature is nearest to megalithic culture. In Tamilakam megalithic culture survived for a longer period. Sangam literature mentions at least 5 different modes by which dead bodies were disposed of. These include exposure, cremation, cist burial, urn burial and pit burial. The last three types were common in megalithic society¹². Sangam literature mentions, chiefs, warriors, their plundering raids and cattle raids, worship of warriors who died in war and erection of the hero stones. The cult of war was promoted and glorified in Sangam literature¹³.

The later megalithic period had probably some similarities with the Sangam period. Megalithic burial furniture shows that there were very few 'rich burials' with prestige goods. These burials indicate the existence of chiefs or elite's in megalithic society. A large number of burials belonging to young adult group contained a variety of iron weapons, sharp cut marks on human bones. Rock paintings belonging to megalithic period show horse raiders with weapons in their hand. These three evidences suggest the existence of warriors in megalithic society. Dominance

of cattle pastoralism over agriculture during this age may lead to cattle raids. Elaborate and more ceremonious burials were part of their hero worship.

The increasing number of settlement and cemetery sites from the preceding neolithic, chalcolithic phase during megalithic period show demographic expansion. The growing population would have demanded more resources seem to have led to constant warfare. Plunder raids must have been organized under an effective leadership. In the beginning, leadership was connected with personal qualities and not with economic differences. The leader's position is strengthened by his doing the job well and fairly. This effective leadership led to reciprocal and redistribution actions.¹⁴ This way inequalities become institutionalized. Plunder was essentially an economic function in a redistribute society for the chiefs to pool resources. In megalithic society, plough agriculture was the superior one in terms of technology and productivity. But wetland agriculture failed to expand beyond small pockets of river plains. Despite the availability of iron and possession of its technology, advanced farming made no progress during the megalithic period. The superior forms of production need not always be the dominant forms. This type of redistributive societies was incapable of improving productivity. Kinship-based production and predatory raids were the main handicaps of the system.¹⁵

The economic interaction among the social groups of different micro eco zones led to the integration of micro eco zones into macro eco zones.¹⁶ Most of the larger megalithic settlements were situated on the known major trade routes of early historical Deccan. The distribution of megalithic sites in relation to metal and mineral resources has shown that only 40% of sites are located in zones rich in resources and the remaining 60% of the sites are located where there are no mineral ores or resources in the vicinity. All the settlement sites were not connected with smithery¹⁷. This again indicates inter-regional exchange net work was well developed among megalithic folk. Exchange network further helped in the integration of local economics.

Megalith building must have involved a series of complex rituals and feasts. Based on the interpretation offered for the European megalithic tombs, it has been suggested that the megalithism could have played a role in legitimizing and sustaining the power of the heroic chiefs. There should be some mundane meanings and functions relevant to the living behind the mortuary practices. The megaliths and associated death rituals should have been a process through which the heirs could assert their right to inherit the power and authority of the dead.¹⁸

We have already seen differences in the size of the monuments and the nature of the mortuary valuables. It suggests differentiation in status and ranking and points to the nature of contemporary political power. The construction of a huge monument involving the mobilisation of collective labour implies the power of the buried individual to command it. What is anthropologically plausible in such a situation is the existence of chiefly power. Chiefs commanded the entire personal, material and cultural resources of his clan. This would help us assume that these elaborate burials were of the chiefs. These are not the burials of the ordinary members of the numerous clans, but of these who represented the clans as chiefs clan heads, or warriors.

This was actually the period of numerous small chiefdoms co-existing and combating against one another. The interactions at the level of clans were natural, need-oriented and use-value based. But at the level of chiefs, it was a competitive and hence combative process of predatory raids. Anthropologically, it could be imagined again as a situation of inter-clan and intra-clan raids led by chiefs for predatory control. Some of the chiefdoms must have been bigger depending on their human strength, resource control and exchange relations.

Through armed confrontation and predatory subjugation, the cultural and political power of a few chiefdoms became more evolved over the years and they emerged as bigger chiefdoms during pre-Satavahana period¹⁹.

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GENDER SOCIALIZATION WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rushila Rebello

Abstract

Gender socialisation in family starts at birth. At a very early age children are introduced to certain roles that are typically linked to their sex. Expectations towards male and female roles are socialised within the parents-children relationship. There is a considerable evidence that parents socialize sons and daughters differently. The gender roles that a child learns at an early age fixes the gender identity in the minds of the child, and it becomes extremely difficult to change these notions at a later stage. This research paper analyses the process of gender socialisation in the family, how gender identities are cultivated and fostered, how it differs between boys and girls in the family, how family and parents' attitudes mediate traditional gender roles, its impact on the children which builds up a gender identity and subsequently gender inequality. The reviewed research papers are published from 1978 to 2018 which include primarily qualitative studies.

Keywords: differential treatment, family, gender, gender roles, socialisation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The key agents of influence in the gender socialisation process vary over the course of life, the stage of social and biological development, and with exposure to alternative messages. During early childhood, the agents of primary socialisation are located within the family. Parents and other family members especially extended family members who serve as close caregivers, are also critical for these early socialisation processes (Liang & George, 2012). Children are influenced by how they are treated and expected to behave, as well as by observing the roles of their female and male family members. Studies have traced the influence of parents and family on the process of gender socialisation at multiple levels in early childhood, ranging from children's play and participation in sports, division of labour within the family, type of media exposure, knowledge of/ exposure to social norms, gender stereotypes and other social-structural factors.

The nature of the parent-child bond shifts during adolescence in response to brain maturation processes. These processes, which are associated with the

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physical and sexual maturation of puberty over time, support the individuation of children from their parents and allow young people to become more independent and autonomous about their opinions and beliefs and increase their capacity for independent decision-making. Individuation can also result in greater parent-child conflict, reduced closeness and time spent together (Larson & Richards, 1991). However, parents and family remain highly relevant for adolescent socialization, remaining critical and reliable sources of information about the broader social environment (Ellis, Jackson & Boyce, 2006).

This article intends to analyse how the gender socialisation process in the families unfurls over the course of life and a fundamental precursor to any efforts that aim to influence its trajectory. Analysing the impacts of gender socialisation process will give pragmatic suggestions on how to achieve more gender equitable outcomes.

2. PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

2.1 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To understand the process of socialization in the family in preserving, reinforcing, replicating and thus perpetuating gender differentiation, gender socialization, gendered division of labor, and parents' differential treatment that inculcate gender stereotypes and resultantly affect gender role development.
2. To ascertain how males and females learn masculinity and femininity through family interactions, and how they are socialised into dichotomous, "traditional" gender roles.
3. To provide a better conception of how the family operates as agents of socialization, and how identities that are cultivated and fostered thus provide meaning throughout the life course and maintain the unjust social order.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

A systematic and comprehensive approach was utilized to identify and review secondary data on the topic under review. This included research studies

undertaken by academicians and scholars on gender socialisation within the family.

The sources of literature included books, journal articles, and reports both print and online. Utilizing a few electronic article databases i.e., social work abstracts, the author conducted a literature search utilizing various blends of catchphrases and keywords such as gender, socialization, gender & socialization process, gender roles in families etc. Literature was regarded qualified for consideration in this review, when it met the requirements of the stipulated objectives mentioned above.

Once the relevant literature was gathered, the initial information reflection process was to record data details. Next, the content of the literature was summarized and synthesized. Data collected from this systematic review process was then synthesized into literature review results.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK

GENDER

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender as:

“Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed.”

SOCIALISATION

Socialisation is the process, through which the child becomes an individual respecting his or her environment laws, norms and customs (Beal, C. 1994). The socialisation process involves learning how to be—with self, with others, with students and teachers, and with life’s adversities and challenges. The socialisation outcomes of child-child interaction are constrained by numerous subject and situational conditions, that is, the characteristics of the children involved and the settings in which their interaction occurs (Hartup, 1999).

3. GENDER SOCIALISATION

Gender socialisation is a more focused form of socialisation, it is how children of different sexes are socialised into their gender roles (Giddens, 1993) and taught what it means to be male or female (Morris, 1988). It is multi-dimensional process that occurs over time and through which individuals learn the gender norms and rules of their society, subsequently developing an internal gender identity. Gender socialisation is often examined by sociologists to determine how and why males and females act differently. The process begins at birth; families usually treat newborns differently according to their sex (Peterson, Gary W., & Della Hann, 1999). It begins from the simple question “is it a boy or a girl?” (Gleitman, Friedlund & Reisberg, 2000). A small story: a young lady will have her first child. When people asked her whether she prefer either a boy or a girl, she has no preferences. There was a grandmother who was near to here, simply reply: “Oh, hopefully it will be a boy” (Unicef for Children, n.d.).

The process of socialization and gender construction is accomplished in two ways: (1) by means of activities such as playing games, visiting places, participating in sports, etc.); and (2) through comment and comparison (i.e., evaluating such activities and the people who do or not participate in them. Through these processes, gender is constantly developed. Boys and girls learn what behavior means and henceforth attach identity expectations to behaviours. These identity expectations become identity standards for boys and girls that are strengthened by repeated comparisons between the internalized expectations and subsequent appraisals of behaviour. When boys and girls act in ways consistent with their specific gender, they are supported and reaffirmed. When they act in discordant ways with gender ideals they are sanctioned, and experience negative emotion. Identity standards become more and more stable as behaviour affirms the standard; negative emotion is continually avoided by acting in accord with the gendered expectations required by mothers, fathers, siblings, and eventually greater society (Stets, Jan E., & Peter J. Burke, 1996).

We learn our gender roles by the agencies of socialisation, which are the “teachers” of the society. The main agencies in our society are the family, peer groups, schools and media. In respect with gender socialisation, each of the

agencies could reinforce the gender stereotypes. Children become conscious about the differences between a boy or a girl in our society. Through a myriad of activities, opportunities, encouragements, discouragements, overt behaviors, covert suggestions, and various forms of guidance, children experience the process of gender role socialisation. It is difficult for a child to grow to adulthood without experiencing some form of gender bias or stereotyping, whether it be the expectation that boys are better than girls at math or the idea that only females can nurture children. As children grow and develop, the gender stereotypes to which they are exposed to at home are reinforced by other elements in their environment and are thus perpetuated throughout childhood and on into adolescence (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990).

Gender differences result from socialisation process, especially during our childhood and adolescence. For instance, before we are 3 years old, there are fascinating differences between how boys and girls interact. A child's burgeoning sense of self, or self concept, is a result of the multitude of ideas, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs that he or she is exposed to. The information that surrounds the child and which the child internalizes comes to the child within the family arena through parent-child interactions, role modeling, reinforcement for desired behaviors, and parental approval or disapproval (Santrock, 1994).

4. GENDER SOCIALISATION IN THE FAMILY

Jacobs (2000) state that family is a basic and primary source of gender socialisation, where social roles are assigned based on gender. The family context is crucial for gender development, providing the first gender-related experiences that children incorporate in their gender concepts (Bem, 1981), which in turn shape the influence of other socialising agents. Gender socialisation starts at birth. The birth of male child is symbolic of increased family power and is thus celebrated, whereas female birth does not bring such celebrations. During early childhood, girls and boys spend much of their time in the home with their families and look to parents and older siblings for guidance. Parents provide children with their first lessons about gender. Parents influence children's gender development which include role modeling and encouraging different behaviours and activities in sons and daughters (Bussey, & Bandura, 1999). Parents are the primary influence on gender role development in early years of life. The family

is therefore a “gender relation”. In the family, the relation with the father and the mother plays an important role in the definition of the gender belonging, because it’s the first experience of relation with males and females. Gender identities and the expectations towards male and female roles are socialised within the parents-children relationship; today such expectations are various and new compared with the past (Muncie, J. et al. 1999).

Parents teach stereotypes through different ways and behaviour: “the way they dress their children, the way they decorate their children’s rooms, the toys they give their children to play with, their own attitudes and behaviours” (Hetherington & Parke, 1999). Research on gender socialisation in the family has focused on associations between parents’ gendered behavior and personal characteristics (e.g., the division of household labor between parents; mothers’ education) and youth’s attitudes. For the most part, these studies have examined differences in parental roles, or interparental dynamics. For example, in a longitudinal investigation, (Cunningham, 2001) found across-time associations between parents’ division of labor (when adolescents were roughly 15 years of age) and adolescents’ gender role attitudes and beliefs about the ideal division of labor three years later. Researchers also have explored the impact of mothers’ education, employment and investment in paid labor on children’s gender development. Research on the family’s role in gender socialization has drawn primarily from social learning perspectives, according to which children learn about gender norms because they are reinforced when they act in gender-typed ways and learn from observing the actions (and reactions) of other children and adults (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Ruble & Martin, 1998).

A socialisation perspective highlights parents’ roles as instructors, reinforcers, and models of children’s gender role attitudes (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Specifically, parents directly communicate their beliefs about gender by providing instruction, guidance, and training to their children (Eccles, 1994). They also reinforce sex-typed behaviours by encouraging their children’s involvement in gender-stereotypical activities (Lytton & Romney, 1991).

Parents’ role inside and outside the family also influence children’s conception of gender roles. Research on gender socialization in the family has drawn heavily on social learning theory (Ruble & Martin, 1998) and has also been valuably

informed by social psychological and feminist theories (e.g., Deaux & Major, 1987; Ferree, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to social learning perspectives, social agents influence the development of gendered attitudes, characteristics, and behavior through differential treatment of the sexes and modeling (Ruble & Martin, 1998). Feminist and social psychological theories highlight the importance of understanding gender as socially constructed and imbedded in everyday interaction (Deaux & Major, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987) and serve to explain some of the variability in gender role models that youth are exposed to families. In other words, children acquire gendered attitudes, characteristics, and behaviors because they are reinforced when they act in gender-typed ways and learn from observing the actions and reactions of others.

5. DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF DAUGHTERS AND SONS IN THE FAMILY

A child's earliest exposure to what it means to be male or female comes from parents (Lauer & Lauer, 1994; Santrock, 1994; Kaplan, 1991). According to one comprehensive review of studies conducted in western countries, the most consistent manner by which parents treat girls and boys differently is through the encouragement of gender-stereotyped activities. (Lytton H, Romney DM, 1991). Further, research has also revealed that gender stereotypes and beliefs (Wade & Tavis, 1999) as well as the gendered nature of family contexts (Kane, 2000) vary across racial/ethnic groups. Families begin to socialize gender roles even in delivery rooms; boys are cuddled, kissed, and stroked less than girls, whereas girls are less often tossed and handled roughly. From the time their children are babies, parents treat sons and daughters differently, dressing infants in gender specific colors, such as boys are dressed in blue while girls are dressed in pink (or other colors that are symbolically attached to gender). From the moment that a baby enters the world it is inundated with symbols and language that shapes its conception of gender roles and gender stereotypes. (Walker, Alexis J. 1999). The types of toys that parents purchase or the kinds of activities that they promote. For example, parents are more likely to provide toy vehicles, action figures, and sports equipment for their sons; and they are more likely to give dolls, kitchen sets, and dress-up toys to their daughters. Once children begin to request particular toys (usually by around 3 years of age), it is unclear how much

parents are shaping their children's play activity preferences as opposed to acceding to their children's stated preferences (Leaper C, & Bigler RS., 2011). In playing with their infants, parents appreciate and praise the activities of boys for being tough and strong, which makes the boys realise that they are superior.

Further the literature on family gender dynamics examines how boys and girls are socialized differently to attach themselves to others. For example, when a father (or father and mother) teaches a son to be aggressive and encourages playing sports and doing activities that involve negotiating interchanges with others, the son will likely learn that appropriate behavior is to interact with a wide range of people in heterogeneous groups. When a mother (or mother and father) encourages a daughter to interact intimately with others and encourage more one on one playing, the daughter will likely internalize messages and cues that promote likewise behaviour later in life. These identities that are internalised early during child socialisation (both from the family and from other sources) serve to create a highly differentiated world of acceptable behavior (Ridgeway, Cecilia L., & Lynn Smith-Lovin, 1999).

In addition to that, parents might send subtle messages to children on what they think is acceptable for each gender (Witt, 1997). Parents even speak and play differently with their male and female children. Parents also use punishment, by expressing disapproval, if children intend to break the norms of gender roles, such as when a boy plays with a dolls house (Gleitman, Friedlund & Reisberg, 2000) and boys are discouraged from showing emotions (Morris, 1988). Boys that identify with the roles of their fathers are likely to also learn that many of those roles are defined by what behavior is prevalent and acceptable; this socialization operates similarly for girls. When children are socialized by their parents, they are immersed in a world with which they have nothing to compare; the family during infancy and beyond serves not as a passive transmitter of culture but rather an active agent in screening in and screening out elements of culture. In many parts of the world, parents with limited financial resources have a strong preference for sons. As a result, priority for resource opportunities ranging from health care to education may be given to sons over daughters. This stark contrast in the differential treatment of sons and daughters is generally not seen in wealthier countries. Nonetheless, there are common ways that parents in these societies may socialize girls and boys differently (Rafferty Y. 2013).

Thus it is in the family setting that gender differentiation is first learned and internalized. Since person identities are often activated, they perpetuate and solidify over time. Boys who are encouraged to be assertive become men who are defined by the same characteristics. Girls that learn compassion, caring, and expressivity become women with the same internalized identity standards. The family is especially defined by role identities. The role of mother, father, son, daughter, grandmother, grandfather, husband, wife, etc. are all role identities that are based within the family. For example, the role identity of “mother” may involve meanings of being nurturing and caring; the performance of mothering matches these meanings as in feeding and bathing a child or engaging in warm and intimate interactions. The role identity of husband may include meanings of powerfulness and control, and the behavior of husband should match these meanings by being the one who makes the major decisions in the family. (Stets, Jan E., 2006).

Empirical investigations of gender socialization in the family have focused primarily on parents’ modeling of traditional and less stereotypical family roles (Ruble & Martin, 1998) and on parental differential treatment of sons and daughters (Lytton & Romney, 1991).

There are subtle ways that parents may reinforce gender stereotypes even when they are not overtly encouraging them. This is commonly seen in parents’ use of essentialist statements about gender. Examples would be “Girls like dolls” or “Boys like football.” In these instances, the parent is expressing what is known as a descriptive stereotype (i.e., describing general patterns or “essences” about each gender) rather than prescriptive stereotype (i.e., stating what should occur). Research suggests that even middle-class mothers who held gender-egalitarian attitudes often used essentialist statements with their pre-school-age children. Also, they rarely challenged gender stereotypes (e.g., “It’s ok if a girl wants to play basketball”) (Gelman SA, Taylor MG, Nguyen SP. 2004).

In addition, gender socialization messages are indirectly transmitted through parents’ modeling of sex-typed behaviors (Collins & Russell, 1991). For example, children learn that women and men (should) act differently when they observe that mothers spend more time on care-giving and fathers, on leisure activities with their

children. From this perspective, parents should pass their attitudes about gender roles to their children, resulting in congruence between parents' and children's gender role attitudes. Language used by families to describe boys is often centered on physical characteristics and such themes as strength and agility, while language appropriated to girls by families might address affection, expressivity, daintiness, or fragility. These different approaches and treatment of babies by the family serve to shape behavior patterns and define boundaries. These boundaries are eventually internalized and become identity standards—the references in which interactions, settings, and contexts are used to compare the self to others. (Burke, Peter J., & Jan E. Stets. 2009.)

6. GENDER SOCIALIZATION BY SIBLINGS

The larger literature on siblings, highlights the role of siblings as models, companions, and sources of advice and reinforcement, particularly in adolescence, when parents may be seen as less knowledgeable about peer and school social norms and activities (McHale, Kim, & Whiteman, 2006). Findings from McHale and Crouter's study (2003) also showed that children's involvement in household tasks varied as a function of the sibling dyad sex constellation. Older siblings generally performed more housework than younger siblings, but this difference was most pronounced in older-sister-younger-brother dyads. Further, in older-brother-younger-sister dyads, younger girls did more housework than their older brothers. These findings suggest that the presence of a boy and a girl in the same family affords an opportunity for parents to reinforce traditional gender role orientations. As such, families with mixed-sex sibling dyads may have more traditional gender role patterns, particularly as compared to families with sister-sister sibling dyads.

From a social learning perspective, influence processes should operate to produce similarities between siblings' gender role attitudes. Indeed, consistent with social learning tenets, one study found that the gender attitudes of older siblings predicted changes in the attitudes of younger siblings over a two year period (McHale, Updegraff, Helms-Erikson, & Crouter, 2001): When older siblings reported more egalitarian attitudes, younger siblings' egalitarianism increased more over time.

7. IMPACT OF GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Family is the place where individuals come in contact with family members and find a source for their upbringing and socialization. Equally important with the role of other family members, parents play a pivotal role to socialize their children. Familial environment shapes and reshapes individuals' attitudes and personality and guides them for gender appropriate behavior. In other words the way we are, behave and think is the final product of socialization. While most people are born either male or female, they are taught appropriate norms and behaviours – including how they should interact with others of the same or opposite sex within households, communities and work places. When individuals or groups do not “fit” into the established gender norms they often face stigma, discriminatory practices or social exclusion – all of which adversely affect health. It is important to be sensitive to different identities that do not necessarily fit into binary male or female sex categories. Gender norms, roles and relations influence people's susceptibility to different health conditions and diseases and affect their enjoyment of good mental, physical health and wellbeing. They also have a bearing on people's access to and uptake of health services and on the health outcomes they experience throughout the life-course (WHO).

In the domestic chores, parents sometimes expect children of different genders to perform different kind of tasks; boys are assigned to do maintenance chores and girls are assigned to do the cooking or do the laundry. This segregation of tasks by gender, lead children think that some tasks are more for male and some more for female (Witt, 1997).

Even if the parents would not intentionally send any messages, children will soon notice the differences between sexes by observing adults, therefore noticing how they are “supposed” to act. Men are supposed to be tough and aggressive, while women are expected to be submissive and more emotionally expressive than men. It can also be observed that women and men have different kind of jobs, men going out to work, while women often work as unpaid housewives, so children's future career goals are being restricted from very early on (Gleitman, Friedlund & Reisberg, 2000). Moreover, men do not feel an obligation when they are involved in the home as women do, as they perceive it more as a hobby or a free choice. Also, those house chores that keep the home every day (shopping, cooking, washing

dishes, washing clothes, and cleaning the house) are considered feminine, while those considered male tasks (paying bills, taking care of the car or home maintenance) do not involve daily devotion. The greater involvement of women in the family and household chores must be added the greatest involvement of men in the workplace which supposes an increased family burden for women. As husbands are not available for household chores, wives suffer overload by household chores and emotional demands related to children caregiving, which will increase still more women stress. (Frone, 2003) In short, the lesser involvement of men in household chores and greater transfer of stress from work to family causes increased domestic workload on women and marital conflict. Research on family processes shows that stressed couples show a high level of negative interactions and conflicts. Thus, increased stress frustration, leads individuals to initiate or exacerbate their sequence of negative interaction with the partner. This negative interaction may be understood as product both of social undermining which consist in behaviors that involve rejection, criticism and negative attitude toward the couple and hostile marital interactions, which aims to express hostility toward the partner (Cerrato & Cifre, 2018).

The development of gender stereotyping is not haphazard or automatic, rather facilitated by various sociocultural and relational factors. The foremost among them is family, which plays a significant role in the development of gender stereotypes, and because of physical and social proximity, socialization, rearing, and caring, the role of women is often stereotyped (Lindsey, 2010). In family sphere, gender stereotyping and gender role formation are the outcome of gender socialization, differential familial environment, and parents' differential role with children. These stereotypes have long-term effects over the lives of individuals. These gendered and biased family relationship is internalized by the individuals and then used as an institutionalized mechanism. Under this mechanism, most of the decisions such as marriage, business, economic, and so on, are carried out by the dominant male segment in the family. It further restricts the roles of both males and females in different spheres of life such as education, jobs, or other decisions and other spheres in which they participate.

The roles that are attributed to men, were often those that make them superior, in form of getting access in controlling resources and in the decision making power,

rendering men not only superior dispositional attributes via correspondence bias (Gilbert, 1998), but also higher status and authority as society progressed. Thus males tend to learn that dominance, autonomy, and aggression are associated with their gender; females grow up in surroundings that promote being collectivistic, expressive, and connected. Families help to cultivate person identities for their kin according to gender. The normative social order restricts women and tends to favor men to become the guardians and the rulers. Patriarchy protects male ideology and nurtures negative gender values (Chodorow & Nancy, 1978). In most families there are still differences in raising boys and girls, including unequal access to education and future employment prospects, which limits their development and perpetuates gender inequality into adulthood. women's status is still lower than men's, which can be seen in health outcomes, paid and unpaid work, experience of violence and abuse, and many other development indicators (UNICEF, n.d.).

8. CONCLUSION

It is evident that gender socialization within the family reinforces gender inequality. As children move through childhood and into adolescence, they are exposed to many factors which influence their attitudes and behaviors regarding gender roles. These attitudes and behaviors are generally learned first in the home and are then reinforced by the child's peers, school experience, and television viewing. Gender socialization takes place in such a manner that people don't even realize that later, it often leads to male dominance and female subordination; that is gender inequality. Consciously or unconsciously, gender inequality results in gender socialisation towards girls. As a result, females are being discriminated. Even though the measures are taken to reduce gender inequality, the problem is: if gender socialisation is not revised, male dominance will continue. To have gender equality, socialisation between boys and girls should be quite the same; otherwise, working toward gender equality would be in vain. Focusing on changing individual attitudes and beliefs, and the quick/sudden condition at the social-interaction level which is necessary for the social change is itself not adequate to achieve the essential changes in social norms around gender. To achieve greater impact, these efforts should be supported by, or take advantage of, shifts at the structural level.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

- Men in the family should share in the household responsibilities, like cooking, cleaning. Also in the responsibilities of kids, like changing diapers, bathing them, teaching, attending PTA meetings in schools etc. They should support the females with indoor and outdoor work, especially more so if the wife is also a career woman. Brothers and sisters should be taught to share household responsibilities equally.
- Fathers can be role model for sons, they should treat their wives/ daughters with due respect, so that the male members in the family learn to respect women from a very early age.
- Parents should encourage their children to play with a combination of feminine- and masculine-stereotyped toys and play activities during early childhood. They may be able to foster greater gender-role flexibility through encouragement of organized mixed-gender activities in which girls and boys learn to work together as equals.
- It is essential to sort out gender stereotyping at the earliest age, thereby changing parents' psyche and attitudes. Parents must make a concerted effort to discuss and challenge gender stereotypes with their children. Their behavior with children should be free of discrimination and stereotypic attitudes. In this regard, there is need to convince parents especially fathers to adopt gender-balanced behavior while socializing and treating their children. In addition, to prevent children from adopting gender stereotyping belief systems requires conscious efforts from parents to challenge stereotypes and also for the roles and behaviors adopted by adults themselves to become de-gendered.
- Raise children, both boys and girls, with equal treatment, equal opportunities and freedoms.
- The birth of a daughter should be welcomed.

- Girls should be treated as an asset and not as 'Paraya dhan'.
- Foster greater gender-role flexibility through encouragement of organized mixed-gender activities in which girls and boys learn to work together as equals.
- From a very early age, children - girls and boys - should be educated on human rights and gender equality. Teaching and learning materials that are used in schools must also be reviewed to address stereotypes. Families should be targeted in terms of raising awareness about women's rights and challenging social stereotypes. Parental education on women's rights should also be developed.
- Working directly with spouses, parents and community members to generate support for challenges to existing normative frameworks.
- Community or group-based education sessions, where key actors in the socialization process gather to interrogate gender norms at a broader level.
- Build gender equality perspectives into mainstream educational programmes.
- Emphasize the importance of co-educational school environments, as they promote more gender-egalitarian attitudes and behaviours than all-boys/girls schools.
- Teacher education programmes that equip teachers better to deal with gender equality issues.
- Working in partnership with women's groups concerned with issues such as violence against women.
- Information, education, communication (IEC) campaigns designed to raise awareness of gender issues, model different behaviour, and stimulate discussion.
- Policy-makers needs to establish a legal and policy environment that complements the structural changes.

- To address gender concerns holistically, it is essential to mainstream gender in all institutions of society especially in family. Gender mainstreaming is the process whereby an assessment and implication for men and women of all planned actions such as legislation, policies, or other programs at all levels is carried out. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programs in all socioeconomic and political spheres so that women and men benefit equally.

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- Lobo, Norbert (2012) : “Impact of Human and Economic Development on Migration Destination”, **Perspectives on Social Development** , Edited by Richard Pais, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, Chapter 10, pp 175 192

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- Sundaram, K (2001): “**Employment Unemployment Situation in the Nineties: Some Results from the NSS 55th Round**”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol 36, No 11, pp 931 39.
- Mehra, Rekha and Sarah Gammage (1999): “Trends, Countertrends, and Gaps in Women’s Employment”, ***World Development***, Vol 27, No.3, pp 533 50.

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