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# Special Papers

*From Abandonment to Citizenship: Analysing the Success of the India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement as a Desecuritisation Policy*

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**Abstract**

*In June 2015, India and Bangladesh made history by ratifying the long overdue Land Boundary Agreement (LBA), under which 111 Indian enclaves were transferred to Bangladesh in exchange of the 51 Bangladesh enclaves to India, and the residents of these enclaves were for the first time, given a right to choose their citizenship. While the LBA has been widely discussed as a watershed for the people and for India- Bangladesh relations, this paper for the first time studies this issue from an academic perspective, especially in the larger context of the securitisation discourse around Bangladeshi migrants in India, to assess its actual impact on the newly citizen-ed communities. The central research question of this paper therefore is, To what extent has the Land Boundary Agreement been a successful desecuritising policy, within the larger context of securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants in India? The answer to this question will involve two levels of analysis. The first will be a detailed analysis of the policy through the Critical Policy Narrative Analysis methodology. The main argument is that despite initial hurdles, overall, the policy has been a successful step towards desecuritisation and integration of the enclave communities into the mainstream, due to the support by the government and by majority of the people on the ground. Second, the paper will compare these results to the larger, highly securitised narrative around Bangladeshi immigrants. On one hand, the integration of former Bangladeshi enclave dwellers is celebrated, welcomed and encouraged; on the other hand, the asylum seekers from the same country and background are viewed with suspicion and hatred. What makes the LBA different from migration in the eyes of the government and the people? It is this contradiction that is addressed in this research.*

**Introduction**

“I am neither Indian, nor Bangladeshi. I am a farmer.”<sup>1</sup> This statement by a resident of an Indian enclave in Bangladesh to the Indian Express perfectly echoed the reality of the 53,000 people living in 162 enclaves (series of small discontinuous pieces of Bangladeshi territory inside of India and vice versa) scattered across the northern part of the India- Bangladesh border. The residents of these enclaves lived in a vacuum of citizenship, where while they were officially citizens of their home country, their

geographical isolation deprived them of the rights and benefits that accompany citizenship. In June 2015, India and Bangladesh made history by ratifying the long overdue Land Boundary Agreement (LBA), under which 111 Indian enclaves were transferred to Bangladesh in exchange of the 51 Bangladesh enclaves to India and the residents of these enclaves were for the first time, given a right to choose their citizenship.

While the LBA has been widely discussed as a watershed for the people and for India- Bangladesh relations, this paper for the first time studies this issue from an academic perspective, especially in the larger context of the securitisation discourse around Bangladeshi migrants in India, to assess its actual impact on the newly citizen-ed communities. The central research question of this paper therefore is, To what extent has the Land Boundary Agreement been a successful desecuritising policy, within the larger context of securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants in India? The answer to this question will involve two levels of analysis. The first will be a detailed analysis of the policy through the Critical Policy Narrative Analysis methodology. The main argument is that despite initial hurdles, overall, the policy has been a successful step towards desecuritisation and integration of the enclave communities into the mainstream, due to the support by the government and by majority of the people on the ground. Second, the paper will compare these results to the larger, highly securitised narrative around Bangladeshi immigrants. On one hand, the integration of former Bangladeshi enclave dwellers is celebrated, welcomed and encouraged; on the other hand, the asylum seekers from the same country and background are viewed with suspicion and hatred. What makes the LBA different from migration in the eyes of the government and the people? It is this contradiction that is addressed in this research.

### **Historical Context of the Land Boundary Agreement**

India shares a 4,096km land border with Bangladesh which abuts the five Indian states of Assam, Tripura, Mizoram, Meghalaya and West Bengal. The border issue between India and Bangladesh goes right back to 1947. The partition of East Pakistan from India was facilitated through the drawing of the Radcliffe Line. The border was drawn very hastily and led to various areas of disagreement. The Nehru- Noon agreement of 1958 attempted to settle the boundary disputes, but the agreement was challenged in the Supreme Court, finally to never be implemented. In 1974, another attempt was made at drafting a Land Boundary Agreement. It subsequently became clear that a proper constitutional amendment (which requires a two- third majority in the Parliament) was needed to complete the leftovers of partition in delineating the boundary between India and Bangladesh. In 2011, a protocol to the Land Boundary

Agreement was signed between the two countries. However, the agreement ran into trouble in the Indian Parliament because opposition parties refused to accept it. The LBA was finally operationalised by Narendra Modi and his Bangladeshi counterpart, Sheikh Hasina in June- July 2015. The agreement addresses three main elements: (i) un-demarcated land boundary of approximately 6.1 km in three sectors; (ii) exchange of 111 Indian enclaves (with total area of 17,160.63 acres) in Bangladesh with 51 Bangladesh enclaves (with total area of 7,110.02 acres) in India; (iii) preservation of the status quo on adverse possessions. <sup>2</sup> As of December 2015, the nearly 14,000 residents of the Bangladeshi enclaves in India (since integrated territory-wise into India) had decided to stay on and become citizens as per the option given to them under the LBA. So far, however, 971 residents of the Indian enclaves in Bangladesh (since assimilated into that country) out of the nearly 37,000 staying there had chosen to repatriate to India and slightly more than 920 such persons had already arrived in India. <sup>3</sup>

## Literature Review

Theories of Securitisation and Desecuritisation in the context of Bangladeshi migrants and enclave communities in India

Most literature available on the enclaves has been written before the signing of the LBA. None of them, moreover, specifically analyse the issue from the perspective of the securitisation debate. This paper attempts to link the particularistic research on the enclaves to the general theories of securitisation and desecuritisation, as spelt out in the works of Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998), Huysmans (1998), Roe (2004), Jutila (2006) etc.

Securitisation, a concept generally associated with the Copenhagen school of security studies, refers to an act that elevates an issue from its non-politicised, or even politicised nature to an issue that constitutes an 'existential threat' to the state. <sup>4</sup> The classification of an issue as a security threat, thus, legitimises the use of emergency measures that go beyond the state of normalcy, in order to eliminate the perceived threat. In the context of ethnic communities and migration, the concept of ethnonationalism is often used to create an 'us' and 'them' divide. <sup>5</sup> The politicisation of these binaries in their most extreme sense converts the perception of diversity or differences into a fear of assimilation that would lead to the 'dilution' of a perceived 'nation.'

The securitisation of the enclave communities in India has been a gradual process that is placed in the larger context of India- Bangladesh relations and the large scale migration between the two countries,

especially from Bangladesh to India. The peoples of the region display an array of linguistic, cultural, economic and even personal relationships that have potential to transcend the political boundaries of India and Bangladesh. Consequently, cross border movements of peoples have continued to occur beyond the control of national governments. In particular, given the broader regional context of uneven capitalist development in South Asia, there has, undoubtedly, often been an economic impetus for transnational migration. <sup>6</sup> Despite the shared history and culture of the two countries, Bangladeshi migration to India has entered into the realm of security. In a desperate attempt to carve out an exclusive Indian national identity, “ the exclusionary politics of the Hindu right has invigorated a rhetoric of fear and loathing surrounding migration. ” <sup>7</sup> Bangladeshi migrations have been described as ‘ demographic aggression ’, a ‘ silent invasion ’ and a ‘ Muslim avalanche ’ unleashing on India, ‘ millions of illiterate, fanatical, hungry and highly motivated Muslims [who] have already settled and spread themselves like a swarm of locusts in the lush green fields and forests of Assam. ” <sup>8</sup> India, therefore, views Bangladesh through a trio of security concerns — illegal migration, cross- border terrorism, territorial disputes along the shared border. <sup>9</sup> The poor relations between India and Pakistan (and later Bangladesh) made resolution of these differences difficult to achieve. This, coupled with internal ethnic clashes between Bangladeshi Muslims and indigenous Assamese peoples transformed the political issue into a security one, where Bangladeshis began to be perceived as ‘ infiltrators ’ threatening the social fabric and economy of the Indian state. The only solution in light of deteriorated bilateral relations was seen as extreme militarisation of the border. The securitisation of the enclave communities can be seen as a corollary to this antagonism between the two countries, and the increased military presence, with substantial powers and impunity.

Willem van Schendel tracing in great detail, the historical origins of the enclaves, since the pre-colonial times, upto the early 2000s states that the problem, in its modern form began with the arbitrary drawing of the Indian and East Pakistan border, also known as the Radcliffe Line, and continued to worsen over the years due to poor relations and lack of cooperation between India and Pakistan (later Bangladesh). <sup>10</sup> Minimal agreements allowed for certain officials and goods from the neighbouring countries to enter the enclaves, but the mobility of the enclave residents was almost completely restricted. The poor infrastructure in the enclaves, along with lack of a local market for goods produced in the enclave did not leave the enclave dwellers with any option other than illegally breaching borders every day, or illegally migrating to their neighbouring countries. In other words, suddenly, the enclave people ' s daily routines had been criminalised. Moreover, there were no mechanisms to maintain law and order within the enclaves, which made them easy targets for violence, especially on ethnic lines. This also made

them a hub of illegal activities and a safe haven for wanted criminals. Not only did the people have no access to a judicial system, but they were also subject to the host country ' s mechanisms of exploitation. <sup>11</sup>

Describing the highly securitised environment of the enclaves, especially 1974 onwards, Jason Conscmpares the life in an enclave to that of living in a prison. <sup>12</sup> He argues that the opening of the Teen Bigha Corridor (TBC), which is a strip of Indian land connecting the enclave to Bangladeshi territory, in 1992 further worsened the conditions of the enclave dwellers rather than improving them. Volatile Indo-Bangladesh relations, coupled with the Hindu- Muslim divide on the ground led to the aggravation of complexities in the enclaves. Since the foreign relations between the two countries were continuously under strain, its direct impact was seen through the tightening of border controls and increase in excesses of the Indian BSF (Border Security Forces). He also notes that while the Hindus inside the Indian enclaves were considered as ' informal citizens ' and had greater mobility, the Muslims were viewed with an unwelcoming and suspicious eye by the neighbouring villagers. The same was the experience of Hindus in Indian enclaves surrounded by predominantly Muslim villages in Bangladesh. Therefore, securitisation of the India- Bangladesh border led to tighter controls and more deprivation for the enclave communities. This in turn led to an increase in illegal activities, which further led to greater securitisation and ultimately the greater marginalisation of those communities.

Hosna J. Shewly covers the same issue from the perspective of citizenship rights. Since most of the enclave residents did not have a birth certificate, they neither had access to any of the legal documents like ration card, voter id, passport, national id etc. nor could they legally join schools or own property. <sup>13</sup> Their legal abandonment therefore also deprived them of the substantive rights and freedoms that accompany citizenship. In this regard, there is an important comparison to be drawn between Bangladeshi enclave dwellers and other Bangladeshi migrants — both illegally enter Indian Territory, escaping the highly deprived economic and social conditions at home, in search of a better life.

It is in this context that the Land Boundary Agreement will be analysed, keeping in mind the leading theories of desecuritisation. The foundations of desecuritisation can be found in the work of Huysmans, who lists three strategies for desecuriting migration: The objectivist strategy aims at convincing the community that migrants are not a threat to the economy or social fabric. <sup>14</sup> The constructivist strategy, on the other hand focuses on understanding the process of securitisation of migrants to take effective actions against it. <sup>15</sup> Finally, his main focus is on the deconstructivist strategy that breaks down the construction

of securitisation of migrants and creates a counter narrative in which migrants are not perceived as threats but are associated with multiple identity markers, that 'normalises' their lives and integrates them into the mainstream. <sup>16</sup> The large number of commonalities between Indians and Bangladeshis, in terms of language, culture, history etc. can enable the deconstruction of the perception of threat against the Bangladeshi community in India. Roe builds on Huysmans' theory, but acknowledges the fact that minorities cannot always be desecuritized, and in such contexts, he suggests the 'security management strategy' that focuses on the regulation of minority-majority relations. <sup>17</sup> Jutila, in disagreement with both these strategies introduces the 'reconstructivist approach,' that emphasises the collective identity of minorities and at the same time, promoting multiculturalism through government policies (eg. religious rights, minority language-education etc.) that help in softening inter-ethnic tensions and sustain plural societies. <sup>18</sup> The analysis of the policy narratives that shaped the LBA is aimed at finally enquiring into which of the above strategies were adopted, if at all, to desecuritize the enclave communities in India.

## Methodology

The Land Boundary Agreement and its extent of success in the larger context of securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants is an important question that needs to be delved into more deeply from academic perspective for several reasons. First, not much academic material on this particular issue is available as yet, which made the research extremely challenging, but its novelty and originality also makes it worthwhile to conduct. Second, it addresses an apparent contraction between the approaches and responses towards two policies that have a very similar target group. The aim of the research is to rationally explain why these contradictions exist. Third, it tries to understand the reasons behind what made the case of enclave communities so powerful and so peculiar that it has been received differently from the usual national discourse around such issues. Fourth, it attempts to comprehend what in the context is so different today from the past that both countries could leave all their differences behind to cooperate and sign this deal, even though similar attempts have been made since 1947 and have either constantly failed or worsened the situation. Lastly, it gives a significant insight into the larger question of what factors possibly contribute to the desecuritisation of a particular community.

The qualitative research methodology that has been adopted to analyse the LBA is Critical Policy Narrative Analysis (CPNA). Rooted in the work of Emery Roe, CPNA applies the contemporary literary theories of post-structuralism to policy analysis. "Stories commonly used in describing and analysing policy issues are a force in themselves, and must be considered explicitly in assessing policy options.



”<sup>19</sup>Carolyn Hendriks, for example, treats narratives as the overall development of a line of argument, rather than as stories in the way used by Maynard-Moody and Musheno — narratives with plot lines that have beginnings, middles, and ends. <sup>20</sup> Tineke Abma has treated narrative analysis in a number of ways in the context of program evaluations. <sup>21</sup> What all of these have in common is a focus on the importance of attending to policy-relevant actors ' language in discerning the character of disputes and the potentials for interpretation. <sup>22</sup> Therefore, through CPNA, a discourse oriented approach is applied to understand the policy process.

Since it is yet too soon to conduct an empirical research on the implementation and effectiveness of the LBA, this paper has employed the CPNA as a means to unearth the motivations behind the LBA, understand what it aims to achieve and how it is placed in the larger discourses around Bangladesh migration. This activity is helpful as it preempts the impact of the policy on the ground (in the absence of extraordinary changing factors) and also forms a strong theoretical and contextual base for future empirical research. To conduct the research, two main data sources were used:

- (i) India and Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement policy paper released by the Ministry of External Affairs, India.
- (ii) Official Transcript of the Lok Sabha debate on the 119th Constitutional Amendment Bill 2013 (concerned with legalising the LBA), held on 7th May, 2015.<sup>23</sup>

While the policies in themselves use neutral language, carefully worded to present an unbiased technical approach, they can be analysed in concurrence with policy formulation debates to get a deeper insight into its aims. This has further been substantiated with party statements, politician speeches etc. The study of these few elements of policy making together can give a more holistic picture of the policy process.

### **Observations and Analysis**

The two documents were studied in detail and it emerged that there were two leading policy narratives that went on to shape the LBA. In addition to these two prominent narratives, was a counter narrative that was against the LBA. Finally, a fourth underlying narrative also came up time and again, which connects the issue of LBA to the larger debate around illegal migration. The analysis of all these arguments and views together will shape the final standpoint on the extent to which the LBA was a desecuritising policy in the larger context of India ' s stand on illegal migration from Bangladesh.

*(a) Leading Policy Narratives*

Two motivations have broadly been stressed upon in the Parliament debate as well as in the final policy document of the LBA. The first focus is on the creation of “ stable and peaceful boundary and create an environment conducive to enhanced bilateral cooperation ”<sup>24</sup> The second focus of the LBA is on the rehabilitation of the enclave communities and to fulfil “ a major humanitarian need to mitigate the hardships that the residents of the enclaves have had to endure for over decades on account of lack of basic amenities and facilities that would normally be expected from citizenship of a State. ”<sup>25</sup>The two narratives will hereafter be referred to as ‘ national interest ’ and ‘ human interest ’ respectively. With respect to the first narrative of national interest, there was almost a party wide consensus that the LBA can potentially forge good relations with Bangladesh through the LBA and this was in the interest of the nation. The national interest, however, was defined in different ways. While in some speeches, economic benefits were prioritised, others applied a security paradigm to it. The main economic benefits were the future prospects of agreements over trade, river water sharing, transits etc. with Bangladesh, that would bring about prosperity and peace for both the countries. The LBA was also seen as a means to resolve the long standing border dispute between the two countries. Even though the LBA only facilitates the demarcation of the remaining 6.1 km of the border out of a total of 4,096 km, the issue was a top priority in majority of the speeches. This is connected to the security narrative, which will be covered later in the analysis.

The human interest policy narrative mainly focussed on the humanitarian benefits of the LBA, especially for the enclave communities. The agreement was celebrated for finally deciding the fate of the people living in enclaves, which had been hanging in balance since the last 70 years. The policy document, especially stresses on the fact that the policy has been drafted keeping the ‘ peoples' interest ’ in mind. It has adopted a people centric approach, insofar as giving the enclave communities freedom to choose their citizenship. The people were given a choice to either remain in their enclaves, and be granted a citizenship of the surrounding country, or to migrate to their home country. In explaining the migration phenomenon, words were carefully chosen, both in the policy document and by Smt. Sushma Swaraj, the Foreign Affairs minister of India, to convey neutrality and sensitivity towards the issue. Additionally, a rehabilitation package was assured to the state government of West Bengal, in accordance with the building of infrastructure in the newly acquired enclaves and the number of people that would migrate into the state. Certain specific demands were also made, to ensure ‘ proper and scientific ’ rehabilitation. Desecuritisation measures by way of government led initiatives — such as provision of national IDs at

the time of entry, registrations for opening bank accounts, jobs, cooking gas connections etc — were initiated to ensure that there is no resentment or social tension on the ground. Further, in one speech by an MP from Bengal, it was emphasised that the enclave communities should not only be given citizenship, but also the rights and facilities that accompany it. Strikingly, only one MP termed the humanitarian interest of the LBA as the ' most important ' aspect of the policy.

A few important observations must be made with regards to these leading policy narratives. First, in the chronology of the final document and in all the debate speeches, the subject matters of bilateral relations and border settlement were touched upon first, and the humanitarian benefits of the deal were added later, or in the end. The narrative of national interest was prioritised by members of parliament (MPs) who had little to do with the local politics of the North East part of India, i.e. a majority of the parliamentarians. Human interest and development were key themes only for MPs from West Bengal, who would be dealing with the situation on the ground. Matters of national interest, therefore, can be inferred to be the primary motivating factors in the negotiations, followed by the ' additional ' yet extremely important effects on the enclave people. This narrative, however, is in stark contrast to the narrative presented in many of the academic works of the enclaves, which hardly focus on the national interest. The focus is on the ' bare life ' of the enclave dwellers and the need to swap lands to grant effective citizenship to the people. While the humanitarian benefits of the LBA are more direct and substantive, the negotiations over the policy were dominated by the national interest narrative. The framing of the LBA in terms of national interest did, however, help in garnering widespread support in the Parliament, and broke the seventy year long gridlock on the issue. This broader narrative made the policy attractive to not just the local MPs but to parliamentarians at large.

Therefore, the policy aims at changing the securitisation of the enclave communities, by use of neutral language, and integration through state led initiatives. This, however did not acquire the primary theme of negotiations. The LBA can be considered a step towards desecuritisation of the enclave communities, as, in Hyusman ' s terms, it deconstructs their collective identity as ' outsiders' or ' Bangladeshis ' and integrates them into the Indian mainstream by promoting common markers like national ID cards etc. Whether this was the primary intention of the LBA, however, is questionable.

***(b) Counter-narrative***

The opposition to the bill mainly came from representatives of the North- Eastern state of Assam, which has experienced a long and bloody history of ethnic violence between indigenous populations and the Muslim Bangladeshi migrants settled in the state. The main bone of contention was the exchange of adverse possessions, which would result in the loss of land for the state, and thus was against the national interest. The human aspect of the LBA however was not touched upon in this narrative at all. These arguments, however, did not succeed in influencing the discourse, since there were broader national and human interests involved.

***(c) Underlying narratives of national security and Illegal Migration from Bangladesh***

The main reason why the LBA 's desecuritisation efforts can be called into question is because there is an inherent contradiction in the policy narratives. While the LBA provides an opportunity to erstwhile Bangladeshi enclave communities to integrate into the mainstream, at the same time, it further securitises another segment of Bangladeshis in India — the migrants. In the 1970s, eight to nine million refugees poured into India as violence gripped a newly independent Bangladesh. In 2012, Ministry of Home Affairs data showed 16,530 Bangladeshi citizens with valid travel documents had overstayed in India. Some 6,537 were deported in 2012, and another 5,234 in 2013.<sup>26</sup>

In a number of speeches, the LBA was connected to the larger question of Bangladeshi migrants in India. The idea of national interest was not only defined in terms of economic benefits or improved bilateral relations, but also in terms of promoting security. This is why the negligible undefined boundary of 6.1 km in three sectors acquired salience in the policy. The complete demarcation of borders would allow tighter surveillance and control over the highly porous border between India and Bangladesh. The regulation of illegal migration in itself is not a securitising move. However, the *way* it is done, and the reasons expressed for the same securitise the existing migrant communities in the country who have been living and working there often for many years. This securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants was expressed in various ways during the LBA negotiations. The enclave communities ' ' bonafideness ' was looked at with the eyes of suspicion, and the authorities were cautioned against the entry of ' foreign nationals or terrorists. ' Words like ' infiltration ' were used by proponents of this narrative to describe the migration trends, reminding the parliamentarians of the ' burden of Bangladeshis ' felt by states like Assam, thus victimising the state and demonising the highly deprived migrants.<sup>27</sup>

This anti- Bangladeshi narrative has also taken direct prominence at the political stage, especially since the 2014 national elections, when Narendra Modi, in his campaign declared, “ Note this down. After May 16 (when he would take over as prime minister), I will send these Bangladeshis beyond the border with their bag and baggage.”<sup>28</sup> “You are concerned about infiltrators and not your own people...they must go back, they are robbing the youths of India of their livelihood,” he told the rally in West Bengal.<sup>29</sup> Apart from the economic ‘ threats ’ of Bangladeshi migration, the demographic changes in the Indian states neighbouring Bangladesh have also been securitised through statements like, “ The Hindu rate of population growth is declining. But the Muslim rate is rising. Most of the Muslims here are from Bangladesh. If this continues, the Assamese Hindus will become a minority soon; we will lose our language, our culture, our identity ” by Himanta Biswa Sarma, finance minister in the Assam government.<sup>30</sup>

The common historical patterns of inter- border mobility is completely ignored in understanding the issue of illegal migration from Bangladesh. Not only this, but the highly impoverished conditions that drive people to cross borders are again disregarded. Moreover, an important factor, which facilitates such large flows of migration is the involvement of the state authorities and political parties itself. According to various reports, it is fairly easy for a migrant to bribe border authorities and subsequently acquire Indian citizenship through illegal means. <sup>31</sup> The issues of child and women trafficking are also ignored. Further, under the proposed Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2016, Bengali Hindus will be granted citizenship on grounds of religious persecution. The Bill creates a refugee- migrant binary, where Muslims migrating from extreme impoverishment or even violence are considered illegitimate, while those running away from religious discrimination are to be embraced and protected — with no reasonable explanation for why the latter is more grave a ground for granting citizenship over the former. The securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants has also been facilitated by promises of building concrete walls on the India- Bangladesh border. In 2016, Kiren Rijju, recorded that there are 20 million illegal Bangladeshi migrants living in India. <sup>32</sup> Though the presence of illegal Bangladeshi migrants in India has serious implications for the Indian State, securitisation of the issue has not helped in solving the problem.<sup>33</sup>

### **Conclusions and Implications**

When placed in the larger context, the framing of the LBA is rather fluid. On one hand, it is implicitly projected as a means to desecuritize enclave communities and provide them proper integration, citizenship and rights. On the other, it is also framed as a hard policy, securing the borders and protecting

the North East from an influx of Muslim Bangladeshi migrants. At one level, it desecuritisises, but in the larger picture, it also further securitisises the migration issue. What then explains the success in the adoption of the LBA in this highly securitised, anti- Bangladesh rhetoric? On one hand, over 37,000 Bangladeshis living in the erstwhile enclaves have been granted Indian citizenship, and on the other, demands for deportation of Bangladeshi migrants have skyrocketed — even though (at the risk of oversimplification) both communities share the same nationality, social background and economic hardships. The differentiating factor in these two contexts, as was found in the analysis was that of national interest. In the case of LBA, the policy narrative of human interest was complemented by strong and substantive national interests in terms of economic growth, border dispute resolution, friendly neighbour relations etc. These larger benefits are absent in the context of the migration issue. The framing of the LBA as a matter of national interest, however, also resulted in strengthening the underlying narrative of securitisation of Bangladeshi migration. Therefore, while the policy can be considered a success in the desecuritisisation of enclave communities, the larger context of securitisation of Bangladeshi migrants in India remains unresolved.

These findings raise important questions for future policy analysis, in that whether it is possible to draft neutral desecuritisisation policies in the absence of concrete national interests of the above stated kind. It also underscores the importance of a holistic approach in policy making, keeping in mind the larger discourses and competing policy narratives that go on to shape desecuritisisation policies.

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***Revisiting Earliest Marathi Narrative of 'Muslim Conquest': Representations of 'Musalmans' in Mahikavatichi bakhar***

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***Abstract***

*This Paper is an attempt of re-reading the earliest known Marathi bakhar i.e. 'Mahikavatichi bakhar' aka 'Mahimchi bakhar', written during fifteenth to seventeenth-century by various authors in Maharashtra. This Paper concentrates on the representations of 'Musalmans' in the above mentioned bakhar. The bakhars are a genre of historical narratives in prose format in Marathi; composed as biographies of great personalities, they also provide descriptions of great battles and genealogies of prominent families.*

*Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji's conquest of Yadvas of Devagiri in fourteenth-century was assumed to be starting point of 'Muslim Conquest of Maharashtra' which was followed by centuries of 'Dark Age', until the rise of Maratha power in seventeenth-century. 'Mahikavatichi bakhar' is the earliest available bakhar which contains references of Ala-ud-Din's conquest of Devagiri, parts of North Konkan region, and gives the rich narrative of consolidation of a new regime. The most important is the representations of Mleccha, Yavanas, and Turks which are embodied in this bakhar. In the history writings in Maharashtra during the nineteenth and twentieth-century, these representations were assumed as depictions of a single monolithic category of 'Musalmans'.*

*This paper tries to understand the temporal and spatial representations of Musalmans in Mahikavatichi bakhar. It will also attempt to understand the continuity and change in these representations. These depictions of Musalmans is being analysed critically here beyond the ambit of communal or secular, while focusing on cultural differences, social origins, and tensions which produced such historical narratives. This paper is an attempt to understand the pre-colonial identities of Muslims in Maharashtra in the context of recent debates on pre-colonial identities in India. (A Glossary of important Marathi words was given at the end of Notes & References.)*

*Key words: Representations of Muslims, Image of Musalman, Maratha History, Delhi Sultanate, Bakhar, Pre-colonial Identities, Communalism, Maharashtra, Marathi Literature, Deccan.*

Therefore, I am asking to thoughtful Son of my beloved India, “Hey Maharashtra, you tell me am I a traitor?”

My Maharashtra telling me that, “No, You are not a traitor, NO-NO.”<sup>1</sup>

- Shahir2 Amar Sheikh

After spending his whole life in socialist activism and Samyukta<sup>3</sup> Maharashtra, in the year 1967, Shahir Amar Sheikh wrote these lines painfully after being physically attacked by Hindu extremist just because of his identity as a ‘Musalman’. The attacker was claiming that, Amar Sheikh is a ‘Musalman’ and he abducted a ‘Hindu’ Woman. <sup>4</sup>In reaction, to the accusation of ‘Musalman’ hence ‘traitor’, Amar Sheikh gives various references of past, about the loyalties of Muslims towards the Maratha kingdom and the Indian nation.<sup>5</sup> The ‘Unified Maharashtra Movement’ popularly known as ‘Samyukta Maharashtra Chalval’ for which Amar Sheikh remained notable in Maharashtra, was successful in the establishment of separate state of Maharashtra for Marathi speaking population (1960 AD). This movement was largely based on the collective consciousness of Marathi linguistic-regional identity, mainly derived from Maratha's History. Maratha's history or Maratha historiography is nevertheless about a Maratha period which generally started from establishment of swarajya<sup>6</sup> by Chatrapati Shivaji and ended with British conquest of Maratha territory under the Peshwas (1818 AD).

### **The bakhars : Some perspectives**

Writing about Maratha past dates back to eighteenth-century when bakhar literature were produced in large number by Maratha officials or by a well-informed person known as ‘mahitigar’ on the directions from their masters or senior officials. The word ‘bakhar’ derived from Arabic word ‘khabar’, means news or information. The bakhars are the prose historical narratives in Marathi, composed as biographies of great personalities, providing descriptions of great battles or genealogies of prominent families. Whether the origin of ‘bakhar’ literature, was from Persian ‘Tawarikh’ and ‘Akhabarats’ or from Sanskrit ‘Akhyans’ and ‘Puranas’, is a matter of debate among the scholars of Maratha history and Marathi linguistics. <sup>7</sup>Though most of the Maratha historians rejected ‘bakhar’ as a reliable source for history writing, yet they always use it to some extent for the construction of narrative form in their writings. Marathi linguistics studied ‘bakhars’ as a Marathi prose genre written in pre-colonial period and tries to understand in the literature the writing styles, sketches of characters, events, Puranic and mythical legends, ideal, moral values, divine interventions, descriptions of society, vocabulary phrases, changing meanings of words, constructions of sentences etc.<sup>8</sup>

Making a departure from this point, Sumit Guha locates the social origins of the bakhars , for framing knowledge for Maratha bureaucracy and settlement of legal disputes over hereditary rights. 9While exploring the development of historical memory and identity in Maharashtra, Prachi Deshpande observes, 'A central feature of bakhari historiography was the tension between the narrative of power, putting forward claims to legitimacy on behalf of various actors in Maratha political environment, and a more detached, critical voice that commented, from within a moral universe, on historical actors, events, and outcomes.' 10She elaborates, 'this tension produced representation of Maratha power and identity in the bakhari narratives'.11After critically examining Marathi bakhari narratives of Maratha's Panipat campaign, Anirudh Deshpande notifies, these texts clearly underline the cultural and organizational differences between Marathas, Rajputs and Afghans. While on one hand he criticised the communal perception of the past, he also dispraised the attempted search of a secular utopia in the past. He believes that, possibility of recovery of past by modern historian, which will be necessary, need not be either communal or secular.12

### **Imaginations of ' Muslim conquest'**

A close reading and analysis of bakhari is very important, because these bakhars contain pre-colonial representations of ' Musalmans' which is imperative to understand the true perceived image of ' Musalmans' before colonial intervention in history writing. It is important that Maratha historians use bakhars as source material but it was seldom used as a source and more often as a narrative of Maratha history. Bakhari had major role in inspiring and framing of narrative of historical fictions which framed the image of a Musalman in Marathi public sphere. It is this image which is the cause for above painful statement of Amar Sheikh.

The image of Musalman as cruel fanatic invader was constructed through the narrative of destructions of temples, forced conversions, abductions of Hindu women and persecution of Hindus under Musalman rulers. The establishment of Maratha kingdom was seen as a sharp reaction to religious persecution of Hindus by the so-called ' Musalman invaders'. This type of narrative one can find in some Marathi bakhars but only after ignoring the complexities of identities in these narratives. 13Most of the people still believed that the emergence of Maratha kingdom was the reaction to religious persecution of Hindus by the Muslims and for establishment of a Hindu kingdom. These types of narrative became prominent in Maratha historiography and historical fiction during colonial period for the necessity of national and anti-colonial agenda, but at the expenses of alienating the Muslims as 'invaders'.

This trend persisted in historical recollection even after independence; one can see it in the historical novel 'Raja Shivchatrapati' 14 . This novel claims to be a biography of Shivaji which was written by Balwant Moreshwar Purandare aka Babasaheb Purandare, who was recently decorated with ' Maharashtra Bhushan ' award by newly elected BJP-Shiv Sena government, despite considerable oppositions from progressive forces. ' Raja Shivchatrapati' was the most popular and widely read book on Shivaji. This novel was written in mid-twentieth -century and is still in circulation even after its 17 th edition. It had already reached 5 lakh household till its 16 th edition. This historical novel narrates life and endeavours of Chatrapati Shivaji on the backdrop of 'tyrannical' Muslim rule. Hence, the early pages of this novel comprised narrative of oppressive by alien Muslim rulers; from Ala-ud-Din - Khalji to the Sultans of successive Deccani Sultanates. It narrates the destructions of temples, abduction of Hindu women, forced conversions, cow slaughters etc. The book had many sketches to enhance the imaginations of the readers. One sketch from the book shows a happy elite Maratha woman standing in the balcony. The balcony opens towards the imagined time period of Maharashtra during Yadava kingdom having large temples, happy citizens, prosperity etc. and looked to be as though heaven on earth. The subsequent sketch however showed Muslim armies killing the innocent people in the background of burning temples and the same Maratha woman in balcony was terrified by demon like Muslim hand which was about to grab her.

The narratives and imaginations of such kind were written and presented in many other historical novels, drama, and films. Even some academic and scholarly history writings failed to escape from narrating 'Muslim Conquest' as hell on earth. These narratives constructed the image of Muslims as 'other' and imagined Muslim conquest synonymous to destruction. Sultan Ala-ud-Din-Khilji's conquest of Yadavas of Devagiri in 14 th century was assumed to be starting point of ' Muslim Conquest of Maharashtra' which was followed by centuries of 'Dark Age' until the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji in seventeenth-century.

### **'Musalmans' in Mahikavatichi bakhar**

The earliest available bakhar is 'Mahakawatichi bakhar' aka 'Mahimchi bakhar' , was edited and published by V. K. Rajwade in 1924. It comprised of six chapters, written by Keshavacharya, Bhagwan Datta and others in different periods. Keshavacharya was the author of the oldest chapters, i.e. second and third, written in c. 1448 while the entire bakhar seems to have been finalized in a book form in the seventeenth-century.<sup>15</sup> Keshavacharya wrote the second chapter as 'vanmshpatra' , 'vanmsh-padhati' or 'vamshaval'<sup>16</sup> after assignment of the task by Nayakorao

Desala<sup>17</sup> during the gathering of various regional officials, brahmins , and priests from North Konkan region.<sup>18</sup>

This bakhar narrates the events from arrival of Pratap Bimb in c.1138 to the conquest of North Konkan region by the Portuguese in c.1538. It gives details of the reigns of seven successive dynasties in North Konkan region. <sup>19</sup>Despite inaccuracies regarding time and events, this bakhar is very important for V. K. Rajwade, who published it with a lengthy introduction, as it gives the first historical reference of the Maharashtra Dharma . The present paper focuses on this bakhar due to its references of turakan , mleccha , mleccha-varna , yavan , Sultan Ala-ud-Din-Khalji of Delhi, Sultan Bhadurshah of Gujarat, and local Muslim officials (mainly Nika Malik etc).

A close reading of this bakhar strengthens Sumit Guha's argument of social origins of bakhar even before Maratha period. The motive behind the composition of this bakhar was given in detail by Keshavacharya. Nayakorao Desala , a local hereditary official of Malad, had a dream of ' Shridevi Adiyashakti Jagdambika Maharashtra-dharma-rakshika' ,<sup>20</sup>who ordered him to call a gathering of all local officials and Brahmins from North Konkan region and to make them aware about ' Maharashtra Dharma' . This gathering was arranged just prior to the advent of mleccha ruler in the region and intended to call for protection of ' Swadharna' and ' Maharashtra Dharma' . Still, its main intention was to make vanshavali of hereditary right holders to avoid further possible neglect of ' varnaavarn ',<sup>21</sup> and ' kula'<sup>22</sup> due to the conquest of the region by mleccha and consolidation of ' turakan'<sup>23</sup> . Keshavacharya wrote,

Then turakans become powerful in rajya || mlecchas conquered Paithan Champaner Bhaganagar after conquest of Uttarapant Pashimpanth Gujarat || many battles were fought in between, describing which would become lengthy ||.... It was predicted in Bhavishottar Puranas that these ( mlecchas ) would harsh varnauttama in huge amount || varna identity would lose || they would forget there kulas || At that time brahmins with (self) respect would maintain the collection of this text ( vanshavali ) and some (people) with respect to rajya will also preserve this kulavali ( vanshavali ) ||<sup>24</sup>

Further on the bakhar gives details of genealogies of various deshalas i.e.hereditary officials with their rights and shares in jama<sup>25</sup> from villages under their jurisdictions. While continuously referring to the conquest of Delhi Sultanate and Sultans of Gujarat as advent of mleccha-varna, the bakhar never loses its focus from legitimizing hereditary rights through genealogies. Even the approvals of these rights from the mleccha rulers were frequently mentioned. Although referring

to the conquests as consequences of kaliyuga as predicted in the puranas, the bakhar gives many references of victories and valour of mlecchas due to the will of Gods and royal signs embodied on mleccha . For this Keshavacharya gives story of mleccha who became padashah,

Then at Dilli (Delhi) whose king is Dillishawar (there) mleccha was born as turk ( avatar ) || He became a cow herder, started living there || How he rises that's a story to be told || (At) Dwarka city- Gujarat - Nagarseth Vitaldas || a trader || Ganeshupasaka || He was not having a child hence (he) called jyotishi - vidyarthi from all over deshas || All Sanyasis gathered together || Seth asked (them) || Look at any upadesha (solutions) available which can bear (me) a child || This question was asked || Then they ( jyotishi ) saw (in) dharmashastra || Build a temple of Somayaga and Thakurji || This solution was given || Vitaldas accepted it || they had discussion || They narrated the predicted rise of mleccha || In Dilli, Sultan was born || He would rule ( padashahi karil )|| Then dharma would shrink || Temple would demolish || Kings of various kingdoms would surrender to mlecchas || mleccha dharma would grow || This is predicted to be happened in kaliyuga ||26

Thus, Vitaldas decided to go to Delhi to get sultan-khat<sup>27</sup> for assurance for the temple. He left from Dwarka to Delhi with some money . There he searched for Sultan's home and found a hut.

An old woman came (from hut) || She said Sultan is her son || what do you want to ask him || Seth answered that he needs to meet him (and) that is very important || I have come with important task for him || She told Sultan has taken cows to graze || (you can) meet him at cow-shed ||28

Then Seth reached a cow-shed with an old woman where he saw the Sultan with cows.

He ( Sultan ) was sitting on a rock ( dhondi var aasan ghatale aahe ) || cows surrounded him || he was sweet toned, eyes like tortoise ( dristhi kurma ) , legs were embodied with lucky signs like lotus || Vitaldas saw (this and) realized (that) he ( Sultan ) would become Chatrapati (King) || Then he requested him || what I asked for should be given || after listening this sultan replied || I am (just) a cow herder, all I keep is cows || what do I have of yours || should be clear of this || (but) I will obey order || then Seth told him that now you are cow herder but you would become padashah || (you) would rule the world || So I request one thing || I am building a temple at Dwarka || nobody will destroy it || such letter wanted from you || It should be given || then ( Sultan ) replied || if what I given is valid in this era then it is granted || So build a temple happily

|| but the structure on the top should look like mosque || later padashahs also obey this (order) || this letter of (his) own hand writing was given to Seth Vitaldas || Then that Vani (means merchant i.e. Seth Vitaldas ) gave some money to Sultan || (and) He returned || Reached at Dwarka || Constructed a Temple ||29

Then the Sultan reached home and counted his money and found that the money had increased up to eight lakhs. He arranged an army of five thousand to attack on Delhi. Dillishwar was killed in battle; and the Padashah Sultan sat on throne. Then he had a child named as Sultan Ala-ud-Din . Sultan Ala-ud-Din appointed Nika Malik as Wazir who conquered and administered North Konkan. 30The bakhar also narrates the battle between Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji and Ramdevraya, the Yadav king of Devgiri. It narrates the events of battle in which initially Sultan Ala-ud-Din is also referred as ' mahamada' who was in critical condition and seems to be losing the battle. But according to the bakhar , he fought back bravely with the blessings of Lord Harihara ( Vishnu ), which allowed him to kill Ramdevraya and decisively win the battle. 31This narrative also mentioned that due to the killings and harassments of Brahmins during Ramdev's reign, Bramha incarnated as a mleccha and gopal become associated with the mlecchas . Thus, even Yadava's clan deity was unable to help them.

The narrative mentions the accommodation of existing system into the administrative setup of the Sultanate. Sultan Ala-ud-Din's Wazir , Nika Malik approved to the heredity rights and shares in jama of various Desalas through giving them vida<sup>32</sup>. Nika Malik consoled local Desalas as they fought amidst each other over regional disputes. But in the case of Soma Thakur / Desala and Papanrut Desala, Diwan/Wazir Nika Malik felt uncomfortable to intervene in the issue; hence he sent Soma Desala and Papanrut Desala to the court of Sultan Ala-ud-Din in Delhi. But Sultan Ala-ud-Din killed both after heated arguments. After killing Soma Desala , his intestines were burned as a Vaati with oil made with his blood under the sacred tree as a lamp. Later the Sultan was filled with remorse as he realised he had killed an innocent man. Then he prayed for the son of Soma Desala . After this incident Nika Malik appointed Bhagadchuri as Desala , who was originally an outsider, hence people from the region opposed this appointment. 33Large number of references about such disputes was mentioned in the bakhar . Besides Ala-ud-Din and his Wazir , the bakhar also narrates conquest of the region by Maharaja Rajadhiraj Sultan Bahadurshah (of Gujarat) also mentioned as khan-saheb , who discussed on the disputes regarding rights with Desalas in the light of vamsahvalis . He gave justice in written form as mahazars with his seal.<sup>34</sup>

## Conclusion

The interlinked tension between, first the changing political scenario, second the disputes between Desalas and third a need to gain and maintain legitimacy from new rulers, were the main driving forces for production of Mahikavatichi bakhar . The legitimacy of hereditary rights of Desalas was not depended on narrative of ' Muslim Conquest' , which became important in later period. Despite the bakhar reference to Bhagadchuri's 35acts of abduction and seducing women of other Desalas it does not have any direct or specific reference to abduction of Hindu women by ' Muslim conquerors' .36Even any reference to of destructions of temples, forceful conversions is absent. There were no references about persecution based on religion by mleccha rulers. Instead the bakhar mentions religious persecutions of indigenous people of different faiths37 were carried out by Firangis (i.e. Portuguese).38

The scholars studying the pre-colonial identities in India argued that, the terms like mleccha , yavanas , turka had different connotations in pre-colonial period. These terms were not clearly used for religious identity for Muslims. The word Muslim or Musalman , which indicates religious affiliation with Islam got prominence in later period. 39 In the bakhar , the terms ' mleccha' and ' yavana' was used for people who were not part of ' varna' system and belonged to ' mleccha-varna', hence was merely used for different cultural identities . The terms like ' turka' used for 'Turk' and ' turukan' for 'rule of Turks', are based on ethnic identities of the rulers. The terms like ' kufarana ' , ' fitarana' were used for rebels against rulers. The term ' Musalman' was not mentioned in the whole bakhar . The absence of references about destruction of temples, forceful conversions and abduction of Hindu women, can be seen as sharp contrast with later narratives. The ' Mahikavatichi bakhar ' gives a very different narrative as compared to that of the so called ' Muslim conquest ' constructed for nationalist, anti-colonial and communal agendas during colonial and post-colonial period. 39

## Notes & References

- This is an extract from Amar Sheikh's article " Ba Maharashtra, Mi Fitur Kasa?" originally published in ' Anupama ' Diwali Issue,1967 and republished in Amar Sheikh, 'Sur Eka Vadalacha' , Ambedkar Prabodhani, Mumbai, 2 nd Edition, 1 May 2007, p.53.
- shahir is a poet or singer, who usually composes or sings Marathi ballads. See glossary.
- Unified, See glossary.



- Amar Sheikh was communist born in a Muslim family and married with her comrade born in a Hindu family.
- Amar Sheikh, op.cit., pp.52-60
- Self rule, See glossary.
- M. S. Kanade (Ed), 'Bhauasahebanchi bakhar', Snehavardhan Publishing House, Pune, 2nd Edition, 2004, pp.1-3
- Ibid, See also the editorials or introductions of R.V. Hervadkar, 'Malhar Ramrao Chitnis-Virachit Thorale Shahu Maharaj Yanche Charitra', Venus Prakashan, Pune, 1976, R.V. Hervadkar, 'Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad-Virachit Shiv-Chatrapatinche Charitra', Venus Prakashan, Pune, 1986, henceforth 'Sabhasadbakhar' R.V. Hervadkar, 'A Forgotten Literature: Foundations of Marathi Chronicles', Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1994, henceforth 'Forgotten Literature', R.V. Hervadkar, 'Raghunath Yadav-Virachit Panipatchi bakhar', Venus Prakashan, Pune, Third Edition, 1997, R.V. Hervadkar, 'Shri Shivchatrapatinche Saptaprakaranatamk Charitra: Malhar Ramrao Chitanis Virachit', Venus Prakashan, Pune, Second Edition, 2000, henceforth 'Chitanis bakhar'.
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- All these words were used for genealogies, See Glossary.
- Desala was local hereditary officer with the charge of collection of revenue.
- Ibid, p. 53.
- Ibid, p.64, Forgotten Literature, p.11.
- local deity.
- varna identities, See glossary.
- kin or clan, See glossary.
- i.e. regime of Turks, See glossary.
- Mahikavatich ibakhar, p.52.
- Revenues, See glossary.

- Ibid, p.44
- an order from Sultan, See glossary.
- Mahikavatichi bakhar ,p.44.
- Ibid,pp.44&45.
- Ibid,p.45
- Ibid, pp.83-88
- i.e. honourable betel leaf, See glossary.
- Mahikavatichi bakhar , pp.45-47
- Ibid,pp.63-70
- He was appointed as Desala after Soma Desala incident.
- Mahikavatichi bakhar , pp.44&99
- During the Inquisition under the Portuguese rule.
- Mahikavatichi bakhar , p.104
- See, Romila Thapar, ' The Image of the Barbarian in Early India ', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Issue. 13 (1971),pp. 408-36, Aloka Parasher, ' Mlecchas in Early India: a Study in Attitude Towards outsider up to 600 AD' , Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher, Delhi, 1991, Brajdulal Chattopadyaya, ' Representing the other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims' , Manohar Publisher, 1998.

### **Glossary of Marathi words**

akhabarats newsletters written in Persian

akhyans mythological accounts

chalval movement

desala a officer with hereditary rights to collection of revenue

firangi a word used for Portuguese

fitarana rebellion

jama revenue

kufarana rebellion

kula kin, clan

kulavali genealogy of kin

mahamada sanskritised version for 'Muhammad'

maharashtra dharma literary means 'religion of Maharashtra'

mahazars decree, judgment

mleccha outsider, commonly used for muslims in pre-colonial India

padashah used for Persian word 'badshah', emperor

puranas mythological accounts

samyukta unified

shahir a poet or singer, who usually composes or sings Marathi ballads.

sultan khat a order or decree from sultan

swarajya self rule, independent kingdom

tawarikhs historical accounts written in Persian

turakan rule of Turk

vamshaval genealogy, family tree

vanmsh-padhati genealogy

vanmshpatra genealogy

varnaavarn varna identities

varnauttama those who have higher status in varna system

vida paan or betel leaf consider auspicious during ceremonies

yavan initially used for Greeks, later used for Muslims.

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*Bhaurao Patil's Educational Work and Social Integration*

Vikas Gupta

**Introduction**

Bhaurao Payagonda Patil (22 September 1887-9 May 1959) , popularly known as 'Karmaveer' Bhaurao Patil campaigned for the educational integration of dalits , peasants and other backward sections with a focus on the rural areas. 1In terms of the number of educational institutions—schools, colleges and hostels—founded by him in the area now known as Maharashtra, which was then the part of the Bombay Presidency, Bhaurao's contribution is perhaps unparalleled among the protagonists of the non-Brahman movement at least in the sphere of education. Further, the case-study of Bhaurao's educational work help us understand the nature of Congress or Gandhian nationalism particularly in terms of the space it granted to the education of backward castes and classes. The paper also documents the problems faced by the students as well as the champions of the education of hitherto excluded groups and tries to assess existing historiographical understanding about the social groups who supported ventures for their amelioration. The present essay although examines mainly the educational work of Bhaurao Patil, it also occasionally juxtaposes his integrationist vision with the approach of the colonial state and some emancipatory struggles, as for instance strived by Jotirao Phule, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi.

**Early Life of Karmveer Bhaurao Pati**

Bhaurao was born on 22nd September 1887 in a family of 'chiefly agricultural Jains living at Kumbhoj in the then Kolhapur princely state in southern Maharashtra'. His father, Payagonda Patil was a government clerk. 2In 1902, he was admitted to Rajaram High School in Kolhapur and stayed at the Jain Boarding House. 3However, in 1908, due to his fearlessness and non-conformist attitude, Bhaurao was expelled from the hostel on pretext of indiscipline.4

Nonetheless, Bhaurao got yet another chance of further study when Manikchand Hirachand Javeri, a Jain jewellery merchant and philanthropist invited him to Bombay and got him admitted in Davar's College of Commerce for training in book-keeping and typewriting in 1910. 5Here too, Bhaurao could not complete

the course. Even he could not develop any interest in the trade of Manikchand. Therefore, he finally returned home at Kumbhoj in the same year.<sup>6</sup>

Interestingly, thereafter, Bhaurao turned to private tuition as a means to earn his livelihood and became well-known in the neighbourhood as a good tutor.<sup>7</sup>The profession soon turned into an 'urge to do something for the education of those who could not pay him for his services'.<sup>8</sup>This urge led to his involvement in the Shikshan Prasarak Sanstha at Dudhgaon where some of his relatives used to live.<sup>9</sup>At Dudhgaon, he also came in contact with a village school teacher Dada Jinnappa Madhvanna, a Jain, whom Bhaurao credits with starting the Shikshan Prasarak Sanstha, Dudhgaon in 1910.<sup>10</sup>Bhaurao joined hands with him to open Dudhgaon Vidyarthi Ashram. Many other local enthusiasts also supported him including Nanasaheb Rauji Edekar (a Maratha by caste), Appasaheb Patil and Bhau Dada Kudale (both Jains).<sup>11</sup>The Ashram was open to students of all castes and religion and it also provided facilities of food and stay for the students of Dudhgaon and nearby villages.<sup>12</sup>The Ashram, which continued to function till 1930, became a precursor of the boarding houses that Bhaurao was to establish in due course of time.<sup>13</sup>

Bhaurao became friends with Balasaheb Khanvilkar who was son of Mamasahab Khanvilkar, brother-in-law of Shahuji Maharaj. This friendship led Bhaurao into close association with Shahuji that made a lasting imprint on his future career as an educational activist and prolific institution builder.<sup>14</sup>

Even when Bhaurao had started working as insurance agent of Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd. of Lahore in 1913,<sup>15</sup>he help public causes like persuading friends to buy insurance policies and assign them to Dakshin Maharashtra Jain Sabha.<sup>16</sup>Thus, even while working as an insurance agent, his central preoccupation remained education. This is also evident in his subsequent professional stints with Kirloskars and Coopers as we shall see below.

Bhaurao joined the Ogale Glass Works in 1914 and simultaneously took sales agency for Kirloskars newly introduced iron-plough<sup>17</sup>. He utilized this opportunity to develop an extensive contact and understanding of peasantry and their needs. This was also the period when Bhaurao came under influence of the Satya Shodhak Movement and became its active and well-known propagandist in the region. Bhaurao resigned from the Kirloskars in November 1921 after some differences with his employers and a desire to devote more time to his educational pursuits.

Thereafter, Bhaurao joined the Cooper Engineering Works in 1922 after reaching an understanding with the owner Sir Dhanjishah Cooper that a portion of the profits will be used for education of children of the workers<sup>18</sup>. However, here too, his experience was unpleasant, because Bhaurao soon discovered that the Coopers were in no mood to part with their profits for education of worker's children. Bhaurao therefore left this job within a year, determined to devote all his time and energy to the educational cause dear to him.<sup>19</sup>

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, the demand for introducing compulsory Primary Education was repeated and rejected many times in the Bombay Presidency. For instance, as early as 1852, Captain Wingate, the then Revenue Survey Commissioner suggested that the proceeds of the cess should be utilised for the introduction of Compulsory Primary Education of three years for all sons of agriculturists. The demand was again repeated before the Indian Education Commission in 1882 by several witnesses, the prominent among whom was Jotirao Phule. In 1884, the Deputy Educational Inspector of Broach (Shri Shastri) put forward a scheme for introducing compulsion in his area. Sir Chunilal Setalwad, a prominent public worker of Bombay, submitted a memorandum to Government in 1894 and suggested that Compulsory and Free Primary Education supported by a local rate should be provided in all Municipal schools. Between 1902 and 1906, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola pressed for the introduction of Compulsory Primary Education in the City of Bombay in his budget speeches in the Bombay Legislative Council. Between 1910 and 1912, Gokhale made herculean efforts to introduce compulsory education in India and moved a bill for the purpose in the Central Legislature.<sup>20</sup> However, all these early demands—asserted by persons from different social backgrounds—to introduce compulsory education were unsuccessful, but they kept the concept alive and helped materially in creating a favourable public opinion for the purpose.

Subsequently, the first compulsory legislation, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but in India as a whole followed through the proposal made by Vithalbhai Patel whose bill on the subject became the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act, 1918. It was at best an enabling act applicable only to urban areas excluding the City of Bombay. In spite of the great enthusiasm generated by the Act, only six Municipalities introduced compulsory education under it. This poor response was due mainly to the uninviting financial provisions of the Patel Act and due to the complete freedom provided to local authorities to introduce it.<sup>21</sup>

Nonetheless, following the introduction of Diarchy under Mont-Ford reforms of 1919, elected ministry of Bombay province appointed a committee under chairmanship of N.G. Chandavarkar to suggest ways and means of introducing compulsory primary education especially in the mofussil areas. It was on the basis of the recommendations of this committee that the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1918 was replaced with the Bombay Primary Education Act 1923, which applied both to urban and rural areas. Moreover, it did not leave the matter of the introduction of compulsory Primary Education entirely on the desire of the local authority, rather gave power to the Government to push for it directly. Owing to financial difficulties, however, the progress of compulsory education was not satisfactory even after 1923. Only 11 Authorised Municipalities introduced compulsory education under the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923.<sup>23</sup>

The Chandavarkar committee had issued questionnaires to elicit popular views on compulsory primary education. The responses indicated that compulsion was not acceptable, especially to the poor backward communities of the Deccan as it involved foregoing the earning of the children. Hence, the committee recommended that a widespread propaganda should be carried out to convince people of the benefits of compulsory primary education. Rayat Shikshan Sanstha was already founded by Bhaurao in 1919. Therefore, Bhaurao took up the opportunity and travelled extensively throughout the length and breadth of Satara to popularise the scheme for compulsory education. He organised 300 meetings in Deccan region for this purpose.<sup>24</sup>

However, due to various factors, the Act could not yield desired results. Some of these factors were related to the defects of diarchy. The popular ministries lacked effective control over the bureaucracy responsible for implementing the scheme. The bureaucrats were not responsible to the Indian ministers and their privileges and powers were fully secured. Thus, the ministers could do little to supervise the bureaucrats. Similarly, the Indian ministers were also not given any control over finances, resulting in severe constraints in implementing the scheme. These constraints increased especially after the depression that kicked off later in the decade, resulting in severe cuts in budget for education. In addition, since the Congress had boycotted the Mont-Ford reforms, the ministries were held by leaders of smaller political formations that did not have wide influence among the masses critical for implementation of such schemes.<sup>25</sup> As a result of all these factors, the scheme could never be implemented with the kind of energy and support required.

Still, Bhaurao's effort did not go completely in vain. As we shall see in the forthcoming section, he used this opportunity to expand the work of Rayat Shikshan Sanstha in the region. Moreover, when popular ministries were formed following the constitutional reforms of 1935, another new scheme for primary education was launched; and Bhaurao utilized the opportunity thus created to the fullest extent as we shall see below. During his educational work, Bhaurao also met the education minister Dr R.P. Paranjape, who complimented him for his efforts in popularising the scheme. Later, months before his death in 1959, Bhaurao received the honorary D.Litt. degree at the hands of Dr. Paranjape, who was then the Vice-Chancellor of Poona University.<sup>26</sup>

Since the main focus of the present essay is on Bhaurao's educational work, to which we shall revert shortly, we here refer to his larger socio-political activism only briefly within this paragraph in order to give a sense of his affiliations, commitments and outlook. Bhaurao's socio-political activism can be traced back to the days when he was active as a Satya Shodhak in the region around Satara in 1920's when he launched agitations at several places for the rights of non-Brahman peasants to have ceremonial dinner along with the Brahman priests instead of being served with leftover food.<sup>27</sup> Later, Bhaurao was also instrumental in getting R.R. Kale and Bhaskarrao Jadhav elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in the elections of 1923 and 1927.<sup>28</sup> Bhaurao actively participated in the aborted Kamberi Satyagraha at Kamberi village in south Satara in 1929.<sup>29</sup> He supported freedom fighters during the 1942 Quit India movement and allowed some of his students to participate in it.<sup>30</sup> The Shahuji boarding house at Satara became a centre of the underground freedom fighters during the period. However, under influence of Phule's cultural-educational ideas and Mahatma Gandhi's programme of constructive work, Bhaurao chiefly devoted his energy to educational work through the Rayat Shikshan Sanstha as discussed below.

### **Rayat Shikshan Sanstha**

At the annual conference of the Satara District Satya Shodhak Samaj in 1919 at Kale, Bhaurao made the proposal to form an organisation to spread education among the rural masses, which was immediately accepted. Thus on 4th October 1919, the Rayat Shikshan Sanstha (henceforth referred as Sanstha) was formally formed. A cosmopolitan boarding house was established under its auspices. A committee consisting of local leaders including Dattaji Patil, Narukaka Khot, Bhaurao Chaugule, Bandoba Shete and



Bagal Guruji was formed for administration of the boarding house.<sup>31</sup> Some of the notable objectives of the boarding house, as mentioned in its annual report of 1921-22 were to create love for education among educationally backward people; to impart free primary education to the children from this class; to foster fraternal feelings among pupils belonging to different castes; to eradicate all unhealthy beliefs and practices and traditions; and to orient the boys for true development.<sup>32</sup>

Bhaurao's next venture was to open an English School and boarding house attached to the school at Nerle village (Taluq Walwa, Satara). A public meeting for this purpose was organised at the Nerle village on 8 December 1921. It was presided by the erstwhile Collector of Satara Mr E L Moyce who also donated Rs 51 to the school. <sup>33</sup>A villager named Nivruthi Bala Ranakhambe gave his house rent-free for the school for ten years. <sup>34</sup>Apart from generous donations made by other public-spirited individuals, the Gujar community and the farmers of the village contributed a donation of Rupees 1002 for the school and the boarding house.<sup>35</sup> A 22-member local managing committee was also formed for administration of the school and the boarding house.<sup>36</sup>

Bhaurao decided to shift the base of the Sanstha from Kale village to Satara city in 1924 to devote his full time and attention to it. This led to establishment of an all-caste boarding house in Satara in 1924 with four boys including two Marathas, one Jain (Bhaurao's younger brother) and one Mahar. <sup>37</sup>The boarding house was rechristened as Chhatrapati Shahuji Boarding House in 1927 in a ceremony presided by Mahatma Gandhi. <sup>38</sup>The number of boarders increased steadily in the next years and by 1927 there were more than 30 boarders including 13 Marathas, 11 Mahars, two Mangs, two Muslims, one Dhobi, one Barber, one Wadar, one Jain, one Brahman, one Lingayat and one Ramoshi.<sup>39</sup>

This was a unique experiment as no distinction was made on the basis of caste or religion of the students. It may be noted here that the hostels opened by Shahuji Maharaj of Kolhapur were single-caste hostels only. <sup>40</sup>In this way, Bhaurao's experiment was a bold step ahead. Therefore, owing to its mixed clientele, it was also appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi during his visit to the boarding house. Nationalist discourse of anti-colonial freedom struggle might have its contradictions with regard to its actual support to unequivocal assertions of educational equality of all castes and classes, nonetheless, at least its Gandhian strand was appreciative of an integrated approach particularly when something substantial was demonstrated on ground by certain interlocutors with popular acceptance.

Of course, it was not an easy work for the interlocutors like Bhaurao. At one hand, Bhaurao's all-caste boarding house at Satara attracted adverse publicity with local people referring it as sabgolankari (a promiscuous gathering),<sup>41</sup> on the other hand, the boarders also faced discriminatory attitude from even those persons who otherwise supported the venture. It became sometimes additionally challenging to avoid discrimination owing to financial limitations as well. For instance, due to financial constraints, some of the boarders had to take food in the house of one Kolebai, a neighbour of Bhaurao. At her house, while the Maratha students were allowed to take food inside, the Muslims had to dine at the door while the lower caste boys had to eat food outside the house. Even in Bhaurao's house, the boys were not allowed by Laxmibai to enter the kitchen in the initial days. The boys of the all-caste boarding house of Satara also faced discrimination when they would go to take bath at the public tank. The caretaker of the tank used to stop them from using it assuming that all the boys were of lower caste. Bhaurao tried to resolve the matter through the municipality but it did not work. Therefore, he asked the boys to go ahead and use the tank but not to indulge in any violence. In an act similar to civil-disobedience, the boys continued using the tank even though the caretaker snatched their vessels repeatedly. Ultimately, the caretaker had to relent and allow them to use the tank.<sup>42</sup>

Another example of the infrastructural limitations exposing the students of the all-caste boarding house to the discriminatory behavior of outside society was that initially students used to reside in Bhaurao's home itself. However, as their numbers increased, some of the students were forced to rent rooms in the neighborhood. Finally, a two-storey building was rented in 1927 to accommodate the boarders. The building belonged to a relative of the Maharaja of Satara. Later in the same year, he also rented the Dhanini Garden, which belonged to the Maharaja himself, on lease of Rs 575 per annum that the boarding house could have its own common kitchen and tank.<sup>43</sup>

With increasing number of students, the expenditure of maintaining the all-caste boarding house at Satara also rose considerably. <sup>44</sup>Running the boarding house proved to be a costly affair for Bhaurao, whose all personal savings, including the savings and jewellery of his wife, were used in running the institution. Bhaurao used to collect donations from the public.<sup>45</sup> However, he did not issue any appeals for public donations during that period. He borrowed money from his friends and well-wishers.<sup>46</sup> However, this could not have worked for long without regular public support as the Sanstha was constantly expanding its activities.

Therefore, with a view to solicit support for the Sanstha, Bhaurao met Mahatma Gandhi in Pune after his epic fast which had culminated in the Poona Pact with Dr Ambedkar. Gandhi agreed to arrange for a grant by Harijan Sewak Sangh, Delhi. Thus, a sum of Rs 500 was granted annually by the Harijan Sewak Sangh to the Sanstha from 1933-34 to 1936-37.<sup>47</sup>

Besides this, through the efforts of a sympathetic collector of Satara, Hamid Ali, Bhaurao got an opportunity to meet the Governor of Bombay Lord Brabourne. On Brabourne's recommendation, the Bombay government started providing annual grants to the Sanstha from 1933-34 onwards (Rs 500) which kept on increasing thereafter. The Sanstha also started receiving a special additional grant of Rs 1200 from 1937-38 for admission of delinquent students in its institutions. <sup>48</sup> The Satara Collector was also instrumental in granting a piece of land to the Sanstha at char bhinti hills in 1936 where its headquarters now stand.<sup>49</sup>

Thereafter, the Sanstha regularly received grants except for a brief period during 1948-49 in the aftermath of assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Anti-Brahman violence erupted in the region after the news spread that a B rahman murdered the Mahatma. The then Brahman-upper caste dominated Congress leadership of the state, including B G Kher and Morarji Desai, tried to implicate Bhaurao in the violence. <sup>50</sup> Contrary to the possibilities opened up with Bhaurao's alliance with Mahatma Gandhi, this episode could be taken as a revelatory example of the deep antagonism of the upper caste local elite towards the efforts of Bhaurao to spread education among the lower castes and other backward sections of society. At the same time, even this contradiction cannot be jacketed into any sort of rigid theory, as we witness throughout this essay that Bhaurao also received support not merely from the targeted backward sections of the population, but also from well-to do people for different interventions he made. Whatever it may be, the government grants to the Sanstha were resumed in January 1949.

Apart from different grants that Bhaurao could arrange from different bodies for his institutions, one quite important channel of Sanstha's resources was Bhaurao's personal capacity to enlist popular local support for the establishment of schools in remote villages. We have already seen this in many instances above. This is once again illustrated by the story of opening the school at Patan Taluq in which people of the surrounding villages volunteered labour and also donated other necessary goods for construction of the school building.<sup>51</sup> In many villages, where enough resources for construction of school building were not available, Bhaurao encouraged the villagers to use temples as school.<sup>52</sup> However, besides treating all donations and support extracted from people by Bhaurao for his educational activities as testimonies of

certain characteristic features of his own personality alone, these should be also viewed as manifestations of popular sentiments for amelioration through education.

### **Expansion of the Rayat Shikshan Sanstha**

The Sanstha expanded its educational activities steadily. It opened another cosmopolitan hostel in Pune in 1932. The Sanstha was registered in 1935 under the Registration of Societies Act, 1860 and Satara Collector was appointed as its first President.<sup>53</sup>The aims and objects of the Sanstha, as recorded in its constitution at the time of registration are as follows:

To impart generally to the rising generation of India, and in particular to the residents of Maharashtra, a liberal and efficient pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher education embodying social, cultural, scientific, technical, agricultural, commercial, industrial and physical training;

To train suitable teachers for the above purposes;

To train village workers for the work of village up-lift and rural industries;

To open free libraries and reading rooms, hostels, residential and ordinary schools and colleges and such other institutions as may be conducive to the attainments of the Aims and Objects of the Sanstha, as circumstances permit;

To do all lawful things and acts as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of any of the aforesaid aims and objects.

In the same year, the Shahuji boarding house at Satara was recognised by the provincial government as a backward class hostel. <sup>54</sup>and from 1937 it also started receiving delinquent boys as boarders for which it received special grant from the government. Starting from four students in 1924, the number of boarders in Shahuji boarding house increased to 438 in 1944-45. Caste-wise, the Marathas and lower castes like Mahar, Mang and Chambhar constituted the largest number of boarders. Muslim students too were admitted in significant numbers. <sup>55</sup>The number of hostels run by the Sanstha also increased from 13 hostels in 1949-50 to 47 in 1959-60 and to 70 in 1969-70.<sup>56</sup>

The popularly elected Congress ministry formed government in Bombay province in 1937 and the idea of compulsory primary education gained ground again. The Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 was

amended in 1938 and a scheme of voluntary schools was introduced to expand schools in school-less villages. 57Under this scheme, liberal grants were given to societies opening schools voluntarily in villages with no schools. Even before the government scheme was announced, Bhaurao had already made a scheme of voluntary schools for the Sanstha . According to his scheme, a teacher appointed by the Sanstha would go to a village without any school and start a school with help of local people. Education was to be provided free of tuition fee and the Sanstha was supposed to supply necessary stationery, books etc and also to pay the teacher. 58The first such school was opened in 1936 at Dabewadi village in Satara and another one at Amboli village in Nasik. Subsequently, in 1938 almost 60 such schools were opened in different parts of Satara district. By 1949-50 there were 578 voluntary schools run by the Sanstha . 59The Sanstha started its first secondary school in 1940 with aid of Rs 4000 from Maharaja of Baroda. 60Subsequently, the number of secondary schools increased to 22 in 1950-51 and to 194 by 1963-64.61

Apart from hostels, schools and colleges, the Sanstha also opened a cultural centre and a cooperative bank. 62This included the Rayat Sevak Co-operative Credit Society, Rayat Seva Co-operative Stores and Laxmibai Bhaurao Patil Educational Co-operative Fund, all these established in 1940.63

### **Establishment of Teacher Training Colleges**

The non-Brahman movement had realised the importance of teachers from lower and backward caste background in the latter half of 19 th century itself. Mahatma Phule had demanded in his memorandum to the Hunter Commission that 'teachers for primary schools should be trained, as far as possible, out of the cultivating classes'. 64In Phule's view, such teachers would not discriminate against the students from lower and backward castes, exercise a beneficial influence over the masses and will not feel ashamed to hold the handle of the plough or the carpenter's adze. 65In addition, in Phule's view, such teachers will also be conscious of the problems of their caste and will be committed to educate the lower and backward caste children.66Similar views were also in circulation in the official circles as seen in the reports of the Hunter Commission, Chandravarkar Committee (1922), Abott and Wood Committee (1937) and other central and provincial government authorities.67

As a Satyashodhak activist inspired by Phule, Bhaurao was aware of this critical legacy. In addition, he had also made contacts with a number of backward caste teachers, who were uniting under the banner of Satyashodhak Samaj in the 1920's. 68He was aware of the difficulties of lower and backward caste persons to get appointed as teachers in schools.

In 1921, Bhaurao was invited by K. B. Babar, a primary school teacher, to preside over a conference of backward class teachers held at Angapur taluka in Satara. At this conference, Bhaurao declared his intention to establish a teacher's training college. <sup>69</sup>This however materialised after fifteen years in June 1935, when the Sanstha established the Silver Jubilee Rural Training College for primary school teachers. It was named as 'Silver Jubilee' because the year 1935 was commemorated as the silver jubilee year of King George V. This was the first indigenous private initiative in this direction in the Bombay Presidency. <sup>70</sup>On 15 th August 1947, it was renamed as Mahatma Phule Training College. Although the college was primarily for teachers from non-Brahman background, as was usual with Sanstha's other institutions, teachers from upper castes were also admitted.<sup>71</sup>

This college was called a rural training institute because training in farming and related practices formed an integrated component of the course. A major reason for focussing on rural aspect was to train teachers in agricultural and related activities in addition to techniques of education so that they could educate the children of agricultural families to become competent and efficient agriculturists.<sup>72</sup>The first principal of the institute, K. S. Dixit, a retired Deputy Education Inspector, noted that the college started with seven students on its roll with the aim that 'the teachers should know not only the techniques of education but also be conversant with creative activities of the village like agriculture' so that they could act as proper guiding agents in the village.<sup>73</sup>

Subsequently, Bhaurao established a women teacher training college named Jijamata Adhyapika Vidyalaya at Satara in 1942 for the training of women teachers working in the five voluntary schools run by the Sanstha for girls. <sup>74</sup>Thereafter, five more training colleges were established by the Sanstha, namely, Latthe Adhyapak Vidyalaya (1950), Chhatrapati Shahu Adhyapan Vidyalaya (1952), Pandurang Desai Adhyapak Vidyalaya (1954), Maharaja Madhavrao Shinde Adhyapak Vidyalaya (1955) and Vitthalrao Deshmukh Adhyapak Vidyalaya (1962, three years after death of Bhaurao). B. T. College (for B.Ed training) was also started by the Sanstha in 1955.<sup>75</sup>

### **Some Clues for Assessing the Impact of Bhaurao's Education Movement**

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Bhaurao Patil's work is nearly unparalleled in comparison to not only the other non-brhamin movements but also the progressive movements of the 20 th century in India. The sheer number of schools and colleges established by Rayat Shikshan Sanstha in Bhaurao's

lifetime is an indication of its phenomenal achievement in opening education opportunities in rural areas of western Maharashtra especially among the backward castes including the Dalits .

Bhaurao's work is significant not only in a comparative sense with other non-Brahman movements, but also in context of the colonial efforts regarding education of the lower castes. This can be gauged by the number of students educated in Sanstha's schools. In 1940-41, it operated 199 schools with 6524 students. This increased to 395 schools with 13,287 students in 1945-46 and to 557 schools with 26,137 students in 1950-51. <sup>76</sup>This number can be compared to the total number of backward class students enrolled in the primary schools of Bombay Presidency, which was 2,31,322 in 1941-42; 2,34,713 in 1946-47; and 7,68,029 in 1951-52. <sup>77</sup>Another critical aspect of the movement is that the schools were primarily opened in rural areas having previously no school. Thus, Bhaurao was able to bring education to the sections that were the most deprived of it.

The data on caste composition of the students is not available. However, the data on caste composition of teachers for the year 1949-50 shows that out of total 823 teachers, 89 were from advanced castes, 646 from intermediate castes, 72 from backward castes and also 16 from Muslim community. <sup>78</sup>Caste composition of the students residing in the boarding houses is also available. As on 31 st March 1937, in Shahuji boarding house at Satara, there were a total of 164 boarders of various communities including 72 from the dalit castes.<sup>79</sup> In the boarding house at Poona there were a total of 20 residents including nine from dalit background. <sup>80</sup> In the Shahu Boarding House in 1942-43, there were 162 Marathas; 80 Mahars; 28 Mangs; 23 Chambhars; 9 Ramoshis; 10 Weavers; 10 Shepherds; 6 Kumbhars; 6 Sali; 1 Tailor; 4 Brahmans; 24 Muslims; 14 Jains; and 30 Others.<sup>81</sup>

Kakrambe's study on the impact of Bhaurao's educational work is based on questions and interviews of intellectuals and persons associated with the Rayat Shikshan Sanstha.<sup>82</sup> It shows that apart from expanding educational opportunities for the masses, especially for the lower and backward castes, Bhaurao's educational work also had an impact on the political milieu of western Maharashtra. Bhaurao took personal interest in encouraging his students to go for higher studies, government jobs, and even into politics. This definitely provided a ground for the lower castes to strengthen their position in Maharashtra. Kakrambe comments that although Bhaurao was providing education within the framework of colonial educational system, he also used it as a vehicle to spread his own educational ideals. M. S. Patole, an ex-student and boarder of the Sanstha , said in one of these interviews conducted by Kakrambe that the Sanstha contributed to social and political change by spreading education. He adds that it has contributed

to rise of political and social leaders from among the lower and backward castes.<sup>83</sup>Kakrambe notes that the mass education programme of the Sanstha effectively challenged the dominance of higher castes, especially the Brahmins in social and political life. <sup>84</sup>Some of the respondents in the study also linked the work of the Sanstha with the rise of Peasants and Workers Party ( A left party active in western Maharashtra) and to the penetration of 'leftist ideology' in the rural areas of western Maharashtra.<sup>85</sup>According to Kakrambe, the four principles of Bhaurao, viz. self-reliance, study, self-respect and manual labour contributed to the development of a democratic political culture in the region by cultivating active participation in nation-building and a sense of civic responsibility. <sup>86</sup>One of the respondents also notes that Bhaurao's mass education movement aimed at creating political consciousness in the illiterate masses about their rights and responsibilities as members of the society. <sup>87</sup>Out of the 107 respondents, nearly 89 per cent agree that Bhaurao's movement contributed towards securing social justice in public life.<sup>88</sup>

According to Kakrambe, the study also shows that Bhaurao's educational movement contributed towards political socialisation by helping the students in changing old beliefs and attitudes and adopting modern outlook and values. The students became conscious of the social-political life and read newspapers and listened to radio and they also took interest in local public affairs. Respondents of the study contend that the students and teachers of the Sanstha formed an important source of political recruitment for the Peasants and Workers Party as well as the Congress party. Bhai G D Lad, one of the respondents and a leader of the Peasants and Workers Party, too accepts that Bhaurao's education movement strengthened the forces of social equality in the rural areas of western Maharashtra. <sup>89</sup>Social mobility is an important aspect of social equality. Many of the respondents also claimed that the movement provided an opportunity to the lower and backward castes to get education and thus to raise their social and economic position. Thus, it contributed to social mobility and hence, to social equality on a large scale. More than 70 per cent of the 107 respondents claimed that they wished to abolish the caste system, while more than 80 per cent accepted that the experience of common boarding house made them forget caste differences.<sup>90</sup>

Of course, this study is quite limited to form basis of any conclusive statement about the impact of Bhaurao's education movement in the region, yet it gives a glimpse of the kind of expectations associated with the movement and its supposed outcomes. This is not a tiny achievement for the movement that it is associated with larger democratisation of the society.



Curiously, despite its phenomenal growth, the Sanstha did not expand beyond Maharashtra. According to G.N. Devy the Sanstha was seen from outside as well as from inside as a special preserve of the Maratha community.<sup>91</sup> This argument holds some ground because the number of Maratha students in the hostels run by the Sanstha remained substantially more than students from other communities.<sup>92</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Bhaurao was inspired by the anti-Brahmanical progressive movements of Maharashtra led by Jotirao Phule and Shahuji Maharaj and his efforts in establishment and expansion of Rayat Shikshan Sanstha is a testimony to his commitment to the cause of education of the masses especially the village peasantry and backward castes. <sup>93</sup> He sought to bring about social change by eradicating untouchability through his educational efforts. Therefore, the gates of the institutions founded by him were open for all castes and religions without distinction. but it was not a shallow colonial rhetoric of equality, where due caution was necessary to ensure tranquillity before the enforcement of the law and where in order to avoid any danger, separate schools were approved for each caste and class. <sup>94</sup> In fact, Bhaurao's institutions were not merely opened equally for all castes and classes, appropriate additional focus was also provided to ensure the participation of students from historically marginalized social backgrounds leading to a situation where they formed the majority within an integrated setting with others.

Therefore, here we find a remarkable difference between not only Bhaurao's educational efforts and the colonial state which often compromised the rights of untouchables, but also between Bhaurao and his ideals, Phule and Shahuji. The schools opened by Phule were meant especially for the lower castes and that too for girls in the initial period. <sup>95</sup> The committee formed by Phule to manage the schools was called 'Society for increasing education amongst Mahars, Mangs, and others'. <sup>96</sup> Similarly, the network of hostels established by Shahuji admitted students according to their caste or religion: separate hostels for separate castes and religious groups. <sup>97</sup> In contrast, Bhaurao's hostels, schools and colleges were open to all castes, because, 'to foster fraternal feelings among pupils belonging to different castes' was one of the objectives of the boarding house started by him.<sup>98</sup> . In other words, the purpose of Bhaurao's educational institutions was not merely to uplift the lower and backward castes, but also to break down the divisive barriers of caste in the larger society within an integrationist framework.

Another important difference between Phule and Bhaurao is their attitude towards the nationalists, especially in the Congress. Phule was extremely critical of the nationalists as he saw them as Brahmanical

revivalists who wanted to end the British raj to re-establish the Brahmanical Peshwa regime.<sup>99</sup>He therefore condemned the 1857 uprising as upper caste reaction. <sup>100</sup>The same attitude and suspicion was also exhibited by Phule towards various upper caste led social and public organisations including the Congress.<sup>101</sup>However, Bhaurao developed close connection with Mahatma Gandhi. Of course, significant sections of the upper caste Congress leadership, especially in Maharashtra were against Bhaurao. This was most blatantly visible in the aftermath of Gandhi's assassination when government aid to the Sanstha was completely stopped (as mentioned above in this essay) at the behest of top Maharashtra congress leadership including B G Kher, the then chief minister. Yet, it is crucial to underline that Bhaurao was able to develop alliances with certain sections of the nationalist camp and used it for his educational enterprise. The nationalist leaders also had interest in developing such alliances with the view to provide a broad base to their movement and for cultivating a wider legitimacy for their cause. This alliance provided Bhaurao with the necessary support, financial as well as socio-political, for sustaining the education movement he had initiated.

Philip Constable has suggested that the educational initiatives of the second generation of dalit leaders were far more sustainable than by others, be it Christian Missionaries, state or other reformers, <sup>102</sup>however, Bhaurao was neither a Missionary, nor a caste leader, and yet, he built institutions which survived. Further, if he faced opposition from upper caste Hindus, then, at the same time his supporters were also found everywhere.

Phule developed a comprehensive ideological critique to challenge Brahmanical dominance. Education was one part of that critique as it also included other aspects, such as the call for political mobilisation and the need to develop alternative religious and spiritual practices etc. While Bhaurao created such a vast network of educational institutions in western Maharashtra, he hardly attempted to expound systematically educational ideas or philosophical thoughts. Therefore, it is no wonder that he is referred as 'practical philosopher'<sup>103</sup>or 'commonsense philosopher'<sup>104</sup> by his biographers.

Bhaurao's focus was exclusively on education. Unlike Phule, Bhaurao did not develop a powerful intellectual critique of Brahmanism, its historical role in oppression of the lower castes, its ideological apparatus facilitating its hegemony, and its continued prominence during colonial period. On the contrary, sometimes, Bhaurao hailed memories of Brahmanical superiority in the bygone periods. For instance, in one of his speeches, he talked about the ancient times when Brahmans were intelligent and self-sacrificing and they studied Vedas and shared their knowledge with the common people.<sup>105</sup>It could be

viewed as a way of critiquing contemporary Brahmins. On the other hand, this might suggest that like Gandhi and Gijubhai, Bhaurao fought against caste system and particularly against untouchability, but somehow failed to develop a comprehensive critique of varna system, the actual holder of caste distinctions. However, this possible line of review requires additional research.

According to Elleanor Zelliott, in Bhaurao, the 'passion to improve rural life' was the major motivating factor rather than commitment to any non-Brahman creed even though he took inspiration from the democratic aspects of the movement. <sup>106</sup>However, the problem with this suggestion is that it does not adequately recognize the special role Bhaurao perceived of education in bringing about a social change.

One other argument could be that Bhaurao's vision was not as fundamentally transformative as that of Phule. There is no doubt about the potential effectiveness of Phule's ideas for ideological, political and pedagogic combat of Brahmanism. However, due to merely this absence in Bhaurao's work, it would not be fair to perceive minimally the concrete or manifest impact of his solid organizational intervention at the regional level and political alliances he was able to forge with the nationalists. Moreover, there is no solid reason to believe that Bhaurao's approach of preferential focus on backward caste/class children within pluralist schools possessed lesser potentials than more sharply defined identity framework of separate schooling.

Nonetheless, there was one key aspect of the difference of Bhaurao's educational institutions from the model proposed by Phule and Gandhi, which compromised its potentials for braking the hegemony of a particular kind of bookish knowledge as the core of education and thereby reproducing class and caste inequalities. Bhaurao founded educational institutions with what was called the agrarian bias. Students studying in Sanstha's institutions were expected to perform manual labour and thus contribute to their own education. However, some exceptions were provided. For instance, there was a kind of 'Earn and Learn Scheme',<sup>107</sup> wherein the student in a school or college performed manual labour and was paid for the job. The earning contributed a part of expenses of the student lessening his/her financial burden. In case of students who could not pay anything for their education, they had to work extra hour or for extra months during the summer vacations. Thus, the pedagogic aspects of this scheme were somewhat compromised by making manual labour optional—mandatory only for those students who could not pay their fees; and elective for those who possessed paying capacity. This was different from Phule, who considered physical labour as too critical an aspect to make it optional. Instead, Phule had suggested that practical knowledge of agriculture and other productive works should be made an integral part of school

education.<sup>108</sup> Later on, Gandhi also conceived of manual work as a mandatory aspect of his educational scheme called 'Nai Talim'. Moreover, Bhaurao thereby used a practice which afterwards saw large scale application in broader educational system of the country to get certain kind of manual labor performed in schools—for cleaning the school premises—by linking it with punishment to late comer students.<sup>109</sup>

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## *Input - Output Analysis of Energy Sector of India: A Supply Side Analysis*

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### **Abstract**

*Energy products are the mainstay of country's progress. Energy Products are the output of the energy sector which acts as a consuming sector as well as a supplying sector. It has relationships with other sectors of the economy. Again it has transactions within itself. The nature and the extent of relationships of the sectors undergo changes over time due to changes in the policies adopted by the government as well as changes in the technologies used by the different industries. The Input-Output (I-O) model describes the interdependence among the different producing industries of the economy. The model can be used both from the demand side and supply side. This paper tries to analyse the energy sector from the supply side and it is observed that the primary input plays the dominant role in bringing about changes in gross output of the energy sector of the economy. Higher the change in primary inputs, higher the value addition and higher the total change in the economy's gross output of the energy products.*

### **Key Words**

Energy products, value added, primary inputs, technology effect

### **Introduction**

An economic structure is characterized by production structure, income structure and consumption structure among others. Production structure reveals production relationships among producing sectors. Consumption structure describes consumption of commodities by different types of consumers. With the passage of time the economic structure changes with changes in its constituent structures. Over time different activities of an economy have been changing in respect of size, input use pattern and also in output distribution pattern. As far as the extent of sectoral activities is concerned, a sector has two types of relationships. It has relationships with other sectors. It has also transactions within itself. The nature and the extent of relationships of the sectors undergo changes over time due to changes in the policies adopted by the government as well as changes in the technologies used by the industries. The Input-Output (I-O) model describes the interdependence among the different producing industries of the economy. Thus it becomes a tool to measure the structural interdependence of an economy.

Energy products are the output of the energy sector which acts as a consuming sector as well as a supplying sector. Its output is used by different industries as input in their production (called inter industry demand) and by different final agents like individual consumers, government and export (called final demand). Outputs of different industries (both domestic and imported) and different final agents like labour (exogenous inputs called primary inputs) are supplied to it as inputs. The former corresponds to the input-use structure while the latter corresponds to the output-distribution structure. The input use approach is a demand-driven model whereas the output distribution approach is characterized as a supply driven model.<sup>1</sup> Also, in output distribution approach all the variables are measured in value terms. Both

the input structure and the output distribution structure are of analytical significance. Both are in fact complementary to each other.<sup>2</sup>

### A brief survey of literature

In the supply-driven model (output-distribution approach) output- distribution (supply) coefficients are parameters and primary inputs (value-added) and imports are exogenous: gross outputs of the sectors are related to primary inputs and imports.<sup>3</sup> Changes in supply of primary inputs and imports to sector j are transmitted to changes in outputs of all the sectors. This is the point on which the critiques like Dietzenbacher (1997) , Rose and Allison<sup>4</sup> (1989), Oosterhaven (1988, 1989) questioned the (im)plausibility of the supply-driven model.<sup>5</sup> Among the critiques Oosterhaven has consistently insisted on the implausibility of the supply-driven model<sup>6</sup> even though Dietzenbacher has attempted to vindicate the model by reinterpreting it from the price- side, instead of the quantity-side.<sup>7</sup> The debate still continues. At this point one can, however, at least insists on the fact that the supply-driven model will be a help in examining the structural characteristics of the economy from the supply-side.

### Objective

With development both input and output distribution structures of the economy change. Like other sectors the energy sector changes. Over time the energy structure changes causing changes in the all economic structure in general and in the structures of different industries in particular. With changes in time, contribution of primary inputs and contribution of technology change. So my objective is to isolate the effects of different sources responsible for changes in the energy supply with the help of technique of Structural Decomposition Analysis (SDA).<sup>8</sup>

### Methodology

The model starts with the output distribution approach and tries to decompose the total change in supply of energy product with Structural Decomposition Analysis (SDA). SDA is a technique to study sources of changes in the structure of the economy defined by means of a set of comparative static changes in key parameters of an input –output table. It is a technique through which a change in the energy consumption of an economy between any two years (year t and t+1) can be measured. It captures the mutual interrelationships among the various sectors of an economic system.<sup>9</sup>

The total expenditure balance equation for sector j can be written as

$$x_j = \sum_{i=1}^n X_{ij} + v_j, \quad j = 1, 2, \dots, n \quad \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

$v_j$  is the value added by industry j (i.e., cost on primary inputs)

and  $X_{ij}$  is the cost on the i th input( domestic plus imported) supplied by sector i and used by sector j.

The transaction matrix  $X=(X_{ij})$  contains the inter- industry supplies as inputs. Obviously, has two components: one part corresponds to domestic supply and another part to import which is competitive (inclusive of the depleted inventories).

The total supply vector of the economy is denoted by the column vector  $z = (z_j)$ ,

$$z_j = x_j + M_j^* \text{ with } M_j^* = |IV_j| + M_j \text{ for } IV_j < 0$$

$$= -IV_j + M_j \text{ for } IV_j > 0$$

Clearly, total supply is composed of domestic output, import and depleted inventory.

Assume that is a linear homogeneous function of  $z_i$ ,

$$X_j = \hat{a}_{ij} z_i; \quad i, j = 1, \dots, n \quad \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

$$\text{so that } \hat{a}_{ij} = X_{ij} / z_i \quad \dots \dots \dots (3)$$

$$\hat{a}_{ij} = 0, \quad \sum_i \hat{a}_{ij} \leq 1 \text{ for all } i \text{ and } j, \text{ with strict inequality at least for one } i$$

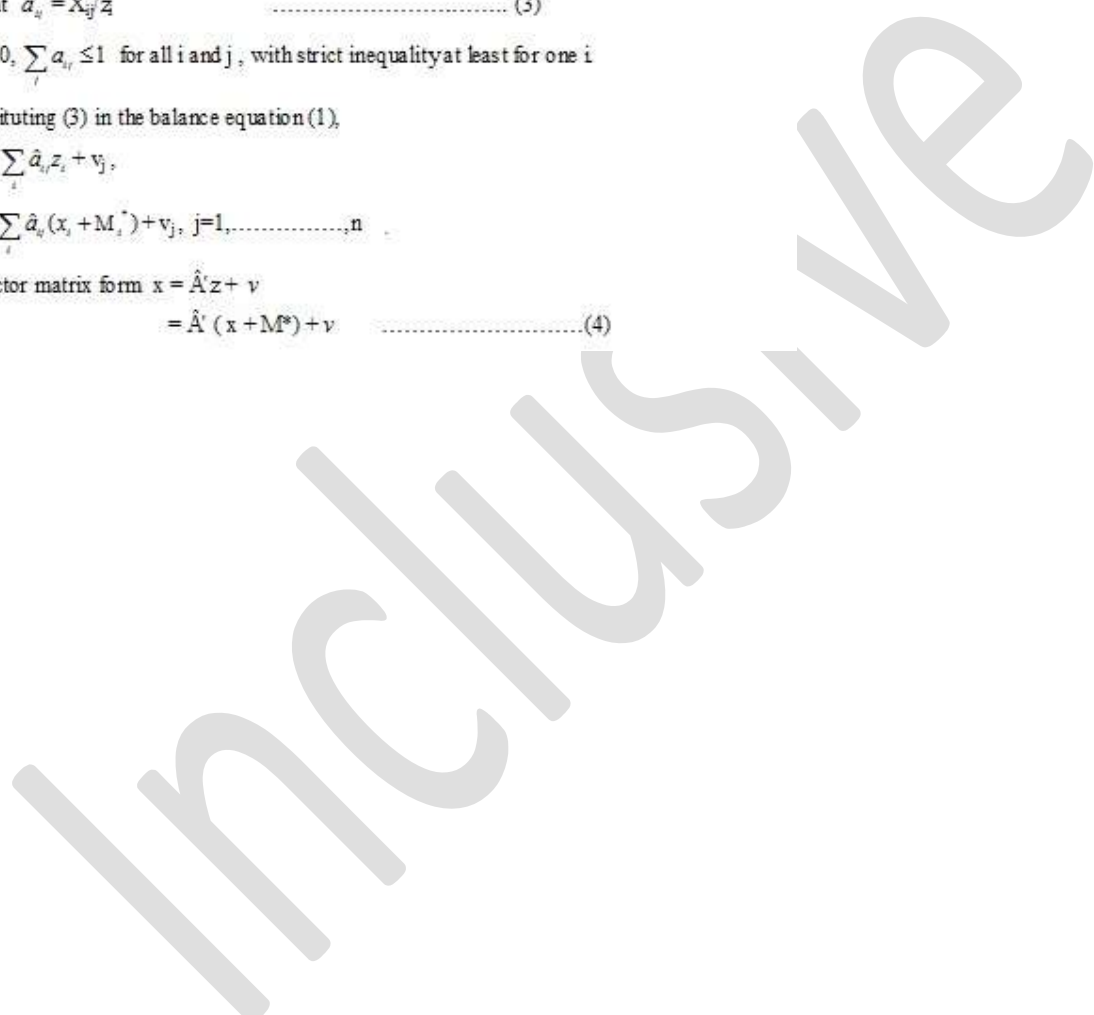
Substituting (3) in the balance equation (1),

$$x_j = \sum_i \hat{a}_{ij} z_i + v_j,$$

$$= \sum_i \hat{a}_{ij} (x_i + M_i^*) + v_j, \quad j = 1, \dots, n$$

In vector matrix form  $x = \hat{A}z + v$

$$= \hat{A} (x + M^*) + v \quad \dots \dots \dots (4)$$



where  $\hat{A}$  is  $n \times n$  output-distribution coefficient matrix,  $v$  is  $n$ -column vector of value added which is exogenous to the system and  $x$  is  $n$ -column vector of gross output  $z$  is defined previously.

The solution of (4) is

$$\begin{aligned} x &= (I - \hat{A}')^{-1} (\hat{A}' M^* + v) \\ &= (I - \hat{A}')^{-1} (\bar{M} + v) \text{ where } \hat{A}' M^* = \bar{M} \\ &= (\hat{B}')^{-1} \bar{M} + (\hat{B}')^{-1} v, \quad \hat{B}' = (I - \hat{A}') \end{aligned} \quad \dots\dots\dots (5)$$

The distribution coefficient matrix  $\hat{A} = (\hat{a}_{ij})$  is based on the domestic outputs as well as on the imports and changes in inventories.  $\hat{B}^{-1}$  reflects the effects of changes in value added ( $v$ ) and augmented imports ( $\bar{M}$ ) on gross outputs of the sectors.

$$\hat{B}^{-1} \text{ exists since } \sum_j \hat{a}_{ij} = 1 \text{ for each } i, \text{ with strict inequality at least for one } i$$

$v$  and  $\bar{M}$  constitute the set of supply variables in the system. The principal component of value-added ( $v$ ) is obviously the labour input which is supplied from outside. Also imports (competitive) are supplied from outside (foreign sources).

Clearly, the total output of the system depends on imports, value added and the distribution structure of the economy.

For two time points  $t$  and  $t+1$ , we get

$$x_t = \hat{B}_t^{-1} \bar{M}_t + \hat{B}_t^{-1} v_t$$

and  $x_{t+1} = \hat{B}_{t+1}^{-1} \bar{M}_{t+1} + \hat{B}_{t+1}^{-1} v_{t+1}$ .



The change in  $x$  during  $t$  to  $t+1$  is

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta x_t &= (x_{t+1} - x_t) \\ &= \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} + \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} v_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_t \\ &= \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t + \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t - \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} v_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} v_t + \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} v_t - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_t \\ &= \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \Delta \tilde{M}_t + \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t + \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \Delta v_t + \Delta \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_t \\ &= \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} (\Delta \tilde{M}_t + \Delta v_t) + \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} (\tilde{M}_t + v_t) \dots\dots\dots(6). \end{aligned}$$

In a similar way, we get

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta x_t &= \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_t + \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} v_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_{t+1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_{t+1} - \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_t \\ &= \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} \tilde{M}_{t+1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \Delta \tilde{M}_t + \Delta \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} v_{t+1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} \Delta v_t \\ &= \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} (\tilde{M}_{t+1} + v_{t+1}) + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1} (\Delta \tilde{M}_t + \Delta v_t) \dots\dots\dots(7). \end{aligned}$$

Equation (6) differs from equation (7) in the mode of weighting the component changes. The equations are not free from biases. So the operational problem arises in the choice of equation.

Taking the average of equations (6) and (7) as before we get

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta x_t &= \frac{1}{2} \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} (\tilde{M}_{t+1} + v_{t+1} + \tilde{M}_t + v_t) + \frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1}) \Delta \tilde{M}_t + \frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1}) \Delta v_t \\ &\dots\dots\dots(8). \end{aligned}$$

Equation (8) has three parts.

The first part  $\frac{1}{2} \Delta \hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} (\tilde{M}_{t+1} + v_{t+1} + \tilde{M}_t + v_t)$  describes the effect of technology change on the output. So this can be termed as the **technology effect**.

The second part  $\frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1}) \Delta \tilde{M}_t$  reveals the effect of import change on output. So this can be termed as the **import effect**.

The third part  $\frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}'_{t+1}{}^{-1} + \hat{B}'_t{}^{-1}) \Delta v_t$  brings about the effect of change in value added. It is termed as the **value-added effect**.

$$\frac{1}{2} \Delta \hat{B}_i^{-1} (\tilde{M}_{i,t+1} + v_{i,t+1} + \tilde{M}_i + v_i) = \text{t-effect},$$

$$\frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}_{i,t+1}^{-1} + \hat{B}_i^{-1}) \Delta \tilde{M}_i = \text{im-effect}$$

and  $\frac{1}{2} (\hat{B}_{i,t+1}^{-1} + \hat{B}_i^{-1}) \Delta v_i = \text{v-effect}$ .

Several cases can be considered as before depending upon the sign and the magnitude of these effects. For example,

Case1. t-effect > 0, im-effect > 0, v-effect > 0

so that total effect > 0.

Case2. t-effect > 0, v-effect > 0 but | im-effect | < 0,

and also | im-effect | > t-effect + v-effect

so that total effect < 0.

Similarly, other cases can be interpreted.

## Data Source and Sector Classification

The original I-O tables do not have the same number of industries in all the periods. India's I-O table has 60 sectors in 1983-84, 115 sectors in 1993-94, whereas it has 130 sectors in 2006-2007. So the comparison necessitates the aggregation of the sectors into a common number of industries.

Here the sectors are (1) agriculture, (2) industry, (3) transport, (4) commercial, (5) construction and 4 energy sectors namely (6) coal, (7) petroleum products (oil), (8) electricity and water supply, (9) gas and natural gas.

## Observations

Tables 1.1 to 1.3 present the estimates of percentage share of changes in supply of gross output of energy products brought about by three separate effects in the Indian economy – value added effect, import effect and technology effect.<sup>10</sup>

**India --- 1983-1993:** During 1983-1993 the value added effect is positive for all the sectors and its contribution is more than that of the other effects, i.e. the contribution of primary inputs are more than the others. The import effect though weak but is positive for all the sectors and it is very strong for petroleum sector (sector 7). The technology effect is negative for sectors 1 (agriculture), 2 (industry), 4 (commercial), 5 (construction), 7, 9 (gas and natural gas) and positive for other sectors.

The contribution of primary inputs is highest for energy sector 9 (gas and natural gas) followed by non-energy sector 1 (agriculture). For other energy sectors the value added effect contributes more than 80 per cent. Import effect is near about 50 per cent for sector 7. For all other sectors it is less than 12 per cent. The contribution of the technology effect is negative for two energy sectors 7 and 9 and four non energy sectors 1, 2, 4 and 5. So it is exhibited that the contribution of primary input (value added) is more in determining the supply of any sector's output than those of import and technology (Table 1.1).

**1993-2006:** Compared to the previous period during this period for all the sectors (both energy and non energy) the contribution of import has risen but the contribution of the value added effect has decreased. It is surprising that for sector 6, the contribution of value added effect increases to more than 100 per cent (113.45), whereas for sector 7 it decreases to 37.1 per cent (from 86.4 during 1983-93). So for the energy sector, coal, primary inputs become more important and for the energy sector petroleum products, import become more important. For the other two energy sectors the value added effect contributes more than 85 per cent. The technology effect is negative for sector 8 (Table 1.2).

**1983-2006:** The percentage contribution of value added is very high in all the sectors throughout the entire period, though the contribution of import becomes crucial for the petroleum sector (sector 7). For agriculture sector primary input contributes more than 100 per cent, whereas for sectors 6, 9 and 4 the share is near about 100 per cent. The technology effect is negative for sectors 1, 4, 6, 7 and 9. Import effect is highest for sector 7, followed by sector 2 and sector 3. Primary inputs (value added) assume the place of prime input (Table 1.3).

The modern economy emphasize the on the catalytic role that technological changes play in the growth of an economy. However in this study it is observed that the value added effect is higher compared to the other two effects for all the sectors including energy sectors in both the economies. Therefore, it can be argued that the change in gross output in the economy occur mainly due to change in the use of primary inputs in the economies. So in the distribution approach, it is observed that it is the primary inputs which play the dominant role in bringing about changes in gross output of the economy. Higher the change in the primary inputs, higher the value addition and higher the total change in the economy's output.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The change in gross output from the supply side in the country occurs mainly due to change in the use of primary inputs (value-added) and change in (augmented) imports. Changes in value added, import and inter-industry input supply cause variations in gross output. Given the production technology, value-added and import determine the output level. Whenever value-added and import change, gross output changes. It is observed that it is the primary input which plays the dominant role in bringing about changes in gross output of the energy sector of the economy. Higher the change in primary inputs, higher the value addition and higher the total change in the economy's gross output of the energy products.

**Table 1.1. Decomposition of Changes in Gross Output into Value Added Effect, Import Effect and Technology Effect in I-O Framework, India: 1983-1993. (per cent)**

sectors	Value added effect	Import effect	Technology effect	Total effect
1.Agriculture	103.07	3.22	-6.29	100
2.Industry	88.77	11.91	-0.68	100
3.Transport	80.67	9.19	10.14	100
4.Commercial	99.09	3.07	-2.15	100
5.Construction	92.57	10.79	-3.36	100
6.Coal	86.49	6.01	7.50	100
7.Petroleum Products	84.18	51.36	-35.54	100
8.Electricity and water supply	80.75	9.28	9.96	100
9.Gas and natural gas	115.90	4.04	-19.94	100

Source: CSO, Govt of India., Estimates: Author's.

**Table 1.2. Decomposition of Changes in Gross Output into Value Added Effect, Import Effect and Technology Effect in I-O Framework, India: 1993-2006 (per cent)**

sectors	Value added effect	Import effect	Technology effect	Total effect
1.Agriculture	98.07	7.97	-6.04	100
2.Industry	73.53	20.76	5.71	100
3.Transport	79.51	22.86	-2.36	100
4.Commercial	97.70	4.03	-1.74	100
5.Construction	70.64	15.85	13.51	100
6.Coal	113.45	13.25	-26.70	100
7.Petroleum Products	37.12	54.81	8.07	100
8.Electricity and water supply	86.20	21.63	-7.83	100
9.Gas and natural gas	87.39	7.29	5.31	100

**Table 1.3. Decomposition of Changes in Gross Output into Value Added Effect, Import Effect and Technology Effect in I-O Framework, India: 1983-2006(overall period)**

(per cent)

sectors	Value added effect	Import effect	Technology effect	Total effect
1.Agriculture	102.56	7.25	-9.81	100
2.Industry	76.27	19.73	4.00	100
3.Transport	74.71	18.96	6.33	100
4.Commercial	98.59	4.08	-2.68	100
5.Construction	74.74	15.66	9.61	100
6.Coal	98.11	9.16	-7.27	100
7.Petroleum Products	43.85	56.90	-0.75	100
8.Electricity and water supply	75.49	17.67	6.84	100
9.Gas and natural gas	97.54	8.40	-5.94	100



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# Perspectives

## *FDI in Pharmaceutical Industry: Who's profit who's loss?*

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### **Introduction:**

Recently there was a great uproar across the length and breadth of the whole country for raising the cap of Foreign Direct Investment in Multi Brand Retail sector from 26 per cent to 51 per cent. The cabinet passed the proposal in September 2012 and it was voted in affirmatively in both houses of parliament in November 2012 and thus made into a Law.

There was major political fallout and impact of this decision.. But an equally serious decision regarding Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) that failed to draw the attention of the concerned people is the introduction of 100 per cent FDI in Pharmaceutical or Medicine sector which was passed way back in 2002. A decade is passed since its introduction and thus it is the time of stock taking to assess the impacts on the Indian market

So, let us discuss this issue in the following paragraphs and try to assess the possible forthcoming impacts on the retail sector.

### **The pharmaceutical Industry: an Overview**

The total global pharmaceutical market is worth US\$ 847, among which India's position is fourth, just next to USA, China and Brazil. India Controls total 16 per cent of the global market. Our position in generic drug (International Non proprietary Medicine) production is second, next only to Peoples' Republic of China Only.

Let us look into the position of Indian Drug market:

### **Table I**

Glimpses of Indian Drug Market

- o Total Turnover : 1, 04,944.35 Crores.
- o Total Domestic Turnover : 57,393.09 Crores.
- o Total Export : 47,551.26 Crores.
- o Rate of Growth : 12 per cent
- o Projected Turnover by 2020 : 2, 75,000 Crores.

There are about 200 big players in the pharmaceutical markets, many of which are multinational and transnational companies. Almost 8000 are small and medium enterprises which are called SMEs. Public Sector units are only five, which have been grossly downsized in last one decade as per government policies. The number of bulk drugs needed for the Indian market is 465. Almost 90 of per cent these (425) are manufactured in India and only 40 are imported. Out of the bulk drugs produced, 185 such medicines are exported to different Asian and African Countries. This is in nutshell the Position of India Pharmaceuticals.

But the per capita Consumption of medicines remains one of the lowest in this country. As per India's

W.H.W, 64.9 per cent of Indian population does not have access to essential medicines. The per capita consumption of medicine in this country is only US\$ 4 per year whereas that of Japan is US\$ 412, Germany US\$ 222 and USA, US\$191 per year. Even in many other third world countries the per capita annual consumption of medicine is much higher than our country.

In this backdrop, with a limited targeted Indian population, Indian pharmaceutical industry is one of the most vibrant industries which cater for the 95 per cent of the domestic need with substantial export.

### **Types of medicines**

Medicines marketed in this country and elsewhere can be broadly classified into two groups.

1. Branded medicines-Which may again be patented and non patented.
2. Generic medicines or International non proprietary medicines.

Branded medicines are these medicines which are sold in the names given by the companies. Whenever a Pharma Company discovers a new molecule and establishes its efficacy as a drug, it claims the intellectual propriety of patent on the molecule. If it is proved to be the original research product of the concerned company and needed for the benefit of people, the patent claim is accepted and no other concern can produce the molecule for a certain period of time.

After the expiry of the period of patent, any company can manufacture the drug and sale it in a different brand name or a Generic Name i.e. the original pharmaceutical name of the medicine (e.g.: Paracetamol, Metronidazole, Ampicillin etc.)

Naturally the price of the generic medicines is much lower than the branded medicines due to competition.

The total global market of generics medicine is US\$ 73 billion at present and it is expected to reach US\$ 100 billion in next 2-3 years. The Indian Companies occupy 25 per cent of the global generic market (only next to PRC) and it is also increasing in leaps and bounds. India exports antihypertensive, anti diabetic, anti cancerous and anti retroviral (HIV/AIDS) drugs, as well as many gynecological and neurological generic drugs in bulk quantity to many countries of Asia and Africa.

There is another term called 'Branded Generics'. To rip the profit of the growing generic market, many Multinational and Transnational companies have entered this sector to produce generic medicines with the name of the particular company mentioned in the bracket. These are called branded generics and costs much higher than the ordinary generic drugs. The issue of 'Branded Generics' are very important in understanding the entry of FDI in pharmaceutical sector.

### **Causes of success of Indian 'Pharmaceutical' Industry**

The National Pharmaceutical policy 1978 gave emphasis on the following issues:

1. Universal accessibility of essential medicines.
2. Price Control of essential and life saving drugs so that they can reach common men.
3. Quality control of pharmaceutical products.
4. Self reliance in production of medicines in the line of Hathi Committee (1975).
5. Establishment of pharma PSUs.

The patent law of 1970 helped the native pharma sector to grow. Patent was awarded for 5 years on the process of production and not the product itself. As a result, the Indian companies could produce the patented costly medicines at a much lower price through some other process. So, new drugs were available in Indian market only a few years after its intervention abroad. The cheap drugs were exported to other developing countries also.

The other causes of prosperity of the Indian companies can be attributed to:

1. Capping of Foreign Direct investment (FDI) in the pharmaceutical Companies to 40 per cent such companies with low FDI enjoyed special status by the government and also got tax benefits.
  2. Government safeguards for small and medium size nits (SME) in the National Pharmaceutical policies of 1978 and 1986.
  3. Reservation of production right of 66 essential medicines by Indian Companies and PSUs only.
- In a nutshell, all these nationalist measures gave an impetus to the production of quality but cheap medicines by the local companies and made them competition with the multinationals.

### **The Great Leap Backward**

The impact of neo liberalism and open market economy brought a paradigms shift in the National pharmaceutical Policy of 1994. Instead of the policy of supplying cheap and quality medicines for all, the focus was shifted more and more toward business.

The new national pharmaceutical policy of 1994 incorporated the following changes:

1. Abolition of likening.
2. Abolition of reserved list of medicines for SMEs and PUSs.
3. Abolition of all restriction for entry of foreign technology.
4. 31 per cent FDI was allowed
5. Gradual withdrawal of price control of essential drugs.

The National pharmaceutical policy, 2000 went few steps further towards decontrolling and allowing more concessions for MNCs.

The upper limit of FDI was further raised to 74 per cent in the year 2000 and in 2002, 100 per cent FDI has been approved in the pharmaceutical sector. Along with these, all safeguards and tax exemptions for SMEs and PSUs were withdrawn.

The export duty on raw materials for manufacturing of all export oriented products was also abolished.

The new patent law of 2005, delivered an almost death blow on the Indian pharmaceutical sector. Though a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this article, the salient points can be mentioned to bring home the fall outs of the new patent law.

The important changes in the new law are:

1. Patent on the final product is place of the process patent.
2. Period of patenting - Increased to 20 years from 5 yrs.
3. Abolition of Compulsory Licensing.

All these new rules promoted the cause of the MNCs undermining our native enterprises.

### **Crisis of Multinational Pharmaceutical Companies.**

In the recent years the multinational Companies are facing a severe crisis which is going to deepen in near future. Most of the multinational companies draw their maximum profit from a handful of blockbuster molecules, which are patented.

But most of these patents will expire within a span of a couple of years and virtually there is no new drug in the pipeline which can fetch huge profit for them. 69 per cent of the new drugs, approved in the period of 1992 to 2002, have not been considered as significantly better than the existing molecules by FDA, USA. Most of the new molecules introduced in US market after 1980, had short duration of exclusivity and lower revenue earning.

So, these MNCs are trying to evade this crisis by two pronged crisis management approach. Firstly, they are trying to increase the period of patent by hook or by crook. By making minor modifications, they claim to extend the period of patent by adding one or two new clinical indications for the old drug. This is called 'Ever greening' of the drug. It may be mentioned here that such effort of ever greening of an anti cancerous drug called Gleevec by Swiss multinational Novartis, has been rejected by the Supreme Court of India. The Honorable Court, in its verdict, clearly stated that the Beta Crystalline form of Gleevec, whose patent was claimed, is not at all a new medicine.

The other path adapted by the MNCs / TNCs to maintain their profit margin is to switch to the market of Generic Drugs from the patent centric drugs. As already told, the market of Generic drugs are increasing day by day and there is even wilder profit margins for branded generics. India has been selected as the Sourcing Hub of such generic drugs for the following reasons:

- a) Already existing huge business & infrastructure
- b) Cheap labor
- c) Huge number of English knowing Scientists, technocrats, R & D people etc.
- d) Purchasable Indian Companies (through FDI route) with fairly good infrastructure
- e) Last but not the least, A flexible government, more sympathetic to the cause of the MNCs than that of the people. Here lies the great similarity between the retail sector and pharma sector. The WAL-MART, TESCO, CARIFO etc. wants to use India as a sourcing hub of goods at a very cheap rate for a worldwide business. Similarly, companies like ROCHE, PFIZER or Bristol-Myer-Squibb want to utilize our country as a sourcing hub of cheap generic medicines for would wide export.

The allowance of 100 per cent FDI perfectly suits to their interest. How? Let us explain in the following paragraphs.

### **Routes Taken by MNCs/ TNCs**

- a) Taking the automated route granted by 100 per cent FDI, Companies like Roche, MSD, Boehinger etc have started there business in India as totally foreign owned Companies.
- b) Shifting production, manufacturing and clinical Trial units in India to exploit cheap labor and lax laws. These are called upgraded contract manufacturing units. 161 such units have received US, FDA approval and 90 units are approved by UK, MHRA.
- c) Acquisition of Indian Companies.
- d) Increasing equity participation in Indian Companies or Joint Ventures

### **Table II**

#### **Acquisition of Indian Companies.**

##### ***Indian Companies - MNCS***

Matrix Lab - Mylan Inc.  
Dabur Pharma - Fresenius Kabi  
Ranbaxy - Daiichi Sankyo  
Santha Biotech & Universal Medicare - Sanofi-Aventis  
Orchid Chemicals - Hospira  
Piramal Health care - Abbott  
Paras Pharma - Reckill Benckiser  
Cosme Pharma - Adcock Ingram  
Wockhardt (India) - Danone

### **Table III**

### **Increasing share in Indian companies**

#### ***SN - Company - Previous Share (%) - New Share (%)***

1. Pfizer - 40 - 70.75
2. Novartis - 50.93 - 76.42
3. Abott - 61.7 - 68.94
4. Sanoti-Aventis - 50.1 - 60.4
5. Astra-Zeneca - 51.5 - 90.0

### **Fall Outs:**

1. MNCs investment in plants and machineries remained stagnant 90% of the investment of US\$ 2 billion (Rs.13, 426 Crores) between April to July 2011 went for the acquisition of Indian Companies.
2. Increased market share of MNCs-Threat of reversal to pre 1970 scenario, when 90 per cent of the market and 80 per cent of ownership were in the hands of foreign multinationals.
3. Sky rocketing of the price of medicines
4. Diminished accessibility and affordability of medicines-not only or the domestic market, but also for the underdeveloped countries of the third world, depending on cheap Indian drugs.
5. Huge Job cut due to closure of many SMEs, even with “good Manufacturing practice certificates.
6. Impact on supply chain: Due to 100 per cent FDI big players are likely to enter in the chain marketing.

### **Conclusion:**

In a nutshell, the self reliance and prosperity gained by the Indian Pharmaceutical Sector in last 5-6 decades is gradually vanishing in the blue to pave the path of the MNCs and TNCs through the disastrous route of allowance of 100 per cent FDI, new patent law and abolition of all safeguards of SMEs. It is likely to snowball into a major crisis for the livelihood of common citizens of India in the days to come.

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