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3.4.4 Number of books and chapters in edited volumes / books published per teacher during the last five years

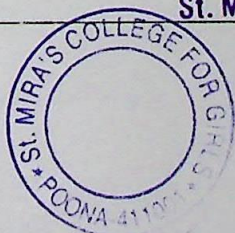2019-2020 - 05

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ST. MIRA'S COLLEGE FOR GIRLS, PUNE

(AUTONOMOUS- AFFILIATED
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SAVITRIBAI PHULE PUNE UNIVERSITY)

2019-2020
FACULTY RESEARCH
PUBLICATIONS
IN
CHAPTER IN BOOK/BOOKS

ST. MIRA'S COLLEGE FOR GIRLS PUNE
FACULTY RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS (2019)
CHAPTER IN BOOK

Sr. No.	Year	Department	Name of Faculty	Title of Paper/Chapter	Name of Book/Conference Proceedings	ISSN	Publisher
1	2019	Business Economics	Arwah Madan	"Livelihood Opportunities for Street Vendors in Changing Times: A Case of Economic Adaptation of Paanwallas" pp. 121-136	'Learning Cities, Town Planning and Creation of Livelihoods' Ed. Prof. Idowu Biao, University of Botswana, Botswana, 2019	978-15-2258-134-5	IGI Global, Hershey, Pennsylvania
2	2019	English	Suhaile Azavedo	"No Tiger in the Tale: Effacing Otherness in Yann Martel's Life of Pi." Pp. 241-51	Representing the Exotic and the Familiar: Politics and perception in literature, 2019	978-90-2720-418-9	John Benjamins Publishing Company
3	2019	Economics	Manisha Pimpalkhare	A Study of Women Domestic Workers in Pune City, pp 175-197	Women in Informal Workforce: Patterns of Exclusion and Inclusion	978-93-7831-440-7	Manak Publication
4	2019	Sociology	Manjila Kulkarni	Martinue yanche yogdan	The Contributions and Achievements of Women in various fields at the National and international Level	978-93-87628-75-5	Snehavardhan Prakashan, Pune
5	2019	Marathi	Sangeeta Deshmukh	Deshvideshatil tarun pidhi ani mulyashikshan …	Mulya Shikshanachi avashyakata nai Swami Vivekanandanche vichar	978-93-87628-40-3	Snehavardhan Prakashan, Pune

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Learning Cities, Town Planning, and the Creation of Livelihoods

Idowu Biao
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A volume in the Advances in
Electronic Government, Digital
Divide, and Regional Development
(AEGDDRD) Book Series

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DISSEMINATOR OF KNOWLEDGE

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Section 1
Urban Planning and Its Effects on the Creation of Livelihoods

This chapter traces the evolution of town planning, which developed in response to specific challenges of industrialization. However, the chapter is written from a Sub-Saharan standpoint, with emphasis on the planning situation in the context of the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Although the arrival of European colonialists along the African coastline dates from 16th century, the colonial roots of modernist planning in Sub-Saharan Africa is traceable only to the 19th century. Post-independence, it has been recognized that the colonial planning systems are inadequate for effectively confronting the emergent development challenges such as rapid urbanization, informal settlements proliferation, as well as post-conflict and post-disaster situations. This chapter therefore highlights the efforts that have been made to reform urban planning processes in Sub-Saharan Africa, emphasizing the post-colonial discourse on urban and regional planning theories and practices that are responsive to prevailing circumstances within this sub-continent.
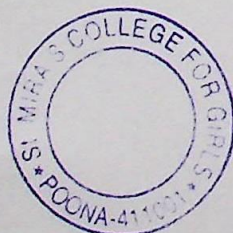
This chapter reflects on the relationship existing between the state and the informal sector in Botswana. Despite embracing global calls for inclusive human settlements, the relationship between the state and the informal sector in Botswana equivocates between hostility and tacit recognition. This ambiguity is explained in terms of two overlapping stances, namely, the elitist and exclusionist natures of the country's settlement planning legislation. Botswana's settlement planning legislation plays a significant role in the creation of the informal sector, yet the existence of this same sector would not be openly embraced. Relying on the concept of human rights and justice implied in calls such as "just cities," "right to the city," and "sustainable livelihoods," this chapter makes a case for coproduction of interventions with a view to establishing inclusive and sustainable human settlements that recognize the unavoidable nature of the informal sector.

Chapter 3

     Idowu Biao, University of Botswana, Botswana

This chapter posits that the transformation of ancient African cities into modern cities using the modernist theory of planning did more harm than good. Not only has the modern city created many more urban poor than obtained in ancient cities, but the urban poor also remain the most vulnerable as their livelihoods have often come under threat from not only unfriendly city council regulations but also from the rigid safeguards of the modernist theory of town planning. Consequently, in order to promote the building of human-centered African cities which would serve all those that live in them, it is here suggested that the mystical, humanistic, and spatial values of ancient African cities should be further researched, so as to embed them into the transformation of existing and subsequent African cities.

Section 2
Learning Cities and the Creation of Livelihoods

Chapter 4

     Peggy Gabo Ntseane, University of Botswana, Botswana
     Idowu Biao, University of Botswana, Botswana

This chapter opens up with the suggestion that the "leaning cities" concept may well apply to ancient cities since learning has characterized life in all cities of the world since time immemorial. However, it is acknowledged that the "learning cities" construct was specifically originated during the 20th century for the purpose of

assisting city dwellers cope with the challenges of modern city life. Dwelling on the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa. the chapter reveals that learning cities projects are not currently popular in the sub-continent. This lack of interest has been attributed to the fact that Africans were never and are still not taken along during the process of transformation of both ancient and modern spaces into cities. Consequently, it is here recommended that a transformative learning process that uses both indigenous knowledges and endogenous city clusters as learning pads should be adopted for the revitalization of the implementation of learning cities projects in Sub-Saharan Africa.

This chapter submits that the informal sector in developing countries is neglected in many respects. First, little effort is made to understand the going-on within the sector, and second, its contribution to the national economy is yet to be accounted for. After discussing the characteristics of the informal sector and after venturing a definition of "learning cities," the chapter identifies four issues to which four recommendations were proffered. Two of the issues include the feminization of the informal economy sector and the possible development of best learning cities practice formats for the purpose of improving the practice of the informal economy within developing countries.

This chapter makes the point that the cities we live in have become complex as a result of galloping population growth as well as economic and technological advancements. Coping with phenomena such as these demands a considerable amount of human capital development which frees up human beings' potentials and capabilities and serves in sustaining living at all levels. Therefore, if urban dwellers must be empowered to take advantage of both the opportunities and challenges offered by the cities, limitless access to learning throughout life must be provided. Whereas the specific learning frame appropriate for assisting city dwellers has been identified as "learning cities," it is the view of this chapter that the establishment of sustainable learning cities begins with the allocation as well as management of city spaces for learning. This role falls on the shoulders of city and regional planners who are here called upon to play their honorable part in the provision of learning.

Section 3
Learning Opportunities Relating to Street Vending

The focus of this chapter is on the ingenious transformation of the Indian betel leaf vendor (paanwala)'s business. The "paanwala" who used to concentrate on the sale of betel leaf (paan) only has begun to engage in a diversified street vending. In fact, the sale of the "paan" itself has now been relegated to the background in favor of more modern and sophisticated items. This chapter reports on a study conducted among 174 betel leaf sellers in Pune. The findings of the study revealed that 80% of the sellers were aged between 18 and 45years. They have diversified the items in their boxes to include tobacco products and other modern confectioneries. Although the "paanwalas" stated that they were making fairly good livelihood out of their work, they continue to face such difficulties as harassment from local authorities and denial of right of ownership of property. It is recommended that a partnership between the "paanwalas" and the companies would assist in promoting innovation among the paanwalas.

This chapter assessed the learning needs of street vendors in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The findings revealed that vendors in the streets of Accra were made up predominantly of young people aged between the ages of 16 and 40 years. Seventy-five percent (75%) of these street vendors had gone through basic education and about 55% of them showed interest in furthering their learning. A majority of those who wished to further their education and indicated that they wished to be assisted in acquiring technical education which they figured out would enable them to generate regular revenues with which they can support themselves and their families. It was recommended that adult educators should assist street vendors in locating opportunities for the learning they have indicated and to support them in achieving their dream for the sake of national development.

Chapter 9

Comfort Chiegenashi Zuofa, Niger Delta University, Nigeria
Christian Olori, University of Nigeria – Nsukka, Nigeria

This chapter investigated the learning needs and learning opportunities of street vendors for sustainable livelihood in Nigeria. Two research questions and one null hypothesis were developed to guide the study. The study adopted a correlational survey research design. The population for the study was 6,401 street vendors. The sample size was 335. Instrument for data collection was a questionnaire titled "Learning Needs and Opportunities for Sustainable Livelihood of Street Vendors" (LNOSLSV). It was face validated by three validates. An overall reliability coefficient value of .85 was obtained using Cronbach Alpha Statistical Tool. Data collected were analyzed using the mean to answer the research questions, while the multiple regression was used to test the null hypothesis at .05 level of significance. Findings among others revealed a variety of learning needs. It was recommended that ICT facilities be strategically positioned to display the procedures for the acquisition of various skills by street vendors.

Chapter 10

Isaac Kofi Biney, University of Ghana, Ghana

This chapter explores media promotion of lifelong learning among street vendors in Ghana. It looks at conceptual frameworks underpinning street vending and the relevance of media in empowering street vendors. It also examines challenges involved in street vending and strategies in integrating street vending into the formal sector of the economy of Ghana. The contributions of media in empowering street vendors and learning as a process of lifelong learning fashion are also discussed. Issues emerging from street vending and recommendations are discussed. The chapter concludes that the Government of Ghana should develop all-inclusive business policy to accelerate formalization of informal enterprises. Street vendors should also build strong front, and leadership, to foster effective collaboration and partnership with media houses to aid in deepening lifelong learning drive in Ghana.

Section 4
Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Teaching-Learning Activities in Cities

Chapter 11

Dama Mosweunyane, University of Botswana, Botswana

This chapter discusses the role non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play within Botswana. It states that NGOs are useful instruments for learning generally, but particularly they serve as vehicles for lifelong learning. The chapter highlights the fact that NGOs have established the earliest schools in Botswana. However, when it was found that schools alone were not enough to take on the challenges of a Botswana that was growing more complex by the day, NGOs began to complement school learning with specialized training in centers for vocational and professional development. The Government of Botswana came to support NGOs through the development of an NGO policy whose aim is to forge a closer government-NGO cooperation in the promotion of lifelong learning in the country.

Chapter 12

John Kwame Boateng, University of Ghana, Ghana

This chapter reports on a study carried out by the Department of University of Ghana Learning Centers regarding the factors influencing migrant women's access to healthcare, lifelong learning, and the kind of link existing between this access and livelihood creation in six informal settlement areas of Accra city. The findings showed positive correlation between women's level of education and both physical and psychological access to healthcare. It was equally found that access to a regular source of income built a high level of self-determination in women of the informal settlements. Armed with this high level of self-determination, women were able to access healthcare and lifelong learning without needing the permission of husbands or members of family. Policies aimed at strengthening training attendants in pre- and post-natal emergency life-saving care are recommended for the informal settlement areas.
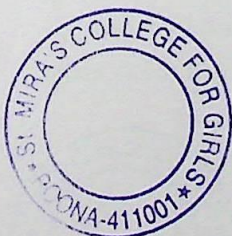
Foreword

I am delighted to have been asked to write a foreword to *Learning Cities, Town Planning, and the Creation of Livelihoods*, edited by my long-term friend and colleague, Professor Idowu Biao. Its focus on the intersection between place, and in particular the planning of urban spaces, learning and well-being, is an important topic for policymakers, planners and educationalists. For those of us who work in the field of lifelong learning, but who have themselves over the years increasingly focussed our interests on role of place-based factors in assuring equitable access to services and to opportunity, this contribution is very welcome. Professor Biao and his contributors to the book are making an input into a global discussion, most notably that which has been promulgated by the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning's Global Network of Learning Cities, and by the PASCAL Observatory's Learning City Network over the past decade. Idowu and a number of his colleagues have played important roles in the discussions of PASCAL.

It is almost a mantra nowadays to say that a focus on cities is vital, because over half of the world's population now live in urban settings, and because cities create and consume by far the largest share of GDP. Similarly cities are recognized as the main drivers of national and regional economies. Ensuring the resilience of cities in the face of economic and social challenges and the pressures of globalization is a necessity for national governments and city and regional leaders as they strive to ensure not only competitive advantage, but the prosperity, social inclusion, and health and well-being of their communities.

In work that I am currently involved in within the Centre for Sustainable, Healthy, Learning Cities and Neighbourhoods (SHLC) at the University of Glasgow (part of the UK government's Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) with colleagues in both Africa and Asia, we have identified a broad range of challenges for cities. These include rapid urbanization, migration from rural areas, environmental issues, growing social inequality, and loss of community and identity, as well as demands for efficient and effective governance and smart delivery of public services arising from reducing public budgets.

Typically, strategies for city development emphasize a number of challenges, most often focussed on: infra-structure development, including connectivity and international links; access to finance and investment; encouraging growth of hi-tech industries, productivity, knowledge and innovation; sustainability and smart technologies; and promotion of a vibrant culture emphasising a strong sense of place. More often than not, however, the role of an underpinning learning infrastructure, tends to be ignored when considering what contributes to sustainable development in most city-level initiatives. We have written recently, for example, about their absence in smart city developments (Borkowska and Osborne 2018), and a similar absence of learning perspectives are found in almost any city initiative whatever the adjectival prefix (and there are many to be found in front of the word 'city'). Yet education and lifelong learning are key elements in the Sustainable Development Goals, and although pinpointed in SDG 4, arguably are the foundation for all 17 goals.

A number of the contributors in the book point out that models from the north, whether they be linked to urban planning or to the development of learning cities, may be inadequate for purpose. They also point out that there have existed sophisticated urban developments that have pre-dated the arrival of colonialists and that the modernist planning imposed in the colonial era may have had detrimental effects for the poor. An important direction that is being signalled is a consideration of the modern-day relevance of features of ancient African cities, most importantly communalism and humanism. In his previous work, Biao (2013) has argued that the learning city concept will only succeed in Africa if historical, cultural and epistemological realities are respected. Perhaps this idea could be extended in saying that regard for history and culture, as well as the particularity of local knowledge systems in tandem with what we can learn from elsewhere adapted to the local, is a way forward for urban development. This means exchanges that are south-north, south-south as well as north-south. I hope that this book will engender so many of those exchanges and I am pleased to recommend it to readers.

Michael Osborne
University of Glasgow, UK

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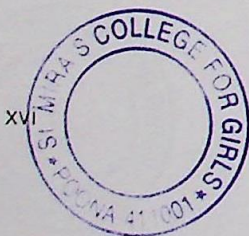
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Preface

While practical processes at planning cities have existed since ancient times (Smith, 2005; Morris, 1972), it is to the beginning of the twentieth century that one must look for the birth of both the theory and profession of town planning (Erickson, 2012). As both a physical living space and emotional environment, cities impact human beings in a number of ways. These ways include but are not limited to the kinds of relationship that may exist among the varying categories of inhabitants of the city, the organisation of, and accessibility to leaning resources and facilities, the types and rates of migration impacting the city, the security level of the city and the livelihood networks existing within the city.

Since the end of World War II, there has arisen an approach to town planning that has now come to engender and fuel vigorous debates around the types of learning and livelihood that may sustain city life. As it was to be expected, an extensive portion of the world laid waste as a result of the aftermath of World War II in the mid-1900s. World governments had grown weary of a war which dragged on beyond general expectation. But the same governments had begun to regain confidence and momentum to begin a rebuilding process that was to be kick started around 1945. Professionals (architects, public health professionals, and social workers) who had been known to town planning theorizing and activities were mobilized in numerous parts of the world with a view to designing and building better post-World War II cities. One popular approach to town planning that emerged out of this post-World War II mobilization and reflection was the modernist approach to town planning.

The modernist approach to town planning emphasizes *Land-use zoning systems* and *Development control mechanisms* (Joseph, 2011). Land-use zoning systems are systems of town planning which allocate specific portions of a city to specific activities or uses (residential, commercial, recreational, etc.). Development control mechanisms are made up of local, national, regional or/and international regulations and laws purposefully designed to enforce the partitions enunciated within land-use zoning systems of cities. Towards the end of the twentieth century, postmodernist

theorists have migrated environmental and other social and contextual discourses into the theories of town planning (Fanglanc, 2016). Of all the discourses of the postmodernists, the environmental discourse currently stands out as the main addition to the modernist theorists' contributions to the theories of town planning. Unfortunately, even this addition of postmodernists does not divest the modernist theory of town planning of its main weakness. Consequently, taken together, the *Land-use zoning systems* and the *Development control mechanisms* including the postmodernist approach to town planning allocate all sites of the city exclusively to formal activities (Fanglanc, 2016; Joseph, 2011).

Yet, all activities that go on daily in all cities of the world are not wholly formal. A large number of them are informal in nature, structure and mode of delivery. For example, most adult and lifelong learning programmes and projects which are so vital for continuing access to information, skills and knowledge and emotional welfare of city dwellers do not happen formally but non-formally and informally. Also, the creation of a many livelihoods is "not located within formal structures but under open sky and/or within structures that are anything but formal. In spite of these facts, majority of cities in the twenty first century still cling to the modernist town planning concept.

Learning Cities, Town Planning, and the Creation of Livelihoods at one level, aims to explore the links currently existing between town planning processes and the provision of both lifelong learning and livelihoods. At another level, the book seeks to begin a debate regarding the appropriateness of current cities vis-à-vis the types of learning required for living in them during the twenty first century. This book equally highlights the nature of livelihoods that city dwellers would be sourcing in the twenty first century. In concrete terms, *Learning Cities, Town Planning and the Creation of Livelihoods* explores the effects which urban planning currently has on the creation of livelihoods especially in Sub- Saharan African cities and the state of the art of the construct known as *learning cities* in connection with sustainable living within African cities.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Learning Cities, Town Planning, and the Creation of Livelihoods is divided into four sections. The first section is titled "Urban Planning and Its Effects on the Creation of livelihoods," the second is "Learning Cities and the Creation of Livelihoods," the third is "Learning Opportunities Relating to Street Vending," and the fourth is "Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Teaching-Learning Activities in Cities."
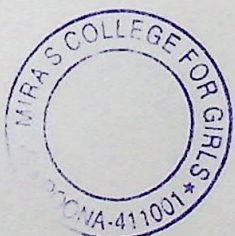
Section 1 is made up of the first three chapters of the book. In Chapter 1, Mutakela Minyoi traces the evolution of the practice and theory of the phenomenon that came to be known as *town planning*. He advances that the advent of the town planning profession was instigated by the effects of the first Industrial Revolution but particularly by the effects of World War II. Whereas Minyoi acknowledges that Europeans had impacted the coastal region of Africa with their presence as far back as the 16th century, he nevertheless submits that it was only in the 19th century that the former, first introduced the European town planning model and theory into Africa. This period happens to coincide with the African colonial era. Beyond colonialism, Minyoi recounts that numerous efforts have been made to correct the effects produced by the European town planning model on African cities as that model did not provide for the accommodation and management of post-colonial challenges such as rapid urbanization, proliferation of informal settlements and post-conflict and post-disaster situations which all impact livelihoods creation in small or mighty ways.

In Chapter 2, Chadzimula Molebatsi and Seabo Morobolo reflect on the relationship existing between the state and the informal sector of the economy within the specific context of Gaborone, the Capital City of the Republic of Botswana. They posit that the ambivalent posture of the state suggests both a hostile and tolerant disposition toward the informal sector. This ambiguity, they explain with the fact that Botswana's settlement planning legislation remains both 'elitist' and 'exclusionist'. Molebatsi and Morobolo consequently conclude that, in the name of human rights and justice, the Government of Botswana should begin to promote the establishment or/and transformation of cities that would recognize the unavoidable nature of the informal sector.

In Chapter 3, Idowu Biao discourses the effect of urban planning on the creation of livelihoods in African cities. He posits that the transformation of ancient African cities into modern cities through the instrumentality of the modernist theory of town planning, did more harm than good. This is because, not only have many more urban poor been created through establishing modern cities, the livelihoods of these poor people have constantly been brought under threat as a result of the stringent regulations pushed out by city councils in Africa. Biao submits that the gap in rates of happiness that has come to exist between situations in ancient African cities and modern African cities is accounted for, by the present-day rejection of the mystical, humanistic and spatial values that once characterized life within ancient African cities. He therefore ends by admonishing that these values that so well served ancient town planners should be returned to, when future towns are to be built or transformed.

Section 2 is devoted to the discussion of the manners in which the concept of learning cities may be placed at the service of the creation of urban livelihoods. This section equally counts three chapters. In Chapter 4, Peggy Ntseane and Idowu Biao trace the philosophical and historical evolution of the concept known as *learning cities* in addition to examining the implementation of the learning cities concept within the Sub-Saharan African space. They state that, since its inception in the early 1990s, the concept has undergone varying philosophical and historical mutations. For example, about six meanings, three justifications and four historical rebirths have been known to the concept. As to the level of the implementation of the concept in Sub-Saharan Africa, the findings show a low level of implementation. Ntseane and Biao conjecture that the reason for the low level of implementation of the concept may not be unconnected to the weakness inherent in the modernist approach to town planning underpinning the establishment of all modern African cities. Consequently, they proffer that the promotion of learning cities projects in the sub-continent should henceforth be revitalized through the packaging of a transformative learning process that is driven by both indigenous knowledge systems and endogenous city clusters as learning pads.

In Chapter 5, Ntseane links the fortunes of the informal sector of the economy to those of learning cities. She starts by bemoaning the lack of support of this sector in developing countries before declaring that the sector's judicious contributions to these nations' economies are yet to be acknowledged. She then goes on to discuss the characteristics of the informal sector and the nature of learning cities before highlighting the ways in which the learning cities concept may be used to drive informal economy in developing societies.

In Chapter 6, Omobola Adelore and Solomon Ojedeji speak of widening learning opportunities to city dwellers in the twenty first century. They argue that living, having become pretty complex in cities of the twenty first century as a result of a combination of such factors as population growth, economic and technological development, city dwellers need support to be able to navigate the new complex city environments. In the view of Adelore and Ojedeji, a sound foundation for learning should begin with the earmarking, allocation and adequate management of spaces by city authorities for the construction of learning networks.

Section 3 speaks to learning opportunities relating specifically to street vending. Within this context, Arwah Madan discusses in Chapter 7, the extent to which the Indian betel leaf vendor (paanwala) has learnt to adapt to new economic environments in Indian cities. Specifically, Madan states that in addition to his betel leaf, the 'paanwala' has recently learnt to accommodate the sale of other modern items with a view to coping with the complexity of Indian cities. Madan explains that

the 'paanwala' has had to go through a number of learning curves in recent times, including the process of unionizing his trade, dealing with authorities on issues of space encroachment and holding discussions about legislation aimed at protecting his trade. This whole process of learning in the view of Madan, has assisted the 'paanwala' to develop a new innovative business model which can be further developed if the formal sector of the economy would partner with the 'paanwala'.

In Chapter 8, Louis Kutame and Olivia Kwapong discuss the potentials of adult education in advancing learning among street vendors in Ghana. While the results of their survey reveal that street vendors in Ghana are made up of majority women actors and of persons aged 21-30 years, more than half of the vendors did indicate that they would wish to acquire more formal type of education. The belief among these vendors is that the more formal type of education a person obtains, the better occupation he would land and the more money he would access. Whereas the reasoning of these vendors may not always fall within reality (since not all who obtain high certificate [e.g. Diploma, Bachelor, do land high paying jobs]), Kutame and Kwapong recommend that adult education structures should facilitate the actualization of the dream of these vendors by opening their doors to the latter.

In Chapter 9, Comfort Zuofa and Christian Olori report the findings from an assessment of the learning needs of street vendors in Nigeria. The findings reveal that street vendors need information and knowledge in the areas of book keeping and Information and Communications Technologies. Flowing from these findings, Zuofa and Olori recommend that in addition to these pieces of knowledge, street vendors should be taught how they may improve on their hygiene so as to both attract customers and improve their own health situation and that of their families.

In Chapter 10, Isaac Biney suggests that the media should be used to promote lifelong learning among street vendors in Ghana. After submitting that the media 'move our emotions', 'challenge our intellects', define us, and 'shape our realities', Biney names the types of media that would maximally impact learning among street vendors in Ghana. These media include, the radio, the television and the internet.

Section 4 discourses the role of non-government organizations (NGOs) in learning within cities. In Chapter 11 which falls within this section, Dama Mosweunyane submits that NGOs are highly instrumental in the development of both rural and urban areas, despite their economic, political and social challenges. He indicates that the work of NGOs aims to facilitate a kind of lifelong learning which is pertinent to the provision of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are germane and necessary to foster development in both urban and rural milieus. One main challenge identified by Dama, has to do with the impecuniousness of NGOs, which leads them to compromise their main objectives and distance themselves from their disempowered beneficiaries.

In Chapter 12, John Boateng discusses the complex phenomenon comprising the education, social capital, physical and psychological access to health care among female migrants in non-formal settlements in Accra, Capital City of Ghana. Apart from highlighting information concerning the manner government institutions assist in this process, he brings forth the role of non-government organisations within this important aspect of Accra city life. Boateng particularly highlights the role played by the University of Ghana Learning Centers which, acting as an NGO, assist numerous communities in acquiring skills, information and attitudes that are indispensable in living in the 21ˢᵗ century.

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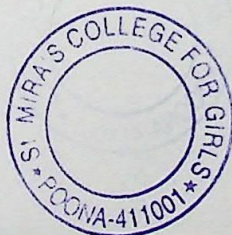
Chapter 7
Street Vending:
A Case of Economic Adaptation of the "Paanwalas" in Indian Cities

Arwah Madan
St. Mira's College for Girls, India

ABSTRACT

The focus of this chapter is on the ingenious transformation of the Indian betel leaf vendor (paanwala)'s business. The "paanwala" who used to concentrate on the sale of betel leaf (paan) only has begun to engage in a diversified street vending. In fact, the sale of the "paan" itself has now been relegated to the background in favor of more modern and sophisticated items. This chapter reports on a study conducted among 174 betel leaf sellers in Pune. The findings of the study revealed that 80% of the sellers were aged between 18 and 45years. They have diversified the items in their boxes to include tobacco products and other modern confectioneries. Although the "paanwalas" stated that they were making fairly good livelihood out of their work, they continue to face such difficulties as harassment from local authorities and denial of right of ownership of property. It is recommended that a partnership between the "paanwalas" and the companies would assist in promoting innovation among the paanwalas.

INTRODUCTION

The urban informal sector is more visible. In most cities of the world, the urban poor survive by working in the informal sector. Poverty and unemployment in the villages and smaller towns drive a large populace to cities in search of work and livelihood. Poor skills and low level of education deny them the opportunity for better-paid jobs in the organized sector. This has led to rapid growth of the urban informal sector. The informal sector is seen to support the migrant population, often coming to cities in search of employment or livelihood opportunities.

Work in the informal sector is the only means of survival for the urban poor around the world. Self-employed enterprises are mostly put together with little financial capital and technology along with indigenous resources and family involvement. Street vending is one example one such venture that attempts to supply livelihood for survival. Street vending is known for ease of entry and it equally requires only limited capital. For these reasons, new migrants to cities seek after it in large numbers for immediate sustenance. Out of the existing many street vending activities in Indian cities, there is the betel leaves vending. The vendor of these leaves is traditionally known as the 'paanwala' (pa:nwallah). This vendor who has been known to holding on to the sale of betel leaves for decades, is currently diversifying his business under the pressure of city life.

This chapter examines the manner in which the 'paanwala' has evolved and innovated his business in recent times.

BACKGROUND

Traditionally, India is a consumer of the betel leaf or the 'paan'. However, betel leaves chewing is not particular to only India but also to many Eastern countries. Betel leaf chewing is a part of the culture of such countries as Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, the Pacific Islands, the Marquesas, China, Indo-China, Siam, East Africa, Arabia and Persia to name but a few. The consumption of 'paan' can be seen as a matter of habit, a convention, a part of hospitality or just an after-meal accompaniment 'breath-sweetening technique'. In birth and death, in joy and sorrow, in respect and contempt, in friendship and enmity and in challenge as well as in honor, the indispensable nature of betel leaf is ever highlighted in all actions taken in the countries mentioned earlier.
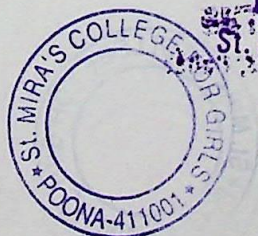
Street Vending

Beyond the consumption of betel leaf for its carminative effects (the chewing after meals for its digestive and breath sweetening effects), the betel leaf offers medicinal advantages too. With the introduction of Tobacco by the Portuguese in the 16th century and its widespread use in India and China in the 17th Century, the betel leaf consumption with lime and tobacco became popular. In the former era, the betel leaf was consumed wholly while in the latter, the betel leaf is held in the mouth for the effect of tobacco and was neither swallowed nor consumed. The consumption of the betel leaf graduated to habitual chewing for narcotics effects with the use of tobacco. Betel leaf ultimately moved from the traditional 'paandaan', a small decorated box carried along with accompaniments kept in separated compartments to street corners with the paanwala, who offered a variety of paan as per the likings and taste of the consumer. The chewing of the betel leaf drifted away from its pure and harmless practice to one that of addiction with the use of tobacco.

One does not find much literature discussing the emergence of the paanwala as a revenue generating venture. It can only be said that the consumption of the betel leaf is a matter of cultural practice that ultimately spread to nooks and corners of villages, towns and cities as a matter of habitual practice. With the passage of time, the consumption of betel leaf along with tobacco has shifted to other processed forms of tobacco. While the traditional betel leaf is being sidelined and may soon vanish from the scene or get to be a rare commodity due to little demand for the same or for the shift to other forms of tobacco use, the 'paanwala' is no longer one who sells only 'paan'. One needs to take note of how the life and times of the 'paanwala' have changed in the last one or two decades, especially with the opening up of the economy and the wide variety of substitutes available in competition to the 'paan'. Betel leaf vending has now emerged as a much sought-after livelihood option with the changing times. The retail industry boom in India probably has provided the paanwala the opportunity for a lucrative entrepreneurial enterprise and may be referred to as a 'mini supermarket' found at convenient locations. Quite interestingly, the paanwala has kept pace with the changing times and shown great deal of transformation and diversification in his business.

One does find a lot of tit-bits and necessities at small convenient shops, besides the paan. Though the 'paanwala' does have on offer cigarettes or tobacco in other forms, there is an array of products that are now available with the 'paanwala'. These products range from snacks and confectionary, biscuits to soft drinks, stationary to mobile-recharge vouchers, and so on. The selling of the paan is gradually getting to be 'secondary' probably due to the declining demand for it and the changing choices and preferences of city dwellers. The changing nature of this business and the smart adaptation of the 'paanwala' to the changing economic environment makes all call for analysis and introspection.

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The following is the summary of what the literature says about the informal sector, street vending and the betel leaf vendor.
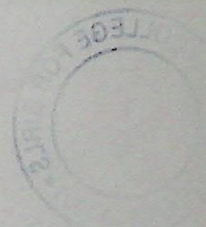
Informal Sector and Street Vendors

The revenue generating activity of the betel leaf vendor takes place within the frame of the informal sector. Hence, the necessity to begin this review with a discussion of the informal sector. According to the ILO Report (2018), in India, the share of informal employment in total employment stands at 80.9 percent, the share of own-account workers stands at 70.3 percent while the informal employment in the services sector stands at 26.4 per cent. The data for India in the ILO report is for the year 2012 Employment and Unemployment Surveys.

The informal sector worker has been defined at various national and international forums. The unorganized sector or the informal workforce comprises those workers who have not been able to organize themselves in pursuit of their common interest due to certain constraints like casual nature of employment, the small and scattered size of establishment as well as ignorance and illiteracy.

The informal sector is said to work on casual basis as daily wage earners or work for self and hence is not covered by any social security measures. Besides the wage issue, these workers do not receive any compensation. They do not benefit from social security or medical leave, since such benefits are often not feasible due to the temporary nature of work. The Seventeenth Labor Conference on Labor Statisticians held in 2003 elaborated on the statistical definition of Informal Employment in order to acknowledge the relevance of the informal economy and informal employment.

In the Indian context, the term 'Unorganized Workers' is defined under the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008 as "home based workers, self-employed workers or a wage workers in the organized sector and include a worker in the organized sector and is not covered by any of the Acts mentioned in Schedule-II, i.e. (i) The Workmen Compensation Act, 1923, (ii) The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (iii) The Employees State Insurance Act,1948, (iv) The Employees Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952.

The term "informal sector" gained importance after ILO evolved a conceptual framework and guidelines for the collection of statistics on informal sector; no single definition of informal/unorganized sector in India has emerged. Informal sector is a matter of discussion among academics, policy makers and other groups interested in the subject. The focus of this review of Literature include,

1. Street vending in India and
2. Status of the 'paanwalas' as street vendors.

Dendukuri (2014) explores the growth and organization of the informal sector with special reference to the business of street hawking. The informal sector and its presence are universal and noticed all around the world. The main chores within the informal sector are organized around casual and self-employed activities. Casual employment is temporary in nature and often daily wage or salary based. It is observed that the self-employed sector is more prominent across developing countries and there is a greater share of informal employment than wage employment. Further, majority of street vendors are known to remain in the business of street vending for a very long time, despite all the insecurities that it portends.

According to the Street Vendors (Protection Of Livelihood And Regulation Of Street Vending) Act, 2014, a "Street Vendor" is a person engaged in vending of articles, goods, wares, food items or merchandise of everyday use or offering services to the general public, in a street, lane, side walk, footpath, pavement, public park or any other public place or private area, from a temporary built up structure or by moving from place to place and includes hawker, peddler, squatter and all other synonymous terms that may be local or region specific. The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act 2014 is a culmination of a decade long activism by civil society organizations and a more than fifty year old legal battle (beginning in the late 1950s) for the rights of street vendors in India. One of the oldest traditional economic activities in India is the selling of betel leaf. The betel leaf vendor (paanwala) is one who works for self, runs his small informal enterprise and positions himself on street corners or on footpaths. Consequently, the 'paanwala' is a street vendor and a part of the informal sector. Street Hawking is an aspect of street vending which is often taken up by migrants from rural areas. Anjaria (2006) submits that hawkers are said to be responsible for part of the problems facing cities in India. However, relying on the experiences of hawkers in Mumbai, he recounts that hawkers are on the receiving end as they have to fear a predatory State, rather than a regulatory State; a state that constantly demands bribes and threatens demolitions instead of providing licenses or other formal procedures that would provide security to hawkers.

Studies on the Paanwala

In one of the early studies in India, Ramachandran (1989) made an attempt to understand the social, economic and entrepreneurial background of paanwalas. This study that focused on two Indian cities (Ahmedabad and Anand), equally sought to reveal information about the status of the 'paan-shop' business and the competition

within the 'paan' business. The findings revealed that, though the business sounds very simple, the paan-shops were great grounds for practical business training. It was also observed that the business is showing great amount of diversification, though it is not significant enough to make a difference to the lives of people involved in the business. Additionally, competition within the business circle was found to be low and it was found that 'paanwalas' jostled to locate themselves in the busiest of location with all the risk of being relocated by authorities with a view to freeing up occupied public spaces.

While discussing livelihoods in the informal sector, Abodh Kumar et al. (2012) examined the earnings and savings of the paanwala, covering over 100 paanwalas across six areas in the city of Mumbai. It was observed that the earnings and savings of the paanwalas were determined by access to a fixed deposits for a long enough period of time to lead to accumulation of capital. In other words, older shops would earn more due to capital accumulation. The result equally revealed that, with less harassment from the police and local authorities, the 'paanwala' has potentials to accumulate fairly impressive capital and assets.

Bandyopadhyay (2012) aptly points out that it is crucial to view globalization as two parallel forces: *globalization from above and globalization from below. While the corporate economy is said to live in harmonious relation with other forms of capital, the informal economy is caught in the web of power (p.34)*. Street vendors, hawkers, garbage pickers, paanwalas are symbols of the global urban poor. These are people caught up within the basic survival frame of living. They do not feature in the national income accounts; they also do not form a part of the national budget and they are not subject to the rules of contract, licensing, wage relations as well as social security. The Globalization from below lays emphasis on the 'people economy' or the 'hawker economy'; it is pointing at the poverty-stricken collective entrepreneurship as a revolution from below. The Street Market and the Mall is said to co- exist and co-evolve; *with globalization from below and globalization from above as analytically inseparable (p.35). The latter sets the rules for the former; with high end globalization needing low- end globalization to continuously provide for itself the conditions of its hegemony (p.35).*

The urban poor is constructed by the process of urbanization. The process of urbanization in India is slow when it is compared to the manner in which other developing and developed countries urbanize. Mohanty (2014) stresses on the need to understand the phenomenon of urbanization of poverty and the need for making Urbanization inclusive. This constitutes the theoretical framework within which the following study was conducted.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Besides exploring the living and economic conditions of the 'paanwala', an attempt was made to understand the challenges faced by 'the paanwala' as a street vendor. The retail industry in the last two decades have provided for possibilities for growth and for challenges to deal with and adjust to. An attempt was made to understand how the 'paanwala' was transiting from the sale of paan and tobacco to other more sophisticated products.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this study was both qualitative and quantitative. The author sought to use in-depth probing of issues while at the same time she accessed quantitative information on the 'paanwala'.

SAMPLING

The sample selection for the study was done conveniently on the basis of the location of the 'paanwalas'. An almost equal number of 'paanwalas' (35) were selected from bus stands, railway stations, near restaurants and hotels and within residential areas.

DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected using a questionnaire that was designed, tested and modified through a pilot survey covering 40 'paanwalas' zones in Pune city. A total of 174 paanwalas across Pune city were eventually interviewed and the same number responded to the questionnaire that sought to obtain information on the socio-economic background, main business line and the diversification system of the 'paanwalas' among other data.

ISSUES

The following were the issues that the findings of this study threw up. They include issues surrounding the socio-economic characteristics of the 'paanwalas', the diversification of their business and the difficulties they encounter.
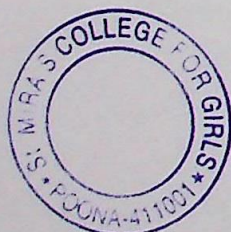
Socio-Economic Profile

The 'paanwalas' were mostly made up of young persons. Fifty-five percent (55%) of them were aged 26-45years while 25% of them were aged 18-25years. The 'paanwalas' were equally found to be made up of mainly migrants from other states and regions. Seventy-three percent (73%) of the respondents came from states other than Maharashtra. They came for instance, from Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. A few of the respondents reported that they were locals or from the rural areas of Pune district while another negligible number reported that they were from other regions within Maharashtra.

Most of the respondents indicated that they have been in the 'paan' business only for a short time ranging from one to five (1-5) years. Only four respondents stated they have been in the business of paan for a very long time. With one of the respondents reporting that he was a member of his third generation running the business. Eighty-four (83.9) percent of the respondents stated that they had started the business on their own stead. And almost 75.86 percent of the respondents stated that they were the sole earning member of the family. The average family size of the respondent varied from five to eight members. Most of them reported that they made this choice of enterprise to support their families.

The Setting Up of 'Paanwala' Business Enterprise

The location of the 'paanwala' is a strategic issue. Location can ensure good revenue generation. Paanwalas can be found anywhere and everywhere, at cross roads, by-lanes, nooks and corners, near railway stations and bus depots and outside eateries. Forty-eight (48.27%) percent of paanwalas were found located close to eateries, hotel and restaurants, while 16.09% were located near railway stations and bus depots. About thirty-six (35.63%) percent of 'paanwalas' were stand-alone paanwalas. It is challenge for stand-alone paanwalas to survive in this business as other locations provide for better consumers connect. Most 'paan' businesses are self-funded. Very few respondents stated that they were funded by a primary cooperative institution or a Self Help Group (1.72 percent). Investment in the business is comparitively small. About ninety (89.65%) percent of the respondents stated that they had invested about fifty thousand rupees ($500-600) in their business.

Between 37.35% and 44.82% of the 'paawalas' set up their business with the financial assistance from family members and friends.
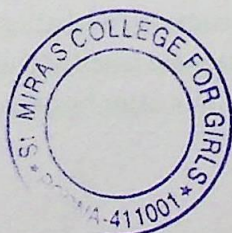
The Selling of the Betel Leaf 'Paan'

Consumers of betel leaf are often habitual consumers with most of them consuming the same along with tobacco. Cigarette is a more modern substitute to betel leaf. Forty five (45%) percent of respondents stated that they sold more than fifty paans in a day with sixty (60%) percent of respondents stating that they did earn well through the sale of 'paan'. The sale of cigarettes stands second with forty percent of revenue generated.

While many stated that the business hours begin later in the evenings, majority did spend more than 12- 14 hours at work, however, there was no relation between the location of business and the number of hours put at work. The paanwalas, despite the uncertainties of the business, stated that they were able to make two ends meet and support their families. The paanwalas did boast of large section (60%) of their customers as regular customers.

Diversification of the Paanwala Business

Though the sale of paan does offer better scope for earnings, respondents did report a gradual fall in the demand for 'paan' and a rise for other tobacco-laced products. From the total respondents, 50% of paanwalas exclusively offered only tobacco-laced products. Twenty-five (25%) percent of respondents had on offer a variety of chocolates, toiletries and snacks. Almost all paanwalas had small amount of confectionaries on sale. A small percentage of 'paanwalas' had on offer dairy products, cold drinks, stationary and recharge vouchers.

Most paanshops were housed in a tiny twelve square feet box-like structure which looked like 'a hole in the wall'. Twenty-five (25%) percent of the respondents had a regular small size refrigerator while twenty percent of the respondents had invested in a special refrigerator to stock chocolates. There was notable relation in the extent of diversification and investment in the infrastructure requirements with the number of years in the 'paanwala' enterprise.

However, an interesting finding of this study is that the paanwala is not threatened with the competition in the business and a good forty percent of the respondents believed that there is no much competition in the business (Ramachandran (1989).

Difficulties Faced in the Paanwala Business

On a general note, majority of 'paanwalas' reported that they do not face any major issues in their business and that they are able to tackle whatever few challenges that come their way. Paanwalas do agree that income possibilities are small and that there is little scope for growth in the future. Yet, it is a much sought after business option

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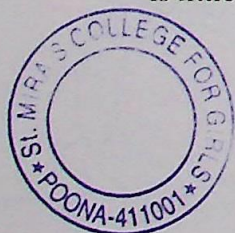
requiring tiny capital and little skill. The struggles are on account of the interference from local urban bodies, the police, residents, hooligans, and other miscreants causing damage to the mini enterprise. Despite having 'all-in-cash' income flow, customers, who owe, at times delay paying or refuse to pay altogether. Sometimes it is putting up to unruly customer behavior. Decline in number of customer is also a concern. Last but not the least, the authorities –local urban bodies or sometimes the police do pose a problem claiming the business to be illegal and making unlawful demands.

Formalization of the Informal Sector

The informal sector is undergoing a transformation. There is worldwide movement towards unionization of workers in the informal sector including the unionization of waste-collectors, domestic workers, street vendors, construction workers and others. Unionization has its own advantages (awareness and education, voice against exploitation and harassment, legal and financial support as well as the platform to understand and respond to the policies of the State towards the sector). However, only twenty-five (25%) percent of respondents were found to be aware of the legislation for street vendors while only fourteen (14%) percent reported to be members of a street vendors' association. A few of the respondents accepted that they were not active members as the self-employment and long hours of work does not provide for the time to attend union or association meetings while some stated that they had not renewed their membership.

Paanwalas stated that they do not have much expectation from government or its policies. The general opinion expressed was that there is hardly any government policy that is directed towards protecting paanwalas' interests. An example of the on-and-off ban regulations that come on tobacco products which threaten their business time and again was given. Another major concern was the treatment meted out by the urban local bodies to their business enterprise when they are accused of encroaching on public places or being obstacles to life within the locality. A few of the respondents stated that they looked forward to a license to carry out their business peacefully and that such would indeed prove to be a strong support from urban local bodies.

Right of Ownership

Ownership right or property right is of vital importance to any business; moreover, it is relevant for informal sector actors such as street vendors, hawkers and paanwalas. Street vendors occupy public spaces- footpaths, sidewalks, public parks, thoroughfares; such occupancy is said to deny access to 'rightful' users- pedestrians, local residents, etc.
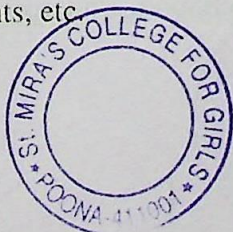
Street Vending

The Supreme Court of India ruled out that the right to carry on trade or business on street pavement, mentioned in Article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution of India, if properly regulated cannot be denied on the ground that the streets are meant exclusively for passing or re-passing and no other use. The judgment (Sodhan Singh vs. New Delhi Municipal Corporation, 1989) is significant because it suggests possibilities of street vending and use of public place by street vendors. In another judgment (Gang Ram v/s MCD, 2010), the Supreme Court of India stated that the town vending committees should be appointed to regulate street vending and ensure allotment of public space. It was once again reiterated in the judgement that the fundamental rights of the street vendors to carry on business and the commuters to move freely and use the roads without any impediment do exist. However, there is a need to harmonize these two conflicting rights and regulate same subject to reasonable restrictions. The judgements are an assurance to carry on vending activities on streets and pavements over long time periods and safeguard against any harassment from civic body or local residents.

There is a correlation between length of ownership of 'paan' business and stability of space occupancy. There has been noticed a correlation between length of ownership of 'paan' business and level of diversification of paan shop products among paanwalas. In other words, the longer a paanwala has been in business, the more stable he is likely to be on the space he is occupying and the more diversified would be the products available in his paan shop.

The observations reiterate the fact that access to a fixed space over a longer period of time results into accumulation of recognition and rights and prove to be a crucial determinant for earnings and savings for the 'paanwalas' as pointed by Abodh Kumar et al. (2012). *Assurance of ownership or property rights can help reduce expenditure towards rent or unlawful demands from unauthorized agencies and can enhance the scope for possible expansion and growth. These assurances could provide for opportunities for financial inclusion or benefits from other state government small-business support initiatives* (Kumar et al., 2012 p. 45).

Multi-Level Partnership With the 'Paanwala'

The economic adaptation of the paanwalas to the fast changing and competitive business environment can become an essential part of a business strategy.

It is worthwhile to review Project Shakti- another innovative channel of distribution initiated by Hindustan Lever Ltd in the year 2000. The Project had twin objectives- firstly, to tap into markets that did not show any business potential or market accessibility and second to provide opportunities for self-employment. The heart of the model was the Shakti entrepreneur- a local woman villager to be trained for self-employment and sustainable livelihood. Underprivileged rural

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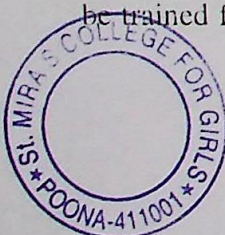
women from marginalized groups were recruited as Shakti entrepreneurs. Acting as door-to-door sales person, the Shakti entrepreneur was a moving retailer operating outside her home. Later in the year 2010, Project Shaktiman- an extension of the project involving men in the families in the distribution channel was introduced.

Shakti entrepreneurs were trained to distribute and sell consumer goods to the hard-to-reach villages, an adaptation of the age-old traveling salesman, providing access to much-needed products that would otherwise be totally beyond access. Rangan Kasturi et al, (2007), points at the challenge of sustainability for Project Shakti; the need to contribute to income generation and improvement of the quality of life of rural women, at the same time delivering the strategic advantage to the company.

In addition to using village women and men, the shakti and all other Shakti-like initiatives targeted and used the 'paanwala' as courier. Consequently, the paanwalas can be focused upon to emerge as another business model to meet micro-demand of consumers; demands that may not be easily met by or may be out-of-the-way for the organized retailers. Paanwalas can usher a new business model on similar lines as the well-known 'mom and pop stores'. The Paanwala can emerge as another renewed version of the 'mon and pop' stores; the paanwala too are often family owned businesses or self-owned with small investment, few employees or family members contributing as labor, low sales volume and with focus on sustenance and survival and not profitability (Kasturi et al, (2007).

RECOMMENDATIONS

A multiplicity of issues does exist in connection with both the life and activity of the paanwala. A number of those issues have been highlighted above. While, there may exist no completed solutions to these issues at the present moment, the following constitute an attempt at proffering plausible recommendations to the issues raised.

1. Whereas in all livelihood situations, self-financing is the norm, the Indian dynamic business environment suggests that the paanwala can actually benefit from support from organizations that wish to use him as courier.

2. It is in the interest of the actors within the informal sector take advantage of the opportunity currently offered to unionize. Unionization has its advantages of education and great professional and financial capital.

3. In respect of the various Supreme Court rulings, there is a need to harmonize these two conflicting rights and regulate same subject to reasonable restrictions. The judgements are an assurance to carry on vending activities on streets and pavements over long time periods and safeguard against any harassment from civic body or local residents.
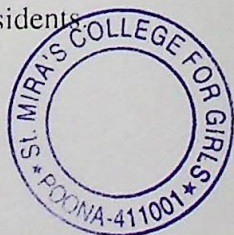
FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

An attempt is made to document and highlight the gradual diversification evident in the business of the 'paanwalas' and the undergoing economic adaptation very ably carried out. In spite of the shakti experience, there is still an opportunity to further explore how the formal business sector is reaching out to the 'paanwala' as an alternative business set-up through which big corporations may reach out to more consumers. Further research on the subject can help understand the business relations between the retail industry and the 'paanwala' enterprise, the improvement in the living and economic conditions of the paanwala and the strengthening of sustainable livelihoods. 'Paanwalas' are a set of street vendors, much vulnerable to the adversities of the market environment besides facing the depredations of the urban local bodies, the police or even at times the locals. Further empirical research can draw a few case studies on one, the long-term evolution and growth of the 'paanwalas' as a formal economic enterprise and two, on how the corporate sector helped evolve into an alternative remunerative business model. Another area for further research is the possibility to explore the public policy developments and support for the 'paanwalas' as street vendors.

CONCLUSION

Locals or residents, NGOs and citizens organizations oppose the presence of hawkers or street vendors on the basis of what they term the nuisance value of the latter in urban spaces. Public authorities or the police often initiate anti-encroachment drives or hawker eradication drives. It is imperative to understand that street vendors have a right to livelihood provided that they operate within the framework of rules and regulations. Street vendors/hawkers have learnt to survive within the constraints of a 'predatory state' working their way around with inhumane demands in order to continue with their micro enterprises unhindered. Street vendors seem to suggest that they too have learnt to deal with threats of demolitions or anti-encroachment drives with good cordial relations with authorities associated with the informal economy.

The 'paanwala', has recently experienced a boom in the retail industry which has been a boon in disguise. However, a more stable ownership right would help ensure steady income and provide an avenue for expansion of their business enterprise while social ownership with right over public spaces with licenses and formal recognition can assure sustainable livelihoods and growth.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Betel Leaf "Paan": The betel (piper betel) is a vine belonging to the *piperaceae* family; the betel leaf is consumed in Asia.

Informal Economy: Informal economy comprises workers who work as daily wage earners or for self and are not covered under any social security measures.

Livelihood: Livelihood is made up of basic necessities of life. It is designed to sustain life and living in poor homes.

Livelihood Opportunities: It is a set of activities that would provide for assets, income, and activities that are required for the acquisition of the basic necessities of life.

Paandaan: The paandaan is an elaborately decorated box to store the betel leaf along with accompaniments stored in separated compartments.

Paanwala: The seller of the betel leaf is referred to as the paanwala. The paanwala sells in the nooks and corners of all streets and footpaths and at crossroads.

Right of Ownership: A legal declaration that allows people to claim possession of any property or item and to show proof of such a claim.

Street Hawking: Street Hawking is an occupation taken up by migrants when they arrive in urban areas; offering on sale household items, vegetables or cooked food on streets for a living.

Representing the Exotic and the Familiar

Politics and perception in literature

EDITED BY

Meenakshi Bharat
and Madhu Grover

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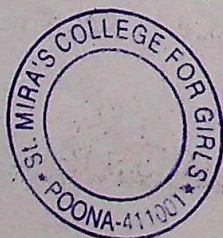Amsterdam / Philadelphia

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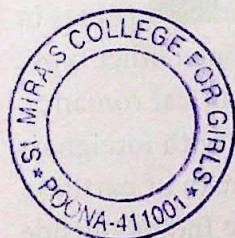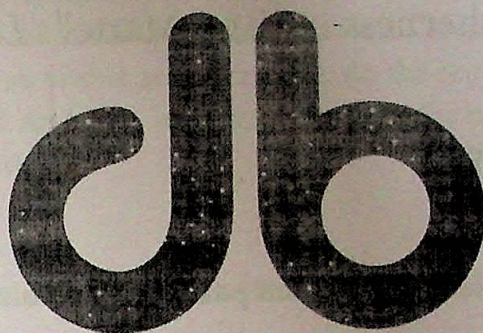
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CHAPTER 16

No tiger in the tale

Effacing otherness in Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*

Suhaile Azavedo

### Writing an exotic India in the ancient past and the multicultural present

In ancient times, tales about India streamed through to the West and found their way into early narratives, some as "incredible fables along with some accurate historical information."[1] Greek historians, Herodotus and Ctesias, knew of India and wrote, "most of the extravagant stories and grotesque legends about India."[2] Megasthenes' lost work *Indika* written about B.C. 300, was the earliest known Western personal account of India, ever since which there has been much writing on India. The secular and religious narratives of travel and exploration by early writers focused on a land so different that their primary exercise was of recording. Christian missionaries, A.D. 883 onwards, account for the earliest writings in English, on India before the age of empire. The British Raj fashioned other types of writing on India – the wonder of the Orientalist and the historical romance. Pre- and post-independence literature had wider concerns with both foreigners and Indians writing out the struggle of independence, the aftermath of partition and nation-building. Exile and migratory writing focused on the Indian outside of India, the first-generation diaspora's writings of migrant experience grew into subsequent generations' discovery of the self through the discovery of India. The common feature in most of this writing was the presence of what Graham Huggan calls an "othered" India, "India...as a spectacle; as alternating object of horror and fascination; as romantic nostalgia; as forbidden space of cross-cultural desire...."[3]

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1. Ram Chandra Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India: A Study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods with Particular Reference to India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing, 1980, p. xxi.

2. Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India*, p. xxii.

3. Graham Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*, London: Routledge, 2002, p. 81. In the book, he refers to exoticism as the system that constructs "otherness." He advances exoticism as "a particular mode of aesthetic *perception* – one which renders people, object and
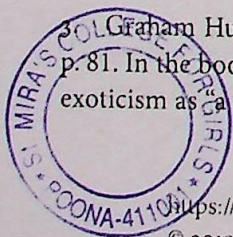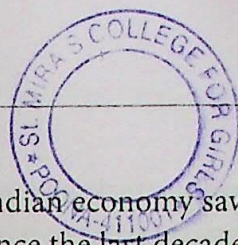
Post globalization and liberalization, the surge in Indian economy saw a concomitant surge in the presence of India in the world. Since the last decades of the twentieth-century Indian writing in English and a globally appropriated India in English writing has received more attention than ever. The first question which arises in regard to this is: in today's globalized world, transcultural and transnational, where India is so visible and accessible, do the representations still focus on an "othered" India? And if so, what response does the now-familiar exoticness elicit? Why does it matter?

Present-day concerns of multiculturalism and Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*

Brexit, Trump's presidency and the rise of neo-nationalism in an increasingly divided world signals the end of the idea of the world as a global village, possibly leaving in its wake more differences than before. Trump's executive order, January 2017, barring refugees and people from seven Muslim-majority countries sparked worldwide outrage. Trending on Twitter, shortly after, was Canadian Prime Minister's tweet:[4]

> **Justin Trudeau** @JustinTrudeau 19h
> To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada
>
> ↩ 20K   ↻ 354K   ♥ 685K

Canadian writer Stephen Marche had stated earlier, in November 2016, "Canada is most open to the world at the exact moment the world has closed,"[5] but had also cautioned of the promise by the Conservative Party of Canada to endorse Trump's position on immigration in the next election campaign. The day following Trudeau's

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places strange even as it domesticates them, and which effectively manufactures otherness even as it claims to surrender to its immanent mystery." Huggan, p. 13.

4.   Trudeau, Justin (@JustinTrudeau).2017. "To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada" Twitter, – Jan 29, 2017, 1:50 AM. https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/82543846026576281

5.   The article is titled "Canada in the Age of Donald Trump / What it means to be the last country on Earth that believes in multiculturalism" by Stephen Marche https://thewalrus.ca/canada-in-the-age-of-donald-trump/

tweet saw an attack on a mosque, killing six people, in Quebec. Xenophobia and ethnocentrism seem to have suddenly become Canadian contentions as well, challenging its inclusivity. However, this turn-about, "writing on the wall," has been there for the reading for decades. As early as in 2001, Yann Martel's *Life of Pi* pointed to the concerns of multiculturalism, anticipating both its failure and the growth of neo-racism.

Life of Pi, a migrant story in flashback about a 1960s India and Indian, is a work of calculated exoticness. Often read as an allegorical fable, it traces the incredible experiences of an Indian boy, Piscine Molitor Patel, "Pi," migrating from India to Canada. The first section offers a backstory to the origins of a very Indian boy (his family, his zoo, his animals, his religious syncretism, his philosophic bent of mind), steeped in Indian idiosyncrasies which then proceed to seep from him through the story. The second section, which makes the bulk of the book, "is an astounding story of courage and endurance in the face of extraordinarily difficult and tragic circumstances."[6] While migrating to Canada on board an ill-fated Japanese cargo ship, TsimTsim, Pi loses his family. Shipwrecked and a castaway, he spends 227 days adrift on a lifeboat allegedly with a Royal Bengal tiger. This section describes in detail how Pi deals with the crisis, and how he adapts and changes to cope with it. The third section of the novel, records Pi's rescue, the disappearance of Richard Parker – the tiger – and the investigation by the Japanese Shipping Ministry. A slim sketch of Pi's life after his rehabilitation, in Canada, is offered through the novel – of his accomplishments, new home, and family. It is in the third section while being probed by the Japanese investigators, who disbelieve his tiger-tale, that Pi offers his second story, which recommends the allegorical nature of the first and asks the now famous question "which is the better story...?"[7]

Ralph Ellison in *Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity* (1953) states:

> Perhaps the ideal approach to the work of literature would be one allowing for insight into the deepest psychological motives of the writer at the same time that it examined all external sociological factors operating within a given milieu. For while objectively a social reality, the work of art is, in its genesis, a projection of a deeply personal process, and any approach that ignores the personal at the expense of the social is necessarily incomplete.[8]

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6. Yann Martel, *Life of Pi*, Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd, 2002, p. 319.

7. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 317.

8. Ralph Ellison, "Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity (1953)" *Within the Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism from the Harlem Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Angelyn Mitchell, Duke University Press, 1994, p. 136.
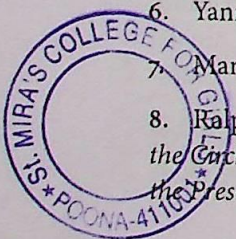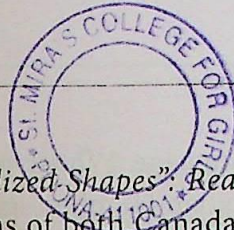
Laura Wright, in *"Wilderness Into Civilized Shapes": Reading the Post Colonial Environment*, notes the subject positions of both Canada and Yann Martel and records an interview by Sabine Sielke, titled "The Empathetic Imagination" where Martel is asked, "if he considers himself a 'citizen of the world.'"[9] "Such a question," says Wright, "is not surprising given Martel's transnational identity: he was born in Spain to Canadian parents and has lived among other places, in Alaska, British Columbia, Costa Rica, France, and Mexico."[10] Wright remarks on a bio-note on the author which states, "…when he is not living somewhere else, he lives in Montreal."[11] Wright observes, "Martel defies clear national affiliation" and has, "been marketed as a citizen of the world."[12] However, Martel in answer to Sielke's question states, "No. I'm Canadian. I don't believe there are citizens of the world. Everyone is from somewhere, rooted in a particular culture. We're also citizens of the languages we speak. Some people speak many languages – I speak three, I'm a citizen of English, French and Spanish – but no one speaks World. World is not a language."[13] This is problematic. What is to be made of an overt national allegiance in a nation that publically prides itself as multicultural? A notable point here is that despite his Indian-ness Pi's language is devoid of Indianisms.

Canadian ethnocultural diversity and representation in *Life of Pi*: Who speaks?

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* state, "A minor literature doesn't come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language."[14] In *Life of Pi*, however, to use the major-minor binaries in the politics of "deterritorialization"[15] – a major constructs a minor's

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9.   Laura Wright, *"Wilderness Into Civilized Shapes": Reading the Postcolonial Environment*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010, p. 66.

10. Wright, pp. 66–67.

11. Wright, pp. 66–67.

12. Wright, pp. 66–67.

13. Wright, pp. 66–67.

14. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, p. 47. http://projectlamar.com/media/dgkafka.pdf.

15. Adrian Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary Revised Edition, Philosophical Dictionaries Series*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p. 69. In the book, Parr states the ways in which Deleuze and Guattari's concept of "deterritorialization" can be defined in their several works – 'a coming undone' in *Anti-Oedipus*; 'the cutting edge of an assemblage' in *A Thousand Plateaus*; a literary deterritorialization that mutates content, forcing enunciations and expressions to

politics in the major language. Whose perspective, then, has been adopted? Is it the perspective of an Indian on migration? Or is it that of an Indo – Canadian on immigration? Or of a Canadian on immigrants? As such, this is more than just a story of an Indian migrant's experience. It is also an exploration of particular perspectives and politics at a particular moment in Canadian history, specifically the late 1990s and early 2000s in Canada.

James Clifford, in his introduction to *The Predicament of Culture*, states:

> In cities on six continents foreign population have come to stay – mixing in but often in partial, specific fashions. The "exotic" is uncannily close…. One no longer leaves home confident of finding something radically new, another time or space. Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighbourhood… "Cultural" difference is no longer a stable exotic otherness.[16]

The Canadian demographic statistics on the ethnocultural diversity in Canada (2008) states that "by 2017, more than one Canadian in five might be foreign-born,"[17] and that from 1986 to 2006, the immigrant population rose from 3.9 million to 6.2 million. The largest visible minority groups, the report states, are the Chinese and the South Asians. The Chinese immigrant population in the 2001 Census numbered more than 1 million, making it the most visible minority group in Canada. The South Asians ranked second, with people of African origin following in the third position. West Asians, Koreans, and Arabs followed.

The literature of immigrants in Canada records much racism against Indian immigrants. John Fenton in *Transplanting Religious Traditions: Asian Indians in America* studies Canadian prejudice against Asians. The primary factor underpinning the prejudice, studies suggest, is Canadian ethnocentrism - high sensitivity to racial and cultural differences on the part of the dominant English and French population, reinforced by stereotypes and misperceptions of South Asians. An Indian-Canadian woman, the book records, states, "…in Canada, if you're an Indian, you are seen as an East Indian and not as an individual. And…you are seen as having this baggage of stereotypes."[18]

'disarticulate' in the book on Kafka; deterritorialization as a physical, mental or spiritual process in *What is philosophy*?

16. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 14.

17. Canadian Demographic Statistics at http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-003-x/2007001/4129904-eng.htm covers the demographic and ethnocultural composition of the population.

18. John Y Fenton, *Transplanting Religious Traditions: Asian Indians in America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1988, pp. 23–24. In the book, Fenton cites a study by Buchignanai, Indra, and Srivastava that offered several reasons for Canadian prejudice against Asians.

How do the statistics inform Martel's story? As per demographic statistics, at the time when Martel was writing *Life of Pi*, Chinese immigrants were more visible than South Asian immigrants in Canada. Why then did Martel's protagonist have to be an Indian?[19] Why could he not have been any other "visible minority" listed in the reckoner – Chinese, African, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, or Japanese? Moreover, the ethnocultural portrait of Canada in 2010, listed 1,355,653 Indians at 3.86% of the Canadian population. This brings us to the problem of locating the source of the Indian in *Life of Pi*. Is Pi based on a "Canadian" Indian or is he an "Indian" Indian, and as such is there a difference? Despite Pi's unique experiences, Yann Martel has created a very typical character, there is nothing unrecognizable about Pi, he is the flawless stereotype of an Indian.

Being and becoming, disruption and transformation:
An alternative reading of *Life of Pi*

Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* establishes a link between stereotype and fetishism, "fetishism is always a play or vacillation between archaic affirmations of wholeness/similarity… and the anxiety associated with lack or difference…it is a form of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition of difference and disavowal of it."[20] The characterization of Pi as a middle-class Anglophone Indian, typical in manners and privileges, with fitting ethnic markers of caste, religion, language, culture, philosophy right down to vegetarianism make him an instantly recognizable prototype. There is not an Indian or foreigner familiar with India, who would not recognize the Indian-ness of Pi. Character controversies and crises, as with religion in the beginning and vegetarianism at the end, indicate that the characterization is more a critique than a celebration. Further, even as he is typecast, a disavowal of his Indian-ness begins early in the text in the obfuscation of his name Piscine Molitor Patel, its consequent modification to Pi, and in his religious syncretism, unusual for its time. Martel, seemingly, began to modify the Indian even before the starting point of his journey. By the time Pi reached the finishing line, the original Indian was altered:

> I covered the fish's head with the blanket and turned the hatchet around…The idea of beating a soft, living head with a hammer was simply too much. I put the hatchet down…Tears flowing down my cheeks, I egged myself on until I heard a

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19. The original question has been raised by Laura Wright, "But the reader might easily ask why Martel's protagonist needs to be non-Western in general; and Indian in particular." Wright, p. 66.

20. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, London: Routledge, 2012, pp. 106 – 107.

cracking sound and I no longer felt any life fighting in my hands...I wept heartily over this poor little deceased soul. It was the first sentient being I had ever killed. I was now a killer...After that it was easier...[21]

Pi then, in a little time, goes "from weeping over the muffled killing of a flying fish to gleefully bludgeoning to death a dorado," explicating that... "[b]utchering a turtle was hard work. My first one was a small hawksbill. It was its blood that tempted me, the "good, nutritious, salt-free drink" promised by the survival manual,"[22] and finally Pi could unrestrainedly bring a hatchet down on the turtle's neck, gashing it: "Bright red blood shot out. I grabbed the beaker and collected about three hundred millilitres...[t]he blood I managed to collect gave off no particular smell. I took a sip. It tasted warm and animal...I drank the blood to the last drop."[23]

The transformation that the character of Pi undergoes, the undoing of his Indian-ness, calls for a more serious consideration of the disavowal, for, at the heart of it lies the undoing of oppositionality and the destabilizing of binaries of similarity and difference, acceptance and rejection, and the familiar and the exotic. The disavowal begins with the appropriation of another's identity as one's own, of Richard Parker's. Out at sea, Pi and *his* tiger lived in mutual dependence. While many read this as a cosmic connection between animals, humans and the universe, there is yet another connection between Pi and the tiger, one that ties him to his country and culture. The Indian tiger, a symbol of strength and fearlessness, the national animal of India, associated with many Hindu deities, is both revered and feared. Pi's tiger likewise, is strong, fearless, revered, and feared but bears a similar, telling obfuscation in its Western name, Richard Parker. Laura Wright points out:

> The use of animal as a metaphor for subjected groups of individuals is prevalent in literature that explicates the plight of the oppressed, a fact that supports a reading of the animal body as the locus of oppositional thinking, the foundational example of all subsequent forms of human othering.[24]

Richard Parker, everything that Pi is not, appears a neurotic projection of anglicized desires onto a very strong Indian self. There is something simultaneously vulnerable and aggressive in Pi's engagement with this tiger figure, for it leads to a constant negotiating and reconstructing of his own identity. The attempt to reconstruction fails, suggested in the disappearance of the tiger at the end of the tale.

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21. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 183

22. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 200

23. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 201

24. Wright, p. 15

This process of becoming and unbecoming, of compressing and expanding aspects of identity/culture is the central leitmotif of the journey. Functioning as a kind of rite of passage, the journey is where the challenges, personal and cultural – of language, religion, family, and food, are negotiated. If Richard Parker is symbolic of the person Pi wishes to be, the mystical ocean is kind of conjuring of the place to which he wishes to go. Marlene Goldman in *Rewriting Apocalypse in Canadian Fiction* cites Graham Huggan:

> In *Territorial Disputes*, Graham Huggan observes that contemporary Canadian writers seem less interested in "evoking a sense of place than in expressing a kind of placelessness through which the notion of a fixed identity, are resisted …the self…becomes a transitory, contingent and fluid phenomenon."[25]

The ocean, as a re-contextualization of place, collapses nations and boundaries into a blank fluid space and allows for the shift, in Pi, from being inside his identity and culture to outside, enabling a disruption, transformation and a recasting of an ethnic identity into a more free-flowing altered form, most notably vegetarian to meat-eater.

The fluidity of the ocean, in the story, had the quality of functioning as a malleable medium where all the issues floating opened up into different possible worlds and different possible identities. Pi, however, is marked by a lack of agency; he can choose neither world nor identity. His trauma and lamentation outline his states of despair, impotence, and nihilism. Adrift in the ocean between countries, cultures, and traditions, the conflicts result in the abnegation of ideologies and the purgation of ethnicity – an undesired transformation.

The tiger disappears as the castaway comes to land, seeming to indicate Pi's realization that he has to give up his Indian-ness. It is not by chance that he offers a choice in stories to the Japanese investigators; it is a carefully constructed offer to suppress the exotic for the familiar, to make for a fit into the new culture without challenging or disrupting it. The choice offered and exercised between the two versions surmise the dialectics between the familiar and the exotic. The rejection of Pi's fantastic story is a rejection of his Indian-ness. Which is, in a way, to say that cultural difference is not a thing to be averred but one to be avoided.

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25. Marlene Goldman, *Rewriting Apocalypse in Canadian Fiction*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2005, p. 165.

Effacing identity: Deculturation into schisms and liminality

Faye V. Harrison in *Unraveling "Race" for the Twenty-First Century* writes:

> the world as "global village"…is not set against an idyllic background…[w]ithin this global community we also find a heightening of differences and a deepening of identity politics, often along life-threatening lines of conflict.[26]

She cites Jonathan Freidman who maintains that this pattern of deepening differentiation arises from economic fragmentation along with the cultural, creating a crisis of identity exhibited in "the weakening of former national identities and the emergence of new identities…."[27] Bio-determinist conceptions of race, says Harrison, emphasized natural and biological differences, but the newer perspectives on race, "Neo-Racisms,"[28] are couched in a language of culture, ethnicity, and nationalism.

Etienne Balibar, in *Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?* notes the upsurge of racist movements and policies as new racism, "of the era of 'decolonization', of the reversal of population movements between old colonies…and the division of humanity within a single political space."[29] He writes, "It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions."[30]

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26. Faye. V Harrison, "Unraveling "Race" for the Twenty-First Century." *Exotic No More: Anthropology on the Front Lines*, edited by Jeremy MacClancy, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, pp. 149–150.

27. Harrison, *Exotic No More*, pp. 149–150.

28. Gabriella Lazaridis, *Security, Insecurity and Migration in Europe*, London: Routledge, 2016, p. 222. In this book, she discusses "What is new in 'new racism'?" Listing various similar and overlapping coinages, Lazaridis states "'New Racism' as baptized by Barker (Barker, 1981), defined also as 'neo-racism' (Doty, 2003, Spears, 1999, Balibar, 1991), 'differentiated racism' (Taguieff, 1990), 'Euro-racism' (Sivanandan, 1990; Webber, 1991), 'xeno-racism' (Sivanandan, 1990; Fekete, 2001) 'cultural racism' (Fanon, 1967; Gilroy, 1987) and lately, in the context of the 'war on terror', 'anti-Muslim racism' (Kundnani, 2007) does not mean the banishment of older forms of racist practices: rather 'new racism' implies that current racist discourses are being dominated by the so-called 'insurmountability' of cultural differences.'"

29. Etienne Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, Verso, 1991, p. 21.

30. Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" p. 21.

The schisms of the familiar and the exotic, come into play differently in the age of 'Neo-Racism', as noted in sections of Pi's after story which exhibit both the "crisis of identity" and the "insurmountability of cultural differences:"

> The first time I went to an Indian restaurant in Canada I used my fingers. The waiter looked at me critically and said, "Fresh off the boat, are you?" I blanched. My fingers, which a second before had been taste buds savouring the food a little ahead of my mouth, became dirty under his gaze. They froze like criminals caught in the act. I didn't dare lick them. I wiped them guiltily on my napkin. He had no idea how deeply those words wounded me. They were like nails being driven into my flesh. I picked up the knife and fork. I had hardly ever used such instruments. My hands trembled. My sambar lost its taste.[31]

And again:

> He shows me family memorabilia. Wedding photos first. A Hindu wedding with Canada prominently on the edges. A younger him, a younger her. They went to Niagara Falls for their honeymoon. Had a lovely time. Smiles to prove it. We move back in time. Photos from his student days at U of T: with friends; in front of St. Mike's; in his room; during Diwali on Gerrard Street; reading at St. Basil's Church dressed in a white gown; wearing another kind of white gown in a lab of the zoology department; on graduation day. A smile every time, but his eyes tell another story.[32]

Pi's Bengal tiger becomes "Moccasin" the cat, a significant analogy that shows the extent to which a migrant goes to ensconce his original into the trappings of an alternate culture. The futility of the exercise is an inescapable truth: the whittling away of the exotic and the overlaying of the familiar yet keep the "other" marginalized. Effacing "otherness" is in most migrant societies considered "acting white,"[33] the liminal space of acceptance and rejection, a racial wasteland where you are damned if you do and doomed if you do not.

This effacing of identity to assimilate, to transgress the boundary between racial majorities and minorities, seemingly a benign exercise is not without disturbing outcomes – the outgrowth of a "stable" majority monoculture, the natural corollary to which is the disappearance of minority cultures i.e. the loss of cultural and linguistic diversity; consequently, this leads to a double-bind – a covert consciousness

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31. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 7.

32. Martel, *Life of Pi*, p. 86.

33. Charles A. Gallagher and Cameron D Lippard, editors, "Acting White" *Race and Racism in the United States: An Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2014, p. 15. The encyclopaedia offers a definition for 'acting white' as the internalizing 'of social messages about the inferiority of their own race and act like white people.'

of the ever-present pressure to deculturize against the awareness that one can never completely unlearn the culture of origins – akin to W. E. B. Du Bois condition of double consciousness.[34] "I Am Not I," Juan Ramón Jiménez's poem, translated by Robert Bly, keenly expresses this:
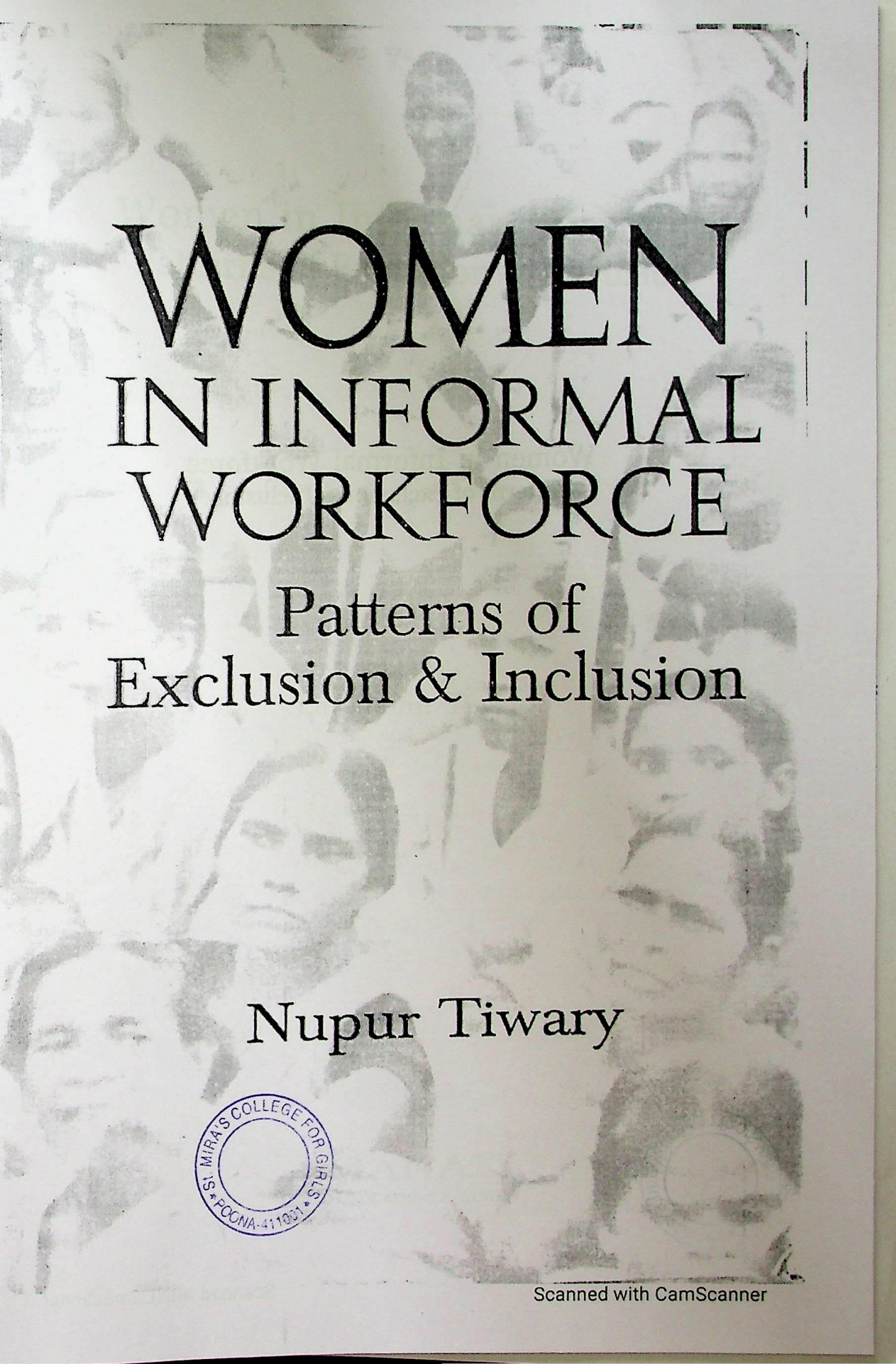
> I am not I.
> I am this one
> walking beside me whom I do not see,
> whom at times I manage to visit,
> and whom at other times I forget;
> who remains calm and silent while I talk,
> and forgives, gently, when I hate,
> who walks where I am not,
> who will remain standing when I die.[35]

The deculturation, thus, is never absolute, the disembodied "exotic" is never wholly expended by the familiar; the being remains, ruptured forever, in despondent liminality.

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34. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1903/2014, p. 7. In this historically acclaimed book Du Bois outlines his compelling idea of double-consciousness as, "… a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

35. Robert Bly: "I Am Not I" by Juan Ramón Jiménez, from *Lorca and Jimenez: Selected Poems*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1973, p. 77. https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Juan_Ramón_Jiménez

WOMEN
IN INFORMAL
WORKFORCE

Patterns of
Exclusion & Inclusion

Nupur Tiwary

Women in Informal Workforce
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Edited by
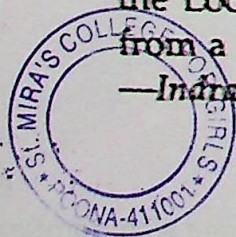## Dr. Nupur Tiwary

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A Study of Women Domestic Workers in Pune City

Dr. (Mrs.) Manisha Viraj Pimpalkhare

Introduction

The paid domestic work has become a focal point in research under several branches of academics like labour economics, feminist stream of thought and law and public policy. An increasing incidence of paid domestic labour as a source of employment in the informal economy has been a point of intense academic and practical interest under labour economics. The extent of employment, wages, work conditions, migration and other labour market issues are of central importance in this regard. (Kundu 2008, Neetha N. 2004, Shashibala 2010) A branch of labour economics dealing with trade unions has also found its connection to domestic workers as the unions world over have started organizing informal workers in general and domestic workers in particular. The incidence of domestic workers organizing into their own non traditional forms of
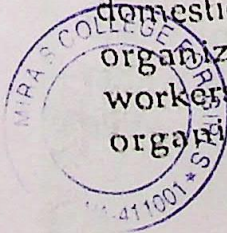
organizations at local, national and global level is also on the rise and offers a fertile ground for research. (Bonner, 2010, Mather 2012)

The engagement of feminist economics with domestic work goes back to the 1970s challenging the gendered notion of woman as a natural provider of household services in the male dominated capitalist production system which exploits and fails to recognize the unpaid domestic work put in by the women. Other issues like appropriate valuation of domestic work, the class, the caste and the race hierarchy prevailing upon the organization of paid domestic work have also come to the forefront. (Cock 1981, Anderson 2000, Lutz 2002)

The attention of researchers in the field of law and public policy towards domestic work has to be attributed to the absence of legal measures in the field of paid domestic work. The specificity of domestic work, especially the workplace being a household, has contributed to the gaps in the legal coverage of domestic work. In the recent past, the international labour standard setting for domestic work (ILO, 2011) has inspired a series of legislations concerning domestic work across the nations and a strong demand for public policy on the social security for domestic workers has also emerged globally. The mechanisms, implementation and efficacy of such legislative measures offer a wide scope for further study. (Ramirez-Machado 2003, Mantouvalou 2006, Alley 2009, Smith 2011, Einat Albin and Mantouvalou 2012)

Review of Literature

Ray Raka (2000) examines the structure of paid domestic work and notions of class, masculinity and femininity in the city of Calcutta placing these ideas within the caste and gendered class culture of Calcutta's middle

classes. A.N. Singh (2001) observes that family compulsions, anti social habits of the spouse and limited family earnings create compulsion to work for the domestic workers. Parvati Raghuram (2001) has described the organizations of paid domestic work within the socially accepted norms of caste and gender. N. Neetha (2004) has studied reasons and patterns of migration of domestic workers in Delhi facilitated by the social networking among the women domestics. A study by Vinita Singh (2007) has explored the caste and religious affiliations, marital status, family decision making and other family related aspects, migration and wage structure of the domestic workers as well as attitude of employers towards domestic workers. S. Chigateri (2007) has analysed the conditions and the nature of paid domestic work in Bangalore, as well as the articulations of socio economic injustice and the strategies employed by the domestic workers movement to deal with such injustice within the context of Dalit feminism. Amit Kundu (2008) has investigated the conditions of work and rights of female domestic workers of Kolkata. It is observed that the age of the domestic worker, number of children, distance between home and workplace and uncertain family income are some of the factors governing type and extent of paid domestic work. Surabhi Tandon Mehrotra, Mewa Bharati (2008) have explored various dimensions of the lives of part time domestic workers – life in slums, working conditions, migration status and their attitude towards work. The study reports that wages and increments are arbitrary and the recent migrants are forced to work at lower wages to sustain their families. Rajni Palriwala and N. Neetha (2009) presents a study of domestic workers including the changes in the organization of domestic work and childcare practice among the domestic workers which are conditioned by age of children, type of family, location and type of work,

attitude of employers and the availability of affordable institutional facilities for child care. A study by Institute of Social Studies Trust (2009) of domestic workers in Delhi has reported high incidence of illiteracy, migrant status of domestic workers, caste feelings among them and informality in work arrangements, lack of identification papers as the major hurdle in securing benefits under any government schemes, absence of childcare systems and concerns regarding the safety and well-being of children have emerged as the critical issues that govern the work pattern of domestic workers. Shashibala (2010) has studied domestic workers in four metro cities in India—Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata. The study found that the major cluster of domestic help was found in the age group of 15- 35, largely illiterate and the most common push factor of entering this job was to improve the economic conditions of the family for all the four cities. The caste structure, family structure, educational attainments and migration issues of the domestic helps, however, differed across cities. Surabhi Tandon Mehrotra (2010) has presented the socio economic profile as well as work profile of part time domestic workers in Delhi as well as workers' own and their family's perception of domestic work, employers' attitude, perspective and hierarchical relationship between employers and domestic workers and sexual harassment. Raka Ray and Seenin Qayum (2010) in their book explore the employer-servant relationship and perpetuation of cultures of servitude, ethnographically treating the domestic service as an institution rather than an occupational category and tracing the transformed nature of domestic labour regime from being a family retainer to being a freelancer and the emotional turbulences felt by the employers and the servants in the process. An exploratory study of domestic workers was conducted by Jyoti Bharat
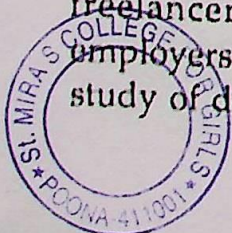
(2011) in 5 major townships in Orissa. The report describes various aspects of work life viz. the wage and festival bonus payments, paid sick leaves, caste feelings among the employers, causes of service termination etc. The report has recommended minimum wages, union action, employment contracts and social security mechanisms in order to improve the work and life conditions of the domestic workers. A paper by Paul G.D. Bino, Susanta Datta, Murthy R. Venkatesha (2011) exploring the working and living conditions of women domestic workers in Mumbai, brings out the fact that paid domestic work represents critical deficits in human development. Mattila Päivi (2011) explores the paid domestic work as 'vulnerable employment' in the context of labour relations between domestic workers and employers in Jaipur which are conditioned by hierarchies of caste, gender, age, life-stage, ethnicity, and religion. A report by Shrayana Bhattacharya (2011) presents findings from the study undertaken by Self Employed Women's Association, Ahmedabad. The important findings of the study are – presence of ad hoc wage rates and the need for standardizing wage calculations based on cluster and tasks performed; lack of savings and the need to introduce a suitable form of savings mechanism for the domestic workers; need for a mechanism that will look into occupational health and compensation for injury at workplace; absence of any institutional childcare facility that forces women to leave their children unattended and also limits their ability to work and earn more. Samita Sen, Nilanjana Sengupt (2012) have focused on the questions of pre-marital employment in domestic service and early initiation into domestic work. Their study concludes that the practices around marriage, work and education are varied and complex defying any trend or causal relationships between education, marriage and work.

Significance of Study

Pune, Maharashtra is a rapidly growing urban centre with its identity as cultural and educational capital of the state as well as its recently gained status of an IT hub. With the growth of population, demand for paid domestic work has risen significantly providing employment to thousands of women. This renders the paid domestic work to be an interesting research question. A labour market view of the phenomenon of paid domestic work requires an understanding of working and living conditions of domestic workers.

Objectives of Study

The study aimed at—

+ Exploring the living conditions of domestic workers in Pune city
+ Examining working conditions of domestic workers in Pune city

research methodology

A study of 600 part time women domestic workers was conducted in Pune. (Pimpalkhare, Manisha 2014) Using the geographical boundaries under Pune Municipal Corporation, the city of Pune was divided into 10 areas. From each of the areas a sample of 60 domestic workers was studied using simple random method. A pre tested questionnaire was used for data collection. The data was collected over a period of two years 2012-2013.

Paid Domestic Work Defined

The ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (C189), defines "domestic work" and "domestic workers" in Article 1 as follows:
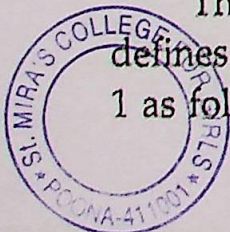
(a) The term "domestic work" means work performed in or for a household or households;

(b) The term "domestic worker" means any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship;

(c) A person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker.

The **Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board Act, 2008** defines domestic work and domestic worker as- "domestic work" means household work like sweeping, cleaning utensils, washing clothes, cooking and such other manual work as is mutually agreed between the employer and domestic worker carried out at the work place ; and "domestic worker" means a worker who is engaged for doing domestic work; "work place" means any residential bungalow, wada, house, flat, palace, villa or such other premises, including precinct thereof, in which or in any part of which, any domestic work is being or is ordinarily carried on.

Profile of Women Domestic Workers in Pune City

The following sections are based on a larger study of part time women domestic workers in Pune city (Pimpalkhare, 2014). Table 1 on next page presents a general profile of domestic workers in Pune city.

Living Conditions of Women Domestic Workers in Pune City

- Type of dwelling —The dwellings of domestic workers interviewed were classified into three categories – permanent (24.3%), semi-permanent (45.3%) and Kutcha house or zuggi (30.3%) based

TABLE 1
General Profile of women domestic workers in Pune city

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Age (Years)	15	73	37
Years of Schooling	0	13	3.36
Number of children born (N=568)*	1	9	2.6567
Current Family Size	1	10	4.59
Number of Houses at which work is done	2	15	4.21
Hours of work per day	1	12	5.14
Monthly Income (Rs.)	800	12000	3826
Number of years of paid domestic work	0	55	10.73

Source: Manisha Pimpalkhare, (2014) "An Analytical Study of the Autonomy in Decision making among the Women Domestic Workers in Pune City", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Savitribai Phule Pune University, Pune.

*Excludes the respondents who have never married and/ or never had children. For all other variables N=600.

on the material used for making the house. A permanent dwelling is identified as the structure with brick and concrete walls with tiled or concrete roofs. The houses made of brick walls with temporary rooftops made of tin or other such temporary material are classified as semi permanent while the houses where the walls as well as the roof is made of tin sheets or other temporary material are classified as *Kutcha* house or *Zuggi*.

- Residence ownership—The houses inhabited by the domestic workers are further classified by the ownership status. The categories are self owned house(48.5%), rented house(47.3%) or any other(4.2%). The third category 'other' includes

situation such as squatting, staying with the relatives or in the rent free housing provided by employers of the spouse usually employed as watchmen or otherwise.

- Availability of drinking water —The availability of drinking water is an essential element of the quality of life and also determines the amount of hardship for the women at home. The availability of drinking water for the domestic workers interviewed shows that 8 per cent of the respondents faced difficulty concerning drinking water as it has to be fetched from faraway places.

- Availability of sanitation facilities—Sanitation facilities determine the quality of life especially in terms of hygiene. The Table below indicates the availability of sanitation facilities for the domestic workers interviewed. More than 17 per cent of the respondents stated non-availability of toilets thereby posing a serious health risk. More than 45 per cent of the respondents claimed that the toilet facility is located away from home causing hardship to women and children.

- Fuel for cooking —The type of fuel used for cooking indicates the level of hardship suffered by women in their day to day life at home especially the kitchen. 81.5 per cent of the respondents make use of cooking gas followed by 16.5 per cent using kerosene as fuel for cooking.

- Possession of Ration Card—Ration card is a valuable document in the registration of domestic workers as well as an important instrument in procuring food and fuel for the family. 77.8 per cent of the respondents possessed ration card valid in Pune.

- Access to a saving account—363 out of 600 of the
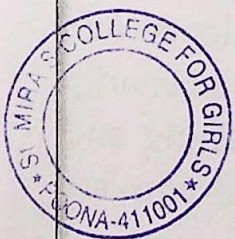
respondents (60.5%) stated that they have a saving account in their name. 51 per cent of them had an account in a bank and 40.8 per cent had membership of a Self Help Groups (SHGs).

- Loan Repayment —Another query related to the access to financial instruments and financial responsibilities of the domestic workers, was the loan, if any, being repaid by them. The information from the study indicated that 129 respondents representing 21.5 per cent of the domestic workers interviewed had to repay loan out of their income. The reasons for incurring a loan liability are buying or renting house (34.88%), weddings (18.6%), medical expenditure (15.50%), household expenses (13.95%), education of children(11.63%), business (4.65%) and to repay old loan (0.775%).

Work Conditions of Domestic Workers in Pune City

The following discussion covers work profile and work conditions of the domestic workers interviewed.

Work Profile—Type of Work

It is observed that 74.3 per cent of the respondents were engaged in work related to housekeeping. This primarily involves washing clothes, cleaning utensils, cleaning and mopping floors and dusting. 19.3 per cent of the workers undertook cooking and / or roti making or care work, in addition to housekeeping related jobs reflecting mixed nature of work. The proportion of domestic workers solely engaged in cooking (5.7%) and care work (0.7%) is relatively small.

Number of Years of Paid Domestic Work and Age of entry into Paid Domestic Work

On the basis of duration of u.
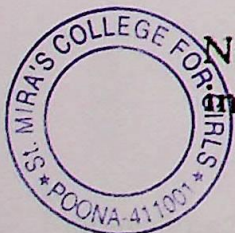
an occupation, it is observed that 37.3 per cent of the respondents have been in this occupation for a period of more than ten years. It was evident from the study that the largest proportion (45.3%) of the domestic workers interviewed have entered this occupation between the age of 16 to 25 followed by the age group 26 to 35 (35.8%). Significantly, 11.2 per cent of the domestic workers have started working after 36 years of age. Economic compulsions arising from unemployment of spouse, death of spouse, rising expenses related to children and medical emergencies are some of the reasons these women decide to work at a later age in life.

Number of Houses at which Work is Done

The largest proportion (58%) of the domestic workers interviewed worked at 3 to 5 households. More than 50 per cent of domestic workers interviewed put in work hours ranging from 3 to 5 followed by 38 per cent of domestic workers interviewed who put in 6 to 8 hours of work daily.

Work Conditions

One of the objectives of the study was to exploring the issues concerning the work conditions of the domestic workers. The four important aspects of work conditions investigated are (i) timely receipt of monthly wages, (ii) receipt of Bonus, (iii) receipt of extra remuneration for extra work and (iv) availability of paid leave.

- **Timely Receipt of Monthly Wages**—As shown in Table 2 above, more than 95 per cent of the respondents stated that their monthly wages are paid on time.
- **Receipt of Bonus**—Bonus is a payment made during the festival season especially, the Diwali festival. It
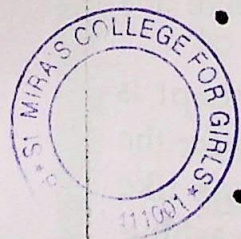
TABLE 2
Work Conditions of domestic workers in Pune city

Work condition	Yes	Sometimes	No	Total
Whether monthly wages are paid on time	572(95.3%)	26(4.3%)	2(0.3%)	600(100%)
Receipt of Bonus	340(56.7%)	147(24.5%)	113(18.8%)	600(100%)
Remuneration for extra work received	275(45.8%)	67(11.2%)	258(43.0%)	600(100%)
Availability of Paid leave	456(76.0%)	71(11.8%)	73(12.2%)	600(100%)

Source: Manisha Pimpalkhare, (2014) "An Analytical Study of the Autonomy in Decision making among the Women Domestic Workers in Pune City", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Savitribai Phule Pune University, Pune.

is expected that a month's wages be given as bonus to the domestic worker only after completion of one year of work at a particular household. A domestic worker who has recently joined this work or has newly taken up work at a particular household would not receive bonus. It is observed that some employers pay half a month's wages as bonus or give a gift such as a saree in lieu of bonus. Some of the workers pointed out that the bonus is paid only after the extra work – cleaning, washing or cooking – on account of Diwali is performed. 56.7 per cent of the respondents confirmed that they receive the annual Diwali bonus while 18.8 per cent of the respondents stated that they do not receive any bonus.

Remuneration for Extra Work—An attempt is made to find out about any extra payment for the extra work performed on several occasions like having to cook for extra people or extra washing

and cleaning work in the event of guests, festivals or family emergencies at the employers' household. 43 per cent of respondents state that extra work goes unpaid for while 45.85 per cent of the respondents stated that they do receive monetary compensation for extra work over and above the regular load. It is worth making a note that lack of 'clearly-defined' workload might result in ambiguity on what constitutes an extra workload or not. For instance, one of the respondents, who was employed for cooking and helping in the kitchen, stated that she cleaned the windows and scrubbed the floor when there was no regular cooking work.

- **Availability of Paid Leave—**

(a) Paid leave is one of the critical aspects of paid domestic work especially in the light of the fact that it is a menial, physically demanding work justifying a provision for paid leave on the one hand while the indispensable nature of the work means that the domestic worker is expected to work 24x7. From the interactions with the respondents, it is observed that a number of domestic workers do enjoy paid-leave on monthly basis. However, there is a difference in the manner in which the paid-leave is granted. There is no provision for annual leave in case of majority of workers. The most common practice is to accumulate the monthly leaves and avail them together for a week or ten days annually to facilitate a visit to native place or to attend a family wedding. In the absence of any provision for sick leave, the domestic workers tend to store their monthly leaves for any medical eventuality. Further, the number of monthly leaves ranges
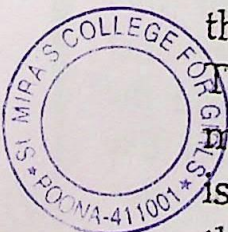
from one to four, the commonly agreed norm being two leaves per month.

(b) Secondly, the issue of leaves involves the question of the deduction in wages for leave of absence. 12.2 per cent of the respondents informed that their wages are deducted even for a single day's absence. Deduction of wage happens to be a complex phenomenon influenced by variety of factors like the duration of employment at a particular household, the nature of the employer as perceived by the domestic worker, the nature of work and the size of remuneration, etc. In essence, the issue of wage deduction is a product of employer employee interaction at the micro level. 76 per cent of the respondents stated that they do get paid-leave

(c) It was probed whether the number of leaves is negotiated at the time of joining employment as a part of verbal work contract or it remains an ad-hoc proposition. It is observed that 56.2 per cent of the respondents stated that the number of leaves remains to be an ad-hoc proposition.

(d) The burden of work that the domestic worker might have to face when she reports for work after a leave of absence remains a sour point of interaction between the employer and the domestic worker. In case of menial work like washing clothes and cleaning utensils, very often the work pending during her absence is piled up to be done on her return. It is observed that 50.7 per cent of the respondents did state that the work is kept pending for the domestic worker and has to be completed on the next day on return from leave of absence.

ges and Increments

It is found that the wages are mainly fixed on the basis a specific job that the domestic worker is expected to erform in the employer's household. It is observed that in e city of Pune, the rates for cleaning jobs varied from Rs. 00 to Rs. 500 while the rates for cooking meal for one time anged between Rs.1000 to Rs. 2000. The rate for making otis varied in the range of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 for 10-15 rotis.
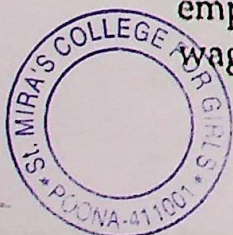
A large proportion of the respondents (67.8%) revealed that the wage rate at each household is determined on a one to one basis i.e. an individual bargaining takes place. Often, the rate prevailing in the locality is taken as a benchmark and the factors like the number of family members, the amount of work and the specifications of the household influence the actual and final wage rate. Sometimes, a lump sum payment like Rs.1000 for a combination of jobs (washing clothes, cleaning utensils and cleaning floors) is settled upon.

The average monthly wage for domestic workers in Pune city is Rs. 3826. Average daily wage for the domestic workers in Pune city works out to be Rs. 127.53. On an average a domestic worker in Pune gets Rs. 25.36 for an hour's work. Variations in hourly wage across the localities are observed with the lowest hourly wage of Rs. 22.49 found at Sinhgad Road area while the localities like Aundh, Baner and Pashan reporting hourly wage rate of Rs. 28 and above.

From the examination of informal wage setting mechanism and the responses of the domestic workers, it is clear that the actual income earned by the domestic workers depends upon the wage rate and the number of hours of work she puts in. The number of hours that a domestic worker works for depend upon her age, health issues, domestic responsibilities and the economic compulsions. The wage rate varies between jobs, localities and employers as

each domestic worker negotiates her wage rate independently with each employer. The benchmark wage rate is the going rate for the area which is determined by the locality, income group residing in the area, lifestyle of the residents and more importantly, the dependence of the employers on the paid domestic work.

Considering the fact that the domestic workers belong to one the most vulnerable sections of the population, a protection against the rising cost of living is a matter of concern. In the light of the rising prices of essential goods in the recent years, examining the increment in wages becomes imperative. A key issue is whether wages are increased regularly to mitigate the effects of rising prices of essential commodities. 61.2 per cent of the respondents stated that the increment in wages takes place at the will of the employer. In the absence of any clear rule, the increment may take place once in two-three years, only after repeated petitions by the domestic workers. As far as the size of increment is concerned, the wages are increased by Rs. 50-Rs.100 either every year or as per the wishes of the employer. The respondents claimed that it takes a number of reminders and requests to the employer before an increment actually materializes. Increment is also a matter of discord between the employer and the domestic workers with some of the disgruntled domestic workers leaving the job. There is a dilemma about the older work relationship with the employer and new jobs. In the old work, the relationship with the employer is much more personal, characterized by mutual trust. However, these jobs are not remunerative as the wages are set in ancient times and increments are difficult to come by. The new jobs, on the other hand, pay higher wage rate but lack personal understanding and the employers are often unwilling to raise wages as the basic wage itself is set high.

Registration with the Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board

The Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board was formulated in 2011 and was entrusted with the responsibility of registering the domestic workers in the state. The registration process in Pune district was initiated in November 2011. The domestic workers were required to fill out a registration form and submit it personally to the office of Assistant Commissioner of Labour, Pune. In order to facilitate a faster implementation of the process, registration camps were also held at various places. After the scrutiny of the registration forms, the Board was expected to issue identity cards to the registered domestic workers. This procedure has proved to be time consuming one. As a result, very few domestic workers have so far received the identity cards validating their registration.

In all, 48.3 per cent of the domestic workers interviewed had registered themselves at the welfare board while 51.7 per cent of them had not done so.

Employment Relationship

Apart from the wages, bonus and other work conditions described above, there are interactions and exchanges that take place between the domestic worker and the employer.

Monetary Help

In all, 412 (68.7%) respondents stated that they do receive monetary help form the employer. Of these, three respondents informed that they have received such help without any repayment obligation. For a large number of respondents, however, such help is an advance against the

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wages as the repayment of the money takes place through wage deduction for the next few months.

Non Monetary Help

The question of non-monetary help from the employer elicited some interesting responses from the domestic workers interviewed. Some of the respondents claimed that such help in the form of old clothes or used household articles was the feature of the old days and it is no longer forthcoming from new employers. A domestic worker commented that employers now prefer to sell these old clothes and articles at Big Bazar (a supermarket which offers discounts on fresh purchases in exchange for old clothes or articles) rather than handing them to the domestic workers. Another domestic worker maintained that employers expect some payment for such pre-used articles which may be more than what the domestic workers could afford. Overall, 44.7 per cent of the respondents stated that they do receive non-monetary help form their employers which included old and new clothes, used items of household, medicines, books and other educational items for their children, advice regarding opening and maintaining savings account and other advice as well as food. However, it must be noted that food is not reported as an important and regular part of employer–employee interaction. Part time nature of the work and absence of the employer at the time the domestic work is carried out are some of the reasons why food is not a significant point of interaction.

Maltreatment

10.3 per cent of the respondents reported some kind of maltreatment from the employer. The forms of such maltreatment included verbal altercations about work related issues like unreported absence from

late for work, wage related issues like undue wage cutting, non-payment of bonus, non-payment of dues, no increments etc, and excessive work load. A domestic worker who is a member of union, shared her experience when a serious charge of theft was leveled against her. She received active support from the union while dealing with the police and the employer. The charges were false and subsequently withdrawn by the employer.

Good Practices

The peculiar nature of paid domestic work may also lead to personalized relationships between the employer and the domestic workers. In some of the cases, this has resulted in good practices. An elderly domestic worker at Gosavi Vasti in Kothrud happily narrated the experience where her employer paid for her pilgrimage. At Pulachi Wadi, Deccan, a domestic worker who has stopped working due to old age, receives Rs. 500 from her employer every month. A domestic worker at Kothrud gratefully recalled the incidence when her employer had helped generously with Rs. 30000 on a non returnable basis during a medical emergency concerning her son. A domestic worker from the Peth area in the city informed that her employer pays half of the school fees for her young school going daughter.

While such instances are heartwarming and more of such interactions are welcome, it needs to be underlined that these are isolated cases and not a norm. Furthermore, the determination of work conditions should not be left to the goodwill of the employer and a more structured system needs to be in place.

Health Concerns

Many domestic workers were found to be afflicted with certain ailments. The most common ailment reported by
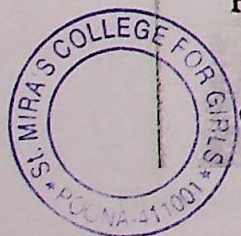
the sample was joint pain followed by back pain and weakness. The older domestic workers also reported blood pressure and diabetes. Acidity and skin related ailments are also common among the domestic workers. One of the union activist pointed out that these are work-related illnesses. The domestic workers take up a lot of work in order to earn more. Such work pressure involves running from one household to another, often without food or subsisting on stale food occasionally provided by the employers. In a few years time, this work-style begins to take a heavy toll on their health.

Health of the family members is also a matter of concern. In cases where severe illnesses of children or spouse were reported, the treatment is often abandoned due to lack of funds.

The third issue concerning health of the domestic workers is the occupational safety. One of the respondent reported that she fell from the balcony of the employers' house while drying the clothes and broke her ankle. In the absence of any compensation from the employer, she had to bear steep medical expenses herself which was a strain on her fragile resources.

Conclusion

The study of part time women domestic work in Pune city brought forth some interesting and critical issues to the fore. As was noted during the conduct of study, the majority of domestic workers live in low quality residential colonies with unhygienic and unsafe surroundings. Their work conditions including wage fixation, increments and leave remain precarious in the absence of any legal instruments regulating them. As such the organization of paid domestic work in Pune city is contoured by individual bargaining between the employer household and the domestic worker.

A more structured form of regulation is critically needed. The government of Maharashtra has taken the first step towards proving social security to domestic workers through State Welfare Board. An institutional mechanism to govern the work conditions is required to eliminate deficits in decent work for domestic workers.

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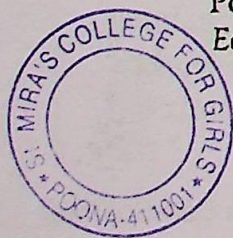
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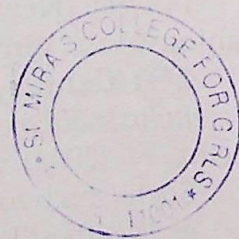
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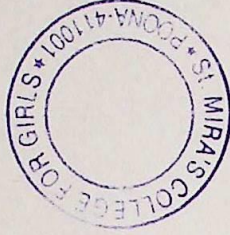
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मार्टिन्यू यांचे योगदान

-प्रा. मंजिता कुलकर्णी

मार्टिन्यू यांचा जन्म इंग्लड मध्ये १२ जुन १८०२ मध्ये झाला. वयाच्या १२ व्या वर्षी त्यांची श्रवणशक्ती कमी झाली. त्या काळातील स्त्रीयांप्रमाणे त्यांचे शिक्षण देखील घरीच झाले. त्यांचे वडील व्यापारी होते, पण व्यापारातील स्पर्धेमुळे त्यांचा व्यवसाय बंद पडला. ज्यामुळे मार्टिन्यू यांना नोकरी करावी लागली. एका नियतकालीकात नैतिक आणि राजकीय मुद्यांवरील लघुकथांच्या मालिकेने त्यांनी सुरूवात केली. त्यांनी काही काळातच कांदबरी, धार्मिक इतिहासावरील पुस्तक, विविध निबंध आणि ५२ लेख लिहीले.

मार्टिन्यू यांनी ज्या काळात समाजशास्त्रावर पुरूषांची मक्तेदारी होती त्याकाळात स्त्रीयांच्या दृष्टीकोनातुन लिखाण करण्यास सुरूवात केली व ह्याच दृष्टीकोनातुन समाजव्यवस्थेचे परिक्षण केले. त्यांना ओळखले जाते ते प्रामुख्याने त्यांनी केलेल्या कॉम्ट यांच्या 'पॉझिटीव्ह फिलॉसॉफी' या पुस्तकाच्या भाषांतरासाठी. त्यांनी फक्त भाषांतर केले नाही तर त्याचे सुधारीत पुस्तक केले. कॉम्टचे मुळ लिखाण फ्रेंचमध्ये असून ते ६ खंडात केलेले होते, जे मार्टिन्यू यांनी संपूर्ण २ खंडात मांडले. यामुळे कॉम्ट ने देखील मार्टिन्यू यांचे लिखाण घेवून तेच पुन्हा फ्रेंच भाषेत भाषांतरित केले. कोणी जर पुन्हा कॉम्टचे लिखाण वाचलेत तर त्यांना मार्टिन्यू यांचे लिखाण वाचल्याचे जाणवेल.

मार्टिन्यू या प्रत्यक्षवादी विचारवंत होत्या. वैज्ञानिक समाजशास्त्राचा पायाभुत आधार म्हणजे प्रत्यक्षवाद. कॉम्ट यांनी प्रत्यक्षवादाचा शोध लावला, जिथे सामाजिक शास्त्रात वैज्ञानिकतेवर, निरिक्षण, वर्गीकरण यावरभर देण्यात आला. मार्टिन्यू यांनी सामाजिक जगाला अंदाज लावण्यासारखे आणि अनुभववादाच्या पध्दतीतुन माहिती घेण्या येता जोगे असे पाहिले. तथापि, त्यांच्या ज्या पध्दती होत्या त्या सांख्यीकीय नसून तुलनात्मक होत्या. त्यांच्या कामामध्ये चिकित्सक हेतू असायचा, त्यातुनच त्यांनी वास्तवतेचे अध्ययन केले.

मार्टिन्यू या १९ व्या शतकातील कांदबरीकार, पत्रकार, सामाजिक

सुधारणावादी, सामाजिक वैज्ञानिक आणि स्त्रीवादी होत्या. स्वातंत्र्य व प्रबोधन काळातील विचारांनी प्रेरीत होत्या. नैसर्गिक नियम आणि मानवाचे नैसर्गिक हक्क यावर त्यांची श्रध्दा होती. अभिजात परंपरेत असलेल्या कॉम्टमार्कंस, दुरखीम, यांनी समाजाला महत्व देवून जे सिध्दांत मांडले त्यातील अनेक दूर्लक्षीत घटकांना विचारात घेवून समाजाचा विचार करण्याचे कार्य मार्टिन्यू यांनी केले. मार्क्स यांच्या सारखेच त्या देखील सामाजिक न्याय आणि मूलगामी सामाजिक बदलासाठी बांधील होत्या. मार्क्स यांनी उत्पादनाच्या मालकीचे झालेले केंद्रीकरण मांडले, त्याने आर्थिक आणि राजकीय शक्तीच्या केंद्रीकरणाबाबत सांगितले तर मार्टिन्यू यांनी त्या शक्तीला विकेंद्रीत करण्याचे मार्ग शोधले. त्यांनी सांस्कृतिक आणि सामाजिक परीवर्तनची कल्पना केली जी हळू होती. त्यांची समाजशास्त्रीय आवड खुप व्यापाक होती त्यांचा तुलनात्मक समाजशास्त्रावर भर होता. त्यांनी धर्म गुन्हेगारी आणि शिक्षा, दारिद्रय, कामगार संघर्ष, वसाहतवाद, युध्द, आरोग्य आणि आजार यावर देखील लिखाण केले त्यांचा सर्वात महत्वाचा समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टीकोन म्हणजे कुटुंब आणि लिंगभाव यावर दृष्टीकोन. यामुळे लिंगभावाचे समाजशास्त्र निर्माण झाले तसेच सामान्य समाजशास्त्रात सामाजिक आयुष्यातील सर्व घटनांना/ गोष्टींना सैध्दांतीक संदर्भ मिळाला.

खरोखरच जी मुळभूत परंपरा होती समाजशास्त्राची, ज्यांमध्ये समाजशास्त्राचे पिता होते तिथे मार्टिन्यू यांनी समाजशास्त्राच्या माता म्हणून स्थान प्राप्त केलेले आहे. त्यांनी मानवी समाजातील सामाजिक आयुष्याचा शास्त्रीय पध्दतीनेअभ्यास केलेला दिसून येतो. त्या मधील नमूना, कारणे, परिणाम आणि समस्या यांमध्ये त्यांची रूची होती. कॉम्ट आणि स्पेन्सर यांच्यासारखेच समाज हा देश-राज्य किंवा राजकीय-संस्कृतीचे अस्तित्व या समानच असतो हे त्यांना समजले होते. त्यांच्या मताप्रमाणे सर्वात महत्वाचा सामाजिक आयुष्याचा कायदा म्हणजे मानवी आनंद.

मार्टिन्यू या कॉम्ट आणि स्पेन्सर यांच्यासारखे आदर्श सैध्दांतिक प्रारूप विकसित करण्यात फारशा उत्सुक नव्हत्या,तसेच समाजाची अमूर्त रचना किंवा त्यांच्या विकासाच्या पायऱ्या ओळखणे त्यांचा विकास करणे यामध्ये त्यांना फारसा रस नव्हता. तर त्यांना इतिहासात विकसित झालेले समाज त्यातील मानवांचे नातेसंबंध आणि क्रिया यांच्या नमूण्यांमधुन समाज कसा संघटीत झाला हे पाहण्यात रूची होती.

त्यांनी राजकीय अर्थव्यवस्थेवर देखील खुप लिखाण केले, त्या एक स्त्री लेखिका होत्या ज्या पुरूषांचे क्षेत्र असलेल्या सामाजिक आणि राजकीय मुद्दयांवर लिखाण करत होत्या.

स्त्रीवाद आणि स्त्रीयांचे समाजशास्त्र :-

मार्टिन्यू हया त्यांच्या लिंग भावावरील कार्यासाठी लोकप्रिय आहेत तसेच समकालीन स्त्रीवाद्यांवर त्यांचा खुप प्रभाव असलेला दिसून येतो. जिथे पुरुषप्रधान समाजाचे वर्चस्व आहे तिथे त्यांच्या स्त्रिवादी दृष्टीकोनातुन त्या स्त्रीयांच्या आयुष्याची स्थिती काय आहे याचे सामाजिक विश्लेषण करतात. यासाठी त्यांनी पुरावा म्हणून अमेरिकेतील समाज घेतला होता (१८३६). त्या कुटुंब आणि विवाह संस्थेबद्दल बोलतात. त्यांनी पाश्चिमात्य देशात जे विश्लेषण केले त्यातुन त्यांना कळाले स्त्रीया हया गुलामांप्रमाणे जगतात. मार्टिन्यू या म्हणतात की विवाह आणि लिंगभाव यांच्या संस्कृतीतआणि प्रत्यक्ष कृतीत एक जोडणी असलेली दिसते. कुंटुंबामध्ये लहान मुलाचे सामाजिकरण होते. तसेच सामाजिक नितीनियम आणि वागण्याच्या पध्दती कुंटुंबातच शिकवल्या जातात. समाजात धैर्य हा पुरुषांचा गुण म्हणून पाहिले जाते हयात कुंटुंब किंवा नातेसंबंधाचा विचार केला जात नाही, उलट पुरुषांच्या धैर्यासाठी समाजामध्ये सन्मान केला जातो या उलट स्त्रीयांची आणि बालकांची स्थिती दिसते. भावना हया स्त्रीयांशी जोडल्या जातात व कुंटुंबाशी स्त्रीचे जवळचे नाते जोडले जाते त्यामुळे सामाजिक आणि खाजगीअसे दोनवेगळे क्षेत्र पहायला मिळतात. सामाजिक क्षेत्र पुरुषांचेआणि खाजगी क्षेत्र स्त्रीयां ?. स्त्रीया हया कुंटुंब व लैंगिकतेशी जोडल्या जावून त्यांना दुय्यम स्थान दिले जाते.

स्त्रीयांना कामामध्ये सभागासाठी देखील नाकारले जाते त्यामुळे विवाह आणि लिंगभाव यावर नकारात्मक परिणाम दिसून येतो. आर्थिक दृष्टच्या स्त्री ही अवलंबून व कमकुवत बनते तर पुरुष हा यशस्वी ठरतो. थोड्या प्रमाणात का असेना पण विवाह हा आर्थिकदृष्टच्या देखील, स्त्रीला कामाच्या संधीमध्ये जी मर्यादा सहन करावी लागते त्याच्या परिणामांना सामोरे जातो. मुलांचे अशाच आर्थिक आणि लिंगभावाच्या संस्कृतीप्रमाणे सामाजिकरण घडत असते त्यामुळे लोक जेव्हा मोठे होतात ते त्याच बाजुने विचार करून स्वतःच्या लिंगभावाची अभिव्यक्ती समाजाने ठरवलेल्या प्रकारे करतात. मार्टिन्यू यांनी लिंग भावाबद्दलचे विचार मांडून समाजशास्त्राला नवी दिशा, ओळख मिळवून दिली आहे.

यांच्या शिक्षणांबाबतच्या विचारांना पाहिले तर त्यांचे म्हणणे आहे समाजाला जर त्यातील लोकांना आनंद पुरवायचा असेल तर शिक्षण हे विनामोबदला दिले गेले पाहिजे. विनामोबदला शिक्षणाची जी पातळी आहे त्यावरून समाजातील समान संधीचे मापन केले जाते. शिक्षण हे फक्त आर्थिक फायद्यासाठी नाही तर व्यक्तीला स्वतःचा विकास करता येईल यासाठी असले पाहिजे. तसेच धर्मसंस्था तसेच शिक्षणसंस्था यातून व्यक्तीला स्वतःची प्राप्ती

झाली पाहिजे.

थोडक्यात मार्टिन्यू यांनी समाजात दूर्लक्षीत असलेल्या लिंगभावाचा विचार केला आहे तसेच प्रत्यक्ष वादाला समाजातील सर्व घटकांमध्ये समाविष्ट केलेआहे. समाजिक शास्त्राला वैज्ञानिक पध्दतीने नविन ओळख करून देणाऱ्या त्या समाजशास्त्राच्या माता आहेत.

ॐॐ

'देश-विदेशातील मूल्यशिक्षण आणि तरुण पिढी'

संपादक
डॉ. स्नेहल तावरे
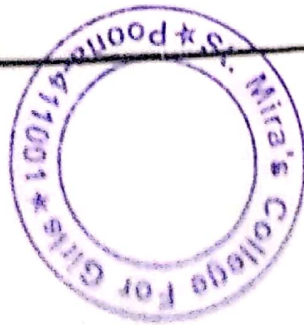
मूल्यक्रम

मूल्यशिक्षणाची आवश्यकता आणि
स्वामी विवेकानंद यांचे मूल्यविचार

डॉ. संगीता देशमुख

स्वामी विवेकानंदांचे आयुष्य जेमतेम चाळीस वर्षांचे; पण या अल्पशा काळामध्येच, प्रथम शाळा-कॉलेजातील एक हुशार विद्यार्थी, त्यांचे महान गुरू श्रीरामकृष्ण यांचे अत्युत्तम शिष्य, संबंध भारत उभाआडवा हिंडून पाहिले परिव्राजक आणि शेवटी पूर्व च पश्चिमेचे महान आध्यात्मिक गुरू असे उत्तुंग जीवन ते जगले. १८९३ च्या जागतिक सर्वधर्म परिषदेतील व्याख्यानाने त्यांच्या प्रचारकार्याचा श्रीगणेशा झाला, तर ४ जुलै १९०२ या दिवशी त्यांनी इहलोकाची यात्रा संपविली.

वेदकाळ्यापासून आधुनिक काळापर्यंत सामर्थ्यशाली गुरूंची जी अखंडित परंपरा भारताच्या आध्यात्मिक आकाशात विलसित आहे त्याच मालेमध्ये स्वामी विवेकानंद हे नाव तेजाळत आहे. विवेकानंदांच्या विचारांनी भारतीय संस्कृतीला आध्यात्मिक बैठक, आध्यात्मिक शक्ती आणि विचारधारा प्राप्त झाली. भारताला नवी शक्ती, नवी आशा मिळण्याच्या केंद्रस्थानी असलेल्या आध्यात्मिक तेजोराशींमध्ये स्वामी विवेकानंदांचा उल्लेख क्रमप्राप्त आहे. 'माझ्या नावाला प्राधान्य दिले जाऊ नये. माझे विचार प्रत्यक्षात यावेत अशी माझी इच्छा आहे.' स्वामीजींचा हा सुरेख संदेश त्यांच्या मूल्यविचारांतून उद्घोषित होतो.

स्वतःवरील, ईश्वरावरील श्रद्धा हेच महान बनण्याचे रहस्य आहे – पुराणांमधून वर्णिलेल्या तेहतीस कोटी देवांवर तुमची श्रद्धा असेल; पण तुमची स्वतःवर जर श्रद्धा नसेल तर तुम्हाला मुक्ती लाभणे शक्यच नाही. जगाचा इतिहास हा स्वतःवर श्रद्धा असलेल्या काही थोड्या माणसांनी घडविलेला आहे. अशी श्रद्धाच आतील देवत्वाला बाहेर प्रकट करते. मग तुम्ही सर्व काही करू शकता. तुमच्यामधील अनंत शक्ती प्रकट करण्याचा पुरेसा प्रयत्न तुमच्याकडून झाला नाही तरच तुम्हाला अपयश येते. कोणतीही व्यक्ती किंवा राष्ट्र जेव्हा श्रद्धाहीन बनते तेव्हा मृत्यू ओढवतो. जुना धर्म म्हणत असे की ज्याचा ईश्वरावर विश्वास नाही तोच नास्तिक.

तुम्हीच तुमच्या भाग्याचे निर्माते आहात – सर्वसाधारण माणूस :
आयुष्यातील सगळे दोष, सगळ्या चुका इतरांवर लादू पाहतो
जमल्यास ईश्वरावर लादू जातो, आणि तेही न साधल्यास भाग्य ना
भूत उभे करून त्याला वेठीस धरतो; परंतु वस्तुत: भाग्य म्हणजे
आपण जे पेरतो तेच उगवत असते. आपल्या भाग्याचे आपणच
आहोत. त्यासाठी दुसऱ्या कोणाला निंदायलाही नको आणि चंद
नको. भ्याड व मूर्ख मनुष्यच 'दैव आहे' असे म्हणतो. 'मी म
घडवीन असे बलवान मनुष्य म्हणतो.' म्हातारी होऊ लागलेली
दैवाविषयी बोलतात. तरुण माणसे सामान्यत: ज्योतिषशास्त्राकडे
नाहीत. ज्या गोष्टीला आपण पात्र असतो तीच आपल्याला मिळत
स्वत:च्या हातांनी मार्ग तयार केल्याशिवाय कोणतेही अरिष्ट आप
कोसळत नाही. आपल्यावर होणाऱ्या आघातांची पूर्वतयारी आपणच
असते. जे दुसऱ्यांना दोष देतात ते दुबळ्या मेंदूचे असतात, स्व
परिस्थितीची सर्व जबाबदारी स्वत:वर घ्या.

एकाग्रता हा सर्व प्रकारच्या ज्ञानाचा पाया आहे – सामान्य
नव्वद टक्के विचारशक्ती वाया घालवितो, मनाला एकाग्रतेचे
लावा. जगातील सर्व ज्ञान हे मानवाच्या एकाग्रतेच्या शक्तीमुळे मि
गेले आहे. विश्वाची रहस्ये जाणून घेण्याची शक्ती एकाग्रतेतून
होत असते. मानवी मनाच्या शक्तीला काही सीमा नाही. ते
अधिक एकाग्र होईल, तितकी एखाद्या गोष्टीवर केंद्रित होण्याची
शक्ती वाढेल. मनाची एकाग्रता हे शिक्षणाचे मुख्य सार आहे.
काही घटनांची माहिती गोळा करणे म्हणजे शिक्षण नव्हे. मान
एकाग्रतेची व मन अलग करण्याची शक्ती विकसित करून निर्दोष
स्वत:च्या इच्छेनुसार घटनांची माहिती गोळा करणे म्हणजे शि
मुलांमध्ये मन एकाग्र करण्याची शक्ती व ते अलग करण्याची शक्ती
दोन्ही बरोबरच वाढविल्या पाहिजेत.

शिक्षण हे चारित्र्य घडविणारे, मानसिक बल वाढविणारे, बुद्धी वि
करणारे आणि स्वावलंबी बनविणारे असे असावे – केवळ परीक्षा
कोणी शिक्षित बनत नाही. जे शिक्षण लाभल्याने सामान्य मा
जीवनसंग्रामाला लायक होऊ शकत नाही, जे शिक्षण चारित्र्यबदल, पर
तत्परता व सिंहासारखे साहस निर्माण करू शकत नाही, त्याला
शिक्षण म्हणायचे? ज्या शिक्षणाने माणूस जीवनात आपल्या पायावर
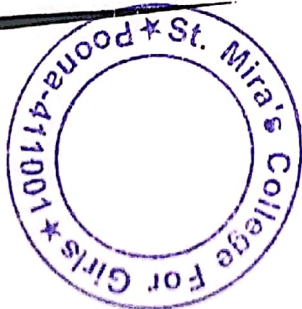राहू शकतो तेच खरे शिक्षण. जे शिक्षण आज शाळा-कॉलेजांमधून

देश-विदेशातील ... तरुण पिढी
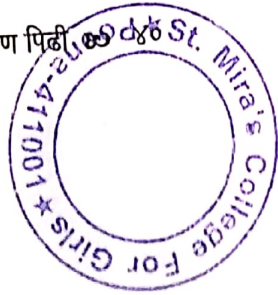
जाते त्यामुळे अजीर्ण झालेल्या रोगांची जातच जणू तयार होत आहे. किल्ली दिलेल्या एखाद्या यंत्रासारखे तुम्ही राबता, 'जन्माला आले आणि मरून गेले' या विधानाचे तुम्ही जणू मूर्तिमंत उदाहरणच ठरता. आत्मसात न झालेला व मेंदूत कोंबलेला ज्ञानाचा भारा म्हणजे शिक्षण नव्हे. शिक्षण हे जीवन घडविणारे, 'माणूस' निर्माण करणारे, चारित्र्य घडविणारे व चांगले विचार आत्मसात करविणारे असावे. तुम्ही जर चारपाच विचार चांगले आत्मसात करून आपल्या जीवनात व आचरणात उतरविलेत, तर अवघे ग्रंथालय मुखोद्गत करणाऱ्या व्यक्तीपेक्षाही तुमचे शिक्षण सरसच ठरेल.

इंद्रियसुख हे मानवाचे ध्येय नव्हे – ज्ञानप्राप्ती हेच जीवनाचे लक्ष्य होय. पशूंना इंद्रियांपासून जितका आनंद मिळतो त्यापेक्षा पुष्कळ जास्त आनंद मनुष्याला आपल्या आत्म्यापासून प्राप्त होतो. तसेच बुद्धीच्या आनंदापेक्षा मनुष्याला आपल्या आत्म्यापासून प्राप्त होणारा आनंद कितीतरी जास्त असतो. म्हणून आध्यात्मिक ज्ञान हेच सर्वश्रेष्ठ ज्ञान असले पाहिजे. या ज्ञानानेच खरा आनंद प्राप्त होतो. इंद्रिये ही केवळ बाह्य वस्तूंचाच अनुभव घेतात; पण दृष्टी अंतर्मुख करून आत्म्याचे दर्शन लाभलेला आत्मज्ञानाचा अधिकारी ठरतो. ज्यांची कर्मे पवित्र असतात, इंद्रिये संयत असतात अशा लोकांनाच सत्याचा लाभ होतो.

दुर्दैवाने ह्या जगात बहुसंख्य लोक कोणताही आदर्श, कसलेही ध्येय समोर नाही अशा स्थितीत आपल्या अंधाऱ्या जीवनात चाचपडत असतात. समोर एखादा आदर्श असलेला मनुष्य जर हजार चुका करील, तर समोर कोणताही आदर्श नसलेला मनुष्य पन्नास हजार चुका करील. म्हणून जीवनात एखादा आदर्श असणेच श्रेयस्कर आहे. एखादी कल्पना स्वीकारून तिलाच आपले जीवनसर्वस्व बनवा – एखादी कल्पना स्वीकारली की सतत तिचाच ध्यास घ्या, तिचीच स्वप्ने बघा, तिच्यावरच जगा. तुमचा मेंदू, तुमचे स्नायू, तुमचे मज्जातंतू, तुमच्या शरीराचा अणुरेणू त्याच कल्पनेने भारला जाऊ द्या. इतर कोणत्याही विचाराला थारा देऊ नका. यशस्वी होण्याचा हाच मार्ग आहे. थोर धर्मवीर केवळ ह्याच तऱ्हेने निर्माण होत असतात. तारुण्य हे एक सामर्थ्य आहे. तारुण्यातील उत्साह व जोम कायम आहे तोवरच तुम्हाला आपले भविष्य ठरविण्याची संधी आहे. कामाला लागा, हीच वेळ आहे, उठा, सिद्ध व्हा, कारण जीवन हे अल्प आहे.

सर्वांकडून शिकण्याची तयारी ठेवा – ज्ञानप्राप्तीसाठी प्रत्येकाच्या पायाशी बसण्याची आपली तयारी असली पाहिजे, कारण प्रत्येकजण

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समस्या नाही. म्हणून धर्माला केंद्र करून स्त्रीशिक्षणाचा प्रसार व्हावयास हवा. कन्येचेदेखील मुलाप्रमाणेच काळजीपूर्वक पालन आणि शिक्षण झाले पाहिजे; मुलाप्रमाणेच मुलीच्याही विद्याभ्यासाचे कर्तव्य पार पाडावे. स्त्रियांच्या उन्नतीतच सर्वांच्या उन्नतीची आशा आहे.

ओसरलेली लाट पुन:श्च तशीच केव्हाही उठत नाही. मनुष्याला तेच शरीर फिरून पुन्हा प्राप्त होत नाही. म्हणून मृत भूतकालाची पूजा टाकून देऊन चैतन्यमय वर्तमानाच्या पूजेसाठी आम्ही तुम्हाला आवाहन करीत आहोत. गतगोष्टींचे शोकयुक्त चिंतन टाकून देऊन वर्तमानात कार्य करण्यासाठी आम्ही तुम्हाला हाक देत आहोत. लुप्त आणि उद्ध्वस्त मार्गांच्या शोधात शक्तिक्षय न करता निकटच्या प्रशस्त आणि नवनिर्मित मार्गावर येण्यासाठी आम्ही तुम्हाला बोलावित आहोत. बुद्धिमंतांनो! याचे मर्म उमजून घ्या. विश्वगुरू स्वामी विवेकानंदांचे आश्वासक, प्रेरक, चैतन्यदायक असे हे मौलिक विचारधन सदैव अनुकरणीय आहे. आचार्य विनोबा भावे यांनी म्हटल्याप्रमाणे, "विवेकानंदांनी आम्हाला आपल्या सामर्थ्याचीच जाणीव नुसती करून दिली नाही, तर त्यांनी आमच्या उणिवा आणि आमचे दोषही दाखवून दिले. वेदान्ताची शक्ती जीवनात प्रकट होण्यासाठी ताठ मानेने जगणे आवश्यक आहे, हे त्यांनी शिकविले."

आधुनिक भारताच्या पुनर्जागरणाकरिता स्वामी विवेकानंदांचे विचार अत्यावश्यक आहेत.

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