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Understanding Prehistoric Santal Parganas

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Abstract

A careful analysis of available literature on the subject throws sufficient light on the rich Archeological heritage of the Santal Parganas Region or the "Ganga-Barakar valley". By reinterpreting the available literature Prehistoric Cultural developments of the land can properly be marked and understood. The presence of Lower Paleolithic Stone Age implements, including primary habitation sites, has been reported from Bansloi river valley. Paisara in the Kharagpur hill range which is a continuation of Rajmahal hill range, Chormara and Jamalpur near Munger and Bhimbandh in district Jamui are the other reported Lower Paleolithic sites adjacent to this region. Keeping in view the excavated site of Paisara in the nearby Khadagpur hills, the continuation of Paleolithic cultures through middle and upper Paleolithic alike can be expected to have existed even in the Rajmahal hill range of Santal Parganas also. The Upper Paleolithic phase in Santal Parganas is characterised by predominant scraper types, cores and flakes, together with microlithic specimens. These tools have been found in the Rajmahal, Sahebganj and Godda-Dumka region. The Rajmahal stone tool industry seems to be predominantly microlithic and this could be ascribed to Mesolithic period. In fact microliths have been found from all parts of the Santal Parganas. The microlithic industry of Santal Parganas is characterized by preponderance of blade/ bladelet elements. There are a number of find spots which have been reported for Neolithic Celts and axes in the region. To the north of this region, Neolithic culture seems to have evolved with Chalcolithic Cultural phase in the Ganga plains because the Godda plain and the plateau section of the Santal Parganas would have provided various types of minerals like copper, lead, silver, iron, stones and timber. Therefore we can say that this part of Santal Parganas might have witnessed the evolution of the Neolithic Culture as well.

Keywords : samudra manthan, new archeology, processual archeology, cognitive archeology

Introduction

While doing any study on Santal Parganas very often I take a long inner journey and reach to a different world. I ask myself many questions such as; what exactly Santal Parganas stands for? What historical tradition does she carry? Why the world is not known to the historical contributions, this vast landscape has made to the development of civilization of the mankind? Is there any relevance of the Rajmahal hills (Mandar Hill) in the context of the Puranic narratives of Samudra Manthan of the Indian tradition? Why and how Santal Parganas remained outside the discourse of historical literature despite the fact that one can underline the growth of culture and civilization here from the very beginning – from the Paleolithic times. I am very often carried away by my heart along with my mind whenever I think of Santal Parganas. Honestly speaking, one can draw a parallel between my state of mind and what Jawahar Lal Nehru

used to think about India while he was a prisoner of Ahmed Nagar Fort prison in 1944, which ultimately resulted in his immortal book "The Discovery of India". Very often I become obsessed with the geo-cultural-historical identity of Santal Parganas (which can broadly be termed as Ganga – Barakar Valley), just as Nehru would become with the very thought of India. I thus would like to quote from his seminal work, 'The Discovery of India' : "India was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent I came to her via the West, and looked at her as a friendly Westerner might have done. I was eager and anxious to change her outlook and appearance and give her garb of modernity. And yet doubts arose within me. Did I know India? – I who presumed to scrap much of her past heritage? There was a great deal that had

to be scrapped, that must be scrapped; but surely India could not have been what she undoubtedly was, and could not have continued a cultured existence for thousands of years, if she had not possessed something very vital and enduring, something that was worthwhile. What was this something?"¹

Yes, Santal Parganas has been studied differently by different people. When we talk of Santal Parganas, it may convey different meanings to different people. Some think of this as a land which had no habitation till recent past, and has no history. But for few others this is a land originally and pre-dominantly inhabited by tribes. All non-tribes are 'dikkus' who came later. Yet there are many non-tribal people who do not wish to associate them with dikkus and rather perceive this land having long antiquity. They regard it as their mother land, which is still struggling to find her legitimate place in the galaxy of cultural zones of the Indian sub-continent. Amrtya Sen also encounters the similar contradictions while trying to understand Indian Cultural ethos. "There are several fundamentally contrary ideas and images of India, and they have quite distinct roles in the Western understanding of the country and also in influencing the self-perception of Indians"², writes Sen, while explaining the dynamism of Indian cultural tradition. I too very often find several contrary ideas and images of Santal Parganas amongst the intellectuals and historians which must be contested. The study of Prehistoric Santal Parganas proves our point.

Materials and Methods

Primarily based on D. K. Chkrabarti's survey and few articles contributed by researchers in the PIHC related to this land, we have consulted several other important books. For theoretical perspectives we have utilized materials available in 'Archaeology as Cultural History' by Ian Morris, 'The Hoe and the Axe' by Ajay Pratap, 'The Archeology of India' by D. P. Agrawal, 'New Archeology – Its Scope and Application to India' by H. D. Sankalia, 'Archaeology in the third World: A History of Indian Archaeology since 1947' and 'Archaeology of Eastern India: Chhotanagpur Plateau and West Bengal', by D. K. Chakrabarti,

'Prehistory and Protohistory of India' by V. K. Jain and other works. Recourse has also been taken to make use of the published works of the author related to the various aspects of historical and cultural developments of the Santal Parganas.

Results and Discussions

'Traditional Knowledge system' has gained wider acceptance during the last few decades. This has been properly defined by scholars. It is said that "Traditional Knowledge or 'Local Knowledge' is a record of human achievement in comprehending the complexities of life and survival in often unfriendly environments. Traditional Knowledge, which may be technical, social, organizational or cultural, was obtained as part of the great human experiment of survival and development."³ In this context 'Archaeology' becomes very much a part of this Traditional Knowledge system. And the 'Santal Paraganas' or the 'Ganga–Brakar Valley' can very well be studied with the tools of 'Traditional Knowledge System'. But as D. P. Agrawal warns us, "When we study Traditional Knowledge System of various regions of India, we have to remember that the colonizers systematically exterminated or undermined the local traditional science, technology, and crafts of the land of the people they plundered, because of their arrogance and also to control and appropriate the economic means of production."⁴ The Santal Parganas is the classic example of this phenomenon. Not only in the colonial era but also in this long post- independence period of India this land has been neglected. One can find many mounds, old relics and many other places of Cultural and Historical importance which have been grabbed and destroyed by land mafias. And shockingly there is complete lack of sensitization in the intellectual circle and the intelligentsia of Santal Parganas. As far as political elite of this region are concerned, they are perhaps least bothered. In fact this story of negligence of Santal Parganas had started from the very beginning i.e. since the time of the great archaeologist General Sir Cunningham. "... There is no doubt that, after Sir William Jones, Indology owes more to General Sir Cunningham than to any other

worker in the field” declares A. L. Basham⁵ and agreeing with him D. D. Kosambi also writes, “From his arrival in India in 1831 Cunningham devoted every minute he could spare from his military duties to the study of the material remains of Ancient India, until in 1862, the Indian government established the post of Archaeological Surveyor, to which he was appointed. Until his retirement in 1885 he devoted himself to the unraveling of India’s past with complete single heartedness.”⁶ But unfortunately Santal Parganas or the Ganga-Barakar Valley could not attract his due attention and remained neglected by a scholar of his caliber and others, despite the fact that the present areas of Santal Parganas have been one of the earliest habitats of human kind. Even after the wide scale plunder and destruction of ancient sites, one finds the evidences of Prehistoric cultural sites throughout this region. We have numerous rich Pre-historic sites in Santal Parganas, but historians and pre-historians are still reluctant to pay their due attention to this vast landscape. For example, an extra-ordinary book written by Dr. V. K. Jain⁷ and foreword by Prof. D. N. Jha, which gives a detailed description of several Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic sites of India, nowhere does contain any information of any pre-historic site of Santal Parganas which displays a vast canvass of prehistoric sites of all phases- from Paleolithic to Neolithic.

Prehistory studies that phase of human history when man was evolving biologically and culturally. During this vast span of time the mankind completed his evolutionary journey from a hominid primate to Homo Sapiens Sapiens. Naturally, it is a history of early man’s struggle as well as accommodation for survival in adverse environmental setting. Thus it is marked by man’s slow progress from a hunter-gatherer to food producer stage of development.

Prehistoric development in India is similar to that of anywhere in the world. Hence, Indian prehistory is also divided into three stages—Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic. As elsewhere in India also we find gradual improvements in tool making technology in

each successive stages of prehistory. Thus, this remains one of the most important phases of human life in the Indian sub-continent. We have the evidences of the existence of all these phases of Prehistory in the region of Santal Parganas or Ganga-Barakar valley.

In the study of Prehistory, archeology is the most important subject. Archeology studies the methods which enable an archeologist to excavate and recover the unwritten records of the past in the form of material remains of the early human beings. For this the archeologists follow cultural-history perspective developed by Gordon Childe and others. In this approach the excavated materials are dated on the basis of their Stratigraphic context. This theory accepts the concept of culture as propounded by Gordon Childe. In the Childein concept archeological remains such as pots, implements, ornaments, etc. “constantly occurring together” reflect the “culture” of the people⁸. But this traditional approach was challenged in 1960s. In 1960s the theory of “new archeology” was coined by the scholars like Lewis Binford and others. Later this came to be known as “Processual archeology”⁹. “Processual archeology” views culture as a “system” having various “sub-systems” or components such as society, economy, environments, and argues that it is the interaction and interrelationship between them that accelerate the process of change. This school utilizes the knowledge from other disciplines such as anthropology, Paleontology, Paleo-pathology, Paleo-botany and Paleozoology etc. Nowadays we hear about “Post-Processual” School in the field of Prehistoric studies. The British archeologist Ian Hodder has argued for “Post Processual”¹⁰ theory. This school advocates that the archeology of a region should be viewed in the context of history and culture of the people concerned. It believes that each area has its own model of development. They argue that our brain may be the same but the cultural traditions are generated independently.

Another school known as “Cognitive archeology”¹¹ is also applied as a new theory for archeological study in the contemporary academic world. In this theory the study of

ancient remains and symbols are done in order to gain an insight into the mind, belief and ideology of the early human being. In India also we find the application of all these theoretical tools. It was S. C. Malik who in 1986 first gave a call for a change in descriptive method and advocated an anthropological and analytical approach in India. In 1977 H. D. Sankalia examined the relevance of "new archeology" in the Indian context. Since then more and more scholars such as D. K. Chakrabarti, K. Paddyya, D. P. Agrawal and other archeologists have followed this school in India. If one tries to apply these perspectives to the study on the Prehistoric Santal Parganas, exciting results may be obtained.

Prehistoric studies in India today also witness the studies based on Ethno-archeology. Ethno-archaeology is the study of existing societies using similar tools and artifacts as those of use in Prehistoric times. Ethno-archaeology becomes very important for the field study of areas such as Santal Parganas. We agree with Daniel Usner that "Things and stories are inseparable, as are the multiple stories told by the things themselves. ...Intricately complicated experiences of encounter and exchange will continue to fascinate a growing number of ethno historians."¹² Thus, Ethno-archaeology holds great promise for augmenting prehistoric research in this region. In this direction a work has already been done by Ajay Pratap in Rajmahal region on the Paharia tribe. Further such kind of works will help in explaining and understanding archaeological data about prehistoric life ways of this region. But we must be careful while using such methodology of research. It should only be seen as possibilities and not as conclusions. We must keep in mind the differences between the present and past contexts.

The Prehistoric Santal Parganas : "The Chhota Nagpur Plateau forming the south eastern part of Bihar, and an extension of the Peninsular India massif, is richer in the Paleolithic remains" acknowledges Agrawal¹³. He further writes "Palaeoliths were found also in the Monghyr district from Bhimbandh and Chormara valley. If the present conditions are

anything to go by, these hill-grit forested valley must have been ideal habitats as they provide game, fruits, tubers, raw materials for tools and protection against elements and enemies."¹⁴ Despite the encouraging evidence of systematic Paleolithic research in eastern India, Santal Parganas have not been given the due attention. Leaving the case of adjoining Paisara in the Khadagpur hills, the only excavated Paleolithic primary habitation site, the rest of the Paleolithic sites may be termed as merely find spots in this area.¹⁵ However, it may be proposed that this area being in the cultural zone of Santal Prganas throws sufficient light on the prehistoric developments of this entire region.

The first study of the prehistoric artifacts in Santal Parganas was made by P. O. Boddington of the Norwegian Mission at Mahul pahari, south of Dumka, on the way to Shikaripara. A quartz hand axe in the eroded landscape behind the hospital at Mahul pahari was discovered.¹⁶ The first report by Boddington was published in 1901 with illustrations of 54 Neolithic artifacts which varied in size. One of them measured 26.5 cm in length and weighed 2.5 kg. Interestingly enough, Boddington writes that chunks of quartz were still broken and pieces used as a wedge to fell a small tree in that area.¹⁷ In 1904 Boddington published another paper on the subject. He refers to the fact that all his implements were collected from the Dumka subdivision¹⁸ (now a District). He further mentions that "chips and flakes of flint, chert, etc. are found in many places".¹⁹ He also refers to the occurrence of four shoulder-headed Celt specimens in his collection and compares them with southeast Asiatic specimens, indulging in speculations about the supposed similarities between the Mon-Khmer and Kolarian language groups, etc. The entire Boddington collection of 2620 pieces now kept in the University Ethnographic Museum in Oslo and taken to Norway in several separate lots between 1901 and 1934 was studied by F. R. Allchin²⁰ in 1962.

P. L. Gupta refers to the findings of two-shouldered Celts at Chandsai or Chandsar in the Godda area as early as 1942, which seem to be the only reported findings of copper Celts

in the old district of Santal Parganas. Yule refers to them as "axe-ingots", more or less of the same size.²¹

In 1960-61 K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna discovered at Paharpur (southern bank of the Gomani, near Barhait), Mohantada (6.5 km north of Barhait), Bandarkola (8km north of Barhait) and Amjani (13 km north of Barhait) the following tool-types: Paleolithic flake tools on quartzite, scrapers or series lion chert and quartzite and both geometric and non-geometric microliths on quartz, crystal and chert. In 1963-64 C. R. P. Singh discovered geometric microliths at Buddhudi, Bheladih, Chawdhridih, Chorda-dih, Dabur, Dubar-kunda, Dumar, Gholajuri, Ghoralash, Indpahari, Kankershola, Kaniakolajore, Khutiya, Madhuban and Tepra in Santal Parganas.²² The details of these discoveries do not appear to be published.

D. K. Chakrabarti has done a pioneering work to establish Santal Parganas on the map of pre-historic Indian subcontinent. D. K. Chakrabarti's famous book entitled "Archaeology of Eastern India" gives a detailed picture of prehistoric sites in Santal Pargnas. In Shikaripara area the locality which is called Kolpara, near the village of Jabardaha, in a village of 'Dhokra craftsmen' Lower Paleolithic hand axes were found in the eroded gullies. It clearly speaks about a lower Paleolithic site in Santal Pargnas.²³ As far as the archaeological record is concerned; appearance of a man in this region took place during the late middle Pleistocene period of the Quarternary geological era. The presence of Lower Paleolithic Stone Age implements, including primary habitation sites, has been reported from Bansloi river valley. Paisara in the Kharagpur hill range which is a continuation of Rajmahal hill range, Chormara and Jamalpur near Munger and Bhimbandh in district Jamui are the other reported Lower Paleolithic sites.²⁴

The Middle Paleolithic in Santal Paragan, like elsewhere in India, is characterized by an industry comprised of scrapers, points and borers predominantly made on flakes. Similarly "Cover over the bedrock in the area suggests considerable antiquity and there is an incipient blade industry with an element of

burns which may suggest a middle Paleolithic affiliation"²⁵ writes Prof. Chakrabarti, regarding many sites of this region. Keeping in view the excavated site of Paisara, the continuation of Paleolithic cultures through middle and upper Paleolithic alike in the Rajgir, Jethian valleys and from south in the Damodar valley can be expected to have existed even in Rajmahal hill range also.

The Upper Paleolithic phase in Santal Parganas is characterised by predominant scraper types, cores and flakes, together with microlithic specimens. These tools have been found in the Rajmahal, Sahebganj and Godda-Dumka region²⁶. "What we in this context have called the Damin industry is, according to us, an upper Paleolithic industry with Microlithic elements, which occurs in a well-defined stratigraphic situation and is marked by the almost exclusive use of a painted brownish cherty material as raw material" writes Prof. Chakrabarti and hence he calls it 'Upper paleolithic'²⁷. M. L. K. Murty also came to the same conclusion after briefly studying the material discovered by Chakrabarti. Murty says "I am of the opinion that these occurrences are amorphous, typical of industries in the woodland ecosystems; and my hunch is that they may represent a regional facies of the Upper Paleolithic. We have similar occurrences (amorphous) in Woodland ecotones, especially in Adilabad district."²⁸ The fact that diverse agricultural situations can still coexist in the same area may be illustrated by referring to the present situation in hilly Damin belt of the Santhal Parganas. The valley bottoms are occupied by the plough agriculturist Santhals who are comparatively recent immigrants to the area. The hill slopes and tops are occupied by the Paharias, who cultivate the hills with a particular stick method. The valley bottom were once parts of woodlands too, and in the topsoil of the area one finds a rich spread of upper Paleolithic industry which has been termed the Damin industry²⁹. Thus the Upper Paleolithic culture which consists predominantly of scraper types, cores and flakes together with microlithic specimens is found in Rajmahal, Sahebganj and Dumka region. Ajay Pratap has also

reported three Paleolithic sites from Rajmahal hill region³⁰.

Mesolithic culture in the region is represented by a number of surface find spots. Rev. P.O. Boddington, in the beginning of the twentieth century reported several find spots of stone tools including axes, hammers, arrowheads and the shoulder-headed celts similar to those found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur³¹. The shoulder-headed celts were interpreted to have some kind of relation between the two far flung areas³². It was further surmised that linguistically the Mon-Khmer group of people stretching from Assam, Garo hill region through Burma are spread upto Malay Peninsula. In Chota Nagpur area including Santhal Pargana, the Munda linguistic group is believed to be of the same language group. It was, therefore, assumed that these linguistic groups are the descendents of the prehistoric people who manufactured and used these stone implements³³.

The Rajmahal stone tool industry seems to be predominantly microlithic and this could be ascribed to Mesolithic period. D. P. Agrawal again provides the general framework to understand the microlithic findings of our area. He opines that "in the eastern zone greater emphasis was put on the Neolithic finds, and as a result less is known about the Microlithic sites... From the Chhota Nagpur Plateau many surface collections are known which are marked by a developed blade technique and general absence of geometric forms. Though there is no clear stratigraphic evidence, it can be suggested that microlithic industries here are both Neolithic-associated as also pre-Neolithic."³⁴ Recent studies of this land have brought many microlithic sites to light. The hill slopes of Rajmahal contain microliths and small mesolithic celts as well³⁵. At a hill called Fuljori Pahar which is about 8km from Sarath on the Sarath-Palajori road in Deoghar district of Santal Parganas, there is a huge amphitheatre formed by smaller hills, where microliths occur in the eroded gullies. This must have been a Mesolithic site.³⁶

In fact microliths have been found from all parts of the Santal Parganas. The microlithic industry of Santhal Parganas is characterised

by preponderance of blade/bladelet elements³⁷. Chakrabarti reports about at least 18 such sites from non-Damin area alone, which brings Santal Parganas in the centre stage of Mesolithic cultural map of India³⁸. Prof. Chakrabarti also reported about at least another 54 microlithic industry sites of great importance in the Damin area of Santal Parganas³⁹. The homogeneous character of the industry is more than apparent in its choice of raw material--a brownish cherty substance which is now generally painted and imparts a glossy look to the artifacts. It is not that there is no other suitable raw material available in the Rajmahal hills but it is only this material which was preferred by the makers of this industry. Again, the homogeneity and distinctiveness of this industry are forcefully brought out by its artifactual assemblage. "A look at our chart of site wise distribution of artifacts belonging to the Damin industry will show that the retouched flakes, cores and scrapers constitute more than 70 per cent of the total collection, with the scraper as a general type being overwhelmingly dominant"⁴⁰ observes Prof. Chakrabarti. He declares that "the industry is without doubt a new one in east."⁴¹

Prof. Chakrabarti concludes his findings in the following words: "The present survey has succeeded in discovering sporadic occurrences of lower Paleolithic and Microlithic tools in the rolling topography of the western section of the district and isolating a widespread occurrence of an Upper Paleolithic industry in the Damin or the Rajmahal hills area. Embedded in the soil cover in this region and made uniformly of a brown chert material this industry is characterized by an overwhelmingly dominant element of scrapers of various kinds, retouched flakes and cores and also by an incipient blade industry along with Microliths including fluted cores. This Microlithic element could have led to a separate Microlithic horizon (with some amount of Neolithic tools perhaps) in the area (possibly hill slopes). Whatever may be the ultimate verdict on the Stone Age situation in Santal Parganas, there cannot be any doubt that the Damin industry which we have identified in the Rajmahal hills is an upper Paleolithic industry with a strong regional

character and that this could have led to the development of a separate Microlithic horizon with some Neolithic tools in this region.”⁴²

Can “Separate Microlithic horizon with some Neolithic tools in this region” lead us further to explore full fledged Neolithic sites in this area? There are a number of find spots reported for Neolithic Celts and axes in the region. As has been indicated earlier, P. O. Bodding discovered more than two thousand Neolithic implements from modern Dumka district of Santal Parganas.⁴³ F. R. Allchin studied this entire Bodding collection and classified this collection into six groups namely: Indian axe, Small celt, Chisel and rectangular celt, Shouldered celt, Rubbing stone and Hammer.⁴⁴ To the north of this region, Neolithic culture seems to have evolved with Chalcolithic Cultural phase in the Ganga plains. The Godda plain and the plateau section of the Santal Parganas would have provided various types of minerals like copper, lead, silver, iron, and stones and timber⁴⁵. One will not be surprised if many Neolithic sites are also discovered in Santal Parganas in the near future, more so, when we corroborate P. L. Guptas findings with it. D. P. Agrawal is of the opinion that “in the hilly region of South Bihar, the Neolithic sites thus seem to be confined to high plateaus or terraces, much above the flood plains of the rivers.”⁴⁶ We thus can very well assume that these “Culture Areas” first transformed into socio-cultural areas and then into socio-economic and socio-political entities⁴⁷. In the ecological niche of the South-Ganga plain the tribal belt presents a distinct culture area. Here it must be made clear that these ‘culture areas’ were not flourishing in isolation. Mutual contact between them is very well attested in archaeological evidences⁴⁸. Thus the Rajmahal industry, may be called ‘Neolithic’, but it is different from what is understood to be the typical Neolithic in the eastern Indian context. This is, however, not surprising because in the Indian context ‘Neolithic’ is a catch-all term abounding in regional diversity in terms of sites and artifact types⁴⁹. The salient difference between the eastern tradition, which is more faithfully represented in the Bodding collection from the

lowland Santal Pargana and the Rajmahal industry is that polished and ground tools are not present in the latter⁵⁰. Although a few such tools e.g. a broken adze and a complete but solitary specimen of a chisel are associated with microliths in the sites in the hills. However the microlithic component is high enough to indicate that the Rajmahal industry is different from those so far reported from the lowlands⁵¹. In fact these lowland artifacts are the true representatives of east Indian Neolithic culture. The Santal Parganas becomes very important when one tries to understand the similarities in these lowland artifact assemblage of Santal Parganas and north-east India.⁵² A recent study on this subject by Mukta Raut Dey also reveals that “...Santal Pargana neoliths are an admixture of both Indian and South East Asian forms”.⁵³ Co-existence of pointed butt axe and many other artifacts indicate some sort of connection between Santal Parganas Neolithic Cultures and eastern Asiatic neolithic cultures. Based on these similarities F. R. Allchin also assumes that this land might have been a contact zone between Indian and East Asian Neolithic character.⁵⁴ This might have led K. D. Baneerjee to opine that eastern Indian Neolithic deserves its origin from Hoabinhian culture.⁵⁵ So we can conclude that Santal Parganas Neolithic assimilated many characteristics of east Indian, north-east Indian and East Asian Neolithic cultural traditions. The bodding collection along with the survey by Chakrabarti, in the lowlands, suggests that the lowlands inside the Damien were in fact populated in prehistory⁵⁶. “The fact that the lowland Damien was vacant before the Santal immigration suggests that this depopulation is a feature of history and not of prehistory. Tentatively, it might be said that the lowland Damien became depopulated only in the early to late historic periods”, as opined by Ajay Pratap.⁵⁷ It may be assumed that the fresh field research of Damien area may not only reveal new facts for Prehistory but for the early to late historical period as well. In fact we would argue that Prehistory or Archeology must be studied from a different perspective. We must remember that now Archeology is said to be Cultural history⁵⁸. “Yet saying that archeology

is cultural history is rather a quiet revolution, because cultural history is already to a considerable extent anthropology, sociology, literary criticism, and a whole string of other things.”⁵⁹ Clifford Geertz calls this as an age of blurred genres, and one of its most striking developments is a “historical turn” all across the social sciences⁶⁰. Anthony Giddens bluntly claims that “There simply are no logical or even methodological distinctions between the social sciences and history – appropriately conceived.”⁶¹ William Sewell spells out the implications of this: history is not the past tense of sociology⁶². Rather, thinking historically requires an “eventful sociology”⁶³, in which “temporalities... are path dependent, causally heterogeneous, and contingent, and reconfiguration of structures by social action is at the core of explanatory models.”⁶⁴

Conclusion

We would like to emphasize that to have a proper understanding of 'Indian Prehistory' we need to collect fresh data from various regions of the subcontinent. Also at the same time the assimilation and application of various perspectives are needed in order to reconstruct and understand the Prehistory of various regions of India. As far as Santal Pargnas or the Ganga – Barakar valley region is concerned; we can safely assert that this region throws a new light in our understanding of Indian Prehistory. This region not only saw the existence of all prehistoric cultures of the Indian Sub continent but also provides a new framework for the understanding of the Indian Neolithic. Therefore, I find no uncertainty in declaring Santal Pargnas a region which witnessed the existence of all prehistoric cultures of Indian sub-continent i.e. Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic. Based on Rajmahal data and Bodding collection, along with the survey report of D. K. Chakrabarti, one can safely argue for a regional pattern of prehistoric developments in the region of Santhal Pargans or Ganga-Barakar valley.

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Anga, Vena and Prithu – Earliest Kings of Vedic India

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Abstract

Ancient Indian history is based on some erroneous interpretations given by European historians and accepted by others without interrogation. This paper interrogates one such concept. It is generally believed that areas of eastern India, namely Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Sumha and Paundra, were unknown to Rigvedic period and were inhabited by Mlechhas. On the other hand, we have proved in this paper that Anga was the first King of Vedic period followed by Vena and Prithu. The conclusion is based on various sources and is being put before academia for further discussion.

Keywords : collective memory, embedded history, externalized history, embroidered history

Introduction

History, in its wider connotation is the memory of the past 'internalized' in the individuals as well as in "Collective memory".¹ This is particularly true for Indian history. In contemporary political vocabulary, India has been defined as a nation-state but the only way in which we can historically visualize Indian civilization is to define it as one of the autonomous world-civilizations with a continuous past. Arnold Toynbee also agrees with this view.² In Ancient India we find the concept of Itihas as distinct from the concept of 'History'.

The connotation of the Itihas (इतिहास इति: + आस) *which comprises talk, legend, tradition, genealogy, story, history, heroic poem, biography, traditional accounts of past events etc. and as such its connotational meaning is different from the English word "History"*³ derived from the 'Greek Root' 'Historia'. It is one of the primary reasons that the European writers or Euro-centric Indian writers failed to understand the conceptual frame of Indian mind in ancient India and pronounced "the lack of historical sense in ancient India." This dictum is obviously a subjective judgment of Euro-centric historians and recently it is being challenged and re-investigated with an unbiased objective.

Ancient Indians had a different notion of history. Itihas-Purana is referred to in Arthashastra (1.5) Its literal meaning is "thus it was" The events of the past were to be so related as to link them with the tradition which

was being historicized. It is in this sense that Romila Thapar talks of "embedded" and "externalized" forms of historical consciousness in ancient India. By embedded historical consciousness, she means "forms in which historical consciousness has to be prised out". On the other hand "externalized history" tends to bring "embedded" consciousness into the open, as it were and to be more aware of its deliberate use of the past". Embedded historical consciousness, as found in various myths⁴ (such as Flood-Myth of Satpath Brahman and Origin Myth such as Purusa Sukta of Rigveda), Legends, Kathas and Akhyana (Stories) and other oral traditions have been very ably utilized by Romila Thapar in deciphering the evolution of state⁵ in ancient India, Gradually oral traditions became visible in 'externalized' form in epics and Itihas-Purana. Thus, for a proper appreciation of ancient Indian history, the oral traditions must be looked into and investigated deeply and objectively.

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

First of all, I would like to draw attention towards erroneous postulate i. e. the question of Aryans and Non-Aryans- This concept of division based on race has already been

discarded.⁶ The concept of Aryan race as invented by Germany and propagated by England was a colonial construct of 19th century. A review of the linguistic, anthropological, archaeological and epigraphic evidences has shown that “there is no sure proof for the suggestion that the Aryans entered India from outside or for tracing in reverse orders the connection of the Aryans in India with a region outside her frontiers.”⁶ Hence, in this article, the word ‘Non-Aryans’ will not be used.

Three main sources of Ancient Indian history are unanimously recognized- Sruti (Veda), Smriti and Purana. Keeping in view the date of composition or compilation, of the Puranas the European scholars taking the linear praxis of time, considered Sruti or Veda as the oldest, then the Smritis and then Puranas which were composed in the present recension in a later period (some calculate it up to Gupta Period). However, in reality, the reverse is true. The Puranas contain the oldest stories, known as Gathas or Akhyans etc. The etymology of the word Purana says⁷ explicitly- पुरा नवं भवति इति पुराणम् (Nirukta 3/19). “The old story told in a new way is Purana”. Vayu Purana also explains- यस्तात् पुरा ह्यनितीदं पुराण तेन स्मृतम् (Vayu Purana 10/23) Brahmanda Purana says - यस्मात् पुरा हि अभूच्चैतत् पुराणं तेन स्मृतम् ‘whatever happened in the past are memorized in Purana’ (Brahmanda Purana 1.1.173). The Veda (Atharva) itself uses the word Purana – “तम् इतिहासश्च नाराशंसीश्च अनुव्यलचन इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य च” (Atharva-veda 15/61, 11-12). Gopath Brahmana, Satpatha Brahmana, (गोपथशतपथ ब्रह्मण) Taittiriya Aranyaka, Brihadaranyakopnishad Chhandogya Upnishad (तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक, बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद, छान्दोग्य उपनिषद) Asvalayan and Apastamba Dharmasutras⁸ - all mention Puranas and their antiquity. Perhaps the Puranas contain stories of ancient period memorized by Gathins (गाथिन),...a class of people who kept and remembered them. The word Gathin occurs several times in Rigveda- Gathino Viswamitra (गाथिनो विश्वामित्राः) It means that Viswamitra (there have been four Viswamitras according to Prof. H.R. Diwekar)⁹ belonged to the family of Gathins, story-tellers. Hence the evidences, dynastic lists of different

Manvantars, and other materials from Purana cannot be brushed aside.

However, they should be corroborated from other sources too. Merely because of the fact that Puranas were given the present shape in Christian era, it cannot be argued that they cannot contain older or even Pre-Vedic facts. The fact that Harrapan culture was brought to light in 1920s and all literary books on Harappan culture have been written in 20th century; it cannot be argued that facts narrated by them cannot be older than 1920s. Similar is the case with the Puranas. In the Puranas, we get what is presently known as “Narrative History”. There has been a fierce debate among the historians, literatuers and academicians on the relation between narrative and history as well as fiction and narrative in the western circle¹⁰ The debate concerns the truthfulness, in a very broad sense of the term, of narrative accounts Traditional narrative histories claim to tell us ‘what really happened’. Fictional narratives potray events, which by definition never happened, but they are often said to be ture to life. Some narrative histories may be inaccurate and some fictions may be invraisemblable but nothing in principle prevents narratives from depicting historical facts to a large extent. Prof. David Carr has argued at length for treating narratives as a source of history. Narrative is not only a successful way of describing the events but its structure inheres in the events themselves¹¹.

However, the positivists and the Annales historians hold the view that “narratives” “contain elements of fiction that must now be exorcised by a new scientific history¹²” The irony is that though the scholars like Louis Mink speak of narrative as a “mode of comprehension” and a ‘cognitive instrument’ and defend it against the reductionists, yet they are sceptical about its historical value because of the structure of Narrative. It has been argued that the “narrative structure particularly the closure and configuration given to the sequence of events by a story’s beginning, middle, and end, is a structure derived from the act of story-telling, not from the events themselves and as a result, the term “narrative history” is “an

oxymoron¹³.

However, a basic fact which has been ignored by such scholars is that the story-telling function, whether metaphorical or literal is a social activity. We consider ourselves as audience in a narrative but the story belongs to us as well as to the narrator. Herein comes the role of historian in extracting history from narratives. Inhabiting a territory, growth of its political and economic institutions, experiencing of a natural or a human threat, is a collective experience. All these experiences belong to 'we' and not to 'I'. They belong to the social unit- 'to us and not to me'. To be sure, all such linguistic uses of 'we' do not carry any sense of concerted action. In some cases, 'we' is just short-hand for a collection of individual actions. However, social life and experiences do involve certain very important cases in which individuals by participation, attribute their experiences and act to a larger subject or agent of which they are a part. And, thus, such individuals are enshrined as heroes in the collective memory. A community, in this sense, exists by virtue of a story which is articulated and accepted by it. Such stories or narratives concern the social units, their origins and destiny and such narratives interpret what is happening now in the light of the past collective experience. The Puranas are a specimen of such narratives. Hence, such narrative must be regarded not as a departure from the structure of events they depict, but a way of communication and preservation of ancient¹⁴ values and important historical events. It may be admitted that the narratives may differ with the change of interest of the narrator. For example, a historian may tell a narrative about a community which may be very different from the story which the community tells about itself through its leaders and journalists. The form, nevertheless, remains the same and historical content of the narratives can not be denied.

With the above brief discussion about the historiographical value of narratives, we propose to make a re-appraisal of the antiquity of Anga, Banga and Kalinga. The earliest civilization of India, namely Indus Valley Civilization also known as Harappan culture, was an urban and developed culture. Although

towns and cities were built in Egypt and Sumer also, they were not well planned. The Harappans built residences for the rulers and the ruled, and for the workers. They had also built granaries, bead-factories, docks and warehouses. This high standard of their civilization presupposed well cultivated land and prosperous trade. The far-flung trade of the Indus people were spread over Bahrain, Oman, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, Iran and Syria.

How did this civilization decline? Was the destruction complete or partial? These questions must be answered to seek the element of continuity in Indian civilization and culture. The theory of large scale Aryan invasion and annihilation, postulated by many Euro-centric Indologists, has already been discarded.¹⁵

The most probable cause of the decline of Harappan culture must be sought in climatic change. As Prof. Romila Thapar tells us, The significance of climate is being recognized by historians¹⁶. Researches in paleo-botany have made it possible for the historians to study climatic changes. The climate of North-West India in 3rd millennium B.C. was wetter than in first millennium B.C. The gradual climatic change resulted in dryness. There is evidence of major hydrological changes including flood and drying up of the river Sarasvati. The Sarasvati disappeared into the desert in north-eastern Rajasthan and the Sutlej and Yamuna changed their courses. Such major changes must have affected the Harappan civilization leading to its decline¹⁷. Prof. S.R. Rao, an eminent archaeologist, has clearly accepted the flood as the cause of the decay of the civilization. The late Harappans migrated to the east and south¹⁸. These late Harappan migrants were the ancestors of most of the Vedic Rshis. D.D. Kosambi¹⁹ makes the point clear. The script of Indus Valley civilization has been recently deciphered to a satisfactory level. The Harappans evolved "from a partly pictorial cursive alphabetic writing of consonants and a few initial and medial vowels which became the basis of Brahmi and other Indian scripts. Harappan script has thrown a flood of light on religion and polity of Indus

civilization. The writings on seals give a clue to their conceptual thinking about the source of energy, cosmic and moral order, sacrifice and cosmology. It was the Harappans who laid the foundation of Vedic religious thought, philosophy and culture²⁰ The archaeologist excavator, Prof S.R. Rao has substantiated this statement by specific examples of science and technology (with which he is primarily concerned and out of which only a few of them will be narrated here for the Sake of brevity). Lothal unit of 17.4mm (in ten divisions) is almost equal to 17.78mm (in ten divisions) of the Angula of Arthasastra of Kautilya The Harappans were conversant with Sapta-Rishis, the names such as Atri (अत्रि) Kasyap (कश्यप) and Manu (मनु) have been found in Indus seals²¹. The words aeka, haptdasa, Sata etc. for cardinals one, seven, ten and hundred have also been found. In Lower Lothal Town, street No nine, there is a big fire-altar for the sake of sacrifice. The Nakstras, like Kritikas (कृत्तिका) Magha (मघा) Phalguni (फाल्गुनी) have been found in a group of seven stars in seal No 677 of Harappa. Therefore, we agree with Prof. S.R. Rao. and his team that "The decoded Indus script confirms that the language of the Indus seals and tablets... belong to the Indo-European family showing close relations to the old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) at an age when it had not snapped all links with the old Iranian and the Avesta²²"

Thus, returning to the main thread of the article, it may be said safely that the so called Harappan civilization was really Vedic civilization, which may be termed as old Indo-Iranian civilization.

As we know that after the decline of Harrapan culture (extended up to Ganga-Yamuna Doab), pastoralist nomadic tribes entered from the North-West. These pastoralist nomadic tribes have been identified as Indo-European 'Aryans' by Euro-centric historians. The main reason was psychological. With coming to light the refined literary and philosophical speculations in the Vedas and Upanishads, they were at a loss that such a superb literature cannot be ascribed to a non-European race. Hence, this identification. The reality is otherwise as recent archaeological discoveries

and literary proofs corroborate. The real dichotomy was not between the Aryans and non-Aryans but it was between the two civilizations. The civilization which was destroyed was inherited by the older inhabitants who had to wander as destitutes in jungles. As D.D. Kosambi has laboriously dealt with the point, though from a different angle, most of the Brahmins are the descendants of Brahma who was worshipped in Harrapan culture from before.²³ Dichotomy is very clear. The new migrants worshipped / prayed mostly Indra. The struggle between Indra and his followers is depicted clearly when Indra Kills a priest, three headed Tvastarh. (त्वष्टारः) That he was a Brahmin is clear because he is still worshipped and the name of his son Visvarupa occurs in Pravara Gotra list of the Brahmins. Viswamitra was the leader of the new comers.²⁴ Of those who did not believe in Indra; D.D. Kosambi, mentions two categories- (1) Those who are depicted as Dasas or Dasyus inimical to new comer Aryans (2) Vratyas-Vratyas were those Brahmins who were reluctant to accept the god of the conquerors. Brihaddevta (बृहद्देवता) of Saunak (शौनक) explicitly refers to "particular seers, Brahmins who had once denied Indra and then seen i.e. acknowledged him."²⁵

Now, who were the Dasas? Dasa in greater number of Rgvedic citation means a human enemy conquered by the Aryans in the battle- "इन्द्र यथावशम् नयति दासम् आर्याः (Rv.V.34.6) They had their own cities, strong enough to be called brazen or iron - हत्वि दस्युन् पुर आयसिर न तडित (II.20.8) Dasyu (दस्यु) is taken synonymous as Dasa and Rgveda says the enmity is very old (III.12.6). Some of these cities are very old and seasonal, particularly autumnal (VI.20.10) Only in three cases the word Das clearly means a servant or slave. The logical conclusion is that Dasas were the old inhabitants who had supported the Harrapan culture with agrarian and technological inputs. This section of conquered population was later adjusted as the Sudras.

It is naïve to think that the Indus Valley culture could exist without strong class-difference. So, it must be presumed that their priestly class

must have specially refined rituals and ceremonial training. However, most of them had become destitute after the decline of Harrapan culture and it is not without reason that we hear of starving Brahmin poets in Rigveda- (X.33) Sukta begins as a tale of woe narrating hunger by one who has barely escaped starvation. Similarly, the theme of Sukta (10th Mandal No.117) is also 'gift of food'- "मोधमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः। सत्यं ब्रवीषि वध इत्स तस्य - He who does not give food to others and keeps it to himself only is like a dead person.

Another proof of this dichotomy between the followers of Brahma cult and Indra cult is the adjective used for Indra - सप्तहा - the Killer of seven: The obvious reference is to the Sapt Rshis (सप्तर्षि) known as ancestors of the Brahmins and which have been deciphered from the Indus Valley Seal No. 677. The other indication is the position of Varuna (वरुण) - We all know that Varuna was the upholder of Rta (ऋत-ऋतस्य). This concept of Rta originated with Athravangiras tradition of Bhṛgu and Angira (अथर्वणागिन्स) As Madhusudan Vidyavachaspati²⁶ has explained- 'ऋतं सत्यं च भवस्य नेत्रो। ऋतं च भृगुः सत्यम् हि अंगिरास्तु' However, the maximum number of Rchas in Rgveda are dedicated to Indra and Varun is relegated to an inferior position. We have got a Sukta composed by Vasistha, who was the first Brahmin to accept the priesthood of the newcomer Aryans. Therefore Vasistha laments that he had transgressed the ancestral traditions अव दुग्ध्रानि पितृया सृज (VII-84.5)²⁷ Again in the Sukta (VII.89) Vasistha says that this was due to poverty and hopes that Varuna should excuse him.

Thus, though there are many examples which may be presented but that will divert us from the main theme of the article. Historically speaking, the problem was to adjust and adapt to the new situation. This was done by assimilating, mystifying and creating a place for the learned people. The wandering ascetics migrated to all the four corners; particularly to central and eastern India comprising civilizational regions of Mahakosala, Kasi Anga (by which we mean Magadh, Banga & Kalinga as well) Vaisali and Videha. The main

gist of the present Vedic religion had its origin in this region wherein the old gods- Brahma and Mahadeva were adjusted with Rgvedic solar god Vishnu who replaced Varuna, as the protector of cosmic law Rta. This is the reason that we find in Upanishads, Brahmans and Aranyakas and Sutras the primacy of these three gods instead of Indra and other. D.D. Kosambi remarks that these wanderers²⁸ went far beyond the upper Indus Valley. A ship with hundred oars (Rgveda 1.116.5) and journeys three days away from the shore would hardly be expected on the upper Indus or any lake in Punjab. Kaskivan, the son of Dirghatamas (a Rshi belonging to Anga,) refers to a journey on ship. He tells the story of Saving Bhujyu (भृज्यु) at sea by **Nastyas**. Incidentally it must be told that the father of Bhujyu is **Tugra** (Rgveda 1.11.3.117.4), who is also an enemy of Indra (Rg Veda VI.20.28.VI.26, X.49.4).

The assimilation of both the contending ways of life was not so easy but the efforts were being made in this direction. The basic problem was the destruction brought about by Indra surnamed Purandar for destroying cities and dams for irrigation. The particular words for dam used in Rgveda are radhas or rodhana [रधस् या रोधन Rgveda I.38.11, II.13.10, IV.22.4 X.48.2] In Rgveda (II.15.8) the sentence used is "ऋणग रोधंसि कृत्रिमानि. Here, the last word Krtrimani means artificial, not natural. As Kosambi remarks other references used may be taken to mean walls or river, banks, though this destruction of irrigation system was beneficial for the pastoral nomads, it was disastrous for the old inhabitants.

It may be one of the reasons for migration of old inhabitants to Ganga-Yamuna, Lower Ganga valley and to the east up to Kartoya river (in Bengal).²⁹ We are particularly concerned here with Eastern India which included Anga, Magadh Banga Kalinga as well in the Vedic period. It is a popular misnomer that Anga has not been mentioned in Rgveda. Rgveda (1.19-8-19) clearly refers to a king Anga.

"त्वम् अंग प्रशंसिसो देवः शंविष्ठ मर्त्यम्" This is followed by a reference to the conquests of the king Anga Vairochana (अंग वैरोचन) as one of the Chakravartins. - अंगः समस्तं पृथ्वी जयन परियाया श्वेन

जयन परियाया श्वेन च मध्य नेज - (Aitareya Brahmana VIII) Therefore, the question arises who was this king Anga on whose name the kingdom came to be known. For this we have now to go to Itihas-Puranas and their dynastic lists. The list of dynasties given by several Puranas should be classified into three lines instead of two (1) Swayambhava Manu dynasty (स्वायंभुवमनु वंश) which is the oldest according to Purana chronology (2) Vaivasvat Manu which can be further subdivided into two make it three (वैवस्वत मनुवंश). The first was the progenitor of solar dynasty (सूर्यवंश). and the second of Aila or Lunar dynast (चंद्रवंश). - The historians have dealt in detail the exploits of Surya-vamsa (called Manva) and Soma Vamsa (called Aila from Ila) but they have neglected the line of Swayambhava Manu, the oldest one, which was centred in Eastern India. Herein lies the basic cause of the negligence of the political history of Eastern India in the Vedic age or even before.

Though Kosala, Kasi, Videha and Vaisali were ruled by Ikshvaku dynasty; culturally they were much influenced by Atharvanangiras tradition who have a full branch of Veda after their name also known as Atharva- Veda or Brahmaveda.³⁰ Let us first see the dynastic list.

From Brahma emerged seven Manasa-putras, (मानसपुत्रा) mind born sons- Bhrgu (भृगु) Pulatsya (पुलस्त्य), Pulaha (पुलह) Kratu (सूर्य वंश) Angira (अंगिरा) Atri (अत्रि) and Vashistha (वशिष्ठ) as told by (Mahabharat, Moksa Dharma, Vayu Purana, Agni Purana and Narsingh Purana) Visnu Purana adds two more namely Daksha (दक्ष) and Dharma (धर्म) The very fact that they are narrated as imagined sons, it makes it clear that the statement is in mythic language. Thereafter Brahma himself became Manu- पुत्रत्वे कल्पिताश्चैव स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवः- hence known as Svayambhava Manu. Thereafter, it is narrated that Brahma divided himself into two parts- male and female known as Manu and Satarupa (Visnu Purana) or Viraj and Satarupa; thereafter, two sons Priyavrata and Uttanpada and two daughters Prasuti and Akuti were born. Of the two daughters Prasuti was married to Daksha Prajapati; and Akuti to

Ruchi (रूचि) The progeny of these are narrated in the personification of different Gunas (गुण) such as Sraddha (faith) Lakshmi (prosperity) Dhriti (steadfastness), Buddhi (intellect), Lajja (modesty) etc. along with negative Gunas such as Himsa (हिंसा) Anrta (अनृत –falsehood), Bhaya -Fear) etc. It is obvious that these are personifications of different qualities.

However, on the son side of Manu we have Priyavrata (प्रियव्रत) and Uttanpad (उत्तानपाद) The grandson of Uttanpad was Dhruva (ध्रुव) and thereafter, four generations below we find another Manu, named Chaksush (चाक्षुस मनु). The very name suggests that he was a worldly figure who could be seen with eyes (चक्षु) Hence, without going into controversy of the historicity of Priyavrata and Uttanpada and Dhruva; let us begin with this worldly Manu Chaksush who married Navala, the daughter of the patriarch Vairaj (वैराज). They had ten Sons-Uru (उरु) Puru (पुरु) Satadyumna (शतद्युम्न) Tapaswi (तपस्वी) Satyavak (सत्यवाक) Kavi (कवि) Agnistoma (अग्निस्तोम) Atiratra (अतिरात्रा) Sudyumna (सुद्युम्न) and Abhimanyu (अभिमन्यु).

Continuing the thread of narrative, the eldest son of Chaksush Manu was Uru (उरु) who was married with Agneyi (आग्नेयी) and had six sons Anga (अंग) Sumanas (सुमनस), Swati (स्वाति), Kratu (क्रतु), Angira (अंगिरा), and Shiva (शिव). This eldest son of Uru was the King Anga who is referred to in Rigveda and Aitareya Brahmana in which he is called as 'Anga Vairochana' (अंग वैरोचन). We have a reference to Virochana (in Chhandogya Upnishad 8.7 to 8.9) who was a disciple of Brahma. The son of Anga was the king Vena (वेण) who has been referred to in Rgveda and Atharva Veda. Swayambhu Manu's chronology is stated in Markandeya (मार्कण्डेय) Purana- "स्वयंभुवेऽन्तरे पूर्वम् आद्ये त्रेता युगे तथा" Svayambhava Manu's period was the beginning of Treta Yuga in which Ramavtar is mentioned. Satya Yuga is obviously an utopian ideal age. Hence Treta Yug is the beginning of historical period. It is stated that thereafter the age of Chakshush (चाक्षुस) Manu passed and the present Manvantar is that of Vaivasvat (वैवस्वत

मनु) Manu from whom the solar and lunar dynasties emerged (Markandeya Purana chapter 45) Therefore, the King Anga must be placed either in Pre-Ikshvaku (प्राक्-इक्ष्वाकु) period or at least in Pre-Mandhata period. (Mandhata was a famous king of Ikshvaku dynasty).

The son of the king Anga was the King Vena whose mother was Sunithi (सुनीथी) and Sunithi was the daughter of Yama (यम). Unfortunately, Yama has been identified with the god of death and hence this King Anga has been ignored by historians for being an irrational conclusion. However, this is not a fact. Yama is the son of Rishi Vivaswan and the father of Rishi Sankh who have been referred to in Rigvedic Yam-Yami samvad. Two priests of eastern India- Vivaswan and Angira had developed the funeral rites for the first time. Prof. H.R. Diwekar in his book- "Rigvedic Sukton Ka Vikas"³¹ has discussed the process in detail. Before that corpses were disposed in two ways- (1) Parapavan (परापवन) -corpses were kept at a distant place to be eaten by birds and animals. (2) Nikhanan (निखनन) -corpses were buried in deep trenches. The above two Rishis Vivaswan and Angira assisted by Yama, the son of Vivaswan, visualized the concept of Pitri Yajna and burning of corpse. Hence Yama became synonymous with death god in popular memory. It is because of this that Atharvan – Angiras were included among Pitrs for all persons who perform Pitri-yajna (पितृयज्ञ). That Yama was a human being is confirmed by the existence of Yamayan (यामायन) Brahmins with Pravara Gotra such as Urdhvakrshnah (उर्ध्वकृशाणः) Kumarah (कुमारः) Damanah (दमनः) Devasrava (देवश्रवा) Mathitah (मथितः) Sankhah (शंख - the son of Yama) and Sanku Sutih (संकुसुतः).³²

Now returning to the main theme of the research article, we can now easily understand that mother of the King Vena, Sunithi was the daughter of a Rishi of human origin; hence the king Anga and the King Vena were historical figures, not mythological names. Prof. S.C. Sarkar,³³ in his book "Educational ideas and institutions in Ancient India" speaks of the king Vena in Eastern India in "lower Gangetic valley

about Anga" and has quoted the Vedic hymns which were uttered by the students. Many of these hymns were composed by the King Vena (Atharva-veda IV.I.1, IV.2, II, I 1 ff, VIII-9, 8-11, VIII,10). These hymns have the seeds of Upanishadic thought. Some of the verses are cited below- "Vena has revealed that, from the well-shining horizon (i.e.in the east) the Brahman was first born of old; he revealed the fundamental nearest shapes of it (the Brahman), the womb of the existent and non-existent." Similar speculative and philosophical character is shown in the well known refrain- "Kasmai devaya havisa vidhema" (कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम् - हिरण्यगर्भ सूक्त) This Sukta was composed by the King Vena. The point to make here is that because of the King Vena's uncompromising stand with the cult of newcomers (the followers of Indra), he was removed from the throne and it was mystified by making him an Asur (असुर). The identification of Asura is problematic. However, one premise will be agreed unanimously that they were the enemies of the Devas (देव), particularly Indra. Therefore, identification of Indra will give us a clue. Indra was the- lord, the leader of invaders who crossed Ravi (Parushni) under the direction of Viswamitra Kaushik (कौशिक). (Rigveda I.10.4) That he was a historical person in the beginning is suggested by D.D. Kosambi.³⁴ In Rigveda Indra Vaikuntha (Indra, the son of Vaikuntha an Asuralady – X.48.2) is mentioned. Whatsoever be the case, Indra was mystified later as God or rather the king of gods. But later Pauranik Indra is in constant fear of being displaced by Asuras. Hence, it is to be concluded that they did not accept Indra i.e. they did not conform to the cult of Indra. Asuras always invariably used to go to acquire power and prowess by Tapa (तप) and please either Brahma or Mahadeva; the gods of old age. Brahma can be identified with three headed god of Mohenjodaro. As suggested by Kosambi, there may be a fourth head away from the observer.³⁵ Hence, Kosambi suggests that these three headed gods may be proto-Brahma to which one head was added more for adapting in the new socio-political milieu. Similarly, Mahadeva is clearly present in Shivalingas found in Mohenjodaro and Harappa with the well known Pasupati seal.

So, the Asuras get their prowess from Brahma and Shiva (Two of Tridevas- Brahma Vishnu, Mahesh) and Indra is displaced and defeated. Then the Devtas go to Vishnu for relief and the relief is given by Vishnu (विष्णु). We know that in Vedic hymns, Vishnu is a minor deity. However, in Puranas he emerges as the Supreme deity. We know of a Vedic god Varuna who is the custodian of Rita (ऋतस्यगोपा) who was relegated to a minor position by the followers of Indra and the conformist priests. Varuna is the god living in water, invariably respected by all Brahminical traditions. We have seen the lamentation of Vasistha for giving up the path of forefathers (See Supra). This concept of Varuna was developed as Vishnu- Narayan and became the agreeing point of both traditions paving the way for assimilation, syncretism and synthesis as and when needed. The word Narayan is etymologically explained in Purana as such- आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नीसूनवः। अयनं तस्य ताः पूर्वं तेन नारायणं स्मृतम्। (Narsingh Purana Ch.-II sloka-14)³⁶ “The God who lives in Water from before is Narayan”. He is visualized again as the custodian of Rita (ऋत) or cosmic law and it is for this sake he comes to earth as a human being. Thus Varuna was metamorphosed and the difference between conformist Brahmins and Non-conformist Brahmins was gradually bridged. Still sectarian differences remained which was sythesised in the concept of Panchdevata (पंचदेवता) with which we are here not concerned.

Let us now return to the main thread of the narrative. The King Vena, perhaps for his non-conformist views, was removed from the throne and killed. A later legend occurring in Padmapurana narrates that he had adopted Jain religion – an indication for his non-conformist views.³⁷

It is said in Puranas,³⁸ that body of the King Vena was rubbed. From his left arm, emerged a Nishad (निषादः) His descendants are still the inhabitants of Vindhya mountain and are characterized by “exterior tokens of depravity.” The Nishad was expelled and with him he carried away the “sins of the King Vena.” The Matsya Purana says that they were born outcast and barbarous races (म्लेच्छजातयः). The Padma Puranas enumerate them as Nishad,

Kirat, Bhils, Pulindas etc. The mythical story clearly refers to the expulsion of those people who belonged to the lower strata of the people of Harrapan culture (by which we mean the urban and developed culture prevailing in India before the invasion of pastoral nomads). The story further tells us that the right arm of the King Vena was rubbed from which Prithu was born.- “resplendent in person, as if the blazing deity of fire had been manifested” (Vishnu) The Bhagvat Purana says that he was the “partial manifestation” (अंश) of Narayan³⁹ (नारायण). The story of Vishnu Purana goes on and tells us “There fell from the SKY the primitive bow of Mahadeva named “Ajagav” (अजगव)⁴⁰ and celestial arrows.” We all know that the Mahadeva in the middle of Ganga at Sultanganj near Bhagalpur is known as Ajagaibeinath (अजगैबीनाथ) and the reference is clear for that place in Vishnu Purana (P-84).⁴¹

This Prithu is known as the first Emperor or King in Vedic and Pauranic literature. Prithu is said to have “uprooted mountains, by hundreds and thousands.” “Before him there were no defined boundaries of villages or towns; upon the irregular surface of earth. There was no cultivation, no pasture, no agriculture, no highway for merchants – all these things originated in the time of Prithu” (पृथु) “when the earth was leveled, he induced the people to take up abodes. Before his time, fruits and roots, which constituted the food of people, were procured with great difficulty⁴².” All that we can understand rationally is that Prithu was the ruler who developed this region and agricultural life and settled life-style started in eastern India. It can also reasonably be surmised that Prithu was the first King of the older inhabitants who conformed to the new cult of the pastoral nomads (the new comers- the followers of Indra). This line occurring in Vishnu⁴³ Purana is significant to note in this context- “The great parent of all, Brahma with the gods and the descendants of Angiras” assembled and performed the ceremony. Athravan-Angirasa Rshis and their followers have made pioneering efforts for assimilation and syncretism between the two traditions of Vedic religion. Their contribution has been appreciated by D.D. Kosambi, S.C. Sarkar and H.R. Diwekar (Vedic scholars) and many

others. Atharvan- Angiras tradition originated in Anga. The words Brahma (old tradition) 'God' (new gods like Indra) and the mediator Angiras are clearly mentioned in this line. Prithu is credited with Richa in Rigveda where he is described as Prithu Vainya (पृथु वैन्य) - Prthu the son of Vena. Prof. H.R. Diwakar could not identify him but he has referred to the meaning and style.

We, like D.D. Kosambi, have never believed in the theory of Aryan race. Kosambi identifies Soma Vamsi descendants of Kimpurusha Ila (किंपुरुष इला) as Aila and Surya Vamsis, descendants of the sons of Vaivasvat Manu as Manva but he, like others, ignores the third line of dynasties – Prthuite dynasty referred to as Parthiva Vamsa (पार्थिव वंश) in the Puranas.

Hence, there arises the question of historicity of Prithu which we should try to attempt. According to Vishnu Purana, supported by Matsya, Agni, Vayu, Padma Purana Harivamsa and Bhagvat Purana, the dynastic gnaeology of the King Anga, the King Vena and his son⁴⁴ Prithu is as follows

Table- I
Swayambhava Manu

Priyavrata (प्रियव्रत)	Uttānpāda (उत्तानपाद)
Agnindhra	↓
Ninesons Nabhi Eldest	Chākshush (चाक्षुसमनु)
Risabh	↓
Bharat (भरत)	10 Sons Uru the Eldest
	↓
	Uru had six sons
	(1) Anga,(Eldest)
	(2) Sumanas,
	(3) Swāti
	(4) Kratū
	(5) Angirā, and
	(6) Shiva
	↓
	Vena-Dethroned (Son of Anga)
	Prithū (पृथु)

As related before, the King Anga has been mentioned in Rigveda and Aitareya Brahman where he is mentioned as Anga – Vairochana who was coronated with Aindra- Mahabhisheka (ऐन्द्र महाभिषेक)⁴⁵ The priest of Anga Vairochana was Udamayu who was given thousands of elephants and horses as Dakshina. The important fact to note here is that Udamayu, who acted as the priest was an Atreya Brahmin (belonging to Atri family). It is to be noted down here that Brahmanda Purana speaks of the adoption of the Uttanpada (उत्तानपाद) by the Rishi Atri and hence the Padma⁴⁶ Purana (13 Bhumi Khanda) says Anga was of the family of Atri. There is no contradiction. The Mahabharat (13.154) refers to the King Anga- “अंगो नाम नृपो राजंस It was after his name that the Kingdom is known as Anga.

The Matsya⁴⁷ Purana (ch.-10) refers to Anga as the ruler or Prajapati in the East in the dynasty of Swayambhuva Manu- “वंशो स्वायंभुवस्य आसीत् अंगो नाम प्रजापतिः।”

Again Padma Purana mentions Anga as the father of King Vena. We get Rigvedic Sukta (10th Mandal Sukta 138) where the Rishi is named as Anga Auravah (अंग औरवः) -Anga⁴⁸ the son of Uru (Aurva from Uru. The Sukta No.-138 (Rv-10th Mandal) Hence, there is no doubt that the King referred to in Rigveda is a historical person. This Sukta was visualized by Anga, the son of Uru, and it mentions about the months and their⁴⁹ calculation (मांस विधानम् Rv. 10.138) and gives the first clear reference of to the concept of month and astrology in Rigveda.

The son of Anga was the King Vena. Prof. (Dr.) S.C. Sarkar in his Scholarly work “Educational ideas⁵⁰ and institutions in Ancient India” has written about the Mantras uttered by the students at the time of their admission, many of which were visualized by the King Vena. These hymns have a distinct flavour of Upanishadic thought e.g.- Atharva-veda (Sukta IV.I,1) says –“Veda has revealed from the well-shining horizon i.e. the east, he revealed the fundamental nearest shape of it that was born of old-Brahman the Womb of the existent and non-existent. The verse 7 of the same passage asks- “who desires to know (the knowledge of)

father Atharvan and Brihaspati (both Angirasas- the champions of the old cult) for becoming, creative poet, god and self-realised.” The next passage in the Atharvaveda (AV.IV.2) is also by the same Vena of the same philosophical character with the⁵¹ well known doubting refrain “Kasmāi Devaya havisha vidhema” (कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम -

“हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।
सदाधार पृथ्वीद्यातुतेमाम् कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥

It is clear that the King Vena was a learned person but he seems to be of inquisitive and rebellious nature and did not conform to the new cult brought by pastoral nomads. It is obvious from his questioning and doubting refrain “कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम”. This is more clear when he is advised by the Rishis to worship Hari or Vishnu. Instead of accepting their advice he declared, the Divinity of the King. Vena says-

एते चान्ये च ये देवाः शापानुग्रहकारिणः ।
नृपस्य ते शरीरस्था सर्वदेवमयो नृपः॥⁵²

“All the gods capable of giving curse or capable of giving benefits are located in the person of the King; who is the abode of all gods.” The depiction of the King Vena as a wicked ruler and as an enemy of Dharma does not correspond to his character as he is praised in the Rigveda. He is described as adventurous, liberal and one who gave abundance of wealth to others (प्रतद् दुःसीमे वेने प्ररामे वोचय् असुरे मघवस्तु। ये युक्तावाय पंच शता अस्मयु पथा विश्रावि एषाम्)⁵³. In this verse he is described as the father of Prithu.

That the king Vena was a historical figure is proved by the Rigvedic Sukta (VIIIth Mandat 9/10) – “यद्वा कक्षीवां उत यद् व्यश्व ऋषिः यद्वां दीर्घतमा जुहावा। पृथ्वी यद्वां वैन्यः सादने एवे वेदतो अश्विना चेत येथाम्॥” According to Sayan, here the words, Kaksivan, Vyasvah, Dirghatamah and Prithu, the Son of Vena indicate the names of prominent Rishis.

The historicity of the king Vena and Prithu is definitely proved when we look at the gotra pravara (गोत्रा प्रवर) system of Bhargava Brahmins. The Bhargav Brahmins are divided into six ganas (गण) or groups out of which only the first is counted as Brahmins and the rest are known as Chhatropet-Dwija (क्षत्रोपते द्विज) for

their connection with Ksatriya Karma or blood. The six ganas of Bhargava Brahmins are

- (1) Vatsa (वत्स)
- (2) Bida (बीड़)
- (3) Saunak (शौनक)
- (4) Vainya (वैन्य)
- (5) Maitreya (मैत्रेय)
- (6) Yaska (यास्क)

From second to sixth are known, as Kevala. Bhrigus Chhatropet Dwija (क्षत्रोपते द्विज) like Maudgalya, Gargya⁵⁴ etc.

We are here concerned with Vainya (वैन्य) Gotra which has three Pravars – Bhrigu, Vena and Prithu (भृगु, वेन एवं पृथु).⁵⁵

This clearly proves that the King Vena and the King Prithu were historical persons whose descendants are still living. Prof P.L. Bhargava remarks – “of the ganas founded by ksatriyas (among the Bhargavas), the oldest was that of Vainyas or Parthyas. Vena and his son Prithu were two early Rigvedic Kings⁵⁶”. He further comments and expresses grief that their lineage preserved in the Puranas has been mystified. “Vena and Prithu perhaps exercised the function of both Risi and King and their descendants continued to do so for long until they definitely became priests.” D.D. Kosambi, who had made an indepth study of the origin of Brahmin gotras, writes, - “....the gotra system is an outstanding feature, of Brahminism, which has otherwise made many compromises in the matter of worship and ritual”⁵⁷

From the above discussion, the historicity of the King Vena and his son Prithu-Vainya (पृथु वैन्य) is proved beyond doubt. However, the Gotra Vainya found among Chhatropet Dvijas of Bhrigu clan is of historical significance if we try to read its historical content.

The King Anga Vairochana of Aitareya Brahman and the King Anga- Aurva as the Rishi of Rigveda seem to be the same person. Anga Aurva is described as the Rishi of Sukta 138 of 10th Mandal of Rigveda which is addressed to⁵⁸ Usha.

However, Rigvedic Suktas composed by Vena

(Vena Bhargava) are devoted to Soma-Pavman (IX. 85) and to Vena himself. The Devata of Rigvedic Sukta (X.123) is Vena himself- हृदा वेनन्तो अभ्यक्षत त्वा⁵⁹ and here the Vena is explained away by “internal curiosity”.⁶⁰ We have discussed earlier that King Vena believed in the Divinity of the King and claimed the Status of god for him.⁶¹ This Rigvedic Sukta further confirms his speculative and philosophical attitude and his belief in his Divinity and may be an important factor causing his displacement. However, the historicity of the King Vena of Anga cannot be doubted.

As we know, the King Vena was displaced and his son Prithu was placed on the throne of Anga state. As stated before the historicity of Prithu is also beyond doubt. There are several obvious references to Prithu, Prithu Vainya is the Rishi of Sukta 148 of 10th Mandal wherein there is a reference that he levelled the earth, widened the roads and introduced agriculture and trade. Jaiminiya Brahman also refers to him.

“ अथ ब्रवीत पृथुरग्निः क्षेत्रा कामोऽहमर्त्मीति ।
तस्मै क्षेत्रा प्रापच्छत् ।
स एव पृथु वैन्यः । (1/186)

We have already narrated about Prithu as a Pravara of Vainya gotra of Kevala Bhrigu Brahmins. The fact that the King Anga was known as Anga- Aurva and the King Vena has been mentioned as Vena- Bhargava in Rgveda make it obvious, The Mahabharat Shanti Parva also refers to Rishi Vena several times⁶¹ Anga Kingdom had come under Bhrigu-Angiras influence from the very beginning. The word Anga- Aurva may have two meanings- Anga, the son of Urva or Uru or the disciple of Urva. Aurva, as we know was the name of a famous Bhriguid Rishi and Uru is the name of King Anga's father. Since Vena is clearly described as Vena- Bhargava in Rigveda, therefore, it is legitimate to think that Anga-Aurva (Rshi), who is also the King of Anga, may be the disciple of Rishi Urva or Aurva. This is historically tenable if we look into the history of Bhargava Brahmins. The Bhrigus originally dwelt in Anart (Gujrat). After the Saryats perished, the western India was dominated by Haihaya dynasty The Bhargava clan was the

priest of Kartavirya Arjun, with whom they had a clash and they had to flee towards Central and Eastern India. The Bhrigus and Haihayas came into conflict thrice. In the first war, which took place between Bhrigus led by Parshuram and Haihayas led by Kartavirya Arjun; the Bhrigus came out victorious. In the second war Vitahavya was the Haihaya King and Tristu-Bharat King Sudas, scored a victory over the ten Kings among whom Bhrigus participated against Sudas.⁶² Perhaps the Prithu tribe⁶³ also participated in the war because Prithuparsavah (पृथुपार्षव) word is there to be counted among ten tribes.

However, the hostility between the Haihayas and Bhrigus did not end with the Battle of Ten Kings. In the Battle of Ten Kings, the Ikshvakus had helped the Bhrigus, who were related with them as the mother of Parshuram, Renuka was the princess of a Kosalan King Renu. The Brahmanda Purana (III, 47, 74) informs us that the Haihayas attacked the Ikshvaku King Bahu (बाहु) due to remembrance of past hostilities.

The Haihayas drove out the King Bahu from Ayodhya who died near the Ashram of Rishi Agni, a descendant of Urva (Aurva). The Rishi Agni-Aurva gave shelter to the queen who gave birth to a son named Sagar who was educated by Agni Aurva. When the fugitive King Sagar came to manhood, the Bhrigus led by the King Sagar and Agni Aurva completely routed the Haihayas.

In the ensuing confusion after the death of King Bahu and the restoration of Ikshvaku King Sagar, the Bhrigus also became fugitive and had to migrate towards the east. The Haihaya menace was disastrous and was effective up to Vaisali in the east where the King Karantham⁶⁴ at last checked their progress.

It may now easily be surmised that Bhargava influence with their fire-cult and rituals came to Eastern India including Anga during this period. It was during this period that the influence of Bhrigu-Angiras Brahmins was established in central and eastern India comprising Kosala, Kasi, Anga (including Magadh) Vaisali and Videha. It has been suggested by Prof. Bhargava⁶⁵ that the kingdom of Videha with the well-known legend of Nimi Mathava and his priest Gautam

Ragugan (गौतम राहुगण अंगिरस) was established during this period. Another state Vajji (later Vaisali) was also established during this period with Angiras Samvart as the priest. Unfortunately, during this eastward march of Bhṛigu Angiraasas, the historians have not thought that any migration from western and central India to side of U.P. and Bihar cannot be possible by discarding the Anga and Magadh regions. Hence, no serious attempt was made to analyse the traditional history of Anga Magadh. The reasons are apparent and hence enumerated here as follows-

(i) The Puranas contain as related before “embedded history” to use the words of Romila Thapar. However, in my humble opinion the Puranas contain not only embedded but also embroidered history. This embroidery had been done in the Mahabharat or post-Mahabharata period when the Aila (Ila dynasty or Somavamsa) was dominant visavis the Ikshvakus or Suryavamsa. This embroidery has been done to favour the new comer Aila⁶⁶ dynasty whose very origin is fabricated. The Aila dynasty is the latest will be proved very easily by the following figure:

Vaivasvat Manu	
Ikshvaku	Ila
Generations -93	Generations -45
Brihadhala	Yadu Krishna

Thus there is a⁶⁷ gap of 93-45 = 48 generations.

(ii) Since we are here concerned primarily with Anga; we must now consider the ‘embroidered’ legend of Rishi Dirghatamas (दीर्घतमस्) having begot the five Ksetraja sons of the King Bali upon the Queen Sudeshna. This legend has been so popular that it diverted all the probings on the traditional history of Anga, Banga and Kalinga. That the legend is totally false and interpolated with a purpose to serve the Aila dynasty is apparent from the following reasons- i(a) Firstly as Prof. Bhargava writes – “It is said that the Anava King Bali, who is in the same breath called Vairochana, son of Virochana, was childless and that according to the custom of levirate the Sage Dirghatamas begot of his queen five sons- Anga, Banga, Pundra, Sumha and Kalinga, who founded five

kingdoms of these names. Anga’s son is called Dadhivahama. This tale is farrago of absurdities and is one of the best examples of the kinds of myths introduced by the priest editors into old accounts. ...Dirghatamas was a very early Rigvedic Rishi having been an elder contemporary of the King Bharat whom he anointed. Dadhivahana, on the other hand, alleged to have been the grandson of Dirghatamas, was only five generations earlier than his descendant Lompada, who is well known contemporary of Dasrath. According to these Synchronisms, a period of 48 generations elapsed between Dirghatamas and Lompada, yet the number of kings are only five or six⁶⁸.

(iii) The legend is mainly based on a reference from Brihad-devta (बृहद्देवता) of Saunak, a Bhṛigu-Angiras compiler. But the passage has been misinterpreted. For the sake of clarity, the original verse is quoted below. It is said that Dirghatamas was expelled from his house, beaten and thrown into river almost dead. Thereafter occurs the following statement-

“हत्वा दीर्घमतास्तु पापेन महता वृतम् ।
 आत्मांगान्यनुदच्चैव तत्रोदोन्मोहितो भृशम् ॥
 अंगदेश समीपे तु तं नद्यः समुवदक्षिपन ।
 अंगराज गृहे युक्तम् उशिजं पुत्राकाम्यया ॥
 राज्ञा च प्रहितां दासीं भक्ता मत्वा महाशयाः ।
 जनयामास योत्थाय कक्षीवत् प्रमुखान ऋषीन् ॥

(Brhaddevta 4/21-25) When the beaten and almost dead Rshi Dirghatamas came near Anga Desh, he was rescued by the King of Anga. He married a slave woman Usija⁶⁹ from whom Kaksivan and other great Rishis sprang. There is no mention of the Queen of Anga. There is no mention of the name of the King of Anga. Now, the question arises- If the kingdom of Anga was named after the ksetraja son of Bali by Dirghatamas; how can it be called Angadesha at a period when Diraghatamas was floating on the river as dead? Did Dirghatmas bear the Ksetraja sons upon the Queen Sudeshna just by blowing air or by sprinkling water? Herein lies the clue of fabrication. While an earlier authority like Saunak does not mention the name of the King Bali, we find it in several Puranas.⁷⁰ We are told that Dirghatamas begot Kestraja sons on

Queen Sudeshna without any conjugal relations.

It is crystal clear that the legend is imaginary and interpolated. Hence, we must now try to know as to who was Dirghatamas and what may be his period? Dirghatamas is one of the earliest Rshi-poet of (Rg) Vedic age. He is so early that a Vedic scholar Prof. Avindra Kumar describes him as “Pre-Rigvedic”⁷¹ Rishi (प्राक् ऋग्वेदिक कवि) Since the Anga Desha, known after the name of King Anga-Vairochana, was so called before Dirghatama was given shelter by the King of Anga; therefore the logical corollary is that the King Anga was-

- (i) Either anterior to Dirghatama or his near contemporary.
- (ii) Dirghatama was the contemporary of King Daushyanti Bharat whom he anointed as Aitareya Brahman informs us-

“एतेत हवा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण मामतेयः
दौष्मन्तिं भरतं अभिषिचेत ।

तष्मात् दौष्मन्ति भरतः समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवी जयन् ॥”

(Panjika- VIII)

Now we get a solid historical footing to determine/guess the chronology of the King Anga-Vairochana.

The table shows the clear cut gaps of kings, cases of subversion, inversion, obversion and conversion to omit the King Anga and his dynasty and impose the dynasty of Manu Vivaswata in place of Chakshush Manu (Laukik Manu) or worldly Manu. We have a definite proof of this attempt which has remained intact in spite of the rigorous efforts of later editors of Puranas. The Mahabharat (13.153.2 and 13.154.1) says –

त्यक्तवा महीत्वम् भूमिस् तु स्पर्धया अंग नृपस्य ह।
नाशं जागम तां विप्रो व्यष्टम्यत काश्यपः॥⁷²

“Due to tyranny of the King Anga, the earth gave up its form but was saved by Kashyap.”

However, in the next stanza, it is written-

“इमाम् भूमिं द्विजातिभ्यो दित्सुर वै दक्षिणाम् पुरा
अंग नाम नृपो राजन् स ततश् चिन्तां महीम् ययौ ।

धरणीं सर्वभूतानां अयम् प्राप्य वरो नृपः। कथं इच्छति मां दातुम्
द्विजेभ्यो ब्रह्मणः सुताम् । साडहं त्यक्त्वा गाभिष्यामि भूमित्वम्

ब्रह्मणः पदम् । अयं अ-राष्ट्रो नृपतिः इमा भूता इति ततोऽगभत्
ततस् ताम् काश्यपो दृष्ट्वा ब्रजन्ति पृथ्वीं तदा। प्रविवेश महीं सद्यो
मुक्तऽऽत्मानं सभाहितः/..... अथागम्य महाराज नमस्कृत्य
काश्यपम्। पृथ्वी काश्यपी जज्ञे सुता तस्य महात्मनः॥”

Accordingly it is related that the King Anga wanted to donate to the Brahmins as Dakshina The Earth. So the Earth was perturbed and wanted to return to her Father Brahma. However, Kashyap Rishi came, and persuaded her to stay. Thereafter, the Earth became the daughter of Kasyapa.

Without going into controversy as to whom the King Anga wanted to donate the Earth (i.e. the Brahmins of which clan so that this Kasyap saved her) this much is clear that (i) Either the King Anga was displaced or (ii) The Story is narrated to omit his name in synchronized list of dynasties. Whatever be the case, our point of Inversion and Subversion (or both) is proved beyond doubt.

So in order to decide the chronology of the King Anga we have to take a fresh look at dynastic list of Chakshush Manu or Anga dynasty; we get the following tables-

Table - I

<p>Chakshush Manu</p> <p>Uru - married the daughter of Bhrgu sage Agni</p> <p>Anga – married d/o Rishi Yama</p> <p>Vena – (Removed)</p> <p>Prithu</p> <p>Antardhan</p> <p>Havirdhan Angi Rshi of Rgveda</p> <p>PrachinVarhi</p>

Table - II

<p>Ten Prachetasas</p> <p>Lived in ocean for 10,000 yrs then</p> <p>Married a Nymph Marricha</p> <p>Son</p> <p>Daksa Prajapati</p>

Table - III

<p style="text-align: center;">Daksa Prajapati Daughters Married to Kasyap Son of Kasyap Vivaswat Manu</p>

Table - IV

Daughters of Daksa married Kashyap	
Son Manu Visvasvat	Son Hiranyakasipu

Table - V

Manu Visvasvat	Hiranyakasipu
Step Brothers	

Table - VI

Obversion	Manu Vivasvat Iksvaku and other Prevalled	Inversion	HiranyaKasipū & his dynasty mystified and Inverted
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Let it be substantiated first. After Prithu, his son Antardhan and grandson Havirdhana were historical persons because we have a clear reference to a Rishi in Rigveda as Havirdhan Angi.⁷³ (हर्विधान आंगी) The Son of Havirdhan Angi, Prachinvahi (प्राचीनवर्हि) is clearly a historical person because he is referred to in several Puranas as having introduced the use of Kusagrass (कुश-वर्हि) in all rituals always facing towards East. Padma Purana says- “अत्रिवंशे समुत्पन्नो ब्रह्म सनातनः प्राचीनवर्हि भगवान्”⁷⁴ Herin there is no contradiction as we know that the ancestors of the King Anga, Uttanpad (उत्तानपाद) had been adopted by Rishi Atri and the priest of the King Anga-Vairochan was Udmayu, an Atreya in his 'Aindra Mahabhisheka as referred to in Aitareya Brahman (VIII) Vishnu Purana writes- “प्राचीनाग्रयाः कुशास्तस्य पृथिव्याम् अभयन्”⁷⁵ Harivamsa says “प्राचीनाग्रयाः कुशास्तस्य पृथिव्यां जनमेजया प्राचीनवर्हि भगवान् पृथ्वीतल चारिणः”⁷⁶ These Verses indicate that they were human beings who introduced Kusa or varhi in rituals. However, Prachetasas have been mystified who went to far off lands

up to ocean and lived for Ten Thousand years giving the editors of Purana Mythic time to imagine for a Manvantar.

Thousands of years elapsed while the descendants of Prthu, Prachetasas remained immersed in the ocean (clear Inversion). In the meantime, a Muni Kandu, who lived in the valley of Mandar was engaged in austerities. The Indra sent an Apsara named Pulomcha who seduced the sage Kandu and a daughter was born named Maricha who was married to Prachetasas who emerged after 10 thousand years from the ocean. (clear Inversion.) Prachetasas and Maricha begot Daksa Prajapati⁷⁷ II who begot many daughters; some of whom were married to Kasyap from whom the next Manu Vivasvat was born by Aditi and Kasyap. Twelve Adityas of Chakshush Manvantar were born from Aditi again while from Diti was born Hiranyakasipu and Hiranyaksha. The important point to note here is that Daksa Prajapati II (son of Prachetasas, descendants of Anga, Vena and Prthu) was born in Anga Desh. A clear, reference to this meaning occurs in Narsingh Purana

- “यासौ प्रजापतिः त्वन्यो दक्षनाम अंगसंभवः ।⁷⁸
तस्य दौहित्रावशेन जगत् एतत् चराचरम् ॥”

This Prajapati named Daksha was born in Anga. His daughter's son (i.e. Vivasvat) is the lord of the whole world. To confirm this identification Sloka Three (Ch.-IV) is also quoted- “पुलत्स्यश्च महातेजा⁷⁹ प्रचेता भृगुरेव च नारदो दशमश्चैव वशिष्ठश्च महामतिः”। The reference to Prachetas among ten Manas Putras is obvious.

Again when the son of Kasyap, Hiranyakasipu turned an Asura (i.e. the follower of the old cult) the Sloka occurs in the same Purana that when Hiranyakasipu was engaged in Tapa to appease Brahma, the Brahmins born in Anga Desha approached Narada. “इति चिन्ताकुलस्यैव ब्राम्हणोऽ अंगसमुद्भवः।⁸⁰

This is further confirmed that Manu Vaivaswat was related to Anga region because Mahabharat (Adiparva 75, 3) says that during the period of the incarnation of primeval fish or Minavatar he was performing his oblations on the bank of a river named “Chirni” (चीरणी-तीरम्

आगभ्य मत्स्यो वचनम् आब्रवीत्⁸¹ and thereafter the fish was transferred to a big pond (Papharni or Puskarni tank?) and thereafter the fish had to be shifted to the river Ganga and thence, to ocean. The entire location, the name of the river and the distance of Mandar and its closeness to the river Ganga are strong indications for identifying the Chirni river of the present namesake with the river referred to in the Mahabharata and it clearly proves beyond any doubt that Manu Vaivaswat was related to Anga. If at all he was a historical person then he was definitely born in Anga. If he is a legendary person then also the story indicates the growth of the legend in this Anga region. It is significant to note here that while hoisting the kings of Solar dynasty of Ikshavaku. We find the names of Vena and his son Prithu. It seems that these two kings of Anga were too popular at the time of compilation of the Puranas and the dynastic lists to be eradicated from the popular collective memory. Hence, while they inverted the name of Anga but they retained the names of Vena and Prithu, the last king of the Anga dynasty, through Vena, Prithu to Havirdhan Angi Hirankashyapu Prahlad, Virochana and Bali i.e. Bali Vairochana was perhaps the greatest king of the dynasty; the greatest donor who said to have donated the whole of earth to a Brahmin Vaman who has been depicted as an incarnation of the new all assimilating God Vishnu Narayan.

Conculsion

As to the chronology of the King Anga, we do accept the latest dating of Nihar Rajan the renowned Astro-physicists in USA who has calculated and fixed the Mahabharata as 3067 B.C. and we Propose to add 20 x (into) 94 = 1880 year to it which comes to 4,947 B.C. (94 generations of Solar dynasty preceding the fixed year of Mahabharata) and at least 5 generations of Anga dynasty are clear enough. Therefore, further 100 years needs to be added to 4947 B.C. making it 5947 B.C. roughly 6000 B.C. The calculation comes roughly to the period of the earliest beginning of the ancient Indian history as pronounced by Lokmanya Tilak and other Indologists.

Let us discuss the traditional history of Ancient with an open mind without any sort of prejudice.

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Determinants of fertility and Population Growth Rates in Madhya Pradesh: A situational Analysis

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Abstract

It is often argued that every country should have an optimum size of population for its development. Indian population size and growth is immense and not optimum. There are three components of population growth: birth, death and migration. The difference of birth and death rates is called natural increase. In the context of India, this natural increase is the principal component of population growth. However, the movement of population influences inter and intra state/ region population growth. It is because of this fact that one of the targets of the National Population Policy is to reduce the birth rate by reducing the fertility rate at the replacement level. Some of the southern states have already reduced to this level. But northern states, particularly Madhya Pradesh are far away from this level/target. This paper examines the demographic attributes of growth of population and situation of total fertility in Madhya Pradesh. Coefficient of correlation between some determinants of fertility and growth rates have been analyzed to draw some conclusions and policy implications. NFH survey data and Census data have served the purpose. Infant mortality rate is the strong determinant of the fertility. Bringing down the infant mortality rate can bring down fertility. At the same time, raising the age of effective marriage will also reduce fertility. Both are strongly related with female literacy and empowerment.

Keywords : fertility, mean parity, replacement level, determinants, correlation

Introduction

Fertility is one of the dynamics of population change. Fertility analysis is important in understanding past, current and future trends of population size, composition and growth. Information on fertility levels, patterns and trends experienced by a country is important for socio-economic planning, monitoring and evaluating programs for development.

The total fertility rate (TFR) is a more direct measure of the level of fertility than the crude birth rate (CBR), since it refers to births per woman. This indicator shows the potential for population change in the country. A rate of two children per woman is considered the replacement rate for a population, resulting in relative stability in terms of total numbers. Rates above two children indicate population growing in size and whose median age is declining. Higher rates may also indicate difficulties for families, in some situations, to

feed and educate their children and for women to enter the labor force. Global fertility rates are in general decline and this trend is most pronounced in industrialized countries, especially western Europe, where populations are projected to decline dramatically over the next fifty years.

Indian Perspective : The recently concluded Indian census put the population of India at 1.21 billion in 2011. While the population growth rates have been declining since the 1970s, for the first time since independence the absolute number of people added to the population between 2001 and 2011 is lower than the previous (1991–2001) intercensal period . The decline in absolute numbers is to be expected as fertility has been declining over the last forty years. However, due to population momentum, the national population is expected to increase to over 1.7 billion before stabilizing. (Census of India 2011).

Table 1: Total Fertility Rate in India

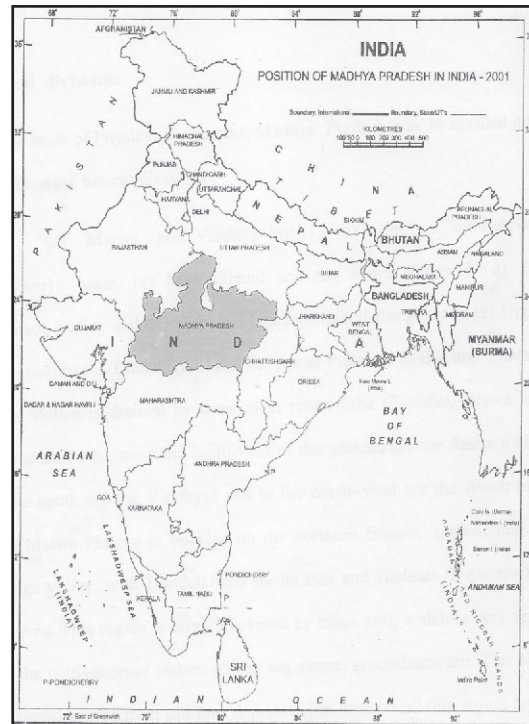
Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
India	3.11	3.04	2.98	2.91	2.85	2.78	2.73	2.81	2.76	2.72	2.65	2.62

Source: http://www.indexmundi.com/india/total_fertility_rate.html

Although fertility has declined to below replacement in several states, it is still common for women to have at least two children. While the possibility of further fertility reductions cannot be ruled out, the current socioeconomic and cultural situation is not conducive for such a scenario. In parts of Asia (especially East Asia) where fertility has reached very low levels, fertility decline was preceded or accompanied by steep increase in women's labor force participation rates in the formal economy, restructuring of family relations, normative changes, and growing acceptance of single hood. India has undergone rapid economic changes over the last two decades and this has provided women with new employment opportunities not available before. While women in increasing numbers are participating in the labor force, the changes have not been rapid and appear not to have dented the strong patriarchal bent in family relations nor has it eroded the primacy of family and kinship relationships. Unless there are widespread and dramatic changes in the traditional institutions and structure fertility might not decline to very low levels.

Madhya Pradesh State Perspective : Madhya Pradesh is one of those States of India where fertility levels continue to be amongst the highest in the country. According to the Sample Registration System, the crude birth rate in the State has been estimated to be 30.4 live births per 1000 population for the year 2002 which is well above the national average of 25 (Govt. of India 2004). Madhya Pradesh has the fourth highest birth rate - next only to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan - amongst the major States of India, States having more than 20 million population at the 2001 population census. Similarly, the total fertility rate in the State has been estimated to be 4 births per woman for the year 1998, which is also the fourth highest among the major states of India (Govt. of India 2003.) Information available through the National Family Health Survey, 1998-99 also indicates persistence of high fertility in the State.

Despite the fact that fertility levels in Madhya Pradesh continue to be well above the national



Map 1 : Position of Madhya Pradesh in India average, there has been little systematic investigation of the underlying factors. Most of the knowledge about fertility dynamics in the State is derived from national level surveys and analyses. As the result, there is little incorporation of fertility determinants research in planning, designing and implementing fertility reduction activities. Lack of adequate information and research base on fertility and related issues has also resulted in a stereotype implementation of fertility control efforts, largely guided by the dictates of the central government. There is little State specific initiative for hastening the pace of fertility transition. There has been some attempt to meet the information needs of fertility control efforts in the State through the National Family Health Survey Programme and through the Rapid Household Survey Programme under the Reproductive and Child Health Project. However, most of the information collected through these surveys is yet to be analyzed and used at the State and below State levels for planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of fertility control activities. Micro level analyses of the available information

that can provide a better understanding of fertility decision making process and identification of factors and situations that influence this process are rare in Madhya Pradesh.

The Madhya Pradesh Population Policy, adopted in 2000, calls for improving the quality of life of the people of the State through an accelerated reduction in fertility and mortality. The goal of the policy is to achieve replacement fertility by the year 2011 (Government of Madhya Pradesh 2000). A decentralized, people's based approach has been outlined in the policy for achieving replacement fertility. It calls for planning, implementation and monitoring of population stabilization programs and activities at the grassroots level through the active and sustained involvement of people, especially via the agency of panchayat raj Institutions. Planning for population stabilization activities at the local level requires information about the demographic situation, particularly information on the levels of fertility, infant and child mortality, etc. At present, data on fertility and mortality are available only at the district level and above

It is estimated that the state of MP would attain the replacement level TFR of 2.1 in about three to four decades at the present annualized rate of decline in the TFR. The Total Fertility Rate has declined at a rate much lower than that of the rate of decline for the nation in the initial years but in last decade Madhya Pradesh has tried to catch up the national average and in 2005 TFR (MP) is 3.12 (NFHS-III) and TFR (India) is 3, marginally less than that of Madhya Pradesh.

Materials and Methods

The census of India provides basic information for this analysis. It has been supplemented by data and information obtained from National Family Health Survey-2&3 (NFHS-2&3), India and from Sample Registration System. The simple percentage method has been used to analyze census data in this regard. Coefficient of correlation between some determinants of fertility and growth have been calculated to draw some conclusions for policy implications.

Results and Discussions

Determinants of Fertility in Madhya Pradesh

Population of Madhya Pradesh increased five folds from 12.67 million in 1901 to 60.35 million in 2001 this growth has been higher than the national average during the same period. It is because of the fact that the advancement in medical cares and development of means of transport made it possible to bring down the death rate sharply from 30 per thousand in 1951 to 10 in 2001. But birth rate declined sluggishly from 37 to 31 during this period. However, this decline is becoming sharper after 1991.

Table No: 2 Growth of Population in Madhya Pradesh, 1901-2001

Year	% Growth	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate
1901	--	--	--
1911	12.38	47.1	33.9
1921	-2.40	45.1	45.2
1931	10.21	41.4	31.8
1941	12.06	41.2	31.9
1951	8.38	37.0	30.3
1961	24.73	43.2	23.2
1971	29.28	39.1	15.5
1981	27.16	39.8	16.1
1991	27.24	35.8	13.8
2001	24.26	30.8	10.0
2011	20.30	27.3	8.30

Source: Census of India & SRS Bulletin, December 2011

Population Growth ranges from 5.85 percent in Balaghat to 40.82 percent in Indore in Madhya Pradesh during 1991-2001. Growth has been high in the Malwa, lower Narmada valley, northern Bundelkhand plateau and southern Madhya Bharat plateau. In remaining parts, it is medium to low. Indore, Bhopal and Sidhi districts record exceptionally high growth, which has been made possible due to high immigration. It is worth noting that even during the decade 1991- 2001 when growth rate in the state as a whole declined.

Table No. 3: Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Madhya Pradesh Districts, 2001 & 2011 censuses

Name	CBR 2011	TFR 2011	TFR 2001
INDIA	21.2	2.7	3.2
Madhya Pradesh	24.3	3.2	3.9
Sheopur	28.1	3.8	4.6
Morena	25.5	3.6	4.2
Bhind	23.6	3.3	4.0
Gwalior	20.5	2.6	3.3
Datia	23.1	3.1	4.0
Shivpuri	23.1	3.8	5.1
Tikamgarh	26.2	3.4	4.5
Chhatarpur	26.7	3.8	5.0
Panna	26.9	3.6	4.7
Sagar	24.8	3.3	4.2
Damoh	25.1	3.3	4.0
Satna	24.8	3.3	4.3
Rewa	24.3	3.2	4.4
Umariya	26.2	3.4	4.0
Neemach	20.8	2.5	3.3
Mandasaur	21.1	2.6	3.5
Ratlam	24.3	3.1	3.7
Ujjain	22.0	2.8	3.5
Shajapur	23.0	3.0	4.1
Dewas	23.5	3.0	3.8
Dhar	26.9	3.5	4.1
Indore	20.8	2.4	2.9
W.Nimar	26.3	3.5	4.3
Barwani	32.8	4.4	5.1

Name	CBR 2011	TFR 2011	TFR 2001
Rajgarh	24.7	3.3	4.2
Vidisa	27.0	3.7	4.5
Bhopal	20.7	2.4	3.0
Sehore	24.9	3.4	4.6
Raisen	25.5	3.5	4.5
Betul	21.5	2.9	3.9
Harda	24.0	3.3	4.2
Hoshangabad	21.4	2.9	3.7
Katni	24.7	3.1	3.6
Jabalpur	19.2	2.3	2.9
Narsinghpur	21.1	2.7	3.5
Dindori	25.5	3.2	3.2
Mandla	22.7	2.9	3.4
Chhindwara	20.9	2.8	3.5
Seoni	21.1	2.7	3.4
Balaghat	20.0	2.5	3.1
Guna	28.0	3.8	4.6
Ashoknagar	27.6	3.7	4.6
Shahdol	24.2	3.1	3.6
Anuppur	22.7	2.9	3.6
Sidhi	28.3	3.9	4.7
Singrauli	29.6	4.0	4.7
Jhabua	35.4	5.0	5.4
Alirajpur	33.4	4.7	5.4
E.Nimar	26.2	3.5	3.9
Burhanpur	25.5	2.9	2.9

Source: Rajan. S I and Guilmo, C Z (2012), Fertility at District Levels in India: Lesson from the 2011 Census, CDS, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, India.

Utilizing district wise data correlation between growth rate and a set of variables has been tried and presented in table no. 3 it is evident from the table that growth is

positively related with the crude birth rate, total fertility rate and infant mortality rate. It means overall growth of population is related with natural increase.

Table No.4 Coefficient of correlation between some determinants of fertility and growth rates in M.P., 1998-2001

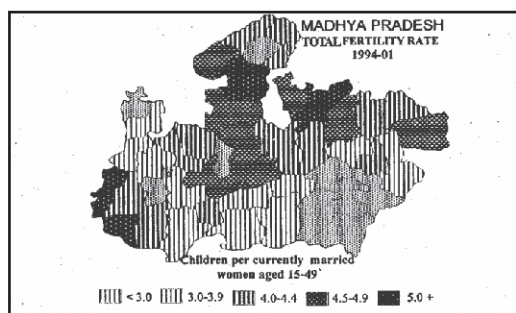
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	1.00												
2	-0.08	1.00											
3	-0.35	-0.32	1.00										
4	0.21	0.44	-0.54	1.00									
5	-0.40	-0.25	0.68	-0.49	1.00								
6	-0.32	0.26	0.37	-0.02	0.44	1.00							
7	0.35	-0.71	0.05	-0.35	-0.09	-0.54	1.00						
8	0.34	-0.64	-0.06	-0.31	-0.25	-0.60	0.95	1.00					
9	0.04	-0.30	-0.06	-0.07	-0.06	-0.24	0.44	0.40	1.00				
10	-0.21	-0.06	0.34	0.05	0.44	0.43	-0.01	-0.07	-0.03	1.0			
11	-0.05	0.15	-0.21	0.06	-0.09	0.08	-0.17	-0.11	-0.17	0.06	1.00		
12	0.15	0.55	-0.01	0.26	0.34	0.58	-0.70	-0.75	-0.34	0.30	0.18	1.00	
13	0.52	-0.28	-0.25	0.18	-0.60	-0.61	0.55	0.61	0.29	-0.38	-0.11	-0.74	1.00

Connotation of variables:

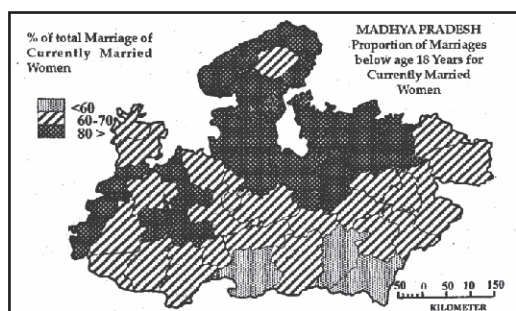
1. Decennial Growth rate in Percent 2. Female Literacy rate 3. Proportion of main female worker to total female population 4. Proportion of female workers in non-agricultural occupations to total female workers 5. Sex ratio 6. Per cent currently sterilized 7. Crude birth rate 8. Total fertility rate 9. Infant mortality rate 10. Poverty ratio 11. Couple Protection ratio 12. Mean age at marriage 13. Proportion of currently married women married before 18 years of age.

is controlled by fertility to a great extent . It is evident from the spatial pattern of the fertility rates in Madhya Pradesh. Further, birth and fertility rates are highly and positively correlated with the proportion of women married before attaining 18 years of age and inversely related with the mean age at marriage (Warvedekar & Parchure, 2004) It mean both fertility and birth rates can be brought down if age at marriage could be increased and thereby proportion of early marriages could be reduced. It is interesting to note that growth rate has high positive correlation with the infant mortality rate ($r = 0.52$), which in term is accompanied with high birth rate and high fertility. It seems that in security of child survival is one of the major reasons of high fertility.

Map No : 2



Map No: 3



National Family Health Survey – 2 provides estimates of different fertility rates and crude birth rates for the three years period preceding the survey, which correspond s roughly of the period 1996-98. The crude birth rate thus estimated was 26.7 births per thousand population and total fertility rate for women age 15-49 was 3.31 births per

women. Total fertility is considerably higher in rural area (3.56) than in urban areas (2.61). It means one rural women would have one more child than an urban women. Total fertility rate in Madhya Pradesh is considerably higher than the total fertility rate for India (2.85) and is fourth highest among all the states in India. It is pertinent to mention that estimates of fertility (4.00) and birth (31.9) rates of Sample Survey System, which are supposed to be closer to true level, are higher than the estimates of NFHS-2.

Age specific fertility estimates of NFHS-2 make it clear that 58 percent of rural total fertility and 62 percent of total urban fertility, are in the prime childbearing age of 20-29. Fertility at age 15-19 accounts for 17 percent of total fertility in urban areas, 23 percent in rural areas and 21 percent overall fertility. It is pertinent to mention that more than three fourths of the women were married before they had reached to the legal minimum age at marriage of 18 years in this state. Specifically, 75 percent of all women, 84 per cent of rural women and 52 per cent of urban women aged 20-49 married before age 18. This tradition of early marriage has strong impact on fertility rate, resulting in high positive coefficient of correlation with birth rates with birth rate ($r = 0.55$) as well as with fertility rate ($r = 0.61$). Contrary to it, mean age at marriage has more stronger but negative relation with these rates ($r = -0.70$ and -0.75 respectively). Therefore, if raising the marriage age could reduced the proportion of early marriages, growth rate will automatically come down.

Along with the marriage age, literacy of women is another principal determinant of fertility (Singh et al, 2002). As per estimates of NFHS-2, total fertility rate among illiterate women (3.78) is almost to children higher than the fertility rate among women who have completed at least high school education (1.92). More than two-thirds (66.5 percent) of the respondents of ever-married women contacted during this survey were illiterate and only one-tenth has education up to high school or above. According to 2001 census, nearly half (49.7 percent) are illiterate in the state. However, simple female literacy rate presents

inverse relationship with birth ($r = -0.71$) and fertility ($r = -0.64$) rates.

Family Planning methods are supposed to be the ultimate method of reducing fertility rate. But they do not manifest their impact on birth and fertility rate in Madhya Pradesh, though present inverse relationship. Table 3 presents coefficient of correlation of couple protection rate with variable of population growth. Almost all currently married women have knowledge of at least one contraceptive method, however, less than half (46.4 percent) of them currently use a method contraception. Contrary to more than half (53.86 percent) of them do not use them at the present. Only 44 percent of currently married rural women have ever used any contraceptive method while proportion of urban user is 59.7 percent. It is pertinent to mention that proportion of currently using sterilization shows significantly negative relationship with total fertility rate, crude birth rate and infant mortality rate. It means this method of family planning is more effective than other methods.

Conclusion

Growth rate of population in Madhya Pradesh still presents horrible picture of the future the family welfare programs launched to address this problem. Deep-rooted customs, traditions and socio-cultural conditions have impeded the adoption of the norm of small family. Along with other programs, the Child Survival and Safe Motherhood Programme was started in 1992- 93. Later Govt. of India launched the RCH Programme during 1997-98 by integrating Child Survival and Safe Motherhood Programme with other reproductive and child health. As a consequence of these efforts, 72 percent of couples with two children and 84 percent couples with three children are either sterilized or do not want more children during NFHS-2. Their fertility behavior is very much influenced by such socio-economic factors as female literacy, mean age at marriage of girls, status of women, strong son preference and economic status of women. Infant mortality rate is also strong determinant of the fertility. Bringing down IMR and raising the age of effective marriage will also reduce fertility. Both are strongly related with female literacy, which

not only prepares women for non-domestic economic pursuits and creates awareness about outside world but also raises the age of marriage. Therefore female literacy and adherence to the legal age of marriage should be launched as a mission.

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Understanding the Dynamics of Urban Poverty: A Case study of Jharkhand

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Abstract

The paper would like to explore the changing profiles of urban poor in the newly formed state, Jharkhand since 1970's. Here, an attempt is made to compare the poverty scenario in Jharkhand with its parent state Bihar. This paper seeks to provide an understanding of key concepts and issues pertaining to urban poverty, its causes and its changing nature in the era of liberalization. Further, the important urban poverty alleviation programmes are critically analysed to find out its contribution towards alleviating poverty in the country with specific reference to Jharkhand.

Keywords : poverty, profiles, urban, liberalization

Introduction

Poverty is "pronounced deprivation in well-being."¹ The conventional view links well-being primarily to command over commodities, so the poor are those who do not have enough income to meet their needs. This view explains poverty largely in monetary terms. Poverty may also be tied to a specific type of consumption; thus someone might be house poor or food poor or health poor. These dimensions of poverty can often be measured directly, for instance by measuring malnutrition or literacy. The broadest approach to well-being and poverty focuses on the "capability" of the individual to function in society. The poor lack key capabilities, and may have inadequate income or education, or be in poor health, or feel powerless, or lack political freedoms. Poverty is the biggest challenge to development for almost half of the world. At the start of the twenty-first century, people suffer in a state of "deep poverty amid plenty" measured as an income of less \$ 2 a day.² The World Bank estimates that 456 million Indians i.e., 42% of the total Indian population at present live under the global poverty line of \$1.25 per day (PPP). This means that a third of the global poor now reside in India. However, this also represents a significant decline in poverty from 60 percent in 1981 to 42 percent in 2005, although the rupee has decreased in value since then, while the official standard of 538/356 rupees per month has remained the same. Income inequality in India (Gini coefficient:

32.5 in year 1999/2000) is increasing. The Human Development Reports and other United Nations/World Bank reports identify South Asia as one of the most deprived regions in the World. South Asia has the largest number of people in the world living in absolute poverty which includes 46 per cent of the developing world's population. It is true that what it means to be poor can be very different in different societies, for instance, as between the U.S and Scandinavia. Socio-economic structural and cultural contexts shape the experiences and understandings of poverty. Thus, "Poverty" is at the same time culture bound and universal.³

The present study would like to explore the changing profile of urban poverty in the newly formed state of Jharkhand since 1970's. Here, an attempt is made to compare the poverty scenario in Jharkhand with its parent state Bihar in four different periods like 1987-88, 1993-94, 1999-00 and finally 2004-05 both before and after economic reform periods. This study seeks to provide an understanding of key concepts and issues pertaining to urban poverty, its causes and the changing nature of urban poverty in the era of liberalization. Poverty and the poor are always associated with (a) resourcelessness (b) choicelessness (c) insecurity and (d) deprivation which create incapacities in the pursuit of dignified life in a given society for a person, household, group or community. Furthermore, those suffering chronic poverty also suffer several simultaneous

disadvantages including gender, age, caste, ethnicity, location, etc.⁴ Chronic poverty seems to be disproportionately high among historically marginalised groups such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) the elderly, women and the disabled.⁵

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussion

A Conceptual framework for understanding poverty : In this section an attempt is made to explain the basic concepts relating to poverty which are as follows:

Absolute and relative poverty : Poverty is usually viewed as either a form of absolute deprivation or relative, but significant, deprivation. Absolute poverty is perceived as subsistence below the minimum requirements for physical well-being, generally based on a quantitative proxy indicator such as income or calories, but sometimes taking into account a broader package of goods and services. Relative poverty encourages an analytical focus on income inequality trends.

Poverty and Inequality : Poverty and inequality are two analytically distinct concepts. Rapid economic growth may lead to the simultaneous increase of both poverty and inequality and this can be traced to the early stages of industrialization in the West. The rigours of poverty and inequality in 19th century England were described in vivid detail by writers as different from each other as Karl Marx and Charles Dickens. High levels of inequality contribute to high levels of poverty in several ways. First, for any given level of economic development or mean income, higher inequality implies higher poverty, since a smaller share of resources is obtained by those at the bottom of the distribution of income or consumption. Second, higher initial inequality may result in lower subsequent growth and, therefore, in less poverty reduction. The negative impact of inequality on

growth may result from various factors.

Poverty and Social Exclusion : Social exclusion can be understood as "people being prevented from participation in the normal activities of the society in which they live or being incapable of functioning". In sum, social exclusion means incomplete citizenship and unequal access to the status, benefits, and experiences of typical citizens in society. Though social exclusion has multiple meanings, the concept can also be reduced to one central notion. If an individual is socially excluded, that person has a limited capability to effectively participate in society.⁶ Social exclusion's theoretical roots lie in classical sociology. In the work of Max Weber the idea referred to the ways in which groups can, through a process of 'social closure' secure and maintain privilege at the expense of those different from the own members. Social exclusion is a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live. In Europe, the concept of poverty has recently been supplanted by 'social exclusion'. As the concept initially emerged from within a welfare state context, and as exclusion presupposes inclusion, debates continue regarding the applicability of social exclusion approaches to poverty in developing countries that have never had a functioning comprehensive social welfare system.

Chronic Poverty : Chronic Poverty describes people (individual, households, social groups, geographical areas, and territories) who are poor for significant periods of their lives, who may pass their poverty onto their children, and for whom finding exit routes from poverty is difficult. As opposed to transient poverty, chronic poverty involves people, households, and social groups who are poor for sustained and significant or extended periods of their lives and whose families and children may inherit this persistent condition. While chronic poverty is dynamic in that people do climb out of, or fall into poverty in significant numbers, exiting such poverty can prove difficult.

Chronic poverty is often concentrated in certain geographic areas and amongst certain castes and occupational groups. It not only has economic dimensions, but also social and political ones (India Chronic Poverty Report, 2011)

The feminization of poverty : As Diana Pearce coined the term 'feminization of poverty' which implies a new phenomenon, "women have always experienced more poverty than men". The conceptualization of poverty in this way is also helpful from the perspective of understanding and combating women's poverty. The incidence of poverty among females tended to be marginally higher in both rural and urban areas in India. The percentage of female persons living in poor households was 37 per cent in rural and 34 per cent in urban areas in 1993-94, and 27 and 25 respectively in 1999-00. In contrast, the percentage of male persons living in poverty was 36 in rural and 32 in urban areas in 1993-94, and 26 and 23 in 1999-00. The female persons accounted for slightly less than half of the poor, about 49 per cent in both rural and urban areas in both the years. The lower percentage of female persons among the poor despite higher female poverty ratio was due to adverse sex ratio. It should be noted that the above measure of gender poverty ignores intra-household inequalities in consumption. There are other dimensions of poverty such as food insecurity, malnutrition and health associated more with female members.⁷

Rural Poverty : There are two facets of poverty, one is urban poverty and rural poverty. Rural poverty arises from a number of factors like low agricultural production, population increase, health hazards, low income, less adequate facilities, illiteracy, lack of accessibility to natural resources etc. (Ali 2007:271). Effective implementation of anti poverty programmes by both central and state governments will certainly reduce the incidence of rural poverty. According to the 2001 Census of India, scheduled castes and tribes comprise 16.2 percent and 8.2 percent, respectively, of India's population, yet 47.3 percent of India's rural poor are concentrated in these groups. The incidence of poverty

among scheduled caste and tribe households are much higher than for the rest of the population – in 1999-2000 the proportion of rural SC and ST households below the poverty line were 30.1 and 39.4 percent respectively, as compared with a poverty rate of 17.7 percent for rural non-scheduled households.

Urban Poverty : Urban poverty is seen in urban areas like metropolitan cities, semi town etc. According to World Bank, Urban poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, and the poor suffer from various deprivations e.g. lack of access to employment, adequate housing and services, social protection and lack of access to health, education and personal security. Urban poverty which is a cruel reality is considered to be the most demanding urban challenge and number one urban problem because it is poverty which leads to many other problems in the urban areas (Bhasin, 2001:15). Taking various dimension of urban poverty into consideration, De'souza (1979) says that the causes of slum formation and squatter settlements are neither industrialization nor the size of the city but urban poverty. Urban poverty is a complex, multidimensional problem with origin in both developing and developed domains depending upon its nature and extent. In 2001, 924 million people, or 31.6 percent of this world urban population, lived in slum settlements. The majority of them were in the developing regions, accounting for 43 percent of urban population, in contrast to 6% in more developed regions. The quality of life of people is influenced by the phenomenon of urbanisation.

The main objectives of this study are as follows

- ♦ To examine the social features of the urban poor in Jharkhand.
- ♦ To examine the basic causes of urban poverty in Jharkhand
- ♦ To analyse the impact of urban poverty alleviation programmes in alleviating poverty.
- ♦ To analyse the changing nature of urban poverty in the era of liberalization.

Jharkhand and its Development Challenges :

At 00:00 hours of 1st March 2011, the state of : Jharkhand with an area of 79714 sq. Km, has a

population of 3,29,66,238 as against 26,945,829 at 2001 census. Out of a total population, males are 1,69,31,688 and females 1,60,34,550. According to the provisional population totals of Census of India 2011 Jharkhand occupies the 13th position by population among all states and UT's of the country. There were 18 Districts in the state of Jharkhand at the time of 2001 census. The number of districts in the state has gone up to 24 by census 2011. Jharkhand is rich in natural resources - forests, minerals and abundant land. It has a diverse population consisting of adivasis (27.7 per cent), scheduled castes (8.4 per cent), and other groups, as well as several religious denominations - Christians, Muslims, Hindus and animists. Yet, more than half its population lives below the poverty line, gaps between rural and urban areas are wide, as also between different groups of the population. Along with Bihar, it has been identified as the most food insecure state in the country. The Vision 2010 document admits to a 52 per cent deficit in food grain production as well as 230 gram per capita daily availability as against 523 grams for India as a whole. The challenge of development includes both the elimination of persistent and endemic deprivation, as well as the prevention of sudden and severe destitution, a result of economic inequality rather than lack of food supply. In May 2002 a series of starvation deaths were reported in Palamu district of Jharkhand. Jharkhand is very rich in terms of availability of natural resources. It is adorned with some of the richest deposits of iron ores and coal in the world. Despite this, the state is confronting challenges of underdevelopment, high incidence of poverty, unemployment, malnutrition and ill health. The vulnerable social groups like SC, ST, Women, and migrants are at the marginal end. The indigenous groups comprising 85 to 90 per cent of the total population of Jharkhand have been the worst hit by the large-scale exploitation of the natural resources of the region through the development of mines, industries and commercial exploitation of forests. The majority of them stay in a state of semi-starvation throughout the year. The remaining 10 to 15 per cent of the population of

the area are immigrants who migrated to wealth for themselves. The history of the indigenous people of Jharkhand is one of struggles against such outside exploiters whom they call 'dikus' (Mathew: 1989). These dikus have gradually reduced them to a non-dominant position. In order to meet these challenges, and to make existing sources of livelihoods stronger, result oriented and sustainable, an independent society named Jharkhand State Livelihood Promotion Society (JSLPS) has been formed by the Government of Jharkhand under the Rural Development Department with financial support by UNDP.

Social Composition of Poor

In a recent report issued by the World Bank in 2007 entitled 'Jharkhand: Addressing the Challenges of Inclusive Development' has identified Jharkhand as one of the most poverty-stricken states in the country with a sharp contrast between rural and urban poverty. The incidence of poverty at the state level is assessed at 44 per cent in the state compared with 26 percent for India as a whole. The report said there was sharp contrast between rural and urban poverty. The incidence of rural poverty, assessed at 49 per cent in 1999/00, was the highest among all Indian states, with the second highest being Orissa (48 per cent), followed by Bihar (44 per cent), Assam (40 per cent) and Madhya Pradesh (37 per cent). In contrast, the incidence of urban poverty is only 23 per cent, which is similar to or better than states such as Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra at 27 per cent, Karnataka (25 per cent), Tamil Nadu (23 per cent) and much lower than in Orissa (44 per cent) and Bihar (34 per cent). However, the report stated that Jharkhand has made considerable progress in reducing poverty since the early nineties when the overall poverty reduction rate was about 2 percentage points a year since the early 1990's. The report said that Jharkhand's nominal per capita income of Rs 14,147 in 2003-04 was below that of countries such as Bangladesh. The report said that Jharkhand's key social indicators such as literacy, enrolment, infant mortality and child nutrition were below the all-India average

Table 1

From the Table 1 the STs Population is more

States	SC	ST
Jharkhand	11.8	26.3
INDIA	16.2	8.2

Source: Census of India, 2001

than three times that of all India. Among the newly formed states, Chhattisgarh has the highest proportion of tribal population followed by Jharkhand, whereas Uttarakhand has the highest proportion of SC population. West Bengal has the highest proportion of SC population. Orissa also has a considerable proportion of tribal population.

Urbanization in Jharkhand

Because of the industrial and mining activities, Jharkhand is more urbanized than many of the major states. Even then the level of its urbanization is less than the national average and almost half that of the most urbanized states – Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. Most of the districts in Jharkhand have a very low level of urbanization. Only four of the districts of this state are highly or moderately urbanised. Purbi Singhbhum (55 per cent), Dhanbad (52 per cent), Bokaro (45 per cent) and Ranchi (35 per cent) are the districts with more than one fourth population inhabiting urban areas. However, a comparison across districts throws a startling revelation – the level of urbanization in the highly urbanized districts is comparable to the most urbanized states, while the least urbanized are comparable to the least urbanized states of the country. Urbanization offers opportunities for a variety of livelihood options. Migration is also influenced by the extent of urbanization. Households which have temporary or seasonal access to work in nearby towns have higher incomes than those which lack that access (World Bank, 2007). Unfortunately not only is the level of urbanization in the state low but the pace of urbanization is also very slow. Annual urban population growth was 2.9 percent between 1991 and 2001 in Jharkhand compared to 3.1 percent at all India level. Dhanbad, which is severely insecure in food availability, is the only district

in Jharkhand, which is food secure in terms of access to food. Dhanbad is a highly urbanized district marked by a high level of mining and industrial activities.

Changing Profiles of Poor

The composition of the poor has been changing and rural poverty is getting concentrated in the agricultural labour and artisan households and urban poverty in the casual labour households. The share of agricultural labour households, which accounted for 41% of rural poor in 1993-94 increased to 47% in 1999-00. In contrast, the share of self-employed in agriculture among the rural poor had fallen from 33% to 28%. Casual labour households accounted for 32% of the urban population living in poverty in 1999-00, increasing from 25% in 1993-94. The increase in its share was due to both the increased dependence of urban households on urban casual labour market as well as higher incidence of poverty among urban casual labour households. The geographical landscape of rural poverty has been changing. The share of backward states such as Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the rural poor rose from 53% in 1993-94 to 61% in 1999, whereas the share of agriculturally prosperous North-Western States such as Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh declined from 3.03% to 1.26% and that of Southern states also declined from 15.12% to 11.23%. Notably, some of the better off states such as Maharashtra and West Bengal, in spite of their higher level of economic growth, had a relatively higher share in rural poverty. The urban poor were getting concentrated in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.

Basic Causes of Urban Poverty

Lack of access to infrastructure can be measured in terms of: (i) under-provisioning relative to the rest of India; and (ii) high unfulfilled demand in key areas such as transportation, telecommunication, power, water supply and irrigation. The extent of deprivation is higher in Jharkhand as compared to the rest of India and higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Jharkhand (along with Bihar) has one of the poorest road connectivity among all Indian states, resulting

in high transportation costs. Development of infrastructure is the key to poverty alleviation. In terms of road density the state ranks third lowest in this sub-sample, better than Bihar and Arunachal Pradesh, but much worse than other states such as Orissa and West Bengal. The lack of telecommunication places the rural poor in Jharkhand at a clear disadvantage compared to other states. This is especially true as a third of the population lives in difficult high terrain where it is not easy to build routine road networks. The power sector in Jharkhand has good business potential. The state is well endowed with coal and has the potential for low-cost power generation, particularly if power plants can be set up in the vicinity of coal mines. Despite the good business potential, access to power in the state is very low, as judged from per capita availability, community connectivity, and household access.

Poverty Alleviation Schemes

Poverty removal as an explicit variable entered India's development strategy during the Fifth Five year Plan (1974-79). The first central government scheme, formulated in 1986, was the Self Employment Programme for the Urban Poor (SEPUP). Under it, workers in thirty-five economic activities with an income of Rs 600 per month per household were supposed to get a loan not exceeding Rs 5,000 per household. The another major programme that was launched at the end of the seventh Five Year Plan was the Nehru Rojgar Yojana (NRY). In the mid-1990s, it was felt that there were multiple and overlapping schemes. So all urban poverty alleviation programmes were put into a single window programme and launched as Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) in December 1997. The second major scheme is Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) for sixty-three cities selected all over India. Along with it, an Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) has been launched to be implemented in the non-JNNURM cities/ towns. State's Share to Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS) in Jharkhand are Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) scheme National Urban Information System (NUIS). Under Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY) scheme the Govt. of India and the State Govt.

provide financial assistance. Through this scheme, funds are provided for creation of employment opportunities to the unemployed in the urban areas and also development of Children as well as Women. State Plan Schemes—Continuing Schemes are relating to water supply and providing individual/community toilets. The state Government is committed to provide safe and sufficient water supply for the citizens of urban areas. The population is growing at faster rate in the urban areas. In order to complete the drinking water supply schemes for Dumka, Jhumritelaiya, Mango, Katras, Chatra, Jugsalai, Mihijam and Deoghar, the state has to allocate funds to meet the growing needs of the urban population.

The Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme (AUWSP) scheme is based on pipe water supply for having towns population size upto 200,000, in which fund is provided on sharing basis. Govt. of India (GOI) share 50%, State share 45% and balance 5% to be contributed by the users group. In the year 2004-05 two schemes namely- Latehar and Rajmahal was sanctioned and completed. In the year 2005-06 seven schemes were sanctioned out of which five schemes already completed and commissioned. The remaining schemes namely (Hussainabad and Basukinath) are to be completed in next financial year. Provision in budget has been made for liabilities/fund for executing the commissioned scheme such as Koderma, Dugdha and Panchet. Urban water supply schemes were under implementations at various locations in Dhanbad and Ranchi District. Out of which all the schemes are completed except Dhanbad W/S scheme phase-2, which is likely to be completed in 2009-10. Provision has been made in budget outlay for Dhanbad phase-2 and some liabilities of other completed schemes. The provision made for capital maintenance, since many components of the existing operational schemes are very old and capital investment is essential for their replacement.

Major Findings

As per the Sachar Committee Report, 2006, Head Count Ratio of SCs/STs within Hindu community from below poverty line in the

urban areas of Jharkhand is higher; around 37% of them are poor. Similarly, HCR of Muslim and minority are the second highest categories in the state who constitute 32% and 27% respectively.

- Comparative poverty profiles across states shows that not only do SC groups have a higher poverty rate than other social groups, the tribal groups in Jharkhand have the highest poverty intensity in India—higher than the ST groups in other Indian states.
- The head-count incidence of poverty for the ST group is 56 percent in Jharkhand compared with Bihar 40 percent, as estimated by the present study from the NSS 55th round.
- As per the Planning Commission, Government of India estimation, the newly formed state Jharkhand has 40.3% population below poverty line in 2004-05.
- According to NSSO 55th and 61st (Consumer Expenditure) round, 1999-2000 & 2004-05, percentage of population below poverty line is significantly high for Jharkhand, much higher than that of India as a whole although over the years. The HCR of Jharkhand is also higher than that of Bihar; the mother state. The Head Count Ratio (HCR) is very high in districts of Lohardaga, Sahibganj and Gumla where it is more than 70 per cent, showing the poor conditions of these districts. The lowest HCR is in the districts of Ranchi, Kodarma and Chatra where it is below 25 per cent.
- The key Millennium Development Goals (MDG), 2000 shows that the state's key social indicators such as literacy, enrolment, infant mortality and child nutrition, are below the all-India average.
- The process of liberalization and economic reforms in India has a mixed impact on the states especially on the mineral rich state of Jharkhand. Among the major challenges the ongoing Naxalite problem puts an obstacle on the path towards development. The weak institutional mechanism and lack of effective governance has led to the underdevelopment and concentration of high poverty in the state.

Conclusion

Urban poverty requires critical attention of policymakers. Unless urban poverty is addressed, continued urbanization would result in increases in urban poverty and inequality which might strain the city life. It will affect relations between the different economic groups and may lead to rising levels of insecurity, which in turn could lead to conflict. Urban poverty reduction requires different kinds of approaches, because it is different from rural poverty in many respects: the urban poor are affected by the highly monetized nature of urban living, which forces them to spend far more on accommodation, food, transport and other services than the rural poor; unlike rural poverty, urban poverty is characterized by the regulatory exclusion of the poor from the benefits of urban development. The three dimensions of poverty such as lack of regular income and employment, productive assets, access to social safety nets; lack of access to services such as education, health care, information, credit, water supply and sanitation; and political power, participation, dignity and respect are important in understanding urban poverty. To escape urban poor from the multiple vulnerabilities of urban living and to benefit them from the inclusive growth process, Central Government's intervention is therefore critical. Government's proposal to extend National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme to urban areas, with modifications is certainly welcome policy intervention in addressing the problems of urban poor in providing wage employments and for income generating activities that would prevent the urban poor to find the roots of exit from poverty. Attention needs to be provided to ensure access to affordable healthcare, improving the conditions of housing and social security is the priority for all unorganized workers in the urban settings. Moreover, the nature of urban communities is distinct and urban poverty is not easily addressed by the community-based approaches developed for rural poverty reduction. As the urban population of the region is growing, so is urban poverty. The design of effective urban poverty alleviation policies, policy makers at the national and local

levels requires a good understanding of the causes, conditions and dynamics of urban poverty as well as accurate data that present its trends and conditions in the poorest region of Jharkhand.

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Socio-economic Condition of Women during later Vedic Age or Epic Age

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Abstract

Throughout the history of women during the Later Vedic Period or the Epic period, there was considerable decline in all the spheres of their life as compared to the women of the Rig Vedic period. She was not as honored and respected as the women in Vedic age. The chief reason in the decline of women was polygamy and polyandry. The birth of a daughter was regarded as a source of misery and sorrow and women were supposed to be the root cause of all evil. The growing complexity of the Vedic sacrifices was another factor that tended to make the wives association in religious rituals a more formal affair in course of time. The sacrifice became a very complex affair, and the slightest mistake in its performance or in the recitation of its hymns was regarded as fraught with very grave consequences. The discontinuance of Upanayana (sacred initiation), the neglect of education and the lowering of the marriage age produced adverse effect on the status of women. Early marriage put an effective impediment in the higher education of the girls. Brides being too young and inexperienced, ceased to have any voice in the settlement of their marriages. Svayamvara continued to be in vogue in Kshatriya circles, but it came to be condemned by the Brahmanical writers. Love - marriages became the things of the past. The matches arranged were often ill - suited and women were thus compelled to spend their lives with unsuitable or unworthy partners. The differential treatment was due to the simple fact that women were no longer able to oppose these absurd theories and claims, most of them being uneducated and quite ignorant of their former status and privileges. The prevailing view that the daughter was less desirable than the son was not accepted by all social thinkers. There were some among them who realized that it was causing great harm to the society and felt that it ought to be counteracted. They, therefore championed the daughters cause and pointed out that, to the cultured parents both should be equally welcomed. There had been some very influential ladies like Gargi, Maitreyi, Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Sikta, Nivavari, Visavavara and Ghosa. They were free to choose husbands from among several suitors and take part in the debate and discussions. They had not yet fallen victim of early marriages, sati and Purdah system. Music, dancing and fine arts were taught to them.

Keywords : sacred initiation, widow remarriage, women slave, puberty, property right

Introduction

One of the best ways to understand the spirit of a civilization and to appreciate its excellences and realize its limitations is to study the history of the position and status of women in it. The best way to begin our enquiry is to study the condition of women during their childhood and to find out the general arrangement made about their training and education. This will at once disclose to us the concern of the society for women and the steps it was taking for properly starting them in life.

In the Later Vedic Age or the Epic Age women enjoyed some freedom and received Vedic education. But the status of women during this period was much lower as compared to the Rig Vedic Period. Epic Literature though written much later reflected the social life of the people

of their time. Rama, the hero of the Ramayana was looked upon by the people as a God and a model of a male behavior. When Sita was abducted, Rama fought not so much out of love (no indication of this is mentioned) but more to rescue his property and save his honour. On her return Sita walked on fire to prove her chastity. Then there was Draupadi, the princess of Mahabharata who was calmly gambled by her husband in payment of debt. The lessons derived from the Epics about the behaviour of men and women, were soon accepted as truth and codified by Manu, the Hindu law giver and others, whose philosophy for the men and women was different as indicated in the following quotations :- Skandapuranas says, "Women before going on a pilgrimage should wash her husband's feet and drink the 'washed water'

because her husband is higher than Vishnu and Shankara". Skandapurana adds to this list of injunctions, "A wife should eat only after her husband has eaten. If he is standing she should not sit. She should not sleep till he sleeps. She should rise in the morning, before he does. If he treats her with contempt, she should not retaliate. If he assaults her she should not lose her temper. According to Manu Smriti, to a woman, her husband was almost a god, she could not leave him, but he could throw her out if she was dishonest and disobedient.

During the post epic period, the Vedic Age was only a memory. Values changed, men took more wives, particularly if the first was childless. Girls were married even before puberty. Widow – marriage was forbidden by Manu who stated, "No where is a second husband permitted to a virtuous women". Sati or the cremation of the living wife on the funeral pyre of her dead husband was glorified. Leading towards her further sub – ordination and helplessness, she continued to fall lower and lower in the scale till the code of Manu summed - up her position as thus, "The father protects a woman in her childhood, husband during her youth, her sons in her old age ; a woman is never fit for independence". It was Manu code which became a part and parcel of the Hindu Law. With no educational goals to achieve, the custom of early marriage began to take shape. Thus, the girls lost their freedom for performing rituals, for choosing their partners and for participating in public life. Gradually, the home became their only domain. The only thing which the women gained during this period was the right over the property (Stridhan).

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books and articles from journals and websites. The methods used are analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

The condition of women during the ancient period in India was quite respectable and

satisfactory in the society. But later on there was considerable decline in all the sphere of their life and it became unsatisfactory. There was continuous change in the status of women in India with the change in time. From Vedic age to the later Vedic age, there had been many ups and downs in their life which adversely affected their social, political, economic and religious rights.

It is right to say that during Vedic period, the condition of women was praiseworthy and satisfactory and they were kept in high esteem. But after this period, the situation began to change adversely and the main reason behind this was social and religious un stability¹.

The condition of women deteriorated during the later Vedic age as compared to Vedic age. She was not honored and respected as the women of Vedic age. The chief reason in the decline of women was polygamy and polyandry. The study of the epics confirms this fact. Dasrath, the king of Ayodhya, had three wives. The number of queens of Ravana was unknown and Draupadi had five husbands. The birth of a daughter was regarded as a source of misery and sorrow and women were supposed to be the root cause of all evil².

Their condition had degenerated and its causes can be discussed here. Some centuries before the beginning of this period, the Aryan rule had become well established over the greater part of India. The Brahmans and the epics, however supply ample evidence to show that the Aryan chiefs were freely marrying non - Aryan princess in the later period. Arjuna married Udipi, a naga princess regent. Bhima married Hidimba, a sister of Rakhshas chief. The sage Kavasha, who played an important part in the Aitareya Brahmana, was the son of a slave girl. These examples show that in the concluding half of the later Samhita period (1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) the marriages of the Aryan men with the non – Aryan women was becoming common. It is important to note that the early Dharmasutras writers had no objection to an Aryan marrying a sudra woman, provided he had another Aryan wife³.

The introduction of non - Aryan wife into the

Aryan household is the key to the general deterioration of the position of women. The non - Aryan wife with her ignorance of Sanskrit language and Hindu religion could obviously not enjoy the same religious privileges as the Aryan consort. Very often the non - Aryan wife may have been the favorite one of her husband, who may have often attempted to associate her with his religious sacrifices in preference to her better educated but less loved Aryan co - wife. This might have naturally shocked orthodox priests. The first remedy they must have thought of was to declare the non - Aryan wife to be unfit for the association with her husband in religious rituals. "The black non - Aryan wife may be her husband's associate in pleasure, but not in religious ceremonies" say several authorities. But the mighty king, mad in love with his non - Aryan beloved insisted upon having his own favorite wife by his side at the time of sacrifices, no matter her caste or race⁴. How then the situation be retrieved ? Eventually it was felt that the object can be gained by declaring the whole class of women to be ineligible for Vedic studies and religious duties. There would be then no question of rejecting admission to a non-Aryan wife and granting it to an Aryan one; all would be ineligible and none need be offended.

The growing complexity of the Vedic sacrifices was another factor that tended to make the wives association in religious rituals a more formal affair in course of time. The sacrifice became a very complex affair, and the slightest mistake in it's performance or in the recitation of its hymns was regarded as fraught with very grave consequences⁵. The discontinuance of Upanayana (sacred initiation), the neglect of education and the lowering of the marriage age produced adverse effect on the status of women. Early marriage put an effective impediment in the higher education of the girls. Brides being too young and inexperienced, ceased to have any voice in the settlement of their marriages. Svayamvara continued to be in vogue in Kshatriya circles, but it came to be condemned by the Brahmanical writers. Love - marriages became the thing of the past. The matches arranged were often ill - suited and

women were thus compelled to spend their lives with unsuitable or unworthy partners. The differential treatment was due to the simple fact that women were no longer able to oppose these absurd theories and claims, most of them being uneducated and quite ignorant of their former status and privileges⁶.

The age of cities or small states had gone and the Hindu kingdoms in this period fairly became extensive. The splendor of the royal courts naturally increased and the kings began to keep a much bigger harem. Their examples were imitated by their numerous feudatories and rich subjects. This produced very unfavorable consequences upon the condition and status of the vast majority of women of the upper classes and it had its natural repercussions on the status of wives in ordinary families. The growing harems of the mighty kings naturally made them jealous and some of them sought to keep their wives in seclusion. The Purdah – system was however yet confined only to a very small section of the royal families ; majority of the kings did not care to adopt it⁷.

The new development affected the position of the widow adversely in various ways. It strengthened the hands of those who were opposed to Niyoga and widow re – marriage. Both the customs therefore fell gradually into disrepute. Niyoga no doubt deserved to be stamped out, but not so the widow re – marriage. It however could not escape a similar fate. It began to be argued that the world was a mirage, and its pleasures were mere snares. The fate was undoubtedly cruel to the widow in carrying away her husband. It however gave her a new opportunity to secure spiritual salvation. It is true that the Vedas have declared that the son was necessary for securing heaven ; the childless widow, however, should not think of re - marriage in order to get heaven through a son. She ought to aim at the higher ideal of salvation (mukti) and not at the lower one of heaven (swarga). The former can be best attained by pure and chaste life as was done by hundreds and thousands of monks and nuns. The widow should therefore never think of re – marriage. This advice was, however, one sided one ;

Smritis do not offer it to the widower and on the other hand permit men to remarry immediately after the death of the first wife, 'lest the sacred fire should remain unlit'⁸.

A greater calamity that over took the widow in this period was the revival of the sati system. In the beginning it was confined to the warrior class. It however began to spread wider in society in course of time as the action of sati began to be considered as a great religious sacrifice which deserved to be emitted. A school of rationalist opposed the custom vehemently, pointing out its utter futility and stupidity. Its efforts partly checked the spread of the custom for a while⁹. A loose kind of association existed at times between the Aryan master and his female slaves. At the time of marriage, these slaves girls in certain cases given away along with the bride for were sexual needs¹⁰.

In later Vedic Age women had no right to offer obligation and sacrifices in order to praise their ancestors. The son alone could perform this religious ritual. That is why the birth of a daughter in this very period was regarded as unfortunate, inelegant and bad. But in spite of all these shortcomings if a daughter was born in a family she was not totally rejected in the family and were given good education as the son. Generally the daughter remained unmarried till the age of sixteen and received sacred initiation (Upanayana Sanskar). In Athrawaveda there is clear evidence which proves that the girls were also allowed to live in Brahmacharya Ashram¹¹.

According to Prakash Ojha, the birth of a daughter began to be considered as a source of sorrow, suffering and misfortune for the family and son alone began to be recognized as the creator and protector of the family¹². After going through a prolonged study of the condition of women during the Later Vedic Age, A.S. Altekar has remarked that later on the position of women was not as important and remarkable as it was during the Vedic Age¹³. In Later Vedic Society the condition and position of girls were low as compared to the son. In Taitriya Samhita, it is mentioned that the girl had no right over her paternal property¹⁴. In some Brahmamana granth also the son has

been valued more than the daughter. In Aitreya Brahmamana, the girl has been termed as a miser, illiberal and narrow-minded (Kripan)¹⁵. Sayan has also supported this view and has made his remarks that the girl gives pain to her relatives at the time of birth, takes away a huge wealth at the time of marriage in the form of dowry and brings disgrace to her clan during her adulthood. In Gautam Dharmasutra, it is mentioned that if the father did not have his son, he would offer sacrifice to the fire god (Agni Prajapati) and fulfilled his wish of a son by asking his daughter that 'for me you give birth to the son'¹⁶.

The prevailing view that the daughter was less desirable than the son was not accepted by all social thinkers. There were some among them who realized that it was causing great harm to the society and felt that it ought to be counteracted. They, therefore championed the daughters cause and pointed that no father is ever known to have been killed by a daughter either to history or to the legend. There are cases on record where daughters like Kunti and Lopamudra have saved their parents from dire calamities. In marriage it is the daughter, and not the son, who enables the father to get the great merit of Prithvidana or the gift of the earth. One should not be, therefore, elevated by the birth of a son and depressed by the birth of a daughter. To the cultured parents both should be equally welcomed¹⁷.

There had been some very influential ladies like Gargi, Maitreyi, Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Sikta, Nivavari, Visavavara and Ghosa. They were free to choose husbands from among several suitors and take part in the debate and discussions. They had not yet fallen victim of early marriages, sati and Purdah system. Music, dancing and fine arts were taught to them. It is stated in Vashishtha's Dharmasutras, "a wife shall not be abandoned even though she be quarrelsome or strained by incest or has left the house or has suffered criminal force or has fallen into the hands of the thieves". It is referred to as in Manu Smriti, "where women are worshipped, the gods shower their blessings, but where they are not honored, all acts are fruitless". The 'Brihadaranyakopanishad' describes about

the two philosophical discussions between Yajnavalkya and Gargi and the other between Yajnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi on philosophical subjects. Dr. R.C. Mazumdar has remarked, "These two incidents eloquently testify to the high position, bearing and mental equipments of women in ancient India to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the world"¹⁸. It is evident from some example that the girls were proficient in music and dancing. Taitriya Samhita and Maitreyi Samhita supports this view¹⁹. It is referred in the Satpath Brahmana that the girls had the sound knowledge of rites and rituals and recited Vedic mantras very proficiently. Thus, it shows that the girls were well educated and trained in their childhood age²⁰.

In Later Vedic Period, in the Aryan society, these girls were also well trained in the household activities. She used to bring water from the rivers and wells, make buckets and pots, looked after her younger brother and sister and cooked different varieties of meals. She also helped her father in the agricultural works. In Upanishad, there is reference of many learned women who devoted their whole life in the search of true knowledge and practiced meditation. These girls took keen interest in debate and discussion with the intellectuals. Vrihadaranyak Upanishad mentions the names of two great learned women i.e. Maitreyi, the wife of Yajnavalkya and Gargi²¹. In Ashwalayan Grihasutra, there is a mention of Samavartan Sanskar of the girls (a Vaidic rite which is performed on the return of a disciple to his/her household after finishing his/her studies at his/her preceptor's residence²².

According to Gobhil Grihayasutra, both the bride and the groom recited prayers together at the time of marriage. Kaska Grihayasutra also gave its argument in support of this theory. Thus, it proves that the bride was also well equipped with the knowledge of Vedic mantras as the groom. In Ashwalayan Grihayasutra, there is a mention of learned women like Sulbha, Maitreyi, Gargi etc. According to Haarit, the girls were divided into two categories. The first category was called Sadho Badhu. These girls attained knowledge in the Brahmacharya Ashram during their

student life and after marriage entered into the household life. The second category of the girls were called Brahamavadini. These girls renounced the life of worldly pleasures and became nuns. These girls were also given sacred initiation.

According to Ashwalayan Grihasutra, the girl should be obedient, respectful, intelligent, smart, trustworthy and should be beautiful in appearance²³. Generally the girl with broad chest, thin waist and beautiful look has been recognized as auspicious and of good fortune in Vishnu Dharmasutra and Satpath Brahmana. The girls were also given special instructions to keep themselves smart and to be well-dressed and to decorate their hair with flowers and ornaments²⁴. There is also some instances which show that the girls were free either to marry or to remain unmarried throughout their lives. This shows that the girls were favorable in the society. But inspite of the high education of the girls in the later Vedic period, the education was confined among high sections of the society.

After her marriage, the girl enters the second stage of her life i.e. as a wife. Like the Vedic age, in this period also the wife was generally known as Vadhu, Janani, Sumangli etc. The word Janani was most significantly used during this period which meant breeder of the child. In later Vedic period it was the sole responsibility of the wife to help her husband in the religious rituals. In Ashwalayan Grihasutra it is mentioned that, after marriage the wife becomes an important part of her husband in commemorating religious sacrifices. According to Apastamba Dharmasutra, after marriage, the bride and the groom should perform the religious rites and rituals together because they both are equally responsible for the holy reward of performing virtuous actions²⁵. Though the women were given right in performing religious rituals along with their husband during this period but yet it appears that the majority of the religious sacrifices were being performed by the men themselves. The women on the other hand could participate in only Rudrayagya and Sitayagya. Hence, it is believed that the women did not enjoy that freedom in sacrifices which they used to enjoy

in the Vedic period.

Apart from performing her religious duties, it was expected that the wife would follow moral ideals. In Satpath Brahamana it is mentioned that the wife who in spite of her husband, thinks of another person commits severe sin. It was also expected from her that she should be loyal and faithful towards her husband, respect her in – laws and give alms and charity to the Brahmins. In the later Vedic period we get references of high status of women. In upper section of the society, the women received good education similar to men and the system of sacred initiation also prevailed among them²⁶.

After wife, the woman enters into the most important phase of her life i.e. as a mother. The woman in the form of a mother was greatly respected and was held in high esteem during the Later Vedic Period. In Dharmasutra also the woman was praised because she was a mother, who gives birth to the son. In many literatures it is also mentioned that among all the stages of her life, that of a mother is supreme. In Paraskar Grihasutra, a mother has been imitated as Goddesses Saraswati. In this period, it was prayed for the mother so that she would give birth to the able and the holy son. Mother's purity and contribution is very essential for the proper development of the child. That is why, Gautam Dharmasutra has asked the women to keep complete control on her tongue, eyes and ears and not to think even of another person except her husband. Thus, it may be concluded that the status of women during the Later Vedic Period was satisfactory, but it was sure that the attempts had been already started in curbing the freedom of the woman in several respects. It was during this period only that the status of women started declining. In comparison to the Vedic Age, in the Later Vedic Age the term "Bharya", "Jaya", "Jani" etc. for the women were meant only for the purpose of breeding of the child²⁷.

In the Later Vedic Period, the widows were not ill – treated in the society. There was no sign of sati and the widows could practice Niyoga in order to beget a child. These evidences can be supported by the following references. In

Taiteriyā Arayānka, it is referred that the widow takes away all the favorite items of her husband such as bow and arrow and leaves the house and prays for her husband's well – being in the next world²⁸. Many literatures have denied the existence of sati system. Apastamba Grihasutra mentions that the widow was taken back home after the cremation ceremony by her brother – in – law or by the disciple of her husband or by an old slave²⁹. It is also depicted in the precepts of the author that the widow should undergo Niyoga only up to getting two children³⁰. We also come across a view that the practice of Niyoga began to be disliked or condemned among certain communities when Apastamba concluded this practice as unholy and strongly stressed that those who practice the Niyoga go to the hell.

In Ramayana also there is no evidence of sati. There is no example of any queens of Dashrath i.e. Kaushalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi and the queens of Ravana committing sati. Though Kaushalya tried to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, but she was stopped from doing that. In this epic there is a reference of Vedavati committing sati³¹. It is assumed that the sati - system was on the scene but it was yet to come in real practice. Kaikeyi, being a widow was told by the king Dasrath to rule the kingdom, shows that sati - system was not in vogue in Ramayana. But it will be rather wrong to say that this system was unknown in the society. The women certainly thought of desertion of their life. Among the monkey clan (vanara), there was the tradition of widow re – marriage in the society. After the death of Bali, his wife Tara married Sugriva and loved him. Among the demons (rakshasas) also the widow could choose her husband freely. For example – Suparnakha, agitated by lust, put the proposal of marriage to Rama. Ravana had also killed many demons in the battle - field and had kept their women in his harem.

But, probably among the Aryan widows, there was no provision of re – marriage. Their first marriage was considered as inexhaustible, which was not liable to be broken even when their husband's died. They used to spend their whole life in cherishing the wonderful

memories of their husbands. The family members also showed proper concern for them. The widows who had sons were more valued and given more respect both in the family and in the society. There is no evidence which proves that the presence of widows in religious rites and rituals was considered as unholy. When Rama returned from the forest, it was the widow – mothers who welcomed him back in the palace. Rama also showed his utmost concern and respect towards them. At the time of the coronation of Rama, Sita was being decorated by her widow – in – laws. In Ramayana age as well the son was valued more than the daughter and she was considered as a source of trouble to the family. But inspite of all these negligence there were certain daughters like Sita, Kunti, Draupadi, Devyani and Uttara who were women of great merit and high intellect.

During Mahabharata period also the widow was not forced to commit sati. The widow on her own sweet will prefer to be alive in the memory of her husband. They could freely participate in the festivals, social gatherings and marriage ceremonies. They could welcome the relatives and the Brahamans and on the other hand they also accepted alms and food from the widow without any hesitation. They could also meet with the Rishis and participated in the religious ceremonies. The life of widow was though very flat and unsavory but they were not at all disrespected in the society.

There was a certain tradition in this period regarding sati. It was believed that in the practice of sati if a women dies before her husband, she waits for her husband in the heaven and if the husband dies first then she could obtain him by committing sati. The sati – system was prevalent mainly among the kshatriya class. In this period there are many examples of a woman committing sati on her own sweet will. After the death of Pandu, his wife Madri committed sati³². After the death of Vasudeva, the father of lord Krishna, his four wives Devaki, Bhadra, Rohini and Madira burnt their selves on the funeral pyre of the dead husband³³. After the death of Sri Krishna, his wife Rukmani and others committed sati.

Revati, the wife of Balram also committed sati on the death of her husband.

During this period a woman generally received higher education under the supervision of her father and brother in the royal palace itself. Their education were mainly directed towards religion in order to uplift their moral and spiritual ideals. Gargi, Maitreyi, Lilavati, Bharti, Vijjaka etc. were the names of some learned women of this period. They took active part in the social and religious gatherings and also participated in debate and discussion with the intellectuals. In the period of Mahabharata, the woman was mostly adorned and respected in the stage of a mother “Bharya Mul Trivargasya”³⁴. In this period we also get references of polyandry in the society. Arjuna married Draupadi, Subhadra and Chitragandha. We do not find traces of widow re – marriage and the marriage was performed when the girl had attained full maturity. There was no sign of child – marriage in the society³⁵. In this period Purdah – system was not compulsory. It was just a part of a tradition. In upper class of the society, the Purdah – system was prevalent among few women just as a decorum³⁶. While majority of the population was totally ignorant about this evil practice.

During the Smritis, the widow re – marriage seems to be strongly opposed in the society. It was considered as unholy and unworthy. According to the provision led by Apastamba, if a married women desired and lived with another person then both are committing grave injustice and are equally responsible for the curse of God. In this very period widow re – marriage began to be disliked in the society. Manu, Gautam, Vashishtha and Vishnu smritis have supported this view. According to Manu and Yajnavalkya, the life full of devotion, penance and self – mortification is the ideal and most respectable life of a widow. Apastamba and Baudhayan have also rejected the idea of widow re – marriage and have concluded that this type of custom is not accepted in our age. They have also praised and shown greater respect for those widows who decides not to re – marry. It is the order of Manu that if the husband dies, a widow should discard all her gems and ornaments and live a

simple and chaste life and eat only plain food. He also placed the theory that if a widow who did not have a son and if she walks on the path of true devotion and mortification free from the thought of re – marriage, then she also goes to heaven after her death. During the Smritis, only the child – widow had the right to re – marry. According to “Malvikagnimitra”, the widows should spend their life in sacrifice and penance. In the religious rituals their presence was strongly prohibited. She was also not entitled to her paternal property. In “Shakuntalam” when the rich businessman Dhanmitra died the entire property of his was governed by the state and hence his wife got nothing. In Smritis we also have references of sati. In “Harshacharita”, the queen Yashomati enters into the fire when she found that her husband is about to die. Rajayashri also went to the forest and commits sati. In “Mrichhakatikam” we also come across many references where the women burnt their selves in the funeral pyre of their dead husbands. All these evidences prove that the sati – system was well established during this period and the women performed sati on their own wish free from any outside force.

But in the Sanskrit literature there is also some ideology which considered the practice of sati as an evil and unworthy and tried to condemn it completely. In Kadambari, Baan said that this evil system was practiced by the illiterate members of the society. This is the work of stupidity and is a heinous crime against the women which is totally futile and useless. Burning on the funeral pyre of her dead husband alive is just as committing suicide. If the husband dies it should not be meant the end of the life of the wife . In fact she should be given the full freedom to live throughout her life peacefully in the society. With these ideology, though Baan had tried to pin – point the dark side of this evil practice, but the fact lies that he had just expressed his own personal view and feelings in his book Kadambri against the tradition which was prevalent in the society at that period of time. During this period also there were some influential ladies like Ratnadevi, Suryamati and Sugandha from Kashmir and queen Rattadevi of Karnataka who were rulers of great merit.

The institution of the slaves was well established and developed during the later Vedic period. It became more important as compared to the Rigvedic period. These slaves were often given away as a gift to the king, big landlord, merchants etc. to work for them throughout their lives. The owner used to extract as much work from these slaves as he could and in respect he used to fulfill their basic requirements of cloth, food and shelter till their death. These slaves inspite of doing all the household works, also helped their master in the agricultural works such as irrigation, tilling soil, sowing seeds, cutting corn etc. In this way they also benefitted their master economically. They also looked after the domestication of animals. Those masters who had more slaves, their status in the society was certainly considered higher as compared to the others. Since these slaves helped their master in increasing their status in the society, certainly an impact was also made for their betterment and development. In many Sanskrit literature it is mentioned that the service of their master should be the only goal of the slave. In Taittiriya Samhita, it is shown the women slaves dancing with the pots placed on their head³⁷. The tradition of giving slaves along with the cattle had started during the later Vedic period³⁸. In Aitereya Brahmana there is a mention that the king at the time of his coronation, gave one thousand slaves along with one thousand elephants to the priest³⁹. In Chhandogaya Upanishad also there is a reference of giving women slaves as a gift⁴⁰.

There was another important class of women during the Later Vedic period i.e. that of the prostitutes. These prostitute were well versed in the art of music and dancing. The people who loved music and dancing were always attracted towards them. They often visited their place as a source of favorite pastime. These prostitutes were beautiful and attractive in appearance. This class had always been the centre of attraction in the society. They were not offended and looked down upon and led a very respectable and honorable life in the society. They were very popular and important members of the society. They often visited

those places where a new baby was born in order to bless the child and receive alms and charity from the parents. They not only entertained common people but also had their full sway over the members of the royal families, rich merchants, landlords and the businessmen. The king on the other hand always paid his attention for their development, betterment and well - being. Thus these prostitutes led a luxurious and peaceful life in the society. Sometimes these prostitutes became well – known not only in their own country but also in other parts of the country and earned name and fame worldwide.

The only direction in which the position of women really improved during this period as compared to the Vedic Age was in the sphere of proprietary rights. Society had begun to discourage widow re – marriage. As a consequence there began to rise a class of childless young widows. In earlier period, practically speaking this class did not exist as Niyoga and widow marriages were then in general vogue. Now when both these practices were prohibited, society had to devise an honorable means to enable the widow to maintain herself. It thus came to happen that the property rights, which were not recognized in the Vedic age when women were better educated and enjoyed greater freedom, came gradually to be recognized during this period.

In many occasions due to bad economic status, we generally find that the women becomes weak, helpless, unstable and depressed in her life. Under such circumstances there is every possibility of women undergoing some evil practices which in turn would affect the society as well. In order to condemn that many social thinkers, historians and intellectuals had to devise an appropriate solution to this problem. Hence, the idea of “Stridhan” came into existence. Thus, by getting the right over property, the women, especially the widows became self – dependent and led a respectable life in the society.

Manu, in his Manu smritis has devised six different types of Stridhan which have been discussed below.

- 1) At the time of marriage, in front of Agni (fire god), the property given by the father to his daughter is called Stridhan.
- 2) After marriage when the daughter departs from her father's house to her husband's house, in that moment whatever property she gets is termed as Stridhan.
- 3) At the time of festivals and ceremonies, the property given by her husband is called as Stridhan.
- 4) The property which she receives from her brother also comes under Stridhan.
- 5) The wealth and the gifts given by her mother on certain occasion also becomes Stridhan.
- 6) When the father gives her daughter certain amount of property at the time of social festivals and gatherings is also called as Stridhan. In this way by six different means, the property which the daughter receives from her dear ones are called Stridhan.

According to Yajnavalkya, the property which the daughters inherit at the time of marriage by her father, mother, husband and brother is termed as Stridhan⁴¹. Narad in his Smriti has also defined the term Stridhan as, “At the time of marriage ceremony, whatever property the daughter gets by all the six different forms by her near and dear ones is called as Stridhan”⁴². Katyayan has also presented the similar view and ideology as referred above regarding Stridhan in his Smriti⁴³.

There were also some families in the society who were poor and were unable to give anything to their daughter at the time of marriage. Under such circumstances the parents of the bride used to rent wealth, cloths, ornaments etc. from the groom and then used to give those to their daughter at the time of marriage. Katyayan and Yagyavalkya have defined such property as a rent property (Sulk Dhan) and have also considered it as Stridhan.

Conclusion

After delving deep into the theoretical study, I came to the conclusion that the condition of women had deteriorated during the later Vedic age as compared to Vedic age. She was not

honored and respected as the women of Vedic age. The chief reason in the decline of women was polygamy and polyandry. The birth of a daughter was regarded as a source of misery and sorrow and women were supposed to be the root cause of all evil. The growing complexity of the Vedic sacrifices was another factor that tended to make the wives association in religious rituals a more formal affairs in course of time. The sacrifice became a very complex affairs, and the slightest mistake in it's performance was regarded as fraught with very grave consequences . The discontinuance of Upanayana (sacred initiation), the neglect of education, dislike for widow re – marriage and the practice of Niyoga and the lowering of the marriage age produced adverse effect on the status of women. Early marriage put an effective impediment in the higher education of the girls. Brides being too young and inexperience, ceased to have any voice in the settlement of their marriages. Love marriages became the thing of the past. The matches arranged were often ill-suited and women were thus compelled to spend their lives with unsuitable or unworthy partners. The differential treatment was due to the simple fact that women were no longer able to oppose these absurd theories and claims, most of them being uneducated and quite ignorant of their former status and privileges.

But inspite of all these shortcomings and limitations, there had been some very influential ladies in the society like Gargi, Maitreyi, Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Sikta, Nivavari, Visavavara and Ghosa. They were free to choose husband from among several suitors and take part in the debate and discussions. They had not yet fallen victim of early marriages, sati and Purdah system. Music, dancing and fine arts were taught to them.

The condition of women during the ancient period in India was quite respectable and satisfactory in the society. But later on there was considerable decline in all the sphere of their life and it became unsatisfactory. There was continuous change in the status of women in India with the change in time. From Vedic age to the later Vedic age, there had been

many ups and downs in their life which adversely affected their social, political, economic and religious rights. It is right to say that during Vedic period, the condition of women was praiseworthy and satisfactory and they were kept in high esteem. But after this period, the situation began to change adversely.

The only direction in which the position of women really improved during this period as compared to the Vedic Age was in the sphere of proprietary rights. Society had begun to discourage widow re – marriage. As a consequences there began to arise a class of childless young widows. In earlier period, practically speaking this class did not exist as Niyoga and widow marriages were then in general vogue. Now when both these practices were prohibited, society had to devise an honorable means to enable the widow to maintain herself. It thus came to happen that the property rights, which were not recognized in the Vedic age when women were better educated and enjoyed greater freedom, came gradually to be recognized during this period.

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Impact of Self Employment on Rural Poverty in Hazaribag District

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Abstract

Poverty alleviation through self-employment generation in the rural areas has always been the prime objective of Indian Five Year Plans. Although various employment generation programmes have been undertaken by the government since Independence, unemployment rate and the poverty ratio are still very high in the country. 2011 Census accepted the Tendulkar Committee estimates on poverty rate at 37.2% of total population according to which the number of BPL households increased from 65.2 million to almost 80 million and 69% of the population resides in the rural areas and the unemployment rate was estimated at 9.4% in the labour force for the fixed reference period of financial year 2009-10. According to 2011 Census Report the population of Hazaribag District is 17,34,005 with sex ratio of 946. Literacy rate among male & female are 81.15% & 59.25% respectively Percentage of main workers and marginal workers are 15.32% and 12.05% and remaining 62.54% people are non-workers, 75% of the population lives in 1336 villages of the district. Land holding pattern indicates that 40% of rural population hold less than one hectare; 21% hold between 1 & 2 Hectares & only 39% hold above 2 hectares. As majority of the BPL families live in rural areas, Self-employment generation was considered as the best way to raise per capita income in order to eradicate household poverty. At present many Government & Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) have come forward to address this issue by motivating the rural poor for Self Help Groups formation. Impact of self-employment generation on Poverty alleviation among the respondents has been examined on the basis of changes in certain Socio-Economic indicators of the rural poor in two selected blocks (CHURCHU AND ICHAK) of Hazaribag. During field survey it was observed that the respondents who have established themselves as self-employed entrepreneurs at micro level are now leading dignified life. Therefore the impact of self-employment on poverty in rural areas of Hazaribag District has been found to be encouraging but a large number of BPL families are still unaware about the benefits of such scheme. The objective of poverty alleviation can be achieved by involving large number of rural poor at faster rate in this process.

Keywords : rural poverty, unemployment, self-employment, poverty alleviation

Introduction

Poverty alleviation through self-employment generation in the rural areas has always been the prime objective of Indian Five Year Plans. Although various employment generation programmes have been undertaken by the government since Independence, unemployment rate and the poverty ratio are still very high in the country. In India concept of poverty has been defined in three perspectives:- 1 Income perspective, 2. Basic needs perspective and 3.Social perspective. Nobel Laureate Dr. Amartya Sen, defines poverty as, "not merely insufficient income, but rather the absence of a wide range of capabilities, including security and ability to participate in economic and political systems."

According to Lakdawala Committee Report & National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO)

61st Round (July 2004 to June 2005) Report the poverty ratio was estimated at 28.3% in rural areas and 25.7% in urban areas on the basis of consumption expenditure data (Uniform Recall Period)¹ The Human Development Report 2010 measures poverty in terms of Multidimensional Poverty Index. (MPI) indicates the share of population i.e. multidimensionally poor adjusted by the intensity of deprivation in terms of living standards, health and education. According to MPI India with a Poverty Index of 0.296 and poverty ratio of 41.6% in terms of PPP, \$ 1.25 per day and 26.6% in terms of National Poverty Line is not favourably placed when compared with countries like China and Sri Lanka.

2011 Census accepted the Tendulkar Committee estimates on poverty rate at 37.2% of total population according to which the

number of BPL households increased from 65.2 millions to almost 80 million and 69% of the population resides in the rural areas². Rural Indians depend on unpredictable agricultural incomes. Economists like Prof. Minhas, Bardhan, Dandekar and Rath have categorised rural poor as landless agricultural labourers with smallholdings, non-agricultural rural labourers, small land operators, unemployed and all types of destitutes residing in rural areas.

Rural poverty in India can also be stated with help of different estimates of poverty and unemployment. According to Committee of Experts on Unemployment Report 1973, the total number of unemployed persons was 18.7 million out of which 16.1 million i.e. 86% of the total were in rural sector³. However during the period of 1999-2000 to 2004-05 employment rate (.2.62% per annum) on Current Daily Status basis had increased significantly as compared to the growth (1.25% per annum) witnessed during the period during 1993-94 to 1999-2000, labour force grew at a faster rate (2.84% per annum) therefore rate of unemployment increased. The incidence of unemployment on CDS basis increased from 7.31% in 1999-2000 to 8.28% in 2004-05⁴. Similarly All India Rural & Urban Unemployment rates from the NSSO 64th round 2007-08 as percentage of the labour force according to the Current Daily Status in the rural area was 8.4% and 7.4% in the urban sector.⁵ According to 2011 Census Report unemployment rate is estimated at 9, 4% in the labour force for the fixed reference period of financial year 2009-10⁶.

Since majority of the BPL families live in rural areas, employment generation was considered as the best way to raise per capita income to eradicate household poverty. Indian Planning Commission has the belief that self-employment is the only way to enable the rural masses to cross the poverty line because rural poor have the competence and if given proper financial and technical support they can also become successful producers. In order to eradicate the problem of poverty various rural employment generation programmes have been initiated in different Five Year Plans

which are:-

- ♦ National Rural Employment Programme (1980)
- ♦ Rural Landless Employment Guarantee (1983)
- ♦ Jawahar Rojgar Yojna (1989)
- ♦ Employment Assurance Scheme (1993)
- ♦ Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (1999)

These programmes for poverty alleviation through rural employment generation have been operational for several years but the desired objective of rural poverty alleviation could not be achieved. That is why on 1st April 1999 various self-employment programmes like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP- 1978), Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM -1983), Development of Women & Children in Rural areas (DWCRA-1980), Ganga Kalyan Yojna [GKY] and Million Wells Scheme (MWS) were merged into a single programme called Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna [SGSY] which is funded by the Centre and State in the ratio of 75:25 and 60% of the total fund is used for undertaking economic activities, 20% for infrastructural development, 10% for revolving and 10% for imparting training⁷.

This scheme was conceived as a holistic programme of micro enterprises covering all aspects of self-employment which includes organising rural poor into Self-Help-Groups (SHGs), with co-ordination among District Rural Development Agencies, Banks, Panchayati Raj Institutions and Non-Government Organisations [NGOs]. The objective of this Scheme is to bring the existing BPL families above the poverty line by providing them income generating assets through a mix of bank credit and government subsidy and to ensure that the assisted family has net income of at least Rs 2000/- per month.

Materials and Methods

The proposed study is an attempt to examine the impact of Self-Employment on poverty alleviation in rural areas of Hazaribag District on the basis of the status of the beneficiaries before and after establishing themselves as self-employed earning members.

This will be based on primary as well as secondary data. Primary data will be collected on the basis of interview schedule and secondary data will be obtained from various published reports of Government and NGOs. Some appropriate Statistical methods will be used for Data Analysis.

Churchu and Ichak blocks of Hazaribag District have been selected because Churchu is supposed to be a major Vegetable growing block out of 7 vegetable growing blocks in Hazaribag and in Ichak large number of BPL families (17,343) live. One hundred respondents from 6 villages each from Churchu and Ichak blocks have been interviewed. Conclusions have been drawn on the basis of field survey and statistical analysis.

Results and Discussions

Socio-economic Profile of Hazaribag District : According to 2011 Census Report the population of Hazaribag District is 17,34,005 with sex ratio of 946, Literacy rate among male & female are 81.15% & 59.25% respectively Percentage of main workers and marginal workers are 15.32% and 12.05% and remaining 62.54% people are non-workers, 75% of the population lives in 1336 villages of the district⁸. Land holding pattern indicates that 40% of rural population hold less than one hectare; 21% hold between 1 & 2 Hectares & only 39% hold above 2 hectares⁹. Main economic activities are agriculture and mining. Climate is conducive for growing vegetables in 7 blocks in an unorganised way in the District¹⁰.

Since majority of the BPL families in Hazaribag live in rural areas, Promotion of Self-employment generation scheme has been undertaken as the best way to raise per capita income in order to eradicate household poverty. In order to achieve the objective of rural poverty alleviation many Government & Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) have come forward to address this issue by motivating the rural poor for Self Help Groups formation.

Impact of Self-employment on Rural Poverty in Hazaribag : With an objective to bring every assisted BPL family above the

poverty line within three years SGSY as an unique programme for the promotion of self-employment by providing them income generating assets through bank credit has been implemented in Hazaribag District of Jharkhand in 2000-01. Different Rural Financial Institutions have been financing BPL families for self-employment under this scheme which seeks to focus on the formation of SHGs and their capacity building, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure build up, technology, credit & marketing. It lays emphasis on economic activities based on the available resources, occupational skill of the people and ultimately the condition of markets. At present various Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) have come forward to address the issue of poverty and unemployment & to motivate the rural poor for Self Help Groups formation. SHG is a homogeneous group of rural poor formed on basis of common interest so that they can think, organise and operate for their all-round improvement. Such groups play an important role in generating the habit of savings & credit on the one hand and in reducing poverty and social inequality on the other. During 2008-09 to 2011-12 about 8500 SHGs were already formed out of which about 6000 have been credit linked to various banks with credit disbursement of Rs. 1,785.09 lakhs & the repayment is reported as 90-95%. Effort is on to convert the matured SHGs into micro-enterprises¹¹.

According to the official website of Hazaribag District, Number of BPL families in Churchu and Ichak blocks are 10,440 & 17,343 respectively¹². NGOs like Jan Sewa Parishad, Yuva Shakti Parishad, Nav Bharat Jagriti Kendra, Manav Vikas etc are working with the communities at grass root level. They are actively involved in formation of SHGs and imparting training for their capacity building so that they can establish themselves as self-employed micro enterprises. Block wise implementation and the impact of Self-employment programme can be explained as under :

Churchu Block : The climate and soil of Churchu block is conducive for growing

vegetables. Therefore many SHGs have undertaken this as a single economic activity and the members are now self- employed in this field .Following SHGs are presently recognised as a group of vegetable cultivators:-

1. Tara Mahila Parishad, Singhani,
2. Gulab Mahila Praishad, Badkibali,
3. Narangi Parishad, Badkibali,
4. Zirhal Mahila Parishad, Kamalwa,
5. Bashmatia Mahila Parishad, Bela
6. Mahalaxmi Mahila Parishad, Oriya
7. Gulab Mahila Parishad, Oriya
8. Ganga Mahila Parishad, Bujurghano.

On an average there are 12 women members in each group. Jan Sewa Parishad (NGO) imparted training for growing vegetables & linked them with different Rural Financial Institutions. The members of these SHGs are now selling their product (Vegetables) twice in

a week in Jhumra Bazaar i.e. on Monday & Thursday and once in a week in Churchu Bazaar, i.e. on Friday. All the members are now earning Rs. 200/- to Rs. 250/- per market and Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 2500/- per month. Apart from this they are also consuming fresh vegetables. Poverty alleviation through self-employment in Churchu block can be analysed on the basis of the Occupation and Income of the Respondents in Pre and Post self-employment stage as well as change in their socio-economic status. before the implementation of self-employment scheme in the area. Most of the respondents were unemployed members of BPL families. In absence of proper employment opportunity in agricultural as well as in non- agricultural sectors most of the time they were forced to remain idle/ unemployed. Change in monthly income of the respondents during Pre and post Era of Self-employment in six villages of Churchu block is mentioned below:-

Table I : Income of the Respondents Pre and Post Self-employment Stage in Churchu Block

Sl. No.	Village	SHGs	No. of Members	Monthly Income during Pre Self-employment Era (In Rupees)	Monthly Income during Post Self-employment Era (In Rupees)
1	Singhani	1	12	1000	2400
2	Badkibali	2	24	1000	2600
3	Kamalwa	1	10	800	2500
4	Bela	1	15	500	2400
5	Oriya	2	24	900	2300
6	Bujurghano	1	15	700	2200
	Total	8	100		

Source : Primary Data

It is quite evident from table I that the income of the self- employed respondents has increased from Rs. Before establishing themselves as self- employed members they could earn below Rs. 1000/- per month. Being members of BPL families they could work only as agricultural labourers on purely temporary basis. After joining SHGs under Self-employment scheme, they made much difference in their lives. Increase in the income of Small and Marginal farmers, agricultural labourers have reduced the level

of poverty in Churchu block to a great extent. This has brought Socio-Economic revolution in the rural areas of Hazaribag district.

Ichak Block :

In Ichak block different SHGs have undertaken different economic activities based on the available resources of the locality eg. (i) Suman Kandsar undertook Goat Rearing, (ii) Laxmi Mahila Mandal Kandsar undertook Utensil shop business, (iii) Savitri Mahila Mandal of Ichak and (iv)

Lahanti Mahila Mandal Ichak are involved in Dairy farming, (v) Purnima and (vi) Chanda Mahila Mandals are doing Poultry farming, Basket making, Irrigation, Bee keeping, Vegetable and Medicinal Plantations have

been undertaken by different SHGs in the area. 100 Self-employed respondents of Ichak block can be classified income and occupation wise as mentioned in Table II and III:-

Table II : Income of the Respondents Pre and Post Self-employment Stage in ICHAK Block

Sl. No.	Village	SHGs	No. of Members	Monthly Income during Pre Self-employment Era (In Rupees)	Monthly Income during Post Self-employment Era (In Rupees)
1	Kandsar	2	22	1000	2600
2	Ichak	2	24	1000	2600
3	Chanda	1	10	800	2500
4	Sadam	1	11	500	2400
5	Chapar	2	21	600	2400
6	Bonga	1	12	1000	2600
	Total	9	100		

Source : Primary Data

Table II reveals that income of self-employed respondents has increased. Now they have become self-employed entrepreneurs at micro level. Before Self-employment era they were members of BPL families and their monthly income was less than Rs.1200/- and now they are earning above Rs 24000/- per month. Occupation wise distribution of people's involvement is stated as under:-

Table III: Occupation of the Respondents in Pre and Post Self-employment Era in ICHAK

Occupation	Pre Self-employment Era	Post Self-employment Era
No Occupation	48	Nil
Handicrafts	10	29
Rearing cattle	4	16
Irrigation and Plantation	4	12
Agricultural labourers	32	8
Poultry farming & Dairy farming	2	12
Other Income generating activities	Nil	23
Total	100	100

Source:-Primary Data

Table III, clearly reveals that 48% of the respondents were unemployed before establishing themselves as self-employed enterprises in Ichak. During post self-employment Era none of them are without occupation. Vocational training imparted by different NGOs to youths on tailoring, cattle rearing, poultry farming and other income generating activities. The members of SHGs established themselves as self-employed enterprises at micro level with regular earnings which has reduced the level of poverty among them to some extent.

Impact of self-employment on Poverty alleviation among the respondents of both blocks can be explained with their improved Socio-Economic status on the basis of following indicators:-

- ♦ Per month income above Rs. 2000/-
- ♦ Savings habit
- ♦ Accessibility to education
- ♦ Accessibility to better health facilities
- ♦ Accessibility to banks (MFIs)
- ♦ Household assets
- ♦ Leadership quality & Communication skill

Table IV Impact of Self-employment on poverty alleviation in Churchu and Ichak block

Sl. No.	Indicators	Number of Respondents			
		Churchu		Ichak	
		Before	After	Before	After
1.	Monthly Income above Rs. 2000/-	00	100	05	100
2.	Savings Habit	Nil	100	02	100
3.	Accessibility to Education	00	68	20	99
4.	Accessibility to better health facility	00	71	22	93
5.	Accessibility to Banks (MFIs)	08	99	13	99
6.	Household assets	14	96	19	98
7.	Leadership quality & Communication Skill	08	40	16	72

Source : Primary Data

Table IV indicates that before establishing themselves as self-employed enterprises in the rural areas none of them was able to earn Rs.2000/- per month but after the implementation of self-employment generation scheme in Ichak and Churchu blocks of Hazaribag District 100% respondents from each block started earning above Rs.2000/-per month. Being members of SHGs 100% saving habit was observed among the respondents. As a result accessibility to education and better health facility has improved. About 90 to-99% of them have been trained for bank operation of their own accounts. Almost all the respondents have purchased household assets with their increased income. The leadership quality and communication skill have resulted in their decision taking power. At present they can voice their grievances together for the betterment of their livelihood.

Suggestions

- Awareness programmes of Self-employment benefits should be regularly spread in remote areas so that the poorest and most neglected segment of the society can be motivated and covered by such scheme.
- Storage and marketing facilities in rural areas should be developed by the Government and non-government organisations.
- Male members of BPL families should also be motivated to join hands with females because without their equal co-operation no society can develop.

- In order to improve the level of income at a faster and higher rate training facility for skill development should be organised so that more members can be covered. Apart from this some allied sectors such as preservation and processing of vegetables should also be developed so that wastage of perishable products can be reduced.

With above suggestions it can be said that joint effort of Government Officials, Non-Government Organisations, Banks, Panchayati Raj Institutions and people's participation will show more encouraging impact on poverty alleviation through Self-employment generation in the rural areas of the country.

Conclusion

During field survey it was observed that the socio-economic status of the respondents has improved in rural communities, Almost all the members have bought different household assets like:- Wall clocks, bicycles, tables & chairs for their children's schooling and studies Some of them have also purchased Buffalos and Cows, Sewing machines, Fans and Television etc. Increased income of the respondents has also resulted in improvement in their consumption pattern, expenditure on education of their children and accessibility to better health care services and are able to do bank operation. In the beginning of their business some of them borrowed money from SHGs, RRBs in that area. The repayment habit of the members of the groups has been found to be quite satisfactory.

It was also observed that 85% to 90% of the self-employed respondents were females. It reflects the participatory role of women in the economic development of the society as well as the impact of this scheme (SGSY) in the empowerment of women in rural area. Leadership quality among women has empowered them to raise their voice against the atrocity towards them.

Most of the male members were found to be interested in working as shopkeepers, involvement in handicrafts sector, poultry farming and dairy farming business. They were not interested in working as vegetable cultivator in the field {farm} and found to be sellers of vegetables in different vegetable markets { HAATS & MANDIS}.

However the impact of Self-employment generation on poverty alleviation can be termed as encouraging impact, Vegetable cultivators in Churcu Block are still incurring loss due to lack of storage facilities in the rural areas. In non-agricultural sector inspite of increase in income, rate and level of increase is very low in comparison to price rise in other essential consumable items. Large number of BPL families are still unaware about the benefits of such scheme and as such they are forced to live in poor condition with deprivation.

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Famines in India during the British period

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Abstract

Famine has remained one of the most peculiar features of Indian economy during the British period. The advent of English in India as traders and later on their becoming administrators after occupying almost the whole of India had adversely affected the economic life of the Indians. Several famines took place during this period in various parts of the country resulting in the death of millions of people. The policy of economic exploitation, obnoxious land revenue settlements, destruction of indigenous industries, drainage of wealth from India, high taxation, stagnation and backwardness of Indian agriculture and laissez fair policy of the government etc had prepared the way for famines. In other words, Indian famines during the colonial period were largely man made. Even in the places, where famine occurred due to geographical or natural factor, it used to be aggravated due to the extreme poverty of the people who were unable to cope up with the situation which further worsened as the government always failed to provide adequate relief to the victims during this critical time. Famines made the economy of India further backward and underdeveloped and no wonder such disastrous state of affairs very soon started preparing ground for the growth of the national movement against the government.

Keywords : exploitation, obnoxious, indigenous, disastrous, movement

Introduction

Famine has been a recurrent feature of life in the Indian subcontinent which reached its numerically deadliest peak in the late 18th and 19th centuries. During the British period famine struck in many parts of the country resulting into the casualty of millions of people. The backwardness of Indian agriculture along with its dependence on the climate was largely responsible for the occurrence of scarcities, which eventually transformed into the catastrophic famine on account of the selfish and ill conceived economic policies of the British government. The first major famine occurred in Bengal in 1770, which is estimated to have taken the lives of nearly one third of the population of the region- about 10 million people. This famine was followed by several other famines in different parts of the country, which played a significant role in perpetuating the underdevelopment and backwardness of the Indian economy during the British period.

Materials and Methods

In this article an attempt has been made to study the occurrence of famines in India during the British period and its impact on the economy of India. Various books have been consulted in this regard. Consultation with eminent scholars in this field has shaped the present discussion.

Results and Discussions

Famines have been known to India since time immemorial. Famine, which is usually accompanied by regional malnutrition, starvation, epidemic and increased mortality, has been a recurrent feature of life in the Indian subcontinent. During the ancient period, famines did occur in India, however we don't have ample record regarding it. To quote Magasthenese "Famine has never visited India and there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food"¹. The first record of Famine is found in the Ashokan inscription where there is a reference of the mortality of thousands of people from famine and disease after the Kalinga War in 269 B.C. One of the Hindu literatures namely Periya Puranam mentions the occurrence of famine during the period of 7th century due to failure of rains in Tanjore districts. According to Purana, Lord Shiva helped the Tamil saints Sambandhar and Appar to provide relief from the famine. Another famine in the same district is recorded on an inscription with details, a village being ruined, and cultivation of food being disrupted in Alangudi in 1054 A.D. We also find the occurrence of several famines in India during the muslim period. The first was in 1343 during the reign of Muhammad Bin Tuqluq (1325-51 A.D). The first year of the

reign of Akbar (1556-1605) witnessed a severe famine in the North Western part of India, which took a heavy toll of life. Another famine occurred in Gujarat in 1573-74 and in Kashmir in 1595-96. However one of the greatest famines ever recorded in the history of India visited during the reign of Shah Jahan (1627-58) in the dakhin and Gujarat during 1630-32). Another famine followed during the time of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D).

During the Colonial period, we find the records of famine in several parts of the country. In fact famine reached its numerically deadliest peak in the late 18th and 19th centuries. The Famine Commission Report of 1901 pointed out "India suffered in one part or another, from twelve famines and four severe scarcities during the rule of the East India Company"². The first catastrophic famine visited Bengal in between 1769-1773 i.e. just after few years of the battle of Buxar (1765). A severe drought followed by the partial shortfall in crops stimulated this famine. It was so severe that it has been said about one third of the then population of Bengal perished. It caused the mortality of 10 million people. The region in which the famine occurred included specially the modern Indian states of Bihar and west Bengal. The worst affected areas were Birbhum and Murshidabad in Bengal and Tirhut, Champaran and Bettiah in Bihar. James mill wrote about this famine "..... by which more than a third of the inhabitants of Bengal were computed to have been destroyed"³. W.W.Hunter best describes the severity of this famine in his book 'Annals of Rural Bengal'. To quote him "all through the stifling summer of 1770, the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their cattle, they devoured their seed grains; they sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of children could be found, they ate the leaves of trees and grass of the field; and in June 1770, the Resident of the durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead... at Moorshidabad the streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and the dead... even the dogs and jackals became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude of festering corpses at length threatened the existence of citizens"⁴. On account of this famine large areas were depopulated and returned to Jungles. Many of

them resorted to 'thugi' and banditry for survival.

In Madras 1781 and 1782 were the years of severe scarcity, and in 1784, a severe famine devastated the whole of north India. This famine of 1784 was popularly known as Chalisa famine and it engulfed the regions of Delhi, Western Awadh, Eastern Punjab region, Rajputana and Kashmir. It has been recorded that up to 11 million people may have died during the years 1782-84. Then came the great famine of 1791-92 popularly known as 'Skull famine' affecting the regions of Hyderabad, Southern Maratha Kingdom, Deccan, Gujarat and Marwar. This famine had come to be known in folklore as the Doji Bara or "Skull Famine", on account which it was said, of the "bones of the victims which lay unburied whitening the roads and the fields". This famine was one of the most severe famines known. People died in such numbers that they could not be cremated or buried. According to one study, a total of 11 million people may have died during the years 1789-92 as a result of starvation or accompanying epidemics. The Gazetteer of Bombay presidency had presented many horrible reports of this famine. According to it in many regions of Maharashtra and Karnataka such as in Hubli, Dambal and Kalghatgi, people were reduced to feeding on leaves and berries, and Women and Children were sold. Similarly in the region of Belgaum, the Gazetteer reported that some high caste Hindus, unable to get grain, and rejecting animal food, poisoned themselves while the poorer classes found a scanty living on roots, herbs, dead animals and even corpses. The famine was so severe that it was calculated that fully half the inhabitants of many villages died, of those who survived many wandered and never returned.

The next Famine was that of 1833, known as the Guntur famine, which affected the northern districts of madras and parts of the Southern Mahratta country and of Mysore and Hyderabad. According to one estimate out of 500,000 people in Guntur, 200,000 died.

During the period of 1837-38, another famine occurred which struck the regions of Central Doab and Trans Jamuna districts of the Northern Western Provinces (later Agra provinces), including Delhi and Hissar. It

caused the mortality of 800,000 people.

The condition did not undergo any change with the taking over of the charge of Indian administration by the British crown in 1858. The first of these famines occurred in Western Uttar Pradesh during 1860-61, which cost over 2 lakh of lives. Then our country witnessed another famine in 1866 which was popularly known as Orissa famine of 1866 engulfing Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and Madras. Like all Indian famines, it was also preceded by a drought. This famine took a toll of nearly 20 lakh of lives. In Orissa alone, at least 1 million people, a third of the population died in 1866. However according to Bipan Chandra and many others, the worst famine in Indian history till then occurred in 1876-78 in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Maharashtra, Western Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab. This famine was known as Southern Indian Famine of 1876-78. According to the estimate of Bipan Chandra in this famine, Maharashtra lost 8 lakh people, Madras nearly 35 lakh, Mysore nearly 20% of its population and Uttar Pradesh over 12 lakh. To quote R.C. Dutt "never within the memory of living men, never within the present century, has there been destruction of life so terrible and so great as in the Madras famine of 1877. And when at last that great calamity had subsided and a census was taken, it was found that over five millions of people had been swept away. A population equal to the population of Ireland had disappeared under the desolating breath of the famine of 1877"⁵.

Another severe famine took place in 1896-97 in Madras, Bombay, Central provinces, Northern and Eastern Rajputana and Hyderabad causing heavy casualties of 5 million lives. Following closely upon this came another calamity of the severest type, namely the famine of 1899-1900 affecting the regions of Bombay, Central Provinces, Berar, Ajmer, Hyderabad, Rajputana, Baroda, Kathiawar and Cutch. This famine was the last of all India famines. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India overall, in British areas alone, approximately 1,000,000 individuals died of starvation or accompanying disease, in addition, as a result of the acute shortage of fodder, cattle in the millions perished in the famine. According to author David Fieldhouse,

over 1 million people may have died during the famine of 1899-1900. To quote him "in 1899-1900 more than a million were thought to have died, conditions being worse because of the shortage of food following the famines only two years earlier."⁶ William Digby, a British writer calculated that, in all over 28,825,000 people died during famines from 1854-1901.

The last important famine under the British rule was the Bengal famine of 1943, which struck the Bengal province of pre-partition India. According to one estimate between 1.5 and 4 million people died of starvation, malnutrition and disease, out of Bengal's 60.3 million population half of them dying from disease after food became available in December 1943.

Now let us examine the causes of famines in India. Most of the Indian famines were followed by the condition of drought. All the British imperial viceroys, governors and proconsuls adhered to the doctrine that it was the climate and failure of rains that caused failure of crops and famine. However if we properly analyze the cause, we find the policies of East India Company and later on that of the British crown had prepared the ground for famines in India. Their selfish economic policies and negligence towards the welfare of the Indians had played a prominent role in transforming the minor scarcity into catastrophic famine. Let's take the case of Bengal famine of 1769-70. It has been argued by many historians that British policy of the assessment of heavy land revenue had paved the way for famine. After the Battle of Buxar (1765) the East India Company got the Diwani rights i.e. the right to collect land revenue from the regions of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The company's officials started extracting more and more land revenue from the peasants, which was very highly fixed. Unable to pay the revenues, the peasants were often dispossessed from their land and were forced to become a landless or bonded labourer in Bengal. Bipan Chandra argued that it was the heavy assessment of land revenue, which was one of the main causes of the growth of poverty and the deterioration of agricultural productivity in Bengal. R.P. Dutt gives an interesting figure regarding it. According to him in the last year of administration of the last Indian ruler of Bengal,

in 1764-05, the land revenue realized was \$817,000. In the first year of the Company's administration in 1765-06 the land revenue realized in Bengal was \$1,470,000. By 1771-72 it was \$2,341,000 and by 1775-06 it was \$2,818,000. To quote him "all contemporary witnesses have given evidence of the rapid devastation of the country within a few years by this process, the cutting down of the population by one third through the consequent famine and the transformation of one third of the country into a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts"⁷.

Thus through the increasing land revenue, the rural population of Bengal was drained off their savings and this made them unable to resist the famine. Bipan Chandra writes "India's economic backwardness and poverty and consequent famines were not due to the niggardliness of nature. They were man made"⁸. The land revenue settlement of the British government made the life of Indian peasants very miserable. Land revenue was used to be realized even in case of the failure of crops. The most unfortunate thing was that absolutely no effort was made either to improve agricultural practices or develop them along modern lines. The result was prolonged stagnation in agricultural production. To quote Dr. S.N.Sen "under the land revenue settlement, the poor cultivators became the victims of the oppression of the government, the landlords, the moneylenders, the grain merchants and the intermediaries. All of them in turn sucked their blood and made their life miserable. Their life used to become hellish in case of drought and famine"⁹. Similarly the breakdown of the cotton handloom industries and other small manufacturing units of India due to the selfish commercial policies of the British also paved the way for famine. Exportation of raw materials, flooding of Indian markets with the cheap machine made goods from England, the imposition of high custom duties on the import of Indian products into England and the gradual disappearance of Indian rulers and their courts went a long way in ruining the traditional handicraft industries of India which at once subsisted the millions of Indians.

To quote Dr. S.N.Sen "The breakdown of the Cotton Handloom industry in the early 19th

century brought in its trail immense miseries, colossal unemployment, devastating deaths, an increased pressure on land, and an all pervading sense of gloom among those who survived the catastrophe"¹⁰. The result of all these factors was the crushing poverty of the Indian people. Many English officials in India recognized the grim reality of it. Charles Elliot, a member of the Governor General's Council remarked "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year end to another what is to have full meal"¹¹. William Hunter, the Compiler of the Imperial Gazetteer conceded "forty million of the people of India habitually go through life on insufficient food"¹². Such poverty of India was also due to the huge drainage of wealth from India to England in the form of home charges, dividends, interests etc. various scholars have given their own estimate about the drain of wealth. Writing in 1889, George Wingate estimated the drain at \$4,221,661 p.a for the seventeen years between 1835-1851. In 1901, William Digby estimated the total drain from 1757-1815 to have been somewhere between \$500-\$1000 million. An Eminent Nationalist Dadabhai Nauroji conceded that during the period 1845-50 to 1894-95, India sent goods worth Rs. 400 million every year to Britain, in return for which it got nothing at all¹³. Even the British accepted the huge drainage of wealth from India. John Sullivan, President of the Board of Revenue, Madras remarked "Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames"¹⁴. Dadabhai Nauroji described the drain of wealth as the "evil of all evils" and the main cause of Indian poverty. In a letter to Sunderland in 1905, he wrote, "the lot of India is a very sad one. Her condition is that of master and a slave; but it is worse; it is that of a plundered nation in the hands of constant plunderers with the plunder carried away clean out of the land"¹⁵.

Another important factor, which adversely affected the lives of the poor Indians, was the reservation of forest by the government. Until 1870, all forests had been communally managed. The poor villagers of India required forest not only for wood for agricultural purpose, but they also utilized the same for

grazing their cattle, collecting fruits and roots, hunting and fishing. The reservation of forest meant the deprivation of a major source of livelihood for them. The grazing lands and common grounds already virtually disappeared under the onslaught of the commercialization of agriculture and now the forests were taken over and declared government reserves in order to serve the needs of imperial railways and the military. The Commercialization of forest resources such as Wood, Leaf, Manure, Grass, Fodder, Wild grains, Fruits, Roots, Nuts, Honey, Vegetables, Flowers, Medicinal herbs, Gums, Spices, Lac etc removed the famine and drought cushion on which the people had traditionally relied in times of crisis. A famous scholar B.M.Bhatia wrote in his book 'Famines in India' "the reservation of forest in India resulted in general environmental deterioration that transformed minor calamities into disastrous events taking million of lives"¹⁶.

Bipan Chandra, Sumit Sarkar and Amiya Bagchi in their studies have shown that the lack of economic diversity was also one of the main reasons for India's poverty and consequent famines. India society remained agrarian and feudal. The British imperial policies prevented the transformation of Indian economy from agrarian to industrial by skimming off the raw materials and revenues without plowing anything back in return. No effort was made to develop the economy or to improve their living standard of the people. Besides the official adherence to the laissez fair ideology of Adam smith made the condition further worse. The famines could have been avoided with timely government intervention, but this never happened because of the government policy of non-interference in the market even at the time of crisis. This meant that the 'Baniya sahkars' could resort to hoarding during the time of scarcity, driving up the price of food grain at the time of famine. In fact there is even evidence of grains being exported to England and Europe for speculative trading in international market while millions were dying of diseases and starvation in the Indian subcontinent. To quote Mike Davis "millions died, not outside the modern world system; but the very process of being forcibly incorporated into its economic and political structures. They died in the golden

age of liberal capitalism indeed; many were murdered by the theological application of the sacred principles of Smith, Bentham and Mill"¹⁷. To quote Laxman Satya "the laissez fair ideology of the British empire prevented state intervention in times of calamities. Railways took grains out and brought famine even to surplus areas. Famines were caused not so much by the failure of rains but by artificial price inflation driven by the colonial policies and export trade"¹⁸.

Finally the famines in India were also due to the lack of serious effort on the part of the British government to prevent famines. Even at the time of famine, the Government made halfhearted attempt to help the famine stricken peoples. Although the famine commissions were appointed from time to time, but rarely any serious efforts were taken to implement their recommendations. To quote Vera Anstey "the government famine machinery was inadequate and ineffective and the unwisdom of the policy was amply clear. The government refused to recognize its responsibility for saving human live reacting against calls for relief during the 1877-79 famine the then viceroy of India Lord Lyton replied "let the British public foot the bill for its cheap sentiment; if it wished to save life at a cost that would bankrupt India" substantively ordering "there is to be no interference of any kind on the part of government with the object of reducing the price of food" and instructing district officers "to discourage relief works in every possible way"¹⁹. The government always considered expenditure on famine relief as wasteful and uneconomic. Even the relief camps which were made for the famine victims were not only hard to reach but were in fact deliberately kept in remote locations and beyond the reach of the physically weakened population. And those who somehow managed to reach these camps soon found that the conditions were more horrifying than the village they had left behind.

Thus to sum up, the Indian society during the British period remained socially and economically involuted. The Climatic factors and more than that the condition created in India on account of the selfish commercial and economic policies of the exploitative and parasitic aliens had prepared a fertile ground in India for the growth

of the poisonous plants of famines which decimated millions of already impoverished Indians during the period of 18th and 19th century and thus stagnated completely the economic growth of India.

Conclusion

The prevalence of extreme poverty among the Indian people has remained one of the major characteristics of the British rule in India, which often culminated in a series of famines, which ravaged the major parts of India during the period of 18th and 19th centuries. The miserable condition created on account of the British selfish economic policies has prepared the ground for the famines, which took a heavy toll of Indian life. Besides the indifferent approach of the government towards the impoverishment of the poor Indians made the condition further worse. The breakdown of the handloom industries, the heavy assessment of the land revenue, the exploitative policy of agricultural commercialization, high taxation system, drainage of wealth and above all the alienist approach of the government, all together combined to make India a land of famines. The climatic factors created scarcity and the British policy transformed it into famine. Had the government provided timely help and assistance to the famine victims at the time of scarcity, the situation would not have become much deplorable. However the British subordinated our economy to its own economy and determined the basic trends in India according to her own needs. The result was the general impoverishment of the Indian masses.

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Higher Education and the Level of Awareness among University Students towards Human Rights: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

Without the knowledge that human rights exist and the human rights are violated, no individual or organization can seek to provide protection. Both the promotion and protection of human rights therefore require that information be available for all. It is the lack of awareness of human rights that makes people unable to enjoy many of the rights and privileges that have been conferred on them. The proposed study thus, intends to gauge the level of awareness of the university students with special reference to female students of post graduation and students of under graduation i.e. whose course is going on or incomplete, about human rights and tries to understand the reasons for the lack of awareness and makes an attempt to suggest measures for rectifying the situation and for enhancing the awareness among people about the human rights. The study was administered to a sample of 100 students of the B.R.A. Bihar university campus including both Post Graduation and Under Graduation female students. A Human Rights Awareness Questionnaire (HRAQ) consisting of 30 items was used to ascertain the level of awareness among university students developed by the investigator herself. The responses received from the respondents were then tabulated. Data was analyzed using SPSS 17.0 version and results are explained in the form of charts and tables. The results obtained showed that out of 54% aware respondents, 60% were P.G. respondents while the U.G. respondents were only 48%. Out of 32% partially aware respondents, P.G. respondents were 29% whereas U.G. respondents were 35%. Only 11% of the P.G. respondents showed unawareness towards their rights whereas 17% of U.G. respondents were found unaware out of 14% respondents. The result thus indicates that the level of awareness among U.G. respondents was quite low as compared to the P.G. respondents. It is evident that lack of awareness regarding human rights among university students is a major impediment female student hampering them from utilizing the rights accorded to them to realize their potential.

Keywords : higher education, awareness, human rights and women empowerment

Introduction

“Education is the most potent mechanism for the advancement of human beings. It enlarges, enriches and improves an individual's image of the future. It emancipates the human beings and leads to liberation from ignorance. A man without education is no more than an animal”.¹ It is said that in the twenty first century, 'a nation's ability to convert knowledge into wealth and social good through the process of innovation is going to determine its future, 'accordingly twenty first century is termed as century of knowledge.

Higher Education : “Higher Education is important for everyone, but it is especially significant for girls and women. This is true not only because higher education is an entry point to other opportunities, but also because the educational achievements of women can have

ripple effects within the family and across generations. Investing in girls' education is one of the most effective ways to reduce poverty”.²

Awareness towards Rights : Awareness of Rights means one is conscious or well informed or having knowledge of her Rights. “Aware individuals have a sense of self and vision of future, economic security, status and decision making power in household, an ability to interact effectively in public spheres, and participation in non-family groups”.³

Human Rights : “Human Rights are "basic rights and freedoms that all people are entitled to regardless of nationality, sex, age, national or ethnic origin, race, religion, language, or other status”.⁴ Human rights are what each human being is entitled to allow her/his freedom to live a dignified and secured life of choice.

Women empowerment : “The word women empowerment essentially means that the women have the power or capacity to regulate their day- to- day lives in the social, political and economic terms -a power which enables them to move from the periphery to the centre stage”.⁵

Sample : For this research the researcher resorted to different sampling designs depending on the nature of population and simplicity in adoption. The researcher adopted purposive sampling technique having certain predefined group in mind and attempt is made to seek members of this group to be included in the sample.

Tools : For collecting data related to this research survey opinion questionnaire is all used to know how many percentages of Post Graduate and Under Graduate female students are having awareness about human rights.

Technique of Analysis of Data : Whatever data collected from Post Graduate and Under Graduate female students and their given responses in Yes /No and Don't know were analyzed through percentage and by graph by quantitative analysis.

Materials and Methods

The study was carried out using quantitative research method that uses objective measurement and numerical or statistical analysis in trying to explain the level of awareness regarding Human Rights among female students of post graduate and under graduate courses. The study was conducted at B.R.A. Bihar University campus, Muzaffarpur. In order to assess the level of awareness among the students a sample of 100 students out of which 50 Post Graduate and 50 Undergraduate female students were selected. The stratified random sampling technique was used under the study. A Human Rights Awareness Questionnaire (HRAQ) developed by the investigator was used for data collection. It had two sections: Section A to get the personal information about the sample and Section B had 30 basic Human Rights awareness related statements to test the extent of awareness level of the samples. The respondents were asked to answer in YES (if the statement is correct), NO (if the

statement is incorrect) and DON'T KNOW. The statements were meant to assess their level of awareness regarding the Human Rights concerning “Right to Education”, “Economic Rights” and “Right of Living”. The responses received from the respondents were then tabulated. Data was analyzed using SPSS 17.0 version and results are explained in the form of charts and tables.

Results and Discussions

The results obtained in the study are tabulated in the following tables:-

Table 1 shows the responses of the respondents.

Response		Right to Education	Economic Rights	Right of Living	Total
Correct Response	P.G. Students	325	300	275	900
	U.G. Students	255	230	235	720
Incorrect Response	P.G. Students	125	150	160	435
	U.G. Students	190	170	165	525
No Response	P.G. Students	50	50	65	165
	U.G. Students	55	100	100	255
Total	P.G. Students	500	500	500	1500
	U.G. Students	500	500	500	1500

Histogram showing responses of the respondents

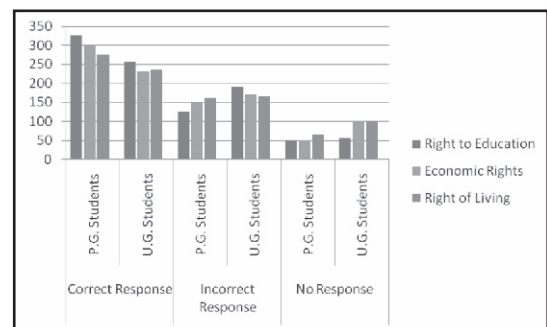


Table 2 shows the responses of the respondents in %

Response		Right to Education	Economic Rights	Right of Living	Total
Correct Response	P.G. Students	65.0	60.0	55.0	60.0
	U.G. Students	51.0	46.0	47.0	48.0
	Mean	58.0	53.0	51.0	54.0
Incorrect Response	P.G. Students	25.0	30.0	32.0	29.0
	U.G. Students	38.0	34.0	33.0	35.0
	Mean	31.5	32.0	32.5	32.0
No Response	P.G. Students	10.0	10.0	13.0	11.0
	U.G. Students	11.0	20.0	20.0	17.0
	Mean	10.5	15.0	16.5	14.0
Total	P.G. Students	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	U.G. Students	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As evident from the figures in table 2, the respondents displayed greater awareness towards Right to Education followed by Economic Rights and Right of Living. 58% of respondents showed correct response towards Right to Education out of which the P.G. respondents showed 65% correct response while the U.G. respondents showed only 51%. However, there was some lack of clarity as to whether the parents have prior choice to the type of education given to their children and the education should be in the direction to strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In respect of Economic Rights only 53% of responses were correct while 32% were incorrect out of which P.G. respondents showed 60% correct response where as only 46% of the U.G. respondents showed the correct response. While majority of the respondents displayed greater awareness towards the right to work, right to free choice of

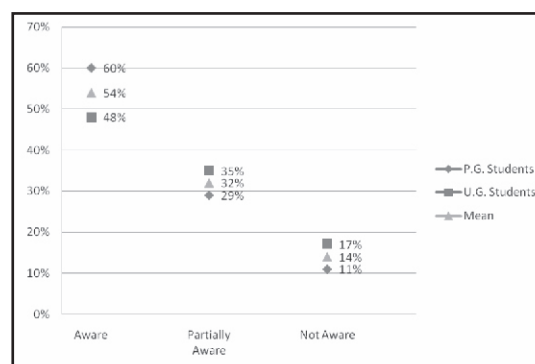
employment with equal pay for equal work without any discrimination. There was partial knowledge regarding the conditions under which they seek protection and security of their economic rights.

In the case of Right of Living, the data as shown in Table 2 revealed that the level of awareness among university students regarding this issue was comparatively low. Only 51% of the responses were correct in this category while 16.5% of the respondents showed no awareness regarding their Right of Living. Out of 51% correct responses, 55% P.G. respondents showed correct responses while only 47% of U.G. respondents showed correct responses. There was little awareness as to whether working women during the period of motherhood may seek leave with adequate social security and benefits.

Table: 3 Showing Human Rights awareness among university students

	Aware	Partially Aware	Not Aware
P.G. Students	60%	29%	11%
U.G. Students	48%	35%	17%
Mean	54%	32%	14%

Chart showing % of Human Rights awareness among university students



A close analysis of the results reveal that the overall awareness of Post Graduate respondents was comparatively high than the overall awareness of Under Graduate respondents. It was found 60% for P.G. respondents while only 48% for U.G. respondents. Out of 32% partially aware respondents, P.G. respondents were 29% whereas U.G. respondents were 35%. Only

11% of the P.G. respondents showed unawareness towards their rights whereas 17% of U.G. respondents were found unaware. The result thus indicates that the level of awareness among U.G. respondents was quite low as compared to the P.G. respondents.

Recommendations and Suggestions

Women form the pivotal point around whom family life and living revolves. When economic level of a family goes down, women are the worst sufferers. The poorer the family the greater is its dependence on women's economic productivity. Also "illiteracy among women often leads to a poor self-image, lack of knowledge and self-worth, making them susceptible to being deprived of their rights and playing an active role in the society and restricts their economic productivity".⁶ Higher Education among women opens the possibility of unlimited exposure to new information and more importantly to new ways of thinking and new perspectives on existing information. Also "highly educated women are able to constructively express their talents and give direction to their aptitude. This enables them to lead a life which is fulfilling and satisfying".⁷

In this context, higher education has an important role to play in providing opportunities for women to make themselves empowered.

These are some other barriers which should be removed by creating awareness towards human rights:

Psychological barriers includes Limited career aspirations, Low self-esteem / under valuing of their skill, Feeling intimidated by male competitors.

Institutional Barriers includes bias in recruitment and promotion, Limited opportunity for exercising leadership, Women exclusive criteria, Omission of critical materials on and by women in class rooms, Lack of literate or leadership skills for women.

Situational Barriers includes Process of Socialization (Patriarchy), Cultural barriers, Family responsibilities, Lack of support from the family, Not being taken seriously, Campus climate, Lack of network support for coping, Time conflicts, Lack of mobility.

Other barriers include curricula that do not fit to the needs of the job, unfriendly learning environment, Fear of sexual harassment, Inadequate gender awareness training for teachers, Discriminatory approach in education, Lack of Technical education and fear about technologies.

The following are the desired and expected impact of Higher Education on women drawn from responses of the sample:

- "Girls who have been highly educated are likely to marry later and to have smaller and healthier families. Educated women can recognize the importance of health care and know how to seek it for themselves and their children".⁸
- They will gain confidence and improve their career opportunities.
- They will attain more degrees for satisfaction towards their Updated skills.
- Acquisition of knowledge will help to bring Change in socialization pattern of children.
- Better decision making capacity will facilitate them to gain Respect in family and community.
- More opportunities for networking and communicating will enhance Vision broadened.
- Gives more freedom to the learner and extends the campus into the people's home and work places.
- Higher education assists in facing the challenges in life of women which Leads to empowerment of women.

The following suggestions are made to increase the participation of women in higher education for their empowerment:

- Awareness programme regarding the Human Rights education for women in urban, rural and tribal areas will provide opportunity for women to gain knowledge about existing rights.
- The courses for women in higher education should be application oriented so that it will help them in their economic and social empowerment.
- The course materials should be simple, preferably in regional languages to make women more comfortable to use.

- The gender component should be incorporated in the syllabus of all discipline.
- The fee should be affordable to weaker sections of the society especially women.
- Gender sensitization programmes should be organized to sensitize the teachers and learners.
- Confidence building and personality building programmes are essential to help women to overcome day to day challenges.
- Women should be motivated and trained to use technology for faster and easier learning.
- A separate channel for local T.V. and radio must be introduced to promote Human Rights education for women.
- Library should be opened in each village to facilitate women.

“ Higher Education can play a vital role in bringing about the desirable behavioral changes among the women and make them well equipped in terms of knowledge, competence and capacity to deal with different problems”.⁹ The discussion brings a major conclusion to light-the status of women could be improved by women themselves and nobody else. It is the modern era of satellites, achievements and technology-based gadget. Why should women be left behind?

Conclusion

Higher Education helps girls and women more to know their rights and to gain confidence to claim them. The study concluded that higher education created sense in university students about their Rights, responsibilities, empowerment, and leadership in household, nurturing their

children well and adjustment in their families. The major hindrance in empowerment of women in India were the domination of orthodox society, lack of awareness about their rights and traditions and customs prevailing in the society.

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The Shompen of Great Nicobar Island

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Abstract

The Shompen are one of the most primitive tribes inhabiting the Great Nicobar Island of the Nicobar archipelago. The Shompen share the island with the Nicobarese - the only island in the archipelago with double occupation. The Shompen live along four major rivers in the island. Consequently, there are four groups of Shompen, named after the rivers they inhabit. This paper, based on fieldwork by the author himself, describes the economy and society of the Shompen, a basically hunter-gatherer nomadic group, which, until recently was unknown. Even today not much is known about this tribe.

Keywords : primitive tribe, social life, economic, forest

Introduction

Great Nicobar Island is the southernmost island of the Andaman and Nicobar group situated at a distance of 1850 kms from Calcutta. The island is situated between 6°45' N and 7°15' N latitudes and 93°37' E and 93°56' E longitude. Great Nicobar is the largest of eleven islands constituting the Nicobar group of islands, having an area of 1,651 sq. kms the island is about 55 kms long, between Murray Point in the north and Pygmalion point in south. It has a width of about 35 kms at the north but the island narrows down to about 3 kms at the southern tip which is only 144 kms away from the island of Sumatra in Indonesia. Hence, its situation is quite strategic. The island forms a part of the chain of islands, which stretches in an accurate fashion separating the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean on the west and the Andaman Sea in the east.

The Great Nicobar Island is also remarkable for being the only island in Nicobar group which has people of two tribes - the Nicobarese and the Shompen. The Nicobarese live on the coastal areas with their villages, which are no more than clusters of two-three huts, all concentrated on the west coast, where it is easier to raise coconut plantation. The Shompen live in the western part of the forest a little distance from the sea coast. The rivers also flow on the west coast except the Galathia River which goes down in the southeast coast but it also begins from the western part. The other rivers i.e. Alexandra, Dogmar, Jubilee

(Jawnala) and other small rivers flow on the west coast.

Materials and Methods

The present article forms a part of the field work conducted by the author himself. The records of the Andaman and Nicobar Island's Civil administration have been used extensively. Several books and Journals on the islands too have been consulted. Thus the source of the material is based both on primary and secondary data.

Results and Discussions

It was for long believed that the interior of the Great Nicobar Island was inhabited by a race of Negritos, who are similar to the wild tribes of Andaman Islands. Their existence was first reported by Pastor Roser, a Danish Missionary in 1831. In 1846 Admiral Steel Billy paid the first recorded visit. This was followed by three visits by Mr. De. Roefstroff and on these occasions in 1881 he was accompanied by the chief commissioner colonel Cadell. Mr. Mau first visited them in 1884. In 1901 C. Boden Kloss and in 1903 C.W.B. Anderson also visited them.

Thereafter for a period of 47 yrs, no visit was made to this island and the people were left in their original state in primitiveness. The visit of this island was restarted by B.C Chengappa of the Andaman forest department in 1952. He was able to contact five different groups of Shompen living along the Jubilee, Dogmar, Alexandra, and Galathia, the principal rivers of the island and also at Trinket Chaplong at the northeast coast of the island. Another visit to the island was made in 1960 by M.S.Rajaram,

IAS, to establish contact with the Shompens of Dogmar River. In 1966 Anthropological survey of India team was contacting two new Shompens settlements not visited by anybody before. These are 'Mowas Shompens' and 'Guthial Shompen'. Mowas Shompen are in friendly relation with the coastal Nicobarese and live/near the coastal part of the island. But the Guthial Shompens inhabit the interior and often inaccessible region of this island. They have been hostile to both the outsiders and to the Mowas Shompens. According to the survey census the total population of the Shompens in the year 1972. but now it is extended to 222 according to the census report of the year 1981.

Physical Features

According to the above visitors the Shompens are believed to be a race of Negritos akin to the Andaman, but the Shompens are an isolated group of primitive Malaysians and although they are regarded as the aborigines of the island, many features amongst them point to the fact that they are no longer racially pure. The Shompens are on an average as tall as the coastal people. They appear smaller, less robust with lean though bony figure, sinewy rather than muscular. The colour of the skin is dark muddy brown or bronze (several shades deeper than the coastal natives) but it is liable to slight variation and is generally a little paler in the women and girls, who resemble far more distinctly the coarse Malayan type than the men do.

The hair of the head is very luxuriant and of all varieties between wavy and curly but is not crisp or grizzly to any degree. No hair grows on the face or on the body. The outline of the face is an oblong rectangular and the forehead is somewhat retreating, but occasionally high and rounded though narrow. The nose is broad and flattened with rounded tip and rather rounded nostrils the plane of which is upward. It is generally of medium size and straight, but now and then has a pronounced bridge or a slightly concave outline.

The cheekbones and the zygomatic arch are prominent, and a degree of prognathism is discernible. The teeth are large but irregular, and discoloured by chewing betels and project

upwards. The mouth is large; the lips are thick, with the upper curved from centre to end. The lower jaw is commonly large and heavy and the chin is pointed as the bones cover directly from the nasal angle, the ears lie close to the head, and are hidden by the hair, but the lobes are much distorted with plugs of bamboo or woods (in the case of Laful bay Shompens only).

Different Groups of Shompen

The Shompen of great Nicobar Island are divided in four major groups. These four groups are divided in terms of their settlement areas. These are Laful-Bay Shompen, Galathia River Shompen, Alexandra River Shompen and Dogmar River Shompen. The Laful-Bay Shompen inhabit the northeast side of the island but live in the interior of the forest. Galathia River Shompen dwell on the banks of the Galathia river in the southwest of the island. The Alexandra River Shompen inhabit the central part of the island, but on the banks of the Alexandra River. The last one, Dogmar River Shompen, inhabit the bank of the river Dogmar but at a little distance from the sea.

a) Laful Bay Shompen : Laful Bay is situated on the northeast side of the island. The Shompens dwell near the bank but at a distance of about 10 to 15 kms inside forest from the sea. In Laful-Bay there were only three villages of the Shompen, which are situated at a distance of about 7 kms. They don't have any contact with the other group of Shompens as well as the Nicobarese, neither do they go to nor other groups come to them but they have a continuous contact with the Government administrators. The administrators provide them with clothes, tobacco, rice, iron knives etc. by exchanging their forest product. Due to contact with the administrators, they live in a better way than those of the other groups, because they get sometime banyans, skirts, shirts, pants and other materials from the Govt. store without paying any cost. But they generally exchange their forest produce i.e. honey, lemon, cane-strips etc. with the Administration in lieu of rice, cloths, tobacco and iron knives etc.

b) Galathea River Shompen : Galathea River is a major river and situated in the southern part of the island. This group of

Shompens inhabit the bank of this river but in the interior of the forest. Their movement is restricted only in the south west area. They are in good relationship with the coastal Nicobarese but are unknown to the other outsiders. In south-west coast, there are a limited number of villages of the Nicobarese from which this group visits time to time for exchanging their forest produce. The collected honey in the bottles and the cane strips tied in bundles are given to the Nicobarese and in return they receive tobacco, clothes and toddy for their settlement. They are very shy in nature and are never in contact with the other groups. Their neighbours are Alexandra and Dogmar River Shompens. The use of wooden and bamboo plugs are absent in this group but they tie a tender areca-palm or piece of cloth around their head for keeping their hairs in shape. They wear loin-cloth around the waist and the upper part of the body remains bare.

c) Alexandra River Shompens : This group of Shompens inhabits the banks of Alexandra River but about 14 kms inside the forest from the sea. They do not come to the coastal part because of long distance, and they do not have any contact with the Nicobarese village, although they have no animosity with them. Sometimes, the coastal Nicobarese themselves visit them in their settlement or in their areas at the time of hunting. Commonly, they come to the Dogmar River Shompen because they have a good relationship with them. They do not quarrel with each other even though they move in the areas of each other for collection of food and hunting. The distance of both the rivers Alexandra and Dogmar is within walking distance.

Sometimes, they borrow weapons, tobacco, cloths and pigs from the Dogmar River Shompens in exchange of their forest produce, as the Dogmar River Shompens are the media between the Nicobarese and the Alexandra River Shompens.

d) Dogmar River Shompens : They inhabit the banks of Dogmar but are in the coastal part of the island. The coastal part of the Middle West coast of the island is inhabited by them. They have very good relationship with the Nicobarese as well as the Alexandra River

Shompens. Some of the Shompens of Dogmar River live with the Nicobarese as labourers. They help them in fishing, hunting, coconut collection, cutting of areca-nuts and bringing them fire-woods. This is the only group who come to sea for fishing with spears while the other group of Shompens do not dare fishing in the sea. This group is more expert sailor of the canoe than those of the other groups, because with the Nicobarese they go to deep sea for fishing. They always wear shirts, banyans and short pants. The women use blouse and petticoat. Slippers are also observed on their feet. To some extent their style of living is changed due to the Nicobarese. They also use tea, rice, bread and toddy. Regular toddy-taking is observed among the Dogmar River Shompens which is obtained from the Nicobarese.

Economic life : The Shompen of Great Nicobar are hunter-gatherers. The basic characteristic of the hunting and gathering economy is that the people get what they can from the nature, instead of producing it themselves. This automatically puts a limitation on what they can get, how much they can get, the process through which it is modified for consumption, and the way it is reallocated for consumption. The limitation being the number of people, the level of their technology and the carrying capacity of the area they inhabit. By the very definition these people must live in forests, which have at least some sort of water resources. The availability of hunting animals, fruits, roots and other edible materials determines the number of people who can reside in the area

The economy of the Shompens like all hunter-gatherers is totally dependent upon the forest. Every moment of Shompen life, every activity, their social life and religion, their material culture and ethos revolves around the forest. In fact, the very existence of Shompens cannot be conceived apart from the forest. They are born in the forest. They spend their entire life in the forest and die in the forest. It is the forest which shapes their personality, determines their needs, conditions their aspirations and limits their activities.

Being hunter gatherers all their food is

collected from the forests, in the form of fruits, roots, leaves, small animals, worms etc. Pandanus is a fruit which forms their staple food. This fruit grows abundantly in the forest. After picking it up they cut it into many pieces and boil it for four to five hours, leaving it overnight. Early in the morning these pieces are scraped with the help of knife or blade of shells. It is then ground to make a paste. This paste is then used for their meals thrice a day. Though they collect a number of different varieties of fruits, pandanus stands out first both in importance and use. Other important fruits are banana, Tokob (a lemon-like fruit), Toktao (a guava-like fruit) and Tokum, which resembles Mango.

Among the roots, yam, Ukan, Panhida, Tiwils etc. are important. The yam and anida are brought from the forest and washed and soaked in water for the whole night. Next morning these are packed and roasted. Next to pandanus, yams are very much liked by the Shompen. All other kinds of roots are also eaten after soaking or boiling them in water. Among non-vegetarian food eggs of different varieties of birds, crocodiles, tortoise etc. are relished very much. The eggs of tortoise are available in large numbers on river banks and sands. The eggs are also boiled and never eaten raw. But the most sought-after item of non-vegetarian food is the caterpillar. Any day, a number of Shompen of all age and sex group can be seen diligently looking for these caterpillars in dried woods. They dig holes in these woods to pick out the caterpillar, which are also eaten after boiling or roasting. These are roasted by packing them in leaves of Areca-nuts and put into fire. These minor fruits, roots, eggs and caterpillars are mostly eaten with pandanus paste by way of changing their taste. Sometimes these may also be eaten separately.

Among the leaves, betel leaf is very important for the Shompen. These leaves are taken along with lime made out of river shells as well as areca-nut which they collect from the forest. At least on this point they are contemporaries of the mainlanders because their consumption of betel leaf is almost at par with the civilised people of Gangetic plains of Northern India. In

fact, it is so important that it forms major criteria of deciding the beauty of a Shompen girl. The blacker the teeth of a Shompen girl with the use of betel leaves are, the more beautiful and desirable she is considered to be.

Honey is another important food item collected from the forest. They use special kinds of, medicine on their fingers and hands which repel the bees and they are unable to sting the Shompen. They very early in the morning put their hands on the honey combs and extract it out. For their personal use they do not separate the honey from the combs and eat the entire comb. But when they have to supply the honey to the Nicobarese they remove honey from the comb. The honey is filled in bottles supplied to them by the Nicobarese for this purpose. They also find bottles lying on the sea beach brought there by the sea waves from far off areas..

As the Shompen inhabit the interior of the island, they do not come for fishing to the coastal areas or in the sea. The interior of the island is full of innumerable streams and rivulets where the Shompen go for fishing. The common method of catching fish is either by hand or by means of wooden spears. The Shompen go into waist-deep water of the stream and cautiously watch in readiness for the prey. As soon as the fish is sighted they shoot the spear at it. Sometimes the Shompen wait for hours standing in the waist deep water. The Shompen are very expert marksmen and seldom miss their marks. They also hunt the small crocodiles in the rivers. When the crocodile is sighted in the sandy soil by the side of the river they shoot it by spear. Sometimes many men shoot the same crocodile at one time. The Shompen eat crocodiles after boiling. It is then skinned out and the soft flesh is eaten.

The Shompen also erect small dams across the streams and catch the fish by hand. The dam is constructed with wood and bamboos and-also with earth across the shallow streams. Fish, in their attempt to swim forwards are checked by the dam and are automatically directed into the trap. They are pushed forward by the flow of the water and are caught and collected by the men who are on

watch there. Small prawns are also caught by hand in the shallow river by the help of knife. Sighted prawns are hit by the knife. The Shompen of both sex and all ages take part in fishing.

Hunting does not constitute a regular work among the Shompen. It is only done when they actually see any pig and monkey wandering in the forest. The wild pigs are important animals for hunting. If the wild pig is not badly hurt the Shompen keep it as domesticated animal. The wild pigs are hunted by means of spears and with the help of dogs. The dogs on perceiving any wild pig chase it with all their might and catch it by mouth till the Shompen spear it. Sometimes they hunt the pigs without any help of dogs. When any pig is sighted they throw their single blade spear on it as they are very expert marksmen.

They also hunt with the help of medicines. The medicinal plants of Hutton, olaon, Aantak and Arkoik are used for this purpose. When they see a pig or pigs they spread these plants around them, particularly in the direction in which the pigs might escape. The effect of the smell of these plants is somewhat intoxicating to the pigs as they are unable to run after smelling it. At this stage the hunter either catches or kills the pig. The snakes, reptiles and all type of birds are also hunted by them. The snakes and reptiles are hunted by the knife and spears. Monkeys and birds are hunted by means of spears. When they are seen at a distance the spear is thrown at them. Monkeys are not hunted in the dry season as they believe that there will be no fat in their body.

The organization of the hunting time does not follow any rigid pattern. Any man may take initiative and send message to all the Shompen of the settlement that a particular pig was sighted in that area. There is no recognized leader for hunting. Everyone knows his job and works in a team spirit. Their tools for hunting are very limited. Only the spear and knife are used. The knife is used mostly to kill when the game is small, or is caught by dogs. Generally only men take part in hunting although sometimes women too go for hunting. Aged persons do not go but they

help in cutting the hunted animals. At first the hunted pig is roasted and after that cut into strips. The strips are then grilled over the fire and eaten.

The Social System

The family is the primary, the basic and the minimum egocentric unit of the Shompen social system being composed of husband, wife and unmarried children. As soon as the son marries, he sets up a separate house hold entirely independent of his parents. In a few cases he may continue to co-operate with the parent's family in the pursuit of economic activities. But maintenance of common kitchen is rare even in such cases.

There is complete lack of clan organization and kinship is reckoned through lineage in father's line. The descent is unilineal; the genealogical relationship through mother's line is given much less social importance and sometimes completely ignored. Each band or settlement of the Shompen mostly consists of persons of the same kin group. Although living in different huts and maintaining separate kitchens they are, and recognise being, the member of the same larger family.

In a family a husband has always a primary say in the family matters, and the commands a superior position and his wife or wives are always subordinate to him. Nevertheless, the relationship between the husband and wife is like partners, cooperating with each other in all the social, economic and domestic matters. Usually, his wife obeys him in all the matters. The wives of a man are also very cooperative to each other. They help each other in every step of their works. During illness of one wife another one take care of her. The relationship between the husband and wife can be observed in terms of ritualistic roles. When a wife is pregnant she is having some taboos, which are also shared by her husband. The hunting and fishing and many other works are also not permitted to him. Perhaps this sharing of taboos by the husband with the wife brings about some emotional attachment.

Kinship

Because of their reliance on cooperation with other for survival people everywhere are

organised into groups. For all humans the first and most important group is founded on kinship. The kin groups are based primarily on the combined criteria of consanguinity and affinity.

The unilineal descent group composed of all these consanguineous kin to whom one can trace actual genealogical relationship is called the lineage. The lineage for all practical purposes is the basis of reckoning the kinship. Lineage is a permanent framework of Shompen social system and constitutes of units. Every person in the lineage is a close collaborator in various economic, social and religious functions. They help each other on every matter of joy or bereavement. The lineage members get first priority in all invitations. Among the Shompen the lineage plays an added importance because normally the members of a settlement are all related to each other by consanguinity or affinity. Thus the kinship structure is coterminous with the structure of the settlement.

Joking and Avoidance relationship

The Shompen have very elaborate and open custom of joking with each other. Their whole life depends on nature. There is no kind of artificial instrument for recreation among them, for which joking relationships are developed. In other societies there are some limitations for joking with the family members. But among the Shompen there is no such limitation. The joking is only prohibited with father and mother.

In the Shompen society jokes are made mostly with the opposite sex. Their jokes are mostly concerned with sexual matters. There is no avoidance between the brother and sister. There is no distinction between the elder brother's wife or wives and younger brother's wife or wives. The elder brother jokes with the younger brother's wives and vice-versa. His sisters have also mutual joking relations with the wives of their elder and younger brothers. The elder and younger sisters of the wives are also related with the husband by mutual joking. Sometimes the husbands marry two sisters at a time. The joking relationship of the above sometimes leads them to commit pre- or extra-marital relationship. The children of 13 and above talk of sex matters with the young men

and women.

The old persons are also engaged in talking of sexual matters with the young girls and women but restricted to have sexual relations with their own relatives. The grandparents and grandchildren are allowed to talk anything but they do not commit adultery. The joke between the grand parent and grandchildren are full of affections. The young men and women of the family use uncommon words to call themselves. The parents-in-law always crack jokes but are full of affection. The brother and sisters in-laws also can talk anything. The whole family assumes romantic environment by joking to each other.

On the other hand avoidance relationship is also prevalent among them. The father, his brothers and their wives are regarded as respectable persons. They do not cut any jokes before them.

The culture of the Shompen pivots around the forest. Every moment of their life and every aspect of their culture is conditioned, determined and regulated by nature. They are born, spend their entire life, and ultimately die, in the lap of nature. Every dimension in their society and culture reflects the dependence on nature. In other words the nature-man relationship is so strong and the two so interdependent that the existence of man simply cannot be thought of in the absence of nature.

Nature not only determines what they will eat, but how and when they will eat as well. Being on the stage in which the entire humanity on the earth once found itself in (in fact for the ninety nine percent of human history), the Shompen have to depend on nature for food collection. Unlike a great majority of other humans they have not developed into the next stage of food production. It is not surprising, therefore, that they get what they can find and what they wish. Whether they wish anything else is also debatable because their whole thought pattern itself is governed by nature as we shall see later on.

In keeping with the ways of the people in the similar level of cultural integration, the Shompen also depend entirely on forest for hunting and food-gathering. Again, what they

can hunt and what they can forage is limited by what the nature provides. We have seen that despite the luxuriant forest, the habitat of the Shompen does not contain any big animals. The island of great Nicobar does not contain game bigger than monkeys and pigs. Being the hunters of smaller game like pig, monkey, birds and crocodile, they have neither projectile weapons like bow and arrow nor heavy ones like spear. The fishing also is carried out in the shallow water of island streams and small rivers which does not require large scale trapping techniques. Moreover, their knowledge of the forest and its varying flora has helped them to substitute technology by various kinds of herbal concoctions in their hunting and fishing operations. The use of these medicines, as they call it, is further strengthened by the invocation of spirits and the spiritual power into medicines. These are supposed to be sleep-inducing with divine sanction. It is yet another example of how deeply they depend on nature by playing one natural force "against another. In fact their whole life is invested in the constant interplay of the complex natural forces..

Hunting and gathering food economy, by its very nature demands a human group that must have three basic characteristics. They must be small, mobile, and flexible. The Shompen also have these characteristics. The smallness refers to the size of the group. Since the total food supply is beyond the control of man, the size of the group must be small, so that whatever nature can provide may be equally appropriated. Since the food supply is never large the size of the group has to remain small.

Associated with the factor of food is the second characteristic related to mobility. When the animals and other floral food supply in a given area are exhausted, which they must necessarily be after a few months of constant hunting and foraging, the Shompen have to move to other places where the fruits and the animals are available in plenty. After sometime the food supply of that place will also be exhausted forcing the people to move again. Thus the Shompen like all hunter- gatherers have to be constantly on the move.

The third characteristic, the flexibility, is also

related to the first two. Since the size of the group must remain small and since the group must be on the move, the structure of the group, particularly the persons who compose it is highly flexible. People often drop out of one group and join another. This is facilitated by the fact that they have no property, have no investment other than their labour, and no individual territory ownership.

The mobility of the Shompen is one major cause which explains the lack of permanent house building. Since they have to leave the place in a few months they neither need nor can they afford to build durable and sturdy homes. Since the territory they move around the belongs to the community as a whole and the food is available on the land rather than from it, the land itself has no economic value.

The uncertainty of food supply places a premium upon obligatory cooperation among the number of band. There is sharing of food among the Shompen as also other hunter gatherers. If a person is able to kill an animal he shares the meat with the other members. Since the group is never sure when, where, and how much animal will be available in the future. The sharing of meat serves as a distribution mechanism for an uncertain and unpredictable food source. If one person is able to kill a pig or a monkey or a crocodile he shall share with the others because the next time he may not be able to do so. But the person or persons may be able to kill then the first person will expect a share of the meat. This cooperation operates normally on band level.

Such cooperation, however, is limited for the most part to hunted animals and does not extend to gathered roots and plants. Women normally gather in group but each woman brings the food thus collected back to her own household. This may be explained by the fact that where food-gathering plays an important part in the economy; the supply of wild plants is somewhat more dependable than the supply of animals. As a result, there is less need to share.

As in other hunter gatherers society there is no specialization of labour among the Shompen. There are no full time specialists like priests

and artisans. Every person's labour is under his own control. No one can tell another what to do or not to do. Whatever division of labour is there is based upon sex, men generally doing the hunting, shelter-building and other heavy works and the women doing the gathering, child-rearing and other domestic tasks. There is a further differentiation of labour on the basis of age within each sex. On the whole, the elderly persons, the adults and children of various ages perform different but complementary jobs.

The social life of the Shompen is also directly related with their techno-economic arrangement and their ecology. The lack of sedentary life means that there will be no permanent settlement or village, and with no permanent housing. The investment either in land or in houses is totally absent making them free to abandon them whenever the need arises.

The basic ideological frame work upon which the group is built is kinship. Almost anyone can drop out of one group and join another. This movement into another group is supported by invoking kinship relationship with a person already a member of that group. Kinship provides an obvious means of ordering social relations, and thereby of social structure. Here the kinship is not only used as a means of regulating social behaviour but is also a primary structuring. Principle the advantages of social organization on the basis of kinship is that it formalises and extends patterns of sharing and cooperation. It makes possible a more versatile and complex, thus more efficient, attack on problems of basic human needs than is possible among other infra human primate groups. The institution of kinship is then a major way of interacting with the physical environment and hence a cultural concept that makes the society of man distinctly different from other primates.

The family is essentially nuclear, with husband, wife and unmarried children forming it. But polygyny, that is, the marriage of one man to more than one wife at the same time is frequently observed, giving rise to polygynous residential kin group. This preference for polygyny may be correlated with the importance of women's role in subsistence activities.

When the woman produces surplus men try to collect them and they do so because the status of women is kept subordinate to that of man. Although jealousy is a problem in polygynous families we have seen that among the Shompen this is not such a big problem. The tradition requires that man should distribute his attentions, sexual and otherwise, equally among all his wives, thus the chances of jealousy are reduced. This creates a situation where the wives can provide one another with agreeable companionship and assistance and support in performance of their house hold task and other work.

The division of Shompen into four groups on territorial basis is an indication as to how a hunter society divides up the productive resources to the maximum possible benefit. There is no evidence that they originally belonged to different social background. This division provides every group the chance to maximize the economic returns from an uncertain food supply. This is also one of the factors why there is no social stratification.

Conclusion

We see, thus, that the life of Shompen is very much dependent on, or very much a part of, nature. Every social, economic, political and religious aspect of life is inter-connected, interdependent, interwoven with each other within the uniting framework of natural environment, so much so; that at times it becomes difficult to differentiate the man from the nature.

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Learning Disability and Assessment Tools: Review Article

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Abstract

Learning Disability (LD) is not a single disorder but includes seven specific areas of listening, speaking, basic reading, reading comprehension, written expression, mathematics calculation and mathematical reasoning. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) defines LD as "Specific Learning Disability" (SLD) meaning a disorder in which one or more basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using spoken or written language. SLDs are dyslexia, dysgraphia, dyscalculia and non-verbal learning disability (NVLD). LDs are developmental and neurological conditions, chronic and irreversible, limiting one's success in life. Dyslexia (reading disability) is the most frequently occurring disability. A comprehensive assessment is needed to diagnose LD. Six popular assessment approaches to LD are: Norm-referenced tests, Criterion-referenced tests, Curriculum-based Assessments (CBAs), Portfolio Assessment and Informal assessment. Strategies that are used for the management of LD include Effective Reading Comprehension Instructions; Improving Students' Comprehension of Narrative text; Providing Exemplary Writing Instruction; Tailoring Writing Instruction to meet the needs of struggling writers; Explicitly and Systematically Teaching Strategies for Planning and Revising Text; Self-Regulated Strategy Development and Stages of Instruction; Explicit and Systematic Basic Writing Skills for Text Production; Working to Increase student's motivation and technological tools for writing. Many such strategies are employed for computational skills and social skills training.

Keywords : disability, disorder, student, motivation

Introduction

Learning Disability is not a single disorder, but includes disabilities in any of the following seven specific areas: (1) receptive language (listening), (2) expressive language (speaking), (3) basic reading skills, (4) reading comprehension, (5) written expression, (6) mathematics calculation, and (7) mathematical reasoning. They frequently co-occur with one another and with social skill deficits and emotional or behavioral disorders (Rourk & Fuerst, 1991; Hinshaw, 1992). LD is not synonymous with reading disability (dyslexia), although it is frequently misinterpreted as such. However, most of the available information concerning learning disabilities relates to reading disabilities, and the majority of children with LD, have their primary deficits in reading (Lyon, 1989, 1995). Learning involves four stages of information processing. People with learning disabilities have trouble with one or more of these steps.

- ♦ input: the brain takes in and records information relayed by the senses
- ♦ integration: the brain interprets the information
- ♦ memory: the brain stores the information in a way that it can be retrieved later
- ♦ output: the learner reproduces the information through language or motor activity.

What is Learning Disability?

Learning disabilities fall within the class of neurological issues called developmental disabilities, in that they are chronic, they limit success in one or more major life areas and they cannot be reversed by medication. International Classification on Diseases-10 (ICD-10) defines LD as Specific Developmental Disorders of Scholastic Skills (SDDSS) disorders, in which the normal patterns of skill acquisition are disturbed from the early stages of development. They are not simply a

consequence of a lack of opportunities to learn, nor are they due to any form of acquired brain trauma or disease. Rather, the disorders are thought to stem from abnormalities in cognitive processing that derive largely from some type of biological dysfunctions.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) defines LD as "Specific Learning Disability" meaning a disorder in one or more basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using spoken or written language, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations. The term includes such conditions as perceptual disabilities, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia. The term does not apply to children who have learning problems that are primarily the result of visual, hearing, or motor disabilities, of mental retardation, of emotional disturbance, of environmental, cultural, or economic disadvantages. An important part of this definition of LD is its exclusions: learning disabilities cannot be attributed primarily to mental retardation, emotional disturbance, cultural difference, or disadvantages. Thus, the concept of LD focuses on the notion of a discrepancy between a child's academic achievement and his or her apparent capacity to learn (Lyon 1996).

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

Specific Learning Disabilities

a. Specific Reading Disorder (Dyslexia)

Dyslexia is believed to be a neurological language processing disorder that affects a student's ability to process written and spoken information. The main feature of this disorder is a specific and significant impairment in the development of reading skills. Reading comprehension skill, reading word-recognition, oral reading skills, and performance of tasks requiring reading may all be affected. Spelling

difficulties are often associated with reading disability and often remain into adolescents.

b. Specific Spelling Disorder (Dysgraphia)

It generally refers to extremely poor handwriting. Typically, children who display LD in written expression have difficulties in spelling, formulation and expression of ideas, handwriting, and knowledge of grammar and syntax. The main feature of this disorder is a specific and significant impairment in the development of spelling skills in the absence of a history of specific reading disorder, which is not solely accounted for by low mental age, visual acuity problems, or inadequate schooling. The ability to spell orally and write out correctly is affected. Although pure spelling disorder differs from reading disorders associated with spelling difficulties (International Classification of Diseases -10). Students with dysgraphia often have sequencing problems.

c. Specific Disorder of Arithmetic Skills (Dyscalculia)

Children identified as manifesting LD in mathematics can demonstrate deficits in Arithmetic calculation, mathematics reasoning, or both. In general, authorities agree that approximately 6% of the school population have difficulties in mathematics that cannot be attributed to low intelligence, sensory deficits, or economic deprivation (Fleishner, 1994; Norman, 1980). While the data are sparse at this time, it appears that deficits in arithmetic calculation skills are more frequently identified than deficits in arithmetic reasoning. However, common sense would suggest that attempts to reason mathematically would be constrained by limitations in calculation skills. Unfortunately, a major difficulty in identifying math learning disabilities accurately is that, like learning to read, learning mathematics concepts is dependent upon the teacher's knowledge of the concepts and ability to present them (Lyon, 1996).

d. Non-verbal Learning Disability (NVLD)

A child with nonverbal learning disabilities (NVLD) syndrome manifests well developed vocabulary and language skills in the early elementary grades. Three categories of dysfunction present themselves in NVLD: (1) motoric (lack of coordination, severe balance

problems and/or difficulties with fine grapho-motor skills), (2) visual-spatial-organizational (lack of image, poor visual recall, faulty spatial perceptions, and/or difficulties with spatial relations), and (3) social (lack of ability to comprehend nonverbal communication, difficulties adjusting to transitions and novel situations, and/or significant deficits in social judgment and social interaction). She/he "talks her way through," unable to "look and learn." and has no idea of personal "space"; does not perceive subtle cues in his environment and the facial expressions of others. Nonverbal learning disorders also called "right-hemisphere learning disorders". It appears to be the reverse syndrome of dyslexia (Myklebust, 1975).

Tools Used for the Assessment of LD : A Comprehensive Assessment Is recommended to diagnose LD (Bender, 2004; Cohen & Spenciner, 2003; Flanagan et al., 2003; Hunt & Marshall, 2002; Pierangelo & Giuliani, 2002). According to Pierangelo & Giuliani (2002) a comprehensive assessment of students with LD would include many of the following aspects: individual psychological evaluation, thorough academic history, a. physical examination, classroom observation, appropriate educational evaluation, functional behavioral assessment, bilingual assessment for students with limited English proficiency, auditory and visual discrimination tests, classroom performance, speech and language evaluation, student's type and rate of learning, examining school records, skills not mastered and collecting teacher's attitude towards students with disability.

There are six popular assessment approaches to collect the above said information: 1. Norm-referenced tests (Pierangelo & Giuliani, 2002) 2. Criterion-referenced tests (Heward, 2003). 3. Curriculum-based assessments (CBAs) or curriculum-based measurements (CBMs) (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1997). 4. Portfolio Assessment. Portfolio assessment involves the analysis of a student's file (portfolio) or academic work over a period of time. 5. Authentic Assessment (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1997) or performance-based assessment (Pierangelo & Giuliani, 2002; Herman et al., 1992; Cushman, 1990). 6.

Ecological or informal assessment. Many professionals are involved in the diagnosis of LD. Each has a different role. They are Clinical Psychologist, School Psychologist, Educational Psychologist, Neuropsychologist, Psychometrist, Educational Specialist, School Counselor, Vocational Counselor, Social Worker, Speech and Language Specialist, Occupational Therapist, Psychiatrist and General Physician.

a. Pre-Academic Skills Assessment

Pre-academic assessment data can delineate deficit behaviors that may interfere with the learning of a particular academic skill. Frequently used pre-academic devices include the following: AGS Early Screening Profiles (Harrison et al., 1990), Ages and Stages Questionnaire (ASQ) (Bricker & Squires, 1999), The Batelle Developmental Inventory (BDI) (Newborg et al., 1984), Denver Developmental Screening Test II (DDST-II) (Frankenburg et al., 1990), Developmental Indicators for the Assessment of Learning-Third Edition (DIAL-3) (Mardell-Czudnowski & Goldenberg, 1998), Early Screening Inventory-Revised (ESI-R) (Meisels et al., 1997), Kindergarten Readiness Test (KRT) (Larsen & Vitali, 1988), The Preschool Evaluation Scales (PES) (McCarney, 1992) and FirstSTeP™: Screening Test for Evaluating Preschoolers (Miller, 1992). The Dial-3 (Mardell - Czudnowski & Goldenberg, 1998) is a very popular screening device that has evidence of good validity and test-retest reliability, and adequate internal consistency. Information on pre-academic screening devices may result in a referral for a more comprehensive pre-academic screening. Such an assessment would include the administration of more detailed norm-referenced or criterion-referenced tests.

The following are a list of popular comprehensive pre-academic assessment devices: Assessment Evaluation and Programming System (AEPS) for Infants and Young Children (Bricker & Pretti-Frontczak, 1996); Bayley Scales of Infant Development II (BSID-II) (Bayley, 1993); Boehm Test of Basic Concepts, Third Edition-Preschool (Boehm-3 PS) (Boehm, 2000); Bracken Basic Concept Scale-Revised (BBCS-R) (Bracken, 1998);

Brigance Inventory of Early Development-Revised (BIED-R) (Brigance, 1991); Developmental Assessment of Young Children (DAYC) (Voress & Maddox, 1998); Kaufman Survey of Early Academic Language Skills (K-SEALS) (Kaufman & Kaufman, 1993); Mullen Scales of Early Language (MSEL) (Mullen, 1995); and the McCarthy Scales of Children's Abilities (MSC-A) (McCarthy, 1972). The Bracken Basic Concept Scales-Revised (Bracken, 1998) is a popular norm-referenced pre-academic device. "The manual reports solid content, concurrent and predictive validity. The test items are multiple choices. A student is shown four monochrome pictures and asked to identify the picture that depicts a particular concept" (Pierangelo & Giulianai, 2002).

b. Cognitive Assessment

The following are frequently used devices that can be used to collect cognitive assessment data: Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-IV (WISC-IV), the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Fourth Edition (SBIS-4) (Thorndike et al., 1986); Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children (K-ABC) (Kaufman & Kaufman, 2004a, b); and the Woodcock-Johnson Tests of Cognitive Ability (WJIII) (Kaufman & Kaufman, 2004a, b);. Data from these tests provide the assessor a current level of the student's intellectual ability. The most widely use device for assessing the cognitive functioning level of students with LD is the WISC, which is now in its fourth edition. If Arithmetic, Coding, Information, and Digit Span (ACID) composite subtest score was depressed by one standard deviation, Wechsler concluded that "The results suggest that when the ACID profile is present, the possibility of a learning disorder should be further investigated. However when the ACID is absent, a learning disability cannot be ruled out."

Rotatori & Mauser (1980) indicated that academic assessment assists educators in: "(1) pinpointing deficit academic readiness skills; (2) describing a student's overall academic skill performance level; (3) identifying deficit academic skills; (4) delineating the steps of a learning task that a student has mastered; and (5) establishing

short-and-long range academic curriculum objectives in such areas as reading, spelling, and math." Typically, these devices cover academic readiness areas in reading, language and math. The following are commonly administered devices that can elicit this information: The Metropolitan Readiness Tests-6th Edition (MRT-6) (Nurss, 1995); Tests of Basic Experience 2 (TOBE-2) (Moss, 1979); Test of Early Reading Ability-Third Edition (TERA-3) (Reid et al., 2001); The Test of Early Mathematics Ability-Third Edition (TEMA- 3) (Ginsburg & Barody, 2003); and the Basic School Skills Inventory-Third Edition (BSSI-3) (Hammill et al., 1998). In general, these devices can be broken down into single skill and multiple-skill batteries that are individually administered. Typically, multiple-skilled achievement tests cover the following areas: reading, spelling, mathematics and writing. In contrast single skilled tests cover only one area (Salvia & Ysseldyke, 1998).

LD Assessment Tools from India : On reviewing the details on the various tests compiled by the National Test Development Library of NCERT, it is seen that there have been a few tests in India. BM Institute of Mental Health, Ahamadabad, has reported unpublished tests in related areas including Copying Designs Test of Children, Reading Test for Children (Gujarati) and Arithmetic Test for children. However, these tests have been standardized on small samples and are not published. Organizations working for children with learning disabilities in India including Madras Dyslexia Association-Alpha to Omega, Educare and Department of Special Education in SNDT Women's University have developed tests for assessment. Arithmetic diagnostic test for primary school children (Rama, 1990) is specifically for assessing arithmetic ability. Reading test in Kannada by the same author is in use in Kannada. To assess what a student is actually learning and what is expected to learn given his or her grade and capacity, Grade Level Assessment Device (GLAD) has been developed by NIMH (Narayan, 1997). Another tool available for the assessment of LD is NIMHANS Index for Specific Learning Disability. This consists of Bender Gestalt, Minnesota Percepto-Diagnostic Test, Tests of

Reading, Writing, Comprehension, Spelling and tests of Arithmetic. Kapur et al., (1992) compiled the following tests into a battery and named it NIMHANS index for Specific Learning Disability: the following tests are: a. attention test (Digit Span) b. Language test (reading, writing, spelling and comprehension) c. Arithmetic (addition, division and simple fraction) d. Visuo-motor skill e. memory (auditory and visual).

Conclusion

For most, learning disorders persist throughout life. The child with LD becomes the adolescent with learning disabilities and the adult with learning disabilities. Thus, the clinical interventions change with each developmental stage. Services might be needed in college, graduate and professional schools as well as vocational and job training programs. Most individuals can overcome or learn to compensate for their disabilities with early recognition and appropriate special education intervention. Additional strategies might be learned and mastered at each stage of education, as well as for the demands of work. The outcome can be poor without recognition or treatment. These adolescents experience frustration and failure, resulting in a poor self-image and low self-esteem. They are at disadvantage for emotional and behavioral problems. Early interventions are the best preventions for these serious problems.

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Pollution: Steps Taken For Environmental Friendly Mining of Coal

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Abstract

Nature has been exploited often mercilessly for the increasing needs of the industry and urbanization. The coal industry which started in the early 19th century in India rendered the coal belts, mostly river valleys once rich with their exquisite flora and fauna into barren landscapes with ever deteriorating ecological balance. The mining and the allied industries have been blamed for the traditional environment pollution activities, however all out efforts are now under way for adequate corrective and preventive steps to counter the loss and improve the environment based on the directives of the Department of Environment, Government of India. Coal India limited, emphasizes that no project will be undertaken without considering the implications of a possible environmental pollution. Through this paper it has been tried to throw/light on the nature of pollutions being added to the environment because of coal mining activities, its impact and the measures undertaken by the coal mining sector to address the task of creating a better environment.

Keywords : environment, particulate matter, land degradation, ecological balance

Introduction

Industrialization and urbanization are the two major causes of air quality deterioration. Coal is extracted by open cast and underground mining methods. However opencast mines are more susceptible to dust pollution than underground mines, due to various activities extended over a large area directly on the earth surface. Hauling activities and transport roads are the main generating source of particulate matter¹. The major air pollutants produced by open pit mining are suspended particulate matter (SPM) and respirable particulate matter (RPM)² The term particulate is employed to describe the dispersion of air borne solid and liquid particles larger than 500 micron. These particles have a varying lifetime in suspended state in air. They could stay in air from a few-seconds to several months. The suspended particulate matter is the major cause of air quality deterioration in and around mining zones causing great concern to environment planners. It is estimated that 80.2% of total dust emission from mines is from haul and transport roads. Screening plant is next larger source of dust emission which contributes

8.1% of dust while 2.8% is released from overburden removal. Top soil handling releases 2.6% of total dust followed by coal extraction (2.2%) drilling and blasting (1.3%), coal handling or stock pile (1.1%) of dust and 1.7% is from miscellaneous work³. Transported materials fall on road surface during plying / running of dumpers / trucks due to overloading and jerking. Falling coal chunks get crushed due to regular movements of heavy earth moving machinery. Finally it results in accumulation of huge amount of dust on road surface. Deposition of dust emitted in atmosphere due to various mining activities like drilling, loading, dumping, exhaust, crushing, screening, belt transportation system etc also pollute the environment.

Due to rapid and heavy mechanization of the mining industry the noise problem is assuming serious proportions. It is generally accepted that if the level of noise for a continuous 8 hours exposure exceeds 90 db (A), it is unsafe. Survey conducted by CMRS, Dhanbad has revealed that presently the specified level of 90 db (A) is often exceeded

in diverse areas of the mining industry and the problem has been aggravated by introduction of higher capacity machines. The tables given below indicate typical noise environments in underground and open cast coal mines.

Table : Noise environment in a typical underground colliery

Operation	location	noise level in dB		
		A	B	C
Face Chain Conveyor	Near workers	82	86	88
Shearing operation	Do	100	96	98
Dosco road Header (in operation)	Do	90	88	86
Auxiliary fan	Do	100	102	104
Main fan	Do	90	92	94
Loading point	Do	92	94	95
Surface haulage	Do	94	96	96

Table : Noise Environment in Atypical Opencast Mine

Operation	location	noise level in dB		
		A	B	C
BEML Scraper	Driver's seat	100	104	107
	Near the Machine	103	106	107
Ingersoll-Rand Drill Master	Operator's Cabin			
	(a) door opened	95	100	103
	(b) door closed	98	102	104
		90	94	98
	Near the drill-road	100	102	103
Terex dumper	Near the engine			
	ride Driver's cabin Around the machine	95	100	104
		102	103	104

The growing emphasis on open cast mining poses the problem of land degradation. The

average stripping ratio is 1:5 in respect of the coal deposits planned to be worked by opencast method. It implies that in the present century when the coal production from opencast mines goes up to 230 million tones, 1150 million cubic meters of overburden will have to be handled every year from coal mines. This might lead to serious problems in respect of solid waste disposal and reclamation of the mining area, if not planned properly. Moreover a large number of opencast projects are in the forest areas, which means, the already dwindling forest reserves of India has to be further cleared up. In our country the forest covers only 22% of the total land against the national goal of 33% due to the accelerated pace of industrialization.

Materials and Methods

Regarding the subject matter of the article various books of scholars and research scholars have been consulted. The reports on pollution and pollution control present in various libraries, like the CMPDI library Ranchi, Darbhanga, house library Ranchi, ISM library Dhanbad, Koyla Bhavan library Dhanbad, were consulted as original source. The different volumes of 'Minetech' published by CMPDI Ranchi and 'Coal Insights' published from CIL (coal India limited) Calcutta were consulted as secondary sources of information. Some of the information has also been drawn from the website and extreme care has been taken to be objective in approach.

Results and Discussions

Coal mining industry is undoubtedly a major source of pollution. However considering its economic viability, the mining activities can never be shut down. Moreover as per various reports, the coal industry is making efforts at every stage to minimize the effect of pollution. When coal projects are planned a detailed environment impact assessment (EIA) study is conducted and there after an environment management plan (EMP) for the project is prepared to mitigate the possible adverse impact of mining and incorporate the corrective actions that can be taken. This EIA/EMP is submitted to the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MOEF) for obtaining the environmental clearance (EC). Several pollution mitigation

measures are mentioned in the approved EMP. Some more measures are added by Ministry of Environmental and Forests in the Environmental clearance report. These measures are implemented in different phases of coal production or in a regular manner. Periodical compliance reports are sent to the MOEF on a half- yearly basis. Besides MOEF, the state pollution control boards also carry out periodical monitoring to ascertain the correct implementation of the environmental pollution mitigation measures⁵.

Table
CIL spending on environment

Name of subsidiary	<i>Rs. in lakh</i>	
	2009-10	2010-11 (anticipated)
ECL	465.50	466.84
BCCL	438.00	93.00
CCL	675.75	626.14
NCL	790.26	849.00
SECL	2416.00	5735.00
WCL	1498.29	3104.89
MCL	4374.00	3503.00
NEC	51.70	130.35
Total	10709.50	14508.22

Dust control or the suspended particulate matter (SPM) control is the biggest challenge before the mining sector. Generation and emission of coal dust leads to several problems. Coal dust leads to environmental disturbance, including threats to human health, vegetation growth and aesthetic look⁷. Dust particles act as centers of catalyst for many chemical reactions taking place in the atmosphere⁸. Presence of excessive dust in workplace may cause unpleasant deposits in eyes and nasal passages, injury to skin and mucous membrane by chemical or mechanical actions, and reduce visibility. From an occupational health point of view it has been recognized that workers employed in dusty area such as coal mining were more prone to suffer from respiratory diseases compared with employees in other dust free environment.⁹ excessive coal dust emission leads to various

health hazards, like pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumoconiosis, chronic bronchitis, eosiniphilia, silicosis, emphysema and other respiratory diseases¹⁰. Dust size of more than 5 um is trapped in upper part of respiratory track and has fatal consequence.¹¹ "Therefore, controlling of dust in coal mining areas is essential. At present various methods are adapted in opencast coal mines to control air pollution in and around mining areas.

Water spraying on transport road surface using water tankers is the most common means of reducing dustiness in mining areas. It is easily available and generally applied by spraying over road surface. Sea water is generally more effective than simple water due to presence of salts (chiefly magnesium chloride). Under humid condition the salt absorbs and holds moisture to keep the road surface damp for longer time than freshwater¹².

However spraying water is not a very efficient method for controlling dust as water is scarce commodity in many mines, particularly in dry summer season when its requirement is more. Water has to be sprayed in moderate quantity only as too little water will help to raise more dust and too much of it leads to muddy surface. Due to high surface tension water is not a good wetting agent. It is not cost effective. After some time water dries up on road surface, which again becomes dusty. Another effective method, adopted by coal mining companies to minimize dust pollution is sweeping the paved roads. Several types of street sweepers are currently employed by the mining sector like mechanical brooms, vacuum cleaners, or a combination of two. Mechanical street sweepers are used on a continuous basis. However in dry condition, sweeping equipment can create some minor localized dust emission. Truck mounted road sweeping machine have been developed to suit the high dust load on the Indian roads as well as to deal with high temperature and wind aggravated dust pollution in the summer, we^amer. Wetting agents and polymer binders are sometimes added to water sprayed for dust suppression. They reduce the surface tension of water thereby increasing the wetting of dust particles. Thus both the application frequency

and quantity of water required is reduced. By using surfactant, respirable dust is reduced by 27% and total air borne dust by 36%.¹³ Some of the commonly used chemicals and dust suppression products used in Indian mines are:

- 1) Chloride derivatives, eg. Aqueous solution of CaCl_2 , MgCl_2 , hydrated lime, sodium silicate, Jalshakti, a hygroscopic salt product etc.
- 2) Lignin derivatives eg. Dustex, DT-350, Z-110.Z-115.
- 3) Polymer emulsion products eg. P100, SD54.SDS-2, ILSP-1000c, HAUL PRO
- 4) Tar-and bitumen emulsion product eg. Dust-lock.

The central institute of mining and fuel research (CIMFR) has developed a "road dust collecting and briquette system for coal mines" the system provides a mine road dust sweeping, sucking, filtering, collecting, slurry making, mixing and briquette system. Thus air pollution is minimized and coal briquettes are manufactured for economic utilization of waste coal dust abundantly available on road surface of coal mining areas. Use of this system would help in effectively collecting huge quantity of dust particles of less than 2mm size 'abundantly available especially on unpaved and uneven surface of coal mine roads. Thus this system would help in controlling air pollution and reducing health hazards. This would further help in the manufacturing of coal briquettes to be used as domestic fuel.

A new approach has been adopted by the mining sector in recent years to grow green plants in and around mining areas near urban localities to minimize ambient air pollution and noise pollution. A research project was taken up by Indian school of Mines, Dhanbad, to study the noise attenuation capacity of different types of plants / trees presently growing in mining areas and to classify them based on potentiality of noise attenuation capacity. The study indicated that it is possible to attenuate noise by developing a green belt of various thicknesses for different locations. A total of 10 plantation sites (four in Jharia coalfield, four in Ranigunj coalfield and two in Singareni coalfields) were considered for the

study and the results obtained are given in the table below.

Sl. No	Location	Observed Noise Level (leg DB (a))	Desirable Level of Noise	Desired Minimum Thickness of Green Belt.
1	Along road	70-80	65 (commercial area)	20
2	In colonies	55-65	55 (Residential area)	20
3	Near open cast mines	70-80	77	10 (industrial area)
5	Near CHPs	80-90	75	30
6	Near shafts	77-87	75	20
7	Near mine exhaust fan	85-92	75	7.5

Moreover proper maintenance of machine like oiling greasing, removal of worn out and broken parts of machines helps in bringing down the noise level considerably, thereby reducing the operator's exposure to noise.

Both opencast mining and underground mining leads to degradation of surrounding land. The land is non-renewable asset and its degradation has far reaching implications affecting the life of thousands of inhabitants living in the degraded land. In underground mining subsidence causes the major loss of land as in Jharia, Katrasgarh, Bastakola, Godhar, Dhansar and Bararee area of Dhanbad district. Subsidence leads to loss of land which otherwise would have been used for agriculture. Sometimes subsidence is fatal and leads to loss of life and property. The entire population of Jharia coalfield has been endangered due to evolution of gases from fissures and subsidence of land. Efforts are underway to shift the entire township to a safer place.

In the surface mining, the excavation and overburden dumps are the major causes of land degradation. There are some other causes of land degradation which are

associated with mining. Land may become less productive and therefore degraded due to deposit of coal dust and other suspended particulate matter. Surveys conducted show that when a mining project is developed generally 18-55 percent of agricultural land is degraded. The quantum of agricultural land involved increases when mining enters into relatively new areas. In a seminar held in Dhanbad in 1989 the data presented revealed that in Satgram area alone the number of cultivators decreased from 4103 in 1961 to 1753 in 1991, which means a decrease in cultivators of 2350 in a span of 30 years. The wide spread land loss and land degradation in the coalbelt has contributed to large scale migration of farmers and workers from agricultural occupation. Only about 3 percent of the workforce is employed in agriculture in the coalbelt whereas in non-mining areas more than 20 percent of the workforce is employed in agriculture. Most of the people becoming redundant in agriculture have not been accommodated either in coal industry or in other heavy industries in and around the coalbelt as all these industries are over staffed. Therefore it is very important that degraded land is reclaimed.

Reclamation of coal mine degraded land and over burden dumps using tree species has become an integral aspect of environmental management in any opencast coal mining project in India. Nearly all surface mining methods produce tremendous change in landscape because of formation of large overburden dumps and deep voids at the mining sites. This is a man-made habitat which gives rise to a variety of problems for establishing and maintaining vegetation over it. The adverse physico-chemical properties like higher level of rock fragments, low moisture content, and lack of nutrients limits the plant establishment and growth. The coal India limited has initiated methods to restore the foliage over dumps. The normal practice is to select drought resistant, fast growing trees, which can grow in such harsh landscape. It is an established fact that vesicular Arbuscular mycorrhiza (VAM) fungi plays an important role in establishment of

vegetation cover and initiation of nutrient cycling for the development of self sustaining ecosystem in OB dumps and other mine out areas¹⁵. Introduction of Mycorrhiza enhanced drought tolerance of plants and phosphorus availability. Which are the two main limiting factors for plant establishment. Accumulation and decomposition of plant litter is another important aspect which is important for the initiation of nutrient cycling for the establishment of a self-sustaining ecosystem in the afforested mine degraded lands. Trees like *Cassia seamea*, *Tectona grandis* showed maximum growth on the overburden dumps while highest decomposition of litter was found under bamboo plantation. Two reclaimed coal mine overburden (OB) dumps are located in Jharia coalfields. The dumps were reclaimed by afforestation without any topsoil amendment.

Conclusion

Pollution control is a major challenge for the coal mining sector. Dust pollution, noise pollution, land degradation etc. threaten our ecosystem. The coal India limited is experimenting with numerous methods to check pollution. Efforts made by the coal mining sector have already yielded positive results. After analyzing the satellite data of 2009, for 49 major opencast projects, it has been revealed that 79 percent of mining area has been reclaimed, out of which 52 percent of area has been re-vegetated where 27 percent is back-filled and only 21 percent is under active mining¹⁶.

CIL has planted around 73 million trees over an area of around 32,300 hectares, thereby increasing the green cover. This effort towards improvement of the environment through massive plantation has tremendously improved the climate of the coalfields.

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Health Economics in India : Prospects and Challenges

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Abstract

The last century witnessed rapid development of health care technology and health services availability around the world. However, it has severely raised the costs of health care. With the increasing expenditure on the delivery of health care and the conflicting objectives of meeting health care obligations and other socio-economic objectives such as education, industrial development, infrastructural changes, and so on, economics finds its way to suggest techniques of optimization and justify the allocation of scarce resources moving to the health care sector. In fulfilling the health care demand through the supply of effective and universal health care, a health economics researcher has to confront numerous challenges peculiar to the health care market. In a developing economy as India, there is a health system that continues to be unaccountable, disconnected to public health goals, inadequately equipped to address people's expectations and fails to provide financial risk protection to those unable to access care due to the inability to pay. The present article tries to find out the reasons for such failures of the policy framers of health to frame a proper health system and attempts to find feasible solutions to the problem of universal access to health care in the country.

Keywords : health planning, health challenges, health strategies

Introduction

The theory of economics is concerned with techniques of optimization. Theoretical economics provides the tools of rationalization that can be applied to numerous applied economic studies. Health economics is one such field of applied micro economics where the basic building blocks of economics, namely, demand, supply, market theories, cost and benefit analysis and other normative value judgment techniques are utilized to find the rational course of action by an individual and the society amidst the diversity of wants that need to be fulfilled and the scarce competing resources at the disposal of human beings. It is a branch of welfare economics dealing and discussing about the practical applicability of the theories of economics to the health sector.

Various economists have defined the term health economics. Where Somnath Hazra and Asis Pain¹ have defined health economics as a subject that focuses on the efficiency and effectiveness of resource allocation in the provisioning of health services to meet the health needs of people, Kenneth Lee and Anne Mills² are of the same opinion that health economics is a distinctive field of study where the apparatus of economic theory helps to solve the practical problems of effective health care. World Health Organization accepts

health economics as an economic tool to analyze and evaluate the health policies of a country. All the definitions clarify that health economics deals with the generation of good health and productivity through the production of health care and minimization of health care costs.

The discipline of health economics emerged in the developed countries of Europe and America in the 20th century. This century witnessed huge innovations in science and technology, in medications, vaccinations, sewage disposal, water treatment and food preservations that have helped reduce mortality and morbidity rates rapidly. But, it has raised the economic cost of being unhealthy, both in terms of the medical costs and the opportunity costs of the probable earned incomes lost. The price of using improved health care technology has caused inflationary tendencies. It has become clear that even the richest country of the world cannot afford to fulfill all health demands of the people. The situation is even graver in the underdeveloped and developing countries, including India. In India, although there have been developments in the field of health care, there are still about one million people, mostly women and children, who die each year due to inadequate healthcare facilities. About two-third of the

population do not have access to specialized health care and about 80% of the health specialists are concentrated only in the urban areas.³ India faces a shortage of trained medical personnel, including that of doctors, nurses and paramedical professionals that are needed to accelerate the growth of the healthcare industry. In order to meet the shortages and reach world standards, India would require investments of up to \$20 billion over the next 5 years. Present public health spending in India is a meager 1.2 percent of the GDP that needs to be raised to around 4% of GDP with the bulk of the increment being allocated for primary health care.⁴ Better policy regulations and the establishment of public-private partnerships need to be introduced as a possible solution to the health care problems.

Materials and Methods

In order to conduct the study, help of secondary sources of information has been taken. Different books, periodicals, journals and computer have been gone through to make a proper analysis of the facts.

Results and Discussions

Before independence, the Indian health care system was at the hands of the Britishers who did not have a clearly defined health policy for India. However, at the time of independence, three committee reports on health were readily available to the health planners, the Bhore committee report of 1943, Chopra Committee report of 1946 and Sokhey Committee Report of 1948. It is however interesting to note that India did not have an integrated national health policy of its own till 1983. The different policy recommendations, by the health committees set from time to time were acknowledged and adopted to be materialized through the different five year plans. The Indian policy framers adopted the Bhore committee proposals of a top-down health care system where the allopathic system of medicine was accepted as the only creditable system of health care. As such, the increasing demand for health care was to be fulfilled by increasing the supply of health care based on the western system of medicine. In due course of time, it was found that this doctor-centric western system of professional medicine rapidly raised

the costs of health care. By the late 1960s, it was understood that the health care system was unable to reach the rural areas of the country. Public health care system was faltering and private health care captured the market. A requirement for a populist model of health care based on primary health care development was thus envisaged. The Alma Ata Conference of 1978 further reiterated the need to develop the primary health care infrastructure. Being a participant of the conference, India introduced its first integrated national health policy in 1983 that recommended universal and comprehensive health care services to the people. After the policy was introduced, health care for the poor received special attention and a massive program of expansion of primary health care facilities was undertaken through infrastructural development.

However, PHCs remained grossly under-utilized because of poor facilities, inadequate supplies, poor managerial skill of doctors, faulty planning and lack of proper monitoring and evaluating mechanisms. Further, the policy favoured privatization of curative care and advocated user fee for availing health care. The successive five year plans and even the national health policy of 2002 continued on the same lines, emphasizing selective health care adopting the policy of Health For the Underprivileged rather than Health Care For All. In recent years, the government has targeted to restructure its policies to achieve faster, broad-based inclusive growth encompassing individual and social health. In order to reduce the inequalities of health between rural and urban areas, National Rural Health Mission, 2005 was launched to integrate the organizational structures, optimize health manpower, increase public expenditure on health, induce managerial and financial discipline in different health programmes and link health to its various determinants, namely, sanitation, clean drinking water, access to food and hygiene, etc. However, a recently released report of the Planning Commission's working group on NRHM showed that government has failed to meet several health goals set by the eleventh plan, including maternal mortality, infant mortality, provision of clean drinking water,

reduction of malnutrition, reduction of anaemia, and reduction of fertility rate in women, all of which reflect government's failure to attack poverty. We have begun the twelfth five year plan (2012-17) which has stressed on the accessibility and affordability of health care to the masses. The plan has to improve the effectiveness of government spending on health, improve the ability of the people to benefit from this public spending, design and plan ways to improve the delivery of health services in the private and public sector to reach the masses.

Analysis and Interpretation : From the above discussion, it can safely be concluded that Indian health care system is at crossroads. At the present stage of development, the health indicators have lagged behind the impressive economic progress evident over the past two decades. Despite the states attempting several innovations, the health system continues to be unaccountable, disconnected to public health goals, inadequately equipped to address people's expectations and fails to provide financial risk protection to those unable to access care for want of ability to pay.

Challenges to Health Economics : The economics of health care is facing warning tones. There is a need to seriously introspect and develop appropriate strategic tools to tackle the issue of rising costs on the one hand and failing targets on the other. The shortfall in the fulfillment of health targets are due to several factors that pose a serious challenge to Indian health care market. They include:

a) **Increase in Health Costs :** There has been an extensive increase in health care costs over the years. The post-reform period has further inflated the costs of health care to the extent that the poor are either unable to buy the health care produces or are further impoverished in doing so. According to the World Bank report, 2002, one big episode is enough to eat away a person's half of the life-time savings.

b) **Rapid Increase in Private Health Care:** Over the years, it has been found that private health care has aggressively increased in India to the extent that today private health care caters to 80% of the total health requirements of the country whereas public sector caters to

only 20% of the total health requirements of the country.

c) **Decreasing Role of Public Sector:** Another crucial factor to the health care market is the role of public sector. Over the years, the role of the public sector has been diluted by the government. At the time of independence, where the public health expenditure was about 1.6% of the GDP, it reduced to a 0.9% of GDP in 1991 and slightly increased to about 1.2% in 2011.5 Such a meager utilization of resources to health care shows the lack of seriousness of government action to the question of health care.

d) **Shift from Curative to Preventive Health Care:** Not only is the public health care meager in the country, there has been a continuous shift of approach of the public health facilities from curative to preventive care. Even the national health policy of 2002 emphasized the need to have government's focus on preventive health care and leave the curative medical segment to the private sector.

e) **Change in Epidemiological Factors:** There has been a gradual change in the epidemiological factors. Till the 1970s, where there was a prevalence of communicable diseases in the country, the 80s and after witnessed a rapid increase in non-communicable and chronic diseases along with the resurgence of several communicable diseases. Although there has been a gradual decline in some diseases such as polio, leprosy, kala azar and filaria, there has been a substantial increase in health diseases, diabetic disorders, psychological problems and HIV/AIDS. A disease stricken society is least expected to develop to its fullest capability. Illness due to the diseases caused in India causes loss of valuable labour-days of work as well as the economic loss of treatment, especially for the poor.

f) **Rural-urban inequalities of health:** There are widespread disparities in health facilities, health expenditure and health outcome between the rural and urban areas. Where the rural areas are facing the dearth of resources, the people in these areas are the worst affected by health related problems. Since public health facilities are not available in

remote areas and even if available, there is lack the accountability in treating the poor, the rural poor remain vulnerable to health care treatment.

g) Supply-induced Demand: Another feature of the Indian health care market that makes it a challenging case study is the prevalence of supply-induced demand (SID). The health care market is characterized by the asymmetric information between the producers or suppliers of healthcare and the buyers or consumers of health care. It is a market where the sellers of healthcare, the medical practitioners have greater information about the nature of health care required by the patient than the patient himself. Thus, the medical practitioner acts as the “gatekeeper” of the patient influencing the demand of the consumer to suit not only the interests of the practitioner, but associative services such as drugs and diagnostics as well. Such asymmetric information makes optimum choice-making very difficult for the consumer.

h) Market Failures: Health care markets, unlike common goods and services markets as discussed in general economics, tend to fail. Several factors are responsible for such failures. Asymmetric information about the demand and supply conditions is one important cause of market failure. Secondly, health care market is characterized by philanthropic conditions, where charitable consideration remains vital so that economic pricing disappears. Besides, economic pricing also becomes meaningless when health condition of a person becomes so critical that the utility from a life-saving drug is infinite. Also, unlike normal goods and services, where market is free to settle the economic worth of a good, via market demand and supply forces, the health care market remains the most regulated market, controlled either by the government or big corporate houses openly or tacitly. Thus, independent pricing for health care products is rarely found.

i) Socio-economic challenges: There are a large number of socio-economic factors that pose a challenge to health economics in India. One such factor is the demographic profile of the country. Rising general population,

disproportionate sex ratio, large infant and maternal mortality ratios, all cause obstacles to the health care development. Further, in recent years, there has been rapid urbanization and consequent migration of villagers. It has raised the health concern of the people in cities, especially the slum dwellers. Rapid urbanization has also led to environmental and sanitation problems. Apart from that, lack of educational facilities, socio-religious orthodoxy, family customs and traditions, all inhibit the growth of healthy lifestyles among the poor.

Suggestions

From the above discussion, it is clear that in its application to the health sector, in India, economics finds several obstacles. However, there is a need to overcome them and find appropriate strategies to tackle with the health issues of the people in the most economical manner. Such effective strategies can be spelt out:

- ♦ Government should try and raise public investment on health to about 4% of GDP and about 12-15% of its public budget.
- ♦ Government needs to engage the large private sector with regulations on board for the universal access to health care. There is a need for public-private partnership would close monitoring and control on pricing and accountability of providing of services.
- ♦ Government needs to focus its attention on all the determinants of health care. Each of entitlements, social, economic, educational, demographic, environmental and political, all need to be coordinated so that they have a positive impact on health.
- ♦ Government needs to take adequate steps to achieve access to health services by making available skilled and trained human resources, having professional and scientific educational base.
- ♦ Government needs to introduce improved and cost-efficient technologies so as to increase the supply of health care at reducing costs.
- ♦ Government needs to contain the rising out-of-pocket expenditures. This can be done either through increasing the supply of public health care facilities or

introducing public health insurances fruitfully.

- ♦ Government needs to support the outreach of the community development programmes taken at the primary level by the community itself or different NGOs working in the field.

Conclusion

There has been a comparatively less development of the theoretical discipline of health economics in India. However, it needs to be understood that rather than the development of the discipline of health economics, which has already been done to a great extent in European and American countries, we need to focus our aim to the application of health economics in framing appropriate strategic policies and formulating of health plans in the years to come so that we are able to minimize our health costs and maximize the efficacy of health care to the most needy.

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Sociology of the Matrimonial Values and Wedding Rituals among the Maithil Brahmins

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Abstract

The Maithil Brahmins are the inhabitant of Mithilanchal or the Mithila region of northeast Bihar. Maithili is spoken in this part. The region has long been considered a great centre of Sanskrit learning, Brahminism and Hindu Sanatandharma. It is claimed that the Maithil Brahmin's conception of marriage is as that interpreted in Hindu tradition. The main objectives of marriage among them are dharma (religion), praja (progeny), and rati (pleasure).

Keywords : kuldharma, vedic and lokik rites, dharma, praja

Introduction

The marriage process among the Maithil Brahmins cannot be understood as a mere aggregation of various matrimonial rites. It is also a single complex whole made of different rites associated with it. As a complex whole the process of marriage legitimizes the relation of the bridegroom and bride as husband and wife. Only on going through this whole process, can they expect to have an inseparable bond and a happy conjugal life full of love. Only after going through the entire ritual is the new domain of kinship for husband and wife delimited and new sets of rights and duties are assigned to them. In brief, on the one hand the various rituals performed during the marriage process among the Maithil Brahmins describe the various individual, social, and religious goals of marital life. On the other hand, as a single complex it also provides a structure to the entire marriage process legitimizing the relationship between the two individuals as well as the kinship relationship between the two social groups.

Materials and Methods

The present article is based on secondary sources, mainly on articles published by academics, certain ritual specialists and genealogical experts of the community, popularly known as panjeekars. Unfortunately, only a few anthropological works have been done on marriage rituals among the Maithil Brahmins. There are also published field

studies and monographs, which however do not directly focus on the marriage institutions of this community. Some of the observations are also based on the field studies conducted by the author himself during his intensive study of dowry practice among the community. In the analysis of data ethnography method is used.

Results and Discussions

The Rituals and Wedding Process : The following descriptions of the wedding as practised in the Maithil Brahmin community are based mainly on the records of Ugra Nath Jha (1980), Abhay Nath Mishra (1984), Kishor Nath Jha (1994) and Mohini Jha (1997). It should be noted that variations are found among them in accordance with different kuls or families, regions, as well as sub-groups like chhandog and bajasney, or shrotriya, yogya and jaibar observed.

Through the ritual process, all the vedic rites are performed according to the kuldharma (family beliefs) of the bridegroom, but in respect of folk traditional or lokik rites, the kuldharma of the bride's family is followed. Similarly, to ensure the purity of all vedic rites during the performance is the obligation of the purohit (priest), whereas to ensure the folk traditional rites is mainly that of the elder women of the family. Here I describe some of the important rites usually found among all the families of Maithil Brahmin.

Rabindra Ray writes that among the Maithil Brahmins the marriage should be solemnised

on an auspicious date and for this, a panchang (calendar) is published by the Sanskrit University of Darbhanga (1987:14). The preliminary rites start at noon a day before the day designated for the wedding. The process starts with the performance of the kumaram rite by the bride, in which an old lady, who would perform the parichhani (rite of bridegroom's welcome), takes the bride to the pond to take a bath. After that it is prescribed that she wears yellow clothes and a garland of some black seeds known as haintha. The same evening, as Kishor Nath Jha describes, the bride's seeth (the central parting of the hair where Hindu married women wear vermilion) is smeared with sandalwood-paste. Unhusked rice is roasted in the evening, preferably by the bride's sister and the same rite is performed at the groom's place by his sister (Jha, 1998:119).

On the wedding day, the bride's brother or any other male cousin is sent to the groom's place to escort the bridegroom, where he is received by the groom's family with due honour. They offer him new clothes (such as, dhoti, a cap known as pag, a mantle), a garland and good food. Women sing abusive songs with good humour aimed at his relatives. The groom is brought before the family goddess (gosaunik ghar) to offer his salutation. This is followed by the rite of durbakshata in which, the elderly male members and other Brahmins throw the durwa grass (dog-grass) and akshata (unbroken and unboiled rice) over the head of the bridegroom with constant chanting of vedic hymns. This is followed by the rite of chumaon in which the elderly married (except widow) ladies put some durbakshata first on his feet, then on his knee, then on his shoulder and then throw it over his head. This is repeated five times. The women put a bamboo pot (known as chumaonak dala) on his head singing the auspicious folk song (chumaonak geet). This bamboo pot contains red rice-grains, a pot of curd, five or nine bunches of banana, betel leaves and betel-nut. After finishing the chumaon rite, the bridegroom affixes cow dung, aratak pat (a circular slice of unwoven cotton), a cowrie and a snail's shell at the western wall of the family goddess's room. Then after throwing rice-grains backward and

forward at the doorstep, he proceeds to the bride's place with his relatives and friends (barati). Before proceeding, the groom is made symbolically to suck milk from the breast of his mother (Mishra, 1984:89).

When the groom's party (barati) arrives at the bride's place, it is honoured. While the reception goes on in the inner-courtyard, the person who would perform the kanyadan (kanyadankarta) starts the rite of matrika pooja simultaneously. In this rite, as Kishor Nath Jha describes, the kanyadankarta affixes some cow dung, dog grass and vermilion in sixteen parts on the northern side of the family-goddess's room and invites the sixteen deities. In the abhyuday rite, the kanyadankarta invites his ancestors and some other deceased ancestors to worship (Jha, 1994:121). Rajendra Jha writes that the purpose of these rites is to get the blessing of these deities and ancestors for the successful accomplishment of the marriage (2001:348). In the mean time, the welcome rite, parichhani, of the groom is started by a lady known as parichhanikartri. She and another lady, known as vidhikari (who assists the bride in performing all the scared rites throughout marriage), perform the arati of the groom with a lamp (deep) burnt in a tortoise-shell. Holding the nose of the bridegroom with a betel leaf, parichhanikartri takes three rounds of the marwa (a wedding shed made for the performance of rites). On the fourth round the groom is received by the kanyadankarta at the place south west of the marwa. The kanyadankarta presents him with new clothes (dhoti, pag, mantle, sacred thread and waist thread). Dressed in these clothes, the bridegroom performs the athongar rite where the bridegroom along with eight married Brahmins, all chanting shahashra shirka (which according to Ugra Nath Jha (1980) is a prayer to the sun-god) hold the wooden pastle and strike simultaneously thrice in the wooden mortar to dehusk rice. This process is repeated thrice. The bridegroom is then taken to the mqrwa (wedding shed), where the kanyadankarta performs the vedic rite in accordance with the shakha of Veda to which the bridegroom belongs (either chhandog or bajasney). The groom performs the rite of sankalp (oath). The

purpose is to purify the place and invoke god's presence. Then the groom is taken to the vedee, which is a square area of six feet usually in the northeastern corner of the inner courtyard. A bamboo pole split into four at the lower end only is fixed over the four corners of that area. In the middle of the area, an earthen pitcher filled with water and covered with a mango twig is placed. The bridegroom performs agnisthapan (establishment of fire) at the vedee.

The rite of agnisthapan is followed by the naina-yogin, which is performed in the kobarghar. The kobarghar is a pictorially decorated room where various customary rites and rituals are performed (Jha, 1980:24). In every corner of the kobarghar four figures of yogins (young women) are painted. When the groom tries to enter the kobarghar, the bride's brother or any male cousin obstructs his entry and only after some cash is paid to him by the bridegroom is the latter's entry allowed. On entering the kobarghar, a young married lady usually vidhakari (bride's assistant) takes the groom to all the corners of the room where he puts cowdung, rice, betel leaf, and vermilion on the head of pictorial yogins (in every corner).

After completion of naina-yogin, the groom is asked whether he can recognize the real bride, who is sitting with a teenage boy covered with a piece of cloth. There is no applause for the right selection, but if he makes a mistake there is a peal of laughter and a shower of abuses on him. (Jha, 1980: 24; Mishra, 1984: 88)

The bridegroom and the bride are then taken to the marwa (wedding shed). The kanyadan rite starts at the appropriate time as fixed by the astrologer. The kanyadankarta, i.e., yajaman, sits on a blanket facing the west. The yajaman requests the bridegroom to sit facing him to the east. When the bridegroom takes his seat, the vidhakari brings the bride dressed in new clothes and ornaments and places her on the right side of the bridegroom. The yajaman ties one end of the bride's cloth with the cloth of the groom. This is called gathabandhan. The yajaman places the left hand of the bride over the right hand of the groom and says, "I give such and such girl adorned with ornaments on such and such day, month and paksha

(fortnight) to such and such man of such gotra and pravar, for the attainment of a particular region of heaven" (Jha, 1980:25). The yajaman also gives two cows or two gold coins to the groom as dakshina (additional gift with the main gift). The bridegroom accompanied by the bride goes to the vedee for the performance of other vedic rites.

The vedic rite starts with the ritual of kanyadan. Kanyadan is essentially a realization of the establishment of the affinal relationship. It is performed by the bride's father who is wife-giver and the groom who is wife-receiver. In this exchange the bride has only a passive role. She gains as active a role as the groom with the rite of vivah horn and the recitation of the marriage vows, which are to govern their marital life together. It is in this context that Abhay Nath Mishra writes that before going to the vedee all the rites are supervised by the purohit (priest) from the bride's side, but after that they are supervised by the purohit on the groom's side (1984:88).

At the vedee, the bridegroom and the bride perform those rites which are prescribed in the vedic paddhati (procedure). It starts from the vivah-horn. A millstone is placed to the west as a divine witness and sanctifier and a pitcher is also deposited filled with water to the northeast of the fire. The groom and the bride together offer oblations to the fire. This rite is followed by the panigrahan, in which the bridegroom stands facing the west and reciting the vedic hymn, while holding the hand of the bride who is sitting in front of him with her face to the east. The panigrahan is followed by the laja horn rite. In this, the bride offers the sacrifice (horn) of fried rice-grain, which is poured into her hands by her brother, to the Gods. During the rite of the agni-parinayan, the bride and the groom together make three rounds of the nuptial fire and the water pitcher reciting the sacred vedic mantra. Then the asmarohan rite is performed in which the bride with the help of the groom treads on a stone praying to overcome enemies and other difficulties in life. In the saptapadi rite, the couple takes seven steps and pray on every step for their long conjugal life, wealth, happiness, offspring. Lastly, they perform the rite of dhruvadarsan. The groom

shows the bride the polar star Arundhati addressing her to be as firm in her will as the star. This marks the last vedic ritual of the marriage on the vedee. If bridegroom is chhandog Brahmin then the entire vedic rituals are repeated just after the performance of the sindurdan which is claimed as a lokik rite (Jha, 1994:124).

The rite of sindurdan follows on the completion of the vedic rites. The bridegroom goes behind the bride and reciting some vedic mantra smears vermilion in her seeth (central parting of hair) with a gold ring and some pieces of grass (koosh). The process is repeated three times. Thereafter, the woman must wear vermilion on her head and it can only be washed after the death of her husband (Jha, 1980:25). The sindurdan is followed by the ghoghat rite in which the bride is veiled in a red silk sari. Rajendra Jha claims that in some sections of Maithil Brahmins, this rite is performed by the bridegroom's father or elder brother while in other sections this rite is performed by the bridegroom himself. In case it is the groom's father/elder brother, one of them covers the bride with the veil, but the bridegroom throws it off and this process is repeated three times.

At the fourth attempt, the groom allows the bride to remain covered. In the latter case, the bridegroom himself covers the bride and the bride's brother throws it off (R. Jha, 2001:349). After the ghoghat, the rite of suhag is performed. The bride is presented monetary and ornamental gifts by the groom's relatives (and other barati). Finally, the first phase of marriage is concluded with the durabakshata and the chumaon. The consummation of marriage takes place only on the fourth day of marriage, after the chaturthi rite at the bride's house. Abhay Nath Mishra writes that the day of chaturthi is explained by bajasney and chhandog Brahmins in different ways. It falls on the fourth night just before sunrise in the case of bajasney and after the third night just after sunrise in the case of chhandog (Mishra, 1984:90). Ugra Nath Jha writes that till the date of chaturthi ceremony, bathing, salt and non-vegetarian food is strictly prohibited for the newly wed couple and they have to strictly

follow the brahmacharya dharma. The bride worships the goddess Gouri (a symbolic Gouri in the form of a vermilion-smeared betel nut) with the bridegroom every morning and evening till the chaturthi (Jha, 1980:27). Gouri (wife of the Lord Shiva) is considered as an ideal character among the women of Maithil Brahmins. Another rite, which is performed daily up to the chaturthi, is the mahuaak. The bride and groom sit on two separate blankets and women give them crushed rice, curd and sugar, or kheer (sweetened rice prepared in milk) according to family tradition. Both of them before eating, try to put some of the edibles in the other's plate and whoever is first to do so is declared the winner. If the bridegroom loses he is laughed at and made fun of. The durbakshata and the chumaon rites are also performed daily in the evening.

On the chaturthi day, early in the morning, the new couple is made to sit on a palo (the part of the bullock cart used to tie the bullocks). The bridegroom pours pond water on the bride, and then the bride does the same to the bridegroom, and lastly the vidhakari gives them the fresh water to take a bath. After this, the couple perform some vedic rites followed by the sindurdan, durbakshata and chumaon. After chaturthi, the couple is freed from all the ritual restrictions and as Rajendra Jha claims, the bridegroom and the bride are recognized as husband and wife (2001:349).

On the evening of chaturthi, the bride cooks the food for the first time and serves it to the bridegroom and all her brothers and cousins in a ritual way. This feast is known as swajaniya (feast for the kin). Kishor Nath Jha says that since from that day the bridegroom is recognized as an intimate member of the family, he is now allowed to partake of food cooked in water and with salt (1994:125). In the chaturthi night, the couple for the first time stay together and unaccompanied in a closed room and talk to each other. This rite is known as muhabajji (first talking). On that occasion the bridegroom is expected to present some gift in cash or in kind to the bride. After muhabajji the couple becomes a complete husband and wife and gains the right to have sexual intercourse. Among shrotriyas, the rite of muhabajji is

performed after masasnan rite, which is performed some days after the chaturthi day (Mishra, 1984: 94). Among shrotriyas the husband and wife are allowed to have intercourse only after the rite of muhabajji. However, among the Maithil Brahmins the ritual processes continue till the duragaman, that is the first arrival of the bride at her husband's place which, according to Rajendra Jha, is performed either before the sixteenth day after marriage day, or within the same year, or in any of the odd years such as third, fifth, seventh (2001:349). It should be noted that after the chaturthi (in both shrotriya and non- shrotriya) woman is not allowed to marry another man.

From the above discussion, it is evident that the wedding process in the Maithil Brahmin community is a combination of various vedic and folk- traditional/ lokik wedding rites. There are many explanations of the various vedic rites by different authors which are also significant in the case of the Maithil Brahmin community. In the following discussion I have mainly concentrated on the interpretation of its folk traditional aspects.

Rajendra Jha presents a symbolic interpretation of the different wedding rituals, vedic and folk. He writes that the performance of matrika pooja expresses the religious character of marriage as believed among them, while offering a daughter in the rite of kanyadan is believed to be the greatest offering/gift given by a man/father in his entire life. (Jha, 2001: 341). Similarly, the rite of asmarohan is thought of as a symbol of profound love, friendship and faith, whereas the rite of gathabandhan ties the husband and wife in an inseparable bond for their whole life (Jha, 2001: 341). There is nothing in Rajendra Jha's discussion other than what has already been elaborated upon in the discourse on the pan -Hindu view of marriage rites.

Ugra Nath Jha (1980) writes that the different matrimonial rites found among this community can be explained under three sub-heads. His interpretation rests on the meaning given to the rituals by the participants (Maithil Brahmins). One set of ritual activities directly brings accord to the conjugal life of the bride and the

bridegroom. The second type of rituals is protective against certain evil forces that might injure the new couple, because it is in the nature of such forces to do so. A last set of rituals is those that are aimed to please those supernatural forces (such as certain goddesses), whose blessings will bring more happiness in the couple's conjugal life.

During the rite of kumaram, the bride must wear yellow clothes and a garland of haintha (black seeds), which are supposed to protect the bride from any trouble caused by witches and sorcerers (Jha,1980:20). Similarly, the rite of naina-yogin is performed to protect the couple from the danger of witches. An important rite, Gouri-pooja, is performed twice daily till the first departure of the bridegroom from the bride's place. The bride keeps a figure of the goddess Gouri in an earthen dish (chand data) before a statue of an elephant. It is believed that if the bride, with the bridegroom, worships Gouri before this statue, the groom will always be attracted by the bride. Similarly, in the rite of mahuak when the bride and the groom exchange food items, the bridegroom is charmed by the bride and comes under her control. Ugra Nath Jha writes further that the main object of the rite of swajaniya is to strengthen the ties between the groom and the bride as well as the bride's relatives. In the rite of muhabajji it is believed that if the bride and groom talk at this auspicious moment their conjugal life would be happy and full of love and affection (1980: 32).

The main focus of argument of Ugra Nath Jha is on the individual relationship of the conjugal couple. His emphasis is mostly on the marriage rituals practised in this community that are concerned with the ritual recognition of marriage as a relation between two individuals (husband and wife). However, in his interpretation of the rite of the swajaniya, he also elucidates the ritual recognition of marriage as a bond between the bridegroom and the kin-group of the bride. Ugra Nath Jha does not focus on the rite of ghoghat, which in my opinion is the ritual recognition of marriage as a bond between the bride and the kin group of the bridegroom. Through this folk rite there is a ritual sanction of the relationship between

daughter-in-law and father-in-law or brother's wife and husband's elder brother in the mode of a 'relation of avoidance' (a relationship based on least interaction with some kin).

However, the marriage rites of Maithil Brahmins cannot be explained within a paradigm of the ritual recognition of the matrimonial bond between the two individuals and between the individual and group alone. There are some rites that signify the marriage as a relationship between two metaphysical bodies of kin and between the individual and the cosmos. In this context, Kishor Nath Jha's explanation is very important. He writes that in the rite of *abhyuday*, eleven deceased ancestors of the bride's father are invited to worship and they are intimated that the main purpose of this marriage is to enhance their numbers and to protect the continuity of their (deceased ancestors) lineage. Similarly in the rite of *matrika pooja* nineteen deities are invoked to acknowledge the marital relationship. Kishor Nath Jha writes about the significance of the pictorial presence of the moon, the sun, and the nine planets in the *kobarghar* (wedding room). He explains that for the Maithil Brahmin these metaphysical bodies will protect the couple from evil forces and will bless the couple with meritorious offspring.

Lakshminath Jha provides an interpretation of the various pictorial representations, which are part of the marriage rites in this community. Before proceeding to the bride's place, the bridegroom affixes cowdung, aratak pat, a snail's shell and a cowrie on the western wall in the room of family goddess. All this is done within a figure known as *sarovar* (literally, pond). Jha writes that the four banks of this pictorial pond symbolise the four *varnashrams* of Hindu life and the pond represents the *grihasthasram* (1962:88-89). Jha makes a symbolic comparison between the pond and the bridegroom. He says as the pond gives shelter and protection to different aquatic animals, similarly the bridegroom is expected to give shelter and protection to his family and kin in the stage of *grihasthasram*, which he is entering. During the performance of the rite, the bridegroom has to put his rice paste-smear on the ten pictorial palms

made within the pictorial pond. According to him, this is a symbolic oath to be firm in his ten duties (however he does not write what these ten duties are) of the *grihasthasram dharma*. The placing of the snail-shell, cow dung, etc., in the middle of the beautiful picture is a symbol of the stigma that will be on the character of the bridegroom in case he does not perform his ten duties properly. This symbol of stigma also protects the bridegroom from the evil eye. As per the omens of *Shawar Tantra*, the snail-shell, cow dung, and aratak patta are collectively understood to protect the bridegroom from the evil eye (1962:89, 90).

In his interpretation of *naina yogin*, Jha (1962:93) writes that the figure of the four women on the four walls in the wedding-room (*kobarghar*) is to attract the bridegroom to marital life. Since during his *brahmacharya ashram*, the bridegroom had a long experience of celibacy, these four women, who hold divine powers, besiege the bridegroom from the four sides so that he cannot deviate from his new duties of *grihasthasram*. The fixing of cow dung, a snail's shell, etc., on the head of the *yogin* implies that the bride will take charge of their marital life and will cooperate with the groom in the discharge of their duties of *grihasthasram* (1962:22).

The figure of the bamboo-bush and the lotus plant or *purain* in the wedding room aid the early conception and birth of children. The figure of the sun at the top of the bamboo bush is said to symbolize the expectation of the new couple that the name and the fame of their family and descendants would be higher than the bamboo and their reputation would be as glorious as that of the sun (Jha 1962:23). In his explanation of the lotus plants, Jha writes that this figure symbolizes the desire of the new couple to have offspring as virtuous and pleasant as a lotus flower that will spread the reputation of the family as the smell of the flower. The figure of the moon at the top of the lotus plant symbolizes that the affection of new couple would grow gradually just as the moon attains its fullness gradually. Lakshminath Jha draws symbolic correlations between the different figures in the wedding room (*kobarghar*) and the purpose of marital life,

suggesting that the presence of these figures impresses upon the new couple the need to be attentive to these purposes (Jha, 1962:100).

In my view the various matrimonial rites in this community can be classified into three. The first category of rites is those which can be described as safeguarding the purity of jati. The performance of siddhanta and formalities of parmangi (a letter from the head of the shrotriya community to the panjeekar) can be seen in this light. The immediate function of the second category of rituals can be described as helpful in making the occasion joyous and pleasant as well as facilitating the necessary social interactions. The rite of hathdhari (hand shaking), the rite of parichhani (bridegroom welcome), the rite of mahuak (exchange of food), the rite of muhbajji (first talking of couple) can be included here. The third set of rituals includes those which relate the mundane to the supernatural directly. The rite of chumaon (in which the bamboo pot is put on the head of the bridegroom), the rite of naina - yogin (in which the bridegroom affixes cowdung, rice, and vermilion in the wedding room), and the rites of Gouri-pooja, are activities which relate to the mysterious and supernatural meanings. The most important aspect of these supernatural connections and meanings are that they certify the process of marriage among the Maithil Brahmin in particular and among the Hindu society in general as sacrament. The relationship established through marriage gains religious sanction. They give meaning and potentiality to everyday social relations.

However, finally the various rituals performed before and during the wedding ceremony among Maithil Brahmins cannot be analysed separately. Rather, these rituals must be understood as a single complex or a complex whole. The marriage process is structured in a systematic way, in which different rites are associated with the different goals of marriage, either through mundane or supernatural explanation. Yet, if a certain goal is associated with one particular ritual, it does not mean that the goal is confined to that ritual only. If the goal of the rite of muhabajji is to make conjugal life happy and full of love and affection, as Ugra

Nath Jha describes, it is not the goal of the rite of muhabajji alone. It is a goal of the marriage process. If the function of the rite of gathabandhan is to tie the husband and wife in an inseparable bond for their whole life, it is not only the goal of the rite of gathabandhan, it is a goal of the marriage process as a whole. That is why, performatory variation in some rites, or improper performance of any one of the rites during the wedding ceremony, does not mean that the marital bond is not regular.

We can place the phenomenon of "marriage by bridegroom kidnapping" in this framework. When a bridegroom goes through the entire process of wedding rituals, from parichhani to muhabajji (all these are performed at the bride's home), it is a legitimate marriage for the community, although it is not legal in the law of India. Afterwards, whenever the new bride is adopted by the groom's family, which is generally after a long period of requests, the new couple need not undergo any further rituals. They remain tied in the inseparable bond forever.

Conclusion

The wedding rituals among the Maithil Brahmins are a combination of different vedic and folk rites. Whereas the vedic rites reveal the association of the Maithil Brahmin community with the broader Brahmin caste, its folk rites display their regional location. Different rites associated with their wedding process have different functional attributes. Some of the rites practiced among them make the marriage a sacrament while other rites are safeguards of the purity of birth of the Maithil Brahmins. Moreover, the entire wedding process is a single complex process of social and cosmic legitimization of two individuals as husband and wife.

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Food Security, Right to Food and the Concept of Social Justice In India

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Abstract

The concept of social justice is very closely related to right to food and food security. If, people go hungry and are unable to procure proper nutritious food for themselves, till then goals of social justice as defined in the constitution cannot be attained at any cost. This paper establishes the linkages between the important concepts of food security and social justice and traces the Right to Food campaign in the Indian context.

Keywords : social justice, right to food, hunger, constitutional provisions, global hunger

Introduction

Worldwide, right to food and food security has added new dimensions to the concept of social justice and it has a greater and wider connotation in developing and underdeveloped countries where millions go without proper nutritional food thus being deprived of the very basic and fundamental right i.e. right to life. The concept of social justice and food security are closely interconnected as they both aim at securing and providing a better life for those who are deprived and have to face inequalities at every stage of their life.

Speaking in simple terms, social justice refers to the idea of creating a society that is based on the principles of equality and solidarity, that understands and values human rights and recognizes the dignity of each and every individual. If human rights are the founding stones for the formation of a just society then it has to emphasize on the fact that the state provides food security to all its citizens because in absence of right to food all other rights like right to life, education, health, development, etc becomes irrelevant. Since the idea of welfare state postulates the principle of social justice it becomes the duty of the state to look after all its citizens irrespective of class, caste, gender, region, religion and other status. Everybody has to be accorded equal opportunity to prosper and develop his potentialities to the highest stature. This alone will accomplish the dream of a just society into reality.

Materials and Methods

The methodology used in this paper is mainly secondary in nature. The information collected are mainly from books, journals, articles and a United Nations report on the right to food and food security in India.

Results and Discussions

Constitutional Framework of Social Justice : At the time of independence, in India, the constitution makers were highly influenced by the feeling of social equality and social justice. The constitution makers wanted to incorporate such forms of justice which could fulfill the expectations of the whole independence movement. In the words of Pt. Nehru, " First work of the constituent assembly is to make India independent by a new constitution through which starving people will get complete meal and clothes, and each Indian will get best option that he can progress himself." Under the constitution the use of social justice is accepted in a wider sense which includes social and economic justice both. In this sense social justice holds the aim of equal opportunity to all citizens in social, economic and political matters and to prevent inequalities under all circumstances.

There is a very wide planning of justice according to necessity in the constitution. It expects distribution of social benefits according to necessity by which more needy persons can get maximum benefits. It is the duty of the state to provide opportunities for

better growth and create an atmosphere where everyone equally benefits from the policy initiatives. The Directive Principles of State Policy as incorporated in Chapter 4 of the constitution, provides the basis for the establishment of a welfare state and though these are non-justiciable in nature, that is, they are not enforceable by the courts for their violation yet, the constitution itself declares that it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws. Hence, they impose a moral obligation on the state authorities for their implementation and the real force behind them is the public opinion. Fundamental Rights also underline the spirit of social justice as envisaged by our constitution makers. Right to equality (Article 14) is an important part of the debate on social justice. This not only brings all within the same parameter of justice but also incorporates positive discrimination; abolition of untouchability (Article 17), titles (Article 18), and also tries to ensure that rule of law is followed in its true spirit. Other fundamental rights like right to life (Article 21) has widened the scope of social justice in the Indian context as the Supreme Court has given it a wide connotation by including in it right to education, food, livelihood, protection of environment and other issues related to life. Similarly, provision related to abolition of begar or forced labor, child labor, providing special rights to religious and cultural minorities (Article 29-30) gives a better understanding about the definition of social justice and what type of society has been imagined by our constitution makers. Social justice also means absence of privileges being extended to any particular section of the society and improvement in the condition of the socially and economically backward classes and women in the society who have faced centuries of neglect, injustice, deprivation and discrimination.

In India, the courts have played a major role to make social justice successful. The Supreme Court has given a dynamic shape to the concept through its proactive pronouncements. The court has made sure at several occasions that affirmative governmental actions are held to include compensatory justice as well as distributive justice which ensure that community

resources are more equitably and justly shared among all classes of citizens. The Supreme Court has held that the principal aim of a socialist state is to eliminate inequality in income, status and standards of life. The basic framework of socialism as envisaged in our constitution is to provide a proper standard of life to people and distribution of income in an equitable manner.

Food Security and the Right to food Campaign in India :

But, despite many constitutional provisions and judicial activism the realization of social justice has been a virtual dream where nearly 19% (Census 2011) of the total population live below the poverty line and still hunger deaths, malnutrition, child mortality, incidents of illiteracy are very high. This paper concentrates on how food insecurity and deprivation of right to food leads to violation of social justice and other human rights. The right to food can be seen as a legal implication of the fundamental right to life as enshrined in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. Several times the Supreme Court also has explicitly stated that the right to life should be interpreted as a right to "live with human dignity" which includes the right to food and other basic necessities. The Right to Food can also be linked with Articles 39(a) and 47 of the Constitution. Article 39(a) directs the state to ensure that all citizens have "the right to an adequate means of livelihood". According to Article 47 "the state shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as amongst its primary duties". On the same lines while interpreting the concept of right to food, the National Commission on Human Rights in a statement dated 17th January 2003, stated that "there is a fundamental right to be free from hunger".

In April 2001, People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUC) filed a writ petition on right to food. Initially the case was brought against the Government of India, Food Corporation of India, 6 state governments, in the context of inadequate drought relief but, subsequently it was extended to the larger issue of chronic hunger and undernutrition. The basic argument

of this petition is that, since food is essential for survival, the right to food is an implication of the fundamental right to life and that the central and the state governments have violated this right by failing to respond to the drought situation particularly when there are large food stocks but still many go hungry. In the "Right to Food" case the Supreme Court has passed at least 44 interim orders which hold the central and the state governments as responsible for the food fiasco in the country. For instance one of the interim orders directs the government to provide cooked mid-day meals to primary schools. From the very beginning the court has made clear that prevention of hunger and starvation deaths is one of the prime responsibilities of the government, both central and the state. On 8th May 2002, the Supreme Court appointed 2 Commissioners for the purpose of monitoring the implementation of the interim orders and later on 29th October 2002, the court also clarified that the mandate of the Commissioners included "monitoring and reporting to this court of the implementation by the respondents of the various welfare measures and the schemes". This PIL has added new dimensions to the campaign on right to food in India and its enormity and seriousness has finally led to some concrete efforts from state machinery to act on the issue of providing food security to the poor and needy.

In the international documents food security has been interpreted as physical and economic access to food, at all times and at affordable prices, to ensure a healthy and active life. The World Food Summit (1996) defining the concept states that, "food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels is achieved when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Food security is a multidimensional concept as it has to take into consideration different aspects at different levels. At the national level, having enough food production for the existing population as well as for the future projected population, the control of population and sustainable use of

resources becomes critical for nutrition and food security in the long run . There are three aspects of food security- 1. Availability i.e enough production of cereals, pulses and other nutritional products for feeding the population is the first and the foremost indicator of food security; 2. Accessibility which stands for enough resources and entitlements with households; 3. Absorption which is determined by health status, consumption of micro nutrients in the food and availability of safe drinking water which enhances the absorption and utilization of the food consumed by the body. Food Security can be transitory, chronic, invisible and even seasonal.

According to a World Food Program report (2001), in India around 39.3 million people suffer from transitory food insecurity . During the nineties especially after the new economic policy was initiated in the country, the public investment in agriculture, which is the main source of security to poor has decreased considerably . Further the growth in production of cash crops, seizure of agricultural lands for development projects and negative growth of the agricultural sector has increased the chances of poor farmers falling into the trap of food insecurity.

Food Insecurity and Hunger in India : According to the Global Hunger Index 2011, India has been ranked 67th out of 81 countries. The index shows that though' global hunger has declined since 1990, but not dramatically, and remains at a level that can be characterized as "serious". India ranks way below its South Asian neighbours Pakistan (59), China (4) and Sri Lanka (36) which depicts the gravity of the food distress situation in the country. Despite an impressive growth rate of 7% and increase in the production of food grains, household level food security has not been achieved, levels of malnutrition, undernourishment and poverty remain very high and as GHI shows signs of hunger has increased since second half of the 1990's. Nearly 2 million children in India die every year as a result of serious malnutrition and preventable diseases. 47% of children are underweight and 46% are stunted in their

growth. This is one of the highest levels of child malnutrition in the world, higher than most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa where economic development has been rather poor. The majority of Indian population is still poor with 25% living below the national poverty line and 70% still living on less than US \$2 per day which simply means that many people cannot afford adequate food to sustain a healthy and productive life. Further, the Food Aid Organization reports that India is home to the largest share of undernourished population where more than 200 million children, women and men eat less than daily minimum calorie that is required. Official Indian statistics suggests that the situation maybe even worse, with more than 53% population estimated to be undernourished in the government's own report on progress towards achieving Millennium Development Goals. It is estimated that the poorest of the 30% of households consume less than 1,700 kilocalories per day per person which is well below the international level of 21,000 kilocalories per day, even if they spend 70% of their income on food. This is a serious problem in the wake of rise in prices of basic foods at a faster pace than rise in agricultural wages over the last decade. The hungry and malnourished are mainly the children, women and men living in rural areas who are dependent on agriculture and work as casual labourers, sharecroppers, tenant or marginal farmers but a large section of urban poor also face the same hardships. Scheduled castes and tribes suffer the most making up 25% of the rural population but constitute 42% of the poor. As a result of discrimination these tribes and scheduled castes are cramped into poverty and are unable to procure proper and nutrient food thus making them highly exposed to starvation, malnutrition and hunger deaths.

Policy Framework and Food Security :

Since independence, in order to deal with the problem of making all food secure and provide proper social justice to the deprived and the poor, Indian state has adopted a two pronged strategy. On one hand, there has been constant effort to increase food production and at the same time there has been efforts made to increase accessibility of food through the Public Distribution System and various other

development and food programs. Self-sufficiency in production was increased many fold through the Green Revolution and other technological applications in the agricultural sector which increased rice production from 50 million metric tonnes to well over 200 million metric tonnes in just over 50 years. As, India move towards liberalization of the agricultural sector the basic realization stays that a minimum level of self sufficiency has to be maintained which can be done only by the government as the national demand is very large that cannot be met only by the international markets and also by the fact that agriculture still is the main source of income for more than two-thirds of the population.

Efforts to improve access to food at the household level have focused on generating economic growth and employment two largest schemes of the world i.e PDS and NREGS. In many respects PDS has been successful in eliminating famine and in increasing foodgrain production. The scheme involves the Food Corporation of India buying wheat and rice at minimum support price from surplus states, transporting it to the godowns in deficit states and distributing the foodgrains through a vast network of fair-price shops from where families are entitled to buy a fixed amount of foodgrains at highly subsidized prices. With an aim to make the PDS universal, the Government of India shifted to Targeted Public Distribution System in 1997 under which the poorest families (below poverty line households) are entitled to buy a fixed amount at highly subsidized prices, whereas less poor (above poverty line households) can buy a specified amount at prices closer to the market price. The very poorest households are also entitled to the Antyodaya Anna Yojana Scheme (2002) under which they have access to 35 kg of foodgrains per month at highly subsidized rates. But, the problem with PDS and TPDS has been that it has been marred with high degree of corruption making it almost into an elephantine mechanism that has been eating into the state resources. It suffers from problems of overcharging, irregular opening hours, diversion of foodgrains to black market, many poor households not having ration cards, some people being so poor that they cannot even afford the subsidized prices and finally

that PDS doesnot aim at solving the problem of malnutrition as it doesnot distribute sufficient food. Moreover, rationing has not reached the poorest of the poor as the system is more biased to the urban poor and its reach to the remote areas has been limited .

NREGA focuses on providing work to poor for a fixed period of time in a year so that their scope for income is increased and they have better opportunity to buy food. It aims at enhancing livelihood security of people in rural areas by guaranteeing 100 days of wage employment in a financial year. Again the working of this scheme has been marred by corruption in the process of distribution of job cards, non utilization of funds, poor service granted to the needy and various other discriminatory measures that are practiced in the villages which leads to further exclusion and marginalization of the weakest sections of the society.

Similarly, other programs like Mid-day Meal Scheme which had been started to increase enrolment ratios and literacy rate has been successful in many states like Kerela, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu but in many states the government is still undecided on the issue of supply of cooked food. This initiative has also witnessed many problems such as poor quality of food provided to children, underutilization and mismanagement of funds, lack of trained and efficient teachers and increasing problem of infrastructural disabilities. This maybe the world's largest and most noble initiative but still 50% of the school age going children are out of the school system and engaged in some form of labor or other which should be highly unacceptable on the part of all the conscious citizens of India.

Conclusion

So, the aim of providing social justice with these programs and policies maybe a good starting point but these alone will not help in the eradication of problems of deprivation, poverty, inequality, subjugation and discrimination. There has to be efforts from within the society and discrepancies of the economic system have to be addressed by the state as it alone can create an environment where all have equal access to resources and food security and social security are such important agenda that they cannot be compromised at any cost.

The aim of social justice will be realized only when all have access to food, work, development and progress. Deprivation creates long term damages which can rip apart the social fabric and destroy harmony and societal balance.

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Cultural Crisis Among Chik-Baraiks of Jharkhand

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Abstract

The Chik-Baraiks of Jharkhand are at cultural cross roads, weaving, the traditional art of their living is dying and their skill is no longer able to face the onslaught of urbanization and industrialization. Their socio-economic life is in a phase of transition

Keywords : weaving, jajmani relationship, marginal culture

Introduction

The Webster New World Dictionary defines "Crisis" as "The turning point in the course of a disease when it becomes clear whether the patient will recover or die". It further adds: a decisive or critical time, stage of event. The Oxford Dictionary takes a dynamic view and defines 'crisis' as any marked or sudden change of symptoms or a turning point in the progress of anything for better or worse is imminent". When we talk about "crisis of culture" we mean a decisive critical line in culture. Anthropologically we define culture, as "man made part of the environment". There is a need for a balance between environment or nature and man. Once an imbalance between nature - man is caused, the first state of critical time commences (Vidyarthi, L.P.).

Jharkhand, or rather Chotanagpur plateau has been aptly called by Col. E.T. Dalton, as the great living anthropological museum in India, with predominantly tribal population pursuing, among others varied agricultural and industrial occupations. Out of thirty two tribes which reside in the state of Jharkhand, Chik- Baraik constitute 0.69% of the total tribal population. This tribal community also dwells in West Bengal (where they have been given the status of S.T.), Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (where they have been given status of S.C.) They belong to artisan community like Karmali, Lohra and Asurs. Their main occupation is cloth weaving and probably due to this reason they are known as father of hand - woven

clothes among the indigenous people.

Materials and Methods

The study was conducted from June, 2010 to Sept. 2010. The area of study was Simdega and Gumla. Two villages namely Khunti-toli and Ghasi-toli of Simdega and Bishunpur of Gumla were selected for study. 10 families were selected for study. The common methods of social sciences like observation, schedule of questions, interview, focused group discussion, case studies were-used for this study.

Results and Discussions

The Chik-Baraiks are found in the district of Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, Simdega and Khunti in large numbers but in the districts like Palamau and Hazaribagh they have a miniscule population. They have not any specific language which may be termed as their own. Their chief mode of communication is Nagpuria Sadari (Sadani) language, which is a branch of Indo-Aryan linguistic family.

"Their habitat is surrounded by hill ranges covered with thick forest. In these areas, they support themselves by weaving. They practice hunting as a pastime and depend also upon forest products. The forests around their villages have tigers, leopards, bears, hares, wild fowls etc. which have led them to practice hunting, when they are not weaving. In addition to this, the timbers found in the jungle are used by them in the house construction as well as during worship. Small children and women go to the jungle to collect seasonal fruits viz., mango, mahua, sal, bair etc. which are meant

for their own consumption and are not sold.

The Chik-Baraiks construct their houses in those villages, which are inhabited by other tribes and non-tribal people. The number of houses in a village belonging to the Chik-Baraik tribe varies from one to fifteen. The Mundas or the Oraons, Lohras, Ahirs, Swansis etc. are their next door neighbours. As a result of this contact with them, they speak and understand Mundari, Sadani and Hindi.

Their houses are not arranged in systematic order. They are rather scattered. The Chik-Baraiks set up their independent families after marriage. Separation from their parents take place soon after they are married. Mostly, two or three households exist under the same roof. Their house generally consists of two or three rooms. The parents with their unmarried children share one room and the rest of the rooms are occupied by their married sons who have their separate kitchens and independent establishments.

The materials used in the house construction are tiles, mud, sal and other wood, twigs of trees etc. The tiles are purchased from the Kumhars. The wood, twigs of trees, bamboos and mud are available to them in their environment free of cost. Their houses have doors fitted with iron bolts. When they go out, they keep their houses locked. They do not construct windows, as a result of which it is very difficult to see anything inside the house even during day-time. The weaving implements are fitted in the verandah of the houses. For keeping their household materials, they construct wooden racks inside the house.

No clothes are worn by children of both sexes up to three years. Then they start wearing 'Karya' as the lower garment. The male dress consists of dhoti and shirt. The women wear sari but do not use any upper garment, when they are in the village. When they go out from the village, they wear blouses called Jakit. The dhoti, the sari and the blouses worn by them are not made by them. The Chik-Baraiks living in Khunti Subdivision purchase these clothes from the market. At present, they weave only 'Karya'.

The ornaments worn by the women consist of earring called Tarpal, garland of beads known as Mala and glass bangles called Churi. They are all obtained from the market. The young girls decorate their hair with flowers during marriage, festivals and jatras.

Sweeping is done twice or thrice a day, by the women. Early in the morning, the first work done by them is cleaning of the house. This is done with a broom called Barhni which is bought. They have no particular place for throwing the dirt.

The Chik-Baraiks take bath only once or twice a week. They use soap. The clothes are also washed with soap these days. The women wash their hair either with earth or soap.

The weaving implements of the Chik-Baraiks consist of the following articles: Hatha, Bhauri, Ara, Bharna etc. These implements are purchased from the market and are fitted by the people themselves for weaving.

Their furniture consists of 'Pirha' and 'Machia' which are made by them out of wood and rope prepared from the fibres. These are offered to guests and visitors to sit upon.

Rice, vegetables etc. are cooked in earthen vessels of various shapes and sizes. They call them 'Bhajan' which is bought. Besides this, they use metal KOTOR (Dubha) metal plate (Dubha Thari) and iron ladle called kalchul is used for ladling food. The drinking water which is stored in an earthen vessel called Gagri, is served in a Dubha vessel. In addition to these articles, they purchase an iron knife called Bainthi for cutting vegetables and other things.

Hunting is not practiced as an occupation but as a pastime. When they are free from weaving, they go to jungle for hunting. Bows (Shannu) and arrows (Teer) are their only hunting implements. The iron head of the arrow is purchased from the Lohra tribe. These are used mostly for hunting birds, hares, wild fowls etc.

The Chik-Braiks have no dancing place. In the absence of this, they dance in front of their houses. However they do so on special occasions like birth, marriage and festivals. Musical instruments used by them are Nagara (Drum) and Bansuri (Flute).

Having described the material life of the Chik-Baraiks, we now come to a description of their means of subsistence. Their main occupation is weaving. They weave 'Karya', sari, screen etc. As they have difficulty in getting raw materials, the Chik-Baraiks living in Khunti area at present weave only 'Karya' which is worn by small children as the lower garment. The man uses it as towel. The clothes made by them are used by their neighbours viz. the Mundas, the Oraons, the Lohras etc. They also go to weekly markets to sell their finished goods".

Paddy lands are also owned by a few of them. They do not cultivate their lands themselves. They give it to the Munda or to the Oraons or to anybody on 'Sajha'. According to the sajha system, the yield of the field is equally shared between the owner of the land and the man who actually cultivates the field. They do not cultivate the lands themselves as they have no plough and draught cattle. Besides this, they fail to concentrate on cultivation as they keep themselves busy with weaving throughout the year.

Hunting is not practiced as a primary occupation. They go to the jungle to kill birds, hares, wild fowls etc, when they are not engaged in weaving. In addition to this, the women and children collect seasonal fruits viz. mango, Bair, Bel, Mahua etc. from the jungle. These are eaten by them and are not sold for cash.

Their family system is of nuclear type consisting of father, mother and unmarried children. After their marriage they set up their own family. In some parts of Kunti area, the parents and their married children have separate kitchens, functioning under the same roof.

Clan system exists among the Chik-Baraiks. Some of their clan names are Tanria, Khambha and Tajna. They do not know their meaning. Marriage within the clan is not permitted. Sexual relationship between the boys and girls of the same clan is a social offence.

In the kinship terminologies we find that many kinship terminologies used by them are the same as those used by their Hindu neighbours.

The kinship terms such as Mause, Mausi, Mama, Mami, Sas, Sasur, Beta, Beti, Putoh, Damad etc. may be cited as examples.

The Chik-Baraiks are not permitted to have physical contact or joking relationship with certain relatives. They observe this rule with the husband's elder brother, wife's elder sister, younger brother's wife etc. But the joking relationship is permitted with wife's younger sister, husband's younger brother, elder brother's wife etc. They may marry the wife of deceased elder brother or wife's younger sister.

The Chik-Baraiks are passing through a phase of crisis. They are passing through transition period. Due to this nobody knows in which direction their socio-economic life will go. On one hand, they are dubbed as Hindus as they perform many of the ritualistic performances prevalent in Hinduism. So they face problem in getting certificates of scheduled tribes so that they can avail the benefits of reservations and of other welfare measures. They are a weaving community and eke out their living by this profession. But due to coming of machine made cloths, their hand woven clothes have failed to compete with modern clothes and their sole means of livelihood was snatched from them. As they are not agriculturist community they have no land to do agriculture. Due to this presently they are facing the problem of starvation. They are not in a position to maintain their traditional skill of cloth weaving and are switching themselves to other, professions like working as a labour, Carpenter, Mason, Reza coolie, leaf-plate maker, etc. So they are passing through a phase of economic crisis. Meager land-holding, when they may have is not sufficient to maintain their families for even six months.

Urbanization and industrialization have affected the economy of artisan tribes adversely. Artisan tribes like Lohra, Karmali, Mahli and Chik-Baraik were closely related to agricultural tribe like the Munda and the Oraon and the other castes of the village practicing agriculture. They used to supply materials prepared by them to the agriculturists. They received payment in kind on annual basis. They had Jajmani relationship with the

agricultural tribes (the Munda and the Oraon) and castes of the village. But due to urbanization and industrialization, the economy of artisan tribes has to face a number of problems. The articles and goods, which the artisan tribes used to supply to their Jajman and other people practicing agriculture, are now being produced by industries located in tribal areas. These articles and goods are sold at cheap rate. They are also fashionable and good looking. These goods and articles have reached in local Haat of the tribal areas. Now people want to buy articles and goods produced by the machine. The machine made clothes has made the Chik-Baraik tribes unemployed, who are weavers by traditions and whose main means of stay have been weaving clothes of different types. Chik-Baraiks are facing the situation of starvation and their art of weaving is in the way of vanishing.

The Chik-Baraik possesses a culture which swings between two extremes. On one end it is the tribal culture which is dominant in their life style and on the other ends the tenets of Hinduism is also seen. In fact, they present a beautiful example of marginal culture. The Chik-Baraiks are living in the village with both tribals and the Sadans (non-tribals). They have adjusted in both the tribal and non-tribal villages with same cordiality. If one deeply studies their society, then he finds that the prevalence of tenets of Hinduism or of the tribal religious tenets is not found equally among them. It is because this community is divided into two segments that is Bada Gohri (large community) and another is Chota Gohri. The members of the Bada Gohri consider themselves as the superior one. They have adopted Hinduistic way of life in socio-religious practices. They are more prosperous economically and they have embraced or embracing the Hindu way of life, like wearing of sacred thread, calling Hindu priests to perform rituals, worshipping Gods of Hindu pantheon-offer coconut and SIRNI as ritualistic oblations, do funeral of the deceased one and neither eat pork nor tame pigs, so that their ritualistic purity can be maintained. But those who belong to Chota Gorhi are still clinging to tribal elements

in their socio ritualistic practices. They either worship themselves or call Thakur (for performance of rituals). Among rituals they sacrifice cock or hen and use Handia (Rice Beer) as Tapawan, bury their dead, no right is conferred to woman in paternal property, Gotras which is totemistic in origin, in certain circumstances marriage is performed in groom's household and prevalence of bride price among this section. There is avoidance of food relationship between the section of Bara Gohri and Chota Gohri. Due to horizontal fragmentation in their society the Chik-Baraiks failed to evolve a unified culture, which they may term as their as their own and so their culture is facing a crisis.

Their scattered population is another factor which gives air to their crisis of culture. There is no village which may be termed as the village dominated by the Chik-Baraik (Dahar 1998). As they supplied clothes to villagers so only two to ten families lived in a village. Therefore there is no association or tribal conglomeration to force the tribal ethos or unwritten law of the tribal society, if it is breached by anyone. So everyone is free to break or follow the Chik-Baraik's laws according to their wish. So much freedom is bound to lead cultural crisis.

Conclusion

The Chik-Baraik resides in hilly forested areas of Jharkhand. Their residences are situated in such remote areas, where men of means can feel difficulty to survive, what to tell our isolated Chik-Baraik, who are poor, neglected and deprived since centuries. They have to face problems related to communication. Previously they were lord of the land and forest areas in which they lived. Their lands have been acquired by the government for various development purposes. Contractors, service-providers, money-lenders, missionaries etc. have also acquired the land of tribals for their own benefits. As a result problem of landlessness has come into existence in tribal areas. Their economy is generally of subsistence type and generally produces perishable things which cannot be stored for long time. The Sahukars, Mahajans and money-lenders have entered in tribal areas and they purchase the things produced by the

tribals at throw away prices. They provide loans to the Chik-Baraiks and other tribals at exorbitant rate of interest. Due to such practices, they face the problem of poverty and fail to maintain their ethnic-identity.

With weaving and agriculture, forest was the another source of gainful employment of the Chik-Baraiks round the year. But the establishment of the government administration in the forest and enactment of forest laws, snatching away the traditional right of the tribal over forest has brought the problem of unemployment among the Chik-Baraiks. Depletion of forest cover has further worsened the situation and it no longer supplies them minor forest product which could help in sustaining their life. In search of employment they have to migrate elsewhere is search of work, where they have to face other kinds of exploitation and numerous other problems.

Due to change in economic life of the Chik-Baraiks there has been marked change in socio-religious life of the Chik-Baraiks. As their traditional practices of cloth weaving is at vanishing trend, they go for search of employment in cities and urban areas where they come in contact with the people of different faiths and customs and it changes their life style. As the Chik-Baraik youth have come in contact with the modern society, they see people living in palatial buildings, wearing good dresses, traveling car and motor cycle,

eating food. But, their economy forces them just to maintain their existence. Thus frustration develops in them. In order to suppress their frustrations some of them have become drunkard or addicted to other kinds of intoxicants. They have disorganized their personality and have deviated from the norms and values of the society. They are engaged in theft, burglary, wayside robbery and other immoral acts which are not in consonance with their rich tribal heritage.

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Zardozi Embroidery : The Glittering Traditional Indian Art

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Abstract

The present paper presents the new form of the Indian traditional art form – Zardozi embroidery. Earlier it was only restricted to the Royal courts of India i.e. only the kings, emperors and their family members had the beautiful Zardozi embroidery on their outfits, because the materials used were very expensive. Today it is in great demand at National and International level too, and also the favourite of the leading designers, who are using this beautiful, gorgeous art form of India, in their outfits, maybe every rampwalk, earning name, fame and money globally!

Keywords : traditional art, rampwalk, ari needle, royal, gorgeous

Introduction

Different styles of Indian embroidery have been handed down from generation to generation such as Zardozi, Chikankari, Sujni, Kantha, Kasuti, Toda, mirror work. The passion for embroidery in India has led to great experimentation in the field, with several styles, creating dazzling effects such as the 'stained glass' look, the long cross stitch, rice stitch, textured panels and much more. One can see embroidery on wall hangings, saris, textiles and garments, incorporating unique motifs and patterns. Zardozi is one of the oldest and most beautiful embroidery styles of India. It is used extensively in clothing and home decoration. Painstakingly and delicately done by hand, creations in Zardozi work are timeless, unbounded by the shackles of trends.

After Vedic Age, this beautiful, gorgeous, glittering Indian traditional art was losing existence due to the expensive and monotonous work. In the 16th century, Md. Bin Tuglak presented a gorgeous outfit to the king of Nagar, Raja Krishnadev Roy with Zari work embroidery. The real origin of this hand embroidery is from Iran and Persia. This art form revived its existence after the ruling period of Aurangzeb. The Mughal era brought the richness and revival of this traditional art. Samrat Akbar played an important role,

showing great interest to promote this handicraft, because after Persian invasion, he was very much impressed by the Persian art. So, he organized a workshop with Indian and Persian craftsmen, which resulted into a beautiful, gorgeous and rich traditional art form of India, which played golden magic on any fabric and was the combination of Indian and Persian skills. In 18th and 19th century, Indian garment industries started establishing, and a number of manufacturers, production houses took lead of the garment industries. Then in 1913, Indian cinema was launched which bought the fashion awareness among the public. Then gradually costume designers were introduced, who always preferred, the Indian traditional art Zardozi for their designing. Today a number of leading Indian designers launch their costumes, which always glitter, shine and leave an impressive image in the Ramp shows. A Ramp show is organized today in every city to launch and forecast any design or style in coming future.

Zardozi is done with a special ARI needle. A special wooden rectangular frame (ADDA) with holes, is used to tighten up the fabric for better embroidery.

The Rampshow is presented by a fashion week i.e. Delhi Fashion week DFW in Delhi, Bangalore Fashion week BFW in Bangalore, Mumbai Fashion week MFW in Mumbai. Not

only in India, but internationally also, Rampshows are organized like Paris Bombay, Paris Fashion week, Pantaloon Miss Universe, Lakme India Fashion week, Vogue India Fashion week and much more!

There are so many Indian designers using Zardozi for the Rampwalks: Ritu Kumar, Tarun Tehliani, Manish Arora, Abu Jani Sandeep Khosla, Manish Malhotra and many more are the budding designers.

Some International designers like Malini Ramani, Giorgio Armani, Versace, Karl Lagerfield used Zardozi for Rampwalks and took inspiration from Indian traditional art.

Materials and Methods

The present study is based on primary as well as secondary sources. Primary data has been collected through personal interviews with the help of question schedule. Secondary data has been collected through available literature in the form of books, Journals, reports and websites.

Results and Discussions

After the primary and secondary data analysis, the importance and demand of “Zardozi – the Indian traditional art”, among the designers was clearly viewed. Every designer whether Indian or designers from abroad, is giving

value and importance to the Indian traditional art in variety of ways in their designs. For displaying the launch of any new design or style in the market today, be it at national or international level, Indian fashion designers are the ones, who embellish beauty of the garment, globally, for both Indian and western wears. They have brought a storm, in the world of glamour, by using Indian traditional art Zardozi embroidery in their designs.

“Ramp Walk” is a fashion show, where a designer is offered to launch and display his/her creativity and skill, which is unique and mind blowing. The viewers are not the general public but the buyers, merchandisers, manufacturers, budding designers, colour companies, accessory designers, wholesalers and retailers. These rampwalks give inspiration and opportunity to newcomers in the world of designing.

All the above sectors decide the success of a designer’s creativity and popularity.

The tables below are on the basis of primary & secondary data analysed:

Primary Data analysis – The primary data I have used comes from budding i.e. upcoming designers. Their views about the topic are shown below in the table of content below:

PRIMARY DATA ANALYSIS

NAME OF THE DESIGNERS USING ZARDOZI	INTERVIEW FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF ZARDOZI IN RAMPWALKS
<p>Pragya Piyali NIFT Designer, Delhi At present, Beauty editor Mariclame (Fashion Magazine)</p>	<p>“Zardozi is very much popular and favoured embellishment of today’s famous designers. Ritu Kumar, Manish Malhotra, Abu Jani Sandeep Khosla and much more! All of them are rocking on the Rampwalk, with their designs hit with Zardozi. All the leading stars, celebrities formal outfits have the embellishment with Zardozi in their outfits. Not only Indian brands, but the famous International brands are also inspired by the Indian Zardozi and they also used it for their Rampwalks! Few of the international designers that used Zardozi in Rampwalks: Georjee Armani, Donatella Versace, Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfigger Vallentino.”</p>
<p>Rishi Kumar NIFT Designer At present, Jabang.com</p>	<p>Rampwalk, with their designs, hit with Zardozi. All the leading stars, celebrities formal outfits have the embellishment with Zardozi in different</p>

	ways. Not only India, the famous International brands are also inspired by the Indian Zardozi and they also used it for their rampwalks! like Georjee Armani, Donatella Versace, Ralph Lauren, Tommy Hilfigger Valentino.”
Senur Singhal Topper, Graduate Fashion Designing Department, Marwari College, Ranchi	Every designer today, has a dream to introduce their styles & ideas, shine and dazzle with Zardozi embroideries on rampwalk, whether Indian or international, through which he/she comes in limelight globally.
Sharmila Murugan NIFT designer, Mumbai At present, pursuing Animation designing	Zardozi gives gold magic to the fabric embroidered with it. All the rampwalks glitter with Indian Zardozi work globally, introducing a number of designers.
Swati Bhardwaj P.G. Pearl, Jaipur Running M.Sc. Fashion Designing Institute & NGO	Today all Indian and western formals are dazzling with Zardozi on rampwalks.
Ritu Kumari P.G. Pearl Fashion Academy, Delhi At present, CCI, Central Cottage Industries, Govt. of India, Delhi as management trainee, designing and production.	All the fashion weeks rampwalks, whether Indian or international level – they are influenced with Zardozi, in different styles!
Smita Kumari Graduate Fashion Designing Department, Marwari College. At present, Jewellery Designer, China	I am proud to be an Indian, because in China also, Indian traditional art Zardozi is dazzling in fashion show/rampwalks.
Anamika Singh Director IIFT - Ranchi	All the rampwalks whether National or international is full of Zardozi designs.
Minakshi Kumari Graduate Fashion Designing, Marwari College, At present, Senior Co-ordinator at PG. Jaipur Pearl, Silk and Textiles, Jharkraft, Ranchi	Demand of Zardozi, the Indian traditional art form is not only at national but international levels also!
Amrita P.G. NIFT Mumbai At present – Senior Designer, Jharkraft, Ranchi	Any design dazzles and glitters when designed and decorated with Zardozi.
Sarika Desai Fashion designer, Mumbai	She says “Gold and glittering Zardozi embroidery can take you eye up in the style scale anytime, anywhere. For my personality, I love golden embroidery with dusty shades that changes my look to the complete gorgeous one!”
Shruti Sancheri Fashion designer, Nagpur	She says “Gold look is the ideal look for the coming festive season and works well for all the events. Right from red carpet outfits to antique gold silk sarees or even a western golden

	offshoulder satin top, gold always makes heads turn.”
Pratibha Kumari Graduate Fashion Designing, Marwari College At present – Senior Designer, Jharkraft, Ranchi	Glittering Zardozi shines on the rampwalk at national and international levels.
Ninrata Chawla	Every fashion show/rampwalks/media presents the Indian traditional art Zardozi, making India proud globally.

**SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS:
(DETAILS OF THE RAMPWALKS OF THE FASHION DESIGNERS)**

RITU KUMAR, INDIA/ABROAD	
MEDIA	NEWS PUBLISHED
Websites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Ritu kumar- KFW-II kicks off. September 9, 2009 (entertainment.greatimes.com/2009/09/09/...ritukumarcollection32152 Bollywood Saarc Fashion Show, Asian Models. Rampwalk India by Ritu Kumar Neha Dhupia Rampwalk in Ritu Kumar show R.K.'s Amby Valley Rampwalk in Mumbai R.K.'s Bridal Collection Rampwalk Priyanka Chopra at R.K.'s Rampwalk Lakme Fashion Week - 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 Kolkata Fashion Week - 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 WILLS Lakme India Fashion Week - 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 Sunsilk Bridal Asia – 2002, KFW II Brazilian model/actor, walks the ramp for R.K's Collection at MILAP fashion shows. Models – Lakme Fashion week winter/festive 2012 Pantaloon Femina Miss India Ramp week 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 MMF, Bangalore Fashion show Fashion: Housefull 2 Movie star Rampwalk Sonakshi Sinha dazzles on Ritu's Bridal collection Rampwalk IJW Rampwalk (for Hindi Cinema)
TARUN TAHILIANI, INDIA/ABROAD	
MEDIA	NEWS PUBLISHED
Websites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Wills Lifestyle 2011 rampwalks with Zardozi work on Kalidar kurtas, Jackets and more. International solo show rampwalks at London, DORCHESTER in 1994, has given a breakthrough.

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Brand label “Ahilan” launched resulting in mega fashion shows in all the major cities of the world! 4. Milan Fashion week rampwalks in 2003 lead to his highest achievements. 5. Rampwalk for Bridal collection with his favourite brides: Eisha Deol, Bharti Pasricha, Tanya Godrej, Priya Sachdev Chatwal, Sussanne Roshan, Shilpa Shetty. 6. Lakme fashion week rampwalks – 2009 with all the designers signature creations presenting jewelled luxury jeans wear for women using art Zardozi. 7. Lakme India fashion week 2010 presenting special gorgeous outfits on Zardozi. 8. Special show for Bridal collection on October 29th, 2010 – Vintage Bridal collection. 9. Wills Lifestyle India Fashion week – 2011, 2012 10. “A return of craft” 2 days rampwalk at Lifestyle India fashion week. 11. Rampwalk with Vidyut Jammwal in Delhi couture week.
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ROHIT BAL, INDIA/ABROAD

MEDIA	NEWS PUBLISHED
Websites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shows in New York, London, Dubai, Singapore and Paris. 2. Rampwalks in Paris fashion week. 3. Launched brand “Rohit Bal” with a rampwalk with Zardozi outfits, which is doing wonders in fashion world. 4. Awarded as “India’s master of fabric fantasy” at a fashion show.

NEETA LULLA, INDIA/ABROAD

MEDIA	NEWS PUBLISHED
Websites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rampwalk for hema malini’s pastel sarees, priyanka chopra’s kurtis with glittering work of Zardozi. 2. Rampwalks held abroad in countries like USA, Europe, Dubai, Shanghai displaying the flavour of India fashion Zardozi and lifestyle.

MANISH MALHOTRA, INDIA/ABROAD

MEDIA	NEWS PUBLISHED
Websites	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rampwalk for Bridal collection with Zardozi outfits – 2009-2012 2. Spring/Summer collection rampwalk PINKVILLA– 2010-2012 3. Rampshow at United Arab Emirates 4. Rampshow at India Fashion week 5. Rampshow at Lakme Fashion week – 2009-2012, presenting royal, resplendent brides wearing gorgeous Zardozi outfits. 6. Rampshow, India Bridal week, 2010 at Ambi Valley, Mumbai (in RED colour outfits) 7. Manish Malhotra Zardozi bridal collection rampwalk for Pakistani girls.

	8. Delhi couture week – rampwalk with Pink and Golden Zardozi bridal outfits. 9. Wills India Fashion week – 2012 using Zardozi outfits 10. Manish Malhotra bridal show at Taj Hotel, Mumbai using Zardozi work. 11. 2012 Toronto International Film festival rampwalk with Zardozi outfits. 12. 2011 Doha Film Festival for international celebrities wearing beautiful Zardozi work outfits. 13. Ethnic wear Zardozi rampwalk in Atlantic city, New Jersey on November 21, 2007 14. Mijwan show Wills Lifestyle India Fashion Week, forecast for Spring/Summer, 2013
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There are some more creative Indian designers, using Zardozi in all the rampwalks national or international level:

Indian Designers

1. Manish mal
2. Hemant Trivedi
3. Arjun Khanna
4. J.J.Valya
5. Suneet Verma
6. Rocky.S
7. Satya Paul
8. Aki Narula
9. Azeem Khan
10. Shahab Durazi
11. Raghuvendra Rathore
12. Sabyasachi Mukherjee
13. Shantanu & Nikhil
14. Ashish Soni
15. Rina Dhaka

Designers from Abroad, influenced by Indian Zardozi

1. Valentino
2. Jeorjeo Armani
3. John Galiano
4. Ralph Lauren
5. Stella Mc Cartney
6. Tommy Hilfiger
7. Wendell Rodricks

Grand Revival of Indian traditional art – Zardozi : Today’s designers are designing the designs, with the Indian traditional artform

Zardozi, and by doing this, they are reviving and keeping alive the Indian traditional art.

Every Indian formal and western formal are jewelled with Zardozi embroiders, and the fragrance of the beauty of this artform is expanding across the shores i.e. globally!

Marketing : Zardozi embellished outfits have always been 'en vogue' especially for weddings and special ceremonies. During the last fifty years, the revival of Zardozi has been phenomenal. Not only is it found in the latest designer outlets, but it is being used yet again for interiors of mega weddings and grand ceremonies. Today the Indian ramp is ablaze with products of the craftspeople — the materials may not have the same aesthetic of the Mughals, but they do cater to the demand for highly ornamented garments with glittering beads and sequins. With the change in times and demand, the Zardozi craftsman has become vital to the garments 'en vogue' in Hollywood and Bollywood.

Conclusion

By the end of the Mughal era, the art declined because of its high cost and the lack of precious metals for the purpose of embroidery. It was again revived in the 20th century. Today, like everything else, Zardozi too has its limitations: being sold in the market at a much cheaper cost, made out of copper and brass wires plated with gold. The latest additions are colored Zardozi with a plastic base. Far more pocket friendly, this new Zardozi lasts longer and is lighter to wear.

At times the base fabrics have plastic replacements in place of what was formerly

pure gold and the motifs are so far removed from the original, that the product does not resemble what had at one time bedazzled visitors to the royal courts of India. The days of using real gold and silver thread are now history. What one can get, however, is synthetic or 'tested' zari embroidery. The richness of gold may no longer grace the work of Zardozi craftsman, but the glitter and glamour endures - hopefully it will for years to come. Zardozi is as tenacious as the wires the craftsmen work with.

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Peasantry in Akbar's Reign

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Abstract

India being an agricultural country since time immemorial played an important role in determining the economic condition of any period. The fame and popularity of a ruler basically depended on his land revenue policy, which was indirectly associated with the peasant class. Akbar, the great, won over the hearts of Indian peasantry primarily for the improvement of the economic condition of the country and his people. The state paid special attention towards the peasantry class as they knew the prosperity of the kingdom depended on them. The expansion of agriculture was the chief aim of Akbar. He tried to bring more and more land under cultivation. The peasant class played a major role in determining the economic condition of the empire. Kharif and Rabi crops were grown similar to that of present India. Villages formed the smallest unit known as 'gaon' or 'mauza'. Peasants were classified into three types of groups known as 'Riayah'. The clothing, food and houses were similar to that of present India. The farmers had to face frequent famines and plague. Akbar introduced various experiments of which TodarMal's 'Ain-i-Dahsala' proved to be most successful. The peasants had to pay taxes which sometimes became burdensome. In times of need peasants were extended 'taqavi' loans. The land was primarily divided into four classes depending on the duration for which it was cultivated. 'Diwans' played a major role in the collection of revenue and managing the land revenue structure. 'Gaz' and 'Bigha' were the basic units of land measurement. The land revenue policy of Akbar was peasant friendly and also ensured enhanced land revenue structure. The peasants had great autonomy and the condition of peasants was definitely better off than under any other mughal ruler.

Keywords : diwan, pargana, riayah, ain-i-dahsala

Introduction

The Indian peasantry the backbone of Akbar's reign formed the foundation stone of the economic structure of his empire. The economic structure of the empire determined the military condition, especially supported the mansabdari system of his administrative setup. Akbar paid great attention to the condition and prosperity of the peasant class. The uncultivated land was brought under cultivation and the peasants were helped in adverse circumstances. The contemporary records do not provide any details regarding the method of cultivation, which might have been similar to that of early medieval and ancient times. However, the use of hoe, a mattock and oxen etc. has been mentioned in the sources. The practice of rotation of crops was known to the peasants. Two types of crops were grown annually- kharif and Rabi crops. Wheat was grown in Agra. The agricultural produce was under the zamindars who in turn paid the revenue to the central government. Cultivators were known as "asami" or "mazarra" which was used for unprivileged

class. Peasants were also known as Khudakastha, Pahikastha and Muqarra. Basically peasants were of three classes - 'RiayahPahikastha', who had field and house in different villages, 'RiayahKhudakastha', who had field and house in the same village, 'MuqarrariRiayah', were those who had possession larger than they could cultivate.

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

Akbar, the great paid great attention towards the prosperity of the peasantry class. He tried to bring more and more land under cultivation. The farmers were helped in adverse circumstances and extended loan for help. If we look into the condition of the farmers, their living standards, lifestyle we find it more or less similar to that of present India. Cereals, fruits,

vegetables were also grown of which many were introduced from foreign countries.

As far as food habits are concerned they ate rice, jowar, bajra, cereals, so we can say the fooding habits of farmers was very simple. Salt was more expensive than wheat ,use of chillies was not known and cloves was the cheapest. The peasants used toddy for intoxication. Riayah in Akbar's reign led a simple life and wore simple clothing. Peasants of Bihar wore langota and women used short dhotis.They used to live in simple huts made of mud and covered with straw.

The peasants had to face three adversaries-the officers of the revenue department, natural calamities and wild beasts . The farmers had to face the famines also. Famines have been recorded in 1555-1556 in Delhi and Agra region during Akbar's reign. Badauni, had witnessed the scene of cannibalism and it was tormentous to observe such a situation. Five another famines occurred during 1573-1595 in Gujarat . The Jesuit missionaries have also described the horrors of the famines other than Gujarat in Lahore and Kashmir also. The famines sometimes made the farmers live a frugal life and they tried their best to fight such tough situations.

Akbar tried his best to help the peasants and introduced various measures in Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi and Ajmer. Barley and rice was grown in almost all parts of India, but the quality of rice grown in Bihar was the best. Rice was also grown in Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, and Multan. Cotton was grown in Khandesh and Berar. Indigo was also grown in large areas. Vegetables such as spinach, turnip, cabbage, ginger, carrot, radish, lemon and potatoes were grown. Fruits like melon, apple, grapes, guava and pomegranate were grown. During Akbar's reign maximum production of Saffron happened in Kashmir, and it amounted upto 400 maunds. Village was the smallest working unit surrounded by fields. It had land for pasture and forest for fuel and for other purposes. Villages were known as 'gaon' and "mauza". There were two types of villages "asli" that is having habitation intact and "Dakhili " that was the deserted village. There were two types of "raiya" village which

belonged to the the 'Khalsa' land the taluqa villages were used for experiments to improve the condition of the peasants and to enhance the revenue from land. Akbar's first experiment started in 1563, with the appointment of Aitmad Khan as the Imperial Diwan. Aitmad Khan for his experimentation ,divided the empire into 12 parganas, Akbar for his second experiment appointed Muzaffar Khan and for his third experiment he appointed Shihabudin Ahmad as the imperial Diwan. However, in his first, second, third experiment Akbar did not succeed much. Akbar for his fourth and fifth experiment appointed Todar Mal as his Imperial Diwan. A uniform method of measurement was adopted known as the 'Ain-I- Dahsala' or the Bandobast system. It was based on the Zabti system also known as the ryotwari system. Initially it was introduced in eight provinces -- Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore, and Multan. For this the whole empire was divided into Dasturs. Provinces were divided into Sarkars or districts, Sarkars were further divided into Parganas or tehsils. Officers named 'Amalguzars' were especially appointed in the district level to look into the matters of revenue administration.

Each, cultivator was provided with a "patta' or 'deed' regarding the payment of revenue. The produce and prices of last ten years , were recorded and one-tenth of the total was taken for one year. Todar Mal prepared maps for showing different land- holdings and based on this assessed the rents to be paid. New techniques of units and measurement was owned up. A yard was called a 'gaz' which was of 41 digits and a 'bigha' was equal to an area of 60 yards square. Land was divided into four types-- 'Polaj' was the land which was continously cultivated, 'Parauti' was the land which was left untilled for sometime so that it can regain it's fertility, 'Chachar' was the land which was left uncultivated for three to four years, 'Banjar' was the wasteland.

During Akbar's reign we see that he took various steps to improve the revenue administration and in retrospect he strengthened his army . If we take Bihar Subah as a special case during Akbar's regime and as references

found in Ain_i-Akbari of AbulFazl , we find that Bihar was very fertile land and it supported a huge army constituting the cavalry and infantry. In those times Bihar recieved rains for atleast six months a year and the land was very fertile. Bihar was known for its quality of rice. Kisari , the name of a pulse resembled peas was mostly eaten by the poor people. Betel leaf specially those known as 'Maghi' was beautiful in colour ,fragrant and rich in taste. At Maner a flower named Muchakand was grown . In the sarkar of Hajipur the fruits Kathal and Barhal were grown in abundance. The Subah constituted of seven Sarkars which was sub-divided into 199 Parganas. The gross revenue from this region was 22Krorrs,19 lakhs,19,404.5 dams. The sarkar of Bihar contained 46 Mahals, and 952,598 Bighas. The revenue which was obtained from this region was 80,196,390 dams in cash from special crops this revenue supported 2,115 cavalry and 67,350 infantry. ,

Sarkar of Champaran : Contained 3mahals, 85,711, Bighas, 5 Biswas. Revenue 5,513,420 Dams, Army supported, 700 horsemen, 30,000 infantry

Bighas & Biswas	Revenue (dams)
Samrun : 7,200	2 500.095
Mehsi : 56,095	7 3,518,435
Majhora : 22,145	16 1,404,890

Similarly we find references of the sarkar of Hajipur, Saran, Tirhut, Rohtas in which we find references of the revenue collected and the army it supported. The revenue which was collected from the farmers played a major role in improving the administrative structure and also the mansabdarisystem ,which is very clear from the example of Bihar made as a special reference. So, we see that farmers were the pillars of the revenue structure during the regime of Akbar.

Conclusion

Land revenue formed the major part of the income of Akbar's regime. During Akbar's reign in Kashmir the state demand was one-third but in reality it was two-thirds. Revenue was calculated as one- third of average produce of previous ten years and was to be paid in cash.

This system was later made more precise by taking into account the local prices , The state gave remmissions to the farmers if the harvest failed. The land policy of Akbar was peasant friendly. He introduced quality assessment to ensure enhanced land revenue for his expanding empire. Akbar encouraged the improvement and extension of agriculture. The zamindars of every area was directed to provide loans and implements in times of need to the peasants. 'Taqavi' loans were given to the farmers who were in great need. However, it seems that not much adequate steps were taken to improve the condition of the peasants . When the farming season ended farmers left the villages and worked as basket makers., weavers or water carrier. The system of migrant farmers it seems existedduring Akbar's rule. If steps would have been taken farmers would not have left their homes in search of work. Certainly, we can say Akbar thought about the peasantry class and about their welfare but much was left to be done. Peasants were independent and were treated with respect and admiration. Akbar, took various steps to improve the condition of the peasants but it had scope for further improvement. K. M. Ashraf says," that the lot of the farmers was miserable and lived in constant starvation . But this is also true that the condition of peasants was good in Akbar's reign to that of other Mughal rulers. The peasant society of Akbar's reign had more autonomy and was adorned with respect and admiration. The condition of peasants in Akbar's reign was definitely good than under any mughalruler. The peasant society of pre- British India had more autonomy and was adorned with respect and admiration".

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Impact of Real Employment on Accessibility of Livelihood : A Case Study of Dumka District

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Abstract

The general conception of employment is that it makes easy the access of livelihood. On the basis of a survey on the general condition of Rikshawpuller of Dumka district who is unskilled labour, it is found that even they earn sufficient income to meet the minimum level of substances still their condition is unsatisfactory and due to less marginal propensity to save (MPS), investment is never to be equal to saving while it is covered by various government welfare programme. Only by strong willingness to save and changed psychology can uplift their status in society and standard of living so they can equally participate in development of the economy of Santhal Pargana. And Government should know that despite all the good efforts, why the objectives of welfare programme has been not fulfilled.

Keywords : unorganized sector, employment, consumption, psychology

Introduction

Employment is a very important active factor for income determination. It also helps in bringing new demand in the market. Thus it really leads to increase in the standard of living for betterment of life of any individual. An employed person may be skilled or semi skilled and enjoy a good income in comparative terms. And it is a good question of consideration that whether the employment gives the real picture of the status of livelihood of individual or it is the real indicator of a good standard of living. The answer lies in the state of strong willingness to save and to its relative change so that he can uplift his socio-economic condition.

Materials and Methods

This work is based on the interview of 100 selected (sample) rikshawpullers residing in Dumka. Stratified data technique is used for collecting data. Multidimensional variant technique has been used for data analysis. We also analyzed the secondary data. It has given a lot of insight to understand the real picture of all the government sponsored welfare programmes. The published literature of the Government , such as manual reports (yearly and quarterly), marked handouts, and various circulars issued from time to time and other published literature also help in understanding the role of Government policy in protection of environment and rehabilitation as a policy

towards development of a better condition for rikshawpuller.

Results and Discussions

In India, employment is a big problem with less consideration on the part of the government in different sectors which can be reflected as employment elasticity in major sectors:

The employment elasticity in Jharkhand state

1972-73	1983-84	1987-88	2009-10	Sector
0.64	0.49	0.36	0.2	Agriculture
0.95	0.67	0.85	0.80	Manufacturing
0.55	0.42	0.26	0.18	Construction
0.35	1.00	1.00	0.91	Electricity, Gas and Water
1.00	0.74	0.48	0.31	Transport, Storage
0.76	0.92	0.35	0.22	Services
0.61	0.55	0.38	0.26	All State

(Sources: Economic Survey 2009-2010)

is almost 0.56 that means that there is less importance of agriculture in comparison to manufacturing and service sector. Here there is a big number of unskilled labourers in which rikshaw pullers are one of them. Dumka in Jharkhand state is a small town with all of its quality rituals, customs and rhythm like a traditional city. Rikshawpullers are one of the

important family members of the society. They work night and day and earn wages. They have less accessibility of livelihood from this because it is one of unskilled jobs. They carry passengers and their luggage from one place to their destination so their nature of work is so hard they pull it for many times of their capacity. For short distance they get five to ten rupees and for long distance twenty five to thirty rupees. In a month they almost earn six thousand rupees. They borrow Rickshaw from owner of the Garage. In fact one Rikshawpuller has four members in family. Children of Rikshawpuller working as child labor is a big social problem because the girl child in few cases is indulged in prostitution and the boy child works as a servant in a hotel or in a home or in some small shops and being exploited. They do use charcoal in place of gas for cooking food. They take bath in pond or pokra, where they wash their cloths also and for toilet and urinals, they use open field so early in the morning. Usually, they live in mud built houses on rent basis. They wear old and cheap clothes. The husband and wife always quarrel with each other. This disturbs the psychological nature of their children. In winter and rainy season their labour becomes so hard because they do not get passenger easily. But during these periods their drinking expenditure increases.

Woman of the family work as maidservant and earns almost fifteen hundred rupees per month. She does saving by keeping the payment in the hand of the household lady by saying that she will take that amount at that time when she will need it most. She uses it in small requirement of the daily life or during fest and festivals. Its effect is negligible because it does not contribute in saving. It gives a good base because Rikshawpuller contributes only forty to sixty rupees in their home to meet the general expenses. The marginal propensity to consume (MPC) of rikshawpuller is very high almost they spend one hundred fifty rupees out of two hundred rupees per day it means what they earn they spend it on consumption of food (twenty rupees), payment to Rickshaw owner (twenty rupees), drinking wine (fifty rupees), gambling and lottery (sixty rupees). If they earn some money after continue work of two or

three days they do not work then because they think that they have enough money to spend at that time and they take wine and sleep for two days almost. Mindset of rikshawpuller is fixed for this act. The factors that affect their life are education, health, housing, clothing, entertainment etc. are not considered yet.

Their marginal propensity to save (MPS) is almost negligible, so they are not very much worried about the better future and for a good standard of living. They do not have an account in Bank. Keynes advocates that money is demanded for speculative motive too. But in this case the gambling and lottery habit of Rikshawpuller only creates curiosity does not give any return and is a social evil. Rikshawpullers are also pursued by demonstration effect negatively. They trap themselves in feelings of false status. On the basis of wholesale and consumer or commodity price index the minimum spending of a Rikshawpuller should be thirty three hundred per month to meet the minimum requirement of life in Dumka district while their approximate income is six thousand rupees. But due to bad habit (drinking wine, intoxicants and gambling) and mentality problem their saving is almost zero. It means saving is never being equal to investment.

The society of Rikshawpuller comes under all the provisions of government welfare programme as a BPL family. The advantage of Annpurna Yojana (35 kg of cereal), Mid Day Meal Scheme, Sarwa Shiksha Abhiyan, Public Distribution system, Indira Awas Yojna etc. It does mean that employment and access availability are the two contradictory things. Despite the help of Government their condition not improved so it is also the duty of society and government to uplift the condition of Rikshawpuller. They are earning more than a minimum level of substances but merely employment does not mean that no saving can uplift their condition for betterment of life.

In fact people must have a willingness to grow or to reform their standard of living by increasing their marginal propensity to save and should open an account in Bank to keep their small amount so their future will be secure and stable. For this they have to leave some of

their bad habits so they will be able to increase their status in society and can participate in the development of an economy. So merely employment does not uplift the economic condition of Rikshawpuller in Dumka district, but also their strong will to save and willingness to convert it into the investment can change the scenario and means of livelihood will be easily available. Employment problem in the developing countries cannot be interpreted as simply a Keynesian type of involuntary unemployment. A pervasive problem is that of the "working poor" those who actually work long hours but earn only a low income below poverty line. The disguised unemployed constitute another major dimension of the employment problem. Beyond measures of 'open involuntary unemployment' it is just as important, if not more so, to have measures of "underemployed" and "disguised unemployed."

We might usually think of a range of unemployment, beginning at one extreme with open unemployment in the urban area defined as "zero hours work and zero income." Beyond this extreme, we can apply four major criteria for determining whether a person may be called unemployed or underemployed. (1) the time criteria, (2) the income criteria, (3) the willingness criteria, and (4) the productivity criteria. Thus we may call a person unemployed or underemployed if either: (1) by time criteria, he is gainfully occupied during the year for a number of days less than some number of days defined as full employment days; (2) by the income criteria, he earns an income per year less than some desirable minimum; (3) by the willingness criteria, he is willing to do more work than he is doing at present, he may either be actively searching for more work or be available for more work if it is offered on terms to which he is accustomed to; or (4) by the productivity criteria, he is removable from his present work in the sense that his contribution to output is less than some normal productivity, and therefore his removal would not reduce the output if the productivity of the remaining workers is normalized with minor changes in technique or organization. Keeping in view the recommendations of the Committee of Experts on Unemployment, the

National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) has developed and standardized concepts and definitions of labor force, employment and unemployment suitable to Indian conditions. These concepts have not only been adopted by the NSSO for conducting surveys on employment since 1972-73, but have also been accepted by the Planning Commission for analyzing the dimension of the unemployment problem. The three concepts of unemployment developed by the NSSO are: (i) Current Usual Status Unemployment, (ii) Current Weekly Status Unemployment and (iii) Current Daily Status Unemployment.

Responsibility of Government

- ♦ To measure the earning capacity of a Rikshawpuller
- ♦ To make successful forecasting of programs.
- ♦ To contact the sources of economic information and experts.
- ♦ Measurement of all possible economic trends in developments.
- ♦ To achieve respectable status in society

Suggestions

- ♦ Pressure on Livelihoods and local knowledge.
- ♦ Economic Development with resource conservation concerns.
- ♦ Raising questions relating to community economics and sustainable development.
- ♦ A game model of people's participation in efficiency management.
- ♦ Environmental issues.
- ♦ Policies and politics in rural management of Jharkhand.
- ♦ Strategies for Rural poverty alleviation in Jharkhand.
- ♦ Importance of modern techniques.
- ♦ Redefining community-state partnership in natural resource management.
- ♦ Programs for initiation of failed developments projects.
- ♦ Credit and labor management.
- ♦ Use of indigenous knowledge in development problems and challenges

- ♦ Population economy ,
- ♦ Human resource and the environment.
- ♦ Rural development-the strategic option of youth employment.
- ♦ Long term social and economic development.

Conclusion

This paper has detailed the enormous benefits of willingness to save with investment in human capital enables individuals to increase their future earnings and enhance their experience in the labor market in the context of poor mentality of Rikshawpuller of Dumka who do labor but due to lack of the mentality of no saving still their position is bad. My work is to focus in the information economy of the 21st century, to enhance labor force productivity and to change the psychology/mentality of Rikshawpuller for growth and to make aware the Government for the reasons of failure of their welfare programmes and policies so that the individuals will become better citizens and parents in addition to being better workers.

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Suicide : A Psycho-Social Approach

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Abstract

The present paper is an attempt to highlight the nature of suicide in a psycho social perspective. In this paper the researcher has presented different symptoms of suicide which an individual experiences when he/she is on a high stress. It is also an attempt to present different causes of suicide. In the light of important case studies which was recorded by the researcher himself. The original name and identity have not been revealed in the case studies due to research ethics. The researcher has also highlighted the preventive and curative techniques of suicide.

Keywords : symptoms, anger, anxiety, fear, cure

Introduction

Suicide as an issue that has attracted the attention of society since time immemorial. The word suicide was first used by Sir Thomas Browne in 1642 in his *Religio Medici*. The word originated from *SUI* (of oneself) and *CAEDES* (murder). So it was considered as murder of oneself. Since then, the word has evoked constant and continuous debate and has been defined in various ways for medical, social, psychological, administrative, legal, spiritual and religious purposes.

In Indian context suicide is commonly referred to as 'Atmhatya'. According to Hindu mythology, the death of lord Rama led to mass suicides in Ayodhya. Some parts of the Vedas emphasized suicide as a ritual; later the Upanishads condemned suicide. However, after the war of Mahabharata, King Yudhishtira thought of committing suicide by giving up food and water. In earlier days suicide acts by certain categories of people, such as widows, the terminally ill and the aged as well as death at holy places, was accepted in Indian culture. The practice of Sallekhana, by which a devotee ended his life by gradual starvation, exists in Jainism even today. The custom of Sati (self immolation by a woman over the funeral pyre of her husband) and Johar (mass suicide among Rajput woman to avoid molestation by soldiers invading their land), were practices for a long time in India. In 1820's Raja Ram Mohan Roy started a movement to abolish Sati and it was abolished in 1829 by the British government.

Suicide has been defined in a number of ways, According to WHO, 2001 Suicide means an intentional or voluntary determination to end ones life. In suicide, the willingness to die originates within the person, it is state in which choices or options are never considered before the act.

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

Symptoms or Characteristics of Suicide :

According to WHO 2001, there are some common symptom practices among suicide-prone individuals such as:

- ♦ Frequent Sadness
- ♦ Weeping spells
- ♦ Anxiety and restlessness
- ♦ Mood swings(extreme happiness to sadness)
- ♦ Excessive smoking or drinking
- ♦ Repetitive, continuous sleep disturbances
- ♦ Confusion and irritability
- ♦ Decreased interest in daily activities (hygiene, appearance, eating, sleeping)
- ♦ Hinting at suicide(eg. This is the last time we need, I will put an end to all this suffering)

- ♦ Difficulty in decision making
- ♦ Self injurious behaviour (starving, injuring self)
- ♦ Having a strained and difficult relations with the spouse or other family members
- ♦ Becoming highly religious or atheist
- ♦ Exercising special care in distributing money or property

“**High risk individuals**” live in certain situations and are more prone to suicides as stated by WHO (2001). These are the persons:

- ♦ Losing their status, jobs and income
- ♦ Facing certain economic loss such as crop failure, natural disaster
- ♦ Expressing their loss of confidence, self esteem and faith
- ♦ Feeling guilt, shame, hatred, worthlessness, hopelessness and helplessness
- ♦ Repeating that “destiny is calling them”, “hearing words from God”
- ♦ With history of previous suicidal attempts
- ♦ Showing decreasing interest in hobby, sex and other activities which they enjoyed earlier
- ♦ Recently discharged from hospitals such for cancer, HIV and other chronic diseases

These are the symptoms which are commonly found among suicidal persons or high risk individuals. If we know an individual with these symptoms we must reach out and help as early as possible, our intervention can save a life or prevent a suicidal act.

Causes of Suicide

As far as the causes of the suicide are concerned psychologists and other medical scientists have grouped a number of causes into socio economic factors, religious and cultural factors, family system and bio-chemical imbalances.

Socio-Economic Factors : Behavioural scientists are of the view that cultural beliefs, social standards, gender bias, education problem, income levels, living status, growing aspirations, pressures of modern life, the need to excel and compete in the modern world, employment issues, marriage related factors, interpersonal conflict, breakdown of family

values and systems, serious illness, social isolation and death of a loved one are all responsible for suicidal thoughts among the people. Frequently, these factors (financial losses, family conflict and failure in life etc) are cumulative, repetitive, and progressive may act as building blocks in the process of committing suicide.

Socio-Political Factors : There are some cases of suicide due to socio-political factors. Such factors are sudden demise of religious or political leaders. The recent example in this stream is the mass suicide in Andhra Pradesh as a result of death of Y.S.Reddy the Chief Minister of the state. His plane crashed and when the news broke people were not ready to take it. Some had cardiac arrest, some committed suicide deliberately and the toll rose to 124.

Religious and cultural factors : Religious and cultural aspects of suicide emanate from strongly held beliefs and value systems. This association in some individuals is propelled more by tolerance, acceptance and respect. The notion that a person has reached his heavenly abode, is closer to God, has complied with the wishes of elders, joined the family in heaven, taken the destined way of living earth, followed a self created path of life can only be explained by religious, spiritual and earthly modes of casualty.

Failing Systems : Studies reveal that the increasing economic turmoil, political unrest, social upheaval, communal disharmony are the major causal factors of suicide. In these situations serious losses or threats of loss of property, loved ones, job, pride, honour, status, independence and support systems operate in major way to push an individual to the state of despair and rejection. Studies reveal that more than 1000 farmers from the three southern states of India, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have committed suicide.

Bio-Chemical Imbalances : Some of the mental health problem such as depression, alcoholism and other substance abused problems and effective disorders cause biological imbalances by themselves, it has been seen that suicidal behaviour runs as distinct feature and requires triggering by dis-

order or adverse psychological factors. The bio-chemical basis of suicide endorses the fact that the decline of certain neuro transmitters in the brain is a major cause.

Some mental health problems carry a high risk of suicide during the course of illness. Bio chemical imbalances in the brain of such individuals alter the rational thinking and judgement, contributing significantly to the occurrence of suicide. Depression is one of the commonest conditions leading to suicide. Alcoholism is known to be distinctly associated with suicides specially when drinking start at an early age. Alcoholism, depression and suicide are known to result in a vivacious circle. The drug users are also more prone to suicide.

Thus, suicide is influenced by ecological and environmental characteristics, the social fabric, individual predispositions and current circumstances, The causes for suicide are multi factorial interlinked cumulative often repetitive and progressive over a period of time. It passes through stages of helplessness, hopelessness, and worthlessness.

Cases in consideration

There are certain cases which the author has encountered at the time of investigating the facts. These cases are as under :

- ♦ “I met a person in the bank who was known to me, what surprised me, that he was transferring all of his money to his son’s account. When I asked him, why are you taking such a major decision of your life at this stage? He replied, I want my son to utilize my wealth in whatever he wants to do”. The very next day he hanged himself. Family members of the deceased were not at all aware of the causes of suicide.

Note: This case shows that the victim of suicide was giving hints by transferring his money to his son. This is one of the clear symptom or clinical picture of the suicidal tendency.

- ♦ In one of the counselling sessions a mother was worried about her daughter that she is attempting to commit suicide. Before attempting the suicide, daughter reportedly was hinting suicidal tendency by saying, “hum nahin rahengey to pata chalega”. “mere marne ke baad meri

ahmiyat maloom hogi”. The family members were ignoring the suicidal hints which caused an attempt to suicide.

Note: In this case again the victim is giving suicidal hints. Mother took serious note and daughter under went a rigorous counselling sessions one after the other.

In both the cases victims could be identified through their clinical picture or symptoms. In one case family members were not at all aware and the victim consequently lost the father. Where as mother identified the suicidal symptoms in the daughter, approached the counsellor and saved the life of her daughter.

Role of family members is instrumental in understanding the problems and providing favorable emotional climate. Family members should know each of their feeling, emotion and temperament. Whenever such maladjustment and abnormality occur, family must be alert and should try its best to solve the problem. If such symptoms are severe in nature then victim should be referred to counsellor.

Member of the family should act as counsellor within the family. They must listen to depressed person. Most of the problem can be solved by listening.

Remedial measures : The prevention of suicide is a big challenge to the society and the nation as well. With the multiple approaches and meaningful interventions, many lives can be saved. Preventing suicide requires interventions at individual, family and societal levels.

At Individual Level : It is the responsibility of each and every individual of the society to save the life of people who are committing suicide. Individual should monitor the behavioural tendency which is at higher risk. Whenever such people are encountered, one should try to establish contact and find out who they are; listen carefully and allow them to talk about themselves and their feelings. Individual must try to recognize the problem and understanding of high risk individual. One should identify the best possible way of helping them in the crisis and release them from their circle of thoughts, be with them and continue to interact, listen and offer support. It is also advisable that the

high risk individual should be engaged in social and recreational activities such as meeting people, talking to friends, watching T.V.

Once a crisis situation has passed it is essential to offer continued support to enable them to overcome challenges in a positive way.

At Family Level

Role of a family is instrumental in molding a negative thought and obsession of high risk individual. The family is the nucleus of all activities in an individual's life. Interpersonal conflicts, disturbed relations and non-harmonious living are the principal triggering or precipitating factors for suicide. Family members can effectively intervene in a number of ways:

- ♦ Identifying warning signals of stress and suicidal tendencies
- ♦ Family members must establish a rapport with high risk individual in the family
- ♦ Establishing close relation with a person by caring, listening, respecting feelings and understanding emotions
- ♦ Trying to minimize conflict at home and developing problems solving exercises jointly with other family members
- ♦ Continuing to observe the reaction and behaviour of the person enacting (fast) even at the slightest suspicion or the doubt
- ♦ Keeping a specific watch on those who are elderly terminally ill, mentally ill and disable

Thus Family member should encourage the person to see timely help from professional, suitable agencies or hospital. They should give love, understanding and support apart from prescribed medicines following suicidal attempts.

At Community Level

Communities, organizations and agencies have an extremely important goal in developing preventive services, emergency services, after care service and preventive programs. WHO has recommended following activities for preventing suicides:

- ♦ Area based help line can be established. 24 hours emergency direct telephone

lines can be great help in this regard

- ♦ Greater publicity and awareness about these help line can be generated by encouraging people to access these services
- ♦ Local volunteer youth services can be developed to act as emergency help line in crisis situation
- ♦ Mental and social health promotional activities in schools and colleges, industries, hospitals and high risk communities can be organized through local programs
- ♦ Educational programs in local languages by using local dialects and communication strategies can be facilitated

Besides these high risk places such as hospitals, jails and lodging establishments should be monitored. It is important to develop mechanism for preventing suicides in these places by special efforts.

At Mass Media Level

Both print and electronic media have a profound impact on the lives of the people. Media can play a positive role in shaping people's thought and can show the direction, avenue or option to a depressed and high risk individual. There are following suggestions, if implemented by the media, could help in preventing suicide:

- ♦ Suicide statistics should be reported to stress the fact that every suicide is a loss to society
- ♦ Celebrity suicide should not be given undue emphasis. Special caution should be exercised reporting such incidents
- ♦ A realistic description of the impact of suicides on survivors, employers and families should be provided and in short term and long term consequences on individuals
- ♦ The mis-conceptions, culture, beliefs and myths about suicide should be explained
- ♦ The local press can be given wide publicity about help lines, crisis, prevention centres, poison treatment centres or agencies providing help to individuals and families
- ♦ The media should work closely with the

local health personnel in ascertaining facts before reporting them

Thus, greater responsibility of media “as a gift to society” is to prepare and inform people that suicide can be prevented.

At Teachers Level

Among the major causes of suicide are examination failure, parental pressure, high expectation of school and colleges, disappointment in love and conflicts. Schools and colleges serve as building blocks of individual life and play a vital role in preventing such activities. Here the role of a teacher becomes instrumental in building value systems setting acceptable individual aspirations and inculcating appropriate goal setting mechanism are of prime importance of preventing suicide. The period of transition from childhood to adolescence is always a turbulent phase. A number of behavioural problems are frequently noticed at this stage such as mood swings, impulsive nature, difficulty in coping, angry behaviour, attraction to the opposite sex etc. a teacher can provide proper supportive help and adequate buffer mechanisms for handling this transformation among children effectively.

Child abuse is an emerging problem in India and abroad such children are often traumatized, victimized and are afraid to share their problems with others due to family and cultural reasons. Teachers can provide comfort and support in overcoming their mental stress. Teachers should also understand that certain adolescents require special attention in schools and colleges due to their high risk susceptibility to suicide.

Teachers should become more socially and psychologically adaptive to the changing realities. Teacher should identify crisis children at an early stage and school days counseling services should be provided to them. In countries where teachers are held in high esteem they can help in building better role models.

Making the school a healthy place through better development of school activities for greater interpersonal relations and preventing harmful behaviour would promote better

interaction amongst students and teachers. According to WHO (2003) setting up crisis intervention programs to resolve interpersonal conflicts, helping children with disorder of substance abuse and promoting trustful communication strategies are vital interventions required in educational institutions. Developing regular counseling and referral services in schools is a crucial step in providing timely help for many children when teachers alone are unable to handle the problem. It is also recommended that regular parent teacher interaction is essential for the development of child's personality in totality.

At Spiritual Level

Spiritual leaders and faith healers occupy a unique position in Indian societies owing to their stature, position, wisdom and capabilities to influence people beliefs and values. Faith healer should be involve in suicide prevention activities at the community level as they are the first level of contact for many health problems. If they play a positive role in identifying suicidal thoughts, behaviour, depressive states and other emotional support to the people it will be a step in the right direction. In India Sufis and saints have had a vital role in providing comfort and emotional support to high risk individuals. These practices of visiting sufis and saints have greater impact in the mind set of the people and resolve conflict at the families and community level.

Conclusion

Suicide has emerged as a global problem. It has socio-economic, cultural, religious, and psychological causes. It has greater impact on human society .suicide can be prevented at individual level, family level, teacher level, Mass media level and religious level.

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The Problem of Migration of Tribal Women: Special Reference to Jharkhand

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Abstract

As far as the migration of the Tribal Women in the area of our concern, there are two aspects of the problem of migration of Jharkhand tribal women. One relates to the lack of opportunities in rural areas and small towns, which compels the people to leave their homes and hearth. The other relates to the miserable condition of living in the large cities. The earnings of majority of the migrants do not support desired life. Migration of Tribal Women is common scenario in Jharkhand. There are many districts of Jharkhand which are highly tribal populated like Ranchi, Gumla, Simdega, Lohardaga, Palamu, Seraikela-Kharswan, Khunti, Ramgarh, Giridih, Pakur, Sahebganj, Dumka, Chatra, Latehar, Hazaribagh and are facing the problem of migration of tribal women.

Keywords : earning problem, rural areas, lack of opportunities, government policy

Introduction

Jharkhand state has come into existence on 15th November 2000 out of the bifurcation of Bihar State. It is situated in the lap of nature, where hills, forests and waterfalls are commonly seen. In this state approximately 1/4th of the total population are schedule tribes. There are 30% ST's in Jharkhand and the major among them are Santhal, Oraon, Munda, HO, Kharia, Bhumij, Birhore, Lohra, Kharwar, Chero, Bedia, Mai Pharia, Mahali etc. Jharkhand is famous for its Unique Tribal folk culture and fragrance of its soil.

This state is rich in minerals and natural resources, although there are so many problems. Among the various problems are one of the burning problem is migration of tribals from Jharkhand.

Tribal women migrate to different metropolitan cities like Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai, besides they also migrate to different states like Punjab, UP, Gujrat, West Bengal, Haryana etc. Mostly Tribal Women are motivated by someone to migrate. They are misguided by brokers, middlemen, Agents, and directly by employers. In some cases they are also motivated by their friends and fellow villagers. They are motivated by the promise of good job opportunities, city life and charm.

Tribal Women migrating to different cities and towns of other states are of different age groups from 18 to 45 years. Most of them are in the age group of 18 to 25 years. In some cases below 18 years girls also migrate. A new pattern of migration is seen that most of tribal women are migrating to bigger 'cities and urban centers that is different from earlier migration pattern. Migrating tribal women are of different matrimonial status like unmarried, just married, married, divorced and separated. Now-a-days it is seen that single women or unmarried daughters are sent to bigger cities in search of work. Single women and tribal girls are however, prone to exploitation not only by employers but also by anti social elements. Migrating tribal women are of different educational status literate and illiterate. Most of migrating tribal women and girls are illiterate. Literate girls and women are mostly educated upto primary and middle school level. Very few of them are educated to secondary and high school level.

Materials and Methods

The materials for the present study of this research article have been taken from relevant books, journals and articles. The method used is descriptive and analytical. The approach followed in this paper is purely textual. The

materials used have at times been drawn from the website and extreme care has been taken to be objective in approach.

Results and Discussions

Migrating tribal women are engaged in various jobs like construction work, factories, Brick kiln, agro-processing plants, cloth mills, as domestic maid and miscellaneous occupation.

Migration of tribal women are due to various factors.

Tribals are being alienated from their land and forest due to the ongoing deforestation, hydro electric power generation, industrial growth and mining activities. The natural resources are being exploited in such a way, that leads to the process of gradual displacement and denying of the basic rights of livelihood to the schedule tribes. Massive investment in construction of dams, power plants, industrialization and mining create wealth to the nation and employment opportunities to various people but all this is hardly of any benefit to the tribals. Rather it leads to their social and cultural deprivation, land alienation, destruction of environment and displacement. This is an important responsible factor of migration of tribal women.

Lack of regular employment in their native place is a major cause of migration. Most of the tribal women and unmarried girls migrate to the metropolitan cities and towns in search of employment.

Poverty is also an important reason of migration. Tribal women mostly living in rural areas face the problem of livelihood. They struggle for fulfillment of their basic needs.

Lack of effective implementation of government policy, regarding tribal welfare is also an important responsible reason of migration of tribal women.

A large majority of migrant tribal women and girls and their families are unaware of the tribal development programmes of the union and state government So lack of awareness is also a major reason of migration.

Migrating tribal women face so many problem. They face shelter problem most of migrant women live in the premise of employer or living

in the house where they work as domestic maid. And a few of them are living in rented houses. They are exploited by employer. They have to work long hours at the place of work, less payment of wages than that agreed upon, mental torture in the form of abuses, harassment about their work are seen. Economic exploitation is the major problem they are facing from their employers besides in some cases sexual harassment and exploitation are also seen. Thus migrant tribal women and girls are exploited mentally, physically, economically and sexually.

The Economics of Migration : There has been a major shift in the mode of wage payment of migrant labors. In Contrast to earlier practice of paying daily wages it has been changed to providing contracts to the migrant labors. It is a sort of bargain. The employer farmer informs of the area of his field or the amount of seeds sown. The labors then quote the rate in terms of number of grain bags. Then the bargain is done and a consensus is arrived. For example 12 bags for 15 acres or 10 bags for 12 acres and so on. There is no fixed norm. It is usually very difficult for the migrant labors to ascertain the area of the field. Many a times the employer misinforms the migrant labors of the amount of seeds sown. As the entire deal is by the word of mouth and mutual trust there is scope for exploitation. It also relieves the employer to pay daily wages. The payment is made in terms of grains. The final payment is made at the expiry of the work.

During the migration the labor depends entirely on the employer for practically all his needs may it be buying daily needs, tobacco and vegetables or money needed for health care. During the final settlement all the advances so made are deducted from the payable amount. The employers reach the villages of migrant labors in advance and pay them advances or other benefits and thereby bind them with an obligation to migrate. Many employers come with tractors to transport the labors. It also does

not depend on the number of labors working in a field since the deal is a fixed total quantum. Thus as the number of labors will increase the per capita wage reduces. When we discussed

with 407 surveyed migrant labors about the contract amount in teams of grains the economic scenario of migration appeared something like this:

Number of labors surveyed	: 407
The contract amount of grain bags (26200 kilograms)	: 262
The area of field to be harvested	: 362 acres
Per acre payable bags	: 0.72 bags (72.4 kg)
Per labor share of bags	: 0.64 bags (64.4 kg)
The market value of grains payable to labors @ 7 rupees/kg	: 451 rupees
Assuming 15 days of average man-days the daily wages	: 30 rupees per day.

The work not merely limited to harvesting of grains but includes many other chores like thrashing the grains, storing the remains, manuring the fields and so on. Till these supplementary works are accomplished the final settlement is not done. These works are not considered for wages payable. The migrant families cannot return till all these are done.

The migrant labors depend solely on the employer for their daily grains consumption. The grains so procured are deducted during the final settlement. This economics appears something like this:

Per capita per day grain consumption of an adult migrant labor	: 1.100 kg.
The market value of per capita per day consumption @ 7/-kg	: 7.70 rupees
Per child per day grains consumption	: 500 grams
The market value of per capita per day consumption @ 7/-kg	: 3.50 rupees

If we assume that two adults work and two children depend on them the daily food

expense alone works out to be 21 rupees. This is 68% of the daily earnable wage just to quench the hunger. A family JB left with mere 10 rupees (32%) to meet other daily basic needs. Further if we compare it with the statutory minimum wages it will be mere 52%. When the Employment guarantee scheme is ongoing and that too in most poor districts the inability to curb migration cannot be explained in any way except that the workers were devoid of their Right to work.

Migration is a dangerous trap. The employers provide loans and advances to the labors fairly easily. Let it be marriage, festival or treatment the employer can be easily approached and one gets the money that too without interest in most cases. This automatically binds the labors to return back. If one does not return or is unable to pay back the loan falls into the trap of compounding interest. Contrast to what many think, migration is the compulsion of hunger and not the tradition.

During the survey all the families shared that if they had employment at the village itself they would not have come. The feeling was strong among the women. Most of the families had job cards but no work.

Migration of tribal women should be checked for survival of tribes including their folk culture and identity.

Some important steps can be adapted to check migration of tribal women.

1. A political will is required to tackle the problem of migration of tribal women.
2. Should be ensured sustainable livelihood at place of origin of migration or native village.
3. Employment opportunities particularly self employment opportunities should be created at village level.
4. Irrigation facility should be provided so that the production of more than one crop a year can be done.
5. Awareness programme should be started in interior tribal areas so that tribals will know about the different schemes and programmes of government regarding employment.

6. Implementation of Government scheme regarding tribal welfare should be effective and transparent.
7. Social protection schemes should be strengthened and people should be made aware about such schemes.
8. A nodal agency should be established at block level, district, state and regional level to monitor migration.
9. There should be transparency in MNREGA Programmes.
10. A responsible act of tribal elite class is necessary to check the migration of tribal women.

Conclusion

Migration to different town and cities negatively influence the tribal cultural and identity. Tribal women have usually enjoyed a higher social status in their own communities than Indian women in general. But migration leads to decrease in their social status. Migration of tribal women also leads to change in the language like picking up another language or change in the style of their own language. Besides it brings change in food habits, change in dressing style, change in behaviour with their relatives, change in health care behaviour and change in cleanliness and hygiene related habits are also found. Tribal women migrate for long negatively influence tribal culture and identity Jharkhand is famous for unique tribal folk culture, folk lore, dance and song. Jhumar, Domkach and paharia are famous folk dance and song among tribes. Mandar, Dhol, Nagara, Sahnai, Basuri, are traditional musical instruments used by tribes.

All these component of tribal culture and identity are at stake due to migration of tribal women to different metropolitan cities like Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai and different urban center of Punjab, U.P., Haryana, Gujrat and West Bengal etc. Even migrant tribal women do not enjoy their famous festival Karma, Sarhul, Baha, etc.

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Empowerment of Women in India

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Abstract

Women's empowerment is the movement taken up by government of India. This program enables women's organization to develop the social awareness regarding empowering women. It is not a one day process, it takes time. Women empowerment, means giving power to women to make decisions in their lives. It includes social, economic, legal, political and health empowerment. Women are an integral part of every economy. All round development and harmonious growth of a nation would be possible only when women are considered as equal partners in progress with men. However, in most developing countries, women have a low social and economic status. In such countries effective empowerment of women is essential to harness the women labor in the main stream of economic development. Empowerment of women is a holistic concept. It is multi-dimensional in its approach and covers social, political, economic and social aspects. Of all these facets of women's development, economic empowerment is of utmost significance in order to achieve a lasting and sustainable development of society. Self- Help Groups are the voluntary organizations which disburse micro credit to the members and facilitate them to enter into entrepreneurial activities.

Keywords : multidimensional, economic development, economic status

Introduction

The word empowerment literally means control over materials, assets, intellectual resources and ideology. It is seen as a process by which the one without power gains greater control over his life. It is also defined as a process of awareness, capacity building leading to greater participation, effective decision making power and control leading to transformative action. In the case of women it involves their lives at the level of family, community, market and the state. It also involves, at the psychological level, their ability to assert themselves in a culture which resists change like in India.

The meaning of women empowerment is to give rights and power to come up in life, Empowering women aims to inspire women with the courage to break free from all kind of bondage when where women are given power they can perform their role effectively, and everywhere. The women empowerment in India is a pre- independence concept. Empowerment of women helps in raising the standard of the family that way the member of the family get and it turn better standard thta helps in the progress of the nation.

Women empowerment is the movement taken

by government of India. This program enables women's organization to develop the social awareness regarding empowering women's. It is not a one day process, it takes time. Women empowerment, means giving power to women to make their own decisions in their lives. It includes social, economic, legal, political and health empowerment.

Women are an integral part of every economy. All round development and harmonious growth of a nation would be possible only when women are considered as equal partners in progress with men. However, in most developing countries, women have a low social and economic status. In such countries effective empowerment of women is essential to harness the women labor in the main stream of economic development.

Empowerment of women is a holistic concept. It is multi-dimensional in its approach and covers social, political, economic and cultural aspects. Of all these facets of women's development, economic empowerment is of utmost significance in order to achieve a lasting and sustainable development of society. Self- Help Groups are the voluntary organizations which disburse micro credit to the members and facilitate them to enter into entrepreneurial activities.

Materials and Methods

For the purpose of in depth study the contents have been taken from relevant books, articles, journals and websites. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

In India, these Self-Help Groups are promoted by N.G.O.s, banks and co-operatives. The National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) launched a pilot project for linking SHGs in February, 1992. The Reserve Bank of India advises the commercial banks to actively participate in the linkage programme. Normally, after six months of existence of SHGs and after collecting a sufficient thrift fund, the Groups approach the link banks (either commercial or co-operative) with its credit plan. The NABARD gives 100 per cent refinance to the Banks on their lending through the SHGs.

The condition and position of women have now become critical to the human rights based approaches to development. The Cairo Conference in 1994 organized by UN on population and development called attention to women's empowerment as a central focus and UNDP developed the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) on the three variables that reflect women's participation in society –

- i. Political power or decision making
- ii. Education and
- iii. Health.

Its report declared that if human development is not engendered it is endangered. Equality, sustainability and empowerment were the watch words and the stress was that women's emancipation does not depend on national income but it is an engaged political process. States and countries would consider developments in terms of whether its people lead a long, healthy and painless life or not. Are they educated and knowledgeable and enjoy decent standards of living.

They include the following parameters –

1. Life – being able to live to the end of human life of moral health, not dying

prematurely or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.

2. Bodily Health – being able to have good health including reproductive health, to be adequately nourished to have adequate shelter.

3. Bodily Integrity – being able to move from place to place, to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence, having opportunities for sex satisfaction and for choice in the matter of reproduction.

4. Senses Imagination And Thought – being able to use the sense, to imagine, think and reason to a truly human way including but not limited to literacy.

5. Emotions – being able to have attachments, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.

6. Practical Reason – being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about planning of one's life protected by liberty of conscience.

7. Affiliation – being able to live with and towards others, to have social interaction, to have the capability of both justice and friendship. This entails freedom of assembly and free speech, social bases for self-respect and non-humiliation, protection against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste or region.

8. Other Species – being able to have concern for nature.

9. Play – being able to laugh, play and enjoy.

10. Control Over One's Environment –

- a. Political – being able to participate effectively in political choice that govern one's life, having right to political participation, protection of free speech and association.

- b. Material – being able to hold property, to seek employment on equal basis and having freedom from unwarranted search and seizure, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with the workers.

The above mentioned capabilities cover the political, civil, economic and social rights, but women all over the world have not found support for their central human functions. They are indeed, capable of these functions given sufficient nutrition, education and other supports – as they are equal to men in exercising will, controlling desires and taking decisions. Women are often not treated as ‘ends in themselves’ persons with dignity who deserve respect from law and institutions. They are treated instrumentally as reproducers, care givers, sexual receivers and agents of family’s general prosperity. Human development report since 1999 demonstrates that no country in the world treats its women according to the measures of life expectancy, wealth and education. The problem is severe in developing countries where caste and class divide results in acute failure of human capabilities of women. Women, in India lack the essential support for fully functioning human lives. There are many issues to be clearly addressed like:

Empowerment of women is a commitment for PACS and other strategic programs. Some programs are sensitive to recognizing women’s contribution and their knowledge, to appropriate that women require social support to fight their sense of inadequacy and fear to enhance their self-respect and dignity. Empowering women entails control over their bodies, economic independence, and control over resources like land and property and reduction of burden of work. The program should also aim at creating and strengthening sisterhood and promoting overall nurturing, caring and gentleness.

Beijing Conference 1995 had identified certain quantitative and qualitative indicators of women empowerment.

Health : National Family Health Survey conducted in 2011-12 reveals that there has been a steady increase in institutional delivery percentage. The increase in rural from 17 to 31 is more promising than urban from 58 to 69 percent. Overall fertility rate has declined from 3.4 to 2.7. There is a difference between the fertility of women with no education and those with 10 or more years of schooling. Trends in

anti natal care have remained more or less constant. More than 40% married women in Orissa and Gujrat are thin for their height. Obesity is the major problem in Punjab. 38% women are overweight. Overweight or obese women percentage during the last 7 years has increased from 16-20% in Gujrat, from 12-17% in Maharashtra and 4-7% in Orissa. Except in Punjab, more than 50% of the children of illiterate women are underweight. The percentage of anemic ranges 38% in Punjab and 63% in Orissa. Anemia percentage is alarming among pregnant women. 33% of women still have BMI below normal. IMR has gone down but gender differences persist. This is true also of under 5 mortality. Life expectancy of women stands a level higher than that of men. From 1961 to 2001 there has been a decline in sex ration from 943 to 935 and 976 to 927 respectively. Overall reduction in state resources in welfare sector and less than 1% investment in health is going to increase the existing gender bias in society.

Education : Women’s education is extremely important as it is their human right required for the flourishing of many of their capacities. Most programs for education of girls and women in India have reinforced gender roles like motherhood in curriculum as well as evaluation of impact.

Empowerment of women is closely related to formal and informal source of education. An effort for correcting gender stereotyping was initiated and has resulted in marked improvements in girl’s enrollment and steady decline in drop-out rates. Despite statistically positive trends, closer studies show that privileged spaces in classrooms are occupied by boys. Girls are rarely addressed by their names and sit in last rows in classes. Private schools, Madarsas and Arya Kanya Pathshalas are no exception. Moral science textbooks still have preponderance of men. Women as agents of social reform are not mentioned.

In various surveys, conducted by ISST it has been apparent that parental apathy or opposition to girl child education is fast receding even in traditional male dominated states of North India. Schools located in

neighborhood with female teachers induce parents to allow girls to study as long as they would like to. But the same families who are willing to see girls in college react violently if they decide to choose their partner's in marriage or challenge other norms of feminine behavior.

Decision Making : In the rural areas, as per NFHS II report, women take 71 % decisions regarding 'what item to cook', 26 % decision regarding obtaining health care for her, 10 % in purchasing jewellery or major household items. 12 % decisions were taken by women with reference to staying with their parents or siblings and 37 % about how to spend money which they had earned. In the urban areas these figures were 71 %, 35 %, 18% and 57 % receptively. From among the women between 15 and 19 years of age, nearly 24 % are not interested in any kind of decision making. 14 % of them do not ask permission to go to market. Small studies on elected panchayat leaders show increase of decision making in personal, social and political spaces.

Self Help Groups (SHG'S) : PACS programme has utilized as an empowering instrument. They have helped the economic empowerment of women resulting in minimizing of domestic violence, awareness to prevent child marriage, promotion of girls' education and prevention of dowry marriage and alcoholism. SHG's have successfully ensured people entitlements including women.

Political Participation : Participation of Women in politics has been considered a major measure of their empowerment. There have been very few regents, sovereigns and active agents in nobility who where women. The self avowed liberal west very well illustrate. The entrenched nature of patriarchal resistance to women's empowerment as compared to Europe the struggle for women suffrage in India was physically less violent but this does not reflect greater acceptance of women in decision making in public spaces.

Women's empowerment has to be seen in all areas - physical, socio – cultural, religious, political, legal and economic. It must be seen as a process where in women's awareness, consciousness, choices, resources at their

disposal, voice, agency and participation is considered. They are all related to Women's capabilities and decisions they take individually or collectively for themselves. Several programmers' in India like 'Mahila Samakhya' has accepted the process of nature of Women's empowerment, planning of activity, time and budget to ensure the empowering processes need greater scrutiny. Women's education, livelihood and personal exercise of agency have to be systematically promoted.

The percentage of Women at various level of political activity has risen from 4-5 % to 25-40 %. The money and muscle associated with the electoral process inhibits a large number of women from joining politics. Restriction in mobility, lack of control over resources and low literacy rate are well known obstacles but recent panchayat elections have evidenced a phenomenally large number of women elected leaders.

ICPS Centre's, primary school's sanitation have improved where centre PACS, Mahila Samakhya or other CSO initiatives are working. They have also publicly dealt with issues of misbehavior with girls, violence and alcoholism and with sensitive issues of widowed women dressing in colored clothes. More women in grass root level organizations and better law and order will ensure better engagement of women in decision making.

More than one million women have now entered political life in India and 43 % of the seats are occupied by them at district, state and national level. Their participation is understood in terms of voter turnout, number of women contestants apart from those who succeeded in winning. Making the Panchayati Raj Institutions effective instruments of local rural governance is a battle, a struggle of the grass roots population against administrative apathy and listlessness, against ignorance and low awareness. For women these odds are accompanied with deep rooted patriarchal practices that determine and sanction norms of speech and behavior both within and outside the home. Detailed training programme for women PRI representatives will make them effective functionaries. A mobile community of

women will demand accountability from representatives and administrative officials. In this way dominance of patriarchy, money power, party politics, and muscle power will be steadily under cut and women's concerns will be pushed to the forefront of local politics.

Women and Work : Women's work is statistically less visible; non – monetized and relegated to subsistence production and it accounts for 60 % of unpaid family work and 98 % of domestic work. The non – paid work includes domestic chores like cooking, cleaning, child care and care for the elderly and the handicapped. Subsistence work includes gardening, post harvest processing, feeding farm hands, live stock maintenance, gathering of fuel, forest produces. If women's work is rendered visible specially unpaid household work, there will be many dramatic results. Restriction on women's mobility, complete child care responsibility, ideology of female seclusion, vulnerability to abuse, low access to information and mass media and low literacy lead to women's poor access to income.

Violence : Crimes against women are mostly committed within the family. The highest crimes against women is torture (37.7 %) followed by Molestation (22.4 %), Rape (11.8 %), Kidnapping (8.8 %), immoral traffic (3.7 %), Dowry death 4.6 %), and eve – teasing (6.5 %). These crimes within the family were committed by husbands and relatives. Incidents of honor killing are often threats to women's functioning and their emotional development. Women's caste membership increases her vulnerability.

Ownership of Land : The recent legislation of the central government, the Hindu Succession Act, 2005 has also moved towards women's equality in property rights. It makes Hindu women's inheritance rights in agricultural land legally equal to those of men. All daughters, including married daughters are co- partners in joint family property. Daughters now have the right to claim partition and to become 'Karta'. All daughters, married or unmarried ones, can reside and seek partition of the parental dwelling place. This law will have the power to displace any conflicting laws of the state which are unequal to women. This is a far reaching message to assure women control over

property. The incidence of violence is 49 percent among women without property but only 18 % among land owning women and 7 % among those who own both land and house.

Reduction of stamp duty by 1 % if the land is being purchased in the name of women in the family has greatly increased the transfer of assets in favor of women. But state initiatives could be seen as Relief policies only.

Women empowerment in India has shifted from Welfare in the 50's to development in the 70's and now to empowerment.

Women and Reforms : The 55th round of NATIONAL Sample Survey Organization (1999 – 2000) generally reflects that over the years especially in urban areas gender differences have lessened. There is higher demand of female labor in some sectors which can be linked to a thrust towards export orientation and deregulation in the domestic production sectors. There is marginal decrease in employment of men and marginal increase for women in urban India Educated Women in labor market who are unemployed are far more than their male counterparts- 67 % unemployed women in rural areas as compared to 56.9 % men. It seems that IT enabled sectors in recent years may have benefited educated women.

Conclusion

This is hardly borne out in the programmes on the ground. There are largely schemes for relief like old age and widowhood schemes and major schemes related to Gender Reinforcing Assistance related to reproduction. There is need to develop a workable gender audit system for Government and CSO programs which would look at targets, training, recruitment promotion, infrastructure and decision making opportunities. The verbal change from women welfare to women rights needs to be converted in to reality. As the level of awareness of government Schemes is very low a more effective publicity is necessary. For monitoring women welfare, such empowerment programmes have to be developed which are simple, transparent and involve all the government and non- government functionaries. A full – fledged mechanism all over the country

to ensure gender sensitive policy and its implementation through a participatory apex body is the need of the hour.

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Coming to Terms with Partition in Indian English Fiction – With Special Reference to the Selected Novels of Khushwant Singh & Amitav Ghosh

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Abstract

The partition of India into two separate states of India and Pakistan was the result of several years of political planning of the British regime. This political scheming of partition resulted in a bloodbath which shattered all human values. Amidst the horror, the unspeakable cruelties witnessed as neighbours and friends, the Indian English writers have taken up the task to portray the unimaginable in their created literary pieces. The Indian English novels have often echoed the grim phase of this partition. Here it is interesting to note that the handling of partition theme in Indian English Fiction has changed from time to time. In the novels of Khushwant Singh incidents of partition have been mingled with strong nationalist ideology and political events. On the other hand in the novels of Amitav Ghosh the depiction of the partition is much more idealistic. This paper will focus on this varied bent of mind of these two novelists in dealing the partition theme in their two novels Train to Pakistan - Khushwant Singh and The Shadow Lines - Amitav Ghosh to bring out the complete make-over that took place in post independence Indian English fiction in handling the partition theme.

Keywords : partition, indian english fictions

Introduction

The Indian English fiction writing that began with the arrival of great writers like Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao and R.K.Narayan flourished after the Independence with the authors like Khushwant Singh, Salman Rushdie, Amitav Ghosh, Anita Desai and other contemporary writers who have taken this journey of English novel writing in India to a new height. Incidents of Partition having an everlasting influence in the psyche of the people of India have always served as a vital theme in the literary practices of the country. Whether the decision of partition and creating two countries was right or wrong is a debatable issue but no one can debate with the fact that this partition caused a devastating violence and an unforgettable record whose memory is yet so fresh that the people of these two countries are still carrying the burden of it. Though this partition mainly affected Punjab in the north- west and Bengal in the East, it had a sturdy impact on India and Pakistan's sociopolitical environment as well the literary practice. Partition resulted in communal riots as over ten million ordinary people—Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims were dislocated from their homes and became refugees, at least a million were killed in retaliatory violence

undertaken by members of all three communities while thousands of women were abducted, raped, and in many instances, forced to commit suicide to preserve the honor of their communities. The enormous loss of property, the number of persons beaten, injured, tortured, raped, abducted and otherwise physically assaulted can be measured approximately but the emotional pain of partition from home, family, near ones and dears and friends is by its nature immeasurable and more tormenting than the physical trauma. Thus, no citizen of Indian and Pakistan having a sense of history and living in this post-colonial or post-independence era can ignore the impact of partition on the contemporary life. Partition is actually a trauma for people of the subcontinent from which they have not been able to recover fully yet. It is quite obvious that the most important influential dynamics in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh's providence, the Partition is much more than a historical fact, however, for it has provided a compelling literary theme that has engendered a significant body of fiction on the subcontinent fiction writing that is staggering in terms of its assortment of focus, approach and action. In this regard, it is

noteworthy to mention that the irony of history writing is, it is predominantly directed towards nationalism and independence and therefore never been able to bring forth the trauma of the partition in its narrative. The history writing which is prone to nationalist narrative narrates the story of the causes and happenings that brought our independence. Then also an important thing is left out that is the trauma faced by the women at that time. During 1990s gradually the feminist perspective of writing tried to address this suffering of the women in their writing and this new approach was pioneered mostly by women authors, who saw the narrative of partition as male narrative where males have been glorified and women's sufferings have been showcased to make men valiant. It is possible to understand today that virtually every decade in India's sixty-year-old history has had its own special apprehensions so far as the evolution of the Indian English novel is concerned. Many novels of the 1930s and 1940s, for example, were preoccupied with the nationalist/ Gandhian movement; a number of novels of the 1950s and 1960s with the acute sense of the alienation of characters belonging to the privileged sections of Indian society who were caught up in the contrary pulls of tradition and modernity; and several of the novels of the 1980s and 1990s, with the concept of the nation. Yet, remarkably enough, there has been one theme which has remained common to the fiction written over almost all these decades, and this is the theme of the Partition. The Partition has proved to be an enduring theme in Indian-English fiction since Independence, recurring at regular intervals and making active influence in the evolution of Indian English fiction writing. As the Indian English Fiction evolved as a reaction to break away from the colonial literature, therefore the post-colonial literature in India witnessed an evolution against the style and theme, which the writers of colonial India followed. Gradually the Indian English authors began employing the techniques of hybrid language, magic realism peppered with native themes. In dealing with the native themes, it is undeniable that no post-colonial denizen of the subcontinent possessing a sense of history and living in the post-independence era can ignore the pervasive influence and impact of the Partition on contemporary life as well as literature.

Main Thrust

Khushwant Singh's Train to Pakistan (1956) – a Historical Account of Human Tragedy:

Train to Pakistan by Khushwant Singh was the first Indian English novel that put forth partition as a theme. Khushwant Singh himself was the victim of the partition as he had to leave his beloved city Lahore and had to land in Delhi like other hundreds and thousands of people. So the account of partition by Khushwant Singh was his experience that was also witnessed by the entire sub-continent. Stanley Wolpert, one of the reputed historians of the partition of Indian sub-continent acknowledges the intellectual ability of Khushwant Singh by saying that Khushwant Singh's searing novel *Mano Majra* (Train to Pakistan), first made him aware of the human impact of Partition's tragedy on Punjab. The comment of Stanley Wolpert authenticates the importance of this novel as a partition text.

The novel *Train to Pakistan* is about a sleepy village, *Mano Majra* on the border of India and Pakistan. Being situated by the side of railway track *Mano Majra*, as a village is very conscious of trains, trains that epitomize the brutality of Indo-Pak partition. As during the period of partition over ten million men and women were forced to flee on either side of the border and as trains were the means to travel from one side of the border to another side it became a popular place for human slaughter. Trains crammed with refugees headed across the newly demarcated borders were stopped and their passengers were butchered before they were allowed on their way, arriving with the gruesome cargoes on the other side. *Mano Majra* is also affected by this passing of trains as the serenity of the village has been taken away by these trains and now 'ghost trains went past at odd hours between midnight and dawn, disturbing the dreams of *Mano Majra*'. The novel comes to the core of reality when one day a train carrying the passengers stops by the village and later on when the flame of mass cremation whirled into the sky of the dark night. 'The village was stilled in a deathly silence. No one asked anyone else what the odor was. They all knew. They had known it all along'. The novel becomes more interesting when it tries to account for the ways in which

neighbours are aggravated to become 'others' and 'murderers'. Stirring the mild-mannered peasants of Mano Majra to violence proves to be a daunting task for the outsiders and organized criminals who come into undertake it: 'Could they ask their Muslims to go? Quite emphatically not! Loyalty to a fellow villager was above all other considerations'. What the ordinary folks of Mano Majra cannot grasp is precisely the history-altering dimensions of what has taken place: 'They went from house to house—talking, crying, swearing love and friendship, assuring each other that this would soon be over. Life, they said, would be as it has always been'. But the irony lies in the fact that not only will history overtake them, it will require of them that they participate in its brutalities as representatives of homogenized communities rather than individuals. In the crucible of hatred, not even the self-professed atheist, Iqbal, has the choice of seceding from community. What Singh tried to point out here is that only death and brutality will characterize the faith of these two newly created nations. Significantly enough, the trains running to and from Mano Majra are shown by Singh to regulate the life of the village and its inhabitants. Thus, the disruption in the railway schedule after the partition functions in the novel as a sign of social chaos. The social chaos continued in the novel which points out to the helplessness of human beings amidst the political and social changes. When the hopes of the Muslims of Mano Majra fall apart forever as they came to the point of time where they have to leave this side of the border, their native place, the novel represents human faith decided not by destiny but by the rulers or politicians. They are stripped of all their hopes, begin to realize that they are about to lose everything, and yet are powerless to do anything about this. It is unique the way this ironic building up of loss is dramatized in the novel, showing the utter helplessness of ordinary people overwhelmed by historical forces that are simply beyond their control, or even their comprehension. But the most poignant part of the entire episode is of course the farewell, or rather the lack of it, as said by the narrator: "There was no time to make arrangements. There was no time even to say good-bye. Truck engines were started. Pathan

soldiers rounded up the Muslims, drove them back to the carts for a brief minute or two, and then on to the trucks. In the confusion of the rain, mud and soldiers herding the peasants about with the muzzles of their sten guns sticking in their backs, the villagers saw little of each other. All they could do was to shout their last farewells from the trucks... The Sikhs watched them till they were out of sight. They wiped the tears off their faces and turned back to their homes with heavy hearts".

The chapter in which this happens is not only a very crucial one in the novel, but also a representative one, for what is shown as happening here was actually happening all around in Punjab and Bengal in 1947. *Train to Pakistan* is not a sketch of an outsider rather it can be taken as a historical document of the partition presented in the form of a novel. In his autobiography, *Truth, Love & a Little Malice: An Autobiography*, Khushwant Singh recounts that while he was practicing law in Lahore, he became part of a literary circle, and that he used his visits to Sikh villages from where [his] clients came as backgrounds for [his] stories (Khushwant Singh 2002). He also recalls how, on the eve of the Partition, he had narrowly missed being murdered on his way to Lahore from Abbotabad via Taxila, and how the day after he reached Lahore, he had (...) learnt from the papers that the train by which [he] had travelled had been held up at the signal near Taxila station and all the Sikh passengers in it dragged out and murdered (Khushwant Singh 2002). It may not have been an easy task for Singh to recount the tragic incidents which has so much tormented him; nevertheless Singh has shown immense credibility in depicting the incidents in such a way that it still makes the heart heavy. Singh's impulses as a historian, along with his own experiences witnessed during partition, came together to produce *Train to Pakistan*.

Amitav Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines: An Urge for Borderless Nation* : Partition has a long lasting impact on the life and activities of the people of India and Pakistan. The political and social activities after the independence of these two countries were mostly guided by the deep rooted impact of partition. As it can be seen in Amitav Ghosh's novel *The Shadow*

Lines the impact of partition not only guided the course of the novel but it also showed a philosophy which is only an outcome of partition. The earlier novels discussed here deals with the incidents and the reason behind those incidents that took place before or immediately after the partition. But in the novel *The Shadow Lines* Amitav Ghosh is not concerned about the incidents that took place during the partition. He is more concerned about the consequences of partition. For Ghosh the partition event is just a source for the journeying to the larger political concepts like 'freedom' and 'nationalism' and for an interrogation of the concept of a 'border'. The novel *The Shadow Lines* shows concern about the partition that has an impact in building up of the nation. Interestingly the protagonists of Ghosh's novel do not belong to any minority community, rather they belong to the majority community who are at the front of building up the nation or the policies of the nation. On the other hand the novel is not restricted within the boundary of the nation its purview is much beyond the territory of the nation. Ghosh's novel traverses time and space far more extensively, its locales being spread over three continents and its events focused on three chunks of time – London during the Second World War Blitz; Calcutta and Dhaka in the 1960s and 1970s; and then again London of the 1980s. Through this movement in this diverse space and time Ghosh has tried to establish two important ideas of his own – first of all is his idea of a borderless universe and second is his desire for recovering lost histories in the myriad of time.

Apparently the novel has very little to do with the partition but a deep understanding of novels points out to the fact that the core of the novel lies in partition of 1947. The death of Tridib which is also the central incident of the novel is actually a consequence of the event of partition that took place far back in 1947. The death of Tridib indicates that the aftermath of partition is still visible, even after seventeen years. Though the death of Tridib is quite insignificant in the larger perspective but it shows the devastating influence of religious fundamentalism a dominant force behind partition. While discussing Tridib's death,

however, what is more important is the first facet of the question as to why he died – namely, why that violent incident in Dhaka's Jindabaha Lane took place at all. And the exploration of this raises certain other issues in the novel, particularly the issue of the unique political reality existing on the Indian subcontinent, post- 1947. The two new states of India and Pakistan came into being as a result of a division on the basis of religion and were demarcated by arbitrary borders, borders that were etched all too hastily by an Englishman who knew very little of the land that he had divided. The border that was demarcated on the basis of communal identity has not only failed to solve the problem but also created a history that has aggravated the communal hatred more. This communal, hatred has made these countries each others enemy and the majority vs. minority clashes has become common in these two states. Ironically both the countries were once together and people of both Hindu Muslim communities lived together for hundreds of years but after the creation of separate nations the people who used to live together became each others enemy. There lies Ghosh's idea of borderless universe. Borders not only divide a piece of land into two parts they also divide hearts of people and create hatred for each other which is evident in case of India and Pakistan. In this novel we can come across two varied concepts of Nationalism. One is which Thamma believes in and the other one is which the narrator utters in the course of the novel.

Thamma in the novel through her experiences distinguishes identities of nations not in terms of anticipated communities, but she goes to the deeply entrenched connectedness to a place borne out of sacrifices of generations. Thamma is a vibrant character in the novel who niece put forth the idea of the novelist. When Thamma becomes extremely critical on Ila, her niece, as she has decided to stay back in London she is actually criticizing London as for her England is no less than India and it is a place that belongs only to those who have this kind of instinctive relationship to the land. This is a form of nationalism which is extreme and which has made the freedom possible though at the cost of partition.

Meaninglessness of borders and the novelist's idea of borderless universe are established in the novel by roughly three passages where three protagonists have expressed their views in favour of the concept of borderless boundary. The first is located in a context in which we are told that before flying to Bangladesh, Thamma is very disturbed to realize that her place of birth (Dhaka, in Bangladesh) is messily at odds with her nationality (Indian). Further on, in her conversation with her son, she is told that the 'border' is not on the frontier, but right inside the airport. This is too much for her to comprehend. She cannot believe that there are no external marks to demarcate the border between the two countries. Being surprised, she asks her son: But if there aren't any trenches or anything, how are people to know? I mean where's the difference then? And if there's no difference, both sides will be the same: it'll be just like it used to be before, when we used to catch a train in Dhaka and get off in Calcutta the next day without anybody stopping us. What was it all for then – partition and all the killing and everything – if there isn't something in between? The second reflection on borders is provided by Thamma's senile old Jethamoshai, who was the chief reason behind her Dhaka visit, and who quite surprisingly, provides a very refreshingly different perspective on the Partition. When people insist that he must leave Dhaka and accompany his extended family who has come to take him away with them to Calcutta, he simply refuses to leave and says: I know everything, I understand everything. Once you start moving you never stop. That's what I told my sons when they took the trains. I said: I don't believe in this India-Shindia. It is all very well, you are going away now, but suppose when you get here they decide to draw another line somewhere? What will you do then? Where will you move to? No one will have you anywhere. As for me, I was born here, and I will die here. Similar to Jethamoshai's sentiment is echoed by Robi fifteen years after he heard it spoken out. He had been a mere slip of a boy then; fifteen years later, while he relates his version of Tridib's death to the protagonist in London, he is an Indian Administrative Service officer, with first-hand knowledge of many riots

and communal disturbances on the subcontinent. He muses on the word 'freedom', since the root of all problems seemed to lie there. Free, he said laughing. You know, if you look at the pictures on the front pages of the newspapers at home now, all those pictures of dead people – in Assam, the north east, Punjab, Sri Lanka, Tripura – people shot by terrorists and separatists and the army and the police, you will find somewhere behind it all, that single word; everyone's doing it to be free (...). I think to myself why don't they draw thousands of little lines through the whole subcontinent and give every little place a new name? What would it change? It's a mirage; the whole thing is a mirage. How can anyone divide a memory? What is important to note here is that the above three viewpoints about borders are provided by three characters belonging to three generations as figured in *The Shadow Lines*. The first is spoken by Thamma, the protagonist's grandmother; the second by her uncle, Jethamoshai (i.e. the protagonist's granduncle); and the third by Robi, Thamma's nephew, who is roughly the same age as the protagonist and is his friend. Jethamoshai had lived in a world where borders were not of paramount importance, and what was regarded as important was one's sense of belonging to the place one was born and brought up in. Hence, the tone of finality in his concluding remark, 'As for me, I was born here, and I will die here.' He does not believe in arbitrary lines and is shrewd enough to realize that once a man started to move, there would be no end to it. His words also appear to be prophetic, for within less than a decade of their utterance, in 1971, East Pakistan became Bangladesh. Rather differently, Grandma, the second character to muse on borders, grew up in the momentous opening decades of the twentieth century, i.e. in the heyday of the colonial struggle against the British rule in India. Struggle was the most formative of her experiences, something that defined her worldview, and Ghosh's narrative makes it clear that though she had not literally participated in the nationalist movement, the spirit of the times had entered her soul and contributed to the creation of her own perception of self. Different, again, is the third speaker on borders, Robi, who as an individual

belonging to a post-Partition generation, and having an intimate knowledge of the communally coloured disturbances that rent the national fabric of India, notes how freedom seemed to lie at the very root of all the subcontinent's problems.

Conclusion

It is quite interesting to see that the handling of partition theme in Indian English Fictions has changed from time to time. In the novel of Khushwant Singh, we can see that the incidents of partition have been mingled with strong nationalist ideology and political events. This must have happened because the author lived during this period and therefore was the victim of partition. Therefore, his description of the partition and its impact is of more practical experience than philosophical understanding. On the other hand, novelist like Amitav Ghosh have lived far away from the incidents of partition, therefore his depiction of partition is much more idealistic and its impact is much more philosophical in nature. In the novel *Train to Pakistan* Khushwant Singh meticulously presented the dreadful story of partition which provided an impact of the partition experienced by the people who lived during the period and suffered all this. Though the novel ends in showing the triumph of love over religion, it is still more of a first hand narrative that mirrors the real experience of the author. Amitava Ghosh's *The Shadow Lines* though based on the same partition theme, has thrived for a different impact than that of Khushwant Singh. *The Shadow Line* is more like a narrative built out of a complex and ever swinging pendulum of memories of many people who are the sufferers or the victims of the partition. But interestingly all the victims of Ghosh's novel do not belong to the same era and also have not suffered in the same way that the victims of Khushwant Singh suffered. Therefore *The Shadow Line* represents the second hand narrative of the partition and depicts the impact of the partition and its after effect in the life of the people living both in the era of partition as well as living far away from that particular

period. The description of partition may vary from one to another of different genre, but the partition as a theme has made possible building up of many such novels which have made Indian English fiction of post-independence rich and internationally acknowledged. These novels are marked by their authenticity, poignant depiction and idealistic views taken from the incidents of partition that has changed the demography and faith of the Indian subcontinent.

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Development of Plant based Industries as Depicted in Sanskrit Texts

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Abstract

If one goes by the ancient Sanskrit texts, it becomes crystal clear that these texts have discussed each and every aspect of human life. Though spirituality has found prominence in Sanskrit Literature, importance of economic activities in one's life is also discussed. Here one would be amazed to know that India was both spiritual and economic superpower in ancient India. Many industries developed in ancient India. One of those industries is plant based industry. The roles of plants in economic activities have been discussed at length in Sanskrit texts. The present research paper intends to come up with some relevant references regarding development of plant based industries as depicted in Sanskrit texts.

Keywords : agriculture, artha, cosmetic, garment, ornament

Introduction

Plants have been integral part of an Indian Culture from time immemorial. And, when one talks about the Indian Culture, the role of four Puruṣārthas i.e. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa in shaping the destiny of human beings cannot be ruled out. Of these Puruṣārthas, Artha has special significance as it is related to economic activities. Here one would be astonished to know that here too plants have a vital role to play. Many of the industries are associated with plants in one way or the other. The research article intends to come up with remarkable references in this regard.

Results and Discussions

Garment Industry : Garment industry was in quite an advanced stage in ancient India. Plants had major role to play in enriching this industry. Vāyu Purāṇa refers that plants are the prime source of garment products-

**“Prādurbabhōṇūvustāsāṃ ca vṛkṣāste
gṛhasamsthītā
Vastrāṇi ca prasuyante
phalānyābharaṇāni ca”¹**

Another important Purāṇa, Vāmana Purāṇa hints towards making garments from Kārapāsa², Cīnānsuka³ and Muñja⁴. Cīnānsuka finds mention in Kumārasambhavam⁵, Mālatīmādhavam⁶, and Abhijñānaśākuntalam⁷ as well. Kūrma Purāṇa states that ‘Mekhalā’ (a garment to cover waist and downwards)

should be made with either ‘Muñja’ or ‘Kuśa’-

**“Mauñjī trivṛt samā ślakṣṇā kāryā
viprasya mekhalā
Muñjābhāve kuśenāhurgranthinaikena
vā tribhiḥ”⁸**

Garments made of ‘Kārpāsa’ and ‘Kaṣāyaka’ have also been discussed in this Purāṇa-

**“Vasedavikṛtaṃ vāsaḥ kārpāsaṃ vā
kaṣāyakam
Tadeva paridhāniyaṃ
śuklamacchidramuttamam”**

Cosmetic and Ornament Industry : By going through Sanskrit texts it is wide and clear that it was only by dint of plants that cosmetic and ornament industry flourished like anything in ancient India. How the plants are useful in this regard could be seen in this śloka-

**“Kṣaumaṃ kenacidindupāṣṭu taruṇā
māṅgalyamāviṣkṛtaṃ
Niṣyūtaścaraṇopabhogasulabho
lākṣārasaḥ kenacit
Anyebhyo
vanadevatākaratalairāparvabhāgotthitaiḥ
Dattānyābharaṇāni
tatkislayodbhedapratidvandvibhiḥ”⁹**

Maharṣi Kaṇva has asked his pupil to gather flowers for Śakuntalā from trees. But then at once by certain tree was exhibited an auspicious silken garment. Another tree distilled the lac-dye so excellent to stain Śakuntalā's feet. From other trees were

presented ornaments for fairy hands extending as far as the wrist that rivalled the first sprouting of delicate leaves of those trees.

It is worth mentioning that paste of śveta and rakta candana was used as cosmetic and bathing material in Purāṇic age.¹⁰

It has been quite interesting to know that women languid with passion in Spring season rub over their white bosoms with the powder of sandal paste and musk mixed with Priyaṅgu, Kāliyaka and Saffron-

**“Priyaṅgukāliyakakuṅkumākṛtaṃ staneṣu
gaureṣu vilāsinībhiḥ
Ālīptate
candanamaṅganābhirmadālasābhirmṛganābhi
yuktam”.**¹¹

It may not be out of place to mention that dye and colouring agents were used in ancient India. There were several dyes which were derived from roots, trunks, woods and seeds of various plants. Varāhamihira has suggested using hair-dyes for those having grey hair-

**“Sraggandhadhūpāmbārahūṣṇādyam na
śobhate śuklaśiroruhasya
Yasmādato mūrdhajarāgasevām kuryād
yathavāñjanabhūṣṇānām”.**¹²

i.e. As garlands, perfumes, incense, fine cloths and ornaments do not shine in a man of grey white hairs, one ought to use hair-dyes, just as one does collyrium for the eyes and ornaments.

Varāhamihira has narrated the method of possessing dye-

**“Lauhe pātre taṇḍulān kodravāṇām śukle
pakvāṃllohacūrṇena sākam
Piṣān sūkṣmaṃ mūrdhni śuklāmlakeṣe datvā
tiṣed veṣayitvādrapatraih
Yāte dviṭīye vihāya
dadyācchirasayāmalakapralepam
Saṃchādya patraih prahardvayena
prakṣālitam kārṣṇyamupaiti śīrṣam”.**¹³

i.e. Cook the grain of Kodravā in sour gruel or vinegar in an iron vessel; grind them well with iron dust and make a fine paste. After washing the hair with sour gruel (or vinegar) apply this paste to the head. Then, covering the head with green juicy leaves, remain for six hours. Thereafter remove the paste from the head and

apply a paste of myrobalan. Cover it again with green leaves and retain it for another six hours. On being washed, the hair will become black.

After the process is completed, one should remove the smell of iron and vinegar by bathing from scented water and applying a hair oil having perfume.¹⁴

**Scented water is prepared with equal
quantities of woody cassia, costus, reṇu,
nalikā, pṛkkā, rasa, tagar, bālaka,
nāgkeśara and patra-
“Tvakkūṣ-
hṛṇunalikāsprkkārasatagarabālakaistulyaiḥ
Kesarapatravimīśrainrapatiyogyam śīraḥ
snānam”.**¹⁵

A perfumed hair oil is made by mixing together equal quantities of powders of mañjiṣhā, vyāghranakha, woody cassia, costus and bola and the whole thing being mixed with the oil of sesame, being heated by the sun's rays-

**“Mañjiṣhyā vyāghranakhena śuktyā tvacā
sakuṣhena rasena cūrṇaḥ
Tailena tuktoarkamayukhataptaḥ karoti
taccampakagandhi tailam”.**¹⁶

Suśruta Saṃhitā has discussed about cosmetic paste-

**“Harītkīcūrṇmariṣpatraṃ cūtatvacam
dāḍimapuṣpavṛtam
Patrañca dadyān madayantikāyāḥ
lepoaraṅgarāgo naradevayogyah”.**¹⁷

i.e. Powdered Harītakī, leaves of Nimba, bark of Mango, stalk and flowers of Dāḍima and leaves of Madayantikā pasted together is a commendable cosmetic paste. Even kings can use apply this paste.

Application of such pastes is quite useful. Suśruta Saṃhitā adds-

**“Mukhālepād drdham cakṣuḥ pīnagaṇḍam
thatānanam
Avyaṅgapīḍakam kāntam
bhavatyabujasannibham”.**¹⁸

i.e. Application of paste on face makes eyes firm, cheeks corpulent and face free from pimples and boils. It makes face charming like lotus.

It further says-

**“Svedadaurgandhyavaivarṇyaśramaghnaman
ulepanam”.**¹⁹

i.e. Post bath paste checks perspiration, foul smell, abnormal complexion and exertion.

Suśruta Saṃhitā further says that essence of plants is helpful in energising and promoting good luck-

**“Rakṣoghnamatha caujasyaṃ
saubhāgyakaramuttamam
Sumanoambaratnānām dhāraṇam
pṛtivaradhanam”.**²⁰

i.e. Putting on flowers, clothes and gems would ward off the influence of evil spirits. It would enhance the ojas, promote good luck and would nicely foster sense of joy.

Caraka Saṃhitā is of the opinion that fragrance of flowers is helpful in increasing longevity and destroying inauspiciousness-

**“Yaṃ saugandhyamāyusyaṃ kāmyaṃ
puṣhalapradam
Saumanasyamalakṣmighnaṃ gandhamālyani
sevaṇam”.**²¹

i.e. Use of fragrance and garlands is aphrodisiac, produces good smell, longevity, charm, nourishment and strength, pleasing manners and destroys inauspiciousness.

Kṣemakutūhalam says that putting on flowers removes foul smell and promotes vision and pleasure-

**“Kledāyāsasamudbhūtasvedadurgandhanāśan
am
Cakṣuṣyaṃ dāhaśamanaṃ saumanasyaṃ ca
jāyate”.**²²

i.e. Putting on flowers removes foul smell or perspiration caused by humidity and exertion and burning sensation and promotes vision and pleasure.

As far as ornaments are considered, here too plants had significant role in ancient India. Fragrant flowers were used as ear rings for women.²³ On various occasions, women designed strings of fresh Bakula, Ketakī as ornaments for head and wore Arjuna flowers as ear-ornaments-

**“Mālāḥ
kadambanavakesaraketakībhīrāyojitāḥ śīrasi**

vibhrati yoṣitoadya

Karṇāntareṣu

**kakubhadramamañjarībhiricchānukūlaracitān
avatamsakāṃśca”.**²⁴

Mahākavi Kālidāsa in his Rtusamhāra says that when Autumn arrives, the women weave fresh Mālatī flowers in their very thick, dark curly tresses; they place a variety of blue lotuses in their ears adorned with the lustre of beaten gold.²⁵ As soon as Spring season arrives, women put fresh Karṇikāra flower in their ears and also place Aśoka and the open buds of Navamallikā in their blue bobbing hair-

**“Karṇeṣu योग्याṃ navakarṇikāraṃ caleşu
nīleşvalakeṣvasōkam**

**Puṣpaṃ ca phullaṃ navamallikāyāḥ prayāti
kāntiṃ pramadājanānām”.**²⁶

Kṣemakutūhalam has come up with suggestion regard to which flower should be selected to wore in which season-

“Hemante śīśire caiva śatapatraṃ tu śobhanam
Vasante ketakī kāryā gharṇe naipālamālatī

**Prāvṛṣu pālaṃ dhāryaṃ campakaṃ śaradi
smṛtam”.**²⁷

i.e. Flowers should be selected for wearing according to seasons. Beautiful flowers of rose should be put on in winter, ketakī in spring, nepālī and jātī in summer, pāalā in rainy season and campaka in autumn.

Wood Based Industries : Wood work was recognised as an industry in ancient India and was a source of income those days. The carpenter was well known to the people as it is indicated in several references.²⁸ The carpenters who made chariots are called rathakāras.²⁹ They also built carts for carrying goods.³⁰ Sometimes, the houses were made of wood.³¹ Wood craft was also indispensable for agricultural and transportation purposes along with chariot making. Boats and ships made of wood are frequently mentioned in Vedic Literature and the art of ship making was so common to the people that the sacrificial rite was compared with ship building.³²

Between 300 AD and 600 AD the craft of carving wood³³ had greatly developed. The carpenters were employed in building palaces.

Statutes of woods were also built. Bamboos and canes were used in making chairs, five storied chariots and baskets.

House-hold and sacrificial utensils such as, dhruva, juhu³⁴, sruva³⁵, udaca³⁶, samasom etc. were also made of wood. In the Yajurveda a list of utensils required in performing sacrifice is also given as vayavya, droṇalalaśa, gravaṇa, adhisavana, putabṛt and adhavaniya.³⁷

Musical instruments were also manufactured by carpenter. The 'Viṇā'³⁸ or lute, the cymbal, gargara³⁹, godha⁴⁰ and pinga, the bakura⁴¹ or the bag-pipe, the dundubhi⁴² or the drum are also mentioned in the Vedic hymns.

Man's predilection for comfort has created a host of house-hold articles. Furniture is one of them. In the manufacture of furniture, wood has always been the basic material due to several reasons. It is available wherever conditions have favoured human living. It is easily workable to different decorative designs. It can be joined by many contrivance viz by nailing, glewing etc. it produces less noise under impact than other materials of equal strength. It is relatively light in weight. It may be easily repaired when broken. It possesses intrinsic beauty in an infinite variety of colour, texture and pattern. It can be worked in many ways to enhance beauty.

The ancient Sanskrit Literature abounds with references to the furniture known through the ages. As early as in Vedic period we get references to the furniture articles. The terms like Paryāṅka⁴³, Āsandi, Proṣha⁴⁴, Talpa⁴⁵, Vāhya⁴⁶, Śāyana⁴⁷, Upastaraṇa⁴⁸, Upadhāna⁴⁹ denote the furniture known to the Vedic India.

Paryāṅka denoted a seat for the Brahmins. The Āsandi type of furniture was a long reclining chair resembling the modern sofa. The Atharvaveda⁵⁰ informs that it had two feet, length-wise and cross-pieces forward and cross-cords, showing that it was made of wood (Udumbara) and also cording. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁵¹ it was an elaborate seat made of Khadira wood, perforated and joined with straps. The Proṣha was a bench⁵² and the seats with solid lower structure and without arm-rests depicted in the sculptures in all

probability represent the Proṣha. The term Talpa⁵³ denoted bed or couch.

Several articles of furniture find mention in the Sutrās. The householder is enjoined upon to ascend a couch at the conclusion of Śrāvanā sacrifice. A seat called Āsandi had four legs and was inter-woven with cords of Muñja grass. The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra⁵⁴ and Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra⁵⁵ lay down that the Āsandi (made of Udumbara wood) legs should be one span high, that the length-wise and cross-pieces of this seat should be one cubit long and that it should be woven with cords of Muñja grass. As examples of household furniture, Pāṇini in his Aṣādhyāyī mentions Śayyā (bed), Khatvā (cot), Paryāṅka or Pālyāṅka (couch).

The role of furniture in one's life cannot be ruled out. Here is the list of furniture used frequently in ancient India-

Shayāna - It has been frequently used to mean bed in Atharvaveda.⁵⁶

Talpa - The word 'Talpa' has been used at many places to mean bed.⁵⁷

Paryāṅka - It is a basket made of leaves.⁵⁸

Proṣha - It is a high and broad bench with moulded and turned legs.⁵⁹

Kapā - It is a door or the panel of the door.⁶⁰

Upādhāna - It is a pillow, an article of furniture.⁶¹

Paravatanida - A nest for the pigeon, an article of furniture.⁶²

Kuhara - It is a window.⁶³

Use of plant products in war weapons and accessories is also well known. The Ṛgveda is replete with references to bow and arrow. The earliest bow must have been a very simple instrument made of bamboo, cane of wood. During the Vedic period, it was composed of a stout staff bent into a curved shape.⁶⁴

In the Arthaśāstra Kautilya specifies tāla, cāpa and dāru as the chief materials out of which bow in his age were made. Bow stings were made of Mūrva, Arka, Śāṅga, Veṇu and Snāyu.⁶⁵

In his age shields were made of creepers, bamboo and other woods.⁶⁶ Someśvara in

Mābasollāsa recommends that shield should be round in shape and made of canes, wood and bamboo.⁶⁷ Wheels and body of chariot was also made of wood.⁶⁸

Agriculture

Agriculture is directly related to economic welfare of all and sundry. In ancient India, it was considered to be the best of all professions, since it was the very basis of happiness and prosperity.⁶⁹ A Vedic seer opines that practising agriculture results in reaping good crops, attaining wealth and increasing physical force- **“Kṛṣyai tvā kṣemāya tvā rayyai tvā poṣāya tvā”**.⁷⁰ Agriculture was the most important profession of livelihood in Vedic period. During the Ṛgvedic period agriculture was chief occupation of the people. Atharvaveda says that human beings have high dependence on agriculture and agricultural products- **“Te kṛṣim ca sasyam ca manuṣyā upajīvanti”**.⁷¹

The Akṣasūkta of Ṛgveda considers Agriculture to be the best of all occupations and advices to give up gambling and take to farming for welfare of the family- **“Akṣairmā dīvyah kṛṣimitkṛṣasva vitte ramaṣva bahu manyamānaḥ”**.⁷²

Ṛgveda says that through adopting agriculture as profession one is bound to get abundant crops and abundant wealth- **“Kṣyantau rāyo yavasya bhūre”**.⁷³

Kṛṣi Parāśara says that the person possessing abundant food grains is respected as a great man in the society. And, those who consider agriculture an inferior task to perform are all set to face poverty, no matter, how intelligent they are-

**“Caturvedāntago viprah śāstravādī vicakṣaṇah
Alakṣmyā grhyate soapi
prārthanālāghavānvitah”**.⁷⁴

The king should engage his subject into agriculture, animal protection and commercial activities-

**“Kṛṣ igoṛakṣyavāñijyam
yaccānyatkiṃcidīdṛṣam
Puruṣaiḥ kārayetkarma bahubhiḥ
saha karmibhiḥ”**.⁷⁵

Many mantras contain prayer for the prosperity

of good crop. One such mantra is quoted here- **“Sā naḥ payasvatī duhāmuttarāmuttarām samām”**.⁷⁶ i.e. May God Indra help yielding good crop through each succeeding year from well irrigated land. Hence it is termed as highly obligatory, pious deed and lifeline for all living beings- **“Kṛṣirdhanyā kṛṣirmedhyā jantūnām jīvanam kṛṣiḥ”**.⁷⁷ Some other Vedic mantras are quoted here- **“Arvācī subhage bhava sīte vandāmahe tvā”**.⁷⁸ i.e. O fortunate land, kindly bestow prosperity on us; **“Virudhaśca me oṣadhuaśca me”**.⁷⁹ i.e. Let me procure vegetables and crops in good quality from my field and **“Kṛṣyai tvā kṣemāya tvā rathyai tvā poṣāya tvā”**.⁸⁰ i.e. I practice agriculture to reap good crops for my welfare, to get wealth and for my living.

The term Kṛṣi appears times and again in the Ṛgveda,⁸¹ indicating their familiarity with cultivation. It mentions sowing of grains by means of plough.⁸² The plough was drawn by oxen in teams of six, eight or twelve. The Ṛgveda⁸³ refers to arable land as Urvarā or kṣetra. References to a few food grains are found in Ṛgveda. These include Yava (barley), tokman (oats), and dhānya (common name for all food grains). The Yajurveda Saṃhitā mentions twelve grains: Vṛīhi, nīvāra, yava, godhūma, priyaṅgu, anu, śyāmāka, māṣa, Mudga, masūra, khalva and tila. The word Ikṣu is found in Taittirīya Saṃhitā⁸⁴ and Atharvaveda.⁸⁵ Rotation of crops and fallowing of the land to restore its fertility are prescribed in Ṛgveda.⁸⁶

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁸⁷ clearly sums up agricultural operations as ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing. The ripe grain used to be cut with a sickle, bound in bundles, and beaten out on the flour of the granary. The grain was finally separated from the straw and refuse. A hymn of the Ṛgveda⁸⁸ in praise of land, bullocks, seeds, and peasants indicates the importance attached to crop husbandry with different types of field grasses for food and fodder.

The importance of good seeds for good crop was known to the ancient Indians. Ṛgveda says- **“Vapanto bījamiva dhānyākṛtaḥ pracyanti**

somaṃ minanti vapsataḥ".⁸⁹ i.e. A good paddy crop can be obtained with the help of good paddy seeds. It further says- "**Bijaṃ vahadhve akṣitam**".⁹⁰ i.e. Sow the seeds that are not defective or damaged. Manu Smṛti too has expressed similar view- "**Subijaṃ caiva sukṣetre jātaṃ sampadyate yathā**".⁹¹ i.e. Good crops comes if superior type of seed is sown in well prepared field.

Thoughts for storage of agricultural products have also been discussed in ancient Sanskrit texts. Yajurveda discusses about the storage of the agricultural produce. Vedic Ṛṣi says- "**Viśi priyānāṃ teṣāṃ iṣaṃ ūrjam sam agrabham**".⁹² i.e. I collect the food crops for the welfare of the society.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gives names of some containers.⁹³ They are-

Koṣha - It is a huge container for preserving food grains.

Kumbha - It is a huge pitcher and bag made of leather.

Aṣādhyāyī mentions a container named **kusūla**.⁹⁴ It was a large container for keeping food grains.

Food Industry

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads, it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his facilities-

"Annāmvāva balādbhūyastasmādyadyapi daśa rātrīrnāśniyādyadyu ha jīvedathavādraṣ- ā ś r o t ā m a n t ā b o d d h ā k a r t ā v i j ñ ā t ā bhavatyathānnasyai draṣābhavati, śrotā bhavati, mantā bhavati, boddhā bhavati, kartā bhavati, vijñātā bhavati, annamupāsveti".⁹⁵

i.e. Food surely is greater than strength. Therefore, if one does not eat for ten days, even though he might live, yet verily, he does not see, does not hear, does not reflect, does not understand, does not act, and does not realize. But with coming of food, he sees, hears, reflects, understands, acts and realizes. Worship food.

Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened-

"Āhāra śuddhau satvaśuddhiḥ satvaśuddhau dhruvśmṛtiḥ, smṛtilabdhe sarvagranthānāṃ vipramokṣaḥ".⁹⁶

Food is called a panacea because all creatures depend on it-

"Annādvai prajāḥ prajāyante. Yāḥ kāsca pṛthivīm śritāḥ. Atho annenaiva jīvanti. Athainadapi yantantataḥ. Annaṃhi bhūtānāṃ jyēṣham. Tasmāt sarvaśudhamucyate Sarvaṃ vai te annamāpnuvanti. Ye annam brahmopāsate. Annaṃ hi bhūtānāṃ jyēṣham. Tasmāt sarvaśudhamucyate. Annād bhūtāni jāyante. Jātānyannena vardhante. Adyateatti ca bhūtāni. Tasmādannaṃ taducyata iti".⁹⁷

i.e. All being that rest on the earth are born verily from food. Besides, they live on food, and at the end, they get merged in food. Food was verily born before all creatures; therefore it is called medicine for all. Those who worship food as Brahma acquire all the food. Creatures are born of food, being born, they grow by food. Since it is eaten and it eats the creatures, therefore it is called food.

Talking about the qualities of the food, Śrīmadbhagavadgītā says-

"Āhārastvapi sarvasya trividho bhavati priyaḥ".⁹⁸

i.e. Food also, which is agreeable to different men according to their innate disposition is of three kinds.

"Āyuhśattvabalārogyasukhaprītivardhanāḥ Rasyāḥ snigdhaḥ sthirā hridyā āhārāḥ sāttvikapriyaḥ".⁹⁹

i.e. Foods which promote longevity, Anusandhanika / Vol. X / No. II / July 2012

intelligence, vigour, health, happiness and cheerfulness, and which are juicy, succulent, substantial and naturally agreeable, are liked by men of Sāttvika nature.

**“Katvamlalavanātyuṣṇatikṣnarūkṣavidānāḥ
Āhārā rājasasyeṣā
duḥkhaśokāmayapradāḥ”.**¹⁰⁰

i.e. Foods which are bitter, sour, salty, overhot, pungent, dry and burning, and which cause suffering, grief and sickness, are dear to the Rājasika.

**“Yātayāmaṃ gatarasaṃ pūti paryuṣitaṃ ca yat
Ucchiṣamapi cāmedhyaṃ bhojanaṃ
tāmasapriyaṃ”.**¹⁰¹

i.e. Food which is ill cooked or not fully ripe, insipid, putrid, stale and polluted, and which is impure too, is dear to men of Tāmasika disposition.

Prayers have been made for food in the Vedas-
“Ayakṣmā brhatīriṣaḥ”.¹⁰² i.e. O God Soma, kindly give us pure food in ample;
**“Annateannasya no dehi anamīvasya
śuṣmīṇaḥ”.**¹⁰³ i.e. O God of food, please give us such food, which can remove our diseases and give us strength and
**“Thehaiṣāṃ kṛṇuhi
bhojanāni”**¹⁰⁴ i.e. May God Indra give food and drinks to the needy persons.

Conclusion

It goes without saying that plant based industries was in quite developed stage in ancient India. Sanskrit Literature is replete with such facts. Be it garment industry or ornament industry; cosmetic industry or wood industry; agriculture or food industry all have found mention in Sanskrit texts.

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Kiran Desai's Art of Storytelling in 'The Inheritance of Loss : Response to Colonialism

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Abstract

As far as Kiran Desai's art of storytelling especially in her 'Man Booker Prize winning novel, 'The Inheritance of Loss' (2006) is concerned, it is largely marked, influenced and built by the knowledge, experience, hopes and fears of neocolonialism, a new face of colonialism, that she has accumulated and felt at such a young age of hardly 35. Colonialism and now neocolonialism is supposed to be a powerful source of inspiration, perhaps the most dominant inducement for the commonwealth authors to write and narrate the tales that have been getting created ever since the dawn of colonialism. These writers, with the art of storytelling or narrative techniques of their own, have not diverted their keen and conscious eyes from whatever influencing and indelible has happened in the main current of the commonwealth global society. Kiran Desai, too, with her own unique art of storytelling, new narrative technique and global communicative skills, joins this glittering galaxy of commonwealth writers, manifesting good and impressive response to colonialism in her highly praised postcolonial novel, 'The Inheritance of Loss'. The novel switches between the mouldy mountain fastness in Kalimpong where a U.K. returned judge broods on a fractured past after his retirement in the company of his stranded granddaughter, Sai and the Manhattan fast food joints where the judge's cook's son Biju fights to flourish in scathing treacherous America. Besides the realistically told story of the judge Jemubhai Popatlal Patel, there are pathetically narrated broken stories of Sai and her love relationship with her Maths tutor Gyan of Nepali origin and of course yet to be completed story of the formation of Gorkhaland in the North-Eastern part of India. The novel, certainly, is a uniquely narrated tale of fiction and facts from the bitter realities of the neocolonial global world.

Keywords : colonialism, communication, global, narrative, neocolonialism

Introduction

Kiran Desai (born 3rd September, 1971), daughter of the noted Indian English author Anita Desai, is a diasporan Indian author permanently settled in the United States. Of her two novels, published so far-'Hullabaloo in the Guava Orchard' (1998) and 'The Inheritance of Loss (2006), the second novel is the main concern of this paper from the point of view of her art of storytelling. This is interesting to note that both of her novels are the winners of commonwealth prizes. Whereas 'Hullabaloo in the Guava Orchard' won the 'Betty Trask Award given by the society of Authors for the best new novels by citizens of Commonwealth of Nations under the age of 35, 'The Inheritance of Loss (2006) won Man Booker Prize in 2007 along with so many other prizes.

A number of global issues of this postcolonial era reflecting colonial shadow even in the new postcolonial era, are extraordinarily narrated in the third person gripping narrative technique

by Kiran Desai in 'The Inheritance of Loss. She narrates the novel in such a wonderful storytelling manner, sometimes making the characters of the novel deliver dialogues also, that the colonial tendencies are clearly reflected and also the response thereto. While assessing the narrative technique of Kiran Desai, with particular reference to her Booker winning novel, 'The Inheritance of Loss', Murari Prasad comments :

"She has amazing capacity to breathe life into the page. She has avoided convoluted narrative structuring. In a linear narrative with shifts in time and brief flashbacks, she has made a brilliant attempt at delineating the highly stratified society in both India and U.S.A. The aching quandary stemming from the impulse to immigrate and the ensuing crisis of identity is authentically rendered in concrete, telling situations."¹

About her imageries, linguistic skills and story building art, Murari Prasad bestows his

accolades on her:

“She is the mistress of engaging details and images as well as leaping, lavish gifts of phrasing. The pumping heart of the novel or the tale’s emotional center is powered by a superb language – assured and eloquent, supple and elegant with her deft touch, the author has manipulated the intersecting fragments of loss into a poignant story of one mixed-up times.”²

In order to realistically tell and artistically narrate the episodes and stories of the novel, Desai’s ‘The Inheritance of Loss’ is befittingly set in the late 1980s in the two countries – India and the U.S. as per the need of the themes of the novel – alienation, separation, migration, hybridity, globalization and multiculturalism; and thereby yielding a suitable response to colonialism. From the point of view of a gripping art of storytelling in the poetic prose, the very beginning of the novel is so picturesque that it captivates our attention. Here is an extract from the novel to substantiate it:

“All day the colors had been those of dusk, mist moving like a water creature across the great flanks of mountains possessed of ocean shadows and depths. Briefly visible above the vapor, Kanchenjunga was a far peak whittled out of ice, gathering the last of the light, a plume of snow blown high by the storms at its summit.”³

After this picturesque depiction of nature in the setting of the novel in India, Desai, in her third person spell-binding narrative, delineates the state of mind of Sai who is diving deep in the aftermath of the losses of her life – her parents, and of course her grandfather, now a victim to alienation. She has turned pensive and thinking. Desai beautifully paints her mental and emotional mindset. A beautiful correspondence between awesome nature and awe-inspiring young Sai.

“Sai sitting on the veranda, was reading an article about giant squid in an old ‘National Geographic’. Every now and then she looked up at Kanchenjunga, observed its wizard phosphorescence with a shiver.”⁴

Desai portrays the alienated judge Jemubhai Popatlal Patel’s living that reflects the true

impression of colonialism and the disenchantment ruling over him after his return from England.

“The judge sat at the far corner with his chessboard, playing against himself. Stuffed under his chair where she felt safe was Mutt, The dog snoring gently in her sleep. A single bald light bulb dangled on a wire above, it was still colder, the dark, the freeze, contained by stone walls several feet deep.”⁵

Main Thrust

In such a vivid and storytelling-like narrative, Kiran Desai, in her – ‘The Inheritance of Loss’, depicts the faint picture of a broken family of Jemubhai Popatlal Patel, once a judge in colonial times, now leading a wretched and miserable life in the crumbling mansion of Kalimpong, a relic of colonialism. About Desai’s pathetic depiction of the judge’s disenchanting life, Kamallesh Kumar Bhatt’s finding is quite relevant:

“The disenchanting judge’s family consisting of the judge himself, his granddaughter Sai, his cook Pannalal and the female dog Mutt stays reduced to be in pangs of colonialism. It is under the grip of a number of losses, say, Sai’s parents, the judge’s wife, his identity, Sai’s love etc., and on the other hand the cook’s son Biju is under the ruthless grip of alienation in the Big Apple. He is there as an illegitimate immigrant.”⁶

Desai narrates the mental and emotional state of mind of the cook due to his only son being in America and in problems, thus:

“The water boiled and the cook lifted the kettle and emptied it into the teapot.

‘Terrible; he said ‘My bones ache so badly, my joints hurt – I may as well be dead.’ If not for Biju..., Biju was his son in America. He worked at Don Pollo – or was it the Hot Tomato? Or Alibaba’s Fried Chicken? His father could not remember or understand or pronounce the names, and Biju changed jobs so after, like a fugitive on the run-no papers.”⁷

Her plot unfolds around the time when the author first came with her mother to America. Biju’s long quest, through an inferno of Manhattan basement kitchen for the holy grail of a Green Card reflects his creator’s urge to replace myth with truth in the stories of success

that comfort mainstream America. About *The Inheritance of Loss*, which is partly set in America, Desai herself says:

"I was trying to complicate the simple American immigrant story that you're required to tell. I hoped for much simpler dialogue and to feel more simply about the whole process. It's a natural human desire; I suppose you just want your contentment, a long time before you're willing to look at darker things."⁸

Displaying her skill of using a very complex art of storytelling, Desai has set her novel partly in America and partly in India's Kalimpong, amidst the hills of Kanchenjunga. She sets the novel in this way with a purpose of investigating and studying the black shadow of colonialism at work even now, in this twenty first century—an era of globalization. The complex and storytelling mode narrative so develops, corresponding beautifully with the various themes of the novel, that every now and then evinces the required and befitting response to colonialism. K.K. Bhatt finds:

"*The Inheritance of Loss* set in America, studies and exposes the problems of immigrants of India in particular, and '*The Inheritance of Loss*' set in India, narrates the problems of people in general in great many parts of the country due to separatist movements like Gorkha Movement, symbolizing the spirit of colonialism. But in this aspect also, the novel breathes out a global and globally unifying response to colonialism."⁹

This global setting of her novel, especially in between the two countries, may be the outcome of her probably challenging life in America. Naturally she feels nostalgic and weaves the fabric of the novel showing empathy with American immigrants like her, confronting with neocolonial traits. Here's a relevant study in this connection:

"Far all the dash and fire of its language, the novel's frenzied New York sections do several a bitter core at the heart of the Big Apple. The past few years of panic and aggression have made her feel more of an Indian in America: 'Politically I disagree with absolutely everything that's going on; Also, ' I realized that I just saw everything from a very non-western perspective, from a very Indian perspective. I felt that gulf

had just opened up, more than ever."¹⁰

Maintaining her wonderful storytelling art, Desai in her third person narrative, with a real like life situation dialogue delivery, presents the miserable life of Biju in America in her '*The Inheritance of Loss*':

"All the way in America, Biju had spent his early days standing at a counter along with a row of men. 'Would you like a big one?' Asked Biju's fellow server, Romy, lifting a sausage with his tongs, waving its full and fleshy, boing-boinging it against the side of the metal pan, whacking up and down, elastic, before a sweet-faced girl, brought up to treat dark people like any one else.

Gray's Papaya, Hot dogs, hot dogs, two and a roda for \$ 1.45."¹¹

To quote another extract from the novel:

"Biju at the Baby Bistro,

.....

Here in America, where every nationality confirmed its stereotype –Biju felt he was entering a warm amniotic bath.

But then it grew cool. This war was not, after all, satisfying, it could never go deep enough, the crick was never cracked, the itch was never scratched; the irritation built on itself, and the combatants itched all the more.

'Pigs, pigs, sons of pigs, soor ka bachcha, Biju shouted. Uloo ka patha, son of an owl, low-down son-of-a-bitch Indian. They drew the lines at crucial junctures. They threw cannonballs cabbages at each other."¹²

While narrating the suffering saga of Biju in the Big Apple, besides using a rich American English, Desai is very particular in her usages of punctuations, expressive of her purpose, - single inverted commas, double inverted commas, stars " * * * ", marks of exclamation and, at times, repeated exclamation marks "!!!" etc for example:

" * * * !!!!" said the Frenchman.

It sounded to their ears like an angry dandelion puff....."¹³

In her third person storytelling art, Desai presents a realistic narration of Biju's tale of suffering in America, where he suffers all sorts

of humiliation, ignorance and even hatred of being an ill-bred Indian to which a die-hard fighter against all such colonial traits, keeps on his pursuit even without a green card. An extract from the novel describing the plight of Biju in the U.S. :

“Biju had started his second year in America at pinnocchio’s Italian Restaurant, stirring vats of spluttering Bolognese, as over a speaker an opera singer sang of love and murder, revenge and heart-break.

‘He smells’ said the owner’s wife. ‘I think I’m allergic to his hair oil.’¹⁴

An unwelcome apathetic and racial treatment leads Biju to keep hopscotching from one petty job to another. Desai narrates this state of affairs in the life of Biju in the U.S. in short dialogues:

“Biju approached Tom & Tomoko’s – No jobs.

Mc Sweeney’s Pub – ‘No hiring’

Freddy’s wok – ‘can you ride a bicycle?’

Yes, he could.’¹⁵

In the novels of the fiction writers of the postcolonial era, particularly the new millennium, not all is fiction. As K.K. Bhatt finds:

“In a quite newly woven fabric of fiction, the fictionists like Kiran Desai and Arundhati Roy warp and woof the fact and fiction of life. Their literary works are neither purely fictional nor factual. These authors fictionalize the realities and present the striking realities through fiction. In a way, these authors use fiction as an effective tool to present bitter realities of life, with a reformative outlook, simultaneously alerting the world at large.”¹⁶

Regarding this intelligent fiction writing, Bhatt explores more:

“In a quite new trend and new narrative technique of fiction, these writers have beautifully and realistically mingled fact with fiction. The places, the people, the protagonist-the events mentioned exist in the real world. They add certain fictitious names, characters, events and fictitious episodes etc. just to create fictional effect, which is more a complex and artistic work in itself.”¹⁷

Arundhati Roy has also used this art of storytelling:

“Workers of the World Unite’

Even Chakko had no really complete explanation for why the communist party was so much more successful in Kerala than it had been almost anywhere else in India, except perhaps in Bengal.”¹⁸

Rushdie, too has used this new art of storytelling in ‘Midnight’s Children. To quote John Thieme:

“As the novel moves from the optimism of the Independence era to events connected with the ‘Emergency declared by Mrs. Gandhi in the mid- 1970s its mood becomes increasingly sombre and comedy is supplanted by a more pessimistic political vision.”¹⁹

Kiran Desai too makes a wonderful use of this neo narrative technique or the storytelling art in ‘The Inheritance of Loss’ to portray Gorkhaland movement in Darjeeling area:

“As they (Sai, Lola, Noni, Father Booty and Uncle Potty) were exiting from the restaurant, the same procession that had disturbed them while they were eating and while they were at the library came back up the road after having traversed all of Darjeeling.

‘Gorkhaland for Gorkhas’

‘Gorkhaland for Gorkhas.’²⁰

In the use of her language, Desai continues to be poetic and embellishing throughout the novel and thereby tending to make her narrative binding and gripping. Desai makes a poetic description of Sai’s love pangs and her melancholic state when she keeps waiting and waiting for an alienated Gyan to return:

“Marooned during curfew, sick about Gyan, and sick with the desire to be desired, she still hoped for his return, she was bereft of her former skill at solitude.

She waited, read ‘Wuthering Heights’ twice over, each time the potency of the writing imparting a wild animal feeling to her gut—and twice she read the last pages—still Gyan didn’t come.”²¹

About the various themes and issues dealt in the novel and the characterization and Desai’s art of storytelling, Uma Gourishankar observes:

“The Inheritance of Loss’ is straggling, there

are more issues than can be filled in the novel. 'Pankaj Mishra generously fetes the novel as the 'best kind of 9/11 novel. True that the novel examines subjects like home identity, dispossession, shrinking and fading borders, racism, class disparities, injustice, inequality and aggression but these remain a crowd and are packed choc-a-block through the various strands and the characters in the novel. The novel shifts from one strand to the other; the narratives are built in this fashion of moving back and forth; structurally these brief and rapid shifts prove to be problematic to the reader."²²

Uma Gourishankar finds more

"There are too many characters representing various issues, apart from the main ones like Sai and her Nepali tutor Gyan, the judge, the cook's son Biju. For instance there is Father Booty and his questions of home and belonging. There are the squatters in Mon Ami and their query on possession. Then there is the poor and illiterate wife and the old father of a man in police custody for whom law and justice remain inexplicable, the sisters Lola and Noni represent empty dreams of middle class retirement life bugged by squatters. All these characters drift pointing at themes that remain undeveloped."²³

Conclusion

In her novel, 'The Inheritance of Loss,' Kiran Desai has made appropriate and befittingly suitable narrative strategy as per the need of her new modern globalized era and also as per the themes, issues and problems depicted. Using the third person narrative technique in her novel and involving the characters into dialogues and monologues, depending on the thematic and semantic aspects she has genuinely represented her times in the rapidly prospering postcolonial era. Apart from the skilful use of language, expression and narration in a storytelling and just chatting manner, a skilled craftsmanship, as demanded by the themes, issues & characters, Kiran Desai has skillfully fictionalized the facts to present the facts in a more effective way manifesting globally welcome response to colonialism/neocolonialism.

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The Language of Drama

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Abstract

Language is an exclusive mode of communication. It is considered as one of the powerful elements of dramatic composition. It is the medium of interaction in the plays through the delivery of dialogues. The language in a play serves different functions – ensuring mutual understanding and conveying information, persuading or influencing someone, relating one's experiences or signaling emotions or communicating character's talk to one another. The entire plot is carried by and conveyed through their verbal interactions. Though the plays reveal a social scenario but the medium of interaction is language. Undoubtedly, plays allow their spectators to learn and use correct language, pronunciation, linguistical comprehension, also enriching their vocabulary. The viewing and reading of visually dramatic texts constitutes coherent, identifiable language events. The verbal and visual features interact in order to communicate a large number of information, ideas, narrative and other messages to different audience and for different purposes which help in achieving particular objectives. This relationship between the verbal and the visual strand enables us to consider the role of the purely visual as well as other elements present in many other forms of communication.

Keywords : theatre, communication, phatic, dialogue, gesture

Introduction

Art is the creative expression of man and, as such communication is implicit in the very conditions of its being. The theatre speaks many languages. The use of pantomime, music, dance, and spectacle is employed to communicate the most subtle and profound meaning. Other than conventions, symbols, even allegory, can be regarded as "language". In fact, actual theatre would require a lifetime's study and practice to explore fully the properties of its language. Language in drama is represented as spoken language or as speech. A feature that it shares with everyday speech is the fact that its performance is bound to a communicative situation of space and time.

In drama, dialogue is ultimately a form of action and as such a mode of interaction. It is the element of action, the interaction between characters, their reactions to each other, which constitutes the true dramatic element in stage dialogue. Referring to Girish Karnad's "Tughlaq",

one may probe into his tactful employment of taking history thereby, shaping it into a dramatic piece. In order to reveal the historical element, the playwright has to keep in his mind the particular atmosphere of that time. Thus, drawing the past event into present enriches the dramatic imagination. Aparna Dharwadker¹ writes, "The dialogues combine real-life individuals with fictional characters, and recreate particular places at particular moments in time." Thus Karnad possesses a dramatic imagination that ranges widely in time and space and allows him to 'speak through' a remarkably diverse cast of characters. All the other values embodied in the writing, its wit, lucidity, elegance of structure and logical development, depth of thought, persuasiveness, rhythm, imagery and sheer beauty upgrades the dramatic imagination to much extent.

According to Badal Sircar², dramatic dialogue is not necessarily the dominant element in the playwright's armoury. It may be equally important as, or even so less than the non-verbal actions of the characters and indeed,

their silences. Dramatic language strongly associates with non-verbal communication in the theatre. Hence, music, dance, mime and other non-verbal forms remain distinctively a portion of the language of the theatre.

Closely considered, the verbal mode of communication can be safely defined as the verbal communication which is the production of signals and messages through the vocal mechanism, directed at the auditory reception system of one or more persons. It is the primary medium of transmitting information and is based on words of styled language. A dramatic language is composed of different verbal symbols which bridges the gap between the actors and the spectators.

Main Thrust

Undoubtedly, language has to perform a dramatic function in a play. Sircar³ opines that this dramatic function can be traced by paying close attention to the subtext, namely the structural pattern of symbols and images - the rhythmic movement of feelings and ideas. Moreover, the pattern of sounds, tonal quality of words and their image-making capacity has also to be discovered. Spectators derive the meaning from the way the text is delivered. The delivery can be challenging and complex. An example in this connection could be quoted from "Othello". Desdemona's dropped handkerchief contributes a subtext that derives both the subplot and the main plot of the whole play. Performance demands close reading of the script so that the performers are fully aware of the play as a whole and recognize the impact of each element in the subtext.

Furthermore, Sircar⁴ remarks that to the words the actor lends his voice, which is enlivened by intonation and gesture. Intonation is voice shaping in time and gesture - the visual dimension of the voice. Both are expressive of thought and feeling that the words contain. Movement is fundamental to conveying meaning through drama. Hence, actors must physically express their adopted characters consistently in their facial expressions and in every body movement. Movement is an extension of the gesture and a basis for grouping. Both movement and grouping are expressive functions like intonation and

gesture contributing to the fluid rhythm of shifting impressions. This rhythm and fluid image stimulates a highly creative state of mind which is active, receptive and imaginative. This receptive and imaginative frame of mind enables the spectator to grasp complex ideas, thereby embracing elusive meanings.

Sircar⁵ further continues that it may, however be pointed out that this meaningful communication is possible only in a vivid, sensitive and imaginative production of a significant play. If the play fails to grasp the structural pattern and the rhythmic movement in the subtext, there would be a flat rendering, which may run contrary to the substance and vision of the play. In such cases, the production is bound to lack artistic unity and coherence, and the impressions of the spectators too are bound to be vague and confused.

Veena Dass⁶ remarks that the dialogues in a play also encompass several dramatic devices, and irony is by far the most vital. The drama presents a spectacle which is enveloped in mystery and is fraught with irony. Irony in drama is not just a stylistic device or a means of plot contrivance, but its very mode of being. There is irony in the living actor representing a fictitious character. There is irony in the spectators' accepting as real what he knows to be illusion, and there is irony also in the fact that the narrow, artificially lit space of the stage is to be taken as a microcosm of the universe and existence.

Dass⁷ further adds that irony in drama sharpens intellectual powers and stimulates a highly critical and sophisticated response. The mastery implicit in the dramatic mode of presentation awakens imagination. The sense of mystery that grips the spectators as he witnesses a dramatic performance lends a charm of novelty to commonplace perceptions which take him beyond his habitual mode of feeling and thinking enabling him to participate in a rich and vital experience. This would help him to embrace new areas of meaning and vision of dramatic art and is the foundation of effective dramatic communication. An example from Vijay Tendulkar's "Silence! The Court is in Session" could be expounded here

to bring about the essence of irony. The ironical episode is projected in the mock trial of Lyndon B. Johnson, where Benare is accused in the presence of Professor Damle. This depicts the condemnation on the Indian society and the prejudices it carries against women. Veena Das opines⁸, "It is important to note that these charges become verbalized only in the absence of Prof. Damle. If he were present, the ironical situation would not arise at all."

According to Eric Bentley⁹, "Dramatic speech, however, is semantically more complex as regards to its orientation both towards the receiver and towards the sender of an utterance". This is because every utterance in drama has got two addresses as well as two expressive subjects. In addition to the direct interlocutors in the internal communication system there is the audience, a silent participant. After all, dramatic dialogues are intended to be heard by the spectators and to have an effect on them. Besides, the fictitious expressive subject, which is the dramatic character, there is also the real one, the playwright.

Mostly, language in a play is represented through spoken form. Dramatic language can thus be described as performative. It is dependent on a performative situation which is characterised by the presence of two or more speakers in the same place at the same time. Furthermore, the hearer can, if the situation is symmetrical, become a speaker as well. The performative character of the dramatic speech can be traced in the shouts, questions, commands, threats, promises and persuasions of a character.

Bentley¹⁰ further says that dramatic utterances are polyfunctional. They can have several functions at the same time, both in the internal and the extended communication system. However, the functions in them do not necessarily have to coincide. Out of the various functions, the referential function is the most important. The spoken words in drama are projected as a means of representing objects like things, events or even human beings. This referential information system does not only refer to the internal communication system but aims at the audience as well. It

dominates those elements of the plot that are presented in narrative form. The expressive function, on the other hand, is related closely with the characters who are brought to life by their choice of words and style. In drama, a figure's verbal behaviour is amongst the important means of characterization. There is yet another form, the phatic function of language. It is associated with the channel between the speaker and the listener and is designed to create and maintain the contact between both. For example we can find it in cases where they are meant to arouse the spectator's eager anticipation of the events. The phatic function is frequent in modern drama where the dialogue is above all a means of creating and maintaining contact between dialogue partners.

Another way of connecting or communicating with the audience is through the imposition of the soliloquy. In drama, it denotes the convention by which a character, alone on the stage, utters his thoughts aloud; the playwright uses this device as a convenient way to convey directly to the audience, information about a character's motives, intentions and state of mind, as well as for the purpose of general exposition. In addition to the soliloquy, there is again a stage-related device - 'aside', in which a character expresses his thought or intention in a short speech which, by convention, is inaudible to the other characters on the stage. These two dramatic devices not only expedite the course of action but also reveal the true motive of a character and his future action or reaction.

Paul Simpson¹¹ remarks that characterization through language is yet an important mode of communication where two fundamental distinctions are to be further stressed upon. The analysis of the verbal forms of self-presentation is implicit or explicit and if implicit, voluntary or involuntary. Explicit self-presentation occurs when a figure consciously outlines its picture on itself and this may happen in the context of either the monologue or the dialogue. The information that the receiver obtains from the figure in this way is neither objective nor binding and should be evaluated as elements of a subjective,

coloured form of self-presentation. However, as a conscious form of self-presentation, it is essentially distorted with regard to the figure concerned and thus does not coincide with the authorially-intended reception perspective for this particular figure. This kind of distortion may even be a feature of the monologue or in the soliloquies.

Simpson¹² further adds that the situation is different when we turn to implicit, unconscious or involuntary forms of verbal self-presentation. As such, these are not subjectively distorted and reveal to the receiver, the figure's temperamental and ideological disposition directly. Of course, the receiver has to cope here with various forms of implicit verbal behaviour and is therefore confronted with the more complex task of having symptoms. One kind of symptom from which we can infer a figure's disposition also forms a part of paralinguistics. For example, a dramatic figure may be characterized on the basis of voice quality alone. Thus, we generally associate a high-piercing voice with resolution or fanaticism and a soft-spoken person with a dreamy or sensitive disposition. In this connection, "Tughlaq" could be a suitable example. Tughlaq has been portrayed with great psychological depth. The dramatist, Girish Karnad, projects the paradoxes in the complex personality of Tughlaq who dreams and acts. He is benevolent and cruel. It is a great irony that he is called a mad man. The simple reason behind it is his irrational behavior. He orders people to march back to Delhi. It becomes an evidence of madness. He sends Aziz as a high officer in the Deccan with the instruction that he should disappear thereafter. Tughlaq becomes a terror to his people. His balance of mind is lost.

Stylistic texture, a part of the implicit characterization process, on the other hand, is established as a feature of the literary text. Peter Verdonk¹³ states that the language of a particular dramatic figure approximates the social and religious sub-code. It focusses on its use of either Standard English or dialect which elaborates its social contexts. The individual speech is co-related in a strictly logical way. Hence, they form a more associative series

and they also shed light on the structure of a figure's level of awareness.

Moreover, the areas of syntactic, lexical selection and combination can also serve to delineate a figure : the frequency of certain sentence types (such as statements or questions), the predominance of hypotaxis or parataxis, active or passive forms, the use of parallelisms and antithesis, on abstract or concrete vocabulary, figurative or literal speech, the emphasis on certain semantic groups and the frequency of idiomatic expressions etc. In this, the characterizing function is not restricted to merely identifying the various figures, it also serves to expose their respective temperaments and dispositions.

As per Henry Rogers¹⁴, the sound in a play is an important mode of communication. In this regard, rhythm and tempo, is by far the most vital element in drama. It brings us, naturally to a consideration of the dramatic verse. However, it may here be pointed out that verse drama can make a highly emotive and creative use of language and is often able to convey complex vision and elusive meaning more effectively. Besides, it can also establish the dramatic rhythm and control, the tone and the tempo in a more striking way. In other words, we can say that dramatic language is multi-dimensional, as the drama incorporates the artistic resources of all the performing arts - movement, sound, colour, line, mass, light, tempo, rhythm etc and a creative and imaginative use of all these elements contribute to the experimental depth - the expressive and communicative possibilities of drama.

Pantomime and dumb show are yet another form of communication in the play. Literally, pantomime is acting without speech, using only posture, gesture, bodily movement, and exaggerated facial expression to mimic, a character's actions and feelings. Elaborate pantomimes, halfway between drama and dance, were put on in ancient Greece and Rome and the form was revived usually for comic purposes later on and till date. The Greeks were probably the first to use mime as a pure art form. Many times masks were used to interpret a certain scene or dialogue in many

festivals. Thus, pantomime and dumb show became a profound mark of dramatics which is carried on till date.

Conclusion

Obviously, language in a play is an effective means of projecting a vision and transmitting values for great drama like poetry, makes creative use of language. In drama as in poetry, language can be used in an emotive and evocative way in order to reach to the greater audiences. Hence, language which integrates both verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication by bringing together both mind and body ultimately results in restoring the balance between physical and intellectual facts of learning and is by far, more effective and expressive.

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Need of Introducing EAP Courses in the Universities of Jharkhand : A Study in Curriculum Restructuring

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Abstract

Expansion of English as a world language and shrinking of the world into a global village have created more domains where English has to be used as an essential tool for intra-discipline and international communication. The new scenario compelled both the academics and the professionals to be efficient users of English language in their respective fields. But it is neither feasible nor desirable to learn each and every aspect of the English language; it demands learning and using of English according to the needs of the users. It resulted in the introduction of EAP and ESP courses in the universities and technical institutions to sharpen their tool of communication (English). But EAP was never introduced in any of the universities of Jharkhand as a result majority of the students, in spite of the talents they possess in their respective fields, have been unsuccessful in achieving their goals. The paper aims to discuss 'why' the introduction of EAP in the universities of Jharkhand is a necessity, and how it can be implemented effectively.

Keywords : curriculum, register, language skills

Introduction

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is a register (subject specific variety) of English which is used to facilitate higher academic studies in handling the English language as a medium of instruction. It is designed/programmed on the basis of actual and potential needs of the students pursuing higher (post)graduate studies in various fields. Each course is subject/ discipline specific, e.g. English for Commerce, English for Life Sciences, and English for Law. Each course contains a set of technical vocabulary, choices of specialized syntax, and a style of its own, and certain frequently used language skills in that field. Such a course enables the target group of learners competent and effective in using English as a medium of instruction of the discipline in its varied forms and situations. All the technical institutions across the world do have such EAP courses.

By the term 'curriculum' people usually understand a list of subjects, topics and books, and other materials that a student is supposed to study in order to pass a school or university examination. Most of the Indian school boards and universities do provide such a curriculum. But this term refers to something wider and deeper; it expects to define the educational needs of the learners completely, and to

identify all the means by which they can be achieved. It is rather an umbrella term and includes: (a) syllabus, (b) teaching / study materials (c) teaching methodologies and techniques, and (d) evaluation. In other words, it is a roadmap to realize the aims and objectives which have been decided by analyzing the needs of actual learners.

EAP, first of all, sets the aims and objectives of the programme based on the actual needs of the learners. (a) to (d) discussed above are means to achieve the targets set by the curriculum. It presupposes that the learners have understanding of the 'Basic English'.

The expression 'methodology and technique' may sound strange to the university and college teachers because they consider it as an area to be dealt and discussed by the school teachers. They seem to consider that they understand and know everything about the methodologies and techniques of teaching. But language teaching is not 'transfer of information' from a teacher to learners; but making the learners acquire the essential language skills and perform accordingly. They keep on varying according to the topics and the abilities of the learners. The success of such programmes needs a group of trained teachers professionally committed and competent in their task of language teaching with students of

varying language abilities.

Evaluation is an integral part of any curriculum. It not only reflects the performance of the learners but also demonstrates the effectiveness of the teaching programme undertaken. The performance and the feedbacks received from the learners provide an opportunity for internal introspection by the department leading to incorporate necessary changes in the same programme during the next academic session.

Main Thrust

Now let us discuss the position of English in the syllabuses of the universities of Jharkhand. Jharkhand Academic Council (JAC) has adopted the CBSE syllabus for the Intermediate (+2) level. It contains three papers of English: English Core, Elective English and Alternative English (a part of Hindi Core MB) paper. All the three papers are optional, and contain both 'language' and 'literature' components. Thus the CBSE pattern provides opportunities to the students to study English if they want to learn it; it is not imposed on them. On the other hand, the syllabuses of the universities of Jharkhand have restricted the scope to study the English language as a part of their curriculum. A student belonging to the Faculty of Humanities / Social Sciences (other than the students of English Honours course) may opt for English (General/ Subsidiary) paper; but the same is not available to the students of other streams, like Science and Commerce. Of course, they may opt for MB-English of 50 marks as a part of MIL (Non-Hindi) paper. The last is one of the papers mostly sought for by the students of Science and Commerce. It indicates that the students are eager to learn the English language. But the disappointing aspect of these courses is that there is hardly any language component in them; they are fully 'literature based'. As a result they may not expect from them any direct help either in their studies or in their future career; for this purpose they have to look for the private coaching institutes so that they can develop their language skills and other matters related to their respective disciplines. Even the students opting for English Honours at the undergraduate level study English literature only. Thus even

they are not exposed to the use of English for communicative purposes in real life situations. The same is the case with the postgraduate students of English. Majority of the students of English Honours and MA (English) look for employment opportunity in the area of teaching in schools, where they are expected to teach English language and only about 20% of English literature. They lack interest and professional commitment in dealing with the skill based language components, because they have orientation of literature-based knowledge only.

With the changing scenario in the places of work and the trends in the employment sector, the importance and needs of the English language has been increasing day by day. It has become an essential undeclared need even in higher studies for those who want to excel in their fields of studies. Since the syllabuses of the universities of Jharkhand do not offer any such language courses the students are bound to take resort in the coaching classes run by different private organizations. In many of the universities of India and abroad the curricula of various streams include EAP courses for the benefit of the students. The simple question to be asked is: if IITs and IIMs have English courses in their curriculum, why are they not in the syllabuses of B.Sc./B.Com. and M.Sc./ M.Com? This clearly reflects lack of vision and progressive approach to cater to the needs of the students. It is a high time now to realize the concerns of the students, and help them equip with the latest knowledge and skills in every discipline including in English as an instrument of communication.

In modern India the universities cannot afford to teach any subject for 'knowledge for knowledge sake'; they have to be utilitarian in their approach so that they can justify the huge amount of money spent on higher education. Therefore English courses have to be more sensitive to the needs of the learners, because they have to cater the needs of highest number of students in India in comparison to any other subject. This is high time when the teachers and educationists have to distinguish between the teaching of French and German on the one

hand and the teaching of English on the other in the Indian context.

This clearly reflects that the existing syllabuses are 'teacher-centred' rather than 'learner-centred', and the real needs of the students are not addressed to. Thus the message of the issues discussed above is very clear. Provide opportunity to every student who wants to learn and sharpen English as a tool of his academic and professional advancement at various levels. However, such English courses should not be imposed on them but they should be made optional so that a student can choose from them. Secondly, the contents of these courses should be planned such that they become practical and fruitful to satisfy the hopes and aspirations of the students, specifically those coming from the vernacular background. It demands for immediate introduction and restructuring of the English courses in all the universities in Jharkhand.

Attitude of English Teachers towards English Language

There has been confusion about 'English' among the academics and the English teachers at the higher level who plan and frame syllabuses for different groups of learners for different programmes. In fact, the term 'English' in modern India includes various aspects in the area of education. Firstly, it refers to 'English literature' which is a subject of independent and autonomous study. Secondly, 'English language' is also autonomous, and is taken up by the linguists and it comes within the purview of linguistics. Finally, English is also studied as an instrument to perform certain communicative functions. In such cases English is not autonomous but falls within the 'service sector'; it is intended to help the learners and academicians to achieve their goals using English as their medium of instruction. It is popularly known as "English Language Teaching (ELT)" A doctor's needs of English are different from the needs of an engineer; the language of Chemistry is different from the language of Law and so on. Thus in this paper we are concerned with the teaching of English as a tool of instruction. The academics concerned with syllabus designing (English) in Jharkhand have two basic

problems – (a) they are unable to distinguish between the teaching of literature and teaching of language; (b) those who know the difference between the first and the third aspect of English but they are not interested in bringing the required changes because they want to be on the safe side. They know that incorporation of new items in the syllabus implies different types of problems for them, e.g. prescribing new types of study materials and training of teachers for this purpose. Even the teachers are not free from the traditional outlook; they consider language teaching inferior to literature teaching; they are least motivated to teach English as an instrument of communication.

The quantity and variety that we introduce in EAP for various programmes are different at different levels – at the level of sounds, at the level of words, at the level of phrases and sentences, and at the level of paragraph and discourse. There are different sets of vocabulary items in each field. Even the syntax and style of presentation are different. Taking up so many diverse things in the teaching programme apparently repels a teacher who has been dealing with 'English literature'. Thus overall interest of teaching of EAP is not very encouraging.

Introducing EAP at the University Level

Introduction of EAP in any academic programme is not just listing of some chapters and topics in the subject, as it is done in many other subjects. It needs planning and preparation in advance. EAP is based on the actual and potential needs of a particular group of learners, and their attitude, competence and behavior at the entry point. These issues must be given due consideration while designing any syllabus for them. The needs of the learners have to be identified by discussing with the learners and consulting the subject teachers; and it is finalized by making a comprehensive assessment of use of English in the discipline. Accordingly the topics to be taught have to be selected and listed; it is followed by incorporation of a list of the study materials to be used to execute the aims and the objectives of the curriculum. Some of the items to be incorporated among the topics in

the syllabus of any EAP are as follows:

- ♦ Basic language skills (LSRW)
- ♦ Technical vocabulary in different phases
- ♦ Grammar
- ♦ Syntactic structures frequently used in the discipline (e.g., passive voice in science)
- ♦ Preferred style of discourse
- ♦ Spoken English on different occasions
- ♦ Presentation skill
- ♦ Writing academic articles
- ♦ Study skills in English
- ♦ Formal and informal speech and writing

There should be different course contents for different Faculties so that they can genuinely cover the needs of the students.

The most crucial and challenging task of EAP lies in implementing the syllabus in the actual classroom. The role of an English teacher in this respect is very crucial. Of course, the teachers of English in the universities of Jharkhand are competent and sincere; but the problem with them is that they do not have any orientation in teaching such language syllabuses. Again, their outlook towards such language courses is not encouraging because they consider it an inferior task for a university teacher. They are used to the 'lecture method' in teaching literature which is not suitable for any skill based courses including EAP. Therefore it becomes desirable that the teachers assigned with EAP courses must be trained properly and a positive attitude towards EAP is inculcated in them. The next relevant question is: who will train these teachers of English? One of the good alternatives is that of the UGC sponsored refresher courses organized by the Academic Staff Colleges. 'Teaching of EAP' can be the thrust area of such a refresher course programme. The period of three weeks, which is its normal duration, is a sufficient period for this purpose. Such a course will benefit all the teacher participants and they will prove effective in the classroom.

The study materials of any course have direct bearing on the process of learning. Therefore, they must suit the levels of the students both in content and language. Since EAP syllabuses

are mostly based on the needs of the learners, study materials meant for various universities with a higher standard may not be effective. This will be just like dressing oneself with borrowed gowns. In fact, if they are 'tailor-made' for the person concerned they would add to his/ her beauty. The same is the case with study materials. Therefore all good institutions develop their own teaching materials. A group of English teachers of the institute / university are involved in the process. The materials drafted are discussed and tried in workshops; and sometimes expert advice of the ELT resource persons are sought for. There is an advantage in such materials – they can be easily modified and updated based on the feedback of the success of the course, because they are not under the control of any publishing house but under the direct control of the institute / university. In case of Jharkhand each university may have its own group of English teachers who would produce different study materials for their students. They can upgrade and update them continually. In this process, there will be greater participation and involvement of the teacher in trying them out in real classroom. It will not detract the teachers from the language classes, and gradually they can develop in them interest for such language courses.

Testing and evaluation are integral parts of any teaching programme. Different types of tests should be conducted to ensure that the students are learning what they are expected to. The components of spoken English should also be included in the tests because they are the most neglected ones since schooldays. Evaluation of different teaching activities, topics taught and the study materials should also be evaluated at the end of the year. Based on the feedback, necessary changes should be incorporated in the curriculum.

The discussion above clearly points out that EAP courses at various undergraduate and postgraduate programmes must be introduced for better performance of the students in their university examinations as well as in their participation in different national and international forums. While framing the curriculum for EAP all the essential steps required to find out the learners' needs must be taken minutely so that

the actual problems the student have been facing may come to light and may be incorporated in the curriculum ((Sood:1995), Tickoo (1995, 2003), Allen (1997), Nagraj (2002), Munby (1978), Richards (2001)). Many teaching materials are available in the market; they can be modified according to the immediate local needs. But study materials developed by a university itself by a group of English teachers would be a better option. Initially it sounds as a Herculean task, but once the teachers are involved in the process, they can certainly be able to produce 'tailor-made' study materials. An orientation programme for the English teachers, who would teach EAP courses in rotation, has to be organized to discuss the methodologies and techniques to be adopted in the actual classroom. This training part is essential because the success of the programme depends on the motivation and professional competence of these teachers.

Finally, the curriculum should be revised from time to time on the basis of the feedbacks at different levels. In other words, it must be made dynamic and students friendly. It should include various language skills, some literature components and other essential aspects which have long been neglected.

Conclusion

Our discussion above makes it clear that EAP courses are the need of the hour in the universities of Jharkhand. Therefore they must be incorporated in their syllabuses both at the undergraduate and the postgraduate levels in all the faculties. But before doing so it should be ensured that the courses must not be 'teacher-centred' but 'learner-centred', and they must cater to the immediate and future needs of the learners. Teacher training for EAP and developing materials are real challenges in the field. A positive approach to achieve the goals would enable the universities to launch

and run these EAP courses smoothly. This will certainly bring revolutionary changes in the performance and participation of the students in the national and international arena; and it may enable them to secure better positions in the national and international fields of employment.

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Feminine Sensibility in the Novels of Kamala Markandaya

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Abstract

Kamala Markandaya is not a feminist with prevalent western theories of fierce rebellion against patriarchal society; she is a female novelist who depicts the typical female sensibility of the Indian women as also of the European women in a given complex situation of Indian society. We come across two groups of the women characters in her novels. The first group includes tradition bound subdued women like Rukmani, Premala, Sarojini, Jaya, Saroja while the second group of women characters expose their vision and assert their personal views and such women characters are Mira, Caroline, Nalini, Helen, Manjula and Mohini

Keywords : tradition, Indian ethos, endurance, expatriate, misery

Introduction

The novels of Kamala Markandaya offer a wide spectrum of characters, places and situations which not only center around the controlling forces of the upper and the lower classes of Indian society, but also reflect their joys and sorrow, agony and anguish as they negotiate with the challenges and complexities of life and living. Kamala Markandaya's novels embody a profound and sensitive understanding of the feminine and the female in Indian ethos. She started writing novels when India was just at the threshold of newly-won freedom, and the novelist won international fame and recognition with the publication of her very first novel, *Nectar in a Sieve* in 1954. She has to date ten novels to her credit: *Some Inner Fury* (1956); *A Silence of desire* (1960); *Possession* (1963); *A Handful of Rice* (1966); *The Coffers* (1969); *The Nowhere Man* (1972); *Two Virgins* (1973); *The Golden Honeycomb* (1977); and *Pleasure City* (1982). She gives us a number of female characters in her novels, and presents them to us in such a way as to compel our close attention. Women, in Kamala Markandaya's novel, fall into a distinct two-fold pattern: those who belong to the economically poor and middle class society and those who belong to an affluent and upper class society. While the former group behaves in traditional

ways of quiet and helpless acceptance of pain and sufferings, the latter group stands up against injustice to the women and asserts a distinct identity for the Indian women in terms of close participation in social and political events and movements.

Main Thrust

Rukmani is the principal female character in *Nectar in a Sieve* whose life is a veritable spectacle of trouble after trouble. First, her family is severely hit by poverty and hunger; secondly, she has to suffer the agony of the delayed birth of sons, and thirdly, she has to endure her husband, Nathan's illicit relations with Kunti; fourthly, she and her husband have to lose their only piece of land and lastly, she has to witness the death of her husband and sons in utter misery and degradation. Rukmani, bears all these hardships and calamities with the resignation of a stoic, and it is only appropriate that professor Iyengar calls her 'a mother of sorrows'¹. Rukmani is unhappy when her daughter, Ira, is sent back to her parents by her husband on the charge of her being a barren woman, but she is sorely hurt and her sense of moral propriety is violently shaken, when compromising her self-dignity and the prestige of the family, Ira, takes to prostitution in the face of yawning hunger. When the British doctor, Kennigton, suggests

to her to face the ordeals of life with the fire of rebellion inside her, she pleads for patience and fortitude, and chooses to wait 'until times are better'². Rukmani is a village woman, steeped in tradition, but it is her character that shines through the whole of 'Nectar in a Sieve'. And though at the end of the novel she is only in her forties, yet she calls herself an old woman. Margaret P. Joseph comments about Rukmani:

'Rukmani has the capacity
for suffering and accepts it;
and be assuring she faces trials
with courage and dignity; one
is tempted to call her tragic. She
is confused, still finds the
necessary strength to carry on.
Her suffering spiritualizes her
and leads her to greater
wisdom. Yet she is a pathetic
rather than a tragic character,
for she never realizes the tragedy
of her situation.....'³

All that we can say about her is that, whether as wife or as mother, there is absolutely nothing of rebellion or resistance in her.

In the second novel of Kamala Markandaya, some inner fury we come across two female characters, Mira and Premala. Premala is a girl who has been brought up in a traditional Hindu family, but her marriage with Kitsamy, an I.C.S officer, a person devoted to western life-style, turns out to be a disaster, and brings out the danger inherent in cultural disparity. Under the pressure of her husband she is bound to wear shorts, play tennis and attend midnight parties. Kit never tries to understand her sentiments, and in order to hide her feelings of loneliness and frustration, she associates herself with the missionary work of setting up a school for children in a village. It is absolutely no surprise that Kit's adopted brother Govind loves Premala and that she too reciprocates his gesture. However, the irony of the whole situation consists in the fact that Premala is trapped inside the building and dies of suffocation there when Govind and his friends in the course of their violent campaign against the British rule, set fire to the school.

Mirabai is an educated member of well-to-do and gentle family, who falls in love with her

brother's British friend, Richard Marlowe. In the natural course of events Mira and Richard should have got married and settled in life as wife and husband. However, their budding relationship is cut short because of the turmoil caused by the Quit India Movement of 1942. In this situation of tension and turmoil, the Indians and the Britishers find themselves utterly alienated from each other because suspicion and jealousy, and naturally enough, Mira parts company with Richard. Mira is indeed very, very suitable as the narrator of the story in this novel.

Professor Iyengar observes:
'Mira is a creature of
imagination and memory,
and in her, naturalness
and sophistication are in
uneasy partnership.'⁴

Mira's lot is perhaps potentially unenviable. She loses not only Richard because of political and racial compulsions, she does also lose her brother, Kit, who is killed by the violent mob. Her adopted brother, Govind, who becomes a fugitive, and sister-in-law, Premala, who dies of suffocation. At the end of the novel, we find her crying out in despair:

'.....my heart wept, tearless,
desolate, silently to itself.
But what matter to universe
.....if now and then a world
is born or a star should die;
or what matter to the world,
if here and there a man should
fall, or a head or a heart should break.'⁵

Mira may, as she does, speculate on the mystery and futility of human existence and struggle, but what is really remarkable about her is her development from 'inhibited adolescence to liberated womanhood'.⁶

A silence of desire presents the story of a typical middle class Indian married couple, Dandekar, a junior clerk in a government department and Sarojini, a duty bound and devoted wife. Sarojini suffers from a tumor, but instead of undergoing modern medical treatment, as her husband desires, she seeks a faith cure from a swamy. No doubt, this attitudinal conflict between Sarojini and Dandekar has its own importance is the fact

that Sarojini's behavior, her hush-hush attitude to the people, causes a lot of suspicions and complications.

But as and when tumor is detected in her womb, and she is advised surgery, she moves away from her husband who insists on surgery and starts going to a swamy for spiritual solace. It is natural that her household gets into disorder and her children are left uncared for, but the worst thing is the suspicions in her husband's mind, aroused by her secret visits to the swamy. Finally Sarojini does undergo surgery, chiefly at the instance of the swamy himself as he is about to leave the place, and gets cured of her ailment, her faith in spiritual grace remains undiminished.

It is true that in *A Silence of Desire* we see Sarojini mostly through Dandeker's eyes, but for that reason it would not be proper to look upon her as a non- entity. When her fidelity is challenged and her feelings are hurt, she ceases to be just a tame worshipper of the sacred Tulsa, and expresses the courage of her conviction with passion and vehemence. She tells her husband

'Yes you can tell it healing by
Faith, or healing grace of god, if you
Understand what that means. But
I do not expect you to understand
-you with your western notion,
Your superior talk of ignorance and
Superstition, when all it means is
That you don't know what lies
Beyond reason and you prefer not to
Findout'⁷

Sarojini, no doubt, is the wife of an assistant, a middle-class woman, but through her Markandaya shows the superior spiritual power of a wife.

Kamala Markandaya's fourth novel, *Possession*, presents to us the story of Caroline Bell's victory and defeat, even if only temporary. And though in this book we get such characters as Anasuya, the narrator of the story and Ellic, a Jewish war-refugee, and Annabel, a girl who lived with Valimiki for some time, it is Caroline who dominates the scene of action from the beginning to the end. Caroline Bell is a British lady, well-born, rich and divorced who discovered artistic genius in a rustic boy

named Valmiki. She decides to turn the boy into a successful artist, to take complete possession of him, and to exploit him to her fullest advantage. She succeeds in her diabolical design in spirit of the boy's parents and his guru, the Swamy. Caroline buys Val for five thousand rupees, whisks him off first to Madras, and then to Switzerland, and gets back to England only when the boy is sixteen so that he may not have to undergo formal schooling according to the law of the land. No doubt, Val achieves tremendous, success as an artist, but he manages to return to his village And to his Swamy. However, Caroline would not accept defeat; she tells the Swamy:

'There is still one thing to be
taken into account, Valimiki is
yours now, but he has been
mine. One day he will want to
be mine again. I shall take care
to make him want me again,
and on that day I shall be
back to claim him.'⁸

Caroline's craving for Valimiki is psycho-pathological.

Caroline Bell is an autocrat, and she is an authoritarian and demanding as the British Raj in India. Despite all her badness, she is a sharply-drawn and highly-individualized character.

'If the outer theme of *Nectar in a Sieve*; says professor Iyengar,' was rural economies, the theme of *A Handful of Rice* in urban economies⁹ since these two novels, in a way, may be said to be complementary to each other. The main female character is Nalini who is living in a small town with her parents, Apu and Jayamma. While Nalini's elder sister, Thangam is married and has children, Nalini has been a young, pretty unmarried girl, gifted with a gentle voice and beautiful hair. To Ravi, who works at her house as her father's apprentice, she seems to be a kind of 'inaccessible goddess'.¹⁰and it is to this very Ravi that Nalini is married. However, it is Ravi's new status as a married person that whets his appetite to grow rich quickly by any means possible so that he and his wife might enjoy the fruits and luxuries of life to their satisfaction. It is here that we find Nalini playing the role of a

guide to her husband, the role of a guardian and protector. She advises Ravi to refrain from drinking, day-dreaming, lewdness and dishonesty, from every form of corruption:

'you've been corrupted; she said
'you go into all these big houses ,
all their things. It gives you
impossible ideas.'
'They're not impossible ideas'.
'They are How can people like
us ever be like them?'
'They're not made of different
clay, are they?....'
'They're a different class, that's
all. She said with a catch in
her voice that should have
warned him.'¹¹

And even when the 'ring of living'¹² grows tighter and tighter round them, Nalini endures everything, every misfortune, every calamity, so quietly, so patiently:

'In Nalini there was no room
for anything but heartache a
dull pain, occasionally lit by
flashes of fear. What had turned
him into a violent stranger?
From now on was it always to
be like this? She wanted to
break the silence, pull down
the break wall that had
come between them.'¹³

Nalini is a typical Indian wife who submits herself to her husband without any murmur or equivocation.

The novel *The Coffers Dams* offers one of Kamala Markandaya's most comprehensive pictures of the Indo-British encounters, and the three major characters in this drama of racial tension are Clinton, his wife Helen and Bashiam, a tribal crane-operator. The drama begins with the arrival of a British engineering firm, partnered by Clinton and Mackendrick, in independent India to build a dam across a south Indian river. Though Clinton is much older than his wife Helen, the difference between them is not so much physical as temperamental or spiritual. While he ardently believes in and strives for ruthless efficiency, and, as such, has a mania for blue-prints,

statistics and time-schedules, Helen is guided effectively by human considerations. It is nothing strange then that Clinton and Helen drift apart and that Helen creates a stir in the British Colony.

Helen is greatly pained at the insensitivity of the white people to the feelings and responses of the natives, and is allergic to such terms as 'thesepeople' and 'our people'. She thinks:

'These people....it jarred her ...
But these people aren't different
Clay, they're like me, like people
like me. What is for me, is for
them, there's no other kind
of yardstick that's worth anything.'¹⁴

And when she discovers that the poor natives have been evicted to a far less convenient place to make room for the white people's quarters and that the poor Indians are not supposed to be disturbed by the explosion of blasts, she asks Clinton :

'Can't you care? Don't humans
beings matter anything to you?
Do they have to be a special
kind of fleshbefore they do?'¹⁵

The callousness with which the Britishers, including Clinton, view those accidents in which the natives are involved, shocks Helen and takes her, both physically and emotionally away from her husband. She declares:

'Look at me. I've never been
a memsahib. You're not
some kind of freak to me.
we're alike.'¹⁶

It is just possible that Kamala Markandaya might have injected this union between Helen and Bashiam as a possible solution to the racial problem, but, whatever her intention, the fact remains that Helen, despite her impulsiveness, impresses us as an extraordinary human and humane character.

The *Nowhere Man* may be looked as almost a continuation of *The Coffers Dams*, for the theme of both the novels is the burden of racial tension. Srinivas and his wife, Vasantha are compelled to leave India and to go to England, where they settle down permanently. Even living in England, they do not face very much

belonging to the country. Vasantha's character has not been fully developed, for she is made to die of tuberculosis in London itself rather early in the novel. And yet we find that in spite of her long stay in England with her husband, she does not forget her Indian heritage and cannot get integrated with the English people. Her marriage with Srinivas has been happy and enduring. All through her life Vasantha guides her husband along the Gandhian lines and

Does not allow him, unlike Abdul, the man from Zanzibar in Africa, to thrive at the expense of others.

Kamala Markandaya's *Two Virgins* is almost a documentary novel that tells about village girls, Lalitha and Saroja.

In the novel, besides Lalitha and Saroja come across such characters as Gupta and Devaraj, Amma and Appa, aunt Alamalu and Miss Mendoza, Manikakam and Chingleput, the main point of attention is the lives of these two sisters. Lalitha is 'slender and tall like a lily'¹⁷ and she does always try to keep herself 'flower-fresh'.¹⁸ It is on account of her dreams of city life and the film world, her obsessive desire to become a star that she rejects her family, the village life and tradition, and escapes to the place of her doom. Even though she meets her physical and moral debasement in city life, yet she decides to live in the anonymity of city life, for the village stifles her. Lalitha is not at all an unusual character, for she is just one of those who are lured away by the illusory glamour and temptations of city life. We can say about her that she is 'a pasteboard character',¹⁹ all hollow, and so unconvincing.

The younger sister, Saroja, is important for three aspects of her character. First, Saroja has been quite a dependable character, gifted with an incisive mind. Secondly, she loves the village life and hates the city life. As she says, in the village 'you always knew where you were',²⁰ but in a city, 'you were one in a hundred, in a thousand'²¹. And lastly, it is through Saroja's character that Markandaya explores the problem of the growth of a girl's awareness. We may conclude our observation of these two sisters by saying that while Lalitha is a mere flirt and does not

impress us at all, Saroja is made of different stuff and carries at least some amount of conviction with us.

Though *The Golden Honeycomb* is Kamala Markandaya's first historical novel, a chronicle of three generations of the princely family of Devapur, what the writer is really interested in is 'the psychological workings of the minds of the characters. The most important character in this novel is Rabi or Rabindranath, but the female characters like Manjula, Mohini, Janaki, Sophie, Jaya and Usha do also play important roles, covering three different generations. Manjula is Bawajiraj II's wife who represents the spirit of nationalism and voices her feelings of protest against the fetters of colonial rule. In her own way, she tries to insist into her grandson, Rabi, an ardent love for motherland. Mohini is Bawajiraj III's concubine, and both as the native ruler's mistress and as Rabi's mother, she is devoted to Bawajiraj III. She symbolizes the flame of patriotism and a craving for social reforms. As M.P. Joseph observes:

'Manjula and Mohini are rebellions and independent-very like each other. Because Mohini has a larger share in the action of the novel, she achieves some measure of individuality. She is self-willed and outspoken, vivacious and volatile, shrewd and intelligent, sensual and loving, absolutely feminine in her caprices. Her sense of humor and her independence.'²²

Janaki is the daughter of the palace sweeper and Sophie is the daughter of the British Resident who came into the life of Rabi just like light and shadow. Jaya is a worker in a Bombay mill who teaches him not only about love but also about the miserable life led by a large majority of the Indians in their own country. Usha is the daughter of Devapur's Brahmin Diwan, Tirumula Rao, and is aflame with nationalistic ardors. Usha and Rabi are linked

together by the unity of spirit; they 'communicate less in words than through breath and skin, and silence, and other eloquent but improbable instruments'.²³ obviously, Rabi's future lies with usha.

In her latest novel, *Pleasure City*, Kamala Markandaya tries to bring the East and the West together, and conveys the ideas that the people of the East and the west can come closer and can miss each other when they are away. The central character of this novel is Rikki, a poor Indian boy belonging to fishercommunity, but Mrs. Bridie did much for the people of the fishing colony. She herself led a simple and hard life among the villagers by sharing their happiness and sorrows:

'Mrs. Bridie ran school for the Fisherman's children in shuttered room of their tumbledown house. Sometimes when it was not too hot she taught in the open. She sat in a chair under a frayed straw hat, the children bare-headed, sitting solemn and squire on the baked earth of the mission compound.'²⁴

Mrs. Bridie belongs not to a particular country or a community but to the family of human beings. Rikki's words to clergymen prove the strong bond of relationship that he has established with Mrs. Bridie.

'You shouldn't have buried them like that he reproved. She could never bear to touch her, you know.'²⁵

The clergyman thought that the boy was overwrought, and did not know what he was saying. Tears were indeed pouring down Rikki's face as he walked away, carrying the gifts they had left him in a heat bundle under his arm as Mrs. Bridie would have liked.

Kamala Markandaya, says M.K. Naik 'is an insider-outsider'²⁶ in the sense that she is an expatriate, has married a Britisher, and has been living in England for a considerable period of time. One of most useful comments on her achievement as a novelist has been made by A.V. Krishna Rao in his book, *The*

Indo-Anglian Novel and the changing Tradition, He says:

'Markandaya's contribution to The Indo-Anglian fiction lies essentially in her capacity to explore... vital, formative areas of individual consciousness that project the images of cultural change, and in her uncanny gift of inhabiting the shifting landscape of an outer reality with human beings whose sensibility becomes a sensitive measure of the inner reality as it reponds the stimulus of change.'²⁷

Conclusion

Markandaya's fiction evinces a much broader ranges and offers a greater variety of setting, character and effect, though her quintessential themes are equally few-the east-west encounter and women in different life-roles. It is really interesting how an educated, expatriate Indian woman feels disposed towards the female characters in her novels.

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Father-Son Relationship in Arthur Miller's 'All My Sons & Death of a Salesman'

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Abstract

Miller from the very beginning of his career chooses to focus on the family, finding there a microcosm of those tensions which equally characterize a society in transition. The father is presented as an embodiment of the past and of an authority which must be challenged: the sons are an expression of a necessary revolt which nonetheless is tainted with guilt. If these complexities are not as yet addressed with any great subtlety Miller is already discovering the dramatic energy to be generated by familial relationships in which loyalty clashes with belief, moral value with social theory, and personal commitment with public form. Will the sons be captured by their father's myth, and hence justify his life at the expense of their personal identities and even moral beings, or will they, like Arnold, turn their backs on that life in the name of abstract values (Justice, ideology, faith) or personal fulfillment, thereby vindicating themselves and declaring their innocence, at the price of an implicit indictment of their father?

Keywords : parental love, guilt, ideology, responsibility

Introduction

Arthur Miller is a socio-conscious playwright. His dramas intend to focus on the evils of the society. Miller feels a good society is possible only when individual and society are mutually helpful to each other. One way of looking at All My Sons in the universal terms of human brotherhood: the father, in effect destroys, one of his sons, and that son, in his turn, gives sentence of death on him, while at the same time, to the other son in rejecting it, destroys his father, in pain and in love. Similarly in Death of a Salesman, Willy Loman, like Joe Keller, has lived for his sons, will die for the sons who are to extend his life, yet the sons, in their different ways, reject him, in one case for good reasons and in effect destroy him. Yet the failure on both sides is rooted in love and dependence; the death and the love are deeply related aspects of the same relationship. Death of a Salesman takes the moment of crisis in which Joe Keller could only feebly express himself, and makes it the action of whole play. It is intended to discuss here Miller's All My Sons and Death of a Salesman to establish the point that a tension free relationship between the father and son is a prerequisite for a happy family and there by a healthy society.

Main Thrust

The father-son relationship is an important theme in Miller's dramas. When the interviewer Rose Styron asked him "Were you very close to your father?"

Miller: I was. I still am, but I think, actually, that my plays don't reflect directly my relationship to him. It's very primitive thing in my plays. That is, the father was really a figure who incorporated both power and some kind of moral law which he had either broken himself or had fallen prey to it. He figures as an immense shadow... I didn't expect that of my own father, literally, but of his position, apparently I did. The reason that I was able to write about the relationship, I think now, was because it had a mythical quality to me. If I had ever thought that I was writing about my father, I suppose I never could have done it.

There is an interesting account, in Miller's Introduction, of the genesis of All My Sons, relating it to a previous play and the discovery that two of the characters, who had been friends in the previous drafts, were logically brothers and had the same father... The overt

story was only tangential to the secret drama which its author was quite unconsciously trying to write... In writing of the father son relationship and of the son's search for his relatedness there was a fullness of feeling I had never known before. The crux of *All My Sons* was formed; and the roots of *Death of a Salesman* were sprouted. In both Willy and his sons, there are the roots of guilt, and yet, ultimately they stand together as men – the father both a model and a rejected ideal; the son both an idea and a relative failure. But the model, the rejection, the idea and the failure are all terms of growth and balance that can be struck in a very deep understanding of relatedness and brotherhood.

In *All My Sons*, the tragedy arises out of the character – Chris Keller, the younger of the two sons of Joe Keller. It comes out of an inner conflict between the affection and loyalty he has for his father and his concept of justice and universal brotherhood which the father has offended: the closeness of relationship between them and the difference in their attitudes to the family business, is enacted in this part of the play.

CHRIS: I' hoped that if I waited, Mother would forget Larry and then we'd have a regular wedding and everything happy. But if that can't happen here, then I'll have to get out.

KELLER: What the hell is this?

CHRIS: I'll get out, I'll get married and live some place else. May be in New York.

KELLER: Are you crazy?

CHRIS: I have been a good man too long, a good sucker. I am through with it.

KELLER: You have got a business here, what the hell in this?

CHRIS: The business! The Business doesn't inspire me. (*All My Sons*)

This father-son relationship oscillates from one extreme to the other. Their smooth relationship at the beginning of the play undergoes a radical change. When Chris comes to learn about his father's interference in shipping out

the defective cylinder heads during the War, causing death to twenty-one soldiers including his brother Larry, he grows furious and struggles to broaden Joe's circle of responsibility from a small family to a larger one. It's here, at this ideological point that the clash begins; Joe comes to realize his mistake, but with a difference, for example at the cost of his life. Chris wants his father to become aware of "a kind of responsibility"; he wants his father to realize his (Joe's) place in society and his duty towards it. He demands "Where do you live, where do you come from, Don't you have a country? Don't you live in the world" what the hell are you?... You can know there is a universe of people outside and you are responsible to it. "On the contrary Keller is committed to an ideal, however narrow it may be, of family loyalty. For him, there is "nothing bigger" than a family, and he is there to sacrifice everything for the sake of his family. He admittedly appears as a good husband, good father, and a good neighbour (though fails to be the good man, a good citizen). There is nothing ruthless about Joe, no hint of the "robber baron" in his make-up, his ambitions are small – a comfortable home for his family, a successful business to pass on to his sons – but he is not completely fastidious in achieving his goals. When Chris confronts Joe with a direct accusation, his apologia merges the business ethic of survival into his love for his sons.

Finally, at the climax of the play Joe Keller realizes that all the young pilots killed by his selfish actions are his sons, much as – "Sure, he was my son. But I think to him they were all my sons." The son never altogether absolves the father for his subversion, nor is the father ever able to forgive himself for it. Each bears a heavy burden of responsibility to the other as well as to the society. At last when Joe Keller comes to realize his mistake it almost charges like a poison in his blood and intoxicates him to take the ultimate action immediately by shooting a bullet into his head. Miller bestows upon his protagonist a heroic death despite his anti-heroic actions of neglecting social responsibility for selfish ends. Obviously he will have realized that he has lost his right to live in

the society he has seriously harmed, and a moment of procrastination in judging his action might cost him loss of life as well as honour at the hands of his society; in other words he must instantly put an end to his notorious life before he is exposed to society. The sooner the better. Probably Joe has no malice at heart akin to a villain but a money-making desire peculiar to the businessman. Probably after long he wakes up from his dream of success and finds him surrounded by utter failure. The realization and disillusionment is too harsh to allow him survive any longer. In doing away with his life also he does away with his delusion.

Keller has betrayed his responsibility as a parent and the climax of the play is the discovery that his elder son, thought to have been lost in action in the war, committed suicide at the news of his father's crime. There is betrayal in the other direction too, that of parents by their children. Miller evokes very powerfully the misery of the innocent Deever in goal: in their idealistic disgust neither of his children has ever written to him or visited him. The betrayal of one's family responsibilities is a theme which Miller feels very deeply. He stresses it again in *Death of a Salesman*, in which Biff is shattered at discovering his father with a prostitute, and in which Willy Loman's suffering is greatly increased by his son's lack of charity.

As Chris's love for his father vanishes, possibly too abruptly, Miller makes Keller give his central plea for justice:

What could I do! I 'am in business, a man is in business; a hundred and twenty cracked, you're out of business; you got a process, the process don't work, you are out of businesswhat could I do, let them take forty years, let them take my life away? ... Chirs, I did it for you, it was a dance and I look it for you.

This is the root of the action and Chris turns on his father:

For me! Where do you live, where have you come from? ...

Is that as far as your mind can see, business? ... Don't you have a country? Don't You live in

the world? What the hell are you? You're not even an animal, no animal kills his own, what are you?

But Miller makes Keller say before his suicide only. "I'm his father and he's my son, and if there's something bigger than that I'll put a bullet in my head" (p.120). He is therefore finally a martyr to a false ethic of family and business sentimentality. Chris believes in a code of traditional honour older than America and capitalism. Keller can cry "a man can't be Jesus in this world!"; but the answer is that Christ only wants people to be better and responsible, and the play concludes in a suicide of shame and hopelessness without the slightest suggestion as to how American society could be changed to prevent these circumstances endlessly repeating. Joe's death is more than a single man's punishment, for Joe Keller is a product of his society. He not only accepts the American myth of the privacy of the family, but he has adopted as a working instrument the familiar attitude that there is a difference between morality and business ethics. Joe Keller is a self – made man, an image of American success, who is destroyed when he is forced to see that image in another context – through the eyes of his idealist son. Keller's crime is magnified in his son's eyes because he has all to successfully manufactured the illusion that he is the infallible father figure. Like Miller's most popular father, Willy Loman in *Death of a Salesman*, Keller never realizes that his effort to project and confirm in his family's eyes his self chosen image has contributed to his downfall. As Barry Gross points out, "There is no zealot like a convert and there is probably no more devoted parent than a neglected or an abandoned child." Keller devotes himself to his family to compensate for his childhood losses. However, instead of ensuring that the problems of the past are not perpetually reenacted, his actions have the obverse effect and cause a complete breakdown of the family unit.

The most powerful positive value in the play is the value of family ideal. There is no doubt of Willy's love for his family, particularly for his son, Biff. It's the betrayal of this loyalty which

ruins Willy's life, rather than commercial failure, and it is in the name of family love that he finally kills himself, dying "as father, not as a salesman." Parental love is a disguised form of egotism and it is a recurrent theme in Miller's work. When Charlie tells Willy to forget about Biff, he replies, "Then what have I got to remember." Linda is the most sympathetic character in the play. Her famous "attention, attention must be paid" speech is terribly moving in the theatre. 'Death of a Salesman' resembles Robert Frost's poem 'The Death of the Hired Man' quite apart from the echo in their titles, the situations in the two pieces are strikingly similar: in the Frost poem, the hired man, old Silas has come "home" ("something you somehow don't have to deserve") to die; like Willy he is worn out:

And nothing to look backward to with pride
And nothing to look forward to with hope.

'Death of a Salesman' takes up the battle of fathers and sons and removes the argument from the clear-cut war case to the everyday case of Willy Loman destroying himself for business and family. Where 'All My Sons' concentrated its retributive action into fifteen hours, 'Death of a Salesman' uses flashbacks within an expressionist set in order to present the contents of the sixty-year old hero's mind as he draws towards suicide after self-perceived wasted life. Eric Mottram writes, "Loman has been unable to learn that business ethics, the morality of his work-community, oppose the traditions he assumed were still in action : the personal ethic of hour, the patriarchal nature of a basically benevolent society and family, and neighbourhood relations. He speaks the very language of the acquisitive society, without hypocrisy, the terminology of the world which throws him off-balance.

Sweet, dumb, nobly ignoble Willy never learns anything. But Miller, and the men of his generation, had begun to. Miller became a "radical". The root of evil was the false ideal. The heart of Miller's radicalism is conservative; it seeks the maintenance of individual dignity within the context of the family which broadens the concept of society as a whole. The son becomes the father. He desires to take over

authority. The radical becomes the leader, the prophet. Armed with a new insight, arrived at through the father's fall, the son now carries the banner of righteousness and justice. He is no longer simply moral; he is a moraliser, a preacher. Thus he may fall from grace into the pit of self-righteousness.

If for instance, the struggle in *Death of a Salesman* were simply between father and son for recognition and forgiveness it would diminish its importance. But when it extends itself out of the family circle and into society, it broaches those questions of social status, social honour and recognition, which expand its vision and lift it out of the merely particular toward the fate of the generality of men.

Although the Lomans never go into business together, they discover that there is a huge difference. Inheritors of Willy's sins from the past, Happy and Biff find themselves fated to perpetuate the values instilled by their father in the present and future. Biff and Happy are flawed extensions of Willy and Linda, the genetic lineage carried on with devastating efficiency and symmetry. For though Miller presents characters who carry within them modern versions of an Aristotelian fatal flaw, the moral fissure, the hubris, that foretells their tragedy. Willy trains his sons well. Minor errors must be heaped upon larger sins, extending a terrible replicating process and ensuring that a tragic parental heritage will be passed on to all descendents. So, one of the central problems Miller embeds in the script is that, though the Lomans know they have transgressed social law in their petty thievery and personal deceits, they seldom take the necessary first steps toward self-disclosure and, more significantly self-knowledge. For the Lomans, Truth kills. Until the last twenty-four hours in Willy's life, neither Biff nor anyone else faces facts. The real has long been devalued, deformed, defleshed. Illusions and its relation to familial bonds and the larger (in Rousseau's sense of the term) social contract have been conveniently twisted into the appearance of truth. In brief, the Lomans remain co-conspirators of Truth. In brief, the Lomans remain co-conspirators, master builders of their illusory world.

Conclusion

Miller is a moralist. A moralist is a man who believes he possesses truth and aims to convince others of it. In Miller this moralist trait stems from a strong family feeling. In this context the father as prime authority and guide is central. From *The Man Who Had All the Luck* through *Death of a Salesman* father stands for virtue and value; to his sons he is the personification of Right and Truth. In *All My Sons* Chris cries out against his father's (Joe Keller's) delinquency. "I know you're no worse than other men but I thought you were better. I never saw you as a man; I saw you as my father". Joe Keller expresses Miller's idealisation of the father son relationship when he exclaims, "I'm his father and he's my son. Nothing bigger than that". The shock which shatters Miller's dramatic cosmos always begins with the father's inability to exact the role of moral authority the son assigns to him and which the father Willy-nilly assumes. The son never altogether absolves the father for his defection nor is the father ever able to forgive himself for it. Each bears a heavy burden of responsibility to the other. Both may be innocent, but both suffer guilt. Miller

throughout his career continued to pursue the implications of our common concern, the question of what the individual must do in the world, of how to reconcile the rights and desires of individual citizens, whether they be of the polis or of the world, to the good of the whole.

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Kamala Das's Feminism

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Abstract

In Male-dominated Indian Society, a woman is still a "Second Person" who is suppressed, victimized, humiliated and is taken as a subject of enjoyment by a male. She is forced to him in a very pitiable condition. Not to speak of the illiterate or little educated woman of the society, even highly educated woman is exploited by male and at times she is forced to feel herself as a neglected member of the society. No doubt, sizeable section of the society, especially elite class makes no discrimination between the sexes. Keeping in view the above facts regarding as women many Indian women writers including Nayantara, Sahgal, Sashi Deshpande, Shobha De, Anita Desai, Kamala Das etc. came forward with their writing's focusing on women's issues. But among other women writers, Kamala Das is quite different in tone and temperament. She has got a rebellious attitude towards male dominated society in which a woman is exploited from all sides. A careful reading of Das's work irrespective of the genre, the underlying feminism becomes obvious. Through her prose she has given vent to her deep rooted anger against male chauvinism. She does it with a purpose. i.e. to make the men folk realize or to sensitize them towards the agony of being a woman. What makes Das stand prominent among other writers is the depiction of her own experience, which was full of rough phases at the hands of her own husband. Her autobiographical work "My story" reflects the same without an element of artificiality.

Keywords : male chauvinism, discrimination, exploitation, agony, extra marital

Introduction

Feminism was a movement of table breakers. The pen pushers associated with this, were challenging the institution of marriage because it was creating room for their exploitation. The various definitions of feminism were the results of the prevalent situations in which women were at the receiving end. The definition covering a wide range are as :-

"Feminism, a kind of social revolt against convention, like living outside marriages. Even then, we have had examples earlier. Within literature, we have the example of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and George Eliot, who in the nineteenth century lived outside of marriage."¹

Apparently, the idea of feminism had slightly different outfits. It varied from country to country, but the spirit remained intact. If we talk about gender discrimination, knowingly or unknowingly we touch the sexual aspect of the affair. However, feminism as a whole was the product of circumstances which women were catapulted in. The approach of the women, at the helm of affairs, was according to the socio political condition.

"According to the French Model of Feminism, it would imply the greater sexual expression. If

we take into account the British Models, all feminists slowly become respectable or reclaimed into the female world order. If we consider American Model, they are more outspoken"².

The definition and views on feminism mentioned above sound fit for Kamla Das who emerged out from somewhat similar kind of background. Her own life was shackled by dos and don'ts. She has time and again materialized the dependence of women on men for every thing. The other feminist writers aimed at getting the women acquainted with the very fact. They wanted them to lead normal lives without any dependence for anything whatsoever. As mentioned :

"I define feminism as a mode of instance in which the woman is free of the dependence syndrome. There is dependence syndrome: whether it is the husband or the father or the community or whether it is a religious group or ethnic group. When women free themselves of the dependence syndrome and lead a normal life, my idea of feminism materializes"³.

Kamla Das was a table breaker by instinct. Going beyond the line drawn was not an attempt to violate the norms, but to follow the inner call which was very powerful and later

that proved to be a driving force for her. As she confesses in many of her poems, she was daring to the extent of defying some of the norms, by instinct.

The question is not one change of individual identity majestically caught in “brother’s trousers” and short hair. The temptation is to read it as role reversal, specially when we note the lines dramatizing the expectation –

Dress in Saaris, be girl
Be wife, they said. Be embroiderer, be cook,
Be a quarreler with servants, fit in, Oh!
Belong, cried the categorizers.

“This is surfacely, a problem of exchange of identity of gender. Obviously, these lines echo the problem –

I wore a shirt and my brother’s trousers,
Cut my hair short and ignored my
womanliness”.⁴

Main Thrust

The insecurity induced by a rift between parents and children with its far reaching implications, is described by Kamala Das in “My Story”. Here, the father living in Calcutta and mother in Nalapat, disrupted the family life as much as when they lived together in disharmony. Das expressed a pathological anxiety to please her parents that they must have disappointed their parents a great deal and they had not told they so, but in every gesture and in every word that was evident. The reverse of this is obviously the desire to please. She knew well that she would fall in her father’s esteem by revealing desire for fancy clothes, which effectively prevents her from asking for a silk frock. Equally impersonal is the birthday gift chosen not by the father, but by the busy father’s secretary. All this builds up a love-hate relationship a yearning for affection symbolized by the image of the father, but a rejection of the actual father. Hence the paradoxical quest of Kamala Das becomes apparent in her verses as :

“I have misplaced a father somewhere. And I look for him now everywhere”.

The intolerable tension is creatively resolved by putting into words, what she lacked in life :-

“I loved you father, loved you all my life”.⁵

Love and affection starved Kamal Das was getting ready to venture out and lay bare her heart so candidly in her poems and autobiographical work ‘My Story’ that they always remained under the cloud. The relationship she had in her family was full of strain except with grandma. Although she had deep rooted desire to be treated and taken care of well by all the family members, especially by her father and mother.

This is rupture between childhood and adolescence, but the rupture need not always be demanded of positive emotions. It is here that the western psychological motif and language problem vis-à-vis feminism don’t seem to be entirely dependable for the Indian context, as for in the case of Kamala Das, Kalia-de-Souza and Anita Desai, in fiction. There is still a persistent effort to salvage the truncated self in terms of love. In Kamala Das, this is insistent pervasive, even when it is outside the frame of marital status validated by patriarchy.

“I shall someday leave, leave the cocoon
You built around me with morning tea.
Love words flung from doorways and of
course

Your tired lust”.

The temptation to flee is irresistible, overpowering –

“I shall someday take wings,
Fly around as often petals
Do when free in air and you dear one,
Just the sad remnant of a root, must
Lie behind, son’s pride on double – beds
And grieve”.

But the very freedom conferred by flight could be resulting in near total loss.

“But, I shall someday return, losing
Nearly all, hurt by wind, sun and rain
Too hurt by fierce happiness to want
A further jaunt or a further spell of freedom”.⁶

Kamala Das seems to be grappling with the fear of losing her love and desire to be free from all bondages. She makes effort to set right the unsettled thread of the fabrication of her life. She flutters to soar high but gives in, again tries and reaches somewhere in terms of doing

something of her heart. The very process of to be or not to be helps her churning out ideas and producing invaluable work of English literature. Gender discrimination and male chauvinism have paved way for many women who, being sensitive to the treatment meted out to them, realized their dormant literary self and produced literary gems which from time to time have made men folk introspect. Although with the changing political, social and economic scenario there has been change in the approach of the writers at the helm of the affairs. As during colonial rule, writers' effort was to unleash the creative energy to make the people aware of their plight. Almost in the same way, Feminism Theory of Engagement Creating Agency was for the marginalized, the oppressed and the under privileged. Kamla Das is a post colonial writer more in its later sense than the first.

"Her writings in general and her poetry in particular can be seen as a critique of the hegemonic oppressive patriarchal structure of power, antecedent to profound sense of alienation in the personae of her work. The idea can be illustrated with examples from her autobiography which is first and foremost a literature form and is therefore as much about the persona as any historical individual. It is an imaginative representation of certain selected facts of the subject's life. There is no difference between the "I" of the poem and the "I" of the autobiography. Therefore, a backward reading room from Das's 'My Story' to her poetry is unwarranted".⁷

Das's works, as mentioned by Irshad Ahmad, have high degree of individuality which justifies true self. Her sensitivity provided her with abundance of material for her writings. The first hand experience which Das had in her life was a green pasture for her to graze and contribute to the literature generously. The aspect of the society, specially the fabrication having dominant color of male upism, made the writer feel deeply and reflect through her stories and poems.

"My Story" engages its own kind of fiction that is certainly not easy to identify because it is seamlessly blended with facts approaching magic realism, taking the book very close to a

novel. Critical response becomes difficult if it is considered to be a factual account."⁸

Making the very aspect of Das's writing clear Vinceant O'sullivan voices difficulty in responding to "My Story". It is a little hard to know to respond to this book which while adopting an openly confessional tone, conceals quite as much or more it reveals. But if considered as a literary, rather than a factual recognition of the writer's life, it often serves as an illuminating comment on her poetry and fiction. (1986-1997).

It is evident from her work that however strong the element of fiction may be there, but the deep rooted autobiographical elements do enhance the quality of fiction. Das's biography reveals the genuine experience of a sensitive child poet battered by alienation and discrimination.

"The work of Das acquires significance from the context of post colonial feminism, In fact, women's autobiography itself is a feminist gesture as though the autobiography by the woman writer asserts the legitimacy of her personal experience, which are otherwise undermined and relegated to lower order. Besides, the 'personal experiences' are often over rated to the extent that the other aspects of the work get overlooked, which is exactly the case with Das's 'My Story'.⁹

Post colonial India did not provide a very fertile ground for the women writers who could give vent to their feelings through their work. They were not taken sincerely. As a result their works were not getting literary acknowledgement. Das's 'My Story' presents a tension between colonialism and anti Gandhism, between patriarchy and matriarchy. Significantly enough, the father-figure as an employee of the British Automobile Company is represented to have adopted a British way of life even in food habits and choice of clothes. He preferred to eat with a knife and fork, signifying assimilated British Cutlure, while the children and the ladies of the house ate typically Keralian food in the Indian fashion with their hands. However, the father figure remains out and out a Gandhian, going to the extent of commanding his timid wife to strip herself of all the jewelry and wear white Khaddar, brutally

insensitive to her sentiments.

“After the wedding he made her remove all the gold ornaments from her person except the mangalsutra, to her it must have seemed like taking to widow’s weed, but she did not protest. She was mortally scared of the dark stranger who had come forward to take her out of the village and its security. She was afraid of her father and afraid of her uncle”.¹⁰

The description made by Kamla Das about her experience inside the four walls presents a powerful image of tyrannical patriarchy. The irony lies in the fact that an alien lifestyle is being ruthlessly inflicted upon an aristocratic Nair’s wife with a strong matriarchal and matrilineal tradition. All that accomplishments of the poet and writer matriarch are undermined. On the one hand the father’s personality exhibits an embedded conflict between two cultures, on the other he can be seen as representing a synthesis of colonialism and patriarchy. By imposing his personal stances and points of view, he becomes a colonizer at home and the wife and other women in the family are granted a conspicuously subaltern status. The phallocratic order is further fortified by the husband-figure. The familial colonialism exemplified by the two men with all their overbearingness becomes an ironic sequel to the imperialism of the British settlers who ‘traumatized’ the persona’s early childhood at school in Calcutta. As a child she felt tortured by the ‘subtle sadism’ of her white teachers who, according to the ‘protagonist’ were “old minds turned sour with dejection (My Story).

Madhav Kutty infused the lightness of innocence, force of feminine charm, complexities of the heart and the ineffable allure of simplicity into Malayalam literature through a series of delicately nuanced and daintily sensitive stories, carrying forward a celebrated family’s literary tradition nurtured by her uncle Nalapat Naryanan Menon and mother Balamani Amma.

“Kamla Das (75) whimsically straddled a socio-cultural landscape, exploring daring new beliefs, chasing ephemeral images of youngness and happiness, and continuously shocking people. Myriad aspects of herself

coalesce into a winsome whole in her work, the like of which has no parallel in Indian literature”.¹¹

Das’s feminism was all about her own experience of the male dominated society. She found plethora of aspects in her and other women’s life which made her pen get going in transforming them into short stories and poems.

“She chose colors from a varied pallet drawing nostalgic memories of growing up as a central Kerala tharavad surrounded by uncle’s, aunts, cousins and bevy of housemaids, its air heady with the scent of ripe mangoes, guavas and pomegranates.”¹²

The people who surrounded Kamala Das, irrespective of their gender, knowingly or unknowingly contributed to the ingredients which later turned out to be the process of the formation of a very strong feminist view, the view which influenced a huge amount of sensitive people.

“Jane Austen says in ‘Persuasion’, “Men have had every advantage of us in telling their own story. Education has been theirs in so much higher degree; the pen has been in their hand. Kamla Das took it on herself to hold the pen and let the world know the predicaments faced by women”.¹³

Men being de facto owners of the pen have made it vomit stuff against women and this of late has paved the way for women to safeguard their self respect and show the mirror to their male counterparts through different forms of writings. Women writers have also exposed the men who have always been at the helm of affairs as far as women’s exploitation is concerned. In this regard among the women writers who had taken this dauntless task to take on the men folk, Kamal Das stood prominent.

“Kamla Das was an epitome of the ‘New Indian Woman who challenged the literary world with her writings, and boldly voiced the concerns and problems faced by the women folk. Das surpassed the collective image of humanity in English prose, and through her characters she powerfully presented a new genre in fiction as a passionate yet compelling woman protagonist.

She shattered all conventions of literature and wrote unreservedly about the actualities that women faced in their day-to-day life. Her character transcended all the barriers laid down by society and presented their hitherto unexpressed, inexpressible and taboo topics related to their mind and body. She was the pioneer woman writer who wrote without inhibition about sex, love, exploitation and betrayal. Her radical thinking was well articulated through her characters that defied the laid down norms of society and asserted their individuality".¹⁴

Kamla Das's themes range the whole gamut of her experience as a woman, traumatized at the age of fifteen into a loveless marriage from which there seemed no escape. She stood firm and poised against the sufferings of women. She presented a brave woman out and out a rebellion in her approach while dealing with the age-old tradition and orthodoxy. The driving force of her writing is man and woman relationship. She was a born feminist.

For a proper inference of feminism it may be interpreted as a bid to extend membership in universal human nature, thereby gaining eligibility for human right, to the category of 'being' named woman'. This is perhaps the exact point conveyed by Mary Wallstonecraft's title of her book 'A Vindication of the Rights of Woman' "Feminism, thus tries to establish woman as not an object or a relative entity of man, instead it categorically insists on assimilating women to the class of human race. Thus feminism claims at not differentiating woman as a separate category, but in incorporating and unifying her to whatever it is to be human, women are that too, and therefore eligible for the rights that human beings are entitled for."¹⁵

Feminism sought for the place of women which so called the rich Indian Culture, though in saying, always boasted itself for giving. It has always been ironical whenever women have been eulogized for the ground reality is always poles apart. Shashi Deshpande, the renowned Indian fiction woman writer, comments as follows:-

"It took me years to say even to myself 'I am a feminist'. It was the culmination of a voyage

that began within myself and went on to the ocean of women's place in the world. Today when I call myself a feminist, I believe that the female of the species has the same right to be born and survive and to fulfill herself and shape her life according to needs and potential that lies within her, as the male has".¹⁶

Mrs. Deshpande's comments are the manifestation of the pent-up or dormant feelings of all these women who were not indifferent to treatment meted out to them.

Mary Wallstonecraft wrote in the first major feminist tract, "An Indication of the Rights of Women" in 1792, in reaction to the revolutionary French Declaration of the Rights of Man. In America, the feminist convention held in Seneca Falls, N.Y. in 1848 concluded as follows:-

"He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life".¹⁷

Since time immemorial, men folk have taken advantage of their being at the centre stage by making women bear the heavy onus of their false ego. This provides a fertile ground to literature – As Veena Noble Das comments :-

"The Indian woman caught in the flux of traditions and modernity bearing the burden of the past and the aspirations of the future is the crux of feminism in Indian literature".¹⁸

The condition provided to Indian women has not always been encouraging. Rather they have been let down.

Feminist Literature

Feminist literature owes its rise to the desperate need of women to make their presence and individuality felt in the society. The feminist literature attempts to set an independent paradigm of literature that expresses and explains a woman's life, her identity, her needs and aspirations, her problems and experiences from her individual view point.

"Feminist literature emerged as an offshoot of the Women's Liberation Movement, and spread rapidly into diverse genres of literature of many western and non-western nations. Two hundred years back, Jane Austen as a

writer though very sensitive about the weaknesses and constraints of her sex, had to restrict herself to permissible areas of life in her writings as a result of the then prevalent social decorum and prudish notions”¹⁹.

Marginalization led the women, having innate ability of expression, to give vent to their strong feelings which were the outcome of male chauvinism.

Feminism in Indian English Fiction

Literature reflects the tendency of the society to do the works of the contemporary writers, writers' observation make them dive deep into the existing condition and find out value for their writings. But for this one needs to have conducive atmosphere at least when he/she sits to write.

“The status of the post colonial Indian woman, and her position in the Indian society came to be much more obscure than what it had been in the past decades. The Indian woman of the new age has a beautiful smart face-burying countless anxieties and doubts. The reason for this is accounted for her breaking free from the long standing social codes of domestic slavery and subservience, taking to active participation in the social roles. She has finally dared to step forward from the breeder feeder image and venture into the diverse sectors of the male dominated public life. This stepping out from the familial life has exposed her to various threats like exploitation, sexual harassment, physical and mental abuse. As long as she obeyed the patriarchal constraints and stayed within the four walls of the household, but once she ventured out, she was compelled to counter atrocities from the outside world also. The hostile behaviour towards woman in an all persuading element, is in every area where she stands, equal to her male counterpart. Statistics show that instances of rape, molestation, eve-teasing, physical and mental ill-treatment have increased. Though the Indian Constitution has enacted much legislation to safeguard and protect her, she is most of the time denied justice”²⁰.

Indian English feminist literature thus took up the responsibility to address all these diverse problems and issues of women in an attempt to build social revelation and seek solutions to

their problems. Many women writers took up their task in earnest and have been quite successful in their endeavors.

The familial writer after stepping out from the line drawn by men had to face every possible difficulty. They did not have smooth sail. They had to put resistance against the towering ego of men folk.

“To understand the feminist overtures in the Indian English literature particularly in short story genre by women, the three major women writers were Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande and Kamla Das. These women writers have dealt with and exposed through their stories diverse topics ranging from the physical to psychological aspects affecting the Indian womanhood. Thus female characters stretch from women who covertly endure namelessly fulfilling the ideals of the mythical image of woman to the modern overtly conflicting women trying to break free from the traditional archetype.”²¹

Kamal Das – The Feminist Approach

A cursory glance into the Indian English short stories by women writers plausibly portrays the long course of journey that the feminist literature has undertaken. Women are believed to be natural story-tellers and the genre of short story has effectively grown in the hands of these women writers. They have engaged this form of prose. Fiction in revealing various predicaments of a woman's life that needs sincere examination and deciphering of the dilemmas.

Some of the prominent writers are Kamla Das, Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande etc. The work of these writers helps us to understand the outlook of the Indian woman.

Kamla Das stands prominent as one of the most prolific writers whose match has yet to be born in Indian English literature. If English literature became global, the feminist influence of the west penetrated into the Indian scenario. The pioneer of this new portrayal was undoubtedly Kamla Das who presented the disturbed emotional condition of Indian woman. She removed the entire traditional outfit carrying the badge of all enduring, all sacrificing and presented a daring woman.

Among the feminist Indian English woman writers, the highly charged confessional writings of Kamla Das are the striking examples that remind us of great feminist writers of the west- Virginia Woolf and Sylvia Plath.

“Das’s work in English fiction remains limited to her autobiography, a collection of short stories titled ‘Padmavati’, ‘The Harlot’ and other stories and a long story ‘Alphabet of Lust’. Reading all her works, it can be indisputably claimed that Das, who was a feminist, revolted against the Indian patriarchal norms laid down for woman. Her writings have a clear portrayal of her disagreeability to submit to the old conception of womanhood. She is very repulsive in her depictions about the society and family’s outlook about an ideal woman in her various roles of being a mother, wife, daughter etc. She blatantly hits out at social injustice and male prejudices prevalent in society and sufferings under them. Exploring her works (poems, fictions, columns and autobiography) one can indisputably claim that Das’s literary philosophy and perceptions were much ahead of her time. She dared to think, write and even practice in a way none other could dare”.²²

Kamla Das, with all degree of sincerity, can be called as the spokesperson of Indian womanhood. Through her literary works she always tried to voice the emancipations of woman. Her books deal with the problems the Indian women have been enduring under the male domination. Her realistic approach and confessional mode of writing helps her to bring into light, women’s silent cry for freedom and a more human and respectful treatment by patriarchy. She has constantly lambasted the male hegemony and the female oppression both within and outside the family.

“My Story”, her biography, reveals her femininity and love of womanhood. It depicts her in canny honesty in the exploration of a woman’s body and her psyche. The femininity Das talks about is the collective experience of body and mind and this is what completes the femininity of a woman. Das’s undaunted spirit and bold approach in dealing with the subject are compared with European women authors.

“Das holds control of the society’s own cultural codes, particularly those formed by religious ideologies. For example, the image of Kali in her autobiography is absolutely amazing. Similarly she uses the Radha-Krishna relationship to defend the various relations portrayed in her writings. She justifies this by saying” I always wanted love and if you don’t get it within your home, you stray a little”.²³

Das in her work appears to be extracting her useful and relevant threads for yarnning a forceful subject matter for the readers from the existing social and religious traditions. She adopts a different approach in presenting them before the society. She takes a strong plea for portraying male-female relationship in an unusual openness by citing the relationship of Radha and Krishna. Das’s “You Stray a Little”, speaks volume. This had been the guiding force for all that she did in her life and some time even remained in controversy.

Das never sought for a moment a social platform for fighting for women’s right and her unconventional thoughts and beliefs which are the base of her literary works. Her works never got influenced by other’s notion of right and wrong.

“All her stories have a great depth of emotion and love filled init, and every woman can at some point or the other associate herself with its protagonist or the situations dealt with by Das. Her contribution to the Indian English short stories, though quantitatively less, stands out by their quality. As a feminist writer she had attempted to bring into limelight the every day struggles and anxieties of a woman, at the same time venturing into areas unclaimed by society providing a point of reference for her contemporaries. She has transcended the role of a writer and embraced the role of a diplomat, to defend the cause of woman’s right to live a life of respect and dignity”.²⁴

Kamla Das, as a keen observer, took every small happening of her life as well as other’s, as a woman, into her account. She examined them and found out the vulnerable areas where a woman was treated as an object not as a person having an innocent heart which throbs. She stood by the oppressed as an

oppressed and shared the common aspect through her works. She, while doing so, even crossed the line drawn by the society, gripped by the false ego of male. In her short stories, Das discusses various issues surrounding a woman's life. Some of the very basic themes that she handles are love and lust relations found within the traditional bonds of the family and society, man-woman relationship, and woman's search for the identity which she is entitled for. The predicament a woman encounters in her various roles as a wife, mother, lover and daughter, is elaborately dealt in some form or other in all her short stories.

"Her stories also have a wide-ranging representation of Indian woman's quest for identity, the predicaments women face in asserting their individuality and independence, her struggle to break out of centuries of enforced subservience and silence are all emphasized in her fiction".²⁵

Das's endeavor to break age old hackneyed tradition, designed to suppress the female voice, sets a bench mark for all the sensitive female pen pushers who have the reformative zeal.

"Das, who is an iconoclast, uses the short fictional form in strongly presenting her views and convictions against the secondary and inferior status of women in society. She highlights the issue of sex discrimination and woman's identity and has always been a staunch advocate of equality of gender and an independent self-hood for women. Indian woman's quest for identity and its assertion has been the underlying subject in almost all her short stories. She writes with an excellent feminine sensibility and the subjects dealt with are born of her own experiences, making her a writer of felt experience. Her stories have an urgency of expression and are confessional and genuine in its presentation and approach".²⁶

Das lived in an age which was inflicted by gender discrimination has not lost its intensity as yet. However, modern and progressive our society may pose itself, but the fact remains that gender discrimination was, is and if the thinking or attitude of the society does not change towards women, then it will be a burning social issue which needs to be

addressed with all sincerity and the people responsible should be dealt with iron hands. This is what Kamla Das's works aim at. She was a right on feminist and the epicenter of her effort revolves around the betterment of womenfolk and providing them equal status in the society. She wants them (women) to enjoy an important position in the process of decision making and other important stages of social formation.

Das's association with an elite family like Nair's turned out to be more troublesome as far as having free with is concerned. In such condition talking about sex or anything related to it could not be digested by the so called moral custodian of the family. These moral police were chained with traditional and age old beliefs. She in her 'My Story' says –

"No wonder the women of the best Nair families never mentioned sex. It was their principle phobia. They associated it will violence and blood shed. They had been on the stories of Ravana who perished due to his desire for Sita and of Kichaka, who was torn to death by Draupadi's legal husband Bhima only because he coveted her. It was customary for the Nair girl to marry when she was hardly out of her childhood and it was also customary for the much older husband to give her a rude shock by his sexual haste on the wedding night".²⁷

Conclusion

Apparently it seems that the stories of Kamla Das have sexual overtones. But after diving into the depth, the intricacies of human relationship are found in their undercurrent which percolate and become subject of serious discussion. Chrisline Gomez remarks :

"Thematically the stories of Kamla Das do have a feminist stand, but almost all of them are pre occupied with the exploration of human relationship from various angles. There is yearning for authentic caring relationships and an acceptance that this is almost impossible to achieve. Technically the stories challenge the reader to continue the creative process".

Kamal Das independently succeeded in giving voice to her painful experience through her works. She did not go for something which was

far fetched, rather she put herself on the show and let her readers know and talk about it. The remark of Jaya Krishna Nair sounds fit here –

“Kamla Das’ outcries are on the central ground of the painful experience of being a woman. What has stirred her sensitive psyche is the dehumanization of woman as a being”.

Thus the stories of Kamla Das are out and out the product of her feministic zeal and exploring the means to have some solace a being for woman in the society, ridden with male chauvinism.

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Teaching and learning of the English Language with Computers

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Abstract

This paper examines the ways in which computers are impacting upon change in ELT. It briefly examines the ways in which computers have historically contributed to ELT by helping us understand the nature of the language. However, Internet, and the resulting computer mediated communication (CMC), has now gone way beyond this to change the language itself. This article focuses on how computer assisted instructions (CAI) and computer mediated communication (CMC) can be supplemental teaching tool for teaching English language learners. Additionally a discussion of the benefits that have been found in using computer assisted instructions with English language learner is also provided. The article also discusses how a teacher can help English language learners develop their language skills through the effective use of computers.

Keywords : computer mediated communication, computer assisted instructions, english language

Introduction

English language occupies a very important and vital place in the world of globalization. English language has been with us since so many years. The spread of the English language across the world through trades, education and information technology has made it an international Language. English is also a link language as it plays a crucial role in the communication with the countries of different languages. Moreover, it is also the second and the foreign language of many countries of the world. Therefore the growing importance of English across the world has made teaching and learning of English language equally important. English language in particular has become essential for the students who aspire to advance their careers across the world. Now, for this large population, becoming proficient in a new language is a very difficult transition. This process can be frustrating and sometimes painful. Students learning a new language need as much language support as possible. Those who have taught students learning English as their second language know that any language support is helpful for their language acquisition. English language learners (ELL) students need a variety of language experiences. They need to hear language, write language, speak language and read language.

L.A.C. Strong once proclaimed, "For us who speak English, english is everything ... English is not a subject, English is our life". But this is not true for English in India, because here it is a foreign language. It is taught as second or third language in schools. Its teaching and learning in schools is inspired by one aim – the utilitarian aim.

The Council of Chief state School Officers (CCSSO), U.S., defines English Language proficiency in this way:

A fully English proficient student is able to use English to ask questions, to understand teachers, and reading materials, to test ideas, and to challenge what is being asked in the classroom. Four language skills contribute to proficiency as follows:

Reading- the ability to comprehend and interpret text at the age and grade appropriate level.

Listening- the ability to understand the language of the teacher and instructions, comprehend and extract information, and follow the instructional discourse through teacher provided information.

Writing- the ability to produce written text with content and format fulfilling classroom assignments at the age and grade- appropriate level.

Speaking- the ability to use oral language appropriately and effectively in learning

activities (such as peer tutoring, collaborative learning activities, and question/answer sessions) within the classroom and in social interactions within the school.

Being able to communicate well is the most important goal of learning a language. The aim of the good language teacher is to teach his students to communicate successfully just like the native speakers of the language do. Another objective for language teaching is to enable the learners to speak with correct intonation, pronunciation, accent and fluency like an educated native speaker.

Materials and Methods

In order to understand and explain the contents of use of Computers in Teaching and Learning of English Language various books, articles, journals and websites have been consulted and acknowledged. The method used is analytical and descriptive. Both primary as well as secondary sources of information have been taken.

Results and Discussions

Undoubtedly English has become a world language rather than the language of only the English speaking countries such as the UK and the USA because the number of people who use English as a means of communication exceeds much more than the number of people who speak it as their mother tongue. In the case of English in India more than two centuries, English has been directly and indirectly had influence of the language, on all the fields such as Education, Medical Sciences, etc. Text materials relating to subjects of science, Engineering and technology and also medicines are available only in English. Moreover, all over India there is no single language to unite the whole country except English. Considering the above facts learning English has become an inseparable branch in Indian education system.

Technology in ELT : English Language Teaching (ELT) has been with us for many years and its significance continues to grow. As per the era's demand we can surely say that no less improvement has been done in ELT compared to any other field of teaching. Generally language teaching and language

learning is to be defined as oral process and apart from that at the most text books were expected to be the helping hand to the learners and the teachers as well. But today the scenario is different. Technology has entered into this area and has helped tremendously to both the learners and the teachers of English. Today's education has not remained confined only to the blackboards and to the text books but it has removed all the boundaries of classroom teaching learning and with the help of technology one can teach and learn efficiently and perhaps more effectively.

According to Pushpa Dixit : 'After all our relationship with language is very much like what students experience when learning with technology-working in spaces unbound by rules and amendable to adaptation and creativity.. the teachers who adapt technology for English language teaching as a second language are really benefited. The students I have seen using it really enjoy it and learning a lot of the academic words they need. Their vocabulary is enriched and they become fluent in English speaking. The audio- visual aids make the classroom environment live and interesting to the students. They can learn English by the direct method and in a natural way.'

Graddol's study (2000) suggests that in the year 2000 there were about a billion English learners - but a decade later, the numbers will have doubled. The forecast points to a surge in English learning, which could peak in 2013. The same study indicates that over 80% of information stored on the Internet is in English. For the first time in history there are more non-native than native users of the language and diversity of context in terms of learners' age, nationality, learning background etcetera has become a defining characteristic of ELT today.

Role of Computers in English Language Teaching : If we discuss about use of technology in ELT the role of computer is unavoidable. In order to understand the impact of computers on English language teaching it is necessary to consider how their roles have developed.

Language laboratory is a very popular technical innovation. It is derived from

America, although its use had gained ground rapidly in the United Kingdoms in 1960s. Language laboratory affords opportunity for the students to hear the language spoken by a native to practice speaking the language themselves. Traditional language teaching does not give much time for oral and auditory experience and in this respect; the language laboratory is an innovative technique. The language laboratory is a supporting device of teaching learning like other audio-visual aids. Computers play a very important role in language laboratories. Computers can play an integral part in providing English language learners (ELL) with valuable language experiences as they learn a new language. The language laboratory recognizes that spoken form of language is central to the effective communication. Spoken form should have a large share along with written forms in English language teaching. The language lab implements this program by supplementing the sound recordings of native speakers with the text book. It provides a convenient means of hearing and responding to audio drills and relieves the teacher of endless repetition of native patterns.

The four skills of language learning are listening, speaking, reading and writing. These skills can be improved effectively through the use of technology in the language lab as the main objective of language lab is to maintain good linguistic competence in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary and to enrich the discourse competence, to prepare the learner to be able to produce contextualized written text and speech. With the help of the functional tool- Language Lab with Teacher's Console, language skills can be learnt, practiced and evaluated through the following ways:

Listening Skills : The primary form of linguistic communication is speech and so listening is the most important learning skill for foreign language students. Teaching listening involves training in some 'enabling skills' - perception of sounds, stress, intonation patterns, accents, attitudes and so on, as well as 'practice' in various styles of listening comprehension. Accurate perception of the sounds of the language is the first stage which

leads to interpretation and comprehension. When listening to a foreign language, we need to know the sounds, rhythms, tunes and stress patterns of that language. Listening skills of learners can be developed through various exercises in the language lab. International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or the English sounds can be very well taught in language lab which would further help learners in correct pronunciation of any word. Use of minimal pair perception exercises (sit/seat, ten /then) helps students learn the sounds of English. It can be well practiced on pronunciation exercises with the help of software or by using CDs in language lab. Earphones and headphones deliver undistorted sound directly to the ears. It is better practiced in a language laboratory with the help of head phones and earphones; this provides ideal conditions for intensive listening.

Speaking Skills : The language laboratory is very useful for assessing students' speech. It provides students with the technical tools to get the best samples of pronunciation of the language. The electronic devices used in the laboratory will stimulate the eyes and ears of the learner to acquire the language quickly and easily .The language laboratory offers broadcasting, television programmes, web-assisted materials and videotaped off-air recordings in the target language. In short, a learner can get the experience of having interaction with native speakers through the laboratory. Hence, the language laboratory has become the need of the hour in any language learning process for communication. Speaking skills can be effectively developed through the language lab by varieties of software's like audio recorders, digital recorders, voice recorders etc. Speech evaluation is possible through the digital recorder modules in language learning software. Students' audio recordings can be scored or saved for later evaluation. The Teachers can record their own voice notes that students can hear later as they review their work. The students on different workstations can be grouped and put into random pairs or groups to participate in role plays and group discussions. Teachers can listen directly or

intervene when required to control, monitor and evaluate the process. It can also be recorded and saved for later evaluation.

Digital Recorder allows students to experience interactive multimedia programs while simultaneously recording their own voices for practice. Using this, students feel like they are interacting with a live native speaker and they can increase their comprehension, vocabulary and speaking skills. The technology of voice recorder is integrated into the Pronunciation module of the software. Using the built in microphone on the computer, the learner will be able to repeat words after they hear from a native speaker through computer speakers. The software will analyze their pronunciation and compare a waveform representation of the native speaker's pronunciation with a waveform of their pronunciation. An accuracy scale on the screen will display their voice match to the native speaker on a scale of "Bad", "Acceptable", and "Good".

Reading Skills : There are several ways in which technology can be used to improve reading ability. Computers can increase the interest level for the students while keeping the text simple and easy to read. Another benefit of using computers for reading instruction is that the computer offers immediate feedback on performance. They also can provide added practice when necessary. Moreover, reading skills can be enhanced by giving reading comprehensions in the form of stories, case lets, cases, descriptions and narrations. The learners can be encouraged by allowing them to follow the different methods of reading such as, skimming and scanning. They can be followed by activities in groups through exercises on word meanings, vocabulary, fill in the missing information, writing summary / gist. Note taking, thought provoking questions for group discussions, brainstorming sessions etc.

Writing skills : Writing can be practiced through typing on gap fill exercises and model format for E-mail, letter, memo, reports and resume. The paper for presentation can also be prepared. These can be observed and edited by the instructor. (Renet Language Lab Manual)

When the Internet first emerged, the early tendency among the educators of English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) was to see how it could be employed as a tool in teaching English. Computer was then seen as an optional or supplementary tool, among several others, used for teaching English. Today, however, the significance of information technology for teaching or learning is widely acknowledged. Information technology will impact on how people interact, access information, and share information. The development of modern information technology is occurring simultaneously with the development of information and globalization. Thus, it ensures a quicker impact on literacy and communication practices. The Internet appears to revolutionize the ways of human communication and language learning, as languages are being acquired and communication continues to occur between people.

It is only with the arrival of the Internet (and related technologies such as text-messaging on mobile phones) that computers began to significantly change language. The Internet (of which CMC forms the major aspect) is changing the language partly because it gives rise to new vocabulary, but more importantly because the medium and its users drive the language in certain directions (Crystal, 2001). The following verbs are just one illustration of the influences on vocabulary, they all either meant different things, or did not exist, only a few years ago; to ... email, text, boot, chat, surf, bookmark, e-shop, google, etcetera.

Because the world has become a global village where with little efforts we can share information with another person at any corner in the world; every place is just one click away on the screen of your computers. For ELT many websites are just waiting to be clicked by the teachers and learners. Apart from that we have been using variety of techno-forms like CD ROMS, Interactive software's, Digital Language Lab, Mobile technology and many more which have already been inseparable component of teaching – learning in today's age and so needs no further explanation here. Studies in Psychology also say that the thing

being watched remains for a longer time in memory of the person who watches compared to the person who just listens to it.

There is always scope for improvement and advancement in any field and for any subject. It has to be accomplished with commitment and enthusiasm. We are habituated to the traditional teaching methods. It is high time that our teaching methods have to undergo a change. Unless the new technology is adopted in English language teaching, we can not impart language skills in our learners at the rate of growing competition.

Being teachers we must encourage our learners to use technology more and more taking care of one thing and that is promoting use of technology and avoiding abuse of technology. We can give them some vocabulary tasks to find out the meanings of the words on websites and not from the dictionary only. We can give them assignment – project to gather information from internet on specific topic. We can give them some questions to find out the answers from the websites. We can encourage them for e-publishing, by encouraging them to write some current affairs kind of things for online publications through blogging.

Conclusion

Computer assisted language lab (CALL) or language Lab has emerged as tempting alternative to traditional modes of teaching and learning of English as the second language or the foreign language. Computer assisted instruction (CAI) has been shown in a range of studies to facilitate learning in a variety of ways. Computers can be used to aide in teaching English language learners in core academic subjects such as reading and writing. Computers can aid in vocabulary development as well as verbal development. Language lab is a very helpful tool for practicing and assessing one's speech in any language. It provides a facility which allows the student to listen to model pronunciation repeat and record the same, listen to their performance and compare with the model and do self assessment. There is always scope for improvement in the teaching and learning of the English language with the help of language

lab. So it is high time that our teaching methods have to undergo a change. Unless the new technology is adopted in English language teaching, we can not impart language skills to our learners at the rate of growing competition.

Several key threads emerge from our discussions. For practitioners, applied linguists and educators there is a changed dynamics in which computers have now become much more than a tool or a tutor for developing language skills. Language teaching education is clearly entering a new and largely uncharted phase and we would seem to be at the crossroads. Warchauer and Kern (2000) have identified this as a "sociocognitive phase" where, unlike in previous phases, students interact with each other and the world via the computer. A great deal of work has focused on the value of computers in learning or second language acquisition.

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Post Colonial Literature – A Focus on Sir V.S. Naipaul

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Abstract

If taken liberally the term "Post colonial literature" would seem to label literature written by people living in countries formerly colonized by other nation. This is undoubtedly what the term originally meant, but there are many problems with this definition or acknowledgement. Postcolonial literature has been brought into light after 1970, as oriental literature or commonwealth literature came in popularity. The term "commonwealth and third world" were used to describe the literature of Europe's former colonies. Although there is a considerable debate over the precise parameters of the field and the definition of the term "postcolonial," in a very general sense it is the study of the interaction between European nation and the societies, they, colonized in the modern period. It has been noticed that after the Second World War it has led a widespread interest in postcolonial literature and criticism to the list of colonies of European powers is a long one. They are divided into settlers (e.g. Australia, Canada) and new settler countries (e.g. India, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Jamaica and Senegal). Moreover the countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe are partially settled by colonized population. Out of the major figures/Personalities in postcolonial literature and theory of criticism are those of Chinua Achebe, Salman Rushdie, Wole Soyinka, Amitabh Ghose, Nadim Godimer, V.S. Naipaul in film Shyama Bengal, Mrrinal Sen, theory – Partha Chatterjee, Arun Mukherjee, Banita Parry and Kumkum Sarangi. V.S. Naipaul (Sir Vidiadhar Surajpershad Naipaul) was born in the year 1932 in Trinidad. He occupies a fairly topmost position among the newer Indian writers. He received several British Prize, He received Booker prize (1971) for being the best writer, He has written many novels on social anomalies of the time.

Keywords : alienation, hysterical, neurotically, sensuous, claustrophobia

Introduction

Sir V. S. Naipaul (Sir Vidiadhar Surajpershad Naipaul) born in the year 1932 A.D; his parents settled in Trinidad. a Trinidadian novelist of Indian descent known for works that examine exile and alienation. Descended from Hindu Indian who had immigrated to Trinidad as indentured servants, Naipaul left Trinidad to attend the University of Oxford in 1950 He subsequently settled in England. His earliest books are ironic and satirical account of life in the Caribbean. *A House for Mr. Biswas* (1961) was a much more important work and won him critical recognition, Naipaul's Subsequent novels continued to examine the disintegration and the personal and collative alienation typical of post colonial nations. The stories of *in a free state* (1971) are set in venous countries; *Guerrillas* (1975), in a Caribbean island; and *a bend in the river* (1979), in central Africa.

Naipaul's other novels include the manic *mar* (1994) considered a more of a spiritual auto biography. Among Naipaul's nonfiction works are three studies of India, *An*

Area of Darkness (1965) *India, A wounded civilization* (1979) and *India, A million martinis now* (1940); *The middle passage* (1962) and the return of *Eva prow* (1980) Naipaul was knighted in 1989. (From Merrian wetster's Encyclopedia of literature (Feb 1995). Naipaul occupied fairly topmost position among the newer Indian writers. He has been awarded almost every international literary prize. He won British Prizes — first Rhys Memorial prize for his first novel *'Mystic Masseur* (1957), second W. H. Smith Library Award for the *mimic men* and £ 5000 Books prize (1971) for being the best writer.

Main Thrust

In *'The Mystic masseur'* and the *suffrage of Elviva*, Naipaul's main focus is on the version and vision of the political reality of Trinidad, before our country became independent.

Naipaul's colonial perspective gave his writing a pro white bias. *'Ganesh'* the protagonist of *The Mystic masseur*, is the stereotyped upwardly mobile first generation colonial entrepreneur who capitalizes on the political

opportunities that came his way. 'The mystic masseur is Naipaul's first novel and it has the simplistic approach. The first page of the mystic masseur offers an example of the use of humor in his early works. It can be well quoted "I know the sort of doctors they have in Trinidad" my mother used to say, "They think nothing of killing two three people before breakfast'. In 'A house for Mr. Biswas' the doctor was a disliked person, always fleecing poor people like Mr. Biswas" brothers and being rude to them. The masseur who could heal people by his magic touch and chants provided an alternative medicine held in high esteem by many, mostly in rural areas. Mr. Biswas loses his parents in the novel but the death does not cause much grief as has been felt. Ganesh's response to his father's death is much the same. He fulfills the ritual tasks as commanded by the Pundit, Ramlogal and his own aunt without asking question. Naipaul's father has not been successful and he himself was a struggling writer in London when he wrote his early novels. Out of the two novels, The Mystic Masseur attracts the reader with its direct appeal. When it has been compared to 'A House for Mr. Biswas', The Mystic masseur is almost schematic. The multi layered narrative that has made 'A House for Mr. Biswas' a favorite with the post colonial reader, has replaced a simply structured novel with some irony and humor. There is one major innovation at a time when dialect dominated novels had not yet come into vogue, Naipaul uses the dialect spoken by Indian immigrant in Trinidad in an authentic way, something that gives the novel a contemporaneous crispness. The technique has been perfected by Salman Rushdie in "Mid Nights Children".

Apart from providing a link with India, these texts also gave them a socio religious anchorage, In 'Miguel Street' there is an attitude of defiance towards them, something that was voiced by Mrs. Morgan towards a person called Bhakcu who was fond of reading the RAMCHARITMANAS in a doleful sing song voice, lying on his stomach on the bed. Her railings are addressed to Mrs. Bhakcu, "why don't you get your big belly husband to go and fix some more motorcar and stop singing". In colonial Trinidad the Ramcharitmanas had

ceased to be a talisman along with the Gita after the indentured period was over. So Bhakcu's knowledge of the Ramacharitmanas was not respected till the money making possibilities were suggested to his wife. She calls it, "The mechanical genius".

My mother said, "Well, it is easy, easy. He is a Brahmin, he know the Ramayana, and he have a car. It is easy for him to become a pundit, a red pundit." Mrs. Bhakcu clapped her hand and said, It is a first class idea. Hindu pundits are making a lot of money these days' So Bhakcu became a pundit. The concluding sentence of the story, "I was haunted by thought of the dhoti-clad Bhakcu crawling under a car, attending to a crankshaft, while poor Hindus waited for him to attend to their souls in real life, it was he who drove the narrator to the airport when he was going abroad to study. The suffrage of Elvira was Naipaul's first political novel written at a time when any liaison between politics literature was distrusted. The title is ironical, the word "suffrage" meaning general elections, at the same time hinting at the inconveniences caused by the elections. Interestingly, Naipaul did not show much interest in political scene in India in his first novel located in the country. The suffrage of Elvira reminds an Indian reader of the way in which general elections were conducted in India in the fifties.

Surujput Harbans with his professed secularism, low self-esteem despite a sound financial background could easily pass off as the stereotypical political candidate, not very sure of the vote he controlled. Through him Naipaul makes fun of the election conducted in former colonies by showing how vote banks were identified and how they were nurtured.

The character like Ganesh Pundit hovered briefly in the background conveying the idea that Naipaul was working and reworking the same material — his experience in Trinidad. The autobiographical parallels were not so pronounced at this stage as they later became in A House for Mr. Biswas. Naipaul had often prioritized the situation and not the characters. In suffrage of Elvira the dog named Tiger reminds one of Tarzan in 'A House for Mr. Biswas. Like Miguel street, the suffrage of

Elvira is quite simplistic, descriptive rather than analytical, presenting a slice of life from the Caribbean, rather than going into the depth of social organization. Naipaul is clearly looking for a theme which would serve as a metaphor of the life of the immigrants. Among post 1947 travelers to India, where Naipaul has well described the curious love-hate relationship with his country in his book, "AN AREA OF DARKNESS". It is a stronger predicament, mainly a tension trying to balance between a desire to remain detached from the mainstream tradition of the country and sensitive travel writing, impressionistic emotional and rather controversial.

Naipaul's visit to the village of Dubey and Tiwaries with an IAS officer is not satisfying experience. He cuts off his connection with that village and become dismissive about them. He does not forget the event and experience that he feels hence his next visit to India forces him to write semi fictional account of his experience. In fact, Naipaul quest for India started much earlier, in his childhood. As a boy he got associated with an old lady in Trinidad who spoke only Hindi and whom everybody called Gold teeth Nanee with India. She once drank a glass full of Blanco fluid, mistaking it for coconut water that caused her to fall ill seriously. He told, "So one Indian crashed as we got older, living now in the town, Gold Teeth dwindled to a rustic oddity with whom could be no converse".

Diasporic Novel

The Diasporas sensibility is valuable for attempting to bridge cultures through a widening of experience. Experience might be widened but bridging cultures, especially for one who has been away from the mother country and generally not in touch with it is almost impossible. In the process, the Diasporas suffer from a sense of loss and unhappiness. A postcolonial reconstruction of A House for Mr. Biswas reveals this unhappiness. Despite the statement made in the title, Mr. Biswas did not find a house in keeping with his expectations. He accepted the laburnum tree. But you know that it is the quest that engaged the seeker not the particular object that he sought. In finding the

Centre Naipaul talks about his grandfather who died on his way back to his native village near Gorakhpur.

The "route" metaphor suggests the journey and the historical interaction between master and indentured immigrants little better than slaves which have forever "contaminated" the diasporic ethos and memory. Vijay Mishra in his "(B) ordering Naipaul: Indenture History and Diasporic poetics" locates the route metaphor in two geographical spaces. It was Mr. Biswas's experience in the barracks of Green Vale that triggered off his desire to own a house. Another Fijian Indian writer Totaram Sanadhya, referred to those dark, monotonous and menacing lines/ barrack as "bhut len" (lines of ghosts/devils) and titled his book of poems "Bhut len kin katha".

Thus an indentured laborer lured by promises of a life more comfortable than what he had led in his village plus a reasonably high pay, was for all practical purposes a slave imprisoned on his master's estate with considerable limits set upon freedom. The working hours were long and arduous-twelve to sixteen hours at a stretch and wages which remained unchanged throughout the ninety years of indenture a mere rations supplied Sharing rations was considered an offence. Possibly a racial memory of this prompted V.S. Naipaul to write:

Growing up in Trinidad I had never wanted to be employed I had always wanted to be a free man. This was partly the effect of my peasant Indian background and the colonial agricultural society of Trinidad And though it had not been easy in the beginning, I had remained a free man. (Naipaul, A turn in the South, 261). In the passage just cited Naipaul does not mention the unequal power relations in the plantations and the politics of the desire for independence on the part of the descendants of indentured immigrants. By essentializing this desire and presenting this as an act of pure will, people in the space of the plantation are erased and the experience becomes part of the Diasporas aesthetics. Struggle for space in barrack life was replicated in Hanuman House where no one got enough space except for Mrs. Tulsi the matriarch her two privileged Sons Shekhar and Owad and her sister's husband Seth who

managed her estate. Everything had to be shared-space lives and valuables there was no privacy, no exclusivity that was why the doll's house was broken up by Shama, it had been bought only for Savi not all the children and such a thing could not be allowed within the domain of Hanuman House.

The Masque of Africa is his latest – quite likely last – full-length work of non-fiction. It is a quest through the continent for the spirit of African belief, the belief systems that preceded the arrival of Christianity and Islam – which is very much in keeping with the legacy of Joseph Conrad, who is referenced several times in the book. Already this feels clichéd (and tiresome; one yearns for the day when an author from outside can approach Africa without invoking the “Heart of darkness” mythology. In 1975, Chinua Achebe published an essay attacking Conrad's best-known work as racist and already the novelist Robert Harris has described The Masque of Africa as “toxic”.

Conclusion

Naipaul's journey across the continent takes him from Uganda, where he lived for a short while in the 1960s, to Nigeria, then to Gabon via the Ivory Coast and Ghana, and finally to - South Africa. Along the way, he meets and talks to people about their beliefs. His sources are virtually all African rather than aid workers and expats (you'd be surprised how rare this is). Naipaul discourses with teachers, writers, academics, pharmacists, kings, queens and chiefs, businessmen, friends of friends. That there exists an African intellectual class does not escape him. His sources navigate the complexities and conflicts of their own culture and are able to describe what they have lost with the passing of the old religions. They negotiate their cultural worlds, understand

which rules can be broken and which cannot. The Masque of Africa is a book for outsiders, for those who may never visit Africa or may know it only superficially. But it is also a book in which Africans themselves may find something to learn. Naipaul is a difficult, imperfect narrator who does not care to be liked, but he is an honest one and doesn't dissemble. Somehow, by the end of it all, and despite his best efforts.

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Afterlives of Vidyapati's Padavali

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Abstract

Vidyapati (1350-1450), a great poet of Mithila, is much celebrated and respected for his 'Padavali', a corpus of over five hundred love songs, written in Maithili dialect. The subject of this 'Padavali' is the eternal love of Radha and Krishna. Some of its Padas were translated into English as well as other Indian languages by many translators. The research paper intends to discuss why scholars think that the translations not only do not do justice to the original text, they consider it to be completely damaging. The papers shall briefly discuss Benjamin's notion of 'afterlife' and by referencing that will discuss how these translations are actually a re-telling, re-writing or adaptations of these 'Padas'.

Keywords : afterlife, translation, padavali, re-telling, adaptation

Introduction

As one knows a classic is a text which naturally has a literary afterlife. Classic is such a text that over a period of time been so much used and simultaneously mutated that many of its forms become afterlives of its so called 'Original text'. As we know the original manuscript in itself is a afterlife of the rich 'Oral' tradition of the human civilization.

What is an 'Afterlife'? As we know it is a notion coming from Benjamin's essay 'The task of translator'. It is basically a form of survival or succession which is generated along with the generations. Also a mould of continuity moving from one to another. Benjamin's essay quotes as below:

"a translation issues from the original-not so much for its life as from its afterlife.....the idea of life and afterlife in works of art should be regarded with an entirely unmetaphorical objectivity."¹

Medieval texts are not supposed to be brief or original hence in most cases, they are already the afterlives of texts in parts or in components. In, those days as there was no printing/typing medium and to pass on the original texts i.e, manuscript's so manual copying was done. This led to things getting slightly deviated from the 'Original'. Sometimes this change was caused by the rework of author. Now there are two or more works of the author on the same subject passing on the generations. So there is nothing which can be termed as an 'Original' one. Even now over years this is happening as

to print, it is necessary to copy. Every time there is a new edition of a book, there is a change taking place which may be a misprint or an intentional one done by the author or the editor. So it can be concluded that in the course of time the original manuscripts will have to change and there will be an incarnation of an all new text every time.

Materials and Methods

While working on this topic various books, articles of eminent scholars, going through many search engine and discussion with the scholars of maithili literature have been taken into consideration to make an objective analysis of this topic.

Results and Discussions

Vidyapati (1350-1450) a contemporary of Kabir, is much celebrated and respected for his 'Padavali'. His most enduring contribution to Indian literature, indeed what he has been remembered for in the last few hundred years, is a corpus of over five hundred love songs. The subject of these songs, which were composed between 1380 and 1406, is the love of Krishna and Radha. He wrote all his other work-fourteen in all-in Sanskrit and Avahatta, by no means fit to catch every body's attention. Then, he wrote "Padavali" in dialect or desh-bhasa as scholars prefer to call it, the 'Padas'. The study of the entire Radha – Krishna love literature in hindi begins with Vidyapati's collection of the songs. The tradition began with the 'Bhagwat Purana' and was developed by Jayadeva, in his celebrated 'Geeta

Govinda'. His patron and intimate friend Raja Shiv Singh conferred the title of 'Abhinava Jayadeva' on him.² The basic plan of 'Padavali' is to present the eternal love of Radha Krishna more on a physical plane rather than a religious one. Besides Radha and Krishna, Vidyapati introduced a lady messenger, 'a dooti' that creates a certain amount of mysticism, Through allegory, Vidyapati establishes a profound relationship between the soul and the God.

Vidyapati's 'Padavali' finds its roots in Nepal, In Nepal's government library, where a volume of work containing 287 songs were found, in which 261 songs were of his. The important feature of this 'Nepal Padavali' is that many songs can be found elsewhere in several other old anthologies of the same poet. Next comes the version commonly referred to as 'Rambhadrapura Padavali', It was first discovered in the village of Rambhadrapura in Bihar and today it is available at the Patna University library. But it is incomplete. The third version we have in the 'Tarano Padavali' so called after the name of the palace where it was first traced. Yet it is difficult to prove that all the 239 songs of this 'padavali' were written by Vidyapati, it is nonetheless that at least 103 belong to this production since they contain the poet's name. Next in consideration comes 'Rajtarangini' a collection by xviii century maithil poet Lochan who included in his anthology about 81 songs of Vidyapati.

Amongst all the available editions of Vidyapati's 'Padavali', the one published by Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad (Vidyapati-Padavali, First Part, Bihar Rastrabhasa Parisad, Patna, 1961.) is considered the best. for the present research paper this edition will be treated as original. Now we will look into a few of the Translations of the 'Original' which will reflect how it is no more a translation but a re-work or a re-writing.

The translations by Arun Sen, and A. K. Coomaraswamy,³ Sri Aurobindo.⁴ Deben Bhattacharya⁵ and Subhadra Jha⁶ are considered for the study. We will take an account of one of Vidyapati's songs translated by Sri Aurobindo and Anand K. Coomaraswamy, the Original is:

shaisab youban duhu mili gel,ssravanak path
duhu lochan lel/Vachanak chaturi lahu lahu

haas,Dharaniye chand karat parkash//Mukur
lei aab karat singar sakhi se puchhai kaise
surat vihar//Nirjane uraj herai kata beri,hasat
apan payodhar heri//Pahil badari sam puni
navrang,dine dine anang agoral ang//Madhav
pekhal aprup bala,shaisab youban duhu ek
bhela

Sri Aurobindo's Translation : Childhood and youth each other are nearing/Her two eyes/their office yield to the hearing./Her speech has learned sweet maiden craft/And low not as of old she laughed./Her laughter murmurs. A moon on earth/Is dawning into perfect birth./Mirror in hand she appparels her now/And asks of her sweet girl-comrades to show/What love is and what love does/And all shamed delight that sweet love owes./And often she sits by herself and sees/Smiling with bliss her breast's increase,/Her own milk - breasts that, plums at first,/Now into golden oranges burst./Day by day Love's vernal dreams/Expand her lovely blossoming limbs./Madhav I saw a marvelous flower/Of girls; childhood and youth one power,/One presence grown in one body fair./Foolish maiden ,not thus declare/The oneness of these contraries/Rather the two were yoked, say the wise.

Anand K.Coomaraswamy's translation : Childhood and youth are mingled both./Her eyes have taken the road to her ears:/Wily are her words, and her low laugh/As if the moon appeared on earth./She takes a mirror to array herself./And asks: what is the game of love ,my dear?/How many times she secretly regards her bosom,/Smiling to see her breasts!/First like a jujube, then like an orange,/Love day by day enfolds her limbs:/O Madhava,I saw a girl surpassing fair,/Childhood and youth were one in her!/Saith Vidyapati: Oh foolish maid,/The wise would say, the twain have met.

Aurobindo's versions are least like the originals since he uses a consistent style, and one which rarely permits any-thing approaching the direct, colloquial-and powerful-language of the original. Sen and Coomaraswamy also go in for editing, rearranging, and atmosphere-saving . They write in a language influenced by William Morris and Rosetti and make use of a variety of archaisms and pseudoarchaisms.

Here, is a poem translated by Deben

Bhattacharya titled as 'The necklace snake': Listen, O lovely lady/Cease your anger/I promise by the golden pitchers of your breasts/And by your necklace snake/Which now I gather in my hands/If ever I touch anyone but you/May your necklace bite me;/And if my words do not ring true,/Punish me as I deserve./Bind me in your arms, bruise me with your thighs/Choke my heart with your milk-swollen breasts/Lock me day and night in the prison of your heart. Deben Bhattacharya has intentionally omitted the signature line of Vidyapati and added the title as different from the Original. How much tighter the above is, compared to this version by Azfar Hussain⁷

For heaven's sake, listen, listen, O my darling:/Do not dart your cruel, angry glances at me,/For I swear by the lovely pitchers of your breasts,/And by your golden, glittering, snake-like necklace:/If ever on earth I dare touch anyone except you,/Let your necklace/turn into a real snake, and bite me;/And if ever my promise and words prove false,/Chastise me, O darling, in the way you want to./But, now, don't hesitate to take me in your arms,/Bind, bind my thirsty body with yours; bruise me/With your thighs, and bite, bite me with your teeth./Let your fingernails dig deep, deep into my skin!/Strangle me, for heaven's sake, with your breasts,/And lock me in the prison of your body forever.

A poem 'Night of love', translated by Deben Bhattacharya. A fateful night I spent/Gazing at the moon/Like the face of my love./Now are my life and youth fulfilled./The air about me is free./Home is home, My body is my body./My god is kind to me./All doubts are gone./Kokila, you may sing a million times,/ A million moons may shine now./Love's fire arrows may become a million spears./The southern breeze may gently blow./So long as he is close to me,/My body shines as mine. Here is alternate version by Robert Bates⁸ titled 'Radha's Submission'.

"All doubts are gone./The birds may sing a million songs,/A million moons may shine now./When he is close to me,/My heart sings and my body shines./Lift up my dress, beautiful lover,/And fill me with pure gold./You are my shelter in the rain,/My ferry-boat across the river,/My warm fire in the cold weather,/My southern breeze in the summer heat./Nobody

else I need/Only you."

The poet Deben Bhattacharya has put the subject as kokila which is 'Cuckoo', this imagery is typical representation in Mithila region whereas Robert Bates has taken it as a normal bird which can never give an image of 'Cuckoo'. Other changes in representation are easily noticeable.

Bhattacharya's Translator's Note on his intentions had better precede any discussion on his accomplishment. Bhattacharya writes: "The greatness of Vidyapati's songs depends on the fusion of natural phenomena such as lightning and clouds, the moon and the night lily, the lotus and the bee with the greatest of lovers, Radha and Krishna and their emotional reactions to love, anguish, passion, jealousy, joy and sorrow. "Love poems, in particular lyrics, do not translate well. Therefore, in trying to render Vidyapati's songs into English, I have concentrated on the atmosphere of the originals rather than on scrupulously adhering to tiny detail. The poems, in their original versions, are often concerned with rhyme, internal echoes and play on meaning. None of these can be reproduced in word for word translation. In order to portray what I consider to be the spirit of the poems, I have sometimes had to condense Vidyapati's lines, content myself with fragments or clarify what might otherwise seem too concise. Following the example of most commentators, I have, in general, omitted Vidyapati's 'signature' lines. In the interest of meaning, I have added titles. It is hoped that with these qualifications, part at least, of Vidyapati's true poetic essence will reach the English reader".

Some of the Bhattacharya intrusions can be spotted by their inauthenticity by the standard established by Battacharya himself in his closer translations. Thus, in the context of Bhattacharya's selections 'those hours of passion/ When he would swear to me/ That day was night . . .' (p. 33) looks not only bad but wrong. A look at the original-the alternative originals -confirms one's suspicions that 'those hours of passion' are all Bhattacharya's, translates the (not very clear) sense of the lines arati darasahi bolita (thi) rati / se save sumari jivaka sati (Jha, p. 40) more or less following Jha, but with some changes, and, of course, with lush elaboration. (Jha translates 'Even at

the sight of emotion of love, he would say it was night / Remembering all these I am pained at heart.) The Bihar Rastrabhasa Parishad reading which seems to make more sense in context, and which translates rati more normally as 'sorrow - reads rati darasahu boli arti 'Even to show (my) sorrow, I'm afraid to speak.' If this reading is accepted, then rati, 'night,' the springboard to Bhattacharya's flight goes completely by the board.¹⁰

An example is p. 32. Bhattacharya's translation-still one of the best in the collection-reads : I hide my shabby cheeks with locks of hair, And my grey hairs in folds of flowers. I paint my eyes with black mascara. The more I try the more absurd I look. My breasts loosely dangle. My curving lines are gone. My youth is ended and love roams wild In all my skin and bones. O sadness, my sadness, Where is my youth? The original text in the Bihar Rastrabhasa Parishad edition reads: bhagala kapola alake lela saji saikurala nayana kdjare dji / pakala kega kusuma kara vasa adhika siigdre adhika upahasa // ahad baesa katae cali gela bara upatapa dekhi mohi bhela / totala thaid thana dui bhela gurua nitamba sehao dura gela // javana sesa sukhdela afiga pacheheli lulae umata anahga // (the signature line is omitted)

But when in line with such a view-the tapered endings he gives the padas follow from it-he remodels and damages a Pada so as to give it an ending that he wants and Vidyapati obviously did not want, he is no longer translating; he is rewriting, and he does rewrite padas, padas that need no improvement. Bhattacharya makes only a few changes in the first part of the poem, e. g., he blunts some of the vocabulary ('curving lines,' 'absurd,' 'love roams wild'), but most of what he does can be justified. The poem-the original works up to a powerful final line. Bhattacharya deprives it of most of its power (and, in effect, rewrites the poem) by relocating it before a feeble, tapered ending partly of his own manufacture, and by translating it in an inadequate.

Now, take an unparallel example of 'adapation', that is "Brajabuli". Brajabuli is an artificial literary language developed in the sixteenth century by the influence of Vidyapati's padavali. Brajabuli is basically Maithili (as prevalent during the medieval

period) but its forms are modified to look like Bengali. The medieval Bengali poets, Gobindadas Kabiraj, Jnandas, Balaramdas and Narottamdas composed their padas in this language. Rabindranath Tagore also composed his Bhanusingha Thakurer Padabali (1884) in this language (he initially promoted these lyrics as those of a newly discovered poet, Bhanusingha). Other 19th century figures in the Bengal Renaissance like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee have also written in the Brajabuli.¹¹ The influence of Vidyapati in Bengal was so intense that for a period of time he was considered a poet of Bengali literature. His songs were mingled with those of Chandi Dasa who spread the Vaishnavism cult. Romesh Chandra Datta goes on to prove that there is no chance of their having met and Chandi Dasa came much later and had immense influence of Vidyapati especially in the Krishnakirtana .

The following quote from Grierson (Maithili Chrestomathy, p34) And now a curious circumstance arose, unparalleled I believe in the history of literature..(His songs) were twisted and contorted, lengthened and curtailed, in the procrustean bed of the Bengali language and metre into a kind of bastard language neither Bengali nor Maithili.(These imitation songs known as "Brajbuli" songs) became gradually more popular amongst the Bengali people than the real songs of Vidyapati."

It was Sankara Deva who introduced Brajbuli (Maithili) to Assam. Vidyapati was considered a Vaishnava singer. Shankar Deva found a great instrument in Brajbuli or Maithili in spreading Vaishnavism and introduced it in Assam. Bengal acted as the source of spreading Maithili to Orissa in the first half of 16th century. The earliest known Brajbuli poem in Orissa by Ramanand Rai, the famous poet and dramatist, is dedicated to Pratap Rudra Deva (1504). Due to close proximity Nepal could not escape the influence of Maithili. Though the people of tarai better known as Madhesias (Madhya Desi) speak Maithili, historically nothing of importance is found. However the Malla Kings of Nepal themselves wrote in imitation of Vidyapati and induced many poets and musicians to do the same.

Now we will see the Oral adaptation of

Vidyapati's Pada. The folk songs, which are in vogue in the region of Mithila is actually a 're-telling' of Vidyapati's Padas. These songs change to almost completely, in word and forms but still manage to be those of Vidyapati's. We have a vast range of CDs and DVDs in the market which claim as songs of Vidyapati, but actually these are a sort of adaptation, re-telling or re-writing. Here is an example "A song written by Vidyapati and taken from Vidyapati Panchshika (ed by Rajeshwar Jha, Maithili Sahitya Sansthan, Patna). Kakhana harab dhok more ho Bholenath/(p.16)

Aihi bhawsagar thah katahu nahi/
Bhairav dhar kar aaye he bholanath//
Bhanhu vidyapati more bholenath gati/
Dehu abhay var mohi he bholenath.//

The folk song based on the aforesaid song of Vidyapati taken from Maithili Lokgeet (ed. Anima Singh 1993, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi). Kahiya harab dhok more Bam Bam Bhole/(p.73).

Patharo seviton bhola pathro pasizale/
Tohu bhola param kator ho bhola//
Bhanahi vidyapati sunu uma ke pati/
Dehu na aab var bam bam bhola".//

The above 'Original text can be interpreted as "O Bholenath when you will take away my sorrows, I have no idea about the depth of miserable sea of sorrows" whereas in the folk representation Bholenath is Bumbum bhole and Umapati (husband of goddess 'Parvati') also the devotee in the folk urges Lord Shiva saying that even a stone could have pleased by now but you don't hear to me prayers.

Conclusion

Any translation for that matter can never be the replica of 'Original' text as the translator translating the work, consciously or subconsciously reflects his views and likings in the work of author. During the course of translation not only the 'Perception' but even the 'Resistance' of the translator propagates. A translator sometimes does adaptation for the readers who are unaware of the original text due to cultural limitations. So the translator is adapting the 'Original' text by 'Individual talent' in the words of T.S Eliot. There is this concept

of Solitary manuscript so anything following that will be the afterlife of the Original. One of the noted scholars P. Lal during his work on the epic 'Mahabharata' gave the concept of 'Transcreation'. 'A text is multiple by its very definition'. It opens an afterlife of its own by repeatability, alternativity, discourses, intertextuality, adaptation and so on. It cannot be thought without afterlife as it is a part and parcel of the life itself.

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दलित अवधारणा और गांधी की संवेदना

डॉ. बिमल रेवेन

विभागाध्यक्ष, इतिहास विभाग, संत कोलंबा कॉलेज
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शत्रुघ्न कुमार पाण्डेय

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विनोबा भावे विश्वविद्यालय, हजारीबाग, झारखण्ड

सारांश

भारतीय समाज में परंपरागत रूप से अछूत माने जाने वाले लोग दलित कहलाते हैं। जाति प्रथा में इनका दर्जा निम्न होता है और यह वर्ग सामाजिक न्याय से वंचित और भेदभाव का शिकार रहता है। महात्मा गांधी दलितों के लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द का प्रयोग करते थे और उन्हें दलितों से संवेदना थी। वे छुआछूत को पाप समझते थे। वे दलितों के प्रति अमानवीय व्यवहार से अत्यंत व्यथित थे। उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि यह भेद कुछ लोगों की देन है। उन्होंने विरोध के बावजूद साबरमती आश्रम का दरवाजा दलितों के लिए खोला और दानी बहन जैसी अछूत को रसोई घर का जिम्मा दिया। दलितों के सम्मान और अधिकार के प्रति वह केवल सैद्धांतिक भाषण भर नहीं देते थे, बल्कि उसे व्यवहार में भी लाते थे। अपने राजनीतिक जीवन की हर मंजिल में गांधी जी ने दलितों की दशा को सुधारने का प्रयास किया। उन्होंने कहा कि दलितों के दुःखों की तुलना हम जनता के किसी अंग के दुःखों से नहीं कर सकते। अछूतों का जुदा वर्ग बना देना हिन्दू धर्म के माथे पर कलंक है। यदि समय रहते इस कलंक को नहीं धोया गया तो वह उसको खा जायेगा। दलितों की दशा को सुधारने के लिए उन्होंने 'हरिजन सेवक संघ' का गठन किया। प्रस्तुत लेख में गांधी जी के नजरिये से दलितों की संवेदना को समझने की कोशिश की गयी है। साथ ही दलितों को लेकर होने वाले राजनीति विमर्श पर एक समालोचक शोध प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

विशिष्टशब्द - दलित, बहुजन, हरिजन, स्वराज्य, अस्पृश्यता।

भूमिका

संप्रति 'दलित' शब्द और उसकी व्याख्या के कई आयाम हैं और दलित-विमर्श की चर्चा हर जगह है। इतिहास, समाज, देश, संस्कृति, साहित्य, राजनीति, व्यष्टि, समष्टि सभी इस विमर्श से प्रभावित हैं। बुद्धिजीवी, समाजशास्त्री और राजनीतिज्ञ अपनी-अपनी लेखनी-रौशनी में दलित शब्द, समाज और वर्ग को 'चाश' कर परिभाषित कर रहे हैं, परन्तु उनमें मतैक्य नहीं है। कुछ इसकी उदारवादी-अनुदारवादी तो कुछ उन्मेश-नवोन्मेशवादी व्याख्या करते हैं। परन्तु दलित शब्द उन लोगों की पहचान को स्थापित करने की कोशिश है, जिसकी पहचान इतिहास में गौण है।¹ अंधविश्वास, उत्तराधिकार प्रथा, शीर्षत्व की भावना और सामाजिक विचलन के कारण समाज में कुरीतियों का जन्म होता है, जिसके शिकार दलित हुए। सामाजिक समरसता और न्याय हेतु संकीर्ण सामाजिक सोच को बदलना आज आवश्यक है। वैश्वीकरण के दौर में पहुंचकर भी भारत में दलितों के प्रति अस्पृश्यता और उद्देश्य रहित विभेद बरकरार है, जबकि इसका कोई स्थान नहीं होना चाहिए। यह सोच भारतीय समाज में मानवता के मौलिक सिद्धांतों के विपरीत और मानवीय एकता के लिए सबसे बड़ा अभिशाप है। इस कारण आज दलित विमर्श और उसके अध्ययन की प्रासंगिकता और अधिक बढ़ गयी है।

भारतीय समाज में परंपरागत रूप से अछूत माने जाने वाले लोग 'दलित' कहे जाते हैं। वर्ण और जाति व्यवस्था में इनका दर्जा निम्न होता है। यह वर्ग सामाजिक न्याय से वंचित और भेदभाव का शिकार रहता है। दलित शब्द अंग्रेजी के डिस्प्रेस्ड क्लासेज

का हिन्दी रूपांतरण है। यह शब्द संस्कृत भाषा के दल+इत् से बना है, जिसका अर्थ है-शोषित, दबाया हुआ, रौंदा हुआ, कुचला हुआ।² जे. एच. हर्टन ने अपनी पुस्तक 'कास्ट इन इंडिया'³ में जिसका बाहरी जाति के रूप में विस्तृत वर्णन किया है, आज उसी के लिए 'दलित' शब्द प्रयुक्त हो रहा है। आज यह शब्द समस्त अस्पृश्य जातियों, आदिवासियों, भूमिहीन, खेतिहर मजदूर, श्रमिक और बहिष्कृत जातियों के लिए व्यवहृत हो रहा है। अब यह जाति और वर्ग अर्थात् सामाजिक दलित और आर्थिक दलित को व्यक्त करने वाला शब्द बन गया है।⁴

वैसे तो दलित शब्द का प्रयोग पहली बार ज्योति बा फुले ने 19वीं सदी में द्विजों से अलग अछूतों के लिए किया था, किन्तु पिछड़ा वर्ग आयोग के अनुसार सरकारी स्तर पर दलित शब्द का प्रयोग 1919 से प्रारंभ हुआ। ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान माण्टेग्यु-चेम्सफोर्ड अधिनियम द्वारा दलित वर्ग को अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर कई सरकारी निकायों में प्रतिनिधित्व दिया गया। 1919 में ही 'दलित वर्ग' संबोधन अनुसूचित जातियों, जनजातियों, शूद्र समाज और बहिष्कृत जातियों के लिए स्वीकृत हो गया था।⁵

1930 में 'दलित बंधु' नामक समाचार पत्र पुणे से प्रकाशित हुआ था। यह पत्र दलितों के लिए ही था और इसमें दलित शब्द का प्रयोग सार्वजनिक तौर पर किया गया था।⁶ 1931 में भारत के तत्कालीन जनगणना आयुक्त ने दलितों के बारे में जनगणना प्रतिवेदन में लिखा - 'मैंने दलित जातियों में उन जातियों को माना है, जिनके स्पर्श के कारण ऊंची हिन्दू जातियों को अपनी शुद्धि करना आवश्यक हो जाता है। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि इस जाति को किसी पेशे से संबद्ध कर दिया जाये। यदि ऐसा किया

गया तो यह शब्द उन्हीं जातियों के लिए प्रयुक्त होगा, जिनका हिन्दू समाज में परंपरागत स्थिति के कारण मंदिर प्रवेश निषिद्ध है, जिनके कुएं अलग हैं, जिन्हें पाठशालाओं में बैठने नहीं दिया जाता और जिन्हें बाहर ही रहने दिया जाता है या जो इस प्रकार की अन्य सामाजिक असमानताओं से पीड़ित हैं।⁷

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख के लिए विश्लेषणात्मक और विवरणात्मक शैली का प्रयोग किया गया है। शोध कार्य के लिए प्राथमिक और द्वितीयक दोनों प्रकार के स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए गांधी वाङ्मय के अलावा कुछ प्रकाशित ग्रंथ और पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे लेखों की सहायता ली गयी है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

महात्मा गांधी दलितों के लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द का प्रयोग करते थे,⁸ क्योंकि उनके लिए किसी मानव को अछूत कहा जाना अपराध था। गांधीजी ने हरिजन शब्द का अर्थ बताया - 'ईश्वर का प्यारा और ईश्वर का भक्त।' उनके अनुसार ईश्वर की प्रतिज्ञा है कि वह दुखियों का बेली है, दया का सागर है, अशक्तों को शक्ति देने वाला है, निर्बल का बल है, पंगु का पैर है और अंधों की आंख है। इसलिए दलित लोग उसे प्यारे होने चाहिए। इस दृष्टि से अछूत माने जाने वाले भाइयों के लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द सर्वथा उपयुक्त है।⁹ दलितों के मनोविज्ञान को समझ कर ही उन्होंने अपने साप्ताहिक पत्र का नाम 'हरिजन' रखा था।

गांधी जी से पूर्व गुजराती कवि नरसी मेहता ने 17वीं सदी में सामाजिक रूप से अभिवंचित वर्ग के लिए 'हरिजन' शब्द का प्रयोग किया था। 25 फरवरी 1935 को दलितों के लिए हरिजन शब्द का प्रयोग न करने के लिए अस्पृश्य वर्ग द्वारा मध्य प्रांत की सरकार को अर्जी दी गयी थी।¹⁰ इस विरोध का कारण यह था कि हरिजन शब्द का प्रयोग मंदिर के देवदासियों के बच्चों के लिए किया जाता था, जो सैद्धांतिक रूप से देवता की संतान माने जाते थे और उन्हें उनकी निचली सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण समाज में हेय दृष्टि से देखा जाता था।¹¹ गांधीजी ने अछूतों के लिए हरिजन शब्द को इतना लोकप्रिय बना दिया कि आज बड़े पैमाने पर रोक¹² के बाद भी व्यावहारिक रूप में इसका प्रयोग हो रहा है।

'दलित' शब्द आम प्रचलन में सबसे पहले महाराष्ट्र में तब आया, जब 1956 में अम्बेडकर की मृत्यु के बाद अम्बेडकरवाद ह्यासोन्मुख हो गया था। उनके अनुयायियों ने 1957 में 'रिपब्लिकन पार्टी' का और 1970 में 'दलित पैंथर पार्टी' का गठन किया। पैंथर पार्टी ने ही हरिजन के बजाय 'दलित' कहे जाने का आंदोलन किया और आज हरिजन के बदले दलित शब्द प्रचलन में है।¹³ रिपब्लिकन पार्टी के सदस्य रहे कांशीराम ने 1978 में बामसेफ (बैकवर्ड एंड मायनॉटरिज इम्पलाइज फेडरेशन), 1981 में डी. एस. 4 (दलित शोषित समाज

समिति) तथा 1984 में 'बहुजन समाज पार्टी' बनाया।¹⁴ बहुजन समाज पार्टी के गठन के बाद तो भारत में दलित राजनीति का एक नया अध्याय और उग्र दौर शुरू हो गया।

दलित समाज (अस्पृश्य और उपेक्षित वर्ग) के इतिहास, उसकी चेतना और उनके प्रति संवेदना का अनुशीलन-विश्लेषण सरल कार्य नहीं है। ऐसी समाज व्यवस्था बनने और उसके विकास का आकलन एवं भावी समाज के चिंतन के लिए भारतीय इतिहास में वर्णित समुदायों की योग्यताओं, नियोग्यताओं तथा निषेधों के लंबे, जटिल और सहज मार्गों से जुड़े अध्ययन के लिए ऐतिहासिक तथ्यानुसंधान पद्धति पर आधारित शोध कार्य किया गया है। इसी के संदर्भ में दलितों के प्रति गांधीजी की संवेदना को समझने की कोशिश की गयी है। 30 जनवरी 1948 की एक अभागी शाम गांधीजी को हमसे दूर ले गयी। गांधी जी के शरीर का अंत हो गया। यह उनके विचारों का अंत नहीं था। यह तो उनके विचारों का पुनर्जन्म था।¹⁵ आज गांधी न तो सरल हैं और न जटिल। आस्थाओं का यह युगपुरुष अपने ही देश में तलाशा जा रहा है। कहीं राजसत्ता में तो कहीं सामाजिक विषमताओं के बीच। परन्तु गांधी इतने विराट हैं कि हम उन्हें जिस मूल्य में खोजेंगे, पायेंगे, क्योंकि गांधी के विचारों का संसार विस्तृत और गहन है। आज जब 'सर्वजन हिताय और सर्वजन सुखाय' के परिप्रेक्ष्य में संपूर्ण विश्व भारतीय संस्कृति के उद्घोष सम्भूय समुत्थान का नारा दे रहा है, तो ऐसे में अतीत में जाकर दलितों (अस्पृश्य और अस्पृश्यता) के प्रति महात्मा गांधी के विचार और समझ के अध्ययन की सार्थकता अधिक दिखती है।

आज दलित और दलित पैरोकारों की चर्चा हो रही है, परन्तु यह अनैतिहासिक नहीं है। बीते युगों में अपने जीवन को दांव पर लगा कर सामाजिक समता की आकांक्षा को साकार करने के लिए कई लोगों ने अनवरत संघर्ष किया और अपने जीवन की आहुति दी। जिसे आज 'दलित आंदोलन' कहा जाता है, वह एक सुदीर्घ परंपरा का नवीन पड़ाव है। कभी बौद्धों, नाथों, सिद्धों, लोकायतों और मध्यकालीन भक्ति आंदोलन के संतों ने इस परंपरा को आगे बढ़ाया था।¹⁶ सामाजिक क्रांति का सूत्रपात कर और भक्ति का अधिकार प्रदान कर।

इतिहास अध्ययन में दलित समाज (अस्पृश्य और उपेक्षित वर्ग) आज एक नयी धारा के रूप में विकसित हो गया है। एक लेखक ने तो इतिहास को 'हिज-हिस्ट्री' और 'हर-हिस्ट्री' में बांट कर 'हिज-हिस्ट्री' में दलित (अवर्ण या अस्पृश्य वर्ग) विमर्श तथा 'हर-हिस्ट्री' में संपूर्ण महिला समाज को रखा है।¹⁷ इस इतिहास में यह दिखाने की कोशिश की गयी है कि समाज के अंतिम छोर पर खड़े दलितों के लिए केवल कर्तव्य के निर्धारण किये गये हैं, उनके अधिकारों की चर्चा नहीं है। यह भी कि दलित वर्ग में जन्म लेने में व्यक्ति का कोई दोष नहीं होता, फिर भी उनके द्वारा सामाजिक हेयता का दंश भोगना किसी भी प्रकार से न्यायोचित नहीं है। किसी की कमजोरी, गरीबी और मजबूरी का दुरुपयोग

नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। दलितों को उनका हक मिलना चाहिए। दलित शब्द अपने आप में व्यापक अर्थ रखता है। दलित शब्द में छिपा हुआ गूढ़ अर्थ जिस भाव की व्याख्या करता है, वह उन लोगों की पहचान है, जो सदियों से दबे-कुचले, उपेक्षित, तिरस्कृत और प्रताड़ित रहे तथा समाज और राष्ट्र के निर्माण में अपनी आहुति दी। किन्तु सत्ता के इर्ग-गिर्द रहे स्वार्थी तत्वों ने उन्हें कभी महत्व नहीं दिया।¹⁸

भारतीय संदर्भ में दलित शब्द एक 'जाति बोधात्मक शब्द' के रूप में व्यवहृत हो रहा है। जैसे आदिवासी, जनजातियाँ, अनुसूचित जातियाँ, सामाजिक, आर्थिक और शैक्षणिक रूप से पिछड़ी जातियाँ आदि। श्रमिक, किसान, मजदूर आदि आर्थिक आधार पर इनका यह वर्ग न बना कर जाति आधारित वर्ग बनाया जा रहा है, जो वर्णव्यवस्था की कोख से पैदा हुए हैं। यद्यपि वर्णगत जाति समूहों में भी आर्थिक स्तर की रेखा खींची हुई है, फिर भी दलित एक जाति बोधक संज्ञा बन गया है। स्थिति यह है कि दलित की कल्पना एक पूरी कौम या राष्ट्र कल्पना न होकर जाति विशेष की कल्पना हो गयी है। इससे हम पहले की स्थिति की ही ओर बढ़ रहे हैं, जहाँ समाज वर्ण और जाति में विभक्त था और हरेक की अपनी योग्यताएं-निर्योग्यताएं थी। इससे समाज जुड़ने की अपेक्षा टूटना है और सामाजिक सद्भाव के स्थान पर वैरभाव एवं विषमता और बढ़ता है।¹⁹ आज ग्लोबल परिप्रेक्ष्य में दलित वर्ग की चर्चा हो रही है। हमें हमारे देश के दलित और 'वैश्विक दलित' के बीच के मौलिक अंतर को समझना होगा। लैटिन, अफ्रीका और यूरोप का दलित वर्ग औपनिवेशिक सत्ता और साम्राज्यवाद के कारण उत्पन्न हुआ है और आर्थिक शोषण का शिकार है। हमारा दलित जातिगत ऊंच-नीच और सामाजिक असमानता का शिकार है।²⁰

गांधीजी के मन में दलितों के प्रति प्रारंभ से ही पीड़ा थी। मानव मानव से भेद करे, यह उन्हें कभी गंवारा नहीं हुआ। इसके लिए वे विद्रोही भी बने और परंपरा विरोधी भी। मात्र 12 वर्ष में ही उन्हें अपने ही घर में दलितों की स्थिति का भान हो चुका था, जब पाखाना साफ करने वाले से छू जाने पर उन्हें स्नान कराया जाता था। वे स्नान तो कर लेते थे, पर उनकी आत्मा विद्रोह करती थी और तर्क देती थी कि हिन्दू धर्म कहीं भी अस्पृश्यता की ताड़ नहीं करता।²¹

दलितों की सर्वप्रमुख समस्या अस्पृश्यता के खिलाफ गांधीजी ने अपने अफ्रीका-सत्याग्रह के दौरान ही बिगुल फूंक दिया था। गिरमिटिया मजदूर जो अछूत थे, को रंग-भेद से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिए। ये मजदूर 1914 के सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन के अंतिम चरण के नायक थे। गांधीजी ने जब दक्षिण अफ्रीका जैसे विलायत में सत्याग्रह करके दलितों (अछूतों) को समानता का अधिकार दिलाया तो भला अपने देश भारत में वे दलितों पर थोपी गयी क्रूर असमानता को कैसे सहन कर सकते थे? उन्होंने विरोध के बावजूद साबरमती आश्रम का दरवाजा दलितों के लिए खोला।

अछूत दानीबेन को रसोई में भोजन बनाने और बरतन साफ करने के लिए रखा, अछूत लक्ष्मी को अपनी पुत्री बनाया²² और अंत्यज दूदाभाई ढेढ़ को अपने साथ रखा। साबरमती आश्रम का स्वयंसेवक बनने के लिए जो 11 शपथ लेनी पड़ती थी, उनमें अस्पृश्यता का बहिष्कार भी एक था।²³ अछूत परिवार को आश्रम में रखने के कारण आश्रम को सहायता बंद करने की जब धमकी दी गयी तो गांधी जी इससे विचलित नहीं हुए। उन्होंने कहा कि आश्रमवासी अछूत बस्तियों से मदद मांगेंगे और उसी पर आश्रम को आश्रित रखा जाएगा।²⁴ दलितों के सम्मान और अधिकार के प्रति गांधी जी केवल सैद्धांतिक भाषण भर नहीं देते थे, बल्कि उसे व्यवहार में भी लाते थे। उन्होंने दलितों (अछूतों) के प्रति एक नया दृष्टिकोण दिया और अपने इसी जन्म में उसे सार्थक करके दिखाया। वे आश्रम में भंगी बन कर लोगों का पाखाना साफ करते थे। उन्होंने तर्क दिया कि मां अपने बच्चे का मैला उठा कर और अधिक पवित्र मानी जाने लगती है, नर्स रोगियों की सेवा-शुश्रूषा और बदबूदार चीजों को उठा कर सम्मानित बन जाती है, उसी प्रकार भंगी भी पाखाना उठा कर हमें स्वस्थ रखने में मदद करता है, इस कारण वह भी आदर पाने का अधिकारी है।²⁵ उन्होंने लिखा- “यदि उन्हें दुबारा जन्म लेना पड़े तो वे एक दलित के घर में पैदा होना चाहेंगे, ताकि वे दलितों की वेदना, कष्ट और दुर्व्यवहार को समझ सकें और उसकी मुक्ति का समाधान ढूँढ सकें।”²⁶

वे छुआछूत को पाप समझते थे। उन्होंने 25 मई 1921 में यंग इंडिया में लिखा- “यदि हम भारत के पांचवें अंग (दलितों) को सामाजिक न्याय से वंचित रख कर इनके प्रति भेदभाव और गुलामों जैसा व्यवहार करते हैं तो ऐसा स्वराज अर्थहीन होगा। यदि हम स्वयं अमानवीय रहेंगे तो भगवान के दरबार में दूसरों की अमानवीयता से छुटकारे के लिए कैसे याचना कर सकते हैं?”²⁷ गांधी जी दलितों के प्रति अमानवीय व्यवहार से अत्यंत व्यथित थे। उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि यह भेद कुछ लोगों की देन है। गीता का उदाहरण देते हुए उन्होंने कहा- “सच्चा ब्राह्मण वह है जो पंडित और अछूत दोनों के प्रति समभाव रखे और दलित-पीड़ित को अपनाये।”²⁸ उन्होंने व्यथित होकर कहा कि यदि मेरे सामने यह सिद्ध हो जाये कि अस्पृश्यता हिन्दू धर्म का अंग है तो वे ऐसे धर्म के प्रति वे अपने आप को विद्रोही घोषित कर देंगे।²⁹ लोकप्रियता का इच्छुक कोई भी व्यक्ति ऐसा सार्वजनिक वक्तव्य नहीं दे सकता, विशेषकर ऐसे देश में जहाँ रूढ़िवादी हिन्दुओं का बहुमत था। अपने राजनीतिक जीवन की हर कदम पर गांधी जी ने दलितों की दशा को सुधारने का प्रयास किया। उन्होंने कहा कि दलितों के दुःखों की तुलना हम जनता के किसी अंग के दुःखों से नहीं कर सकते।³⁰ अछूतों का जुदा वर्ग बना देना हिन्दू धर्म के माथे पर कलंक है। यह सामाजिक पतन की पराकाष्ठा है। यदि समय रहते इस कलंक को नहीं धोया गया तो वह उसको खा जायेगा।³¹ उन्होंने कहा कि यदि हिन्दुत्व को जिंदा रहना है तो

छुआछूत को मरना होगा और यदि छुआछूत नहीं मरा तो हिन्दू धर्म मर जाएगा। उन्होंने कहा कि राष्ट्रीय विधानसभा वही हो सकती है, जो दलितों के प्रति संवेदनशील हो और उनकी दशा को सुधारने का प्रयास करे।³²

गांधी जी से पहले जो भी दलित अधिकार आंदोलन चलाये गये, उनसे भारतीय समाज में कोई बुनियादी परिवर्तन नहीं आया, क्योंकि ऐसे आंदोलन के नेताओं ने नये विचारतंत्र देने की कोशिश की, जो समय के साथ पुरातन होते गया। जगजीवन राम ने लिखा कि गांधीजी ने एक समन्वित परिपूर्ण विचारतंत्र का प्रतिपादन नहीं किया। उनके दलित अधिकार के विचार विकास की प्रक्रिया के अंग थे और अनुभव से निकले थे। छुआछूत का उन्मूलन कर वे राष्ट्र की एकता को कायम रखना चाहते थे। इस कारण ही दलितों की एक बड़ी समस्या अछूतोंद्वारा के प्रश्न को उन्होंने स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन से जोड़ा। उनकी सोच थी कि छह करोड़ अंत्यजों को तिरस्कृत करके सच्ची आजादी नहीं लड़ी जा सकती। उन्होंने दलितों में आत्मसम्मान की भावना भरी और सम्मानपूर्ण जीवन जीने के लिए संघर्ष करने की प्रवृत्ति दी। भारतीय राजनीति में प्रवेश के साथ ही गांधीजी ने एक साथ दो विषयों पर कार्य किया- वे स्वतंत्रता के लिए औपनिवेशिक शासन से लड़े और सामाजिक सुधार कार्य शुरू किया। गांधी जी ने समाज सुधार के प्रति निष्क्रिय कांग्रेस को न केवल जगाया, बल्कि प्रेरित भी किया। दलितों की दशा को सुधारने के लिए उन्होंने 'हरिजन सेवक संघ' का गठन किया। गांधी जी की प्रेरणा से ही 1919 में दलित जातियों की स्थिति में सुधार के लिए कांग्रेस ने प्रस्ताव पारित किया, जिसमें भारतवासियों से आह्वान किया गया था किन्याय और भलमानस का तकाजा यह है कि दलितों पर से तमाम बंदिशें उठा ली जायें।³³ यह गांधी जी का ही प्रयास था कि दलितों के सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक उत्थान के लिए कई स्कूल खोले गये। 1917 में माया साहब फड़के दलितों के बच्चों के लिए स्कूल खोलने के लिए आगे आये और 1918 में विट्ठल भाई पटेल छात्रावास निर्माण में जुटे। 1920 में गुजरात विद्यापीठ ने कहा कि वह वैसे स्कूलों को मान्यता नहीं देगा, जिसमें अंत्यजों के बच्चों की पढ़ाई का बहिष्कार किया जाता हो।³⁴ 1920 और 1921 के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में यह प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया कि प्रत्येक सत्याग्रही अस्पृश्यता के खिलाफ संघर्ष करेगा और अछूतों की मदद करेगा।³⁵

गांधी जी के प्रयास से हलखोरों के संगठन बने, सहकारी ऋण एवं आवास संबंधी समितियां बनीं। सार्वजनिक स्थलों के द्वार उनके लिए खोले गये। बंबई की कांग्रेसी सरकार ने हरिजनों के मंदिरों में प्रवेश का कानून बनाया तो सेंट्रल प्रोविंस और बिहार सरकार ने हरिजनों के लिए प्राइमरी से लेकर विश्वविद्यालय तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा का प्रबंध किया। उन्होंने दलितों की स्थिति सुधारने का पत्र केरल में के.पी. मेनन और संयुक्त प्रांत में मदन मोहन मालवीय को लिखा। वायकोम सत्याग्रह में शामिल हुए

और दलितों के अधिकार को लेकर जेल में सत्याग्रह किया। दलितों का साथ देने के लिए गांधी जी को धमकाया भी गया। पूणे में उन पर बम फेंका गया। ऐसे लोगों को गांधीजी ने विधर्मी और पापी कहा।³⁶

दलितों की दशा सुधारने के लिए गांधी जी ने दो चीजों पर बल दिया। प्रथम, देश का औद्योगीकरण, जिससे लोगों को नये काम-धंधे मिल सके, वे पुराना धंधा छोड़ सके और नयी तकनीक के प्रयोग से उनकी उन्नति हो सके। द्वितीय, बेजमीन दलितों को जमीन देना और इसके लिए भूमि का नये सिरे से बंटवारा आवश्यक था। यह तभी हो सकता था, जब राजाओं और जमींदारों के विशेषाधिकार खत्म किये जायें। गांधी जी यह बात जानते थे और यही कारण है कि लंदन में आयोजित द्वितीय गोलमेज सम्मेलन में उन्होंने सरकार से भूमिहीन अछूतों में भूमि बांटने की बात कही थी।³⁷ आजादी के बाद भारत की सरकार गांधी जी के दोनों सुझाव पर चली। आज दलित विमर्श से जुड़े विचारक दलितों के लिए अलग धर्म और जीवन दर्शन की मांग कर रहे हैं। ऐसे लोगों को गांधी जी के विचारों से सीख लेनी चाहिए। गांधी जी दलितों को हिन्दू सामाजिक व्यवस्था का अंग मानते थे और चाहते थे कि अंग्रेज दलितों का राजनीतिक उपयोग न करें। उन्होंने दलित समस्या का राजनीतिकरण जरूर किया, पर दलित अलगाव की राजनीति को नकार दिया। दलित अलगाव की राजनीति का विरोध उन्होंने द्वितीय गोलमेज सम्मेलन में किया। उन्होंने अंबेडकर से असहमति व्यक्त करते हुए अछूतों को हिन्दुओं से अलग करने की बातों को नकार दिया और कहा कि दलितों का हिन्दुओं से अलगाव की अपेक्षा वे स्वराज को छोड़ना पसंद करेंगे।³⁸

दलित नजरिये में गांधी जी और बी. आर. आम्बेडकर विचारों में काफी अंतर था। गांधीजी दलित समस्या को सनातनी हिन्दू नजरिये से देखते थे। वे चाहते थे कि आत्म चिंतन, मंथन और हृदय परिवर्तन द्वारा दलित समस्या का समाधान हो सकता था। गांधी जी ने दलित अलगाव की राजनीति को अंग्रेजों या किसी अन्य भारतीय नेता के हाथ का खिलौना नहीं बनने देना चाहते थे। उन्होंने ब्रिटिश सरकार को पत्र लिखा कि वह हिन्दुओं से अलग अछूतों को पृथक निर्वाचन अधिकार न दे। यदि वह ऐसा करती है तो वे इसके विरोध में आमरण अनशन करेंगे।³⁹ दूसरी ओर आम्बेडकर दलितों और सवर्ण हिन्दुओं को प्रतिद्वंद्वी मानते थे। वे दलितों के अलगावादी राजनीति के पक्षधर थे। वे चाहते थे कि हिन्दुओं से अलग दलितों की स्वतंत्र पहचान बने और इसके लिए वे कोई भी कीमत चुकाने को तैयार थे।

गांधीजी के विरोध के बाद भी गोरी सरकार ने 1932 में 'साम्प्रदायिक पंचाट' की घोषणा करके हिन्दुओं से भिन्न मानकर दलितों को अलग निर्वाचन और प्रतिनिधित्व का अधिकार दे दिया। साथ ही दलितों को हिन्दुओं के साथ सामान्य निर्वाचन में भी भाग लेने का अधिकार भी दिया। अर्थात् दलितों को दोहरे

मतदान का अधिकार था।⁴⁰ इसके विरोध में गांधीजी ने पूना में 20 अगस्त 1932 से आमरण अनशन शुरू कर दिया। अंत में दलित नेताओं के साथ 'पूना समझौता' के बाद गांधीजी ने अनशन तोड़ा। इस समझौते के अनुसार हिन्दुओं के लिए संयुक्त निर्वाचन पद्धति जारी रही और अछूतों को अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व दिया गया।⁴¹ दलितों के लिए संरक्षण की यह व्यवस्था आजादी के बाद नयी दलित राजनीति के तहत आरक्षण में बदल गयी और यह आज भी लागू है। गांधी जी ने कहा कि अछूतों का वर्गीकरण एक भिन्न वर्ग के रूप में न हो। क्या अछूत निरंतर अछूत ही रहेंगे? मैं तो चाहूंगा कि अस्पृश्यता बरकरार रहने की जगह हिन्दू धर्म मर जाये।⁴² 1932 में गांधीजी के जन्म उत्सव सभा में गुरुदेव रवीन्द्र नाथ टैगोर ने कहा था कि महात्मा जी की सबसे बड़ी विजय यह होगी कि हमलोग छुआछूत के अन्याय को सदा के लिए दूर कर सकें।⁴³

पूना समझौता के बाद गांधी जी ने अपना पूरा ध्यान दलितों के उत्थान पर केन्द्रित किया। 30 सितंबर 1932 को 'अखिल भारतीय छुआछूत विरोधी लीग' की स्थापना की गयी। जनवरी 1933 में गांधी जी ने 'हरिजन' का प्रकाशन आरंभ किया। नवंबर 1933 और अगस्त 1934 के बीच हरिजनों के उत्थान के लिए 12,500 मील की 'हरिजन यात्रा' की। गांधी जी के प्रभाव के कारण हरिजनों के उत्थान और अधिकार के लिए केन्द्रीय विधानसभा में 'मंदिर प्रवेश बिल' लाया गया।⁴⁴ 1934 से कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रमों में हरिजन आंदोलन को संगठित किया गया। उन्होंने 'हरिजन सेवक संघ' की स्थापना की और हरिजनों के लिए मंदिर प्रवेश की अगुवाई की।⁴⁵ गांधी जी हृदय परिवर्तन द्वारा दलितों एवं सवर्णों की खाई को पाटना चाहते थे। इसे वे राष्ट्रीय राजनीति की आवश्यकता मानते थे, क्योंकि दोनों के बीच की शत्रुता से स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन प्रभावित होता। भारत राष्ट्र की धारणा को बहुजातीयता के सद्भाव की अंतर्दृष्टि देना गांधी जी की सबसे बड़ी देन है। जाति समर्थ हो, शक्तिशाली हो, इसके लिए आवश्यक था कि वह अपने अंतर्विरोध को दूर करे। गांधी जी ने जातीयता को समाज सुधार की अंतर्वस्तु दी। इस समाज सुधार का मूल उद्देश्य था दलितों का उत्थान और धार्मिक अंधविश्वास को खत्म करना। इसलिए उन्होंने कहा कि मेरे विचार से दलितों के प्रति सवर्णों का व्यवहार उतना ही शैतानियत भरा है, जितना कि ब्रिटेन का हमारे प्रति।⁴⁶

दलितों और सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के भेद का लाभ उठा कर अंग्रेज दलितों को हमारे स्वाधीनता आंदोलन के विरुद्ध इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं।⁴⁷ गांधी जी ने चेतावनी दी कि अपने देश से प्रेम करने वाला कोई भी व्यक्ति अगर अपने देशवासियों को तुच्छ समझ कर अपमान कर रहा है तो वह सर्वमान्य रूप से अपने देश को आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकता और खाई में ढकेल रहा है।⁴⁸ गांधी जी द्वारा किये गये दलित कल्याण कार्यों ने ग्रामीण समाज के निम्नतम और सबसे शोषित वर्ग तक राष्ट्रवाद का संदेश पहुंचाने का कार्य किया और इसमें संदेह नहीं कि देश के अधिकांश भागों में दलित

कांग्रेस के प्रति पारंपरिक निष्ठा की भावना में बंध गये। आजादी के बाद करीब तीन दशक तक यही स्थिति रही। 1980 के दशक में बदले राजनीतिक समीकरण के कारण दलित राजनीति का एक नया रूप खड़ा हुआ, जिसके राजनीतिक 'औजार' दलित बन रहे हैं।

दलित राजनीति (संस्कृतिकरण के जरिए) मिलकर चलने के नरम दावे (ज्योति बा फुले) से चलकर संरक्षण (महात्मा गांधी), प्रशासनिक और सामाजिक समानता के लिए संघर्ष (अम्बेडकर), हिन्दू व्यवस्था के खिलाफ संपूर्ण विद्रोह (पेरियार), जबर्दस्त प्रतिरोध (दलित चीते) और अंत में राजनीतिक दलों की चुनावी राजनीति में पहुंच गयी है। इंडियन लेबर पार्टी, सिड्यूल कास्ट फेडरेशन, रिपब्लिकन पार्टी ऑफ इंडिया और नव अम्बेडारवादी दलितों को प्रशासनिक और सामाजिक श्रेणी के रूप में स्वीकार करते थे, परन्तु आज की राजनीतिक पार्टियां सिर्फ इस बात पर जोर देती हैं कि दलित एक राजनीतिक इकाई है और यहीं से शुरू होता है दलितों के लिए अलगाव और वोट बैंक की राजनीति। आज दलित राजनीतिज्ञों के कृपादृष्टि की राजनीति के शिकार बन रहे हैं। सच्चाई यह है कि इन तमाम अवधारणों के बावजूद आज दलित सामाजिक-आर्थिक न्याय का सौदा करने वाले राजनेताओं के 'हथियार' और उनकी राजनीति के 'औजार' बन रहे हैं। दलित राजनीति का एक मात्र लक्ष्य सत्ता में भागेदारी भर रह गयी है। दलित स्वयं के पुरुषार्थ के बदौलत सत्ता के भागेदार नहीं बन पा रहे हैं या सही अर्थों में कहें तो उन्हें इसके योग्य बनने ही नहीं दिया जा रहा है। उनके वजूद को नकार कर उनके अंदर विकसित की जा रही है अलगाव और कृपादृष्टि की राजनीति, ताकि वे 'अम्बेडकरवादी दलित द्विज' और 'पौराणिक द्विज' की राजनीति के मोहरे बने रहें।

निष्कर्ष

शोषण-उत्पीड़न जितना पुराना है, उतना ही पुराना है उसके खिलाफ संघर्ष। पर लंबे संघर्ष के बाद भी दलितों को आज भी सामाजिक न्याय नहीं मिल पाया। विषमता और सामाजिक अन्याय का मूल कारण प्रभुत्वमूलक सामाजिक-राजनीतिक वर्गों में निहित है। गांधीजी ने कहा था कि जहां अधिकतम केन्द्रीकरण है, वहां न्यूनतम प्रजातंत्र है। दलितों के शोषक आज गैर-दलित ही नहीं हैं। दलितों के नव धनाढ्य वर्ग भी उनके शोषक हो गये हैं। सामाजिक न्याय के नाम पर मिली सुविधाओं का लाभ उठाकर वे हाकिम और नेता बन गये और अपनी ही जाति के शोषक के कतार में खड़े हो गये हैं। इसलिए गांधीजी ने कहा कि समाज वर्गों के अस्तित्व को भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। आज खादी और गादी में बंटे गांधीजी के अनुयायियों को आत्मपरीक्षण करनी चाहिए कि क्यों गांधीजी ने 1947 में कहा था कि यह आजादी वास्तविक और उनकी आजादी नहीं है? दलित समस्या के सवाल के दो रूप हैं। पहली धर्म, समाज और संस्कृति से जुड़ी है और दूसरी राजनीति से जुड़ी है। प्रथम सवाल से जुड़ी समस्याएं उतने

ही प्राचीन है, जितने दलितों का वर्ग। किन्तु राजनीति की समस्या अपेक्षाकृत नवीन है। आज दलितों की धार्मिक समस्या का समाधान हो चुका है और हो रहा है, किन्तु सामाजिक और राजनीतिक समस्याओं का हल होना बाकी है।

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झारखण्ड का जनजातीय ग्राम प्रशासन

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राँची कॉलेज, राँची

सारांश

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय बहुल प्रदेशों में ग्राम-प्रशासन की नींव पंचायतों पर आधारित थी। वस्तुतः पंचायतों द्वारा आपसी विवादों तथा झगड़ों को सुलझाने की परम्परा झारखण्ड में प्राचीन काल से ही चली आ रही थी। जैसे-जैसे कीलियों (संघ) के सदस्यों की संख्या बढ़ती गई वैसे-वैसे नये गाँवों की स्थापना होती गई। प्रारम्भ में इन नये गाँवों के सरना तथा ससान (शव या हाड़ गाड़ने का स्थान) पुराने गाँवों में ही रहते थे, किन्तु बाद में नये गाँवों ने भी अलग सरना तथा ससान स्थापित कर लिये। ये सभी गाँव सामाजिक तथा प्रशासकीय मामलों में एक इकाई के रूप में काम करते रहे। मुण्डा बहुल इलाकों में आपस में सम्बद्ध ये गाँव “पड़हा” कहे जाते थे। संघ में सम्मिलित गाँव के मुखिया में से कोई एक को पड़हा का प्रमुख चुना जाता था जिसे “पड़हा राजा” कहा जाता था। पड़हा संघ में राजा के अतिरिक्त एक कार्यकारिणी समिति होती थी, जिसके सदस्य सभी गाँवों के मुखिया होते थे तथा इस व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत कई पदाधिकारी भी होते थे। पड़हा पंचायत की अधिकार सीमा संघ के क्षेत्र तक सीमित थी तथा पड़हा संघ के गाँवों के बीच के विवादों को सुलझाने तथा जनजातियों के विकास संबंधी क्रिया-कलापों कि देख-रेख करता था। धार्मिक स्थान, धार्मिक कार्यों, सम्पत्ति और विवाद संबंधी मामलों में पड़हा पंचायत द्वारा लिया गया निर्णय अन्तिम होता था। गाँव के पंचायत को हातु पंचायत तथा उसके प्रधान को मुखिया कहा जाता था। वह प्रशासनिक, न्यायिक एवं धार्मिक तीनों विभाग का प्रधान होता था एवं उनमें पंच और पुरोहित दोनों के अधिकार सन्निहित थे। हातु पंचायत के मुखिया को छोटानागपुर खास में “मुण्डा”, सिंहभूम में “मानकी” तथा संथाल परगना में “माँझी” कहा जाता है। कई टोला मिलाकर एक गाँव बनता था। अतः टोला से संबंधित मामलों के निष्पादन के लिये टोला पंचायत का गठन किया जाता था। जिन मामलों का निपटारा टोला पंचायत द्वारा नहीं हो पाता था, उसे ग्राम पंचायत में पेश किया जाता था। जनजातीय ग्रामों में निजी पंचायत बुलाने की परम्परा भी थी। इसके अन्तर्गत वादी-प्रतिवादी अपने पंचों का नाम देता था। दोनों पक्षों के पंच मिलकर एक सरपंच चुन लेते थे और शेष लोग बैठकर फैसला सुनते थे। झारखण्ड में जनजाति की श्रेणी में मुण्डा, उराँव, हो, खड़िया, असुर, बिरहोर, बिरजिया आदि जातियाँ आती हैं। इन सभी जातियों के पंचायत के स्वरूप, सामाजिक तथा धार्मिक रीति-रिवाज भिन्न हैं। अतएव ग्राम-प्रशासन में भी भिन्नता दिखाई पड़ती है।

विशिष्टशब्द - सरना, अखड़ा, ससान, मसना, पट्टी, पड़हा

भूमिका

मुण्डा एवं उराँव झारखण्ड की दो प्रमुख जनजातियाँ हैं जो ईसा से शताब्दियों पहले झारखण्ड में आ बसी थी। निवास की दृष्टि से मुण्डा, उराँवों से वरिष्ठ हैं। झारखण्ड से पूर्व मुण्डा रोहतासगढ़ में रहते थे। खरवारों से पराजित होने के पश्चात् स्थायी निवास स्थल की तलाश में ये झारखण्ड के पठार के पश्चिमोत्तर भाग में पहुँचे। इस भाग में पहले से निवसित असुरों से उनका सामना हुआ। मुण्डाओं ने इस क्षेत्र से असुरों को नेतरहाट की दिशा में खदेड़ कर पूरे क्षेत्र पर अपना अधिकार कर लिया। उन्होंने जंगल काट कर गाँव बसाये। जंगल काटने की एक विधि विकसित थी। प्रत्येक मुण्डा परिवार निकट के जंगल में चार दिशाओं में एक-एक खूँटा गाड़ देते थे। इन खूँटों को मिलाने वाली रेखाएँ उस गाँव की सीमा होती थी। इस क्षेत्र को सर्व-विदित करने के लिए रात्रि में चारो कोनो पर अग्नि प्रज्वलित कर देते थे। इस प्रकार अन्य मुण्डा परिवार गाँव के क्षेत्र से परिचित हो जाते थे तथा क्षेत्र का अतिक्रमण नहीं करते थे। परिवार के प्रमुख के नेतृत्व में जंगल के पेड़ों की कटाई होती थी। यह एक निश्चित योजना के अनुरूप होती थी -

1. **सरना** ¹ : गाँव के लगभग मध्य में 4-5 साल वृक्षों को छोड़कर जंगल की कटाई होती थी। मुण्डा-मान्यता के अनुसार इन वृक्षों पर “हातु-बोंगाकों” का वास रहता था जो महामारी, आपदाएँ एवं अन्य बीमारियों/विनाशकारी शक्तियों को गाँव में

प्रवेश करने नहीं देता था। यह गाँव का रक्षक बोंगा होता था।

2. **अखड़ा** : सरना स्थल के निकट कुछ मैदान जहाँ छायाकार वृक्ष होते थे। यह स्थान गाँव के लोगों के बैठने के लिए होता था जहाँ मुण्डा आपसी विचार विमर्श कर सकते थे। यह पंचायत की बैठक के लिए भी प्रयुक्त होता था। गाँव की युवक-युवतियों के लिए यह नृत्य स्थल का काम करता था। “अखड़ा” गाँव का एक महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक स्थान होता था।

3. **ससान** : गाँव की सीमा पर ससान-स्थल होता था। गाँव के मृतकों की अस्थियाँ, कलश में रख कर यहाँ दफनाई जाती थी। गाँव के लोग एक परिवार के होते थे। गाँव परिवार के किसी व्यक्ति की यदि परदेश में मृत्यु हो जाती थी तो उसकी अस्थियाँ कलश में रख कर गाँव भेज दिया जाता था जिससे गाँव के ससान में कलश को दफनाया जा सकता था।

इनके अतिरिक्त जमीन का उपयोग निवास के लिए तथा खेती किसानों के लिए प्रयुक्त होता था। गाँव की जमीन पर पूरे परिवार या उनकी पुरुष सन्तति का संयुक्त स्वामित्व होता था। गाँव के प्रमुख मुण्डा का पद वंशगत होता था। प्रारम्भ में मुण्डा सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक दोनों दायित्वों का निर्वाह करता था किन्तु कुछ समय पश्चात गाँव में “पाहन” का पद सृजित हुआ जो गाँव के समस्त धार्मिक कार्यों का निर्वाह करता था। गाँव की संरचना में कुछ ऐसे भी लोग आते थे जिन्हें आमंत्रित कर गाँव में बसाया जाता था। ये

लोहार, चरवाहा एवं जुलाहा होते थे। इन्हें आजीविका हेतु कुछ जमीन दे दी जाती थी। जब तक ये गाँव की सेवा में रहते थे, जमीन का उपयोग करते थे। इन्हें गाँव की आवादी में एताहातुरेंको (दूसरे गाँव का) या बाद में प्रजा-होरोको का स्थान प्राप्त था।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। विश्वसनीय ऐतिहासिक आँकड़ों को एकत्रित करने के लिए प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक दोनों प्रकार के स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। प्राथमिक स्रोतों में प्रमुखतः प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों की टिप्पणियाँ तथा गजेटियर आदि का अध्ययन किया गया है। द्वितीयक स्रोतों में मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन को आधार बनाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त साक्षात्कार विधि का भी आश्रय लिया गया है जिसके अन्तर्गत विषय के लब्धप्रतिष्ठ विद्वानों का मार्गदर्शन प्राप्त किया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

समय के साथ गाँव की आबादी में वृद्धि होती गई। परिणाम स्वरूप गाँव से सटा एक दूसरा गाँव विकसित होता गया। यह क्रम चलता रहा। स्थान की कमी थी नहीं अतः नए-नए गाँवों के विकास में कोई बाधा नहीं थी। इस प्रकार प्रायः 10-12 गाँव एक क्रम में विकसित हो जाते थे जो एक मूल के थे, एक रक्त के थे, एक किली के थे। बाहरी लुटेरों या अन्य प्रकार के आक्रमणकारियों से रक्षा के लिए इन गाँवों को एक संगठित शक्ति आवश्यक थी। गाँवों के इस संगठन को पट्टी नाम दिया गया तथा इन गाँवों में जिस गाँव का मुण्डा सबसे अधिक प्रभावी होता था, पट्टी का प्रमुख “मानकी” चुना जाता था। प्रारम्भ में पट्टी एक सैनिक संगठन के समान काम करता था।¹ प्रारम्भ में मानकी का चुनाव होता था, कालान्तर यह वंशगत हो गया था।

असुरों को मार भगाने के पश्चात पठार के पश्चिमोत्तर भाग में मुण्डा भली-भाँति व्यवस्थित हो चले थे कि रोहतासगढ़ से पराजित उरांव लगभग उन्हीं परिस्थितियों में जैसे मुण्डा झारखण्ड में प्रविष्ट हुए थे, उरांव झारखण्ड में प्रविष्ट हुए और उनका सामना मुण्डाओं से हुआ। मुण्डा एवं उरांव परम्परा में, उनमें आपस में युद्ध होने का कोई उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। इसके विपरीत कहा गया है कि मुण्डाओं ने उरांवों का स्वागत किया, उन्हें अपना भोजन कराया जो निकृष्ट स्तर का था, और जिसे खाकर मुण्डाओं के सम्पर्क से उरांव अपने सामाजिक जीवन स्तर पर नीचे आ गए थे। मुण्डाओं का कहना था कि उन्होंने अपना तत्कालीन मुण्डा देश उरांवों को सशर्त दिया था।³ वैसे विद्वानों का मानना है कि बहुसंख्यक एवं उन्नत तकनीक से सम्पन्न उरांवों से समझौता कर मुण्डाओं ने अच्छी सूझ-बूझ का परिचय दिया था। मुण्डा एवं उरांवों के बीच हेल-मेल ने झारखण्ड के इतिहास को एक अच्छी सीमा तक प्रभावित किया था।

मुण्डाओं द्वारा निवसित क्षेत्र को सम्हालना उरांवों की शक्ति के बाहर था। सरना स्थल के हातु बोंगा के अतिरिक्त और भी बोंगा थे जिनकी जानकारी उरांवों को नहीं थी। यह भी ज्ञान नहीं था कि उन बोंगाओं को कैसे तुष्ट किया जाता था। अतः उरांवों ने कुछ मुण्डा परिवारों को रोक लिया था। अब भी उरांव गाँवों के बीच कुछ मुण्डा परिवार पाये जाते हैं।

बहु संख्यक उरांवों के लिए मुण्डाओं द्वारा समर्पित जमीन कम पड़ती थी। अतः उरांव परिवारों ने जंगल काट कर गाँव बसाए और मुण्डा गाँवों के समान गाँव के बीच सरना स्थलस्वरूप 4-5 साल वृक्ष छोड़ देते थे। उरांवों ने भी अखड़ा बनाए तथा मृतकों की अस्थि दफन के लिए गाँव की सीमा पर ससान के लिए स्थान छोड़ा। उरांवों के ग्राम प्रमुख महतो कहलाए तथा 10-12 गाँवों का संगठित संघ पड़हा कहलाया तथा पड़हा प्रमुख, पड़हा राजा कहलाया। मुण्डा एवं उरांवों के बीच संगठन एवं प्रशासन में अद्भुत एकरूपता पाई जाती है। ग्राम पंचायत एवं पट्टी या पड़हा के अधिकार एवं कर्तव्य लगभग एक समान है। मुण्डा एवं उरांवों का यह संघीय संगठन पूरी तरह समान है। यद्यपि उरांवों के इस संघीय संगठन पड़हा के साथ “राजा” शब्द जुड़ा हुआ है किन्तु पड़हा प्रमुख में कहीं भी राजस तत्त्व दिखलाई नहीं पड़ता। पड़हा की प्रशासन प्रणाली पंचायती या जनतांत्रिक है। झारखण्ड में जनजातीय प्रशासन प्रणाली निम्नलिखित स्तरों से विकसित हुई है-

(क) मुण्डा : ग्राम-प्रशासन की बुनियादी ईकाई,

(ख) ग्राम-पंचायत

(ग) पट्टी/पड़हा प्रशासन

(घ) अन्तर्पड़हा-सम्मेलन

(क) मुण्डा : ग्राम-प्रशासन की बुनियादी ईकाई

मुण्डा, ग्राम-प्रशासन की बुनियादी ईकाई होता था। गाँव के विकास के प्रारम्भिक चरण में उस परिवार का वरिष्ठ सदस्य, जिसके निर्देशन में जंगल की कटाई एवं सफाई का काम हुआ था, सरना अखड़ा एवं मसना आदि के स्थान निश्चित हुए थे, रहने के लिए मकान एवं कृषि के लिए खेत विकसित हुए थे, वह गाँव में ग्राम-प्रमुख के रूप में व्यवस्थित था। गाँव के लोग उसकी आज्ञाओं का पालन करते थे। गाँव के युवकों के विवाह के लिए दूसरे गाँव की युवतियों को जो दूसरे गाँव एवं किली की होती थी, पसंद किया जाता था। लुटेरों द्वारा आक्रमण किये जाने की स्थिति में गाँव के सभी लोग, स्त्रियाँ भी हथियार लेकर उसके नेतृत्व में खड़े हो जाते थे और लुटेरों को मार भगाते थे। उस समय वह एक छोटी मोटी सेना के प्रधान के रूप में दिखलाई पड़ता था। गाँव की सभी समस्याओं एवं विवादों का समाधान निकालने वाला गाँव प्रमुख ही होता था जो आगे चल कर गाँव का “मुण्डा” कहलाया।

मुण्डा की मृत्यु के उपरान्त उसका ज्येष्ठ पुत्र पूरे गाँव द्वारा गाँव के

मुण्डा के रूप में स्वीकारा गया।⁴ गाँव के लोगों ने उसकी आज्ञाओं के पालन का वचन दिया। “मुण्डा” एक पद है। व्यक्ति आते हैं और चले जाते हैं किन्तु पद बना रहता है। नया मुण्डा प्रायः अपने पूर्व मुण्डा के अधूरे कार्यक्रमों को पूरा करने का प्रयास करता है। मुण्डा “धर्म” सहित सभी कार्यों का निर्वाह करते थे। अतः मुण्डा पर कार्य भार अधिक था। गाँव वालों ने विचार कर मुण्डा को धार्मिक कार्यों से मुक्त कर एक पाहन का चुनाव किया।⁵ पाहन का चुनाव धरमेस की सहमति से “लोढ़ा चालन” विधि से किया गया। अतः गाँव वालों ने पाहन को श्रद्धापूर्वक गाँव के धर्म प्रमुख के रूप में स्वीकारा। पाहन गाँव के सभी धार्मिक कार्यों का निष्पादन करता था। धर्म सम्बन्धी यदि कोई विवाद उठता था तो पाहन का निर्णय अन्तिम माना जाता था। गाँव में मुण्डा के पश्चात् पाहन का महत्त्व था।

मुण्डा एवं पंच : गाँव में पाहन के प्रतिष्ठित हो जाने के कारण मुण्डा पर कार्य-भार का दबाव कुछ कम हो गया था, किन्तु गाँव की बढ़ती हुई आबादी गाँव का बाहरी लोगों के सम्पर्क में आना, जमीन सम्बन्धी विवाद आदि विभिन्न समस्याओं के समाधान का दायित्व मुण्डा को उठाना पड़ता था। यदि मुण्डा कुछ कम आयु का होता था तथा गाँव की प्रथाओं एवं परम्पराओं से पूरी तरह अवगत नहीं होता था तो उसे गाँव के वरिष्ठ लोगों से विचार-विमर्श करना पड़ता था। यही नहीं जब उसके सम्मुख जमीन की हकदारी सम्बन्धी विवाद आता था तो मुण्डा द्वारा दिए गए निर्णय से कोई पक्ष असंतुष्ट होता था तो दबी जुबान पक्षपात एवं अन्याय का आरोप लगाता था। इस परिस्थिति का सामना करने के लिए मुण्डा ने वरिष्ठों का सहयोग लेना आवश्यक समझा। अतः जब कभी विवाद की सुनवाई होती थी, उस दिन मुण्डा गाँव के 2-3 वरिष्ठों को अखड़ा पर बुला लेता था और वादी-प्रतिवादी द्वारा अपना-अपना पक्ष मुण्डा के सम्मुख रखता था। अपना निर्णय देने के पूर्व मुण्डा साथ में बैठे सहयोगियों का विचार ले लेते थे। इससे असंतुष्ट लोग मुण्डा के विरुद्ध कुछ बोल नहीं पाते थे।

गाँव के हित में यह एक उपयोगी चरण था। क्रमशः मुण्डा के सहयोगियों की संख्या में वृद्धि की गई जिससे मुण्डा के न्याय में सूक्ष्मता सच्चाई आ सके। इन सहयोगियों की संख्या चार तक पहुँच गई। ये न केवल जमीन के मुकदमों की सुनवाई करते थे, अपितु जाति के परम्परागत नियमों को तोड़ने वालों को भी अपने घेरे में ले लेते थे तथा उसके अपराध के अनुपात में उसे दण्ड देते थे। मुण्डा के सहयोगियों का बदलाव नहीं होता था। यदि कोई विशेष घटना न घटी, कोई अप्रत्याशित परिस्थिति में आई तो, सहयोगियों की सदस्यता मृत्यु पर्यन्त बनी रहती थी। मुण्डा एवं सहयोगियों का यह संगठन गाँव की एक प्रभावशाली संस्था बन चुकी थी, जिसे “ग्राम-पंचायत” कहा गया। प्रस्तुत मुण्डा गाँव में विकसित यह जनजातीय संगठन मुण्डाओं का अपना संगठन था।⁶

वस्तुतः मुण्डा अपने गाँव पर पूरी तरह छाया रहता था।

जनजातीय प्रशासन प्रणाली मुण्डा से प्रारम्भ होकर पट्टी/पड़हा पंच तक विस्तृत था। इसीलिए जनजातीय प्रशासन प्रणाली की बुनियादी ईकाई “मुण्डा” को माना गया है। मुण्डा का अपने गाँव पर पूरा नियंत्रण होता है। कहावत प्रसिद्ध है -

“ मुण्डा गाँव चलाता है।”

(ख) ग्राम-पंचायत

जनजातीय प्रशासन में “ग्राम-पंचायत” का केन्द्रीय महत्त्व है। ग्राम पंचायत की भूमिका मुण्डा या महतो प्रशासनिक काल में तैयार हो चुकी थी जब इन ग्राम प्रमुखों ने अपनी सहायता के लिए गाँव के कुछ वरिष्ठ लोगों को आमंत्रित किया था। भूमि या अन्य विवादों या विभिन्न समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए इन वरिष्ठों का सुझाव परम्परा एवं प्रथाओं के अनुकूल होता था, जिससे गाँव के लोग संतुष्ट रहते थे। मुण्डा के साथ गाँव के इन वरिष्ठों का सहयोग स्थिर होकर एक संस्था का रूप ले चुकता था। जो गाँव का पंचायत कहलाया। गाँव के आन्तरिक प्रशासन को बनाए रखने के लिए गाँव के पंच मुण्डा की सहायता करते हैं।⁸

मुण्डाओं ही के समान उरांव गाँवों में भी ग्राम-प्रमुख महतो की भूमिका होती थी। यद्यपि उरांवों के झारखण्ड प्रवेश के उपरान्त मुण्डा पठार का पश्चिमोत्तर भाग उरांवों को सौंप कर स्वयं दक्षिण-पूर्वी भाग में आ बसे थे। उरांवों पर मुण्डाओं की जीवन शैली तथा विभिन्न संस्थाओं का कुछ प्रभाव पड़ा था। और उरांवों की ग्राम पंचायत और उसकी कार्य-शैली लगभग मुण्डाओं जैसी थी। मुण्डाओं जैसी कहावत उरांवों में प्रचलित है-

“पाहन गाँव बनाता है महतो गाँव चलाता है।”

इस प्रकार झारखण्ड के प्रशासन में “ग्राम पंचायत” का बुनियादी महत्त्व रहा है जिसे आधार मानकर झारखण्ड का प्रशासनिक भवन खड़ा है। ग्राम पंचायत गाँव की उन सभी विवादों तथा समस्याओं का निदान करता था जो उसके सम्मुख रखा जाता था। अधिकांश विवाद निम्नलिखित विषयों से सम्बन्धित होते थे -

1. पारिवारिक सम्पत्ति का विभाजन सम्बन्धी विवाद।
2. विवाह सम्बन्धी विवाद।
3. डायन सम्बन्धी विवाद।
4. चोरी, डकैती सम्बन्धी विवाद।
5. आपसी मार-पीट।
6. अन्य।

कार्य-विधि : दुखी व्यक्ति अपनी पीड़ा ग्राम-प्रमुख या पाहन या किसी पंच के सम्मुख रखता है और न्याय की फरियाद करता है। उसकी समस्या ग्राम-प्रमुख तक पहुँचती है, जो एक दिन निश्चित करता है। उस दिन पंचायत के सभी सदस्य मुकदमा के वादी-प्रतिवादी तथा सम्बन्धित गवाह अखड़ा में पहुँचते हैं। सभी के आ जाने के उपरान्त, पंचायत-प्रधान विवाद का विषय पंचों के सम्मुख रखते हैं। दोनों पक्षों से पूछ-ताछ होती है। गवाहों के

बयान सुने जाते हैं। वैसे यद्यपि पंचायत के सदस्य गाँव के ही सदस्य होते हैं और वे विषय से पूर्व-परिचित होते हैं फिर भी उन्हें मुकदमा और गवाहों से और भी जानकारी मिलती है। पंचों के आपसी विचार-विमर्श के पश्चात् पंच-प्रमुख फैसला सुनाता है। असंतुष्ट पक्ष, अपना विवाद पड़हा पंच तक ले जा सकता है। गाँव की प्रथाएं एवं परम्पराएं उस कानून का काम करती हैं जिनसे ग्राम-पंचायत निर्देशित होती थी।

अपराध एवं दण्ड : जनजातीय समाज में कतिपय अपराधों के लिए, परम्परा से एक निश्चित प्रकार का “दण्ड” निर्धारित है, जैसे -

डाइन : गाँव में जादू-टोना द्वारा हानि पहुँचाना एक गंभीर अपराध माना गया। कभी-कभी ओझा, माती या सोखा जब किसी मृत्यु या कोई विनाशकारी घटना के कारणों की खोज करने के क्रम में किसी घर की या व्यक्ति की ओर संकेत करते हैं, वह “डायन” घोषित कर दी जाती है। इसके पूर्व कि वह गाँव त्यागकर किसी सुरक्षित स्थान में जा सके गाँव के लोग उसे मारते-मारते मार डालते हैं। यदि यह मुकदमा के रूप में पंचायत में पहुँचता है तो उस ओझा को पंचायत के सम्मुख अपना बयान दुहराना पड़ता था। पंचायत उसे गाँव निष्कासन की सजा देती थी। जनजातीय जीवन अंधविश्वास से पूरी तरह ग्रस्त था। डाइन का धब्बा लग जाने से किसी गाँव में उसे घुसने नहीं दिया जाता था।

जैसे को तैसा : जनजातीय प्रशासन के अन्तर्गत ग्राम-पंचायतों में यह परम्परा चल पड़ी थी कि “जो जैसा करे वह वैसा भरे” जनजातियों में इसे “प्रकृति-न्याय” कहा गया है। यदि किसी की हत्या हो गई है, मार-पीट में हाथ टूट गया है, पैर टूट गया है या अन्य कोई क्षति पहुँची है तो प्रकृति न्याय के अनुसार - हत्यारे को मृतक के परिवार को या निकट के भैयादों को सौंप दिया जाता है कि हत्यारे को मारते-मारते मार डाले। यह हुआ प्रकृति न्याय, हत्या के बदले हत्या।⁹ इसी प्रकार जिस व्यक्ति का पैर टूटा है, या हाथ टूटा है उसके अपराधी को पंचायत उस घायल व्यक्ति के भैयादों को सौंप देती है कि अपराधियों को उसी प्रकार पैर, हाथ तोड़ कर लंगड़ा, लूला बना दें। इनके अतिरिक्त पंचों के सम्मुख चोरी की शिकायत बहुतायत से आती है। व्यभिचार की भी घटनाएं ग्रामीणों द्वारा पकड़ी जाती है और पंचायत के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत की जाती है। पंचायत के सम्मुख रखने के पहले गाँव वाले इनकी जमकर धुलाई कर देते हैं और यदि पुरुष दूसरे गाँव का होता था तो पिटाई और गंभीर हो जाती है। पंचायत इन पर अर्थ-दंड लगाती है।

पंचायत के सम्मुख संविदा भंग करने के विवाद भी सुनवाई के लिए आते हैं। जनजातीय जीवन में लेन-देन के जो शर्त निश्चित है उसके तोड़ने की शिकायतें आती थी। जनजातीय समाज में लिखा-पढ़ी का कोई प्रचलन नहीं था। चार ग्रामीणों के सम्मुख लेन-देन होता था और कुछ ग्रामीण इसके गवाह होते थे। किसी

ग्रामीण ने अपनी जमीन बिक्री की। खेत के निकट गवाह आदि सब एकत्रित होते थे। भू-स्वामी सम्बन्धित जमीन से एक मुट्टी मिट्टी उठाकर जमीन के खरीदार को यह मिट्टी दे देता था। इस प्रकार चार ग्रामीणों के सम्मुख निश्चित जमीन का टुकड़ा बिक गया। ऐसी ही सांकेतिक विधि से गाँवों के बैल बिकते थे। जब बैल के स्वामी बैल का पगहा चार ग्रामीणों के सम्मुख खरीदने वाले के हाथ में थमा देता था। वधू-मूल्य का प्रचलन पूरे जनजाति समाज में है। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं लगाया जाता था कि पिता ने कन्या को बेचा, किन्तु विवाहित कन्या जब, किसी कारण से, पति का घर छोड़कर वापस पिता के घर जाती थी। इस विवाद में ग्राम पंचायत का सीधा फैसला होता था कि पिता लड़का पक्ष को वधू-मूल्य वापस करना पड़ता था। डा. ललिता प्रसाद विद्यार्थी के अनुसार ग्राम पंचायतों के सम्मुख मुख्यतः निम्नलिखित प्रकार के विवाद आते हैं- ऋण अस्वीकारना, व्यभिचार, चोरी, डायन, जादू-टोना।¹⁰

शपथ एवं परीक्षण : मुण्डा एवं उरांव समाज में विवाद का “सच” और वास्तविक अपराधी का पता लगाने के लिए परम्परा से कुछ विधियाँ चली आ रही थी जिनमें शपथ और कतिपय परीक्षणों का सुझाव दिया गया था। ग्राम पंचायतों ने इनका उपयोग किया। सब कुछ समान रहते हुए अर्थात् एक भाव रहते हुए भी नाम का अन्तर था, एक मुण्डारी भाषा में और वही उरांव समाज में कुडुख भाषा में प्रचारित था। अपराधी का पता लगाने के लिए उरांव समाज में गोबर युक्त जल पूरी तरह उबाला जाता था तदनंतर आरोपित अपराधी से कहा जाता था कि वह अपना हाथ उबलते पानी में डाले। यदि अपराधी का हाथ नहीं जला तो मान लिया जाता था कि वह अपराधी नहीं है, यदि जल गया तो अपराधी है।

मुण्डाओं के “लोलो-दा”¹¹ के अन्तर्गत एक खुले मुंह के बर्तन की तह में ताम्बे का एक सिक्का रख कर पानी पूरी तरह उबाल दिया जाता था और आरोपी अपराधी को सिक्का निकालने के लिए कहा जाता था। यदि बिना जले सिक्का निकाल लिया तो निर्दोष अन्यथा दोषी। उरांव एवं मुण्डा के इस परीक्षण का भाव एवं विधि लगभग समान थे। अन्तर गोबर के पानी एवं सिक्का का था।

शपथ का स्वरूप सिंहबोंगा या धरमेस को साक्षी मानकर विकसित होता था। पंचों के सामने आरोपित अपराधी अपने सिर पर कुछ गोबर, थोड़ा धान, कुछ मिट्टी रखकर शपथ लेता था। बीच-बीच में पंच इसे डराते रहते थे और कभी-कभी ऐसा हुआ था कि शपथ क्रम में अपराधी, अपना अपराध स्वीकार कर लेता था। सिर पर रखे गये धान, गोबर एवं मिट्टी क्रमशः खेती, पशु धन और भूमि के प्रतीक थे। झूठा शपथ लेने से इन वस्तुओं का विनाश निश्चित माना जाता था। वस्तुतः मुण्डा एवं उरांव जिस मानसिक स्तर के थे, उनके लिए शपथ एवं परीक्षण प्रभावी रूप से काम करता था। कभी-कभी परीक्षण घातक सिद्ध होता था, कभी यह भी होता था

कि अपराधी अपने को ग्राम-पंचायत से बचा लेता था। किन्तु गाँव में रहते-रहते कुछ समय बाद उसका पाप उसके सिर चढ़ कर बोलने लगता था।

जनजातीय प्रशासन में “ग्राम-पंचायत” का सर्वाधिक महत्त्व है। यह अधिकारिक रूप से गाँव में शान्ति व्यवस्था बनाए रखने में सफल होती थी। गाँव शान्त रहता था तो देश शान्त रहता था। चूँकि प्रायः गाँव के सभी घर एव निवासी एक किली या गोत्र के होते थे अतः उनके बीच आपसी भाई-चारा अत्यन्त गहन होता था। पंच एवं ग्राम-प्रमुख इसी भाई-चारा के एक अंग होते थे, अतः गाँव के लोगों ने ग्राम-पंचायत को कभी भी एक प्रशासन के रूप में अनुभव नहीं किया था। जनजातीय प्रशासन के संगठन में ग्राम-पंचायत को आधार की पहली सीढ़ी माना जाना चाहिए।

(ग) पट्टी/पड़हा प्रशासन

जनजातीय प्रशासन में पट्टी/पड़हा संघ सर्वोच्च स्थान रखता है। नागपुर के राज्य के उदय में शताब्दियों पहले से यह संघ कार्यरत रहे थे। नागपुर के राजा ने इस संगठन को पसन्द किया। उन्हें एक बना-बनाया राजनीतिक संगठन मिल गया जिससे क्षेत्र से लगान की वसूली में सुविधा थी। राजा ने पड़हा को “पट्टी” और मानकी को “भुईहर” नाम दिया था।¹² वस्तुतः झारखण्ड में भुईहर वे लोग कहलाते हैं जो यहां के मूल निवासी थे, अर्थात् जिनके पूर्वजों ने जंगल काट कर जमीन निकाले थे, गाँव बसाये थे। नागपुर के राजा के इस सुझाव का क्या उद्देश्य था, स्पष्ट नहीं हो सका। किन्तु मुण्डा जो अपनी परम्परा के प्रति रूढ़ विचार रखते हैं, किसी परिवर्तन को स्वीकारने को तैयार नहीं थे। उन्होंने गाँवों के संघ “पट्टी” तथा पट्टी प्रधान को “मानकी” नाम से ही स्वीकारा था।

भुइंहरी पट्टी एवं मानकी पट्टी के बीच एक मौलिक भेद था। भुइंहरी पट्टी के सभी सदस्य एक ही गाँव एवं किली के होते थे, इसके विपरीत मानकी पट्टी के गाँवों में भिन्न किली के लोग भी निवसित होते थे। मुण्डारी पट्टी में, सदस्यों के बीच घनिष्ठ भाई-चारा होता था जबकि दूसरे पट्टी में भाई-चारा औपचारिक स्तर का होता था। ऐसे गाँवों में गाँव के लोग अपने सम्बन्धियों को आमंत्रित कर बसाया था। इन नए बसने वालों में दामाद भी हुआ करते थे जो निश्चित रूप से दूसरी किली के होते थे। भुइंहरी पड़हा की पंचायत के पदाधिकारी स्थायी होते थे तथा उनका पद भी वंशगत होता था, जैसे पंचायत का प्रमुख पड़हा राजा का पद पैतृक होता था। पड़हा राजा की मृत्यु पर उसका ज्येष्ठ पुत्र पड़हा राजा के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित होता था। इसी प्रकार पंचायत के अन्य पदाधिकारी दीवान, कोतवाल, पाण्डे आदि का पद भी पैतृक होता था। यहां तक कि ये पदाधिकारी जिस गाँव के निवासी होते थे, उस गाँव की पहचान पंचायत के पदाधिकारी के नाम पर होती थी। उदाहरण स्वरूप जिस गाँव का पड़हा राजा होता था वह गाँव राजा गाँव कहलाता था, इसी प्रकार दीवान गाँव, कोतवाल गाँव, पाण्डे गाँव आदि गाँव होते थे। इस प्रकार भुइंहरी क्षेत्र की पड़हा-

पंचायत एक स्थायी संस्था होती थी। भुइंहरी क्षेत्र के विपरीत मुण्डाओं के खूंटकट्टी क्षेत्र की पड़हा-पंचायत एवं इसके पदाधिकारी अस्थायी होते थे फिर भी इनके क्रिया-कलापों में कोई अन्तर नहीं आता था। क्षेत्र में पड़हा-पंच का दब-दबा बना रहता था।

जनजातियों में उरांव जनजाति ही ऐसी थी जिसने पहली बार “राजा” शब्द का प्रयोग किया और पड़हा-प्रमुख को पड़हा राजा कहा तथा उसके राज-दरवार को एक राजा के समान सजाया। यदि पड़हा संघ के बाहर गाँव सदस्य हैं तो प्रत्येक गाँव-प्रमुख पड़हा-परिषद के पदेन सदस्य होते थे। परिषद के ये सदस्य राज दरबार के समान कोई न कोई पदधारी होते थे। इन सदस्यों में दीवान (प्रधान मंत्री), पाण्डे (लेखक या क्लर्क), कोतवाल (पुलिस प्रधान) भुइंहरी क्षेत्र के पड़हाओं के सदस्य-गाँव किसी न किसी पद का प्रतिनिधित्व करते थे। जो गाँव पद-रहित होते थे उन्हें “प्रजा-गाँव” कहा जाता था। पड़हा के संघीय संगठन का स्वरूप; जनजातीय दृष्टि से कुछ उन्नत राजनीतिक सोच का प्रतिफल था।

कार्य-विषय : पड़हा पंच का कार्य-क्षेत्र विस्तृत था। सदस्य गाँवों में कोई भी घटना हो जाती थी या कोई सदस्य गाँव किसी बाहरी तत्व से आक्रान्त होता था, पड़हा-पंच उसके उद्धार के लिये वहां अपनी पूरी शक्ति के साथ पहुंच जाते थे। इन सामान्य कार्यों के अतिरिक्त पड़हा-पंच के प्रमुख कार्य-विषय निम्नलिखित थे -

1. ग्राम-पंचायत के निर्णय से असंतुष्ट ग्रामीण पुनर्न्याय के लिए पड़हा-पंच की शरण लेते थे।
2. ग्राम-पंचायतें जिन विवादों का निर्णय नहीं कर पाती थीं उन्हें सुलझाने के लिए पड़हा-पंच को प्रेषित कर देती थीं।
3. पड़हा अन्तर्गत गाँवों का आपसी सीमा सम्बन्धी विवाद प्रायः पड़हा-पंच के सम्मुख आता था।
4. सामाजिक जीवन एवं परम्परा को भंग करने वाले अपराध जब कोई मुण्डा या उरांव कन्या किसी समाज के बाहर के पुरुष से यौन सम्बन्ध स्थापित करती थी तो वह समाज का नियम तोड़ती थी, इसी प्रकार कोई जनजातीय युवक समाज से बाहर की कन्या से विवाह करता था, वह भी दोषी माना जाता था।
5. व्यभिचार।
6. ऐसे विवाद जिसमें दो या पड़हा के अधिक गाँव संलिप्त होते थे अथवा दूसरे गाँव के लोग भी संलिप्त होते थे।
7. सम्पत्ति का उत्तराधिकार, बटवारा और सीमा निर्धारण।
8. डायन एवं जादू-टोना करने वाले, सोखा, माती द्वारा घोषित।
9. अन्य।

पड़हा-पंच का कार्य-विषय का क्षेत्र अत्यन्त विस्तृत था। पड़हा-

सीमान्तर्गत जो भी विवाद, मारपीट या अन्य घटना घटती थी या कहीं अनुशासन तोड़ा जाता था पड़हा राजा के आदमी कोतवार के साथ वहां पहुंच जाते थे तथा दोनों पक्षों को त्वरित पंचायत बुलाकर उसके विवाद का कारण सुनते थे और दोषी को दण्डित करते थे। पड़हा क्षेत्र में शान्ति एवं व्यवस्था बनाए रखने का दायित्व पड़हा-पंच का होता था, साथ ही साथ उस गाँव के पंच की भी जिम्मेदारी होती थी जिस गाँव में घटना घटी थी।

कार्य-विधि : पड़हा-पंचायत की कार्य-विधि अत्यन्त सरल थी। पीड़ित मुण्डा या उरांव पड़हा प्रमुख के सम्मुख अपनी पीड़ा रखते थे। सुविधानुसार दीवान या करतहा के सम्मुख भी अपनी पीड़ा रखी जा सकती थी जो पुनः इसे पड़हा प्रमुख के पास पहुंचा देते थे। पड़हा प्रमुख अपने में विचार कर एक दिन निश्चित करते थे। उस दिन वे सभी सदस्यों को उस गाँव की अखड़ा में उपस्थित होने को कहते थे जिसके ऊपर दोष आरोपित होते थे। पड़हा का पाण्डे सूचना देने का काम करता था। दोषारोपित को आगत पंचों के प्रायः स्वागत करने का दायित्व उठाना पड़ता था। कोतवाल ने एक सफेद चादर बिछा दिया जिस पर पड़हा प्रमुख आसीन हुए। उन्होंने उपस्थित पंचों एवं अन्य लोगों के सम्मुख विवाद का सविस्तर वर्णन किया और प्रार्थी से कहा कि तुम पंचों के समक्ष अपनी पीड़ा प्रस्तुत करो तथा अपने कथन के समर्थन में जो गवाह तुम्हारे पास हैं उन्हें भी सामने लाओ।

प्रार्थी द्वारा पंचों के सम्मुख अपना पक्ष एवं अपने कथन के समर्थन गवाहों को प्रस्तुत करने के उपरान्त दोषारोपित व्यक्ति की बारी आई। पंचों के सम्मुख उसने अपना बयान रखा तथा गवाहों को भी पेश किया। पंचों ने आवश्यकानुसार दोनों पक्षों से कुछ प्रश्न किया, पूछ-ताछ की। अन्ततः पंचों ने किनारे हट कर आपस में विचार-विमर्श किया और पड़हा प्रमुख ने खड़ा होकर अपना फैसला सुना दिया और यदि अपराध छोटा है तो दोषी पाए गए व्यक्ति को अर्थ दण्ड दिया जाता था जिसे कोतवाल वसूलता था और जिसे पंचों एवं अन्य माननीय उपस्थित लोगों के खान-पान पर खर्च किया जाता था।

काटा-तोपना या खेद्दान-सजा : जनजातीय प्रशासन के आन्तरिक पड़हा पंच को सर्वाधिक शिकायत दो गाँवों के बीच सीमा विवाद को लेकर आता था। कभी-कभी एक पड़हा के सीमान्त गाँव एवं दूसरे पड़हा के सीमान्त गाँव के बीच भी विवाद खड़ा हो जाता था और आपस में युद्ध की स्थिती आ जाती थी। दो पड़हाओं के बीच का विवाद पड़हा-सम्मेलन का विषय होता था किन्तु पड़हाधीन गाँव के सीमा-विवाद पड़हा पंच का विषय होता था। पड़हा पंच द्वारा किए गए जब सारे प्रयास निष्फल हो जाते थे तो पंच “गोड़-गाड़ी” का परीक्षण करते थे जिसे मुण्डा क्षेत्र में “काटा-तोपना” और उरांव क्षेत्र में “खेद्दान-सजा” कहा जाता था।

इस परीक्षण के अनुसार दोनों पक्षों द्वारा जिस सीमा का दावा किया गया था, उन सीमाओं पर आदमी के घुटने की लम्बाई तक

गड़्हा खोद दिया जाता था। दोनों पक्षों से एक-एक प्रतिनिधि इस परीक्षण के लिए भेजा जाता था जो अधिक सहनशील होता था। जिस सीमा पर उसके पक्ष के लोगों का दावा था उस गड़्हे में वे अपना पैर डालते थे। यह गहराई घुटने तक होती थी। गड़्हा पीसे गए अरवा चावल के आटे से भर दिया जाता था। मुण्डाओं के अनुभव के अनुसार कुछ समय पश्चात दीमक चावल-पाउडर को चाटते हुए पैर तक पहुंच जाते थे और पैर को शनैः शनैः चाटने लगते थे और इस प्रकार कष्ट असहनीय होने लगता था। अपने-अपने पक्ष के प्रतिनिधि को उत्साहित किया जाता था। पैर की पीड़ा असहनीय होने पर भी वे इसलिए सहन करते जा रहे थे कि प्रतिद्वन्दी, अब गिरा, तब गिरा। इसी प्रतिस्पर्धा में कुछ समय और बीता कि एक प्रतिद्वन्दी गिर पड़ा। फैसला हो गया। यह फैसला सभी के सामने हुआ था। अतः पराजित पक्ष ने स्वतः अपना दावा वापस ले लिया। प्रतीत होता है कि इस परीक्षण की अवधारणा मुण्डा क्षेत्र में विकसित हुई थी।¹³ मुण्डाओं ने इसे “काटा-तोपना” नाम दिया। परीक्षण की उपयोगिता देखकर उरांवों ने इसे अपनाया एवं “खेद्दान सजा” नाम दिया। चूंकि मुण्डा एवं उरांव दोनों क्षेत्रों में हिन्दुओं का निवास था और यह प्रति-स्पर्धा खुले मैदान में होती थी, अतः इसका आनन्द लेने हिन्दू भी पहुंच जाते थे। उन्होंने इस प्रतिस्पर्धा का नाम “गोड़-गाड़ी” रखा था।

प्रथा एवं कानून : हत्या से लेकर बड़े-छोटे सभी प्रकार के विवाद पड़हा की सुनवाई के लिए आते थे, यद्यपि अधिकांश विवाद ग्राम-पंचायत स्तर पर सुलझा लिए जाते थे। ग्राम पंचायतों के समान पड़हा भी सही, दोषी या अपराधी का पता लगाने के लिए शपथ एवं विभिन्न परीक्षणों का उपयोग करता था। परम्परा से चले आ रहे ये परीक्षण अंधविश्वास पर आधारित होते थे, जो कभी-कभी घातक भी सिद्ध होते थे। इनके अतिरिक्त परम्परा से कुछ चली आ रही प्रथाएं थी जो जनजातियों के बीच मान्य कानून के रूप में प्रचलित थीं। ये प्रथाएं विशेषकर सामाजिक प्रचलनों की संरक्षिका होती थी। जाति में किन्तु किली या गोत्र के बाहर विवाह, यह प्रथानुकूल था। उस समय के समाज में इस प्रथा को तोड़ना सामाजिक अपराध था और पंचायत ऐसे व्यक्ति को गाँव समाज से निष्कासित कर देता था। कभी-कभी अपराधी पंचों के सम्मुख क्षमा याचना करता था और उसके माता-पिता एवं गाँव के लोग उसे क्षमा करने को तैयार रहते थे, तो उसे एक भात-भोज का दण्ड सहना पड़ता था, तथा विरादरी के साथ पंक्ति में बैठ कर भात खा लेने से उसका समाज में पुनर्प्रवेश मान लिया जाता था।

सम्पत्ति के बँटवारे के विषय में जनजातीय प्रथाएँ स्पष्ट थीं। उरांव समाज में पहली पत्नी के पुत्रों को उसकी दूसरी पत्नी के पुत्रों से, सम्पत्ति में कुछ अधिक अंश दिया जाता था।¹⁴ मुण्डा एवं उरांव दोनों समाजों में अन्य पुत्रों की तुलना में ज्येष्ठ पुत्र को कुछ अधिक भाग दिया जाता था। अविवाहित पुत्र को सामान्य अंश से इतना आवश्यक रूप से अधिक दिया जाता था कि वह विवाह के लिए वधू मूल्य दे सके। अचल पैतृक सम्पत्ति में कन्या को किसी

प्रकार का अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं है यद्यपि चल सम्पत्ति में पिता कन्या को इच्छानुसार धन देता था। कन्या इसके लिए पिता को बाध्य नहीं कर सकती थी। यह पूरी तरह पिता की इच्छा पर निर्भर करता था, यद्यपि परोक्ष रूप से कन्या के पक्ष में पिता पर समाज का दबाव बना रहता था।

पड़हा का प्रभावी स्वरूप : पड़हा न केवल न्यायिक स्वरूप पाता था अपितु उसका प्रशासनिक स्वरूप था जिसका उपयोग वह अपने द्वारा दिए गए फैसले को प्रभावित करता था। प्रशासन का यह एक आवश्यक पक्ष था। उस फैसले की क्या उपयोगिता यदि वह प्रभावी न की जा सके। इस दृष्टि से पड़हा के अधिकारी एवं गाँव के लोग बहुत गंभीर रहते थे। पहला कदम यह होता था कि पड़हा के लोग उसका सामाजिक बहिष्कार करते थे। गाँव के किसी कार्य-क्रम में उसके परिवार को सम्मिलित नहीं किया जाता था। उसे अपनी कन्या के लिए वर नहीं मिलता था तथा पुत्रों के लिए कोई उसको कन्या नहीं देता था। पुनः पड़हा के सिपाही कोतवाल के नेतृत्व में उसे सजा देते थे। यदि अर्थदण्ड की सजा होती थी तो कोतवाल उसे जुर्माना भरने को विवश कर देता था। प्रायः अर्थ दण्ड का उपयोग सामूहिक भोज-भात अर्थात् खाने-पीने में होता था। यदि किसी ने बलात् किसी का पशु, गाय-बैल आदि अपहृत कर लिया था या जमीन हड़प ली थी परहा-पंच की दृष्टि में यह अनुचित था तो उसे अपहृत सामग्री या जमीन लौटानी पड़ती थी। किसी भी स्थिति में पड़हा दुर्बल नहीं पड़ता था।

पड़हा-प्रमुख का राजस्व स्वरूप पूरे पड़हा क्षेत्र में छाया रहता था। पड़हा का कोई भी व्यक्ति उसकी अवज्ञा करने का दुस्साहस नहीं कर सकता था। पड़हा से निष्कासन एक कठोर दण्ड होता था। दोषारोपित व्यक्ति को अपना घर-वाड़ी, परिवार छोड़कर पड़हा की सीमा से जब बाहर निकाला जाता था, वह टूट जाता था। क्षमा-याचना करने लगता था। एक पड़हा से निष्कासित व्यक्ति को अन्य पड़हा में प्रवेश वर्जित होता था। परिणाम यह होता था कि बेसहारा व्यक्ति भटकते-भटकते गिर पड़ता था, मृत्यु हो जाती थी। पड़हा-निष्कासन एक प्रकार की मृत्यु की सजा थी। अतः पड़हा का कोई व्यक्ति पड़हा-प्रमुख की अवज्ञा करने का दुस्साहस नहीं करता था। जनजातीय प्रशासन, सहज नहीं होता था, वह कठोर भी होता था तथा अपने क्षेत्र में पूरी तरह प्रभावी होता था।

निजी पंचायत : झारखण्ड में एक अन्य प्रकार की पंचायत का प्रचलन था किन्तु यह व्यापक स्तर पर जनजातियों के बीच स्वीकृति न पा सका था। दो पक्ष जो किसी विवाद से ग्रस्त होते थे अपने पक्ष के कुछ लोगों को पंच के रूप में प्रस्तुत करता था। इसी प्रकार दूसरा पक्ष भी अपने कुछ व्यक्तियों को पंच के रूप में सामने लाता था। इन पंचों में से प्रत्येक पक्ष के तीन-तीन पंच चुने जाते थे। तदन्तर दोनों पक्षों की सहमति से उन्हीं में से एक सरपंच चुना जाता था। इस प्रकार पंचायत का एक स्वरूप संरचित हो जाता था। ये पंच एक स्थान पर बैठ जाते थे और शेष लोगों को कुछ दूर जाने को कहा जाता था जिससे सरपंच के स्थान पर होने वाली

कार्यवाही को सुन न सकें।

सरपंच एवं उनके साथ बैठे चुने हुए पंच वादी-प्रतिवादी के बयान सुनते थे तदन्तर दूर बैठे 2 या 3 पंचों को बुलाया जाता था जिनसे पूछ-ताछ की जाती थी। सरपंच एक या दो सूचना वाहक जिसे मुण्डारी में “काजी-इडिआगुस”¹⁵ कहते थे, सरपंच द्वारा प्रेषित सूचनाएं दूर बैठे पंचों को तथा पंचों द्वारा दी गई सूचनाएं सरपंच तक पहुंचाता था। पर्याप्त सोच-विचार के उपरान्त सरपंच साथ बैठे पंचों की राय कारण सहित सुनते थे, तदन्तर फैसला सुनाने के पहले साथ बैठे पंचों की सहमति ले लेते थे। सरपंच द्वारा घोषित फैसले से असंतुष्ट पक्ष अदालत जाने की बात करता था।

निजी पंचायत का प्रचलन मुण्डा क्षेत्र में प्रचलित था। उरांवों के बीच निजी-पंचायत नहीं होता था। मुण्डाओं के समाज में निजी-पंचायत की घटना पाई जाती थी किन्तु यह लोकप्रिय न हो सकी थी और क्रमशः यह पंचायत अपनी प्रतिष्ठा खोती गई। इसका क्षेत्र सीमित था तथा और निजी पंचायत गंभीर विवादों को सुलझाने में असमर्थ होती थी। यह सामान्य विवादों के निष्पादन का काम कर पाती थी। निजी पंचायतों के पास कोई ऐसी शक्ति नहीं होती थी कि यह अपने फैसले को मानने के लिए दबाव पैदा कर सकती थी। इन परिस्थितियों में निजी-पंचायतें मुण्डा-क्षेत्र में काफी कमजोर पाई गयी थी तथा यह उरांव क्षेत्र में प्रवेश न कर सकी थी। अन्य पंचायतें जनता पर प्रभावी होती थी किन्तु निजी पंचायत में “दबाव” पैदा करने की कोई क्षमता नहीं थी। क्रमशः निजी पंचायतें मुण्डा क्षेत्र में तो विलुप्त हो गईं। जनजातीय प्रशासन-प्रणाली में निजी-पंचायतें कोई विचारणीय योगदान नहीं कर सकी थीं।

(घ) अन्तर्पड़हा-सम्मेलन

झारखण्ड जनजातीय प्रशासन प्रणाली का “अन्तर्पड़हा-सम्मेलन” अन्तिम चरण है। सम्मेलन की यह परम्परा उरांव देश में पाई जाती है। मुण्डाओं के बीच ऐसा कोई प्रचलन नहीं पाया जाता। उरांव देश में जतरा का आयोजन आज भी होता है। प्रमुख जतराओं में जेठ-जतरा, दसहरा-जतरा(आश्विन), सोहराई-जतरा(कार्तिक) आदि। जतरा में दूर-दूर के पड़हाओं के युवक-युवती खेल-कूद, तीर-चालन, नृत्य-संगीत आदि स्पर्धाओं में भाग लेते हैं तथा विभिन्न किलियों के युवक-युवतियां एक दूसरे से परिचित होते हैं। जतरा में भाग लेने के लिए विभिन्न पड़हाओं के प्रमुख अपने दीवान के साथ आते हैं। प्रायः पड़हा सम्मेलन दोपहर बाद से प्रारम्भ होता है। सम्मेलन में सबसे ज्वलन्त समस्या सीमा-विवाद की होती है। सम्मेलन में विगत वर्ष के निर्णयों की भी चर्चा होती है कि उनका कार्यान्वयन किस सीमा तक सम्पन्न हुआ है।

पड़हा-सम्मेलन विभिन्न जतराओं में आज भी आयोजित होता है, यद्यपि इसका महत्त्व पहले की अपेक्षा काफी नीचे गिर गया है।

भारतीय इतिहास के प्राचीन काल से कम्पनी सरकार के प्रवेश तक पड़हा-सम्मेलन का प्रभावी महत्त्व था और नागवंशी राजाओं ने पट्टी/पड़हा को अपेक्षित महत्त्व दिया था तथा उनसे प्रशासनिक सहयोग भी लिया था। इन पड़हाओं में राजा को एक परिपक्व राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक संस्था मिल गई थी जो लगभग सभी गाँवों में छाई हुई थी। इन पड़हाओं को आवश्यक सुझाव एवं निर्देश पड़हा सम्मेलन में दिया जाता था। सम्मेलन का स्वरूप सुझावात्मक था। पड़हाओं के ऊपर सम्मेलन का कोई प्रशासनिक अधिकार नहीं होता था। कोई पड़हा संघ यदि पड़हा सम्मेलन में भाग नहीं लेता था, तो वह इसके लिए दोषी नहीं माना जाता था। वस्तुतः यह पड़हा के युवक-युवतियों का उत्साह होता था कि पड़हा-प्रमुख अपने दल को लेकर जतरा में सम्मिलित होता था और सम्मेलन में भाग लेता था। ऐसी स्थिति में उसे क्षेत्र सम्बन्धी कुछ नई जानकारीयाँ मिलती थी जो प्रशासनिक सुधार में सहायक होती थीं। पड़हा सम्मेलन जनता का एक भाग होता था और उरांव जनजाति के समाज को और अधिक संगठित करने में सहायक होता था।¹⁶

पड़हा सम्मेलन के सुझाव, यद्यपि आदेश नहीं होते थे किन्तु इन सुझावों का मानना और उसके अनुसार काम करना पड़हा-प्रमुख की एक बाध्यता होती थी। पड़हा के प्रत्येक गाँव के युवक-युवतियाँ जतरा में सम्मिलित होने को आतुर होते थे। यह एक ऐसा अवसर होता था जब कि अन्य पड़हाओं के युवक-युवतियों से भेट-मुलाकात होती थी। स्पष्ट है कि दूसरे पड़हा के लोग अन्य किली के होते थे अतः इनमें से जीवन-साथी चुनना असामाजिक नहीं होता था। अतः पड़हा अन्तर्गत सभी गाँवों के युवक-युवतियाँ पड़हा राजा पर सीधा दबाव बनाए रहते थे। अतः पड़हा राजा को पड़हा के युवक-युवतियों की टीम लेकर जाना पड़ता था तथा पड़हा सम्मेलन में भाग लेना पड़ता था। उन्हें सम्मेलन को उत्तर देना पड़ता था। इस प्रकार सम्मेलन का पड़हाओं प्रशासनिक दबाव बना रहता था। अतः सम्मेलन द्वारा दिया गया सुझाव प्रशासनिक आदेश के रूप में काम करता था जिसका पालन पड़हा-प्रमुख को करना पड़ता था।

अन्तर्पड़हा सम्मेलन, जनजातीय प्रशासन की अन्तिम कड़ी था। यह उरांव क्षेत्र में ही पाया जाता था। विद्वानों के अनुसार जनजातियों की राजनीतिक सोच पट्टी, पड़हा संगठन से और ऊपर न जा सकी थी, अतः वे “एक राज्य” की स्थापना न कर सके थे। उन्हीं में से नागवंशी राज्य का उदय हुआ जिन्होंने नागवंशी राज्य की स्थापना की थी। नागवंशी राजाओं ने इन पट्टी, पड़हा संगठनों को न केवल जीवित रखा अपितु इन्हें प्रशासन का एक प्रमुख अंग माना गया। झारखण्ड की जनजातीय प्रशासन प्रणाली पंचायत आधारित थी अतः उसकी प्रकृति जनतांत्रिक थी। पट्टी/पड़हा ग्राम पंचायतों के संघ थे तथा स्वशासित थे। जनजातियों का स्वशासन नागवंशी राजाओं द्वारा मान्य था और अंग्रेज पूर्व झारखण्ड में निर्बाध कार्य करता रहा

था। कम्पनी काल में विभिन्न जनजाती विद्रोहों के मूल में पट्टी/पड़हा प्रणाली की उपेक्षा थी।

पट्टी, पड़हा प्रशासन : कुछ कमियाँ

नागवंशी राज्य की स्थापना के उपरान्त भी पट्टी/पड़हा प्रशासन अपने क्षेत्र में काम करता रहा था। नाग राजाओं के लिए ये संगठन अत्यन्त उपयोगी थे। कर की वसूली करने में ये सहायक होते थे। इनकी पंचायती न्याय व्यवस्था के कारण राज्य के न्यायालयों पर भार कम हो गया था। पट्टी/पड़हा का कितना महत्त्व था वह इस घटना से प्रमाणित होता है कि फणिमुकुट राय को राजा बनाने तथा नागवंशी राज्य की स्थापना में सुतियाम्बे के मानकी मदरा मुण्डा की प्रमुख भूमिका रही थी किन्तु बीतते समय के साथ “मानकी तत्त्व” दुर्बल एवं शिथिल होता गया। इसका मुख्य कारण मानकी सम्बन्धी असक्षम व्यवस्था थी।

एक-दिनी अदालत : देखा गया है कि ग्राम-पंचायत या पट्टी-पंचायत या पट्टी/पड़हा पंचायत एक दिन में ही वादी-प्रतिवादी तथा गवाहों के बयानों को सुनकर फैसला सुना देते थे, जिसमें प्रायः अर्थदण्ड लगाया जाता था जो पंचों के भोज-भात एवं पीने-खाने में खर्च होता था। यह मानकी की गरिमा के अनुकूल नहीं था। अदालत में पूरी तरह जांच के लिए या विवाद के सभी पक्षों का सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण के लिए अदालत को पूरा समय देना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त अर्थ दण्ड का सही उपयोग करना चाहिए। मानकी के दीवान को यह दायित्व सौंप दिया जाना चाहिए कि मुकदमों से प्राप्त अर्थ दण्ड को वह जमा कर दें तथा उसका उपयोग पट्टी के किसी विकासात्मक कार्य में किया जाना चाहिए।

दण्ड की सीमित संभावनाएं : मानकी की अदालत में दण्ड की संभावनाएं सीमित होती थी। यदि हत्या या मारपीट के फैसले में हत्या को दुखी पक्ष को सौंप दिया जाता था कि वे लोग भी हत्यारे को मारकर हिसाब बराबर कर लें। यही सिद्धान्त मारपीट के मुकदमों में भी अपनाया जाता था कि यदि हाथ टूटता था तो हाथ तोड़ने और यदि पैर तो पैर तोड़ने का आदेश दिया जाता था। ये दण्ड “जैसे को तैसा” के अनुसार होते थे। यद्यपि उस समय अर्थ-दण्ड कम पीड़ा दायक नहीं होता था और अपराध की गंभीरता के अनुपात में अर्थ-दण्ड की मात्रा घटती-बढ़ती थी। प्रशासन-प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत 10-12 गाँवों के निवासी आते थे, और सभी एक-दूसरे को जानते थे। जो बार-बार अपराध करता था, चिह्नित हो गया था।

निष्कर्ष

ग्राम-पंचायत एवं पट्टी/पड़हा प्रशासन एक जनजातीय एवं जनतांत्रिक व्यवस्था थी। यह प्रचलित परम्पराओं, मान्यताओं एवं सामाजिक-धार्मिक रीति-रिवाजों पर आधारित थी। इसमें स्वशासन का आत्म-गौरव निहित था। प्रारम्भिक नागवंशी राजाओं ने इन संगठनों को संरक्षण प्रदान किया था। किन्तु सरकारी पुलिस, न्याय प्रणाली एवं कुछ पट्टी/पड़हा प्रशासन सम्बन्धी अन्य व्यवस्थाओं का सरकारी करण हो जाने से इनका

महत्व कम हो गया। फिर भी ये प्रशासनिक संस्थाएं चूंकि जनजातीय जीवन के मूल से सम्बद्ध हैं अतः ई.पू. लगभग छठी शती से राज्यों के परिवर्तन एवं समय के उतार-चढ़ाव को झेलती हुई आज भी अस्तित्व में हैं। आज भी गाँव के लोग अपने मानकी एवं पड़हा राजा को समुचित सम्मान देते हैं।

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9. राय एस. सी., दी उरॉव ऑफ छोटानागपुर, कैथोलिक प्रेस, रांची, रिप्रिन्ट 1984, पृ. 232
10. विद्यार्थी एल. पी., repudiation of debt, adultery, theft, destruction of other peoples property, witchcraft and soveery, दी ट्राइबल कल्चर ऑफ दी इण्डिया, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ. 198
11. राय एस. सी., दी मुण्डाज एण्ड देयर कण्ट्री, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ. 267.
12. उपरीवत्, पृ. 260
13. राय एस. सी., दी उरॉव ऑफ छोटानागपुर, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ. 241
14. राय एस. सी., दी मुण्डाज एण्ड देयर कण्ट्री, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ. 268
15. उपरीवत्, पृ. 265
16. राय एस. सी., दी उरॉव ऑफ छोटानागपुर, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ. 182

लखनऊ नगर में संस्थागत वृद्धों के सामाजिक सम्बन्ध : एक नृतत्वशास्त्रीय अध्ययन

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प्रवक्ता, मानवशास्त्र विभाग
नेशनल विद्यालय पी.जी. कॉलेज, लखनऊ

प्रो. इन्दु सहाय

सेवानिवृत्त विभागाध्यक्ष एवं प्रोफेसर
मानवशास्त्र विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, लखनऊ

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सारांश

वृद्धों की जीवन अवधि एवं जीवन संभावना बढ़ने से जनसांख्यिकीय परिवर्तन हुए हैं एवं विश्वस्तर पर वृद्धों की जनसंख्या में वृद्धि हुई है। वर्ष 2011 की जनगणना के अनुसार भारत में 60 वर्ष से ऊपर की आयु के व्यक्तियों की संख्या 100 मिलियन पार कर चुकी है। पारंपरिक सामाजिक व्यवस्था में लोग परिवारों में रहते थे किन्तु वर्तमान में परिवार के अतिरिक्त वृद्धाश्रमों के रूप में संस्थागत सहारा भी एक वैकल्पिक जीवन निर्वाह व्यवस्था के रूप में सामने आ रहा है। प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में उत्तर प्रदेश की राजधानी लखनऊ के संस्थागत वृद्धों के अपने परिवार के सदस्यों, आश्रम के अन्य संवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ व्यवहारों एवं सम्बन्धों के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन द्वारा उन कारकों को विश्लेषित करने का प्रयास किया गया है जो इस सामंजस्य को प्रभावित करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते हैं। इस मानवशास्त्रीय अध्ययन हेतु आँकड़ों के प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों को सम्मिलित किया गया है। सरल आकस्मिक निदर्शन (सिम्पल रैन्डम सैम्पलिंग) द्वारा 50 संस्थागत वृद्धों के निदर्श का चयन किया गया है। सभी उत्तरदाताओं का गहनता से साक्षात्कार किया गया है एवं वृद्धाश्रम के कर्मचारियों का भी साक्षात्कार किया गया। साथ ही अवलोकन एवं वैयक्तिक अध्ययन विधियों का प्रयोग भी आँकड़े संकलन हेतु किया गया है। गहन अध्ययन के आधार पर ये पाया गया कि वृद्धों के संस्थागत होने का प्रमुख कारण है इनके अपने पुत्रों एवं पुत्रवधुओं के साथ प्रतिकूल सम्बन्ध। इसके अतिरिक्त संतानों एवं अन्य नातेदारों द्वारा उनकी अवहेलना तथा उनके साथ असमायोजित सम्बन्ध इन वृद्धजनों के आश्रम में आकर रहने के अन्य मुख्य कारण हैं। वृद्धाश्रम में इन्हीं संस्थागत वृद्धों में से अधिकांश के सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ मधुर सम्बन्ध हैं। इसका कारण ये है कि सहसंवासियों के रूप में इन्हें अपनी आयु वर्ग के उन लोगों का संग प्राप्त होता है जो कि समान प्रकार की समस्याओं का सामना कर रहे हैं और एक दूसरे को अधिक अच्छे ढंग से समझ सकते हैं। अतः वृद्धों एवं उनके परिवारजनों के मध्य सम्बन्धों को सुधारने हेतु सरकार एवं गैर सरकारी संगठनों के लिये सुझाव भी प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द - संस्थागत वृद्ध, वृद्धाश्रम, सामाजिक सम्बन्ध

भूमिका

समाज का निर्माण व्यक्तियों से मिलकर होता है। व्यक्तियों के जीवन में विभिन्न अवस्थाएं आती हैं, जैसे कि बाल्यावस्था, युवावस्था तथा वृद्धावस्था। जीवन की इन अवस्थाओं के दौरान व्यक्तियों के मध्य किसी न किसी स्तर के सामाजिक सम्बन्ध अवश्य होते हैं। जीवन का अन्तिम चरण वृद्धावस्था होती है जो व्यक्ति की मृत्यु अथवा व्यक्ति की जीवनलीला के अन्त के साथ ही समाप्त होती है। चार्ल्स एस. बेकर (1959) ने वृद्धावस्था को 'व्यक्ति में समय व्यतीत होने के परिणामस्वरूप आने वाले परिवर्तनों' के रूप में परिभाषित किया है। उनके अनुसार ये परिवर्तन शारीरिक रचना से सम्बन्धित, दैहिक एवं मनोवैज्ञानिक के साथ-साथ सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक भी हो सकते हैं।

वृद्धावस्था की धारणा भिन्न-भिन्न देशों एवं संस्कृतियों में अलग-अलग होती है। वृद्धावस्था के मानक सदैव ही स्थानीय प्रशासनिक निर्णय द्वारा निर्धारित होते हैं। सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण से वृद्धों की श्रेणी में वे लोग आते हैं जो अपने सक्रिय जीवन, व्यवसाय एवं कार्य से अवकाश ग्रहण कर चुके हैं तथा जो बड़ी

हुई आयु के कारण शारीरिक दुर्बलता का अनुभव करना प्रारम्भ कर देते हैं एवं अपने महत्व की कमी की भावना से ग्रसित होते हैं। प्रस्तुत अध्ययन हेतु वृद्ध की श्रेणी में 60 वर्ष से अधिक आयु के व्यक्तियों को सम्मिलित किया गया है।

वृद्धों की जीवन अवधि एवं जीवन संभावना बढ़ने से जनसांख्यिकीय परिवर्तन हुए हैं एवं विश्वस्तर पर वृद्धों की जनसंख्या में वृद्धि हुई है। वर्ष 2001 की जनगणना के अनुसार भारत में 60 वर्ष से ऊपर की आयु के व्यक्तियों की संख्या 7 करोड़ 20 लाख (72 मिलियन) तथा चीन की 12 करोड़ 70 लाख (127 मिलियन) है। इस प्रकार वृद्धजनों की जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से विश्व में भारत का दूसरा स्थान है। वर्ष 2011 की जनगणना के अनुसार वृद्धजनों की जनसंख्या 100 मिलियन से पार कर चुकी है। एवं यह प्रेक्षित है कि वर्ष 2015 तक 143.244 मिलियन हो जाएगी। पारंपरिक सामाजिक व्यवस्था में लोग परिवारों में रहते थे किन्तु वर्तमान में परिवार के अतिरिक्त वृद्धाश्रमों के रूप में संस्थागत सहारा भी एक वैकल्पिक जीवन निर्वाह व्यवस्था के रूप में सामने आ रहा है। आयु में वृद्धि होना

एक सार्वभौमिक एवं प्राकृतिक प्रक्रिया है। जिसके परिणामस्वरूप लोगों के शरीर एवं मस्तिष्क में अनेक परिवर्तन आते हैं जो कि निश्चित तौर पर उनकी जीवन शैली तथा सामाजिक सम्बन्धों को प्रभावित करते हैं। वर्तमान समय में परिवर्तित मूल्यों के कारण युवा एवं वृद्ध पीढ़ी के मध्य सामंजस्य स्थापित होने में समस्या आ रही है। परिणामस्वरूप जीवन के अंतिम चरण अर्थात् वृद्धावस्था में प्रविष्टजन परिवारों के बजाय विवशतावश वृद्धाश्रमों में शरण ले रहे हैं।

भारत में वृद्धाश्रमों पर आधारित अध्ययनों की संख्या बहुत कम है। यद्यपि पिछले तीन सौ वर्षों से वृद्धाश्रम अस्तित्व में रहे हैं लेकिन इस दिशा में अध्ययनकर्ताओं का ध्यानाकर्षण नवीनतम है। वृद्धों को प्राप्त होने वाली सुविधाओं के विषय में सम्पूर्ण जानकारी का अभाव भी जाँच की समस्या को बढ़ाता रहा है। तीन निदेशिकाओं (एसोसिएशन फॉर सीनियर सिटिजेन्स, 1992; हेल्पेज इण्डिया, 1995; नायर, 1995) ने 325 से 354 की संख्या के बीच वृद्धाश्रमों के विषय में सूचना प्रदान की है। हेल्पेज इण्डिया अध्ययन (1995) में 256 सुविधाओं की प्रस्तुत सूचना में से 162 सुविधाएं निःशुल्क, 30 भुगतान पर आधारित और 64 निराश्रितों एवं भुगतान पर आधारित रहने वाले दोनों के लिये थीं। इनमें से मात्र 53 महिलाओं हेतु सृजित की गयी थीं। इन वृद्धाश्रमों में रहने वाले संवासियों (इन्मेट्स) की संख्या 13,000 से कम ही थी।

वृद्धाश्रमों के मूल्यांकन हेतु किये गये एक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार, रामामूर्ति एवं जमुना (1997) ने पाया कि निराश्रित, सन्तानहीन, अशिक्षित एवं अपनी संतानों के साथ रहने के अनिच्छुक वृद्धों ने निःशुल्क वृद्धाश्रमों में रहने एवं संस्थागत सेवा प्राप्ति का मार्ग चुना। जबकि एरा (1995) एवं नलिनी (1997) ने पाया कि भुगतान पर आधारित वृद्धाश्रमों में संवासियों के संस्थागत होने के सामान्य कारण परिवार के सदस्यों द्वारा उनका परित्याग, सन्तानों द्वारा अपमान, निःसन्तान होना एवं वृद्धों की अपनी सन्तानों से स्वयं अलग रहने की अधिमान्यता हैं। 1990 तथा 2000 के दशक में कुछ विशिष्ट राज्यों में वृद्धाश्रमों पर केन्द्रीभूत कुछ अध्ययन किये गये (दान्डेकर, 1996; इरूदया राजन, 2000; रामामूर्ति, जमुना एवं रेड्डी, 1996; तथा सन्धु एवं अरोड़ा, 2003)। इन अध्ययनों में संवासियों की संतुष्टि, सेवा की गुणवत्ता और कुछ सीमा तक प्रबन्धन सम्बन्धी मुद्दों पर प्रमुख रूप से जोर दिया गया है। पूर्व के अध्ययनों की रिक्तता को पूर्ण करने हेतु फोइबी एस. लीबिग के द्वारा राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर चार महीने का सर्वेक्षण किया गया जिसके अन्तर्गत 6 भारतीय राज्यों के 50 वृद्धाश्रमों एवं 9 दिवसीय सेवा केन्द्रों (डे केयर सेन्टर्स) को सम्मिलित किया गया (लीबिग, 2005)।

कुछ अध्ययनों में वृद्धाश्रमों की विशिष्ट भूमिका की चर्चा की गयी (हेल्पेज इण्डिया, 1995 एवं 2001)। जबकि कुछ अध्ययनों

में भारतीय आश्रमों हेतु प्रासंगिक सेवा की गुणवत्ता के विषय में कुछ सुझाव प्रस्तावित किये गये (दान्डेकर, 1996 एवं शन्करदास, 1995)। चट्टा एवं मंगला (1991), चट्टा एवं अरोड़ा (1995) तथा मल्होत्रा (1996) ने अपने अध्ययनों में ये पाया कि वृद्धाश्रमों में रहने वाले वृद्धों एवं परिवार में रहने वाले वृद्धों के सामाजिक जुड़ाव में बहुत बड़ा अन्तर है, वृद्धाश्रमों के संवासियों में सामाजिक सम्बन्धों में संलिप्तता एवं अन्तःक्रिया में कम रूचि देखी गयी है। अरोड़ा (1995), दान्डेकर (1996) तथा नागपाल एवं चट्टा (1991) द्वारा किये गये अध्ययन दर्शाते हैं कि वृद्धाश्रमों में रहने वाले वृद्ध व्यक्तियों में जीवन संतुष्टि का स्तर निम्न है।

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में संस्थागत वृद्धों के अपने परिवार के सदस्यों, आश्रम के अन्य संवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ व्यवहारों एवं सम्बन्धों के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन द्वारा उन कारकों को विश्लेषित करने का प्रयास किया गया है जो इस सामंजस्य को प्रभावित करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते हैं।

अध्येताओं के संज्ञान में लखनऊ नगर में निम्नलिखित 8 वृद्धाश्रम हैं :

1. राजकीय वृद्ध एवं अशक्त गृह
2. स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी गृह
3. समर्पण - वरिष्ठ जन परिसर
4. आस्था ओल्ड एज होम
5. चेशायर होम्स इण्डिया
6. छबि-शान्ति धाम - होम फॉर गारजियन्स
7. डोरोथी क्रॉस्थवेट होम
8. धर्मार्थ सेवार्थ वृद्धाश्रम

1. राजकीय वृद्ध एवं अशक्त गृह : 'समाज कल्याण विभाग, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार' द्वारा वर्ष 1978 में निराश्रित पुरुष वृद्धजनों को आश्रय प्रदान करने हेतु लखनऊ के महानगर क्षेत्र में ये वृद्धाश्रम आरम्भ किया गया। यहाँ संवासियों को आवास, भोजन, वस्त्र, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं निःशुल्क प्रदान की जाती हैं। अध्ययन के समय यहाँ 3 पुरुष संवासी रह रहे थे।

2. स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी गृह : इस गृह को वर्ष 1975 में 'समाज कल्याण विभाग, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार' द्वारा स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों एवं उनके आश्रितों को आवासीय सुविधाएं प्रदान करने हेतु आरम्भ किया गया। ये लखनऊ की रिवर बैंक कालोनी में स्थित है। चूंकि सभी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी अब वृद्ध हैं इसलिए प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में इसे वृद्धाश्रम की श्रेणी के अन्तर्गत सम्मिलित किया गया है। यहाँ संवासियों को निम्न दर के शुल्क पर आधारित आवास, भोजन, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय

सुविधाएं प्रदान की जा रही हैं। यहाँ 18 वृद्ध संवासी (15 पुरुष एवं 3 स्त्रियाँ) रह रहे थे।

3. समर्पण - वरिष्ठ जन परिसर : 'लखनऊ नगर निगम' द्वारा वर्ष 2005 में इस सुसज्जित एवं आधुनिक सुविधाओं पर आधारित वृद्धाश्रम का निर्माण लखनऊ के आदिल नगर क्षेत्र में कराया गया। इसे 'गायत्री परिवार ट्रस्ट, लखनऊ' द्वारा पट्टे (लीज) पर संचालित किया जा रहा है। यहाँ संवासियों को आवास, भोजन, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं भुगतान के आधार पर प्रदान की जा रही हैं। यहाँ 11 संवासी (5 पुरुष एवं 6 स्त्रियाँ) रह रहे थे।

4. आस्था ओल्ड एज होम : वास्तव में ये एक वृद्धरोग चिकित्सालय (जीरिएट्रिक हॉस्पिटल) है, जिसमें इच्छुक वृद्ध मरीजों को वृद्धाश्रम सुविधा प्रदान की जाती है। ये वर्ष 2003 में लखनऊ के महानगर क्षेत्र में 'द सेन्टर फॉर जीरिएट्रिक मेडिसिन, पेलिएटिव केयर एण्ड सोशल वेलफेयर सोसाइटी' द्वारा आरम्भ किया गया। यहाँ वृद्धजनों को उच्च शुल्क दरों पर आधारित आधुनिक चिकित्सीय सुविधाओं के साथ, इच्छुक संवासियों को आवास, भोजन एवं मनोरंजन सुविधाएं भुगतान के आधार पर प्रदान की जाती हैं। यहाँ 7 संवासी (3 पुरुष एवं 4 स्त्रियाँ) वृद्धाश्रम सुविधा का लाभ ले रहे थे।

5. चेशायर होम्स इण्डिया : वर्ष 1960 के दशक में लिनार्ड चेशायर द्वारा इसकी स्थापना लखनऊ में निराश्रित वृद्धजनों एवं मानसिक एवं शारीरिक रूप से विकलांग व्यक्तियों को आश्रय देने हेतु की गयी। ये लखनऊ के साउथ सिटी क्षेत्र में स्थित है। 'चेशायर होम्स इन्टरनेशनल' से सम्बन्धित इस आश्रम में संवासियों को उनकी आर्थिक क्षमता के अनुसार, निःशुल्क अथवा भुगतान के आधार पर आवास, भोजन, वस्त्र, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं प्रदान की जाती हैं। यहाँ 7 वृद्धजन (2 पुरुष एवं 5 स्त्रियाँ), 32 अन्य संवासियों (11 पुरुष एवं 21 स्त्रियाँ) के साथ रह रहे थे।

6. छबि-शान्ति धाम - होम फॉर गारजियन्स : 'छबि-शान्ति धाम सोसाइटी' द्वारा संचालित इस सुसज्जित एवं आधुनिक सुविधाओं पर आधारित वृद्धाश्रम का निर्माण लखनऊ के जानकीपुरम विस्तार क्षेत्र में वर्ष 2006 में हुआ। यहाँ संवासियों को आवास, भोजन, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं भुगतान के आधार पर प्रदान की जाती हैं। यहाँ 6 संवासी (4 पुरुष एवं 2 स्त्रियाँ) रह रहे थे।

7. डोरोथी क्रॉस्थवेट होम : वर्ष 1937 में लखनऊ के हजरतगंज क्षेत्र में केवल निराश्रित एंग्लो इण्डियन वृद्धों को आश्रय देने हेतु श्रीमती डोरोथी क्रॉस्थवेट द्वारा इसका निर्माण कराया गया। 'डोरोथी क्रॉस्थवेट होम सोसाइटी' द्वारा संचालित इस आश्रम में संवासियों को आवास, भोजन, मनोरंजन एवं

चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं निःशुल्क प्रदान की जाती हैं। यहाँ 9 संवासी (3 पुरुष एवं 6 स्त्रियाँ) रह रहे थे।

8. धर्मार्थ सेवार्थ वृद्धाश्रम : इस आश्रम को 'शहीद मेमोरियल सोसाइटी' ने निराश्रित वृद्धजनों को निःशुल्क आवासीय सुविधाएं प्रदान करने हेतु वर्ष 1993 में लखनऊ में आरम्भ किया। लखनऊ में इसकी 2 शाखाएं हैं, पहली राजाजीपुरम क्षेत्र में एवं दूसरी पारा क्षेत्र में स्थित है। यहाँ संवासियों को आवास, भोजन, वस्त्र, मनोरंजन एवं चिकित्सीय सुविधाएं निःशुल्क प्रदान की जाती हैं। इसकी राजाजीपुरम शाखा में 19 संवासी (4 पुरुष एवं 15 स्त्रियाँ) तथा पारा शाखा में 15 संवासी (13 पुरुष एवं 2 स्त्रियाँ) रह रहे थे।

शोध प्रविधि

इस मानवशास्त्रीय अध्ययन हेतु गहन क्षेत्र कार्य किया गया, जिसके अन्तर्गत आँकड़ों के प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों को सम्मिलित किया गया है। सरल आकस्मिक निदर्शन (सिम्पल रैन्डम सैम्पलिंग) द्वारा 50 संस्थागत वृद्धों के निदर्श का चयन किया गया है जिसमें 25 पुरुष एवं 25 स्त्रियाँ सम्मिलित की गयीं। सभी उत्तरदाताओं का गहनता से साक्षात्कार किया गया है एवं वृद्धाश्रम के कर्मचारियों का भी साक्षात्कार किया गया। साथ ही अवलोकन एवं वैयक्तिक अध्ययन विधियों का प्रयोग भी आँकड़े संकलन हेतु किया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

वृद्धाश्रम में रहने वाले ये संवासी उत्तर प्रदेश के विभिन्न जिलों से सम्बन्धित हैं। इनमें 25 पुरुष (50 प्रतिशत) एवं 25 स्त्रियाँ (50 प्रतिशत) हैं। पुरुषों एवं स्त्रियों की संख्या समान लेने का कारण ये है कि इन दोनों ही के सामाजिक सम्बन्ध एवं सम्बन्धित कारकों को समान रूप से समझा जा सके। चूँकि लखनऊ की जनसंख्या में हिन्दू समुदाय के लोगों की जनसंख्या सबसे अधिक है। अतः वृद्धाश्रमों में रहने वाले इन संवासियों में अधिकांश (78 प्रतिशत) हिन्दू हैं। यद्यपि यहाँ मुसलमानों की जनसंख्या ईसाई एवं अन्य धार्मिक समुदायों से अधिक है किन्तु इन संवासियों में से ईसाई लोगों (20 प्रतिशत) की संख्या मुसलमानों (2 प्रतिशत) से अधिक होने का कारण ये है कि आठ में से दो वृद्धाश्रम ईसाई समाज द्वारा संचालित हैं। इनमें से एक, केवल एंग्लो इण्डियन लोगों के लिए ही आरक्षित है, तथा दूसरे में भी अधिकांश ईसाई हैं। इन संवासियों में से 14 प्रतिशत लोग (5 पुरुष एवं 2 स्त्रियाँ) विवाहित हैं एवं 22 प्रतिशत लोग (5 पुरुष एवं 6 स्त्रियाँ) अविवाहित हैं। 60 प्रतिशत संवासी (14 पुरुष एवं 16 स्त्रियाँ) विधुर/विधवा हैं। 4 प्रतिशत वृद्ध (1 पुरुष एवं 1 स्त्री) तलाकशुदा हैं। अतः अधिकांश संवासी (86 प्रतिशत) ऐसे हैं जिनके पास उनका जीवनसाथी नहीं है। विवाहित संवासियों की संख्या बहुत कम है, इनमें से अधिकतर अपने जीवनसाथी के साथ वृद्धाश्रम में रह रहे हैं तथा 70 वर्ष से अधिक

आयु के हैं। यह दर्शाता है कि अधिक आयु के निर्भर दम्पति पारिवारिक सहारा न मिलने की दशा में वृद्धाश्रमों में जीवन व्यतीत करने के लिए विवश हैं। इनमें से अपने सक्रिय वयस्क जीवन में 50 प्रतिशत संवासी (19 पुरुष एवं 6 स्त्रियाँ) नौकरी में संलग्न थे जबकि 12 प्रतिशत व्यवसायरत (6 पुरुष) थे एवं 38 प्रतिशत (19 स्त्रियाँ) गृहणी थीं। वर्तमान समय में अधिकांश संवासी (64 प्रतिशत) किसी न किसी प्रकार की पेंशन प्राप्त कर रहे हैं, जिनमें 22 पुरुष एवं 10 स्त्रियाँ सम्मिलित हैं। यहाँ पुरुषों की संख्या स्त्रियों से अधिक है क्योंकि अधिकांश स्त्रियाँ गृहणी थीं, जिसका कारण यह है कि लगातार नौकरीपेशा महिलाओं की संख्या बढ़ने के बावजूद, आज भी समाज में गृहणियों की संख्या ही सबसे अधिक है। इन सभी पेंशन प्राप्त करने वाले संवासियों में से कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी पेंशन 6000/- रुपये से भी अधिक है। यह दर्शाता है कि इस बदलते समय में निराश्रित वृद्धों के अलावा आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न वृद्ध भी अकेलेपन एवं समायोजन की समस्या से ग्रसित होने के कारण संस्थागत हो रहे हैं।

14 प्रतिशत संवासियों (2 पुरुष एवं 5 स्त्रियाँ) की संतानें उन्हें आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान कर रही हैं, जबकि 22 प्रतिशत लोग (5 पुरुष एवं 6 स्त्रियाँ) ये सहायता अन्य नातेदारों से प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। अतः संवासियों की ये संतानें एवं नातेदार उन्हें आर्थिक सहायता तो देते हैं किन्तु पारिवारिक समस्याओं के कारण उन्हें अपने घर पर आश्रय नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। 42 प्रतिशत संवासी (11 पुरुष एवं 10 स्त्रियाँ) वृद्धाश्रम में भुगतान के आधार पर रह रहे हैं जबकि 58 प्रतिशत संवासी (14 पुरुष एवं 15 स्त्रियाँ) ये संस्थागत सेवा निःशुल्क प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। अतः अधिकांश संवासी निःशुल्क आश्रमों में रह रहे हैं, किन्तु भुगतान पर आधारित आश्रमों में रहने वाले संवासियों की संख्या भी काफी अधिक है। इसका कारण ये है कि निराश्रित वृद्धों के अलावा आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न वृद्ध एवं आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न परिवारों में रहने वाले वृद्ध, दोनों ही विभिन्न प्रकार की सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं के कारण वृद्धाश्रमों में आश्रय लेने के लिए विवश हैं, इसलिए भुगतान पर आधारित, सुसज्जित एवं आधुनिक सुविधाओं से युक्त वृद्धाश्रमों की संख्या में तीव्र वृद्धि हुई है।

वृद्धाश्रम में शरण लेने के कारण

परम्परागत भारतीय मूल्यों के अनुसार परिवार का यह उत्तरदायित्व है कि वो अपने वृद्धों की देखभाल स्वयं करे। वर्तमान समय में नगरीकरण एवं आधुनिकीकरण के प्रभाव से इन मूल्यों में बहुत से परिवर्तन आये हैं। इनके कारण वृद्धों की ये परम्परागत आश्रय व्यवस्था कमजोर हुई है। अतः विभिन्न सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक कारणों से इन वृद्धजनों ने वृद्धाश्रमों में शरण ली है।

सारिणी संख्या - 1.1 वृद्धाश्रम में शरण लेने के कारण

क्र. सं.	कारण	संस्थागत वृद्ध				औप	प्रतिशत
		पुरुष		स्त्री			
		संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत		
1	पुत्र नहीं एवं विवाहित पुत्रियों के साथ रहने के इच्छुक नहीं	5	20	2	8	7	14
2	विवाहित पुत्रों एवं पुत्रवधुओं के साथ प्रतिकूल सम्बन्ध	9	36	8	32	17	34
3	स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक शांतिपूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करने की इच्छा	2	8	1	4	3	6
4	एकाकीपन	3	12	5	20	8	16
5	देखभाल करने वाला कोई नहीं	6	24	9	36	15	30
	योग	25	100	25	100	50	100

सारिणी संख्या - 1.1 संवासियों के वृद्धाश्रम में आश्रय लेने के कारणों को प्रदर्शित करती है। ये कारण इन वृद्धजनों के सामाजिक सम्बन्धों को प्रतिबिम्बित करते हैं। इस सारिणी के अनुसार संवासियों का आश्रम में आने का सबसे आम कारण (34 प्रतिशत) वृद्धों के अपने पुत्रों एवं पुत्रवधुओं के साथ प्रतिकूल सम्बन्ध है क्योंकि ये लोग वृद्धों को अपमानित करते थे एवं उनका जीवन दयनीय बना दिया था। 30 प्रतिशत संवासियों की देखभाल करने वाला कोई नहीं था तथा 16 प्रतिशत लोग वृद्धाश्रम में एकाकीपन के कारण आये। ये कारण इन वृद्धजनों के साथ उनकी संतानों एवं अन्य नातेदारों के अवहेलनापूर्ण सम्बन्ध को प्रकट करते हैं। 14 प्रतिशत संवासियों के पुत्र नहीं हैं तथा वे विवाहित पुत्रियों के साथ रहने के इच्छुक नहीं हैं, जो कि उनके अपनी पुत्रियों के साथ परम्परागत सम्बन्धों को दर्शाता है। केवल 6 प्रतिशत लोग समाज के खुशहाल वर्ग से सम्बन्धित हैं और वे स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक शांतिपूर्ण जीवन का आनन्द उठाने हेतु वृद्धाश्रम में आये हैं। यह वृद्धों एवं उनकी संतानों के मध्य सम्बन्ध के एक भिन्न पक्ष को व्यक्त करता है क्योंकि इन वृद्धजनों के अपनी संतानों के साथ सम्बन्ध तनावपूर्ण न होते हुए भी वे उनके द्वारा किसी प्रकार की रोक-टोक को पसन्द नहीं करते हैं तथा समवयस्कों के साथ स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक रहने के इच्छुक हैं।

संतान के साथ सम्बन्ध

प्रारम्भ में वृद्धाश्रमों को खोलने का मुख्य कारण निराश्रित वृद्धों को आश्रय देना था। वर्तमान समय में बहुत से ऐसे वृद्ध भी इनमें

आश्रय ले रहे हैं जिनकी संताने हैं किन्तु सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक समस्याओं के कारण अपने वरिष्ठजनों की देखभाल नहीं कर रही हैं।

सारिणी संख्या - 1.2 : संवासियों की संताने

क्र. सं.	कारण	संस्थागत वृद्ध				ज्ञान	प्रतिशत
		पुरुष		स्त्री			
		संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत		
1	निःसंतान	2	8	6	24	8	16
2	केवल पुत्र	3	12	3	12	6	12
3	केवल पुत्रियाँ	6	24	3	12	9	18
4	पुत्र एवं पुत्रियाँ	9	36	7	28	16	32
5	लागू नहीं	5	20	6	24	11	22
	योग	25	100	25	100	50	100

सारिणी संख्या - 1.2 प्रदर्शित करती है कि 62 प्रतिशत संवासियों की संताने हैं, जिनमें से 32 प्रतिशत लोगों के पुत्र एवं पुत्रियाँ दोनों हैं, जबकि 18 प्रतिशत लोगों के केवल पुत्रियाँ एवं 12 प्रतिशत लोगों के केवल पुत्र हैं। 16 प्रतिशत संवासी निःसंतान तथा 22 प्रतिशत अविवाहित हैं। वे वृद्ध जो कि अपने परिवारजनों द्वारा अवहेलना एवं अपमान करने अथवा असमायोजन की समस्या से ग्रसित होने के कारण वृद्धाश्रम में रहने के लिए आये हैं, उनके अपनी संतानों के साथ सम्बन्ध अधिकतर तनावपूर्ण हैं। जिन वृद्धों ने स्वेच्छा से इसका चयन किया है क्योंकि उनके संतानें विदेश में बस गयीं हैं और वे वहाँ उनके साथ रहना नहीं चाहते हैं अथवा अपनी विवाहित पुत्रियों के साथ नहीं रहना चाहते हैं, उनके अपनी सन्तानों के साथ अपेक्षाकृत मधुर सम्बन्ध हैं।

सारिणी संख्या - 1.3 - सन्तान के साथ सम्बन्ध

क्र. सं.	कारण	संस्थागत वृद्ध				ज्ञान	प्रतिशत
		पुरुष		स्त्री			
		संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत		
1	तनावपूर्ण	9	36	7	28	16	32
2	मधुर	7	28	3	12	10	20
3	पुत्रों के साथ तनावपूर्ण किन्तु पुत्रियों के साथ मधुर	2	8	3	12	5	10
4	लागू नहीं	7	28	12	48	19	38
	योग	25	100	25	100	50	100

सारिणी संख्या - 1.3 के अनुसार अधिकांश संवासियों (42 प्रतिशत) के अपनी सन्तानों के साथ सम्बन्ध तनावपूर्ण हैं। इनमें से 32 प्रतिशत वृद्धजनों के अपनी सभी सन्तानों के साथ तथा 10 प्रतिशत लोगों के केवल पुत्रों के साथ इस प्रकार के सम्बन्ध हैं। जबकि मात्र 20 प्रतिशत संवासियों के अपनी सन्तानों के साथ सम्बन्ध मधुर हैं।

वृद्धाश्रम में सम्बन्ध : अपने परिवार से दूर जो वृद्धजन आश्रमों में रह रहे हैं, उनका ये मानना है कि अब उनके सहसंवासी एवं वृद्धाश्रम के कर्मचारी ही उनके दुःख-सुख के साथी हैं, जिनके साथ उन्हें समायोजित होकर रहना है। इन सभी लोगों के साथ इन संस्थागत वृद्धों का सम्बन्ध समय के साथ प्रगाढ़ होता जाता है।

सारिणी संख्या - 1.4

वृद्धाश्रम में निवास की अवधि

क्र. सं.	कारण	संस्थागत वृद्ध				ज्ञान	प्रतिशत
		पुरुष		स्त्री			
		संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत		
1.	00-02	12	48	13	52	25	50
2.	02-04	2	8	4	16	6	12
3.	04-06	7	28	4	16	11	22
4.	06-08	2	8	1	4	3	6
5.	08-10	-	-	2	8	2	4
6.	10+	2	8	1	4	3	6
	योग	25	100	25	100	50	100

सारिणी संख्या - 1.4 प्रदर्शित करती है कि अधिकांश वृद्धजन (50 प्रतिशत) आश्रम में 2 वर्षों से रह रहे हैं, जबकि 22 प्रतिशत लोग 4-6 वर्षों तथा 12 प्रतिशत लोग 2-4 वर्षों से यहाँ रह रहे हैं। इन वृद्धाश्रमों में 6-8 वर्षों तथा 10 वर्षों से अधिक अवधि से निवास करने वाले संवासियों की संख्या (6 प्रतिशत) समान है। जबकि 8-10 वर्षों के मध्य की अवधि में रहने वालों का प्रतिशत 4 है।

इन संस्थागत वृद्धों के उन सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ सम्बन्ध मधुर हैं जिनके साथ ये अधिकांश समय व्यतीत करते हैं एवं अपने दैनिक जीवन में जिनकी सहायता, सेवा तथा सहानुभूति प्राप्त करते हैं। जिन लोगों के साथ इनके सम्बन्ध असमायोजित हैं एवं जिन कर्मचारियों की सेवा से ये संतुष्ट नहीं हैं, उनके साथ इन वृद्धजनों के सम्बन्ध अपेक्षाकृत तनावपूर्ण हैं।

सारिणी संख्या - 1.5
सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ संबन्ध

क्र. सं.	कारण	संस्थागत वृद्ध				नॉन	प्रतिशत
		पुरुष		स्त्री			
		संख्या	प्रतिशत	संख्या	प्रतिशत		
1	तनावपूर्ण	2	8	3	12	5	10
2	मधुर	18	72	15	60	33	66
3	सहसंवासियों के साथ तनावपूर्ण किन्तु कर्मचारियों के साथ मधुर	1	4	4	16	5	10
4	कर्मचारियों के साथ तनावपूर्ण किन्तु सहसंवासियों के साथ मधुर	4	16	3	12	7	14
	योग	25	100	25	100	50	100

सारिणी संख्या - 1.5 के अनुसार अधिकांश संस्थागत वृद्धजनों (66 प्रतिशत) के वृद्धाश्रम के सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ सम्बन्ध मधुर हैं। 14 प्रतिशत लोगों के सहसंवासियों के साथ सम्बन्ध मधुर हैं किन्तु कर्मचारियों के साथ तनावपूर्ण हैं। 10 प्रतिशत लोगों के सम्बन्ध कर्मचारियों के साथ मधुर हैं किन्तु सहसंवासियों के साथ तनावपूर्ण हैं। केवल 10 प्रतिशत वृद्धजनों के सम्बन्ध इन सभी के साथ तनावपूर्ण हैं।

सुझाव

वृद्धों एवं उनके परिवारजनों के मध्य सम्बन्धों को सुधारने हेतु सरकार एवं गैर सरकारी संगठनों को निम्नलिखित उपायों को अपनाने एवं बढ़ावा देने की आवश्यकता है :

1. विभिन्न जागरूकता कार्यक्रमों के माध्यम से वृद्धजनों के परिवारों के उन सदस्यों की मनोवृत्तियों, मूल्यों एवं व्यवहार प्रारूपों में परिवर्तन लाना चाहिए जो उन्हें उचित सम्मान नहीं प्रदान करते हैं तथा उनकी आयु की अवहेलना करते हैं।
2. वृद्धजनों की मनोवृत्तियों, मूल्यों एवं व्यवहार प्रारूपों में भी जागरूकता कार्यक्रमों द्वारा आवश्यक परिवर्तन लाने की आवश्यकता है ताकि वो वास्तविकता को समझ सकें, पीढ़ियों के अन्तराल को अनुभव कर सकें तथा उसके अनुसार परिवारजनों के साथ समायोजन स्थापित कर सकें।

निष्कर्ष

वृद्धों के संस्थागत होने का प्रमुख कारण है इनके अपने पुत्रों एवं पुत्रवधुओं के साथ प्रतिकूल सम्बन्ध। इसके अतिरिक्त संतानों एवं अन्य नातेदारों द्वारा उनकी अवहेलना तथा उनके साथ

असमायोजित सम्बन्ध इन वृद्धजनों के आश्रम में आकर रहने के अन्य मुख्य कारण हैं। संतानों के साथ सम्बन्धों की दृष्टि से अधिकांश वृद्धजनों के अपनी सभी अथवा कुछ संतानों के साथ तनावपूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं। इस विरक्ति एवं तनावपूर्ण सम्बन्ध के मुख्य कारण पीढ़ी अन्तराल, असमायोजन एवं संतानों का उपेक्षापूर्ण तथा अपमानजनक व्यवहार हैं।

वृद्धाश्रम में इन्हीं संस्थागत वृद्धों में से अधिकांश के सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ मधुर सम्बन्ध हैं। इसका कारण ये है कि सहसंवासियों के रूप में इन्हें अपनी आयु वर्ग के उन लोगों का संग प्राप्त होता है जो कि समान प्रकार की समस्याओं का सामना कर रहे हैं और एक दूसरे को अधिक अच्छे ढंग से समझ सकते हैं। साथ ही कर्मचारी केवल उनकी देखभाल से सम्बन्धित कार्य ही करते हैं क्योंकि वो इसी के लिए नियुक्त किये गये हैं। अतः सहसंवासियों एवं कर्मचारियों के साथ मधुर सम्बन्ध का मुख्य कारण आत्मीयता है।

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कंवर आदिवासियों में मानवजाति चिकित्सीय प्रथाएं

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सारांश

झारखंड के 24 जिलों में व्याप्त 32 आदिवासी समूहों में से एक जनजाति कंवर है। किसी भी अन्य मानव समूह की भांति, उनमें भी बीमारी एवं स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं से निपटने के लिए अपनी पारंपरिक उपचार पद्धति का प्रचलन मौजूद है। वर्तमान शोध-पत्र में उनके द्वारा विभिन्न प्रकार के विकारों के उपचार हेतु प्रयोग में लाई जाने वाली जड़ी-बूटी एवं जुथेराप्युटिक उपायों पर प्रकाश डालने का प्रयास किया गया है। विवरण में बीमारियों के मेडिकल तथा स्थानीय नाम, उनके लक्षण, प्रयोग में लाए जाने वाले उपायों के अतिरिक्त, उनके उपयोग के तरीकों को उल्लेखित किया गया है। शोध परिणाम, मार्च-अप्रैल 2011 के दौरान सिमडेगा जिले के कुरडेग ब्लॉक के बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में कंवर आदिवासियों के बीच किये गए क्षेत्र-कार्य पर आधारित है।

विशिष्टशब्द - एथनो-मेडिसिन, मानवजाति चिकित्सा विज्ञान, चिकित्सक मानव, मेडिकल एन्थ्रोपोलॉजी

भूमिका

आदिकाल से मनुष्य अपने स्वास्थ्य संबंधी विकारों से निपटने के लिए ट्रायल एंड ऐरर विधि का प्रयोग करता आ रहा है। शुरूआती समय में जादू-टोना, धार्मिक उपचार, परालौकिक विधियाँ, पेड़-पौधों के कुछ भाग या कोई भोज्य पदार्थ से राहत मिलने से उसका उन पर विश्वास बढ़ा। सफलता मिलने के साथ-साथ लोगों ने अपना परीक्षण जारी रखा तथा पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी यह इम्पेरिकल नॉलेज आज के आधुनिक बायो-मेडिसिन तथा अन्य अल्टरनेटिव उपचार पद्धतियों के रूप में विकसित हुआ। 1999 में विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन ने इन उपचार पद्धतियों को दो प्रमुख वर्गों में विभक्त किया-कोडीफाइड तथा नन-कोडीफाइड। कोडीफाइड उपचार पद्धतियों में आधुनिक बायो-मेडिसिन के अलावा आयुर्वेद, योग, युनानी, सिद्धा तथा होमियोपैथी को रखा गया है तथा नन-कोडीफाइड के अन्तर्गत चिकित्सा संबंधी अलिखित प्रथाएँ तथा पारम्परिक ज्ञान को सम्मिलित किया गया है। इसी अलिखित ज्ञान को एथनो-मेडिसिन या मानवजाति चिकित्सा विज्ञान के नाम से जाना जाता है।

भारत में 600 से ज्यादा आदिवासी समूह हैं। इन सभी समूहों में स्वास्थ्य लाभ के लिए एथनो-मेडिसिनल प्रथाओं का उपयोग होता है। झारखंड के संदर्भ में बात की जाए तो यहां के 24 जिलों में व्याप्त सभी 32 आदिवासी समूहों में भी मानवजाति चिकित्सीय प्रथाओं का व्यवहार देखा जाता है। ये आदिवासी समूह आर्थिक, भौतिक, जनसांख्यिकीय तथा प्रौद्योगिकीय रूप से पिछड़े जरूर हैं, परन्तु इनमें चिकित्सा संबंधी पारंपरिक ज्ञान का अपार भंडार है। यह ज्ञान उनके अभौतिक सांस्कृतिक विरासत का द्योतक भी है जो अलिखित रूप से एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी में हस्तांतरित होता चला आ रहा है। अलिखित होने तथा आधुनिकता के बढ़ते प्रभाव के कारण यह ज्ञान जल्द ही लुप्त हो जायेगा। इसी परिस्थिति से निपटने के लिए इनका

दस्तावेजीकरण करना आवश्यक है। इसी महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष को ध्यान में रखते हुए वर्तमान अध्ययन में झारखंड राज्य के कंवर आदिवासियों द्वारा प्रयोग में लाए जाने वाले मानवजाति चिकित्सीय प्रथाओं को अभिलेखित करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

शोध प्रविधि

अध्ययन के लिए झारखण्ड राज्य के सिमडेगा जिले के कुरडेग ब्लॉक के बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में 30 मार्च से 13 अप्रैल, 2011 तक कंवर आदिवासियों के बीच क्षेत्र-कार्य किया गया। पहले 3-4 दिनों में गाँव के लोगों के साथ रैपोर्ट स्थापित कर अध्ययन संबंधी की-इन्फोर्मेट्स को स्नोबॉल सैम्पलिंग द्वारा चिह्नित किया गया। आगामी समय में उन्हें विश्वास में लेकर, एथनो-मेडिसिन संबंधी तथ्यों पर ध्यान केन्द्रित करते हुए डाटा एकत्र किया गया।

इस प्रक्रिया में मुख्यतः सहभागी अवलोकन, साक्षात्कार तथा अनुसूची प्रविधियों को प्रयोग में लाया गया। सहभागी अवलोकन से लोक-चिकित्सा विज्ञान संबंधी तथ्य जैसे की धार्मिक प्रथाएँ, भूत-भगाना, झाड़ू-फूक, जड़ी-बूटियों के उपयोग आदि पर जानकारी प्राप्त की गयी। साक्षात्कार के माध्यम से एथनो-मेडिसिन से जुड़े लोगों से उनके बीमारी संबंधी अनुभव, जड़ी-बूटियाँ, स्फिरिचुवल ट्रीटमेंट आदि के बारे में सूचना ली गयी तथा अनुसूची द्वारा कंवर आदिवासियों में पाई जाने वाली अन्यान्य बीमारियों के स्थानीय नाम तथा उपचार के लिए प्रयोग में लाई जाने वाली एथनो-मेडिसिनल उपायों के बारे में डाटा संकलित किया गया।

शोध-क्षेत्र

भारत गणराज्य एशिया महाद्वीप के दक्षिणी भाग में अवस्थित एक प्रमुख देश है। 32,87,263 वर्ग कि.मी. भू-भाग के साथ यह क्षेत्रफल की दृष्टिकोण से विश्व में सातवाँ स्थान रखता है तथा

2011 सेन्सस के अनुसार 1,21,01,93,422 लोगों की जनसंख्या, इसे चीन के बाद दूसरी सबसे ज्यादा आबादी वाला देश बनाती है। विश्व मानचित्र पर भारत देश का विस्तार 68° 07' पूर्व देशान्तर से 97° 25' पूर्व देशान्तर तथा 08° 04' उत्तर अक्षांश से 37° 06' उत्तर अक्षांश तक है। प्रशासनिक रूप से पूरे भारत देश को 28 राज्यों तथा 07 केन्द्र शासित प्रदेशों में बाँटा गया है। इन 28 राज्यों में से एक राज्य झारखण्ड है। 79,714 वर्ग कि.मी. भू-क्षेत्र के साथ यह राज्यों में 15वाँ स्थान पर है तथा जनसंख्या के लिहाज से 3,29,66,238 की आबादी (2011 सेन्सस) इसे 13वें स्थान पर स्थापित करती है। राज्य निर्माण के वक्त झारखण्ड में कुल 18 जिले थे परन्तु प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में सुदृढ़ता लाने के लिए छः नए जिलों का निर्माण किया गया जिसके बाद राज्य में कुल 24 जिले हो गए। इन 24 जिलों में से एक जिला सिमडेगा है।

सिमडेगा जिले को कुल 10 ब्लॉकों में विभक्त किया गया है। इन 10 ब्लॉकों में से एक ब्लॉक कुरेडेग है। कुरेडेग के अंतर्गत कुल 15 ग्राम पंचायतें आती हैं। इन 15 पंचायतों में से एक ग्राम बड़कीब्युरा है। इसके अंतर्गत 2 राजस्व गाँव पड़ते हैं, लबडेरा तथा बड़कीब्युरा। गाँव से जिला-मुख्यालय लगभग 45 कि.मी. की दूरी पर स्थित है तथा कुरेडेग ब्लॉक से इसकी दूरी 7-8 कि.मी. है। बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में कई छोटे-छोटे टोले हैं। उनमें से बड़कीब्युरा-खास, डोंगा पानी, गरबु टांड, ऊरूम केला, भैंसा मारा, फुटकु सराय, सराय पानी, चेंगझरिया, टुकु पानी, बरगोड़ा, गिरांग, रावण खोता, बंदर खासा, करमडीह, रंगमटिया, करमटोली तथा केराकचार कुछ प्रमुख टोले हैं। इन टोलों में रहने वाली विभिन्न जनजातियाँ में कंवर सर्वाधिक संख्या में हैं। उनके अलावा खड़िया, चीक बड़ाइक, लोहरा, उराँव, खैरवार, कोरवा, उराँव तथा लोहरा आदिवासियों का भी यहाँ निवास है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

कंवर मुख्य रूप से छत्तीसगढ़ के रायगढ़, बिलासपुर, सरगुजा, रायपुर तथा राजनंदगाँव जिलों में निवास करते हैं। झारखंड में रहने वाले कंवर उन्हीं का विस्तार हैं। झारखंड में कंवर को अनुसूचित जनजाति की श्रेणी में विधि एवं न्याय मंत्रालय द्वारा 8 जनवरी 2003 को गजट में प्रकाशित अनुसूचित जाति एवं अनुसूचित जनजाति आर्डर (संशोधन) एक्ट 2002 के तहत सम्मिलित किया गया। कंवर अपना उद्गम महाभारत के कौरवों से मानते हैं। दंत कथाओं के अनुसार महाभारत के युद्ध में कौरवों के पराजय के बाद दो गर्भवती महिलाएं भागकर छत्तीसगढ़ के महानदी के उत्तर के पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में आ गईं। एक ने चरवाहे तथा दूसरे ने धोबी के घर में शरण लिया जहाँ उन्होंने एक लड़का और एक लड़की को जन्म दिया। वे ही इस जनजाति के पूर्वज बने। इस प्रकार कंवर अपने को कौरव उत्तरजीवियों के वंशज के रूप में स्वीकारते हैं। प्रजातीय दृष्टिकोण से कंवर को प्रोटो-आस्ट्रोलायॉड वर्ग में रखा गया है। उनकी त्वचा का रंग काला, नाक चौड़ी, होठ मोटे, मुख चौड़ा, कद मध्यम, बाल काले व खुरदरे होते हैं।

पुरुषों की अपेक्षा स्त्रियों का कद डेढ़-दो इंच कम होता है।

बड़कीब्युरा में कंवर लोगों के घर मुख्यतः मिट्टी के बने होते हैं। छत खपरैल तथा घर में एक-दो कमरों के साथ एक बरामदा जरूर होता है। घर की फर्श मिट्टी से बनी होती है तथा गोबर या मिट्टी से नीपी हुई पाई जाती है। घर में सामान के नाम पर एकाध खाट, पीढ़ा, मचिया, संदूक, चटाई तथा अल्युमिनियम या स्टील के बर्तन होते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त घर में शिकार के लिए तीर-धनुष, मछली मारने के लिए कुमनी जाल तथा कृषि संबंधी उपकरण जैसे की कुदाल, कुल्हाड़ी, झाड़ू, सूप, टोकरी, गेंती, खुरपी आदि देखने को मिल जायेंगे। वर्तमान समय में आधुनिकता का प्रभाव साफ तौर से देखा जा सकता है। परिवार की आर्थिक स्थिति के अनुसार घर में प्लास्टिक-कुर्सी, पलंग, मोबाईल-फोन, सोलर लैम्प, रेडियो, टी.वी., सी.डी./डी.वी.डी. प्लेयर, डी.टी.एच. आदि देखे जा सकते हैं।

सामान्य दिनचर्या में पुरुष धोती, लुंगी, गंजी तथा गमछा का प्रयोग करते हैं तथा औरतें साड़ी पहनती हैं। परन्तु आधुनिकता के प्रभाव के कारण परिवर्तन आने लग गए हैं। पुरुष अब पैंट-शर्ट तथा महिलाएँ साड़ी के साथ ब्लॉउज भी पहनने लग गई हैं। अंतः-वस्त्रों के प्रयोग दोनों लिंगों द्वारा किया जाने लगा है। किशोर एवं कम उम्र के लड़के जीन्स, टी-शर्ट, हाफ-पैंट आदि अन्य आधुनिक वस्त्रों को ज्यादा पसंद करते हैं तथा किशोरियाँ सलवार-सूट और लड़कियाँ फ्रॉक पहने देखी जा सकती हैं। साज-सज्जा के लिए महिलाएँ ललाट, नाक, कान, गला, उँगली तथा पैरों में चाँदी के आभूषण का प्रयोग करती हैं। गोदना का प्रचलन अब अपने ढलान पर है तथा शहरीकरण तथा आधुनिकता के प्रभाव में सौन्दर्य प्रसाधन जैसे कि नेल-पॉलिश, लिप-स्टिक, क्रीम, पॉउडर, काजल आदि का उपयोग युवतियों तथा लड़कियों में जोर पकड़ता जा रहा है।

कंवर मुख्यतः खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं परन्तु गाँव में कुछ ही लोगों के पास उनकी खुद की कृषि-भूमि है। जिनके पास अपनी जमीन नहीं है वो दूसरों के खेतों में मजदूरी करते हैं। खेती में प्रमुख रूप से चावल, उड़द दाल, सरसों, कुर्थी, अरहर, गेहूँ, मकई तथा बादाम की खेती की जाती है। इसके अलावा मौसम के अनुरूप सब्जी जैसे कि खीरा, बोदी, आलू, लहसुन, प्याज, चना, हल्दी, अदरक, पत्ता-गोभी, कोहड़ा, लौकी, कान्दा, टमाटर, भिन्डी, पेकची आदि भी उपजाये जाते हैं। खेती के अतिरिक्त महुआ बेचना, ताड़ी/हड़िया बनाना, केन्दु पत्तों की बिक्री, पत्तल-दोना बनाना, लकड़ी बेचना, मुर्गी, बकरी, गाय-भैंस तथा सूअर पालन, मधु निकलना, जड़ी-बूटी बेचना आदि गाँव में जीविकोपार्जन के अन्य प्रमुख साधनों में से हैं। आर्थिक सुदृढ़ता के लिए लगभग सभी कंवर अपने पेशे के साथ-साथ गाँव में चल रहे महात्मा गाँधी नरेगा स्कीम के अन्तर्गत काम भी करते हैं। बेरोजगारी के कारण आजकल युवाओं में रोजगार के लिए पलायन देखा जा रहा है। 15-35 साल तक के ज्यादातर किशोर राँची, कोलकाता, दिल्ली, मुंबई तथा अंडमान-निकोबार में ठेका मजदूर के रूप में काम करने के लिए बाहर जा रहे हैं। गाँव के

कुछ पढ़े-लिखे कंवर अपना दुकान चला रहे हैं, कुछ ईटा-भट्टी चलाते हैं, कुछ शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में हैं तथा कुछ एन.जी.ओ. से जुड़े हुए हैं।

कंवर पितृसत्तात्मक, पितृवंशीय तथा पितृस्थानीय होते हैं। उनमें सामान्यतः एकल परिवार का चलन पाया जाता है जिसमें पति-पत्नी और उनकी अविवाहित संतानें शामिल होती हैं। उत्तराधिकार पुरुष-पंक्ति में चलता है। कंवर आदिवासी आठ अन्तर्विवाही वर्गों में विभक्त हैं - दूध कंवर, तनवर या नागवंशी कंवर, कमलवंशी कंवर, पैकरा कंवर, राठिया कंवर, चेरवा कंवर, रावतिया कंवर एवं चांटी कंवर। ये सभी ढेर सारे टोटेमिक बहिर्विवाही गोत्रों में विभक्त हैं। गोत्र का निर्धारण जन्म के आधार पर होता है तथा एक ही गोत्र में विवाह करना वर्जित है। बच्चे अपने पिता के गोत्र को ग्रहण करते हैं तथा पत्नी अपने पति के गोत्र को अपनाती है। बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में व्याप्त कुछ प्रमुख गोत्र समूहों में आण्डल, बिच्छी, बिलवा, बोकरा, चुवा, चंपा, ढेकी, हुण्डार, कोठी, मामा, महादेव, नुनमुतारिया, सुआ एवं तेलासी प्रमुख हैं।

राजनैतिक संगठन की बात की जाए तो गाँव के संचालन और नियंत्रण के लिए गाँव में परंपरागत जाति-पंचायत व्यवस्था मौजूद है। इसका संचालन प्रधान द्वारा होता है। यह गाँव में झगड़ों का निपटारा, यौन व्यभिचार, चोरी, भूमि विवाद तथा अपराध आदि से संबंधित मामलों को सुलझाने का कार्य करती है। झारखण्ड में वर्ष 2010 में पंचायत चुनाव संपन्न हुए हैं। इस कारण अब गाँव की में सरकारी पंचायतें भी चलने लग गई हैं। गाँव में वार्ड सदस्य, उप-मुखिया, मुखिया, पंचायत समिति सदस्य तथा पार्षद अस्तित्व में आ गए हैं। उनके अस्तित्व में आ जाने के कारण परंपरागत पंचायतें कमजोर पड़ने लगी हैं। गाँव में लोग अब उनको ही ज्यादा तर्जिह देते हैं।

बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में स्वास्थ्य सुविधाएं : बड़कीब्युरा गाँव में

स्वास्थ्य संबंधी सुविधाओं का स्तर काफी निम्न है। गाँव में केवल एक स्वास्थ्य उपकेन्द्र है, जहाँ डॉक्टर का कोई नामो-निशान नहीं रहता। वहाँ केवल एक ए.एन.एम. (औक्जिलरी नर्स एंड मिडवाइफ) तथा एक सहायक कार्यरत है। कर्मचारियों की कमी के कारण वो ए.एन.एम. भी सप्ताह में केवल एक या दो दिन ही यहाँ अपनी सेवाएँ दे पाती हैं। बाकी अन्य दिन उन्हें कुरडेग प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र में रहना पड़ता है। गाँव में मरीजों की देख-रेख सहायक के जिम्मे रहता है। केन्द्र में दवाइयों का नितान्त आभाव है। सुविधाओं के नाम पर केवल सर्दी-खाँसी, घाव, कुपोषण, खुजली तथा कुछ रोग संबंधी दवाईयाँ उपलब्ध है। इसके अतिरिक्त यहाँ सरकार द्वारा मुफ्त कंडोम तथा महिलाओं के लिए कॉपर-टी उपलब्ध रहता है। अन्य किसी भी प्रकार के विकार एवं पैथोलॉजिकल परीक्षणों के लिए ग्रामीणों को कुरडेग, सिमडेगा, जशपुर (छत्तीसगढ़) या राँची जाना पड़ता है। गाँव में एक आंगनबाड़ी केन्द्र है। यहाँ गर्भवती महिलाओं का टीकाकरण, उनके लिए आईरन-विटामिन की गोलियों का वितरण, नामांकित बच्चों के बीच पोषाहार का वितरण तथा गाँव में प्राथमिक चिकित्सीय ज्ञान को प्रसारित करने का कार्य किया जाता है।

कंवर आदिवासियों में मानवजाति चिकित्सा : किसी भी अन्य जनजाति की भांति झारखण्ड राज्य के कंवर आदिवासियों में भी उपचार करने की अपनी विशिष्ट पद्धति है। यह उपचार व्यवस्था उनमें सदियों से चली आ रही है तथा आज भी उनके द्वारा अनुसरित की जाती है। उनमें पाए जाने वाली कुछ प्रमुख बीमारियों के उपचार हेतु उपयोग में लाए जाने वाले उपायों का वर्णन निम्नवर्त है। विवरण में बिमारियों के मेडिकल नाम, स्थानीय नाम, उनके लक्षण, प्रयोग में लाए जाने वाली वस्तुएँ/वनस्पतियाँ/जुथेराप्युटिक उपायों के अतिरिक्त उनके उपयोग के तरीके को भी उल्लेखित किया गया है।

Sl. No.	Medical Name of Disease	Local / Hindi Name	Symptom of the Disease	Medication Used	Method of Use
1.	Acute Otitis Media	कान पकना	कान में घाव के साथ दर्द	मोर का पैर, लाल सिन्दूर, आम पेड की लकड़ी तथा समुद्र का फेन	इन सब को मिलाकर सरसों तेल में पकाने उपरान्त ठंडा कर लें। दर्द होने पर इसे कान में डालें।
2.	Anemia	खून की कमी	कमजोरी तथा रक्त में हेमोग्लोबिन की कमी के कारण शरीर का रंग हल्का लगना	पताल विन्धी, दूध तथा जीरा	इन सब को रात भर फूलाने के उपरान्त सुबह-सुबह गर्म करके खाली पेट में सेवन करें।
3.	Asthma	दम्मा	अत्यधिक खाँसी, कफ तथा साँस लेने में तकलीफ	हंस का अण्डा, घी, सोठ पीपड़ा, गोलकी, लौंग तथा कमल फूल का कंदा	इन सब को घी में पकाने के बाद प्रभावित समय के दौरान हर रोज खाली पेट में एक-एक चम्मच सेवन करें।

Sl. No.	Medical Name of Disease	Local / Hindi Name	Symptom of the Disease	Medication Used	Method of Use
4.	Belching	ढकार आना	अनपच आदि के कारण पेट में गैस बनना	पपीता, गोलकी तथा नमक	पके पपीते के ऊपर गोलकी तथा नमक छिड़क कर सेवन करें।
5.	Bone Fracture	हड्डी टूटना	तेज दर्द तथा संबंधित अंग का ठीक से काम नहीं करना	हरजोड़ा/हरजोड़नी	इसे कूचकर टूटे हुए जगह पर लकड़ी एवं कपड़े के सहारे बाँध दें। साथ में इसे पानी में उबाल कर भी सेवन जारी रखें।
6.	Cholelithiasis	पथरी	पित्ताशय में पत्थर तथा पेट दर्द	कुर्थी दाल तथा ओल का छिलका	इनको सेन्धा नामक के साथ पीसकर 3-4 दिनों तक सुबह-सुबह खाली पेट में सेवन करें।
7.	Common Wound	चोट/घाव/सेन	खून निकलना, चमड़े का छिल जाना, स्थिति खराब होने पर जख्म का पक जाना तथा पीप निकलना	सेन-बक्ला, मुर्गी का बीट, महाजाल जड़ी, कुसुम लाह एवं सीहार जड़ी	इन सब को सुखा कर पीस लें। उसके बाद गर्म पानी में उबाल कर उससे निर्मित लेप को चोट ग्रस्त जगह पर ठीक होने तक लगाएँ।
8.	Conjunctivitis	आँख आना	आँख का लाल होना, सामान्य से ज्यादा पानी आना तथा खुजलाना	दूधिया का दूध	साफ कपड़े को दुधिया के दूध में भिगोकर आँखे के ऊपर रखें।
9.	Cyanosis	रंगबाद	शिशुओं में होठ नीला होना, शरीर का रंग काला पड़ना तथा पेट फूलने की शिकायत रहना	अरन्डी का जड़, डहु पेड़ की छाली तथा पपीता का जड़	इन सब को कूच कर लेप बनाने के बाद उसे सखुआ के पत्ते में लपेट कर बच्चे के पेट में एक माह रोजाना 15-20 मिनट तक बाँधें।
10.	Diabetes	चीनी रोग	चीनी तथा कार्बोहाइड्रेट पचाने में असमर्थता	जामुन का बीज, आम की गुठली एवं मोथा-कांदा	इन सब को पीसकर पानी में घोल लें। घोल को 15-20 दिनों तक सुबह-सुबह खाली पेट में सेवन करें।
11.	Diarrhoea	दस्त	अनियमित पानी युक्त पखाना एवं उल्टी	बेर का जड़, केन्दु-वृक्ष का छाल तथा अमरुद-वृक्ष का छाल	इन सब को चीनी के साथ पीस कर उसके रस को दिन में 3-4 बार पिलाएं।
12.	Dysphasia	टंका बिमारी	बोलने के तकलीफ होना	केन्दु की जड़ी तथा नीर-बीस जड़ी	इनको गर्म पानी में पीसकर डाल दें। छानने के बाद दिन में तीन बार सेवन करें।
13.	Dysuria	पेशाब में जलन	मूत्र-विसर्जन के समय जलन एवं तकलीफ होना	लाल रनपावन	इस जड़ी को मिश्री के साथ पीसकर दिन में 2-3 बार सेवन करें।
14.	Epilepsy	मिर्गी	शरीर कांपना, सिर पटकना तथा चक्कर आना	खटमल तथा केला	6 पके केलों में 6 खटमल डालकर 6 दिनों तक सुबह-सुबह सेवन करें।

Sl. No.	Medical Name of Disease	Local / Hindi Name	Symptom of the Disease	Medication Used	Method of Use इन्हें गर्म कर मसूड़ों पर दिन में
15.	Gingivitis	दांत दर्द	मसूड़ों में विकार के कारण दर्द	छुई-मुई की जड़ी तथा सरसों तेल	2-3 बार मालिश करें। इन तीनों को मिलाकर घड़े में
16.	Hematuria	परदैवल	मूत्र में खून आना	सामरभांज जड़ी, ईश्वरजाट का जड़ तथा एरी-बरीया की जड़ी	उबालने के उपरान्त सरसों तेल एवं लहसुन का छोक लगाकर खाली पेट में 3 दिन तक सेवन करें।
17.	Hemicrania Continua	अर्ध-कपारी	सिर के आधे हिस्से में दर्द होना	हिरण का सींग, सरसों तेल तथा बनकस्सा का बीज	इन सभी के पीसने के उपरान्त अच्छे से मिलाकर सर पर सुबह-शाम मालिश करें।
18.	Hemoptysis	छय	अत्यधिक खाँसी के साथ खून आना	बांदन का छाल, आपा-भार जड़ी, हर्षा जड़ी, केला का कान्दा तथा गोलकी	गोलकी को बाकी सभी जड़ियों के साथ पीसकर खाली पेट में 4-6 दिन तक सेवन करें।
19.	Hemorrhoids	भगंदर	पैखाने के रास्ते में सूजन, घाव तथा खून आना	कछुआ का सर तथा बड़े आकर का गोम्ही कीड़े का खोल	इन दोनों को एक गढ़े में डालकर आग लगा दें। उससे निकलने वाले धुएँ से प्रभावित अंग में सेक लगाएँ।
20.	Hyper Bilirubinemia	पांढ्रा/पीलिया	शरीर का पीला पड़ना, मूत्र-पीला होना	पूतरी जड़ी, बरकत्ता जड़ी, अरख जड़ी, डगडूहा-जड़ी, कोटे-जड़ी, अथरी जड़ी तथा गुदा-जड़ी	इन सभी जड़ियों को एक साथ मिला कर कूच लें। उसके बाद उसे उबाल कर पूरे शरीर में मालिश करें।
21.	Hyptonia	पूनी	शिशु में कमजोरी तथा हाथ पैर ऐंठना	अमरबेल	शिशु को अमर बेल से निर्मित चूड़ी बनाकर हाथ-पैर में पहनाएँ एवं घी से मालिश करें।
22.	Intestinal Parasite	जोंकटी	पेट में अक्सर दर्द होना तथा पैखाने में जोंक आना	इशन-दाल तथा कछमी का जड़	इन जड़ों को पानी में उबालने के पश्चात् बिना छाने 3-4 दिन तक सेवन करें।
23.	Leucoderma Vitiligo	दाद	प्रभावित जगह सफेद हो जाना तथा संवेदनहीनता	चितावेर, पेनलेवा कंदा, लोअर पत्ता, बिरनी का छत्ता तथा कंजूरी का तेल	इन सब को एक साथ अच्छे से पीसने के उपरान्त गर्म करके सेवन करें।
24.	Limb Deformity	छंदा	जन्म से शिशु का हाथ-पैर मुड़ा होना	धतूरा का जड़	जड़ को सरसो तेल में पकाने तथा छानने के बाद उससे शिशु को प्रतिदिन 2 बार मालिश करें।
25.	Malaria	बुखार	कंपन के साथ ठण्ड एवं ज्वर	धनबुड़ा, भाई नीम, कोइल खम्मा, गुदा बेर, सीहार-जड़ी एवं पेन्धोई के पत्ते	इन सभी को पानी में पीसने के उपरान्त छान कर आधे ग्लास पानी के साथ खाली पेट में 3 दिनों तक सुबह-सुबह सेवन करें।

Sl. No.	Medical Name of Disease	Local / Hindi Name	Symptom of the Disease	Medication Used	Method of Use
26.	Menstruation - Delayed	महावारी गड़बड़ी	नियत समय से देरी से मासिक धर्म होना	सोहाय जड़	जड़ी को उबाल कर उसके पानी को एक महीने तक हर रोज तीन बार पीएँ।
27.	Nebulous Urine	ढनकी चरका	मूत्र का सफेद होने के साथ जलन	कच्चा उड़द दाल तथा चार के पत्ते	पीसा हुआ उड़द तथा चार के पत्तों को 1 ग्लास पानी में रात भर फूलने के लिए छोड़ दें। प्रतिदिन प्रातः उसे छान कर विकार ठीक होने तक सेवन करें।
28.	Night Blindness	रतौन्धी	कम रोशनी में नहीं दिखना	भग जोगनी (जुगनु)	2-3 जुगनुओं को गूड़ में मिलाकर एक महीने तक सेवन करें।
29.	Onychomycosis	छीछनी	हाथ या पैर के नाखून के चारों ओर घाव या फूँसी-फोड़ा होना	सापटेमू जड़ी तथा निरबीस जड़ी	इन जड़ियों को एक साथ पीसने के बाद प्रभावित ऊँगलियों पर 3-4 दिनों तक लेप लगाएँ।
30.	Osteoarthritis	गठिया	जोड़ों में दर्द रहना	गुगुला तथा पहाड़ी-बाँस के नन्हें पौधे का जड़	इन दोनों को सरसों तेल में मिलाकर पका लें। उसके उपरान्त छान कर उसके तेल से हर दिन रात में सोते वक्त प्रभावित भागों में मालिश करें।
31.	Osteoporosis	कमजोर हड्डी	शरीर में कैल्शियम की कमी के कारण सामान्यतः वृद्धों में हड्डी की कमजोरी तथा उनका आसानी से टूट जाना	हर जोड़ी	हड्डी टूटने से बचने के लिए इस जड़ी को पीस कर दिन में 2 बार सेवन करें।
32.	Otalgia	कान दर्द	संक्रमण के कारण कान में दर्द होना	कुंदरी पत्ता	इसे कूचने से निकलने वाले पानी को हल्का गर्म कर कान में दिन में 2-3 बार डालें।
33.	Rhinovirus	सैमपात	सर्दी-खाँसी तथा बुखार जैसा लगना	सेनधवार	इसकी टहनी को आग पर सेक लगाने से निकलने वाले पानी से पूरे शरीर पर मालिश करें।
34.	Seborrhea	रूसी	सर की त्वचा से छोटे-छोटे सफेद चमड़े का अलग होना	इमली	इमली को रात भर पानी में फूलाने के उपरान्त अगली सुबह उसे हल्की आँच में गर्म करें। उस पानी से सर को सप्ताह में एक दिन धोयें।
35.	Skin Rashes	पीतघोर	गर्मी के वक्त चमड़े पर चकते उभरना, छोटे-छोटे लाल-फूँसी आना तथा खुजली होना	भिन्डी	भिन्डी के पत्तों एवं टहनियों को प्रभावित जगह पर धीमे-धीमे रगड़ें।

Sl. No.	Medical Name of Disease	Local / Hindi Name	Symptom of the Disease	Medication Used	Method of Use
36.	Thermoplegia	लू-लगना	बुखार, उल्टी तथा पैखाना होना	कच्चा आम	कच्चे आम को पका कर मिसरी या चीनी के साथ सेवन तथा मालिश करें।
37.	Thrush	वधरात	मुँह के अंदर फुंसी या घाव	चीर-चीड़ी का पत्ता	पत्ते को घी के साथ पीसकर ठीक होने तक हर रोज 2-3 बार चटाएँ।
38.	Tonsillitis	खाँसी	टॉन्सिल में संक्रमण के कारण सूजन तथा खाँसी	महाजनी, घी तथा गोलकी	इन सभी को मिला कर हर दिन (प्रभावित समय के दौरान) 2-3 बार सेवन करें।
39.	Uterus Sore	बच्चे दानी में घाव	कमर-दर्द तथा योनी से सफेद या रक्त स्राव	महादेव कान्दा, रंग पवन, धान कुहा, बंदरलोड़ी, गुदा-बेर का जड़ तथा सेसा पोड़ा-जड़	इन सब को पीसकर सुबह खाली पेट में 3 दिन तक सेवन करें।
40.	Xeroderma	बीस	शरीर के चमड़े का सूख जाना तथा रगड़ने पर महकना	खडहल जड़ी, नीर-बीस जड़ी, बरजड़ी, तथा ईश्वर जट	इन सभी जड़ियों को पीस कर रात-भर पानी में फूलने दें। सुबह उसे महुआ निर्मित हड़िया के साथ प्रतिदिन ठीक होने तक एक बार सेवन करें।

निष्कर्ष

किसी भी अन्य समाज की भांति आदिवासियों में भी अस्वस्थता तथा बीमारी की समस्या विद्यमान है। इसके निदान हेतु वे लोग अपने पारम्परिक ज्ञान एवं प्रथाओं को आज भी उपयोग में ला रहे हैं, परन्तु वैश्वीकरण तथा आधुनिक बायो मेडिसिन के बढ़ते प्रचार प्रसार के कारण अब यह सिमटती जा रही है। यह कहा जाता है कि उनकी उपचार व्यवस्था पारंपरिक तथा पुरानी है, परन्तु यह कह कर उसे दरकिनार नहीं किया जा सकता है। यह पारंपरिक ज्ञान उनकी विरासत है तथा उसे सहेजने तथा बचाने का हर संभव प्रयास किया जाना चाहिए।

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संथाली महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्याएं : एक अध्ययन

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सारांश

भोजन कपड़ा और मकान के बाद सबसे महत्वपूर्ण स्थान स्वास्थ्य का होता है। संथाल परगना क्षेत्र में स्वास्थ्य संबंधी सुविधाओं की प्रचुरता नहीं है। इन क्षेत्रों में स्वास्थ्य समस्या के प्रति जागरुकता की कमी दृष्टिगोचर होती है। इसके बावजूद संथाली महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य सामान्यतः बहुत बुरा नहीं है। इन क्षेत्रों में संक्रमण से अक्सर बीमारियों का सामना करना पड़ता है। पीने योग्य स्वच्छ पानी की उपलब्धता में कमी इन रोगों का मुख्य कारण है। स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए केन्द्र तथा राज्य सरकार द्वारा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में कई स्वास्थ्य उप-केन्द्र तथा प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य उपकेन्द्र की स्थापना की गई है। संथाल परगना क्षेत्र की महिलाएँ जागरुकता के अभाव में इन सेवाओं का लाभ नहीं उठा पाती हैं। संथाली महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य में आशाजनक सुधार देखने को नहीं मिलता है। स्वतंत्रता के 65 वर्ष बाद भी जहाँ बेहतर स्वास्थ्य प्रत्येक मनुष्य का अधिकार है वहाँ संथाल परगना क्षेत्र की जनजातीय महिलाएँ स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं के लिए पारम्परिक तरीकों पर ही निर्भर हैं। इन क्षेत्रों में निर्मित स्वास्थ्य उप-केन्द्रों का भी पूर्ण उपयोग नहीं हो पाता है। कई केन्द्रों पर चिकित्सक प्रतिदिन उपस्थित नहीं होते हैं तो कई क्षेत्रों की महिलाएँ स्वास्थ्य सुविधा के लिए पारम्परिक वैद्य के पास ही जाती हैं। अतः आवश्यक है इन क्षेत्रों में जागरुकता कार्यक्रम अभियान के रूप में चलाया जाए जिससे संथाल परगना क्षेत्र की महिलाओं को उनके स्वास्थ्य के प्रति जागरुक बनाते हुए एक स्वस्थ समाज की संकल्पना सुनिश्चित की जा सके।

विशिष्टशब्द - पोषाहार, स्वास्थ्य, संक्रामक, चिकित्सा

भूमिका

जननी और जन्मभूमि को स्वर्ग से बढ़कर माननेवाले भारतीय समाज में महिलाओं के शारीरिक तथा मानसिक स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति शोचनीय बनी हुई है। इनके निम्न स्वास्थ्य स्तर का प्रभाव सम्पूर्ण समाज पर परिलक्षित होता है क्योंकि माँ का स्वास्थ्य प्रत्यक्षतः उसकी संतानों के स्वास्थ्य को प्रभावित करता है।

संथाली महिलाओं में स्वास्थ्य स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं और उनका उपचार बहुत जटिल है।¹ स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति, उनके द्वारा लिया जाने वाला भोजन (पोषाहार) साफ-सफाई, स्वच्छता, सुरक्षित पेयजल एवं आस-पास के पर्यावरण पर निर्भर करती है। नेशनल फैमिली सर्वे-3 के अनुसार भारत में कुल प्रजनन क्षमता योग्य महिलाओं में से 65 प्रतिशत महिलाएँ एनिमिया की शिकार हैं जबकि यही आँकड़ा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में 88 प्रतिशत है।² झारखण्ड के विवाहित महिलाओं में 70.4 प्रतिशत तथा गर्भवती महिलाओं में 68.4 प्रतिशत महिलाएँ एनिमिया की शिकार हैं। संथाल की 60-70 प्रतिशत गर्भवती महिलाओं का हिमोग्लोबिन स्तर 10 ग्राम से कम है।³ प्रसव समय मरने वाली कुल महिलाओं में से 15 से 30 प्रतिशत रक्तहीनता के कारण मरती हैं।⁴ यहाँ की महिलाओं को प्रतिदिन मात्र 1400 कैलोरी ऊर्जा ही भोजन से मिल पाता है जबकि कामकाजी महिलाओं को प्रति दिन 3000 कैलोरी की आवश्यकता होती है।⁵ (आई. सी. एम. आर. के अनुसार) जबकि पुरुषों में यह 1700 कैलोरी है।⁶ सम्पूर्ण कैलोरी की कमी के कारण संथाली महिलाओं में अधिकतर

स्वास्थ्य समस्याएँ दृष्टिगोचर होती हैं। संथाली महिलाओं में निम्नलिखित स्वास्थ्य समस्या परिलक्षित होती हैं:-

- ◆ गर्भावस्था के दौरान मलेरिया
- ◆ कमजोरी तथा उल्टी
- ◆ पेट दर्द
- ◆ डायरिया
- ◆ ल्युकोरिया
- ◆ रक्त स्राव

महिलाओं में निम्नलिखित कारणों से खून की कमी हो जाती है।

- ◆ मासिक धर्म में अधिक खून जाना
- ◆ बार बार गर्भपात
- ◆ बिना अधिक अंतर के कई बच्चे पैदा होना

खून की कमी के लक्षण

- ◆ पीली या पारदर्शी चमड़ी
- ◆ आंख की पुतलियों के अन्दर के हिस्से का पीला रंग
- ◆ पीले मसूढ़े
- ◆ चमकदार सपाट जीभ
- ◆ सफेद नाखून
- ◆ कमजोरी और थकान

यदि खून की कमी का रूप गंभीर हो तो चेहरे और पांवों पर सूजन आ सकती है, हृदय की धड़कन तेज हो जाती है और व्यक्ति तेज-तेज सांस लेता है। महिलाएं अपने स्वास्थ्य को शारीरिक श्रम एवं दैनिक कार्य से जोड़ती हैं।⁷ किसी व्यक्ति को तब स्वस्थ माना जाता है जब वह समुचित आहार लेता है और अपनी पूर्ण क्षमता से कार्य करता है।⁸ विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन के अनुसार स्वास्थ्य केवल रोग अथवा दुर्बलता की अनुपस्थिति को ही नहीं बल्कि सम्पूर्ण शारीरिक एवं मानसिक तथा सामाजिक खुशहाली की स्थिति को कहते हैं।⁹ स्वास्थ्य के दृष्टिकोण से अधिकांश संथाल महिलाओं की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। भोजन के रूप में ये महिलाएं भात तथा स्थानीय साग-सब्जी ही खाती हैं।¹⁰ इनके भोजन में पौष्टिक तत्वों का अभाव पाया जाता है। पोषण तत्वों की कमी के कारण महिलाओं में क्षय रोग का आधिक्य है।¹¹ अधिकांश संथाली महिलाओं के शरीर में सभी प्रकार के प्रतिरक्षकों का विकास नहीं हो पाता है।¹² अतः ये लोग किसी भी नयी बीमारी का आसानी से शिकार हो जाती हैं। धेबर आयोग के अनुसार कुछ रोग ऐसी बीमारी हैं जो सम्पूर्ण भारत में व्याप्त हैं इस बीमारी से झारखंड की संथाल परगना की जनजातीय महिलाएं भी अछूती नहीं हैं।¹³ इन संथाल बहुल क्षेत्रों में भी इस रोग का बाहुल्य है। इसके अलावा इन महिलाओं में खुजली, चर्म रोग, चेचक, एनिमिया जैसे रोग भी आम हैं।¹⁴ संथाल जनजाति की महिलाएं स्वच्छता के प्रति जागरूक नहीं हैं। ये प्रायः एक ही कमरे में भोजन बनाती हैं, खाती हैं एवं सोती हैं। कमरे के बगल में ही एक बरामदे में इनके मवेशी के रहने का भी स्थान होता है। जिसके कारण महिलाओं को संक्रामक बीमारियों का सामना करना पड़ता है। जल संक्रमक रोग कालरा, पेचीस, अतिसार आदि बीमारियाँ महिलाओं में दूषित जल के प्रयोग के कारण हो जाती हैं।¹⁵ इससे कुछ संथाली महिलाओं की मृत्यु भी हो जाती है।

संथाली महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य से संबंधित समस्याओं में नशीले पेय पदार्थों का सेवन भी एक महत्वपूर्ण समस्या है।¹⁶ बाजरा, चावल तथा महुआ को सड़ाकर विशेष प्रकार की मदिरा अपने घरों में बनाती हैं। इसे परिवार के सभी सदस्य द्वारा सेवन किया जाता है।¹⁷ कुछ संथाली महिलाएं महुआ का बना हुआ शराब का भी सेवन करती हैं।¹⁸ संथाली महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य पर इन पेय पदार्थों (हड़िया एवं शराब) का बहुत ही बुरा असर पड़ता है। संथाली महिलाएं सभी प्रकार की बीमारियों के इलाज के लिए सर्व प्रथम अपने पारंपरिक उपचारको के पास ही जाती हैं। ये महिलाएं रोग निदान के लिए पारम्परिक चिकित्सा पद्धति का ही प्रयोग करती हैं।¹⁹ ये लोग बीमारी के उपचार के लिए जड़ी बूटियों की औषधियों एवं जादू टोना व धार्मिक पूजा-पाठ का प्रयोग करती हैं²⁰, क्योंकि इनका मानना है कि बीमारियाँ दैवी शक्तियों, भूत प्रेतों के प्रकोप या किसी परम्परा या नियम के उल्लंघन के कारण

होती हैं। महिलाओं को गंभीर एवं चिंताजनक स्थिति में ही अस्पताल ले जाया जाता है। ये महिलाएं सर्वप्रथम ओझा गुणी द्वारा चिकित्सा कराती हैं इनसे जब स्वास्थ्य लाभ नहीं हो जाता है तब ये अंग्रजी चिकित्सा पद्धति द्वारा इलाज करवाती हैं। सरकार इन जनजातियों के स्वास्थ्य तथा चिकित्सा की दिशा में अधिक से अधिक सुविधाएं प्रदान करने की इच्छुक है फिर भी ये योजनायें असफल हो जाती हैं क्योंकि इन संथाली महिलाओं में सही दृष्टिकोण का अभाव है। इसका कारण इनकी निरक्षरता है। इसके अलावा देवघर की भौगोलिक परिस्थिति, धार्मिक, मान्यताएँ, परम्परागत मान्यताएँ, भोजन संबंधी आदतें और रूढ़ियाँ भी संथाली महिलाओं में विभिन्न प्रकार के रोगों का कारण बनती हैं।²¹

इन संथाली महिलाओं के आहार में मुख्य रूप से वनों से प्राप्त कन्द-मूलों का व्यापक रूप से उपयोग होता है। चावल, मक्का, ज्वार-बाजरा से तैयार विभिन्न प्रकार के आहार का सेवन जनजातीय महिलाएं प्रतिदिन करती हैं। जनजातीय महिलाएं अपने प्रतिदिन के आहार में दूध का उपयोग बिल्कुल ही नहीं करती हैं क्योंकि इनके परम्परागत आहार में दूध शामिल नहीं है।²² दूध एक ऐसा आहार है जिसमें सभी प्रकार के पोषक तत्व थोड़ी बहुत मात्रा में मौजूद रहते हैं। संथाली महिलाओं के आहार में दूध की कमी विभिन्न प्रकार के बीमारियों को बढ़ाती है। इस प्रकार के परम्परागत आहार का सेवन प्रतिदिन करने से यहाँ की संथाली महिलाओं में कुपोषण संबंधी बीमारियाँ भी पायी गयी हैं। जैसे- पेलाग्रा, घेघा रोग, एनीमिया, स्तनपान कराने वाली महिलाओं में दुग्धसाव का कम होना इत्यादि। प्रायः सभी जनजाति की महिलाओं में गर्भावस्था में मिट्टी खाने की आदत देखने में आती है।²³ इस आदत में मिट्टी, चाक, खड़िया, चूना, प्लास्टर, राख, और स्टार्च खाना शामिल है। जनजातीय महिलाओं में यह मान्यता है कि यदि गर्भवती महिला अगर ये चीजें नहीं खाय तो बच्चा सामान्य नहीं होगा। इन सब के अतिरिक्त विभिन्न प्रकार के औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में जनजातीय महिलाएं श्रमिक के रूप में काम करती हैं।²⁴ श्रमिकों का कार्य स्थल अस्वस्थकर वातावरण होता है जिसके कारण यहाँ की महिलाओं में बार-बार संक्रामक रोग घर कर लेते हैं। यह वातावरण कुपोषण की समस्या को और अधिक जटिल बना देता है।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख के लिए देवघर जिला के मोहनपुर प्रखंड के गाँव जमुनिया का चयन किया गया है। 2001 की जनगणना के अनुसार जमुनिया गाँव में 131 परिवार हैं जिसकी जनसंख्या 758 है। जमुनिया गाँव में 560 जनजातीय समुदाय के लोग हैं। जिसमें 258 पुरुष तथा 302 महिला हैं। इस अध्ययन में संथाली महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं को जानने का प्रयास किया

गया है। इस आलेख में जमुनिया गाँव से 100 संथाली महिलाओं को लिया गया है। इकाइयों के चयन के लिए रैंडम पद्धति का सहारा लिया गया है। अनुसूची विधि से तथ्य संकलन किया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

संथाल जनजाति की महिलाओं में वर्तमान सामाजिक आर्थिक दशाओं में स्वास्थ्य से संबंधित समस्याएं अपने गुण एवं अपसीमा में अद्वितीय हैं। इस जनजाति समाज में उचित शिक्षा के अभाव एवं चिकित्सा संबंधी सुविधाओं के उपलब्ध न हो सकने के कारण मृत्यु एवं बीमारी की दर अन्य समाजों की अपेक्षा अधिक है। जनजातीय समाज में विशेष रूप से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवास करने वाली संथाली महिलाओं में आकस्मिक मृत्यु की घटना व्यापक स्तर पर पायी जाती है। इन महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य सुधार के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार एवं साक्षर लोगों की ओर से सम्यक सहायता की आवश्यकता है। स्वास्थ्य एवं चिकित्सा संबंधी ये कार्य महिलाओं की अशिक्षा के कारण असफल हो जाते हैं। इनकी पारम्परिक नियम पद्धति, भूत प्रेत, रूढ़ियों, अंधविश्वासों आदि में आस्था, सरकार की योजनाओं को सफलभूत नहीं होने देती है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के छः दशक बाद भी संथाली महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य संतोषजनक नहीं है।

संथाली महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याओं के अध्ययन के लिए जमुनिया के महिलाओं से साक्षात्कार लिया गया है। कार्य क्षेत्र में पूछे गये प्रश्नों के उपरांत निम्नलिखित समस्याओं की जानकारी प्राप्त हुई -

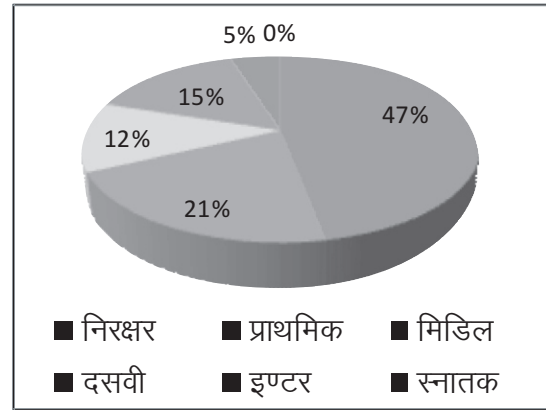
1. आहार से संबंधित स्वास्थ्य की समस्याएं
2. कुछ आम समस्याएं
3. ऐसी गम्भीर समस्याएं जिसमें विशेषज्ञ डाक्टरी देखभाल की जरूरत होती है।
4. चमड़ी की समस्या
5. आंख की समस्या
6. दांत की समस्या
7. मूत्रीय तंत्र और जनन अंग की समस्याएं
8. गर्भावस्था की समस्याएं
9. बच्चों की स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्या
10. वृद्ध महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं।

इन समस्याओं तथा इनके कारण के आधार पर वर्गीकरण करके उनका विश्लेषण विभिन्न सारणियों के माध्यम से किया गया है।

सारणी - 1

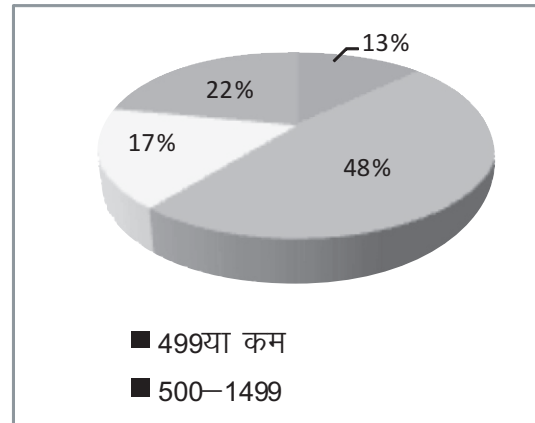
शिक्षा के आधार पर वर्गीकरण

सारणी - 1 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि 47 प्रतिशत महिलाएं निरक्षरों की श्रेणी में हैं मात्र 21 प्रतिशत महिलाएं प्राथमिक स्तर की शिक्षा ग्रहण कर पायी हैं। मिडिल स्तर तक की शिक्षा 12 प्रतिशत महिलाओं ने प्राप्त की है। केवल 15 प्रतिशत महिलाएं दसवीं पास है और सिर्फ 5 प्रतिशत महिलाएं इण्टर पास की है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि इस क्षेत्र की संथाली महिलाएं उच्च शिक्षा के अभाव में स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याओं की शिकार है। स्नातक पास एक भी महिला नहीं है। इन आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट है कि शिक्षा के निम्न स्तर के कारण यहां की महिलाएं स्वास्थ्य एवं पोषक तत्वों की जानकारी से अनभिज्ञ है।



सारणी - 2

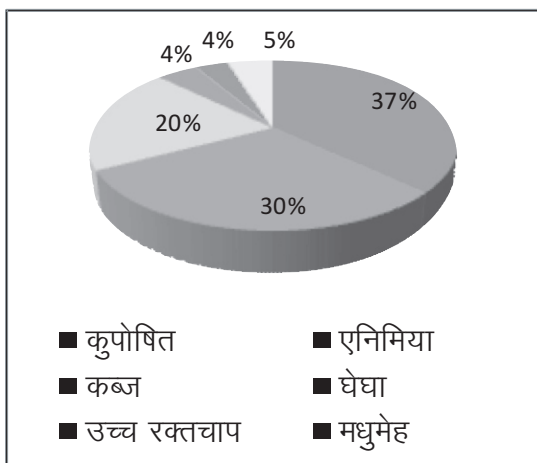
परिवार की मासिक औसत आय



सारणी - 2 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि 13 प्रतिशत महिलाओं का मासिक आय 250-499 रुपये है। लगभग 48 प्रतिशत महिलाओं की मासिक आय 500 - 1499 रुपये तक है। 27 प्रतिशत महिलाओं की मासिक आय 1500-2500 तक है। मात्र 22 प्रतिशत महिलाओं मासिक आय 2500 रुपये से अधिक है। इन महिलाओं में स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं काफी कम है। निम्न आय वाले परिवार की महिला कई प्रकार की बीमारियों

से ग्रस्त हैं। यहां कि अधिकांश संथाली महिलाओं में अल्प पोषण के कारण एनिमिया पाया गया है। इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि निम्न आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण इनकी स्वास्थ्य संबंधी स्थिति दयनीय है।

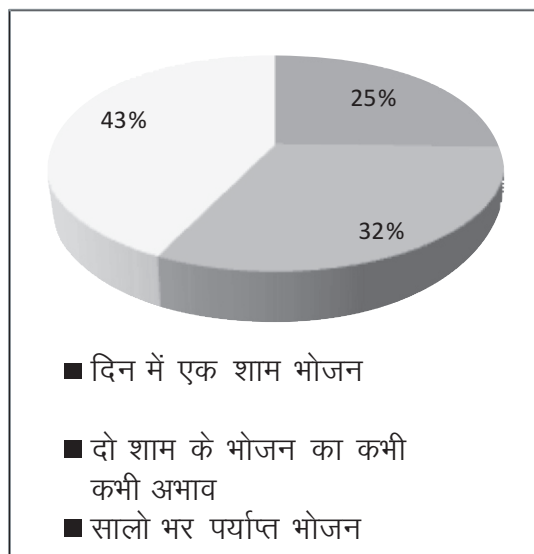
सारणी - 3
संतुलित आहार की कमी से जनजातीय महिलाओं में बीमारी



सारणी - 3 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट होता है कि 37 प्रतिशत महिलाएं संतुलित आहार के अभाव में कुपोषित हैं। 30 प्रतिशत महिलाएं ऐसी हैं जिनमें एनिमिया यानि की खून की कमी से संबंधित बीमारी पायी गयी है। 20 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में कब्ज की शिकायत है। फल, हरे रंग की पत्तेदार सब्जियां आदि न खाने से कब्ज होता है। इसके लिए ज्यादा पानी पीना, फल, सब्जियां, गेंहू के आटे का चोकर आदि प्रयोग करना काफी लाभदायक होता है। मधुमेह की बीमारी 5 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में है। मधुमेह की बीमारी अधिकांशतः अनियमित दिनचर्या के कारण होती है। घेघा रोग से 4 प्रतिशत महिलाएं ग्रसित हैं। घेघा गले पर सूजन का नाम है जो अवटु नामक ग्रंथि के असामान्य बढत के कारण हो जाता है। अधिकांश घेघा भोजन में आयोडीन की कमी के कारण होते हैं। कभी-कभी अगर गर्भवती महिला के आहार में आयोडीन की कमी रहे तो उसका बच्चा दिमाग का कमजोर या बहरा हो सकता है और मर भी सकता है। आयोडाइज्ड नमक का प्रयोग करना एकमात्र सरल उपाय है। उच्च रक्तचाप भी 4 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में पाया गया है।

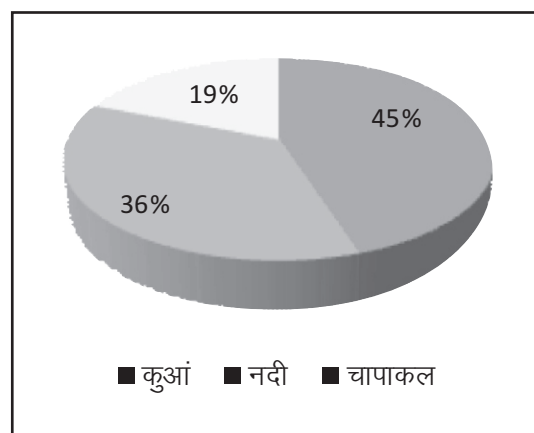
सारणी - 4
भोजन की सुविधा

सारणी - 4 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि 25 प्रतिशत महिलाओं को दिन में एक शाम का भोजन ही मिल पाता है। इन महिलाओं में अपोषण कि स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जाती है और इनकी कार्य क्षमता कम हो जाती है। दो शाम के भोजन का अभाव 32 प्रतिशत



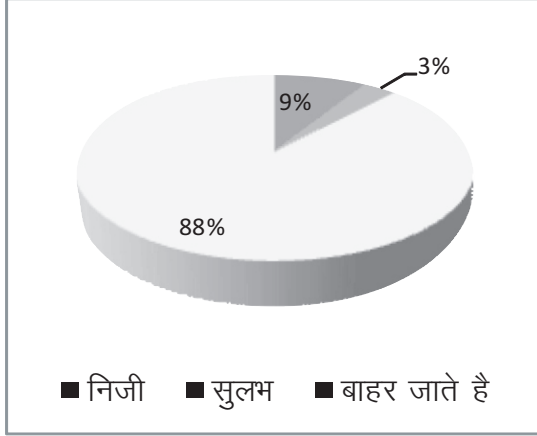
महिलाओं में पाया गया है। सालो भर पर्याप्त भोजन मात्र 32 प्रतिशत महिलाओं को मिल पाता है। इस प्रकार हम कह सकते हैं कि संथाली महिलाओं को अपर्याप्त आहार एवं पोषण मिलता जो उनमें खराब स्वास्थ्य का परिचायक है।

सारणी - 5
पेयजल प्राप्ति के आधार पर



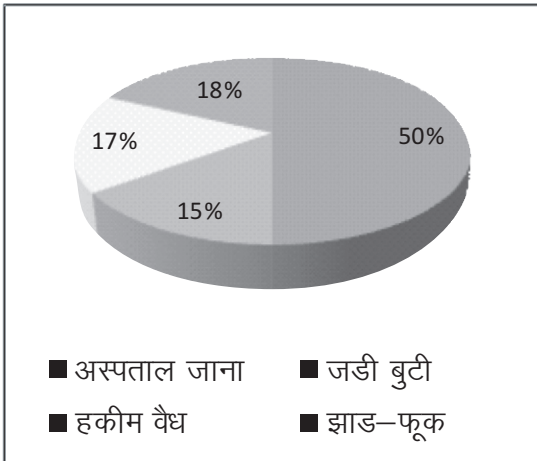
सारणी - 5 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि 45 प्रतिशत महिलाएं पेयजल के लिए कुआं का प्रयोग करती हैं। 36 प्रतिशत महिलाएं नदी के जल का प्रयोग पेयजल के लिए करती हैं। मात्र 19 प्रतिशत महिलाएं चापाकल का उपयोग पेयजल के लिए करती हैं। इस अध्ययन से स्पष्ट है कि क्षेत्र में पेयजल की सुविधा अच्छी नहीं है। क्षेत्र में कुएं की स्थिति जर्जर है। अधिकांश कुएं कच्चे प्रकृति के हैं जिसका पानी स्वच्छ नहीं रह पाता है। इन क्षेत्रों में पानी की खराबी से होने वाली बीमारियां यथा डायरिया, पीलिया आदि देखने को मिलती हैं। इन बीमारियों के कारण कई बार यहाँ के लोगों की जान तक चली जाती है।

सारणी - 6
शौचालय की सुविधा



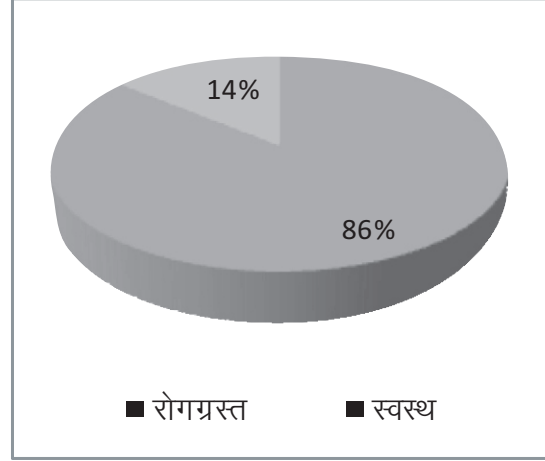
सारणी - 6 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि मात्र 9 प्रतिशत महिलाओं के घर में शौचालय की व्यवस्था है। मात्र 3 प्रतिशत महिलाएं सुलभ शौचालय का प्रयोग करती हैं। इन सुलभ शौचालयों में साफ-सफाई का काफी अभाव है। घर के बाहर जाकर शौच त्याग करने वाली महिलाओं का प्रतिशत 88 है। उचित शौचालय की सुविधा नहीं होने के कारण यहां कि महिलाओं में विभिन्न प्रकार की संक्रामक बीमारियां हैं। ये संक्रामक बीमारियों उनके निम्न स्वास्थ्य का एक प्रमुख कारक है।

सारणी - 7
चिकित्सा पद्धति के आधार पर



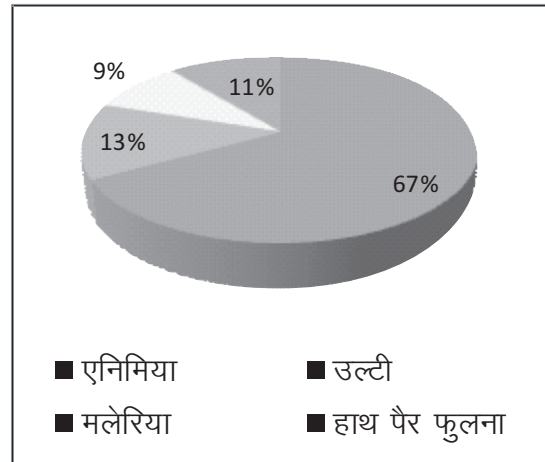
सारणी - 7 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि 50 प्रतिशत संथाली महिलाएं बीमार पड़ने पर अस्पताल जाती हैं, जबकि जड़ी-बूटी द्वारा 15 प्रतिशत महिलाएं इलाज करती हैं। हकीम वैद्य द्वारा 17 प्रतिशत महिलाएं बीमारी के समय उपचार करवाती हैं। मात्र 13 प्रतिशत महिलाएं झाड़-फूक में विश्वास करती हैं। इससे स्पष्ट है कि अब संथाली महिलाएं भी चिकित्सा की आधुनिक पद्धति की ओर अग्रसर हो रही है।

सारणी - 8
संथाली महिलाओं में रोगग्रस्तता



सारणी - 8 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि जमुनिया की 100 महिलाओं में 86 प्रतिशत महिलाएं विभिन्न प्रकार की बीमारियों की शिकार हैं इन महिलाओं में खुजली, चर्म रोग, सर्दी जुकाम जैसी साधारण बीमारियों के साथ-साथ पेट तथा आँत संबंधी बीमारियाँ भी हैं। इसके अलावा सांस से संबंधित बीमारी भी संथाली महिलाओं में पाया गया है। इन बीमारियों के इलाज के लिए विभिन्न प्रकार की जड़ी-बूटी का प्रयोग करती हैं। मात्र 14 प्रतिशत महिलाएं स्वस्थ पायी गयी हैं जिन्हें किसी प्रकार की बीमारी नहीं है।

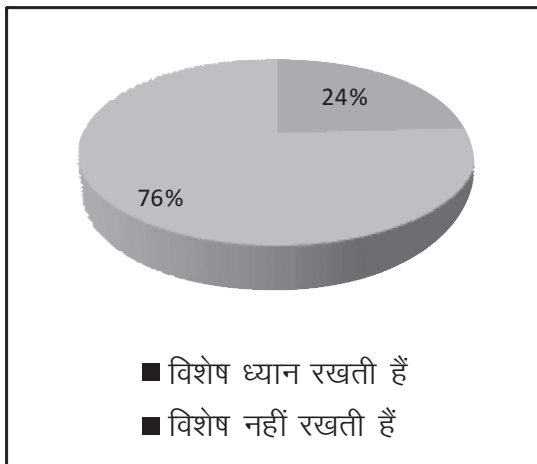
सारणी - 9
संथाली महिलाओं में गर्भावस्था के दौरान पाई जाने वाली बीमारियाँ



सारणी - 9 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि जमुनिया की 67 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में गर्भावस्था के दौरान एनिमिया पाया गया है। यहाँ की 13 प्रतिशत महिलाओं ने गर्भकालीन उल्टी की शिकायत की जिसके कारण उन्हें काफी कमजोरी महसूस होती

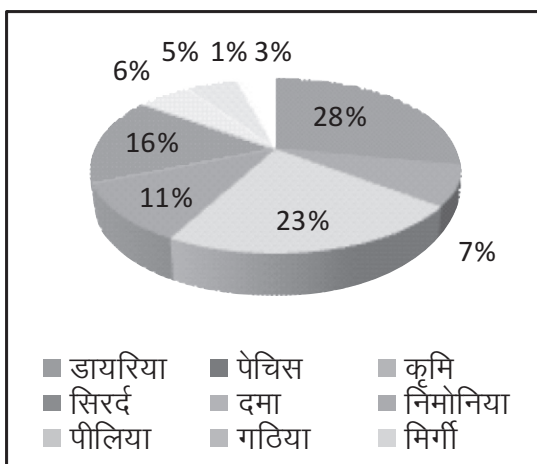
है। कुछ महिलाएं गर्भावस्था के दौरान मलेरिया से पीड़ित रहती हैं जो कि 9 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में पाया गया है। ऐसी बीमारी का कुप्रभाव जन्मते बच्चे पर पड़ता है। खून की कमी तथा कमजोरी के कारण 11 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में हाथ पैर फूलने की समस्या भी देखने को मिली।

सारणी - 10
संथाली महिलाओं में गर्भकालीन स्वास्थ्य
संबंधी जागरूकता



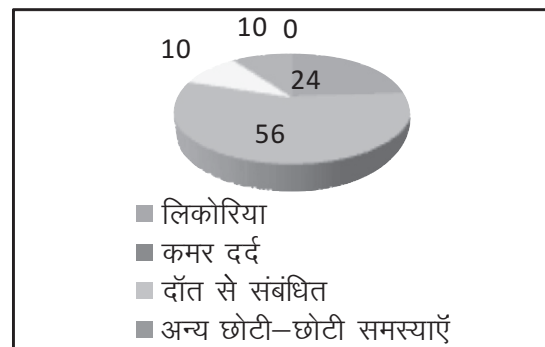
सारणी - 10 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि जमुनिया की 100 महिलाओं में 24 प्रतिशत महिलाएं गर्भावस्था के दौरान स्वास्थ्य का विशेष ध्यान रखती हैं जबकि 76 प्रतिशत महिलाएं गर्भावस्था की जटिलताओं से अपरिचित हैं तथा दिनचर्या यथावत बनाए रखती हैं। महिलाएं अर्थाभाव तथा जागरूकता के अभाव में गर्भावस्था की जटिलताओं को नजरअंदाज करती हैं तथा दिनचर्या एवं खानपान की विशेष व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाती हैं।

सारणी - 11
संथाली श्रमिक महिलाओं में उनके कार्य क्षेत्र
में व्याप्त बीमारियाँ



सारणी - 11 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि जमुनिया की 100 महिलाओं में 28 प्रतिशत महिलाएं डायरिया से ग्रसित हैं। 23 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में कृमि रोग पाया गया है। क्रमशः 16 और 11 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में दमा और सिरदर्द की समस्या है। निमोनिया की समस्या 6 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में है। कुछ महिलाओं में पीलिया, गठिया तथा मिर्गी की समस्या है जिसका प्रतिशत क्रमशः 5, 1 तथा 3 प्रतिशत है। पेचिस 7 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में पाया गया है। इस चित्र से स्पष्ट होता है कि इनके कार्य स्थल पर अस्वस्थकर वातावरण के कारण ही ये विभिन्न बीमारियाँ यहाँ की संथाली महिलाओं में व्याप्त हैं।

सारणी - 12
संथाली महिलाओं में प्रसवोपरान्त स्वास्थ्य
संबंधी समस्या



सारणी - 12 के विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि जमुनिया की 100 महिलाओं में 24 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में प्रसवोपरान्त लिकोरिया या प्रसोत की समस्या पायी गयी है। कमर दर्द की समस्या 56 प्रतिशत महिलाओं में पायी गयी है। 10 प्रतिशत महिलाओं का कहना है कि प्रसवोपरान्त उनके दाँत कमजोर और काले रंग के हो गए। मात्र 10 प्रतिशत संथाली महिलाओं में मामूली समस्याएँ पायी गयी जो कि छोटी-मोटी घरेलू उपचार से ठीक हो जाती हैं।

निष्कर्ष

सम्पूर्ण आदिवासी समाज की तरह संथाली महिलाओं में इलाज के पुराने और पराम्परागत तरीके पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी चले आ रहे हैं। परम्परागत रूप से चले आ रहे घरेलू इलाज कोई मामूली इलाज नहीं है बल्कि बहुत ही बहुमूल्य हैं। देवघर जिले के मोहनपुर प्रखंड के जमुनिया की संथाली महिलाओं में स्वास्थ्य के प्रति जागरूकता का अभाव है। इस क्षेत्र के स्वास्थ्य समस्या के अध्ययन स्पष्ट है कि महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं को दूर करने के लिए उन्हें जागरूक बनाना होगा। इनके पारम्परिक जड़ी-बूटी चिकित्सा को भी बढ़ावा देना होगा। अधिकतर संथाली महिलाएं अशिक्षित हैं, परंतु चलचित्रों तथा विडियो कैसेटों की सहायता से इन्हें स्वास्थ्य तथा सफाई के मूल सिद्धान्तों से अवगत कराना चाहिए। इनकी स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं को दूर करने के लिए राज्य सरकार, गैर सरकारी संस्थाओं तथा स्वास्थ्य कर्मचारियों को

मिलजुल कर प्रयास करने चाहिए। संथाल परगना क्षेत्र की महिलाओं में पाई जाने वाली अधिकांश बीमारियों का मुख्य कारण शिक्षा का अभाव तथा प्राथमिक ज्ञान का अभाव है। निम्न आय वाले परिवार की महिला का स्वास्थ्य संतोषजनक नहीं है। जमुनिया क्षेत्र की महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य अन्य जाति की महिलाओं से बेहतर है। इस क्षेत्र में महिलाएं पुरुषों के साथ कन्धा से कन्धा मिलाकर परिवार की आर्थिक आवश्यकता को पूरा करने के लिए शारीरिक श्रम करती हैं तथा पुरुषों के कदम से कदम मिलाकर चलती हैं। महिलाओं के शारीरिक श्रम का कुप्रभाव इनके स्वास्थ्य पर पड़ता है जो कई बीमारियों एवं आकस्मिक मृत्यु का कारण बन जाती है।

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मनुस्मृति के आलोक में अर्थार्जन : एक विवेचन

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सारांश

मनुस्मृति में स्मृति को धर्मशास्त्र कहा गया है। मनुस्मृति भी धर्म का अनुशासन करनेवाला शास्त्र है। धर्म अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयस की सिद्धि में सहायक होता है। धर्म का सम्बन्ध कर्म से है। मानव जीवन के चार पुरुषार्थ हैं - धर्म, अर्थ, काम एवं मोक्ष। इन चार पुरुषार्थों में अर्थ महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। अर्थ का क्षेत्र व्यापक है। भौतिक शरीर के पोषण के लिए भौतिक धन की आवश्यकता होती है। आज का युग आर्थिक युग है। मनुष्य के लगभग सारे कार्य कलाप अर्थ की ओर केन्द्रित हैं। जो अर्थ पहले साधन माना जाता था वह आज साध्य हो गया है। अर्थ आदि मोक्ष के साधन माने जाते थे, लेकिन आज मोक्ष साध्य नहीं रहा। यही कारण है कि अर्थ ही आज साध्य हो गया है। आज भौतिक साधनों को महत्त्व अधिक दिया जा रहा है क्योंकि शरीर की रक्षा इसी से संभव है। भोजन, वस्त्र, आवास आदि के लिए अर्जित साधन व्यक्ति के भौतिक धन होते हैं। आज पूरा विश्व भौतिक धन के प्रति आसक्त है तथा अर्थार्जन के लिए सचेष्ट है। इन साधनों की उपलब्धि व्यक्ति किस प्रकार करता है उनका अनुचिन्तन मनुस्मृति में प्राप्त होता है। मनुस्मृति का स्थान अन्य स्मृतियों की अपेक्षा महत्त्वपूर्ण है। मनुस्मृति में वर्णानुसार अर्थार्जन की व्यवस्था दी गई है। उस समय का समाज चार वर्णों में विभक्त था। वर्णों की स्थिति सामान्यतया कर्म पर आधारित थी। यह कर्म उनके भौतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक उन्नति का मार्ग प्रशस्त करता था। उस समय कर्मानुसार धनार्जन कर प्रत्येक वर्ण के लोग अपनी जीविका निर्वाह करते थे। विशेष परिस्थिति में भिन्न कर्मों के द्वारा भी अर्थार्जन मान्य था। भिन्न कर्मों के द्वारा अर्थार्जन आपद् धर्म माना जाता था।

विशिष्टशब्द - निःश्रेयस्, पुरुषार्थ, शिलोञ्छवृत्ति, सत्यप्रतिग्रह, सत्यानृत धन

भूमिका

स्मृति धातु से क्तिन् प्रत्यय करने पर स्मृति शब्द निष्पन्न होता है। वेद आदि के स्मरण के लिए प्रवृत्त शास्त्र को स्मृति कहा जाता है। मनु के द्वारा निर्मित स्मृति ही मनुस्मृति है। मनुस्मृति का स्थान अन्य स्मृतियों की अपेक्षा अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण है। स्मृति को धर्मशास्त्र भी कहा जाता है।¹ शास्त्र का अर्थ होता है उपदेश करने वाला। यह शब्द शास् अनुशिष्टौ धातु से ष्ट्न् प्रत्यय द्वारा निष्पन्न होता है। धर्म का अनुशासन करने वाला धर्म शास्त्र कहलाता है। धर्म अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयस् की सिद्धि में सहायक होता है। धर्म का क्षेत्र व्यापक है। इसका संबंध कर्म से है। कर्म ही धर्म का रूप ग्रहण कर लेता है।

अर्थ शब्द अर्थ उपयाच्यायाम् धातु से घञ् प्रत्यय करने पर निष्पन्न होता है।² यह धन का वाचक है। इसकी याचना लोग करते हैं अतः इसे अर्थ कहा जाता है। अर्थ के लिए वित्त, विभव आदि शब्द भी प्रयुक्त होते हैं। अर्थ के अर्जन का नाम अर्थार्जन है। मानव जीवन के चार पुरुषार्थ हैं- धर्म, अर्थ, काम एवं मोक्ष। इन चारों पुरुषार्थों में अर्थ महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। सामान्यतया उन सभी पदार्थों को अर्थ कहा जाता है जिसे व्यक्ति अपनी सुख सुविधा के लिए संग्रह करता है। इस आधार पर भौतिक पदार्थ जल, वायु, अग्नि आदि भी विशेष स्थिति में धन कहलाते हैं। वर्षा का अनियन्त्रित जल धन के रूप में परिगणित नहीं होता लेकिन जब मानव अपनी विविध उपयोगिताओं के लिए उसका नियन्त्रण कर लेता है तब वह उसका धन हो जाता है। अन्य भौतिक पदार्थ इसी प्रकार विशेष रूप में नियन्त्रित होकर धन बन जाते हैं।

भौतिक शरीर के पोषण के लिए भौतिक वस्तुओं की आवश्यकता होती है। ये भौतिक वस्तुएँ धन विशेष हैं जिनका प्रयोग व्यक्ति अपने लिए करता है। आज का युग आर्थिक युग है। आजकल भौतिक साधनों का महत्त्व अधिक हो गया है क्योंकि शरीर की रक्षा इन्हीं से संभव है। भोजन, वस्त्र, आवास आदि आवश्यक आवश्यकताओं तथा अन्य विलासिता संबंधी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए अर्जित साधन धन कहलाते हैं। आज के मानव के सभी कार्यकलाप भौतिकता के चारों ओर नृत्य करते हैं। पूरा विश्व भौतिक धन के प्रति आसक्त है तथा अर्थार्जन के लिए सचेष्ट है। इन साधनों की उपलब्धि के संबंध में विविध स्मृतियों में विचार प्रकट किए गए हैं।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

मनुस्मृति में अर्थार्जन की स्वीकृति प्राप्त होती है। उस समय का समाज वर्णों एवं आश्रमों में विभक्त था। इनके द्वारा अर्थार्जन किस प्रकार किया जाता था इत्यादि का विवेचन द्रष्टव्य है :-

अर्थार्जन की आवश्यकता : मनुष्य एक सामाजिक प्राणी है। इसके शरीर का निर्माण भौतिक तत्त्वों पृथ्वी, जल, अग्नि, वायु, आकाशादि द्वारा होता है। पञ्च भौतिक तत्त्वों से निर्मित शरीर के पोषण के लिए इन पाँच भौतिक तत्त्वों की भी आवश्यकता है। ये

भौतिक तत्व जब व्यक्ति द्वारा संग्रह किए जाते हैं तब वे धन के रूप में संग्रहकर्ता के धन कहलाते हैं। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को अर्थार्जन की आवश्यकता होती है। पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टय के अनुसार भी मनुष्य के चार अर्थ या प्रयोजन हैं जिनमें अर्थ (धन) भी एक है। मनुस्मृति में कहा गया है कि जीवन की रक्षा के लिए सभी को धन का संचय करना चाहिए। ईशावास्योपनिषद् में भी कहा गया है कि अविद्या के द्वारा मृत्यु को प्राप्त कर विद्या के द्वारा अमृत अथवा मोक्ष की प्राप्ति करनी चाहिए।³ अविद्या अपरा विद्या का वाचक है जो भौतिक वस्तुओं का ज्ञान प्रदान कर भौतिक अर्थार्जन में सहायक होती है। विद्या या परा विद्या ब्राह्म या तत्त्व ज्ञान का प्रतिपादन करती है जिसके द्वारा अमृत तत्व या मोक्ष की उपलब्धि होती है। भौतिक धन का अभिप्राय अविद्या या अपरा विद्या के माध्यम से अर्जित धन विशेष से है। मनुस्मृति अर्थार्जन के संबंध में कहती है कि धर्म एवं नीतिपूर्वक अर्थ का अर्जन होना चाहिए। अपने परिवार के अनिन्दित कर्मों से अर्थात् वर्ण धर्म में वर्णित रीति से शारीरिक क्षमता के अनुरूप भरण पोषण के निर्मित धन का अर्जन करना चाहिए। भरण पोषण से ज्यादा शारीरिक कष्ट उठाकर अथवा वर्णविहित धर्म के विपरीत कार्य द्वारा अर्थ का अर्जन करने से अनर्थ उत्पन्न होगा।⁴ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि मनुस्मृति सबों को अर्थ संचय के लिए स्वीकृति प्रदान करती है।

वर्णानुसार अर्थार्जन : मनुस्मृति के अनुसार चार वर्णों की स्थिति का पता चलता है। वे चार वर्ण हैं- ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य एवं शूद्र। उस समय वर्णों की स्थिति कर्म पर आधारित थी। यह कर्म उनके भौतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक उन्नति का मार्ग प्रशस्त करता था। मनुस्मृति में सभी वर्णों को कर्मानुरूप अर्थार्जन की स्वीकृति है। ब्राह्मण के सामान्यतया छह कर्म माने गये हैं- वेदाध्यापन, यजन, याजन, दान देना एवं प्रतिग्रह (दान लेना)। इनमें वेदाध्यापन, याजन तथा दानग्रहण जीविका हेतु अर्थार्जन के लिए माना गया है।⁵ इसके अतिरिक्त उसे विपत्ति में नहीं रहने पर जीवों को बिना पीड़ित किए शिलोच्छ्वृत्ति द्वारा तथा थोड़ा पीड़ित कर भिक्षा आदि वृत्ति द्वारा अर्थार्जन कर जीवन यापन करना कहा गया है।⁶ उच्छ का अर्थ होता है फसल कटने के बाद खेत में गिरे अन्न को चुन कर जीवन निर्वाह करना तथा शीलवृत्ति का अर्थ होता है खेत में गिरे वाल को चुन कर जीवन निर्वाह करना। उसे ऋत, अमृत, मृत या प्रमृत अथवा सत्य तथा अनृत नामक वृत्तियों से जीवन निर्वाह करना चाहिए। उच्छ एवं शील वृत्ति को ऋत, बिना माँगे जो प्राप्त हो उसे अमृत, माँगने पर जो प्राप्त हो उसे मृत तथा कृषि से प्राप्त धन को प्रमृत कहा गया है। वाणिज्य वृत्ति को सत्य एवं अनृत कहा गया है। अनृत असत्य का वाचक है। लगता है उस समय वाणिज्य में सत्य एवं असत्य दोनों का प्रयोग होता था। अतः उसे सत्यानृत कहा गया है। विशेष परिस्थिति में वाणिज्य वृत्ति से भी जीवन निर्वाह के लिए अर्थार्जन करना चाहिए, लेकिन सेवावृत्ति जिसे 'श्ववृत्ति' कहा गया है से धन अर्जन नहीं करना चाहिए।⁷ कुल्लूकभट्ट के अनुसार सेवावृत्ति में दीन दृष्टि से

सेवक वेतनादि के लिए मालिक को देखता है तथा उसे उसका वर्जन एवं नीच क्रिया भी सहनी पड़ती है। कुत्ते की वृत्ति के साथ इसी प्रकार का व्यवहार होता है। अतः धर्मसादृश्य के कारण इसे श्ववृत्ति कहा गया है जिसके द्वारा ब्राह्मण अर्थार्जन नहीं करे।⁸ ब्राह्मण को आपद् धर्म के द्वारा भी अर्थार्जन करना चाहिए। ब्राह्मण अपने विहित कर्मों से जीविका चलाने में असमर्थ हो तो क्षत्रिय धर्म से जीविका निर्वाह कर सकता है। यदि इन दोनों से जीविका न चला सके तो वैश्य वृत्ति से जीविका चला सकता है। लेकिन वह कृषि कर्म से जीविका नहीं चलावे।⁹ कृषि कर्म में पृथ्वी स्थित जीवों की हत्या होती है जिसके चलते ब्राह्मणों को कृषि कर्म से जीविका चलाने से निषेध किया गया है। ब्राह्मणों के ये आपद् धर्म हैं।

क्षत्रिय को शस्त्रास्त्र धारण करना तथा वैश्य को पशुपालन, कृषि एवं व्यापार जीविका के लिए करना चाहिए।¹⁰ जिन ब्राह्मणों एवं क्षत्रियों ने अपनी वृत्ति से जीविका चलाना बंद कर दिया है वे वैश्यों के व्यापार पदार्थों को छोड़कर अन्य वस्तुओं के व्यापार से धनार्जन कर अपने धन की वृद्धि कर सकता है।¹¹ वैश्यों के व्यापार पदार्थों में जिनका वर्जन विहित है वे हैं- तिल, पाषाण, लवण, पशु, मनुष्य, जल, शस्त्र, विष, माँस, सोम, गंध, दूध, मधु, दधि, घृत, तेल, गुड़, कुश आदि का व्यापार।¹² वैश्यों के जीविकार्जन पशुपालन, व्यापार, कुसीद (ब्याज ग्रहण) कृषि आदि विहित है।¹³ वैश्य यदि अपनी वृत्ति कृषि, वाणिज्य आदि से जीविका निर्वाह न कर सके या इसे करने में वे असमर्थ हों तो उसे शूद्र वृत्ति से भी जीविका निर्वाह करना चाहिए, लेकिन शक्तिशाली होने पर उसे शूद्र वृत्ति से अर्थार्जन करना छोड़ देना चाहिए।¹⁴ यह वैश्य का अपाद्धर्म है। शूद्र की वृत्तियों में द्विजातियों की सेवा कर धनार्जन करना धर्म माना गया है। अगर वह द्विजातियों की सेवा करने में असमर्थ हो तो उसे कारीगरी (शिल्प) से जीविका चलानी चाहिए।¹⁵ कारूक का कर्म एवं शिल्प कर्म भी द्विजातियों के सेवा कर्म ही हैं।¹⁶ शिल्प कर्म का क्षेत्र व्यापक है। इसे शूद्र का आपद् धर्म माना गया है।

आश्रमानुसार अर्थार्जन : आश्रम चार हैं- ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम, गृहस्थाश्रम, वानप्रस्थाश्रम एवं संन्यस्थाश्रम। मनुस्मृति में आश्रमानुसार भी अर्थार्जन की व्यवस्था प्रतिपादित है। जीवन निर्वाह के लिए तो ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम, वानप्रस्थाश्रम एवं संन्यस्थाश्रम में अर्थार्जन विहित है, लेकिन संचयार्थ उन्हें अर्थार्जन की अनुमति नहीं है। गृहस्थाश्रम में अर्थार्जन को महत्वपूर्ण माना गया है क्योंकि इसी आश्रम पर अन्य सभी आश्रम आधारित होते हैं। अर्थात् सभी आश्रमों का पोषण गृहस्थाश्रम के द्वारा ही होता है।¹⁷

धर्मयुक्त अर्थार्जन : अर्थार्जन अनेक प्रकार से होते हैं। इनमें धर्मानुमोदित अर्थार्जन को ही मनुस्मृति अपनी स्वीकृति प्रदान करती है। वहाँ धर्मानुमोदित अर्थार्जन के सात प्रकार माने गए हैं :

1. **दाय :** अर्थात् पितृसम्पत्ति का भाग। पूर्वजों से प्राप्त सम्पत्ति

में उनके वंशानुगों का दाय भाग विहित है। पिता की मृत्यु के बाद उस धन के अधिकारी उसके पुत्र ही होते हैं। उनकी सम्पत्तियाँ पुत्रों में ही वितरित हो जाती है।

2. **लाभ** : गड़े हुए धन की प्राप्ति लाभ है। उस समय धन को गाड़कर या छिपाकर भी लोग रखते थे। गड़ा या छिपा हुआ धन प्राप्त होने पर उसे लाभ कहा जाता था। इस प्रकार का धन धर्मयुक्त अर्थार्जन माना जाता था। मनुस्मृति के प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार कुल्लूकभट्ट ने निधि तथा मित्रादि से प्राप्त धन को लाभ कहा है।¹⁸

3. **क्रय** : इसका अर्थ होता है खरीदा गया धन। अपने अर्जित धन से खरीदी गई वस्तु उसकी धर्माजित सम्पत्ति मानी जाती थी। यह भी धर्मानुमोदित अर्थार्जन का एक प्रकार था।

उपर्युक्त तीनों धर्मानुमोदित अर्थार्जन के प्रकार चारों वर्णों के लिए विहित है।

4. **जय** : धर्मपूर्वक किए गए युद्ध में विजय से प्राप्त धन जय के अंतर्गत आता है। यह क्षत्रिय का धर्मानुमोदित वित्तागम है।

5. **प्रयोग** : ब्याज अर्थात् सूद के द्वारा प्राप्त धन प्रयोग कहलाता है। यह वैश्य का धर्मानुमोदित वि।गम है।

6. **कर्मयोग** : कृषि, वाणिज्य, उद्योग आदि द्वारा धन की प्राप्ति कर्मयोग कहलाता है। यह वैश्य एवं शूद्र का धर्माजित धनागम है।

7. **सत्यप्रतिग्रह** : शास्त्रानुसार दान से प्राप्त धन सत्य प्रतिग्रह कहलाता है। यह ब्राह्मण का धर्मानुमोदित धनागम है।

उपर्युक्त सभी प्रकार के अर्थार्जन धर्ममार्ग से अर्थार्जन के मार्ग हैं।¹⁹

जीवन निर्वाहार्थ अर्थार्जन : अर्थार्जन के सामान्यतया दो प्रयोजन होते हैं। प्रथम- जीवन निर्वाहार्थ अर्थार्जन तथा द्वितीय- धनवर्द्धनार्थ अर्थार्जन। जीवन निर्वाह के लिए अर्थार्जन के दस साधन मनुस्मृति में माने गए हैं।²⁰

1. **विद्या** : वेद, वेदांग, आर्युवेद, गांधर्ववेद, विषनिराकरण आदि विविध विद्या के माध्यम से धनार्जन धर्मानुमोदित है।

2. **शिल्प** : वस्त्र निर्माण, काष्ठ, धातु आदि से विविध वस्तुओं का निर्माण, तैलादि को सुगन्धित बनाना आदि शिल्प के अन्तर्गत आते हैं। शिल्प के अनेक प्रकार हैं तथा उसका क्षेत्र व्यापक है। शिल्प के माध्यम से धनार्जन धर्मानुमोदित है।

3. **भृति** : वेतन लेकर काम करना भृति कहलाता है।

4. **सेवा** : दूसरों की दासता एवं नौकरी आदि से अर्थार्जन करना इसके अंतर्गत परिगणित है।

5. **गोरक्षण** : गौ आदि पशुओं के पालन एवं रक्षण से प्राप्त अर्थ इसी श्रेणी में आते हैं। अर्थार्जन का यह भी एक प्रधान साधन है।

6. **व्यापार** : व्यापार का क्षेत्र व्यापक है। इसमें विविध वस्तुओं का क्रय विक्रय सम्मिलित है। इसके माध्यम से भी अर्थार्जन विहित है जो जीवन निर्वाहार्थ मान्य है।

7. **कृषि** : कृषि द्वारा अन्न एवं विविध खाद्य पदार्थों के उत्पादन एवं अन्य आर्थिक एवं गैर आर्थिक उत्पादनों के द्वारा धन का अर्जन होता है। इसे जीविका निर्वाह के लिए अर्थार्जन का साधन माना गया है। यह अर्थार्जन का प्रमुख साधन है।

8. **धैर्य** : थोड़े धन से भी संतोष का जीवन निर्वाह करना जीवन निर्वाह के लिए अर्थार्जन में परिगणित है। यद्यपि यह अर्थार्जन का प्रत्यक्ष कोई साधन नहीं है लेकिन धैर्यपूर्वक कार्य करने से अर्थार्जन में सफलता अधिक प्राप्त होती है जिससे जीवन निर्वाह सहज हो जाता है।

9. **भिक्षासमूह** : इसका अर्थ होता है भिक्षावृत्ति से अर्थार्जन। कुछ आश्रमियों के लिए भिक्षावृत्ति जीवन निर्वाहार्थ आवश्यक हो जाता है। ब्रह्मचर्य, वानप्रस्थ एवं संन्यस्थ आश्रमियों का जीवन निर्वाह भिक्षावृत्ति द्वारा ही होता है।

10. **कुसीद** : इसका अर्थ होता है सूद के द्वारा धनार्जन करना। कुछ लोग अपने धन को सूद पर लगाते हैं जिससे उसका धन बढ़ता रहता है। मूल के अतिरिक्त सूद से उसका धन बढ़ता रहता है। यह भी जीवन निर्वाहार्थ अर्थार्जन का एक साधन है।

उपर्युक्त वृत्तियों को जीवन निर्वाह के लिए अर्थार्जन के दस साधन माने गये हैं।

निष्कर्ष

अर्थ से संबंधित अनेक तत्त्व मनुस्मृति में विवेचित हुए हैं। अर्थ की उपयोगिता उस समय भी सिद्ध थी। अर्थ को पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टय में स्थान प्राप्त था। प्रत्येक वर्ण एवं आश्रम के लिए अर्थ का महत्त्व माना गया है। उसके बिना न तो जीवन निर्वाह हो सकता था और न तो भौतिक विकास ही। राजा आदि का भी धन से संबंध रहा है। राजा अपने राज्य संचालन के लिए तथा प्रजा पालन के लिए भी अर्थार्जन करता था। प्रजा से उत्पादन का कुछ भाग कर के रूप में लेता था तथा उसका विनियोग प्रजा कल्याण एवं राज्य के विकास के लिए किया करता था। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में सभी आर्थिक तत्त्वों का समावेश संभव नहीं था। अतः उसके कुछ पहलुओं को ही यहाँ उपस्थापित किया गया है।

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सामाजिक न्याय और डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर

अर्पणा कुमारी

शोध छात्रा, राजनीतिविज्ञान विभाग

राँची विश्वविद्यालय, राँची

सारांश

सामाजिक न्याय से अभिप्राय है मानव-मानव के बीच में जाति, वर्ग, लिंग, जन्मस्थान, भाषा, संस्कृति, क्षेत्र, प्रजाति के आधार पर भेद-भाव नहीं किया जाना और प्रत्येक नागरिकों को उन्नति के समुचित अवसर सुलभ किया जाना। किसी भी समाज या देश के विकास के लिए सामाजिक न्याय एक अनिवार्य शर्त एवं बुनियादी जरूरत है। सामाजिक न्याय मानवाधिकारों एवं समानता के सिद्धांत पर आधारित है जो समाज के सभी वर्गों को समान जीवन के अवसर प्रदान करता है। समाज में फैली असमानता और भेदभाव से सामाजिक न्याय की मांग और तेज हो जाती है। सामाजिक न्याय के बारे में कार्य और उस पर विचार बहुत पहले से शुरू हो गया था। अम्बेडकर अस्पृश्य समाज के अधिकारों एवं उनके उत्थान के लिये जीवन भर लड़ते रहे। उन्होंने स्वयं को दलित समाज के उत्थान के लिये समर्पित कर दिया था। डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने व्यक्ति और समाज के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह सिद्ध किया कि समाज में सभी मनुष्य समान हैं। सभी को समानता के साथ जीने का अधिकार है इसलिए न्याय और समता के आधार पर भारतीय समाज की पुनर्रचना की जानी चाहिए। इसके लिए उन्होंने वर्ण-व्यवस्था का पूर्ण रूप से उन्मूलन आवश्यक माना। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने दलित समाज के विकास के लिये जो पहल की है, आज उसका ही प्रभाव है कि केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारें दलित समाज के विकास के लिये आगे आकर कोशिशें कर रही हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द - अस्पृश्य, नवजागरण, मानवतावादी, वर्ण-व्यवस्था

भूमिका

भारतीय संविधान का निर्माण करने वाले डॉ. अम्बेडकर आज न केवल दलित समाज के लिये बल्कि समूचे भारतीय समाज के प्रेरणास्रोत के रूप में याद किये जाते हैं। आधुनिक भारत में सामाजिक न्याय को प्रतिष्ठापित करने, दलित वर्गों के उत्थान के प्रति वचनबद्ध रहने एवं उनके जीवन को सामान्य रूप से जीने योग्य अधिकार दिलाने वाले डॉ. भीमराव रामजी अम्बेडकर का नाम अग्रणी महापुरुष के रूप में लिया जाता है और आगे भी लिया जाता रहेगा।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का जन्म एक गरीब अस्पृश्य परिवार में हुआ था। वह स्वयं उस वर्ग के थे, जो सामाजिक अन्याय, कुरूपताओं, विषमताओं और वंचनाओं के भुक्तभोगी थे, और इन्हीं विषमताओं ने उन्हें निरन्तर लड़ने और उन्हें दूर करने की शक्ति दी। अम्बेडकर जीवनभर सामाजिक समरसता की बात करते रहे। वे चाहते थे कि दलित वर्ग को समाज की मुख्यधारा में शामिल किया जाए और उन्हें भी वही अधिकार प्राप्त हों जो समाज की मुख्यधारा के लोगों को है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर का मानना था कि दलितों को समाज में समानता का अधिकार तभी मिल सकता है जब वे शिक्षित होंगे। विकास के लिये वे शिक्षा को पहली सीढ़ी मानते थे। वे अपने जीवनकाल में दलित समाज में शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिये अनेक स्तरों पर प्रयास किया। बाबासाहेब अम्बेडकर ने अपना सारा जीवन हिंदू धर्म की चतुर्वर्ण प्रणाली, और भारतीय समाज में सर्वव्यापित जाति व्यवस्था के विरुद्ध संघर्ष में बिता दिया। हिंदू धर्म में मानव समाज को चार वर्णों में वर्गीकृत किया है। उन्हें बौद्ध महाशक्तियों के दलित आंदोलन को प्रारंभ करने का श्रेय भी जाता है।

भीमराव रामजी अम्बेडकर का जन्म ब्रिटिशों द्वारा केन्द्रीय प्रांत

(अब मध्य प्रदेश में) में स्थापित नगर व सैन्य छावनी मरु में हुआ था। वे रामजी मालोजी सकपाल और भीमाबाई मुरबादकर की 14 वीं व अंतिम संतान थे। उनका परिवार मराठी था और वो अम्बेडकर नगर जो आधुनिक महाराष्ट्र के रत्नागिरी जिले में है, से संबंधित था। वे हिंदू महार जाति से संबंध रखते थे, जो अछूत कहे जाते थे और उनके साथ सामाजिक और आर्थिक रूप से गहरा भेदभाव किया जाता था। डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का काल भारत में नये मूल्यों की स्थापना, नवजागरण तथा नए चिन्तन के उदय का काल था।

शोध-प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत आलेख विश्लेषण एवं वर्णात्मक प्रवृत्ति का है। शोध आलेख के लिए मुख्यतः द्वितीयक स्रोतों को आधार बनाया गया है। इसके लिये मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रन्थ, विभिन्न पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे लेख, प्रकाशित एवं अप्रकाशित शोधकार्य इत्यादि को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

डॉ. अम्बेडकर एक ओर दलितों की मुक्ति और सामाजिक समानता चाहते थे, वहीं दूसरी ओर वे यह भी चाहते थे कि भारत एक मजबूत, शक्तिशाली एवं महान् राष्ट्र बने। उन्होंने इन दोनों दिशाओं के कार्य किया, किन्तु अगर इन दोनों में कभी भी प्राथमिकता का सवाल पैदा हुआ, तो उन्होंने बिना किसी लाग लपेट के पहले दलितों-द्वारा, मानवधिकार एवं सामाजिक न्याय की स्थापना संबंधी कार्य को वरीयता देने पर जोर दिया। उनकी यह स्पष्ट मान्यता थी कि यदि कभी उनके हित और अनुसूचित जातियों के हित को प्राथमिकता देंगे, और यदि देश के हित और दलित वर्ग के हित में प्राथमिकता की बात आये या टकराव हो तो वे दलित वर्ग के हित को प्राथमिकता देंगे।¹

1919 में माण्टेग्यू-चेम्सफोर्ड सुधारों के अधीन पहली बार कुछ प्रांतों में दलित वर्गों के हितों को प्रतिनिधित्व देने के लिए कुछ सदस्यों को मनोनीत करने का प्रावधान रखा गया। इस हेतु डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने 27 जनवरी, 1919 को मताधिकार संबंधी साउथबरो समिति बनाये जाने की दशा में दलितों को उनकी जनसंख्या के अनुपात में प्रतिनिधित्व दिए जाने की मांग की थी।² डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने अपने ज्ञापन में उन समस्त बाधाओं का सिलसिलेवार जिक्र किया है जिनका कि दलित वर्ग शिकार रहा है।

दलित समाज को जागरूक बनाने के लिये उन्होंने एक अखबार का प्रकाशन-सम्पादन भी किया। 1923 में 'बहिष्कृत भारत' नाम से अखबार का प्रकाशन आरंभ किया। इस अखबार के माध्यम से अपने विचारों को आम आदमी तक पहुंचाने का प्रयास किया। डॉ. अम्बेडकर का मानना था कि किताबें मनुष्य को विचारवान बनाती हैं। उन्होंने दलित समाज से अवगत कराने के लिये कुछ किताबों का लेखन भी किया जिसमें दी अनटेचेनल्स, हू आर दी शुद्राज, दस स्पोक अम्बेडकर, इमेनसिपेशन आफ दी अनटेचेनल्स प्रमुख हैं। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने दलितों पर हो रहे अन्याय और अत्याचार के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाने तथा उनके न्यायोचित हितों को लोगों के सामने मीडिया के सहारे कारगर रूप में प्रस्तुत करने के उद्देश्य से एक पाक्षिक पत्र का प्रकाशन साहूजी महाराज की आर्थिक सहायता से 31 जनवरी, 1920 से 'मूकनायक' नाम से शुरू किया। इस मराठी पाक्षिक पत्र का विज्ञापन लोकमान्य तिलक के पत्र 'केसरी' ने निकालने से इंकार कर दिया था।³

मूकनायक के पहले सम्पादकीय में लिखा गया कि वर्तमान समाचार पत्र केवल कुछ विशिष्ट जाति के हितों की रक्षा कर रहे हैं। अस्पृश्यों एवं दलितों के ऊपर असमानताजनक नियम लागू हैं। भारत को स्वतंत्र होने से पूर्व आर्थिक, राजनैतिक एवं धार्मिक क्षेत्रों में समानता स्थापित करने का प्रयास करना चाहिए। बिना इसके आजादी का अर्थ मात्र सत्ता का हस्तांतरण होगा। इस प्रकार यह पत्र कई वर्गों तक दलित वर्ग में सामाजिक, राजनैतिक एवं व्यावसायिक चेतना जाग्रत करता रहा, लेकिन आर्थिक कठिनाइयों एवं डॉ. अम्बेडकर के पुनः उच्च शिक्षा हेतु विदेश चले गये के कारण मूकनायक का प्रकाशन बंद हो गया।

सामाजिक उत्पीड़न के विरुद्ध विद्रोह : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का सारा विद्रोह हिन्दू समाज की उस वर्ग-व्यवस्था, आचार-संहिता तथा विचारधारा के विरुद्ध था जिसमें सवर्ण के रूप में मान्य एक विशेष वर्ग को समाज के दूसरे वर्ग का शोषण, दमन और दासता के रूप में उत्पीड़ित करने का अधिकार प्रदान किया था। समाज का यह शोषक वर्ग उस शोषित वर्ग के एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग के रूप में उनको स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं था। डॉ. अम्बेडकर के अनुसार, ईश्वर की सृष्टि में सभी मानव समान हैं और सभी उस परमपिता की सन्तान हैं फिर भी एक वर्ग द्वारा दूसरे

वर्ग का शोषण करना उनकी दृष्टि में अन्याय था। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने ऐसे अप्रजातांत्रिक समाज के प्रति विद्रोह ही नहीं किया अपितु इसके विरुद्ध सबल जनमत बनाने में भी लग गये। वे चाहते थे कि समाज का वह शोषित, पीड़ित और दलित वर्ग इस शोषण के दल-दल से बाहर निकले और उस वर्ग को भी सामाजिक न्याय तथा सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा तथा मानवीय अधिकार मिले। इस यथार्थवादी एवं मानवतावादी सोच ने अम्बेडकर को वर्ण-व्यवस्था पर नये सिरे से विचार करने के लिए विवश किया। उन्होंने समाज के शोषित वर्ग को 'अछूत' कहे जाने पर आपत्ति ही नहीं की, अपितु उसे पुनः परिभाषित भी किया।

डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने इस चुनौतियों को गम्भीरता से लिया। उन्होंने व्यक्ति और समाज, संविधान तथा संसदीय प्रणाली, धर्म और नव मानवतावाद आदि के बारे में गम्भीर चिन्तन किया। इसी चिन्तन में उनके सामाजिक न्याय और सामाजिक परिवर्तन की पृष्ठभूमि है। उन्होंने वर्ण-व्यवस्था के रूढ़-स्वरूप, जातीयता और जड़ नैतिकता तथा धर्मान्धता के विरुद्ध संघर्ष किया, क्योंकि सामाजिक न्याय के लिए उन्होंने इन सबको बाधक माना।

महाड़ सत्याग्रह और दलित आन्दोलन : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के जीवन तथा दलित आन्दोलन के इतिहास में महाड़ सत्याग्रह का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। मुम्बई विधान परिषद् द्वारा पास किये गये एक प्रस्ताव को ध्यान में रखते हुए महाड़ नगरपालिका ने 'चंवदार' नामक तालाब अछूतों के लिए पानी पीने हेतु खोल दिया था। लेकिन सवर्ण हिन्दुओं के कारण अछूत इस तालाब के पानी का उपयोग नहीं कर पा रहे थे। इस तालाब से पीने का पानी लेने हेतु 'कोलाबा' जिले के दलितों ने 19 और 20 मार्च, 1927 को महाड़ में एक सम्मेलन करने का निश्चय किया। सम्मेलन में लगभग 10,000 प्रतिनिधियों ने भाग लिया। इस सम्मेलन में अनेक प्रस्ताव पारित किये गये तथा सवर्ण हिन्दुओं से प्रार्थना की गयी कि वे दलितों को उनके नागरिक एवं मानवीय अधिकार दिलावें।⁴

महाड़ सत्याग्रह का अछूतों पर दूरगामी प्रभाव पड़ा। इससे कट्टरपंथी हिन्दुओं को भी कठोर धक्का पहुंचा। सरकार ने दलित वर्ग की शिकायतों पर अधिक गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार करना आरंभ किया। डॉ. अम्बेडकर दलितों के निर्विवाद नेता बन गए तथा उनकी सारे देश में प्रशंसा हुई।

भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने मांग की कि दलितों को पर्याप्त आरक्षण प्राप्त होने चाहिए। विधानमण्डलों में उन्हें संख्या के अनुपात में सीधे अपने प्रतिनिधि चुनने का अधिकार मिलना चाहिए। उनके अनुसार दलितों की समस्याओं के समाधान का एक ही उपाय था, उनकी सामाजिक स्थिति में सुधार। डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने व्यक्ति और समाज के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह सिद्ध किया कि समाज में सभी मनुष्य समान हैं। सभी को समानता के साथ जीने का अधिकार है इसलिए न्याय और समता के आधार पर भारतीय समाज की पुनर्रचना की जानी चाहिए। इसके लिए उन्होंने वर्ण-

व्यवस्था का पूर्ण रूप से उन्मूलन आवश्यक माना।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर वर्ण व्यवस्था के घोर विरोधी थे। वे वर्ण-व्यवस्था को समाज में श्रम-विभाजन की सहज योजना नहीं, अपितु ब्राह्मणों द्वारा अपनी स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिए जान बूझकर बनाई गई ऐसी व्यवस्था मानते थे, जिसने समाज को उच्च व निम्न के रूप में विभाजित कर दिया है। उनकी नजरों में वर्ण-व्यवस्था श्रम का विभाजन न होकर श्रमिकों का विभाजन है।⁵ उनकी नजरों में हिन्दू धर्म ग्रन्थों, विशेषकर मनुस्मृति आदि ने अस्पृश्यों एवं शूद्र वर्ण के प्रति घृणा एवं भेदभाव को प्रश्रय दिया है। उन्होंने भारत की सामाजिक समस्याओं के निवारण के लिए हिन्दुओं को वर्ण व्यवस्था व धर्मशास्त्रों के बंधन से मुक्त किया जाना आवश्यक माना।⁶

आजाद भारत में गणतंत्रात्मक शासन-व्यवस्था अपनाये जाने पर उन्होंने नई सामाजिक व्यवस्था कायम करने की कल्पना की। उनका विचार था कि वर्ण और जाति व्यवस्था की विभीषिका को स्वतंत्र भारत में दलितों को भोगने के लिए अब और अधिक विवश व बाध्य नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। उन्होंने अपने इन्हीं आदर्शों को भारतीय संविधान में स्वीकृत करवाया तथा सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और आर्थिक समता और स्वतंत्रता को संविधान में मौलिक रूप से स्थापित कराया।

भारतीय नारी के सम्मानजनक स्थान का समर्थन : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का ध्यान हिन्दू समाज के जर्जर ढाचे में परिवार के केन्द्र में अवस्थित भारतीय नारी की ओर भी गया। उन्होंने संविधान में उसे भी सम्मानजनक स्थान दिलाकर उसकी गरिमा और प्रतिष्ठा को पुनः स्थापित किया है। अपनी इस भूमिका के कारण डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर को 'सामाजिक क्रांति का जनक और 'आधुनिक मनु' आदि की उपाधियाँ मिली।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर की मान्यता थी कि स्त्रियों को शिक्षा व अन्य सामाजिक क्षेत्रों में पुरुषों के समान ही अवसर प्राप्त होने चाहिए। वे हिन्दू परिवार प्रणाली में स्त्रियों को पुरुषों के अधीनस्थ और उन पर निर्भर समझे जाने की प्रवृत्ति के विरोधी थे। हिन्दू समाज में, सम्पत्ति के उत्तराधिकार, निःसंतान होने पर किसी पुत्र या पुत्री को गोद लेने, पुनर्विवाह आदि प्रसंगों में स्त्रियों के साथ भेदभाव किया जाता था। भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने स्त्रियों के प्रति विद्यमान इस भेदभावों का अन्त किया जाना आवश्यक माना। पारिवारिक व सामाजिक जीवन में स्त्रियों की स्थिति में सुधार के लिए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने विधि मंत्री के रूप में हिन्दू कोड विधेयक संसद में प्रस्तुत किया तथा इसे पारित करवाने के लिए गंभीर प्रयास किये। डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने दलितों की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये दलित स्त्रियों की भूमिका को महत्वपूर्ण माना। अम्बेडकर के इन प्रयासों का असर दलित समाज पर हुआ और उनमें बदलाव देखा जाने लगा। डॉ. अम्बेडकर जाति व्यवस्था के घोर विरोधी थे। जाति व्यवस्था को तोड़ने के लिये उनका सुझाव था पुजारी एक जाति से नहीं होना चाहिये बल्कि इस पद को प्रजातांत्रिक बना दिया जाना

चाहिये। उनका विश्वास था कि यह कदम जाति व्यवस्था को तोड़ देगा।

धार्मिक कट्टरता पर प्रहार : धर्म के बारे में डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के विचार स्पष्ट थे। साम्यवादी विचारधारा में प्रचलित मुहावरे 'धर्म एक अफीम है' को उन्होंने स्वीकार नहीं किया। उनके अनुसार धर्म का महत्व उसके ढोंग, पाखण्ड, कट्टर और अनुदार होने में नहीं है। सत्य, अहिंसा और प्रेम में डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर की पूरी आस्था थी। इसीलिए जीवन की अन्तिम वेला में वे बौद्ध धर्म की ओर आकर्षित हुए और अपने प्रश्नों का उत्तर उन्होंने बौद्ध धर्म में खोजा।

गाँधीजी के अछूतोद्धार कार्यक्रम से मतभेद : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के समकालीन ही महात्मा गाँधी ने भी अस्पृश्यता के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन शुरू किया था। 1924 में वे महात्मा गाँधी के अछूतोद्धार कार्यक्रम के आन्दोलन में सम्मिलित भी हुए थे। किन्तु, उनको महात्मा गाँधी का मार्ग अधिक विलम्ब का तथा अप्रभावी लगा। हरिजन कल्याण एवं अस्पृश्यता अन्मूलन संबंधी उपायों पर उनका गाँधीजी से मतभेद था।⁷ इसलिए वे अतिशीघ्र महात्मा गाँधी के कार्यक्रम से पृथक हो गये। भीमराव अम्बेडकर का आरोप है कि महात्मा गाँधी ने अस्पृश्यता निवारण के प्रश्न को वांछित प्राथमिकता नहीं दी। अम्बेडकर के अनुसार गाँधीजी को अस्पृश्यता निवारण के प्रश्न को स्वराज के लिए संघर्ष की तुलना में प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए, क्योंकि जब तक समाज का एक बड़ा वर्ग सामान्य मानवीय अधिकारों से भी वंचित है, राजनैतिक स्वतंत्रता का कोई अर्थ नहीं है।⁸

प्रसिद्ध समाज सुधारक ज्योति बा फुले एवं महादेव गोविन्द रानाडे का भी डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के जीवन-दर्शन पर प्रभाव पड़ा था। उन्होंने समाज, विज्ञान, धर्म, राजनीति आदि विषयों पर अपने सिद्धान्त बनाये। यह उनके मुक्त चिन्तन का परिणाम था। धार्मिक दृष्टि को उन्होंने मानवतावादी दृष्टि और समाज के नियामक सिद्धान्त के रूप में स्वीकार किया। मार्क्स से प्रभावित होने पर भी उन्होंने सर्वहारा वर्ग के सिद्धान्त को अस्वीकार किया। उनकी हिंसा तथा रक्तक्रांति में आस्था नहीं थी। अपितु वे गाँधीजी के समान शांतिपूर्ण एवं अहिंसक साधनों में विश्वास करते थे।

जाति प्रथा का विरोध : भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने जाति व्यवस्था में ऊँच-नीच के भेदभाव के लिए भारतीय समुदाय में ब्राह्मणवाद के वर्चस्व को उत्तरदायी माना। भीमराव अम्बेडकर के अनुसार ब्राह्मण ही भारतीय समाज में जाति प्रथा को मजबूत बनाये रखने और अनेक कुरीतियों, जैसे- अस्पृश्यता, स्त्रियों के प्रति भेदभाव, विधवा विवाहों का निषेध, बाल विवाह आदि के प्रचलन के लिए उत्तरदायी है।⁹

भीमराव अम्बेडकर का मत है कि जाति व्यवस्था हिन्दू समाज को व्यापक रूप से प्रभावित करती रही है और आज भी यह सामाजिक व्यवस्था की मुख्य प्रवृत्ति बनी हुई है। हिन्दू समाज में

उत्पन्न हो गईं अनेक विकृतियों और अन्यायों के प्रचलन के लिए भीमराव अम्बेडकर जाति प्रथा को उत्तरदायी मानते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि जाति प्रथा के साथ जो विशेषताएं और लक्षण जुड़ गये हैं, या सामाजिक प्रगति के मार्ग में बाधाएं उपस्थित करते हैं और उनका कोई सकारात्मक महत्व नहीं है। भीमराव अम्बेडकर के अनुसार जाति व्यवस्था भारतीय समाज के विकास में सबसे बड़ी बाधा रही है। जाति व्यवस्था में सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं रहा है। भीमराव अम्बेडकर का दृढ़ मत था कि भारतीय समाज में से जाति प्रथा का शीघ्रतिशीघ्र उन्मूलन किया जाना चाहिए।

अस्पृश्यता का विरोध : भीमराव अम्बेडकर हिन्दू समाज में प्रचलित अस्पृश्यता को अनैतिक, अन्यायपूर्ण और अनुचित मानते थे। उनके अनुसार अस्पृश्यता हिन्दू समाज के उत्थान के मार्ग में सबसे बड़ी बाधा है। भीमराव अम्बेडकर का मत है कि अस्पृश्यता की जड़ें वर्ण व्यवस्था में हैं। उनके अनुसार मूलतः अन्य हिन्दुओं में और आज अस्पृश्य समझे जाने वाले लोगों में कोई भेद नहीं है। वर्ण व्यवस्था की व्याख्या करते हुए उन्होंने प्रतिपादित किया था कि प्रारंभ में केवल तीन ही वर्ण थे और शुद्र वर्ण की उत्पत्ति बाद में ब्राह्मणों और क्षत्रियों के मध्य संघर्ष के परिणामस्वरूप हुई। उन्होंने अस्पृश्यता के प्रचलन के लिए मुख्यतः हिन्दू समाज में ब्राह्मणवाद के वर्चस्व को उत्तरदायी माना।¹⁰ भीमराव अम्बेडकर के अनुसार जिन लोगों ने बौद्ध धर्म को अपना लिया और ब्राह्मणवाद को चुनौती दी उन्हें ब्राह्मणवाद के अन्तर्गत संगठित हिन्दू समाज में अस्पृश्य समझा जाने लगा।¹¹ भीमराव अम्बेडकर अस्पृश्यता के निवारण को अत्यन्त आवश्यक मानते थे। उनका यह आपेक्ष था कि अस्पृश्यता जैसी अन्यायप्रद व्यवस्था को जारी रखने में आधुनिक समय में भी ब्राह्मण वर्ग के प्रतिरोध तथा सामाजिक अन्याय की स्थिति को बने रहने देने के लिए उनके आग्रह के कारण भारत में जाति प्रथा और अस्पृश्यता का निराकरण कठिन हो गया है। डॉ. अम्बेडकर अस्पृश्यता के निराकरण के लिए ब्राह्मणों या हिन्दुओं के उच्च समझे जाने वाले अन्य वर्गों की उदारता पर निर्भर करने की बजाय, राज्य द्वारा सामाजिक क्षेत्र में व्यवस्थापन को अधिक प्रभावशाली उपाय समझते थे। वे राज्य से यह अपेक्षा करते थे कि वह अस्पृश्यता को कानून द्वारा समाप्त करे तथा अस्पृश्य माने जाने वाले वर्गों को विशेष सुविधाएं प्रदान करके तथा नौकरियों में आरक्षण आदि प्रावधान करके उन्हें समाज के अन्य वर्गों के समकक्ष आने का अवसर प्रदान करें।

सामाजिक न्याय के युगद्रष्टा : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने जीवनभर सामाजिक न्याय एवं मानवधिकारों के लिए संघर्ष किया। उनका सारा जीवन दलितों के लिए स्वाधीनता, समानता और सम्मानपूर्ण जीवन के लिए किये गये संघर्ष की कहानी है। उनका जीवन जाति, वर्ण और वर्ग विशेष के संघर्ष की कहानी है, जिसके वे छः दशकों तक नायक बने रहे। उनका यह नायकत्व

आरोपित न होकर स्वयं अर्जित और स्वयंस्फूर्त था। अपने सम्पूर्ण परिवेश, आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वों, संवेदनाओं, अनुभवों, अवधारणाओं और प्रतिबद्धताओं से निर्मित डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर 'इतिहास पुरुष' की संज्ञा को सही और सार्थक सिद्ध करते हैं।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर की चिन्तनधारा और परम्परा को 'अम्बेडकरवाद' या किसी अन्य नामकरण की आवश्यकता नहीं है। वे तो सम्पूर्ण रूप से सामाजिक न्याय के मसीहा और अग्रदूत थे। उनके द्वारा चलाया गया सामाजिक न्याय के लिए आन्दोलन एक शुद्ध कर्म है जिसकी प्रासंगिकता आज भी उतनी ही बनी हुई है जितनी उनके समय में थी। इसी आधार पर सामाजिक न्याय और सामाजिक परिवर्तन की पृष्ठभूमि में डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर की भूमिका को समझना उचित होगा।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर और संविधान निर्माण : देश को आजादी मिलने के पश्चात् राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व एवं संविधान सभा के समक्ष एक अहम सवाल यह था कि स्वतंत्र भारत के सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनैतिक ढांचे को मूर्तरूप देने के लिए राष्ट्रीय संविधान के निर्माण का गुरुत्तर दायित्व किसे सौंपा जाए। इस हेतु प्रधानमंत्री नेहरू ने कई विदेशी विद्वानों के नाम गाँधीजी के समक्ष रखे लेकिन गाँधीजी ने सभी नामों को अस्वीकार कर डॉ. अम्बेडकर को यह महत्वपूर्ण दायित्व दिये जाने का सुझाव दिया।¹² इस हेतु एक प्रारूप समिति का निर्माण किया गया तथा सात सदस्यीय इस समिति का डॉ. अम्बेडकर को अध्यक्ष बनाया गया। संविधान निर्माण की प्रक्रिया तथा इसके निर्माण में प्रारूप समिति के अध्यक्ष के रूप में डॉ. अम्बेडकर का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है। भारतीय संविधान में विभिन्न प्रावधानों का समावेश कर अनुसूचित जातियों के साथ अस्पृश्यता एवं अन्य सामाजिक-धार्मिक निर्योग्यताओं से मुक्ति दिलाने में डॉ. अम्बेडकर की भूमिका बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है।

यह बहुत कुछ उनके प्रयासों का ही परिणाम था कि राज्य द्वारा अनुसूचित जातियों के हितों की रक्षा तथा कल्याण के लिए आवश्यक उपाय किये जाने के प्रावधान संविधान में किये गये।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर की रचनाएं : डॉ. अम्बेडकर न केवल एक दलितोद्धारक, सफल वकील, शिक्षक एवं संगठनकर्ता थे, अपितु इन सबसे आगे वे एक सफल लेखक एवं विश्लेषक थे। यूं तो उन्होंने आजीवन हिन्दू धर्म, समाज व्यवस्था, दलित वर्ग की उत्पत्ति एवं जाति प्रथा से संबंधित लगभग डेढ़ दर्जन मौलिक ग्रन्थों की रचना की लेकिन डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर की रचनाओं में कुछ ऐसी रचनाएं हैं, जिनका सीधा संबंध उनके दलितोत्थान एवं मानवधिकारों की प्राप्ति हेतु चलाये गये आन्दोलन से है।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर के अनुसार वैदिक साहित्य, पुराणों एवं धर्मशास्त्रीय तथ्यों के ऐतिहासिक विवेचन के आधार पर वर्ण और जाति की उत्पत्ति से संबंधित किसी विश्वसनीय एवं ठोस सिद्धान्त की स्थापना करना कठिन है क्योंकि इन ग्रन्थों में अनेकों परस्पर विरोधी बातें मौजूद हैं जिसमें सत्य व असत्य, उचित व अनुचित

का परीक्षण करना अत्यन्त दुष्कर कार्य है।

निष्कर्ष

डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने दलित समाज के विकास के लिये जो पहल की है, आज उसका ही प्रभाव है कि केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारें दलित समाज के विकास के लिये आगे आकर कोशिशें कर रही हैं। हालांकि यह कोशिशें जरूरत के अनुरूप नहीं हैं। इसे विस्तार देने की जरूरत है। साथ ही राजनीतिक दलों की इस मानसिकता को भी बदलने की जरूरत है कि दलित समाज वोट बैंक है बल्कि इन्हें भी समाज की मुख्यधारा में शामिल कर संविधान के अनुरूप उन्नति का अवसर प्रदान किया जाए। दलित समाज में शिक्षा का विस्तार हो रहा है और यही शिक्षित दलित समाज स्वयं होकर अपना अधिकार लेगी, यह उम्मीद की जाना चाहिए। डॉ. अम्बेडकर का सपना यही था कि दलित, दलित न रहकर मुख्यधारा में मिल हो जाए।

संदर्भ

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प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास में वैदिक साहित्य - आयुर्वेद के विशेष संदर्भ में

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सारांश

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास में वैदिक साहित्य का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास की जानकारी के साहित्यिक साधनों में ब्राह्मण साहित्य प्रमुख है। पूर्व वैदिक काल से उत्तर वैदिक काल तक हिन्दू धर्म और समाज से सम्बन्धित अनेक साहित्यिक कृतियों की रचना की गई। इन कृतियों की रचना प्रायः ब्राह्मणों ने की, इसलिये ऐसी समस्त कृतियों को ब्राह्मण साहित्य कहा जाता है। इसके अर्न्तगत सबसे पहले वेद आते हैं। वेद हिन्दू धर्म के प्राचीनतम प्रारंभिक ग्रन्थ हैं जिनसे तत्कालीन आर्य सभ्यता समाज और धर्म उद्घाटित होते हैं। वेद ऋग्वेद, सामवेद, यजुर्वेद और अथर्ववेद के रूप में चार हैं। ऋग्वेद सबसे प्राचीन ग्रंथ माना जाता है, जिससे पूर्व वैदिक आर्यों के जीवन, शिक्षा, समाज, धर्म और राज्य की प्रारंभिक अवस्था पर प्रचुर प्रकाश पड़ता है। उत्तर वैदिक कालीन समाज और संस्कृति के विषय में वेदों के अतिरिक्त ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों से भी जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों में वेद मंत्रों का विस्तार से अर्थ, भाष्य, प्रयोग और आख्यान किया गया है। साथ ही यज्ञ और उसके विधानों का भी सविस्तार विवेचन है। इसमें समाज और धर्म के विविध पक्षों पर व्यापक प्रकाश डाला गया है। ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों के तीन भेद हैं- ब्राह्मण, आरण्यक और उपनिषद्। इसके अलावे वेदांग की रचना वेदों के अर्थ और विषय को समझने के लिये की गई थी, इसलिए इन्हें वेदांग कहा गया। उल्लेखनीय है कि समस्त ज्ञान का आदि स्रोत वेद है और आयुर्वेद वेद का ही अंग है, अतः वेद की प्राचीनता के साथ ही आयुर्वेद की प्राचीनता स्वयं सिद्ध हो जाती है। आयुर्वेद एक प्रत्यक्षमूलक शास्त्र है एवं उसकी प्रामाणिकता औषधियों के प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव को देखने से सिद्ध है। इसी आधार पर वेद की भी प्रामाणिकता सिद्ध होती है। आयुर्वेद उपवेद के रूप में प्रसिद्ध है।

विशिष्टशब्द - ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद, अथर्ववेद, आयुर्वेद

भूमिका

विश्ववाङ्मय में प्राचीनतम और श्रेष्ठतम वाङ्मय वैदिक वाङ्मय है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास में वैदिक साहित्य का काफी विशिष्ट स्थान है। सच पूछा जाये तो ज्ञान - विज्ञान के आदिम स्रोत वेद है। इसलिये विभिन्न शास्त्र वेदों से निकले हैं। सम्पूर्ण वैदिक साहित्य संहिता, ब्राह्मण, उपनिषद् और वेदांग इन चार भागों में विभक्त हैं। वैदिक मंत्रों को संहिता भाग कहा जाता है। मंत्रों की व्याख्या वाले भाग को ब्राह्मण कहते हैं। ब्राह्मण पुनः तीन उपविभागों में विभक्त हो जाता है प्रथम ब्राह्मण, द्वितीय आरण्यक, एवं तृतीय उपनिषद्।

ब्राह्मण : वैदिक मन्त्रों तथा संहिताओं की गद्य टीकाओं को ब्राह्मण कहा जाता है। पुरातन ब्राह्मण में ऐतरेय, शतपथ, पंचविश, तैत्तिरीय आदि विशेष महत्वपूर्ण हैं। ऐतरेय के अध्ययन से राज्याभिषेक तथा अभिषिक्त नृपतियों के नामों का ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है। शतपथ के एक सौ अध्याय भारत के पश्चिमोत्तर के राज्य गान्धार, शाक्य तथा कैकेय आदि और प्राच्य राज्य कुरू, पांचाल, कौशल तथा विदेह के संबंध में ऐतिहासिक कहानियां प्रस्तुत करते हैं। राजा परीक्षित की कथा ब्राह्मणों द्वारा ही अधिक स्पष्ट हो पायी है।

आरण्यक : अरण्य में रहकर (वानप्रस्थ आश्रम) पढ़ा जाने वाला भाग आरण्यक कहलाता है। आरण्यक शब्द की उत्पत्ति अरण्य से हुई है जिसका अर्थ वन होता है। अतः आरण्यक ऐसे ग्रन्थों को कहा जाता है जिनका अध्ययन वन में किया जा सके।

उपनिषद् : 'उप' का अर्थ निकट तथा 'निषद्' का अर्थ बैठना होता है। अर्थात् गुरु के समीप बैठकर प्राप्त किये गये ज्ञान के आधार पर लिखे गये ग्रन्थों को उपनिषद् कहा जाता है। उपनिषदों में 'बृहदारण्यक' तथा 'छान्दोग्य' सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध हैं। इन ग्रन्थों से बिम्बिसार के पूर्व के भारत की अवस्था जानी जा सकती है। परीक्षित, उनके पुत्र जनमेजय तथा पश्चात् कालीन राजाओं का उल्लेख इन्हीं उपनिषदों में किया गया है। इन्हीं उपनिषदों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि आर्यों का दर्शन विश्व के अन्य सभ्य देशों के दर्शन से सर्वोत्तम तथा अधिक आगे था। आर्यों के आध्यात्मिक विकास, प्राचीनतम धार्मिक अवस्था और चिन्तन के जीते-जागते जीवन्त उदाहरण इन्हीं उपनिषदों में मिलते हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि उपनिषद् किसी एक काल में अथवा किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के द्वारा रचित नहीं हैं। इनकी रचना में दीर्घकाल तक विभिन्न लोगों का योगदान रहा है। उपनिषदों में ईश, केन, कठ, प्रश्न, मुण्डक, माण्डूक्य, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय, श्वेताश्वतर, छान्दोग्य, बृहदारण्यक, मैत्रायणी और कौषीतकी महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

वेदांग : वैदिक काल के अंत में वेदों का अर्थ ठीक प्रकार से समझने के लिये वेदांगों की रचना हुई। वेदों के छह अंग हैं - शिक्षा, कल्प, व्याकरण, निरुक्त, छंद और ज्योतिष। वैदिक स्वरो का शुद्ध उच्चारण करने के लिये 'शिक्षा शास्त्र' का निर्माण हुआ। ऐसे सूत्र जिनमें विधि और नियमों का प्रतिपादन किया गया है 'कल्पसूत्र' कहलाते हैं। कल्पसूत्रों के तीन भाग हैं : श्रौत सूत्र, गृह्य सूत्र, और धर्म सूत्र। श्रौत सूत्रों में यज्ञ संबंधी नियमों का उल्लेख है। गृह्य सूत्रों में मानव के लौकिक तथा पारलौकिक

कर्तव्यों का विवेचन है। धर्मसूत्रों में धार्मिक सामाजिक तथा राजनीतिक कर्तव्यों का उल्लेख है। व्याकरण - ग्रन्थों में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पाणिनिकृत अष्टाध्यायी है। दूसरी सदी ई. पू. में पतंजलि ने अष्टाध्यायी पर महाभाष्य नामक टीका लिखी जिससे हमें पुरयमित्र शुंग के विषय में कुछ जानकारी मिलती है। यास्क ने 5वीं ई. पू. में निरुक्त की रचना की। इसमें वैदिक शब्दों की व्युत्पत्ति का विवेचन है। वेदों में अनेक छंदों का प्रयोग मिलता है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि वैदिक काल में ही छंद शास्त्र का काफी विकास हो चुका था। प्राचीन काल में ज्योतिष शास्त्र की भी काफी उन्नति हुई।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

वेद और आयुर्वेद : मानवीय सृष्टि के आदिकाल से ही रोगों के प्रतिकार का प्रयास शुरू हो गया। रोगों को दूरकर जीवन को स्वस्थ, नीरोग तथा दीर्घ बनाना ही आयुर्वेद का मुख्य लक्ष्य रहा है। विश्व के प्राचीनतम ग्रन्थों में वेद प्राचीनतम ग्रन्थ है जो चार हैं - ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद और अथर्ववेद। अन्य विद्याओं की तरह वेद ही आयुर्वेद के भी स्रोत हैं। उसी स्रोत से निकलकर यह जीवन का विज्ञान विश्व में प्रवाहित हुआ है।

वैदिक साहित्य में अश्विनीद्वय को देववैद्य कहा गया है। ये आरोग्य, दीर्घायु, पौरुष, सन्तति और समृद्धि देनेवाले कहे गये हैं। वेदों में अग्नि, इन्द्र, वरुण, मरुत और रूद्र देवभिषक् कहलाते हैं। इनकी चिकित्सा बड़ी ही विलक्षण रही है। इनकी चिकित्सा के चमत्कार आज के वैज्ञानिक युग में भी आश्चर्यजनक प्रतीत होते हैं, जिसके अध्ययन से वैदिककालीन चिकित्सा के उन्नत स्थिति में होने का आभास होता है।

ऋग्वेद में आयुर्वेद : ऋग्वेद के विभिन्न सन्दर्भों में आयुर्वेदीय विषयों का वर्णन मिलता है। अश्विनीकुमार के चिकित्सा कौशल के तहत दधीचि के सिर को हटाकर उसकी जगह घोड़े के सिर का प्रत्यारोपण और पुनः उसे हटाकर असली सिर लगा देना, राजा खेल की पुत्री विशाला की टांग टूटने पर उसकी जगह लोहे की टांग लगा देना, वृद्ध च्यवन को पुनः यौवन और दीर्घायु सम्पन्न बनाना, वामदेव को माता के गर्भ से निकालना इत्यादि का वर्णन ऋग्वेद में किया गया है। इतना ही नहीं, इसमें राजयक्ष्मा, अहि, पृष्ठामय एवं हृदयरोग आदि का भी उल्लेख किया गया है। इसके अन्तर्गत अंग प्रत्यंगो का भी उल्लेख किया गया है। इसके अन्तर्गत अंग प्रत्यंगों का भी वर्णन उपलब्ध है। औषधियों के सम्बन्ध में औषधसूक्त (1147/1/23) से महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। औषधियों के स्वरूप, उनका प्रयोग और उनके

लाभो का भी उल्लेख है। वैद्य के लिये 'भिषक' शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है और उसे 'रक्षोहा' और 'अमीवचातन' कहा गया है।

यत्रौषधीः समगमत् राजानः समिताविव ।

विप्रः स उच्यते भिषग् रक्षोहादयी वचातनः ॥

सूर्यचिकित्सा, जलचिकित्सा, अग्नि और वायुचिकित्सा का भी उल्लेख ऋग्वेद में उपलब्ध होता है।

यजुर्वेद में आयुर्वेद : शुक्ल यजुर्वेद में औषधियों के बारे में बतलाया गया है। बलास, अर्श, शोथ, श्लीपद, हृदयरोग और कुष्ठ आदि रोगों में उनका प्रयोग करने से वे रोग दूर हो जाते हैं इस बात का उल्लेख भी मिलता है। पशुओं और मनुष्यों के शरीर के अंगों का भी उल्लेख किया गया है। तैत्तिरीय संहिता (2/1/1/1; 2/4/14/5) में दृष्टिप्राप्ति एवं यक्ष्मा तथा उन्माद रोग को दूर करने की ऋचाएं हैं। राजयक्ष्मा रोग का वर्णन है एवं त्रिदोषवाद का भी संकेत मिलता है।

सामवेद में आयुर्वेद : सामवेद में बहुत से मंत्र ऋग्वेद के ही हैं, जिनमें आयुर्वेद के विषयों का वर्णन है। इसलिये इसमें भी ऋग्वेद के ही समान यत्र - तत्र आयुर्वेद के विषय उपलब्ध होते हैं।

अथर्ववेद में आयुर्वेद : जहाँ तक अथर्ववेद में आयुर्वेद का प्रश्न है यह अथर्ववेद का उपवेद भी माना जाता है। अथर्ववेद ही मूलतः चिकित्सा, विज्ञान का उद्गम स्रोत है। इसमें सैकड़ों सूक्त और मन्त्र आयुर्वेद से सम्बद्ध हैं। अथर्ववेद में विभिन्न स्थानों पर रोग, रोगों के निवारण और रोगों में औषधियों का प्रयोग आदि विषयों पर काफी उल्लेख मिलते हैं। आयुर्वेद के विकसित सिद्धान्तों की पृष्ठभूमि अथर्ववेद में उपलब्ध होती है। इसमें त्रिदोषवाद, शरीर में अग्नि की स्थिति, पाचनक्रिया, शरीर के अंग- प्रत्यंग का नाम, रोगों का नाम, कृमियों का विस्तृत वर्णन, रोगों के चिकित्सा के विविध प्रकारों की विस्तृत चर्चा की गई है।

वैदिक साहित्य के अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि अथर्ववेद के समय तक आयुर्वेद के सैद्धान्तिक तथा क्रियात्मक पक्ष का पर्याप्त विकास हो चुका था। इसलिये आयुर्वेद के मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों एवं उसके अंगों से सम्बद्ध विषय प्रचुर मात्रा में अथर्ववेद में पाये जाते हैं। वैदिक साहित्य में चिकित्सा की प्रक्रिया केवल मन्त्र, तन्त्र, देवाराधन, हवन तथा जादू तक सीमित नहीं थी बल्कि अथर्ववेद में रोगों का निर्देश, रोगों के उपचार में औषधियों का प्रयोग शस्त्रकर्म इत्यादि चिकित्सा की बहुत सी विधियों का निर्देश दिया गया है। वैदिक मन्त्रों में तीन सौ साठ अस्थियों का उल्लेख है। मन्त्रों में सैकड़ों, हजारों सिराओं और धमनियों के उल्लेख से यह प्रतीत होता है कि वैदिक काल के ऋषियों को इसका ज्ञान था। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में तीन सौ साठ अस्थियों का वर्णन मिलता है।

वैदिक साहित्य पर विशेष रूप से काम करनेवाले विद्वान एवं इतिहासकार कीथ और मैकडोनल आदि ने भी लिखा है कि वैदिक कालीन भारतीय लोगों की अभिरूचि बहुत पहले ही शरीर शास्त्र के महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों की ओर आकृष्ट हो गई थी। अथर्ववेद के एक

मंत्र में मानव शरीर के विविध अंगों का वर्णन बड़ी सूक्ष्मता और पूर्णता के साथ उपलब्ध होता है। वैदिक साहित्य ऋग्वेद में अनेक स्थानों पर औषधियों के राजा के रूप में सोम का वर्णन किया गया है। कई मन्त्रों में वैद्य के रूप में अश्विनीकुमारों का औषधीय सोम के साथ घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध बतलाया गया है। वैदिक मन्त्रों से यह ज्ञात होता है कि वैदिक काल से तीन युग पूर्व भी औषधियों का ज्ञान था। वैदिक युग में हजारों औषधियों का ज्ञान था और अष्टांग आयुर्वेद के ज्ञाता विभिन्न चिकित्सा विधियों के प्रयोग करनेवाले अनेक चिकित्सक थे।

वैदिक साहित्य के अन्वेषण से यह पता चलता है कि तत्कालीन ऋषियों को लाखों औषधियों के उपयोग और उनके लाभ का ज्ञान था। उपनिषदों की आध्यात्मिक प्रक्रियाओं के सन्दर्भ में नाड़ी आदि का ज्ञान मिलता है। मोहनजोदड़ों की खुदाई से उपलब्ध योगावस्था की मूर्तियों की रचना को देखकर प्रतीत होता है कि यौगिक क्रियाओं का ज्ञान प्राचीन काल में था। वसन्त जी रेले ने वैदिक मन्त्रों में आये हुए आन्तरिक नाड़ीचक्र तथा उनके अधिष्ठातृ देवों के विषय में बहुत सुन्दर प्रकाश डाला है।

याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति में योग के द्वारा शरीर की उत्पत्ति का वर्णन करते हुए तीन सौ साठ अस्थियों, प्राणायतनों, सात सौ सिराओं, नौ सौ स्नायुओं, दो सौ धमनियों, पाँच सौ मांसपेशियों तथा केश - लोम का भी वर्णन किया गया है। हृदय से निकली हुई बहतर हजार नाड़ियों का निरूपण करके इस विज्ञान को योग के लिए उपयोगी बतलाया गया है। वैदिक यज्ञों में अश्वमेधयज्ञ की काफी प्रतिष्ठा थी। चतुर्दिक विजय प्राप्त कर चक्रवर्ती सम्राट् की पदवी पाकर अपने गौरव की अभिवृद्धि और पारलौकिक कल्याण की प्राप्ति के लिए 'अश्वमेधयज्ञ' किया जाता था। वैदिक धर्म के पुनरुद्धारक पुष्यमित्र ने अश्वमेध- यज्ञ किया जिससे उनकी प्रतिष्ठा में वृद्धि हुई। समुद्रगुप्त के शिलालेख में भी इस यज्ञ का सम्मानपूर्वक उल्लेख किया गया है। राजाओं की परिषद में 'अश्वमेध' के अनुष्ठान के समय महर्षियों के सम्मुख भिन्न - भिन्न गाथाएँ गाई जाती थी, जिसमें तीसरे दिन 'भेषजविद्या' के कीर्तन किये जाने का आश्वलायन तथा शांखायन सूत्रों में निर्देश मिलता है। 'भेषजविद्या' के कीर्तन किये जाने की बात मैक्समूलर ने भी कही है। इस प्रकार वैदिक सम्प्रदाय में अश्वमेध यज्ञ के समय 'भेषजविद्या' सम्बन्धी आख्यान का ज्ञान होना भैषज्य-विद्या के महत्त्व को दर्शाता है। प्राचीन मंदिरों में खुदे हुए भैषज्य-विषयक सन्दर्भों के मिलने से शिलालेखों में आये हुए भैषज्य-विषयक प्रसंगों को देखने से और विशाल वैदिक साहित्य में आयुर्वेद सम्बन्धी अनेकानेक विषयों के मिलने से यह सुनिश्चित प्रतीत होता है कि भारतीय भैषज्य - विद्या व्यापक रूप में फैल चुकी थी और इस विद्या का अतिशय गौरवपूर्ण स्थान था।

आयुर्वेद पंचम वेद के रूप में : आयुर्वेद के प्रमुख आचार्य चरक एवं सुश्रुत ने आयुर्वेद को अथर्ववेद के रूप में माना है किन्तु 'कश्यप' ने आयुर्वेद को पंचम वेद माना है। किसी भी वेद या

वेदांग के अध्येता जब वेदना से क्लान्त होते थे तब आयुर्वेद की ही शरण में जाते थे। आयुर्वेद धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष का मूल है, क्योंकि स्वस्थ पुरुष ही धार्मिक या लौकिक क्रियाओं का सम्पादन कर सकता है और स्वास्थ्य प्रदान करने में आयुर्वेद ही समर्थ होता है। जिस प्रकार हाथ में पाँच अंगुलियों में अंगूठा उनका अधिपति और प्रधान होता है, उसी प्रकार ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद और अथर्ववेद से भिन्न आयुर्वेद पंचम वेद है।

निष्कर्ष

इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त तथ्यों के आलोक में कहा जा सकता है कि समस्त भारतीय साहित्य में वेदों का पूज्य एवं पवित्र स्थान है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास में वैदिक साहित्य अपना विशिष्ट स्थान रखता है। वैदिक साहित्य विशेषकर वेद न केवल धर्मग्रन्थ है, अपितु उनमें मानव-जीवन की सर्वविध समस्याओं का समाधान किया गया है, जिससे उनकी उपयोगिता स्वीकार की जाती है। चारों वेदों में आयुर्वेद का उल्लेख किया गया है इसलिये आयुर्वेद भी शाश्वत पुण्यतम और अभ्युदय तथा निःश्रेयसप्रद वेदांग है। यह अथर्ववेद का उपवेद है। अथर्ववेद में आयुर्वेदीय चिकित्सा का वर्णन विशेष रूप से किया गया है। अन्य वेदों में भी आयुर्वेदीय चिकित्सा का वर्णन मिलता है, तथापि अथर्ववेद में प्रचुर मात्रा में आयुर्वेद के विषय पाये जाते हैं। इसलिये आयुर्वेद को अथर्ववेद का ही उपवेद माना जाता है। इस प्रकार आयुर्वेद का वेदों के साथ घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध दिखलाई पड़ता है। यहाँ यह उल्लेख काफी प्रासांगिक होगा कि वेदों में अश्विनी कुमारों एवं अन्य के द्वारा आयुर्वेदीय चिकित्सा के तहत शल्य चिकित्सा के प्रमाण बड़े पैमाने पर मिलते हैं परन्तु आज भी भारत सरकार द्वारा आयुर्वेद में सभी तरह के शल्य चिकित्सा को मान्यता नहीं है। सुश्रुत, चरक, वाग्भट तथा कश्यप ने युक्तियुक्त ढंग से आयुर्वेद को पंचम वेद माना है। ब्रह्मवैवर्त पुराण में भी आयुर्वेद को पंचम वेद कहा गया है। आयुर्वेदीय संहिताओं में आयुर्वेद शब्द के प्रयोग के बदले केवल वेद शब्द का प्रयोग आयुर्वेद के अर्थ में किया गया है। वास्तविकता यह है कि आयुर्वेद का अथर्ववेद के साथ घनिष्ठ संबंध है। पहले यह अथर्ववेद का सहायक अंग था। क्रमशः वह बढ़ता हुआ उपवेद गिना जाने लगा। धीरे - धीरे जब वह सर्वांगीण विकास कर लिया गया तब उसे पंचम वेद माना जाने लगा।

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सारांश

पर्यावरण दो शब्दों से मिलकर बना है। परि+आवरण अर्थात् हमारे चारों तरफ का वातावरण जिनमें एक खास तरह का संतुलन बना रहता है। किंतु आर्थिक उद्देश्यों को पूरा करने के लिए प्रकृति का अवैज्ञानिक दोहन हो रहा है, पर्यावरण को जिस तरह से प्रदूषित किया जा रहा है उससे अब वातावरण असंतुलित होकर हमारे सामने एक गंभीर संकट के रूप में उठ खड़ा हुआ है। पर्यावरण मानव के शारीरिक, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक विकास का महत्वपूर्ण पहलू है। जिस प्रकार भोजन, वस्त्र, आवास के अतिरिक्त शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, मनोरंजन, यातायात की समुचित व्यवस्था आदि का सामाजिक विकास पर असर पड़ता है। उसी प्रकार प्राकृतिक संसाधनों के विकास का सीधा संबंध आर्थिक विकास से है जो पूर्णतः पर्यावरण पर निर्भर करता है। इस प्रकार मानव के सर्वांगीण विकास में पर्यावरण का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। मानव जीवन के इस महत्वपूर्ण पहलू की उपेक्षा का ही परिणाम है कि पर्यावरण कि सुरक्षा आज विश्व के लिए बड़ी चुनौती बनी हुई है। पर्यावरण के बिगड़ते हालात से पूरा विश्व समुदाय चिंतित है। पर्यावरण की सुरक्षा पर स्थानीय, राष्ट्रीय तथा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय-स्तर पर सम्मेलनों, गोष्ठियों, सेमिनारों तथा कार्यशालाओं के माध्यम से विभिन्न प्रकार के कार्यक्रम तय किए जा रहे हैं। भारत के परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखें तो औपनिवेशिक काल में किये गये पर्यावरणीय क्षति की कीमत भारत आज तक चुका रहा है, फर्क बस इतना है कि विकसित देश अपने द्वारा किये गये आर्थिक विकास को पूरा करने के लिए पर्यावरण को क्षति पहुंचाई और भारत में औपनिवेशिक काल में किए गए अवैज्ञानिक आर्थिक विकास के कारण आज पर्यावरण संकट से जूझ रहा है।

विशिष्टशब्द - पर्यावरण, औपनिवेश, बौद्धिक, पाश्चात्य, रूढ़िवादिता, अन्वेषणात्मक, अधिनायक

भूमिका

प्राचीन काल से ही भारतीय इतिहास में निरंतरता एवं परिवर्तन के गुण देखे जाते रहे हैं। किंतु यह परिवर्तन सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, पर्यावरणीय दृष्टि से स्वीकार योग्य रहे हैं। किंतु जब भारत ब्रिटेन का उपनिवेश बना तब हम यह देखते हैं कि ब्रिटिश शासकों ने सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक एवं पर्यावरण में परिवर्तन ही नहीं किये बल्कि उसे दूषित करने का कार्य किया। भारत में शासन करने वाले मुस्लिम शासक भी भारत के समरसता में घुलमिल गये और वे यहीं के होकर रहे गये एवं समाज के अभिन्न अंग बन गये। भारत में शुरू में विभिन्न जाति, धर्म, सम्प्रदाय के लोग रहते आ रहे थे, लेकिन उनमें इन बातों को लेकर इतनी कट्टरता नहीं थी कि वे जाति, धर्म, सम्प्रदाय के नाम पर दंगे करने लगते। किंतु जाति, धर्म के नाम पर जो कट्टरता उनके बीच अंग्रेजों द्वारा लाया गया इससे पूरा समाज प्रदूषित हो गया। जिसका दुष्परिणाम आज भी देश में देखने को मिल रहा है। अंग्रेजों ने सोची-समझी रणनीति के तहत भारतीय खानपान, पहनावा, विचार, बोलचाल, शिक्षा पद्धति, शासन प्रणाली, न्यायप्रणाली, अर्थव्यवस्था तथा भारतीय संस्कृति को प्रदूषित करने का प्रयास किया। किसी भी देश को जब गुलाम बनाया जाता है तो शासन करने वाले देश का प्रभाव उस गुलाम देश पर पड़ता है। किंतु यह प्रभाव कितना सकारात्मक है कितना नकारात्मक उसकी समीक्षा निष्पक्ष रूप से होनी चाहिए। जिससे न केवल इतिहास के विद्यार्थी बल्कि राजनीतिशास्त्री, अर्थशास्त्री, समाजशास्त्री, पर्यावरणवादी एवं समाज में रह रहे आम व्यक्ति तक को दासता के प्रभावों को समझाने में सहायता हो। आज

मंदिर-मस्जिद, नदी जल, भाषा, क्षेत्र-प्रांत को लेकर जिस तरह से समाज में तनाव व्याप्त है, वह एक तरह से अंग्रेजों द्वारा फैलाए गये प्रदूषणों का ही दुष्परिणाम है। हमें इनका हल निकालते समय इसके मूल कारणों को समझना आवश्यक होगा।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक वर्णनात्मक एवं अन्वेषणात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए प्रश्नावली, तुलनात्मक अध्ययन, पत्र-पत्रिका, पुस्तकों का अध्ययन को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

प्राचीन काल से भारत में राजतंत्र, गणतंत्र व्यवस्थाएं स्थापित रही। इन तंत्रों में भी प्रमुखता से जनकल्याण पर जोर दिया गया है। हमारे देश के ग्रंथों में इस बात की चर्चा है कि अगर शासक कुशल नहीं है तो जनता उसे गद्दी से उतार सकती है। इसके साथ-साथ मौर्यकाल में सुदृढ़ शासन व्यवस्था को हम देखते हैं, जहां विभिन्न विभागों के विभागाध्यक्ष, सुसंगत कर प्रणाली एवं केन्द्र से लेकर गांव तक निष्पक्ष न्यायप्रणाली विकसित थी, कमोबेश आने वाले शासकों ने इसी प्रणाली को अपनाया।

चोलकालीन स्थानीय प्रशासन आज के पंचायतों से कम नहीं थे। किंतु भारत में अंग्रेजों का राज्य कायम हुआ न केवल इन प्रणालियों में परिवर्तन कर दिये गये बल्कि उनको शोषणकारी स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया। अब भारतीय शासन की जगह गवर्नर जनरल ने ले ली। भारतीय जिस प्रणाली के शुरू से अभ्यस्त हो

चुके थे जिस प्रणाली पर सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक व्यवस्थाएं टिकी हुई थी, न केवल उन्हें बदला गया बल्कि उन्हें दूषित भी किया गया। लालफीताशाही, भ्रष्टाचार, घूस लेने की प्रथा, फाईल प्रणाली से देश की परम्परागत शासन प्रणाली ही दूषित हो गई। जहां प्राचीन काल में जनता और शासक एक दूसरे से जुड़े हुए थे, अब जनता में ब्रिटिश शासकों के प्रति खौफ पैदा कर दी गई अर्थात् जनता प्रशासन से दूर होती चली गई।

वे राजे महाराजे जो कभी जनता के कल्याण के लिए समर्पित रहते थे, उनमें ऐसे दुर्विचार भर दिये कि वे अब जनता के खिलाफ हो गये, इसके साथ ही उन्हें भारतीय राजनीति में तीसरी ईकाई के रूप में खड़ा कर दिया गया। वे जमींदार जो पहले शासक के डर से आग्रह पूर्वक किसानों से कर वसूलते थे, अंग्रेजों ने उन्हें भी ऐसे दूषित किया कि वे अपने ही भाईयों पर कर वसूलने के लिए अत्याचार करना शुरू कर दिये। भारत में आरंभ से योग्यता को महत्व दिया जाता रहा है चाहे फिर वह किसी भी जाति, धर्म, सम्प्रदाय के लोग रहें हो। किंतु ब्रिटिश हुकूमत ने भिन्न-भिन्न जातियों धर्म, के लोगों को संरक्षण, सरकारी पदों, पुलिस सेना आदि में भी धर्म जाति, लिंग के नाम पर भेद आरंभ कर पूरे शासन प्रणाली के नींव को ही दूषित करने का कार्य किया। इंग्लैंड का यह दावा है कि उन्होंने प्रजातंत्रीय उद्देश्य से भारत में संसदीय प्रणाली स्थापित की है, वह यूरोप में प्रचलित घोर निरंकुशवाद का ही एक रूप था जिसे उन्होंने संवैधानिक रूप देकर संवैधानिक निरंकुशवाद बना दिया।

भारत में शुरू से एक सुचारू और स्वतंत्र न्याय प्रणाली विकसित थी, जहां कभी-कभी तो शासकों पर भी मुकदमा चलाया जाता रहा है। भारतीय इतिहास में ऐसे कई शासक थे जिन्होंने निष्पक्ष न्याय पर जोर दिया। जहां पंचों को परमेश्वर माना जाता था। दण्ड प्रणाली ऐसी थी कि समाज में न्यायप्रणाली की ईमानदारी और दण्ड प्राप्त करने वालों पर सामाजिक दण्ड प्रदान किये जाते थे अर्थात् उस व्यक्ति का हुक्कापानी बंद करना, गांव से निकाल देना, या उससे सामाजिक रीतिरिवाजों एवं व्यवहारों पर पाबंदी लगा दी जाती थी। ये तरीके सुधारात्मक प्रणाली के हुआ करते थे, बहुत आवश्यक हुआ तो ही जेल में डाला जाता था। इसके साथ-साथ भारतीय न्याय प्रणाली शीघ्र उपलब्ध होने वाली, कम खर्चीली, और सरल प्रकृति की हुआ करती थी, जिसे गांव के आम लोग भी समझ सकते थे। किंतु अंग्रेजों ने इस प्रणाली को भी दूषित कर दिया। एक श्रेणीबद्ध रूप से न्यायालयों का गठन कर दिया गया। जहां न्यायपालिका के प्रति लोगों में उसके न्याय के प्रति सदा असंतोष बना रहता था। स्थानीय लोगों को विधि की समझ न के बराबर थी, बल्कि यूरोपीय एवं भारतीयों में भेद भी किया जाता था। यहां उन्होंने विधि के शासन को ताक पर रख दिया था। भारत न्यायप्रणाली को इस स्तर तक दूषित कर दिया कि वे विलंबकारी, खर्चीली, जटिल एवं छलकपटयुक्त हो गई। वकील प्रणाली की भारत में शुरूआत कर न्याय को बेचने खरीदने

का धंधा बना दिया, जिसके पास जितना पैसा उसके लिए न्याय प्राप्त करना उतना ही आसान।

भारत में आदर्श सामाजिक व्यवस्था हड़प्पा काल से रही है। समाज में रह रहें लोगों में एक सामंजस्य बना हुआ था वे आत्मनिर्भर, एक दूसरे के सुख-दुख को समझने वाले और सामाजिक बंधनों को मानने वाले थे। उनमें विभिन्न तरह के विभाजन थे पर वे उतने कट्टर नहीं थे कि वे एक दूसरे के साथ झगड़ा करें। वे अपने सामाजिक स्तर को सुधार सकते थे बसर्ते की सामाजिक सदभाव बना रहे। उनका पहनावा, खानपान, पर्व त्योहार, रीतिरिवाज स्थानीय जरूरतों एवं समाज को मजबूती प्रदान करने वाली होती थी। मंदिर की दिवारों को जुड़ाई करने वाले अगर मुस्लिम होते तो मस्जिद के खिड़की दरवाजा बनाने वाले बढई। अर्थात् सभी जाति धर्मों में सद्भाव और मदद की भावना थी। अंधविश्वास, रूढ़िवाद समाज के एक अंग थे जो समाज को बांधे रहते थे, अगर लोगों द्वारा लोक के अलावा परलोक को सुधारने के लिए बुरे कार्य नहीं करना, चोरी, हत्या न करना, सत्य अहिंसा का पालन दान करना, ताकि लोगों को स्वर्ग प्राप्त हो यह अंधविश्वास था, और ऐसे बुरे कार्यों को करने से लोग डरते थे तो यह समाज की समरसता के लिए अच्छा था। संयुक्त परिवार की प्रणाली जहां लोग मिल-जुलकर रहा करते, बड़ों का आदर, छोटों से प्रेम, सामुहिक भोजन एवं घर में एक सुरक्षा की भावना भारतीय समाज का एक मौलिक गुण हुआ करता था। किंतु 18 वीं शताब्दी में इन मौलिक गुणों को पूरी तरह से दूषित कर दिया गया। संयुक्त परिवार टूटकर एकल परिवार में बदल गये। बड़े-छोटे का स्नेह बदल गया। इसके साथ-साथ अंग्रेजों ने भारतीय समाज को तोड़ने का कार्य भी किया। कभी हिंदू मुस्लिम मित्र हुआ करते थे, अंग्रेजों ने इनके बीच साम्प्रदायिकता का जहर घोलकर उन्हें अलग किया। लोगों को जाति, धर्म लिंग, रंग के आधार पर आपस में लड़कार समाज को प्रदूषित कर दिया। अंग्रेजों ने परम्परागत पहनावा, अचार-विचार अभिनंदन के तरीकों, पर्व त्योहार मानने के तरीकों को पूरी तरह से बदल कर उसकी जगह अंग्रेजी परम्पराओं को थोपने का प्रयास किया गया। हिंदू, मुस्लिमों के दंगे जनजाति विद्रोह, अनुसूचित जातियों, किसानों का उतना ज्यादा विद्रोह अंग्रेजों के पूर्व नहीं हुए थे, जितने की अंग्रेजों के काल में हुए, यह इस बात का सबूत था कि उन्होंने भारतीय समाज को बुरी तरह से दूषित कर दिया था। और अब वह समरसता की भावना नहीं रह गई थी। इस तरह से अंग्रेजों की नीतियों ने राष्ट्रीय एकता के मूल को ही कुचल डाला। धर्म किसी व्यक्ति के आन्तरिक आस्था की बात होती है। भारत में आरंभ से एक अलग प्रकार से उपासना की पद्धति प्रचलित थी। शिक्षा प्रदान करते समय विद्यार्थियों को धार्मिक चिंतन एवं दर्शन बतलाये जाते थे, जिससे लोग गलत कार्य करने से डरे। धर्म के आदर्शों से शिक्षा ग्रहण कर सत्य और अहिंसा को अपने जीवन में अपनायें। किंतु अंग्रेजों ने भारतीयों धार्मिक आस्था को भी दूषित

करने का प्रयास किया। अंग्रेजों की सोची समझी रणनीति के तहत विभिन्न तरह के प्रलोभनों, जैसे :- स्कूल, कॉलेज, अस्पताल एवं नगद धन देकर जैसे उपायों से यहां के भोले-भाले लोगों को जबरन धर्म परिवर्तन कराये गये। जहां पहले भारतीय किसी धर्म के आदर्शों से प्रेरित होकर उसे अपनाते थे अब उन्हें जबरन एवं प्रलोभनों द्वारा धर्म परिवर्तन करवाया जाने लगा जो धार्मिक भावना के खिलाफ था। भारत में आरंभ से शासक के व्यक्तिगत धर्म को प्रजा पर नहीं थोपा गया था अर्थात् राजनीति को धर्म से अलग रखा गया था। अंग्रेजों ने इस भावना को उलट कर राजनीति एवं धर्म दोनों को दूषित किया।

भारत में अर्थशास्त्र, समाजशास्त्र, राजनीतिशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्र, दर्शनशास्त्र, विज्ञान, गणित सभी विषयों की शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी। इन विषयों पर समय-समय पर कई विद्वानों ने पुस्तकें भी लिखी जो आज भी प्रशंसनीय और अनुकरणी हैं। उच्च शिक्षा के केन्द्र देश भर में फैले थे, जहां देश-विदेश के छात्र शिक्षा ग्रहण करने आते थे, इन शिक्षा संस्थानों को शासक, जमींदारों या मंदिरों द्वारा चलाया जाता था। उन्हें शिक्षा के माध्यम से सभ्य नागरिक बनाने, शिक्षा के मूल्यों को अपनाने एवं जीवन में उन्हें उतारने उनका पालन करने विचारों एवं आचरण की शुद्धता के साथ नैतिक मूल्यों पर जोर दिया जाता था। शिक्षा की एक अन्य विशेषता स्थानीय भाषा या समाज में अधिकांश लोगों द्वारा बोले जाने वाली भाषा में दिया जाना था। खुद वारेन हेस्टिंग्स को एक समय लिखना पड़ा था कि पढ़ने लिखने में भारतीय लोग किसी भी देश से कम नहीं हैं। किंतु अंग्रेजी राज्य ने पूरे भारतीय शिक्षा प्रणाली को ही प्रदूषित कर दिया। अंग्रेजों ने भारतीय भाषाओं की जगह जटिल अंग्रेजी भाषा एवं भारतीय इतिहास, दर्शन, समाजशास्त्र, राजनीतिशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्रों की जगह पाश्चात्य पाठ्यक्रमों ने ले लिया। इसके साथ-साथ साधारण लोगों एवं महिलाओं को शिक्षा से दूर कर समाज में पढ़-लिखें एवं निराक्षरों के बीच जानबूझ कर खाई उत्पन्न कर दी जो आज भी व्याप्त है।

औपनिवेशिक शिक्षा पद्धति का एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण किंतु प्रदूषित प्रणाली जो आज भी हमारे शिक्षा प्रणाली को जकड़े हुए है वह था कि इसमें विषय वस्तु को स्मरण करने के लिए रटने की पद्धति को बढ़ावा दिया गया एवं प्राधिकारी के मत को प्रमाण माना गया। इससे विद्यार्थियों के विवेक, तर्क, विश्लेषण और आलोचनात्मक बुद्धि का विकास न हो पाया। वे प्रायः दूसरे के मत को दोहरा सकते थे, किंतु अपने मत के निर्माण में कठिनाई महसूस करते थे। यह अंग्रेजों का सबसे बड़ा दुष्प्रभाव हमारे शिक्षा प्रणाली पर पड़ा है। अंग्रेजों द्वारा कक्षा में जानबूझ कर अंग्रेजी राज्य की प्रशंसा एवं उसकी अच्छाई का गुणगान किया, ताकि बच्चे उसे आत्मसात कर लें। मैकाले का उद्देश्य ही एक ऐसी श्रेणी उत्पन्न करने की थी जो रक्त और रंग से तो भारतीय होता किंतु प्रवृत्ति, विचार और नैतिक मानदण्डों से अंग्रेज।

अंग्रेजों ने भारतीय संस्कृति को भी प्रदूषित किया फिर चाहे वह

संगीत स्थापत्य, नृत्य, वाद्ययंत्र, लोककला, ललितकला, मनोरंजन के साधन रहे हैं। भारतीय साहित्य को यूरोपीय साहित्य से भर दिया गया इसके साथ-साथ भारतीय साहित्य में पाश्चात्य चिंतन, दर्शन, तर्क एवं प्रसंगों को शामिल कर दिया गया। भारतीय चित्रकला शैली में नवीन पाश्चात्य शैली को मिला दिया गया, जिससे भारतीय चित्रकला की विशुद्धता खत्म हो गई। अब यह बताना मुश्किल हो गया कि कौन सा चित्र विशुद्ध रूप से भारतीय है। कथक, भारतनाटयम्, कथकली जैसे प्राचीन नृत्यों को पीछे धकेल दिया गया ऐसा ही हाल संगीत को लेकर भी था। स्थापत्य कला में भी यूरोपीयन शैली को शामिल किया गया जैसे - हिंदू, और इस्लामिक स्थापत्य शैली मिलकर एवं सामंजस्य उत्पन्न किये थे। वैसी बात अब ब्रिटिश काल में देखने को नहीं मिलती। अब भारत के घर बनाते समय पाश्चात्य शैली का अनुकरण किया जाने लगा। जिससे वे कारीगर जो मुगल काल और उससे भी पहले स्थापत्य कला की जो अनमोल धरोहर अपने साथ लाये थे, बेरोजगार होकर लुप्त हो गये। इन सबसे भारतीय संस्कृति के अनमोल विशेषता उसके गुण बीते दिनों की बात बन गई हैं।

भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था विश्व की समृद्ध अर्थव्यवस्था मानी जाती थी। यहां का वाणिज्य व्यापार पूरे विश्व के देशों के साथ जुड़ा हुआ था। गांव की आवश्यकता के सामानों की पूर्ति शहर एवं शहरों की आवश्यकता के सामानों की पूर्ति गांव किया करते थे। भारत में इतने उपजाऊ कृषि थी कि इससे लगान चुकाने के बाद भी किसान साल भर आराम से रहते थे, इसके साथ-साथ लघु एवं कुटीर उद्योग पूरे भारत में फैला था एवं इसके उत्पादों को पूरे विश्व में प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त थी। किंतु अंग्रेजों ने पूरी अर्थव्यवस्था को तहस-नहस कर दिया। कृषि का व्यवसायीकरण कर दिया इसके साथ-साथ लगान की दर इतनी बढ़ा दी गई कि किसान तबाह हो गये यही कारण था कि भारत में आये दिन दुर्दशा, अकाल होती रहती थी, जिससे लाखों लोग मरते थे।

इसके अलावा भारतीय लघु एवं कुटीर उद्योग को भी तबाह किया गया। अब भारतीय बाजारों को इंग्लैंड के उत्पादों से भर दिया गया। अंग्रेजों ने भारतीय व्यापारियों से वे बाजारों को छीन लिया जहां भारतीय उत्पाद जाया करते थे। कार्ल मार्क्स ने ठीक ही कहा था कि अंग्रेजी घुसपैटिए ने भारतीय करघों को तोड़ दिया और चरखे का सर्वनाश कर दिया। भारत में बाहर से भारी मात्रा में सूती कपड़ों की आयात की गई जिससे भारतीय सूती उद्योग समाप्तप्राय हो गया। भारतीय औद्योगिक विकास का एक और नकारात्मक पहलू इसका नितांत असंतुलित क्षेत्रीय चरित्र था। उद्योग देश के कुछ क्षेत्रों और शहरों में केन्द्रित थे जिससे क्षेत्रीय आय में असमानता आई जो आज तक बरकरार है।

भारत में पर्यावरण सामाजिक जीवन के उत्थान में अभिन्न अंग के रूप में माना जाता था। लोग विभिन्न तरीकों से प्रकृति की पूजा किया करते थे। वे वनों के विकास के लिए भी प्रतिबद्ध रहते थे

क्योंकि लोग उसके मूल्य को पहचानते थे। किंतु अंग्रेजों ने भारत में रेल के विकास, खनन, उद्योगों के द्वारा भारतीय पर्यावरण को प्रदूषित कर डाला अपने साम्राज्यिक जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए भारतीय जंगलों को काट कर बहुमूल्य लकड़ियों को इंग्लैण्ड भेजा एवं जंगलों को साफ कर वहाँ खेती आरंभ कर दी। यह खेती भी स्थानीय जरूरतों और स्थानीय फसलों की न होकर इंग्लैण्ड के जरूरतों और व्यापार के लिए व्यापारिक फसलों के रूप में था। उद्योग धंधों से निकलने वाले धुँएँ से वायु को प्रदूषित किया गया तो उन उद्योगों के अवशिष्टों को नदी में बहाकर जल को भी प्रदूषित किया। आज भी भारत के लोग इस प्रदूषण के प्रभावों को महसूस कर रहे हैं।

निष्कर्ष

परिवर्तन एक प्राकृतिक प्रक्रिया है और भारत में भी सामाजिक तथा दैनिक जीवन में परिवर्तन अवश्य आते, चाहे अंग्रेज भारत आते या नहीं। यह जरूर हुआ कि अंग्रेजों के आने से बिना स्थानीय परिस्थितियों को समझे अंग्रेजों ने भारत में तीव्र गति से परिवर्तन शुरू कर दिये। जो उनके साम्राज्यिक आवश्यकता के अनुरूप था, जिससे यह परिवर्तन जहाँ सुधारात्मक एवं अनुकरणीय होते किंतु भारत का हर क्षेत्र इनसे प्रदूषित हो गया। जिन देशों में अंग्रेज नहीं गये वहाँ भी तो पश्चिमी सभ्यता का प्रभाव देखने को मिलता है इस बात से भी उपर्युक्त तर्क सिद्ध होता है कि बिना अंग्रेजों के आये भारत में परिवर्तन धीरे-धीरे होते रहते। आज नगरवासियों में यूरोपीय चिन्तन तथा आदर्श जड़ पकड़ चुका है। आर्थिक जीवन की अन्नत जटिल समस्या हमें अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य की शोषक प्रकृति की सदैव स्मरण कराती रहती है। यदि पश्चिम के नमूने पर कुछ लाभकारी आधुनिकीकरण हुआ भी तो अंग्रेजों ने यह प्रयत्न किया कि इसके लाभों का भाग भारतीयों को कम मिले।

अंग्रेज साम्राज्यवादियों ने औपनिवेशिक संस्थाओं, अर्थव्यवस्था समाज यहाँ तक कि विचारधारा का एक ढाँचा खड़ा कर दिया है, राजनीति से प्रेरित जातिवाद, प्रदेशवाद, भाषावाद, सम्प्रदायिकता जैसे विष हमारे देश में फैला दिया गया है जो आज भी हमारे सामने समस्या के रूप में खड़ा है। इस तरह से अंग्रेज भले भारत से चले गये किंतु अपने पीछे अस्वस्थ समाज, भ्रष्ट शासन व्यवस्था को छोड़ गये। इससे भी बड़ी समस्या तो वह भारत का विभाजन करवा कर उत्पन्न कर दी, जिससे आज भी भारत-पाकिस्तान जूझ रहे हैं। अन्य समस्याओं को तो एक दिन सुलझाया

जा सकता है। किंतु यह समस्या आने वाले कई युगों तक दोनों मुल्कों के लोगों को अंग्रेजी दासता को स्मरण कराती रहेगी।

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नम्रता गौरव

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सारांश

प्रत्येक समाज में महिलाओं की स्थिति उस समाज विशेष में प्रचलित आदर्शों, विश्वासों, मान्यताओं और मूल्यों के आधार पर प्रदान भूमिका के अनुसार निश्चित होती है। जनजातीय समाज द्वारा भी महिलाओं को कुछ विशिष्ट व निश्चित भूमिका प्रदान की गई है, जिसके फलस्वरूप वे अर्थव्यवस्था में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाती हैं। चूँकि जनजातियों की सारी गतिविधियाँ प्रकृति, अलौकिक शक्ति और सांस्कृतिक विश्वास से निर्धारित होती है, अतः इनका जीविकोपार्जन प्रायः वन, वनोत्पाद, कृषि तथा पशुपालन पर आधारित होता है। इसके अलावा शिकार, मत्स्याखेटन, दस्तकारी, व दिहाड़ी मजदूरी भी इनके जीविकोपार्जन के अंग हैं। दिहाड़ी मजदूरी के तौर पर जनजातीय महिलाओं की श्रम-शक्ति का उपयोग कृषि, निर्माण कार्य, ईंट भट्टों, अन्य उद्योगों व खादानों में होता है। इन सबके बावजूद विकास के अवसर उपलब्ध होने के बाद भी जनजातीय महिलाएं सामाजिक, आर्थिक, शैक्षणिक और राजनीतिक रूप से पिछड़ी हुई हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि कठिन श्रम के बावजूद जनजातीय महिलाओं को उचित मजदूरी नहीं मिलती है। आज भी खादानों में कार्यरत जनजातीय महिलाएं शोषण, अत्याचार, गरीबी की मार, व पलायन की त्रासदी झेलने के लिए अभिशप्त हैं। उदाहरण के तौर पर झरिया बीसीसीएल के 12 क्षेत्र व 60 उपक्षेत्रों में कार्यरत 2000 से अधिक असंगठित श्रमिकों की तुलना में काम करनेवाली वैसी महिलाएं जिन्हें न सिर्फ घर की परिस्थितियाँ ही बाहर जाने के लिए मजबूर करती हैं कि वे अपने को किसी न किसी प्रकार जिंदा रख पायें बल्कि उन्हें कार्यस्थलों से भी बहुधा अलग रहना पड़ता है, क्योंकि उनके लिए वहाँ की परिस्थितियों को बहुत दिनों तक बर्दाश्त कर पाना कठिन होता है। प्रस्तुतः शोध-आलेख में असंगठित जनजातीय महिला श्रमिकों की सामाजिक स्थिति का अध्ययन समय-संदर्भ में महत्वपूर्ण है।

विशिष्टशब्द - कार्य-भागीदारिता, ठेकेदार, ऋणग्रस्तता, सामाजिक अभिमुखन, रूढ़िवाद

भूमिका

महिलाएं किसी भी समाज का एक अहम हिस्सा हैं। समाज का सार्थक विकास उनके विकास व योगदान के बिना संभव नहीं है। वर्तमान समय में महिलाएं देश की उन्नति में पुरुषों के साथ प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर कार्य-सहभागिता निभा रही हैं। प्रस्तुत शोध-अध्ययन में झरिया के कोयला खदानों में कार्यरत असंगठित क्षेत्र की जनजातीय महिलाओं पर इस बात की पुष्टि की गई है कि अब महिलाएं जोखिम वाले कार्य क्षेत्रों में भी व्यापक स्तर पर कार्य कर रही हैं। परन्तु, यहाँ यह बतलाना आवश्यक है कि किसी अन्य असंगठित महिला मजदूर की अपेक्षा जनजातीय महिला मजदूरों की कार्यस्थिति व कार्यस्थल में उनसे जुड़े समस्याओं का अध्ययन पर अच्छे शोध का नितांत अभाव है, क्योंकि जनजातीय महिला मजदूरों को भी सामान्य महिला मजदूरों की श्रेणी में रख दिया जाता है। लेकिन बात ध्यान देने योग्य बात यह है कि किसी भी दूसरे समाज की तरह जनजातीय समाज भी विविधताओं से भरा है इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि अन्य समाजों की तरह जनजातीय समाज समरूप है। समरूप नहीं होने की वजह से ही उन्मुक्त जनजातीय समाज में श्रेष्ठ मानकर सम्मान पानेवाली जनजातीय महिलाएं कार्यस्थलों में अनेक प्रकार की समस्याओं से घिरी हुई हैं। अतः इस शोध-पत्र का मुख्य उद्देश्य असंगठित जनजातीय महिला श्रमिकों की कार्यस्थल में विभिन्न भूमिकाओं व उनसे संबंधित समस्याओं का अध्ययन करना है।

पूर्व का अध्ययन : सामाजिक परिवर्तन के वर्तमान दौर में भी जनजातीय महिलाओं की स्थिति में बहुत परिवर्तन नहीं आया है। खासकर ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में रहनेवाली जनजातीय महिलाओं की स्थिति दयनीय बनी हुई है। जनजातीय महिलाएं पारिवारिक सहयोगिनी होने के बावजूद एक परिश्रम करनेवाली दासी तथा अबला के सिवाय कुछ और नहीं समझी जाती है।¹ पुरुषों की अपेक्षा महिलाओं को असंगठित क्षेत्र की खामियों व दुलमुल नीतियों का ज्यादा शिकार होना पड़ता है क्योंकि महिलाओं पर समाज के साथ-साथ घर की जिम्मेवारी भी होती है जिसके कारण वे अपने शोषण को भी नजरअंदाज कर देती हैं।² असंगठित कार्यस्थलों में कानूनों की घोर उपेक्षा तथा कमी के कारण महिलाएं उत्पीड़न का ज्यादा शिकार होती हैं।³ समाज में पहले से दोगुने दर्जे के नागरिक के तौर पर जी रही औरतों की पीड़ा गहरी हुई है। आज समाज में औरतों के बीच ही गहरी खाई बनती जा रही है। उदारीकरण की नीतियों के कारण जहाँ संगठित क्षेत्र की महिलाएं अपने अधिकारों को पाने के लिए कानूनों का सहारा लेने लगी हैं वहीं असंगठित क्षेत्र की महिलाओं को अभी भी कार्यस्थल में प्राप्त लाभों की जानकारी तक नहीं है।⁴

असंगठित क्षेत्र की महिलाओं की पहचान मिटती जा रही है क्योंकि असंगठित क्षेत्र में कार्य करने की विवशता झेलनेवाली महिलाओं का जीवन सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक खालीपन से भर गया है। ऐसे में मौजूदा वैश्वीकरण की नीतियों में महिला

सशक्तीकरण का सफल स्वरूप उभरेगा यह चिन्तनीय मुद्दा है।⁵

शोध प्रविधि

तथ्यों के संकलन के लिए उद्देश्यपूर्ण निदर्शन के द्वारा 100 जनजातीय महिला असंगठित श्रमिकों का चयन बीसीसीएल के पाँच कोयला खनन उपक्षेत्र से किया गया है। ये उपक्षेत्र निम्नांकित हैं :

उपक्षेत्र	कुल महिला श्रमिक	जनजातीय महिला श्रमिक	चयनित जनजातीय महिला श्रमिक
भारडीह	24	21	20
लोयाबाद	22	22	20
सेन्द्रा बांसजोड़ा	32	20	20
साउथ तीसरा	38	27	20
भौरा साउथ	31	20	20
कुल	147	110	100

संख्यात्मक अनुपात में यहाँ असंगठित महिला श्रमिकों में जनजातीय (उराँव, मुंडा) महिला श्रमिकों की ज्यादा उपस्थिति इन क्षेत्रों के चयन का एक प्रमुख आधार है और ईकाईयों के चयन के लिए रैंडम पद्धति का सहारा लिया गया। अनुसूची विधि से तथ्य संकलन किया गया।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

कोयला खनन उद्योग में जनजातीय महिलाएं प्रायः कोयला ढुलाई के कामों में लगाई जाती हैं। चूँकि जनजातीय महिलाएं अन्य महिलाओं की अपेक्षा ज्यादा कठिन परिश्रम कर लेती हैं, अतः इन्हें ठेकेदार के अन्तर्गत संचालित कामों में 6 से 9 घंटे कष्टपूर्ण स्थिति में कार्य पड़ता है, जबकि इनकी मजदूरी दूसरों की तरह ही साधारण ही होती है। अध्ययन के दौरान यह भी देखने को मिला कि यदि प्रत्येक झोड़ा (वह टोकरी जिसमें कोयला ढोया जाता है।) के हिसाब के ठेकेदार के मजदूरी तय की है तो अनेक जनजातीय महिलाओं को आधा दर में कार्य कराया जाता है। अर्थात् 25 रुपये प्रतिभार के हिसाब से उन्हें मजदूरी दी गई। इसका कारण यह है कि शोध कार्य में कार्यरत 100 श्रमिकों में से 65 महिला श्रमिक रोजी-रोटी की तलाश में ही अपने गृह जिला को छोड़कर झरिया में प्रवासी श्रमिक के तौर पर कार्यरत हैं। शेष 35 जनजातीय महिला श्रमिकों में 20 महिला श्रमिक विस्थापन का शिकार हैं, जबकि अन्य 15 महिला श्रमिक झरिया व उसके आसपास के गाँवों से कार्य करने आती हैं।

कार्यस्थल में अन्य महिलाओं की स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय होती है।

कोयला ढुलाई का कार्य उनसे अनवरत कराया जाता है। चूँकि अधिकांश जनजातीय महिलाएं अशिक्षित होने के साथ जागरूक भी नहीं होती हैं और बाहरी लोगों के साथ विचार-विमर्श करने में हिचकती हैं, जिस कारण प्रायः ठेकेदार इन असंगठित महिला श्रमिकों को मिलनेवाले लाभ, जो असंगठित क्षेत्र के सामाजिक सुरक्षा अधिनियमों के तहत मिलते हैं, को भी हड़प लेता है। कार्यस्थल में इन महिलाओं को जागरूक करनेवाली मशीनरी का पूर्णतया अभाव है, अतः अधिकांश महिलाएं इन जानकारियों से भी वंचित हैं और जानकारी के अभाव में शोषित होती रहती हैं। इतना ही नहीं कोयला खदानों में कार्यरत असंगठित क्षेत्र की जनजातीय महिलाओं की सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी यह है कि ये महिलायें 4 या 5 महिलाओं के समूह में कार्य करती हैं और अपने समूह के बाहर की महिलाओं के साथ कार्यस्थल में अभद्र व्यवहार पर काम छिन जाने के डर से कुछ बोलना पसंद नहीं करती हैं। कार्यस्थल में एकजुटता का अभाव इनकी सबसे बड़ी समस्या है जो इनके शोषण के लिए वातावरण बनाने में मदद करता है।

कार्यस्थल के विभिन्न उपक्षेत्रों में कार्यरत जनजातीय महिलाओं की राजनैतिक भागीदारिता व जागरूकता पुरुषों की तुलना में अत्यधिक कम है। प्रायः जनजातीय महिलाओं को खनन क्षेत्र में होनेवाले असंगठित मजदूरों से संबंधित कार्यक्रमों में मजदूरों की उपस्थिति मात्र दर्शाने के लिए प्रयोग किया जाता है। उनसे संबंधित सुरक्षा कार्यक्रमों में उनकी अपेक्षा अन्य महिलाओं अथवा पुरुषों श्रमिकों की ज्यादा सुनी जाती है। इस कारण वैसे जनजातीय महिलाएं जो अपनी समस्याओं को प्रबंधन अथवा अन्य सरकारी अफसरों के पास कुशलतापूर्वक रख सकती हैं उन्हें भी बोलने के योग्य नहीं समझा जा सकता है और जनजातीय महिलाएं अपनी समस्याओं से किसी को अवगत नहीं करा पाने के कारण उन समस्याओं से घिरी रहती हैं। शोध-अध्ययन से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि कार्यस्थल में किसी कार्यक्रम में इनकी भागीदारिता कम होने का मुख्य कारण अशिक्षा, गरीबी, नेतृत्व की क्षमता का न होना, इत्यादि हैं।

कोयला खदानों में कार्यरत जनजातीय महिलाओं को स्वास्थ्य संबंधी गंभीर समस्याओं से भी जूझना पड़ता है। हालांकि 45 प्रतिशत जनजातीय महिलाओं में मातृत्व, स्वास्थ्य और परिवार नियोजन के संबंध में पहले की अपेक्षा जागरूकता आयी है परंतु इसका दुःखद पहलू यह है कि यह परिवार के हित में न होकर चंद रूपयों के लिए किया जाता है। प्रायः गाँवों में चलाये जाने वाले परिवार नियोजन के कार्यक्रमों में जनजातीय समाज के लोगों के आकर्षित करने हेतु कुछ रकम बाँटे जाते हैं जो कुछ खास नहीं होती है, परन्तु इन गरीबों के लिए ये चंद रूपये भी अत्यधिक मायने रखते हैं। अतः कभी-कभी ये जान जोखिम में डालकर इन कार्यक्रमों में शामिल होते हैं। पैसे के लालच में प्रौढ़ महिलाओं का बंध्याकरण करवाना इसका एक महत्वपूर्ण उदाहरण है। इन सबके अलावा ये जनजातीय महिलाएं गर्भावस्था के दौरान भी

कोयला ढोने खदानों में चली जाती है, जिसका प्रतिकूल प्रभाव जच्चा-बच्चा दोनों पर पड़ता है। परंतु असंगठित क्षेत्र की ऐसी महिलाओं के लिए कार्यस्थल में कोई भी सुविधा उपलब्ध नहीं है। कार्यस्थल में महिलाओं के लिए पीने का पानी, शौचालय व छाया का भी अभाव रहता है। इनके लिए प्राथमिक उपचार की भी समुचित व्यवस्था नहीं रहती है। दोपहर में इनके भोजन करने की अवधि असंगठित क्षेत्र की महिलाओं की तुलना में कम होती है। अतः इन त्रासदीपूर्ण समस्याओं से ग्रसित होने के बावजूद महिलाएं अपनी पारिवारिक विवशताओं व गरीबी के कारण खदानों में कार्य करने को बाध्य हैं।

सुझाव

1. जनजातीय महिला श्रमिकों को अपने समस्याओं के प्रति सामाजिक अभिमुखन कराने की अत्यधिक आवश्यकता है क्योंकि ये महिलाएं बहुदेववादी होती हैं और अपने प्रत्येक समस्याओं के पीछे किसी न किसी देवता के रुष्ट होने को प्रमुख कारण बताती हैं। अतः भाग्यवादी विचारधारा के कारण ये अपनी समस्याओं से जूझने के बजाय उनसे दूर भागती हैं।
2. अधिकांश असंगठित जनजातीय महिला श्रमिक अशिक्षित, अज्ञानी, व रूढ़ीवादी हैं। अतएव खदानों के विभिन्न जगहों पर क्षेत्रीय केंद्र स्थापित कर सभी महिलाओं को उनसे संबंधित चल रहे लाभ योजनाओं की जानकारी दी जानी चाहिए।

निष्कर्ष

जनजातीय महिलाओं की स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय है। जहाँ कोयला खदानों के लाभ में इनका सर्वाधिक योगदान है वहीं यह सबसे बड़ी विडंबना है कि इनके विकास के लिए न तो प्रबंधक तैयार हैं और न ही ठेकेदार। असंगठित क्षेत्र में शोषण से बचाव संबंधी कानूनी उपायों के अभाव के कारण भी इनकी स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय बनी हुई है। यद्यपि जनजातीय समाज में महिलाओं की

स्थिति उच्च व सम्मानीय मानी गई है। बावजूद इसके बढ़ते औद्योगीकरण ने इनके श्रम संबंधी जो व्यवस्थाएं उत्पन्न हुई हैं, उसके परिणामस्वरूप इनकी सम्मानीय स्थिति पूर्ववत् नहीं रह गई है। जनजातीय समुदाय में महिलाओं को काम करने पर किसी को भी आपत्ति नहीं होती है परंतु इस समाज में खदानों में मजदूरी करनेवाली महिलाओं के प्रति एक अजीब सा दुराग्रह देखने को मिल रहा है। कल का जनजातीय समाज जो महिलाओं के प्रति स्वतंत्रता तथा अभिमान का प्रतीक था आज महिलाओं के प्रति रूढ़ीग्रस्त होता जा रहा है, क्योंकि ये महिलाएं अपने पारंपरिक संस्कारों व सामाजिक रीति-रिवाजों तथा आधुनिक कार्यशैली के समयप्रबंधन में संतुलन बरकरार रखने में असमर्थ होती जा रही हैं।

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भारत में न्यायिक पुनर्विलोकन : एक विश्लेषण

प्रकाश चन्द्र दास

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सारांश

लोकतान्त्रिक शासन - व्यवस्थाओं की यह विशेषता होती है कि इनमें शासन व्यक्ति विशेष या व्यक्ति समूह की इच्छाओं के अनुसार नहीं चलकर विधि के अनुसार निष्पादित होता है। अधिकांश लोकतन्त्र प्रणालियों में विधि के सामने सभी व्यक्ति बराबर होते हैं तथा एक सा सामान्य कानून राज्य के नागरिकों पर लागू होता है। सभी व्यक्ति, समुदाय और सरकारी अधिकारी अपने-अपने अधिकार क्षेत्र में रहे इसके लिए संविधान के द्वारा न्यायपालिका की व्यवस्था की जाती है, जो उन्हें अपने कार्य क्षेत्र का उल्लंघन करने से रोकने और वास्तव में उल्लंघन होने पर उल्लंघनकर्ता को दण्डित करने का कार्य करती है। न्यायपालिका यह कार्य तभी कर सकती है जब उसको कार्यपालिका और व्यवस्थापिका के कार्यों का पुनरावलोकन कर उनकी संविधान से अनुरूपता या प्रतिकूलता देखने का अधिकार हो। सामान्य अर्थों में न्यायपालिका के ऐसे अधिकार को ही न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन कहा जाता है। संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका और भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालयों को यह शक्ति प्राप्त है।

विशिष्टशब्द - कानून, प्रीवी परिषद, प्रीवी-प्रसेज बन्दी प्रत्यक्षीकरण

भूमिका

न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की उत्पत्ति को सामान्यता अमरीकी संविधान से सम्बन्धित किया जाता है, किन्तु इसकी प्रारम्भिक उत्पत्ति ब्रिटेन में हुई जहां आज इसकी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। साम्राज्यवादी युग में ब्रिटेन के उपनिवेशों से सम्बन्धित न्यायालयों के निर्णयों का पुनरावलोकन करने के लिए एक संस्था 'प्रीवी परिषद' थी। इस परिषद् को उपनिवेशों के सर्वोच्च न्यायालयों द्वारा दिये गये निर्णयों का पुनरावलोकन करके उन्हें रद्द करने का अधिकार था। न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का विचार अवश्य ही ब्रिटेन की देन है किन्तु इसको सर्वप्रथम अमरीका में ही स्पष्ट और निश्चित रूप से प्रतिपादित किया गया था। अमरीका के भूतपूर्व मुख्य न्यायाधीश मार्शल ने सन् 1803 ई. में मारबरी बनाम मेंडिसन' नामक विख्यात मुकदमें के निर्णय में प्रथम बार न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की शक्ति की प्रस्थापना की थी। उन्होंने यह तर्क दिया कि लिखित अचल और सर्वोच्च संविधान की धारणा तब तक व्यावहारिक नहीं बन सकती जब तक न्यायालयों को कार्यपालिका और व्यवस्थापिक के कार्यों की इस दृष्टिकोण से जाँच करने का अधिकार न हो तो कि वह कार्य संविधान के अनुकूल है या नहीं। एम. वी. पायली ने अपनी पुस्तक कान्सटीट्यूशनल गवर्नमेंट इन इण्डिया में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की परिभाषा करते हुए लिखा है कि "यह न्यायालय की वह क्षमता है, जिससे वह व्यवस्थापन कार्यों की वैधानिकता या अवैधानिकता को घोषित करती है।" पिनोक और स्मिथ के अनुसार यह न्यायालयों को संविधान की व्याख्या करने की तथा व्यवस्थापिका, कार्यपालिका व प्रशासन के उन कार्यों को जो सर्वोच्च कानून (संविधान) के प्रतिकूल हो, रद्द करने की शक्ति प्राप्त है।"¹

न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन से तात्पर्य है - न्यायालय द्वारा विधायिका

और कार्यपालिका के कार्यों की जाँच करना। इसमें न्यायालय कानूनों तथा प्रशासनिक नीतियों की संवैधानिकता की जाँच करता है और ऐसे कानूनों तथा नीतियों को असंवैधानिक घोषित करता है जो संविधान के किसी अनुच्छेद का अतिक्रमण या उल्लंघन करती हैं,² न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का तात्पर्य सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा संविधान तथा उसकी सर्वोच्चता की रक्षा करने की व्यवस्था से है। यदि संघीय या राज्य विधानमण्डलों द्वारा संविधान का अतिक्रमण किया जाता है, अपनी निश्चित सीमाओं के बाहर कानूनों का निर्माण किया जाता है या मौलिक अधिकारों के विरुद्ध कानूनों का निर्माण किया जाता है, तो संघीय संसद या राज्य विधानमण्डल द्वारा निर्मित ऐसे प्रत्येक विधि अथवा संघीय या राज्य प्रशासन द्वारा किये गये ऐसे प्रत्येक कार्य को सर्वोच्च न्यायालय अवैधानिक घोषित कर सकता है। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की इस शक्ति को ही न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की शक्ति कहा जाता है। राज्यों के सम्बन्ध में इस शक्ति का प्रयोग सम्बन्धित उच्च न्यायालय के द्वारा किया जा सकता है।³ कानूनों को संविधान की कसौटी पर परखने की शक्ति को न्यायिक पुनरीक्षण की शक्ति कहा जाता है। भारत में उच्च न्यायालयों को राज्य सरकारों और वहाँ के विधान मंडलों के आदेशों और कानूनों के संदर्भ में न्यायिक पुनरीक्षण की शक्ति प्राप्त है। सर्वोच्च न्यायालयों को किसी भी कानून के न्यायिक पुनरीक्षण का अधिकार है। यह बात ध्यान देने की है कि साधारणतः न्यायपालिका 'न्यायिक पुनरीक्षण' की शक्ति का प्रयोग तभी करती है, जब व्यथित पक्ष उसके पास शिकायत लेकर जाय परन्तु भारत का सर्वोच्च न्यायालय इस नियम में ढील देते हुए जन-हित मुकदमा पर भी विचार करता है। इस में किसी समूह पर होने वाले अन्याय के बारे में किसी समाजिक कार्यकर्ता या सामाजिक संस्था की शिकायत पर विचार किया जाता है।⁴ अनुच्छेद 32 में सर्वोच्च

न्यायालय को एवं अनुच्छेद 226 के अधीन राज्यों के उच्च न्यायालयों को ऐसी ही शक्ति दी गई है। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय को यह शक्ति दी गई है कि वह प्रदत्त अधिकारों में से किसी को प्रवर्तित करने के लिए ऐसे निदेश, आदेश या रिट जिनके अन्तर्गत बन्दी प्रत्यक्षीकरण, परमादेश, प्रतिशोध, अधिकार पृच्छा और उत्प्रेषण रिट है, जो भी समुचित हो जारी कर सकें।⁵

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। इस आलेख को तैयार करने में मुख्यतः द्वितीयक स्रोतों का आधार बना गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रन्थ, विभिन्न पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे आलेख इत्यादि को आधार बना गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

इंग्लैण्ड के विपरीत भारत में एक लिखित संविधान है जो देश की मौलिक विधि है और सरकार के समस्त अंगों की शक्तियों तथा अधिकारों का स्रोत है। विधानमण्डल द्वारा बनाए गये कानूनों और कार्यकारिणी द्वारा दिये गये आदेशों की वैधता का परीक्षण सर्वोच्च न्यायालय दो आधारों पर करता है।

(1) क्या संविधान ने एक कानून विशेष बनाने अथवा कोई आदेश विशेष देने की शक्ति सम्बन्धित संस्था अथवा व्यक्ति को दी है? और (2) क्या वह कानून अथवा आदेश नागरिकों को दिये गये मूल अधिकारों के विरुद्ध है?

यद्यपि अमेरिका की तरह भारत के संविधान में भी न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन के अधिकार का कोई स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं किया गया था लेकिन संविधान के अनुच्छेद 13, 251 तथा 254 में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन के सिद्धान्त को अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से मान्यता दी गई है। अनुच्छेद 13 इस बात की घोषणा करता है कि कानून जो संविधान के भाग 3 अर्थात् नागरिकों को दिए गए मूल अधिकारों के विरुद्ध है, अवैध समझा जायेगा। प्रश्न यह है कि इस बातों का निर्धारण कौन करेगा कि कोई कानून अथवा कार्य विशेष किसी मूल अधिकार के विरुद्ध है अथवा नहीं? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर अनुच्छेद 32 से मिलता है जिसमें नागरिकों को संवैधानिक उपचारों को मूल्यवान अधिकार दिया गया है। इस अनुच्छेद में कहा गया है कि यदि सरकार किसी समय कोई ऐसा कानून बनाए जो मूल अधिकारों के विरुद्ध हो तो नागरिकों को उस कानून की संवैधानिकता को न्यायालय में चुनौती देने का अधिकार होगा। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि संविधान मूल अधिकारों के प्रवर्तन की जिम्मेदारी न्यायपालिका पर डालता है।

अनुच्छेद 251 केन्द्र तथा राज्य सरकारों के बीच शक्तियों के विभाजन से संबंधित है। इसमें कहा गया है कि यदि समवर्ती सूची में दिए गए किसी विषय पर केन्द्र सरकार तथा कोई राज्य विधानमण्डल कानून बनाते हैं और उन कानूनों में विभिन्नता तथा टकराव है तो केन्द्र सरकार द्वारा बनाया हुआ कानून मान्य होगा। संविधान के अनुच्छेद 132, 133 तथा 228 में संविधान की

व्याख्या करने का अन्तिम अधिकार सर्वोच्च न्यायालय को दिया गया है, और उच्च न्यायालयों से ऐसे मुकदमों को जिनमें संविधान की व्याख्या का प्रश्न निहित हो, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में निर्णय हेतु भेजे जाने की व्यवस्था की गई है।^{6,7,8} अनुच्छेद 246 में संघ और राज्यों की विधायी सीमा का वर्णन है। इसके अनुसार सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ऐसे किसी भी कानून को अवैध घोषित कर सकता है। जिसमें संघ अथवा राज्यों ने अपने क्षेत्राधिकार का उल्लंघन किया है। अनुच्छेद 368 के अनुसार संविधान में संशोधन किया जा सकता है। यह अधिकार संसद को प्राप्त है, उसमें राज्य विधान सभाओं की भी निश्चित भूमिका हो सकती है। यदि कोई संशोधन विधान की प्रक्रिया से हटकर किया जाता है तो सर्वोच्च न्यायालय उसे अवैध घोषित कर सकता है।⁹ संविधान के अनुच्छेदों से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि भारतीय संविधान न्यायपालिका को न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का अधिकार प्रदान करता है। अपने इस अधिकार का प्रयोग करके सर्वोच्च न्यायालय तथा उच्च न्यायालयों ने विधानमण्डल द्वारा पारित किए गए कानूनों और सरकार द्वारा किए जाने वाले आदेशों की संवैधानिकता का बराबर परीक्षण किया है और अनेक महत्वपूर्ण कानूनों को असंवैधानिक घोषित किया है।¹⁰

‘ए. के. गोपालन बनाम मद्रास राज्य’ मुकदमें में ‘निवारक विरोध अधिनियम’ के 14 वें खण्ड को असंवैधानिक घोषित किया। ‘स्वर्ण नियन्त्रण अधिनियम’ के कुछ अंशों को असंवैधानिक घोषित किया गया। ‘गोलकनाथ बनाम पंजाब राज्य’ विवाद में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने अपने पूर्व निर्णयों को बदल कर मूल अधिकारों को अक्षुण्ण घोषित किया। बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण अध्यादेश को सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने इसलिए अवैध घोषित किया कि उसमें निहित क्षतिपूर्ति का सिद्धान्त अप्रासंगिक था तथा देशी रियासतों के शासकों के ‘प्रिवी-पर्सन’ की समाप्ति के अध्यादेश को असंवैधानिक घोषित कर दिया।¹¹ न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन के अधिकार के कारण ही भारत में न्यायपालिका सरकार के अन्य दोनों अंगों विधानपालिका तथा कार्यपालिका, पर नियंत्रण रखती है, क्योंकि न्यायपालिका किसी भी कानून अथवा सरकार के आदेश का परीक्षण करके उनकी संवैधानिकता अथवा वैधता के प्रश्न को निश्चित करती हैं। अतः विधानमण्डल और कार्यपालिका मनमाने ढंग से कार्य नहीं कर सकते।¹²

यद्यपि भारतीय संविधान द्वारा सर्वोच्च न्यायालय को न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की शक्ति प्रदान की गयी है, फिर भी भारत में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र उतना व्यापक नहीं है जितना कि वह संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका में है। वस्तुतः ऐसे कुछ कारण हैं जैसे - (1) अमरीका संविधान अत्यधिक संक्षिप्त है जिसके कारण संघीय शासन और इकाइयों के बीच विभिन्न प्रकार के विवाद उत्पन्न होते रहते हैं। इसके परिणामस्वरूप सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की शक्ति का क्षेत्र बहुत विस्तृत हो गया है। भारत में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र इस बात के कारण

अपेक्षाकृत सीमित है कि संघ और राज्यों के मध्य कानून निर्माण की शक्तियों का विभाजन पर्याप्त विस्तार के साथ कर दिया गया है। (2) सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण अन्तर इन दोनों देशों की संवैधानिक व्यवस्थाओं में ही निहित है। अमरीकी संविधान में 'कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया' शब्दावली को अपनाया गया है, लेकिन भारतीय संविधान में जापानी संविधान की शब्दावली 'कानून द्वारा स्थापित प्रक्रिया', अपनाया गया है।¹³ 'कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया' शब्दावली के कारण अमरीका का सर्वोच्च न्यायालय किसी भी कानून की वैधता की जाँच दो आधारों पर कर सकता है।

(1) संघ या राज्य की विधायिका द्वारा बनाये गए कानून उसकी निर्माण क्षमता के अन्तर्गत आता है या नहीं

(2) वह 'कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया' की शर्तों को पूरा करता है अथवा नहीं। इस प्रकार यदि विधान मण्डल द्वारा बनाया गया कोई कानून पूर्णतया उसकी क्षमता के अन्तर्गत हो तो भी यदि वह कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया के प्राकृतिक न्याय के सर्वमान्य सिद्धान्तों के विरुद्ध हो तो उसे सर्वोच्च न्यायालय असंवैधानिक घोषित कर सकता है।¹⁴ 'कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया' के सिद्धान्त में न्यायालय न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन करते समय कानून के शब्दों से आगे बढ़कर यह भी देखते हैं कि कानून बनाने वालों का कानून बनाते समय क्या मन्तव्य और भावना थी? इसके साथ यह भी देखा जाता है कि कानून सम्पूर्ण सामाजिक व्यवस्था के ऊपर क्या प्रभाव रखता है। अतः इस सिद्धान्त के प्रयोग में न्यायाधीश तीन बातों को ध्यान में रखकर निर्णय करते हैं। (1) कानून के शब्द (2) कानून के पीछे मन्तव्य (3) कानून की साम्या या औचित्यता।

'कानून द्वारा स्थापित प्रक्रिया' के सिद्धान्त के अनुसार न्यायालयों को केवल संविधान की धाराओं की शाब्दिक व्याख्या करनी होती है अर्थात् न्यायालय केवल कानून के शब्दों को ही देख सकते हैं। कानून बनाने वालों की उस कानून के बनाने के पीछे क्या भावना थी, उन्हें इसकी जाँच करने का अधिकार नहीं होता है। कानून जो कहता है केवल उसी के अनुरूप निर्णय करना होता है। इसमें कानून का क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है यह भी न्यायालय नहीं देख सकते हैं। इसका आशय यही है कि न्यायालयों के द्वारा कानून को नया अर्थ नहीं दिया जा सकता है। भारत में यही सिद्धान्त अपनाया गया है।

'कानून द्वारा स्थापित प्रक्रिया' में केवल एक ही बात की जांच करने का न्यायालयों को अधिकार होता है कि कानून के शब्द क्या कहते हैं। यह सिद्धान्त न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र सीमित कर देता है। जबकि 'कानून की उचित प्रक्रिया' में यह भी ध्यान में रखा जाता है कि कानून का कुल मिलाकर सम्पूर्ण समाज व्यवस्था पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है। यह सिद्धान्त इसके क्षेत्र को व्यापकतम बना देता है जिसके कारण अमरीका में न्यायालयों को श्रेष्ठतर और उच्चतर व्यवस्थापिता तक का नाम दिया जाता है।

भारत में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की कुछ विशेषताएँ इस प्रकार से

है - (1) न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की संविधान में सुव्यक्त रूप से व्यवस्था की गई है, (2) इसका क्षेत्र सीमित है, (3) यह संविधान की सीमित सर्वोच्चता स्थापित करता है, (4) यह राजनीतिक व्यवस्था के संपोषक चक्र के रूप में व्यवस्थित किया गया है, और (5) न्यायाधीशों की तटस्थता की पोषक है। भारत के संविधान की कुछ विशिष्ट व्यवस्थाओं के कारण न्यायालयों के पुनरावलोकन का अधिकार अत्यधिक सीमित हो जाता है जैसे :- (1) संविधान की अभूतपूर्व विस्तृता, (2) कानून द्वारा स्थापित प्रक्रिया के सिद्धान्त की कार्य विधि के रूप में संविधान द्वारा सुस्पष्ट व्यवस्था (3) विस्तृत और व्यापक मौलिक अधिकारों की व्यवस्था और (4) स्पष्ट, विस्तृत और सुनिश्चित ढंग से केन्द्र और राज्यों को बीच शक्तियों का विभाजन।

अतः भारत में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र उपर्युक्त कारणों से बहुत सीमित हो जाता है। इसके क्षेत्र को लेकर एम. वी. पायली ने लिखा है कि जहाँ तक न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का प्रश्न है भारत दो अतियों के बीच ब्रिटेन की संसदीय सर्वोच्चता और अमरीका की न्यायिक सर्वोच्चता की स्थिति में हैं।¹⁵

1976 में किए गए संविधान के 42वें संशोधन ने न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन के अधिकार को अत्यधिक सीमित कर दिया, इस संशोधन द्वारा यह उपबन्ध किया गया कि संसद द्वारा संविधान में किए गए किसी भी संशोधन को किसी भी आधार पर किसी न्यायालय में चुनौती नहीं दी जा सकती।¹⁶ न्यायपालिका के क्षेत्राधिकारों का विभाजन कर दिया गया। सर्वोच्च न्यायपालिका अब केवल केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा पारित विधियों की संवैधानिकता का परीक्षण कर सकता था और उच्च न्यायालय केवल राज्य विधान मंडल द्वारा बनाए गए कानूनों की संवैधानिकता के प्रश्नों का निर्धारण कर सकते थे। इसके अलावा यह भी व्यवस्था की गयी की उच्चतम न्यायालय किसी विधि की संवैधानिकता का परीक्षण करेगा तो न्यायालय में 7 न्यायाधीशों की उपस्थिति आवश्यक होगी और जब उच्च न्यायालय किसी राज्य विधि की संविधानिक वैधता के प्रश्नों का निर्धारण करेगा तो उसमें 5 न्यायाधीशों का होना जरूरी होगा। निर्णय के लिए 2/3 न्यायाधीशों की सहमति आवश्यक होगी।¹⁷

उपर्युक्त प्रतिबन्धों के द्वारा न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र निस्संदेह सीमित करने का प्रयत्न किया गया लेकिन 1978 ई. में किए गए संविधान के 43वें संशोधन के उपर्युक्त अनुच्छेदों का लोप कर दिया और 42वें संशोधन से पहले की स्थिति को पुनर्जीवित कर दिया है फलस्वरूप न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का क्षेत्र पहले की ही तरह विस्तृत हो गया है और न्यायपालिका की स्थिति निस्संदेह मजबूत हुई है।¹⁸

न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की निम्नलिखित आलोचनाएँ की गई हैं- (1) अनुदारवादी दृष्टिकोण - उदाहरण के लिए 1950-51 में जमींदारी और जागीरदारी उन्मूलन से सम्बन्धित कुछ भूमि सुधार कानूनों को अवैध घोषित करना।

(2) सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा अपने पूर्व निर्णयों का बदल देना जैसे 1952 में शंकर प्रसाद विवाद और 1965 में सज्जन सिंह विवाद में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने यह निर्णय दिया कि संसद मौलिक अधिकारों सहित संविधान के किसी भी भाग में संशोधन कर सकती है यदि संसद ने इस सम्बन्ध में निर्धारित प्रक्रिया को अपनाया है। परन्तु 1967 में गोलकनाथ विवाद में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने अपने पूर्व निर्णयों का पलटते हुए कहा कि, "संसद को संविधान के भाग 3 के किसी उपबन्ध को इस तरह से संशोधन करने का अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं होगा जिससे की मौलिक अधिकार छिन जाय या सीमित हो जाये"।

(3) संसद और न्यायपालिका के मध्य तनाव की स्थिति

(4) सामाजिक आर्थिक और राजनीतिक वातावरण में अस्थिरता¹⁹

निष्कर्ष

उपर्युक्त आलोचनाओं के बाद भी यह सत्य है कि न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की व्यवस्था भारतीय लोकतंत्र और राज-व्यवस्था के लिए आवश्यक है। इसकी व्यवस्था से संघ और राज्य सरकारों को अपने क्षेत्र में सीमित रखती है, शासन की शक्ति पर अंकुश रखती है, संविधान में संतुलन बनायी रखती है, इसके आधार पर ही सर्वोच्च न्यायालय और उच्च न्यायालय संविधान की व्याख्या और रक्षा करते हैं।

कुलदीप नैयर ने अपने एक लेख में नितान्त सही रूप में लिखा है कि न्यायालय से न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन का अधिकार छीना जाना लोकतंत्र के हित में नहीं होगा। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय की सात सदस्यीय संविधान पीठ ने 1977 में अपने सर्वसम्मत निर्णय में कहा है "न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन संविधान का एक मूलभूत लक्षण है। संसद संवैधानिक संशोधन के आधार पर भी इस शक्ति को सीमित नहीं कर सकती"।

पिछले 62 वर्षों का इतिहास यह बतलाता है कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने संविधान के संरक्षण का निष्पक्ष रूप से पालन किया है ऐसे अनेक उदाहरण हैं जब सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने राज्य सरकारों द्वारा नजरबन्द व्यक्तियों को मुक्त किया है और सम्बन्धित पदाधिकारियों की निन्दा की है। वास्तव में यह सन्देह से परे है कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने संविधान के तत्त्व के अनुसार जनता की स्वतंत्रता का प्रशंसनीय रीति से संरक्षण किया है और अपना कर्तव्य, निष्पक्षता, बिना पक्षपात और बिना दुर्भावना के निभाया है, अपने अपेक्षित उत्तरदायित्वों का निर्वहन आशा के अनुकूल किया है। भारत में न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन की शक्ति के प्रयोग में उतार - चढ़ाव आते रहे हैं। इसके बावजूद आशा यही की जा

सकती है कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय परिवर्तित परिस्थितियों में भी उपयोगी भूमिका निभाता रहेगा और न्यायिक पुनरावलोकन एक ऐसी शक्ति के रूप में प्रयुक्त होता रहेगा जो व्यवस्था को जोड़ने और संस्थाओं में साम्य बनाए रखने का मार्ग प्रशस्त करेगा।

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भारत में संसदीय मध्यावधि निर्वाचन - एक आकलन

उपेन्द्र कुमार

शोध छात्र, राजनीति विज्ञान विभाग
राँची विश्वविद्यालय, राँची

सारांश

भारत के संविधान के अनुसार यदि लोकसभा पहले ही विघटित न कर दी जाये तो अपने प्रथम अधिवेशन के लिए नियुक्ति की तारीख से पांच वर्ष तक रहती है।¹ पाँच वर्ष की कालावधि समाप्ति के परिणामस्वरूप लोकसभा का विघटन होता है। राष्ट्रपति लोकसभा की कालावधि से पूर्व भी प्रधानमंत्री की सलाह से लोकसभा विघटित कर सकते हैं। आपातकाल के दौरान संसद विधि द्वारा लोकसभा की कालावधि बढ़ा सकती है। यह अवधि एक समय में एक वर्ष की होती है।² विघटन के पश्चात् लोक प्रतिनिधित्व अधिनियम 1951 के अन्तर्गत नई लोक सभा का गठन होता है। लोकसभा को कार्यकाल पूर्ण होने से पूर्व राष्ट्रपति उसे भंग कर देता है अथवा विघटित कर देता है, तो ऐसी स्थिति में हुए निर्वाचन राजनीति से प्रेरित तो होती है, परन्तु मध्यावधि निर्वाचन कुल ऐसी राजनीतिक घटनाओं के कारण होते हैं जिससे यह सामान्य निर्वाचन से अलग बन जाते हैं। सामान्य कार्यकाल पूर्ण होने से पहले विघटित लोकसभा के परिणामस्वरूप वर्ष 1971, 1980, 1991, एवं 1998 के निर्वाचन मध्यावधि निर्वाचन के रूप में सामने आये हैं। सामान्य प्रक्रिया से हटकर हुए इन चुनावों में भारतीय राजनीतिक विकास की प्रक्रिया को प्रभावित किया और नई दिशा दी। चारों मध्यावधि निर्वाचनों की परिस्थितियाँ भिन्न-भिन्न रही हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द - इंका, राष्ट्रीयकरण, फेयरफेक्स, बैस्ट लैण्ड, प्रीवीपर्स

भूमिका

27 दिसम्बर, 1970 को राष्ट्रपति वी.वी. गिरि ने प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सलाह पर लोकसभा को भंगकर समाजवादी और धर्मनिरपेक्ष नीतियों पर जनसमर्थन के लिए नये चुनाव कराने की घोषणा की थी। भारत के संसदीय लोकतंत्र के इतिहास में यह अभूतपूर्व घटना थी, क्योंकि अब तक कांग्रेस के विशाल बहुमत के सम्राज्य में ऐसी परिकल्पना ही नहीं की जा सकती थी। भारतवर्ष की प्रगतिशील प्रजातांत्रिक पृष्ठभूमि में 1980 के मध्यावधि निर्वाचन विश्व के वरिष्ठ राजनीतिशास्त्रों की दृष्टि में भी जनता की सूझ-बूझ और शान्तिपूर्ण सत्ता परिवर्तन करने की महाशक्ति के परिणामक माने गये। 6 मार्च 1991 को चन्द्रशेखर सरकार के त्यागपत्र देने के पश्चात् 13 मार्च को नौवीं लोक सभा का विघटन कर दिया गया था। 1991 के मध्यावधि निर्वाचन भी उतने ही दुःखद रहे। महत्वपूर्ण इसलिए भी हमारी राजनीतिक व्यवस्था में फिर एक बार संसदीय लोकतंत्र ने अपना वर्चस्व सिद्ध किया दुःखद इसलिए कि चुनाव प्रक्रिया के बीच में ही 21 मई को मद्रास के निकट श्रीपेराम्बदुर में एक चुनावी सभा को सम्बोधित करने जा रहे भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी की नृशंस हत्या कर दी गयी थी।³ इसने पूरे देश को गहरे शोक में डुबो दिया था। सामान्य प्रक्रिया से हटकर हुए इन चुनावों में भारतीय राजनीतिक विकास की प्रक्रिया को प्रभावित किया और नई दिशा दी। चारों मध्यावधि निर्वाचन की परिस्थितियाँ अलग अलग थी। यह विश्लेषण भारत में संसदीय मध्यावधि निर्वाचन 1971, 1980, 1991 एवं 1998 से संबंधित है।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। आलेख को तैयार करने में द्वितीयक स्रोतों का प्रयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित पुस्तकों पत्र पत्रिकाओं में

छपे विवरण एवं लेखों को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

मध्यावधि चुनाव 1971, 1980, 1991 एवं 1998 भारतीय राजनीति की महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएं हैं।

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन, 1971 की परिस्थितियाँ : 31 मई 1969 में तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति जाकिर हुसैन की मृत्यु की घटना ने कांग्रेस दल को प्रभावित किया। सत्तारूढ़ दल होने के कारण राष्ट्रपति के रूप में उम्मीदवार को तय करना कांग्रेस दल का दायित्व था। परन्तु कांग्रेस के समक्ष प्रश्न था कि अगला राष्ट्रपति कौन होगा? इस समय तक भारत में यह परम्परा बन गई थी कि उपराष्ट्रपति को राष्ट्रपति के रूप में कार्य करने का अवसर प्राप्त हो, अतः तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री और उनसे जुड़े कांग्रेस संसदीय दल के नेता बी.वि. गिरी को अवसर देना चाहते थे, किन्तु कुछ वरिष्ठ कांग्रेसी नेता बी.वी. गिरि के पक्ष में नहीं थे। इस कारण कांग्रेस पार्टी में राष्ट्रपति पद के प्रत्याशी को लेकर सर्वसम्मति नहीं बन सकी। यह असहमति आगे चलकर मध्यावधि निर्वाचन की पृष्ठभूमि का कारण बनी थी।

बैंगलोर अधिवेशन 1969 : 10 मई 1969 को बैंगलोर में अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस समिति में श्रीमती गांधी ने एक नोट पेश किया। उसमें आर्थिक नीति प्रस्तावों की एक सूची थी, सूची आम बीमे और कच्चे माल के साथ राष्ट्रीयकरण, कृषि भूमि आदि को लागू किया जाना था। उन्होंने यह भी प्रस्ताव रखा कि सबसे बड़े पांच या छः बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने पर विचार कर सकते हैं। कार्य समिति के समक्ष यह प्रस्ताव आकस्मिक रखा गया था क्योंकि दो माह पूर्व फरीदाबाद में मोरारजी देसाई द्वारा प्रस्तावित बैंको पर सामाजिक नियंत्रण के लिए वे सहमत हो गई थी। निजलिंगरपा द्वारा फरीदाबाद अधिवेशन में इसका तीव्र विरोध किया गया था। इस सम्बन्ध में मोरारजी देसाई का कहना था कि

जब तक वह वित्तमंत्री है, बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं हो सकता। बंगलोर का यह ऐतिहासिक अधिवेशन ऐसे वातावरण में समाप्त हुआ जहां परस्पर विरोधी आवाजें अपने अपने उत्कर्ष पर थीं। आर्थिक नीति को लेकर वाम पक्ष तथा दक्षिण पक्ष के बीच मनमुटाव हो गया और इसके साथ-साथ विचारों में भी संघर्ष प्रारम्भ हो गया। मोरारजी ने वित्त मंत्री से इस्तीफा दे दिया। मोरारजी देसाई के इस्तीफे के कुछ समय पश्चात् ही मंत्रिमण्डल ने एकमत से 1969में 14 बड़े बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण की भी स्वीकृति दे दी।⁴

कांग्रेस विभाजन : 28 अगस्त को निजिलिंगरप्पा द्वारा पुनः घोषणा की गई थी मोरारजी देसाई के मंत्रिमण्डल में वापसी का प्रश्न अब भी बना हुआ है। शक्ति संघर्ष के लिए दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण खेल में सिंडीकेट को काफी कुछ खोना पड़ा व उनके हाथ केवल करारी मात लगी। इससे मोरारजी देसाई का पद खोया। राष्ट्रपति उम्मीदवार नीलम संजीव रेड्डी की पराजय के साथ-साथ अपनी प्रतिष्ठा भी खो दी।

प्रीवीपर्स की समाप्ति : कांग्रेस के विभाजन के तुरन्त बाद सत्ताधारी कांग्रेस में वामपंथी युवकों की आवाज प्रीवीपर्स का समाप्ति हेतु सशक्त हो गई थी। युवकों का तर्क था कि समाजवादी कार्यक्रमों के प्रति श्रीमती गांधी को ऐसे कदम उठाने चाहिए जो कि जनहित में हों। इनमें सबसे आसान काम प्रीवीपर्स की समाप्ति है। विभाजन के बाद यद्यपि सत्ताधारी पार्टी में केवल 9 नरेश ही रह गये थे, लेकिन देश की अनिश्चित राजनीति को देखते हुए शासक दल के लिए 9 तो क्या हर संसद सदस्य महत्त्व रखता था इसलिए गांधी ने प्रीवीपर्स की समाप्ति का निर्णय लेने से पूर्व मुख्य रूप से इसी प्रश्न पर विचार किया। यदि सरकार के निर्णय के विरुद्ध वे राजा और महाराजा जो कि सरकारी पार्टी के सदस्य हैं, पार्टी से अलग हो जाते हैं तो इसका क्या अंजाम होगा। परन्तु इन्दिरा गांधी जन-भावनाओं के कारण प्रीवीपर्स को समाप्त करने हेतु कृतसंकल्प थी, अतः सरकार की ओर से 1 सितम्बर, 1970 की 24वां संविधान संशोधन विधेयक रखा। लोकसभा में विधेयक प्रस्तुत करते हुए श्रीमती गांधी ने कहा “यह एक ऐतिहासिक विधेयक है। यह हमारे समाज के लोकतंत्रीकरण की दिशा में एक और कदम है।”⁵

उपयुक्त राजनीति परिस्थितियों से स्पष्ट होता है कि 1971 में मध्यावधि निर्वाचन की नींव 1967 के आम चुनाव में ही पड़ चुकी थी, क्योंकि इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस को अधिक बहुमत नहीं मिला था।

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन, 1980 की परिस्थितियाँ

जनता पार्टी विघटन : छठी लोकसभा चुनाव में जनता पार्टी को इतना व्यापक समर्थन मिला कि लगभग तीन दशक तक देश की बागडोर संभालने वाली कांग्रेस को पहली बार प्रतिपक्ष में बैठना पड़ा। जिस उत्साह के साथ कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध मत देकर मतदाता ने

जनता पार्टी को विजयी बनाया था, जनता पार्टी के नेता उस जन-आकांक्षाओं को पूरा करने में सफल न हो सके।

प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए संघर्ष : मोरारजी देसाई स्वयं को प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त मानते थे। चरणसिंह तथा जगजीवन को प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए आयोग्य समझते थे, इसलिए वह दोनों के ही नेतृत्व में कार्य करने को तैयार नहीं थे, इस प्रकार जगजीवन राम को प्रधानमंत्री न बनने देने के लिए चुनाव के लोकतांत्रिक सिद्धांत को न अपनाकर सर्वसम्मति के सिद्धांत को मानने के लिए तैयार हो गये। यह पहला-पहला जोश था, इसलिए जयप्रकाश नारायण व आचार्य कृपलानी की निर्णायक भूमिका ने मोरारजी देसाई को प्रधानमंत्री स्वीकार कर नेतृत्व की विकट समस्या का समाधान निकाल लिया।⁶

अनुशासनात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ : पार्टी की भीतरी कलह ने संगठन को कुव्यवस्था का शिकार बनाया और स्वतंत्रता को स्वच्छन्दता का पर्याय मानने वाले कुछ नेता गुटीय हितों की रक्षा में अपनी सारी शक्ति खर्च करते रहे। अनुशासनहीनता के नाम पर हरियाणा के मुख्यमंत्री देवीलाल और पार्टी अध्यक्ष श्रीमती चन्द्रवती के विरुद्ध कारण बताओ नोटिस जारी करके जनता पार्टी ने इतिहास बदलने की कोशिश की। दो वर्षों के अनुभव के बाद पार्टी की जिस अनुशासनहीनता से चिंतित होकर उसके केन्द्रीय नेताओं ने सख्ती से कदम उठाने का फैसला किया, उसने विघटन की प्रक्रिया और तेज कर दी।

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन 1991 की परिस्थितियाँ : आठवीं लोकसभा के संसदीय निर्वाचन में कांग्रेस को अच्छी सफलता मिली। राजीव गाँधी की छवि ‘मिस्टर क्लीन’ के रूप में थी। उनके शासन में भ्रष्टाचार का समापन होना चाहिए था, लेकिन स्वयं उनकी सरकार भ्रष्टाचार के भयंकर आरोपों के घेरे में घिर गई थी। विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह तथा अन्य निकट सहयोगियों ने राजीव का साथ छोड़ दिया। राजीव सरकार पर फेयरपेक्स, बोफोर्स, वैस्ट लैण्ड सुमितोमी आदि आरोपों के कारण कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध विपक्ष एक बार फिर गठबन्धन के लिए वैचारिक चिन्तन पर बाध्य हुआ। तृतीय मध्यावधि निर्वाचन की पृष्ठभूमि में निम्नलिखित कारण उत्तरदायी थे।

प्रधानमंत्री पद के लिए मनोनयन : जनता दल की योजना के अनुसार सरकार का नेता 28 सितम्बर, 1989 को चुना जाना था, नेताओं के स्वार्थ, जोड़-तोड़ और विश्वासघात जनता को फैसलों का मजाक बनाते रहे। विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह ने नेता पद के लिए देवीलाल के नाम का प्रस्ताव किया, अतः अध्यक्ष ने देवीलाल को निर्वाचित घोषित कर दिया तथा विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह को प्रधानमंत्री घोषित कर दिया गया। नेता पद के मनोनयन से चन्द्रशेखर को काफी आघात पहुँचा। नेता पद के मनोनयन से यह स्पष्ट हो गया कि जनता दल ने सर्वसम्मति से नेता का मनोनयन न करके कूटनीति के तरीके से विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह को नेता चुना था, जो 1991 के मध्यावधि चुनाव का कारण बना।

इस्तीफों का सिलसिला : चौटाला के दूबारा मुख्यमंत्री बनने से वाणिज्य मंत्री अरुण नेहरू, ऊर्जा मंत्री आरीफ मुहम्मद खान तथा सतपाल मलिक ने अपने इस्तीफे प्रधानमंत्री विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह को भेज दिये। उनका कहना था कि “चौटाला की बहाली उन मूल्यों के खिलाफ है, जिनका हमारा इंका से संघर्ष हुआ था। प्रधानमंत्री वी.पी. सिंह ने चौटाला को दोबारा मंत्री बनने तथा पार्टी में असंतोष को देखते हुए बोम्मई रामाराव को अपने इस्तीफे की पेशकश भेजी और सुझाव दिया कि उनके स्थान पर नया नेता चुना जाये। इस प्रकार सरकार में अस्थिरता बनी रही।

मंडल आयोग कि सिफारिशें लागू करने की घोषणा : मंडल आयोग की रिपोर्ट की सिफारिशें लागू करने के बाद प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप कांग्रेस के वसंत साठे ने कहा “वी.पी. सिंह जाति व्यवस्था में फिर से जान फूंक रहे हैं। पार्टी को इसका मुकाबला करना चाहिए।” इसके खिलाफ सीताराम केसरी डी.पी. यादव का कहना था “कांग्रेस हमेशा दलितों के लिए लड़ रही है। मंडल रिपोर्ट की सिफारिशें लागू करने के बाद देश में हड़ताल ‘जुलूस’ आत्मदाह आदि ने देश के वातावरण को कुंठित कर दिया था। विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह की यह शतरंजी चाल बड़ी भारी थी, किन्तु यह अनुमान लगाने में चूक गये कि उनकी गलती की कितनी हिंसक प्रतिक्रिया हो सकती है।

भाजपा की रथयात्रा : 1990 को प्रधानमंत्री विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह ने पिछड़ी जाति को आरक्षण देकर मंडल रिपोर्ट को लागू करने की घोषणा की। इस घोषणा ने तत्कालीन समय की सबसे बड़े छात्र आन्दोलन को भड़काया समाज में जबरजस्त दरार पैदा की। भाजपा के लिए बंटे हुए हिन्दू समाज को एक करने की चुनौती थी। आरक्षण पर स्पष्ट नीति न होने से भाजपा की छवि धूमिल हो गई थी। इस छवि को साफ सुथरा के लिए तथा हिन्दू वोट बैंक बनाने के लिए भाजपा को राम मन्दिर निर्माण के लिए रथ-यात्रा को स्वयं संचालित कर सोमनाथ के अयोध्या तक ले जाने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ा। रथयात्रा प्रारंभ करने से प्रधानमंत्री थोड़े हतप्रभ हुए थे, किन्तु उनका आत्मविश्वास लड़खड़ा कर भी संभल गया।

जनता दल का विभाजन : 23 अक्टूबर, 1990 को भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा सरकार से समर्थन वापस ले लिया तथा कांग्रेस द्वारा वी.पी. सिंह की सरकार को अविश्वास प्रस्ताव का नोटिस और कांग्रेस के नेता वी.एन. गाडगिल का यह बयान कि राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा अपना नया नेता चुनकर सरकार बना ले” ने जनता दल में विभाजन का आधार तय कर लिया। अतः 6 नवम्बर 1990 को जनता दल (स) नाम से अलग पार्टी गठित हो गई। नवम्बर 1990 को लोकसभा में अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर मतदान के समय प्रधानमंत्री विश्वनाथसिंह ने लोकसभा सदस्यों से आत्मा की आवाज पर मतदान करने का अनुरोध किया, परन्तु विश्वनाथ प्रतापसिंह की यह नीति सफल न हो सकी और उनकी सरकार सदन में पराजित हो गई। अतः देश के संसदीय इतिहास

में यह पहला अवसर था जब सदन में कोई सरकार गिरी। इस प्रकार इन परिस्थितियों ने तृतीय मध्यावधि निर्वाचन को आमंत्रित किया।

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन 1998 की परिस्थितियाँ

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन 1998 के निम्नलिखित मुख्य कारण थे

अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का अल्पमत सरकार : 1996 के चुनाव में भाजपा सबसे बड़े दल के रूप में उभरी और भाजपा की सरकार बनी, किन्तु कांग्रेस, दूसरा बड़ा राजनैतिक दल केन्द्र में भाजपा की सरकार बनने नहीं देना चाहता था। वहीं राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा कांग्रेस और भाजपा दोनों में किसी को सत्तारूढ़ नहीं होने देना चाहता था। इन परिस्थितियों में भाजपा के वरिष्ठ नेता अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी ने 13 मई 1996 को प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में शपथ ली पर संसद में बहुमत साबित नहीं कर सके। इस प्रकार भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार अल्पजीवी रही थी।

संयुक्त मोर्चा सरकार : त्रिशंकु संसद का भविष्य राजनैतिक दलों के दावपेंचों पर निर्भर करता है। इन दावपेंचों के कारण निरंतर संशय और अनिश्चय का वातावरण बना रहता है। कांग्रेस सहित तीसरे मोर्चा के नाम पर एकजुट हो रहे राजनैतिक दल सरकार बनाने के लिए गठजोड़ और लेन-देन की राजनीति में सक्रिय हो गयी थी। तीसरे मोर्चे के नेता के रूप में काफ़ी जद्दोजहद की गयी। सबसे पहले पश्चिम बंगाल के मुख्यमंत्री ज्योति बसु को चुना गया, किन्तु मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने फैसला स्वीकार नहीं किया। ज्योति बसु को मना करना पड़ा। अन्त में कर्नाटक के मुख्यमंत्री एच.डी. देवेगौड़ा को संयुक्त मोर्चा का नेता बनने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ और एच.डी. देवेगौड़ा ने सदन में बहुमत प्राप्त कर लिया। मार्च 1997 को सीताराम केसरी ने सरकार से समर्थन वापस ले लिया और आई. के. गुजराल को प्रधानमंत्री पद की शपथ दिलायी गयी। पुनः नवम्बर 1997 को सीताराम केसरी ने गुजराल सरकार से समर्थन वापस ले लिया। किसी अन्य दल द्वारा सरकार बनाने की पेशकश न किये जाने पर राष्ट्रपति ने संविधान के अनुच्छेद 85(2) (ब) में प्राप्त शक्ति का प्रयोग करते हुए 4 दिसम्बर, 1997 को लोकसभा भंग कर दी। इस प्रकार राजनीतिक अनिश्चिता का वातावरण समाप्त कर मध्यावधि निर्वाचन का रास्ता खोला गया।⁷

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन 1999 की परिस्थितियाँ : कारगिल युद्ध के कुछ महीने बाद 5 सितम्बर से 3 अक्टूबर 1999 के बीच 13वां आम चुनाव सम्पन्न हुआ। इस 13वें आम चुनाव का ऐतिहासिक महत्व है। इस चुनाव में पहली बार एक संयुक्त पार्टी संघ बहुमत लाने में सफल रही तथा एक सरकार के रूप में 5 वर्ष का कार्यकाल पूरा करने में सक्षम रही। कार्यकाल के समापन अवधि तक केन्द्रीय राजनीतिक स्थिरता पिछले तीन लोक सभा चुनाव के मुकाबले प्रमुख विशेषता रही।

17 अप्रैल 1999 ई. को भारतीय जनता पार्टी अटल बिहारी

वाजपेयी के नेतृत्व में लोकसभा में विश्वास प्राप्त करने में सफल नहीं हो सका। अपने ही सहयोगी दल अन्ना द्रविड़ मुनेत्र कड्गम् (A.D.M.K.) के कुमारी जयललिता के असयोग के कारण सरकार एक वोट से गिर गयी। मुख्य विपक्षी पार्टी भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस सोनिया गांधी के नेतृत्व में अपेक्षित बहुमत हासिल करने में असमर्थता जतायी। फलतः तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति के.आर. नारायण ने लोकसभा भंग कर दिया और नये चुनाव कराने का सिफरारिश किया। अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को ही कार्यवाहक प्रधानमंत्री नवीन चुनाव सम्पन्न होने और सरकार गठन होने तक बनाया गया।

भारतीय जनता पार्टी नेशनल डेमोक्रेटिक एलायंस के नाम से 20 से अधिक दक्षिण पंथी, राष्ट्रवादी, हिन्दुत्ववादी पार्टियों के गठनबंधन को लेकर चुनावी संग्राम में उतरा। साथ ही कांग्रेस और अन्य दलों ने चुनाव में हिस्सा लिया। सोनिया गांधी के राजनीति के लिए एक नवीन चेहरा के रूप में विदेशी मूल का मुद्दा पूरे चुनाव में छाया रहा। विदेशी मूल बनाम स्वदेशी का मामला एक प्रमुख मुद्दा रहा। कारगिल युद्ध में विजय, वाजपेयी के कुशल नेतृत्व आदि एन.डी.ए. के पक्ष जनता का झुकाव रहा। आर्थिक उदारीकरण और वित्तीय सुधार नीति के कारण भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था का विकास दर पिछले वर्ष के दौरान अच्छा रहा था तथा अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी के एक वोट की हार को संवेदना वोट भी मिला। इस तरह सारी परिस्थितियाँ बी.जे.पी. व एन.डी.ए. के गठबंधन के पक्ष में रहीं। मतदान की प्रक्रिया 5 दिनों तक चलती रही। 5 सितम्बर को 146 सीट पूर्वोत्तर क्षेत्र के 11 सितम्बर को मध्य एवं दक्षिणी क्षेत्र के 123 सीट के लिए जो उत्तर-पश्चिम भारत से 25 सितम्बर को चुनाव सम्पन्न हुआ। शेष 121 पश्चिमी सीटों के लिए 3 अक्टूबर को वोट डाले गए।

चुनाव परिणाम बी.जे.पी. के पक्ष में रहा। एन.डी.ए. को 269 सीट औपचारिक रूप से मिले। बाद में 29 सीट वाले टी.डी.पी. का समर्थन मिला। कांग्रेस पार्टी को 23 सीटों की हानि उठानी पड़ी। कम्यूनिष्ट पार्टी 4 सीटों को गंवाने के साथ ही लगातार पतन की ओर रहा। इस चुनाव के बाद बी.जे.पी. के नेतृत्व में फिर से सरकार बनी तथा पूरे पांच वर्ष सत्ताशील रही। इस चुनाव

की प्रमुख विशेषता रही की भारत में मजबूत गठबंधन सरकार की शुरूआत हुई और इसके बाद के चुनाव में 'इंडिया साइनिंग' का नारा आया जो विश्वसनीय नहीं रहा जिसके कारण यू.पी.ए. की सरकार बनी।

निष्कर्ष

मध्यावधि निर्वाचन के बाद गठित सरकार कई दलों की भागीदारी और कुछ अन्य के बाहरी समर्थन पर निर्भर है। भाजपा गठबन्धन सरकार में क्षेत्रीय दलों का स्पष्ट प्रभाव है। अतः केन्द्र राज्य सम्बंधों को नया आयाम मिला सकता है। घटक दल अपने-अपने दलीय हितों के कारण कुछ राज्य सरकारों को हटकर राष्ट्रपति शासन की मांग कर रहे हैं, किन्तु एक कमजोर सरकार का भविष्य समन्वय की राजनीति पर निर्भर करता है। देश के स्वस्थ लोकतंत्र के लिए भारतीय दलीय प्रणाली की संरचनात्मक व्यवस्था के बदलाव के प्रश्नों पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

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खड़िया जनजाति के संस्कार

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सारांश

संस्कार शब्द सम् उपसर्ग पूर्वक कृञ धातु में धञ प्रत्यय लगाकर सुर का आगम करके बनता है, इस शब्द के अनेक अर्थ हैं यथा-पूर्ण करना, शुद्धि आत्म सृजन का गुण, परिमार्जन करना, स्मृति चिन्ह आदि। हिन्दू समाज में संस्कार का अर्थ उस क्रिया से लगाया जाता है जिससे शुद्धता प्राप्त कर व्यक्ति उन्नति के पथ पर अग्रसर हो सकता है। वैदिक संस्कृति में मानव जीवन के लिए सोलह संस्कारों की व्यवस्था की गई है। खड़िया जनजाति में भी जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु तक और मृत्यु के बाद तक तीन मुख्य संस्कार हैं। जन्म से संबंधित, विवाह से संबंधित और मृत्यु से संबंधित। जन्म और विवाह के बीच भी कुछ बालिग संस्कार हैं, जैसे - कर्ण छेदन, बाल बंधन, सिक्का बैठाना और गोदा लगवाना। जन्म संस्कार से जीवन प्रारम्भ होता है। विवाह संस्कार जीवन का उत्थान काल है। जब मनुष्य मन मस्तिष्क एवं शरीर से सम्पुष्ट होकर गृहस्थ जीवन में प्रवेश करता है और अंतिम बिन्दु है जीवन का अवसान। मृत्यु संस्कार अंतिम संस्कार है।

विशिष्टशब्द - परिमार्जन, वैदिक साहित्य, पवित्रीकरण, कर्मकाण्डी

भूमिका

धार्मिक और कर्मकाण्डीय क्रियाओं के रूप में संस्कार जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु पर्यन्त तक संपादित किये जाते हैं। इन्हें संपादित करने का उद्देश्य मानव की भौतिक और सांस्कृतिक उन्नति ही नहीं बल्कि उसका शुद्धिकरण करना होता है।¹ ऐसा विश्वास किया जाता है कि संस्कारों का उदय वैदिक काल अथवा इससे पूर्व हो चुका था। संस्कारों का शास्त्रीय विवेचन सर्वप्रथम 'वृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्' से प्राप्त होता है। विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में संस्कारों की संख्या अलग-अलग बताई गई है। आश्वलायन गृहसूत्र में संस्कारों की संख्या ग्यारह, पारस्कर सूत्र में तेरह, वैश्वानर गृहसूत्र में अठारह तथा गौतम धर्म सूत्र में इनकी संख्या चालीस बतायी गयी है। अधिकांश गृहसूत्रों में अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है।

इस प्रकार गृहसूत्रों से पूर्व हमें संस्कारों के पूरे नियम नहीं मिलते। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि गृहसूत्रों से पूर्व पारंपरिक प्रथाओं के आधार पर ही संस्कार होते थे। सबसे पहले गृहसूत्रों में ही संस्कारों की पूरी पद्धति का वर्णन मिलता है। गृहसूत्रों में संस्कारों के वर्णन में सबसे पहले विवाह संस्कार का उल्लेख है। इसके बाद गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमंतोन्नयन, जात-कर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्न-प्राशन, चूड़ा कर्म, उपनयन और समावर्तन संस्कारों का वर्णन किया गया है। अधिकतर गृहसूत्रों में अंत्येष्टि संस्कार का वर्णन नहीं मिलता क्योंकि ऐसा करना अशुभ समझा जाता था। स्मृतियों के आचार प्रकरणों में संस्कारों का उल्लेख है और तत्संबंधी नियम दिए गए हैं। इनमें उपनयन और विवाह संस्कारों का वर्णन विस्तार के साथ दिया गया है क्योंकि उपनयन संस्कार के द्वारा व्यक्ति ब्रह्मचर्य आश्रम में और विवाह संस्कार के द्वारा गृहस्थ आश्रम में प्रवेश करता था। संसार को यदि दूसरी दृष्टि से देखा जाए तो यह जीवन की एक स्थिति से जीवन की दूसरी स्थिति में प्रवेश की एक घटना है। इसी दृष्टि के आधार पर कुछ

लेखक संस्कार को जीवन का समारोह कहते हैं। संस्कार का अभिप्राय उन धार्मिक कृत्यों से था जो किसी व्यक्ति को अपने समुदाय का पूर्ण रूप से योग्य सदस्य बनाने के उद्देश्य से उसके शरीर, मन और मस्तिष्क को पवित्र करने के लिए जाते थे, किन्तु हिन्दू संस्कारों का उद्देश्य व्यक्ति में अभीष्ट गुणों को जन्म देना भी था। संस्कारों का विवेचन मुख्य रूप से गृहसूत्रों में ही मिलता है, किन्तु इनमें भी संस्कार शब्द का प्रयोग यज्ञ सामग्री के पवित्रीकरण के अर्थ में किया गया है। व्यक्ति का सम्पूर्ण जीवन इन्हीं संस्कारों से घिरा हुआ है। यह व्यक्ति के जन्म के पूर्व ही आरंभ हो जाता है क्योंकि गर्भस्थ शिशु के लिए माँ को विभिन्न प्रकार के संस्कार निभाने पड़ते हैं जिसमें गर्भ में ही शिशु का विकास सर्वथा अनुकूल दिशा में निर्देशित होता है। जीवन संस्कारों का क्रियान्वयन किया जाता है। खड़िया समाज निम्न आर्थिक स्थिति से ग्रस्त, अस्थिर सामाजिक संगठन से युक्त परिवर्तनरत समाज है। खड़िया समाज अतीत और भविष्य के बीच संक्रमणकालीन अवस्था से गुजर रहा है। अतीत से लेकर अब तक निरन्तर अनेक संघर्षों और परिवर्तनों के फलस्वरूप खड़िया उनके व्यक्तिगत और सामाजिक जीवन को सुनियोजित और स्थायी आधार पर विकसित नहीं कर पाये हैं। यही कारण है कि खड़िया समाज में विधिवत संस्कारों की कमी है। एक खड़िया बालक जन्म लेता है, बढ़ता है, विवाह हो जाता है, बच्चे हो जाते हैं। वह वृद्ध हो जाता है और मर जाता है। खड़िया आदिवासी में व्यक्ति के जीवन की इन्हीं तीन घटनाओं पर आधारित संस्कार है।²

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति की है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः गजेटियर प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को

अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।²

तथ्य विश्लेषण

दूसरे धर्मों में जब किसी को संस्कार दिया जाता है, तो उस व्यक्ति के लिए प्रार्थना की जाती है कि वह व्यक्ति अपने इस नए जीवन को अर्थपूर्वक उस संस्कार के अनुकूल जीने में सफलता प्राप्त करें। खड़िया जनजाति में इस तरह की प्रार्थना नहीं की जाती है क्योंकि उस व्यक्ति के प्रति समाज उत्तरदायित्व ले लेता है और समाज ही उसे सफल जीवन अथवा संस्कार के अनुकूल जीवन जीने के लिए वातावरण तैयार करता है और उसकी मदद करता है। खड़िया जनजाति के लिए जाति और धर्म एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं, इसलिए जाति के प्रति निष्ठा ही धर्म के प्रति निष्ठा भी है। जाति अथवा धर्म के प्रति निष्ठा होने के लिए समाज ही व्यक्ति की मदद करता है। खड़िया जीवन निम्नलिखित संस्कारों में आबद्ध है :-

1. **जातोम जेरी (गर्भावस्था)** : शादी के बाद जब लकड़ी गर्भधारण करती है, उस अवस्था को जातोम जेरी कहते हैं। इस अवस्था में लड़की का विशेष ध्यान दिया जाता है एवं उसे खेत एवं रसोई घर में प्रवेश नहीं करने दिया जाता है। बच्चे के जन्म के बाद भी शुद्धिकरण की क्रिया तक उसे अछूत समझा जाता है। छह दिनों में छट्टी ओर बारह दिनों में बरही दिया जाता है, तब तक उसे स्पर्श करना मना है।³

दोरहो जो: डोम (प्रेत निष्कासन समारोह) - बच्चे को जन्म देने से पहले दोरहो जो डोम की धार्मिक क्रिया विधि का होना बहुत जरूरी है। दोरहो जो: डोम का अर्थ है दरहा दरहिन भूत को निकालना। नहियारी भूत का निष्कासन करना। इसका दूसरा अर्थ है क्रिया कसम उतारना।

दोरहो जो: डोम की क्रिया विधि के लिए गाँव के मति को बुलाया जाता है उसे सूप, तेल, अरवा, चावल और बत्ती की सामग्री दी जाती है। देवड़ा दोरहो जो; डोम की क्रिया सम्पन्न करवाता है। वह दरहा डुबों ; को अर्पित करता है, जिससे देवता खुश रहे और जन्म लेने वाले बच्चे की हानि न करें।⁴

जन्म संस्कार :

(क) प्रसव का अवसर - प्रसव के एक सप्ताह स्त्री के लिए घर का एक भाग अलग कर दिया जाता है, वह वहीं रहने लगती है और वहाँ कोई पुरुष नहीं जा सकता है इस स्थान को 'कोचाओ:' (प्रसूति गृह) कहा जाता है।

(ख) बच्चे का जन्म - बच्चे के जन्म के समय एक दाई होती है जो प्रसूति विद्या में निपुण रहती है। दाई को खड़िया में दागरिन, कुसरेन, सुखरेन भी कहते हैं। बच्चे के जन्म तक दाई इसी घर में रहती है। इस समय परिवार का कोई भी सदस्य मांस नहीं खा सकता है। जैसे ही बच्चे का जन्म होता है दाई बच्चे के नाभी को तीर से ताम्बा पैसा या खपती लगाकर काटती है। नाभी झड़ने के बाद स्त्री-पुरुष दोनों तीन बेला उपवास करते हैं। इस क्रिया को

कानना या कान सोड.ना कहते हैं। दाई बेरनी पौधे की जड़ को कुच कर सिर पर लगाती है जिससे दोनों शुद्ध होते हैं। इस दिन मेहमानों को बुलाकर मुर्गा खिलाया जाता है। यह मेहमानी नया जीवन के उपलक्ष्य में की जाती है।

सुधोम (शुद्धिकरण) :- बच्चे के जन्म के सातवें दिन में शुद्धिकरण की क्रिया-विधि होती है।⁵ माँ-बच्चे स्वास्थ्य हैं तो उन्हें हल्दी पानी से स्नान कराते हैं। दाई गम्भार पेड़ की छाल को पीसकर बच्चे की माँ को पीने के लिए देती है। पीने के बाद बच्चे पानी को घर में छिड़क देती है। राख में उबाल कर कपड़ा साफ करते हैं। कपड़ा उबालने की क्रिया को 'खरोम गोड़ना' कहते हैं। इसे संतोषजनक शुद्धिकरण की क्रिया मानी जाती है।

(ग) जीमी रायना (बुजीम तेरना) (नामकरण संस्कार) : नामकरण की क्रिया को जीमी रायना या बुजीम तेरना कहते हैं। यह संस्कार अंतिम शशुद्धिकरण के दिन होता है। उस दिन सुबह ही घर आंगन की सफाई होती है। भात पकाने के घड़े और तवे को बाहर निकाल देते हैं। दोपहर तक निर्मंत्रित कुटुम्ब रिश्तेदार भी आ जाते हैं। नामकरण के पहले बच्चे का बाल उतारा जाता है। दोना में पानी और कुछ धान रखा जाता है। धान बोते समय कोने में उसे बोया जाता है। दोना में रखे बाल और पानी को अछूत समझा जाता है। इसे घर की छत पर फेंक दिया जाता है।

लड़का बच्चा हो और उसका जन्म पैर तरफ से हुआ हो तो उसका नाम पोईरू या पाया रखा जाता है। अगर लड़की हो तो उसका नाम पोंडरी या पायो रखा जाता है। नामकरण की क्रिया विधि के लिए थाली में पानी और दोना में शकोमसोर रूमकुबश अरवा चावल का दा लिया जाता है। पहले चावल शपानोमोसोर पंच परमेश्वर के नाम पर गिराया जाता है। इस तरह चावल, आजा, आजी, मामा, मामी एवं पिता के वंशज की ओर से पूर्वजों का नाम लेकर चावल गिराया जाता है। जिसके नाम पर चावल मिल जाए, उसी का नाम बच्चे को दिया जाता है।

लुतुर - तो:ना - (कान परिवेध) : लुतुर तो:ना का अर्थ है कान छिद्र करना। लुतुर तो:ना प्रत्येक खड़िया बच्चे के लिए आवश्यक अंग है। लड़का हो अथवा लड़की, प्रत्येक बच्चे के लिए छह वर्ष के पहले कर्ण-छिद्र समारोह अति आवश्यक है। सभी खड़ियाओं के बीच में इस क्रिया को जीवन का आवश्यक अंग माना गया है। उनका विश्वास है कि जिन बच्चों की आत्माएँ, मृत पुरखों की आत्माओं के साथ नहीं मिल पायेंगी। इस दिन उपस्थित सभी मेहमानों को बच्चे के नाम पर प्रीतिभोज दिया जाता है।

उलुई तोलना या सो:लुई सो:ना (बाल बांधना) :- खड़िया समाज में बच्चे के जन्म के बाद, बाल बढ़ जाने पर बांधने की रीति है। लड़का हो या लकड़ी बाल बांधना एक धार्मिक संस्कार है फिलहाल जैसे - जैसे शिक्षित हो रहे हैं, इन रीतियों को छोड़ते जा रहे हैं। करीब बारह वर्ष की उम्र में बाल-बंधन का एक विशेष सामाजिक कार्यक्रम होता है और उसी दिन से बच्चे समाये ही रूप से बाल बढ़ाना प्रारंभ करते हैं।

‘सिका डोबकोना’ - (सिका बैठाना) - जब बच्चे दस या बारह वर्ष के होते हैं तो अपने बाएँ हाथ पर सिका बैठाते हैं। धनुर्विद्या में निपुणता हासिल करने के उद्देश्य से बड़ी अंगुली पर भी सिका बैठाता है। साधारणतः लड़के सनई, कुदरूम या गंगई के गुदा को जलाकर अपने हाथ पर सिका बैठाते हैं।

सोमोंग-खोदना (गोदना) :- लड़कियों के कपाल में और दोनों कनपट्टियों में किसी मलार स्त्री की सहायता से लगवाया जाता है। कहीं - कहीं स्त्रियाँ अपने बांहों, पैरों, छाती और नाक की धड़ के पास भी गोदा लगवाती हैं।

‘सहिया जोराना या जोरायना (मित्रता जोड़ना) :- खड़िया समाज में सहिया जोराना एक पुरखौती परम्परा है। इसमें एक किशोर लड़का अपने गाँव के किशोर लड़के के साथ विशेष प्रेम संबंध स्थापित करता है। वह मित्रता के गहरे बंधन में प्रवेश करता है।

गोई जोराना या रा: रा: जोराना :- लड़कियों के बीच में है। इसमें वहीं क्रिया विधि अपनाई जाती है जो सहिया जोराने की है। यह प्रथा अब धीरे-धीरे लुप्त होती जा रही है।

2. विवाह संस्कार :-

‘केरसोंग बिहा’ (खड़िया विवाह) :- विवाह को खड़िया में केरसोंग कहते हैं। खड़िया समाज में विवाह अनिवार्य समझा जाता है। क्योंकि विवाह के बाद ही एक व्यक्ति खड़िया समाज का पूर्ण सदस्य समझा जाता है। खड़िया समाज में सजातीय विवाह की प्रथा है बर्हिजात विवाह को वे बिल्कुल अनुचित समझते हैं। माता - पिता या रिश्तेदार लड़की का चयन करते हैं और लड़के को दिखाने के लिए ले जाते हैं। इसे योयोडाय की क्रिया कहते हैं। खड़िया समाज में विवाह की कई विधियाँ हैं, जैसे :-

1. ओलोलडाय - असली बिहा - मंगनी बिहा-नियमित विवाह
2. उद्वेरिया चारो: - उधरा चोलकी, कोल ओडुंग यारो: - युवक युवती का पलायन।
3. सुंदरोम तपा: - ओनमो: - सुंदरोम ला: की - बाध्य विवाह-पलायन
4. दुकु चोलकी - दुकु डियरकी - अनैतिक विवाह - आदेश विवाह।
5. सगोई ओनमों: विधवा विवाह
6. दीमतांग डियर ओनमों:- दीमतांग डियरकी - गोशाला प्रवेश विवाह
7. गोलॉंठ ओनमों:-आदान - प्रदान
8. सौड़ायडोम मेलायना - कंड़ाय मेलायना - तलाक

खड़िया विवाह के प्रकार :-

क) ओलोलडाय (नियमित विवाह) : यह एक सम्मानित विवाह है। इस विवाह से परिवार की इज्जत बढ़ती है। इस विवाह के विभिन्न हैं जैसे -

क) कंडाय लमना - (सूया का काम)- कन्या दूढ़ना :- जब लड़का वयस्क हो जाता है तब लड़की की तलाश की जाती है। लड़की की तलाश करने वाला कुटुम्ब को सूया कहते हैं। यहीं कुटुम्ब बन कर इस कार्य को करने के लिए कदम बढ़ता है। कन्या देखने के लिए सूया निश्चित तिथि तय करता है इसे ‘योयो डाय’ कहते हैं। पांच या सात कुटुम्ब लेकर दुल्हा बाबू के साथ लड़की का घर जाता है। कुटुम्ब के लिए वहीं व्यक्ति जाता है जो कुटुम्ब संबंधी बातों की जानकारी रखते हैं।

ख) जुंड-जुंड डाय लोटा डा: मंगनी (लोटा-पानी) : लोटा पानी प्राचीन युग में सरल ढंग से होता था लड़की को ससुर की गोद में बैठा दिया जाता है था। ससुर स्वीकृति दिखाते हुए कुछ पैसा देता था। इस विधि में लड़का लड़की एक दूसरे को नहीं देख पाते थे। जिससे अगर भविष्य में कुछ आपत्ति आने पर वे अपने माता-पिता को दो दोष देते थे। इसे देखते हुए स्त्रीस्तीय खड़िया में लोटा - पानी में लड़का -लड़की को आमने- सामने खड़ा करना प्रारम्भ किया। स्वीकार होने पर लोटा पानी दे सकते थे एवं मंजूरी न होने पर इसे ग्रहण करने से इंकार कर सकते थे।

ग) डंडा: ओजेग- (महागोतिया) : डंडा ओजेग का शाब्दिक अर्थ है दी गई छड़ी को वापस लौटाना जिस तरह लोटा-पानी में परिवर्तन लाया गया है, उसी तरह इसमें परिवर्तन लाया गया है। डंडा ओजेग के पहले लड़के की ओर से तीन कुटुम्ब लड़की का घर जाते हैं। वे डंडा ओजेग के लिए तिथि निश्चित करके घर लौट जाते हैं। बाद में इनमें से एक रूक जाता है और लड़की वाले सभी मेहमानों को समेट कर लड़के का घर ले जाता है।

घ) ‘गिनिड तांड (कन्यादान) गनिड तांड महागोतिया के समय ही देखा जाता है गिनिड. तांड. लड़की का असल मूल्य है। गिनिड. तांड निश्चित करने के लिए पांच कुटुम्ब लड़के की ओर से और उतनी ही संख्या में कुटुम्ब लड़की की ओर से होते हैं। गिनितांड निश्चित होने पर लड़की का कुटुम्ब घड़े में हंडिया जाता है। लड़की की मां को एक साड़ी दिया जाता है, जिसे ‘मायसारी’ कहते हैं। लड़के का पिता और संबंधी गिनिड. तांड यानि सुखमुड़ को लेकर लड़की के पिता घर जाते हैं। घर पहुँचकर पैसा और कपड़ा लेकर घर के अंदर प्रवेश करते हैं। बैल को बाहर ही किसी एक व्यक्ति के जिम्मे रखते हैं मूल्य का परख किया जाता है। जब लड़की का मूल्य स्वीकृत हो जाता है तब मेहमानों का स्वागत किया जाता है। खिलाया-पिलाया जाता है।

ड.) ‘दिनों तोलना’ - (तिथि निश्चित करना) : विवाह का दिन निश्चित करने के लिए लड़के की ओर से दो या तीन कुटुम्ब लड़की का घर जाते हैं। लड़की की ओर से भी दो या तीन कुटुम्ब घर वालों के साथ मिलकर विवाह की तिथि निश्चित करते हैं। तिथि निश्चित होने के बाद दोनों ओर तैयारियाँ शुरू हो जाती हैं।

च) ‘कंड़ाय ओलना - सौड़ाय ओलना’ (बिहा या विवाह डो:टूडाय की प्रथा) : डो:टूडाय का अर्थ होता है, दुल्हन को दुल्हा के घर पहुँच देना आरम्भ में खड़िया समाज में बारात की

प्रथा थी। लेकिन कुछ विशेष घटना के कारण डो:टूडाय की प्रथा प्रचलित हुई। जब लड़की को लड़का का घर पहुँचाया जाता है तो मोटिया कपड़ा ढंकरने पर लड़की अपनी माँ के गले में लिपट कर रोने लगती है अन्य रिश्तेदार भी लड़की से गले मिलकर रोने लगते हैं। पिता या बड़ा भाई लड़की को अपने कंधे पर उठाकर घर से बाहर निकालता है। इसके बाद में गाँव के लड़के बारी-बारी करके लड़की को अपने कंधे पर ढोकर गाँव की सीमा तक ले जाते हैं।

“जोल ओबयोना चाहे जोलगोसो:ना”- (तेल मलना) : मुरगे के बांग देते ही एक हंडिया दी जाती है। इसे सिंकोय सुलसुल गोलड़ कहते हैं। इसके बाद दुल्हा दुल्हन को उठाकर घर में प्रवेश करते हैं और एक चटाई पर बैठाते हैं। दुल्हा का कुटुम्ब दुल्हन को और दुल्हन का कुटुम्ब दुल्हा केसिर पर तेल मलता है। तेल मलन की धर्म विधि समाप्त होने पर कुटुम्ब नव वर-वधू पर पानी उड़ेलते हैं। और उन्हें आशीर्वाद देते हैं।

‘सोनहोर - (चुमावन) : दूसरे दिन दुल्हा के घर में चुमावन होता है। चुमावन के दिन लड़के के रिश्तेदार और गाँव के कुटुम्ब निमंत्रित रहते हैं। वे अपने साथ चावल, दाल, हंडिया और गुड़ लेकर न्योता घर में प्रवेश करते हैं। उनका स्वागत कर पैर धौया जाता है और उन्हें मड़वा में बैठाया जाता है। उसके बाद चुमावन बैठाया जाता है। सबसे पहले दुल्हा के माता-पिता चुमावन का आरम्भ करते हैं। चुमावन में दिए उपहार का हिसाब रखा जाता है चुमावन की समाप्ति होने पर खाना खिलाया जाता है उसके बाद लड़के लड़कियाँ रात भर नाचते हैं।

‘बहुरात कोलोड़ - (दुल्हन रोती) : विवाह के बाद आठवें दिन शाम को गरम-गरम रोटियाँ, पकवान बनाये जाते हैं पति पत्नी के अलावे लड़के के भाई या बहन या कोई रिश्तेदार लड़की के माता-पिता के घर जाते हैं। वहाँ उनका स्वागत किया जाता है दूसरे दिन उस पकवान को टुकड़ा करके प्रत्येक घर में बांटा जाता है।

मृत्यु संस्कार

क) मृत्यु की घड़ी : जब किसी व्यक्ति का अंतिम समय आता है तो देवड़ा को बुलाया जाता है। वह, जब तक व्यक्ति ठीक नहीं होता या मृत्यु नहीं होती तब तक मंत्रोच्चारण करता है।⁶ उसे नया कपड़ा दिया जाता है। व्यक्ति की हालत देखकर संबंधियों को खबर दी जाती है। जब व्यक्ति मरण संकट में रहता है तो उसके मुँह में पानी डाला जाता है जब मनुष्य की सांस बन्द हो जाती है और शरीर टंडा पड़ जाता है तब लोग समझ जाते हैं कि उसकी मृत्यु हो गई है। लोग जमा होने लगते हैं। स्त्रियाँ मृतक के चारों ओर होकर विलाप करती हैं इस विलाप को “गोनोज-ई जाम” कहा जाता है।

ख) दफन विधि : जब कब्रगाह बनकर तैयार हो जाता है तब चार व्यक्ति मृतक को ढोकर निकालते हैं। मृतक को जैसे ही घर से निकाला जाता है वैसे ही एक व्यक्ति घर के दरवाजे और

खिड़कियाँ बन्द कर देता है और घर में राख-छिड़क देता है। तब मृतक को कब्रगाह में डाला जाता है तो उसके सारे सामान भी गड़ढे में डाल दिए जाते हैं। इसके बाद देवड़ा अंतिम संस्कार करता है। अंत में सभी हार्थों से मिट्टी गिराते हैं। कब्र को मिट्टी से भर देने के बाद मृतक के सिर की ओर घड़े में पानी, मिट्टी के छोटे वर्तन में तेल और एक दतवन रख दिया जाता है। अन्त में कब्र को पत्थर और झाड़िया से ढंक दिया जाता है जिससे जंगली जानवर न खोद निकालें।

शुद्धिकरण की विधियाँ :- मृत्यु के बाद व्यक्ति गैर खड़िया बन जाता है इसलिए दफन क्रिया में भाग लेने वाले भी अशुद्ध हो जाते हैं। अतः दो बार शुद्धिकरण किया जाता है, दफन के तुरन्त बाद और दफन के नौ दिन बाद।

क) दफन के दिन का शुद्धिकरण : दफन क्रिया समाप्त हो जाने के बाद दफन क्रिया में भाग लेने वाले नदी अथवा तालाब जाकर स्नान करते हैं एवं मछली लाकर पीसकर हल्दी और तेल मिलाकर लगाते हैं वे घर के अन्दर छिड़की हुई राख में पद चिन्हों की जांच करते हैं और मृत्यु का कारण और प्रकृति को समझने की कोशिश करते हैं।

ख) कमान अथवा द्वितीय शुद्धिकरण : मृत्यु के बाद 9वें अथवा 10वें दिन कमान की विधि सम्पन्न की जाती है। कमान के दिन ही मृतक की छाया को घर के अन्दर लाकर उसे परिवार और जाति का सदस्य बनाया जाता है। कमान का कार्यक्रम एक तरह से जाति में पुनः स्थापना के बराबर है, इस दिन सबेरे ही घर-आंगन को गोबर से लीपकर साफ किया जाता है। मिट्टी के पुराने बर्तन फेंक दिए जाते हैं और घर के लोग स्नान करके अपने कपड़े साफ करते हैं। मेहमानगण भी आते समय रास्ते में ही स्नान करते और हल्दी तथा तेल मलकर अपने को पवित्र करते हैं उस रात को परिवार में आग नहीं जलायी जाती है और परिवार के सदस्य खाना भी नहीं खाते हैं।

ग) ‘सानबारी’- मृतको का पर्व (जाड़ डुबा) : जब मृतक को जलाया या दफनाया जाता था। छः महीने बाद उस हड्डी को पुनः खोदकर गाजा बाजा के साथ किसी गहने स्थान, में डुबा दिया जाता है। इस क्रिया को ‘सानबारी’ कहा जाता है। यहीं मृतकों का पर्व भी है। सानबारी के लिए आए हुए लोग स्नान करके दूसरा कपड़ा पहनकर घर लौटते हैं। सानबारी द्वारा मृतक को वहीं पहुँचा दिया जाता है जहाँ से मानों वह आया था।

घ) उत्तर - विवाह और पत्थर-गाड़ी : जब बूढ़े - बुढ़ी दोनों की मृत्यु हो जाती है तो उनके पुत्र पौत्र आदि उसकी उत्तर विवाह का कार्यक्रम सम्पन्न करते हैं। इसमें काफी खर्च होता है सुअर बकरी खिलाना पड़ता है यदि ये बुढ़े-बुढ़ी खुंट कट्टीदार थे अर्थात् इस गाँव को प्रारम्भ करने वाले थे तो दो बड़े-बड़े पत्थर पर वंशज के नाम तथा पत्थर गाड़ने की तिथि खोदी जाती है।⁷ उत्तर विवाह का कार्यक्रम इस तरह सम्पन्न किया जाता है। पत्थर गाड़ी में सभी

कुटुम्ब की उपस्थिति अनिवार्य होती है। पत्थर पर पुरखे का नाम, जन्म और मरण ईश्वी सन् आदि लिखा जाता है। अंत में खाना-पीना द्वारा इस कार्यक्रम का अन्त किया जाता है।

निष्कर्ष

खड़िया जनजाति की संस्कृति का प्रत्येक भाग उनके विश्वास पर आधारित है और उनका विश्वास उनकी मूल लोककथा पर आधारित है। जैसे अभी बहुत से खड़िया ईसाई धर्म को अपना चुके हैं। इसलिए इनके विधि में बहुत अन्तर पाया जाता है। जन्म संस्कार की बहुत से संस्कार को ईसाई लोग छोड़ चुके हैं उसी प्रकार विवाह संस्कार में भी आधुनिकता को अपनाया जा रहा है। मृत्यु संस्कार के अन्तर्गत भी खड़िया विश्वास और ईसाई विश्वास में अन्तर है। खड़िया धर्म का विश्वास है कि मृतकों की छाया इसी संसार में रह जाती है और मनुष्यों को उनकी देखभाल करनी पड़ती है। इसके विपरीत ईसाई लोगों का विश्वास है कि मृतकों की आत्मा संसार में नहीं रहती है, वह ईश्वर के पास स्वर्ग या शैतान के पास नरक में चली जाती है।

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सारांश

ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के खिलाफ जो विद्रोह और आंदोलन हुए, उनके दो सिरे थे। एक सिरा जंगल-जमीन जैसे जीवन यापन के मुद्दों की वजह से स्थानीय और प्रजाति विशेष के नेतृत्व से जुड़ा था और दूसरा सिरा सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक मुद्दों की वजह से आजादी के सार्वदेशिक आंदोलन का अनिवार्य हिस्सा बना। इसीलिए इन आंदोलनों में विशेष प्रजाति का बाहुल्य होने के बावजूद अन्य तमाम समुदायों ने इसमें भाग लिया और स्थानीय नेतृत्व होते हुए भी हर आंदोलन ने अपनी सार्वदेशिक छवि पेश करने की कोशिश की। झारखंड क्षेत्र में ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के खिलाफ 150 साल में हुए विभिन्न आंदोलनों एवं विद्रोहों की एक-दूसरे से जुड़ी कड़ियों को देखे-समझे बिना भारत के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के इतिहास की व्याख्या संभव नहीं है। 1857 के प्रथम संग्राम के करीब 26 साल पहले ही झारखंड की जनजातियों ने अंग्रेजी शासन के खिलाफ विद्रोह किया था। झारखंड की सांस्कृतिक पहचान का राजनीतिक अर्थ भी पहली बार 1831 के 'कोल विद्रोह' से उजागर हुआ था। उसमें मुंडा, हो, उरांव, भुइयां आदि जनजातियां शामिल हुईं। इस विद्रोह के केंद्र थे रांची, सिंहभूम और पलामू। ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के खिलाफ यह संभवतः पहला विराट आदिवासी आंदोलन था। इतिहासकार इस विद्रोह को झारखंड क्षेत्र का विकराल अध्याय मानते हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द - दिक्, सहअस्तित्व, आदिवासीकरण, सार्वदेशिक, जनजातीय विद्रोह

भूमिका

झारखण्ड विभिन्न सभ्यताओं और संस्कृतियों का प्रदेश है। एक ओर यहां प्रागैतिहासिक सभ्यता के अवशेष और आदिम जीवन की स्वर लहरियां हैं तो दूसरी ओर अति आधुनिक जीवनकृष्टि भी। हजारों वर्षों में हुई भौगोलिक और ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं ने प्रकृति और सभ्यता-संस्कृति, दोनों ही स्तरों पर इसे समृद्ध बनाया है। यहां सुरम्य घाटियां, झरने, नदियां और नयनाभिराम प्राकृतिक संरचनाएं हैं। रत्नगर्भा धरती है। और हैं सामूहिक एवं समन्वित संस्कृति को पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी जीने वाले जनजातीय समुदाय। जीवंत गीतों, नृत्यों और अपार साहस व शौर्य की धरती है यह झारखण्ड।

प्राचीन काल से आधुनिक काल तक, पाटलीपुत्र, उज्जैन, कन्नौज और दिल्ली के साम्राज्य केन्द्रों से पूरब (बंगाल-ओडिशा) की ओर, या दक्षिण तथा पश्चिम के साम्राज्य केन्द्रों से उत्तर पूर्व (बंगाल-बिहार) की ओर जो सैनिक अभियान चलते थे, वे झारखंड से होकर ही गुजरते। मौर्य, गुप्त, चालुक्य, राष्ट्रकूट, चोल, मुगल और मराठा साम्राज्य की सेनाएं झारखंड के विभिन्न अंचलों से होकर उत्तर या दक्षिण बंगाल तथा बिहार के लिए कूच करती थीं। राजमहल के रास्ते या सिंहभूम और पलामू होकर। स्थानीय क्षत्रपों के छोटे-छोटे अभियान तो प्रायः चलते रहते। मुगल साम्राज्य के आखिरी दिनों में बंगाल के सूबेदारों की स्वतंत्रता की कोशिशों का दमन करने के लिए ऐसे कई फौजी अभियान चले। उन दिनों ऐसे अभियान वर्षों तक चलते। सेनापतियों के लश्कर रास्ते में रूकते, जगह-जगह किले बनाते, स्थानीय क्षत्रपों से युद्ध होते, समझौते होते, जागीरें छीनी और दी जातीं।

मुगल साम्राज्य तक छोटानागपुर का पठारी क्षेत्र दिल्ली या बाहरी सल्तनत के सीधे कब्जे से मुक्त था। वैसे, झारखंड के जनजातीय

क्षेत्र के राजाओं का चरित्र और शासन-चिंतन भी मगध से लेकर दिल्ली तक के सम्राटों और शासन व्यवस्था से अलग था। इतना अलग कि बाहर के लोगों को आश्चर्य होता था कि जनजातीय राज में राजा और प्रजा को अलग-अलग कैसे पहचाना जाये। छोटानागपुर-संताल परगना से लेकर उड़ीसा-मध्यप्रदेश तक फैले जनजातीय क्षेत्र के लिए झारखंड शब्द का प्रयोग संभवतः मध्यकाल से ही शुरू हुआ। 16वीं शताब्दी तक झारखंड में बाहरी आबादी के आने की गति धीमी रही। यहां के विभिन्न समुदायों के बीच सौहार्दपूर्ण सहअस्तित्व का सम्बंध कायम रहा। यहां तक कि बाहर के लोगों के यहां आने और बसने के क्रम में उनका आदिवासीकरण भी होता रहा। 1765 में झारखंड क्षेत्र में अंग्रेजों के आने के बाद बाहर के लोगों के आने की प्रक्रिया तेज हुई। बाहरी लोगों के आदिवासीकरण की प्रक्रिया खत्म होने लगी। छोटानागपुर और संथाल परगना के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में उपनिवेशीकरण के दौरान अंग्रेजी शासन को आरम्भिक दौर में काफी मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़ा। झारखंड क्षेत्र में सत्ता और शासन के साथ शोषण का नया और क्रूरतम रूप प्रगट होने लगा। बाहर से आने वाले लोग यहां के व्यापार, शिक्षा सामाजिक शासन, प्रशासन, न्याय प्रणाली और धर्म-कर्म तक पर काबिज होने लगे।

1765 में बिहार, बंगाल और उड़ीसा जब ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी की दीवानी में शामिल कर लिये गये, तब छोटानागपुर अंग्रेजों के अधीन आ गया। हालांकि उसके छः साल बाद तक भी अंग्रेजी हुकूमत यहां अपनी कोई सीधी प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था नहीं कायम कर सकी। उसके बाद भी 18वीं सदी के अंत तक इस क्षेत्र में राजस्व वसूली और कानून व्यवस्था लागू करने में अंग्रेजों को काफी मुसीबतों का सामना करना पड़ा। खास तौर से दक्षिणी मानभूम का क्षेत्र अंग्रेजों को लगातार चुनौती देता रहा। 1793 में

अंग्रेजों ने परमानेंट सेटलमेंट का कानून लागू किया। इसके साथ ही ब्रिटिश शासन के शोषण-दमन का चक्र तेजी से चलने लगा और उसके खिलाफ आदिवासी संघर्ष का नया इतिहास बनने लगा। 19वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में ही 1831 में प्रथम आदिवासी आंदोलन 'कोल विद्रोह' के रूप में फूट पड़ा और तबसे छोटानागपुर का इतिहास तेजी से बदलने लगा।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

1765 ई. में अंग्रेजों ने दिल्ली के मुगल शासक शाह-आलम से ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी के नाम से बंगाल, बिहार एवं उड़ीसा की दीवानी प्राप्त की और छोटानागपुर (झारखंड) अंग्रेजी राज्य के अंतर्गत एक कर, शोषण, जमींदारी और ठेकेदारी चुकाने वाला क्षेत्र बन गया, यहाँ से अंग्रेजों का शोषण एवं झारखंड के आदिवासियों का विद्रोह शुरू हुआ :

क्र. सं.	विद्रोह	वर्ष
1.	पहाड़िया विद्रोह	1772-1782
2.	तमाड़ विद्रोह	1782
3.	तिलका आंदोलन	1783-1785
4.	चुआर विद्रोह	1798
5.	चेरो आंदोलन	1800-1817
6.	बुधो विद्रोह	1820, 1831-1832

ऊपर दर्शित विद्रोहों की रूपरेखा अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के खिलाफ थी जो जमींदारी प्रथा, शोषण के प्रति थी। इन विद्रोहों में समानता आदिवासी एकजुटता, सामाजिकता, आर्थिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक जागरूकता का एक पर्याय ही है। इन्हीं आंदोलनों के अध्याय के द्वारा एक नये आंदोलनों को सुगबुगाहट शुरू हो गई।

19वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में छोटानागपुर के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में अंग्रेजी सरकार द्वारा सड़क निर्माण के कारण विभिन्न प्रकार के व्यापारी, सौदागर इत्यादि का आगमन हुआ। अपने सामान बाजारों में बेचने के साथ-साथ वे राजदरबार में जमींदारों तथा धनाढ्य मानकियों द्वारा इन व्यापारियों को ठेकेदार बनाया गया जो आदिवासियों पर उसी प्रकार के अत्याचार और शोषण किया करते थे। जैसा जमींदारों द्वारा किया जाता था। इन व्यापारियों में से प्रत्येक महाजन भी थे जो ऊँचें सूद पर ऋण दिया करते थे। सूदखोर महाजनों में जागीदारों तथा ठेकेदारों के साथ अच्छा तालमेल रखा। जब आदिवासी लोग कोई देन जमींदार को चुकाने में असमर्थ होते तो उन्हें महाजनों से कर्ज लेकर अपना ऋण

चुकाने हेतु विवश किया जाता। महाजनों से कर्ज लेते उन्हें अपनी जमीन महाजनों को गिरवी रखनी पड़ती। इस प्रकार तत्कालीन जमींदारी प्रथा में न केवल यहाँ के मूल निवासियों, आदिवासियों के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनैतिक और शासन प्रथा पर कुठाराघात किया बल्कि 18वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध (1820-1850) में हुई व्यापक पैमाने पर जमीन की लूट की प्रक्रिया को उत्कर्ष तक पहुँचा दिया। जिसकी परिणति कालांतर में विभिन्न विद्रोहों के रूप में हुई।

कोल विद्रोह का आरंभ : 1820 का दशक अंग्रेजों एवं उनके पिड्डुओं के विरुद्ध विद्रोह का दशक था, सम्पूर्ण झारखंड की आदिम जाति किसी न किसी रूप में विदेशी शासन का विरोध कर रही थी। ऐसे में कोल कैसे पीछे रहते? 1820 ई. में रूगु देव एवं कोन्ता मुण्डा के नेतृत्व में कोल का बिगुल फूँक दिया। इस जनजातीय विद्रोह का कारण भी स्थानीय था इन्हें महारानी से विरोध नहीं था। जो कमोवेश सभी जनजातीय आन्दोलन का साथ रहा इनकी शिकायत ठेकेदार, महाजनों, एवं जमींदारों एवं उनके पिड्डुओं से थी। यह काल असंतोष का काल था। 1821 ई. में कर्नल रिचर्ड्स के नेतृत्व में ब्रिटिश सेना में सिंहभूम में प्रवेश किया। अंगरेज को छोटानागपुर के सिंहभूम क्षेत्र में प्रवेश करने के प्रयास में हो जनजाति के कड़े प्रतिरोध का सामना करना पड़ा। अंततः सुसंगठित ब्रिटिश सेना ने मयूरभंज राज्य के वामनघाटी सब-डिवीजन में 5 पीरों को बलपूर्वक अपने कब्जे में लेकर सिंहभूम जिले की स्थापना की। इन चार पीरों में हो जनजाति के लोग दूर-दूर तक बसे हुए थे, जिन्हें 'कोल' भी कहा जाता था। इसलिए स्थानीय लोगों ने इस क्षेत्र का नाम "कोल्हान" रखा। अंग्रेजों ने हो लोगों के साथ विशेष शर्तों के अधीन संधि करनी चाही। किन्तु अंग्रेज जमींदारों के अत्याचार तथा साहुकार के विरुद्ध उन्हें सुरक्षा प्रदान न कर सके। छोटानागपुर (मानभूम से पलामू तथा हजारीबाग से सिंहभूम तक) के भूमि - पुत्रों मुण्डा, हो, उराँव, भुईयाँ इत्यादि जनजातियों ने अत्याचार, शोषण तथा भूमि हस्तांतरण की प्रक्रिया से ग्रस्त होकर दिक्कतों को नेस्तानाबूत करने का संकल्प लेकर अस्त्र उठाने का निर्णय लिया।

कोल विद्रोह का कारण

1. मुण्डा, हो, उराँव जनजाति के लोगों ने भूमि संबंधी असंतोष।
2. आदिवासियों से कृषि एवं आखेट परंपरा को छिनना।
3. कंपनी प्रशासन ने इस अंचल की जमींदारी विभिन्न राजाओं के बीच बाँट दी थी।
4. बेहिसाब कर की वसूली।
5. आदिवासियों के जमीनों को निलास कर दिक्कतों एवं सदानों को देना।
6. हो जनजाति की समस्याओं का अनदेखी तत्कालीन राजा के द्वारा।

7. सिंहभूम की सीमा के पास 12 गाँव सिंगराय मानकी थे, इनकी सिर्फ जमीनें ही नहीं छीनीं गयीं वरन् उसकी दो बहनों को भी बलपूर्वक छीन लिया गया। सिक्खों ने उनके साथ दुर्व्यवहार भी किया।

8. जफर अली नाम के एक मुसलमान ने बांदगाँव के सुर्गा मुण्डा पर अत्याचार किया, साथ ही उसकी पत्नी को उठा ले गया और उसकी इज्जत लूट ली। अपमानित एवं उत्पीड़ित सिंगराय एवं सुर्गा ने अपने लोगों की एक आवश्यक सभा बुलायी और कुछ समय बाद सात सौ कोलों ने इनके नेतृत्व में अत्याचारियों और शोषकों के खिलाफ आक्रमण कर दिया।

कोल विद्रोह का तात्कालिक कारण : छोटानागपुर के राजा के भ्राता जारिया-गोविन्दपुर के जमींदार हरनाथ शाही द्वारा सिंगराय मानकी के बारह गाँव सिक्खों को बंदोबस्त कर दिये गये थे। उन सिक्खों ने सिंगराय की दो बहनों को भी अपहरण कर लिया था।

विद्रोह की स्थिति : झारखण्ड के छोटानागपुर अंचल में नागवंशियों द्वारा बसाए बहिरागत जागीरदार-जमींदारों की संख्या स्थायी बंदोबस्त के बाद कुछ ज्यादा ही बढ़ गई। अंचल के मुण्डा, उराँव, हो, किसानों को इन बहिरागतों से स्वाभाविक रूप से चिढ़ थी, भूमि से बेदखली, भू-राजस्व का अत्यधिक बढ़ जाना बेट-बेगारी (बिना पारिश्रमिक की मजदूरी) का जबरन लादा जाना आदि कारकों ने चिढ़ को घृणा में बदल दिया। तमाड़ क्षेत्र में ही 1820 ई. में दो मुण्डा सरदारों रूगदेव और कोन्ता के नेतृत्व में विद्रोह भड़क उठा। मेजर रफसेज के नेतृत्व में कई सैनिक कार्रवाई के बल पर इस विद्रोह पर काबू पाया जा सका। जनजातीय इतिहास और संस्कृति से अपरिचित अंग्रेज शासकों-इतिहासकारों ने इनके लिए लुटेरा-डकैत, कोल, चुहाड़, जंगली जैसे अपशब्दों को प्रयोग किया गया है। राँची, सिंहभूम, हजारीबाग, मानभूम के पश्चिम हिस्से एवं पलामू के टोरी परगनत तक मुण्डा, हो, उराँव लोगों की क्रांति जंगल की आग की तरह फैली जिससे जमींदारी एवं कंपनी सरकार थर्रा गई। उसे अंग्रेजों ने “कोल (सुअर) विद्रोह” का नाम दिया है। इस क्रांति का मूल कारण अपनी सुरकट्टी भूमि से आदिवासी किसानों का स्वामित्व खत्म होते जाना था। नई राजस्व एवं प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था के तहत सत्ता मानकी-मुण्डा के हाथों से निकलकर नए जमींदारों के हाथों में चली गई थी। मालगुजारी वसूली के लिए नित्य नये बहिरागत उनके क्षेत्र में बताए जा रहे थे।

छोटानागपुर के नागवंशी राजा के भाई हरनाथ शाही ने अपनी जमींदारी के कुछ गाँवों की खेती की जमीन पुश्त-दर-पुश्त खेती करनेवाले आदिवासियों से छीनकर अपने प्रिय पात्र कुछ मुसलमानों, सिक्खों, आदि को सौंप दी। सिंहभूम की सीमा के पास ईचागुट्टू परगना के मानकी सिंगराय मानकी की बहनों को भी उठा ले गए। उसी प्रकार बड़गाँव को सुर्गा मुण्डा की जमीन की बंदोबस्ती जफर अली को कर दी गई जिसने सुर्गा मुण्डा की पत्नी

को भी उठा लिया। ऐसी घटनाएँ क्रांति के लिए तात्कालिक कारण बनीं। आदिवासियों पर बढ़ते अत्याचार एवं जुल्मों की परकाष्ठा लाघंती जा रही थी। इन अत्याचारों को पीड़ित होकर सिंगराय तथा सुरगा के आमंत्रण पर 11 दिसम्बर 1831 ई. को सोनपुर, तमाड़, बड़गाँव तथा आसपास के लोग “लंका” नामक गाँव में एकत्रित हुए तथा निर्णय लिया कि इसका बदला लेकर ही वे अपने तीर कोरी नदी की धारा में धोयेंगे। एक सप्ताह के अंदर ही कमरांग के मुहम्मद अली नामक सिंहभूम सीमा के दो सिक्ख हरसिंह तथा दयाल सिंह फिर कलावी खान और सईफुल्ला खान, गनगीरा के जाफर अली इत्यादि इन क्रांतिकारियों के निशाना बनें। जनवरी, 1832 ई. के मध्य तक दूर तक इस विद्रोह के पैगाम फैलाये गये और इस विद्रोह के केंद्र शीघ्र ही राँची, हजारीबाग, पलामू, मानभूम जिले और निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों में विप्लव उमड़ पड़ा। 1831-32 ई. में राँची और सिंहभूम जिले की सीमा पर कोल विद्रोह हुआ जिसमें राँची जिले के मुण्डा आदिवासियों के साथ हो और उराँव भी शामिल हुए।

छोटानागपुर का महाराजा अपनी शान-शौकत के लिए बाहर से आये सिक्ख, मुसलमान, पठान व्यापारियों से बहुत सी बिलासिता की वस्तुएँ खरीदता था और दाम चुकाने के लिए रुपये पास में नहीं होने से उन्हें आदिवासी मानकियों के गाँव ठेके पर देता था। ये मानकी इन गाँवों से राजा के लिए जो लगान हासिल करते थे उसका कुछ हिस्सा उन्हें भी मिलता था। जब बाहरी व्यापारियों को लगान वसूलने के लिए उनके गाँव ठेके पर मिल गये तो मानकियों को नुकसान पहुँचा। बाहरी ठेकेदारों ने मानकियों की पुश्तैनी जमीन-जायदाद भी हड़प ली और आदिवासी किसानों से मिलकर विद्रोह किया। उन ठेकेदारों के घर जला दिये, लूट लिये और जो पकड़े गये उन्हें काट डाला। इस आंदोलन का रूप इतना उग्र हो गया कि कोल विद्रोहियों ने बदले की भावना से गाँव जलाने शुरू कर दिये। लूटने, मारने लगे, अपना-पराया भूलने लगे। इस कारण राहे, बुण्डू, तमाड़ तथा बरवे के जमींदार जो न तो दिक्कू थे और न सदान वे भी प्रभावित हुए। डोइसा तथा कराम्बे परगना में भी उत्पात मचाया गया।

हापासूनी-घाघरा थाना का पुराना मंदिर इसी समय ध्वस्त कर दिया गया। विद्रोहियों को मनाने के लिए आये शेरघाटी के नाजीर को सीधा जवाब दिया गया के वे छोटानागपुर महाराजा के सिवा और किसी की बात नहीं सुनेंगे तथा किसी भी बाहरी आदमी (दिक्कू) को छोटानागपुर में जीवित नहीं छोड़ा जाएगा। मेटकाक के अनुसार इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए कुछ कर डालने की भावना जनजातियों में पिछले कई वर्षों से व्याप्त थी। जो कुछ हुआ वह किसी आकस्मिक विचार का परिणाम नहीं था।

कोल विद्रोह का दमन : 800 से 1000 तक दिक्कू गुमाश्ता आदि मारे गए। इस क्रांति को दबाने और विश्वस्त जमींदारों की रक्षा के लिए कम्पनी सेना सक्रिय हुई। कैप्टन विल्किन्सन ने फौज की कमान संभाली। विद्रोह के इलाके में गाँव के गाँव घेरे

गए, जलाए गए, आदिवासी किसानों का कलम किया गया लगभग 5000 वर्गमील भूमि वीरान कर दी गई। वीर बुधु भगत की शहादत का उल्लेख है। राँची के सिलगाँव को 50वीं देशी पलटन के एक दस्ते और तीसरे रिसाले की एक टुकड़ी ने आ घेरा। बुधु भगत के साथ गाँव के उराँव योद्धा अंग्रेज सैनिकों से भिड़ गए। 13 जनवरी, 1932 लगभग 300 आदिवासियों ने बुधु भगत को मानव-प्रचार में छिपा लिया था, किंतु गोलियों से सभी की क्रूर हत्या कर दी गई। 29 फरवरी, 1932 के बंगाल हाहाकार नामक पत्रिका में यह लिखा मिलता है कि कैप्टन इम्पे ने अपनी सफलता का प्रदर्शन एवं आदिवासियों से भय उत्पन्न करने के लिए बुधु भगत उनके भाई और भतीजों के कटे सिर ट्रे में सजाकर पिठोरियां स्थित एक शिविर में कमिशनर को भेंट दिया था। कहा जाता है कि अंग्रेजी शासन में स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई में शहीद होने वाले पहले क्रांतिकारी बुधु थे। इनके साथ 150 अनुयायी मारे गए। इस प्रकार की आदिवासी एकजुटता ने अपने अधिकारों एवं भूमि की रक्षा के लिए सशक्त विरोध कर अपने राजनैतिक जागरूकता का परिचय देना शुरू कर दिया। 19 मार्च 1832 ई. को सिंहराय मानकी का भाई बिंदराम मानकी तथा विद्रोहियों के नेता सुर्गा मुण्डा पकड़े गये। दूसरे विद्रोहियों को भी आत्मसमर्पण करना पड़ा।

विद्रोहियों के एक समूह सिंहभूम के हो ने अपना मोर्चा लगाये रखा। नवम्बर 1836 में अंगरेजों ने हो लोगों के विरुद्ध फौजी कार्रवाई शुरू की और फरवरी 1837 तक कर्नल रिचर्ड ने उन्हें घुटने टेकने को बाध्य किया। इस बार कम्पनी ने उन्हें पोरगाट के राजा के हाथ न देकर सीधे अपने हाथ में रखा। पोरगाट, सरायकेला, खरसवां राजाओं से 23 पीर लेकर और उनमें मयूरभंज से लिए गए 4 पीर जोड़कर अलग कोल्हान अंचल की स्थापना की गई। जिसे एक अंग्रेज अफसर के सुपुर्द किया गया जिसका सदर दफ्तर चाईबासा बना।

कोल विद्रोह का परिणाम

1. कोल विद्रोह को कुचलने के लिए गाँव के गाँव जला दिये गये। इससे धन-जन की अपार क्षति हुई। अनुमानतः 800-1000 आदमी इस विद्रोह में मारे गये।
2. कोल विद्रोह के बाद मानकियों की जमीन लौटा दी गयी तथा दारू और डाक का कर उठा लिया गया। चुटिया, बाणपुर, पलामू, खरकडीहा, रामगढ़, कदू, जंगल, महल, दालभूम तथा मालगुजार महल को मिलाकर दक्षिण-पश्चिम सीमा प्रांत बनाया गया। लोहरदगा पलामू तथा मानभूम तीन जिले बनाये गये तथा किसुनपूर (राँची) प्रशासन का केंद्र बना।
3. कई जगहें पर पुलिस थाने स्थापित किये गये। जिला का सरकारी एजेन्ट तथा हाकिम का काम करने लगे।
4. पालकोट एवं बरबे, बुण्डू, तमाड़, सिल्ली, बनता हजाम आदि के राजा एवं जमींदारों को जमींदारी पुलिस रखनी पड़ी। आगे चलकर उन्हें इसके लिए कर लेने की भी छूट दी गई।

1883 ई. तक पुलिस व्यवस्था कायम रही। इस प्रकार प्रशासनिक दृष्टि से कुछ सुधार परिलक्षित तो हुए किन्तु इस क्षेत्र में अंगरेजों का एकाधिकार कायम हो गया।

5. अंग्रेज अपनी कूटनीति में यहाँ भी सफल रहे। आदिवासियों एवं गैर-आदिवासियों के बीच की खाई संभवतः यहीं से और अधिक चौड़ी होती गई।
6. कोल विद्रोह के पश्चात् अंग्रेजों ने आदिवासियों विशेष रूप से सिंहभूम की हो जनजाति के प्रति अपनी नीति की समीक्षा की।
7. यह अनुभव किया गया कि बंगाल और बिहार के अधिक प्रगतिशील जिलों के लिए नियत आम कानून तथा विनियम आदि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों के अनुकूल नहीं है। अतः बंगाल अधिनियम 1833 बनाया गया, जिसके फलस्वरूप सम्पूर्ण छोटानागपुर क्षेत्र का विनियम मुक्त क्षेत्र घोषित कर दिया गया तथा इसे आम कानूनों के प्रशासन से मुक्त रखा गया।
8. गवर्नर जनरल के एजेंट कैप्टन टी. विल्किन्सन ने इस क्षेत्र में न्यायिक प्रशासन की स्थापना के लिए विशेष नियमावली बनायी, जिसे विल्किन्सन नियमावली के नाम से जाना जाता है।
9. 1837 ई. में विल्किन्सन नियमावली को लागू किये जाने के पश्चात् कोल सरकार (एस्टेट) को राज्य का निर्माण हुआ।
10. न्याय दिलाने के लिए विल्किन्सन नियमावली को आजादी के बाद भी जारी रखा गया तथा कोल्हान क्षेत्र में सिविल दंड संहिता को लागू नहीं किया गया। जमीन की बिक्री के लिए ऋण माफी तथा लगान के बकाया की अदायगी के लिए सामान्य कानूनों को इस क्षेत्र में लागू नहीं किया गया। कोल्हान क्षेत्र में सक्षम पदाधिकारी को मंजूरी के बिना जमीन बेचने, हस्तांतरित करने अथवा गिरवी रखने की अनुमति प्रदान नहीं की गयी।
11. यह नियमावली स्थानीय प्रशासन में मानकियों तथा मुण्डाओं सहित ग्राम पदाधिकारियों के पारस्परिक प्रथाओं की सक्रिय आवेष्टनों पर रोशनी डालती है।
11. यह नियमावली स्थानीय प्रशासन में मानकियों तथा मुण्डाओं सहित ग्राम पदाधिकारियों के पारम्परिक प्रथाओं की सक्रिय आवेष्टनों पर रोशनी डालती है। सिविल तथा आपराधिक न्यायकरण करना इन पदाधिकारियों का कर्तव्य था। संचार व्यवस्था आरंभ करने विद्यालयों, हाटों तथा मेलों की स्थापना करने तथा जादू-टोना, अभिचार जैसी सामाजिक बुराईयों को खत्म करने (जिसकी वजह से ही समाज में अक्सर हत्याएं होती थी) के प्रयास किये गये।
12. कोल विद्रोह की आदिवासी समुदाय की राजनैतिक जागरूकता एवं नेतृत्व की क्रांतिकारी भूमिका के कारण आदिवासी की छिनी गई जमीन उन्हें लौटा दी गयी विल्किन्सन नियम के आधार पर।

निष्कर्ष

कोल विद्रोह को 1857 की महान क्रांति के पूर्व का प्रथम

स्वतंत्रता संग्राम भी कहा जाता है। आमतौर पर यह विद्रोह कोल विद्रोह के नाम से जाना जाता है। इस विद्रोह के भड़कने का मुख्य कारण जातीय लोगों को जमीनों का बाहरी व्यक्तियों को हस्तांतरण और जमींदारों महाजनों व अन्य लोगों के द्वारा उनका शोषण था। जनजातीय लोगों के द्वारा अनाधिकृत कब्जा तथा मानकी और मुण्डा के साथ दुर्व्यवहार के कारण जनजातीय के बीच असंतोष बढ़ा जिसके कारण विद्रोह भड़का। कोल विद्रोह आदिवासियों राजनैतिक की एकजुटता और जागरुकता का एक आरंभ था। 19वीं सदी के काल में हालांकि अंग्रेजी हुकूमत एवं कुछ बागियों के कारण इसका दमन कर दिया गया।

झारखण्ड में 1831-32 का 'ग्रेट कोल विद्रोह' आदिवासी स्वशासन, स्वसंस्कृति एवं समर्थन के लिए उस समय शुरू हुआ, जब अंग्रेजों और सदानों को 'प्रथम दिक्कू' कहकर उनका प्रतिकार किया। अपने जीवन मूल्यों, जीवन पद्धतियों और जीवन-दर्शन पर किसी अन्य के प्रभुत्व का प्रतिकार, विरोध और अवसर अपने पर संघर्ष की तत्परता उस क्षेत्र विशेष को एक इकाई के रूप में स्थापित करता है। इन सम्मिलित मानदंडों से ही उन जातीय समूहों की पहचान अस्तित्वमय निर्धारित होता है। यह विद्रोह आदिवासियों की एकजुटता एवं राजनैतिक जागरुकता का सशक्त विद्रोह एवं स्वशासन का ज्वलंत एवं जीवंत का प्रयास है।

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लोहिया और जाति प्रथा

स्वेता कुमारी

शोधछात्रा, राजनीतिशास्त्र विभाग

राँची विश्वविद्यालय, राँची

सारांश

20वीं सदी के अंतिम दशक में जिस व्यक्ति के विचारों ने आज की राजनीति को सबसे अधिक प्रभावित किया है, वह डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया हैं। भारत की कोई भी राजनीतिक पार्टी उनके विचारों से अछूती नहीं है। विशेष रूप से शूद्र और पिछड़ी हुई जातियों के अधिकार को लेकर जिस नीति पर ये पार्टियां चलती हैं उनकी रूप रेखा राममनोहर लोहिया ने ही बनाई थी। डॉ. लोहिया राजनीतिक विचारक, चिंतक और स्वप्नद्रष्टा थे। उनका जीवन राजनीति तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा अपितु संस्कृति, दर्शन, साहित्य, इतिहास, भाषा आदि के संबंध में भी उनके विचार नितान्त मौलिक हैं। व्यापक दृष्टिकोण, दूरदर्शिता, समन्वय और संतुलन उनके चिंतनधारा की प्रमुख विशेषताएँ हैं। जाति को लोहिया भारत को पीछे ले जाने वाले सबसे बड़े उपादानों में मानते हैं और वे इसके लिये वे हिंदुस्तान के माहौल को ही एक हद तक दोषी मानते हैं। जाति समस्या का हल लोहिया यह मानते हैं कि समान अवसर की जगह उन्हें विशेष अवसर दिए जाएँ।

विशिष्टशब्द - असमानता, समरसता, समाजवादी, सत्याग्रही, जनसंघर्ष

भूमिका

भारत के राजनीतिक इतिहास और विचारधारा को जिस नेता ने सबसे ज्यादा प्रभावित किया उसमें डॉ. लोहिया का नाम सबसे ऊपर है। राजनीतिज्ञ होते हुए भी डॉ. लोहिया सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक चेतना के वाहक थे। देशभक्ति की भावना उनमें कूट-कूट कर भरी हुई थी। सामाजिक असमानता के विरुद्ध संघर्ष के साथ डॉ. लोहिया ने सामाजिक समरसता के लिए भी सांस्कृतिक स्तर पर अनेक प्रयास किये। राम-कृष्ण-शिव, रामायण मेला, हिन्दू-मुसलमान समरसता, नदियों के महत्व व उनकी सफाई को लेकर डॉ. लोहिया जीवनपर्यन्त सक्रिय रहे तथा देश की संस्कृति की मजबूती के लिए सतत् प्रयास किया। पिछड़े को विशेष अवसर तथा नर नारी समता का लोहिया का नारा दूरगामी सोच का प्रतीक था। भारत की तीन चौथाई आबादी को समाज में शिक्षा व व्यवसाय का अधिकार नहीं था। वह केवल मेहनत मजदूरी ही कर सकती थी इसमें महिलाएं भी शामिल थी जिन्हें समाज में समान अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं था।

लोहिया का जन्म 23 मार्च, 1910 को उत्तर प्रदेश के फैजाबाद जनपद के अकबरपुर नामक स्थान में हुआ था। उनके पिताजी श्री हीरालाल पेशे से अध्यापक व हृदय से सच्चे राष्ट्रभक्त थे। उनके पिताजी गाँधीजी के अनुयायी थे। जब वे गाँधीजी से मिलने जाते तो राम मनोहर को भी अपने साथ ले जाया करते थे। इसके कारण गाँधीजी के विराट व्यक्तित्व का उन पर गहरा असर हुआ। पिताजी के साथ 1918 में अहमदाबाद कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में पहली बार शामिल हुए। 1928 से अखिल भारतीय विद्यार्थी संगठन में सक्रिय हुए। साइमन कमिशन के बहिष्कार के लिए छात्रों के साथ आंदोलन किया। इसी वर्ष वह जवाहर लाल नेहरू और सुभाष चन्द्र बोस से संपर्क में आये। राममनोहर लोहिया कई मायनों में अनूठे समाजवादी साबित हुए। क्योंकि उन्होंने बजाय चुनाव के जनसंघर्ष को अपनी राजनीति की जमीन बनाने की कोशिश की। गाँधी के नेतृत्व में आजादी की लड़ाई में उन्होंने अपने को एक

समर्थ और असरदार सत्याग्रही बनाने में सफलता प्राप्त की, ग्यारह बार वे अंग्रेजों की जेल में बंद किए गए थे, इसलिए सत्याग्रही समाजवाद की तलाश में उन्होंने सिविल नाफरमानी का रास्ता पकड़ा। डॉ. राम मनोहर लोहिया भारत के राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक आंदोलन के लिए प्रासंगिक है।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद के राजनेताओं में लोहिया मौलिक विचारक थे। लोहिया ने मार्क्स व गांधी के समन्वित स्वरूप को देश के हित में बताते हुये सामाजिक विषमता पर विजय प्राप्त कर आर्थिक समता की दिशा में आगे बढ़ने की पहल की थी। उन्होंने सामाजिक समता के लिये दलित, पीड़ित व महिलाओं को विशेष अवसर व विशेष अधिकार दिये जाने की मांग की थी। विदेशी हमलों में भारत की लगातार पराजय को वे जाति व्यवस्था के परिणाम के रूप में देखते हैं। लोहिया ने कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान की दुर्गति का सबसे बड़ा कारण जाति प्रथा है। जाति ने भारत की नब्बे फीसदी आबादी को दर्शक बनाकर छोड़ दिया है। दुनिया के सभी मुल्कों पर हमले हुए, बहुत से देश परतंत्र हुए लेकिन जितनी बार हिन्दुस्तान परतंत्र हुआ है उतनी बार और कोई बड़ा सभ्य मुल्क नहीं हुआ। इसके पीछे कई कारण हैं पर जातिप्रथा उनमें से एक प्रमुख है।

जाति को एक माने में लोहिया विश्वतव्यापी तत्व मानते हैं। पर भारत में वह जम गयी है जबकि अन्य जगह वह गतिशील हैं। किसी दूसरी चीज से अधिक देश के बार-बार गुलाम होने के कारण जाति रही है, क्योंकि ऊँची जाति के नेताओं में फूट के कारण नहीं बल्कि नीची जाति के लोगों में उदासीनता के कारण हिन्दुस्तान ने एक के बाद एक विदेशी हमले के सामने घुटने टेके हैं। इसने खेती और कल-कारखानों की पैदावार को असाधारण रूप से कम किया है, क्योंकि इसने शारीरिक श्रम को हेय और भीख मांगने और शोषण करने को इतना मान्य बनाया है, जैसा दुनिया में और कहीं नहीं है। लोहिया के अनुसार इसका नाश सार्वजनिक जीवन की सर्वोच्च आवश्यकता है और साथ ही साथ सबसे कठिन प्रयास भी है।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध आलेख के लिए मुख्यतः द्वितीयक श्रोतों को आधार बनाया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः लोहिया पर प्रकाशित ग्रन्थों, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबंध एवं लेख तथा प्रकाशित एवं अप्रकाशित शोध कार्य इत्यादि को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

जाति को लोहिया भारत को पीछे ले जाने वाले सबसे बड़े उपादानों में मानते हैं और इसके लिये वे हिंदुस्तान के माहौल को ही एक हद तक दोषी मानते हैं। उनका कहना था कि हिंदुस्तान की हवा में यह सिफत है कि जब किसी उन्नतशील चीज को सामने देखो, तो पहले उससे बहस करो फिर जब बहस में हार जाओ, तो फिर ऐसी सामाजिक अवस्था पैदा कर दो कि जीभ से सब कहें कि विधवा विवाह होना चाहिए, लेकिन दरअसल विधवा विवाह कोई करे नहीं। जीभ से सभी कहें कि जाति-पांति टूटनी चाहिए, लेकिन दरअसल इसको तोड़ने का काम कोई करता ही नहीं। लोहिया यह जानते थे कि जब तक देश में जाति प्रथा रहेगी तब तक अमीर और गरीब का वर्ग संघर्ष संभव नहीं है। इसलिये लोहिया जाति को मिटाना चाहते थे और आम लोगों को आर्थिक, सामाजिक, गरीबी और पिछड़ेपन के आधार पर संगठित करना चाहते थे। डॉ. लोहिया ने जाति प्रथा पर बहुत कुछ लिखा है, परन्तु वह अम्बेडकर की तरह नहीं है। गांधी से भी दूर है। मंडल कमीशन ने आगे चलकर जो काम किया वह लोहिया के सिद्धान्त के अनुरूप था। जाति प्रथा की जो विवेचना मंडल कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में की, वह लोहिया के विचारों की प्रतिध्वनि है। पिछले 10 वर्षों से राजनीति पर जितना प्रभाव लोहिया का है उतना गाँधी और अम्बेडकर दोनों को मिलाकर नहीं रहा।

लोहिया ने गांधी के आदर्शों पर चलकर स्वयं को कुजात गांधीवादी कहा जो सत्ता व मठ के विरोधी थे। उन्होंने भारत में व्याप्त आर्थिक असमानता के लिये सामाजिक असमानता को कारण बताते हुये सर्वप्रथम देश में व्याप्त सामाजिक उत्पीड़न के विरुद्ध संघर्ष की आवश्यकता महसूस की थी। उन्होंने दलित, पिछड़ों को सामाजिक न्याय के साथ आर्थिक अधिकार देने की मांग की एवं देश की आबादी में 50 प्रतिशत हिस्सेदारी रखने वाली महिलाओं को समान अधिकार देने के लिये आंदोलन की शुरुआत भी की। डॉ. लोहिया ने साम्प्रदायिकता, जाति प्रथा, नर-नारी असमानता, अस्पृश्यता, रंगभेद नीति तथा अन्य इसी प्रकार की सामाजिक कुरीतियों पर गहरी चोट की। उनके विचार थे कि भारतीय समाज को जब तक सामाजिक समानता प्राप्त नहीं होती तब तक आर्थिक समानता को कोई मतलब नहीं निकलेगा। डॉ लोहिया का मानना था कि गाड़ी के तीन पहिये अगर कमजोर हैं तो फिर यह गाड़ी तेज रफ्तार से आगे नहीं बढ़ पायेगी। जाति संबंधी ऊँच-नीच की भावना अथवा जाति पर आधारित वर्गों को समाप्ति के लिए डॉ. लोहिया आजीवन प्रयत्नशील रहे। डॉ. लोहिया ने जाति-प्रथा पर गहरी चोट करते हुए कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान

में बुर्जुआ वर्ग ने दीन-हीन मानवता के लहराते हुए समुद्र को सोखने के लिए अगस्त्य ऋषि का कार्य किया। उनके मत में निम्न जातियों को सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक ढंग से सशक्त बनाकर जाति पर आधारित वर्गों को विनिष्ट किया जा सकता है। जाति-प्रथा का अन्त किये वगैरे समाजवाद की कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती।

लोहिया ने कहा था कि भारत के लिए यह प्रथा अनोखी नहीं है। अन्य देशों में भी ऐसी प्रथाओं का चलन रहा है पर वहाँ छोटे-बड़े का फर्क जन्म के हिसाब से नहीं होता। जहाँ भी भूमि के केन्द्रीकरण होगा अथवा भूस्वामी वर्ग शासन सत्ता संभालेंगे, वहाँ क्षत्रिय वर्ग होगा, ब्राह्मण वर्ण होगा, वैश्य वर्ण होगा। लगभग हर एक आदमी जो आधुनिक होना चाहता है, जाति प्रथा का नाश करना चाहता है, पर उसको मिटाने के लिए बराबर से कार्य नहीं करता। उन्होंने कहा कि अधिकांश हिन्दुस्तानी जनता ने सदियों से अपनी बुद्धि का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। इससे देश को लकवा हो गया और उनको भी। देश में शल्य चिकित्सा जैसे विशेषज्ञ हुनर को छोड़ कर, इन 90 प्रतिशत दबे हुआँ को 60 प्रतिशत अवसर सभी जगह मिलना चाहिए। अपनी आजादी की रक्षा करने में हिन्दुस्तान की कुल राष्ट्रीय क्षमता के हित में ही नहीं, बल्कि देश के विकास के हित में भी मैं यह सुझाव दे रहा हूँ। निज की तरक्की के स्वार्थ में नहीं, बल्कि देश की सुरक्षा और तरक्की के लिए क्या यह हरिजन और आदिवासी सम्मेलन इस बात की माँग करेगा कि देश को सभी ऊँची जगहों पर अपने लिए भी और औरतों, शूद्रों और मुसलमानों और ईसाइयों में पिछड़ों के लिए भी 60 प्रतिशत अवसर दिया जाए? ऊँची जाति के मर्द के लिए भी अवसर निरन्तर सिकुड़ते जा रहे हैं। जातिप्रथा के कारण योग्यता और अवसर निरन्तर सिकुड़न अवश्यंभावी हैं।

लोहिया जातिप्रथा पर धार्मिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक हमले के पक्षधर थे। सामाजिक हमलों में, एक तरफ तो, विशेषतः गाँव में, अन्तर्भोज हो सकता है और दूसरी तरफ अन्तर्विवाह। उनके अनुसार झोपड़ियों में रहनेवाले लोगों के वास्ते न्यूनतम सुविधाओं के लिए जोर से हल्ला बोलना चाहिए। ज्यादा जरूरत तो है कानून और नियम और व्यवहार को बदलने की। समता को डॉ. लोहिया सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण मानते थे। उन्होंने कहा था- “जब लोग एक दूसरे को दिमागी तौर से बराबर समझें, एक-दूसरे से बातचीत करने को तैयार हों, वह होती है असली बराबरी।” उनका स्पष्ट मत था कि सिर्फ भौतिक समता के स्थापन में वास्तविक समता नहीं आ सकती। इसके लिए मानवीय अस्मिता को भी सबमें समान बांटना चाहिए। विषमता दूर करने के लिए समाज ही नहीं बदलना था, शासन पद्धति ही नहीं बदलती थी, पहले अपने मन को बदलना था। इस प्रकार की समता लाने के लिए समाज में फैली विभिन्न प्रकार की सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ, जैसे- जातिभेद, नर-नारी भेद, धर्म भेद आदि को दूर करना आवश्यक है। दिमागी समता के क्षेत्र में राजनीतिक तथा कानूनी समता भी सम्मिलित है। राजनीतिक समता तभी लायी जा सकती है जब राष्ट्र के तथा विश्व

के समस्त व्यक्तियों को भेदभाव रहित व्यस्क मताधिकार प्रदान किया जाये। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में उसी समता के अन्तर्गत दुनिया के भाईचारे का सिद्धांत भी आता है जिसे दूसरे शब्दों में विश्वबन्धुत्व तथा विश्ववाद का आधार माना जा सकता है।

मानसिक समता वह है जिसके अंतर्गत यह माना जाता है कि मनुष्य का सुख-दुःख, गर्मी-सर्दी, खुशी-रंज सभी अवस्थाओं में समभाव रखना चाहिए। मन की इस स्थिति को “स्थितिप्रज्ञ” कहा गया है। भारत में इस प्रकार की समता पर बहुत जोर दिया गया है। यद्यपि इस प्रकार समता स्थापित करना बहुत कठिन है। तथापि मनुष्य जितना अधिक मन पर नियंत्रण रखेगा उतनी अधिक उसकी शक्ति बढ़ेगी। इस प्रकार डॉ. लोहिया ने अपने समता सिद्धांत की विवेचना करते हुए उसे (समता को) एक राष्ट्र की सीमा के अन्दर मनुष्य, मनुष्य की बराबरी और एक राष्ट्र के बीच मनुष्यों की बराबरी, मनुष्य के प्रति सहज सहानुभूति तथा सुख-दुःख, हार-जीत, सर्दी-गर्मी के मानसिक समत्वेक रूप में प्रतिष्ठित किया। उन्होंने कहा था कि समता को हमें उसके चारों रूपों में समझना होगा जब हम भौतिक समता की बात करते हैं तो हमारा मतलब होता है कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में राष्ट्रों के मध्य तथा राष्ट्रीय जगत में भी आंतरिक समता की स्थिति पैदा होनी चाहिए। इसी तरह जब हम आध्यात्मिक समता की बात करते हैं तो इसका यह अर्थ होता है कि बाहरी जग से नातेदारी तथा आन्तरिक मन में समचितता की स्थिति पैदा करना। अगर हम इसे अपने जीवन का उच्चतम लक्ष्य तथा उद्देश्य बनाना चाहते हैं तो हमें समता के इन चारों अर्थों (जो कि क्रमशः समचितता, नातेदारी तथा भौतिक एकता को अंतर्राष्ट्रीय तथा अन्तरा-राष्ट्रीय दोनों स्तरों पर स्थापित करना) को एक स्वीकृत रूप में मानकर आगे चलना होगा इस तरह डॉ. लोहिया की समता, अंतरिम तथा बाह्य आध्यात्मिक एवं भौतिक पक्षों को लेकर एक समग्र विचार प्रस्तुत करती है। डॉ. लोहिया का दृढ़ मत था कि इस प्रकार से स्थापित समता के द्वारा राष्ट्र तथा सम्पूर्ण विश्व की समस्त व्यक्तियों को एक उत्तम ढंग से जीवन स्तर प्राप्त होगा जिसमें हर व्यक्ति स्वतंत्र ढंग से अपना विकास कर सकेगा, साथ ही विश्व मानवतावाद के आधार भी दृढ़ होगा। डॉ. लोहिया का कहना था कि “20वीं शताब्दी को असमानता के भयावह रूप का सामना करना पड़ रहा है लेकिन इस शताब्दी की एक बड़ी विशेषता है कि आज हर जगह एक ही समय में मनुष्य जिस तरह समस्त असमानताओं और अन्यायों के विरुद्ध संघर्ष कर रहा है वैसे पहले कभी नहीं हुआ।” भारत और समस्त विश्व में व्याप्त गैर बराबरी और अन्याय के विरुद्ध संघर्ष करने के लिए डॉ. लोहिया ने सप्तक्रांति का आह्वान किया। ये क्रांतियाँ हैं-

1. नर-नारी समता के लिए।
2. चमड़ी के रंग के आधार पर राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और आध्यात्मिक विषयों के विरुद्ध।
3. पुरानी परम्परा के आधार पर पिछड़े और अगड़े समूहों या जातियों में गैर बराबरी के विरुद्ध और पिछड़ों को विशेष अवसर

देने के लिए।

4. विदेशी दासता के विरुद्ध और जनतंत्र के आधार पर विश्व सरकार की स्थापना के लिए।
5. निजी सम्पत्ति के अस्तित्व तथा उसमें आसक्ति के विरुद्ध और आर्थिक समता तथा नियोजित उत्पादन के लिए।
6. निजी जीवन में अन्यायपूर्ण हस्तक्षेप के विरुद्ध और लोकतांत्रिक उपाय के लिए।
7. शास्त्रों के विरुद्ध सत्याग्रह के लिए।

लोहिया इन क्रांतियों को 20वीं शताब्दी के स्वास्थ्य के लक्षण ने कहा था। क्योंकि उनका दृढ़ विश्वास था कि इन क्रांतियों के सफलभूत होने पर ही भारत एवं विश्व के अन्य देशों से असमानता तथा गरीबी रूपी भयंकर आदर्श प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। डॉ. लोहिया का कहना था ‘हिन्दुस्तान की दुर्गति का सबसे बड़ा कारण जातिप्रथा है। क्योंकि भारत अन्दरूनी झगड़े तथा छल-कपट के कारण नहीं वरन् जाति प्रथा के कारण ही बार-बार विदेशी शक्तियों के अधीन हुआ। ‘जाति की बात बंद करने का मतलब होगा हिन्दुस्तानी स्थिति की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण और एक मात्र वास्तविकता से आँखें मीच लेना।’ जन्म के आधार पर कुछ लोगों को उच्च एवं श्रेष्ठ समझना और कुछ लोगों को निम्न तथा तुच्छ मानना ही जाति भेद है। डॉ. लोहिया जाति को जकड़ा हुआ वर्ग मानते थे। इस प्रथा ने ही भारतीय समाज को अनगिनत जकड़े समूहों तथा वर्गों में विभाजित कर दिया है तथा सामाजिक एकरसता को भंग किया है। भारतीय समाज में जाति प्रथा की जड़ें इतनी मजबूत हो गयी हैं कि लोग सिद्धांततः इसे बुरा मानते हुए भी व्यवहार में जातिप्रथा के अनुकूल आचरण करते हैं। डॉ. लोहिया का कहना था कि जाति की सीमा के अन्दर जीवन चलता है और संस्कृत लोग जातिप्रथा के विरुद्ध हौले-हौले बात करते हैं जबकि कर्म में उसे नहीं मानना उन्हें दिखाई देता ही नहीं।

वस्तुतः जाति प्रथा समता का प्रतिवाद है। यह देश की कमजोरी का सबसे बड़ा कारण है। इसने व्यक्ति स्वातंत्र्य का हनन किया है। भारत में व्यक्ति जाति प्रथा के इतने अधीन है कि वह सामाजिक और राजनीतिक मामलों में एक स्वतंत्र व्यक्ति की हैसियत से नहीं वरन् एक जाति के सदस्य के रूप में काम करता है। डॉ. लोहिया के अनुसार देश में समाजवाद की स्थापना के लिए जातिप्रथा का विनाश अति आवश्यक है। उनका कहना था- ‘कार्ल मार्क्स ने वर्ग को नष्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया।

जाति में परिवर्तन हो जाने की उसकी क्षमता से वे अनभिज्ञ थे। वे मानते थे कि ‘जमा हुआ वर्ग ही जाति वर्ग के बीच क्रमिक परिवर्तन मानव इतिहास का एक नियम रहा है। केवल हिन्दुस्तान में ही जाति जमी हुई है, बाकी जगह जमने और पिघलने के विभिन्न स्तर हैं।

डॉ. लोहिया के अनुसार भारत में जाति व्यवस्था के बने रहने का एक प्रमुख कारण यह है कि वे अपने स्थिति से ही समझौता कर लेते हैं। जातिप्रथा से जो सबसे नीचे गरीब एवं शोषित हैं उनमें

यह शक्ति नहीं रह गयी है कि वे जाति प्रथा की समाप्ति हेतु संगठित संघर्ष कर सकें। हजारों वर्षों के भेद-भाव ने उन्हें शरीर से ही नहीं मन से भी दुर्बल एवं अक्षम बना दिया है। जाति प्रथा के संघर्ष में दो महत्वपूर्ण तथ्यों को ध्यान में रखना आवश्यक है। प्रथम आबादी में 90 प्रतिशत लोग पिछड़ी जाति के हैं। इसमें औसत हरिजन, आदिवासी, शूद्र, मुसलमान तथा अन्य धार्मिक अल्पसंख्यकों के पिछड़े वर्ग सम्मिलित हैं। द्वितीय, देश के 90 प्रतिशत कल-कारखाने, सरकारी नौकरियाँ, सेना, दूसरे पेशे और प्रायः सभी सार्वजनिक कार्यों का नियंत्रण ऊँची जाति के लोग, जो कि आबादी के 10 प्रतिशत हैं, वही लोग करते हैं। अतः देश की उन्नति तभी संभव है जब व्यक्ति जाति के शिकंजों से मुक्त हो।

डॉ. लोहिया का कहना था- 'अगर आप चाहते हो कि कोई एक सुखी न हो वरन सभी सुखी हो तो फिर इस जाति के चक्र को तोड़ना होगा। वे यह नहीं मानते थे कि आर्थिक समता कराने पर जाति प्रथा स्वतः टूट जायेगी। उनका स्पष्ट कहना था कि बहुत से समाजवादी यह सोचते हैं कि आर्थिक समता की लड़ाई ही काफी है और जाति-पाती तो इस लड़ाई के फलस्वरूप स्वतः टूट जायेगी। वे समझ नहीं पाते कि आर्थिक गैर बराबरी और जाति-पाती जुड़वा राक्षस है और अगर एक से लड़ना है तो दूसरे से भी लड़ना जरूरी है। डॉ. लोहिया ब्राह्मण एवं बनिया वर्ग द्वारा क्रमशः देश के प्रभुत्व को असंगत मानते थे। लेकिन वे ब्राह्मण एवं बनिया के खिलाफ नहीं थे। वस्तुतः वे उस परम्परा के खिलाफ थे जिसके आधार पर उन्हें श्रेष्ठ माना जाता है और जो जाति प्रथा के भेद को दृढ़ बनाता है। उन्होंने कहा कहा भी था- 'मुझे जनेऊ धारियों से बैर नहीं। मैं तो उन्हें भी उठाना चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूँ कि वे तभी उठ सकते हैं जब शूद्र, हरिजन, औरतें तथा मुसलमान भी उठें। जनेऊधारी इस बात को समझते नहीं। वे समझते हैं कि पिछड़ी जातियाँ यदि उठेंगी तो वे घटेंगी। यही नासमझी खुराफत की जड़ है। जातिप्रथा के कारण ही लोगों को आगे बढ़ने के अवसर नहीं दिये जाते क्योंकि जाति अवसर को सीमित करती है। सीमित अवसर से योग्यता सिकुड़ती है। योग्यता सिकुड़ने से अवसर और अधिक सीमित होते हैं। जहाँ जाति प्रथा चलती है वहाँ योग्यता और अवसर लोगों में बराबर दायरों में सीमित होते जाते हैं।

स्पष्ट है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को आगे बढ़ने का अवसर तभी मिल सकता है। जब समाज जातिप्रथा के शिकंजे से मुक्त हो। लोहिया का कहना था कि यद्यपि ऊँची जाति के लोगों की संख्या बहुत कम है परन्तु देश के अधिकांश ऊँचे ओहदों पर उन्हीं का वर्चस्व कायम है। राष्ट्रीय क्रिया-कलाप के चार मुख्य विभागों के में-व्यापार, सेना, प्रशासनिक नौकरियाँ तथा राजनीतिक दल सभी में ही लोग जाएँ। उनका दृढ़ मत था कि जाति प्रथा की इस भयंकर दुराचक्र को तोड़ने के लिए चौतरफा हमला अर्थात् राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं धार्मिक हर स्तर पर क्रांति आवश्यक है। राजनीति क्षेत्र में पिछड़ों को ऊपर उठाने के लिए उन्हें नया मौका अर्थात् विशेष अवसर दिया जाना चाहिए। जो राजनीतिक दल

पहले योग्यता फिर अवसर की बात करते हैं वे गलत सोचते हैं। इससे जाति प्रथा कभी नहीं टूट सकती। क्योंकि हजारों वर्षों से दबे लोगों के संस्कार बदलने के लिए उन्हें बराबरी की दौड़ में बराबर लाने के लिए उन्हें सहारा देना होगा। लोहिया ने निम्न जाति तथा निम्न वर्ग के लोगों को उच्च वर्ग के बराबर लाने के लिए समान अवसर के सिद्धांत के बदले 'विशेष अवसर' के सिद्धांत को अपनाने पर बल दिया। निम्न जाति के लोगों में राजनीतिक चेतना जाग्रत करने के लिए उन्होंने 'प्रत्यक्ष चुनाव तथा मताधिकार' के सिद्धांत पर बल दिया। सामाजिक क्षेत्र में जाति प्रथा को तोड़ने के लिए डॉ. लोहिया ने अंतर्जातीय विवाह तथा अंतर्जातीय सहभोग को आवश्यक बताया। उनका कहना था कि जिस दिन प्रशासन एवं फौज में भर्ती के लिए और बातों के साथ-साथ शूद्र एवं द्विजों के बीच विवाह को योग्यता एवं सभोज के लिए इंकार करने पर अयोग्यता मानी जायेगी उसी दिन जाति पर सही हमला शुरू होगा।

आर्थिक स्तर पर जातिप्रथा को निर्मूल बनाने के लिए उन्होंने पिछड़ी जातियों को आर्थिक उन्नति को आवश्यक बताया। उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुधारने के लिए उन्होंने भूस्वामित्व की सीमा 6½ एकड़ निर्धारित करने, कृषि मजदूरी में वृद्धि करने, बेमुनाफा खेती से लगान को समाप्त करने पर बल दिया। डॉ. लोहिया जातिप्रथा के धार्मिक पक्ष पुनर्जन्म से जुड़े कार्यवाद, भाग्यवाद, लौकिक तथा परलौकिक तत्व के भेद से जुड़ा है। भारत के पिछड़े लोगों में सदियों से जमे इस भ्रम को दूर करना होगा कि उनकी गरीबी तथा हीन स्थिति पूर्व जन्म के कर्मों का फल है अथवा उसका भाग्य नहीं बदला जा सकता। दूसरी ओर द्विज दिमाग में श्रम की महत्ता को प्रतिष्ठित करना होगा। निर्गुण एवं सगुण सत्य की पारस्परिकता प्रतिष्ठित करने के साथ-साथ पिछड़े समूहों को इस विचार से अभिप्रेरित करना होगा कि सामाजिक संगठन मनुष्य निर्मित होते हैं, अतः वे परिवर्तनीय हैं और सामाजिक संबंधों में गैर-बराबरी से बड़ा कोई पाप नहीं है। कहने का आशय यह है कि जब तक निम्न वर्ग को हर प्रकार से उच्च वर्ग के समान नहीं लाया जायेगा तब तक भारत की उन्नति सम्भव नहीं होगी। उनका कहना था - जब तक शूद्रों, हरिजनों और औरतों की सोई आत्मा का जगना देख कर उसी तरह खुशी न होगी जिस तरह किसान को बीज का अंकुर फूटते देख कर होती है। उसी तरह जतन मेहनत से उसे उसे फूलने-फलने और बढ़ाने की कोशिश न होगी तक हिन्दुस्तान में कोई वादा, किसी भी तरह की नई जान लायी न जा सकेगी।

डॉ. लोहिया ने जाति चक्र को तोड़ने के लिए सबसे अधिक अपेक्षाएं ऊँची जाति के युवाजनों से की थी। वे चाहते थे कि ऊँची जाति के युवक त्याग भावना से प्रेरित होकर 'छोटी जातियों के लिए प्रेरणा बनें ताकि एक बार जनता अपनी पूरी तेजस्विता से पल्लवित और पुष्पित हों। अगर मानव स्वभाव अपरिणित त्याग के लिए तत्पर रहता है तो ऊँची जातियाँ सलाहकार बनेंगी और कार्यकारिणी होंगी नीची जातियाँ। इसके साथ ही डॉ. लोहिया का यह भी कहना था कि विशेष अवसर पाकर नीची जाति के लोगों

को अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति उदासीन नहीं होना चाहिए। अतः उन्होंने स्पष्ट रूप से इन लोगों को भी उनके कर्तव्यों के प्रति सचेत करते हुए कहा था- “औरतों, शूद्रों, हरिजनों, मुसलमानों और आदिवासियों को सर्वोपरि ध्येय यही होना चाहिए कि उन्हें ऊँची जातियों की सभी परम्पराओं एवं शिष्टचारों का स्वांग नहीं रचना है, उन्हें शारीरिक श्रम से भागना नहीं है व्यक्ति की स्वार्थोन्नति नहीं करनी है, बल्कि यह समझकर कि वे क्यों पवित्र काम कर रहे हैं उन्हें राष्ट्र के नेतृत्व का भार वहन करना है।”

डॉ. लोहिया हिन्दुस्तान की सबसे ज्यादा स्फूर्तिदायक क्रान्ति अवगत कराना चाहते थे। जनता ऐसी जीवन्त हो जाएगी कि जैसे पहले कभी भी न थी। इस प्रक्रिया में, वह मानवता के लिए भी एकाध मार्ग बतला सकती है। कार्ल मार्क्स ने वर्ग को नाश करने का प्रयत्न किया। जाति में परिवर्तित हो जाने की उसकी क्षमता से वे अनभिज्ञ थे, लाजमी तौर पर हिन्दुस्तान की जाति के सीकचों जैसे नहीं पर अचल वर्ग तो है ही। इस मार्ग को अपनाने पर पहली बार वर्ग और जाति को एक साथ नाश करने का एक तजुरबा होगा। ऊँची जाति के युवाजन को अब अपनी पूरी ताकत से उठना चाहिए। इस नीति में अपने स्वार्थों पर हमला देखने के बजाय, उसमें जनता को नवजीवन देने की क्षमता के रूप में उसे देखना चाहिए। आखिर ऊँची और नीची जातियों के बहुत ही कम विवाह-सम्बन्धों में, द्विज और हरिजन के बीच वाले विवाह तो देखे जा सकते हैं पर शूद्र और हरिजन के बीच नहीं। ऊँची जाति के युवाजन को छोटी जातियों के लिए खाद बन जाने का निश्चय करना चाहिए ताकि एक बार तो जनता अपनी पूरी तेजस्विता में पल्लवित-पुष्पित हो। अगर मानव स्वभाव अपरिमित त्याग के लिए तत्पर रहता है है, तो ऊँची जातियाँ सलाहकार बनेंगी और कार्यकारिणी होंगी सभी नीची जातियाँ। अगर हर एक जगह यह सम्भव नहीं है, तो जितनी भी जगहों पर सम्भव हो सके हो।

औरतों, शूद्रों, हरिजनों, मुसलमानों और आदिवासियों को अब सर्वोपरि ध्येय यही होना चाहिए कि उन्हें ऊँची जातियों की सभी परम्पराओं और शिष्टचारों का स्वांग नहीं रचना है, उन्हें शारीरिक श्रम से कतराना नहीं है, व्यक्ति की स्वार्थोन्नति नहीं करनी है, तीखी जलन में नहीं पड़ना है, बल्कि यह समझ कर कि वे कोई पवित्र काम कर रहे हैं, उन्हें राष्ट्र के नेतृत्व का भार वहन करना है।

वस्तुतः डॉ. लोहिया की धारणा थी कि जब ऊँची एवं नीची दोनों ही जाति के लोग पूरी निष्ठा के साथ जाति चक्र को तोड़ने के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प होंगे तभी हिन्दुस्तान इस सर्वाधिक भयंकर रोग से छुटकारा पा सकेगा।

निष्कर्ष

डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया ने समाजवादी मूल्यों और आदर्शों को केंद्र बिंदु में रखकर एक समतामूलक समाज को निर्मित करने का सपना देखा था। उन्होंने आर्थिक समानता के साथ जातीय समानता और नारी पुरुष समानता की बात प्रखरता के साथ पेश की। उनका मानना था कि इंसानी जिंदगी को राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक, अथवा सांस्कृतिक दायरों में कैद करके

कदाचित् निरूपित नहीं की जा सकती, वरन् उसके लिए समग्र चिंतन दृष्टि की दरकार है। अपनी जाति विरोधी राजनीति को लोहिया इस तरह चलाना चाहते थे कि ऊँची जातियों को राजनैतिक सत्ता से वंचित किया जाए पर वे उन्हें आर्थिक और दूसरे प्रकारों की सत्ता से वंचित नहीं करना चाहते थे। वे मानते थे कि द्वेषपूर्ण बातें जाति समस्या की ठोस बात को धुंधला और कमजोर बना देती हैं। जाति विरोधी आंदोलन को लोहिया किसी जाति को लाभ पहुँचाने वाला आंदोलन ना मानकर राष्ट्र के नवोत्थान का आंदोलन बनाना चाहते हैं और ऊँची जाति के युवकों से आह्वान करते हैं कि वे इस आंदोलन में छोटी जातियों के लिये 'खाद बन' कर नयी रौशनी को फैलाने में सहायक बनें। डॉ. लोहिया के बताए हुए रास्ते पर अनवरत रूप से चलकर हम सुन्दर सपने को साकार कर एक नये सुखद विश्व का निर्माण कर सकते हैं।

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झारखण्ड में महिलाओं की स्थिति (राँची जिला के चान्हों प्रखण्ड के संदर्भ में)

बबीता गुप्ता

शोध छात्रा, इतिहास विभाग
राँची विश्वविद्यालय, राँची

सारांश

एक ओर झारखण्ड की पहचान अपनी सभ्यता, संस्कृति और खनिज संपदा के लिए है वहीं दूसरी ओर इसकी पहचान यहां की महिलाओं के कारण भी है। यहां की महिलाएं अत्यधिक परिश्रमी होती हैं। समाज के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में इनका योगदान पुरुषों से अधिक है। अत्यधिक परिश्रमी होने के बावजूद शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य एवं आर्थिक समानता में ये अन्य राज्यों की महिलाओं से काफी पिछड़ी हुई हैं। राँची जिला के चान्हों प्रखण्ड की महिलाओं की स्थिति इससे अलग नहीं है। यहां की महिलाओं को घर के अन्दर और घर के बाहर हर क्षेत्र में संघर्ष करना पड़ रहा है। बुनियादी जरूरतों के सवाल से लेकर तमाम अन्य सुविधाओं तक वह खुद को उपेक्षित ही पाती हैं। काम के बँटवारे में भी महिलाओं साथ अन्याय किया गया है। स्त्री-पुरुष के जनसंख्या अनुपात में स्त्रियों की संख्या घटती जा रही है। सरकार द्वारा चलाये जा रहे विभिन्न योजनाओं का लाभ उन तक नहीं पहुंच सका है। महिलाओं एवं उनके विकास की जानकारी के लिये सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक स्तरों पर अध्ययन करना आवश्यक है। प्रखण्ड की महिलाएं सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं आर्थिक विकास में अपनी सक्रिय भूमिका निभा रही हैं। सरकारी व गैर सरकारी प्रयासों से उनकी स्थिति में सुधार तो हुआ है लेकिन आज भी वे गरीबी, पलायन, विस्थापन, रोजगार, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा और सुरक्षा जैसी समस्याओं से जूझ रही हैं।

भूमिका

भारत में महिलाओं की स्थिति ने पिछली कुछ सदियों में कई बड़े बदलावों का सामना किया है। प्राचीन काल में पुरुषों के साथ बराबरी की स्थिति से लेकर मध्ययुगीन काल के निम्न स्तरीय जीवन, और साथ ही कई सुधारकों द्वारा समान अधिकारों को बढ़ावा दिए जाने तक, भारत में महिलाओं का इतिहास काफी गतिशील रहा है। आधुनिक भारत में महिलाएं राष्ट्रपति, प्रधानमंत्री, लोक सभा अध्यक्ष, प्रतिपक्ष की नेता आदि जैसे शीर्ष पदों पर आसीन हुई हैं। भारत में महिलाएं अब सभी तरह की गतिविधियों जैसे कि शिक्षा, राजनीति, मीडिया, कला और संस्कृति, सेवा क्षेत्र, विज्ञान एवं प्रौद्योगिकी आदि में हिस्सा ले रही हैं। भारत का संविधान सभी भारतीय महिलाओं को सामान अधिकार की गारंटी देता है।

पूरे भारत को नजदीक से देखें तब पाएंगे कि महिला श्रमिक की संख्या सबसे ज्यादा है। भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था में महिलाओं का योगदान रहा है। उनके श्रम के बल पर आज भी समाज, राज्य, परिवार चल रहे हैं। विश्व बैंक की 1989 की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार गरीबी रेखा के नीचे के 35 प्रतिशत परिवारों की मुखिया महिलाएं हैं यह परिवार महिलाओं के श्रम, कमाई पर आश्रित है। रिपोर्ट के अनुसार निचले तबको के परिवारों में महिलाओं का योगदान बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। आज भी दुनिया में समान मजदूरी की लड़ाई जारी है। गरीब परिवार की महिलाओं को आज भी पुरुषों के मुकाबले कम आय है। परिवार में उनके श्रम को सेवा के रूप में लिया जा रहा है। घर की सफाई से लेकर बाहर कम कीमत पर कार्य कर रही हैं। इस कार्य की गणना नहीं होती है। 21 वीं सदी के भारत में सरकारी विभाग, हर प्रतिष्ठान, हर संस्थान, सड़कों पर, खेतों पर, रसोई घर में, बाजार, स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में हर क्षेत्र सहित काम

करने वाली महिलाओं की मांग बढ़ गयी है। महिलाएं एक ताकत के रूप में उभर रही हैं। इस प्रक्रिया के द्वारा ठेट गांवों में से एक सजग व सक्रिय नेतृत्व उभरकर सामने आ रहा है। अगर इस नेतृत्व का सही उपयोग किया जाये तो यह महिलाओं की सामाजिक स्थिति को बदलने में एक प्रभावी और उत्प्रेरक की भूमिका निभा सकता है।

झारखंड आदिवासी बहुल राज्य है। यहां की अधिकांश महिलाएं मेहनतकश हैं। भूमंडलीकरण और औद्योगीकरण ने यहां बेरोजगारी की समस्या उत्पन्न कर दी। जल, जंगल और जमीन से यहां के लोगों को हाथ धोना पड़ा। जिसका नतीजा हुआ कि यहां के लोग खासकर महिलाएं पलायन कर दूसरे राज्यों में चले गये जिसका व्यापक असर झारखंड में हुआ। गांव और समाज धीरे-धीरे उजड़ने लगे। झारखण्ड के राजधानी राँची से कुछ ही किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित चान्हों प्रखंड की महिलाओं को सरकारी योजना से लाभ नहीं मिल पा रहा है। महिलाएं जैसे- तैसे जी रही हैं। उत्पादन के कम होने से हर गांव से पलायन जारी है। ग्रामीण इलाके की महिलाएं खेत खलियान के अलावा बाहरी दुनिया को नहीं जानती हैं। बाहरी संस्कृति का प्रवेश से समाज में बिखराव आया है। जिससे महिलाओं को घर के अन्दर और घर के बाहर हर क्षेत्र में संघर्ष करना पड़ रहा है। यहां दो सकारात्मक और एक नकारात्मक संकेतन है जो महिलाओं के न्याय संबंधी अधिकारों, दर्जे की समानता और सशक्तीकरण के स्तर के प्रति उनकी वस्तु स्थिति को बताते हैं।¹

सकारात्मक संकेतन में, जब सन् 2011 के जनगणना के अंतरिक आंकड़ों को देखते हैं तो पता चलता है कि पिछले तीन दशकों में महिलाओं की शिक्षा दर दुगुने से भी ज्यादा ही गयी है। 1981 में यह 34 प्रतिशत थी तो 2011 में बढ़कर 68 प्रतिशत

हो गयी है। दूसरा बदलाव महिलाओं की राजनीतिक भागीदारी के रूप में देखा जा रहा है। संविधान के 73 वें व 74 वें संशोधन से उनके संवैधानिक अधिकार में वृद्धि हुई है और उन्हें इस संस्थाओं में 33 प्रतिशत आरक्षण मिला है। ये ऐसे संकेतन हैं जिनसे समाज पर दूरगामी प्रभाव पड़ेगा।²

महिलाओं के प्रति बढ़ती हिंसा उनकी स्थिति का नकारात्मक संकेतन है। पितृसत्तात्मक और पुरुष प्रधान समाज में महिलाएं अपने अधिकार पाने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। यह हिंसा उन कोशिशों के खिलाफ विरोध और बदलाव का नतीजा है। शिक्षा, जागरूकता और कानूनों के जरिये महिलाओं की सामाजिक स्थिति को मजबूत कर उनके प्रति हो रही हर प्रकार की हिंसा को कम किया जा सकता है। यह आज की एक बड़ी चुनौती है।³

जनसंख्या, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, रोजगार और सामाजिक सुरक्षा, अहम मुद्दे हैं। आज लड़कों के मुकाबले लड़कियों की संख्या कम हो गयी है। परन्तु रोजगार में महिलाओं की संख्या में वृद्धि एवं शिक्षा में महत्वपूर्ण सुधार हुआ है। महिलाओं को आगे आना होगा तभी उनकी स्थिति में गुणात्मक सुधार आ सकता है।⁴

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक, सर्वेक्षणात्मक एवं विवरणात्मक प्रवृत्ति का है। शोध आलेख के लिए मुख्यतः प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों को आधार बनाया गया है। साथ ही चान्हों प्रखण्ड के सरकारी एवं गैर सरकारी रिकार्डों का अध्ययन किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्य तौर पर झारखण्ड के पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबंध, लेख, प्रकाशित-अप्रकाशित पुस्तकों एवं शोध कार्यों आदि की मदद ली गयी है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

चान्हों प्रखण्ड की महिलाओं की स्थिति में परिवर्तन सामाजिक परिवर्तन का एक अच्छा संकेतन है। अगर इस परिवर्तन की दिशा संवैधानिक निर्देशों के अनुकूल और स्त्री-पुरुष की भूमिका को अधिक समतावादी बनानेवाली है तो उसे स्वस्थ परिवर्तन कहा जाएगा। पर अगर आधुनिकीकरण की विभिन्न प्रक्रियाओं से असमानता बढ़ती है तो फिर कहना होगा, कि हम संविधान की आत्मा से दूर जा रहे हैं। 'स्थिति' व्यक्ति समुदाय या वर्ग विशेष की किसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था या अत्यवस्था में उस अवस्था को कहते हैं जिससे वह अन्य से एकदम अलग से पहचाना जा सकता है और यह व्यवस्था में उसे मिले अधिकार एवं कर्तव्यों के जरिये ही अन्य से उसके संबंधों का निर्धारण होता है।⁵

चान्हों प्रखण्ड में महिलाओं की स्थिति का आकलन करते हुए हम मुख्य रूप से दो आधार ले सकते हैं। एक गुणात्मक और दूसरा मात्रात्मक। जन्म और मृत्यु - दर, लिंग - अनुपात, राजनीतिक व आर्थिक भागीदारी आदि गुणात्मक संकेतक हैं। लेकिन मात्रात्मक आकलन और उसकी सीमाओं को समझें बिना इसका अर्थपूर्ण अध्ययन संभव नहीं है। महिलाओं के विकास का

सही चित्रण प्राप्त करने के लिए अलग-अलग आंकड़ों को देखना जरूरी हो जाता है। शोधों के आधार पर मुख्यतः दो शीर्षकों सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक स्थिति व आर्थिक स्थिति के तहत महिला विकास की बात की जाती है।⁶

सामाजिक स्थिति : चान्हों प्रखण्ड में समाज का महिलाओं के प्रति दृष्टिकोण रूढ़िवादिता और परंपराओं से जकड़ा हुआ है। यहां महिलाएं निर्णय लेने के लिए स्वतंत्र नहीं हैं। परन्तु समाज में ये अपनी भूमिका का भरपूर निर्वहन कर रही हैं। जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु तक महिलाओं का सारा जीवन परंपरागत व धर्म से निर्धारित एवं नियंत्रित होता है। अन्य क्षेत्रों में, विशेषकर राजनीतिक व आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में होने वाले परिवर्तनों के तहत ये भी समय-समय पर बदलते और बनते परिस्थितियों में खुद को ढालती आ रही हैं। यही कारण है कि सामाजिक दुर्बलताएं आज भी अपने नवीनतम रूप में ही सही, मौजूद हैं। विवाह और उनका मातृत्व सुख आज भी सबसे बड़ा सम्मान और उपलब्धि माना जाता है।⁷

पुरुषों की अपेक्षा महिलाओं की सामाजिक स्थिति भिन्न है। महिलाएं बुनियादी जरूरतों के सवाल से लेकर तमाम अन्य सुविधाओं तक खुद को उपेक्षित ही पाती हैं। काम के बंटवारे में भी स्त्रियों के साथ अन्याय किया गया है। स्त्री-पुरुष के जनसंख्या अनुपात में स्त्रियों की संख्या घटती जा रही है। यहां की महिलाएं काफी मेहनती तथा कठिन श्रम करने वाली हैं। इन्हें गृहकार्य के अतिरिक्त खेतों, जंगलों, निर्माण कार्यों, ईटा भट्टा, खदानों तथा कल-करखानों में कार्य करते हुए देखा जा सकता है। गांवों में रोजगार के कम संसाधन उपलब्ध होने के कारण महिलाओं को आजीविका की तलाश में राज्य के विभिन्न स्थानों तथा राज्य के बाहर जहां रोजगार के अवसर उपलब्ध होते हैं, जाना पड़ता है। जहां वे अशिक्षित होने के कारण अकुशल श्रमिक के रूप में कार्य करती हैं। महिलाएं समाज में जो कुछ भी अधिकार पाती हैं वह उनके कठिन परिश्रम तथा सहनशीलता का पुरस्कार होता है।

महिलाओं को जागरूक बनाये बिना समाज व राष्ट्र का विकास संभव नहीं है। ग्रामीण स्तर पर महिलाओं को जागरूक करने व समाज में व्याप्त कुरीतियों को दूर भगाने की दिशा में नियमित शिविर लगाने की आवश्यकता है। ऐसे कार्यक्रमों से महिलाओं में आत्मबल बढ़ेगा और वे समाज के नव निर्माण में भूमिका अदा कर सकेंगी। जागरूकता कार्यक्रमों की वजह से महिलाएं आगे बढ़ रही हैं और जमीन, वनोपज आदि पर अपने अधिकारों की मांग कर रही हैं।¹⁰ चान्हों प्रखण्ड में सरकारी व गैर सरकारी प्रयासों से पिछले एक दो दशक में महिलाओं के विकास के लिए बनी नीतियों, कार्यक्रमों और योजनाओं से उनकी सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थिति में उल्लेखनीय सुधार हुआ है।¹¹ महिलाओं को हर क्षेत्र में आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिए सरकार द्वारा कई प्रकार की योजनाएं चलाई जा रही हैं। महिलाएं स्वयं सहायता समूह बनाकर बैंक से ऋण लेकर आमदनी के स्रोत बढ़ा सकती हैं। इससे उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति के साथ परिवार में खुशहाली आएगी और

समाज में उनका मान भी बढ़ेगा।

2011 के जनगणना आंकड़ों के मुताबित चान्हों प्रखण्ड की महिलाओं की संख्या 52987 है। जबकि पुरुषों की संख्या उनसे ज्यादा 54076 है।¹² प्रतिवर्ष 1000 पुरुषों पर महिलाओं की संख्या कम होती जा रही है। 1981 से 2011 तक की जनसंख्या एवं लिंगानुपात निम्नलिखित है।

**लिंगानुसार जनसंख्या और विकास दर
(1981-2011)**

वर्ष	पुरुष	महिला	कुल
1981	24921	23497	48418
1991	32545	31014	63559
2001	42742	41118	83860
2011	54076	52987	107063

स्रोत :- भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 1981 से 2011 तक डाइरेक्टर ऑफ सेन्सेस ऑपरेटर, झारखण्ड।

इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि 1981 से 2011 तक चान्हों प्रखण्ड में पुरुषों की अपेक्षा महिलाओं की जनसंख्या कम है। इसी प्रकार लिंगानुपात के आंकड़े भी यही बात बतलाते हैं कि पुरुषों (1000) में महिलाओं की संख्या 1981 से 2011 तक निम्नलिखित है :-

लिंगानुपात (1981-2011)

वर्ष	लिंगानुपात
1981	934
1991	927
2001	938
2011	947

स्रोत :- भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 1981 से 2011 तक डाइरेक्टर ऑफ सेन्सेस ऑपरेटर, झारखण्ड।

शैक्षणिक स्थिति : प्रखण्ड में प्राथमिक स्कूलों की 25, माध्यमिक एवं उच्च विद्यालयों की संख्या 12 तथा महाविद्यालयों की संख्या दो है। जहां तक स्कूलों में दाखिले का प्रश्न है, लड़कों व लड़कियों के बीच अंतर काफी कम हुआ है। 1991 से 2011 के बीच महिलाओं की शिक्षा में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन आया है। जो निम्न आंकड़ों के द्वारा देखा जा सकता है :-

लिंगवार साक्षरता दर (1991-2011) प्रतिशत में

वर्ष	महिलाएँ	पुरुष	अंतर
1991	32.33	53.68	21.35
2001	40.97	68.96	27.99
2011	61.23	83.63	22.40

स्रोत :- भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 1991 से 2011 तक।

भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 1991 से 2011 से स्पष्ट है कि चान्हों प्रखण्ड की महिलाओं में शिक्षा के प्रति लगातार जागरूकता आ रही है। सरकारी तथा गैर सरकारी प्रयासों का ही नतीजा है कि 1991 से 2011 तक साक्षरता में महिलाओं की संख्या बढ़ी है तथा पुरुषों के मुकाबले काफी कम अंतर रह गया है। स्कूलों व कॉलेजों में लड़कियों के नामांकन की स्थिति में लगातार सुधार आ रहा है। चाहे प्राथमिक स्तर हो, माध्यमिक स्तर हो या उच्च शिक्षा सभी स्तरों पर लगातार सुधार हो रहा है।

चान्हों प्रखण्ड में स्वास्थ्य एवं परिवार कल्याण केन्द्र

क्रं.सं.	केन्द्र	संख्या
1.	प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र	02
2.	अतिरिक्त स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र	03
3.	स्वास्थ्य उपकेन्द्र	15
4.	परिवार कल्याण केन्द्र	02
5.	परिवार कल्याण उपकेन्द्र	10

स्रोत :- शालिनी विजय, अंचल अधिकारी चान्हों का 24.06.10 का निरीक्षण रिपोर्ट।

शालिनी विजय, अंचल अधिकारी चान्हों के निरीक्षण रिपोर्ट के आंकड़ों के अनुसार प्रखण्ड में कुल 32 स्वास्थ्य व परिवार कल्याण केन्द्र हैं। चान्हों प्रखण्ड में 17 पंचायत हैं, इस दृष्टि से स्वास्थ्य व परिवार कल्याण केन्द्रों की संख्या बहुत ही कम है।

स्त्री व पुरुषों की स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं परस्पर भिन्न हैं। महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्या एक गम्भीर चिन्ता एवं चिंतन का विषय है। यहां की महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य स्तर निम्न है। शिशु मृत्यु-दर, मातृत्व मृत्यु-दर, गिरता हुआ लिंगानुपात तथा निम्न जीवन प्रत्याशा की समस्या बनी हुई है। अच्छा स्वास्थ्य घरेलू तथा कामकाजी महिलाओं दोनों के लिए बेहद महत्वपूर्ण है। महिलाएं परिवार की धुरी में महिला होती हैं। उसकी स्वास्थ्य स्थिति का सीधा प्रभाव परिवार के सदस्यों पर पड़ता है। यदि घर की महिला स्वस्थ है तो उसके बच्चे भी स्वस्थ होंगे और परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों पर भी इसका सकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ेगा। स्वास्थ्य व परिवार कल्याण के क्षेत्र में भी चान्हों प्रखण्ड की महिलाएं जागरूक एवं स्वालंबी हो रही हैं। यह बेहद जरूरी है कि महिलाएं शिक्षा के साथ-साथ स्वास्थ्य तथा परिवार कल्याण पर ध्यान दें ताकि स्वस्थ बच्चा के साथ-साथ स्वस्थ समाज का निर्माण हो सके।

आर्थिक स्थिति : आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में इनका योगदान पुरुषों से अधिक है। यहां की महिलाएँ स्वावलम्बी हैं। वे खट-कमाकर अपना और अपने पूरे परिवार का भरण-पोषण करती हैं। सामाजिक संरचना का जो भी स्वरूप हो, प्रायः सभी समुदायों में महिलाएं पुरुष की तुलना में अधिक श्रम करती हैं। वे परिवार की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की धुरी होती हैं। यहां के अधिकतर लोग कृषि पर ही निर्भर हैं। शोधों तथा रिपोर्टों के आधार पर एक हेक्टेयर के

खेत में एक साल में एक बैल 1064 घंटे कार्य करता है। एक पुरुष 1212 घंटे और एक महिला 3485 घंटे काम करती हैं।¹⁹ कृषि, मुर्गीपालन, सुअर पालन, पानी लाने, ईंधन जुटाने, हड़िया बनाने, गायपालन आदि कार्यों में लगभग 88 फीसदी महिलाएं ही कार्य करती हैं।²⁰ चाहे वह घर हो, खेत हो या व्यवसाय यहां की महिलाएं सभी कामों में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान देती हैं। महिलाओं के हिस्से में आने वाला काम ज्यादा ऊबाव व थकान वाला होता है।²¹

मशीनों के प्रयोग में वृद्धि के कारण कृषि समेत अन्य क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी कम होती जा रही है। अकुशलता तथा जटिल मशीनों को चलाने की अनभिज्ञता के कारण महिलाएं खेतों तथा व्यवसाय में निम्न श्रेणी के कार्यों के लिए ही रह गयी हैं। जो काम पहले महिलाएं करती थी मशीनों के आ जाने से उसे पुरुष वर्ग करने लगे हैं। कहीं-कहीं ऐसे काम महिलाएं भी करती हैं पर ऐसी महिलाओं का प्रतिशत मात्र दो प्रतिशत ही है।²²

असंगठित क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी

	कुल जनसंख्या	श्रमिक	प्रमुख श्रमिक	न्यूनतम श्रमिक	गैर श्रमिक
कुल	107063	54.24%	37.79%	26.44%	65.76%
पुरुष	54076	59.04%	48.36%	10.67%	60.96%
महिलाएं	52987	49.81%	16.81%	32.44%	70.75%

स्रोत :- भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 2011 अंतरिम जनगणना आंकड़ों, महापंजीयक एवं जनगणना आयुक्त, भारत सरकार।

आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट है कि पुरुष और महिला श्रमिकों की संख्या में कितना अंतर है तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में महिलाएं पुरुषों के मुकाबले कितना योगदान दे रही हैं।²³ उपरोक्त आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि 49.81 प्रतिशत महिलाएं श्रमिक के रूप में अपनी भागीदारी दे रही हैं जबकि पुरुषों की भागीदारी 59.04 प्रतिशत है। प्रमुख श्रमिकों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी बहुत कम है ये भागीदारी मात्र 16.81 प्रतिशत ही है जबकि पुरुषों की भागीदारी 48.36 प्रतिशत है। न्यूनतम श्रमिकों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी ज्यादा है। महिलाएं की भागीदारी 32.44 प्रतिशत तो पुरुषों की भागीदारी मात्र 10.67 प्रतिशत ही है। गैर श्रमिकों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी 70.75 प्रतिशत है और पुरुषों की भागीदारी 60.96 प्रतिशत है।²⁴

संगठित क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं की भागीदारी

जनगणना	कुल जनसंख्या	श्रमिक	श्रमिक महिलाएं	पुरुष श्रमिक	गैर श्रमिक
1991	63734	26331	12115	14216	37403
2001	83860	37072	16128	20944	46734
2011	107063	48934	20448	27486	58129

स्रोत :- भारत सरकार की जनगणना रिपोर्ट 1991 से 2011 की जनगणना के अंतरिक आंकड़े महापंजीयक व जनगणना आयुक्त भारत सरकार, नई दिल्ली।

आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट हैं कि संगठित क्षेत्र में भी दो दशकों में महिलाओं की उपस्थिति बढ़ी है। 1991 में यह संख्या 12115 थी जो 2001 में बढ़कर 16,128 हो गयी। 2011 में यह संख्या 20448 हो गयी। अंतरिम आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि चान्हों प्रखण्ड में कुल श्रमिकों के मुकाबले गैर श्रमिक की संख्या ज्यादा है।²⁵

समाज में आर्थिक क्रियायें मुख्य रूप से जीवन निर्वाह के लिए की जाती हैं इसलिए उन्हें प्रकृति से संघर्षरत रहना पड़ता है। श्रम विभाजन विशेषीकरण कुशलता तथा अकुशलता के आधार पर नहीं पाया जाता। फिर भी लिंगीय (यौन) आधार पर श्रम विभाजन पाया जाता है। महिलाओं और पुरुषों, दोनों को समान रूप से कार्य करने का अवसर प्राप्त होता है। कुछ कार्य महिलाओं द्वारा किए जाते हैं और कुछ पुरुषों द्वारा। महिलाएं घर के समस्त कार्यों का संपादन करती हैं। आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट है कि न्यूनतम श्रमिक एवं गैर श्रमिकों में इनकी भागीदारी ज्यादा है और ये महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रही हैं। अगर महिलाओं की शिक्षा एवं स्वास्थ्य पर विशेष ध्यान दिया जाए तथा उनको तकनीकी प्रशिक्षण दिया जाये तो महिलाएं प्रमुख श्रमिक के रूप में भी मुख्य योगदान दे सकती हैं।

राजनीतिक स्थिति : राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में कुछ वर्षों पूर्व तक महिलाओं की भूमिका नगण्य रही है तथा उनका प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं के बराबर रहा है। महिलाओं की 33 प्रतिशत भागीदारी या आरक्षण का प्रावधान संविधान में है। पंचायती राज व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ करने तथा पंचायतों में महिलाओं की एक तिहाई भागीदारी सुनिश्चित करने के उद्देश्य से 1992 में 73 वां और 74 वां संवैधानिक संशोधन अधिनियम पारित किया गया। इस संशोधन अधिनियम के द्वारा ग्राम सभा का गठन होना अनिवार्य हो गया और ग्राम पंचायतों, और सदस्यों की कुल संख्या की कम से कम एक तिहाई संख्या महिलाओं की कर दी गई। इस संशोधन के माध्यम से जहाँ एक और पंचायती राज व्यवस्था को देश के लोतांत्रिक प्रशासन के तृतीय सोपान के रूप में संवैधानिक स्वीकृति प्राप्त हुई वहीं दूसरी ओर महिलाओं के अस्तित्व और अधिकार को भी स्वीकार किया गया। संविधान का यह प्रावधान महिलाओं की छिपी शक्ति को उजागर करने का सार्थक कदम था। इस व्यवस्था का प्रभाव हुआ कि महिलाएं पंचायतों के नेतृत्व हेतु मैदान में आ गईं।

चान्हों प्रखण्ड के 17 पंचायतों में से 7 पंचायतों में महिलाएं अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भागीदारी दे रही हैं। जनतांत्रिक माहौल व महिलाओं की भागीदारी के चलते स्थितियों में बदलाव आना प्रारंभ हो गया है। महिलाओं ने अभूतपूर्व जागृति का परिचय दिया है। आज ग्राम पंचायत से जिला स्तर की संस्थाओं में महिलाएं निर्वाचित होकर ग्रामीण विकास में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रही हैं। यद्यपि महिलाओं के लिए यह नया क्षेत्र है तथा सामन्ती मनोवृत्ति से जकड़े पुरुष प्रधान समाज में उन्हें पुरुषों के कड़े प्रतिरोध का सामना करना पड़ रहा है परन्तु उसका मुकाबला करते

हुए महिलाओं ने अशिक्षित होने के बाद भी अपने आप को ज्यादा संवेदनशील और बेहतर प्रशासक, कम समय में ही सिद्ध कर दिया है।

आज महिलाओं पंचायतों व ग्राम सभाओं में गरीबी, असमानता, लैंगिक न्याय, अशिक्षा जैसे मुद्दों को उठाकर राज्य सरकार का ध्यान अपनी ओर आकर्षित कर रही है। राजनीतिक भागीदारी से खुद अपना जीवन भी बदला है। उनमें आत्म विश्वास जगा है। इच्छाएं जगी है और राजनीतिक जागृति आई है।²⁶ राजनीतिक क्षेत्र के अलावा कई अन्य क्षेत्र में भी जल्द काम किए जाने की जरूरत है ताकि महिलाएं अपनी योग्यता साबित कर सकें।²⁷ महिलाओं के सशक्तीकरण की प्रक्रिया को और तेज करने की आवश्यकता है। 28 महिलाओं के प्रति मौजूद सामाजिक भेदभाव को समाप्त करना सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता होनी चाहिए और यह काम महिलाओं के सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्तर को तेजी से सीधी व सहयोगात्मक कार्रवाई के जरिए सुधार कर किया जाना चाहिए। महिलाओं को जैसे-जैसे शिक्षा व प्रशिक्षण मिलेगा वे आर्थिक दृष्टि से अधिक मजबूत होंगी।

विकास के आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं राजनैतिक तीन पहलू हैं जो परस्पर एक दूसरे से सम्बद्ध हैं। इनमें से आर्थिक विकास में महिलाओं का सर्वाधिक योगदान है। उपरोक्त अध्ययन के आधार पर पता चलता है कि चान्हों प्रखण्ड में विभिन्न कठिनाइयों के बावजूद महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। महिलाओं के प्रति मौजूद सामाजिक भेदभाव, बढ़ती गरीबी, प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्रों तक समान रूप से पहुंच का न होना, संसाधनों पर नियंत्रण का न होना, परिसंपत्तियों का अभाव, सत्ता व निर्णय - निर्माण स्तर में भागीदारी में असमानता, महिलाओं के विरुद्ध बढ़ती हिंसा, बालिकाओं के प्रति भेदभाव, लड़कियों को बेचा जाना, उनका पलायन इत्यादि को देखते हुए महिलाओं के सशक्तीकरण की प्रक्रिया को और तेज करना होगा।²⁹

महिलाओं में सुधार के अलावा कुछ महत्वपूर्ण विचारणीय यानि चिंताजनक क्षेत्र है जिसकी ओर ध्यान देना जरूरी है जो निम्नलिखित है :-

कुपोषण : चान्हों प्रखण्ड में ही नहीं पूरे भारत में कुपोषण के सर्वाधिक मामले हैं जिनका कारण जानकारी और जागरूकता का अभाव गरीबी तथा पर्याप्त और संतुलित आहार का न होना है। इसके कारण कुपोषण तथा न्यूनपोषण होता है जो शिशुओं और बच्चों के शारीरिक और संज्ञानात्मक विकास को अवरुद्ध करता है। व्यस्कों की कार्य क्षमता और उत्पादकता को कम करता है और बच्चों, महिलाओं और पुरुषों में मृत्यु पर और रूग्णता को बढ़ाता है। कुपोषण के कारण बच्चों और महिलाओं की रोग प्रतिरोधक क्षमता कम हो जाती है, जिससे वे आसानी से कई तरह की बीमारियों के शिकार बन जाते हैं। अतः कुपोषण की जानकारियाँ होना अत्यन्त जरूरी है। बच्चों और स्त्रियों के अधिकांश रोगों की जड़ में कुपोषण ही होता है।³⁰

स्वास्थ्य : चान्हों प्रखण्ड बुनियादी स्वास्थ्य समस्याओं और आधारभूत सुविधाओं के अभाव से जूझ रहा है। प्रखण्ड में कुल 17 पंचायत है और 17 पंचायतों में चिकित्सा केन्द्रों की संस्थाओं में प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र की संख्या - 1, अतिरिक्त स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र की संख्या -2, स्वास्थ्य उपकेन्द्र - 15, परिवार कल्याण केन्द्र तथा उपकेन्द्र - 1 और 10 है। कई गाँवों में स्वास्थ्य केंद्र तो है, लेकिन चिकित्सक नहीं रहने से उसका लाभ लोगों को नहीं मिल रहा है। कई गाँवों में महिलाओं के लिए कोई जच्चा अस्पताल नहीं। ऐसी सुविधाएँ तो गाँव से खासी दूरी पर हैं पर वहाँ तक पहुँचने के लिए गाँव से कोई सड़क या साधन अभी तक नहीं बना है। स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं के अभाव रहने के कारण महिलाओं को जीवन मौत के जूझना पड़ता है।³¹ जागरूकता या गरीबी के कारण महिलाएं इन स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं से वंचित है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि सरकार इस विषय में आगे बढ़कर लोगों तक स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं को पहुंचाएँ।

शिक्षा : हालांकि चान्हों प्रखण्ड में महिला साक्षरता दर धीरे-धीरे बढ़ रही है लेकिन यह पुरुष साक्षरता दर से कम है। लड़कों की तुलना में बहुत ही कम लड़कियाँ स्कूलों में दाखिला लेती हैं और उनमें से कई बीच में ही अपनी पढ़ाई छोड़ देती हैं। महिलाओं की शिक्षा की एक मुख्य रूकावट अपर्याप्त स्कूली सुविधाएँ (जैसे कि स्वच्छता संबंधी सुविधाएँ), महिला शिक्षकों की कमी और पाठ्यक्रम में लिंग भेद हैं। दूरी, असुविधा और अज्ञानता की वजह से लड़कियाँ स्कूल नहीं जा पाती हैं। इसके अलावा उन्हें 'पराया धन' मानकर उनकी शिक्षा पर पैसा खर्च करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी जाती है। घर के कार्यों एवं बच्चों की देखभाल उन्हीं के जिम्मे रहती है। इसके अलावे जंगल से लकड़ी लाने में वे ज्यादा समय व्यतीत कर देती हैं जिससे वे शिक्षा के बारे में सोच भी नहीं पाती हैं।³²

काम का बोझ : महिलाओं को काम का बोझ पुरुषों के मुकाबले ज्यादा होता है। अक्सर महिलाएं 14-18 घंटे काम करती हैं। पर उनके काम का आर्थिक दृष्टि से आकलन नहीं किया जाता है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र की वजह से तथा अशिक्षित होने के साथ-साथ उन्हें प्रशिक्षण की सुविधा नहीं प्राप्त हो पाती है तथा वे ज्यादातर क्षेत्रों में अकुशल ही रह जाती हैं और रोजगार खो बैठती हैं।³³

हिंसा : पुरुष प्रधान समाज में सत्ता पुरुषों के हाथ में रहने के कारण सदैव ही पुरुषों ने महिलाओं को दोगम दर्जे का स्थान दिया है। यही कारण है कि पुरुष प्रधान समाज में महिलाओं के प्रति अपराध, कम महत्व देने तथा उनका शोषण करने की भावना बलवती रही है। महिलाएं यौन अपराध और दहेज उत्पीड़न की शिकार हो रही हैं। कन्या भ्रूण हत्या और बाल विवाह महिलाओं के लिए अभिशाप बना हुआ है। इसमें बहुत सुधार करने की तत्काल आवश्यकता है।³⁴

अधिकार : पुरुष प्रधान समाज होने के कारण वे घर-परिवार या समाज में अपने प्रति भी कोई निर्णय नहीं ले पाती है। बचपन में शादी कर दी जाती है। संपत्ति में उनका कोई हिस्सा नहीं है।

महिलाएं उत्तराधिकार संबंधी अधिकारों से वे वंचित हैं।³⁵ उपरोक्त तथ्यों से स्पष्ट है कि महिलाओं को आगे करने में या लाने में प्रमुख बाधाएं हैं जो उनकी तरक्की में रोड़ा का काम कर रही हैं। इसलिए निम्न नीतियों व योजना को केन्द्र बिन्दु बनाये होगा। जो इस प्रकार है :-³⁶

- ♦ यहां भूमि व वातावरण विविधता पायी जाती है जिसके कारण कृषि की विभिन्न प्रणालियों को देखते हुए जरूरी है कि राज्य स्थानीय स्तर पर खेती में स्त्री/पुरुष अलग-अलग आंकड़ा उपलब्ध कर महिलाओं के पक्ष में नीतियां का निर्धारण करें।
- ♦ विभिन्न राज्यों से प्राप्त होने वाले आंकड़ों के आधार पर योजनाएं बनायी जायें।
- ♦ पंचायत स्तर पर महिलाओं को ध्यान में रखकर योजनाएं व कार्यक्रम हाथ में दिए जाएं।
- ♦ कृषि शिक्षण संस्थाओं व प्रशिक्षण संस्थाओं को अपने सभी पाठ्यक्रमों व कार्यक्रमों में महिला के नजरिए को अवश्य शामिल करना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ महिलाओं को भी तकनीकी व अन्य प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए।
- ♦ महिलाओं और लैंगिक समानता के लिए मौजूद नीतियां का जमकर प्रचार - प्रसार किया जाना चाहिए।
- ♦ भूमि अधिकार संबंधी नीतियों व कानूनों की लैंगिक समानता व महिला अधिकार के संदर्भ में पूर्ण समीक्षा की जानी चाहिए।
- ♦ किसानों के अधिकारों के संदर्भ में महिला किसानों के हितों का ख्याल रखा जाना चाहिए।

उपरोक्त नीतियों एवं योजनाओं को केन्द्र बिन्दु बनाकर महिलाओं की स्थिति को बेहतर बनाया जा सकता है इसके लिए प्रमुख कार्यक्रम निम्न है :-³⁷

1. पंचायतों में नियुचित महिलाओं को स्थानीय योजना निर्माण और लैंगिक सहभागिता संबंधी दृष्टिकोण का प्रशिक्षण देने के लिए कार्यक्रम बनाए जाएं।
2. ग्रामीण महिलाओं को नेतृत्व विकास का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाये।
3. ग्रामीण महिलाएं विकास का पूरा लाभ उठा सकें इसके लिए उन्हें आर्थिक व राजनीतिक शिक्षा देने के लिए कार्यक्रम तैयार किया जाए।
4. कृषि विभाग कार्यक्रमों में महिलाओं के प्रति संवेदनशील तत्वों को जोड़ा जाए।
5. महिला मामलों पर काम कर रही एजेंसियों व कृषि संबंधी तकनीकी गतिविधियां चला रही एजेंसियों को परस्पर जोड़ने का यंत्र तैयार किया जाए।
6. बागवानी, सब्जी, फूलों आदि की खेती में महिलाओं के प्रबंधन को बढ़ावा दिया जाए।

7. महिलाओं के विकास की बात करते हुए उनके मुद्दों को अकेले या अलग से देखने की बजाय पूर्ण विकास के संदर्भ में देखा जाना चाहिए।

8. महिला विकास के लिए नीतियों का निर्माण करते हुए वही मूलभूत इकाई के रूप में होनी चाहिए न कि उसका पूरा परिवार।

9. संगठित व असंगठित क्षेत्र में महिलाओं को भी समय-समय पर प्रशिक्षण मिलता रहना चाहिए ताकि नई तकनीक आने पर उन्हें काम से बाहर न किया जा सके।

10. कृषि भूमि का पंजीकरण पति-पत्नी दोनों के नाम पर हो जिसे महिला का संपत्ति का अधिकार सुनिश्चित हो सके।

11. जहां-जहां भी महिलाओं की भूमिका को सामाजिक स्वीकृति मिल सकती हैं वहां - वहां उन्हें रोजगार दिया जाए।

12. स्त्री पुरुष के मजदूरी संबंधी भेद को खत्म किया जाए। इससे महिलाओं के मुद्दे अंततः कृषि मजदूरों के मुद्दे बनकर उभरेंगे।

उपरोक्त नीतियों योजनाओं और कार्यक्रमों के तहत महिलाओं को सुविधा मिलती है तो महिलाओं की स्थिति में बेहतर तथा सुधार लाया जा सकता है और एक सशक्त एवं मजबूत समाज का निर्माण हो सकता है।

निष्कर्ष

समाज का सम्पूर्ण विकास तभी संभव है जब समाज के विकास रथ को महिला और पुरुष दोनों का समान बल प्राप्त होता है। जहाँ पुरुष समाज की आर्थिक विकास एवं सुरक्षा के प्रतीक के रूप में काम करता है वहीं महिला समाज का उर्जागृह होती है। महिलाएं जब घर की दहलीज पार कर पुरुष के साथ कंधा से कंधा मिलाकर चलने लगती हैं तो विकास अपने चरम पर होता है। चान्हों की महिलाएं घर के काम के साथ-साथ घर के बाहर भी काम करती हैं खेती में भी सहयोग करती हैं तथा घर के आर्थिक विकास में भी योगदान देती हैं। महिलाओं की स्थिति सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक स्थिति में समय के साथ-साथ बदलाव तो हो रहा है परन्तु बहुत ही धीमी गति से।

आधुनिक सामाजिक परिवेश में महिलाओं को जागरूक होना व आर्थिक रूप से सबल होना आवश्यक है। महिलाओं पर ही समाज का विकास संभव है। चान्हों प्रखण्ड के कई गाँवों में महिलाओं के लिए न कोई जच्चा अस्पताल है और न ही कोई महिला विद्यालय। आठवीं-दसवीं पढ़ते-पढ़ते लड़कियां स्कूल की पढ़ाई छोड़ देती हैं। ऐसी सुविधाएँ हैं भी तो गाँव से खासी दूरी पर हैं पर वहाँ तक पहुँचने के लिए गाँव से कोई सड़क या साधन अभी तक नहीं बना है। शिक्षा, प्रगति और विकास का मूल अंग है। महिलाएं तभी प्रगति और विकास कर सकती हैं जब वे शिक्षित हो। अगर महिलाएं शिक्षित होती हैं तो पूरा समाज व राष्ट्र शिक्षित हो सकेगा। अतः आवश्यकता है कि ऐसे उपायों एवं कार्यक्रमों की जिसमें महिलाओं का प्रोत्साहित कर शिक्षा प्राप्त करने की ओर उन्मुख हो तभी उनकी सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्षेत्र

में उनकी भूमिका सुनिश्चित हो पायेगी।

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झारखण्ड में सामाजिक परिवर्तन : विशेषकर जनजातीय समाज के परिपेक्ष्य में

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सारांश

शताब्दियों से झारखण्ड के जंगलों, पहाड़ियों तथा ऊसर पठारों में रहने के कारण यहां की जनजातियां दूसरी संस्कृति एवं सभ्यता के संपर्क से बहुत दिनों तक अछूती रही हैं। 19वीं शताब्दी के पांचवे दशक में विदेशी ईसाई पादरियों के धर्म व शिक्षा प्रचार एवं सेवा भाव से प्रेरित होकर ये जनजातियां बाह्य संस्कृति के सम्पर्क में आने लगीं। इसके बाद औद्योगिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया आरंभ होने के साथ ही उनकी सांस्कृतिक संपर्क बढ़ने लगा। द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध के समय जिन जनजातियां गावों के पास सैनिक छावनी बनायी गईं, वहां पर सांस्कृतिक सम्पर्क के कारण परम्परागत विश्वास, जीवन शैली तथा नैतिक प्रवृत्तियों में बदलाव के कारण संस्कृति संक्रमण का दौर आरंभ हुआ। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् जनजातीय विकास की नीतियों के कार्यान्वयन से भी जनजातीय जीवन में व्यापक परिवर्तन का शुभारंभ हुआ। जनजातीय सामाजिक परिवर्तन के लिए संस्कृतिकरण, पश्चिमीकरण, आधुनिकीकरण, औद्योगिकीकरण, नगरीकरण, वैश्वीकरण इत्यादि की प्रक्रियाएं प्रमुख रूप से उत्तरदायी रही। इस शोध आलेख का उद्देश्य झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में आये दिन होने वाले परिवर्तन को देखना, समझना और आकलन करना है। झारखण्ड राज्य का निर्माण खासकर यहाँ के जनजातीय लोगों के जीवन स्थिति में सुधार हेतु हुआ, इसलिए यहाँ प्रशासन की भूमिका और भी महत्वपूर्ण हो जाती है, क्योंकि परोक्ष रूप से सभी कार्यक्रम या योजनाएँ इन्हीं के द्वारा क्रियान्वित की जाती हैं। दुर्भाग्य यह है कि जिस उद्देश्य को लेकर झारखण्ड राज्य का निर्माण हुआ अपने निर्माण के बारह वर्ष बीतने के पश्चात् भी जितना विकास और लाभ इन समुदायों को मिलना चाहिए, उन्हें नहीं मिल पाया है।

विशिष्टशब्द - अभिवृत्तियाँ, परिस्थिति, आत्मसात्करण

भूमिका

परिवर्तन प्रकृति का शाश्वत नियम है। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में इसके उद्भव काल से ही कुछ न कुछ परिवर्तन होते रहे हैं। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद इन परिवर्तनों की रफ्तार और अधिक बढ़ चली है। कोई भी मानव सदैव एक सा नहीं रहता है। सामाजिक परिवर्तन समाज का स्वभाव है। भारतीय समाज भी इसका अपवाद नहीं है। इसलिए ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण में प्रत्येक काल में आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, विचारधारात्मक तथा अन्य परिवर्तनों के साथ-साथ सामाजिक परिवर्तन देखे जा सकते हैं। देश में राज्य सदैव बनते-बिगड़ते रहे। कभी छोटे-छोटे राज्य मिलकर बड़े-बड़े राज्य बन गए, तो कभी साम्राज्यों का विघटन होकर छोटे छोटे राज्यों की स्थापना हुई। इन दोनों ही प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों का सामाजिक संरचना पर भिन्न-भिन्न प्रभाव पड़ा। बड़े राज्य बनने से सामाजिक एकता बढ़ी और छोटे राज्य बनने से विविधता में वृद्धि हुई। मानवीय सम्बन्धों, व्यवहारों, प्रतिमानों, मूल्यों प्रस्थितियों, भूमिकाओं, संस्थाओं सहित सामाजिक संरचना एवं प्रकार्यों में होने वाला परिवर्तन ही सामाजिक परिवर्तन है।

झारखण्ड जैसे नव नवोदित आदिवासी बहुल राज्य में जनजातियों के उत्थान तथा उन्हें मुख्य धारा से जोड़ने के लिए मूल अधिकारों में संशोधन करके इनके विकास के लिए अनेक योजनाओं का निर्माण किया गया है। पाचवें अनुसूची में अनुसूचित जनजातियों की सुरक्षा के लिए अनेक प्रावधान किये गए हैं। स्वतंत्र भारत में विकास का कार्य बहुत जोड़ो से किया जा रहा है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं से तेरहवीं पंचवर्षी, योजना तक विकास के अनेक

कार्यकलाप अपनाये गए हैं। झारखण्ड राज्य बनने के बाद सामाजिक न्याय के तहत अनेक विकास योजनाओं को अपनाया गया है। इन योजनाओं के तहत सरकार अनेक लोक कल्याणकारी कार्य कर रही है। अनुसूचित जाति एवं अनुसूचित जनजातियों के लिए अनेक विकास कार्य किये जा रहे हैं। साथ ही साथ अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए अनेक विकास योजनाएं अपनाई गई हैं। महिलाओं के लिए अनेक विकास नीतियाँ बनाई गई हैं। शिशुओं के लिए अलग से कार्यक्रम है। गरीबी रेखा से नीचे निवास करने वालों के लिए अलग से कार्यक्रम किये जा रहे हैं। झारखण्ड में राज्य मानव अधिकार कमीशन का गठन भी किया जा चुका है जिससे कि यहां के नागरिकों को समुचित न्याय मिल सके।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

झारखण्ड राज्य की स्थापना 15 नवम्बर, 2000 ई. को समेकित बिहार राज्य के दक्षिणी हिस्से के तत्कालीन 18 जिलों को अलग कर किया गया। झारखण्ड राज्य भारत के उत्तर-पूर्वी हिस्से के अक्षांश 22° और 25° 18' 30 उत्तर तथा देशान्तर 83° 28' से 87° 55' 30 पूर्व के बीच अवस्थित है, जिसका

क्षेत्रफल 79,714 वर्ग किलोमीटर है। झारखण्ड राज्य का कुल भौगोलिक क्षेत्र भारत के संपूर्ण भौगोलिक क्षेत्रफल का 2.42 प्रतिशत है। झारखण्ड का जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से देश में 13वां तथा क्षेत्रफल की दृष्टि से 15वां स्थान है। झारखण्ड राज्य का भौगोलिक क्षेत्र समेकित बिहार राज्य के कुल भौगोलिक क्षेत्र का 45.80 प्रतिशत है। झारखण्ड राज्य के उत्तर में बिहार, पश्चिम में छत्तीसगढ़, दक्षिण में उड़ीसा तथा पूरब में पश्चिम बंगाल है।¹

1991 ई. की जनगणना के अनुसार झारखण्ड राज्य की कुल जनजातीय आबादी 6,044,010 थी, जो झारखण्ड की कुल जनसंख्या का 27.67 प्रतिशत थी। झारखण्ड राज्य में 2001 ई. की जनगणना के अनुसार अनुसूचित जनजातियों की कुल आबादी 7,087,068 (पुरुष-3,565,960 तथा महिला-3,521,108) है जो झारखण्ड राज्य की कुल आबादी का 26.30 प्रतिशत है। 2001 ई. की जनगणना के अनुसार झारखण्ड की 91.72 प्रतिशत जनजातीय आबादी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में था मात्र 8.28 प्रतिशत जनजातीय शहरी क्षेत्रों में निवास करती है।²

2011 ई. की जनगणना के अनुसार झारखण्ड राज्य की कुल जनसंख्या 32,966,238 (पुरुष-169.66 तथा महिला-160.35) है, जो भारत की संपूर्ण जनसंख्या का 2.62 प्रतिशत है। झारखण्ड राज्य में जनघनत्व 414 व्यक्ति प्रति वर्ग किलोमीटर है। झारखण्ड प्रान्त की 73 प्रतिशत आबादी (20,952,088) ग्रामीण है, जबकि 22 प्रतिशत आबादी (5,993,741) शहरी है। झारखण्ड राज्य में 152 नगर तथा 32,615 ग्राम है। यहाँ कुल आबाद गावों की संख्या 29,354 है।³

झारखण्ड राज्य की अनुसूचित जनजातियों को 'प्रमुख' तथा 'आदिम जनजाति' में वर्गीकृत किया गया है। आदिम जनजातीय समूह की पहचान के लिए (1) तकनीकी का कृषि पूर्व स्तर (2) साक्षरता का अति निम्न स्तर तथा (3) अवरूढ़ जनसंख्या संकेतक है, जिनका निर्धारण घीवर आयोग द्वारा किया गया था। प्रमुख जनजातियों की आबादी अपेक्षाकृत अधिक तथा उनकी सामाजिक आर्थिक व्यवस्था भी अपेक्षाकृत विकसित होती है। झारखण्ड में असुर, बिरहोर, बिरजिया, कोरवा, परहिया, सौरिया पहाड़ियां, माल पहाड़िया तथा सवर को आदिम जनजाति समूह के अंतर्गत रखा गया है, जबकि शेष 24 अनुसूचित जनजातियां प्रमुख जनजातियां हैं। 2001 की जनगणना के अनुसार झारखण्ड में आदिम जनजातियों की कुल जनसंख्या 2,23,36 है जो झारखण्ड की कुल जनजातीय आबादी का 3.15 प्रतिशत है। संथाल, उराँव, मुंडा हो तथा खड़िया जनजातियों की जनसंख्या झारखण्ड की कुल जनजातीय आबादी का 81.27 प्रतिशत है। (2001 जनगणना)⁴

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज को जमींदारी प्रथा के उन्मूलन, पंचायती राज की स्थापना यातायात

तथा संचार के साधनों का विस्तार, शिक्षा के प्रसार, औद्योगीकरण, नगरीकरण, वैश्वीकरण, विभिन्न वैधानिक संरक्षण तथा सरकारी तथा गैर सरकारी कल्याणकारी परियोजनाओं ने नाना प्रकार से प्रभावित किया है। छोटानागपुर में ईसाई मिशनरियां 1845 ई. से ही कार्यशील रही हैं। यहाँ एक से अधिक मिशनरियां सामाजिक सेवा, शिक्षा तथा धर्म प्रचार के क्षेत्र में एक-दूसरे से प्रतिस्पर्धा करती रही हैं। ईसाई मिशनरियों ने झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र एक नये प्रकार के नेतृत्व तथा सामाजिक नियंत्रण के एक नये सिद्धांत को लागू किया। पादरियों द्वारा सर्वतोमुखी नेता, पथ प्रदर्शक मित्र तथा दार्शनिक के रूप में भूमिका निभाने के कारण परम्परागत नेताओं की महत्ता शीघ्र ही घटने लगी। ईसाई धर्म ने झारखण्ड की जनजातियों को जीवन का एक नया तरीका, सामाजिक मूल्यों का एक नया पैमाना, नयी मनोवृत्तियां, नये व्यवहार-प्रतिभा पुरस्कार तथा दण्ड की अपेक्षाकृत एक नयी अवधारणा से परिचय कराया। जिन जनजातियों ने ईसाई धर्म को स्वीकार किया उनकी वेश-भूषा, रहन-सहन, सोच-विचार तथा सांस्कृतिक पक्षों में ईसाई जीवन पद्धति तथा मूल्यों के अनुरूप परिवर्तन हुआ, किन्तु झारखण्ड के जनजातीय जीवन में ईसाई धर्म का यह प्रभाव एक दुःखद पार्थक्य को भी जन्म दिया। ईसाई जनजातियों तथा परम्परागत जनजातियों के बीच की दूरी गहराने लगी तथा इनके बीच आपसी मतभेद, संघर्ष तथा तनाव को बढ़ावा मिला झारखण्ड के आदिवासियों ने इस्लाम के प्रभाव को ईसाई प्रभाव की अपेक्षा अधिक सफलता से रोका था।

इसके विपरीत पूर्व में हिन्दुओं ने कभी भी अपना धर्म या जीवन पद्धति झारखण्ड की जनजातियों पर थोपने का प्रयास नहीं किया, किन्तु जनजातियों तथा हिन्दुओं के साथ साथ रहने के कारण आत्मसात्करण की प्रक्रिया के कारण जनजातीय जीवन पर हिन्दु जीवन शैली का प्रभाव वर्षों से जारी रहा है, जिसके पीछे कोई बाह्य दबाव अथवा आर्थिक विवशता नहीं थी। आत्मसात्करण की यह प्रणाली भी व्यक्तिपरक तथा पारिवारिक ही थी। किन्तु इधर हाल के वर्षों में हिन्दु मिशन तथा आर्य मिशन के झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में सामूहिक धर्म परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को प्रोत्साहित करने का प्रयास किया है। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में परिवर्तन के क्षेत्र में शिक्षा का भी महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव रहा है। झारखण्ड के परम्परागत जनजातीय समाज में परिवार तथा युवा संगठन मुख्य रूप से अनौपचारिक शिक्षा के केन्द्र होते थे, जहाँ जनजातीय बच्चे अपने समुदाय के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक व सांस्कृतिक जीवन से संबंधित प्रशिक्षण पाते थे। किन्तु ईसाई मिशनरियों तथा आदिम जाति सेवा मंडल द्वारा औपचारिक शिक्षा प्रदान करने वाले विद्यालयों की स्थापना के बाद झारखण्ड के जनजातीय जीवन आधुनिक शिक्षा का समावेश हुआ। इस प्रकार औपचारिक शिक्षा के प्रसार ने जनजातीय जीवन पद्धति तथा जन-आकांक्षाओं में विभिन्नता उत्पन्न किया। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद झारखण्ड के जनजातीय

क्षेत्र में जिस शिक्षा पद्धति को लागू किया गया उसने एक ओर जनजातियों को नये आदर्शों तथा विचारों से अवगत कराना तो दूसरी ओर अधिक धनोपार्जन में भी सहायता पहुंचायी। अधिक आय जीवन स्तर को ऊँचा उठाने में सहायक होती है। शिक्षा तथा आय दोनों जीवन के नये स्तरों का निर्माण कर उसे अंततः आधुनिकीकरण की ओर बढ़ाते हैं।

औद्योगीकरण झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में परिवर्तन के लिए सबसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रतिकार रहा है। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में औद्योगीकरण केन्द्रों की स्थापना के बाद नियोजन का एक नया दौर प्रारंभ हुआ। नगरीकरण के प्रभाव से जनजातीय गांवों की आत्मनिर्भरता नष्ट हो गयी तथा जनजातीय गांवों की परम्परागत संस्कृति में नगरों की नयी संस्कृति का प्रभाव घर करने लगा। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद सरकारी तथा गैर सरकारी स्तर से झारखण्ड की जाजनतियों को भारतीय समाज की मुख्यधारा में लाने के लिए अनेक विकास कार्यक्रम लागू किये गए। 1952 ई. में 'सामुदायिक विकास कार्यक्रम' लागू कर जनजातियों के चतुर्दिक विकास की दिशा में पहल किया गया। बाद में चलकर चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंत में जनजातीय विकास के लिए 'जनजातीय विकास अभिकरण' नामक परियोजना चलाई गई। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में नवीन भूमि सुधारों का भी जनजातीय जीवन पर महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव पड़ा है। यहां जमींदारी उन्मूलन के पश्चात् जनजातीय को जब भू-स्वामित्व के स्वतंत्र अधिकार प्राप्त हो गये तो उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार आया। छोटानागपुर काश्तकारी अधिनियम (1908), संथाल परगना काश्तकारी अधिनियम पूरक अधिनियम (1949) तथा शिड्यूल एरिया रेगुलेशन (1969) के क्रियान्वयन से भी जनजातियों की हस्तांतरित भूमि की वापसी में मदद मिली, जिसके फलस्वरूप झारखण्ड की जनजातियों में आत्मविश्वास बढ़ा तथा उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति पहले की अपेक्षा कुछ बेहतर हुई। आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार होने से जनजातियों में जीवन के प्रति एक नया दृष्टिकोण पनपा।

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में स्वतंत्रता के बाद यातायात तथा संचार के साधनों में अत्यधिक वृद्धि हुई है। सड़कों के विस्तार होने से बसों तथा अन्य यातायात के साधनों द्वारा व्यापारी जनजातीय हाटों में जाते हैं। अब जनजातीय हाट बाजार वैश्वीकरण के प्रभाव से भी अछूता नहीं रहा। यातायात के विभिन्न साधनों द्वारा ग्रामीण जनजातियां व्यापार, मनोरंजन, अदालती कार्यों तथा आवश्यक चीजों की खरीदारी के लिए कस्बों तथा नगरों में जाती है। इस प्रक्रिया से झारखण्ड के जनजातीय जीवन में महत्वपूर्ण सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तन हुए हैं। जनजातीय गांवों में आज रेडियो तथा टेलीविजन की लोकप्रियता में अत्यधिक वृद्धि होने के कारण जनजातीय लोग नवीनतम सूचनाओं तथा विकास कार्यक्रमों से परिचित होने लगे हैं। डाकघरों द्वारा स्थानीय लोगों का समाचार पत्र उपलब्ध होने से भी सामाजिक परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को द्रुततर होने में सहायता मिली।

भारत में प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली के अंतर्गत जिन धर्मनिरपेक्ष तथा लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों की स्थापना की गयी तथा जनजातियों को संवैधानिक संरक्षण प्रदान किये गए उनके कारण भी परम्परागत जनजातीय समाज में बहुत स्पष्ट परिवर्तन दिखलायी देने लगा। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय ऋण मुक्ति अधिनियम (1974), साहूकारी अधिनियम (1974), बंधुआ मजदूर उन्मूलन अधिनियम (1976) इत्यादि ने भी जनजातीय जीवन में परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को प्रोत्साहित किया।

जनजातीय समाज का बदलता स्वरूप : झारखण्ड की जनजातीय सामाजिक संरचना में नातेदारी व्यवस्था का महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। इन दिनों नातेदारी संबंधों के दायरे सिमटने लगे हैं, चूंकि लोगों की आजीविका की तलाश में दूर-दराज के स्थानों पर जाना पड़ता है। जिसके फलस्वरूप दूरस्थ नातेदारी बन्धन पहले जैसा नहीं रहा। नातेदारी संबंधों में शिथिलता तथा औपचारिकता पनपने लगी है। नयी पीढ़ी के पढ़े-लिखे लोगों में टोटेमिक विश्वास धीरे-धीरे खत्म होने लगे हैं। परिवार के अंदर सदस्यों के शक्ति संस्तरण यथा अन्तर्वैयक्तिक संबंधों में परिवर्तन होने के फलस्वरूप जनजातीय गांवों में परिवार अब नियंत्रण स्थापित करने वाली सर्वप्रमुख संस्था नहीं रह गयी है। जनजातीय गांवों में परिवारात्मकता जैसी विशेषता समाप्त होती जा रही है। जनजातीय परिवारों में सहकारिता का परम्परागत रूप भी गौण होता जा रहा है तथा इसके स्थान पर लघु पारिवारिक इकाईयों के प्रति लोगों का आकर्षण बढ़ता जा रहा है। अनेक जनजातीय लोग अपनी पत्नी तथा बच्चों के साथ नगरों की ओर प्रवास करने लगे हैं, जिसके फलस्वरूप ग्रामीण संयुक्त परिवार की संरचना में परिवर्तन होने लगा है।

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में विवाह की संस्था भी परिवर्तित होने लगी है। यदि आजकल गैर-ईसाई जनजातीय विवाहों के रस्म-रिवाजों का अध्ययन किया जाए तो यह देखने को मिलेगा कि यह उस क्षेत्र में निवास करने वाले हिन्दुओं के वैवाहिक रीतियों से ज्यादा भिन्न नहीं रह गया है। औद्योगीकरण तथा आधुनिक शिक्षा के प्रसार के कारण चन्द जनजातीय लोग गैर-जनजातीय लोगों से भी विवाह करने लगे हैं। हिन्दुओं के प्रभाव के कारण जनजातियों में प्रौढ़ विवाह की जगह बाल-विवाह का भी छिटपुट प्रचलन बढ़ा है। वधू-मूल्य के संस्थात्मक स्वरूप में भी अब कुछ परिवर्तन स्पष्ट होने लगे हैं। इस हाल के वर्षों में वधू-मूल्य 2.50 रु. से बढ़कर 250 रु. से अधिक तक हो गया है। हो जनजाति में वधू-मूल्य की धनराशि में इतनी वृद्धि हो गयी है कि युवकों द्वारा उक्त धनराशि की आपूर्ति न करने के कारण अनेक युवतियों को अविवाहित रह जाना पड़ रहा है। संथाल जनजाति के बीच प्रचलित विरलाहा जैसी प्रथा विलुप्त होने के कागार पर आ खड़ा है। झारखण्ड की जनजातियों में जीवन साथी चुनने के परम्परागत तरीकों जैसे सेवा विवाह, हट विवाह, विनिमय विवाह इत्यादि में भी हास के लक्षण उत्पन्न होने लगे हैं।

वर्तमान समय में जनजातीय सामाजिक संरचना के अंतर्गत जनजाति का परम्परागत प्रभाव कम होने लगा है। छुआछूत की परम्परागत अवधारणा तथा खान-पान से संबंधित प्रतिबंध निरंतर शिथिल पड़ते जा रहे हैं। जनजातीय सामाजिक स्तरीकरण में भी व्यापक परिवर्तन हुआ है। पहले स्तरीकरण का मुख्य आधार प्रदत्त प्रस्थिति थी। किन्तु अब आधुनिक शिक्षा, लौकिकीकरण तथा प्रजातांत्रिक मूल्यों के प्रभाव से परिश्रम तथा योग्यता के आधार पर सामाजिक स्थिति को व्यापक परिवर्तित करना संभव हो गया है, जिसके फलस्वरूप परम्परागत अधिकार-संरचना में परिवर्तन हुआ है। आजकल कोई भी व्यक्ति सामाजिक प्राधान्य (उत्कर्ष) बिना उस प्रस्थिति में जन्म लिये विशिष्ट दक्षता के बल पर प्राप्त कर सकता है। हिन्दू तथा ईसाई धर्म के प्रभाव ने झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज में कई श्रृंखलाबद्ध प्रतिक्रिया को गति प्रदान किया है। धर्म में परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया ने प्रथाओं, व्यवहारों, प्रतिमानों, मूल्यों तथा संस्थाओं सहित जनजातीय समाज के विभिन्न पक्षों में परिवर्तन की प्रक्रिया को त्वरित किया है। ईसाई मिशनरियों ने झारखण्ड के सुदूर पिछड़े जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में जाकर अपने केन्द्र स्थापित किये। उन्होंने विद्यालय अस्पताल तथा ऋण देने वाली सहकारी संस्थाएं खेलकर जनजातियों को काफी लाभ पहुंचाया।

परिवर्तन के स्वैच्छिक स्वीकृति के लिए सुरक्षा की खोज एक महत्वपूर्ण कारक है। जहां कहीं भूमिपतियों का दबाव अधिक रहा वहां जनजातीय लोग ईसाइयत की तरफ झुके, चूंकि ईसाई मिशनरियां उन्हें काफी हद तक सुरक्षा प्रदान किया करती थी, कुछ लोगों ने डायन के डर से मुक्ति पाने के लिए भी ईसाई धर्म को अंगीकार किया। आज झारखण्ड के जनजातीय जीवन में प्रौद्योगिकी तथा शिक्षा के प्रसार के कारण धर्म के परम्परागत स्वरूप में महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन होने लगे हैं। जनजातीय गाँवों में धार्मिक नियम अब उतनी कठोरता से लागू नहीं किया जाता, क्योंकि धर्म से संबंधित मान्यताओं तथा नियमों के अर्थ में काफी परिवर्तन आ चुका है। झारखण्ड का परम्परागत जनजातीय आर्थिक जीवन पूर्णतया कृषि तथा वन उत्पादनों पर निर्भर था तथा उत्पादन का स्वरूप मुख्यतः उपयोग से भी संबंधित था। नवीन प्रौद्योगिकी के प्रभाव से आज कृषि उत्पादन का उद्देश्य मात्र वैयक्तिक उपयोग की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करना ही नहीं, बल्कि कृषि उपज के द्वारा अधिकाधिक आर्थिक लाभ अर्जित करना हो गया है। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में विभिन्न औद्योगिक केन्द्रों की स्थापना ने अनेक श्रृंखलात्मक परिवर्तन को जन्म दिया। औद्योगिक केन्द्रों की स्थापना के कारण भूमि अधिग्रहण की कार्यवाही प्रारंभ की गयी, जिसके फलस्वरूप एक बहुत बड़ी जनजातीय आबादी अपने परम्परागत पेशे से अलग हो गयी। इस औद्योगिक केन्द्रों में अभियंता ठीकेदार, प्रविधिज्ञ तथा कुशल श्रमिक बड़ी संख्या में बाहर से आये तथा अपने जीवन शैली तथा व्यसनो को साथ लाये। इस क्षेत्र की अर्थव्यवस्था

परिवर्तित होने लगी जिसके फलस्वरूप इस क्षेत्र की जनजातियों का उद्योग प्रमुख पेशा बन गया, जबकि कृषि गौण पड़ गया। आजकल जनजातीय क्षेत्र में आर्थिक संस्थायें भी परिवर्तित हो रही हैं। उत्पादन अब पहले की अपेक्षा ज्यादा वैयक्तिक रूप से किया जाने लगा है। मौद्रिक अर्थव्यवस्था के बढ़ते प्रभाव के कारण सामाजिक मूल्य नये आर्थिक या उपभोग के प्रभावों से जुड़ने की ओर प्रवृत्त है।

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय समाज का राजनैतिक जीवन भी आज बहुत तेजी से बदल रहा है। परम्परागत जनजातीय नेतृत्व के व्यवहारों, प्रस्थितियों, भूमिकाओं तथा स्वीकृतियों में परिवर्तन के प्रभाव को आज स्पष्टतः देखा जा सकता है। भारत के संविधान के 73वें संशोधन के बाद पेशा अधिनियम पारित हो जाने के कारण झारखण्ड के परम्परागत जनजातीय पंचायतों के अधिकारों तथा प्रकार्यों के विचारणीय परिवर्तन आयेगा। झारखण्ड की परम्परागत जनजातीय शक्ति संरचना आज नवीनता को आत्मसात करने की ओर उन्मुख है। परिवर्तन की दिशा के क्रम में झारखण्ड के सभी जनजातीय समूह किसी न किसी सीमा तक पश्चिमीकरण तथा आधुनिकीकरण की प्रक्रिया से प्रभावित है तथा जनजातीय समाज तथा अन्य समुदायों के बीच खाई कम हो रही है। कालक्रम में झारखण्ड के जनजातीय सामाजिक व्यवस्था पर परिवर्तन का प्रभाव बढ़ा तो समाज के कुछ सदस्यों में चेतना तथा संगठन के एकीकृत प्रयास अपनी संस्कृति के कुछ चुने हुए पहलुओं को कायम रखने के लिए पुनर्जागृत हुए। 19वीं शताब्दी के मध्यकाल से झारखण्ड का जनजातीय इतिहास ऐसे अनेक पुनर्जागरण आन्दोलनों से अंकित है। सरदार आन्दोलन का पीछा करता विरसा आन्दोलन मुंडाओं के सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं धार्मिक असंतोष का मूर्तरूप था। दमन तथा उत्पीड़न की थपेड़ों तथा निराशा से ग्रस्त मुंडा जनजाति के लोगों ने बिरसा में पैगम्बर तथा उद्धारक का रूप देखा। बिरसा ने निराश मुंडा लोगों को आत्मविश्वास तथा एकात्मकता प्रदान किया। बिरसा का बिरसोई धर्म मुंडा विश्वास, हिन्दूवाद तथा ईसाई धर्म का संयोग था। बिरसा आन्दोलन का प्रभाव इतना व्यापक था कि कुछ समय के लिए छोटानागपुर में ब्रिटिश शासन की नींव हिल गयी थी।

1913-14 ई. में जतरा उराँव के नेतृत्व में प्रारंभ किया गया सुधारवादी आन्दोलन ने एक राजनैतिक मोड़ लिया। मांसाहार तथा मद्यपान का परित्याग, जादू-टोना में विश्वास, आनुष्ठानिक विशुद्धता इस मत की प्रमुख विशेषताएं थी। टाना भगतों के गीत भक्तिपूर्ण हुआ करते थे तथा भूमिकर की अदायगी न करके असहयोग आन्दोलन में हिस्सा लेने का उन्हें गर्व था। इस पुनर्जीवन प्रदान करने वाले आन्दोलनों द्वारा छोटानागपुर की जनजातियों अपनी संस्कृति के अच्छे तत्वों बचाने का प्रयास किया तथा शीघ्रता से उन परिवर्तनों को अंगीकार किया जो सहज एवं ग्राह्य थे।

निष्कर्ष

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्र में दूसरे प्रकार की संरचना के रूप में एकीकरण स्थान ग्रहण कर रहा है। शिक्षा के प्रचार के कारण काफी बड़ी संख्या में जनजातीय लोग नौकरी तथा अन्य पेशाओं में आ रहे हैं। साक्षरता के क्रम में आंकड़े ऊपर की ओर एक निश्चित छलांग लगाता हुआ प्रतीत होता है। आज अधिकांश जनजातीय आबादी द्विभाषीय है तथा सुदूर पिछड़े जनजातीय क्षेत्र को छोड़कर सम्प्रेषण की कोई खास समस्या नहीं है। उनका जीवन स्तर उनकी आम स्तर के अन्य गैर जनजातीय लोगों के लगभग समकक्ष है। झारखण्ड की जनजातियों में विशेषकर शिक्षितों तथा नगरीकृत जनजातियों में एक प्रगतिशील दृष्टिकोण का अभ्युदय हो चुका है। वैश्वीकरण की प्रक्रिया तीव्रता से जनजातीय जीवन को प्रभावित करने की दिशा में तत्पर है।

इन सब के बावजूद भी झारखण्ड का विकास जितना होना चाहिए उतना नहीं हुआ क्योंकि अपने गठन के समय से ही राजनीतिक अस्थिरता के कारण तथा व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार, लूट-खसोट, अयोग्य नेता तथा अकुशल तथा भ्रष्ट पदाधिकारियों तथा नौकरशाहों ने भी इसमें अपना योगदान दिया है। जन जागरुकता की कमी तथा नक्सली समस्या भी यहां विकास के रास्ते में रोड़ा बन कर खड़ी रही है।

संदर्भ

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जनजातीय समाज में महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्या एवं उपचार

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सारांश

देश के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्या एक गम्भीर चिन्ता का विषय है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के छः दशक बीत जाने के बावजूद भी जनजातीय महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य स्तर निम्न है। हाँलाकि सरकारी एवं गैर-सरकारी स्तर पर महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी समस्याओं को दूर करने हेतु कई सराहनीय कदम उठाये गये हैं इसके बावजूद महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य में कोई उत्साहजनक प्रगति सम्भव नहीं हो पायी है। लिंगीय भेदभाव, महिला हिंसा, निरक्षरता, यौन शोषण व उत्पीड़न, बाल-विवाह, निर्धनता, अत्यधिक कार्य बोझ, प्रजनन, पोषकीय तत्वों की जानकारी का अभाव, स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं तक कम पहुँच व अनुपलब्धता आदि ऐसे कई कारक हैं, जो महिला स्वास्थ्य को बुरी तरह से प्रभावित करते हैं। जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में शिशु मृत्यु-दर, मातृत्व मृत्यु-दर, गिरता हुआ लिंगानुपात तथा निम्न जीवन प्रत्याशा की समस्या बनी हुई है। अतः जनजातीय महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी अधिकांश तथ्यों को एक साथ अभिव्यक्त किये जाने की आवश्यकता है।

विशिष्टशब्द - लिंगानुपात, कुपोषण, रक्ताल्पता, अस्वच्छता, जीवन प्रत्याशा

भूमिका

यह एक सर्वविदित तथ्य है कि परिवार की धुरी में महिला होती है। उसकी स्वास्थ्य स्थिति का सीधा प्रभाव परिवार के सदस्यों पर पड़ता है। यदि घर की महिला स्वस्थ है तो उसके बच्चे भी स्वस्थ होंगे और परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों पर भी इसका सकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ेगा। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन के अनुसार स्वास्थ्य केवल रोग अथवा दुर्बलता की स्थिति को ही नहीं, बल्कि सम्पूर्ण शारीरिक, मानसिक तथा सामाजिक खुशहाली की स्थिति को कहते हैं। एक स्वस्थ महिला ही अपने परिवार का देखभाल व पोषण सम्बन्धी जरूरतों की पूर्ति बेहतर ढंग से कर सकती है। यद्यपि अच्छा स्वास्थ्य किसी भी व्यक्ति के लिए आवश्यक जरूरत है, क्योंकि एक स्वस्थ व्यक्ति न केवल शारीरिक व मानसिक रूप से वरन् सामाजिक रूप से भी स्वयं को अच्छा महसूस करता है और अपनी जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वहन करने में सक्षम होता है। फिर भी महिला स्वास्थ्य अपेक्षाकृत अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है, क्योंकि महिलाओं पर माँ, पत्नी, बहन व बेटों के रूप में जीवन में अनेक जिम्मेदारियों के निर्वहन का दायित्व होता है।¹ स्वस्थ महिला स्वस्थ संतान को जन्म देकर स्वस्थ व खुशहाल भावी पीढ़ी का निर्माण करती है।

झारखण्ड की जनजातीय महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य समस्या एक गम्भीर चिन्ता का विषय है और यह समस्या वर्तमान समय में भी बनी हुई है।² सरकार की भूमिका इस दिशा में स्वतंत्रता पूर्व काल में उनके दायित्वों के अनुरूप नहीं रही, परन्तु स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं की दिशा में पर्याप्त प्रगति हुई है। इसके बावजूद आज भी हम महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति को संतोषजनक नहीं कह सकते हैं। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन एवं राष्ट्रीय परिवार सर्वेक्षण-3 (2005-06) के रिपोर्ट के अनुसार देश में जनजातीय महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य यहाँ रह रहे आम

नागरिकों की तुलना में कहीं अधिक निम्न स्तरीय है।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

जनजातीय महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर विशेष रूप से प्रभाव डालने वाले सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक मानदण्ड यानि विवाह के प्रति दृष्टिकोण, विवाह की आयु, जनन क्षमता की दर, बच्चे का लिंग, पारिवारिक संगठनों की अभिरचना, परिवार में महिलाओं का स्थान व सामाजिक मान्यताओं के अनुसार महिलाओं का स्थान व अपेक्षित भूमिकाएँ इत्यादि महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष हैं। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद भी जनजातीय समाज में महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य स्थिति को बेहतर नहीं कहा जा सकता है। आज भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में पुरुषों की अपेक्षा महिलाओं को निम्न दर्जा प्राप्त है। उन्हें शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, पोषण व देखरेख, जैसी मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं से वंचित रखा जाता है।³ इसका विपरीत प्रभाव उनके स्वास्थ्य पर पड़ता है। जनजातीय महिलाएं लिंगभेद का शिकार होने के कारण बचपन में ही कुपोषण से ग्रस्त हो जाती है। इसके साथ ही पुरुषों की तुलना में वे दुगुने कार्य-बोझ से दबी होती है जो उनकी स्वास्थ्य स्थिति को और अधिक बदतर बनाता है।

जनजातीय समाज के महिलाओं में निम्न स्वास्थ्य समस्या का एक प्रमुख कारण निरक्षरता व अज्ञानता है, क्योंकि स्वास्थ्य का सीधा सम्बन्ध शिक्षा व साक्षरता से है। झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में साक्षरता दर देखा जाए तो और भी निम्न स्तर पर है। निरक्षर

महिलाएं जानकारी के अभाव में अपना व स्वयं के बच्चों के प्रति कम जागरूक होती हैं। इसके साथ ही वह विभिन्न तरह की मिथ्या धारणाओं, अंधविश्वासों, कुरीतियों आदि का शिकार जल्दी हो जाती हैं। परिणामस्वरूप महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य बुरी तरह प्रभावित होता है। जनजातियों में कम उम्र में विवाह करने की प्रथा आज भी व्याप्त है। यहाँ वैधानिक आयु 18 वर्ष से कम उम्र में ही लड़कियों का बड़ी संख्या में विवाह किया जाता है।⁴ अपरिपक्व अवस्था में विवाह हो जाने, कम उम्र में ही यौन सम्बन्धों में रत हो जाने तथा जल्दी मातृत्व धारण कर लेने के फलस्वरूप लोग एक तो स्वयं महिलाएं रोगी हो जाती हैं, दूसरे दुर्बल, रोगी व अल्पायु वाली सन्तानों को जन्म देती हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों की तुलना में जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य स्थिति ज्यादा बदतर है।

झारखण्ड के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में 27.09 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या निर्धनता रेखा से नीचे है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निर्धनता के कारण परिवार में महिलाओं को पोषक तत्व युक्त आहार उपलब्ध नहीं हो पाता है। निर्धनता का सबसे अधिक दुष्प्रभाव परिवार में महिलाओं पर पड़ता है। उन्हें गर्भावस्था व प्रसव के समय आवश्यक देखरेख की सुविधाओं का लाभ नहीं मिल पाता है। इस कारण बहुत बड़ी संख्या में महिलाएं कुपोषण व रक्ताल्पता से ग्रस्त हो जाती हैं। महिलाओं के ऊपर दोगुना कार्य-बोझ होता है। वे घरेलू कामकाज के साथ कृषि व पशुपालन से जुड़े कार्य करती हैं। पोषण विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार कठोर परिश्रम करने वाली जनजातीय महिलाओं को प्रतिदिन लगभग 3000 कैलोरी तथा मध्य श्रेणी का कार्य करने वाली महिलाओं को लगभग 2250 कैलोरी की आवश्यकता होती है जबकि जनजातीय महिलाओं द्वारा ग्रहण किए जाने वाले भोजन से औसतन 1700-2000 कैलोरी ऊर्जा ही प्राप्त होती है।⁵ दैनिक शारीरिक आवश्यकताओं से कम कैलोरी ग्रहण करने से न केवल उनकी रोगों से लड़ने की प्रतिरोधक क्षमता कम होती है वरन् उनका शारीरिक व मानसिक स्वास्थ्य प्रभावित होता है। स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं का जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में कम पहुँच एवं अनुपलब्धता निम्न स्वास्थ्य का कारण है। शिक्षा की कमी के कारण अज्ञानता व जागरूकता के अभाव, गरीबी व पुरुषों के ऊपर निर्भरता, अंधविश्वास, परिवार के लोगों की गर्भवती के प्रति कम संवेदनशीलता के कारण ग्रामीण महिलाओं की प्रजनन स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं तक पहुँच नहीं हो पाती है। कम उम्र में विवाह तथा बार-बार गर्भधारण के कारण गर्भवती महिलाओं की स्थिति और विकट हो जाती है।⁶

जनजातीय क्षेत्रों की महिलाओं में व्यक्तिगत अस्वच्छता और शौचालयों के सुविधाओं का अभाव भी स्वास्थ्य को प्रभावित करता है। महिलाएं स्वच्छता के प्रति कम सहज होती हैं, क्योंकि या तो वे निरक्षर हैं अथवा गांवों का वातावरण ऐसा है कि वहाँ स्वच्छता के महत्व को स्वीकारा नहीं जाता है। यही कारण है कि भारत के गांवों में 80 प्रतिशत महिलाएं प्रदर या ल्यूकोरिया रोग से पीड़ित हैं।⁷ जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में आज भी लोग कच्चे और अर्ध

पक्के मकान में रहते हैं, इन्हें आज भी शौचालयों व स्नानघर नहीं बनवाने की क्षमता नहीं है, फलतः शौच करने व खुले में उचित ढंग से स्नान न कर पाने के कारण महिलाओं को विभिन्न प्रकार की स्वास्थ्य से जुड़ी दिक्कतों का सामना करना पड़ता है।

महिलाओं में निम्न स्वास्थ्य का सामाजिक दुष्परिणाम :

भारत में स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य सम्बन्धी समस्याओं को दूर करने के उद्देश्य से सरकार द्वारा विभिन्न प्रकार की नीतियाँ व कार्यक्रम बनाए गए। इसके बावजूद महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य स्थिति बेहतर नहीं हो सकी। जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं के निम्न स्वास्थ्य के परिणामस्वरूप मातृत्व मृत्यु-दर और शिशु मृत्यु-दर दोनों अधिक है। स्वतंत्रता के बाद महामारियों पर नियंत्रण और स्वास्थ्य की सुविधाओं के विस्तार एवं स्वास्थ्य के प्रति जागरूकता के बावजूद इस देश की आधी आबादी अर्थात् महिलाओं में से एक बहुत बड़ी संख्या ऐसी महिलाओं की है जो रक्त की कमी के कारण विभिन्न रोगों से पीड़ित है। बहुत सी ऐसी महिलाएँ हैं जो कुपोषण के कारण क्षय रोग से ग्रस्त हैं। ऐसी भी महिलाएँ बहुत बड़ी संख्या में हैं जो विभिन्न प्रसूति रोगों की शिकार हैं। खराब स्वास्थ्य के कारण अपाहिज सा जीवन व्यतीत करने वाली महिलाओं की संख्या भी बहुत बड़ी है।

“आज से लगभग 52 वर्ष पूर्व 22 जुलाई 1946 को विश्व की सबसे बड़ी स्वास्थ्य सुधारक संस्था “विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन की न्यूयार्क में हुई बैठक में ‘स्वास्थ्य’ शब्द की एक परिभाषा निर्धारित की गई - “स्वास्थ्य का अर्थ केवल रोग का अभाव होना ही नहीं वरन् इसका अर्थ है - “मनुष्य का पूर्ण शारीरिक, मानसिक और सामाजिक स्वास्थ्य”। इस परिभाषा के आधार पर यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि एक पूर्ण स्वस्थ मनुष्य में इन तीनों ही बातों का संतुलन अत्यावश्यक है। स्वस्थ शरीर स्वस्थ मानव का मात्र एक अंग माना जा सकता है। मात्र शारीरिक स्वास्थ्य समाज के लिए अनुपयोगी होता है, यदि व्यक्ति में स्वस्थ सामाजिक दृष्टिकोण का अभाव हो।”⁸

नीरा देसाई ने अपने अध्ययन में बताया है कि बालिका शिशु के साथ भेद-भाव जन्म के साथ ही शुरू हो जाता है। लगभग पचास लाख बच्चों में तीन चौथाई लड़कियाँ स्कूल नहीं जा पातीं। यह अनुमान है कि घरेलू कार्यों का कुल 30.00 प्रतिशत कार्य (जैसे- ईंधन एकत्र करना, पानी भरना व कृषि सम्बन्धी कार्य) बालिकाओं द्वारा किया जाता है। जिनके दुष्परिणाम महिला को जीवन पर भोगना पड़ता है। बिडम्बना है कि स्त्री रोग विशेषज्ञ के अभाव में अभागी महिलाएँ निराश हो जाती हैं और कभी-कभी यह अकाल मृत्यु का कारण बन जाता है। मनुष्यों में आहार संबंधी जानकारी ज्ञान की विभिन्न शाखाओं से प्राप्त होती है, मनुष्यों की सामाजिक आदतों और अहारीय आदतों से संबंध रहा है, मनुष्यों में भोजन संबंधी आदतों को बनाने में कई प्रकार के प्रभावक तत्व रहे हैं। देश के प्रायः सभी जनजातियों में हड़िया और मुर्गे की बली धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों में आवश्यक माना जाता है। सभी शुभ

कार्यों में हडिया का सेवन आवश्यक माना गया है। इसमें नशा शराब से कम होती है। यह पेय पदार्थ चावल कोदो महुआ आदि अनाजों से बनाया जाता है। शराब या हडिया का सेवन महिला पुरुष दोनों करते हैं। महिलाएं हडिया का सेवन पुरुषों की तुलना में कम करती हैं। महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर हडिया के सेवन से भी बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। महुए से बना शराब महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। इस प्रकार के धार्मिक विश्वास शताब्दियों से चले आ रहा है। अधिकांश महिलाएं आहारों के पोषण शक्ति के बारे में अशिक्षित और अज्ञानी हैं। हडिया आम पेय भोजन है।

आदत मनुष्य की द्वितीय प्रकृति है कई ऐसे काम हैं जो परम्परागत या आदतवश करते हैं। भोजन संबंधी आदत भी इनमें से एक है। भोजन संबंधी आदत के बारे में हम कह सकते हैं कि यदि किसी व्यक्ति के पास सुस्वाद एवं अत्यंत पौष्टिक भोजन ले जा सकते हैं परंतु उसे खाने के लिए बाध्य नहीं कर सकते हैं। उस भोजन को खाना उस व्यक्ति की आदत पर निर्भर करता है। कुछ व्यक्तियों को कुछ विशेष वस्तु के प्रति रूचि एवं कुछ विशेष के प्रति अरूचि होती है। भोजन के समय में भी जनजातीय महिलाओं में भिन्नता व्यक्तिगत आदत के कारण है। कुछ महिलाएं साधारणतः दिन में तीन-चार बार भोजन करती हैं। वासक्याक (जलपान) दिन के नौ-दस बजे माजजान (कलेवा) दिन के डेढ़-दो बजे और कदोक (चालू) रात के सात-आठ बजे। इस तरह का आहार आयोजन सम्पन्न परिवार की महिलाओं का है।⁹ ऐसे परिवार की महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य भी बढ़िया है।

ऋतुओं के अनुसार जनजातियों का खाद्य पदार्थ एवं खाद्य संकलन भी बदलता रहता है। महुआ को भारतीय आदिवासियों का कल्पवृक्ष माना गया है। क्योंकि प्रायः सभी आदिवासी समूहों की अर्थव्यवस्था तथा उसके दैनिक भोजन में इसका स्थान अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है। अनेक वृक्षों के कोपलों पत्तों तथा छाल का उपयोग भी भोजन के लिए किया जाता है। प्रायः सभी जनजाति के लोग विभिन्न प्रकार के मांस के प्रेमी होते हैं। ये लोग घोषी का मांस, केकड़े, मधु तथा बरेयों की झिल्लियों आदि भी अपने भोजन में उपयोग लाते हैं। खेतों में रहने वाले छोटे-छोटे जीव का भी शिकार कर आहार के रूप में प्रयोग करते हैं। भारत में प्रायः सभी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में खासकर जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में जो आहार ग्रहण किया जाता है। उसमें सामान्य तौर पर लोहे और प्रोटीन की मात्रा कम रहती है। भारत के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों या जनजातीय क्षेत्रों के उन स्थानों के लोगों में आयोडीन की कमी पायी जाती है। जहां के पानी और मिट्टी में आयोडीन की मात्रा कम होती है। पीने योग्य स्वच्छ पानी की उपलब्धता में कमी इन रोगों का मुख्य कारण है। फलस्वरूप अधिकतर महिलाएं पेट, आंत तथा चर्म रोगों की शिकार हो जाती हैं।

जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में स्वास्थ्य संबंधी सुविधाओं की प्रचुरता नहीं है। इन क्षेत्रों में संक्रमण से अक्सर बीमारियों का समाना करना पड़ता

है। स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए केन्द्र तथा राज्य सरकार द्वारा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में कई स्वास्थ्य उप-केन्द्र तथा प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य उपकेन्द्र की स्थापना की गई है। महिलाएं जागरुकता के अभाव में इन सेवाओं का लाभ नहीं उठा पाती हैं। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन व राष्ट्रीय परिवार स्वास्थ्य सर्वेक्षण (2008-09) के रिपोर्ट के अनुसार हमारे देश की जनजातीय महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य अन्य जातियों की महिलाओं की तुलना में कहीं अधिक निम्न स्तर की है। जनजातीय क्षेत्रों की महिलाएं स्वास्थ्य सुविधा के लिए पारम्परिक वैद्य के पास ही जाती हैं। अतः आवश्यक है इन क्षेत्रों में जागरुकता कार्यक्रम अभियान के रूप में चलाया जाए जिससे जनजातीय महिलाओं को उनके स्वास्थ्य के प्रति जागरुक बनाते हुए एक स्वस्थ समाज की संकल्पना सुनिश्चित की जा सके।

जनजातीय महिलाओं में स्वास्थ्य एवं स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं और उनका उपचार बहुत जटिल हैं।¹⁰ स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति, उनके द्वारा लिया जाने वाला भोजन (पोषाहार) साफ-सफाई, स्वच्छता, सुरक्षित पेयजल एवं आस-पास के पर्यावरण पर निर्भर करती है। नेशनल फैमिली सर्वे-3 के अनुसार भारत में कुल प्रजनन क्षमता योग्य महिलाओं में से 65 प्रतिशत महिलाएं एनिमिया की शिकार हैं जबकि यही आँकड़ा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में 88 प्रतिशत हैं।¹¹ झारखण्ड के विवाहित महिलाओं में 70.4 प्रतिशत तथा गर्भवती महिलाओं में 68.4 प्रतिशत महिलाएं एनिमिया की शिकार हैं। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन के अनुसार स्वास्थ्य केवल रोग अथवा दुर्बलता की अनुपस्थिति को ही नहीं बल्कि सम्पूर्ण शारीरिक एवं मानसिक तथा सामाजिक खुशहाली की स्थिति को कहते हैं।¹² अधिकांश महिलाओं के शरीर में सभी प्रकार के प्रतिरक्षकों का विकास नहीं हो पाता है।¹³ अतः ये लोग किसी भी नयी बीमारी का आसानी से शिकार हो जाते हैं। ये प्रायः एक ही कमरा में भोजन बनाती हैं, खाती हैं एवं सोती हैं। कमरे के बगल में ही एक बरामदे में इनके मवेशी के रहने का भी स्थान होता है। जिसके कारण महिलाओं में संक्रामक बीमारियों का सामना करना पड़ता है।

जनजातीय महिलाएं सभी प्रकार की बीमारियों के इलाज के लिए सर्व प्रथम अपने पारंपरिक उपचारको के पास ही जाती हैं ये महिलाएं रोग निदान के लिए पारम्परिक चिकित्सा पद्धति का ही प्रयोग करती हैं।¹⁴ बीमारी के उपचार के लिए जड़ी बूटियों की औषधियों एवं जादू टोना व धार्मिक पूजा-पाठ का प्रयोग करती हैं।¹⁵ क्योंकि इनका मानना है कि बीमारियाँ दैवी शक्तियों, भूत प्रेतों के प्रकोप या किसी परम्परा या नियम के उल्लंघन के कारण होती हैं। महिलाओं को गंभीर एवं चिंताजनक स्थिति में ही अस्पताल ले जाया जाता है। ये महिलाएं सर्वप्रथम ओझा गुणी द्वारा चिकित्सा कराती हैं इनमें जब स्वास्थ्य लाभ नहीं हो जाता है तब ये अंग्रजी चिकित्सा पद्धति द्वारा इलाज करवाती हैं। भौगोलिक परिस्थिति, धार्मिक मान्यताएँ, परम्परागत मान्यताएँ,

भोजन संबंधी आदते और रूढ़ियां भी जनजातीय महिलाओं में विभिन्न प्रकार के रोगों का कारण बनती है। इन सब के अतिरिक्त विभिन्न प्रकार के औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में जनजातीय महिलाएँ श्रमिक के रूप में काम करती हैं।¹⁶ श्रमिकों का कार्य स्थल अस्वस्थयकर वातावरण में होता है जिसके कारण यहाँ की महिलाओं में बार-बार संक्रामक रोग घेर लेते हैं तथा कुपोषण की समस्या को और अधिक जटिल बना देता है।

निष्कर्ष

जनजातीय महिलाओं में वर्तमान सामाजिक आर्थिक दशाओं में स्वास्थ्य से संबंधित समस्याएं अपने गुण एवं अपसीमा में अद्वितीय है। इन जनजाति समाज में उचित शिक्षा के अभाव एवं चिकित्सा संबंधी सुविधाओं के उपलब्ध न हो सकने के कारण मृत्यु एवं बीमारी की दर अन्य विभिन्न समाजों की अपेक्षा अधिक है। जनजातीय समाज में विशेष रूप से ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में निवास करने वाली महिलाओं में अकास्मिक मृत्यु की घटना व्यापक स्तर पर पायी जाती है। इन महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य सुधार के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार एवं साक्षर लोगों की ओर से सम्यक सहायता की आवश्यकता है। स्वास्थ्य एवं चिकित्सा संबंधी ये कार्य महिलाओं की अशिक्षा के कारण असफल हो जाते हैं। इनकी पारम्परिक नियम पद्धति, भूत-प्रेत, रूढ़ियों, अंधविश्वासों आदि में आस्था, सरकार की योजनाओं को सफलीभूत नहीं होने देती है। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के छः दशक बाद भी महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य संतोषजनक नहीं है।

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सारांश

प्रस्तुत आलेख वर्षाजल संचयन एवं संरक्षण पर आधारित है। पीने योग्य पानी की समस्या साल दर साल बढ़ती चली आ रही है। आज संपूर्ण विश्व जल संकट का सामना कर रहा है। यह संकट जल के बेतरतीब और अति दोहन से कारण उत्पन्न हुआ है। जल का अनुचित उपयोग एवं संरक्षण की कमी तथा जल की बर्बादी जल संकट के प्रमुख कारण हैं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ ने 1972 में मानव पर्यावरण पर सम्मेलन में पहली बार पर्यावरण को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय एजेडे पर रखा और पर्यावरण के मामले में दुरुस्त विकास के लिए एक विस्तृत अंतर्राष्ट्रीय रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की। वर्ष 1997 में इसका पुनरीक्षण किया गया और पाया गया कि पानी और जंगलों के बेहतर प्रबंधन पर अधिक ध्यान देने के लिए कड़ी कार्रवाई की जरूरत है और इसके लिए विश्वभर में चेतावनी थी। बढ़ते जल संकट के मद्देनजर वर्षा जल संचयन हमारे समक्ष बड़ा मुद्दा है। प्रकृति हमें इतना पानी देती है कि अगर हम उस पानी को ठीक ढंग से सहेज कर रखें तो कभी भी हमारे सामने जलसंकट की स्थिति उत्पन्न नहीं होगी।

विशिष्टशब्द - संचयन, संरक्षण, भूजल, रिचार्ज, हार्वेस्टिंग

भूमिका

वर्षा जल संचयन (अंग्रेजी वाटर हार्वेस्टिंग) वर्षा के जल को किसी खास माध्यम से संचय करने या इकट्ठा करने की प्रक्रिया को कहा जाता है। विश्व भर में पेयजल की कमी एक संकट बनती जा रही है। इसका कारण पृथ्वी के जलस्तर का लगातार नीचे जाना भी है। इसके लिये अधिशेष मानसून अपवाह जो बहकर सागर में मिल जाता है, उसका संचयन और पुनर्भरण किया जाना आवश्यक है, ताकि भूजल संसाधनों का संवर्धन हो पाये। अकेले भारत में ही व्यवहार्य भूजल भण्डारण का आकलन 214 बिलियन घन मी. (बीसीएम) के रूप में किया गया है जिसमें से 160 बीसीएम की पुनरु प्राप्ति हो सकती है। इस समस्या का एक समाधान जल संचयन है। पशुओं के पीने के पानी की उपलब्धता, फसलों की सिंचाई के विकल्प के रूप में जल संचयन प्रणाली को विश्वव्यापी तौर पर अपनाया जा रहा है। जल संचयन प्रणाली उन स्थानों के लिए उचित है, जहां प्रतिवर्ष न्यूनतम 200 मिमी वर्षा होती हो। इस प्रणाली का खर्च 400 वर्ग इकाई में नया घर बनाते समय लगभग बारह से पंद्रह सौ रुपए तक आता है।

जल संचयन में घर की छतों, स्थानीय कार्यालयों की छतों या फिर विशेष रूप से बनाए गए क्षेत्र से वर्षा का एकत्रित किया जाता है। इसमें दो तरह के गड्ढे बनाए जाते हैं। एक गड्ढा जिसमें दैनिक प्रयोग के लिए जल संचय किया जाता है और दूसरे का सिंचाई के काम में प्रयोग किया जाता है। दैनिक प्रयोग के लिए पक्के गड्ढे को सीमेंट व ईट से निर्माण करते हैं, और इसकी गहराई सात से दस फीट व लंबाई और चौड़ाई लगभग चार फीट होती है। इन गड्ढों को नालियों व नलियों (पाइप) द्वारा छत की नालियों और टोटियों से जोड़ दिया जाता है, जिससे वर्षा का जल साधे इन गड्ढों में पहुंच सके, और दूसरे गड्ढे को ऐसे ही (कच्चा) रखा जाता है। इसके जल से खेतों की सिंचाई की जाती है। घरों की छत से जमा

किए गए पानी को तुरंत ही प्रयोग में लाया जा सकता है। विश्व में कुछ ऐसे इलाके हैं जैसे न्यूजीलैंड, जहां लोग जल संचयन प्रणाली पर ही निर्भर रहते हैं। वहां पर लोग वर्षा होने पर अपने घरों के छत से पानी एकत्रित करते हैं।

यद्यपि भारत में वर्षा जल का संग्रह और भविष्य की जरूरतों के लिए उसका संरक्षण कोई नवीन तथ्य नहीं है। इस पर सदियों से अमल किया जा रहा है। हमारी परंपरागत रेनवाटर हार्वेस्टिंग तकनीक, ज्ञान और कौशल का परिचायक थी। जल प्रबंधन प्रणाली के जरिए जल संरक्षण हमारी मुख्य चिंताओं में शामिल था। वर्तमान समय में हम जल प्रबंधन के प्रति उदासीन एवं लापरवाह हैं और प्रकृति विवश हैं। पहले ज्यादातर भूमि कच्ची हुआ करती थी। लिहाजा बारिश का पानी रिस-रिस कर धरती की कोख में समाता रहता था। इस तरह भू-जल स्तर ऊपर बना रहता था। आजकल तेजी से होते फर्श के कंक्रीटीकरण ने प्रकृति को बेवश कर दिया है। शहर तो शहर गाँव में भी आधारभूत सुविधाओं में तरक्की हुई है। देश की अधिकांश जमीन असंगत रूप से पक्की फर्श में तब्दील हो चुकी है। अंततः कुदरती रूप से भूजल स्तर का रिचार्ज होना हमने खुद असंभव कर दिया है। इसका खामियाजा हमें भुगतना पड़ रहा है। अतः इसका इलाज भी हमें ही खोजना है। हर साल मानसूनी बारिश धरती पर इतना पानी उड़ेल देती है कि अगर इसे ही सहेजें तो पानी की समस्या अपने आप दूर हो जाएगी।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

भारत के नागरिकों को आज भी न तो साफ पानी मिलता है और न ही यह पर्याप्त मात्रा में मिलता है भले ही हमने अन्य क्षेत्रों में कितनी भी तरक्की क्यों न कर ली हो। बहरहाल, भविष्य में पानी की यह मांग और तेजी से बढ़ेगी। खासतौर पर जैसे-जैसे सिंचाई व्यवस्था होगी औद्योगीकरण की रफ्तार तेज होगी और घरेलू खपत में बढ़ोतरी होगी। यही नहीं, शहरीकरण की बढ़ती रफ्तार के साथ इसकी मांग में और जबर्दस्त वृद्धि देखने को मिलेगी। देश के कई इलाकों में पड़ने वाला सूखा बताता है कि यह समस्या कितनी गहरी है। वैसे यह हमारी बदकिस्मती है कि हम तभी जागते हैं, जब नासा जैसी कोई विश्वस्तरीय संस्था हमें जल स्तर के घटने की सूचना देती है। हालांकि भारत में इस समस्या को ध्यान में रखते हुए कई अध्ययन हो रहे हैं और कई हो चुके हैं। तथापि इस समस्या के प्रति जागरूकता की आवश्यकता है। पानी की समस्या ने जलवायु परिवर्तन के मुद्दे को और भी पेचीदा बना दिया है। “द इंटर गवर्नमेंटल पैनल ऑन क्लाइमेट चेंज” ने अपनी चौथी आकलन रिपोर्ट में 21वीं सदी के दौरान ग्लेशियर और बर्फ के घटने की आशंका जताई थी। जाहिर है, इससे जल की उपलब्धता घटेगी और जल-विद्युत क्षमता में भी कमी आएगी। हिंदुकुश व हिमालय के पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में मौसमी बदलाव देखने को मिल सकता है। उपलब्ध शोध के मुताबिक एकाएक कई इलाकों में घनघोर बारिश हो सकती है। इस दौरान कुछ क्षेत्रों में बारिश की कमी भी आ सकती है। नतीजतन बाढ़ आने की खतरे बढ़ेंगे।

इससे समाज के सामने इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर से जुड़ी चुनौतियाँ और जल की समस्या भी खड़ी हो सकती है। अफसोस की बात तो यह है कि भारत की ज्यादातर बड़ी नदी प्रणालियाँ खत्म हो चुकी हैं। वास्तव में अब वे घातक बीमारियों की जननी हैं। हजारों करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करने के बावजूद हमारी नदियाँ संकीर्ण होती जा रही हैं। जल प्रवाह जैसी स्थितियाँ अब कई नदियों में बची ही नहीं हैं। ऐसे में, इस विकट समस्या का हल ढूँढना आवश्यक है। साफ तौर पर हल यही है कि पानी के संग्रह का सही प्रबंधन हो। इसके लिए स्वदेशी जल प्रबंधन एवं संचयन की प्रक्रियाओं को पुनर्जीवित करने की आवश्यकता है। मौजूदा परिदृश्य में जल का प्रबंधन सबसे अहम हो गया है। लोगों के सरकारी तंत्र पर आश्रित होने के चलते जल प्रबंधन में सामुदायिक हिस्सेदारी का पतन हो गया है। नतीजतन सदियों से देश में चली आ रही रेनवाटर हार्वेस्टिंग (वर्षा जल भंडारण) परंपरा विघटित हो गयी। दिन प्रतिदिन जल संकट के भयावह रूप धारण करने से अब जल प्रबंधन प्रणाली में सुधार करने और परंपरागत प्रणाली को पुनर्जीवित करने की जरूरत महसूस की जाने लगी है। पंच तत्वों में शामिल पानी सबसे अनमोल प्राकृतिक संसाधन है। मानव के अस्तित्व के लिए जरूरी जल को मानव से ही खतरा है। शायद इसका एक कारण यह रहा है कि पानी धरती पर प्रचूर मात्रा में उपलब्ध था। लिहाजा पानी के प्रति मानव के गैर जिम्मेदाराना

व्यवहार ने जल स्रोतों के खात्मे का रास्ता बना दिया। पानी की मात्रा और गुणवत्ता दोनों में गिरावट शुरू हो गई। अब वह स्थिति आ गई है जब एक बूंद पानी भी खास हो गया है। अतः एक-एक बूंद बचाने के लिए बारिश के रूप में प्रकृति द्वारा दिए जाने वाले जल का संचय शुरू करने की अत्यधिक आवश्यकता है।

भारत कृषि प्रधान एवं गाँवों का देश है। यहाँ 80 प्रतिशत जनता गाँवों में निवास करती है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में वर्षा जल संरक्षण की अनूठी परंपरा है। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की महिलाएं घरेलू उपयोग के लिए विभिन्न तरीकों से वर्षा जल का सदुपयोग एवं संरक्षण करती हैं। बिहार के मिथिलांचल क्षेत्रों में महिलाएं वर्षा जल को एकत्र कर “ओलती” (घर के छज्जे के नीचे वाला भाग) में गिराने की व्यवस्था करती हैं और उस वर्षा जल से बर्तन साफ, कपड़ा धोने आदि में काम लाती हैं। इसी तरह झारखण्ड की महिलाएं खपरे के मकानों की छाई से बहने वाली वर्षा जल का सदुपयोग घरेलू काम के लिए आज भी कर रही हैं। कर्णाटक के उडुपी जिले में महिलाएं बारिश के पानी को सहेजने के लिए अपनी साड़ी का इस्तेमाल करती हैं। यह साड़ी एक तरीके से पानी का कैचमेंट एरिया की तरह काम करती है। इससे न केवल पानी का शुद्धीकरण होता है बल्कि यह बेहद आसान प्रणाली भी है। इससे बिना एक धेला निवेश किए ये महिलाएं अपनी रोजाना पानी की जरूरत वर्षा जल के रूप में संचित करती हैं। यहाँ बढ़ते जल संकट के चलते लोगों ने यह तकनीक ईजाद की। इस पद्धति का इस्तेमाल पड़ोसी राज्य केरल में भी किया जाता है।

थार के रेगिस्तान में कुंड : यहाँ के ग्रामीण लोगों ने रेनवाटर हार्वेस्टिंग की एक अनोखी स्वदेशी प्रणाली विकसित की। इसे “कुंडसर कुंडी” कहते हैं। इसके तहत जमीन के अंदर एक ढका हुआ कुंड बनाया जाता है। 1607 ई. में ऐसा पहला कुंड राजा सुर सिंह ने बनवाया था। मेहरान गढ़ किले में 1759 ई. में महाराजा उदय सिंह ने भी ऐसे कुंड बनवाए। 1895-96 के भीषण अकाल के दौरान ऐसे कुंडों के निर्माण में तेजी आई। इसका कैचमेंट एरिया तश्तरी के आकार का होता है। टैंक का केन्द्र चौतरफा ढलान पर बना होता है। इससे चारों ओर से पानी इस कुंड में एकत्र होता रहता है। पानी आने वाले रास्तों के मुहाने पर तार की जाली से पानी छनकर आता है। कुंड का शीर्ष एक ढक्कन से बंद होता है। जरूरत पड़ने पर ढक्कन उठाकर बाल्टी से पानी निकाला जाता है।

बाँस के सहारे सिंचाई : मेघालय के जनजातीय किसान 200 साल पुरानी इस प्रणाली से अपनी काली मिर्च या पान के पौधों की सिंचाई करते हैं। यह इतनी कुशल तकनीक है कि बाँस की पाइपों के सहारे प्रति मिनट में 18 से 20 लीटर पानी काफी दूरी से लाया जा सकता है और नुकसान अंशमात्र ही होता है। ऊँचे पहाड़ों के इन झरनों का पानी इस तकनीक से निचले स्थानों तक पहुँचाया जाता है। ऊपर झरने से लेकर नीचे घरों और खेतों तक पहुँचाने के लिए बनाए गए पांच स्तरीय पूरी चैनल प्रणाली में

इन्हीं बांसों का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है।

कुल सिंचाई प्रणाली: हिमाचल प्रदेश में किसानों द्वारा फसलों की सिंचाई के लिए विकसित की गयी स्वदेशी प्रणाली “कुल” कहलाती है। इसके तहत ग्लेशियर के पानी को गाँवों तक लाया जाता है। पहाड़ की ढलान से नीचे तलहटी तक ले आने में इन कुलों की लंबाई काफी अधिक हो जाती है। कुछ “कुल” तो 10 किमी लंबे और सदियों से अस्तित्व में हैं। किसी कुल का महत्वपूर्ण भाग ग्लेशियर पर स्थित उसका अग्र भाग होता है। “कुल” का पानी नीचे बनाए गए एक गोलाकार टैंक में एकत्र होता रहता है। भूजल स्तर को रिचार्ज करने के और भी प्रचलित तरीके हैं जिससे भूजल स्तर को बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

नल कूपों द्वारा रिचार्जिंग: छत से एकत्र पानी को स्टोरेज टैंक तक पहुँचाया जाता है। स्टोरेज टैंक का फिल्टर किया हुआ पानी नलकूपों तक पहुँचाकर गहराई में स्थित जलवाही स्तर को रिचार्ज किया जाता है। इस्तेमाल न किए जाने वाले नलकूप से भी रिचार्ज किया जा सकता है।

गड्डे खोदकर: ईंटों के बने ये किसी भी आकार के गड्डे हो सकते हैं। इनकी दीवारों में थोड़ी-थोड़ी दूरी पर सूराख बनाए जाते हैं। गड्डे का मुँह पक्की फर्श से बंद कर दिया जाता है। इसकी तलहटी में फिल्टर करने वाली वस्तुएँ डाल दी जाती हैं।

सोक वेज या रिचार्ज साप्ट्स: इनका इस्तेमाल वहाँ किया जाता है जहाँ की मिट्टी जलोढ़ होती है। इसमें 30 सेमी व्यास वाले 10 से 15 मीटर गहरे छेद बनाए जाते हैं। इसके प्रवेश द्वार पर जल एकत्र होने के लिए एक बड़ा आयताकार गड्डा बनाया जाता है। इसका मुँह पक्की फर्श से बंद कर दिया जाता है। इस गड्डे में बजरी, रोड़ी बालू इत्यादि डाले जाते हैं।

खोदे गए कुओं द्वारा रिचार्जिंग: इनके पानी को फिल्ड्रेशन बेड से गुजारने के बाद इन कुओं में पहुँचाया जाता है। इस तरीके में रिचार्ज गति को बनाए रखने के लिए कुंए की लगातार सफाई करनी होती है।

खाई बनाकर: जिस क्षेत्र में जमीन की ऊपरी पर्त कठोर और छिछली होती है वहाँ इसका इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। जमीन पर खाई खोदकर उसमें बजरी ईट के टुकड़े आदि भर दिया जाता है। यह तरीका छोटे मकानों, खेल के मैदानों, पार्कों आदि के लिए उपयुक्त होता है।

रिसाव टैंक: ये कृत्रिम रूप से सतह पर निर्मित जल निकाय होते हैं। बारिश के पानी को यहाँ जमा किया जाता है। इसमें संचित जल रिसकर धरती के भीतर जाता है। इससे भू-जल स्तर ऊपर उठता है। संग्रहित जल को सीधे बागवानी इत्यादि कार्यों में इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। रिसाव टैंकों को बगीचों, खुले स्थानों और सड़क किनारे हरित पट्टी क्षेत्र में बनाया जाना चाहिए।

जल प्रबंधन की प्रक्रिया: जल संचय के साथ-साथ जल स्रोतों के रख रखाव की भी उतनी ही महत्ता है। देश के विभिन्न शहर

कभी अपने जल स्रोतों के लिए पहचाने जाते थे। तालाबों, झीलों, बावड़ी वर्षा जल को संचित करने वाली इन जल संरचनाओं से उस शहर के आचार-विचार और व्यवहार का पता लगता था। लेकिन आज हम धरती के जलवाही स्तर को चोट पहुँचा रहे हैं। किसी को पता नहीं है कि हम कितनी मात्रा में भूजल का दोहन कर रहे हैं। यह सभी को मालूम होना चाहिए कि भूजल संसाधन एक बैंक की तरह होता है। जितना हम निकालते हैं उतना उसमें डालना (रिचार्ज) भी पड़ता है। अतः मृतप्राय शहरों के तालाबों, झीलों इत्यादि को पुनः जीवनदान की व्यवस्था आवश्यक है। प्रकृति में तालाब की बहुत महत्ता है। यह एक क्षेत्र में बरसने वाले पानी को वहीं समेट कर रखता है। तालाब का तल उस पानी को धीरे-धीरे जमीन में रिसने देता है। इससे उस क्षेत्र का भूजल बढ़ता है। औद्योगीकरण एवं आवासीय जमीन के प्रति आम-जन के लोभ ने प्रकृति की समझदारी को दरकिनार कर दिया। इस संदर्भ में स्थानीय तालाबों की सफाई एवं समय-समय पर गहराई की व्यवस्था ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि वर्षा के जल तालाबों में स्वतः आ जाए तथा जल संरक्षण एवं वर्द्धन हो।

शहर के नाले साफ कर उन पर चेक डैम बनाए जाएँ। उससे पहले सरकार को इन्तजाम करना पड़ेगा कि बारिश के बहते पानी में सीवर या सेप्टिक का पानी न जाए। नालों में चेक डैम बनाने से बहते पानी को धरती में रिसने का समय मिलेगा। इससे धरती का भूजल का स्तर बढ़ेगा। नालों और तालाबों को साफ रखने में हम सबको भी अपनी भूमिका निभानी पड़ेगी। उसमें कचरा न फेंके, अपने बाथरूम का पानी केवल सीवर में ही डाले और इनके आस-पास पेड़-पौधे लगाने की व्यवस्था की जाए। जल संचयन में आम जनता की भागीदारी सुनिश्चित की जाए। इस संदर्भ में राँची शहर की पहाड़ी मंदिर एवं राँची झील इसका उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण है। वर्षा जल संचयन हर घर, हर मोहल्ले को अपने आवास में कम से कम 70 प्रतिशत बहते हुए वर्षा जल का संचय करना चाहिए। इस वर्षाजल को सीधा भूमि जल टैंक में जमा किया जाय। इस पानी को आप बाग में, घर एवं कपड़ों की सफाई में इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। यदि टैंक बनाने की जगह न हो तो पानी अपने घर के किसी सूखे ट्यूबवेल में या नए बोरवेल में डाल सकते हैं। इससे उस क्षेत्र में भूजल बढ़ेगा और ट्यूबवेल में पानी की मात्रा बढ़ेगी। इसके अलावे और कई तरीकों से धरती की जलवाही सहत को रिचार्ज किया जा सकता है।

राष्ट्रपति भवन में जल भंडारण: नवंबर 1998 में तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति के. आर. नारायणन ने सेंटर फॉर साइंस एंड एनवायरमेंट (सीएसई) को आमंत्रित कर राष्ट्रपति भवन में वाटर हार्वेस्टिंग को लेकर सुझाव मांगे। सीएसई ने एक सलाहकार समिति का गठन किया। इसने राष्ट्रपति भवन में वाटर हार्वेस्टिंग को लेकर एक योजना बनाई और उसने उसे अमलीजामा पहनाया।

आवश्यकता: राष्ट्रपति भवन का क्षेत्रफल 133 हेक्टेयर (1.33

वर्ग किमी) है। यहाँ रहने वाले करीब 7000 लोगों के लिए बड़ी मात्रा में पानी की जरूरत होती है। इस इमारत को देखने रोजाना 3000 लोग पहुँचते हैं। यहाँ के मुगल गार्डन को काफी पानी की जरूरत पड़ती है। राष्ट्रपति भवन को रोजाना 20 लाख लीटर (75 करोड़ लीटर सालाना) पानी की जरूरत होती है। चूंकि यहां की कुल पानी की मांग की 35 प्रतिशत आपूर्ति भू जल द्वारा की जाती है। लिहाजा यहां पिछले एक दशक के दौरान भूजल स्तर 2-7 मीटर नीचे चला गया।

साल भर में राष्ट्रपति भवन के पूरे क्षेत्र में 81 करोड़ लीटर पानी बरसता है। रेन वाटर हार्वेस्टिंग तरीके के तहत यहां 1 लाख लीटर क्षमता वाले भूमि जल टैंक बनाया गया। इससे ओवर फ्लो होने वाले पानी को खुदाई किए गए कुओं में रिचार्जिंग के लिए भेजा गया। स्टाफ क्वार्टर की छतों के पानी को भी सूखे कुओं में डायवर्ट किया गया। 15 मीटर गहरे रिचार्ज शाफ्ट बनाए गए। मुगल गार्डन के पास एक तालाब भी बनाया गया। इससे न केवल राष्ट्रपति भवन में पानी की आपूर्ति सुनिश्चित हुई बल्कि अब यहां का भू-जल स्तर करीब एक मीटर ऊपर भी उठ चुका है।

निष्कर्ष

हमारे पूर्वजों ने बावड़ियाँ और तालाब बनवाई थीं जिन्हें कुदरती रूप से आरडब्ल्यूएच के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाता था। सरकार चाहे तो इनसे सीख ले सकती है। सदियों के बाद भी सरकार के पास रेनवाटर हार्वेस्टिंग को लेकर कोई ठोस आँकड़ा नहीं उपलब्ध है। सरकार को नहीं पता है कि कितनी जगह ऐसी प्रणाली काम कर रही है। केवल कुछ आर्थिक सहायता देने से ये कहानी आगे नहीं बढ़ेगी। इच्छाशक्ति होगी तो रास्ता भी आगे निकल आएगा। किसी एक संस्था को जिम्मेदार बनाना पड़ेगा और कानून को सख्त करने की जरूरत होगी। एक ऐसी ऐजेंसी अनिवार्य रूप से बनाई जानी चाहिए जहाँ से जनता रेनवाटर हार्वेस्टिंग सिस्टम से जुड़ी सभी जानकारियाँ ले सकें। जागरूकता से ही सफलता हासिल होगी। पानी देश और समाज की सबसे बड़ी जरूरत है। अतः वर्षा जल संचयन कर हम अपना और समाज के प्रति दायित्व का निर्वहन कर सकते हैं।

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स्वदेश दीपक का नाट्य-साहित्य : विविध आयाम

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सारांश

स्वदेश दीपक नवें दशक के प्रमुख नाटककार हैं। उन्होंने रचनाओं का आधार इतिहास, पुराण से न लेकर समसामयिक जीवन की विषमताओं से लिया है। उन्होंने राजनीति, धर्म, संस्कृति, वर्ण-व्यवस्था, वर्ग-संघर्ष जैसे गंभीर विषयों पर नाटक लिखे। जहाँ 'कोर्ट मार्शल' कूर वर्ण-व्यवस्था के भयंकर परिणामों को दर्शाता है वहीं 'नाटक बाल भगवान' धार्मिक अंधविश्वास की सच्चाईयों को उजागर करता है। 'काल कोठरी' रंगमंच से जुड़े कलाकारों के संघर्ष को प्रस्तुत करता है। 'सबसे उदास कविता' नाटक के द्वारा भ्रष्ट-व्यवस्था के विरोध में क्रांति का आह्वान किया गया है जबकि 'जलता हुआ रथ' अर्थपूर्ण व्यावसायिकता के दौर में सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक क्षेत्रों में व्याप्त विद्रूपताओं को काव्य के रूप में हमारे सामने लाता है।

विशिष्टशब्द - वर्ग-संघर्ष, रंगमंच, वर्ण-व्यवस्था

भूमिका

किसी भी नाटक की संवेदना के विभिन्न स्तरों पर विचार करने का आधार यह है कि नाटक के किन पहलुओं ने हमारे मर्म को छुआ है तथा किन बिन्दुओं से हम प्रभावित हुए बिना नहीं रह सके। हिन्दी नाटकों के विकास में संवेदना के आयाम बदलते रहे हैं। नाटककारों ने नाटक के माध्यम से समसामयिक यथार्थ की कटु अभिव्यक्ति की है। हिन्दी नाटकों की संवेदना काल के अनुसार बदलती रही है जिसके कारण नाटक की संरचना में भी परिवर्तन हुआ है। नए-नए विषयों को लेकर जीवन की कटुता से साक्षात्कार कराने वाले नाटककारों में स्वदेश दीपक प्रमुख हैं। उन्होंने अपने हर नाटक में भिन्न-भिन्न विषय को उठाया तथा उसके द्वारा भारतीय चेतना को झकझोरने का प्रयास किया। उनके सभी नाटक सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, सांस्कृतिक यथार्थ को चित्रित करते हैं। इन्होंने अपने नाटकों में वर्ण-व्यवस्था, कला के गिरते स्तर, धार्मिक अंधविश्वास आदि अनेक समस्याओं का चित्रण किया। स्वदेश दीपक के नाटकों में समाज का भोगा हुआ यथार्थ अपनी सम्पूर्ण विषमताओं के साथ प्रकट होता है। उनके नाटकों के पात्र महान् और विशिष्ट न होकर सामान्य व्यक्ति हैं तथा कथानक समकालीन युग की त्रासद स्थितियाँ हैं। 'सोशल कंटेन्ट' को आवश्यक मानने वाले स्वदेश दीपक के नाटकों का 'मूड' तमाम वास्तविकताओं से प्रेरित है जिसके कारण उसके चिह्न समाज में विभिन्न स्थितियों के रूप में लक्षित होने लगे हैं।

शोध-प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत आलेख विश्लेषण एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रवृत्ति का है। शोध आलेख के लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित नाटकों को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

स्वदेश दीपक के नाटकों का उद्देश्य मिथक अथवा इतिहास के काल्पनिक जाल में पाठकों को फँसाना नहीं है वरन् जीवन के यथार्थ से साक्षात्कार कराना उनके व्यक्तित्व का लक्ष्य है। उनका

उद्देश्य पहले नाटक 'कोर्ट मार्शल' से ही स्पष्ट और सफल होता है। यह नाटक हमारी समकालीन व्यवस्था के हर अंग में छिपे उन चेहरों का पर्दाफाश करता है, जो कानून, नियम, अनुशासन तथा व्यवस्था की ओट में निर्बल, असहाय निम्न वर्ग का शोषण करते रहे हैं। इसमें सामाजिक संघर्ष और मानव-मूल्यों की सनातन लड़ाई को दर्शाया गया है। भारतीय समाज में वर्ण-व्यवस्था प्राचीन काल से चली आ रही है जिसने समाज को गहराई तक प्रभावित किया है। इस वर्ण-व्यवस्था ने सब को समान अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं होने दिया। न्याय की दृष्टि से यूँ तो सभी बराबर हैं, किन्तु तथाकथित उच्च वर्ग ने निम्न वर्ग को हमेशा नीची दृष्टि से देखा है। वर्ण-व्यवस्था की क्रूरता व्यक्ति को किस सीमा तक पहुँचा देती है - इस बिन्दु को 'कोर्ट मार्शल' में उठाया गया है। यह नाटक अनुशासन और नियमों के लिए प्रसिद्ध भारतीय सेना के अंदर होने वाली दुर्घटनाओं का यथार्थ प्रस्तुत करता है। एक रात भारतीय सेना के रेजीमेंट का जवान/सवार रामचंद्र पूरे होशो-हवास में अपने दो उच्च अधिकारियों कैप्टन कपूर और कैप्टन मोहन वर्मा पर प्राणघातक हमला करता है जिसमें कैप्टन वर्मा की मौत हो जाती है और कैप्टन कपूर बुरी तरह घायल हो जाते हैं। रामचंद्र घटनास्थल से भागता नहीं बल्कि अपने जुर्म को कबूल करता है। उस पर आई.पी.सी. की दफा तीन सौ दो और इंडियन आर्मी एक्ट के तहत मुकदमा (जनरल कोर्ट मार्शल) चलाया जाता है। रामचंद्र ने हत्या क्यों की, उसके वास्तविक कारण क्या थे - ये तथ्य बचाव पक्ष के वकील कैप्टन विकाश राय के द्वारा सामने लाए जाते हैं। ऊँची जाति के कैप्टन वर्मा और कैप्टन कपूर नीची जाति के रामचंद्र को बात-बात पर गालियाँ देते थे, उसकी सफलता में बाधक थे, जब यह सब रामचंद्र के लिए असहनीय हो जाता है तो वह हत्यारा बनने को मजबूर हो जाता है। दोनों उच्च अधिकारियों की शिकायत लेकर वह दूसरे अफसरों के पास भी जाता है किन्तु उसकी शिकायत पर कोई ध्यान नहीं देता। तिरस्कार, घृणा, अपमान और उपेक्षा 'गऊ आदमी' रामचंद्र को कानून को अपने हाथ में लेने को बाध्य करते

हैं। लगातार अपमान सहने के कारण उसका वैचारिक संघर्ष उसे अपराधी बना देता है क्योंकि उसकी सचाई पर कोई विश्वास नहीं करता। “जब छोटे-छोटे विरोध लगातार दबा दिए जाएँ, अनसुने-अनदेखे कर दिए जाएँ तो हमेशा एक भयंकर विस्फोट होता है। प्राणघातक विस्फोट।”

नाटक में विकाश राय की दलीलें सत्य को सामने लाती हैं। उसके द्वारा शोषक-शोषित वर्ग के संघर्ष की हर परत खोली जाती है। वह रामचंद्र के प्राणों से भी मूल्यवान सत्य को मानता है। इस कारण वह किसी ‘टैक्निकल’ बात पर रामचंद्र को बचाना नहीं चाहता बल्कि उस सत्य को प्रत्यक्ष करना चाहता है जिस कारण रामचंद्र जैसा सीधा-सरल व्यक्ति भी हत्या जैसा जघन्य अपराध कर बैठता है। ‘आत्मा का अहेरी’ विकाश राय का संघर्ष कोर्ट में मौजूद हर उस व्यक्ति से है जो सचाई को जाने बिना ही रामचंद्र को कसूरवार मानते हैं। हत्या की सचाई जानने के बाद भी कोर्ट मार्शल के प्रीजाईडिंग ऑफीसर सूरत सिंह व्यवस्था के कानून से विवश रामचंद्र को मृत्यु-दंड देते हैं। मुकदमा जीतकर भी अंत में स्वयं को अपमानित महसूस कर ‘पोएटिक जस्टिस’ के तहत कैप्टन कपूर आत्महत्या कर लेता है। वस्तुतः रामचंद्र पर चलाया गया मुकदमा किसी व्यक्ति विशेष का मुकदमा न होकर सारी मानव-जाति और सभ्यता को कठघरे में ला कर खड़ा कर देता है। रामचंद्र निम्न वर्ग के असहाय लोगों का प्रतीक बन जाता है। यह नाटक जातिगत और वर्गगत हिंसात्मक विस्फोटों की गहरी जाँच-पड़ताल करता है और सामाजिक एवं न्यायिक व्यवस्था के अंतर्विरोधों को तीव्रता से उद्घाटित करता है। “वस्तुतः लेखक ने जिस मानव कुशलता से एक ‘आपराधिक’ घटना को समूचे समाज और मानव स्वभाव से जोड़कर व्याख्यायित किया है उससे हमारे भीतर यथार्थ को देखने का एक नया नजरिया पैदा होता है और हम अपराधी रामचंद्र के बजाय मौजूदा सामाजिक ढाँचे का ‘कोर्ट मार्शल’ होता हुआ देखने लगते हैं।”

‘नाटक बाल भगवान’ स्वदेश दीपक की बहुचर्चित कहानी ‘बाल भगवान’ का स्वयं लेखक द्वारा किया गया सशक्त नाट्य रूपांतर है जिस पर उन्हें उत्तर प्रदेश संगीत नाटक अकादमी द्वारा ‘जयशंकर प्रसाद पुरस्कार’ प्रदान किया गया। तीन अंकों और विभिन्न दृश्यबंधों में संयोजित यह नाटक अपने कथ्य धार्मिक अंधविश्वास के पीछे छिपी क्रूरता को अत्यंत कुशलता के साथ उजागर करता है। उपभोक्तावादी आधुनिक युग में जहाँ कोई भी क्षेत्र, व्यक्ति स्वार्थ से रचित नहीं है वहाँ धर्म और अध्यात्म जैसे विषय भी अछूते नहीं रहे हैं। यह नाटक स्वार्थ के लिए धर्म के इस्तेमाल और धार्मिक अंधविश्वास के पीछे छिपी अमानवीयता का यथार्थ वर्णन करता है। मानसिक रूप से असंतुलित बालक ‘सिद्ध’ का पैसे कमाने के लिए किस प्रकार उसके परिवार (माता, पिता, भाई, बहन) द्वारा उपयोग किया जाता है। यह इस नाटक की मूल कथावस्तु है। भूख से व्याकुल सिद्ध लड्डू और लड़के की बात सुनकर ‘लड्डू-लड़का’ कह कर नाचना शुरू कर

देता है। चार लड़कियों का पिता रतन यह सुन और “पागलों और साधुओं की जीभ पर भगवान का वास होता है” सोचकर सिद्ध को लड्डू खिला देता है और इस बार उसके यहाँ पुत्र का जन्म होता है। सिद्ध के कारण ही रतन के घर लड़की का नहीं लड़के का जन्म होता है और सिद्ध को ‘बाल भगवान’ का अवतार मान लिया जाता है। यहीं से उस बालक सिद्ध की पीड़ा प्रारंभ होती है जो उसकी मृत्यु के साथ ही समाप्त होती है। बाल भगवान का अवतार घोषित कर देने के बाद हर कोई उसकी मानसिक स्थिति का लाभ उठाता है और अपना कार्य सिद्ध करता है। रतन को चुनाव का टिकट मिल जाता है, जगत् के ढाबे का रूप-रंग बदल जाता है। सिद्ध के परिवार के लोग भी बहती गंगा में हाथ धोने को तैयार रहते हैं और उनका लालच बढ़ता ही जाता है। उसकी दिमागी अपंगता पर लोग धर्म का आवरण डालकर अपना स्वार्थ सिद्ध करते हैं जिसमें अपने सगे और पराए सभी शामिल हैं।

नाटक में सिद्ध एक निरीह चरित्र के रूप में उभरता है जिसकी निःस्वार्थ भोली स्वतंत्रता को धन कमाने का जरिया बना लिया गया है। सिद्ध, जो पूरा वाक्य ठीक से नहीं बोल पाता, उससे तथाकथित श्रद्धालुओं के इच्छित एक शब्द को सुनने के लिए उसे कई दिनों तक भूखा रखा जाता है। उसके अल्सर का ऑपरेशन नहीं करवाया जाता जोकि उसकी मृत्यु का कारण बनता है। ‘बाल भगवान’ बनने के बाद सिद्ध बंधक के समान हो जाता है जिसका कोई भी कार्य (बोलना, भूखा रखना) धन प्राप्ति का साधन मान लिया जाता है। लेखक ने इस परिवेश के खिलाफ जनता में होती सुगबुगाहट का परिचय भी दिया है। नाटक में जब मास्टर अंधश्रद्धा से सफलता पाने की बात करता है और कहता है कि शहर के लोग गाँववालों से दस कदम आगे हैं, दिन-रात धर्माचार्यों के चक्कर में पड़े रहते हैं तो प्रभाव नामक पात्र (नई पीढ़ी का प्रतीक) इसका विरोध करता है। “लेकिन ऐसा क्यों है? लोगों को अपने हाथों की ताकत पर विश्वास होना चाहिए। भगवान तो उनकी जगह काम करने से रहे। ...आप तो अध्यापक हैं, गुरु हैं। लोगों को वीरता और विवेक से जीना सिखाएँ। लेकिन आप पिलाते रहते हैं उन्हें धर्म की अफीम, ताकि नशेइची न होश में आएँ और न अपने हक माँगे।” अतः बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग भी इस अंधविश्वास को पुष्ट करने में सहायक होता है। जनता में फैला धार्मिक अंध-श्रद्धा का लाभ उठाकर लोग अपनी कार्यसिद्धि करते हैं। अखबारों, न्यूज चैनलों पर आए दिन किसी-न-किसी धार्मिक आचार्य के तथाकथित चमत्कार या उनके कारनामों के भंडाफोड़ की खबरें आती रहती हैं। यह धार्मिक, आध्यात्मिक मान्यताओं का क्रूर और विकृत रूप है। “नाटक बाल भगवान” की प्रासंगिकता इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में स्वतः सिद्ध है।

‘जलता हुआ रथ’ नाटक के द्वारा राजनीति के खोखले और अमर्यादित स्वरूप को उजागर किया गया है। सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों की कुप्रवृत्तियाँ भारत को प्रगति की ओर अग्रसर करने की बजाय कई वर्ष पीछे धकेल रहे

हैं। संयोगवश इस नाटक का प्रकाशन भारत की स्वतंत्रता के स्वर्ण जयंती के मौके पर हुआ। इस उपलक्ष्य में कार्यक्रम को संचालित करने हेतु नए-नए विभाग खोले गए और भारत में ही नहीं विदेशों में भी भारत-उत्सव मनाया गया। नेताओं ने अपने भाषणों में भारत की प्रगति और उपलब्धियों की घोषणा की। यदि हम ईमानदारी से तथ्यों का आकलन करें तो हमारी तथाकथित प्रगति में कितना यथार्थ है - लेखक ने इस विडम्बना को अपने नाटक में प्रस्तुत किया है। आजादी के पचास वर्षों में ही भारत की अखंडता पर प्रश्नचिह्न लग चुका है। आजादी की लड़ाई तो सबने साथ मिल कर लड़ी किन्तु उसे हासिल करने की प्रक्रिया में ही जाति और धर्म का बाँटवारा शुरू हो गया। राजनीतिक दलों ने इन खाइयों को और भी बढ़ाया और इंसानों को 'वोट' में बाँट दिया। राजनीतिज्ञ चारों तरफ साम्प्रदायिक विद्वेष की आग लगाकर उस पर अपनी रोटियाँ सेंक रहे हैं। 'जलता हुआ रथ' नाटक में इन सभी तथ्यों पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। भिखारियों के जीवन को आधार बनाकर लेखक ने देश के सबसे निचले वर्ग के लोगों की त्रासदपूर्ण स्थिति का चित्रण किया है। बाड़े के भिखारी भी गंदी राजनीति से दूर नहीं हैं। बाड़े में नेता होटल बनाकर पैसे कमाना चाहता है। जब भिखारी उसकी बात नहीं मानते तो 'भीख माँगना कानूनी जुर्म है' कहकर उन पर अत्याचार किया जाता है, गुंडों के बल पर उन पर अत्याचार किया जाता है। 'तख्त हजारे वाला बाबा' की बातों से भिखारियों में जागृति का प्रसार होता है। नेता भिखारियों को अपनी चिकनी-चुपड़ी बातों से रिझाने की कोशिश करता है लेकिन असलम काजमी उसकी सचाई सबको बता देता है तो नेता और उसके गुंडे काजमी को मुसलमान होने के कारण 'हिन्दुओं का दुश्मन' बताकर साम्प्रदायिक विद्वेष फैलाना चाहते हैं। नाटककार ने राजनीति और उससे जुड़े हर क्षेत्र में फैले भ्रष्टाचार को दिखाया है। "धर्म, राजनीति, संस्कृति और साहित्य रंडी बन गए हैं इन पॉलीटिशियन्स के हाथों में। इसका इस्तेमाल तिजारत बन गया है। तिजारत। अपने घर में खून-खराबा, भुखमरी, बेरोजगारी और हाहाकार। विदेशों में हो रहे हैं भारत-उत्सव। फेस्टीवल ऑफ इंडिया। लोग इतने सुखी हैं कि बस दिन-रात नाचते हैं, गाते हैं और मस्त रहते हैं। बना दी है यह धरती शशय-श्यामला हमारे राजनीति के अवतारों ने।" पाश्चात्य संस्कृति के बढ़ते प्रभाव पर भी नाटक में चर्चा की गई है। यह प्रभाव हमारे रहन-सहन तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा है बल्कि हमारी संस्कृति तथा भाषा पर भी इसका असर है। जो भाषा, दूसरी भाषा के रूप में प्रयोग में आती थी वही आज प्रमुख भाषा (अंग्रेजी) हो गई है। इसी कारण दूसरे देशों के राजनयिक (आस्ट्रेलिया) हिन्दी सीखना आवश्यक नहीं मानते क्योंकि भारत में सारे काम अंग्रेजी में हो जाते हैं। हिन्दी साहित्य की चर्चा भी अंग्रेजी में होती है। यह भारतीय सभ्यता और संस्कृति का हास ही तो है। गुलामी की मानसिकता से हम बाहर नहीं निकले हैं। पहले अंग्रेजों की गुलामी की, अब अंग्रेजी भाषा की गुलामी है। "अंग्रेजीवालों को हमने हरा दिया। सात समंदर पार भगा दिया। गोरे साहब गए। ब्राउन

साहब आ गए। आजादी की लड़ाई में गोरो ने इतने आदमी पुलिस से नहीं मरवाये। काले साहबों ने गोलियाँ तो क्या तोपें चलवा दीं। टैंक चढ़ा दिए। बहुत जुल्म करते हैं अपनी बोलीवाले मालिक। किससे लड़े। कैसे लड़ें...।"

देश के हालात को देखकर ऐसा नहीं है कि नाटककार अपनी उम्मीदों को छोड़ चुका है, नाटक के चरित्रों में लेखक ने ईमानदारी, सचाई जैसे सद्गुणों को दिखाकर भारतीय जीवन और समाज के मूल्यों को आज भी जीवित दिखाया है। व्यावसायिकता के इस दौर में जहाँ व्यापारी एक पैसे की चीज भी मुफ्त नहीं देता वहाँ नाटक में सरदार किशनसिंह एक ऐसा ढाबा मालिक है जो हर रात खाना मुफ्त बाँटता है। मेडिकल कॉलेज के डॉक्टरों की सहृदयता भी नाटक में उम्मीद का संचार करती है।

समकालीन परिवेश में सारी परम्पराएँ और मूल्य टूटते जा रहे हैं। इस स्थिति में परिवर्तन आवश्यक है। स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में महात्मा गाँधी के नेतृत्व में अहिंसा से विजय पाई गई लेकिन समय के साथ-साथ विरोध के हथियार भी बदलते गए। स्वदेश दीपक का नाटक 'सबसे उदास कविता' सशस्त्र क्रांति की नई चेतना पर बल देता है। इसमें राजनीति के भ्रष्ट और अनैतिक रूप को दिखाने का प्रयास किया गया है। उच्च वर्ग और निम्न वर्ग का भेद इसी भ्रष्ट राजनीति और आर्थिक विपन्नता की देन है। यह भेद लगातार इतना बढ़ा होता जा रहा है कि इस वर्ग-भेद को मिटाने के लिए पीड़ित जनता सशस्त्र क्रांति का सहारा लेने को विवश है। नाटक के क्रांतिकारी चरित्र इतने दृढ़ हैं कि उन्हें अपनी बात कहने के लिए किसी सहारे की आवश्यकता नहीं है। नाटक में अपूर्वा एक निडर और साहसी पत्रकार हैं जो व्यवस्था के शोषण को मिटा देना चाहती है। वो आम आदमी (नॉन-परसन्ज) की दयनीय स्थिति के विरोध में संघर्ष करती है। उसका संघर्ष किसी एक व्यक्ति से नहीं बल्कि उस पूरी व्यवस्था से है जो एक सामान्य व्यक्ति की आधारभूत आवश्यकताएँ उपलब्ध नहीं करवा पाती। किसी ऊँचे पद पर आसीन राजनेता की हत्या कर देने से आम जनता को कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता इसलिए अपूर्वा एक ऐसे न्यायाधीश की हत्या करती है जिसने अपने और अपने ही जैसे पूँजीपतियों के फायदे के लिए अस्सी हजार लोगों की रोजी-रोटी छीन ली थी। अभिजात वर्ग के पाँच प्रतिशत लोगों के लिए हजारों लोग बेरोजगार हो गए। "...वह दिन दूर नहीं जब नब्बे परसेंट लोग नॉन परसन्ज बना दिए जाएँगे। दो टाँगों वाले जानवर, जिनके लिए कोई स्थान नहीं इस देश में। आपको शायद पता नहीं। इस तरह की पाँच पेटिशन्स और दाखिल हो चुकी हैं। बहुत से लोगों को नॉन-परसन्ज बनाने की कान्सपिरेसी।" वह जज को मार कर व्यवस्था के विरुद्ध संघर्ष का आह्वान करती है और आत्मसमर्पण करती है।

नाटक में प्रधानमंत्री को 'यूजलेस आदमी' कहा गया है क्योंकि उच्चतम पद पर आसीन नेताओं का सीधा संबंध जनता से नहीं होता। अधिकारी वर्ग इनके बीच की कड़ी होते हैं। आतंक की

भाषा सत्ता पक्ष के द्वारा इस्तेमाल की जाती है इसलिए उन्हें उनकी ही भाषा में समझाया जाता है। सशस्त्र क्रांति ही इसका उपाय है क्योंकि इसके अतिरिक्त कोई भाषा व्यवस्था तक पहुँच नहीं पाती। यहाँ न्याय व्यवस्था से आगे बढ़कर 'पीपुल्स कोर्ट' की बात आई है। क्रांति पर आधारित होने के कारण इस नाटक के पात्र भी विद्रोही हैं। जमींदार, डी.सी.पी. आदि उस सत्ताधारी वर्ग के प्रतीक हैं जो लोगों की विरोध में उठती आवाजों को निर्ममतापूर्वक दबाते हैं। अपूर्वा, सूर्य स्वामी आदि आज की युवा पीढ़ी के प्रतीक हैं जो अन्याय को सहन नहीं करना चाहता और जिसे मृत्यु का भय नहीं है। सशस्त्र क्रांति में मृत्यु निश्चित है फिर भी स्वदेश दीपक मृत्यु का भय नहीं दिखाते। सशस्त्र क्रांति बलिदान मांगती है इसलिए किसी एक के मरने से लड़ाई खत्म नहीं होती। तीन अंकों का यह नाटक आशावादिता का सुंदर संदेश देता है। "जो सूरज डूबता है, उदय भी होता है। जो बच्चा जन्म लेता है, बड़ा होता है, संघर्ष करता है। हमें लम्बी लड़ाई लड़ने की आदत है। और नहीं थम जाती यह लड़ाई किसी एक के मरने से।"⁸

स्वदेश दीपक का नाटक 'काल कोठरी' रंगमंच और साहित्य से सम्बद्ध व्यक्तियों और उनके परिवारों की समस्याओं को अनावृत्त करता है। यह नाटक उन सभी व्यक्तियों के संघर्षशील जीवन के विभिन्न आयामों को हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत करता है। आज साहित्य और थियेटर से जुड़े कलाकारों का जीवन इतना कठिन है कि अपना और अपने परिवार की दैनिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करना दुष्कर होता जा रहा है क्योंकि यह क्षेत्र भी भ्रष्टाचार के प्रकोप से अछूता नहीं है। अर्थपूर्ण साहित्य का अभाव होता जा रहा है। राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार और आर्थिक वैषम्य ने साहित्यकारों और कलाकारों के जीवन को दूभर बना दिया है। 'काल कोठरी' में नवीन वर्मा जैसे नाटककार को दिखाया गया है जो अपने सम्पूर्ण साहित्यिक जीवन में राजनीति से दूर रहे हैं। उन्होंने किसी भी राजनीतिक दल का अपने नाटकों में गुणगान नहीं किया है, जीवन भर मूल्यों और आदर्शों का पालन किया है तो उनका एक भी नाटक मंचित नहीं हुआ। आलोचक उन्हें मूर्ख समझते हैं तथा उनके सम्बन्ध में एक भी शब्द नहीं लिखा जाता। उम्र के आखिरी पड़ाव पर भी वे अपना नाटक मंचित होते हुए देखना चाहते हैं। "आदर्श इतने गलत क्यों हो गए हैं। भविष्य का जन्म होता है वर्तमान आदर्श के गर्भ स"⁹ - नवीन वर्मा का यह संवाद आज के कला और साहित्यिक परिवेश पर प्रश्नचिह्न खड़ा करती है कि आदर्शों को जीवन का आधार मानकर लिखने वाले और किसी भी 'वाद' से नहीं जुड़ने वाले साहित्यकारों को 'नोटिस' नहीं किया जाता।

उनके साहित्यिक जीवन की हत्या कर दी जाती है। वहीं दूसरी तरफ 'काल कोठरी' का रजत एक रंगजीवी कलाकार है जो थिएटर द्वारा कला और संस्कृति के नए कीर्तिमान स्थापित करना चाहता है। उसे रंगमंच पर अभिनय का जुनून है किन्तु उसका यह

जुनून उसके परिवार के समुचित भरण-पोषण के लिए नाकाफी है। उसकी पत्नी मीना, रिटायर्ड पिता और बहन पर घर खर्च की जिम्मेदारी है। मीना रजत को घर की बिगड़ती आर्थिक दशा का कारण मानती है और उस पर नौकरी करने का दबाव डालती है। विकलांग पुत्र और आर्थिक कष्ट से जूझती पत्नी को देखते हुए नौकरी करना उसकी मजबूरी है। किन्तु 'शर्मा' जैसे उच्च पदस्थ 'इंग्लिश' प्रेमी अधिकारी रजत और उसकी कला का अपमान करते हैं।

साक्षात्कार के दौरान शर्मा परिवार के पालन-पोषण के लिए जूझते रजत को पेट की भूख के स्थान पर सौन्दर्य की उपासना करने की सलाह देता है तो रजत आक्रोश से भर उठता है। "यस सर। लेकिन किसी भिखारी से चाँद की बातें तो नहीं कर सकते। भूखे बच्चे को परियों की कहानी सुनाकर रोज सुला नहीं सकते। सौन्दर्य, सर्च फॉर ब्यूटी शुड बी द कन्सर्ज ऑफ एवरी आर्टिस्टिक माइंड। लेकिन इन सबकी बारी तो पेट के बाद आएगी। भरे पेट के बाद।"⁹ अपमान के बाद भी नौकरी किसी अभिजात्य वर्ग की 'क्लास हिन्दी' बोलने वाली किसी लड़की को दे दी जाती है क्योंकि उसके लिए शिक्षा मंत्री का फोन आया था।

रजत जैसे कलाकारों की दुर्दशा रंगमंच पर छाप आर्थिक संकट के कारण है। पद और पहुँच का सहारा लेकर सत्ताश्रेयी वर्ग कला और संस्कृति से जुड़े लोगों के जीवन का काल बन जाता है और सुविधाओं से हीन, अभावग्रस्त रंगमंच उन कलाकारों के लिए काल कोठरी बन कर उभरता है, जहाँ वे अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन होम कर देते हैं और उस काल कोठरी से निकल भी नहीं पाते। "पद और पहुँच के बल पर साहित्य, कला, संस्कृति के नियामक संचालक बनने वाले ब्यूरोक्रेट वर्ग के कथित कवियों, कला मर्मज्ञों की जड़ता, अहं और राजनीति के सामने पराभूत होने की दयनीयता को व्यक्त करते हुए स्वदेश दीपक कई सच्चाइयों को निरावृत्त कर देते हैं।"¹⁰

निष्कर्ष

इस प्रकार स्वदेश दीपक के नाटकों का उद्देश्य मिथक अथवा इतिहास के काल्पनिक जाल में पाठकों को फँसाना, उन्हें भ्रमित करना नहीं है वरन् जीवन की वास्तविकता से साक्षात्कार करना उनके सर्जनात्मक व्यक्तित्व का लक्ष्य है।

आज के परिवेश में मात्र मनोरंजन प्रधान कृतियों की रचना से साहित्यकार अपने दायित्व से मुक्त नहीं हो जाते। अपने लेखकीय दायित्व की पूर्ति स्वदेश दीपक ने समकालीन यथार्थ से जुड़े नाटकों की रचना द्वारा दी है। उनका प्रत्येक नाटक देश में व्याप्त समस्याओं और आम आदमी के संघर्ष को चित्रित करता है। आधुनिक भारत की सच्ची तस्वीर इन नाटकों के माध्यम से उन्होंने समकालीन परिवेश की भयावहता का यथार्थ रूप में चित्रण किया है। उनके नाटक जहाँ परिवर्तन और क्रांति का समर्थन करते हैं वहीं वे निराशा के स्थान पर आशावादिता का संदेश भी देते हैं।

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सारांश

दादा साहेब फाल्के ने जब भारत में सिनेमा का इतिहास शुरू किया तब किसी ने सपने में भी नहीं सोचा था कि यह माध्यम 'सामाजिक सरोकार' का सशक्त माध्यम बनेगा। मूक-सिनेमा के युग में ही सन् 1926 में बाबू राम मिस्त्री की फिल्म आयी थी सहकारी पास साहूकार। इस फिल्म के 20 वर्षों के बाद चेतन आनंद ने 'नीचानगर' बनाकर समानांतर फिल्मों की जमीन मजबूत की। उस समय तक समानांतर फिल्मों की अवधारणा नहीं थी। जाने अनजाने यह फिल्म बनी लेकिन 1952 में 'दो बीघा जमीन' ने इस अवधारणा को पुष्ट किया। 1948 में डी सिक्का ने 'बायसिकल थीफ' बनाकर पूरी दुनिया में 'सामाजिक सरोकार' वाली फिल्मों को नयी जिन्दगी दी। भारत में 1955 में सत्यजीत रे ने पाथरे पांचाली बनाकर यहाँ समानांतर फिल्मों को नया आधार दिया। ऑफ बिट और आर्ट हाउस फिल्मों का युग भी 1968 में शुरू हुआ। फ्रांस, जर्मनी और इटली में ऐसी फिल्में 1950 से बनने लगीं। आर्ट फिल्में भारत में कमाई नहीं कर सकीं तब श्याम बेनेगल ने समानांतर फिल्मों के माध्यम से मुख्यधारा की फिल्मों का कुछ मसाला लिया और वर्णन में समाजवादी संकल्पना को रखकर कुछ ऐसी फिल्में बनायीं जिनसे समानांतर फिल्मों की पक्की जमीन सामने आयी। अंकुर, निशांत और मंथन ऐसी फिल्में हैं। उनके सिनेमेटोग्राफर गोविंद निहलानी ने भी उनके नक्शे कदम पर चलकर समानांतर फिल्मों में समाजवादी संकल्पना के साथ बनायीं। द्रोहकाल और तमस ऐसी ही फिल्में हैं। फिल्म बॉक्स ऑफिस पर हिट हुई और मुख्यधारा के समानांतर चली। लेकिन यहाँ यह सत्य सामने आया कि समानांतर फिल्मों मुख्य धारा की फिल्मों के समानांतर तो चलीं लेकिन वे प्रतिरोध में खड़ी रहीं अपनी समाजवादी संकल्पना के कारण। वर्णन, मेकिंग, बजट, लोकेशन, एक्टर आदि के रूप में ये सामान्य जन को तरजीह देती रहीं। बॉक्स ऑफिस पर पैसा भी कमाया और अपने उद्देश्य की पूर्ति भी की। यह धारा मेट्रो लाइफ, कहानी, पिपली लाइव से लेकर आज तक चली आ रही है। समानांतर फिल्मों के वर्णन की शैली, नया दौर, पैगाम, लीडर तक में दिखलायी पड़ती है। मदन इंडिया, सन ऑफ इंडिया में भी यह शैली है लेकिन मेकिंग में क्रमशः फिल्मों के धागे लगे हैं। यहाँ तक कि एक्टर सुपर स्टार भी रहे हैं। अभी भी समानांतर फिल्मों की धारा रूकी नहीं है लेकिन उसकी दिशा थोड़ी सी बदल गयी है।

विशिष्टशब्द - समानांतर, समाजवादी संकल्पना, नवयथार्थवाद, चलचित्रिकी, मध्ययुगीन

भूमिका

समानांतर फिल्मों की पूर्व पीठिका पर दृष्टि डालें तब एक बात सामने आती है कि समानांतर फिल्मों को दुनिया भर में कई नाम दिए गए। न्यू वेव, पैरेलल सिनेमा, न्यू यथार्थवादी, आर्ट फिल्म के नाम से समानांतर सिनेमा को परिभाषित करने की कोशिश की गयी।¹ 1946 से आज तक समानांतर फिल्मों की गति जारी है तो 1952-1976 से न्यू वेव का नाम सामने आया।²

भारत में जिन निर्माता निर्देशकों ने इस क्षेत्र में काम किया वे हैं- सत्यजीत रे, ऋत्विक् घटक, मृणाल सेन, विमल रॉय, व्ही. शांताराम, चेतन आनंद, ख्वाजा अहमद अब्बास, अदूर गोपालकृष्णन, जी. अरविंदन, श्याम बेनेगल, जानू बरूआ, भबेन्द्रनाथ साकिया, अर्पणा सेन, ऋतुपर्णा घोष, बुद्धदेव दास गुप्ता, गौतम घोष, गोविंद निहलानी, जॉन अब्राहम, होमी अदजानिया, कमल हसन, प्रकाश झा, मणि कौल, नंदिता दास, राज कपूर, गुरुदत्त, सईद अख्तर मिर्जा, सोनाली गुलाटी, दीपा मेहता, शंभु मित्रा, पान नलिन, मीरा नायर, जब्बार पटेल, दादा साहेब फाल्के, एम.एस. सत्य्यू, ब.व. कारंत, गिरीश कर्नाड इत्यादि। सन् 1920-1925 में व्ही. शांताराम ने 'स्वकरीपाश' (Indian shylock) बनाई जिसमें एक गरीब किसान की जमीन एक जमींदार हड़प लेता है कर्ज देकर और उसे मजबूर करता है कि वह शहर में जाकर मिल-मजदूर बन जाए। इसकी पूरी शूटिंग झोपड़-पट्टी में की गयी। यह मूक फिल्म थी और समानांतर फिल्मों की जननी भी। फिर 1937 में व्ही. शांताराम ने 'दुनिया ना माने' का निर्माण किया जिसमें नारी की स्थिति का मार्मिक

चित्रण था। 'नीचा नगर' का निर्माण और निर्देशन चेतन आनंद ने 1946 में किया और यह भारत की पहली समानांतर फिल्म थी जिसे ग्रॉ प्रिक्स एवार्ड कॉन्स फिल्म फेस्टिवल में 1946 में मिला। इस तरह भारत की यह पहली फिल्म थी जिसे अन्तरराष्ट्रीय ख्याति मिली। 'नीचा नगर' के बारे में महेन्द्रा वेद ने कहा था - It carries the impact of that era's turmoil of a people in the throes of independence movement. A Gandhi Cap - wearing protagonist and his charkha - (spinning wheel) wielding friends were subtle touches that escaped the British Censors. Socialism group were part of the 'Indian people's theatre Association (IPTA) a prominent left leaning cultural outfit. The film depicted the suffering and struggles of Neecha Nagar- the name deriving from a low-lying city suburb - against a tyrant who diverts water supply to make profits and then opens a hospital to nurse those stricken by consuming contaminated water.³ पूरी फिल्म यथार्थ की पोशाक पहनकर गरीबों की दशा का चित्रण करती है और समाजवादी संकल्पना की पुष्टि करती है। चेतन आनंद की पत्नी उमा आनंद ने नायिका की भूमिका निभाई थी। अस्सी की उम्र में आज भी वो छड़ी लेकर चलती हैं और 'नीचा नगर' को समाजवादी फिल्मों की जननी बताती हैं।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे

विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

हिन्दी में समानांतर फिल्मों ने समाजवादी संकल्पना को मजबूत आधार दिया। इसी के समानांतर भारत की अन्य भाषाओं में भी इस दिशा में काफी काम हुआ। पूरे देश में विरोध आंदोलनों, संघर्षों और व्यवस्था-विरोधी संगठनों के विभिन्न रूपों को विस्तृत मार्क्सवादी चौखट के अन्तर्गत समझने में समाजशास्त्रियों ने पर्याप्त गहराई दिखाई।⁴ ए.आर. देसाई द्वारा संपादित किसान-संघर्ष पर लिखे दो ग्रंथ (1979, 1986) और रंजीत गुहा द्वारा संपादित निम्नवर्गीय जातियों का अध्ययन छह ग्रंथों में (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987 और 1989) इस उपलब्धि के सशक्त प्रमाण हैं।⁵ जाहिर है फिल्म के निर्देशकों ने इन ग्रंथों को आधार मानकर पटकथा तैयार की और समाजवादी संकल्पना के लिए समानांतर फिल्मों की नींव रखी। समानांतर फिल्मों में आम आदमी के दर्द को उभारा गया। निम्नवर्गीय पात्रों के बारे में बड़े पर्दे पर विस्तार से सूचनाएँ दी गयीं और कैमरा, पटकथा, संवाद तथा फिल्मी शिल्पों के माध्यम से कुछ नया कहने का प्रयास किया गया। सुप्रसिद्ध चिंतक, विचारक, दार्शनिक ग्राम्सी के अनुसार, सामान्य बोध सांस्कृतिक पूर्वानुमानों का ऐसा सामान्य-भाव है जिससे निम्न वर्गीय जातियाँ, कि जिस संसार में वे रह रही हैं, उसमें ही अर्थ खोजें। यह विश्व दृष्टि या चेतना पूर्व-सैद्धांतिक, अ-व्यवस्थित, बिखरी-बिखरी, और अंतर्विरोधी है। ग्राम्सी ही के शब्दों में सामान्य भाव की मौलिक विशिष्टता यह है कि यह ऐसी धारणा है कि जिनका वह जीवन-दर्शन है उन्हीं लोगों की सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक स्थिति के अनुरूप ही वह किसी व्यक्ति के दिमाग में खंडित, बिखरी-बिखरी और असंगत है।⁶ ग्राम्सी के विचारों को दक्षिण भारत में फलते-फूलते देखते हैं और वहाँ के एम.जी. आर. ने इसका सफल प्रयोग फिल्मों में किया। एक विशिष्ट एम.जी.आर. भूमिका दैनान्दिन शोषण के अन्तर्गत जूझते मजदूर की है। ऐसे ही किसान, मछुआरा, रिक्शा चालक, ठेलेवाला, माली, टैक्सी ड्राइवर, मोची, गड़रिया आदि बनकर वह फिल्मों में भूमिका निभाते। अनेक एम. जी. आर. फिल्मों के टाइटल भी इसी प्रकार हैं- थोजी लाली (मजदूर, 1964) ए विवासायी (किसान 1967) ए पदाकोट्टी (बोटमैन 1964) ए माटुकारा बेलन (गड़रिया 1970) ए रिक्शा करन (रिक्शावाला 1977) और मीना का नंबन (मछुआरे का दोस्त 1977)। उन फिल्मों में भी जिनमें वह डबल रोल में रहे, उनकी निम्नवर्गीय इमेज को ही सिनेमाई उभारा दिया गया। इसका उल्लेखनीय उदाहरण है, 'माटुकारा बेलन' जिसमें गड़रिये और वकील दो चरित्रों की भूमिका निभाई हैं। पूरी फिल्म में गड़ेरिया ज्यादा उभारा गया बनिस्पद वकील के। फिर उसी के उपयुक्त फिल्म का टाइटल भी गड़ेरिया के नाम पर रखा गया। एम.जी.आर. ने सिनेमा माध्यम का जो सहारा पाया वह सर्वविदित है। दक्षिण की

तरह बंगाल में सत्यजीत रे ने समानांतर फिल्मों का दीप प्रज्वलित किया। यह भी आश्चर्य की बात है कि सत्यजीत रे ने समानांतर फिल्मों की नींव बंगला भाषा में 'बाईसिकल थीक्स' देखने के बाद रखी। सन् 1952 में 'साइट एंड साउंड' पत्रिका ने एक सर्वेक्षण के जरिए अपने दर्शकों से जानना चाहा था कि उनकी नजर में विश्व की सर्वश्रेष्ठ फिल्म कौन-सी है? इस सर्वेक्षण में 'बाईसिकल थीक्स' को सबसे ज्यादा मत मिले। इटली की यह महान समानांतर फिल्म 1948 में बनी थी। विक्टोरिया डी सिक्का निर्देशक थे। पटकथा तैयार की थी सीजर जवातीनी ने। सिनेमेटोग्राफर थे कार्लो मांतोरी और संपादन था एराल्दो डा रोमा का। कलाकार थे लैम्बेर्तो मैगीओरनी (अंथोनी के रूप में) ए लिआनेला कैरेल (मारिया के रूप में) और इंजो एस्टीओल (बूनो के रूप में)। कथा बस इतनी थी : फिल्म का नायक अपने वास्तविक जीवन में ईंटों के भट्टे पर मजदूरी करता था। विक्टोरिया डी सिक्का ने उसे विश्व की सबसे महान फिल्मों में से एक नायक बना दिया। चोरी चली गई बाईसिकल की तलाश में भटकते पिता-पुत्र की कहानी दरअसल एक पूरी व्यवस्था को उधाड़ती हुई चलती है। इस खोज के बहाने दर्शक इन पात्रों के साथ तत्कालीन इटली की सड़कों पर भटकते हैं और देखते हैं कि कैसे हर इंसान एक गलत व्यवस्था का हिस्सा बनकर अपनी जिन्दगी जीने को विवश है। इस फिल्म की एक खूबी है कि वह गहरी निराशा के बीच भी उम्मीदों का दामन नहीं छोड़ती। समाजवादी संकल्पना की यह बेमिसाल फिल्म थी जिसने सत्यजीत रे को झकझोर कर रख दिया। उसी के बाद रे ने ट्रॉयलॉजी (पाथेर पांचाली, आपुर संसार और अपराजितो) का निर्माण किया। बाईसिकल थीक्स सन् 1952 में भारत के पहले समारोह में दिखलाई गयी थी। यह माना जाता है कि इस आंदोलन ने उस दौर के कई ऐसे निर्देशकों को फिल्म बनाने के लिए प्रेरित किया, जो बाद में भारतीय फिल्मों की एक पूरी शृंखला के लिए खुद प्रेरणा के स्रोत बन गए।⁷

सत्यजीत रे की तो चर्चा हो चुकी है। ख्वाजा अहमद अब्बास की 'मुन्ना', राज कपूर की 'जागते रहो', और विमल रॉय की 'दो बीघा जमीन' समाजवादी संकल्पना को गति देने वाली समानान्तर फिल्में थीं। इस आंदोलन को दक्षिण, उत्तर, पूरब और पश्चिम में गति देने वाले निर्देशकों की लम्बी सूची है। इस आंदोलन की फिल्मों का लम्बा इतिहास है जो आज तक जारी है। सारा आकाश, निशांत, अर्थ, चक्र, पार, रजनीगंधा, अंकुर, पार, सद्गति, अर्द्धसत्य, दामुल, परिणति, कथा, चश्म-ए-बद्दूर, गमन, उमराँव जान, शतरंज के खिलाड़ी, जाने भी दो यारो, अल्बर्ट पिंटों को गुस्सा क्यों आता है, अजीब दास्तान, मोहन जोशी हाजिर हो, मिर्च मसाला, सलीम लंगड़े पे मत रो इत्यादि फिल्मों की कलात्मकता समाजवादी संकल्पना किसी से छुपी नहीं है। फिल्मों की ताकत और यथार्थ को सर्वप्रथम लेनिन ने पहचाना था। उसने कहा था- हमारे लिए सिनेमा सभी कलाओं से अधिक

महत्त्वपूर्ण है। सिनेमा न केवल लोगों के मन बहलाव का बल्कि सामाजिक शिक्षा, संवाद स्थापित करने तथा हमारी विशाल जनसंख्या को एक सूत्रा में बाँध लेने का सशक्त साधन है।⁹ ऐसी ही बात लुई बुनुएल ने भी कही- सिनेमा स्वप्न लोक, मानवीय भावनाओं को उनकी सम्पूर्णता में दिखाने और मानवीय संवेगों को चित्रित करने का सर्वोत्तम माध्यम है।¹⁰ वैसे वार्नर हर-जौग ने तो यहाँ तक कह दिया- आपको फिल्मों की तरफ सीधे देखना होगा, उसे देखने का यही एकमात्र तरीका है। फिल्म विद्वानों की नहीं बल्कि अनपढ़ लोगों के लिए रची गई कला है। इस कथन पर कभी हम विचार करेंगे लेकिन इतना सत्य है कि समानांतर फिल्मों ने दुनिया भर में वैचारिक क्रांति के साथ आमलोगों के बीच बौद्धिक विकास को गति दी। समाजवादी संकल्पना को पूरी आस्था के साथ व्यक्त किया। इस आंदोलन की गति आज भी नयी शकल नयी उर्जा के साथ आगे की ओर बढ़ रही है और व्यावसायिक फिल्मों को कड़ी चुनौती दे रही है। 2012 में प्रदर्शित 'कहानी' फिल्म के कथ्य को इस आंदोलन की अगली कड़ी के रूप में देखा जा सकता है।

भारतीय सिनेमा-जगत् में सफल और गहरी सोच रखने वाले कुछ सफल निर्देशकों ने विश्व सिनेमा से बहुत कुछ लिया है। पहला सिनेमा प्रदर्शन ल्युमियेर भाइयों की 'मैजिक लैंटर्न' द्वारा पेरिस में 1895 में हुआ था। उसके बाद इस नए उपकरण का प्रचार संसार में विस्मय जनक गति से होने लगा और 1896 में ही महान् रूसी लेखक मक्सिम गोर्की ने 'ओदेस्सा समाचार पत्र' में प्रकाशित अपने एक लेख में पहले सिनेमा प्रदर्शन से रूसी दर्शकों पर पड़े विस्तृत प्रभाव के बारे में लिखा था। नए आविष्कार की विशाल क्षमताओं का तात्कालिक अनुमान लगा कर उन्होंने आशा प्रकट की थी कि चलचित्रिकी विज्ञान की सेवा और प्रगति में सहायक होगी।¹⁰ गोर्की के इस कथन में कितनी सच्चाई थी यह तो बाद में पता चला। सिनेमा ने वो कर दिखलाया जिसके बारे में कोई सोच भी नहीं सकता था। सम्पूर्ण कलाओं को शामिल करके इस माध्यम ने एक नयी कला को जन्म दिया। लेव तॉलस्टॉय के इस कथन को अगर ध्यान से पढ़ा जाए तो सिनेमा की अपरिमित शक्ति के बारे में कुछ ज्ञान बढ़ता है। तॉलस्टॉय ने अपने नाटक 'जिन्दा लाश' को देखते समय कहा था : मैंने खीझकर अपने बाल नोच डाले, दर्द और पछतावे से उँगलियाँ चबा लीं, क्योंकि रंगमंच पर अनेक दृश्यों व उपाख्यानों का प्रदर्शन तथा एक के बाद दूसरी घटना का तत्काल दृश्यांकन कतई संभव न था जबकि नवाजात चलचित्रिकी के लिए यह अत्यन्त स्वाभाविक था।¹¹ यानी प्रतिभा संपन्न साहित्यकारों ने सिनेमा की उर्जा और शक्ति को शुरू में ही पहचान लिया था। यही कारण है कि विश्व सिनेमा में कलात्मक फिल्मों के निर्देशकों ने साहित्यकारों की कृतियों पर कई महत्त्वपूर्ण फिल्में बनायीं। समानान्तर फिल्मों की पृष्ठभूमि पर अगर दृष्टि डालें तो कई महत्त्वपूर्ण निर्देशक सामने आकर खड़े हो जाते हैं। फ्रांस के पाँच

निर्देशकों के नाम आसानी से लिए जा सकते हैं जिन्होंने समानान्तर फिल्मों में समाजवादी संकल्पना को मजबूती से प्रस्तुत किया। वे हैं- फ्रांसुओ त्रुफो, ज्यां लुक गोदार, क्लाउड शाबारोक, गैकस रिवेटे और एरिक रोहमर। इटली का नवयथार्थवाद ही समानांतर फिल्मों के रूप में स्वीकृत हुआ। विश्व सिनेमा की महान् धरोहरों में से एक 'बाईसिकल थीक्स' इटली के नवयथार्थवादी आंदोलन की उपज है। समाजवादी संकल्पना को चित्रित करती हुई कई फिल्में विश्वधरोहर की शानदार कृतियाँ बन गयीं। यही द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध के बाद का इटली था। आम आदमी के जीवन में गरीबी और हताशा बिखरी थी, जो देखते-देखते सिनेमा के पर्दे पर उतर गई। दूसरे शब्दों में इटैलियन नवयथार्थवाद द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध के बाद की कठोर आर्थिक स्थितियाँ और निराशा से भरे जनसमूह, रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी, उनकी खुशियाँ, आशा- निराशा और उम्मीदों को अभिव्यक्त करने का औजार बना। इन फिल्मों में अक्सर गरीब कामगार तबके के लोगों की कथा कही जाती थी। गैर पेशेवर अभिनेताओं से काम लिया जाता था और फिल्मों को अधिकतर वास्तविक लोकेशन पर ही शूट कर लिया जाता था।¹² इटली से अगर कुछ नामों की चर्चा हो तो शुइनामैर अर्थो बारबरा का नाम शीर्ष पर होगा क्योंकि नवयथार्थवादी आंदोलन की इन्होंने अगुवाई की। दूसरा नाम राबर्तो रोसेल्लिनी का है जिनकी फिल्म 'रोम, ओपेन सिटी' (1946) ने दुनिया भर का ध्यान नवयथार्थवादी शैली की तरफ खींचा।

इसने नियोरियलिज्म के कई बुनियादी सिद्धांत स्थापित किए और कॉन फिल्म फेस्टिवल में ग्रैंड प्री हासिल किया, जो सिनेमा की दुनिया के सबसे सम्मानजनक पुरस्कारों में से एक माना जाता है। तीसरा नाम डी सिक्का है जिनकी 'बाईसिकल थीक्स' ने तो दुनिया भर में समानान्तर फिल्मों की बुनियाद रखी। सोवियत रूस में सेर्गेई एई जेश्ते ईन का नाम बुलंदियों पर रहा। सोवियत सरकार ने एईजंशतेईन को 1905 की पहली रूसी क्रांति की बीसवीं जयंती के उपलक्ष्य में एक फिल्म बनाने का काम सौंपा था। अतः उनकी पहली फिल्म 'हड़ताल' के बाद ही 'युद्धपोत पोत्योम्किन' देखने को मिली। 'हड़ताल' में निर्धारित सोवियत चलचित्रिकी के विशेष रूप से आवश्यक सिद्धांतों का इस फिल्म में खुल कर उपयोग किया गया था। 'पहली किताब' में दस बड़े फिल्मकारों के नाम दिए गए हैं जिन्होंने विश्वसिनेमा को प्रभावित किया। समाजवादी संकल्पना को जिन्होंने फिल्मों में जगह दी। ये नाम हैं-अब्बास किआरूस्तमी, अकीरा कुरोसावा, ऑसर्न वेल्स, इंगमार बर्गमैन, अल्जाम गुने, चार्ली चैप्लिन, जोल्तान फाबरी, विमल राय, विक्टोरिया डीसिक्का, सत्यजीत रे। इन सभी फिल्मकारों पर विहंगम दृष्टि डाली जा रही है। अब्बास किआरूस्तमी ईरानी फिल्मकार थे। उन्हें 'कोकर ट्रिलाजी', 'लाइफ एंड नथिंग मोर', 'ए टेस्ट ऑफ चेरी', 'द विंड विल कैरी ऑन' सभी फिल्मों में अंतरराष्ट्रीय ख्याति मिली। अकीरा

कुरोसावा जापान के थे। 1943 में उनकी पहली फिल्म 'सांशिरो सुगाता' आयी थी। उन्हें 'राशोमन' से ढेरों सम्मान प्राप्त हुए। समाजवादी संकल्पना के साथ मिथक का भी उन्होंने काफी उपयोग किया। आर्सन वेल्स एक उदारवादी राजनीति कर्मी और पत्रकार भी थे। 1941 उन्होंने 'सिटिजन केम' का निर्माण किया जो अनेक आलोचकों व सिनेप्रेमियों की दृष्टि में आजतक की सर्वश्रेष्ठ फिल्म है। 'हैंगमार बर्गमैन' स्वीडन के थे। उन्होंने 62 फिल्मों का निर्देशन किया था। उन्होंने 170 से अधिक नाटकों का भी निर्देशन किया। समाजवादी संकल्पना से लेकर मानव की अस्तित्व चिंता तक पर उनकी दृष्टि रही है। यहाँ 'सेवेंथ सील' (1957) की चर्चा अनिवार्य है। जहाँ हताश जिन्दगी को हम मध्युगीन छाया में देखते हैं और नवयथार्थवाद के दर्शन मौत और जिन्दगी के संदर्भ में करते हैं। इस फिल्म में मध्ययुगीन स्वीडन में प्लेग फैला हुआ है। काले कपड़ों में मौत का पार्श्वभूमि में क्रूर दहशतजदा नाच चल रहा है-और राजा शतरंज खेल रहा है। यह है सामंतवादी क्रूर चेहरे की कठोरता। इसके खिलाफ ही समानांतर फिल्मों की जंग जारी रहती है। इस फिल्म में बर्गमैन ने मिथकीय प्रयोग भी किए हैं और आदमी की जंग की कहानी को अपने अंदाज में पेश किया है। 'इल्माजगुने' तुर्की के फिल्मकार थे। 1961 में वे अपने एक उपन्यास के लिए जिसमें साम्यवाद के प्रति सहानुभूति व्यक्त की गयी थी, 18 महीने कारावास में रहे। जेल जाने ओर रिहा होने का सिलसिला जारी रहा। ऐसी विषम जीवन परिस्थितियों में उन्होंने उमत (1970) एजिर (1972) एक्ट (1971) और उमत एजलर (1971) जैसी फिल्मों का निर्माण किया। चार्ली चैप्लिन के बिना समानांतर फिल्मों की दुनिया अधूरी रह जायेगी। चार्ली ने मूक फिल्मों में अभिनय कनके हाशिए पर खड़े व्यक्ति को नायकत्व प्रदान किया। उनकी वेशभूषा मजदूर से भी गयी बीती थी और मानव की नियति को उन्होंने सामंतों के बीच में पिसते हुए पाया। वे जीवन के उन पहलुओं से परिचय कराते थे जहाँ इंसान देख नहीं पाता था। कमजोर इंसान के भीतर की आकांक्षा को दफन होते हुए उनकी फिल्मों में देखा जा सकता है।

द ग्रेट डिक्टेटर, द किड, द सिटी लाइट्स, गोल्ड दश, मार्टिन टाइम्स बेहतरीन फिल्में थीं। जोल्तान फाबरी हंगरीवासी थे। उनके फिल्मकार व्यक्तित्व के निर्माण में इतातावी यथार्थवाद और फ्रांसीसी काव्यात्मक यथार्थवाद का सर्वाधिक प्रभाव था। 'द ब्यायज आफ पाल स्ट्रीट' और 'हंगेरियन' का नामांकन विदेशी भाषा की सर्वोत्तम फिल्म के अकेडमी पुरस्कार के लिए गया था। विक्टोरिया डीसिक्का के बिना समानान्तर फिल्मों की यात्रा अधूरी रह जायेगी। 1946 में आयी 'शू शाइन' और 1946 में ही आयी 'द बाईसिकिल थीफ' युद्धोत्तर इटली की गरीबी, उससे भी अधिक उसके आत्मिक शून्य के हृदयविदारक दस्तावेज हैं, ये सार्वकालिक क्लासिक फिल्मों का निर्विवाद दर्जा हासिल कर चुकी हैं। अभी तक विश्व सिनेमा में समानान्तर फिल्मों की यात्रा

तय करने वालों की चर्चा हुई। अब इस लेख में दो ऐसे भारतीय फिल्मकारों की चर्चा होगी जिन्होंने विश्व सिनेमा को अपनी प्रतिभा से अवगत कराया और जिन्हें उच्चकोटि के निर्देशक के रूप में दुनिया याद करती है। पहला नाम है सत्यजीत राय का। कहना न होगा कि भारत से सर्वप्रथम विश्व सिनेमा के मानचित्र पर अपनी उपस्थिति दर्ज करने में वे सफल रहे अपनी प्रथम कृति 'पथेर पांचाली' के साथ।

जमींदारी पतनशीलता की कथा कहती है 1958 में बनी 'जलसा घर'। हाशिए पर खड़े व्यक्ति के दर्द को राय ने समझा था। अपनी फिल्मों में उन्हें जगह दी थी और समाजवादी संकल्पना की जड़ें मजबूत कीं। दूसरा नाम है बंगाल के ही 'विमल राय' का। यहाँ थोड़ी-सी चर्चा 'दो बीघा जमीन' की। संगीतकार सलिल चौधरी की 'रिक्शावाला' नामक कहानी पर आधारित 'दो बीघा जमीन' की कहानी उद्योगीकरण के कारण किसानों के विस्थापित होने की समस्या को केन्द्र में रखकर चलती है। शंभु महतो (बलराज साहनी) एक छोटा किसान है जो दो बीघा जमीन का मालिक है। पिछले दो सालों से बरसात न हो पाने के कारण उसने जमींदार हरनाम सिंह (सत्तु) से पचास रूपये उधर ले रखे हैं जिसके बदले में उसके पिता (नाना पलसीकर) को जमींदार के यहाँ बेगार करनी पड़ती है जमींदार शहर के उद्योगपतियों के साथ मिलकर गाँव के पास एक कारखाना खोलना चाहता है। इसके लिए जितनी जमीन चाहिए उस जमीन के एक छोटे-से हिस्से दो बीघा जमीन की मिल्कियत शंभु महतो के पास है। शंभु महतो अपनी जमीन नहीं देना चाहता। कर्ज चुकाने का और कोई रास्ता न सूझने पर शंभु महतो को रोजगार की तलाश में कलकत्ता जाना पड़ता है। वहाँ रिक्शा खींचता है। बेटा कन्हैया (रतन कुमार) बूट पॉलिश करता है लेकिन तीन महीने में दो सौ पैंतीस रूपये एकत्र नहीं हो पाते और जमीन नीलाम कर दी जाती है। शंभु महतो का न केवल खेत छिन जाता है, वह बेघर भी हो जाता है। उस जमीन पर दि ग्रेट जनता मिल के नाम से एक कारखाना स्थापित हो जाता है। शंभु महतो उस शोषणकारी व्यवस्था का शिकार है जिसकी बातें प्रेमचंद ने 'गोदान' में की थीं।

पूरी दुनिया की संरचना लगभग एक ही तरह की है। शोषकों का वर्ग हर देश में है तो शोषितों की भारी संख्या हर जगह मौजूद है। वर्ग संघर्ष, जातिगत विद्वेष और असमानता के बीच कराहती मानवता कला-संस्कृति के माध्यम से भी मुक्ति पाना चाहती है। भारत ही नहीं वरन् पूरी दुनिया में सिनेमा ने मनोरंजन के साथ इन सारी समस्याओं से अपने को जूझने दिया। इसीलिए हर देश में सत्यजीत रे या विमल राय अलग-अलग नामों से बिखरे हुए दिखलायी पड़ते हैं। सिनेमा से कोई लड़ाई जीती नहीं जाती लेकिन उसके माध्यम से हमें जीने की प्रेरणा तो मिल ही जाती है। सुप्रसिद्ध फिल्म क्रिटिक सुधीर कक्कड़ का कथन है- सिनेमा के बारे में सोचते हुए मैं फिल्मों को एक सामूहिक फंतासी, एक सामुदायिक दिवा स्वप्न मानता हूँ। सामूहिक और सामुदायिक से

मेरा मतलब यह नहीं कि हिन्दी फिल्मों में किसी मिथकीय सामूहिक अवचेतन या किसी सामूहिक मस्तिष्क की अभिव्यक्ति है। इसके बजाए मैं सिनेमा को मूल माध्यम मानता हूँ जिसके जरिए भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में रह रहा विशाल जनसमुदाय, जो संस्कृति और मनोवैज्ञानिक स्तर पर गुँथा हुआ है, फंतासियों में साझेदारी करता है। मैं फंतासी शब्द का इस्तेमाल इसके प्रचलित अर्थ में नहीं कर रहा हूँ जिसके मायने होते हैं झक, सनक या हल्कापन। मेरी नजर में फंतासी उस कल्पनालोक का दूसरा नाम है जिसे आकांक्षा से बल मिलता है और हमें एक वैकल्पिक संसार उपलब्ध कराता है, जहाँ हम यथार्थ के साथ अपनी पुरानी जंग जारी रख सकते हैं। आकांक्षा और फंतासी आपस में गुंथे हुए हैं। अरस्तु का कथन कि फंतासी के बिना कोई आकांक्षा नहीं हो सकती, प्रतिलोम में अधिक सही है। फंतासी आकांक्षा का मिजा-ए-सीन है, एक चाक्षुष रूपाकार में इसका रूपांतरण।¹³ यह वक्तव्य बड़ा सार्थक है। समानान्तर फिल्मों के निर्देशकों ने इसी फंतासी को यथार्थ के साथ जोड़कर उस वर्ग के लिए फिल्में बनायीं जो हर प्रकार से शोषित रहे।

आप चाहे 'नीचा नगर' की बात करें या फिर 'दो बीघा जमीन' की। इन दोनों फिल्मों के नायकों ने भी जीवन के प्रति सकारात्मक रुख रखा और एक स्वप्न-लोक तैयार किया जहाँ वे समानता का अधिकार रखते हुए उस वर्ग के साथ जी सकें जिसके पास सबकुछ है। यहाँ 'दो बीघा जमीन' के दो दृश्य याद आते हैं- नायक (बलराज साहनी) अपनी पत्नी (निरूपा रॉय) से कहता है- अभी भी तुम खुबसूरत हो। मैं कमाकर तुम्हारे कान के लिए दो कर्ण-फूल बनवा दूँगा। पहनोगी तो दमकने लगेगी। तुम्हारा चेहरा। दूसरा दृश्य है- जहाँ वह अपनी जमीन छुड़वाने के लिए कलकत्ते में हाथ रिकशा चलाता है। एक साहब उसके रिकशे पर बैठते हैं और कहते हैं सामने वाले रिकशे का पीछा करो। दूसरे रिकशे पर उनकी प्रेमिका बैठी है जो रूठकर भागी जा रही है। अब उसे पकड़ने के लिए इस रिकशे वाले पर जोर दिया जा रहा है। जल्दी चलो। पाँच रूपये दूँगा...और जल्दी दस रूपये दूँगा...रिकशा वाला बेतहाशा भागा जा रहा है इस आस में कि उसे आज इतना पैसा मिल जायेगा कि वह गाँव जाकर जमींदार से अपनी जमीन छुड़वा लेगा। और इस लालच में भयंकर दुर्घटना होती है और वह मूर्च्छित होकर गिर जाता है।

इस दिवा स्वप्न को जिस कलात्मकता से विमल रॉय ने पेश किया। वह समानान्तर फिल्मों के इतिहास में एक मिसाल है। इसी दृश्य का व्यवसायीकरण 'नया दौर' में होता है जहाँ नायक टमटम गाड़ी से रेस करके 'बस' को हरा देता है। पूँजीपति की हार होती है और सर्वहारा वर्ग जीत जाता है। इसी की नकारात्मक प्रस्तुति गंगा-जमना में होती है जहाँ नायक जमींदार से टकराकर उसकी हत्या कर देता है और तमाम उम्र के लिए दोषी बन जाता है। अंत में पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर (सगा भाई) के हाथों मारा जाता है। पूँजीपतियों से संघर्ष का लम्बा इतिहास समानान्तर फिल्मों में है।

दलित वर्ग, शोषित वर्ग, मजदूर किसान किस तरह गाँव के बाहुबलियों से टकराते हैं इसके लिए 'निशांत' को सामने रखा जा सकता है। भारत में चलते आ रहे विरोध-आन्दोलनों, संघर्षों और व्यवस्था विरोधी संगठनों के विभिन्न रूपों को विस्तृत मार्क्सवादी चौखट के अन्तर्गत समझने में समाजशास्त्रियों ने पर्याप्त गहराई हासिल की है। पहले उन समस्याओं की भी चर्चा करें जो समानान्तर फिल्मों की जननी हैं। ए.आर.देसाई द्वारा संपादित किसान-संघर्ष पर लिखे गए दो ग्रंथ (1979, 1986) और रंजीत गुहा द्वारा संपादित निम्नवर्गीय जातियों का अध्ययन छह ग्रंथों में (1982, 83, 84, 85, 87 और 89) इस उपलब्धि के सशक्त प्रमाण हैं। इन ग्रंथों से मालूम होता है कि निम्नवर्गीय जातियों से शासक अभिजात (रूलिंग एलीट) किस तरह स्वीकृति प्राप्त करता है। 'निशांत', 'अंकुर' की बात अभी जाने दें तो भारत की तमिल फिल्मों में इन पर विशेष रूप से कार्य हुआ है। उच्चवर्गीय और उच्चवर्णी शोषकों एवं निम्नवर्गीय चरित्रों के बीच संघर्ष और समाधन इन फिल्मों का मर्म है। इन फिल्मों का सामाजिक संसार असंतुलित सत्ता का संसार है। सत्ता के एक सिरे पर ऊँची जातियों के स्त्री-पुरुष, जमींदार और धनी, उद्योगपति, पढ़े-लिखे विशिष्ट वर्ग के लोग और निःसंदेह हर रूप में पुरुष-जोकि असीम ताकत का उपयोग करते हैं और सत्ता की शोषणकारी गतिविधियों में लीन हैं। सत्ता के दूसरे सिरे पर अभागे त्रस्त लोग हैं- निम्न जाति के लोग, भूमिहीन, गरीब, शोषित, मजदूर, अनपढ़े, मूढ़ और निःसहाय स्त्रियाँ। सत्ता ही सर्वव्यापी रूप में, सर्वशक्तिमान् और अभिन्न दिखाई जाती है जबकि उसके शिकार बिलकुल कोमल, पिटे हुए और अपनी यातना में एक से नजर आते हैं। सो हम देखते हैं किसान की जमीन हड़पता जमींदार (विवासायी 1967), गाँव का रईस जो खेत मजदूर पर कोड़े बरसाता है (येंगा वीट् पिल्लई 1965), महाजन जो गरीबों का शोषण करते हैं। और फिल्में हैं 'पदाकोट्टी' (1967) उद्योगपति जोकि मनमर्जी से मजदूर को बर्खास्त करते हैं, 'थोजीलाली' (1964) लालची लोग जो कि दूसरों की संपत्ति को हड़पना चाहते हैं, 'मुकारसी' (1966), शहरी छैले जो गरीब लड़कियों का शील भंग करते हैं। 'थेइएट थिरू विजा' (1968) उच्चवर्णी जोकि अपने निम्न वर्णी नौकरों को घरों के भीतर आने नहीं देते, 'नडोडी' (1966) विवाहित पुरुष जो कि अन्य स्त्रियों पर ललचते हैं, 'विवासायी' (1967)¹⁴ इन फिल्मों की बुनावट और हिन्दी की समानान्तर फिल्मों की बुनावट लगभग एक जैसी है क्योंकि भारतीय समाज और भारतीय गाँव इस रूप में एक ही धरातल पर खड़े दिखलायी पड़ते हैं। यहाँ उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूरब-पश्चिम का भेद मिटता हुआ नजर आता है।

समानान्तर फिल्मों की अवधारणा की बात भी सामने आती है। इसे न्यू-वेव, नयी धारा, यथार्थवादी आदि नामों से संबोधित किया जाता रहा है। समानान्तर फिल्मों के लिए कुछ शर्तें भी विदेशी निर्देशकों ने रखी हैं। दिनेश श्रीनेत की पुस्तक 'पश्चिम और

सिनेमा' में एक लेख है- 'फ्रेंच सिनेमा की नयी लहर'। इस लेख में कुछ मौलिक विचार आए हैं जो समानांतर फिल्मों की रेखाएँ स्पष्ट करते हैं। फ्रेंच न्यू वेव सिनेमा ने बनी बनाई अवधारणाओं को तहस-नहस करते हुए अपना विकास किया। उन्होंने फिल्म एडिटिंग, अभिनय, कैमरा मूवमेंट की रूढ़ हो चुकी अवधारणाओं को मानने से इनकार कर दिया और ऐसी फिल्में बनाई जो विचारोत्तेजक थीं।... न्यूवेव का सबसे पॉपुलर दौर 1958 से लेकर 1964 तक रहा। शाब्रोल की 'ले व्यू सर्ज' फ्रांसुओ त्रुफो की '400 ब्लोज' और गोदार की 'ब्रेथलेस' ने इस आंदोलन की शुरुआत में बड़ी भूमिका निभाई। हालाँकि फिल्मों इसके बाद भी 1973 तक बनती रहीं।... अधिकतर न्यूवेव फिल्मों का बजट बेहद कम होता है। खर्च बचाने के लिए अधिकतर शूटिंग किसी दोस्त के घर में कर ली जाती थी और निर्देशक आमतौर पर अपने करीबी लोगों और मित्रों को ही फिल्म में बतौर अभिनेता इस्तेमाल कर लेते थे। फिल्म के लिए आवश्यक उपकरणों के लिए भी आमतौर पर इन निर्देशकों के पास पैसे नहीं होते थे। लिहाजा तकनीकी लिहाज से कई विकल्पों पर काम किया जाता था। जैसे ट्रेकिंग शॉट की जरूरत पड़ने पर शॉपिंग मॉल के कार्ट से काम चलाना। यहाँ तक कि गोदार को जब अपनी फिल्मों में कैमरा मूवमेंट के लिए ट्रॉली नहीं मिल सकी तो उन्होंने कैमरे को हाथ से ही उठाकर शूट करना शुरू कर दिया।... फिल्म का खर्च बचाने के लिए ज्यादातर शूटिंग सिंगल शॉट में पूरी कर ली जाती थी। मगर बाद में फिल्म की लंबाई छोटी करने के लिए जंप कट्स का इस्तेमाल शुरू हो गया जिसे अब गोदार की सिगनेचर स्टाइल माना जाता है।¹⁵ स्पष्ट है कि न्यू वेव, कलात्मक या यथार्थवादी सिनेमा में कई शर्तें सामने आ जाती हैं। भारतीय संदर्भ में भी यह बात उतनी ही सार्थक है। अगर शुरुआती दौर की बात करें तो 'नीचा नगर' 1946 में बनी। निर्देशक चेतन आनंद ने 122 मिनटों की इस फिल्म में उस जमाने के किसी भी मशहूर अभिनेता को शामिल नहीं किया। यह लो बजट की फिल्म थी। इसकी टेकिंग को भी देखा जाए तो उपयुक्त शर्तों की माँग पूरी होती है। स्वयं चेतन आनंद की पत्नी नायिका थीं। 'पाथेर पांचाली' का निर्माण 1952 में राय ने अपनी जमापूँजी बटोर कर मित्रों से उधार लेकर किसी तरह पैसे जमा करके फिल्म शूट करने की तैयारी की। एक भी नामी अभिनेता को शामिल नहीं किया। विमल रॉय की 'दो बीघा जमीन' भी इन्हीं शर्तों को मानती है। बलराज साहनी या निरूपा राय उस जमाने में साधारण अभिनेता और अभिनेत्री थे। लो बजट की यह फिल्म समानांतर फिल्मों की जननी मानी जा सकती है। 'दो बीघा जमीन' का नायक शंभु महतो उस शोषणकारी व्यवस्था का शिकार है जिसका उल्लेख इस फिल्म के प्रदर्शन से सत्रह साल पहले प्रेमचंद ने अपने उपन्यास गोदान (1936) में किया था। 'आजादी के प्रारंभिक सालों तक गाँव की यह शोषणकारी व्यवस्था नहीं बदली है। किसानों का जमींदारों और साहूकारों से

कर्ज लेना और उस कर्ज के बदले अपनी और अपने परिवार की जिन्दगी रेहन रख देना यही वह हकीकत है जो 'गोदान' से लेकर 'दो बीघा जमीन' तक ही नहीं 'मदर इंडिया' (1957) तक में अभिव्यक्त हुई है।... 1948 में इटली के फिल्मकार विक्टोरिया डी सिक्का की फिल्म 'दि बाईसिकल थीफ' से जिस नवयथार्थवाद की शुरुआत हुई थी, उसको भारतीय यथार्थवाद की अभिव्यक्ति के लिए प्रयोग करने का यह पहला उत्कर्ष उदाहरण था।¹⁶ बाद में 'जागते रहो' जैसी फिल्म ने भी इस धारा को मजबूत किया।

दैनिक आज में एक लेख छपा था: 'स्मिता पाटिल ने दिया समानांतर फिल्मों को नया आयाम'। इस लेख में श्याम बेनेगल का उल्लेख है और स्मिता पाटिल की कुछ फिल्मों का। दुग्ध क्रांति पर बनी फिल्म 'मंथन' में दर्शकों को स्मिता पाटिल के अभिनय के नये रंग देखने को मिले। इस फिल्म के निर्माण के लिए गुजरात के लगभग पाँच लाख किसानों ने प्रतिदिन मिलने वाली अपनी मजदूरी में से दो रूपये फिल्म निर्माताओं को दिए और बाद में जब यह फिल्म प्रदर्शित हुई तो बॉक्स ऑफिस पर सुपरहिट साबित हुई।... फिल्म 'भूमिका' से स्मिता पाटिल का जो सफर शुरू हुआ वह चक्र, निशांत, आक्रोश, गिद्ध, अल्बर्ट पिंटो को गुस्सा क्यों आता है और मिर्च मसाला जैसी फिल्मों तक जारी रहा।¹⁷ कहना न होगा कि जो मान्यताएँ फ्रांसिसी निर्देशकों ने 'न्यूवेव' सिनेमा के लिए रखीं उन्हीं मान्यताओं को श्याम बेनेगल ने भी पूरा किया। इस तरह समानांतर फिल्मों की कथा आगे बढ़ती है। मणिकौल ने भी समानांतर फिल्मों की यात्रा को आगे बढ़ाया। श्याम बेनेगल कहते हैं मेरे लिए 'उसकी रोटी' उतनी ही महत्वपूर्ण है, जितनी पाथेर पांचाली।¹⁸ गोविंद निहलानी, प्रकाश झा, सत्यदेव दुबे, और कुमार साहनी जैसे निर्देशकों ने इस धारा को आगे बढ़ाया। अजय ब्रह्मात्मज ने अपनी पुस्तक 'सिनेमा की सोच' में लिखा है- एक जमाने में लोकप्रिय सिनेमा और समानांतर सिनेमा का अंतर उपस्थित कर हिन्दी सिनेमा की मुख्य धारा को गंभीर विचार-विमर्श के दायरे से बाहर रखा गया था।¹⁹ अजय के विचारों का मैं खंडन नहीं कर रही हूँ लेकिन ये दोनों धाराएँ आज भी साथ-साथ चल रही हैं। 'जावेद अख्तर' को आज भी 'दो बीघा जमीन' की याद आती है क्योंकि समानांतर फिल्मों की यह जननी थी।²⁰ यथार्थवादी फिल्मों के सर्जक सोवियत रूस के सेर्गेई एईजेन्तेईन ने जब 'जार इवान राद्र' जैसी फिल्म बनायी तब मालूम हुआ कि जारशाही का शोषक रूप कितना खौफनाक है।²¹ यह फिल्म न्यू वेव सिनेमा के बीस वर्ष पहले बनी। शोषकों और शोषितों की कहानी कहने वाली इस फिल्म को देखकर तॉल्सतॉय, गोर्की और स्वयं लेनिन स्तब्ध थे और 'फिल्म माध्यम' के प्रति नतमस्तक हुए थे। सोवियत रूस ने समानांतर फिल्मों की जमीन बहुत पहले तैयार की थी। जिसे देखकर चेतन आनंद ने 'नीचा नगर' 1946 में ही बना डाली। यह गोर्की की रचना 'लोअर डेप्यूस' पर आधारित थी। इस प्रकार समानांतर फिल्मों पर मार्क्सवाद का भी पूरा प्रभाव रहा क्योंकि 'समाजवाद' को सही अर्थों में इस वाद ने समझा था। भारतीय

संदर्भ में दो बीघा जमीन, मदर इंडिया, निशांत, अंकुर, मंथन, चक्र, सत्या, जागते रहो जैसी फिल्मों की बुनावट सोवियत रूस के निर्देशकों की तरह ही रही है, क्योंकि दोनों देश शोषकों से लड़ रहे थे।²² देश चूँकि आज भी नहीं बदला है। शोषक और शोषित नये रूप में हमारे सामने हैं तभी नया दौर, गंगा जमना, अग्निपथ, गैंग्स ऑफ वासोपुर जैसी कमर्शियल फिल्में समानांतर फिल्मों की भूमि पर ही बनी। समानांतर फिल्मों की धारा अब मोटी हुई है और इसकी शर्तें भी बदली हैं।

निष्कर्ष

विभिन्न माध्यमों से शोध कार्य का जो निष्कर्ष आया है वह चौंकाने वाला नहीं बल्कि बदलते हुए जमाने में हिन्दी की समानांतर फिल्मों में समाजवादी संकल्पना का रूप और तेवर बदला हुआ मिलता है। समाजवाद ही अपनी मूल कल्पना से जूझ रहा है तो उसे फिल्मों में जोड़ने का प्रयास भी कहीं ना कहीं से जूझता हुआ दिखलायी पड़ता है। फिल्मी दुनिया का प्रारंभिक सफर सामाजिक सरोकार से भरा हुआ था। उस समय देश गुलामी की आग में तप रहा था। सामाजिक विसंगतियाँ चरम पर थीं और इन विसंगतियों से फिल्में जूझ रही थीं, रूबरू हो रही थीं। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद देश दूसरे तरह के संकट से गुजरने लगा जहां नवधनाढ्य वर्ग शोषकों की तरह व्यवहार करने लगा और देश की जनता इन शोषकों से आज भी मुक्ति की चाह रखती है और दूसरी स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई की शुरुआत भी हो चुकी है। नीचा नगर, दो बीघा जमीन जैसी फिल्मों में वर्णन तो समाजवादी संकल्पना के थे लेकिन फिल्म की बुनावट में व्यावसायिकता के धागे नाच, गाने और एक्शन के रूप में थे। इन्हीं फिल्मों की यात्रा मदर इंडिया, सन ऑफ इंडिया, नया दौर, पैगाम, गंगा-जमुना, जागते रहो जैसी फिल्मों में हुई जिनके कथ्य में समाजवादी संकल्पना थी लेकिन प्रस्तुति में मुख्यधारा की फिल्मों के धागे थे। आर्ट फिल्मों या न्यू वेव सिनेमा ने जनता के बीच लोकप्रियता नहीं हासिल की और उनकी यात्रा पुरस्कारों में सिमट गयी। सातवें और आठवें दशकों के बीच श्याम बेनेगल और गोविंद निहलानी ने सही अर्थों में हिन्दी की समानांतर फिल्मों का झंडा उठाया और इस धारा को मजबूत आधार दिया। बाद में ये दोनों भी व्यावसायिक फिल्मों की ओर बढ़े और सिर्फ कथ्य में समाजवादी संकल्पना को रहने दिया मेकिंग में मुख्य धारा के नजदीक आ गए। इस तरह समानांतर फिल्मों के रूप में थोड़ा सा परिवर्तन हुआ। अब अंकुर, निशांत, मंथन वाली गंभीरता नहीं देखने को मिलती। यह धारा आज भी चल रही है लेकिन इसमें परिवर्तन काफी हद तक हुआ है। 'गैंग्स ऑफ वासेपुर' जैसी फिल्में यथार्थ और समानांतर के नाम पर दर्शकों को ठग रही हैं जहां सेक्स, हिंसा और स्त्रियों को अपमानित करने की ही साजिश है। कुछ हद तक 'कहानी' और 'पानसिंह तोमर' में यह धारा बची हुई है। आगे के फिल्म निर्माता भी समानांतर फिल्मों में समाजवादी संकल्पना

को अवश्य ही मजबूत करेंगे क्योंकि यह धारा मानवीय मूल्यों से जुड़ी हुई है और मानवीय मूल्य कभी भी मरते नहीं।

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‘पात्र’ और ‘चरित्र’ का अंतर : एक विश्लेषण

डॉ. श्रेखर शंकर मिश्र

सीनियर अस्सिस्टेंट प्रोफेसर

हिन्दी-विभाग, एम.पी.एस.साइंस कॉलेज, मुजफ्फरपुर

सारांश

नाटक में कथावास्तु के बाद दूसरा महत्वपूर्ण तत्व है - ‘चरित्र’, जिसका संघर्ष ही कथावास्तु के विकास का कारक होता है। चरित्रों के क्रियाकलापों से ही विभिन्न घटनाओं के संयोग बनते हैं, जिनपर कथावास्तु का विकास निर्भर करता है। ‘चरित्र’ शब्द के पर्याय के रूप में ‘पात्र’ शब्द का प्रयोग प्रायः देखा जाता है। नाट्य-विधा के आदिआचार्य भरत ने दोनों तत्वों की पृथक् सत्ता स्वीकार करते हुए स्पष्ट मान्यता दी है किन्तु उनका अनुसरण करनेवाले परवर्ती आचार्यों ने इन दोनों तत्वों को प्रमादवश एक मान लिया है। हिन्दी के नाटककारों एवं नाट्यशास्त्रियों ने भी उन्हीं का अनुसरण किया है तभी तो पुस्तक रूप में नाटक के प्रारंभ में ही हमारा प्रथम साक्षात्कार ‘पात्र परिचय’ से होता है जबकि वहां नाटक के चरित्रों का परिचय मिलता है। नाटक के सम्बन्ध में प्रयुक्त ‘पात्र’, ‘चरित्र’ और ‘भूमिका’ ये तीन शब्द गम्भीरता से विचारणीय हैं। भूमिका पात्र और चरित्र के बीच सम्बन्ध-सूत्र का कार्य करती है। भरतमुनि के द्वारा इन दोनों शब्दों का प्रयोग अलग-अलग अर्थों में हुआ है, जो नाटक और रंगमंच की परस्पर सघन सम्बद्धता को भी स्पष्ट करते हैं। पात्र और चरित्र में एक स्पष्ट अंतर है। पात्र का अर्थ वह योग्य व्यक्ति है, जो भूमिका का भलीभांति वहन कर चरित्र को मंच पर जीवंत करता है। नाट्य-चरित्रों के लिए योग्य पात्रों का चयन नाटक की सफलता का पहला सोपान है। नाटक के चरित्रों की प्रकृति, शारीरिक संरचना को ध्यान में रखकर पात्र ढूंढना कठिन होता है मगर निर्देशक अपने अनुभव से रंगकर्म में रूचि रखनेवाले व्यक्तियों के पात्रत्व का परीक्षण कर चरित्रोंको ध्यान में रखकर भूमिका उन्हें प्रदान करता है। पाश्चात्य नाट्यशास्त्र में भी पात्र और चरित्र दोनों के लिए अलग-अलग शब्द हैं। वहां पात्र के लिए Performer या Actor दो शब्द व्यवहृत होते हैं और चरित्र के लिए Character शब्द का प्रयोग होता है। नाटक में पात्र और चरित्र का यह अंतर-विश्लेषण भारतीय कला जगत में रंगमंच की समृद्ध परंपरा और रंगकर्म के प्रति हमारी सांस्कृतिक निष्ठा को भी भिन्न दृष्टिकोण से समझने की दिशा देगा।

विशिष्टशब्द - रसभावज्ञता, अनुमितवाद, अविकलता, चित्रतुरगन्याय, अंगचेष्टा

भूमिका

चरित्र नाटक का एक प्रमुख तत्व है। कथावास्तु के सारे कार्यव्यापारों के केंद्र में नाट्य-चरित्र ही होते हैं। कथावास्तु विभिन्न घटनाओं और तद्जनित कार्यव्यापारों का ही सुसंबद्ध रूप है, जिसमें कौतूहल, प्रवाहमयता, जिज्ञासा और सरसता चरित्रों के आत्मबल और संघर्ष पर निर्भर करती है। इस कारण नाटक में चरित्र का महत्व असंगिदग्ध है। “चरित्र किसी भी कथात्मक साहित्य का अन्यतम तत्व है। चरित्रों के क्रियाकलापों से ही कथानक और कथावास्तु का निर्माण होता है। अतः भले ही किसी कृति में घटनाओं की बहुलता और प्रधानता हो, पात्रों या चरित्रों का उसमें अभाव नहीं हो सकता। क्योंकि कथा की कल्पना में ही पात्रों की विद्यमानता निहित है।”

भारतीय नाट्यशास्त्र में - “वस्तु नेता रसस्तेषाम् भेदकः” कहकर नाटक के मुख्य तीन तत्व स्वीकार किए गए हैं। वहां चरित्र के लिए ‘नेता’ शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। हालाँकि नाट्यशास्त्र में अन्यत्र ‘पात्र’ शब्द का भी प्रयोग मिलता है मगर वहां वह चरित्र का समानधर्मा नहीं है। मुख्यतया ‘पात्र’ शब्द नाट्यशास्त्र में नट, नर्तक तथा नर्तकी के लिए प्रयुक्त है। नट उस पात्र (बर्तन) की भांति है, जिसमें रखा हुआ रस सामाजिक या प्रेक्षक ग्रहण करता है, इसलिए उसे पात्र कहा गया है। ग्रहण, धारण, देह की अविकलता घबराहट का न होना - यह पात्रगत विधि है।¹ पात्र को उसकी गति, अंगचेष्टा तथा सत्व, शील या स्वभाव परखकर भूमिका देनी चाहिए, जैसी भूमिका हो, उसके गुण के अनुरूप

गुणवाला पात्र खोजना चाहिए, जिससे आचार्य को खेद नहीं हो।³

‘पात्र’ शब्द का अर्थ योग्य, लायक व्यक्ति है, लेकिन शब्दों के शैशव काल में ऋग्वेद में पात्र का एक ही अर्थ था बर्तन।⁴ वहां बर्तन से अभिप्राय केवल पानी पीने के बर्तन से था। ‘पात्र’ वैदिक भाषा की ‘पा’ धातु से बना है, जिसका एक अर्थ है - ‘पीना’। बाद में पानी या दूध पीने के ही नहीं, किसी भी बर्तन को ‘पात्र’ कहा जाने लगाय चाहे उसमें रखी हुई वस्तु तरल न होकर ठोस ही क्यों न हो। ‘पात्र’ शब्द के भीतर और भी अर्थ समाते गए। पात्र की विशेषता है कि उसमें जो भी रखा जाए, उसका भोक्ता वह स्वयं नहीं होता, ज्यों का त्यों अभिप्रेत या संप्रेष्य को लौटा देता है।⁵ श्री रामचंद्र गुणचन्द्र विरचित ‘नाट्य दर्पण’ में ‘पात्र’ शब्द का प्रयोग चरित्र के अर्थ में हुआ है। वहां “अथ नाट्य पात्राणाम् प्रकृतिभेदानाह”⁶ कहकर नायक और नायिका के प्रकृतिगत भेद बताये गए हैं।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

नाटक के सम्बन्ध में प्रयुक्त - ‘पात्र’, ‘चरित्र’ और ‘भूमिका’ ये तीन शब्द गंभीरता से विचारणीय हैं। इन तीनों में ‘पात्र’ और ‘चरित्र’ शब्द प्रायः पर्याय के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं। ‘भूमिका’ इन दोनों के बीच एक ऐसा सम्बन्ध-सूत्र है, जो दोनों की पृथक् नाट्यगत इयत्ता को स्पष्ट करता है। इस सम्बन्ध में आचार्य भरत के पास एक स्पष्ट मान्यता है जबकि उनके अनुयायी और आधिकारिक विश्लेषक होने के बावजूद परवर्ती आचार्यों ने नाट्य विधा के इन प्रमुख तत्वों के प्रति अपेक्षित गंभीरता नहीं दिखाई।

भरतमुनि के द्वारा इन दोनों शब्दों का प्रयोग अलग-अलग अर्थों में हुआ है, जो नाटक और रंगमंच की परस्पर सघन सम्बद्धता को भी स्पष्ट करते हैं। 'पात्र' और 'चरित्र' दोनों में एक स्पष्ट अंतर है। पात्र का अर्थ वह योग्य व्यक्ति है, जो उस भूमिका को भलीभांति वहनकर उस चरित्र को मंच पर जीवंत कर सके। नाट्य-चरित्रों के लिए योग्य पात्रों का चयनमंच पर नाटक की सफलता की पहली सीढ़ी है। नाटक के चरित्रों की प्रकृति और शारीरिक संरचना के हिसाब से पात्र ढूंढना कठिन होता है मगर निर्देशक अपने अनुभव से अपने आस पास रंग कर्म में रूचि रखनेवाले लोगों में से नाट्य-चरित्रोचित पात्र खोज लेता है। आचार्य भरत ने अपनी 'पात्र' विषयक अवधारणा को स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा है - "नट उस पात्र (बर्तन) की भांति है, जिसमें रखा हुआ रस सामाजिक या प्रेक्षक ग्रहण करता है।" पात्र, प्रयोग तथा ऋद्धि (समृद्धि) नाटक के तीन गुण बताए गए हैं। इसके अंतर्गत पात्र के गुणों की भी चर्चा की गयी है। बुद्धिमत्त्व, सुरूपत्व, लय-तालज्ञता, रसभावज्ञता, वयस्यत्व (युवावस्था), कौतूहल, ग्रहण, धारण तथा गात्रावैकल्य (देह की अविकलता स्वस्थ होना) और निःसाध्वसता तथा उत्साह।⁸ अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार नट स्वयं रसास्वाद नहीं करता है, इसलिए उसे पात्र कहा जाता है - "अत एव च नटे न रसः। कुत्र तर्हि। विस्मृतिशीलो न बोध्यते। उक्तं ही देश-काल-प्रभात-भेदान्निश्चिन्नतो रस इति केयमाशंका। नटे तर्हि किम्? आस्वादनोपायः। अत एव च पात्रमित्युच्यते। नहि पात्रे मद्यास्वादः, अपितु तदुपायकः"⁹

आदिभरत ने पात्र का लक्षण इस प्रकार बताया है -

"पात्रस्य लक्षणं वक्ष्ये नाट्यशास्त्र विनिश्चितम्।

रूप यौवन विद्यानां नृत्तगीतोभयोरपि।¹⁰

अर्थात् रूप, यौवन तथा विद्याओं की साथ ही गीत एवं नृत्य की पात्रता तथा स्वरों की स्थिति और विलास की पात्रता होने से पात्र कहा जाता है। नाट्य में पात्र का विशेष महत्व है। देश, काल और परिस्थिति के आलोक में मानव का जीवन-पुष्प विकसित होता है। उसका सौरभ और रस तो उसी पात्र में छलकता है, तभी वह नाट्य रस आस्वाद्य होता है। रूप और रस की रंगभूमि में ये पात्र ही तो होते हैं, उसे प्राण देते हैं, गति देते हैं।¹¹

भरत प्रणीत रस सूत्र के व्याख्याकार आचार्य अभिनव गुप्त जिनके साहित्य एवं दर्शन सम्बन्धी विचारों ने भारतीय चिन्ताधारा को बड़े गहरे रूप में प्रभावित किया है। नाट्य के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने एक मनोवैज्ञानिक की दृष्टि से विचार किया है। उनका मत है - "नाटक नेत्रों से दृश्यमान दृश्य के कल्प समान अनुव्यवसाय - भावना का विषय है।" तात्पर्य यह कि रंगमंच पर नटगण (पात्रगण) अर्थात् अभिनेतावृन्द अभिनय किया करता है। उसे सामाजिक-प्रेक्षक ऐसा समझता है मानो प्राचीन काल की वह घटना अभी आँखों के सामने घटित हो रही हो। नाटक में पात्र की स्वाभाविक अवस्थिति हमें रस सूत्र के दूसरे व्याख्याकार आचार्य शंकुक के अनुमितिवाद के विश्लेषण में प्राप्त होती है। उनके अनुसार नट (पात्र) में जो

राम की प्रतीति होती है, वह केवल भ्रान्ति नहीं है; क्योंकि रंगमंच पर जब प्रेक्षक नट को राम की भूमिका में देखता है, तब न वह संदेह का अनुभव करता है, न यथार्थता का और न भ्रान्ति का ही। ऐसा ही भान होता है कि वह नट राम है और ऐसा भी लगता है कि वह राम नहीं है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में नट में राम की प्रतीति एक विलक्षण प्रतीति है।"¹² कला की इसी विलक्षण प्रतीति को श्री शंकुक ने चित्रतुरगन्याय के सहारे प्रकट किया है।

आचार्य शंकुक का अनुमितिवाद भी 'पात्र' और 'चरित्र' के मौलिक अंतर को ही स्पष्ट करता है। यह विचारणीय तथ्य है कि प्रतीति नट में राम की होगी न कि राम के चरित्र में राम की। नट या पात्र अपने स्वाभाविक रूप में राम नहीं बल्कि एक अन्य नामधारी व्यक्ति है, जिसके अभिनय की कुशलता और (पात्रत्व) के कारण सामाजिकों को उसमें राम की प्रतीति हो रही है। वह रस का भोक्ता स्वयं नहीं है किन्तु सामाजिकों या प्रेक्षकों के रसास्वादन का माध्यम है। मगर ज्योंही वह राम की भूमिका प्राप्त कर उनके चरित्र में ढल जाता है, वह अन्य नामधारी सामान्य व्यक्ति नहीं रह जाता। उस समय राम के सारे दुःख-सुख, हर्ष-विषाद उसके हो जाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में पहले वह रस का भोक्ता स्वयं होता है, वह जितना राम के चरित्र में डूबता जाता है उतना ही प्रेक्षक उक्त अभिनीत चरित्र के साथ तादात्म्य का अनुभव कर पाते हैं। यहीं पर पात्र का चरित्र में विलयन होता है। पात्ररूप में वह रस का भोक्ता नहीं है किन्तु चरित्ररूप में उसकी दोहरी भूमिका है, वह भोक्ता भी है और रस सम्प्रेषण का माध्यम भी। पात्र और चरित्र के बीच विभाजक रेखा भूमिका है। अभिनय की स्वाभाविकता पात्र को चरित्र में बदल देती है जबकि अस्वाभाविक नाटकीयता फिर से सामान्य पात्ररूप में लाकर छोड़ देती है।

पाश्चात्य नाट्यशास्त्रियों ने भी नाटक के इन दोनों तत्वों पर पर्याप्त विचार किया है। वहां पात्र के लिए performer शब्द व्यवहृत होता है जबकि चरित्र के लिए character शब्द। रंगमंचीय प्रस्तुति और पूर्वाभ्यासके सम्बन्ध में स्पष्ट किया गया है - The planning, rehearsal and presentation of a work. Such a work is presented to an audience at a particular time and place by live performer, who use either themselves or inanimate figures. Such as the medium of presentation¹³ पाश्चात्य नाट्यशास्त्र में पात्र के लिए performer और actor दोनों शब्द पर्याय के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं। पात्रों के कौशल और भूमिका आरोपण की क्षमता के सम्बन्ध में लिखा गया है The work of the actor falls into some main areas : 1. the exhibition of particular physical, including vocal skills. 2. the exhibition of mimetic skills, in which physical states and activities are simulated. 3. the imaginative exploration of fictitious situation¹⁴

भरतमुनि के व्याख्याकार नाट्याचार्यों में से अधिकांश ने उनके द्वारा दी गयी पात्र और चरित्रगत स्थापनाओं में निहित सूक्ष्म

मनोवैज्ञानिक अंतर को मीमांसा का विषय न बनाकर दोनों को प्रमादवश पर्याय मान लिया है। हिंदी के आचार्यों ने भी उन्हीं का अनुकरण करते हुए दोनों के बीच अव्यावहारिक समानता को ही अपनी सहमति प्रदान की है और उन्हीं का अनुकरण हिंदी के नाटककारों ने भी किया है तभी तो प्रकाशित रूप में नाटक खुलते ही सबसे पहले हमारी दृष्टि 'पात्र-परिचय' पर पड़ती है, जबकि वहां नाटक में संयोजित चरित्रों का परिचय दिखाई देता है, न कि उसमें अभिनय करनेवाले पात्रों का परिचय। इधर हाल में प्रकाशित कुछ समकालीन नाटकों में पहली बार उक्त नाटक में अभिनीत पात्रों अथवा प्रथम सफल या चर्चित मंचन में सम्मिलित पात्रों, निर्देशक और मंचन के सहयोगी अन्य रंगकर्मियों के नाम प्रकाशित करने की प्रथा चली है। यह रंगकर्मियों के प्रति अपेक्षित सम्मान प्रदर्शित करने का भाव स्वागत्य है। पात्र कई बार अपने अभिनय की कुशलता से हमारी चेतना में स्थापित मूल नाट्य दृष्टिचित्रों की छवि बदल डालने का भी कार्य करते हैं। ऐसा अक्सर ऐतिहासिक चरित्रों के साथ होता है। ऐतिहासिक चरित्रों एक विशेष छवि कालांतर में उनसे जुड़ी अनेक कथाओं को पढ़ते - सुनते हमारे मानस पटल पर बनती चली जाती है। ये खल पात्र भी हो सकते हैं और सतोगुणी भी। नाटक के पात्र अपने भीतर बहुत अरसे से स्थापित उस छवि में अपनी कला से भी बहुत कुछ ऐसा जोड़ने का उपक्रम करते हैं कि इतिहास के प्रस्तरों में दबा युगों - युगों से काल की उपेक्षा सहता कोई भी 'पात्र' अचानक सामाजिकों की सहानुभूति का पात्र बन जाता है। यह पात्रत्व की कला है न कि चरित्र की। दरअसल सम्पूर्ण नाटक ही पात्र (अभिनेता) की प्रदर्शक कला है। अभिनेता ही अपनी कला से चरित्र को मंच पर साकार करता है। पाश्चात्य नाट्यशास्त्र में इन दोनों तत्वों के बीच कोई घालमेल नहीं है। वहाँ पात्र के लिए मानव जीवन को संसार रूपी विशाल और विस्तृत रंगमंच पर होनेवाला नाटक ही कहा गया है। मनुष्य के क्रिया-कलाप और उसके दैनिक जीवन की सम्पूर्ण गतिविधि इस नाटक के विभिन्न अंक और दृश्य हैं। नाटक इसी विशाल जीवन-नाटक का एक लघु गत्यात्मक अनुकरण है। मनुष्य इस नाटक का पात्र (अभिनेता) है। वह अपने जीवन पर्यन्त अनेक चरित्रों को इस संसार रूपी मंच पर जीता है और फिर कठपुतलियों की भांति सूत्रधार (ईश्वर) के द्वारा ऊपर खींच लिया जाता है। क्योंकि सब की डोर उसी सूत्रधार की अंगुलियों से बंधी है। डॉ. सुन्दर लाल शर्मा का कथन है - "स्रष्टा नाटककार है, वही निर्देशक है। धरती का प्रशस्त वक्ष मुक्ताकाशी मंच है, प्रतिक्षण घटित होनेवाला घटनाक्रम नाट्यव्यापार है, जीवधारी पात्र हैं, सरिता, सागर, वन, पर्वत, खेत, खलिहान, तथा नगर-ग्राम दृश्य-सज्जाएँ हैं। इस प्रकार जीवन स्वयं अविराम रूप से अभिनीयमान एक विराट नाटक है।"¹⁵ निश्चय ही पात्र रूप में मनुष्य इस संसार में जीवन-पर्यन्त अनेक प्रकार के चरित्र जीता है। संसार और सृष्टि के दर्शन का नाटक के पात्र और चरित्र के रूप में कथन भी दोनों के के मूलभूत अंतर को स्पष्ट करता है।

निष्कर्ष

पात्र और चरित्र दोनों में एक मौलिक अंतर है। यह अंतर नाटक और रंगमंच के क्षेत्र में सैद्धांतिक और व्यावहारिक दोनों ही स्तरों पर विश्लेषण की अपेक्षा रखता है। आचार्य भरतमुनि ने अपने नाट्यशास्त्र में नाटक के इन दोनों ही तत्वों पर विचार किया है किन्तु परवर्ती आचार्यों ने दोनों को समानधर्मा मान लिया है। 'पात्र' रंगमंच पर किसी भी चरित्र की भूमिका ग्रहण करने के पूर्व की व्यक्ति-सत्ता है किन्तु भूमिका ग्रहण करते ही वह चरित्र में ढल जाता है। चरित्र को मंच पर स्वाभाविकता के साथ जीवंत करने में ही उसका पात्रत्व सिद्ध होता है।

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औद्योगिक संघ और भारतीय समाज

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सारांश

भारतीय आदिकाल से कर्मनिष्ठ रहे हैं। उन्होंने कर्मनिष्ठता से ही सर्वोत्तम निर्माण और उत्पादन करने की दिशा में सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र को अग्रसर किया। भारत आधिभौतिक दृष्टि से भी विश्व में अग्रणी रहा है। प्राचीन भारत का प्रमुख उद्योग थे कृषि, पशुपालन और वाणिज्य। भारतीय उद्योगों के उत्पादों की चारूता विश्वस्तरीय थी। इसे औद्योगिक संघों ने एक नई एवं सुव्यवस्थित दिशा प्रदान की। प्राचीन शासक सुदूर अवस्थित उद्योगों का समुचित देखरेख करने में सक्षम नहीं थे। साथ ही आवश्यकता पड़ने पर सहायता भी नहीं कर पाते थे। फलतः उद्योगों के समुचित विकास के लिए संघभाव अति आवश्यक था जो उत्पादों की गुणवत्ता, समरूपता को नियत करता था। इन्हीं औद्योगिक संघों से कालान्तर में समाज का विस्तार हुआ, विभिन्न व्यवसायों में पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी संलग्नता ने ही जाति-प्रथा को विकसित किया क्योंकि जाति का आधार कर्म अथवा व्यवसाय ही रहा है। जैसे स्वर्णकार, कर्मकार, तक्षा, कुलाल, चर्मसन्धाता, गणक आदि। प्राचीन भारत में यज्ञ-व्यवसाय चरमोत्कर्ष पर था। इसके विशेषज्ञ ब्राह्मण कहलाते थे।

विशिष्टशब्द - उपवन, परिशोधित, संचयन, कोष्ठागार, अलंकरण

भूमिका

भारतीय जन-मानस आदिकाल से कर्मनिष्ठ रहा है। वैदिककाल से ही परिश्रमपूर्वक अर्जन करने की शिक्षा सदैव प्राप्त होती रही है। ऋग्वेद में कहा गया है - “न ब्रह्मेश्रान्तस्य सख्याय देवाः”। अर्थात् परिश्रमी के देवतागण सखा होते हैं। प्राचीन भारत में परिश्रम की प्रवृत्ति व्याप्त थी। यही कारण है कि तत्कालीन समाज में परिश्रम की प्रवृत्ति ने भारतीयों के अन्तःकरण में स्थान बना लिया था। यही कारण है कि अधिकाधिक परिश्रम के योग से सर्वोत्तम वस्तुओं के निर्माण और उत्पन्न करने की प्रवृत्ति विकसित हुई। इसी प्रवृत्ति के कारण विश्व की सर्वोत्तम वस्तुओं का निर्माण संभव हुआ। इसी कारण से भारतवर्ष आधिभौतिक दृष्टि से संसार के सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्रों में अग्रणी था। उद्योगों में कृषि, पशुपालन, व्यापार और शिल्प को प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त था। उनका कार्य समान वितरण प्रणाली पर आधारित था। कृषि प्रमुख व्यवसाय होने के कारण कृषि-विज्ञान का आविष्कार हुआ। उपवनों के समुचित विकास पर ध्यान दिया गया क्योंकि वन का संस्कृति सम्पन्न रूप ही उपवन होता है। इससे फल-फूल जड़ी-बूटी के विशाल विश्व-स्तरीय उद्योग पल्लवित और पुष्पित हुए।

सिन्धु सभ्यता के अवशेषों से ज्ञात होता है कि भारत में सूती, ऊनी, रेशमी, चर्म एवं रेशों से विशाल उद्योग फल-फूल रहा था। खान उद्योग में भूगर्भ को प्राचीन भारतीय पूर्णरूपेण उपयोग में लाते थे जिससे विभिन्न धातु प्राप्त करते थे। इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य कई प्रकार के उद्योग विकसित थे। भारतीय समाज में इसी के साथ स्वर्णकार, दन्तकार, शिल्पकार, मणिकार, कुम्भकार, सुराकार, दर्वाहार जैसे समाज का अभ्युदय हुआ। उपर्युक्त सभी व्यवसायों के औद्योगिक संघ बने हुए थे जो पूँजी की स्थिरता को भी सुनिश्चित करते थे।

शोधप्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णनात्मक प्रकृति का है। प्रस्तुत आलेख के लिए मुख्यतः ‘कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र’ को

आधार बनाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त मनुस्मृति, महाभारत ऋग्वेद एवं उपनिषद् के उद्धरण दिए गए हैं।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

प्राचीन भारत में निर्माण एवं उत्पादन की परिस्थितियाँ अनुकूल थीं उद्योगों की उन्नति के लिए कुटुम्ब, गाँव तथा गण के रूप में संघों की स्थापना आवश्यक हो गई थी। मृगया, कृषि और पशुपालन जैसे व्यवसाय में सम्पूर्ण गाँव में संघभाव स्वभावतः अपेक्षित था। मनु के अनुसार संघ की सुव्यवस्था के लिए नियम बना कर यदि कोई व्यक्ति प्रतिज्ञा करता है और उसका निर्वाह नहीं करता तो राजा उसे देश-निर्वासन का दण्ड देता था। रामायण में भी संघ का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। जैसे - केवट संघ, इस संघ का नेता ‘गुह’ वीर था। उसकी प्रमुख विशेषता थी जातिगण से घिरे रहना। उसका व्यक्तित्व प्रखर था। प्रायः सभी केवट सैनिक थे, इस प्रकार उसके पास पाँच सौ नावें और पाँच हजार सैनिक थे। महाभारत काल में भी संघों अथवा श्रेणी का अस्तित्व था क्योंकि उत्सवों पर इन गणों के लिए पृथक्-पृथक् मंच का निर्माण कराया जाता था। श्रेणी के नियम विरुद्ध आचरण को पाप माना जाता था (आश्रमवासिक पर्व-281)।

ये संघ धन का प्रतिनिधित्व करते थे अतः शत्रु राजा के द्वारा श्रेणी को फोड़ कर अपने में मिलाने की प्रथा थी, जिससे प्रतिपक्षी दुर्बल हो जाता था। ‘अर्थशास्त्र’ के अनुसार गणना विभाग का अध्यक्ष संघों के धर्म, व्यवहार, चरित्र और संस्थान का लेखा-जोखा रखता था। व्यवसायिक संघों की शक्ति कौटिल्य के युग में अतिशय बढ़ चुकी थी। राजाओं ने उनसे सम्बन्धित नीति-निर्धारण करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया था। श्रेणी और गणवीर योद्धा के रूप में प्रख्यात थे। राजा उनका उपचय करता था (अर्थशास्त्र - हीनशक्तिपूरण प्रकरण)। श्रेणी बल जनपद का होता था, वह राजा के विजय को अपना विजय मानता था। कुछ व्यवसायिक श्रेणियाँ भ्रमणशील थीं, राजा उनके लिए भू-भाग का आबंटन करता था। ईश्वरी सन् के आरम्भ में श्रेणी के स्वतन्त्र रिवाजों का मान बढ़ता हुआ दृष्टिगत होता है।

संघों के न्यायालय साधारण प्रजा की विवादों के भी निर्णय करते थे।

“मुख्यैः सह समूहानां विसंवादो यदा भवेत्।

तदा विचारयद्राजा स्वधर्मं स्थापयेच्च तान्॥

(बृहस्पति - 28.30)

प्राचीन भारत में ‘संघ’ एक सुनिश्चित व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत कार्य करते थे। जैसे -

समान वितरण : समान वितरण की प्रवृत्ति ने जनसंख्या वृद्धि के साथ ही उत्पादन के महत्व को स्वीकार किया। फलतः उत्पादन की पद्धतियाँ बदलने लगी। गण-गोत्र टूटने लगे, विकास की अवस्था ज्यों-ज्यों आगे बढ़ी त्यों-त्यों श्रम का मूल्य बढ़ने लगा। इसी कारण से तत्कालीन समाज में साम्य-संघों की स्थापना हुई तथा इनके मध्य समान-वितरण का शर्त निर्धारित हुआ। इसी संघ ने उद्योगों का परिष्कृत किया। उस युग के उद्योग का विवरण महाभारत से प्राप्त होता है - ‘वार्ता’ (कृषि, पशुपालन और वाणिज्य) का आश्रय लेने वाला राष्ट्र सुखी रहता है।

“वार्तायां संश्रितस्तात लोकोऽयं सुखमेधते”

(सभापर्व - 5.69)

कौटिल्य ने धान्य और खान वाली भूमियों का विश्लेषण करते हुए लिखा है कि खानों से कोशागार मात्र बढ़ता है। पर धान्य (कृषि) से कोशागार और कोष्ठ (केठार) दोनों बढ़ते हैं तथा इसी कोश से दुर्ग आदि का निर्माण होता है। (अर्थशास्त्र-अनवसति प्रकरण)

कृषि : प्राचीनकाल में कृषि को उद्योग का स्थान प्राप्त था। फलतः कृषि-विज्ञान का आविष्कार हुआ। सिंचाई, जुताई, रख-रखाव, व्यापार आदि की सम्पन्न व्यवस्था थी जिससे ‘कृषक’ का एक प्रतिष्ठित वर्ग के रूप में अम्युदय हुआ। कालान्तर में जनसंख्या वृद्धि के कारण कृषि पर बोझ बढ़ गया। साथ ही भूमि का विभाजन इस उद्योग के लिए घातक सिद्ध हुआ। कृषक वर्ग की स्थिति को क्षीण प्राय करने में अनिश्चित मानसून की भी महती भूमिका रही।

इन कारणों से कृषक ऋणग्रस्त होकर दयनीय स्थिति को प्राप्त होने लगा। यद्यपि कृषि कार्य के आधुनिकतम उपकरण एवं राज्य की सजगता उसे नष्ट होने से बचा लिया। वैदिक काल में आर्यावर्त का प्रदेश अत्यन्त उर्वर और उपजाऊ था तथा कृषि की दृष्टि से अत्यधिक उपयुक्त था। टिड्डियों से कृषि को रक्षित करने के अनेक उपकरण बने थे (छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् - 1.13)। प्राचीन भारत में तीन प्रकार के धान्य उत्पन्न होते थे (बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् - 6.31)।

उपवन : आज भी उपवन की महत्ता अक्षुण्ण है। ये फल, फूल, जड़ी-बूटी आदि के विशाल उद्योग के आधार हैं।

पशुपालन : पशुपालन प्राचीन भारत का प्रमुख उद्योग रहा है। प्राचीन काल में पशु का उपयोग मुद्रा के रूप में होता था। विवाह, यज्ञ, विभिन्न प्रकार उत्सवों पर तथा वस्तु-विनिमय प्रणाली का

आधार पशु ही थे। दूध-दही, घी तथा अन्य दुग्ध-पदार्थों ने पशुपालन को आदिकाल से उद्योग का स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया है। इन्हीं से समाज में सम्पन्न पशुपालन-वर्ग का अम्युदय हुआ। प्राचीन भारत में घोड़ा, हाथी, गाय, बैल, भैंस आदि का व्यापार बृहत् पैमाने पर होता रहा है।

इस कार्य को बाधाओं से मुक्त रखने के लिए पशुपालकों ने भी अपना संघ बनाया था जिन्हें समाज में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त थी।

वस्त्र उद्योग : सिन्धु-सभ्यता के अवशेषों से ज्ञात होता है कि भारतवर्ष वस्त्र उद्योग का केन्द्र था। यहाँ सूत, ऊन, रेशम, चर्म, वल्कलादि और उद्भिज के रेशों जैसे जूट आदि का विशाल वस्त्र उद्योग फल-फूल रहा था। बुनकर, रंगरेज, धुनियाँ, चर्म-सन्धाता जैसे संघ अस्तित्व में आए। आज के विकसित वस्त्र उद्योग के प्रारम्भिक औजार चरखे, करघे, छापाखाने आदि ही थे। आज के कुटीर उद्योगों में इनका अत्यधिक प्रयोग होता है। इस उद्योग के लिए आवश्यक कच्चे माल की प्राप्ति कृषि, उपवन और पशुओं से ही होती थी। प्रत्येक उद्योग का अन्योन्याश्रय सम्बन्ध था। इसी सम्बन्ध ने सुसम्पन्न व्यवसायिक वर्ग का निर्माण किया जो आज भी विश्व स्तर पर व्यवसाय में संलग्न है।

खान उद्योग : खानों का उपयोग उनसे प्राप्त वस्तुओं को विभिन्न उद्योगों में लगाने के लिए किया जाता था। जैसे अलंकरण, औषधि और व्यापार। अतः यह तथ्य प्रतिपादित होता है कि प्राचीन भारत भूगर्भ से परिचित था। हमारे पूर्वज समुद्र से परिचित थे।

समुद्र से मोती-मूंगा आदि प्राप्त करने की कला से वे परिचित थे एवं अवगत थे (ऋग्वेद-1.35.4 तथा 10.68.1)। महाभारत काल में भूगर्भ की सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण वस्तु रत्न, सुवर्ण और चाँदी रही है। राजाओं के कोश में इनका संचय होता था। उपहार के रूप में दिए जाते थे रत्न और गज दन्त से आयुध आभूषण आदि अलंकृत होते थे। धातुओं को भूगर्भ से निकालना, स्वच्छ करना एवं उनके उपयोग के उद्योग का पर्याप्त विकास किया गया था।

अन्य उद्योग : संसार की सभी संस्कृतियों में भोजन, पेय पदार्थों का निर्माण, वस्त्र, अलंकार, अस्त्र-शस्त्र निर्माण, औषधि उद्योग आदि व्यवसायों को किसी न किसी रूप में अंगीकृत किया गया है। उन्हें पर्याप्त प्रतिष्ठा भी प्राप्त हुई है। सिन्धु सभ्यता प्राप्त अवशेषों में कताई, बुनाई के मिट्टी के बने ‘यन्त्र’ धनवान और निर्धन सबके घरों में मिले हैं। मिट्टी के बड़े ही अलंकृत बर्तन कुम्भकारों के द्वारा बनाए जाते थे। पोलासपुर के सद्दालपुर नामक कुम्भकार के पास अकेले ही 500 मिट्टी के बर्तनों के 500 आपण थे, जिनके लिए उनकी अध्यक्षता में विविध प्रकार के पात्र बनाए जाते थे। अर्थशास्त्र के युग में हीरा, मणि, स्वर्ण, शिलाजीत, चाँदी, सीसा, लोहा, टिन आदि को खानों से निकाल कर परिशोधित किया जाता था।

रत्नों का संचयन होता था। जम्बू नदी के तट पर, शातकुम्भ पर्वत पर, वेणु पर्वत और हाटक प्रदेश स्वर्ण व्यवसाय के केन्द्र थे।

वैदिककाल के उद्योगों की सूची : वाजसनेयी संहिता में मिलती है। इसके अनुसार रथकार, तक्षा (बढ़ाई) कुलाल, कर्मार (लोहा चाँदी का काम करने वाले) रज्जुसर्ज (रस्सी बनाने वाले) मृगयु (शिकारी) श्वनी (कृता पालको) शिक्षक (वैद्य) सुराकार, धीवर, दर्वाहार, चर्मन्, केवट, आदि संघ अपने-अपने व्यवसाय में संलग्न थे। दर्वाहार (लकड़हारा) चर्मन् (चमार) केवट, गणक आदि संघ अपने-अपने व्यवसाय में संलग्न थे। स्त्रियाँ भी विदलकारी (बाँस की टोकरी, चटाई बनाने) कंटीकार, पेशकारी, कोशकारी, रजयित्री, वासः पल्पूली आदि व्यवसायों में संलग्न थीं। नृत्य, गीत, अभिनय, धुन, वीणा-वादन, तूणव बजाना, शंख बजाना आदि यज्ञ व्यवसाय में प्रचलित था।

नगर निर्माण भी प्राचीन भारत का प्रतिष्ठित व्यवसाय था। किसी भी नगर को अवस्थित करने के लिए योजनाबद्ध प्रारूप बनाए जाते थे। राजमहल, न्याय व्यवस्था, शासन संचालन का कार्य नगर के मध्यभाग में होता था। सम्पूर्ण नगर विधियों में विभक्त था। प्रत्येक विधि एक व्यवसाय विशेष का सूचक होता था। जैसे दन्तकार विधि, सुवर्णकार विधि, कर्मकार विधि आदि।

प्राचीनकाल के शासक राजधानी के बाहर के उद्योग-धन्धों के संवर्धन के लिए विशेष रूप से प्रयत्नशील होने पर भी उनकी स्वल्प सहायता कर पाते थे।

प्रस्तर युग के आदिवासीगण का परिचय उनके औजारों और कारखानों से मिलता है। परवर्ती युग में सिन्धु-सभ्यता की वस्तुओं को देखने से प्रतीत होता है कि उनकी समरूपता नियत करने वाली कोई गण अथवा संस्था रही होगी जो सरकार की अध्यक्षता में कार्य करती होगी। ऋग्वेद में गण और गणपति का उल्लेख मिलता है (ऋग्वेद - 2, 23, 15, 25, 1, व-5, 60, 8-10)। जातक काल में दो प्रकार के 'संघों' का उल्लेख मिलता है। पहला व्यापारिक संघ तथा दूसरा शिल्पिक संघ।

शिल्पिक संघ : संघों के स्थापना 'प्रमुख' की अध्यक्षता में होती थी। उसकी योग्यता नेतृत्व के लिए अतिशय महत्वपूर्ण होती थी। व्यापारिक संघों में नित्य की आगत संशयास्पद परिस्थितियों में उसकी चतुराई और वैज्ञानिक सुझाव लाभप्रद होते थे। तत्कालीन प्रमुख सर्वश्रेष्ठ आचार्यों की अध्यक्षता में अपने-अपने शिल्प की जातिगत विशेषताओं की परम्पराओं को स्थायी विधि के रूप में अधुण रखते थे। शिष्य-मंडली साधारणतः उनके संघों में सम्मिलित होती थी।

शिल्पिकों के व्यवसाय के अनुसार अट्टारह प्रकार के प्रख्यात संघ थे (सूची जातक - 387, कुल्माष जातक - 4, 5) संघ के प्रमुख जेट्टकों कहलाते थे। उनकी राजसभा तक अच्छी पहुँच थी, कुछ को तो राजसम्मान प्राप्त था, वे राजाओं के मंत्री पद पर भी आसीन होते थे। उन्हें राजवल्लभ के उपाधि से विभूषित किया जाता था (उरग जातक - 154)।

संघ अपनी उन्नति के लिए योजनाएँ बना कर, उन्हें कार्यान्वित करते तथा आन्तरिक झगड़ों और विवादों को दूर करके शान्तिमयी सुव्यवस्था की प्रतिष्ठा के लिए स्वतन्त्र थे। संघ की अपरिमित शक्ति, उसकी एकता एवं अभ्युदय पथ में आने वाली बाधाओं को दूर करने में सहायक होती थी। गौतम के अनुसार - कृषक, व्यापारी, पशुपालक, ऋणदाता तथा अन्य उद्योगों में लगे हुए संघ अपने संघ का संचालन करने के लिए नियम बनाते थे और उनके विवादों का निर्णय करते थे।

राजा भी वर्ग-विशेष में प्रचलित नियमों के अन्तर्गत ही निर्णय करते थे। विभिन्न शिलालेख एवं ताम्रपत्र दान का विस्तृत विवरण प्रदान करते हैं जो प्रायः धार्मिक कार्यों के लिए ही दिए और एकत्र किये जाते हैं। उपर्युक्त विवरण से यह ज्ञात होता है कि औद्योगिक संघों के समाज का विस्तार हुआ जातिगत संलग्नता का विकास हुआ।

निष्कर्ष

प्राचीन भारत में जाति का आधार 'कर्म' अथवा व्यवसाय रहा। जन्मना जातिगत प्रथा का आविर्भाव संभवतः पूँजीगत सुरक्षा के सम्बन्धित हुआ। परिश्रम पूर्वक उपार्जित धन के संघों ने अपने ही संतानों के उपयोग के लिए संचित करना प्रारम्भ किया और जातिगत प्रथा का जन्म हुआ। संघ और समाज का हित न्यून पड़ा, व्यक्तिगत खर्च का प्राबल्य हुआ और प्रारम्भ हुई वर्ग-भेद और जाति भेद की राजनीति जो आज का अमोघ यन्त्र बन पड़ा है। प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में राजनीति का प्रवेश तुच्छ स्वार्थ के लिए हुआ। इसी से प्रारम्भ हुआ सामाजिक विघटन, विदेशी आक्रान्ताओं ने इसे भरपूर सहारा दिया। किन्तु भारतीय और भारतीयता का कल्याण तो इस भावना में सन्निहित है -

“सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः, सर्वे सन्तु निरामयः ।

सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःखः भाग भवेत्॥”

संदर्भ

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2. ऋग्वेद - 6.3.4, 9.10
3. अथर्ववेद - 11.3-7
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5. कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र (आकराध्यक्ष प्रकरण)
6. कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र (स्वर्णाध्यक्ष प्रकरण)
7. वाजसनेयि संहिता - 30-6, 19-20
8. रामायण (अयोध्या काण्ड)
9. अर्थशास्त्र (कारुष रक्षण प्रकरण)
10. मनुस्मृति - 8-219

निराला की कविताओं का समाजशास्त्र

डॉ. सुभाषचन्द्र गुप्त

हिन्दी-विभाग, करीम सिटी कॉलेज

जमशेदपुर, झारखण्ड

सारांश

छायावाद-युग राष्ट्रीय आंदोलनों और सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन का युग था। एक ओर सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र एक महान लक्ष्य के लिए संघर्ष कर रहा था और दूसरी ओर राजनीतिक पराजयों व आर्थिक संकट के कारण मध्यवर्ग के भीतर विद्रोह और निराशा की भावना गहरी होती जा रही थी। यही कारण है कि उस युग की राजनीतिक और साहित्यिक अभिव्यक्ति में भविष्य की स्वप्नभरी आशा तथा वर्तमान की वास्तविक निराशा की मिली-जुली अनुगूँज सुनाई देती है। इसीलिए इन रचनात्मक अनुगूँजों को वैयक्तिक पीड़ा की अभिव्यक्ति मानना गलत होगा। कुल मिलाकर, छायावादी कविताओं में रोमान और निसर्ग का स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम और किसान-आंदोलन से विरोध नहीं है, बल्कि रोमान और निसर्ग तत्कालीन आंदोलनों का परिणाम था। इस पूरी काव्य-प्रक्रिया पर रामविलास शर्मा जी ने और नामवर जी ने विस्तार से प्रकाश डाला है और माना है कि छायावादी कविता में संदर्भित मुक्ति की आकांक्षा का उत्स भारत की बहुसंख्यक किसान-जनता है। स्पष्ट है कि यथार्थ बोध न केवल कविता की अंतर्वस्तु को, बल्कि शिल्प के ढांचे को भी प्रभावित करता है। कविता के नाम पर कथ्य का व्याकरणबद्ध विवरणात्मक ढाँचा जो द्विवेदी-युग के कवियों ने तैयार किया, उसमें कविता दो कारणों से बनती है- एक उसमें कविता और भाषा के पुराने कर्मकाण्ड से इंकार है और दूसरा उसमें नई बातों की आहटें हैं। कविकर्म की प्रासंगिकता इस बात पर निर्भर करती है कि कवि स्वयं की पुनर्रचना किस प्रकार करता है और इस प्रक्रिया में अपने समय की विसंगतियों और विरोधाभासों से किस प्रकार प्रभावित हो रहा है। इस दृष्टि से निराला का महत्त्व बदलते परिदृश्य में जीवन और अभिव्यक्ति के जनपक्षीय आयामों को ग्रहण करने के कारण है। इसीलिए, उनकी चिन्तनशीलता जितनी प्रौढ़ तथा धारदार लगती है, उनकी कविताएँ उतनी ही व्यंजनाश्रित अर्थवत्ता से सम्पन्न। उनकी कविताओं को पढ़ते समय ऐसा लगता है मानों कविता के बाहर खड़ा कवि, कविता के भीतर के कवि से संवादरत हो। यकीनन निराला के पास एक परिष्कृत भाषा का संस्कार था और चिन्तन का आत्मपरिभाषी संवाद। परिणामस्वरूप जीवंत आवेग की क्रिया-प्रक्रिया के अनुभव और आविष्कार को हम अपने भीतर घटित होते महसूस करते हैं। समय, समाज, इतिहास, धर्म, दर्शन, मिथक, संवेदना और काव्यात्मकता की स्थितियाँ निराला के सृजनकर्म में अलग-अलग नहीं हैं, बल्कि सभी रासायनिक घोल बनकर एक विराट अर्थध्वनि की निष्पत्ति करते हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द - दृगजल, अम्बुधि, मिथक, निरूपित

भूमिका

रेनेवेलेक ने लिखा है कि अतीत की सार्थकता (पास्ट सिग्निफिकेन्स) और वर्तमान की अर्थवत्ता (प्रेजेन्ट मीनिंग) एक कालजयी कृति के अभिन्न आयाम हैं। एक कालजयी रचना जितनी 'कालबद्ध' होती है, उतनी ही 'कालातीत' भी। एक प्रगतिशील रचनाकार जिस जनपक्षधरता और जागरुकता के साथ अपने समय के विविध संदर्भों को उठाता है, उसी सजगता तथा द्रन्दात्मकता के साथ अतीत को, इतिहास को, परम्परा को। महाप्राण निराला समग्रता में परम्परा और प्रगति के संयोजक कवि हैं। यही कारण है कि निराला का कवि एक ओर 'राम की शक्तिपूजा', 'तुलसीदास', 'देवी सरस्वती', 'पंचवटी-प्रसंग' जैसी रचनाओं के जरिए सांस्कृतिक एवं मिथकीय संदर्भों को सामने रखता है, तो दूसरी ओर अपने समय के खुरदुरे सत्य से साक्षात्कार करती 'कुकुरमुत्ता', 'विधवा', 'तोड़ती पत्थर', 'भिक्षुक', 'सरोज-स्मृति' आदि रचनाओं को। 'जूही की कली' में प्रकृति के सौंदर्य का मानवीकरण है, तो 'संध्यासुन्दरी' में संध्या की नीरवता का दार्शनिक निरूपण है। 'यमुना के प्रति' कविता में अतीत की गौरवशाली स्मृतिगाथा है तो 'जागो फिर एक बार' में राष्ट्रीय उद्बोधन का आग्नेय स्वर है। 'परिमल', 'अनामिका', 'गीतिका', 'बेला', 'नये पत्ते' आदि तमाम काव्य-संग्रहों की रचनाओं में विषय-वैविध्य तथा प्रांजल अभिव्यक्ति है। सही मायने में देखा जाये तो निराला की रचनात्मक समग्रता को

आसानी से परिभाषित करना संभव नहीं है। उनकी रचनात्मक विकास-यात्रा एकरेखीय नहीं है। सच यह है कि निराला के यहाँ एक अजीब-सा विरोधाभास दिखाई देता है। निराला में परम्परा के प्रति गहरा लगाव है तो परम्परा के प्रति गहरे विद्रोह का भाव भी है, धार्मिक चेतना के गंभीर स्वर हैं तो धार्मिक कर्मकाण्डों का निषेध भी। एक ओर संस्कृतनिष्ठ तत्सम भाषा का विधान है तो दूसरी ओर खड़ीबोली की हाट में खिलन्दरी भाषा के उदाहरण हैं। वस्तुतः निराला ने कविता का एक आत्मसजग समाजशास्त्र विकसित किया था जिसने उनके चिंतन एवं समय-बोध को वस्तुपरक व प्राथमिक बनाया।

ताकतवर जीवनानुभव, विवेक और संवेदना कवि के पास अपने ही उपार्जन के रूप में मौजूद है। लोकजीवन, प्रकृति और दायित्वसजग कविकर्म का त्रिपाश्वर लेकर निराला की कविताएँ सामने आती हैं। दरअसल, अपने समय की चिंताओं से चिंतित कवि जब तात्कालिकता का घेरा तोड़कर समय की तलहटी में बैठे आदिकवि को बाहर लाता है तो कविकर्म एक चुनौती बन जाता है। कविकर्म चुनौती इसलिए बनता है कि बिम्ब-रचना, प्रतीक विधान, सौंदर्यबोध, शब्द-विन्यास, इतिहास, वर्तमान-सबकी पुनर्व्याख्या और पुनर्रचना के साथ ही कवि अपनी अस्मिता की भी तलाश कर रहा होता है। स्वभावतः कविता एक नए शिल्प में ढलकर सामने आती है। हिन्दी-कविता के शिखर-व्यक्तित्व निराला की कविताएँ इस चुनौती का गहरा बोध देती हैं। यह

चुनौती कविता में, कवि-स्वभाव, रचनात्मक संकल्प तथा शिल्प-विधान के भीतर से उपजती और आकार लेती हैं। आज जबकि यथार्थ की गहरी समझ को, संस्कार में रची-बसी स्थानीयता को और अपने समय के कठिन ऐतिहासिक विवेक को कविता के जरूरी उपादान माने जा रहे हैं, निराला की कविताएँ नए सिरे से बहस की माँग करती हैं।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

20वीं सदी के आरंभिक दो दशक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध, आर्थिकमंदी तथा विश्वासों-निष्ठाओं के अवमूल्यन के दौर रहे, तो राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद भद्रलोक से निकलकर जनसाधारण तक पहुँचा और स्वाधीनता संग्राम के भीतर वैचारिक टकराव शुरू हुआ। कांग्रेस में नरम और गरम का अंतर्विरोध महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में शामिल हुआ और आगे यह अंतर्विरोध दक्षिण और वाम के बीच उभरा। ब्रिटिश शासक भारतीय जनता के बीच बढ़ते आक्रोश और स्वतंत्रता की प्रबल हो रही आकांक्षा को लेकर चिंतित रहे, तो दुनिया के विभिन्न हिस्सों में चल रहे साम्राज्यवादविरोधी और उपनिवेशवादविरोधी क्रांतियों का प्रभाव भारतीय स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम पर भी पड़ा। उथल-पुथल के दौर में सामाजिक शक्तियों के अंतर्विरोध तेज होते हैं और उनकी क्रियाशीलता बढ़ जाती है। इसके साथ ही, नयी शक्तियाँ अपनी भूमिका के साथ उभरती हैं। सामाजिक शक्तियों के अंतर्विरोध का परिणाम था कि हिन्दी-कविता में रीतिवादी और रीतिविरोधी धाराओं में तीखी टकराहटें हो रही थीं। रीतिवादी धारा न केवल बनी हुई थी, बल्कि साहित्यिक-सांस्कृतिक संस्थानों पर उनका नियंत्रण भी था। साथ ही, परस्परविरोधी वैचारिक तत्त्व लिए अनेक रचनात्मक धाराएँ समानांतर रूप से आगे बढ़ रही थीं। यह बहुमुखी परिदृश्य उथल-पुथल का एक पड़ाव था जिसका समावेशित विकास अपने उत्कृष्ट रूप में छायावादी धारा में दिखाई देता है। यकीनन, द्विवेदी-युग में नयी सामाजिक शक्तियाँ जिन सृजनात्मक प्रवृत्तियों के रूप में अभिव्यक्त हुईं, उनकी परिष्कृत और सारगर्भित अवस्था है छायावाद। छायावाद में रहस्य का स्वर गौण है, रोमान उसकी केन्द्रीय प्रवृत्ति है। यह एक सच्चाई है कि संवेदनाओं और संबंधों के जड़ ढाँचों को तोड़कर यथार्थ का नया बोध प्रस्तावित करने में रोमान की क्रांतिकारी भूमिका होती है। रोमान की प्रवृत्ति जड़ संबंधों पर आघात करने के लिए एक ओर विशुद्ध आत्मगत स्तर पर और दूसरी ओर विराट सत्ता में अपने होने का अर्थ खोजती है। भक्त-कवि भी सामाजिक व्यवस्था से असंतुष्ट थे, लेकिन आधुनिक कवि संसार से पलायन कर ईश्वर की शरण में जाना स्वीकार नहीं करता है। इसीलिए उसने आत्म-पीड़ा का प्रसार प्रकृति में किया है। भक्त-कवियों ने ईश्वर को समाज का स्थानापन्न बनाकर विद्रोह का सूत्रपात किया। ईश्वर सामाजिक शोषण और अनैतिकता से लड़ने का अवलम्ब बन गया और ईश्वर का मानवीकरण हो गया। छायावादी कवियों ने प्रकृति को समाज और ईश्वर दोनों का

स्थानापन्न बनाया, इसीलिए प्रकृति का भी मानवीकरण हुआ और रहस्यीकरण भी। लेकिन यह समूची प्रक्रिया समय और समाज की वास्तविकताओं से जुड़ने का परिणाम है।

कुछ लोग 'ले चल मुझे भुलावा देकर, मेरे नाविक धीरे-धीरे' (प्रसाद), जैसी पंक्तियों के आधार पर छायावादी कवियों पर पलायनवादी होने का आरोप लगाते हैं। जबकि सच्चाई यह है कि छायावाद एक विशिष्ट एवं जनपक्षीय जीवन-विवेक की रचनात्मक परिणति है जिसे निराला के शब्दों में कहें तो 'दुःख ही जीवन की कथा रही', तो महादेवी के शब्दों में 'मैं नीर भरी दुख की बदली', के व्यष्टिबोध में सामाजिकता का पीड़ाबोध है। काव्य की पूरी सृजन-प्रक्रिया जितनी वैयक्तिक है, उतनी ही निर्वैयक्तिक भी। हालांकि छायावाद के स्तम्भ-कवियों प्रसाद, महादेवी, निराला और पंत की काव्य-प्रक्रिया में समानता है तो भिन्नता भी है। यह भिन्नता-द्वन्द्वात्मकता ही है जिसमें एक ही काल में रचते हुए भी कविगण अपने व्यक्तित्व का अलग-अलग विकास करते हैं और कविता का भूगोल क्रमशः विस्तार लेता है। प्रसाद के 'आँसू' से 'कामायनी' तक में संवेदना का क्रमिक विकास दिखता है। 'आँसू', में शृंगार के विविध चित्र हैं, तो 'कामायनी' में उनके काव्य-विवेक का चरमोत्कर्ष दिखाई देता है। महादेवी वर्मा आस्था, आनंद और उपासना की गायिका हैं। दर्शन, अध्यात्म और कविता एक साथ मिलकर जिस महाकाव्य की रचना करते हैं, वह महादेवी की निजता भी है और काव्योपलब्धि भी है। 'वियोगी होगा पहला कवि, आह से निकला होगा गान' की घोषणा करनेवाले सुमित्रानंदन पंत के यहाँ प्रकृति-सौंदर्य के शब्दचित्र हैं (वीणा-पल्लव) तो दुखवाद की गहरी अभिव्यंजना (ग्रन्थि) से होते हुए विचारधारात्मकता की खोज (चिदम्बरा-लोकायतन) भी है। जिस कल्पना के बल पर छायावादी रोमान प्रकृति में फैलता है, वह अपने समय के यथार्थ से जुड़ा है।

छायावाद के युग में यथार्थ थी पराधीनता और कल्पना थी स्वाधीनता। यह कल्पना पूरे समाज को आंदोलित करती थी। यह कल्पना विविध प्रतीकों-बिम्बों के माध्यम से उभरी है। पराधीनता का अंधकार और स्वतंत्रता की स्वप्नदर्शी आकांक्षा का प्रकाश-दोनों छायावादी कविताओं में मौजूद हैं। पराधीनता वर्तमान का सत्य है तो स्वतंत्रता की आकांक्षा वर्तमान से टकराने की प्रेरणा। प्रसाद, निराला, पंत और महादेवी के काव्य में एक ओर गहन अंधकार है तो दूसरी ओर बिजली के रूप में - वसंत के रूप में प्रकाश की आकांक्षा। 'स्वयंप्रभा, समुज्ज्वला स्वतंत्रता पुकारती', (प्रसाद) 'प्रिय स्वतंत्र रव, अमृतमंत्र नव भारत में भर दे', (निराला) 'रात के डर में दिवस की चाह का शर हूँ' (महादेवी वर्मा) और 'द्रुत झरो जगत के जीर्णपत्र' (पंत) - ये सारे जुझारू यथार्थवाद के उदाहरण हैं। जो मुक्तिसंघर्ष समाज और देश में यथार्थ रूप नहीं ले रहे थे, उसे प्रकृति के बहाने खोजने और पाने की सार्थक और आशावादी कोशिश है। छायावाद ने काव्यभाषा

के व्याकरणबद्ध विवरणात्मक ढाँचों को राग के आवेग से नया स्वरूप दिया। नयी अर्थध्वनि और बिम्ब-योजना के कारण काव्य-भाषा ने अनोखा प्रारूप ग्रहण किया। छायावादी कविताएँ चित्रभाषा की अलग-अलग शब्दावलिओं में रची हुई कविताएँ हैं। कवि की भाषिक चेतना जो वस्तुतः यथार्थ की चेतना का ही एक सृजनात्मक रूप होती है, छायावादी कविताएँ इसका अद्भुत उदाहरण हैं। अपनी कलात्मक परिणति में छायावादी कविताएँ एक विलक्षण रूपक में बदल जाती हैं। इस रूपक की ध्वनि, भाषा को भेदकर अनेक दिशाओं में फैल जाती है और इस प्रक्रिया में कविताएँ एक दूरगामी गूँज पैदा करने की कोशिश करती हैं।

निराला की काव्य-यात्रा के तीन चरण हैं। पहले चरण में परिमल, अनामिका, गीतिका तुलसीदास आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण रचनाएँ हुई हैं। इसी दौर में 'सरोज-स्मृति', 'राम की शक्तिपूजा', 'प्रेयसी', 'वनवेला' जैसी क्लासिक कृतियाँ सामने आयीं। दूसरे चरण में 'कुकुरमुत्ता', 'बेला', 'नए पत्ते', 'अणिमा' तो तीसरे चरण में 'अर्चना', 'आराधना', 'गीत-गूँज', 'सांध्य-काकली' जैसी काव्यकृतियों की सर्जना हुई। सही मायने में, निराला के तमाम चरणों की रचनाओं के पीछे एक ही रचनादृष्टि गतिशील है। संदर्भ चाहे गद्य का हो या पद्य का- रचनाकार का जीवन-विवेक ही उसके रचना-विवेक को अनुशासित करता है। निराला अपनी कविताओं के विषय स्वयं हैं। यही कारण है कि 'तुलसीदास', को पढ़ते हुए तुलसीदास नहीं उभरते, वरन् समूचे काव्य से निराला जैसा आधुनिक जीवनदृष्टि से सम्पन्न कवि निकलता हुआ दिखाई देता है जिसकी सामाजिक दृष्टि तुलसी से भिन्न है, छन्द भिन्न है, शिल्प भिन्न है, रचनात्मक सरोकार भिन्न है। स्वप्न में या दिवा-स्वप्न में निराला के तुलसीदास को रत्नावली दिखाई देती है तो बार-बार ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वह रत्नावली नहीं है, बल्कि निखरी अलकोंवाली मनोरमा देवी हैं। निर्विवाद रूप से तुलसीदास स्वयं निराला हैं।

'सरोज-स्मृति' न केवल निराला के काव्य में, बल्कि सम्पूर्ण भारतीय साहित्य की अद्वितीय रचना है। संभवतः (जहाँ तक मेरी जानकारी है।) 'सरोज-स्मृति' पहली और इकलौती कविता है जिसमें एक बालिका के बचपन का मनोवैज्ञानिक एवं स्नेहिल चित्रण है। सूरदास ने भी कृष्ण के रूप में बालक के बचपन का काव्यांकन किया है, पर अपनी एकमात्र पुत्री सरोज के माध्यम से एक बालिका के बचपन को अपनी कविता में उपस्थित करनेवाले एकमात्र कवि निराला हैं। साथ ही, सामाजिक रूढ़ियों तथा गलत परम्पराओं के खिलाफ खुली चुनौती और स्त्री-समाज के प्रति गहरी संवेदनशीलता के साथ निराला जिस तरह खड़े हैं- दोनों दृष्टियों से 'सरोज-स्मृति' एक महत्त्वपूर्ण और ऐतिहासिक रचना है जिसे नारी-विमर्श की रचनात्मक पहल कहना गलत नहीं होगा।

'राम की शक्तिपूजा' एक अद्भुत काव्य-रूपक है जिसका आरंभ ही होता है- "रवि हुआ अस्त ज्योति के पत्र पर लिखा अमर/ रह गया राम-रावण का अपराजेय समर।" वस्तुतः यह कविता राम-

रावण युद्ध के वृतांत के माध्यम से मूल्यपक्षीय और मूल्यविरोधी-दो परस्परविरोधी सामाजिक शक्तियों के बीच निरंतर चलनेवाले द्वन्द्व के समर-चित्र हैं। काव्य-नायक राम अपनी पत्नी सीता की मुक्ति के लिए युद्धरत हैं जो आततायी लंकापति रावण की कैद में हैं। विडम्बना यह है कि शक्ति और सामर्थ्य का सम्पूर्ण स्रोत रावण के अधीन है और राम उसका दमन करने में समर्थ नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। लेकिन निरंतर एवं प्रतिबद्ध साधना से राम अंततः उस अमोघ शक्ति को अपने भीतर विकसित कर लेते हैं जिसके माध्यम से रावण का संहार होता है और सीता मुक्त होती है। न केवल 'राम की शक्तिपूजा', बल्कि निराला के समूचे काव्य-संदर्भ पर नजर डालें तो किसी न किसी रूप में एक चित्र उभरता है- "अन्याय जिधर है, उधर है शक्ति।" यह पंक्ति केवल ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद की औपनिवेशिक तथा नृशंसीकृत व्यवस्था की ओर ही संकेत नहीं करती, वरन् सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य में काबिज वर्चस्वशाली एवं निरंकुश सत्ताओं की ओर भी संकेत करती है। इसीलिए, कवि निर्देश देता है- "आराधना का दृढ़ आराधना से दो उत्तर/ तुम करो विजय संयत प्राणों से प्राणों पर।" आराधना का उत्तर दृढ़ आराधना से देने का अभिप्राय है- अपने को जीवन साधना से इस तरह संगठित, सुयोग्य और शक्तिसम्पन्न बनाओ कि सफलता वरण करे। रावण ने साधना से शक्ति तो अर्जित कर ली, लेकिन उस शक्ति का मूल्यविरोधी और समाजविरोधी प्रयोग के कारण उसका संहार होता है। इसलिए जरूरी है पहले साधना, फिर शक्ति और उस शक्ति का जनपक्षीय प्रयोग। साधना शक्ति देती है और शक्ति सफलता-यही है मानव-जीवन की सच्ची आराधना। सच यह है कि कविकर्म समाज को सहज, सौम्य और शोषणमुक्त बनाने का वैचारिक उपक्रम हैं- एक व्यापक और उदात्त मानवीय आकांक्षा जो लोक-जीवन में अमूर्त रह जाने पर भी कला के स्वायत्त लोक में सम्मूर्तन का स्वप्न देखती है। 'राम की शक्तिपूजा' निराला की रचनाशीलता का वह उत्कर्ष-बिन्दु है जहाँ शब्द परिवर्तनकामी चेतना के साथ महाघोष करते हैं और इस महाघोष में साधना, शक्ति, संतुलन और स्वाभिमान का आदिम स्वर पूरी प्रखरता के साथ ध्वनित है।

1936 में लिखी गई कविता 'राम की शक्तिपूजा' के नायक हैं- राम। रामकथा की शक्ति उसके मिथकीय होने में है। मिथकें देशज संस्कृति से अभिन्न रूप में जुड़ी होती हैं। मिथकों की सर्जनात्मक परिणति उस चेतना को सामने लाती है जो संस्कृति और सांस्कृतिक चरित्र से जुड़ी हुई आधारभूत मान्यताओं तथा जनपक्षीय अर्थवत्ता के बीच के सम्बंधों को समझने में मदद करती है। यही कारण है कि एक प्रगतिशील रचनाकार जब अतीत, परम्परा या मिथक से जुड़े संदर्भों को उठाता है तो उन्हें ज्यों का त्यों नहीं रखता, बल्कि उन पर एक नए सिरे से हस्ताक्षर करता है। परम्परा की ओर, मिथक की ओर या अतीत की ओर लौटना तभी सार्थक होता है, जब उसका गहरा सम्बंध वर्तमान की

वास्तविकता एवं भविष्य की प्रगति से हो। इस सम्बंध की अनिवार्यता का बोध परम्परा को- मिथक को पुनर्विचार की प्रक्रिया में रखने के लिए रचनाकार को प्रेरित करता है। फलस्वरूप प्रगतिशील रचनाकार परम्परा के- मिथक के जीवंत आयामों को उनके मरणशील तत्त्वों से अलग करता है और केवल उन्हीं आयामों को उभारता है जो मानव-नियति के बदलाव से जुड़े होते हैं। निराला में यह विवेक पूरी महाप्राणता में दिखायी देता है। यही कारण है कि निराला के राम वाल्मीकि और तुलसी के राम से भिन्न हैं। वाल्मीकि ने राम को मानवीय चरित्र के रूप में निरूपित किया है, पर उनके राम 'राजाराम' हैं और तुलसी के राम अवतारवाद की भूमि पर प्रतिष्ठित होने के कारण अति मानवीय हैं। निराला के राम आधुनिक युग के एक मध्यवर्गीय व्यक्ति हैं। नामवर सिंह के शब्दों में "राम की शक्तिपूजा में निराला के राम की जो करुण असमर्थता है, वह उस युग के व्यक्ति की असमर्थता है। उस दिन के राम-रावण युद्ध में राम की हार नहीं हुई थी, आधुनिक मध्यवर्गीय राम की हार हुई थी।" विद्वानों के एक वर्ग का मानना है कि निराला पर तुलसीदास का नहीं, कृत्तिवास के रामायण का प्रभाव है, जबकि सच्चाई यह भी नहीं है। कृत्तिवास के रामायण के राम नाटकीय लगते हैं जो संकट में क्षणों में न केवल दहाड़ मारकर रोते हैं, बल्कि रोते-रोते जमीन पर बच्चों की तरह लोटने लगते हैं। इतना ही नहीं, कृत्तिवास के राम को विलाप करते देख समूचा देवलोक विलाप करने लगता है। पर निराला के राम सहज-स्वाभाविक हैं जिसकी ओर संकेत करते हुए रामविलास शर्मा जी ने लिखा है- "कृत्तिवास के राम वाल्मीकि के राम नहीं हैं, तुलसीदास के और भी नहीं। निराला ने राम को कम रोते दिखाया है, मूर्च्छित होने और जमीन पर लोटने की नौबत तो नहीं ही आती है। राम के अश्रु असाधारण हैं, उन्हें देखकर शक्ति के अक्षय स्रोत चंचल हो उठते हैं।" निराला के राम दृढसंकल्पी और संघर्षशील हैं जो परिस्थितियों के गहरे दबाव से विचलित होते हैं, लेकिन साथ ही उत्पन्न परिस्थितियों पर गहन चिंतन करते हुए नये सिरे से नये शक्ति-व्यूह के निर्माण के लिये उपक्रम भी करते हैं। काव्य-प्रसंगों में जहाँ राम पराजय की आशंका से प्रभावित होते दिखायी देते हैं, वस्तुतः वह प्रकारान्तर से निराला के पराजित जीवन की अभिव्यक्ति है। शक्ति की आराधना में विफल होने पर राम अपने जीवन और साधन- दोनों को धिक्कारते हैं और काव्य-नायक राम की यह आत्मभर्त्सना यकीनन कवि का मोहभंग है। कवि ने राम के मानसिक संघर्ष के लिए जो चित्र उपस्थित किया है, वह कलात्मक तथा ध्वन्यात्मक है। प्रकृति के विराट बिम्बों के माध्यम से कवि ने राम की मनोदशा को व्यक्त किया है- "है अमा निशा, उगलता गगन घन अंधकार/ खो रहा दिशा का ज्ञान, स्तब्ध है पवन चार/ अप्रतिहत गरज रहा पीछे अम्बुधि विशाल/ भूधर ज्यों ध्यान-मग्न, केवल जलती मशाल।" उक्त काव्यांश की अंतिम पंक्ति के शब्द व्यापक अर्थ को व्यंजित करते हैं। 'जलती मशाल' प्रतीक है मुक्तिकामी अभियान की संघर्षशीलता और निरन्तरता की।

वस्तुतः निराला का प्रगतिशील कवि मुक्ति-संघर्ष की प्रक्रियाओं और चुनौतियों को भलीभांति समझता है। किसी भी मुक्तिसंघर्ष को मंजिल तक पहुँचने में कई पड़ावों से गुजरना पड़ता है और इन पड़ावों में पराजय का पड़ाव भी आ सकता है। पराजय के पड़ाव पर हताश होकर बैठ जाना पलायन है। पराजय के कारणों पर आत्ममंथन करते हुए फिर से संघर्ष के विकल्प का ढाँचा खड़ा करना मुक्तिकामी शक्तियों का ऐतिहासिक दायित्व बनता है। लेकिन संघर्ष का वैकल्पिक ढाँचा फिर से तभी खड़ा होगा, जब मुक्तिकामी शक्तियाँ अपने संघर्ष की सफलता के प्रति संपूर्ण आत्मविश्वास से लबरेज होंगी। निराला के राम अपनी संघर्ष-चेतना पर थकान व निराशा को हावी नहीं होने देते, इसीलिए शक्ति की साधना में सिद्धि अन्ततः उनका वरण करती है- "वह एक और मन रहा राम का जो न थका/ जो नहीं जानता दैन्य, नहीं जानता विनय/ कर गया भेद वह मायावरण प्राप्त कर जय।" इस कालजयी काव्य-रचना का एक और प्रसंग अत्यंत मार्मिक एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण है। रावण की प्रचण्ड शक्ति से भयाक्रांत राम के अन्तर्मन में प्राणप्रिया सीता के संग गुजारे क्षणों की स्नेहिल स्मृतियाँ विद्युत-सी कौंध जाती हैं। कुछ क्षणों के लिए तात्कालिकता के दबावों को राम भूल जाते हैं और व्यतीत दाम्पत्य-जीवन की अन्तरंग स्मृतियों में अवगाहन करने लगते हैं। उन्हें मिथिलानरेश जनक की पुष्पाटिका में प्रथम मिलन के दृश्य याद आते हैं- "देखते हुए नि पलक, याद आया उपवन/ विदेह, प्रथम स्नेह का लतान्तराल मिलन/ नयनों का नयनों से गोपन, प्रिय सम्भाषण/ पलकों का पलकों पर प्रथमोत्थान पतन।" इसे ही आचार्य शुक्ल ने 'विरुद्धों का सामंजस्य' कहा है। एक ओर पराजय की आशंका से दुखी मन और दूसरी ओर गोघृत की मनोहारिणी गद्य-पूरित 'प्रथम स्नेह' की स्मृति का मधुर स्पन्दन। यह 'स्पन्दन' इतना ऊर्जावान होता है कि राम का हताश एवं कातर मन एक नयी स्फूर्ति तथा ओजस्वी चेतना का अनुभव करने लगता है। उन्हें अपनी कातरता तथा विवशता पर आवेश आता है और उनके हाथ धनुष की प्रत्यंचा पर बाण चढ़ाने के लिए व्यग्र हो उठते हैं। यह अनुभूति उनके भीतर एक नये प्राणवायु का संचार करती है और वे सीता के लिए जारी मुक्ति-संघर्ष के विजय के प्रति अपने भीतर गहरा आत्मविश्वास महसूस करते हैं।

स्पष्ट है कि राम की मुक्तिकामी चेतना दब जाती है, मरती नहीं है। विरोधी परिस्थितियों को देखकर असहाय-सा अनुभव करना मनुष्य की स्वाभाविक मनोदशा है। वस्तुतः राम समझ जाते हैं कि यह युद्ध मानव और दानव के बीच ही सीमित नहीं है, इस युद्ध में मानवोत्तर शक्तियों का भी हस्तक्षेप हो रहा है। राम उस शक्ति के सामने स्वयं को असमर्थ अनुभव करते हैं। इस असमर्थता का मूल कारण है कि वे साधारण मनुष्य हैं और मनुष्य की शक्ति सीमित होती है। मानव-क्षमता की सीमाओं का एक चित्र द्रष्टव्य है- "बोले रघुपति, मित्रवर, विजय होगी न समर/ यह नहीं रहा नर-वानर का राक्षस से रण/ उतरी पा महाशक्ति रावण से आमन्त्रण/ अन्याय जिधर है, उधर है शक्ति! कहते छल-छल/ हो गए

नमन, कुछ बूंद पुनः ढलके दृगजल’।

दो राय नहीं है कि राम के द्वारा शक्ति की पक्षधरता पर प्रश्न उठाना उनकी जनपक्षीय चिन्ताओं का परिचायक है और उनके प्रश्न युगीन अन्तर्विरोधों को उजागर करते हैं। परिदृश्य ऐसा है जहाँ अमानवीय शक्ति मजबूत दिखायी देती है और मानवीय शक्ति भयभीत व कमजोर। लेकिन यह कविता समग्रता में मानवीय मूल्यों के पक्ष में खड़ी है और राम मुक्तिनायक के रूप में चिंतनरत एवं संघर्षरत हैं। “अन्याय जिधर है, उधर है शक्ति” - राम का यह कथन आज के दौर का भी सच लगता है। अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर देखा जाय तो साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियाँ अमेरिका के नेतृत्व में तीसरी दुनिया के देशों के दोहन और दमन के लिए तरह-तरह के हथकंडे अपना रही हैं। 21वीं सदी की पूँजीवादी बाजारतंत्र की सभ्यता आतंक पैदा कर रही है क्योंकि विज्ञान की सारी उपलब्धियाँ हथियार की तरह पूँजीवादी शक्तियों के द्वारा इस्तेमाल की जा रही हैं। राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर नजर डालें तो देश की केन्द्रीय अर्थनीति एवं राजनीति साम्राज्यवाद के पक्ष में खड़ी है और इस साम्राज्यवादपरस्त अर्थनीति से तमाम सामाजिक संस्थाएँ प्रभावित दिखायी देती हैं। विधायिका, कार्यपालिका और न्यायपालिका- लोकतंत्र के इन तीनों स्तंभों के चरित्र पूरी तरह विश्वसनीय नहीं रह गये हैं और जनवादी शक्तियाँ कमजोर और विभाजित दिखाई दे रही हैं।

‘राम की शक्ति पूजा’ के अंतिम प्रसंग में एक घटना होती है। शक्ति की अधिष्ठात्री देवी दुर्गा राम के साथ छल करती हैं और साधना के लिए एकत्रित एक सौ आठ पुष्पों में से एक पुष्प गायब कर देती हैं। इस अशुभ घटना से राम व्याकुल हो उठते हैं और उन्हें लगता है कि उनकी साधना-पद्धति में ही शायद निष्ठा की मात्रा कम है। तभी अचानक उनके मन में एक प्रश्न कौंधता है कि शक्ति की देवी कहीं उनकी आस्था की परीक्षा तो नहीं ले रही हैं? राम को अपनी माताश्री का संबोधन याद आता है- राजीवनयन अर्थात् जिसकी आँखें राजीव यानि कमल-पुष्प के सदृश्य हैं। राम कमल-पुष्प के सदृश्य अपनी आँखें निकालकर शक्ति की देवी को अर्पण करने के लिए उपक्रम करते हैं, तभी शक्ति की देवी प्रकट हो जाती हैं। और राम को अपने कमल-चक्षुओं की आहूति देने से रोककर विजयश्री का वरदान देती है- “होगी जय, होगी जय, हे पुरुषोत्तम नवीन/कह महाशक्ति राम के बदन में हुई लीन।” इस तरह अन्ततः राम का मुक्ति-संघर्ष सफल होता है। निराला ने राम को पारम्परिक स्वरूप में उपस्थित नहीं किया है, बल्कि बदले हुए परिदृश्य के समानान्तर राम एक नये व्यक्तित्व - विन्यास के साथ कविता में उपस्थित हैं और इस उपस्थिति के पार्श्व में कवि का युगबोध, इतिहास-बोध और संघर्ष की चेतना कारक तत्व के रूप में गतिशील है। वैसे तो हिन्दी के अनेक कवियों ने रामकथा को आधार बनाकर काव्य-रचनाएँ की हैं, पर निराला अपने अभिप्राय और अभिव्यक्ति दोनों दृष्टियों से अलग दिखायी देते हैं। ‘राम की शक्तिपूजा’ का केन्द्रीय संदर्भ राम-कथा

की आवृत्ति नहीं है, बल्कि सीता की अभिव्यक्ति के माध्यम से नारी-मुक्ति है। नारी-मुक्ति का प्रश्न जिस तरह निराला उठाते हैं, वह आज के नारी-विमर्श की वैचारिक दिशा को प्रशंसाकित करते हैं। निराला की दृष्टि में नारी-मुक्ति का संघर्ष पुरुष बनाम नारी के संघर्ष में ‘फिट’ नहीं बैठता। उनका नारी मुक्ति-संघर्ष आततायी और शोषक सत्ता के खिलाफ पुरुष और नारी के ‘संयुक्त-संघर्ष’ में व्यक्त होता है जिसपर नारी आंदोलनों से जुड़ी स्त्रियाँ गहराई से विचार नहीं कर रही हैं। वैसे निराला समग्रता में मुक्तिकामी कवि रहे हैं। यह मुक्ति केवल कविता की मुक्ति तक सीमित नहीं है, बल्कि उस सभ्यता से भी मुक्ति की आकांक्षा से जुड़ी है जो मानवीय नहीं रही। निराला ने जब कहा -“टूटे सकल बंध/ रुद्ध जो धार है/शिखर निर्झर झरे-” तो इसके मूल में केवल ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशवाद के प्रति आक्रोश एवं अत्याचार ही नहीं था, वह सभ्यता भी थी जिसकी ओर इशारा करते हुए उन्होंने एक दूसरी कविता में कहा- “दगा की इस सभ्यता ने दगा की।” निश्चित रूप से ‘राम की शक्तिपूजा’ में प्राणप्रिया सीता की मुक्ति के लिए राम का अपनी आँखों की बलि देने के लिए तत्पर होना स्त्री-पुरुष संबंध को गरिमा एवं समर्पण के उच्चतम धरातल पर प्रतिष्ठित करना है। ‘सरोज-स्मृति’, ‘पंचवटी प्रसंग’ जैसी रचनाओं में भी निराला ने नारी-अस्मिता एवं नारी मुक्ति-संघर्ष को अजोखी स्वर दिया है।

निराला का कवि, सभ्यता के अतीत में जाकर उन जीवनवाही तत्वों को बचाना चाहता है, जो सिर्फ सांस्कृतिक धरोहर ही नहीं है, बल्कि अपने समय के हताश एवं उजाड़ जीवन के लिए संजीवनी सदृश्य है। इसीलिए निराला के आरम्भिक दौर की कविताओं में सबसे ज्यादा जोर स्मृति को लेकर है। वे स्मृति में उस साधारण मनुष्य की आवाज पाना चाहते हैं जो इतिहास, संस्कृति और हजारों साल की पुरानी परंपरा से बेदखल है। दरअसल, निराला साधारण मनुष्य को इतिहास, परंपरा, संस्कृति, धर्म आदि के भीतर रखकर जैसे पूछना चाहते हैं कि साधारण मनुष्य की इन जगहों में नियति क्या है? इस नियति की पड़ताल कविकर्म का अभीष्ट है। स्वयं की और अपने समय एवं समाज में साधारण मनुष्य की नियति को समझने-समझाने की प्रक्रिया में निराला अपनी कविता को उन दिशाओं में ले जाते हैं, जहाँ वह पहले नहीं गई थी। कई बार तो निराला की कविताएँ अनिश्चित और अज्ञात अर्थों की उन खतरनाक हदों को छूती दिखायी देती हैं, जहाँ उसे कविता मानने या न मानने की दुविधा पैदा हो जाती है। और यह कहना गलत नहीं होगा कि इन खतरों को उठाते हुए निराला ने काव्यार्थ की नई संभावनाओं को हासिल किया है और अभिव्यक्ति के बने-बनाये ढाँचें से कविता को बाहर निकाला है। वस्तुतः निराला का संघर्ष जितना वस्तुजगत से है, उतना ही अपने मन के भीतर उठनेवाले प्रश्नों से। इसीलिए, वे एक गहरी तोड़-फोड़ करते दिखाई देते हैं- यथार्थ के प्रचलित भावबोध में, अपनी भाषा में, शिल्प में सभी जगह। वे किसी

दुर्निवार काव्य की अभिव्यक्ति के लिए जड़ीभूत सौंदर्यबोध से बाहर निकलकर एक अज्ञात की तरफ जाने का खतरा उठाते हैं। यह खतरा मानवीय प्रश्नाकुलता और जिजीविषा से सम्पन्न कवि ही उठा सकता है। केवल निराला के काव्य में ही नहीं, बल्कि पूरी छायावादी काव्य-धारा में जो परंपरा-बोध व अतीत का गौरव-गान सुनायी देता है, उसे इसी संदर्भ में देखा जाना चाहिए। यहाँ भी वही रचना-दृष्टि सक्रिय है, जो यथार्थवादी कही जानेवाली कविताओं के पीछे है।

निराला ने प्रकृति और मनुष्य के सह-अस्तित्व को अपनी कविताओं में महत्त्व दिया है। उन्होंने प्रकृति के रूपांकन में अद्भुत निरीक्षण-शक्ति, सूक्ष्म सौन्दर्य-दृष्टि तथा कल्पना-समृद्धि का परिचय दिया है जिसमें कवि की आन्तरिकता भी व्यक्त हुई है। आन्तरिकता से अभिप्राय जीवन के भरे-पूरे चित्र, संबंधों की ताप और टीस तथा स्मृति की दुनिया के अविकृत बिम्बों से है। मनुष्य और उसके आसपास फैली वस्तुओं के बीच बहुत गहरा और आत्मीय रिश्ता होता है। वस्तुजगत और हमारे जैविक बोध के बीच पड़ा एक झीना आवरण निराला की कविताओं के साथ धीरे-धीरे खिसकता है। इस तरह हमारे आसपास और बाहर पड़ी अजनबी वस्तुएँ, अपने परायेपन को त्यागकर हमारे ही अस्तित्व और व्यक्तित्व का हिस्सा जान पड़ती हैं। ये कविताएँ मनुष्य के वस्तुकरण के विरुद्ध वस्तुओं के मानवीय रूपांतरण की कविताएँ हैं। शुष्क, नीरस, बेकार दिखनेवाली चीजों में भी मानवीय भावना और अनुभूतियों की नमी महसूस करने की कल्पनाशीलता, उनसे संवाद स्थापित करने की उत्कट आकांक्षा और भावप्रवण आत्मीय दृष्टि की नवीनता सम्पूर्ण प्रकृति को सुंदर, अर्थगर्भ और संभावनाशील बना देती है। लिहाजा, हर चीज नए रंग, नई संवेदना और नये अर्थ की आभा से जगमगाने लगती है। इस तरह बाजार की निष्ठुरता, कृत्रिम सज्जा-श्रृंगार और सहजता को नष्ट करनेवाले पूँजीतंत्र के छल-छद्म के बरक्स अपने आसपास के संसार को नई तरह से रचने की कोशिश कवि के अनुभव, उसकी संवेदना, दृष्टि की गहराई और असीमित विस्तार का पता देती है। पदार्थ और वस्तुएँ कविताओं में जीवंत, संवेदनशील, सोचती और साँसे लेती हुई दिखायी देती हैं—“अभी न होगा मेरा अंत/ अभी-अभी तो आया है/मेरे मन में मृदुल वसंत।” वसंत की अनुभूति कवि की खिन्नता, निराशा और अवसाद को नष्ट कर उल्लास की तन्मयता भरती है, तो ‘देवी सरस्वती’ कविता में देवी को कुएँ का शीतल जल कहा गया है—“तुम हो शीतल कूप सलिल/जामुन-छाया तल/लदे आम के बागों से/जीवन का संबल।” आसपास आमों का बाग, जामुन के पेड़ की सघन छाया में कुएँ का ढंडा-मीठा पानी और थके-प्यासे राही को तृप्ति की अनुभूति- ये हैं देवी सरस्वती। एक अन्य कविता में नयी-नवेली वधू की झुकी-झुकी लज्जाशील पलकों की तुलना विहग-नयन से कवि करता है—“वे किसान की नयी बहू की आँखें/ज्यों हरीतिमा पर बैठे/दो विहग बंद कर पाँखें।” किसान परिवार की बहू का यह चित्र है, जिसकी

लज्जा एवं संकोच से आँखें बंद हैं, जिनके लिये कवि ने पंख समेटे दो पक्षियों की कल्पना की है। प्रकृति-साहचर्य उनके मन को जीवन की ऊर्जा और आनंद से भर देता है। भारतीय लोक संस्कृति का प्रकृति से गहरा जुड़ाव रहा है। हमारी संस्कृति की उत्सवधर्मिता, जिजीविषा, सांगीतिकता और उदात्तता प्रकृति की संगति से समृद्धि और निखार पाती रही है। प्रकृति से कवि ने ऐसी अंतरंगता कायम की है कि परस्पर एक-दूसरे की दिनचर्या और निजता में सहज सहभागिता दिखाई देती है। प्रकृति से संवाद करते समय भी निराला मनुष्य-जीवन की चिंताओं के प्रति सजग रहते हैं।

निराला के दूसरे चरण की कविताएँ दरअसल काव्यबोध का नये संदर्भ में पुनर्गठन है। अपने समय की असंगतियों और अन्तर्विरोधों के विरुद्ध व्यंग्य की सर्जनात्मक प्रयोजनशीलता उसे मानवीय चिन्ता से जोड़ती है क्योंकि उसकी मूल चिन्ता उन विकृतियों को दूर कर एक स्वस्थ समाज की रचना होती है। इस दृष्टि से निराला के दूसरे चरण की रचनाएँ (कुकुरमुत्ता, बेला, नये पत्ते, अणिमा, खजोहरा, महंगू महंगा है आदि) व्यंग्य का लोकतांत्रिक हस्तक्षेप है। सामाजिक यथार्थ के प्रति उनका दृष्टिकोण आलोचनात्मक है। उनके सामने कोई बना-बनाया ‘फ्रेमवर्क’ नहीं था जिसमें वे अपनी रचनाशीलता को फिट करते चलते। वे तो इन ‘फ्रेमवर्कों’ को तोड़ने में विश्वास करते थे। उनकी इस मुक्तदृष्टि के पीछे वह प्रगतिशील बौद्धिकता है जिसका निर्माण सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिवेश के अंतर्विरोधों ने किया। उनकी यथार्थवादी कविताओं के प्रयोगों को इसी संदर्भ में देखना सही होगा। निराला की कविता में निहित संघर्ष ने उनकी चेतना को महज विकसित ही नहीं किया है, बल्कि जीवन के विविध पक्षों को समझने की दृष्टि भी दी है—“मैं अकेला/आ रही मेरे दिवस की सांघ्यबेला।” जीवन की आस्था एवं पीड़ा में एक गहरा तनाव भरा संबंध होता है जिसे देखने के लिए आँखें ही नहीं, दृष्टि भी चाहिए। जीवन के कठिनतम संघर्ष में भी निराला जिस चीज को अपने पास बचाकर रखते हैं, वह है करुणा। यह करुणा प्रकृति में, संबंधों में यानि समूचे जीवन-व्यापार में फैली दिखाई देती है। यह करुणा मनु य में ही नहीं, शब्दों में भी जीवन की सक्रियता भरती है।

निराला की एक चर्चित कविता ‘वह तोड़ती पत्थर’ की कुछ पंक्तियों पर ध्यान दें, तो देश की अर्थव्यवस्था और उसमें श्रमजीवी वर्ग की नियति उजागर हो जाती है—“वह तोड़ती पत्थर/देखा मैंने उसे इलाहाबाद के पथ पर/ है न कोई पेड़ छायादार/ वह, जिसके तले बैठी हुई स्वीकार/श्याम तन, भर बंधा यौवन/नत-नयन, प्रिय कर्मरत मन/गुरु हथौड़ा हाथ/ करती बार-बार प्रहार/सामने तरुमालिका अट्टालिका प्राकार।” ऊपर से यह कविता साधारण-सी लगती है, पर गहराई में उतरें तो अर्थ की, बिम्बों की कई परतें नजर आती हैं। इलाहाबाद सिर्फ एक शहर का नाम नहीं है। गंगा-यमुना-सरस्वती यानि संगम के तट

पर स्थित इलाहाबाद का एक सांस्कृतिक अर्थ है, तो स्वतंत्र भारत के प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू की जन्मभूमि होने के कारण इस शहर का एक राजनीतिक अर्थ भी है। जहाँ नदियों के संगम के रूप में प्रकृतिजन्य भिन्नताएँ खत्म होती हैं, वहाँ सामाजिक स्तर पर भिन्नताएँ दिखायी देती हैं। भारतीय राजनीति के शीर्ष पर आसीन और समाजवादी निष्ठा की घोषणा करनेवाले नेहरू की जन्मभूमि इलाहाबाद में सामाजिक विषमता का भयावह चित्र क्या 'दीपक तले अंधेरा' वाली कहावत को उजागर नहीं करता ? प्रचंड गर्मी को झेलती बिना छायावाले वृक्ष के नीचे एक स्त्री मजदूरिन का भारी हथौड़े से पत्थर तोड़ने की विवशता संवेदनहीन राजनीतिक व्यवस्था की ओर संकेत नहीं करती। जिस देश में नारी को देवी की तरह आदर देने की सांस्कृतिक दुहाई दी जाती है, वहाँ श्रमजीवी वर्ग की स्त्रियों का सच कुछ और ही है। निराला जी ने इस कविता में कई प्रतीकात्मक शब्दों का अद्भुत प्रयोग किया है जिनकी अर्थध्वनियाँ हमें आत्ममंथन करने को प्रेरित करती है। "है न कोई पेड़ छायादार"- यहाँ पेड़ शब्द का अर्थ है अभिभावकीय छांव जो सुरक्षा एवं पोषण का दायित्व उठाती है। जाहिर है, पत्थर तोड़ती स्त्री- मजदूरिन के घर में या तो कोई पुरुष नहीं है या उस स्त्री मजदूरिन के पति नामधारी पुरुष-मजदूर के अकेले श्रम से परिवार का गुजारा करना कठिन है, इसीलिए स्त्री मजदूरिन अपने दैनिक श्रम से परिवार की आय में मदद कर रही है। लेकिन यहाँ संभवतः छायादार पेड़ का अर्थ अभिभावकीय संरक्षण नहीं है, यदि होता तो भरी जवानी में उसे सड़क के किनारे पत्थर क्यों तोड़ना पड़ता ? बिना छाया का जीवन है उस युवा स्त्री-मजदूरिन का। वह प्रौढ़ा या वृद्धा होती तो असंभवनीय जीवन की उम्र छोटी होती, किन्तु यातना की अवधि लम्बी है क्योंकि वह युवा है। इस कविता का एक चित्र विचारणीय है-

“सामने तरूमालिका अट्टालिका प्राकार” उक्त पंक्ति वर्ग-विभाजित समाज के दो परस्पर विरोधी जीवन-चित्रों को सामने लाती है जिसमें एक ओर गगनचुम्बी अट्टालिकाएँ हैं, समृद्धि की चकाचौंध है और दूसरी ओर उस चकाचौंध के नीचे कराहती मानवीय अस्मिता के जीवन-चित्र। एक ओर है 'न कोई पेड़ छायादार' और दूसरी ओर 'सामने तरूमालिका अट्टालिका प्राकार' है। आलोचक शिवकुमार मिश्र ने समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषण करते हुए लिखा है - "मजदूरिन के संदर्भ में निराला ने पेड़ शब्द का प्रयोग किया है, परन्तु अट्टालिका के साथ तरू ही नहीं, तरूमालिका का प्रयोग। एक ओर बिना छाया का पेड़ और दूसरी ओर सघन तरुओं की एक पूरी मालिका। दो भिन्न संदर्भों में समान अर्थवाले दो शब्दों का प्रयोग साभिप्राय है। पेड़ शब्द सामान बोलचाल का शब्द है, जबकि तरू में गांभीर्य है- संभ्रांतों और कुलीनों जैसा। वैसे भी गाँव में जो 'सुरसतिया' है, वही नगर के संभ्रांत घरों की सरस्वती देवी है। गरीब आदमी मरता है, संभ्रांत-कुलीनों का निधन होता है। वे मरते नहीं, स्वर्गवासी होते हैं।

मरता तो गरीब है। मजदूरिन के संदर्भ में पेड़ और अट्टालिका के संदर्भ में तरू के प्रयोग का रहस्य यह है।”³

1921 में लिखी इस कविता में जिस वर्ग-विभाजित समाज-व्यवस्था का चित्र खींचा गया है, वह चित्र आज भयानक शक्ति ले चुका है। "आधुनिकीकरण ने चलती-फिरती गंदी बस्तियों को जन्म दिया है। शहरों में 'अपार्टमेन्ट्स' व 'मॉल' के निर्माण का सिलसिला विस्तार लेता गया है, तो नये-नये 'स्लम' भी कुकुरमुत्ते की तरह उगते गये हैं। पॉश कॉलोनियों के साये में गंदी बस्तियाँ भी पनपती गयी हैं। इन बस्तियों के ईर्द-गिर्द कचड़ों के पहाड़, पोलीथीन के टीले, गंदगी चाटते कुत्ते, कूड़ा-घरों में रोजी तलाशते अर्थात् प्लास्टिक की बोतलें, फटे-पुराने कपड़े, बीयर की बोतलें, बच्चों की टूटी हुई साइकिलें व खिलौने आदि बीनते हुए बच्चे-बच्चियाँ दिखायी देते हैं। बस्तियों में जानवर और इंसान के बीच का फर्क बिल्कुल गैर हाजिर मिलेगा। इनका अपना जीवन-बोध है जिसमें स्वाधीनता, नागरिक अधिकार, मानवाधिकार, सूचना का अधिकार, कानून व्यवस्था, न्यूनतम मजदूरी, भारतीय गणतंत्र जैसी फालतू चीजों के लिए कोई जगह नहीं होती। यदि किसी चीज के लिए जगह है तो वह सिर्फ दो जून की रोटी के लिए। उनके लिए सपनों के हिंडोले में झूलना सिर्फ मानसिक लग्जरी है। इस बस्ती के लोग इस लग्जरी को ढोने लगे तो बोझ तले मर जायेंगे। गगनचुम्बी इमारतों की छांव में पलती ये बस्तियाँ किसका अभिशाप हैं? इस अभिशाप के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है?- इसका उत्तर बालकॉनी से आसमान निहारते नवकुलीन नहीं देना चाहेंगे और नीचे नरक में धँसे, धरा के अभागे पहले से ही इस सवाल-जवाब से बेखबर हैं। यदि इन्हें यह सवाल समझ में आता, तो ये जवाब देना भी सीख जाते।”⁴ लेकिन हाशिए के ये लोग कल भी जीवनहीन वातावरण में जिन्दगी ढोने को अभिशाप थे और आज भी हैं। ठेठ असली गरीबी, ठेठ असली भूख, बीमारी, दुर्गन्ध जिस वर्ग की पहचान है, उस वर्ग की प्रतीकात्मक अभिव्यक्ति है निराला की कविता 'भिक्षुक'। इस कविता का आरंभ ही जीवन की दारुण नियति को सामने लाता है। "वह आता/ दो टूक कलेजे को करता, पछताता/ पथ पर आता/ पेट-पीठ दोनों मिलकर हैं एक/ चल रहा लकुटिया टेक/मुट्ठी भर दाने को, भूख मिटाने को/ मुंह फटी-पुरानी झोली को फैलाता/ भूख से सूख ओंठ जब जाते/ दाता भाग्य -विधाता से क्या पाते?/ घूँट आँसुओं के पीकर रह जाते।"

“चाट रहे जूठी पतल वे,
कभी सड़क पर खड़े हुए।
और झपट लेने को उनसे,
कुत्ते भी है अड़े हुए।।”

यकीनन गरीबी और भूख की यह पराकाष्ठा है, जहाँ मनुष्य और जानवर एक कतार में खड़े हैं। भोजन का अभाव ऐसा है कि पेट और पीठ का अन्तर ही मिट चुका है और कुपोषण से जर्जर शरीर

की स्थिति ऐसी है कि बिना लाठी यानि लकुटिया का सहारा लिए एक कदम चलना भी मुश्किल है। कविता के अनुसार भिक्षुक अकेला नहीं है, दो बच्चे भी हैं साथ में जिनके शरीर अस्थिपिंजर से दिखते हैं। दोनों बच्चे अपने बायें हाथ से पेट को जोरों से दबा रहे हैं ताकि भूख से कुलबुलाते पेट का दर्द शांत हो सके और दायें हाथ दाता के आगे फैलाते हैं। कभी कुछ मिल जाता, लेकिन ज्यादातर लोगों से दुत्कार ही मिलती। निराला ने यहां सम्पन्न, लेकिन संवेदनहीन वर्ग की ओर इशारा किया है। साथ ही, भिक्षुक के साथ दो बच्चों का काव्य-रूपक पेश कर प्रकारान्तर से सवाल उठाया गया है कि जहाँ बचपन भूखा और कमजोर हो, उस देश पर क्या गर्व किया जा सकता है? निराला अपनी एक दूसरी कविता में लिखते हैं- “गहन है यह अंधकार/स्वार्थ के अवगुणठनों से/ हुआ है लुण्ठन हमारा।” दरअसल आजादी के पूर्व निराला ने जो अंधकार देखा था, वह आजादी के बाद तिरोहित होने की जगह गहराता गया है। आजादी के बाद हमारे देश में उच्चमध्यवर्ग सत्तातंत्र में अपनी निर्णायक जगह बनाने में सफल रहा है और मध्यवर्ग सुविधाभोगी तथा अवसरवादी, जबकि श्रमजीवीवर्ग-कामगारवर्ग सत्ता, शक्ति और समाज की मुख्यधारा से कटा हाशिए पर सहमा-ठिठका तब से लेकर आज तक खड़ा है। लोकतंत्र के नकाब में लूटतंत्र सत्ता पर काबिज है। लूटतंत्र में शामिल वर्ग मस्त हैं, जबकि आम जनता बुनियादी चीजों के लिए लड़ती हुई पस्त है। इस दो वर्गीय समाज-व्यवस्था पर टिप्पणी करते हुए निराला लिखते हैं-“चूँकि यहाँ दाना है/ इसलिए दीन है, दीवाना है/ लोग हैं, महफिल है/ नगमें हैं, साज है, दिलदार है और दिल है/ शम्मा है, परवाना है/ अम्मा है, बप्पा है/ झापड़ है और गोलगप्पा है/ नौजवान मामा है और बूढ़ा नाना है/ चूँकि यहाँ दाना है।” लेकिन एक दूसरा वर्ग भी है जो जीवन की संवादहीन औपचारिकताओं में जीने को अभिशप्त है, जो जेट की चिलचिलाती दुपहरी में नंगे पाँव तवे की तरह तपती सड़क पर चलने को जो विवश है और जो पूस की सिहरन भरी रात, चूल्हे की अधजली-अधबुझी अगींठी के पास बैठकर गुजारता है। निराला की सहानुभूति इसी वर्ग के प्रति है। इसीलिए निराला अपने स्नेह-अमृत से ‘भिक्षुक’ के जीवन में एक संघर्षधर्मी चेतना भरना चाहते हैं- “ठहरो! अहो मेरे हृदय में है अमृत/ मैं सींच दूंगा/ अभिमन्यु जैसे हो सकोगे तुम/ तुम्हारे दुःख मैं अपने हृदय में खींच लूँगा।” कवि नंदकुमार ‘उन्मन’ ने कविता के उक्त प्रसंग की व्याख्या करते हुए बिल्कुल ठीक ही लिखा है- “निराला अभावग्रस्तों में वह साहस उत्पन्न करना चाहते हैं जिससे अभिमन्यु बना चक्रव्यूह में भेजा जा सके। कौन-सा चक्रव्यूह? किसके द्वारा, किसके प्रयोजन में निर्मित चक्रव्यूह?”⁵ जाहिर है, वह चक्रव्यूह शोषक-शक्तियों द्वारा अपने हित में निर्मित किया गया है और जिसके भेदन के लिए अभिमन्यु चाहिए।

‘कुकुरमुत्ता’ निराला की काव्य-यात्रा का एक महत्वपूर्ण पड़ाव है जिसमें युगानुभव और जीवन-दृष्टि की द्वन्द्वात्मकता व्यापक परिदृश्य में अभिव्यक्त है। कथाकार कमलेश्वर ने लिखा है-

“निरंतर बदलते परिवेश को देखते हुए लिखने का प्रयास ही लेखक का प्रयास होता है। लेकिन प्रभावशाली रूप में लिखने की पहली शर्त है- आधुनिकता का बोध, पर आधुनिकता वही है, जो अपने ऐतिहासिक क्रम और सामाजिक संदर्भों में प्रस्फुटित हुई है जो प्रभावों को तो ग्रहण करती है, पर अपने आंतरिक और बाहरी प्रारूपों में नितांत जातीय और राष्ट्रीय है।”⁶ निश्चित रूप से निराला के ‘कुकुरमुत्ता’ में समय के दबावों से बनते सामाजिक व राजनीतिक सत्य को आत्मसात् कर गुलेलधर्मी काव्य-शिल्प के जरिए आमजन तक पहुँचाने का रचनात्मक प्रयास है। इस कविता में ‘कुकुरमुत्ता’ सर्वहारावर्ग का प्रतीक है और ‘गुलाब’ पूँजीपतिवर्ग का। सर्वहारावर्ग श्रम-शक्ति का स्रोत है जो अपनी उत्पादन-क्षमता से समाज की प्रगति में भूमिका निभाता है, जबकि गुलाब अनुत्पादक वर्ग का प्रतीक है, जो परोपजीवी है, जिसके जीवन का आधार उस खाद-पानी का अपहरण है जिसे सर्वहारा वर्ग ने अपने अविराम श्रम से उपलब्ध कराया है। कवि गुलाब के असली चेहरे को सामने लाता है जो बाहर से देखने में सुन्दर, शालीन एवं सम्मोहक है, पर जिसका विकास ही श्रम के शोषण से हुआ है- “खून चूसा खाद का तूने अशिष्ट/ डाल पर इतरा रहा है कैपिटलिस्ट/ कितनों को तूने बनाया है गुलाम/ माली को रखा, सहाया/ जाड़ा-घाम/

शाहों, राजाओं, अमीरों का रहा प्यारा/ तभी साधारणों से तू रहा न्यारा।” शोषण पर आधारित पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था यानि गुलाबी व्यवस्था के प्रति इतनी घृणा एवं नाराजगी है कि ‘कुकुरमुत्ता’ गालियों से भी परहेज नहीं करता- “रोज पड़ता रहा पानी/ तू हरामी खानदानी।” दरअसल, निराला सर्वहारावर्ग की दृष्टि से पूरी व्यवस्था को देखते हैं। अपने समय की विसंगत, विद्रूप और मेहनतकश वर्ग विरोधी सामाजिक-राजनीतिक शक्ति-संरचना को खारिज करने और जनपक्षीय शक्तियों को वैचारिक ऊर्जा देने के क्रम में उनके भीतर युगीन जटिलताओं से टकराने तथा अकेले पड़ते जाने की जो अकुलाहट पैदा हुई, उसने उन्हें अभिव्यक्ति के एक दुरूह एवं उबड़-खाबड़ रास्ते पर चलने को बाध्य किया। यही निराला अपने दौर के कवियों में अलग दिखाई देते हैं, ठीक उसी तरह जैसे क्यूबा के महान कवि निकोलस गिएना। गौरतलब है कि क्रांतिकारी कवि निकोलस गिएन ने क्यूबा में सामाजिक-राजनीतिक बदलाव के लिए जिस तरह वैचारिक चेतना की जमीन तैयार करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई, लगभग उसी दौर में निराला अपने देश में उसी तरह की ओजस्वी भूमिका में दिखाई देते हैं। ‘कुकुरमुत्ता’ कविता में रूपक के शिल्प में व्यक्त प्रसंग कई सवाल उठाते हैं- “एक ये नवाब/ फारस से मँगाये थे गुलाब/ बड़ी बाड़ी में उगाये/ देशी पौधे भी लगाये/ रखे माली, कई नौकर/ गजनवी का बाग मनहर/ लग रहा था/ एक सपना जग रहा था।”

उक्त पंक्तियों में जिस गुलाब को फारस से आयात करने, फिर उस आयातित गुलाब को देश की आबोहवा में पल्लवित-पुष्पित

करने और उस गुलाब की छाया में जिस स्वप्न के जगने की बातें कही गई हैं- ये तमाम बातें प्रतीकात्मक रूप में गुलाबप्रिय और गुलाबी चेतना के वाहक नेहरू के विकास मॉडल की ओर संकेत करती है। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि भारत की अर्थनीति एवं राजनीति पश्चिम से आयातित विकास मॉडल की प्रयोगशाला बनी है? नेहरू ने विकास की जो कल्पना की, वह पूँजीवादी ढाँचे को वित्तीय पूँजी के आयात के आधार पर खड़ा करना था। नेहरूवादी विकास मॉडल एक खासवर्ग के हित में था, इस खासवर्ग को इससे लाभ भी हुआ और लाभार्थियों में इस विकास मॉडल के प्रति सहमति भी थी। देश की समस्त पूँजी, उत्पादन और वितरण की प्रक्रिया, नीति-निर्धारण आदि पर इस खास वर्ग का एकाधिकार होने के कारण पूँजी का केन्द्रीयकरण हुआ है और देश में आर्थिक विषमता चौड़ी होती गई है।

यह निर्मम सत्य है कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की कागजी आवाजाही, भूमि-सुधार का नकली प्रयास और किसान विरोधी नीतियों के कारण कृषि लाभरहित प्रकार्य बनती गयी है। एक ओर किसान, किसानी छोड़कर मजदूर बनने को विवश हुए हैं, दूसरी ओर सत्ताधारी वर्ग को जब, जहाँ मौका मिला है, लूटने में पीछे नहीं रहे हैं। जहाँ फसल बाढ़ में डूब जाती, वहाँ बाढ़-राहत के नाम पर आवंटित राशि के बन्दरबांट हेतु टूट पड़ते और जहाँ फसल सूख जाती, वहाँ अकाल की घोषणा कर सरकारी धनराशि निगलने के लिए अपनी सर्व-जिहवा लपलपाते रहते- “जहाँ चाहे, वहाँ नहीं बरसे/ धान सूखे देखकर नहीं तरसे/ जहाँ पानी भरा, वहाँ छूट पड़े/ कहकहे लगाते हुए टूट पड़े।” वस्तुतः लोकतंत्र, लूटतंत्र में तब्दील होता गया है। राजनेताओं, दफ्तरशाहों और थैलीशाहों, माफियाओं के बीच गहरे संवाद एवं सहयोग बढ़ते गये हैं। इस संवाद और सहयोग ने जटिल सामाजिक-राजनीतिक समीकरणों को जन्म दिया और इन समीकरणों ने कुख्यात नेताओं तथा बाहुबलियों को संसद एवं विधानसभाओं में प्रवेश दिया है। अहिंसा के देश में राजकीय हिंसा के नये-नये उपकरण सहज रूप में उपलब्ध होने लगे हैं। विस्फोटक जखीरों के जाल पूरे देश में फैलते गये हैं। राजनीति के व्यापारीकरण तथा अपराधीकरण ने उसके सरोकार को बदल दिया है। देश जाये भाड़ में, हमें सत्ता चाहिए। पूँजीवादी राजनीति सत्ता कई तरह के सुख देती है- दौलत का सुख, ताकत का सुख और अय्याशी का सुख। सामंती व्यवस्था का नया राजनीतिक संस्करण बनता गया है- भारतीय लोकतंत्र।

“छलांग मारता चला गया” निराला की एक यथार्थवादी रचना है जिसमें सामंती शक्ति-संरचना के सामने किसानों-मजदूरों की निरीहता एवं भयभीत मनोदशा का चित्रण है- “ पास का मेंढक नाले के पानी से उठकर/मूत-मूत कर छलांग मारता चला गया।” उक्त पंक्तियाँ जमीन्दारों से भयाक्रान्त ग्रामीणजनों को सामने लाती हैं। इस भय का फैलाव मनुष्य से मेढक तक यानि जीव-जन्तुओं तक है। ‘नये पत्ते’ की रचनाएँ सामंतीयुग से पूँजीवाद के

दौर तक की जो विकास-यात्रा है, उसे आमजन विरोधी मानती है। यकीनन पूँजीवादी विकास मॉडल पर खड़ी अर्थ-व्यवस्था, समाज-व्यवस्था और राजनीतिक व्यवस्था में एक संवेदनशील मनुष्य जीने से अधिक मरता है, क्योंकि शासन, प्रशासन, न्यायालय, मीडिया, कला, साहित्य, संस्कृति, शिक्षा-केन्द्र, बाजारतंत्र आदि समाज की तमाम सांस्थनिक इकाइयाँ जिन्हें मनुष्य और मनुष्यता की पक्षधर होनी चाहिए, शोषणधर्मी और बाजारधर्मी हो जाती है। इन तमाम सांस्थनिक इकाइयों को पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था मछली-जाल की तरह इस्तेमाल करती है- आदमी को दास बनाने के लिए, उसके विवेकवाद को नष्ट करने के लिए। पूँजीवादी ने भव्य, किन्तु भयावह दासता-केन्द्रों का निर्माण किया है। भोगवादी प्रवृत्ति ने सामाजिकता का क्षरण किया है और व्यक्ति को स्व-केन्द्रित, मुद्रा-केन्द्रित और मतलबपरस्त बनाया है। लिहाजा, दो दुनिया बनी है। एक ओर बुनियादी चीजों के लिए तड़पते एवं घसीटते लोगों की कुरूप दुनिया है और दूसरी ओर तीन चौथाई लोगों की धूप, हवा और पानी पर काबिज एक चौथाई लोग, फिर भी लालसा की जीभ लपलपाती रहती। महाकवि निराला ने थोड़े से शब्दों में पूँजीवादी विकास-क्रम का एक संपूर्ण बिम्ब खींचा है- “ढूहों और गुफाओं, और पत्थरों के घरों से/आजकल के शहरों तक/ दुनिया ने चोली बदली है/ अपना मतलब गाटा/ फिर आंखें फेर ली/ चाल ऐसी चली कि/ थोड़े के पेटे में, बहुतों को आना पड़ा।” अर्थ-लक्ष्यी जीवन-शैली ने किस तरह मनुष्य की सहजता, सौम्यता और संवेदनशीलता को नकार दिया है जिसकी ओर संकेत करते हुए मार्क्स ने लिखा है- “पूँजीपतिवर्ग ने सभी काव्यात्मक संबंधों का अंत कर दिया है। उसने नग्न स्वार्थ के नगद, पैसे-कौड़ी के हृदयशून्य व्यवहार के सिवा मनुष्यों के बीच और कोई दूसरा संबंध बाकी नहीं रहने दिया है। उसने भावना को आना-पाई के स्वार्थी हिसाब-किताब के बर्फीले पानी में डुबो दिया है, मनुष्य के वैयक्तिक मूल्य को विनिमय मूल्य बना दिया है और वह नग्न, निर्लज्ज, प्रत्यक्ष और पाशविक शोषण की स्थापना की है।” लेकिन विडम्बना यह है कि आम जीवन विसंगतियों और विद्रूपताओं की अंतहीन शृंखला बनता गया है और कहीं से कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठता। यह प्रश्नहीनता सामाजिक जड़ता की परिचायिका है और इसी जड़ता के कारण पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था समाज की सांस्थनिक इकाइयों को दासतातंत्र में रूपान्तरित करने में सफल हो जाती है। सवाल यह नहीं है कि दुनिया कैसी है? सवाल यह है कि दुनिया जैसी भी है, उसे बदलकर आम आदमी के जीने लायक कैसे बनाया जाए? दुनिया को आम आदमी के जीने के लायक तभी बनाया जा सकता है, जब वर्ग-शत्रु की पहचान और उसका संहार हो। महाकवि निराला अपनी कविता ‘महंगू महंगा रहा’ में पंडितजी जैसे बुर्जुआ चरित्र का पर्दाफाश करते हैं जो स्वस्थ समाज का वर्ग-शत्रु है- “आजकल पंडितजी देश में विराजते हैं/ बड़े भारी नेता हैं/ कुहरीपुर गाँव में व्याख्यान देने को आये हैं/ मोटर पर लन्दन के ग्रेजुएट/एम.ए. और बैरिस्टर/ बड़े बाप के बेटे/बीसियों पत्तों के

अन्दर खुले हुए/ एक-एक पर्त बड़े-बड़े विलायती लोग/ देश की बड़ी -बड़ी थातियाँ लिए हुए।” धर्म और जाति का अन्योन्याश्रय संबंध है। इस संबंध पर सत्यापन की मुहर लगानेवाले कर्मकाण्डी प्रतिनिधि हैं ‘महंगू महंगा रहा? कविता के पण्डित जी, जिसकी ओर संकेत करते हुए निराला लिखते हैं- “कितने ब्राह्मण आये/ पोथियों में जनता को बांधे हुए।”

इतिहास के पन्ने इस बात के गवाह हैं कि सामंती दौर से लेकर आधुनिक दौर तक हर धर्म के शासकवर्ग ने अपने निरंकुश अधिकारों और शक्तियों को विस्तार देने में धर्म और धार्मिक संस्थानों का भरपूर इस्तेमाल किया है, चाहे वह हिन्दू चक्रवर्ती राजा रहे हों, हिज हाईनेस होली किंग या जिल्लेइलाही जहाँपनाह रहे हों। धर्म और सत्तातंत्र के उत्तरोत्तर घनिष्ठ होते सम्बंधों ने शासकवर्ग को फलने-फूलने में पर्याप्त सहयोग दिया है और पण्डितों, पादरियों व उलेमाओं ने इस कार्य में सक्रिय तथा समर्पित भूमिका निभायी है। धर्म और राजनीतिक सत्ता के सम्बंधों के स्वरूप समय के अनुसार भले ही बदलते रहें हों, पर हर दौर में धर्म और शासकवर्ग की युगलबन्दी होती रही है। धर्मजनित इन जटिलताओं और क्रूर परिणतियों की गहरी समझ निराला को थी- “सभ्यता के नाम पर/ खून की नदी बही/ आँख-कान मूँदकर जनता ने डुबकियाँ ली/ आँखें खुलीं-राजे ने अपनी रखवाली की।”

खुला भेद विजयी कहाये हुए जो,
लहूँ दूसरों का पिये जा रहे हैं।

निराला को अपने निजी जीवन में सामाजिक, आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक - प्रत्येक स्तर पर संघर्ष करना पड़ा था। दलित-वंचित और उपेक्षित वर्ग की पीड़ाओं में अपनी पीड़ा को देखते हैं। इसीलिए इस वर्ग को समाज की मुख्यधारा से जोड़ने एवं उन्हें चेतना सम्पन्न बनाने की वकालत करते हैं। निराला की कविताओं में दलित विमर्श का कबीरधर्मा स्वर है- “जल्द-जल्द पैर बढ़ाओं, आओ-आओ/ आज अमीरों की हवेली/ किसानों की होगी पाठशाला/ धोबी पासी, चमार-टोली/ खेलेंगे अंधेरे का ताला/ एक पाठ पढ़ेंगे/ टाट बिछाओ।” जाहिर है, निराला का संकेत उस ‘पाठ’ की ओर है जो मनुष्यता, समानता, सामाजिक न्याय और विश्वबन्धुत्व से जुड़ा है। निराला ने अपनी एक कविता ‘तुम और मैं’ के द्वारा यह घोषणा की है- “मैं अप्रस्तुतों का कवि हूँ।” प्रकारांतर से निराला अपने को उस वर्ग का प्रतिनिधि कवि कहते हैं जो समाज के हाशिये पर सांस लेने को अभिशप्त है, जो सामाजिक जीवन की मुख्य धारा में ‘प्रस्तुत’ नहीं हो सका है, उसी ‘अप्रस्तुत’ को पूरी ईमानदारी तथा आत्मीयता के साथ प्रस्तुत करती हैं- निराला की कविताएँ। यह कविता जमीन के खुरदुरेपन की वह पहचान है जो परत-दर-परत कवि-सत्य के साथ अनावृत होकर उस द्वन्द्वात्मकता को ढूँढ़ निकालती है जो मनुष्य का स्वनिर्मित है। कविता यहाँ न तो आकस्मिक है और न तो विस्मय

की ही सृष्टि करती है। एक बेचैन और चिन्तित कवि का भाष्य इस जगह पहुँचकर जिस उदात्तता की रचना करता है, उसमें निजी तौर पर जबरदस्त जोखिम है।

इस कविता में कवि का स्वप्न और ठहरी हुई जिन्दगी की विषण्णता एक साथ बिम्बों को तोड़कर जिस स्थान पर चली आती है, वह कवि का आत्म-साक्षात्कार है।

निराला-काव्य का तृतीय और अंतिम चरण 1950 से 1961 तक फैला है। इस कालावधि में ‘अर्चना’, ‘आराधना’, ‘गीतगूँज’, और ‘सांध्यकाकली’ जैसी काव्य-कृतियाँ सामने आती हैं। इनमें अधिकांशतः गीत रचनाएँ हैं। परवर्ती रचनाओं में कवि के व्यक्तिगत जीवन का नैराश्य है, जिससे मुक्ति पाने के लिए वह भक्ति एवं अध्यात्म की ओर लौटता है। पर, परवर्ती काव्य का एक दूसरा पक्ष भी है जिसे अनदेखा नहीं किया जा सकता। निराला के भक्ति-दर्शन का एक ठोस सामाजिक आधार है। उन्होंने धर्म को धरती से जोड़कर देखा है। इसीलिए, उनकी शरणागत भाववाली रचनाओं में केवल स्वयं की रक्षा या मुक्ति के लिए प्रार्थना नहीं है, बल्कि सामाजिक विषमता, पाखण्ड, रूढ़ियों और नाना प्रकार के दुख-दैन्य से सम्पूर्ण समाज को मुक्ति दिलाने की कामना भी है। जिस तरह भक्ति और सामाजिक आंदोलन कबीर-काव्य के अभिन्न संदर्भ हैं, वही दृष्टि निराला के यहाँ भी गहरी वेदना के साथ चुभती हुई भाषा में उपस्थित है। मैनेजर पाण्डेय जी ने अपने एक आलेख में भक्तियुगीन कविता के सामाजिक संदर्भ का विश्लेषण करते हुए लिखा है- “जागरुक संवेदनशील कवि दुनिया की ट्रेजिक दशा देखकर बेचैन होता है। बेचैनी का कारण संवादहीनता की वह स्थिति भी है जहाँ कवि के हृदय की बात, उसकी अनुभूति और बेचैनी को कोई निःसंशय होकर सुनता ही नहीं, जो सुनता है; वह समझने और स्वीकार करने के बदले पत्थर मारता है। ऐसी ही मनोदशा में कबीर ने लिखा होगा- ‘ऐसा कोई ना मिले/जासूँ कहीं निसंक/जासूँ हिरदे की कहूँ सो फिरिं मारें कंक।’ यह है ईमानदारी और दुनियादारी की विडम्बना, जिसका सामना हर जमाने में प्रत्येक सुकरात या कबीर को करना पड़ता है।”⁸ उक्त बातें निराला की रचनाशीलता पर भी अक्षरशः लागू होती हैं। कवि की सामाजिक संवेदना विशिष्ट भांगिमा में अभिव्यक्त हुई है- “मानव जहाँ बैल-घोड़ा है/ कैसा तन-मन का जोड़ा है/ किस साधन का स्वांग रचा यह/ देख रहा है विज्ञ आधुनिक/ वन्य भाव का यह क्रीड़ा है/ इस पर से विश्वास उठ गया/ विद्या से जब मैल छूट गया/ पक-पककर ऐसा फूटा है/ जैसा सावन का फोड़ा है।” तो दूसरी ओर, इस अमानवीय एवं पाशविक सामाजिक परिदृश्य के नाश और मनुष्य के बेहतर भविष्य के लिए शुभकामना भी है- “दुख के सुख जियो, पियो ज्वाला/ शंकर की स्मर-शर की हाला/ शशि के लांछन हो सुन्दरतर/ अभिशाप समुत्कल जीवट-वर/ वाणी-कल्याणी अविनश्वर/ शरणों की जीवन-पण माला।” मार्क्स ने लिखा है- “धार्मिक वेदना एक साथ ही वास्तविक वेदना की अभिव्यक्ति

और वास्तविक वेदना के विरुद्ध विद्रोह भी है। धर्म पीड़ित प्राणियों की आह है, वह हृदयहीन दुनिया का हृदय है और वह आत्माविहीन परिस्थितियों की अन्तरात्मा है।”⁹ मार्क्स के इस कथन के आलोक में निराला की धर्म भावना और उनकी कविता के पारस्परिक संबंधों पर विचार करें तो यह स्पष्ट हो जायेगा कि उनकी भक्तिपरक कविताओं में युग का यथार्थ प्रत्यक्ष और परोक्ष दोनों रूपों में व्यक्त हुआ है।

सही मायने में, आजादी के बाद ही आजादी की अर्थहीनता और सत्य की मृत्यु का बोध भारतीय मानस में गहरे स्तर पर उभरने लगता था जो मुक्तिबोध तक पहुँचते-पहुँचते विस्फोट की सीमा को छूता दिखाई देता है। आजादी के बाद के कालखण्डों में आम आदमी का जिस तरह मोहभंग हुआ है, उसमें मानसिक पराभव जोर पकड़ता गया है। एलियनेशन यानि आत्मनिर्वासन और अस्तित्व-संकट की समस्या इसी जमीन पर पैदा हुई है। समाज, राष्ट्र और मानवता के लिए उत्सर्ग करने की जो मानसिकता स्वतंत्रता से पूर्व थी, बाद के कालखण्डों में क्रमशः लुप्त होती गई है। चिंतन और सृजन के तमाम मानवीय संदर्भों को नेपथ्य में ढकेला गया है। इस दृष्टि से देखें तो क्या निराला की परवर्ती रचनाओं का अन्तर्विरोध अपने समय एवं समाज का अन्तर्विरोध नहीं है? कवि की असमर्थता, व्याकुलता, निराशा, दीनता, हीनता सबकुछ युगीन है—“पशुओं से संकुल जग/अहंकार में बैधा भग/विपुल काम के जाल बिछाकर/ जीते हैं जन-जन को खाकर/ रहूँ कहाँ, मैं ठौर न पाकर/ माया का संहार करो।” अथवा “जबतक शत मोहजाल/ घेर रहे हैं कराल/जीवन के विपुल व्याल/ मुक्त करो विश्वगाथ।”

सच यह है कि रोमांटिक दौर में रहते हुए भी निराला पूरी तरह छायावादी नहीं थे। अनेक कविताएँ छायावाद से बाहर हैं। “निराला जब प्रगतिवादी हुए तो वह दौर भी दिलचस्प था- 1936 से 1946 तक। बेला, कुकुरमुत्ता के दौर की रचनाओं को देखें तो उस दौर की जो मजदूरों को जागो-जागो कहकर नींद हराम कर देनेवाली रचनाएँ भाषण की शैली में लिखी गई थी, उस दौर में यथार्थवादी काव्य-चित्र की तलाश करें तो पायेंगे कि प्रगतिशील लेखक संघ की मुहर लगाये अनेक कवि थे जो मजदूरनी की रात को, कोयले की खान के सदृश बता रहे थे, लेकिन उन्होंने कभी मजदूरनी को देखा तक नहीं था। वहीं ‘नये पत्ते’ की रचनाएँ गवाह हैं कि किसानों के बारे में, मजदूरों के बारे में निराला को कितनी गहन और आत्मीय जानकारी थी। जो कवि छायावादी दौर में केवल छायावादी न था, प्रगतिवादी युग में केवल प्रगतिवादी न था, वह जीवन में- काव्य में सबसे अलग था। 1936 से 1946 तक की रचनाप्रक्रिया को देखें तो लगता है कि निराला ने दस सालों में जैसे सौ सालों के फासले को तय किया था। सबसे बड़ा चमत्कार तो निराला ने 1947 के बाद किया। जिस मुक्त छन्द का निर्माण किया था उसे छोड़ दिया,

केवल गीत लिखें। मुक्त छन्द बनानेवाले ने मुक्त छन्द छोड़कर गीत लिखा और जिन्होंने मुक्त छन्द बनाया नहीं, वे केवल मुक्त छन्द लिखते रहे और मान लिया कि मुक्त छन्द ही हिन्दी कविता की नियति है। एक कवि जो चालीस वर्षों के जीवनकाल में लगभग हर दस सालों के बाद अपने को बंदीगृह से मुक्त करता है- क्रांतिकारी कवि उसे कहते हैं।”¹⁰ आधुनिकता के विकास पर एक नजर डालनी चाहिए कि किस तरह हमारे यहाँ आधुनिकता हमारे अर्थतंत्र में परोपजीवी रूप में आयी है और किस हद तक जिसे आधुनिक कविता कहते हैं, वह परोपजीवी है। निराला की काव्यभाषा निराला के गद्य से आयी है, ‘कुल्लीभाट’ से आयी है। एक ओर निराला गद्य तोड़ रहे थे और दूसरी ओर कविता को गद्य की नयी भाषा दे रहे थे। सही मायने में निराला गहरे दुखबोध के कवि हैं और इसी दुखबोध से अपनी कविता में सामाजिक हस्तक्षेप दर्ज करते हैं। विष, बन्दीगृह, कारागार, मरण- इन शब्दों पर विचार किये बिना निराला काव्य का मूल्यांकन हो ही नहीं सकता है- ‘बन्दीगृह वरण किया/ जीवन-विष विषम पिया’ अथवा ‘मरण को जिसने वरा है/ उसी में जीवन भरा है।’ जैसी रचनाएँ दुख में सुख, निराशा में आशा, उदासी में उल्लास की खोज करती हैं और यह खोज जीवन की खोज है और यह कविता का अंतिम सत्य भी है। जो कवि अपने चरणों में मरण का महावर लगाता है, वही इतिहास में वन्दनवार की तरह शोभायमान होता है। एक दूसरी कविता में निराला ने लिखा है- ‘मरा हूँ हजार बार।’ सामान्य आदमी एक दिन मरता है, लेकिन सच्चा कवि रोज मरता है। दरअसल, सच्चा कवि अपनी प्रत्येक कविता के साथ मरता है और जन्म लेता है। निराला ने अमानवीय एवं विसंगत समाजव्यवस्था को बंदीगृह कहा है और इस बंदीगृह में जीने की विवशता को ‘मरण का वरण’ कहकर जैसे परिवर्तन की अपील कर रहे हैं। जीवन के अंतिम चरण में महाभारत के भीष्म के रूप में आत्म-परिचय देते हुए निराला का कवि, ऐसा लगता है मानों जिजीविषा के प्राचीर से आवाज दे रहा हो- “सिद्ध योगियों जैसे या साधारण मानव/ ताक रहा है भी म शरों की कठिन सेज पर/ झूल चुकी है खाल- ढाल की तरह तनी थी/ पुनः सवेरा, एक और फेर जी का।” यहाँ निर्वाण की अलौकिक आकांक्षा नहीं है, जीवन को नये सिरे से जीने की लौकिक कामना है। उक्त पंक्तियाँ जैसे संघर्ष और इतिहास के पक्ष में उठी हुई कविता की मशाल है। निराला की यथार्थ चेतना का संबंध लोक-जीवन की सच्ची अनुभूतियों से है, जिसका प्रभाव देशज शब्दावलियों से बने विविधवर्णी कविताओं में देखा जा सकता है। निराला ने भाषा के स्तर पर नये बोध के अनुरूप जिस शिल्प का सर्जनात्मक संस्कार किया है, वह अपने समय की संवेदना से सीधे साक्षात्कार करने की प्रक्रिया है। शब्द और ध्वनि, ध्वनि और मौन, बिम्ब और प्रतीक, लय और स्वराघात तथा शब्दों का संवेदनात्मक विन्यास जैसे अनेक बिन्दुओं से कवि ने शिल्प की अर्थवत्ता पहचानने की कोशिश की है।

निष्कर्ष

निराला ने जीवन की जटिलताओं के आगे आत्मसमर्पण नहीं किया। वे जीवन के तमाम उतार-चढ़ाव के बीच अंगदी पांव गड़ाये, अश्रान्त व लौह-पुरुष-सा अपने भीतर जीवन की समस्त ऊष्मा, शक्ति और ओज को छुपाए आगे बढ़ते रहे। वे अपनी कविताओं में यथार्थ की अनुकृति नहीं करते, उसकी पुनर्रचना करते हैं। वैसे भी एक कवि से यह अपेक्षा करना ज्यादाती होगा कि वह कविता में ठेठ समाज-वैज्ञानिक की तरह व्यवहार करें। कवि के लिए शब्दकर्म, अर्थ का नया विन्यास और भाषा की पहचान के साथ स्वयं के विरुद्ध खड़े होने का एक जनपक्षधर्मी प्रयास है। बिम्ब और अर्थ के बीच अर्थात् शब्दों के पीछे से शब्द आकर जो प्रतिबिम्ब निर्मित करते हैं, वही निराला की कविताओं को एक साथ 'आकार' और 'आधार' देकर भविष्य की ओर चलने का रास्ता बनाते हैं। कथाकार रेणु जी से शब्द उधार लेकर कहें तो निराला की काव्य-यात्रा समग्रता में 'समाज को मानवीय तथा मानव को सामाजिक बनाने की प्रक्रिया है।'

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रसखान के काव्य में माधुर्य भाव

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सारांश

कृष्ण भक्ति काव्य-धारा में रसखान (1548-1628 ई.) का विशेष अध्ययन दो कारणों से अपेक्षित है। प्रथम कि मध्ययुग में भक्ति की धारा ने जाति, धर्म और सम्प्रदाय के भेद को किस हद तक मिटा दिया, इसका उदाहरण रसखान में मिलता है। रसखान मुसलमान थे, बादशाह वंश के थे, फिर भी विठ्ठलनाथ ने उन्हें अपना शिष्य बनाया और वे वृन्दावन में रहने लगे और दूसरा कि रूप के आकर्षण का उदात्तीकरण किस प्रकार आध्यात्मिक प्रेम में हो जाता है, रसखान इसके भी उदाहरण हैं। प्रस्तुत आलेख में कृष्णभक्ति के माधुर्य भाव के सन्दर्भ में इन्हीं बिन्दुओं को रेखांकित किया गया है।

विशिष्टशब्द - लह्यो, बिसारे, खिरक, सिगरो

भूमिका

मध्ययुग में सगुण भक्ति की धारा परमात्मा के दो आराध्य रूपों को लेकर प्रवाहित हुई - रामभक्ति की मर्यादा वाली धारा और कृष्ण भक्ति की माधुर्य - प्रधान धारा। भक्ति के लिए आवश्यक तत्त्व प्रेम का चरम उत्कर्ष इसी भक्ति में मिलता है। कृष्ण की मधुर लीलाओं के गान के माध्यम से इसमें ऐसा रसोद्रेक होता है कि मनुष्य उसकी लीलाओं में रसमग्न होकर आत्मविस्मृत हो जाता है। इसी रसमग्नता की अवस्था में रसमय परमात्मा का साक्षात्कार होने लगता है। रसखान के काव्य में इसी रसमयता की ऐसी धारा प्रभावित होता है कि उन्हें इस भाव धारा का प्रतिनिधि कवि कह सकते हैं।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

कृष्णभक्त कवियों की परम्परा में रसखान विशिष्ट स्थान के अधिकारी हैं। उनकी भक्ति इस तथ्य का प्रमाण है कि जाति और वर्ग भेद को समाप्त करने में भक्ति आन्दोलन की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण थी। भक्ति का द्वार ऊँच-नीच, छोटे-बड़े, हिन्दू-मुसलमान सभी के लिए खुला था। ऐसे मुसलमान भक्तों की ही लक्ष्य करके भारतेन्दु ने कहा था - 'इन मुसलमान हरिजनन पै कोटि हिन्दुन बारिए'।

हृदय पर लगने वाला तीव्र आघात अथवा जीवन की यथार्थता की अनुभूति मनुष्य को भक्ति की ओर ले जाती है रसखान के जीवन में घटित होने वाली घटनाएँ उनके हृदय में संसार की व्यर्थता का बोध उत्पन्न करती हैं। कहा जाता है कि वे बादशाह वंश के थे। दिल्ली में राजसत्ता के लिए हुए संघर्ष के कारण वह नगर श्मशान के समान प्रतीत होने लगा। यह देखकर विक्षुब्ध कवि ने बादशाह वंश का अभिमान छोड़ दिया, प्रेम-निकेतन गोवर्धन धाम को अपना निवास बनाया और राधा-कृष्ण के युगल में चरणों में अपने को समर्पित कर दिया। अपनी 'प्रेम-वाटिका' में उन्होंने इस घटना का उल्लेख किया है -

देखि गदर हित साहिबी, दिल्ली नगर मसान।
छिनहि बादसा-वंस की, ठसक छोरि रसखान।।

प्रेम निकेतन श्रीवनहि, आई गोवर्धन-धाम।
लह्यो सरन चित चाहि कै, जुगल गोवर्धन-धाम।।

प्रेम वाटिका 48 - 49

रसखान के व्यक्तित्व की दूसरी महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता यह है कि इनका लौकिक प्रेम आध्यात्मिक प्रेम का सोपान बनता है। हृदय में लगने वाला तीव्र आघात मनुष्य के हृदय को परमात्मा की ओर उन्मुख कर देता है। कहा जाता है कि ये किसी स्त्री पर आसक्त थे। वह बहुत मानवती थी। एक दिन ये भगवद्गीता का फारसी अनुवाद पढ़ रहे थे। वहाँ गोपियों के अलौकिक प्रेम के विषय में पढ़कर यह बोध हुआ कि नारी प्रेम को छोड़कर उन्हें गोपियों के समान कृष्ण से प्रेम करना चाहिए। इस बोध के साथ ही उनके प्रेम का उन्नयन हो गया और वे वृन्दावन चले आये। इस घटना का संकेत उन्होंने 'प्रेम वाटिका' के निम्नांकित दोहे में किया है -

तोरि मानिनी ते हियो, फोरि मोहिनी भान।
प्रेमदेव की छविहि लखि, भए मियाँ रसखान।।

दोहा - 50.

रसखान के भक्त व्यक्तित्व का तीसरा महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष है उनका विठ्ठलनाथ का शिष्यत्व-ग्रहण। भक्ति, जाति, वर्ग और सम्प्रदाय से ऊपर उठी हुई भावना थी। इनसे उत्पन्न विषमता को दूर करने में इसकी भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण थी। एक ओर जहाँ इस्लामी कट्टरता और हिन्दुओं की सम्प्रदायिक संकीर्णता के अनेक उदाहरण वर्तमान हैं वहाँ दूसरी ओर विशुद्ध मानवतावादी धर्म की स्थापना के भी प्रयत्न हो रहे थे। भक्ति एक ऐसा ही आन्दोलन था। रामानन्द, कबीर और सूफी संतो की भक्ति मानवता को एक सूत्र में बाँधने का प्रयत्न कर रही थी। मुसलमान होकर भी रसखान कृष्ण के प्रेम में रंग गये। विठ्ठलनाथ ने भी उन्हें अपना शिष्य बना लिया और वे उनकी शिष्यमंडली में ही वृन्दावन में रहने लगे।

कृष्ण भक्ति में माधुर्य भाव : कृष्ण भक्ति रस-प्रधान है। ब्रह्म के रसमय स्वरूप की जैसी अनुभूति इस भक्ति में होती है, वैसी अन्यत्र नहीं है। कृष्ण का सब कुछ रसमय है। भक्त उनकी लीला का गान करके कृष्णमय हो जाता है। तन्मयता इस भक्ति का प्रमुख

लक्षण है। पुष्टि मार्ग के सिद्धान्तों के अनुरूप रसखान ने भी इनकी लीलाओं का मधुर गान किया है। उनकी नाद-योजना का चमत्कार हृदय को अभिभूत कर देता है। उनकी शब्द माधुरी ने जनमानस को इतना प्रभावित किया कि लोग उनका वास्तविक नाम भूल गये और उन्हें रसखान, रस की खान कहने लगे।

रसखान प्रेम तत्त्व को पहचान चुके हैं। प्रेम तत्त्व सागर के समान है, जो इसमें एक बार प्रवेश कर जाता है, वह अपनी पहचान खो देता है।¹ यह दम्पति सुख, विषयरस, पूजा, निष्ठा, ध्यान से परे की चीज है। इसे जान लेने पर कुछ भी जानने को शेष नहीं रह जाता। इसका बन्धन अत्यन्त कठिन है। इसमें प्राण तड़पता ही रहता है, निकलता नहीं। केवल उसाँस चलती रहती है। इसके फाँस में जो फँस कर मर जाता है, वह सदा जीवित रहता है। प्रेम ईश्वर स्वरूप है और ईश्वर प्रेम स्वरूप है। दोनों एक होकर उसी प्रकार शोभित होते हैं जैसे सूर्य और धूप।² प्रेम में व्यक्तित्व का पूर्ण विलयन हो जाता है। इसमें केवल मन का ही एकीकरण नहीं होता, शरीर भी एक हो जाता है।³ रसखान ने प्रेम के द्वारा प्रेमस्वरूप राधा-कृष्ण का सान्निध्य प्राप्त कर लिया। जड़ या चेतन किसी रूप में वे कृष्ण के निकट बने रहना चाहते हैं। यदि वे मनुष्य हों तो वे गोकुल में ग्वालों के बीच रहना चाहते हैं, यदि पशु हों तो नन्द की गायों के बीच रहेंगे, यदि पत्थर हों तो गोवर्धन के पत्थर बनेंगे, जिसे कृष्ण ने अपने हाथों पर धारण किया था और यदि पक्षी हों तो कालिन्दी के फूल के कदम्ब की डाल में वास करना चाहेंगे।

कृष्ण की लीला के आनन्द के आगे बड़े से बड़ा भौतिक सुख भी तुच्छ है। रसखान गोचारण करते हुए कृष्ण के सौन्दर्य के आगे संसार का बड़ा से बड़ा सुख त्याग देने को तैयार हैं। उस लकुटी और कम्बल पर वे तीनों लोक का राज्य भी त्याग सकते हैं। नन्द की गाय चराने में उन्हें आठ सिद्धि और नव निधि प्राप्त करने का सुख मिलता है। यदि वे कभी ब्रज के वन, बाग और तालाब को देख सकें तो करोड़ों सोने के महल करील के कुंजों पर न्योछावर कर देंगे। यह प्रेम की श्रेष्ठता का निदर्शन है कि जिस ब्रह्म को योगी समाधि में देखने की चेष्टा करते हैं, सांझ से भोर तक शेष जिनका नाम जपते रहते हैं, नारद जिन्हें त्रिलोक में बिन बजाकर ढूँढते रहते हैं, उन्हें ही अहीर की गंवार स्त्रियाँ थोड़े-से मट्टे के लिए नाच नचाती रहती हैं। रसखान की भक्ति गोपीभाव की है। गोपियाँ प्रेमाभक्ति की निदर्शन हैं। उन्माद की स्थिति तक पहुँचा हुआ उनका रूप का आकर्षण, उनकी तन्मयता और समर्पण भाव भक्ति का प्रतिमान उपस्थित करता है। रसखान ने उनके इसी माधुर्य में अवगाहन करने की चेष्टा की है। सबसे अधिक वर्णन उन्होंने रूप के आकर्षण का किया है। कृष्ण का सौंदर्य अलौकिक है। उनके कानों में कुण्डल है, माथे पर मोर मुकुट और हृदय में वनमाला शोभित हो रही है। हाथों में मुरली है, होठों पर मुस्कान बिछी हुई है, चारों ओर महाछवि की तरंग उठ रही है। शरीर पर का पीत पट बिजली की चमक को लज्जित कर रहा है। मुरली की

ध्वनि कान में पड़ते ही कुल की लज्जा भाग जाती है।⁴ युवारूप के समान उनका बालरूप भी कम आकर्षक नहीं। उनका शरीर धूलि से भरा है, माथे पर सुन्दर चोटी शोभित हो रही है। वे हाथ में माखन रोटी लिए आँगन में खेल रहे हैं। उस कौए का भाग्य धन्य है जो उनके हाथ से माखन रोटी ले जाता है।⁵

कृष्ण की बांकी चितवन, अमृत भरी वाणी, खरी मुस्कान और बाँसुरी की ध्वनि ने गोपियों को विशेष रूप से आकर्षित किया है। इसमें पड़कर उन्होंने अपनी सुध-बुध खो दी है। उन्होंने अपनी लोक-लज्जा का त्याग कर दिया है। जिस दिन उसने उनकी वक्र दृष्टि और मोहक मुस्कान को देखा, उसी दिन से यह उनके हाथों पड़ गयी है। उसने अपने कुल की मर्यादा रखने की बहुत चेष्टा की, किन्तु यह मेढ़ तोड़कर निकल गयी। ब्रज में ऐसा कौन है जो उनकी आँखों की तिरछी दृष्टि का बाण झेल सके। उनका रूप माधुर्य क्षण भर को पीछा नहीं छोड़ता। वह उसी तरह साथ चलता रहता है जैसे पेड़ के साथ लता। उनके केशों और कानों के कुंडल के सौन्दर्य का उन्माद ब्रजमंडल में छा गया है।⁶ गोपियाँ प्रेम की इस पीर से उबरने को आकुल हैं, किन्तु अपने ऊपर उनका वश नहीं चलता। इस भाव को लेकर रसखान ने अनेक पद लिखे हैं। जिस दिन से नन्द के बालक ने इस वन में अपनी बाँसुरी की मधुर धुन से सबको रिझा कर दिया है, उसी दिन से सभी के हृदय में कोई जादू समा गया है। कोई किसी की बात नहीं सुनता। मानो पूरा ब्रज मोहन के हाथों बिक गया है।⁷ मुरली की पुकार सहन कर पाने में असमर्थ होकर गोपी कहती है कि कृष्ण बाँसुरी बजायेंगे तो वह कानों अंगुली डालकर किसी तरह रह लेगी, किन्तु वह सभी ब्रज के लोगों को कहती है कि उस मुख की मुस्कान वह सह नहीं पायेगी।⁸

रसखान ने माधुर्य-सृष्टि के लिए मुरली का विशेष रूप से वर्णन किया है। उनके रूप-सौन्दर्य ने तो ब्रज में उन्माद उत्पन्न किया ही है, मुरली की ध्वनि ने तो उनकी जीना दुभर कर दिया है। यह उनकी सौत बनकर आयी है। दुःख इसका है कि कृष्ण भी उसी के वश हो गये हैं। रात-दिन वह उन्हीं के संग लगी रहती है। यहाँ रहकर सौत की सांसत कौन सहेगा। इसलिए सब मिलकर वहाँ से भाग जाने की योजना बनाती हैं कि अब तो ब्रज में मुरली ही रहेगी।⁹ इससे उबरने का दूसरा उपाय यह है कि बाँस के जितने वृक्ष हैं उन्हें काट डाला जाय। ब्रज में न बाँस रहेगा और न बाँसुरी बजेगी।¹⁰ मुरली जनित उन्माद और अवशता के निम्नांकित चित्र दृष्टव्य हैं।

जिस दिन गोपी ने बाँसुरी की ध्वनि सुनी उसी दिन से वह रसमत्त हो गयी। मतवाली होकर वह गलियों में घूम रही है, किसी की बात नहीं सुनती। किसी ने बाँसुरी की ध्वनि में गोपी का नाम लिया। उसी क्षण से सास वैरिन हो गई और वह उसे दरवाजे से बाहर झाँकने नहीं देती। यदि वह उसे आँखे भर कर देखने की चेष्टा करती है तो उसकी निन्दा होने लगती है। उसे मिलने के सारे

रास्ते रूक गये हैं, किन्तु हृदय में वह पीतवस्त्रधारी अब्क गया है।¹¹ कृष्ण के रूप ने गोपियों को मुग्ध कर दिया है। उन्होंने अपनी सुध-बुध खो दी है। इस तन्मयता भाव के अनेक सुन्दर चित्र रसखान ने अंकित किये हैं। गाय चराते हुए कृष्ण की मूर्ति उसकी आँखों में बस गई है। घूँघट की ओट में आँखे बन्द कर वह उस रूप सुधा का पान कर रही है। वह अपनी आँखें खोलना नहीं चाहती कि वह मूर्ति आँखों से निकल जायेगी।¹² दही बेचने वाली गोपी ने जब मोहक रूप देखा तब वह अपना चलना भूल गई, शरीर की सुधि नहीं रही। दधि का भाजन फूट गया और आँखों से लाज का नाता टूट गया।¹³ प्रेम में विभोर गोपी कहती है कि वह उन्हीं के प्रेम में सनी रहती है, उन्हीं के प्रेम में पागल बनी रहती है। उन्हीं के साथ फिरते रहने में सुख के समुद्र में डूबी रहती है और उनके बिना जलहीन मछली के समान तड़पती रहती है। जिस दिन उसने कृष्ण को देखा उसी दिन से उसने कुल की लज्जा त्याग दी, काम ने उसके मन को लूट लिया। सरिता जैसे सागर की ओर दौड़ती है वैसे ही वह उनकी ओर दौड़ पड़ी और कुल की लज्जा का पुल टूट गया। मन मत हो गया, वह उनके साथ फिरने लगा और रूप का सुधा रस पीने लगा।¹⁴

लीला गान परम्परा का अनुसरण : माधुर्य की सृष्टि के लिए वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय की भक्ति के अनुरूप उन्होंने कृष्ण की लीला-गान परम्परा का अनुसरण किया है। कृष्ण स्वयं माधुर्य के प्रतिरूप हैं। उनकी समस्त चेष्टाएँ मधुर हैं। रसखान ने भी इन लीलाओं के खण्ड-चित्र प्रस्तुत किये हैं। इस संदर्भ में दानलीला और होली के प्रसंगों ने इन्हें विशेष रूप से आकृष्ट किया है। दान लीला प्रसंग में कृष्ण गोपियों से दधि अथवा मक्खन का दान माँगते दीख पड़ते हैं। यह वास्तव में उनके यौवन का दान है। इस लीला में कृष्ण को गोपियों से छेड़खानी करने के अवसर मिल जाते हैं। गोपी इससे भीतर में तो प्रसन्न होती है, किन्तु प्रत्यक्ष में खीझ प्रकट करती है। वह दधि बेचने जा रही थी कि कृष्ण ने रास्ता रोक लिया। उन्होंने दान में मेरे यौवन का रस ले लिया। मैं अकेली उनके हाथ पड़ गयी। उन्होंने अपना मनमाना कर लिया और लज्जा हर ली।¹⁵ उस गोपी ने न कहीं कृष्ण की बात सुनी और न वह उनसे बातें करने में हंसी है। कल ही वह गोपियों के साथ दूध बेचने को निकली। आज ही उसने केवल एक बार दही ले लो कहकर भाँहों में मुसका दिया। वही मुसकान उसकी वैरिन हो गई और कृष्ण के प्राणों में बस गई।¹⁶

गोपियाँ भी इस छेड़खानी का आनन्द लूटने में पीछे नहीं हैं। जब यह छेड़खानी बहुत बढ़ गई तब दो गोपियों ने कृष्ण की भुजा पकड़ी और यशोदा के पास ले चलीं। उन्होंने प्रत्यक्ष में शिकायत की कि ये वन में लूटते हैं किन्तु मन में कहने लगी कि सुख की यह लूट कहाँ है। जैसे वे कृष्ण के अंग से लगती हैं, वैसे वे उनके अंग में समाते जा रहे हैं। वे एक पग उलटते हैं तो ये भी उनका अनुसरण करती हैं।¹⁷

होली के प्रसंग में शारीरिक सम्पर्क के सबसे अधिक अवसर उपलब्ध होते हैं। यही कारण है कि कृष्ण भक्त कवियों और रीति कवियों ने भी इस प्रसंग का विशेष सरसता से वर्णन किया है। रसखान ने भी होली के अत्यन्त काव्यमय चित्र अंकित किये हैं। कृष्ण को सूने मार्ग में एक गोपी मिल गई। उन्होंने उसे हृदय से लगा दिया। उसकी साड़ी फट गई, अँगिया दरक गई। उसके गाल में गुलाल लगाकर उसे विदा किया।¹⁸ कृष्ण के सम्पर्क से गोपियों के हृदय में उत्पन्न उल्लास के चित्र निम्नांकित हैं। सखी गोपी से कह रही है - अबीर लिए और पिचकारी भरे अनेक भावों से भरे कृष्ण खड़े हैं। साक्षात काम के समान लग रहे हैं। अपलक दृष्टि से उस रूप का पान करो। पूर्व पुण्य से यह अवसर आया है। जो तुमसे ईर्ष्या करते हैं, उसकी परवाह मत करो। इस पाख पातिव्रत्य को ताक पर रख दो।¹⁹ वक्रोक्ति पद्धति का सहारा लेकर कहीं-कहीं कवि ने होली के चित्रों को मादक के साथ मार्मिक भी बनाया है। कृष्ण के प्रति गोपी अपनी मुग्धता व्यक्त करती हुई कहती है, मेरा अहोभाग्य, मेरे साथ निःशंक होकर फाग खेलो। जो मन में आवे सो करो, किन्तु पैर पड़ती हैं, घूँघट मत हटाओ। अबीर आँख बचाकर फेंको।²⁰

कृष्ण की लीला के इन खंड चित्रों के अतिरिक्त कवि ने कृष्ण और गोपियों के वास्तविक मिलन के चित्र भी अंकित किये हैं। इन चित्रों में पर्याप्त मादकता है। राधा और कृष्ण की अचानक ब्रज में भेंट हो गई। कृष्ण ने उन्हें आलिंगन में भर लिया। राधा का नहीं-नहीं कहना कृष्ण के लिए वशीकरण मंत्र हो गया।²¹ मार्ग में ही मिलन का दूसरा चित्र निम्नांकित है। गोपी यमुना की ओर जा रही थी कि कृष्ण ने रास्ते में ही घेर लिया। आनंद में भरकर वे उससे लिपट गये और घूँघट हटा दिया। बातें बनाकर वे उसका मुख चूमने लगे। कृष्ण के उस रूप को देख लेने के बाद किसके कुल की लाज रह सकती है?²²

प्रेम की प्रगाढ़ता निरूपित करने के लिए कवि ने संयोग के अतिरिक्त वियोग के भी चित्र अंकित किये हैं। वियोग प्रेम को गहराई देता है। संयोग में यह ऊपरी धरातल पर होता है। इसमें वासना की प्रधानता होती है वियोग में इसमें व्यापकता और गहराई आ जाती है। किन्तु रसखान की वृत्ति वियोग की अपेक्षा संयोग के चित्रण में अधिक रमी है। इसमें प्रायः कृत्रिमता अथवा अतिशयोक्ति की प्रधानता है। इसमें परम्परा का निर्वाह मात्र करते प्रतीत होते हैं। विरह का एक अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण चित्र निम्नांकित है। विरह की आँच से व्याकुल हो वह यमुना जल में कूद पड़ी। विरह की आग से जल सूख गया। मछलियाँ तल में पड़ी रहीं। जब रेत फटकर पाताल गई तब शेष जल गये। आँच तभी मिटेगी जब कृष्ण गले से लग जायें।²³ जिस दिन राधा का कृष्ण से प्रेम हुआ उसी दिन से उसकी आँखों के आँसू रूक नहीं रहे। उसकी सखी कृष्ण से अनुरोध कर रही है कि शीघ्र उसके पास चलिए। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि विरह के आँसू इन्द्र बनकर क्षण भर में ब्रज को डुबा दे।²⁴ किन्तु विरह के निम्नांकित पद में पर्याप्त मार्मिकता है। राह

देखते आँखें धुँधली हो गयी। जीभ उसी का गुण गाती रहती है। उंगलियाँ दिन गिन कर थक गई। कोई भी शुभ शकुन दिखाई नहीं पड़ रहा। कोई ऐसा पथिक भी दिखाई नहीं देता जो उन्हें आने की याद दिला दे। वे सावन में आने को कह गये थे किन्तु उनका डेग वामन का हो गया।²⁵

निम्नांकित पद में वियोग और संयोग के मिश्रित भाव का सुन्दर चित्रण हुआ है। वियोग के ताप से विरहिणी की देह की चमक मलिन हो गयी थी। उसके श्वास की लपटें विष होकर उसके शरीर पर लग रही थीं। इससे उसका शरीर मुरझा गया था। इसी समय प्रिय के आगमन का समाचार सुनकर उसका हृदय उल्लास से भर गया। उसकी चोली तड़क गई। उसके शरीर से ऐसी ज्योति निकलने लगी मानो किसी ने दिया की बाती उकसा दी हो।²⁶ वियोग शृंगार के निरूपण के लिए मान का भी चित्रण किया जाता है। नायक अथवा नायिका के रूठने और मनाने का वर्णन से पर्याप्त सरसता आ जाती है। मान नायक की क्षमा-प्रार्थना अथवा आश्वासन से तुरन्त समाप्त हो जाता है। प्रणय और क्षोभ के मिश्रण के कारण मान प्रसंगों में पर्याप्त सरसता होती है। रसखान ने भी इस प्रसंग को सरस बनाने की चेष्टा की है। कृष्ण ने गोपी से रूठकर मान किया है। किन्तु यह मान आधी घड़ी भी नहीं रह सकता। कृष्ण की दूती गोपी से कह रही है कि तुम्हारे कटाक्ष से वे पूरी तरह बिद्ध हो चुके हैं। तनिक अपने हाथ से उन्हें छू दो। उनका मान चला जायेगा। तुम्हारे ना कहने पर वे अपना प्राण लुटा देते हैं, हाँ कहने पर न जाने उनकी क्या दशा होगी।²⁷

नायिका को समझाती हुई उसकी सखी कहती है कि तू कैसी मानिनी है कि तुमने वसन्त में मान किया है। इस ऋतु में तो जो कभी घर से बाहर नहीं निकलती थी वह भी कृष्ण की ओर दौड़ी जा रही है। मेरा कहा मान ले और कृष्ण से मीठी बातें कर। यह ऋतु मान करने की नहीं।²⁸ न जाने तुम्हें ऐसे मनोहर कृष्ण से मान करने की सीख किसने दी। ऐसे प्रीतम की तो स्त्रियाँ अपनी बरौनियों से पैर पोछा करती हैं।²⁹ उद्धव-गोपी प्रसंग में गोपियों का अनन्य अनुराग अपने चरम उत्कर्ष पर पहुँचा हुआ दीख पड़ता है। यही कारण है कि प्रायः सभी कृष्ण भक्त कवियों ने इसे अपने काव्य का विषय बनाया है। प्रेम के अनन्य गायक रसखान से भी यह प्रसंग अछूता नहीं रहा है। गोपियों की व्यंग्यात्मक उक्तियों के कारण यह प्रसंग अत्यन्त मार्मिक हो गया है। ब्रज की सभी स्त्रियाँ कृष्ण रूपी काले सर्प के विष से व्याकुल हैं। ब्रज के सभी लोग औषधों का प्रयोग करके थक गये। उस विषधर के विष को तुम राख लगाकर उतारना चाहते हो- कारे बिसारे को चाहें उता-यो अरे विष राख लगाइके।³⁰ गोपियों को सबसे अधिक दुःख इस बात का है कि कृष्ण कुब्जा के वश में हो गये हैं। न जाने उसने कौन-सा मंत्र चला दिया है। न जाने इसमें उन्हें कौन-सा यश मिलेगा। यहाँ तो सब लोग यही कहते हैं कि कृष्ण दासी के दास हो गये हैं। इससे ब्रज के सभी लोगों का सर लज्जा से झुक गया है यदि कृष्ण को दासी के दास कहाने में सुख मिलता है तो चलो, हम सभी

दासी बन जायें। जब प्रेम किया है तब उसी प्रकार नाचना होगा जैसे वे नचायेंगे।³¹

रसखान का काव्य प्रेम की अनन्त यात्रा है। कृष्ण स्वयं रसावतार हैं, इसलिए यहाँ सब कुछ रसमय है। उनका आकर्षण सब कुछ अपनी ओर खींच लेता है। गोपियाँ इसके आगे विवश हैं। रसखान ने उनकी इस अवशता का, रूप के जादू का सर्वत्र चित्रात्मक निरूपण किया है। गोपियों के प्रेम की अनन्यता और उनके समर्पण भाव के चित्रण के कारण चारों ओर रस की धारा प्रवाहित होती दिख पड़ती है। गोपियाँ रूप पर रीझती हुई, अपनी अवशता पर खीझती हुई इस रसधारा में बहती चली जाती है। माधुर्य का ऐसा सघन प्रवाह अन्यत्र दुर्लभ है।

रसखान ने कृष्ण लीलाओं का क्रमबद्ध गान नहीं किया, मुक्तक शैली अपनायी हैं इस शैली में प्रत्येक पद स्वयं में रसपूर्ण होता है, अपनी पूर्णता के लिए दूसरे पद की अपेक्षा नहीं होती। प्रत्येक पद को चित्रात्मकता प्रदान करने के लिए रसखान ने शब्द-मैत्री, शृंगार रस के अनुरूप कोमल शब्दों का प्रयोग और नाद-योजना का सहारा तो लिया ही है, भाव-सौंदर्य लाने के लिए वचन भंगिमा अथवा वाग्वैदग्ध्य का सहारा भी लिया है।

रसखान की कुछ अनूठी उक्तियाँ निम्नांकित हैं -

1. मन्दिर ते ऊँचे यह मन्दिर है द्वारिका के, ब्रज के खिरक मेरे हिए खिरकत हैं।
2. करिये उपाय बाँस डारिये कटाय, नहिं उपजैगो बाँस नाहि बाजे फेरि बाँसुरी।
3. खोलि री घूँघट खोलौं कहा वह मूरति, नैननि माँझ बसि है।
4. नारद से सुक व्यास रहैं पचि हारे तऊ पुनि पार न पावै, ताहि अहीर की छोहरिया छछिया भरी छाछ पे नाच नचावै।
5. कारे बिसारे को चाहैं उता-यो अरे विष बावरे राख लगाइके।
6. वीर की साँह हों देखिहों कैसे अबीर तो आँखि बचाइके डारौ।

रसखान में केवल शब्द-माधुर्य ही नहीं भाव-माधुर्य भी है। इन दोनों के मिश्रण के कारण इनका प्रत्येक पद रस की खान बन जाता है। प्रत्येक पद की रसपूर्णता एक-दूसरे से मिलकर सम्पूर्ण रचना को रस सागर बना देती है। इस रस-सृष्टि में सहायक कृष्ण के भक्ति रस में डूबा उनका भक्त हृदय होता है। उन्होंने गोपियों के कृष्णरस में डूबे हृदय से तादात्म्य स्थापित कर लिया है। कल्पना की आँखों से उनकी प्रत्येक अनुभूति का साक्षात्कार किया है। इसी कल्पना ने अनुभूतियों के रेशे-रेशे को विश्लेषित करने की क्षमता प्रदान की है। इसी का सहारा लेकर उन्होंने गोपियों की कृष्ण के प्रति तन्मयता, अवशता, खीझ, मुरली के प्रति ईर्ष्या, क्षोभ इत्यादि भावों का सूक्ष्म विश्लेषण किया है। गोपियों के हृदय में वर्तमान माधुर्य भाव से मिश्रित होकर ये सारे भाव मधुर रस में परिणत हो जाते हैं। ऐसी कुछ रस सित्त पंक्तियाँ निम्नांकित हैं-

1. या मुरली मुरली मुरलीधर की अधरान धरी अधरा न धरौंगी।
 2. मिली आओ सबै सखी भाजि चलै अब तो ब्रज में बाँसुरी रहि है।
 3. राधिका जीहैं तौ जीहैं सबै न तौ पीहैं हलाहल नन्द के द्वारे।
 4. माई री वा मुख की मुसकानि सम्हारि न जैहे न जैहे न जैहे।
 5. कोउ न काहु की कान करै सिगरो ब्रज बीर बिकाई गयो है।
- कृष्ण के भक्ति-रस में पूर्णतया निमग्न होकर रसखान कह उठते हैं-

बैन वही उनको गुनगाई और कान वही उन वैन सो सानी।
हाथ वहीं उन गात सरै अरू पाई वही जु उही अनुजानी।
जान वही उन प्राण के संग और मान वहीं जु करै मनमानी।
त्यौं रसखानि वहीं रसखानि जुहै रसखानि सो है रसखानी।³²

निष्कर्ष

रसखान काव्य के उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि कृष्ण भक्ति के माधुर्य भाव की जितनी रसस्निग्ध अभिव्यक्ति इनके काव्य में हुई है, वह अन्यत्र दुर्लभ है। तुलसी के समान विषयासक्ति की निरर्थकता के बोध ने ही इन्हें ईश्वरासक्ति की ओर उन्मुख किया। अतः इनकी भक्ति में सहज गहराई है। भक्ति के सभी आवश्यक तत्व, यथा पूर्ण समर्पण, तन्मयता, व्यक्तित्व विलयन इत्यादि उनकी कविता में वर्तमान हैं। पुष्टि भक्ति के अनुरूप ही इन्होंने लीला गान को महत्त्व दिया है। इसके अन्तर्गत उन्होंने कृष्ण के रूप के आकर्षण, दान लीला, मान लीला, मुरली के माधुर्य, होली प्रसंग, संयोग-वियोग के चित्र का निरूपण इन्होंने रस लेकर किया है। रसखान का काव्य इस तथ्य का निदर्शन है कि मध्य युग में भक्ति-आन्दोलन ने किस प्रकार जाति, धर्म, सम्प्रदाय का भेद मिटाकर एक सर्वजनग्राह्य धर्म की स्थापना का प्रयत्न किया था।

सन्दर्भ

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पश्चिमी देशों में स्त्री चेतना का विकास

सुधांशु कुमार

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सारांश

आधुनिक विश्व में मनुष्य के बीच समानता, व्यक्तिगत स्वातंत्र्य, स्त्री स्वातंत्र्य प्रगतिशीलता, वैज्ञानिक एवं तार्किक चिंतन पद्धति का मानक गढ़ने का दावा करने वाले पश्चिमी देशों में भी स्त्रियों को समाज में पुरुष के समान अधिकार और सम्मान प्राप्त करने के लिए कठिन संघर्ष करना पड़ा। यह संघर्ष यूरोप से लेकर अमेरिका तक लंबे समय तक चला। 19वीं सदी से पहले तक स्त्रियाँ जहाँ समाज में सम्मानजनक स्थान पाने के लिए छिटपुट रूप से संघर्ष कर रही थीं वहीं 19वीं सदी में सभी पश्चिमी देशों में स्त्री-समानता के लिए एक निर्णायक आन्दोलन उठ खड़ा हुआ। इस आन्दोलन के दो चरण थे - पहले चरण में ब्रिटेन, रूस, फ्रांस, जर्मनी, अमेरिका आदि देशों में स्त्रियों ने वोटिंग के अधिकार के लिए सफलतापूर्वक आन्दोलन चलाये। दूसरा चरण 1960 के बाद शुरू हुआ जिसमें स्त्रियों ने विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में समानता का अधिकार, शिक्षा प्राप्ति का अधिकार, आर्थिक स्वावलंबन, यौन चयन की स्वतंत्रता के अधिकार की लड़ाई लड़ी। जान स्टुअर्ट मिल, फ्रेडरिक एंगेल्स, सिमोन द बुआर आदि बुद्धिजीवियों ने स्त्री चेतना के विकास में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। स्त्री चेतना के विकास में तीन नारीवादी समूहों, उदारवादी नारीवादी, रेडिकल नारीवादी तथा मार्क्सवादी/समाजवादी नारीवादी ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। उदारवादी जहाँ सरकार पर दबाव डालकर कानूनी बदलाव लाने के पक्षधर थे वहीं रेडिकल समूह का ध्यान लैंगिक भेदभाव और यौन स्वतंत्रता पर केन्द्रित था। मार्क्सवादी समूह स्त्रियों की आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता का प्रबल पक्षधर था।

विशिष्टशब्द - पुंसवादी समाज, पितृसत्तात्मक, उदारवादी नारीवादी, रेडिकल नारीवादी, मार्क्सवादी नारीवादी

भूमिका

“आदमी का स्प्रिंग-तत्त्व उसे एक सीमा के बाद दबने नहीं देता, और जितनी जोर से स्प्रिंग दबता है, उतनी जोर से उछलता भी है।” वस्तुतः सदियों से दबा-कुचला आहत अहम् का व्यक्ति एक सीमा के बाद प्रतिरोध करेगा ही। सदियों से अपने अधिकार से वंचित, दबी-कुचली तथा पुरुष द्वारा बार-बार समाज के तथाकथित नैतिक मूल्यों का आवरण लेकर छली गई स्त्री का, कभी-न-कभी अपने अधिकारों के प्रति जागरूक होना ही था। इस जागरूकता के लिए सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक परिस्थितियों में आए बदलाव जैसे सामंतशाही एवं राजतंत्र का अंत, दर्शन और विचार के स्तर पर पनपते सार्वभौमिक समानता की अवधारणा ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। सार्वभौमिक समानता के दर्शन के प्रतिपादित होने के बाद इस अधिकार से वंचित पुरुषों ने समानता के अधिकार की माँग की तथा इसके लिए संघर्ष किया। इस संघर्ष में महिलाएँ भी शामिल हुईं, जिससे उनमें जागृति आई तथा वे अपने अधिकारों के प्रति सचेत होने लगीं। स्त्रियों में आई इस अधिकार चेतना में उसे कुछ सहृदय पुरुषों का भी सहयोग मिला। हालाँकि यह सहयोग एक सीमा तक ही रहा। पश्चिम की स्त्रियों में चेतना भारत की स्त्रियों से पहले आ गई थी।

शोध-प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक, वर्णनात्मक एवं तथ्यात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

पश्चिम में स्त्री चेतना का विकास क्रमिक रूप से हुआ है।

हालाँकि अतीत में स्त्री संघर्ष की कोई जानकारी नहीं मिलती लेकिन शिक्षा प्राप्ति के लिए महिलाओं ने व्यक्तिगत स्तर पर संघर्ष किया। वे हाथ आई हर किताब को लुक छिपकर पढ़ने की कोशिश करती और कुछ न मिलता तो उस काल की सर्वसुलभ पुस्तक बाइबिल ही पढ़ लिया करती। आरंभ में जब भी महिलाओं ने अपने अधिकार की माँग की उसे या तो सनकी या पागल घोषित कर दिया गया या फिर डायन करार देकर मार दिया गया। 1789 में जब आलिंप ड गुज नामक महिला ने नई क्रांतिकारी व्यवस्था में समानता की सीमित अवधारणा को चुनौती दी तो उन्हें मृत्युदण्ड दे दिया गया।

उन्नीसवीं सदी से पहले स्त्रियाँ छिटपुट रूप से समाज में सम्मानजनक स्थान पाने के लिए संघर्ष कर रही थीं परंतु उन्नीसवीं सदी में यह समूचे विश्व में फैलने लगा। स्त्रियों में आई इस चेतना के विकास में मेरी वोलस्टोनक्रॉफ्ट की पुस्तक ‘विडिकेशन ऑफ दी राइट्स ऑफ विमेन’ स्टूअर्ट मिल की ‘द सब्जेक्शन ऑफ विमेन’, फ्रेडरिक एंगेल्स की पुस्तक ‘द ऑरिजिन ऑफ फैमिली प्राइवेट प्रॉपर्टी एण्ड दी स्टेट’ ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। पश्चिम में स्त्री चेतना के विकास को दो लहरों में विभाजित कर समझा जा सकता है। ‘पहली लहर’ उन्नीसवीं सदी से गुजरती हुई बीसवीं सदी के आरंभिक दशकों तक पहुँचती है जबकि दूसरी लहर के उतार चढ़ाव 1960 के दशक से आज तक जारी है। नारी आंदोलन के पहले चरण का विकास मताधिकार के मुद्दे पर हुआ। 19वीं सदी से पहले केवल न्यूजीलैण्ड में महिलाओं को वोट डालने की अनुमति थी। शताब्दी के तुरंत बाद फिनलैण्ड और जर्मनी में भी उन्हें मताधिकार के दायरे में शामिल कर लिया गया। फ्रांस, इटली, बेल्जियम, पुर्तगाल, स्पेन और स्विट्जरलैण्ड में महिलाओं के मताधिकार हासिल करने के लिए

द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध तक इंतजार करना पड़ा। एस केन्ट ने लिखा है कि “मतदान के अधिकारों की लड़ाई के जरिए मतदानवादियों ने महिलाओं की जिन्दगी में पूर्ण रूपान्तरण से कम की लड़ाई नहीं शुरू की थी।”²

18वीं सदी में पश्चिम के देशों में राजशाही तथा सामंती शासन को उखाड़ फेंकने के लिए आंदोलन चलाए जा रहे थे। सन् 1776 में हुई क्रांति के बाद अमेरिका में राजशाही का अंत हो गया था। क्रांति ने सभी अमेरिकावासियों के लिए स्वतंत्रता और सुख का विचार प्रतिपादित किया। फ्रांस इससे प्रभावित हो रहा था। सन् 1789 में वहाँ के थर्ड एस्टेट अर्थात् मध्यवर्ग तथा निम्नवर्ग के सदस्यों ने राजशाही की समाप्ति की घोषणा कर दी तथा स्वयं को नेशनल असेंबली घोषित कर इन लोगों ने एक नए कानून की घोषणा की। घोषित कानून के अन्तर्गत सभी व्यक्तियों की समानता, सार्वजनिक कार्यालयों के लिए सभी नागरिकों की समान योग्यता, दोष के बिना गिरफ्तारी या सजा से आजादी, अभिव्यक्ति और प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता की बात कही गई। यह समानता या स्वतंत्रता केवल पुरुषों को दी गई स्त्रियों को नहीं। मेंडल गुडरीथ इस संबंध में कहती हैं कि - “प्रबोधन काल के कुछ लेखकों का स्त्री के प्रति विरोध और ज्यादातर क्रांतिकारी प्रवक्ताओं द्वारा इस विरोध का निष्ठापूर्ण अनुसरण के कारण महिलाएँ पूर्ण नागरिकता से दरकिनार कर दी गई।”³

महिलाओं को समानता का अधिकार न दिया जाना उसके साथ धोखा था। कामकाजी महिलाओं ने रोटी के लिए हुए दंगों की अगुआई की थी जो सन् 1789 की क्रांति की पृष्ठभूमि बनी थी। आन्दोलन के दौरान कैदखानों को उड़ाने या कैदियों की रिहाई के समय भी वे सक्रिय रहीं थी। वे आन्दोलन के समय भी महिलाओं से संबंधित मुद्दे-दहेज सुरक्षा, परिवार की शुचिता का बचाव, अवैध संतान को पिता का नाम दिए जाने आदि को उठा रहे थे। इसके बावजूद जिस प्रकार उन्हें निष्क्रिय नागरिक घोषित कर दिया गया तथा समानता और स्वतंत्रता के अधिकार से वंचित कर पुरुष पर निर्भर घोषित कर दिया गया उससे वे अचंचित थी। अनुपमा राय लिखती हैं कि “इस नागरिक समाज में सभी पुरुष अनुबंध के द्वारा अपना अधिकार प्राप्त कर सकते थे जबकि महिलाएँ अधीनता में पैदा हुई थी अधिक से अधिक वह नागरिकों का साथी बन सकती थी।”⁴ सन् 1791 में पुरुष नौकरों को नागरिक अधिकार प्रदान कर दिया गया जबकि महिलाओं को इससे वंचित रखा गया। आखिरकार ओलम्पी दत्राउज ने महिलाओं के लिए अलग घोषणा जारी किया। इसमें कहा गया कि “महिलाएँ स्वतंत्र रूप से जन्मी हैं उनके अधिकार पुरुष अधिकारों के समान हैं... कानून सामान्य इच्छा की अभिव्यक्ति होना चाहिए, सभी नागरिकों, पुरुष हो या स्त्री की, इसे बनाने में हिस्सेदारी होनी चाहिए... महिलाओं को फाँसी के तख्ते पर जाने का अधिकार है... उसे संसद में भी जाने का अधिकार होना चाहिए।”⁵

महिलाओं के आन्दोलन को दबाने का प्रयास किया गया तथा

नेपोलियन की संहिता लगाकर उन्हें पुरुषों के अधीन रखा गया। लंबे संघर्ष के उपरांत 19वीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध में महिलाओं को विश्वविद्यालय में प्रवेश मिला उसे कानून तथा डॉक्टरी की शिक्षा प्राप्त करने की अनुमति दी गई। फ्रांस में जब 1870 ई. में पुरुषों को सार्वभौमिक मताधिकार मिला तब भी स्त्रियों को इसमें किसी भी स्तर पर शामिल नहीं किया गया। स्त्रियों ने इसके लिए आंदोलन आरंभ किया।

स्त्री विरोधियों ने यह घोषित किया कि स्त्रियों का स्वभाव राजनीतिक सहभागिता के प्रतिकूल है परन्तु 1918 ई. में संपत्ति के आधार पर सीमित मताधिकार प्रदान किया गया। इंग्लैण्ड में 1688 ई. में राजशाही का अंत हो गया था, लेकिन 1928 ई. में सभी वयस्क नागरिकों को मताधिकार मिला। फ्रांस की तरह ब्रिटेन में पुरुषों को मताधिकार तथा नागरिकता बहुत पहले मिल गयी थी जबकि महिलाओं को इसके लिए लम्बा संघर्ष करना पड़ा। इंग्लैण्ड में मताधिकार के लिए तीन चरण में आंदोलन चलाए गए। पहला चरण रेडिकल एसोसिएशन का था, दूसरा चरण संवैधानिक सफरेजिज्म का रहा। तीसरा चरण उग्र अर्थात् मिलिटेंट सफरजेट का था। पहले चरण में महिलाएँ मजदूर पुरुषों द्वारा माँगे जा रहे मताधिकार के आंदोलन में शामिल हो गईं। सन् 1938 में जारी चर्टिस्ट घोषणा पत्र में सार्वभौमिक मताधिकार की माँग को शामिल किया गया था। आगे चलकर इस भय से कि कहीं स्त्रियों के मताधिकार की माँग से पुरुष मजदूरों की माँग को भी न टुकरा दिया जाय इसे केवल पुरुष सार्वभौमिक मताधिकार तक सीमित कर दिया गया। महिलाओं ने परिस्थिति को देखते हुए यह निर्णय लिया कि आन्दोलन से कहीं भी यह न लगे कि वे लोग पुरुषों से टकराव लेना चाहते हैं।

सन् 1838 में न्यूकैसल के महिला राजनीतिक संघ की तरफ से अपने देशवासियों के संबोधन में कहा गया - “हम आपसे यह आग्रह करते हैं कि हमारे साथ जुड़े और हमारे पतियों तथा पिताओं की सहायता करें ताकि वे खुद और हमें भी राजनीतिक शारीरिक और मानसिक गुलामी से आजाद कर सकें... हमसे कहा गया कि महिलाओं का क्षेत्र उनका घर ही है और राजनीति का क्षेत्र पुरुषों के लिए छोड़ दिया जाना चाहिए, हम इसे नकारते हैं।”⁶ एक ओर महिलाएँ जहाँ पुरुषों के आन्दोलन का समर्थन कर रही थी, वहीं दूसरी ओर वे महिला अधिकार सम्बन्धी मुद्दों को ठोस तर्क के आधार पर उचित साबित करने में लगी थीं। महिलाओं द्वारा माँगे जा रहे अधिकारों का पुरुषवादी व्यवस्था विरोध कर रही थी। विरोधी यह मानते थे कि महिलाओं की प्रकृति उनका हित तथा कार्य क्षेत्र स्वभाविक रूप से पुरुषों से अलग है। सन् 1892 में ग्लैडस्टोन ने इस बात को जोरदार ढंग से रखा कि लिंग विभेद ईश्वर प्रतिपादित है इसलिए यह मौलिक है। इसे बदला नहीं जा सकता। ग्लैडस्टोन के मतानुसार “महिलाओं को मताधिकार देना निरर्थक और विध्वंसक साबित होगा क्योंकि महिलाएँ प्रायः अपने अर्धसामाजिक और हितैषी स्वभाव के कारण व्यापक सार्वजनिक

हित के बजाय अपनी संकीर्ण रूचियों पर ध्यान केन्द्रित करेंगी।”⁷⁷ संसद सदस्यों ने भी महिला मताधिकार का विरोध किया और कहा कि उन्हें घर तक ही सीमित रहना चाहिए। नारीवादियों ने पुरुषों की इस मानसिकता को समझा तथा स्त्री-स्वभाव को प्राकृतिक रूप से, कोमल, दबू माने जाने का विरोध किया। स्त्रियों की प्रकृति विशिष्ट होने के तर्क को खारिज करते हुए श्रीमती रीड ने कहा कि “हम यह नहीं कहना चाहते हैं कि महिला और पुरुष प्राकृतिक रूप से समान हैं या दिमागी तौर पर पर बराबर हैं - लेकिन अपने वृहत् लक्षणों के हिसाब से वे समान हैं और जिस वजह से उनमें अंतर है वह बहुत छोटा है क्योंकि उनमें जो समानता है वह उनके एक दूसरे के अंतर से बहुत अधिक है।”⁷⁸

कई महिला आन्दोलनकारियों ने इस बात को मान लिया कि वे पुरुषों से प्राकृतिक रूप से निम्न हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि अगर मुझे किसी तरह का अपराध करने पर पुरुषों के बराबर सजा दी जाती है तो उन्हें फिर उसी आधार पर बराबर का हक भी मिलना चाहिए। सन् 1880 तक आते-आते महिला आन्दोलनकारियों का संसद की सहायता से मताधिकार पाने का विश्वास कमजोर होने लगा। आन्दोलनकारियों ने सन् 1886 में वुमेन्स फेडरेशन की स्थापना की जो सन् 1888 में कार्यक्षेत्र के मुद्दे को लेकर विभाजित हो गया। सन् 1897 में मिसिसिप्ट फॉसेट की अध्यक्षता में वुमेन्स लिबरेशन फ्रन्ट की अलग-अलग शाखाओं को मिलाकर ‘नेशनल युनियन ऑफ वुमैन सफरेज सोसायटीज’ का गठन किया गया। इस सोसायटीज के एक समूह ‘युनियन ऑफ प्रैक्टिकल सफरेजिस्ट्स’ के नेतृत्व में उग्र आन्दोलन चलाने का फैसला किया गया। आन्दोलनकारियों ने संपत्ति को नष्ट करने, घेराव तथा धरना प्रदर्शन करने वाले तत्त्वों का साथ दिया। सरकार ने आन्दोलन को दबाने के लिए आन्दोलनकारियों को जेल में डालना शुरू कर दिया। आन्दोलनकारियों ने विरोध प्रदर्शन करने के लिए भी गिरफ्तारियाँ दीं। जेल में इन आन्दोलनकारियों ने राजनैतिक कैदी के रूप में रखने तथा प्रथम श्रेणी की सुविधा दिए जाने की माँग की। सरकार ने इसे नहीं माना। आन्दोलनकारी भूख हड़ताल पर चले गए, सरकार ने उन्हें जबरन खिलाने की कोशिश की जिससे जनता में रोष फैला।

अमेरिका में महिला आन्दोलन की शुरुआत 1948 में सेनेवा फाल्स कान्फ्रेंस से हुआ। इस कन्फ्रेंस में डिक्लेरेशन ऑफ सेंटिमेंट्स एंड टवेल्व रिजोल्यूशन को स्वीकृत किया गया। जिसमें महिलाओं और पुरुषों की समग्रता की बात की गई और कहा गया कि उनका सृजन समान रूप से हुआ है; सृजनकर्ता ने उन्हें समान अधिकार दिया है। रिजोल्यूशन के अंतर्गत महिलाओं को मताधिकार हासिल करने के लिए संघर्ष करने को प्रेरित किया गया। पुँसवादी व्यवस्था की सच्चाई को नकारते हुए इसमें कहा गया कि “मानव समुदाय का इतिहास पुरुषों द्वारा महिलाओं पर बलप्रयोग और कष्ट देने का इतिहास रहा है। जिसमें मुख्य उद्देश्य

औरत पर पुरुषों का प्रभुत्व स्थापित करना रहा है।”⁷⁹ 1861 में अमेरिका में गृहयुद्ध छिड़ गया। नारीवादियों से कहा गया कि वे अपना आंदोलन गृह युद्ध समाप्त होने तक रोक दें। युद्ध समाप्ति के बाद दासों को नागरिक अधिकार देने के लिए संवैधानिक संशोधन किया गया लेकिन स्त्रियों को इसमें शामिल नहीं किया गया। रिपब्लिकन के साथ एबोलिशनिस्ट ने भी महिला अधिकार का विरोध किया जिसने महिलाओं को उत्तेजित कर दिया। नारीवादियों ने अपने आन्दोलन को केवल मताधिकार प्राप्ति तक केन्द्रित कर दिया। 1869 में वैचारिक तथा रणनीतिक मतभेद के कारण आन्दोलन दो धाराओं में बँट गया। सुसान वी. एन्थानी और एलिजाबेथ कैडी स्क्रूटान ने ‘नेशनल वुमेन सफरेज एसोसिएशन’ का गठन किया इस एसोसिएशन ने महिला अधिकार से संबंधित व्यापक मुद्दों को उठाया, मताधिकार दिलाने के लिए कोर्ट का सहारा लेने का प्रयास किया। इस प्रयास में उन्हें तब जबर्दस्त धक्का लगा जब कोर्ट ने यह कह दिया कि महिलाएँ नागरिक हैं लेकिन मताधिकार का अधिकार केवल पुरुष तक सीमित रखा जाय। दूसरी धारा लूसी स्टोन और अन्य महिलाओं के द्वारा गठित ‘अमेरिकन वुमेन सफरेज एसोसिएशन’ था। इस संगठन ने अपने आपको केवल मताधिकार पर केन्द्रित कर लिया। कोर्ट के द्वारा महिला मताधिकार को टुकरा दिए जाने के बाद दोनों संगठन पुनः मिल गए तथा नया नाम ‘अमेरिकन वुमेन सफरेज एसोसिएशन’ रखा गया। इस संगठन ने मताधिकार को केन्द्रीय मुद्दा बना लिया।

1913 में एक युवा आक्रामक मताधिकारवादी एलिस पाऊँल ने रेडिकल समूह बनाया जिसे वुमेन्स पार्टी के रूप में संगठित किया गया। इन संगठनों ने धराना, प्रदर्शन, जुलूस, भूख हड़ताल आदि तरीकों को अपनाया। विरोध प्रकट करने के लिए इन्होंने गिरफ्तारियाँ दीं। पुँसवादी सामाजिक आर्थिक शक्तियों ने इसका विरोध किया। संसद में होने वाले बहस में इसे इस तर्क पर टुकरा दिया गया कि इससे विभेद बढ़ेगा। महिला आन्दोलनकारियों ने उन सारे तर्कों को निरस्त करने का प्रयास किया जिसके माध्यम से महिलाओं को वोट देने के अधिकार से वंचित किया जा रहा था। महिला मताधिकार संशोधन जिसे एन्थोनी ने प्रस्तावित किया था पर 1878 के बाद से कांग्रेस के प्रत्येक सत्र में बहस होती थी। अंततः इसे 1926 को पारित किया गया। जर्मनी में सोशल डेमोक्रेटिक पार्टी के क्लरा जेटकिन, रोजा लुक्समबर्ग आदि महिलाओं ने नारी मुक्ति के लिए संघर्ष का एक क्रांतिकारी परिप्रेक्ष्य विकसित किया। पार्टी अब तक मजदूर युनियनों तक सीमित थी अब महिला संगठन के विकास के लिए भी काम करने लगी। पार्टी के आम उद्देश्यों को साधने के साथ ही इन संगठनों ने राजनीतिक समानता, जच्च-बच्चा के लिए बीमा, कामगार महिलाओं को संरक्षण देने के लिए कानून, महिलाओं की राजनीतिक शिक्षा आदि पर काम शुरू किए गए। सरला माहेश्वरी लिखती हैं कि “जिस जर्मनी में राजनीति में भागीदारी पर कानूनी

प्रतिबंध था। वहाँ समाजवादी महिलाओं का सम्मेलन हर दो वर्ष पर होने लगे। खुद क्लारा जेटकिन के नेतृत्व में महिलाओं पर केन्द्रित पत्रिका का प्रकाशन शुरू हुआ जिसका नाम था “Gleichheit (इक्विवलिटी)”।¹⁰

रूस में समाजवादी शासन स्थापित होने के बाद महिलाओं की सदियों से गुलामी को समाप्त करने के लिए नारी आन्दोलन को सर्वहारा के आन्दोलन से जोड़ने का प्रयास किया गया। लेनिन ने बिल्कुल स्पष्ट शब्दों में सभी महिलाओं के लाभ के लिए कामगार महिलाओं, किसान महिलाओं और यहाँ तक कि संपत्तिवान महिलाओं के लिए विशेष अधिकार माँगने को सही ठहराया। प्रारंभिक नारीवादियों ने जनतांत्रिक अधिकार की जो माँग उठायी थी 19वीं सदी के अंत तक ब्रिटेन तथा अमेरिका में उनमें से अधिकांश को मान लिया गया। महिलाओं में शिक्षा का विस्तार हुआ, ऑफिस अदालतों में महिलाएँ काम करने लगीं महिलाएँ अब अपना अच्छा-बुरा समझने लगीं तथा अपने अधिकार के प्रति जागरूक हो गयीं। सन् 1930 तक आते-आते महिलाओं को व्यापक राजनीतिक और कानूनी समानता के अधिकार प्राप्त हुए। अब महिलाएँ न राजनीति के क्षेत्र से बाहर रहीं न शिक्षा और रोजगार के क्षेत्र से ही। महिलाओं के लिए अन्य कई प्रकार की कल्याणकारी योजनाएँ जैसे प्रसूति भत्ता, कार्यक्षेत्र में विशेष सुरक्षा आदि से संबंधित कानूनी प्रावधान किए गए। 60 तथा 70 के दशक में यूरोप तथा अमेरिका में अभूतपूर्व वैज्ञानिक तथा तकनीकी विकास हुए जिसके चलते रोजगार के अवसरों में काफी वृद्धि हुई जिसका लाभ महिलाओं को भी मिला। आर्थिक रूप से स्वावलम्बी होने तथा घर की चारदीवारी से बाहर आकर समाज के बीच घुलने-मिलने से उनमें आत्मविश्वास पैदा हुआ। इन महिलाओं ने आगे चलकर युवा महिलाओं को प्रेरित करने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। गर्भ नियंत्रण के साधनों के आने से उनका आत्मविश्वास बढ़ा। सन् 1980 के दशक में बेल्जियम में किए गए एक सर्वेक्षण में महिलाओं ने कहा कि उनके जीवन में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण और क्रांतिकारी बदलाव गर्भनिरोधक गोलियों से आया।¹¹ मेरी जॉन ने इस संबंध में लिखा है कि “गर्भनिरोधक गोलियों ने महिला आन्दोलन के पूर्वाधार को जमाने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। इनके जरिए महिलाओं को अपने प्रजनन स्वास्थ्य और यौनिकता को स्वयं संचालित करने का अवसर मिला।”¹²

इस काल के नारीवादी आन्दोलन को बेट्टी फ्रिडेन की पुस्तक ‘द फेमनिन मिस्टिक’ तथा सिमोन द बुआ की ‘द सकेकेण्ड सेक्स’ ने बहुत अधिक प्रभावित किया। मेरी जॉन ने लिखा है कि “द फेमनिन मिस्टिक ने, खाते-पीते श्वेत परिवार की शिक्षित महिलाओं के एक ऐसे समूह को महिला आन्दोलन की राजनीति में उतारा जिन्हें राजनैतिक सक्रियता को कोई पूर्व अनुभव नहीं था।” सिमोन ने नारीवादी आन्दोलन में सक्रिय भूमिका निभाई। उनकी यह स्थापना की ‘स्त्री, स्त्री के रूप में पैदा नहीं होती बना दी जाती है।’ इस काल के नारीवादी आन्दोलन का आधारभूत

वक्तव्य बन गया। अमेरिका में महिलाओं की स्थिति में महत्वपूर्ण बदलाव की शुरुआत तब हुई जब राष्ट्रपति जॉन एफ कैनेडी ने 1961 में महिलाओं की स्थिति के अध्ययन के लिए एक राष्ट्रीय आयोग गठित किया। इस आयोग की सभी सदस्य वैसे महिलाएँ थी जिनका स्त्री चेतना आन्दोलन से कोई लेना-देना नहीं था। ये सदस्य अपने अध्ययन के दौरान महिलाओं के विरुद्ध होने वाले भेदभाव को जानकर हतप्रभ रह गईं।

महिला आन्दोलन के द्वितीय चरण (1960 के बाद) के आरंभिक दिनों में एक सुगठित संगठन या एक स्पष्ट उद्देश्य से युक्त आन्दोलन की छवि नहीं बन पायी थी। ये महिलाएँ छोटे-छोटे राजनीतिक संगठन बनाती थीं। जिसमें सभी सदस्य बराबर होते थे तथा जिनका नेतृत्व किसी खास महिला के हाथ में नहीं होता था। आन्दोलन के आरंभ में महिलाओं ने ‘मिस अमरीका’ सौन्दर्य प्रतियोगिता का विरोध किया तथा इस तरह की प्रतियोगिता को पुरुष की कामेच्छा की पूर्ति के लिए स्त्री देह का निर्लज्ज प्रदर्शन बताया। 1968 में ये महिलाएँ प्रतियोगिता के आयोजन के दौरान मंच पर चढ़ गईं तथा भेड़ को मिस अमेरिका घोषित कर दिया। उसी समय फ्रांस में गर्भपात के अधिकार को लेकर एक आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ। 70 के दशक तक फ्रांस में गर्भपात कानून जुर्म माना जाता था। 1972 में सिमोन द बुआ सहित 300 महिलाओं ने आंचलिक अखबार में एक खबर छपावाया जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा था कि “मैंने गर्भपात करवाया है।” यह विरोध यह साबित करने के लिए था कि स्त्री की यौनिकता तथा प्रजनन क्षमता पर स्त्री का अधिकार है न कि राज्य का। इस खबर ने मीडिया में तहलका मचा दिया मौजूदा गर्भपात कानूनों में संशोधन की माँग के समर्थन में महिलाएँ भारी संख्या में सड़कों पर उतरीं।

इस काल में लगभग सभी पश्चिमी देशों में धरना, प्रदर्शन, स्वतःस्फूर्त भाषणों का दौर चल पड़ा। विभिन्न प्रकार के अभियानों में एक महत्वपूर्ण अभियान ‘रात को वापस लो’ जुलूसों को माना जाता है। 70 के दशक में कई देशों में आयोजित किए गए ऐसे अभियानों का उद्देश्य था महिलाओं के घर से निकलने पर लगे प्रतिबंध की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना कि कैसे महिलाओं को सार्वजनिक स्थान से गुजरते हुए सर्वव्यापी भय और तनाव का सामना करना पड़ता है। मेरी जॉन लिखती हैं कि ‘रात को वापस लो’ जुलूस महिलाओं को इस समस्या से मिलकर सामना करने और यौनिक उत्पीड़न के डर से मुक्त रहने का मौलिक अधिकार माँगने को प्रेरित करने के लिए एक प्रतीकात्मक प्रदर्शन था।’¹³ महिलाओं को समान वेतन दिलाने के मुद्दे पर आंदोलन किए गए। कानून में बदलाव लाने के लिए राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधियों पर दबाव डाले गए। लैंगिक बराबरी के पक्ष में कानूनी संशोधन पारित करवाने और कंपनियों/निगमों के भेदभावपूर्ण नीतियों को बदलवाने की लड़ाई बहुत कठिन, जटिल और लंबी रही। ब्रिटेन तथा इटली जैसे देशों में घरेलू काम के बदले वेतन आन्दोलन चलाया गया। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य

पुंसवादी समाज को यह बताना था कि महिलाओं के घरेलू कार्य यथा घर संभालना, बच्चों की देखभाल, पुरुष की सेवा आदि कार्य समाज की पुनरुत्पत्ति के लिए आवश्यक है जबकि इसका कोई आर्थिक मूल्य नहीं समझा जाता। इटली में यह आन्दोलन काफी आक्रामक हो गया इसलिए इसे चर्च सरकार तथा अन्य संगठनों के प्रहार झेलने पड़े। इस आन्दोलन का सुझाव देने वाली 'डाल्ला कोस्टा' को भी उत्तेजक लेखन के आरोप में गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया।

इस समय की स्त्री-चेतना के विकास को समझने के लिए नारीवादी आन्दोलन की तीन प्रमुख धारा - उदारवादी नारीवाद, रेडिकल नारीवाद तथा मार्क्सवादी/समाजवादी नारीवाद द्वारा चलाए गए आन्दोलन को जानना आवश्यक है। उदारवादी नारीवादियों को अपने हमख्याली पूर्वजों के दो शताब्दियों के लेखन और एक्टिविज्म का लाभ मिला था। 60-70 के दशक में इन लोगों ने सरकार पर दबाव डालकर कानूनी बदलाव लाने पर बल दिया। इस प्रकार की नीति काफी असरदार रही। उदारवादियों की सबसे बड़ी कमजोरी यह रही कि वे स्त्री दमन के गहन स्रोतों को पहचान नहीं कर पाए और अपने आपको केवल मध्यवर्गीय तथा श्वेत महिलाओं तक ही सीमित कर लिया। रेडिकल नारीवाद ने चेतना के धरातल पर महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। इनमें पितृसत्तात्मकता के खिलाफ सबसे ज्यादा रोष दिखाई देता है। मेरी जॉन लिखती हैं कि "रेडिकल नारीवादी मौजूदा राजनैतिक ढाँचे से अलग हटकर एक ऐसी जगह बनाना चाहती थी जहाँ महिलाएँ अपनी अनुभूति के आधार पर सोच सकें, बोल सकें, और कुछ कर सकें।"¹⁴ रेडिकल नारीवादी यह मानकर चलते थे कि स्त्रियों की दशा के लिए पितृसत्ता जिम्मेदार है। विद्रोही नारीवादियों ने इस बात को मानने से इन्कार कर दिया कि कानून बना देने से महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार होगा। उनका मानना था कि कानून महिलाओं के उत्पीड़न पर पर्दादारी का काम ज्यादा करेगा एक प्रकार की समानता की ओट में उत्पीड़न को न्यायोचित करार दिया जाएगा। विद्रोही नारीवाद की चर्चा करते हुए लास वेगेल लिखती हैं कि "60 के दशक में एक भिन्न नारीवाद सामने आया। अपने को 'नारी-मुक्ति' बताने वाले इस आंदोलन का लक्ष्य वर्तमान व्यवस्था के दायरे में ही समानता को हासिल करने के उदारवादी नारीवाद के उद्देश्य से आगे जाने का था।"¹⁵

रेडिकल नारीवादियों का ध्यान लैंगिक भेदभाव और पुरुष श्रेष्ठता के दावे पर केन्द्रित था और उनकी कार्यशैली में बेसब्री और उतावलेपन के साथ-साथ आघात पहुँचाने और ललकारने की प्रवृत्ति भी थी। इस उग्र शैली ने एक तरफ तो महिलाओं में उनकी लोकप्रियता के बढ़ने में बाधा पहुँचायी वहीं दूसरी ओर मीडिया को उनका उपहास करने और तुच्छ घोषित करने का माल-मसाला परोसा। विद्रोही नारीवाद ने यौनिकता पर विशेष बल दिया। सुशान बेसनेट ने इसका उल्लेख करते हुए लिखा है कि "70 के दशक के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में मैं जिस किसी अमरीकी नारीवाद के

सम्पर्क में आयी, मैंने पाया कि वे पूरी तरह से लैंगिकता की बातों में ही डूबी हुई हैं। उनसे बात होने पर बहस महिलाओं के सामने उनके यौन-जीवन के दौरान आने वाली समस्याओं की ओर मुड़ जाती थी।... यौन सुख के प्रश्न असाधारण रूप से महत्वपूर्ण हो गए थे तथा महिलाओं की यौन स्वतंत्रता को ही नारी मुक्ति मान लिया गया था। पुरुषों की तरह अपने साथी को बदलना, जब भी जहाँ कहीं जिस किसी के साथ पूर्ण सुख की कामना करना ही नारी मुक्ति की तस्वीर बनकर रह गई थी जिसे कास्मोपोलीटन तथा प्लेगर्ल की तरह की पत्रिकाएँ उछाला करती थी और जिन पत्रिकाओं की महिलाओं के समूह में सबसे ज्यादा चर्चा रहा करती थी।"¹⁶ सुशान बेसनेट के ये वक्तव्य 70 के दशक के विद्रोही नारीवादियों का एक रूप स्पष्ट करता है। यौनिकता पर अत्यधिक बल देने के कारण उसमें स्वच्छंदता आ गई जिससे आन्दोलन को नुकसान भी हुआ। विद्रोही नारीवाद ने यौन स्वच्छंदता से अलग स्त्री के प्रति हिंसा, गर्भ नियंत्रण यौनिकता जैसे मुद्दे पर विचारोत्तेजक लेख, समीक्षाएँ प्रस्तुत की और दूसरे घटकों के साथ मिलकर साझा कार्यक्रम चलाए। सन् 1970 में संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में नौकरीशुदा माँओं के बच्चों की देखभाल के लिए पूर्ण दिवसीय केन्द्र, स्वच्छ से गर्भपात, शिक्षा व रोजगार के समान अवसर इत्यादि मुद्दों को विभिन्न महिला संगठनों ने एकजुट होकर उठाया।

समाजवादी/मार्क्सवादी नारीवादियों ने महिला प्रश्न को वर्ग-विभाजित सामाजिक आर्थिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखा। मेरी जॉन लिखती हैं कि "समाजवादी नारीवादी रेडिकल नारीवादियों की तरह व्यक्तिगत और निजी क्षेत्र के राजनीतिकरण के लिए प्रतिबद्ध थे लेकिन उन्हें उतना ही लगाव श्रम बाजार में महिला श्रमिकों की समस्या से भी था।"¹⁷ इन नारीवादियों ने श्रमिक संघों द्वारा महिला श्रम के प्रति किए जा रहे भेदभाव को उठाया। ये लोग स्त्रियों के घरेलू कार्य को प्राथमिकता देने तथा उनके व्यवहारिक काम को मात्र पूरक समझने के खिलाफ आवाज उठाती रही। राजनीतिक चिंतन के स्तर पर इन नारीवादियों ने पितृसत्ता और जेंडर के विश्लेषण को पूँजीवाद साम्राज्यवाद तथा समाजवाद की समझ से जोड़ने में सर्वाधिक योगदान दिया। द्वितीय चरण के आरंभ में जितने भी नारीवादी समूह थे वे भूमंडलीय बहनापे की दुहाई देते थे तथा यह दावा करते थे कि वे सभी पीड़ित महिलाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। आगे चलकर यह स्पष्ट होने लगा कि ये आंदोलन श्वेत, मध्यमवर्गीय एवं विषम लैंगिक कामनावाली महिलाओं के अनुभवों पर आधारित था। इसमें ब्लैक, निम्न या समलैंगिक महिलाओं के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं था।

आरंभ में ब्लैक महिलाएँ श्वेत महिलाओं के साथ अश्वेत नागरिकों द्वारा नागरिक अधिकार की बहाली के लिए चलाए जा रहे नागरिक अधिकार आन्दोलन में शामिल हुईं। लेकिन उन्हें यह जल्द ही पता चल गया कि उनकी मुक्ति सभी ब्लैक इन्सानों की मुक्ति अर्थात् ब्लैक पुरुषों की मुक्ति पर आधारित है। ब्लैक

महिला आन्दोलन 1970 के दशक में काफी सक्रिय हुआ। प्रसिद्ध महिला लेखिका 'एलिस वॉकर' ने श्वेत महिलाओं से अपने आंदोलन को अलग करने के लिए नारीवाद की जगह 'वुमनिस्ट' शब्द का प्रयोग किया। 1974 में ब्रिटेन में एक ब्लैक महिला समूह बना जिसकी सदस्याएँ ब्रिटेन की कैरिबियन और दक्षिण एशिया के भूतपूर्व उपनिवेशों की प्रवासी थी। इन अश्वेत महिलाओं ने गर्भपात के अधिकार की माँग के अलावा सरकार द्वारा जबर्दस्ती नसबंदी तथा अन्य जनसंख्या नियंत्रण नीतियों को अश्वेत समाज पर थोपने का विरोध किया। इस काल में आकर लेस्बियन महिलाएँ भी सक्रिय हुईं। स्त्री दमन के विस्तृत विषय में यौन सुख का भी विशिष्ट राजनैतिक स्थान है यह समझ विकसित हुई। इन्होंने इस मुद्दे को उठाया कि मुख्यधारा के नारीवादी स्त्री-पुरुष संबंधों पर अधिक ध्यान देते रहे हैं और स्त्री-स्त्री के संबंध के प्रति उदासीन रहे हैं। इनका कहना था कि सामान्य नारीवाद इस तथ्य को अनदेखा करता है कि विषम लैंगिकता एक ऐसा संस्थान है जो समाज के सत्तारूढ़ एवं प्रभुत्ववादी पक्ष का एक अंग है। लेस्बियन नारीवादियों का कहना है कि और संस्कारों की तरह स्त्री-पुरुष यौनिकता भी प्रवृत्ति सुलभ या कुदरती नहीं बल्कि समाज द्वारा निर्मित संस्कार है। कुछ लेस्बियन नारीवादियों ने यह तर्क पेश किया कि वे पितृसत्ता व पुरुष प्रभुत्व के क्षेत्र से बाहर हैं इसलिए उनके पास विषमलैंगिक नारीवादियों से बेहतर और सच्चा नारीवादी विकल्प है। लेस्बियन नारीवादियों के तर्क से सहमत नहीं हुआ जा सकता क्योंकि यहाँ भी रोल प्लेइंग अर्थात् स्त्री और पुरुष भूमिका निभाई जाती है जो गैरबराबरी पर आधारित है। यहाँ भी यह अवधारणा सभी महिलाओं को स्वीकार्य नहीं हो सकती।

आज के दशक के नारीवादियों की चुनौतियाँ बदली हैं। 60-70 के दशक के आंदोलन के बाद समाज में काफी बदलाव आया है। आज-लैंगिक समानता अथवा स्त्री-पुरुष की बराबरी की अवधारणा सर्वव्याप्त है। आज स्त्रियाँ सरकारी दफ्तरों-विभागों, शिक्षण संस्थानों, निजी संस्थानों सभी जगह पर अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाने लगी है। अब महिला घटक के कई शिथिल पड़े घटकों तथा मुद्दों का पुनर्जागरण हो रहा है। अब स्त्रियाँ राजनीति तथा सत्ता में बराबर की भागीदारी माँग रही हैं। कई देशों में पर्यावरण की छवि, बढ़ते सैन्यवाद के मुद्दे पर नए जन आंदोलन का गठन जारी है। इन आंदोलनों में महिलाएँ प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता रही हैं। आज की नारीवादियों को यह भी विश्वास हो रहा है कि अन्य देशों के महिला आन्दोलनों से बेहतर संबंध स्थापित करना उनके अपने संघर्षों की सफलता के लिए अनिवार्य है।

निष्कर्ष

आज पश्चिम में स्त्रियों की जो स्थिति है वह विभिन्न स्त्रीवादी

संगठनों द्वारा लंबे समय तक चलाए गए आन्दोलनों का प्रतिफलन है। यद्यपि आन्दोलन का स्वरूप विभिन्न देशों में अलग अलग था लेकिन सबकी मांगे और उद्देश्य लगभग एक जैसे थे। वे पुरुष से समानता, मतदान का अधिकार, शिक्षा का अधिकार, समान मजदूरी का अधिकार, समाज एवं परिवार में निर्णय में भागीदारी का अधिकार, यौन चयन की स्वतंत्रता और इन सबसे बढ़कर पुंसवादी समाज में सम्मानजनक ढंग से जीने का अधिकार के लिए संघर्षरत थीं। यह कहा जा सकता है कि निरंतर संघर्ष के माध्यम से काफी हद तक पश्चिम की स्त्रियों ने आज इसे प्राप्त कर लिया है और वे अब समानता और बराबरी के इस अधिकार का जश्न मना रही हैं।

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विभाजन की विरासत और मुसलमान (संदर्भ : हिन्दी उपन्यास - काला जल, आधा गाँव, छाको की वापसी)

हृदय कुमार

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सारांश

भारतीय मुसलमान का पाकिस्तान से रिश्ता बड़ा जटिल है। इस जटिलता का संधान 'काला जल', 'आधा गाँव', 'छाको की वापसी' आदि उपन्यासों के माध्यम से किया जा सकता है। भारतीय मुसलमान पाकिस्तान परस्त हैं या 'खाते हैं हिन्दुस्तान का और गाते हैं पाकिस्तान' जैसे जुमलों के पीछे छुपे साम्प्रदायिक मनोवृत्ति का असर मुसलमानों पर क्या होता है, इसका उद्घाटन इन उपन्यासों में हुआ है। भारत का विभाजन एक दुर्घटना है जिसके लिए मुसलमानों को दोषी ठहराया जाना कहाँ तक उचित है? कालाजल, आधा गाँव, छाको की वापसी आदि उपन्यासों के माध्यम से इस पर विचार किया गया है।

विशिष्टशब्द - साम्प्रदायिकता, धर्मनिरपेक्षता, लोकतंत्र, राष्ट्रीयता, देश-प्रेम

भूमिका

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद ऐसे लोगों की संख्या लगातार बढ़ती जा रही है जिन्हें भारत में मुसलमानों का रह जाना अतार्किकक लगता है। उनका मानना है कि धर्म के आधार पर 'पाकिस्तान' की माँग की गई थी जो वास्तविक हो गयी। इसलिए मुसलमानों को पाकिस्तान चले जाना चाहिये। मुसलमानों के खिलाफ नफरत का वातावरण बनाये रखने में 'पाकिस्तान' एक महत्वपूर्ण कारण है। हिन्दू साम्प्रदायिकों के अनुसार पाकिस्तान चूँकि मुसलमानों ने बनाया जो भारत के ही थे, जिनको गद्दार या दगाबाज करार दिया गया जबकि ऐतिहासिक सच्चाई कुछ और ही है।

1946 के चुनावों में मुस्लिम लीग ने 'पाकिस्तान' ऐजेण्डा को मुसलमानों के लिये 'हर मर्ज की दवा' के रूप में प्रायोजित किया था, जिससे उन्हें वोट देने वाले उन मुसलमानों का समर्थन दिला दिया, जो औसतन 15% थे जबकि 11% ने ही मुस्लिम लीग को वोट दिया। ऐतिहासिक संदर्भों में बात करें, तो मुसलमानों के एक बटा दसवें हिस्से की राय, वह भी ज्यादातर उच्च वर्ग के लोगों की राय थी। बाकी के मुसलमानों पर थोप दी गई और उसे पूरे समुदाय का सामूहिक निर्णय बताया गया। हम कह सकते हैं कि 90% भारतीय मुसलमानों की व्यावहारिक रूप से पाकिस्तान के निर्माण में कोई प्रभावी भूमिका नहीं थी। लेकिन इस बात को कभी समझा ही नहीं गया कि सभी मुसलमानों ने पाकिस्तान बनने का समर्थन नहीं किया था। सच्चाई यह भी है कि मुसलमानों के एक बड़े वर्ग ने मुस्लिम लीग के 'द्विराष्ट्र' सिद्धांत को चुनौती दी थी। अप्रैल 1940 में मुस्लिम संगठन 'जमात-उल-उलेमा-ए-हिन्द' ने राष्ट्रवादी मुस्लिम पार्टियों की एक 'आजाद मुस्लिम कांग्रेस' आयोजित की। कांग्रेस में मुस्लिम लीग की अलग राष्ट्र की माँग के विरोध में भारत को उसके सभी नागरिकों को नस्त और धर्म का निरपेक्ष 'सामूहिक घर' घोषित किया।

इसके बावजूद आम मान्यता यही बनी रही कि मुस्लिम लीग ने भारत के सारे मुसलमानों का प्रतिनिधित्व किया और इसी प्रकार

सारे मुसलमानों ने भारत-विभाजन की मुस्लिम लीग की माँग का समर्थन किया। इन मान्यताओं ने भारतीय मुसलमानों के सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक हितों को बड़े पैमाने पर नुकसान पहुँचाया। इस तरह की मिथ्या धारणाओं और मिथ को दूर करने के लिए शायद ही कोई प्रयास किए गए। एक साजिश के तहत भारतीय मुसलमानों के ऐतिहासिक अवदान को नकारा जाता रहा।

शोध प्रविधि

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक एवं वर्णानात्मक प्रकृति का है। शोध कार्य के लिए द्वितीयक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए मुख्यतः प्रकाशित ग्रंथ, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छपे विवरण, निबन्ध एवं लेख तथा विभिन्न शोध ग्रंथों को अध्ययन का आधार बनाया गया है।

तथ्य विश्लेषण

'बाँधो सालों को जिन्ना साहब की दुम से.....'

शानी के 'काला जल' का कथ्य बस्तर जिले के जगदलपुर कस्बे से सम्बंधित है। इसके संबंध में इस उपन्यास का पात्र पी.सी. नायडू कहता है - "कभी-कभी तो मुझे शक होता। लगता है, जैसे कुछ सच और अधिकांश झूठ के बीच हम सारे बस्तर के लोग रह रहे हैं। या तो देश व्यापी आंदोलन की बात झूठ है अथवा यह झूठ है कि बस्तर भारत का ही एक हिस्सा है...'" लेकिन इसी बस्तर में पाकिस्तान के विभाजन की सूचना एवं धर्माधारित विद्वेष त्वरित गति से पहुँच जाता है। शानी धर्माधारित साम्प्रदायिकता का चित्र इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत करते हैं - "...उसी के साथ वाला वह दौर, जब हम शक की नजर से देखे जाते थे। स्कूल के लड़के हम लोगों को देखकर ताने कसते कि 'भेजो सालों को पाकिस्तान, बाँधो सालों को जिन्ना साहब की दुम से...' और मुझे तब यह सोचकर रोना आता था कि लोग हमें बेईमान क्यों समझते हैं। हमारा दोष क्या सिर्फ यही है कि हमने मुस्लिम परिवार में जन्म लिया है?"²

अगर सिर्फ किसी धर्म में जन्म लेने के कारण उसे प्रताड़ित किया जाता हो, तो यह किसी भी धर्मनिरपेक्ष-लोकतांत्रिक राष्ट्र के लिए दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति होगी। दुर्भाग्य से यह पक्षपातपूर्ण व्यवहार भारतीय समाज में होता रहा है, जिसका साक्ष्य शानी जैसे मुस्लिम कथाकारों का साहित्य है। शानी ने अपने कहानी संग्रह 'सब एक जगह' के आत्मकथ्य में यह स्वीकार किया है कि "यह सिर्फ संयोग नहीं है कि कुछ कहानियों को छोड़कर मेरी अधिकांश कहानियाँ विभाजन के बाद के भारतीय मुस्लिम समाज के भय, अन्तर्विरोध, तकलीफों, आन्तरिक यातना और विसंगतियों की कहानियाँ हैं।"

मोहसिन जैसा मुस्लिम युवा जिसने स्वाधीनता की चेतना फैलाने में अपनी धार्मिक मान्यताओं को कभी आड़े आने नहीं दिया, वही आजादी के बाद मोहभंग तथा अवसाद ग्रसित हो जाता है। इसके पीछे का कारण राष्ट्रीयता का वह स्वरूप है जो आजादी के बाद अपना रूप ग्रहण करने लगा था। मोहसिन की पीड़ा देखिए - "तुम्हें लगता होगा कि मैं बक रहा हूँ या यह कि मेरी बातों से साम्प्रदायिकता की बू आती है... पर अपने को अच्छी तरह टटोलकर देखो तो तुम खुद भी स्वीकार करोगे। क्या हम सब लोग यहाँ लादे हुए मुगालते में नहीं जी रहे? और जिसे तुम राष्ट्रीयता और ईमानदारी समझ रहे हो, क्या वह सिर्फ मजबूरी नहीं है।"³³ यह संवाद उस मानसिकता का सूचक है जो अल्पसंख्यक को बहुसंख्यक की भाषा में बोलने को विवश करता है। या पराधीन व्यक्ति अपने को पराधीनता की अवस्था में सुखी बताता है। इसी प्रकार मुसलमान अपने को भारत पर लादा हुआ समझते हैं जबकि वे यहाँ के मूल निवासी हैं। अपनी जन्मजात राष्ट्रीयता को मजबूरी समझते हैं।

स्वतंत्रता के बाद भारतीय समाज में बढ़ रहे भ्रष्टाचार, अवसरवाद ने युवा वर्ग में एक आक्रोश को जन्म दिया। आजादी से जुड़े सपनों को बेरोजगारी की समस्या ने तोड़ दिया। मोहसिन जैसे मुस्लिम युवा ने बेरोजगारी की समस्या को अपने धर्म से जोड़कर देखा तथा अपनी बेरोजगारी का कारण मुसलमान होना मान लिया। यह मानसिकता उस सामाजिक कंडिसिनिंग का परिणाम है जो बहुसंख्यकवाद की देन है। 'काला जल' में जातिगत-पक्षपातपूर्ण भारतीय सामाजिक व्यवस्था को यूँ अंकित किया गया है, जो मोहसिन जैसे युवा को भड़काने के लिए काफी है - "...मोहसिन की ईमानदारी वाली बात पर सहसा मिश्रा और पाटिल की याद आ गई। दोनों मेरे साथ पढ़ते थे, लेकिन बीच में पढ़ाई छोड़कर मिश्रा सेल्स-टेक्स-इंस्पेक्टर हो गया। पाटिल ने किसी तरह एम.ए. किया था, लेकिन अब कलर्की कर रहा है।"³⁴ यहाँ मिश्रा भारतीय समाज के सवर्ण वर्चस्व का सूचक है जो आजादी के बाद भी बना हुआ है। ऐसे में एक युवा मुसलमान सम्मान की जिन्दगी एवं नौकरी की आकांक्षा से पाकिस्तान की ओर आकर्षित होता है तो इसे उसकी राष्ट्रीयता से जोड़कर देखना कहाँ तक उचित है?

आजादी के बाद के दशक में पाकिस्तान मुसलमानों के लिए एक स्वप्नद्वीप जैसा था। अपनी सुरक्षा एवं बेहतर भविष्य के लिए मुसलमान पाकिस्तान जाना चाहते थे। 'काला जल' में पाकिस्तान संबंधी मुसलमानों की मनोग्रंथि को इस प्रकार खोला गया है- "और तुम ताज्जुब न करना, अगर कहीं मुझे इस देश प्रेम में बिल्कुल विश्वास नहीं रहा", उसने (मोहसिन) कहा, "वह तो अम्मी की वजह से बँधा बैठा हूँ। मेरा वश चले तो इसी पल यहाँ से भाग निकलूँ..."

"कहाँ?"एजाज, रफीक, गनी और अशफाक मास्टर वगैरह सब कहाँ चले गए हैं?"

एक क्षण ठहरकर अविश्वास करती आँखों से मैंने मोहसिन को देखा और फिर मेरे मुँह से बेसाखा निकला, "पाकिस्तान!"

स्वीकृति में धीरे से सिर हिलाकर मोहसिन बोला, "और क्या? बल्कि मेरी मानो तो तुम्हें भी यही सलाह दूंगा। बब्बन, तुम तो यहाँ बेकार पड़े हो। यहाँ जिन्दगी-भर बीच के आदमी बने रहोगे, न इधर के, न उधर के। तुम्हारे-जैसा आदमी, वहाँ पता नहीं कहाँ से कहाँ पहुँच जाए। अशफाक मास्टर को तो तुम अच्छी तरह जानते होगे। प्राइमरी स्कूल की मास्टरी करते थे। यहाँ रहकर शायद सात जन्म में भी अपने बच्चों की इतनी तरक्की नहीं देख पाते। वहाँ उनका बड़ा लड़का विलायत हो आया, दूसरा एयर सर्विस में है और तीसरा..." उसके आगे की बात मैंने नहीं सुनी, जैसे बार-बार उसे पहचानने की कोशिश कर रहा था। क्या सचमुच यह वही मोहसिन है, जिसने कभी रियासती नौकर के बेटे होने के बावजूद, इस बंजर धरती में इन्कलाबी कदम उठाए थे? क्या यह वही मोहसिन है, जिसने कभी पी.सी. नायडू का अकेले दम पर साथ दिया था?"³⁵

मोहसिन पाकिस्तान जाना चाहता है, इसलिए नहीं की वह इस्लामी देश है बल्कि रोजगार के अवसर की उपलब्धता के कारण। भूमंडलीकरण के इस दौर में कोई भी किसी देश में रोजगार के लिए जा सकता है, राष्ट्रीयता की कोई बाधा नहीं है। भारत के बहुसंख्यक पाकिस्तान और मुस्लिम का संदर्भ आते ही नाक भौं सिकोड़ने लगते हैं। दोष कहीं हमारी मानसिकता का है। पाकिस्तान की जगह उपर्युक्त संदर्भ में अमेरिका होता तो हमारा दृष्टिकोण कुछ और ही होता, संभवतः वह प्रतिष्ठा का सूचक बन जाता। इसलिए भारत के बहुसंख्यक हिन्दुओं की भी पाकिस्तान संबंधी एक मनोग्रंथि है जिसको खोलना जरूरी है, क्योंकि वह दोषपूर्ण है तथा समरसता स्थापित करने में बाधक है। पाकिस्तान संबंधी मनोग्रंथि का छलावा बंगलादेश के बनने के बाद मुसलमानों को स्पष्ट हो गया। 'छाको की वापसी' के पात्र हबीब भाई का पाकिस्तान से आया खत 'पाकिस्तान' संबंधी स्वप्न के विखण्डित होने का सूचक है। बहुसंख्यकों में पाकिस्तान संबंधी ग्रंथि अभी भी मिलती है।

आजादी मिलने के बाद सब कुछ ठीक हो जाएगा - ऐसा भ्रम बड़े पैमाने पर फैलाया गया। विभिन्न प्रकार के संगठनों ने

अपने संगठन के लक्ष्य को पीछे कर आजादी को लक्ष्य बना लिया, जिसका परिणाम सकारात्मक निकला, देश आजाद हो गया। लेकिन यह आजादी उस ढंग की नहीं निकली जैसा लोगों ने सोच रखा था। एक मुसलमान के लिए आजादी का अर्थ हिन्दू से भिन्न हो गया। मुस्लिम कथाकारों के साहित्य का लक्ष्य आजादी के मुस्लिम संस्करण को दिखाना रहा है। 'आधा गाँव', 'काला जल', 'छाको की वापसी' आदि में मुसलमानों के लिए आजादी दुख-पीड़ा, यंत्रणा लेकर आई, यह व्यक्त हुआ है। आजादी का लाभ अवसरवादियों ने उठाया। 'काला जल' का मोहसिन उन भारतीय युवाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है जिसने सक्रिय रूप से आजादी में भाग लिया, लेकिन आजादी के बाद उसके योगदान को भुला दिया गया। 'काला जल' में मोहसिन की पीड़ा कुछ इस प्रकार से व्यक्त हुई है "...तो जान लोगे कि नौकरी केवल मेहनत, लगन या दिमागी बलबूते पर नहीं की जाती। इसके लिए और भी गुण चाहिए जिनका मेरे पास सिरे से अभाव है...."

"...तुम्हें याद है, नायडू शैया ने एक बार किसी आदमी के बारे में बताया कि वह नौकरी चली जाने के डर से रात में छिपकर उनसे मिलने आया था...?"

"हाँ, हाँ...."

"सन् सैतालीस के पन्द्रह अगस्त के बाद से वैसे लोगों की बाढ़ आ गई है।

...बताओ, क्या यह रोने का मुकाम नहीं है कि सचमुच त्याग और बलिदान के अवसर पर, जो नौकरी या नकली प्रतिष्ठा की आड़ लिए सिर छिपाए बैठे थे, वे गाँधी टोपी ओढ़कर पाप धो बैठे और आज नेता, सरपरस्त तथा देशभक्त हैं और मिनटों में हम लोगों का भाग्य बना-बिगाड़ सकते हैं....

"यहाँ आदमी की कद्र नहीं है।" मोहसिन ने दाँतों चबाकर कहा "जो जितना बड़ा बेईमान है, वह उतना ही बड़ा आदमी है और चाहे घर हो या बाहर ईमानदारी से चलने वाले को नायडू की-सी मौत मिलती है.... कोई नामलेवा भी नहीं रह जाता।"⁶

प्रस्तुत संदर्भ एक मुस्लिम कथाकार के उपन्यास का है। यह एक ऐतिहासिक तथ्य है, इसीलिए सुमित सरकार के विचार देखें, जो इससे भिन्न नहीं है। वे लिखते हैं - "अंततः भारतीय प्रायद्वीप को स्वतंत्रता मिल ही गई और स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों के सुनहरे सपनों की तुलना में अनेक लोगों को यह तुच्छ प्रतीत हुई होगी। कारण कि अनेक वर्षों तक भारत में मुसलमानों और पाकिस्तान में हिन्दुओं के लिए स्वतंत्रता का अर्थ रहा - अचानक भड़क उठने वाली हिंसा और रोजगार तथा आर्थिक अवसरों की तंगी के बीच या अपनी पीढ़ियों, पुरानी जड़ों से उखड़कर शरणार्थियों के रेले में सम्मिलित हो जाने के बीच का चयन करना। यह बहुआयामी मानव-त्रासदी बलराज साहनी की अंतिम फिल्म 'गरम हवा' में बड़े ही हृदयस्पर्शी ढंग से चित्रित हुई है। एक अन्य स्तर पर, जो पूर्णतः असम्बद्ध नहीं है, वे आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक विषमताएं अभी भी बनी रहीं, जिन्होंने साम्राज्यवाद-विरोधी जन आन्दोलन

को ठोस आधार प्रदान किया था। क्योंकि शहरों और गाँवों में विशेषाधिकार सम्पन्न समूह राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता की प्राप्ति के संबंध को उग्र सामाजिक परिवर्तनों से तोड़ने में सफल रहे थे। अंग्रेज तो चले गए थे किन्तु पीछे छोड़ गए थे अपनी नौकरशाही और पुलिस जिनमें स्वतंत्रता के बाद भी विशेष अंतर नहीं आया था और उतने ही (कभी-कभी तो और भी अधिक) दमनकारी हो सकते थे।"⁷

'काला जल' उपन्यास में स्वातंत्र्योत्तर भारतीय समाज की एक कड़वी सच्चाई का एहसास होता है। युवा आक्रोश के दिशाहीन हो जाने की परिणति मोहसिन जैसी में होती है। वह हर जगह अपने को 'अनफिट' समझता है। बब्बन भी उसी मुसलमान समुदाय का युवा है जो रोजगार आदि समस्या को व्यापक परिदृश्य में रखकर देखता है। पाकिस्तान ग्रंथि से ऊबरकर रोजगार की समस्या को वह वैश्विक परिप्रेक्ष्य देता है - "लेकिन पाकिस्तान पहुँचने के बाद भी अगर तुम्हें लगा कि ठगे गए, तो फिर कहाँ जाओगे - अरब या ईरान?"⁸ इस तरह बब्बन अल्पसंख्यक मनोवृत्ति को उघाड़कर रख देता है। बहुसंख्यकों का कर्तव्य बनता है कि वह अल्पसंख्यकों के बीच विश्वास, भरोसे का संचार करे। संवादहीनता अल्पसंख्यकों में भय पैदा करती है।

आजादी के बाद मुसलमानों के साथ वह व्यवहार निश्चित ही नहीं हुआ, जिसके वे हकदार थे। आज 'सच्चर कमेटी' की रिपोर्ट तथा 'रंगनाथ मिश्र कमेटी' में अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए अलग से आरक्षण की जरूरत समझते हैं, तो निश्चित रूप से मुसलमानों को उनका हक मिलना ही चाहिए। धर्म के कारण किसी भी समुदाय के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता हो, निश्चित ही यह चिंता का विषय है। मोहसिन जैसे ओजस्वी युवा को विपथगामी बनाने का दोषी कौन है? मोहसिन खुद या वह व्यवस्था जिसमें मोहसिन जैसों को पैदा किया जाता है। हमारे लिए विचार का बिन्दु यही होना चाहिए। मोहसिन का मार्मिक चित्र 'काला जल' में कुछ इस प्रकार से है - "हम लोगों ने देखा कि सधे हुए पंखों से लम्बी उड़ान भरने वाला पखेरू शायद राह में सुस्ताने के लिए बैठा था, लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश टहनी से फूटे गोंद में चिपककर रह गया है।"⁹

मोहसिन की दुर्दशा उस मुस्लिम समाज का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है जो आजादी के बाद मुस्लिम समाज ने झेला। साहित्य में प्रतीक के माध्यम से ही बात कही जाती है। राही मासूम रजा ने इस दुर्दशा का ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ इस प्रकार दिया है - "पाकिस्तान बन जाने के बाद पाकिस्तान विरोधी मुसलमान सन्नाटे में आ गया। उसके पाँव के नीचे से जमीन निकल गयी। वह अकेला हो गया और उसका यूँ अकेला जो जाना आधुनिक भारतीय वातावरण की सबसे बड़ी ट्रेजेडी है। सन् 47 से पाकिस्तान विरोधी हिन्दुस्तानी मुसलमान के अविश्वास का युग आरंभ होता है।पाकिस्तान डर और नफरत पर बना। वह नफरत अब भी है।"¹⁰

स्पष्ट है कि हम भारतीय इतिहास से कुछ सीखने को तैयार नहीं हैं। आपस में हम कब तक लड़ते रहेंगे? 'लड़ाई से हासिल' के

बारे में हम कुछ नहीं सोचना चाहते हैं। 'आधा गाँव' में विभाजन के बाद पैदा हुआ अकेलापन द्रष्टव्य है - "हर कैफियत अकेली थी और हर जज्ब तन्हा था। दिन से रात और रात से दिन का ताअल्लुक टूट गया था..."¹¹

पाकिस्तान की कटी हुई नाल दम घुटे जा रहे थे

पाकिस्तान का बनना व जमींदारी का खात्मा भले ही अन्योन्याश्रित न हो, लेकिन 'आधा गाँव' की गंगौली के मियाँ लोगों के लिए यह समझ पाना कठिन था कि उनकी दुर्दशा के मूल में पाकिस्तान का बनना था या जमींदारी का समाप्त होना। 'आधा गाँव' के पात्र हकीम साहब की त्रासदी दुहरी थी, "एक ठो बेटा रहा.... ओ पाकिस्तान चला गया। एक ठो जमींदारी रही, ओहू को समझो कि पाकिस्तान चली गयी। अरे जौन चीज हमरे पास न है, ओ पाकिस्तान न गयी?नौ पराणी का पेट कैसे चलायें?" राही मासूम रजा स्वीकार करते हैं कि "जमींदारी खत्म हो गयी तो मेरी रूह खुश है, लेकिन तसुब्रराती तौर पर मैं परेशान हूँ, क्योंकि यह भी देखता हूँ कि छोटा जमींदार आम किसान से भी ज्यादा गरीब हो गया। इसी ने मुझे 'आधा गाँव' लिखवाया।"¹²

गंगौली के मुसलमान भले ही पाकिस्तान के पक्ष में न रहे हों पर यह सच्चाई है कि पाकिस्तान बना और उसका प्रभाव गंगौली पर पड़ा। अब वे एक अजीब तरह की परेशानी में फँस गए थे। पाकिस्तान बन जाने से कई मुसलमानों की स्थिति केवल इसलिए दयनीय हो गई कि इस्लाम में निष्ठा रखते हुए भी वे इस देश की माटी से जुड़े हुए हैं। इसे अपना देश मानते हैं। किसी भी कीमत पर इस देश को छोड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। गंगौली के अधिकांश लोग साम्प्रदायिक जोश में पाकिस्तान नहीं जाते। पाकिस्तान उन्हें आकृष्ट भी नहीं करता। वे वहाँ जाते हैं तो मजबूरीवश तन्नु पाकिस्तान का विरोधी था पर सईदा को न भूल पाने के कारण पाकिस्तान गया। अब्बास पाकिस्तान का समर्थक था वह पाकिस्तान नहीं गया। फुन्नन मियाँ के दामाद और सदन तीन-तीन बच्चों का भार बूढ़ों पर छोड़कर पाकिस्तान चले गए। पाकिस्तान जाने के पीछे जमींदारी का टूटना एक महत्वपूर्ण कारण था। "इन लोगों के लिए पाकिस्तान का बनना बेमानी था, लेकिन जमींदारी के खात्मे ने इनकी शख्सियतों की बुनियादें हिला दीं। वे घरों से निकले और जब घर ही छूट गया तो गाजीपुर और कराची में क्या फर्क है।"¹³

'आधा गाँव' में अब्बू मियाँ, फुस्सू मियाँ जैसे लोगों को जमींदारी का समाप्त होना उनके अस्तित्व पर प्रश्न चिह्न लगा रहा था। अब्बू मियाँ "एक शरीफ हिन्दुस्तानी बाप थे। सईदा की नौकरी ही को झेल लेना उनका कमाल था। उसकी कमाई पर भरोसा करने का तो सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता था। धीरे-धीरे बीबी के सब जेवर बिक गये। जो भूमिधरी उन्होंने बड़ी मुश्किल से हासिल की थी, वह हाइकोर्ट से निकल गयी...."¹⁴ फुस्सू मियाँ को जूते की दुकान खोलनी पड़ी। "पहले तो उन्हें ग्राहकों से बात करने में शर्म आती थी। ग्राहक भी कैसे, जिनकी पुश्तें उन्हें और उनके बुजुर्गों को

सलाम करने में गुजरी थीं।¹⁵ वही गाँव के जुलाहे और राकी, वही चमार और अहीर। मौलवी बेदार तो इसलिए पाकिस्तान चले गये कि "आस-औलाद रही ना, हल चलावे आता न रहा उन्हें, और फुस्सू की तरह जूते की दुकान खोले की हिम्मत न रही, ते कह दीहन कि हम ई मुलूक में ना रहेंगे, जिसमें इमामबाड़े पर सिख लोग कबजा कर लिहस है।"¹⁶

'आधा गाँव' के हकीम साहब, अब्बू मियाँ, फुस्सू मियाँ और मौलवी बेदार सरीखे पात्रों द्वारा राही मासूम रजा मुस्लिम जमींदारों के उस परजीवी वर्ग की जड़ विहीनता को उजागर करते हैं जो खुद काशतकार नहीं था। विभाजन से सभी मुसलमानों को नुकसान ही हुआ - यह धारणा भी 'आधा गाँव' में टूटती है। हिन्दुस्तान में रहकर भी फुन्नन मियाँ की जिन्दगी में "पाकिस्तान बनने से उनकी जिंदगी में कोई खास तब्दीली नहीं हुई थी। जिन्दगी कुछ बेहतर ही हो गयी थी।"¹⁷ मिगदाद ने "हल की मुठिया थाम के मियाँ लोगों से अपना रिश्ता तोड़ लिया था।"¹⁸ हम्माद मियाँ ने भी गया अहीर के सहारे तीन हल की खेती सम्भाल ली थी। मुस्लिम जमींदारों के परजीवी वर्ग के बरक्स खुद काशत मुस्लिम किसानों की यह उपस्थिति और उनकी पाकिस्तान विमुखता भारतीय समाज में उनकी उस गहरी जड़ों का परिचायक है जिसे 'पाकिस्तान' के बहाने उच्छेदित नहीं किया जा सकता।

पाकिस्तान से लगाव-अलगाव का कोई एक कारण नहीं था। जमींदारी खत्म होना 'आधा गाँव' के मुसलमानों के संदर्भ में पाकिस्तान जाने का एक कारण हो सकता है। शानी ने 'काला जल' में इसे रोजगार की उपलब्धता से जोड़कर देखा है तो बदीउज्जमाँ के यहाँ 'छाको की वापसी' में खोखले आशवासन एवं आदर्श नारों के वाग्जाल में फँसकर निम्नवर्गीय मुसलमान पाकिस्तान पहुँच जाते हैं। उन्हें बताया गया था है कि "सच्चे मुसलमानों के लिए वह जीती-जागती हकीकत है। वह उनके ख्वाबों और हौसलों की जमीन है। वहाँ वह हिन्दुओं के जुल्म से हमेशा-हमेशा के लिए आजाद हो सकेंगे।"

पाकिस्तान बन जाने के पश्चात जहाँ एक तरफ मुसलमानों की कुछ संख्या उत्साहित एवं आशावान थी वहीं दूसरी तरफ कुछ मुसलमान जो अपने पूर्वजों के अनुराग में बँधे थे और अत्यंत उदास थे। घर, जमीन, स्वजनों की कब्र, इमामबाड़ा, सब कुछ तो भारत की धरती पर था फिर नये देश के प्रति लगाव का औचित्य ही क्या था। लेकिन मुस्लिम लीगी आशवासनों का प्रेत जनमानस को परेशान कर रहा था। बदीउज्जमाँ ने लोगों के प्रेतग्रस्त व्यक्ति जैसी स्थिति का उल्लेख 'छाको की वापसी' में किया है - "कुंए में कौन कूद रहा है! तुम्हारी तो अक्ल ही निराली है। लोग कहते हैं कि जो लोग पाकिस्तान जायेंगे, उन्हें वहाँ खूब तरक्की मिलेगी। हिन्दू पाकिस्तान से भागकर हिन्दुस्तान आ रहे हैं। उनकी जगहें, यहाँ से जाने वालों को मिलेगी। फिर मुसलमानों का अपना मुल्क है। वहाँ न हिन्दू का डर होगा और न दंगों का खतरा।"¹⁹

‘छाको की वापसी’ के हबीब भाई के खत से पता चलता है कि मुस्लिम लीग के आश्वासन केवल छलावा साबित हुए। बंगाली मुसलमान, बिहारी मुसलमान के साथ दोगम दर्जे का व्यवहार करते हैं। द्रष्टव्य है - “बंगालियों में जरा भी कौम से मुहब्बत नहीं है। इनका रवैया पाकिस्तान को बहुत नुकसान पहुँचा रहा है। कितने अफसोस की बात है कि ढाके में बंगाली और बिहारी मुसलमानों का दंगा हुआ है। बहुत-से लोग मारे गये हैं। क्या तुमने कभी सुना था कि मुसलमान इस तरह से एक-दूसरे का खून बहायेंगे? हिन्दू-मुसलमान दंगे तो होते रहते थे, लेकिन मुसलमानों का भी आपस में दंगा हो सकता है, यह मैंने कभी नहीं सोचा था। समझ में नहीं आता कि बंगालियों को हम लोगों से इतनी नफरत क्यों है? हमारी जबान, हमारा रहन-सहन, हमारे तौर-तरीके उन्हें क्यों बुरे लगते हैं? ... मैंने कभी ख्वाब में भी नहीं सोचा था कि पाकिस्तान में यह सब देखने-सुनने को मिलेगा।”²¹

विभाजन से फायदा किसको हुआ? यह तो स्पष्ट नहीं है क्योंकि यहाँ से पाकिस्तान जाने वाले हबीब भाई जैसे लोग खुश नहीं थे, भले ही माली हालत सुधरी थी। लेकिन भारत में रह जाने वाले मुसलमानों के लिए विभाजन के बाद आजादी की सुबह नफरत, उदासी, दंगे साथ लेकर आई थी। भौगोलिक विभाजन ने दिलों को भी विभाजित कर दिया था। बरसों से साथ रहे दोस्तों का दृष्टिकोण भी हिन्दू-मुसलमान बन गया था। संबंध को मापने का आधार धर्म, संबंध जोड़ने का आधार धर्म, पूर्णतः धर्म केन्द्रित मानसिकता को लेकर जी रहा था, स्वतंत्र भारत का समाज। ऐसे विषाक्त वातावरण में मित्रों के बीच भी एक लकीर खिंच गई थी और अपने भीतर हो रहे इन परिवर्तनों का अनुभव कर मनुष्य स्वयं ही हैरान हुआ जा रहा था। राही मासूम रजा ने अपने उपन्यास ‘टोपी शुक्ला’ में इन मानसिक द्रष्टव्यों का चित्रण किया है।

‘टोपी शुक्ला’ उपन्यास में इफ्फन और बलभद्र नारायण शुक्ला दो घनिष्ठ मित्रों के मन में विभाजन के पश्चात जगा भाव उन्हें हैरान कर रहा था। अपने भीतर उठ रहे विचारों से सब आशंकित थे। असुरक्षा के कारण पैदा हुआ डर इफ्फन को चौंका रहा था और धर्म के नाम पर भीतर जन्म लेने वाली नफरत से टोपी शुक्ला स्वयं झुंझला रहा था। इन दोनों मित्रों के भीतर चल रहे द्रष्टव्य का चित्रण द्रष्टव्य है - “इफ्फन पहली बार अपने डर पर शक कर रहा था और टोपी पहली बार अपनी नफरत पर झुंझला रहा था। दोस्ती झूठी है या डर? दोस्ती झूठी है या नफरत? भीतर फैला आतंक भी अजीब सा है। ... दोनों ही पक्ष इस आतंक से घिरे हैं। अजीब-सी नीरसता छा गई है।”²²

‘टोपी शुक्ला’ की भूमिका में राही मासूम रजा लिखते हैं - ‘आधा गाँव’ ही की तरह यह किसी एक आदमी या कई आदमियों की कहानी नहीं है। यह कहानी भी समय की है। इस कहानी का हीरो भी समय है। समय के सिवा कोई इस लायक नहीं होता कि उसे किसी कहानी का हीरो बनाया जाय। ‘आधा गाँव’ में बेशुमार

गालियाँ थीं। मौलाना ‘टोपी शुक्ला’ में एक गाली भी नहीं है। परन्तु शायद यह पूरा उपन्यास एक गंदी गाली है। और मैं यह गाली डंके की चोट पर बक रहा हूँ। यह उपन्यास अश्लील है - जीवन की तरह।” टोपी शुक्ला उपन्यास के लिए “लेखक ने जिस कालखण्ड का चयन किया है, वह सांप्रदायिक समस्याओं के संदर्भ में विशेष महत्वपूर्ण कालखण्ड है। 1948 से 1968 तक का साम्प्रदायिक उन्माद, अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के अंतिम बीस वर्षों के साम्प्रदायिक उन्माद से कहीं अधिक गहरा था।”²³

व्यंग्य-प्रधान शैली में लिखा गया यह उपन्यास ‘टोपी शुक्ला’ एक ऐसे हिन्दुस्तानी नागरिक का प्रतीक है जो आज के हिन्दू-मुस्लिम संबंधों को पूरी सच्चाई के साथ प्रस्तुत करते हुए बुद्धिजीवियों के सम्मुख एक प्रश्न रखता है- हर व्यक्ति बेनाम पैदा होता है लेकिन मरते समय उसकी पहचान नाम से होती है - “जन्म लेने के लिए आज तक किसी को नाम की जरूरत नहीं पड़ी। पैदा तो केवल बच्चे होते हैं, मरते-मरते वह हिन्दू-मुसलमान, ईसाई, नास्तिक, हिन्दुस्तानी, पाकिस्तानी, गोरे-काले और जाने क्या-क्या हो जाते हैं।”²⁴

टोपी शुक्ला बनने से पहले वह बलभद्र नारायण शुक्ला था और बचपन में ही बता दिया गया था कि ‘मियाँ लोग बहुत बुरे होंगे।’ इसके बावजूद इफ्फन से उसकी मित्रता हो गयी। इफ्फन टोपी का पहला दोस्त था। टोपी को घर और स्कूल कहीं भी सहानुभूति और प्रेम नहीं मिल पाया इसलिए ईर्ष्या का शिकार होकर कुण्ठित हो गया। टोपी को वहीद से नफरत हो गयी क्योंकि वह फर्स्ट आया और दादी ने टोपी को ताने दिये। जिस प्रकार दोनों की तुलना की गयी वह बड़ी कड़वी थी और इसने टोपी के भले मन को नफरत में बदल दिया जो धार्मिक न थी बल्कि घरवालों की उत्पन्न की हुई मनोवैज्ञानिक थी। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जब सन् बावन में वह स्कूल गया तो वह जनसंघी हो गया। “एक सच्चे भारतीय और सच्चे हिन्दू की तरह वह मुसलमानों से नफरत करने लगा।”²⁵

आजादी के बाद के वर्षों में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम साम्प्रदायिक ध्रुवीकरण तेज हो गया। राही मासूम रजा के सभी उपन्यासों में इस प्रक्रिया का चित्रण हुआ है। ‘टोपी शुक्ला’ उपन्यास में लेखक ने व्यक्तिगत-सामाजिक कारणों से इस प्रक्रिया को और बल मिलने को दर्शाया है। टोपी का मानसिक साम्प्रदायिकरण उसकी पारिवारिक पृष्ठभूमि के कारण हुआ। लेखक साम्प्रदायिकता के मूल में दूषित मानसिकता को मानता है। किसी एक व्यक्ति के कारण साम्प्रदायिकता का उभार नहीं हो सकता। कुछ परिस्थितियों का भी दोष होता है, इसलिए लेखक ने इसे ‘समय की कहानी’ बताया है।

सन् साठ में इफ्फन की मुलाकात टोपी से होती है जब वह अलीगढ़ यूनीवर्सिटी में लेक्चरर था। समय ने किस प्रकार दोनों पर अपनी छाप छोड़ी, यह द्रष्टव्य है - “दोनों बहुत खुश थे। परन्तु दोनों यह राज छिपाए हुए थे। दोनों यादों को सम्भाल रहे थे

परन्तु किसी के पास कहने वाली बात नहीं थी। दोनों हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी से पहले बिछुड़े थे। दोनों के बीच अनदेखी दीवार थी। दोनों उदास हो गये। इम्फन हिन्दुओं से डरता था और इसलिए उनसे नफरत करता था। टोपी को भारत की प्राचीन संस्कृति से प्यार हो गया था, इसलिए वह मुसलमानों से नफरत करता था। नफरत की दीवार पर चढ़कर पुरानी दोस्ती ने झँकना शुरू किया।घाटे में वे दोनों ही रहे।”²⁶

‘ओस की बूंद’ में पाकिस्तान के नाम पर साम्प्रदायिकता का विकास किस प्रकार जनमानस को प्रभावित कर रहा था। द्रष्टव्य है - “वजीर हसन पाकिस्तान बनवाकर झल्ला रहे थे। इसलिए नहीं कि बलवों में हिन्दू भी बहुत से कुछ कम नहीं मारे गए थे। पाकिस्तान उनके लिए कोई सियासी चाल नहीं था बल्कि उनका विश्वास था। उन्होंने कभी पाकिस्तान जाने के बारे में नहीं सोचा था। इसलिए नहीं कि वह भी अंसारी की तरह नेशनलिस्ट हो गये थे। इसलिए भी नहीं कि उन्हें इसका डर नहीं था कि बलवे में वे भी मारे जा सकते हैं। उनकी टेक यह थी कि वह अपना घर छोड़कर क्यों जाएँ।”²⁷

वजीर हसन का बड़ा लड़का अली बाकर पाकिस्तान जाना चाहता है। वह नये सपने को लेकर पाकिस्तान चला गया। वजीर हसन ने उसे आक कर दिया इसलिए नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान से उन्हें प्यार हो गया था, बल्कि इसलिए कि हिन्दुस्तान ही उनका घर था और घर नफरत और मोहब्बत से ऊँचा होता है - “मैं एक गुनाहगार आदमी हूँ और उसी सरजमीन पर मरना चाहता हूँ, जिस पर मैंने गुनाह किए हैं।”²⁸

अली बाकर के पाकिस्तान जाने के गम में उसकी माँ हाजरा पागल-सी हो जाती है। वह पागल क्यों हो गयी इससे किसी का कोई मतलब नहीं था। आबेदा तो जीते जी विधवा हो गयी थी और शहला पिता के होते हुए भी अनाथ। पुत्र वियोग एवं पुत्रवधू के भविष्य की चिंता ने हाजरा को पागल कर दिया। उसकी स्थिति देखिए - “हाजरा ने कनखियों से बहू की तरफ देखा। इस शीशे की धूल को कौन साफ करेगा आखिर? अली बाकर तो तलाक देकर अलग हो गया। सुना है, वहाँ उसने दूसरी शादी कर ली। .. तो इस आबेदा का क्या होगा? मायके वाले पाकिस्तान चले गए। खुदा उनको जिन्दा रखे, परन्तु हमारे बाद क्या होगा इस आबेदा का? क्या इसकी तकदीर में कोई भविष्य नहीं है? अब तो ऐसा लगता है कि किसी की तकदीर में कोई भविष्य नहीं है।”²⁹

‘काला जल’, ‘आधा गाँव’, ‘ओस की बूंद’, ‘छाको की वापसी’, ‘टोपी शुक्ला’ इत्यादि उपन्यासों के कथ्य के केन्द्र में पाकिस्तान है, पाकिस्तान बन जाने के बाद भारतीय मुसलमानों को बहुत बड़ा नुकसान हुआ। “आलम यह था कि अपनी रगों का खून पाकिस्तान में मारा-मारा फिर रहा था और जिस ताल्लुक और बाहमी रिफाकत और दोस्ती पर मुआशरे की बुनियाद थी वह ताल्लुक टूट रहा था, वह रिफाकत खत्म हो रही थी और एतमाद की जगह दिलों में एक खौफ और गहरा शक परवरिश पा रहा

था। ...गरज कि आजादी के साथ कई तनहाईयाँ भी आयी। बिस्तर की तनहाई से लेकर दिलों की तनहाई तक।”³⁰ ये तो उनकी जातिगत अपूर्णनीय क्षति थी, इसके बाद राष्ट्रीयता से जुड़ा उनका भावनात्मक लगाव का प्रश्न जिसने भारतीय मुसलमानों को अपने में सिमटने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया।

विभाजन ने मुस्लिम समाज के रंग को बदल दिया, उस पर एक दाग लगा दिया। जिन्ना की तस्वीर उतारते हुए उस दाग को ‘ओस की बूंद’ के वजीर हसन ने लक्ष्य कर लिया था - “उन्होंने हाथ बढ़ाकर वह तस्वीर उतारी और दीवार पर पड़ जाने वाले उस दाग को देखने लगे, जो तस्वीर के कारण दीवार पर पड़ा था और अब तक तस्वीर से ही छिपा हुआ था। सारी दीवार का रंग कुछ कह रहा था - तस्वीर ने एक ही रंग के दो बना दिए थे। क्या यह रंग एक हो सकेगा? वजीर हसन के पास इस भयानक सवाल का कोई जवाब नहीं था।” राजनीति से दूर रहने वाली मुस्लिम औरतों के लिए पाकिस्तान अभिशाप हो गया। वजीर हसन की पत्नी हाजरा, बहू आबेदा सभी पाकिस्तान बन जाने से परेशान हैं। इसीलिए हाजरा लगातार अल्लाह मियाँ से अपने लड़ाई लड़ रही थी - “ई दुनिया तोहरी है कि वजीर हसन के बाप की। नहीं चुप से काम न चलें। तूहें बाले को पड़ें। मुंह में घोधा रख के का बय्यट गए हो। केकी है ई दुनिया?... तो वजीर हसन की बात मान के काहे को बना दिया पाकिस्तान?”³²

निष्कर्ष

भारतीय मुसलमानों को अपनी धरती अपने लोगों के प्रति आकर्षण उन्हें पाकिस्तान जाने से रोकता है। कृषि प्रधान भारत के निवासी हिन्दू-मुसलमान होने से पहले भारतीय थे। वे कृषक थे। वह अपनी स्नेहमयी धरती को छोड़कर नये देश की चाह में भला कैसे जा सकते थे। ‘आधा गाँव’ में राही मासूम रजा ने ऐसी ही मातृभूमि की प्रेमानुभूति को अभिव्यक्ति प्रदान की है - “हम ना जाए वाले हैं कहीं। जायें ऊ लोग जिन्हें हल बैल से शरम आती है। हम तो किसान हैं तन्नू भाई। जहाँ हमरा खेत, हमरी जमीन, तहाँ-हम।” बदीउज्जमाँ के ‘छाको की वापसी’ की पात्र अम्मा भी अपने घर समाज के प्रति इसी जुड़ाव के कारण पाकिस्तान जाने से इन्कार करती है। द्रष्टव्य है - “उनका एक ही जवाब था “....ना बाबू हम तो ना जा सके हैं कहीं इस घर को छोड़कर। इस घर से तो हमारा जनाजा ही निकलिये। हम तो कहे हैं तुम लोग भी मत जाओ। काहे का डर! क्या यहाँ का खुदा दूसरा है और वहाँ का दूसरा?” आदमी अपनी धरती व लोग से जीवनपर्यन्त बेइंतहा प्यार करता है। मरते वक्त भी उसकी यह लालसा समाप्त नहीं होती है। ‘छाको की वापसी’ उपन्यास में यह बात प्रमाणित होती है। जब छोटे अब्बा मरते वक्त अपने गाँव लौटना चाहते हैं। द्रष्टव्य है - “अब्बा के आखिरी अलफाज थे - मुझे गया ले चलो, भैया के पास ही दफन करना मुझे।” राही मासूम रजा ने मातृभूमि के प्रति इस प्रेम को ‘ओस की बूंद’ में इस प्रकार व्यक्त किया है - “मैं गुनाहगार आदमी हूँ और उसी जमीन पर मरना चाहता हूँ जिस

पर मैंने गुनाह किये हैं।”

‘काला जल’, ‘आधा गाँव’, ‘छाको की वापसी’ इत्यादि उपन्यासों के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि अधिकांश मुसलमान न ही पाकिस्तान के निर्माण के पक्ष में थे और न ही पाकिस्तान की उनमें रुचि थी, अधिकतर मुसलमानों में पाकिस्तान के प्रति अनभिज्ञता प्रदर्शित होती है। यदि कुछ लोगों में पाकिस्तान से जुड़ी अपेक्षाएँ थीं, तो उसका कारण अपने ही देश में मिलने वाली उपेक्षा और असुरक्षा की भावना थी। राही मासूम रजा जैसे मुस्लिम कथाकारों के उपन्यास में पाकिस्तान को लेकर बार-बार आक्रोश और विरोध व्यक्त हुआ है जिससे उनके भीतर का देश-प्रेम दिखाई पड़ता है। वे बार-बार अपने देश के प्रति अपने लगाव को अलग-अलग शब्दों में अभिव्यक्ति प्रदान करते दिखाई पड़ते हैं। इस दृष्टि से ‘आधा गाँव’ के एक पात्र का संवाद अवलोकनीय है - “अच्छा हम कह दे रहे हैं कि हमारे सामने तू पाकिस्तान का नाम मत लीहो। तू है बहुत शौक चरया है तो जाओ बाकी हम अपनी लड़कियन को लेके इहहै रहिहै।”

‘छाको की वापसी’ में बदीउज्जमाँ ने पाकिस्तान के प्रति इस भाव को यूँ व्यक्त किया है “पाकिस्तान में, हमनी सबका का काम बाबू? पेट भरे को दु मुट्टी चावल हियाँ ना मिलतई का। दूसरा देस के जाये के जरूरत!” शानी ने मिट्टी के प्रति लगाव को ‘काला जल’ में इस प्रकार व्यक्त किया है - “कुछ हमदर्दों ने दबी जवान में समझाया तो बोले कि मरना-कटना होगा तो यही मर-कट जाएँगे, बुढापे में मिट्टी खराब करने कहाँ जाएँ।”

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झारखण्ड सरकार
जिंदगी
हरा 2017



सुरेश कुमार महतो
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झारखण्ड सरकार के गौरवशाली 2 वर्ष



आधारभूत संरचनाओं पर विशेष फोकस

- 500 करोड़ की लागत से 2011-12 में लक्ष्मी सड़क की 1000 किलोमीटर लंबाई का निर्माण किया गया।
- 'सड़क आ के हार' के तहत 10 लाखों परिवारों को सड़क से जोड़ने का लक्ष्य रखा गया।
- 1084 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 371 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
- 235 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 67.8 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।



- 185 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 15.1 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
- 100 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 10 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
- 100 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 10 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
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- 100 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 10 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
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- राज्य सरकार द्वारा 2011-12 में 100 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से 100 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
- 100 करोड़ रुपये लागत वाली 10 किलोमीटर लंबाई का नया सड़क निर्माण किया गया।
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पंचनाथ राय, हेमलाल मरु, संतप्रकाश चौधरी, राजी रविंद्र अंसारी, मधुसूदन प्रसाद मल्ला, शंभू सोहन, गोपाल कृष्ण पांडे, विमला प्रधान, सत्यनारायण झा 'बाबू'

सूचना एवं जनसंपर्क विभाग, झारखण्ड सरकार द्वारा जनहित में जारी



अर्जुन प्रसाद
मुख्यमंत्री, झारखण्ड



धेनका सोरेन
उप मुख्यमंत्री, झारखण्ड



झारखण्ड सरकार



ब्रिटिश
वर्ष 2012



सुरेश कुमार महतो
उप मुख्यमंत्री, झारखण्ड



शिवु सोरेन
शासक, राज्य सरकार एवं विधिति झारखण्ड



समस्त झारखण्ड वासियों को 66वां स्वतंत्रता दिवस की हार्दिक शुभकामनाएं

सुशासन की राह पर बढ़ता झारखण्ड



- ❖ कृषि अधिव्यंजन महाविद्यालय का शिलान्यास।
- ❖ 38432 आंगनवाड़ी केंद्रों के माध्यम से 'मुख्यमंत्री लक्ष्मी लाइली योजना' का कार्यान्वयन किया जा रहा है।
- ❖ झारखण्ड औद्योगिक नीति 2012 को मंजूरी।
- ❖ राज्य के अंतिम मरुत्वाकांक्षी साठ प्रखण्ड अंतर्गत मिकरिया गांव के समीप अजय वराज योजना का उद्घाटन।
- ❖ कक्षा 1 से 8 में अभ्यथन बच्चों को स्कूली पोषाक नि:शुल्क उपलब्ध कराया जाएगा।
- ❖ महत्वपूर्ण पदों पर दक्ष लोगों को नियुक्ति।
- ❖ राज्य पानवधिकार आयोग का गठन।
- ❖ लोकायुक्त को नियुक्ति।
- ❖ भ्रष्टाचार के मामलों पर कड़ी व प्रभावी कार्रवाई।
- ❖ मुख्यमंत्री कन्यादान योजना के अंतर्गत अनुदान की राशि 10,000 रु. से बढ़ाकर 15,000 रु. की गई।
- ❖ गरीबों के लिए मुख्यमंत्री दाल-भात योजना लागू। दिन में एक बार 3 रु. में योजना की व्यवस्था।
- ❖ कुलज झारखण्ड ने स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों का भत्ता 3000 रु. प्रति माह से बढ़ाकर 5000 रुपये प्रतिमाह कर दिया। राज्य को गर्व है कि आज भी झारखण्ड में 470 स्वतंत्रता सेनानी हैं।
- ❖ 34 लाख परिवारों को 1/ रु. प्रतिकिलो के दर से अनाज एवं 50 पैसे प्रति किलो की दर से आर्थोडाइड तक दवाक दिया जा रहा है।
- ❖ डूंगें पंचायत सेवा का आरंभ।
- ❖ "सरकार आपके डार" के क्रम में माननीय मुख्यमंत्री श्री अर्जुन प्रसाद द्वारा सड़कों का निरीक्षण एवं समीक्षा।
- ❖ पारदर्शी एवं मंत्रदणशील प्रशासन की ओर एक और कदम। मुख्यमंत्री श्री अर्जुन प्रसाद द्वारा govkacm.com वेल्प लाईन नम्बर 0657-3059999 का शुभारंभ किया गया।
- ❖ पथ निर्माण एवं ऊर्जा के क्षेत्र में विशेष प्राथमिकता
- ❖ पंचायत को विनीय अधिकार।
- ❖ असाध्य रोग से ग्रसित बीपीएल परिवार के सदस्य को इलाज के लिए एक मुस्त 150000/- रूपये देय।



देवराज घोष



अनिल कुमार



दुनी खतून खत्री



चंदन कुमार



रवि कुमार



रवि कुमार



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